AMAZIGH FEMINISM NARRATIVES

Aspirations, Agency, and Empowerment of Amazigh Women in the Southeast of Morocco

DOCTORAL THESIS
Presented by:
Bochra Laghssais

SUPERVISORS:
Dr. Irene Comins Mingol
Dr. María Lidón Escrig Sos

JULY 2023

UNIVERSITAT JAUME·I

UNIVERSITAT JAUME·I

Doctoral Programme in International Studies in Peace, Conflict and Development
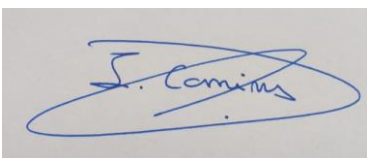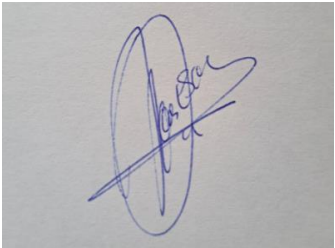
Universitat Jaume I Doctoral School

Tesis Doctoral con Mención Internacional
Doctoral Thesis with International Mention

Amazigh Feminism Narratives: Aspirations, Agency, and Empowerment of Amazigh Women in the Southeast of Morocco

Narrativas del Feminismo Amazigh: Aspiraciones, Agencia y Empoderamiento de las Mujeres Amazigh en el Sudeste de Marruecos

Memoria presentada por Bochra Laghssais para optar al grado de doctora por la Universitat Jaume I

Doctoral student:	Supervisors:
Bochra Laghssais	**Dr. Irene Comins Mingol**
	Dr. María Lidón Escrig Sos

Castelló de la Plana, July 2023

FUNDING

ABOUT THE COVER PAGE

The cover's symbolism and meaning are inspired by the garments worn by women in the region where I conducted my fieldwork. Women there wear *Taḥruyt* (plural *tiḥruyin*) which is a large traditional black scarf with colorful embroidery worn when they go outside of the home. The meaning behind employing it in the cover of this dissertation is to draw a metaphor. Since this Ph. D. thesis is about Amazigh women, it has to be covered from the outside with a *Taḥruyt*. As we open, or uncover, the thesis we get to look beyond and learn more about and get to know the Amazigh woman and their adversities, aspirations, agency, empowerment, and resilience. Despite the anonymity of informants, a glimpse into their daily lives and the way they carry themselves and preserve culture and language as well as being strong symbols of resilience is a resonant homage to Amazigh women and the Amazigh civilization at large.

The cover designed by @rchimadesign.
Digitally illustrated by @juliefeng

I owe a great debt of gratitude for their professionalism and for their capturing of the concept for the cover in great detail.

ABSTRACT IN ENGLISH:

Amazigh women's stories of adversities and struggles led to their portrayal as *illiterate*, *in need of help* and *passive beneficiaries of aid*. Many texts and media focus on investigating their marginalization, which reinforces the stereotypical image of Amazigh women as *powerless*. However, this dissertation from peace studies' critical perspective makes a diagnosis of Amazigh women in southeast of Morocco's hardships, struggles and adversities that are related to their socio-economic conditions, language, identity, and gender. And from a constructive perspective of peace studies, it sheds light on another side of the story about Amazigh women that has yet to be told. A story about their resilience and perseverance acting from grassroots level feminism consciousness transforming their reality and vulnerabilities into opportunities that empower them, their families, and communities, therefore leading to what we can name as Amazigh feminism. Thus, this doctoral dissertation, by balancing both lines of peace research in intersection with decolonial feminism using an ethnographic methodology, is a contribution to making visible the voices of Amazigh women in Morocco, highlighting their significant contributions to social change as active agents of civil society, feminist referents and as peacebuilders.
Key Words: Amazigh women, Vulnerability, Empowerment, Agency, Aspirations, Feminism, Morocco.

RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL:

Las historias de adversidades y luchas de las mujeres amazigh han llevado a que se las represente como *analfabetas, necesitadas de ayuda* y *beneficiarias pasivas de las ayudas*. Muchos textos y medios de comunicación se centran en investigar su marginación, lo que refuerza la imagen estereotipada de las mujeres amazigh como *desempoderadas*. Esta tesis, desde la perspectiva crítica de los estudios para la paz, hace un diagnóstico de las dificultades, luchas y adversidades de las mujeres amazigh del sur de Marruecos, que están relacionadas con sus condiciones socioeconómicas, su lengua, su identidad y su género. Además, desde la perspectiva constructiva de los estudios para la paz, esta investigación arroja luz sobre otra parte de la historia de estas mujeres que aún no se ha contado: sobre su resiliencia y su perseverancia, actuando desde la conciencia del feminismo de base transformando su realidad y sus vulnerabilidades en oportunidades que las empoderan a ellas, a sus familias y a sus comunidades, dando lugar a lo que podemos denominar feminismo Amazigh. Así, esta tesis doctoral, al equilibrar ambas líneas de investigación para la paz en su intersección con el feminismo descolonial, desde una metodología etnográfica, es una contribución a la visibilidad de las voces de las mujeres amazigh en Marruecos, destacando su importante contribución al cambio social como agentes activos de la sociedad civil, como referentes feministas y constructoras de paz.
Palabras claves: Mujeres Amazigh, Vulnerabilidad, Empoderamiento, Agencia, Aspiraciones, Feminismo, Marruecos.

INFORMATIVE NOTE:

This study, undertaken in November 2019, is part of the general line of research Philosophy for Peace and Conflict Resolution of the Doctoral Program in International Peace Studies, Conflicts and Development of the UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace at the Jaume I University in Castelló de la plana, Spain.

This thesis is an international doctoral thesis. The first requirement for an international Ph.D. is a three-month research stay abroad; in my case, I have spent three months of research at Leiden University in the Netherlands (from September 2020 to November 2020) under the supervision of Prof. dr. M.G. Kossmann. The second requirement for an international doctoral thesis is to be written in two languages as well as the public defence of the thesis in two languages. Therefore, parts of this dissertation are written both in English and Spanish.

Another requirement for all doctoral program students enrolled is to fulfill 600 hours of formation activities, which include attending lectures, seminars, methodological courses, presenting papers at conferences and academic publication in journals.

In addition, this thesis contains a fieldwork study that took place in southeast of Morocco (from July 2021 to September 2021).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

- **ACM:** Amazigh Cultural Movement
- **ADFM:** *L'Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc*
- **AMDH:** Moroccan Association of Human Rights
- **ANDZOA:** Agence Nationale de Développement des Zones Oasiennes et l'Arganier (L'andzoa)
- **CCRC:** *Commission consultative pour la réforme de la constitution Royal*
- **CEDAW:** Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
- **CNSS:** *La Caisse Nationale de Sécurité Sociale*
- **F20M:** 20 February Movement (2011)
- **FNAA:** La Federation Nationale des Associations Amazighes au Maroc
- **ICAN:** International Civil Society Action Network
- **IGP:** Income Generation Projects
- **INDH:** The National Human Development Initiative
- **IRCAM:** The Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture
- **JC:** Justcice and Charity Movement
- **MCA**: Movimiento Cultural Amazigh
- **MENA:** Middle East and North Africa
- **MUR:** Movement Union and reform
- **NCS:** National Council of Support
- **NGO:** Non-Governmental Organization
- **NPA:** National Plan of Action for integrating women into development
- **OADP:** *L'Organisation de l'Action Démocratique et Populaire*
- **OHCHR:** Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
- **PAN:** Plan de Acción Nacional para la Integración de la Mujer en el Desarrollo
- **PGI:** Proyectos de Generación de Ingresos
- **PJD:** Justice and Development Party
- **PPS:** *Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme*
- **PSU:** United Socialist Party
- **RAMED:** *Le Regime D'assistance Medicale*
- **RGPH**: *Recensement Général De La Population Et De L'habitat*
- **UAF:** *L'Union de l'Action Féminine*
- **UAF:** Union for Feminine Action
- **UDHR:** Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- **UN:** United Nations
- **UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme Human Development Reports
- **UNDRIP:** United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
- **UNESCO:** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- **UNFP:** National Union of Popular Forces
- **UNHR:** Universal Declaration of Human Right
- **UNICEF:** United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
- **UNWTO:** United Nations World Tourism Organization
- **USAID:** United States Agency for International Development
- **USFP:** Socialist Union of People
- **VAW:** Violence Against Women
- **VCM:** Violencia Contra las Mujeres
- **WEE:** Women Economic Empowerment
- **WHO:** World Health Organization

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

INTRODUCTION

Research Topic: Amazigh Women Feminism in Morocco

Throughout the twenty-two countries that make up the Arab World (MENA Region), all women are represented as a homogenous group and looked at from a singular perspective. This limits their identities into being Arab Muslim Women while their cultural identity goes beyond that. In Morocco this goes back to the post-independence era where modern states were constructed under an Arabization ideology that envisioned a collective Arab identity. Such ideology is "seen as a means of national unity and has been used by the national government as a tool for ensuring national sovereignty" (Metz 1994, 220). This ideology may seem positive in theory, yet many indigenous groups are forgotten and oppressed based on what Arabization exposes them to (Laghssais 2021a, 73).

In the context of this dissertation on Amazigh women and feminism narratives in Morocco, a gap exists within mainstream feminism trends (Islamic/st feminism and secular feminism) both in advocacy activism and academic scholarly literature which mainly are Arabic urban elite based, focusing mainly on aspects of all women's rights on the national level. These mainstream feminist discourses are highly impacted by their leftist and Islamist perspectives and their political inclinations and fail to properly address the grassroots level needs and priorities of Amazigh women.

The gap identified here is the failure of the mainstream feminism to represent Amazigh women, causing a big absence of Amazigh women representation within these discourses. This theme was theoretically touched by Gagliardi (2019, 2021) and Sadiqi (2014). Whenever Amazigh women are mentioned within hegemonic feminist discourses they are referred to as *rural women*, *illiterate*, *in need of aid* and *passive beneficiaries of aid*. These traits are reinforced by the media inadvertently generating stereotypical images which diminish their identity as Amazigh women and hides their specificity and their challenges as Amazigh women. One of the primary challenges is that of language, some women being monolingual, speaking only Tamazight language. The complexity lays in that when a rural population is addressed, they are all addressed homogenously as rural women regardless being Amazigh or Arabic speaking. Arabic speaking women however despite being rural do not have the issue of language barrier when going to the doctor or to court. Therefore, Amazigh speaking women in rural areas face double hardships due to a language barrier which exists when accessing public and government services.

1

Sadiqi contributed with numerous publications cited throughout this thesis on Amazigh women covering the language, identity, gender, oral literature of Amazigh women, history of Amazigh women as gatekeepers of Amazigh culture, language and civilization. As I agree with Sadiqi's approach to bring the perspective from within,[1] I build upon what she already worked on to find out how Amazigh culture and arts and crafts can better everyday life of Amazigh women through field work testimonies from Amazigh rural women themselves.

Gagliardi's recently published work (2021) looks into Amazigh women from a post-colonial, human rights and international law perspective related to minority rights and indigenous people. Gagliardi based her work on fieldwork interviews and builds a strong case on how Amazigh women are marginalized and discriminated against. The latter in peace studies is what we label as a critical line perspective which is used to diagnose of types of violence in society. In the case of Amazigh women, it is structural and cultural violence. Gagliardi analyzed various forms of discrimination based on sex, gender, identity and socio-economic statutes faced by various Amazigh women from different parts of Morocco.

It is possible to go further in this direction in an original way with this Ph.D. thesis and contribute to the field by utilizing both critical and constructive perspectives of peace studies. This PhD thesis [Laghssais 2023] is thus situated within peace studies' intersection with a decolonial approach that includes decolonial feminist strategies and perspective from within. These two perspectives (critical and constructive) must complement each other in order not to fall short in their vision of women and victimize and reduce their experiences, contributions to peace, human development and sustainability of life. Starting from women's own voices and testimonies the two lines must strive to fill the gaps within current scholarship (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 3).

Through recognition of women's experience from their own perspective their agency is brought to light and their testimonies recorded into the annals of history as a source of learning and inspiration, and a guide how to move within different contexts from victim to peacebuilders (Comins Mingol 2016, 139). Within the field of

---

[1] I used the expression *perspective from within*. I mean by it that the culture is studied by someone who is from the culture, embedded in it. A lot of what is written about Amazigh has classically been by western scholars using an outsider perspective. As I myself am Amazigh, and I take along perspectives of Amazigh scholars such as Fatima Sadiqi, this forms a perspective from within the culture. From this point onward this concept is used to mean the above explained.

international relations females are generally portrayed as victims, an image which fails to acknowledge the diversity of women's agency and contributions and perpetuates stereotypical gender roles. As Comins Mingol (2016) notes, when women are victimized to a point the condition of being a victim becomes an integral part of their identity, it becomes difficult to free them from such perspectives as their own beliefs about their condition causes them to sustain this imposed self-image. Two main mechanisms which cause the women to remain victimized during the process of reification are firstly the fact that by considering them as objects to be protected they are framed as weak rather than subject of rights. Secondly, the act of framing them as victim risks constructing a reductionist, biased and limited image of otherness. Through such externalized representations of victims, the particularity of these women is continued to be portrayed as a passive object rather than active agent (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 8).

In recent times attempts have been made to transform this predominant image of women around gender, peace and violence which although having many forms, shares a common root of recognition of women's contributions, and framing them as active participants within society (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 8). In this sense, endeavoring toward transforming image of Amazigh women as *victims* to *peace builders* by utilizing decolonial perspective along with irenology, helps us more clearly to understand the reality of Amazigh women and how to harness their resilience to adversities and their ways of transforming them using local grassroot strategies. This thesis strives to highlight Amazigh women's knowledge and strategies of empowerment.

Post- 2011 context allowed various dynamics to mingle such as that of Amazigh; youth; digital platforms; advocacy, and activism for social change and personal freedoms. As the focus of the thesis is Amazigh women and what I theorize as Amazigh feminism,[2] my goal is adding non-elite voices and narratives to the academia and existing literature on women movements in Morocco. These hegemonic feminist movements have been centered only with the focus of urban Arab speaking women or focused on legislatives and laws changes and milestones of Moudwana (Family Law Code of 2004).[3] While these

---

[2] Despite this thesis arguing and endeavoring to shed light on grassroot feminism initiatives by Amazigh women as peacebuilders, one could argue that Amazigh feminism also exists in cities among literate and urban elites. In chapter 3 are some examples of Amazigh women scholars who are urban Amazigh or diaspora and identify as Amazigh feminist such as Fatima Sadiqi, Mounia Mnouer, and Meryem Demnati among others.

[3] Islamic feminism falls under the umbrella of decolonial feminism for its opposition to secular feminism because they understand it as western ideology. Islamic feminism proposes a decolonial perspective by females rereading religious texts with more female understanding. The case of Asma Lamrabet refers to a

are important things, the grassroot voices also need to be heard and this thesis is a contribution to their recognition. Once that is set, further endeavors hopefully would create more feminist consciousness among civil society actors, cooperatives and NGOs for activism to contextualize in the ground level and to impact more rural areas providing facilities to end the cycle of dichotomy between urban and rural levels.

Amazigh feminism narratives as decolonial project when it interfaces with Santos' *Epistemologies of the South* allows for the consciousness to change the stereotypes from within. For the first, Santos argues that there is an invisibility to knowledge(s) of the global south due to hegemony of knowledge caused by intersection of colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism which creates a cognitive injustice. Knowledges produced within the global south are considered experiences rather than scientific knowledge. Therefore Santos (2007, 2014, 2018, 2020) calls for an epistemological transformation by proposing an *ecology of knowledges* that recognizes the plurality of knowledge production and contributes to decolonizing knowledge and power.

In line with these thoughts, to bring voices of Amazigh women to the forefront, to make visible what has been made invisible; Amazigh women's strength and resilience for social change as topic suffers from an epistemological invisibility in literature (as existing literature focus on investigating their marginalization), as their representation is merely focused on their adversities and not on the strength and power with which they continue to live their lives. The majority of existing knowledge on Amazigh people has always been from the perspective of non- Amazigh, yet Amazigh women have their own knowledge of the world and how they live their lives. It is translated into language weaved into carpets with symbols, documented in pottery, sewed as designs and motif onto clothes, and tattooed onto bodies, maintaining them for centuries. However, such knowledges, be it artistic knowledges and scholarship, and its socio-political impact are historically undermined by hegemonic forms of knowing and their associated power structures. They are considered "*experiences*" which creates an invisibility and underestimation of the role of the woman in society and their contributions to knowledge limiting women only to traditional roles that of *wives*, and *mothers*. Choosing

---

broad third way approach that also envisions humanitarian values in line with ijtihad reinterpretation of religious text [see Glossary page]. However, such approach despite its decolonial perspective is limited to the rereading of the religious texts (Borrillo 2016). Despite Amazigh women identifying as Muslims and practicing Islam as faith, its presence in their everyday cultural context doesn't cause Amazigh women to view it or use it (religion) as a political project like Islamist female activist do (Sadiqi 2003).

decoloniality of knowledge that goes in line with ideas of Santos attempts to recognize these knowledges and tries to document them using a *perspective from within.*

To carry out this study this thesis is focused on one region of Morocco, the southeast/ Drâa-Tafilalet, and conducts fieldwork among the people of the Ait Atta tribe. Reasoning behind the fieldwork choices were impacted by the global Covid-19 pandemic situation which caused necessity to narrow the research down. A triangulation method that combines ethnographical research techniques and tools such as, participant observation, field notes, reflexivity and Semi-structured in-depth interviews with Amazigh women attempts to humbly contribute to voices of feminist narratives, strengths, resilience, aspirations and empowerments from within to support an inclusive representation of feminisms in Morocco both in literature and in activism. In addition, decolonizing and building a resonant homage to the oral knowledges and discourses of Amazigh women.

Thus, providing Amazigh feminism narratives as an academic contribution to fill the gap in the literature which stem from peace studies and considers both critical and constructive lines and their intersection with gender and decoloniality to build a peace culture.

Research Problem

The Moroccan hegemonic feminism trends (secular and Islamic) "has largely been associated with educated, enlightened, and self-aware upper-class women" (Sadiqi 2003, 215). Therefore, the question of Amazigh rural women seems to be secondary concerns; they perceived the Amazigh rural women as *illiterate* and *passive* and *in need of aid* beings and by doing so they neglect their agency and scholarship. They further neglect their voices and their contribution to their personal resilience and empowerment and family, and community development though their NGO work of activism and crafts and arts cooperatives IGPs (Income Generating Projects). Thus, this dissertation is making visible the contribution of Amazigh women to local development as peacebuilders via their participation in community building and making their Amazigh identity the center of their crafts and cooperatives and through their NGO activism and political participation.

Thesis Statement

Amazigh women's stories of adversities and struggles led to their portrayal as *illiterate* and *in need of help*. Many texts focus on investigating their marginalization, which reinforces the stereotypical image of Amazigh women as *powerless*.

However, this dissertation from peace studies constructive line shed light on another side of the story about Amazigh women that has yet to be told about their resilience, perseverance acting from grassroot level feminism consciousness transforming their reality and vulnerabilities into opportunities that empower them, their families and communities therefore leading to *Amazigh feminism.*

Thus, this dissertation is attempted to a contribution to the visibility of Amazigh women voices in Morocco, highlighting their significant contribution to social change as active agents of civil society and as peacebuilders.

Research Question

The heterogeneous socio-cultural dynamics of Amazigh women in the Southeast of Morocco are accompanied with vulnerabilities and structural violences but also with practices that try to reduce those adverse circumstances. In what ways do Amazigh women establish personal and community practices addressed to reduce their vulnerability factors, increasing their personal agency, family, and community empowerment?

Aims and Objectives[4]

The general objective of the thesis is to shed light on Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco, and visible profoundly the complexity of their adversities, resilience, aspirations, agency, empowerment, and their socio-cultural dynamics which broaden and initiative a new field of knowledge as *Amazigh Feminism.*

This general objective is structured around three specific objectives with empirical approach:

1. Examine the vulnerability and adversity conditions that marginalizes, excludes Amazigh women in their communities and in Moroccan society and specifically the southeast of Morocco and to make visible their demands for rights and equality**.**

---

[4] The objectives fall under the umbrella of what Santos (2007; 2014; 2018; 2020) calls the ecology of knowledge *reconocimiento de saberes-otros.*

2. Explore the strategies of Amazigh women, in the southeast of Morocco, to increase their personal agency, family and community empowerment and social participation to fight against the vulnerability and adversity factors.

3. Elucidate how the voices, narratives, practices, discourses and knowledge, of Amazigh women grassroot feminism can contribute to enrich the feminism in Morocco with new perspectives, at the same time contribute to generate a culture of peace.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured into two large blocks (Part 1, and Part 2) that contain three chapters each as described in detail below:

PART I: Part one of the thesis is devoted for theoretical part of the thesis which consists of chapter 1 and chapter 2 and chapter 3.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Frame

This chapter is organized into four divisions. The first *section 1.1* introduces a conceptual overview of peace studies since its emergence starting by negative peace *versus* direct violence, to positive peace *versus* structural violence and finally culture of peace *versus* cultural violence (Galtung 1996; 1967). Moving to as Martínez Guzmán (2001; 2005; 2009) proposes, an epistemological turn from study of violence to study of peace as subject worthy of study. With this vision peace research take a hybrid line of investigation what Comins Mingol (2018a; 2018b; 2015) call critical and constructive lines. The first is about denouncing all types of violence suffered by human beings and nature. The second play important role in overcoming types of violence and it focus on visualizing and rebuilding human competencies for peace making. This section also explores the concept of imperfect peace (Muñoz 2001; 2004) looking at peace as day-to-day process. In addition to exploring the concept of recognition by (Honneth 1995) as three pillars *love, right and solidarity* fulfilment of the need to be recognized leads to development *self-esteem, confidence* and therefore *self-realization*.

Section 1.2 takes feminist studies as second theoretical base. It explains the concept of gender as social construct and goes further in explaining the gender perspective within peace studies which was incorporated in 1980s stresses the need for both the critical line and constructive line (Martínez Guzmán 2001; Comins Mingol 2018a; 2009). In addition, this section introduces decolonial feminism as lenses and approach to go about the topic of Amazigh women in Morocco and shed light on feminist initiatives from

and at the grassroots level. The decolonial feminist anthropology is introduced as perspective, due to the patriarchal structure of the academia and traditional anthropology among other fields what is written about Amazigh people is from the perspective of others mainly men (Sadiqi 2003, 17). Thus, the decolonial feminist anthropology seeks ways to bring and harness voices, experiences, and narratives from within the Amazigh community. This section also presented some works of Santos (2007; 2018; 2020) regarding decoloniality of knowledge. In addition to exploring the concept of *A Larger Than Islam Framework* by Fatima Sadiqi (2014).

Section 1.3 explores and defines major theories, fundamental approaches and concepts used throughout this dissertation such as intersectionality, agency, empowerment, resilience, identity, and vulnerability. Thus, by identifying these key words help us understand the whole thesis.

Lastly *Section 1.4* in this chapter set clear the hypothesis relevant to the topic of this dissertation. *Section 1.5* provides translation of the hypothesis to Spanish.

Chapter 2: State of Arts I: Historical and Social Background of Amazigh People in Morocco

This chapter is organized into two divisions. *Section 2.1* of this chapter explains the general brief historical background of Amazigh indigenous people in Morocco and North Africa. It also explores French protectorate colonial period of the country (1912-1956) and its aftermath constructing the modern kingdom under Arabization polices. The chapter unveils the consequences Arabization polices and theories when implemented leading to the marginalization of the Amazigh community in Morocco in terms of language and identity. As a response leads to the emergence of Amazigh cultural movement (ACM) and its development to a political movement discourse that advocates for needs and rights of Amazigh people in Morocco.

Section 2.2 is about social movements and their role in change making for social justice. It talks about the 20 February 2011 Movement (F20M) and its impact to lead to reforms a constitution of 2011. This section gives an overview of the reforms on the Moudawana (the Family Law code) of 2004. Despite these enhancements made up to date in these fields this section also outlines some of its limitations and how a patriarchal system and lack of awareness among people are still major obstacles for the success of this family code. It also draws attention to the violence against women (VAW) and the

social stigma that surrounds it. Briefly explains Morocco's involvement in CEDAW and the protecting women vis-à-vis VAW.

Chapter 3: State of Arts II: Amazigh Women and Feminist Movements in Morocco

This chapter is an extension to the state of the art. It is divided into three sections.

Section 3.1 of this chapter investigates and gives an overview of Amazigh women's circumstances through written literature. With lenses of Galtung (1996) it outlines different adversities faced by Amazigh rural women in Morocco through the illustration of examples of these adversities within various fields such as education, illiteracy and lack of healthcare facilities in rural areas.

Section 3.2 sheds light onto the hegemonic feminist discourses within Morocco (Islamic and secular). It explains each trend and its emergence and leading figures. The modern feminist movement first took shape as secular, originating back in colonial times. It started with Malika El Fassi and others advocating for education. The branch passed through three stages and intersects with Islamic feminism in several of these stages. Especially at the NPA (National Plan of Action for Integrating Women into Development) period and the Moudwana where Islamists were part of the debate with their view of opposition to this reform. Within Islamic feminism in Morocco there are three types. The first is female Islamist activists in the political scene explained through the JC leadership by Nadia Yassine, MUR group, and PJD leadership by Bassima Hakkaoui. The second is self-based, explained through independent scholars such as Fatima Mernissi and Asma Lamrabet. The third is the state-based Islamic feminism official discourse which started in 2006 with the *Murshidat* and *Alimat* program.

Section 3.3. is about Amazigh feminism's emergence in post 2011 uprisings which gave Amazigh public legitimacy and visibility along with other topics such as youth, social media activism, and personal freedoms. This section sheds light on the concept proposed by Sadiqi (2014) of a *larger than Islam framework*. This concept allows us to see the big absence of Amazigh perspectives in the hegemonic feminist movement in Morocco and highlights the portrayal of Amazigh women within these feminist branches as *passive, illiterate* and, *in need of aid,* neglecting their agency and scholarship which can enrich feminism in Morocco.

This section theorizes about *Amazigh feminism narratives.* First by reviewing literature of academics such as Fatima Sadiqi, Susan Schaefer Davis, Silvia Gagliardi and

Cynthia Becker. Publications of these authors among others initiated the discussion on Amazigh women as not being included in the feminist movement in Morocco and criticize the feminist movement as an urban elite movement that does not stress the grassroot needs of Amazigh women. Gagliardi further analysed the AMC (Amazigh movement cultural) and concludes that likewise feminist movements in Morocco, AMC is also elitist and urban based.

Second by reviewing work of NGO activism of Amazigh women NGOs for example *the voice of Amazigh women*, which not only advocates law changes and language and culture but extends to running workshops in rural areas with men and women. In addition, the section looks at historical symbolic visual Amazigh agency through three historical figures *Les Amazonnes, Dihya* and *Tanit.* Therefore, a conceptual base for Amazigh feminism is explained at this level by looking at historical and symbolic agency of the Amazigh women in Morocco in addition to these women's activism through their NGOs.

PART II: Part two of this thesis is practical part devote to field work and its methodology. And it contains of chapter four, five and six.

Chapter 4: Methodological Strategies Framework

This chapter is organized into four divisions. *Section 4.1* of this chapter is about general Methodological Strategies Framework, setting qualitative research approach and socio-critical paradigm as base for collecting data about Amazigh women. And it also takes ethnography as method for qualitative research.

Section 4.2 is devoted to ethnographical research techniques and tools in ordered to ensure the validity and quality of the research I adopted a triangulation strategy which combining multiple sources such Semi-Structured in-depth interviews, participant observations, field notes reflexivity, and the use of a valuable tool such as photography. The combination of all mentioned is in an attempt to avoid interpretative reductionism and broaden the general framework of understanding of both the object and the subjects of study. The combination of the mentioned allows for a research space of reflection on events that happened during the course of the field work and the relationship between the researcher and the informants.

Section 4.3 is about the Sampling Design, by using the non-probabilistic, purposive and snowball sampling. This section also set the organization of the sampling, target typologies of women profiles working in cooperatives or in NGOs or entrepreneurs

or working privately non structured IGPs. This section also covers various points related to the process of data collection steps such as choice of informants, meeting the informants, confidentiality, anonymity, as well as timing and context of interviews being amid a Covid-19 pandemic situation.

Section 4.4. is dedicated to data analysis process using the program Dedoose and guided by the thematic analysis of Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013) which consist of six steps nonlinearly organized as familiarizing with data and setting codes (deductively and inductively) that will be developed later into categories/themes exported to build Excel matrix. Making it thematically organized for analysis and discussion for chapter 6 and later for interpretation in the conclusions.

Chapter 5: The Southeast of Morocco: Ait Atta Amazigh Tribe

This chapter is organized into three divisions. *Section 5.1* presents an introductory insight about the region Drâa-Tafilalet/ southeast of Morocco. It provides information about the geographical location and demography and looks at recent and major developments and statistics of the region. Its aims to show the geographical context of the region, socio-political and economic factors that intervene and powerfully influence the forms, projects and life opportunities, mentalities and discourses of the subjects of this study. The official statistical data presented in this chapter are based on census of 2014 and made available online by Haut Commissariat Au Plan (2015).

Section 5.2 provides information about rural setting and tribal system. As well as specifically information about specific group of this study Ait Atta tribe. by Giving an overview the tribe history and specific culture utilizing David Hart work (1981).

Section 5.3 is about specific town where I conducted the fieldwork. The specific location for this study is the town of Alnif as the main ethnographic place in addition to field visit to places such as Saghro: Ikniouen, Ighrem Amazdar and Tazarine, Tinghir, Tilmi. Unfortunately, access to monographs of the small villages and towns was limited given the short time spent on these villages. Apart from the commune of Alnif which was the main ethnographic location, I was able to acquire the monographs and present its information along this chapter.

Chapter 6: Amazigh Feminism Narratives: Voices of Amazigh women's Aspirations, Agency, and Empowerment.

This chapter represent primary data from the field work, analysis of the interview conducted, field notes, ethnography as well as photographs collected captured during the fieldwork. The analysis is organized in categories/themes that are reflecting both the objectives and hypothesis of this dissertation. This chapter is devoted for interviews outcomes and results discussions how do Amazigh women live the exclusion and their struggles at same time being peace builders via initiated grassroot level peace initiatives. The themes generated from the study are organized into big themes and sub themes.

This chapter is organized into five divisions. *Section 6.1* is dedicated for analysis of theme Vulnerabilities and Adversities. Organized into subthemes 6.1.1. Rural and Socio-economic conditions in it I tackle topic as lack of access to education and school being far away which raise the chance of school drop out for girls. Also, the topic of access to health being geography isolated the region Drâa-Tafilalet's rural and mountain areas suffer from lack of centers of health and adequate health care facilities and lack of doctors. In addition, this section talked about the Harshness of life, climates, and lack of water leads to Emigrations. Sub-section 6.1.2 on gender and kinship looks into gender related adversities of Amazigh women such as the social pressure applied to them to live up to their expected roles in society. It further investigates the patriarchal structure of society from which Amazigh women face cultural violence and shaming if they do not meet societies expectations of being a *good woman*. It also approaches underage marriage which occurs when young girls drop out of school, and the informant's perspective on woman's rights are also investigated. Lastly the efforts that Amazigh women make to preserve their cultural identity is looked into regarding the fact that these efforts inadvertently keep the patriarchal systems which come with this culture in place.

Sub-section 6.1.3. on Amazigh language, culture and identity looks at how Amazigh women face marginalization and adversities in their lives when accessing public services such as healthcare services, educational institutions, and the judicial system. Despite recent efforts by the Moroccan government to protect Amazigh rights through law No. 26-16 which aims to integrate Tamazight within all aspects of society, the process of implementation is slow and on the margins the Amazigh language and culture face marginalization. A persistent lack of funding and lack of depth in initiatives that are aimed to implement these laws on the ground causes many projects to be ineffective or lacking in reach due to the limited resources available to them. Besides economical and linguistic

issues, due to the stigma around not speaking Arabic and against Amazigh and rural people in general, on a social level Amazigh women still face a lot of discrimination from their Arabic speaking peers. Sub-section 6.1.4. on the impact of Covid-19 on Amazigh women looks into adversities Amazigh women faced during period of the Covid-19 pandemic by looking at informant's testimonies around this matter. An uptick in domestic violence was noted to be caused by increased expectations placed upon women to take care of the household even more during the pandemic, as well as people experiencing more stress on different levels such as healthcare and finances causing more uncertainties for families and strained relationships. In addition to this, economic challenges were expressed by my informants related to inability to market and sell their products as public life grounded to a halt amid the lockdowns which were imposed during Covid-19. In order to make ends meet and still see continuity in their endeavors of economic empowerment, new skills such as online marketing, languages such as Arabic, French and English, photography and storytelling for marketing were needed to be learnt in order to reach a broader audience outside of local villages. Sub-section 6.1.5. discusses changes to local Amazigh communities, culture and traditions due to globalization, capitalism, modernization and Islamization. From the abandonment of some customs and traditions such as tribal tattooing and the celebration of *Tlla aynja Tislit n w Anzar*: (Bride Of The Rain) due to shaming by conservatists and modernist views to the decline of other traditions and customs such as *Id Yennayer* (Amazigh New Year).

Section 6.2 is about *Seeds of Aspirations* and the reasons behind these women's aspirations. The motor behind women's aspiration according to the informants interviewed are twofold rooted in aspirations for their children regarding education, and personal aspirations around their IGPs to become financially capable to take care of themselves and their families.

Section 6.3 is about resilience, empowerment and agency through IGPs. The section starts by highlighting importance of women supporting women and collective empowerment among women to build collective resilience. The section talks first about women's self-based IGPs, looking at the historical link of Amazigh women with art from their nomadic lifestyle to their current sedentary living lifestyle. It also looks at arts and crafts performed by women used to represent and continue the tribe's symbols and traditions and how they gradually become a source of economic empowerment for women via weaving carpets, embroidery, sewing and more. As the value of collective learning and resilience is common among Amazigh women, this section also investigates how

13

cooperatives as collective IGPs strengthen aspirations, resilience, agency, and empowerment for these women recognizing these projects of arts and crafts as a medium for peacebuilding. In addition to crafts women cooperatives also expand to add Bread and Couscous Cooperatives.

In addition, the section talks about another important factor which is the role NGO advocacy plays in addressing structural and cultural violence. While Amazigh women face various adversities and some are addressed by grassroot level peacebuilding initiatives of Amazigh women via IGPs, others such as lack of hospitals and paved roads are more structural issues which are targeted by NGOs as they require more resources and collaboration to resolve. This section highlights the importance of local NGO's work in various sectors such as healthcare and law to address structural and cultural violence. Additionally, it investigates their role in empowerment and education of women via workshops, awareness campaigns and social work aimed to help women and girls lift themselves from adversity. Furthermore, the section also delved into the role of Amazigh women's political participation and activism. Highlighting experiences of informant 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader as example of the importance of political participation of women to be able to change the system from within and address structural violence from the political level.

Section 6.4 is about manifestations of culture of peace in Amazigh women's daily and community life. The section looks into the concept of *Tiwiza* (collective solidarity generosity, care, and empathy) which guides the Amazigh rural community in the southeast of Morocco. This concept manifests in community life for example in times of conflict where community mediators facilitate conflict resolution and reconciliation between involved parties. Additionally in the spirit of *Tiwiza* within the community collective projects are organized which are based on sharing resources for the common good. In addition to this, *Tiwiza* guides the community to address structural violence facing women and facilitate peacebuilding efforts which promote a culture of peace.

Section 6.5. is about expressions of women empowerment from grassroots level contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco. Within this section the efforts of Amazigh women towards self-empowerment and their contributions to enrich feminism within Morocco are discussed in light of their IGPs, cooperatives, work in NGOs and political participation.

Finally, **the General Conclusions** are dedicated to summarizing the thesis research that I have undertaken. It outlines all the important points that I have expressed

in this research and draws certain conclusion about the main points of conversation. Answers the questions and hypotheses. In addition, it expresses the future work that would be carried out in order to expand the research into other possible directions.

INTRODUCCIÓN EN ESPAÑOL

Tema de investigación: Feminismo Amazigh en Marruecos

A lo largo de los veintidós países que conforman el mundo árabe (Región MENA), todas las mujeres están representadas como un grupo homogéneo y vistas desde una perspectiva singular. Esto limita sus identidades a ser mujeres musulmanas árabes, mientras que su identidad cultural va más allá de eso. En Marruecos, esto se remonta a la era posterior a la independencia, donde los estados modernos se construyeron bajo una ideología de arabización que imaginaba una identidad árabe colectiva. Tal ideología es vista como un medio de unidad nacional y ha sido utilizada por el gobierno como una herramienta para garantizar la soberanía (Metz 1994, 220). Esta ideología puede parecer positiva en teoría, sin embargo, muchos grupos indígenas son olvidados y oprimidos en función de a lo que son expuestos por la arabización (Laghssais 2021a, 73).

En el contexto de esta tesis sobre las mujeres amazigh y las narrativas feministas en Marruecos, existe una brecha dentro de las tendencias feministas dominantes (feminismo islámico / sta y feminismo secular) tanto en el activismo de base como en la literatura académica que se basa mayormente en la élite urbana árabe, centrándose principalmente en aspectos de todos los derechos de las mujeres a nivel nacional. Estos discursos feministas dominantes están muy afectados por sus perspectivas izquierdistas e islamistas y sus inclinaciones políticas y no abordan adecuadamente las necesidades y prioridades de raíz de las mujeres amazigh.

La brecha que se identifica aquí es el fracaso del feminismo dominante en representar a las mujeres amazigh, causando una gran ausencia de representación de las mismas dentro de estos discursos. Este tema fue abordado teóricamente por Gagliardi (2019, 2021) y Sadiqi (2014). Cada vez que las mujeres amazigh son mencionadas dentro de los discursos feministas hegemónicos, se les categoriza como *mujeres rurales*, *analfabetas*, *necesitadas de ayuda* y *beneficiarias pasivas de la ayuda*. Estos rasgos se ven reforzados por los medios de comunicación que generan inadvertidamente imágenes estereotipadas que minimizan su identidad como mujeres amazigh y ocultan su especificidad y sus desafíos como mujeres amazigh. Uno de los principales desafíos es el del lenguaje ya que algunas mujeres son monolingües, hablando únicamente el idioma tamazight. La complejidad radica en que cuando se aborda una población rural, se les trata de manera homogénea como mujeres rurales, independientemente de que sean amazigh o de habla árabe. Sin embargo, las mujeres de habla árabe, a pesar de ser rurales,

no tienen el problema de la barrera del idioma cuando van al médico o al juzgado. Por lo tanto, las mujeres de habla amazigh en las zonas rurales enfrentan dificultades dobles debido a la barrera del idioma que existe al acceder a los servicios públicos y gubernamentales.

Sadiqi contribuyó con numerosas publicaciones citadas a lo largo de esta tesis sobre las mujeres amazigh que abarcan la identidad, el género, la literatura oral de las mujeres amazigh, la historia de las mujeres amazigh como guardianas de la cultura, el idioma y la civilización amazigh. Como estoy de acuerdo con el enfoque de Sadiqi respecto a traer *la perspectiva desde dentro*,[5] me baso en su trabajo para descubrir cómo la cultura amazigh y las artes y oficios pueden mejorar la vida cotidiana de las mujeres amazigh a través de testimonios de trabajo de campo de las propias mujeres rurales amazigh.

El trabajo recientemente publicado de Gagliardi (2021) analiza a las mujeres amazigh desde una perspectiva poscolonial, de derechos humanos y de derecho internacional relacionada con los derechos de las minorías y los pueblos indígenas. Gagliardi basó su trabajo en entrevistas de trabajo de campo y construyó un caso sólido sobre cómo las mujeres amazigh son marginadas y discriminadas. Esto es lo que etiquetamos en los estudios de paz como una perspectiva de línea crítica que se utiliza para diagnosticar los tipos de violencia en la sociedad. En el caso de las mujeres amazigh, es violencia estructural y cultural. Gagliardi analizó diversas formas de discriminación por motivos de sexo, género, identidad y estatutos socioeconómicos a las que se enfrentan varias mujeres amazigh de diferentes partes de Marruecos.

Es posible ir más allá en esta dirección de una manera original con esta tesis doctoral y contribuir al campo utilizando la perspectiva crítica y la constructiva de los estudios de paz. Esta tesis doctoral [Laghssais 2023] se sitúa dentro de la intersección de los estudios de paz con un enfoque descolonial que incluye estrategias feministas descoloniales y *una perspectiva desde dentro*. Estas dos perspectivas (crítica y constructiva) deben complementarse para no quedarse cortas en su visión de las mujeres y victimizar y reducir sus experiencias, contribuciones a la paz, desarrollo humano y

---

[5] Cuando utilizo la expresión *perspectiva desde dentro* me refiero a que la cultura es estudiada por alguien que pertenece a la cultura, que está integrado en ella. Mucho de lo que se ha escrito sobre la cultura amazigh ha sido escrito por eruditos occidentales desde una perspectiva externa. El yo misma ser amazigh y adoptar las perspectivas de estudiosos amazigh como Fatima Sadiqi, constituye una perspectiva desde dentro de la cultura. Partiendo de esta aclaración, este concepto se utilizará dentro de la investigación para referirse a lo explicado anteriormente.

sostenibilidad de la vida. A partir de las propias voces y testimonios de las mujeres, las dos líneas deben esforzarse por llenar los vacíos dentro de la erudición actual (Laghssais y Comins Mingol 2021a, 3).

A través del reconocimiento de la experiencia de las mujeres desde su propia perspectiva, su agencia sale a la luz y sus testimonios se registran en los anales de la historia como una fuente de aprendizaje e inspiración, y una guía sobre cómo moverse dentro de diferentes contextos desde la imagen de víctima hasta la de constructoras de paz (Comins Mingol 2016, 139). En el ámbito de las relaciones internacionales, las mujeres son generalmente retratadas como víctimas, una imagen que no reconoce la diversidad de la agencia y las contribuciones de las mujeres y perpetúa los roles de género estereotipados. Como señala Comins Mingol (2016), cuando las mujeres son victimizadas hasta el punto de que la condición de ser víctima se convierte en una parte integral de su identidad, se hace difícil liberarlas de tales perspectivas, ya que sus propias creencias sobre su condición las hacen mantener esta autoimagen impuesta. Dos mecanismos principales que hacen que las mujeres permanezcan victimizadas durante el proceso de cosificación son, en primer lugar, el hecho de que al considerarlas como objetos a proteger se las enmarca como débiles en lugar de sujetas de derechos. En segundo lugar, el acto de enmarcarlas como víctimas corre el riesgo de construir una imagen reduccionista, sesgada y limitada de la alteridad. A través de tales representaciones externalizadas de las víctimas, la particularidad de estas mujeres continúa siendo retratada como un objeto pasivo en lugar de un agente activo (Laghssais y Comins Mingol 2021a, 8).

En los últimos tiempos se ha intentado transformar esta imagen predominante de las mujeres en torno al género, la paz y la violencia que, aunque tiene muchas formas, comparte una raíz común de reconocimiento de las contribuciones de las mujeres y de enmarcarlas como participantes activas dentro de la sociedad (Laghssais y Comins Mingol 2021a, 8). En este sentido, esforzarse por transformar la imagen de las mujeres amazigh como *víctimas* a *constructoras de paz* utilizando la perspectiva descolonial junto con la irenología, nos ayuda a comprender más claramente la realidad de las mujeres amazigh y cómo aprovechar su resiliencia ante las adversidades y sus formas de transformarlas utilizando estrategias locales. Esta tesis se esfuerza por resaltar el conocimiento y las estrategias de empoderamiento de las mujeres amazigh.

El contexto posterior a 2011 permitió que varias dinámicas se mezclaran, tal como la Amazigh; juventud; plataformas digitales; defensa y activismo por el cambio social y las libertades personales. Como el foco de la tesis son las mujeres amazigh y lo que teorizo

como *feminismo amazigh*,[6] mi objetivo es añadir voces y narrativas no elitistas a la academia y la literatura existente sobre movimientos de mujeres en Marruecos. Estos movimientos feministas hegemónicos se han centrado únicamente en el enfoque de las mujeres urbanas de habla árabe o se han enfocado en los cambios legislativos y los hitos de Moudwana (Código de Derecho de Familia de 2004).[7] Si bien estas perspectivas son importantes, las voces de las mujeres amazigh también necesitan ser escuchadas y esta tesis es una contribución a su reconocimiento. Una vez que se establezca esta línea de investigación, se espera que los esfuerzos consequentes creen una mayor conciencia feminista entre los actores de la sociedad civil, las cooperativas y las ONG para que el activismo se contextualice a nivel local e impacte en más áreas rurales que proporcionen instalaciones para poner fin al ciclo de dicotomía entre lo urbano y lo rural.

Las narrativas del feminismo amazigh como proyecto descolonial, al interactuar con *las Epistemologías del Sur* de Santos, permiten que la conciencia cambie los estereotipos desde dentro. Santos argumenta que se invisibiliza el conocimiento (s) del sur global debido a la hegemonía del conocimiento causada por la intersección del colonialismo, el patriarcado y el capitalismo que crea una injusticia cognitiva. Los conocimientos producidos dentro del sur global se consideran experiencias en lugar de conocimiento científico. Por lo tanto, Santos (2007, 2014, 2018, 2020) llama a una transformación epistemológica proponiendo una *ecología de saberes* que reconozca la pluralidad de la producción de conocimiento y contribuya a descolonizar el conocimiento y el poder.

En línea con estos pensamientos, se propone poner en primer plano las voces de las mujeres amazigh, hacer visible lo que se ha hecho invisible; La fuerza y resiliencia de las mujeres amazigh para el cambio social como tema, sufre de una invisibilidad

---

[6] A pesar de que esta tesis argumenta y se esfuerza por arrojar luz sobre las iniciativas de feminismo de base de las mujeres amazigh como constructoras de la paz, se podría argumentar que el feminismo amazigh también existe en las ciudades entre las élites alfabetizadas y urbanas. En el capítulo 3 hay algunos ejemplos de mujeres amazigh académicas que son amazigh urbanas o de la diáspora y que también se identifican como feministas amazigh, por ejemplo, las autoras Fátima Sadiqi, Mounia Mnouer y Meryem Demnati, entre otras.

[7] El feminismo islámico reside dentro del paraguas del feminismo descolonial debido a su oposición al feminismo secular, pues es entendido como una ideología occidental. El feminismo islámico propone una perspectiva descolonial al proponer que las mujeres relean los textos religiosos con un entendimiento más femenino. El caso de Asma Lamrabet se refiere a una tercera vía (*third way*) que contempla valores humanitarios en línea con la reinterpretación de los textos religiosos *(ijtihad) [véase la página del Glosario].* Sin embargo, a pesar de su perspectiva descolonial, este enfoque se limita únicamente a la relectura de los textos religiosos (Borrillo 2016). A pesar de que las mujeres amazigh se identifican como musulmanas, practican la fe islámica y su religión tiene presencia en el contexto cultural de su día a día, no perciben ni utilizan la religión como proyecto político, tal como lo hacen las mujeres activistas islamistas (Sadiqi 2003).

epistemológica en la literatura (la literatura existente se centra en investigar su marginación), ya que su representación se centra simplemente en sus adversidades y no en la fuerza y el poder con el que continúan viviendo sus vidas. La mayoría del conocimiento existente sobre el pueblo amazigh ha sido propuesto desde la perspectiva de los no amazigh, sin embargo, las mujeres amazigh tienen su propio conocimiento del mundo y de cómo viven sus vidas. Se traduce al lenguaje tejido en alfombras con símbolos, documentado en cerámica, cosido como diseños y motivos en la ropa, y tatuado en cuerpos, manteniéndolos durante siglos. Sin embargo, tales conocimientos, ya sean conocimientos artísticos o académicos, y su impacto sociopolítico están históricamente socavados por las formas hegemónicas de conocimiento y sus estructuras de poder asociadas. Se consideran *experiencias* y esto crea una invisibilidad y subestimación del papel de la mujer en la sociedad y sus contribuciones al conocimiento limitando a las mujeres solo a los roles tradicionales, el de *esposas* y *madres*. Elegir la descolonialidad del conocimiento que va en línea con las ideas de Santos, intenta reconocer este tipo de conocimientos y trata de documentarlos utilizando una *perspectiva desde dentro.*

Para llevar a cabo este estudio, esta tesis se centra en una región de Marruecos, el sudeste / Drâa-Tafilalet, y realiza trabajo de campo con las mujeres de la tribu Ait Atta. El razonamiento detrás de las opciones de trabajo de campo se vio afectado por la situación de la pandemia mundial de Covid-19, que causó la necesidad de reducir la investigación. Un método de triangulación que combina técnicas y herramientas de investigación etnográfica como la observación participante, las notas de campo, la reflexividad y las entrevistas semiestructuradas en profundidad con mujeres amazigh, intenta contribuir humildemente a las voces de las narrativas feministas, las fortalezas, la resiliencia, las aspiraciones y los empoderamientos desde dentro, para apoyar una representación inclusiva de los feminismos en Marruecos tanto en la literatura como en el activismo. Además, descolonizando y construyendo un homenaje resonante a los saberes y discursos orales de las mujeres amazigh.

Por lo tanto, proporcionar narrativas del feminismo amazigh como una contribución académica para cerrar la brecha en la literatura que se deriva de los estudios de paz y considera las líneas crítica y constructiva y su intersección con el género y la descolonialidad para construir una cultura de paz.

Problema de investigación

Las tendencias del feminismo hegemónico marroquí (secular e islámico) se han asociado en gran medida con mujeres educadas, ilustradas y de clase alta conscientes de sí mismas (Sadiqi 2003, 215). Por lo tanto, el tema de las mujeres rurales amazigh parece ser una preocupación secundaria; las mujeres rurales amazigh son percibidas como *analfabetas* y *pasivas* y *seres necesitados de ayuda* y, al hacerlo, descuidan su agencia y erudición. También se descuidan sus voces y contribución a su resiliencia personal y empoderamiento y desarrollo familiar y comunitario a través de su trabajo de activismo y cooperativas de artesanía y artes PGI (Proyectos de Generación de Ingresos). Por lo tanto, esta tesis está haciendo visible la contribución de las mujeres amazigh al desarrollo local como constructoras de paz, a través de su participación en la construcción de la comunidad y haciendo su identidad amazigh el centro de sus artesanías y cooperativas y a través de su activismo de ONG y participación política.

Declaración de tesis

Las historias de adversidades y luchas de las mujeres amazigh las llevaron a ser retratadas como *analfabetas* y *necesitadas de ayuda*. Muchos textos se centran en investigar su marginación, lo que refuerza la imagen estereotipada de las mujeres amazigh como *impotentes*.

Sin embargo, esta disertación de la línea constructiva de los estudios de paz arroja luz sobre otro lado de la historia de las mujeres amazigh que aún no se ha contado, sobre su resiliencia, perseverancia actuando desde la conciencia del feminismo a nivel local, transformando su realidad y vulnerabilidades en oportunidades que las empoderan a ellas, a sus familias y comunidades, lo que lleva al *feminismo amazigh*.

Es así que esta tesis doctoral intenta contribuir a la visibilidad de las voces de las mujeres amazigh en Marruecos, destacando su importante contribución al cambio social como agentes activos de la sociedad civil y como constructoras de paz.

Pregunta de investigación

Las dinámicas socioculturales heterogéneas de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos se acompañan de vulnerabilidades y violencias estructurales, pero también de prácticas que intentan reducir esas circunstancias adversas. ¿De qué manera las mujeres amazigh establecen prácticas personales y comunitarias dirigidas a reducir sus

factores de vulnerabilidad, aumentando su agencia personal, su familia y su empoderamiento comunitario?

Objetivos de la investigación[8]

El objetivo general de la tesis es arrojar luz sobre las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos, y visibilizar profundamente la complejidad de sus adversidades, resiliencia, aspiraciones, agencia, empoderamiento y dinámicas socioculturales que amplían e impulsan un nuevo campo de conocimiento como el *feminismo amazigh.*

Este objetivo general se estructura en torno a tres objetivos específicos con enfoque empírico:

1. Examinar las condiciones de vulnerabilidad y adversidad que marginan y excluyen a las mujeres amazigh en sus comunidades y en la sociedad marroquí, específicamente en el sudeste de Marruecos, y visibilizar sus demandas de derechos e igualdad**.**

2. Explorar las estrategias de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos para aumentar su agencia personal, empoderamiento familiar y comunitario y la participación social para luchar contra los factores de vulnerabilidad y adversidad.

3. Dilucidar cómo las voces, narrativas, prácticas, discursos y conocimientos del feminismo de base de las mujeres amazigh pueden contribuir a enriquecer el feminismo en Marruecos con nuevas perspectivas, al mismo tiempo que contribuyen a generar una cultura de paz.

Estructura de la tesis

Esta tesis se estructura en dos grandes bloques (Parte 1 y Parte 2) de los cuales cada uno contiene tres capítulos como se describe en detalle a continuación:

PARTE I: La primera parte de la tesis está dedicada a la parte teórica que consta del capítulo 1, el capítulo 2 y el capítulo 3.

Capítulo 1: Marco teórico

Este capítulo está organizado en cuatro partes. La *sección 1.1* introduce una visión general conceptual de los estudios de paz desde su aparición, comenzando por la paz

---

[8] Los objetivos caen bajo el paraguas de lo que Santos (2007; 2014; 2018; 2020) llama a la ecología de conocimiento *reconocimiento de saberes-otros.*

negativa *versus* la violencia directa, siguiendo con la paz positiva *versus* la violencia estructural y finalmente la cultura de paz *versus* la violencia cultural (Galtung 1996; 1967). Pasando a como propone Martínez Guzmán (2001; 2005; 2009), un giro epistemológico desde el estudio de la violencia al estudio de la paz como tema digno de estudio. Con esta visión de la investigación de la paz tomamos una línea híbrida de investigación que Comins Mingol (2018a; 2018b; 2015) llama líneas crítica y constructiva. La primera línea denuncia todo tipo de violencia que sufren los seres humanos y la naturaleza. La segunda juega un papel importante en la superación de los tipos de violencia y se centra en visualizar y reconstruir las competencias humanas para el establecimiento de la paz. Esta sección también explora el concepto de paz imperfecta (Muñoz 2001; 2004) mirando la paz como proceso cotidiano. Así mismo se explora el concepto de reconocimiento por (Honneth 1995) como tres pilares, *el amor, el derecho y la solidaridad.* El cumplimiento de la necesidad de ser reconocido conduce al desarrollo de *la autoestima, la confianza* y por lo tanto *la autorrealización.*

La sección 1.2 toma los estudios feministas como segunda base teórica. Explica el concepto de género como constructo social y va más allá al explicar la perspectiva de género dentro de los estudios de paz que se incorporó en la década de 1980 y enfatiza la necesidad tanto de la línea crítica como de la línea constructiva (Martínez Guzmán 2001; Comins Mingol 2018a; 2009). Igualmente, esta sección introduce el feminismo descolonial como perspectiva y enfoque para abordar el tema de las mujeres amazigh en Marruecos y arroja luz sobre las iniciativas feministas desde y a nivel de base. La antropología feminista descolonial se introduce como perspectiva, pues debido a la estructura patriarcal de la academia y la antropología tradicional, entre otros campos, lo que se ha escrito sobre el pueblo amazigh, se ha escrito desde la perspectiva de otros, principalmente de hombres (Sadiqi 2003, 17). Por lo tanto, la antropología feminista descolonial busca formas de traer y reunir voces, experiencias y narrativas desde dentro de la comunidad amazigh. En esta sección también se presentan algunos trabajos de Santos (2007; 2018; 2020) sobre la descolonialidad del conocimiento. Además de explorar el concepto de *Un marco más grande que el Islam* de Fatima Sadiqi (2014).

La sección 1.3 explora y define las principales teorías, enfoques fundamentales y conceptos utilizados a lo largo de esta disertación tales como la interseccionalidad, agencia, empoderamiento, resiliencia, identidad y vulnerabilidad. Por lo tanto, el identificar estas palabras clave nos ayuda a comprender toda la tesis.

Por último, *La sección 1.4* de este capítulo establece claramente las hipótesis relevantes para el problema que se investiga en esta tesis. *La sección 1.5* proporciona la traducción de las hipótesis al español.

Capítulo 2: Estado del arte I: Antecedentes históricos y sociales del pueblo amazigh en Marruecos

Este capítulo está organizado en dos partes. *La sección 2.1* de este capítulo explica los antecedentes históricos generales del pueblo indígena amazigh en Marruecos y el norte de África. También explora el período colonial del protectorado francés del país (1912-1956) y las secuelas de la construcción del reino moderno junto con las políticas de arabización. El capítulo revela las consecuencias de las políticas y teorías de arabización al ser implementadas, lo que lleva a la marginación de la comunidad amazigh en Marruecos en términos de idioma e identidad. Como respuesta surge el movimiento cultural amazigh (MCA) y consecuentemente se desarrolla como movimiento político cuyos discursos abogan por las necesidades y los derechos del pueblo amazigh en Marruecos.

La sección 2.2 trata sobre los movimientos sociales y su papel en el cambio que contribuye a la justicia social. Aborda el Movimiento 20 de febrero de 2011 (F20M) y su impacto para reformar la constitución de 2011. En esta sección se ofrece un panorama general de las reformas de la Moudawana (Código de Derecho de Familia) de 2004. A pesar de las mejoras realizadas hasta la fecha, esta sección también describe algunas de sus limitaciones y cómo el sistema patriarcal y la falta de conciencia entre personas siguen siendo obstáculos significativos para el éxito de este código de familia. También llama la atención hacia la violencia contra las mujeres (VCM) y el estigma social que la rodea. Explica brevemente la implicación de Marruecos en la CEDAW y la protección de las mujeres frente a la VCM.

Capítulo 3: Estado del arte II: Mujeres amazigh y movimientos feministas en Marruecos

Este capítulo es una extensión del estado del arte. Se divide en tres secciones.

La sección 3.1 de este capítulo investiga y ofrece una visión general de las circunstancias de las mujeres amazigh a través de la literatura escrita. Desde la perspectiva de Galtung (1996) se describen diferentes adversidades que enfrentan las mujeres rurales amazigh en Marruecos a través de la ilustración de ejemplos de éstas en

diversos campos como la educación, el analfabetismo y la falta de instalaciones de salud en las zonas rurales.

La sección 3.2 arroja luz sobre los discursos feministas hegemónicos dentro de Marruecos (islámicos y seculares). Explica cada tendencia, su aparición y sus figuras principales. El movimiento feminista moderno tomó forma por primera vez como secular, originándose en la época colonial. Comenzó con Malika El Fassi y otros que abogaban por la educación. La rama pasó por tres etapas y se cruza con el feminismo islámico en varias de ellas. Especialmente en el período del PAN (Plan de Acción Nacional para la Integración de la Mujer en el Desarrollo) y el Moudwana, donde los islamistas fueron parte del debate con su visión opositora a esta reforma. Dentro del feminismo islámico en Marruecos hay tres tipos. El primero son las mujeres activistas islamistas dentro de la escena política explicadas a través del liderazgo de JC por Nadia Yassine, grupo MUR, y el liderazgo PJD por Bassima Hakkaoui. El segundo es autosuficiente, explicado a través de académicos independientes como Fatima Mernissi y Asma Lamrabet. El tercero es el discurso oficial del feminismo islámico basado en el estado que comenzó en 2006 con el programa *Murshidat* y *Alimat*.

La sección 3.3. trata sobre el surgimiento del feminismo amazigh en las protestas posteriores a la primavera árabe de 2011 que dieron legitimidad y visibilidad pública al pueblo amazigh junto con otros temas como la juventud, el activismo en las redes sociales y las libertades personales. Esta sección arroja luz sobre el concepto propuesto por Sadiqi (2014) de un *marco más amplio que el Islam*. Este concepto nos permite ver la gran ausencia de perspectivas amazigh en el movimiento feminista hegemónico en Marruecos y destaca la representación de las mujeres amazigh dentro de estas ramas feministas como *pasivas, analfabetas* y *necesitadas de ayuda,* descuidando su agencia y erudición que pueden enriquecer el feminismo en Marruecos.

Esta sección primero teoriza *las narrativas del feminismo amazigh* revisando la literatura de académicas como Fatima Sadiqi, Susan Schaefer Davis, Silvia Gagliardi y Cynthia Becker. Las publicaciones de estas autoras, entre otras, iniciaron la discusión sobre la falta de inclusión de las mujeres amazigh en el movimiento feminista en Marruecos y critican el movimiento feminista como un movimiento de élite urbana que no enfatiza las necesidades de raíz de las mujeres amazigh. Gagliardi analizó más a fondo el MCA (movimiento cultural amazigh) y concluyó que así como los movimientos feministas en Marruecos, el MCA también posee características elitistas y urbanas.

En segundo lugar, revisa el trabajo del activismo de las ONG de mujeres amazigh, por ejemplo el de la organización *la voz de las mujeres amazigh*, que no solo aboga por cambios en la ley, el idioma y la cultura, sino que se extiende a la organización de talleres en áreas rurales con hombres y mujeres. La sección también analiza la agencia visual simbólica histórica amazigh a través de tres figuras históricas: *Les Amazonnes, Dihya* y *Tanit.* Por lo tanto, una base conceptual para el feminismo amazigh se explica a este nivel observando la agencia histórica y simbólica de las mujeres amazigh en Marruecos, además del activismo de estas mujeres a través de sus ONG.

PARTE II: La segunda parte de esta tesis es la parte práctica dedicada al trabajo de campo y su metodología. Y contiene los capítulos cuatro, cinco y seis.

Capítulo 4: Marco de estrategias metodológicas

Este capítulo está organizado en cuatro partes. *La sección 4.1* de este capítulo aborda el Marco General de Estrategias Metodológicas, estableciendo el enfoque de investigación cualitativa y el paradigma sociocrítico como base para recopilar datos sobre las mujeres amazigh. Y también toma la etnografía como método para la investigación cualitativa.

La sección 4.2 está dedicada a las técnicas y herramientas de investigación etnográfica con el fin de garantizar la validez y calidad de la investigación. Adopté una estrategia de triangulación que combina múltiples fuentes tales como entrevistas semiestructuradas en profundidad, observaciones participantes, reflexividad de notas de campo y el uso de una herramienta valiosa como la fotografía. La combinación de todo lo mencionado es un intento de evitar el reduccionismo interpretativo y ampliar el marco general de comprensión tanto del objeto como de los sujetos de estudio. La combinación de lo anterior permite un espacio de investigación y reflexión sobre eventos que sucedieron durante el curso del trabajo de campo y la relación entre el investigador y las informantes.

La sección 4.3 trata sobre el diseño de la muestra, utilizando el muestreo no probabilístico, intencional y bola de nieve. Esta sección también establece la organización del muestreo, las tipologías de los perfiles de mujeres que trabajan en cooperativas o en ONG como grupo destinatario, o empresarias, o que trabajan en PGI privados no estructurados. Esta sección también cubre varios puntos relacionados con el proceso de recopilación de datos, como la elección de las informantes, la reunión con las informantes,

la confidencialidad, el anonimato, así como la organización de tiempo y contexto de las entrevistas en medio de una situación de pandemia de Covid-19.

Sección 4.4. se dedica al proceso de análisis de datos utilizando el programa Dedoose y es guiado por el análisis temático de Braun y Clarke (2006; 2013) que consta de seis pasos organizados de forma no lineal como la familiarización con los datos y la configuración de códigos (de forma deductiva e inductiva) que se desarrollarán posteriormente en categorías / temas exportados para construir matriz de Excel. La información es organizada temáticamente para el análisis y discusión del capítulo 6 y posteriormente para su interpretación en las conclusiones.

Capítulo 5: El sudeste de Marruecos: la tribu Ait Atta Amazigh

Este capítulo está organizado en tres partes. *La sección 5.1* presenta una visión introductoria sobre la región Drâa-Tafilalet / sudeste de Marruecos. Proporciona información sobre la demografía y ubicación geográfica, y analiza los desarrollos y estadísticas recientes y principales de la región. Su objetivo es mostrar el contexto geográfico de la región, los factores sociopolíticos y económicos que intervienen e influyen poderosamente en las formas, proyectos y oportunidades de vida, mentalidades y discursos de los sujetos de este estudio. Los datos estadísticos oficiales presentados en este capítulo se basan en el censo de 2014 y están disponibles en línea por Haut Commissariat Au Plan (2015).

La sección 5.2 proporciona información sobre el entorno rural y el sistema tribal. Así como también proporciona información sobre el grupo específico de este estudio, el de la tribu Ait Atta. También se da una visión general de la historia de la tribu y la cultura específica utilizando el trabajo de David Hart (1981).

La sección 5.3 trata sobre la ciudad específica donde realicé el trabajo de campo. La ubicación específica para este estudio es la ciudad de Alnif como el principal lugar etnográfico, además de la visita de campo a lugares como Saghro: Ikniouen, Ighrem Amazdar y Tazarine, Tinghir, Tilmi. Desafortunadamente, el acceso a las monografías de los pequeños pueblos y ciudades fue limitado dado el poco tiempo dedicado a estos pueblos. Aparte de la comuna de Alnif, que era la principal ubicación etnográfica, pude adquirir las monografías y presentar su información a lo largo de este capítulo.

Capítulo 6: Narrativas del feminismo amazigh: voces de las aspiraciones, la agencia y el empoderamiento de las mujeres amazigh.

Este capítulo representa datos primarios del trabajo de campo, análisis de la entrevista realizada, notas de campo, etnografía, así como fotografías recogidas capturadas durante el trabajo de campo. El análisis está organizado en categorías/temas que reflejan tanto los objetivos como la hipótesis de esta tesis. Este capítulo está dedicado a entrevistas, resultados y discusiones de resultados, cómo viven las mujeres amazigh la exclusión y sus luchas al mismo tiempo que son constructoras de paz a través de iniciativas de paz iniciadas a nivel local. Los temas generados a partir del estudio están organizados en grandes temas y subtemas.

Este capítulo está organizado en cinco partes. *La sección 6.1* está dedicada al análisis del tema vulnerabilidades y adversidades y está organizada en subtemas. El 6.1.1. se llama condiciones rurales y socioeconómicas, y en él abordo temas como la falta de acceso a la educación y la escuela que está lejos, lo que aumenta la posibilidad de abandono escolar para las niñas. También, el tema del acceso a la salud debido a la geografía aislada de las zonas rurales y de montaña de la región Drâa-Tafilalet, pues sufren de falta de centros de salud adecuados y falta de médicos. Además, esta sección habla sobre como la dureza de la vida, los climas y la falta de agua conduce a las emigraciones. La subsección 6.1.2 sobre género y parentesco examina las adversidades relacionadas con el género de las mujeres amazigh, como la presión social que se les aplica para que estén a la altura de sus roles esperados en la sociedad. Así mismo, investiga la estructura patriarcal de la sociedad desde la cual las mujeres amazigh enfrentan violencia cultural y vergüenza si no cumplen con las expectativas de la sociedad de ser una *buena mujer*. También aborda el matrimonio de menores de edad, que ocurre cuando las niñas abandonan la escuela, y la perspectiva de las informantes sobre los derechos de la mujer. Por último, los esfuerzos que hacen las mujeres amazigh para preservar su identidad cultural se examinan con respecto al hecho de que estos esfuerzos mantienen inadvertidamente los sistemas patriarcales que vienen con esta cultura.

La subsección 6.1.3. sobre lenguaje Amazigh, cultura e identidad, analiza cómo las mujeres amazigh enfrentan marginación y adversidades en sus vidas cuando acceden a servicios públicos como servicios de salud, instituciones educativas y el sistema judicial. A pesar de los recientes esfuerzos del gobierno marroquí para proteger los derechos amazigh a través de la ley No. 26-16 que tiene como objetivo integrar al tamazight en todos los aspectos de la sociedad, el proceso de implementación es lento y,

en la periferia, la lengua y la cultura amazigh se enfrentan a la marginación. La persistente falta de financiación y la falta de profundidad en las iniciativas destinadas a aplicar estas leyes sobre el terreno, hacen que muchos proyectos sean ineficaces o carezcan de alcance debido a los limitados recursos de que disponen. Además de los problemas económicos y lingüísticos, debido al estigma en torno a no hablar árabe, contra el amazigh y la población rural en general, las mujeres amazigh todavía enfrentan mucha discriminación a nivel social por parte de sus pares de habla árabe. La subsección 6.1.4. sobre el impacto de Covid-19 en las mujeres amazigh, analiza las adversidades que enfrentaron durante el período de la pandemia de covid-19 al observar los testimonios de informantes sobre este tema. Se observó un aumento en la violencia doméstica causado por el aumento de las expectativas puestas en las mujeres para cuidar aún más del hogar durante la pandemia, así como por las personas que experimentan más estrés en diferentes áreas, como la atención médica y las finanzas, lo que causa más incertidumbres para las familias y tensa las relaciones. A parte de esto, mis informantes expresaron desafíos económicos relacionados con la incapacidad de comercializar y vender sus productos a medida que la vida pública se detuvo en medio de los cierres que se impusieron durante Covid-19. Para llegar a fin de mes y aún así ver continuidad en sus esfuerzos de empoderamiento económico, se necesitaban nuevas habilidades como el marketing en línea, idiomas como el árabe, el francés y el inglés, la fotografía y la narración de historias para el marketing a fin de llegar a un público más amplio fuera de las aldeas locales. La subsección 6.1.5 discute los cambios en las comunidades, la cultura y las tradiciones amazigh locales debido a la globalización, el capitalismo, la modernización y la islamización. Desde el abandono de algunas costumbres y tradiciones como el tatuaje tribal y la celebración de *Tlla aɣnja Tislit n w Anzar*: *La novia de la lluvia* debido a la vergüenza de los conservadores y los puntos de vista modernistas hasta el declive de otras tradiciones y costumbres como *Id Yennayer* (Año Nuevo Amazigh).

La sección 6.2 trata sobre *seeds of aspirations* (Semillas de Aspiraciones) y las razones detrás de las aspiraciones de estas mujeres. El motor detrás de la aspiración de las mujeres, según las informantes entrevistadas, está doblemente arraigado en las aspiraciones de educación para sus hijos y las aspiraciones personales en torno a sus PGI para ser financieramente capaces de cuidar de sí mismas y de sus familias.

La sección 6.3 trata sobre la resiliencia, el empoderamiento y la agencia a través de los PGI. La sección comienza destacando la importancia de que las mujeres apoyen a las mujeres y el empoderamiento colectivo entre las mismas para construir resiliencia

colectiva. La sección habla primero sobre los PGI autogestionados de las mujeres, observando el vínculo histórico de las mujeres amazigh con el arte desde su estilo de vida nómada hasta su estilo de vida sedentario actual. También analiza las artes y artesanías realizadas por mujeres utilizadas para representar y continuar los símbolos y tradiciones de la tribu y cómo gradualmente se convierten en una fuente de empoderamiento económico para las mujeres a través del tejido de alfombras, bordados, costura y más. Como el valor del aprendizaje colectivo y la resiliencia es común entre las mujeres amazigh, esta sección también investiga cómo las cooperativas como PGI colectivas fortalecen las aspiraciones, la resiliencia, la agencia y el empoderamiento de estas mujeres reconociendo estos proyectos de artes y oficios como un medio para la construcción de la paz. Además de las cooperativas de mujeres artesanales, también se expanden para agregar cooperativas de pan y cuscús.

La sección también habla de otro factor importante que es el papel que desempeña la promoción de las ONG en la lucha contra la violencia estructural y cultural. Mientras que las mujeres amazigh enfrentan diversas adversidades y algunas son abordadas por iniciativas de consolidación de la paz a nivel local a través de PGI, otras, como la falta de hospitales y carreteras pavimentadas, son problemas más estructurales que son atacados por las ONG, ya que requieren más recursos y colaboración para resolverlos. Esta sección destaca la importancia del trabajo de las ONG locales en diversos sectores, como la salud y el derecho, para abordar la violencia estructural y cultural. Se investiga su papel en el empoderamiento y la educación de las mujeres a través de talleres, campañas de sensibilización y trabajo social destinados a ayudar a las mujeres y las niñas a salir de la adversidad. La sección también profundizó en el papel de la participación política y el activismo de las mujeres amazigh. Se destacan las experiencias de la informante 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader como ejemplo de la importancia de la participación política de las mujeres para poder cambiar el sistema desde dentro y abordar la violencia estructural desde el nivel político.

La sección 6.4 trata de las manifestaciones de la cultura de paz en la vida cotidiana y comunitaria de las mujeres amazigh. La sección analiza el concepto de *Tiwiza* (generosidad solidaria colectiva, cuidado y empatía) que guía a la comunidad rural amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos. Este concepto se manifiesta en la vida comunitaria, por ejemplo, en tiempos de conflicto donde los mediadores comunitarios facilitan la resolución de conflictos y la reconciliación entre las partes involucradas. Adicionalmente en el espíritu de *Tiwiza* dentro de la comunidad se organizan proyectos colectivos que se

basan en compartir recursos para el bien común. Además de esto, *Tiwiza* guía a la comunidad para abordar la violencia estructural que enfrentan las mujeres y facilitar los esfuerzos de consolidación de la paz que promueven una cultura de paz.

Sección 6.5. abarca las expresiones de empoderamiento de las mujeres desde el nivel de base que contribuyen a enriquecer el feminismo en Marruecos. Dentro de esta sección, los esfuerzos de las mujeres amazigh hacia el autoempoderamiento y sus contribuciones para enriquecer el feminismo dentro de Marruecos se discuten a la luz de sus PGI, cooperativas, trabajo en ONG y participación política.

Finalmente, las **Conclusiones Generales** están dedicadas a resumir la investigación de tesis que he emprendido. Describen todos los puntos importantes que he expresado en esta investigación y exponen ciertas conclusiones sobre los principales puntos de conversación. Responden a las preguntas e hipótesis y además, expresan el trabajo futuro que se llevaría a cabo para ampliar la investigación en otras direcciones posibles.

PART I

Que nosotros los pacifistas somos los realistas (Martínez Guzmán 2005a, 17).

[That we pacifists are realists] translation mine.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical framework as foundations upon which this thesis will be built towards a transdisciplinary field of peace research and specifically its intersection with gender and feminist studies.

Section 1.1 introduces a conceptual overview of peace studies since its emergence starting from negative peace *versus* direct violence, to positive peace *versus* structural violence and finally culture of peace *versus* cultural violence (Galtung 1996; 1967). Moving to what Martínez Guzmán (2001; 2005a; 2009) proposes, an epistemological turn from the study of violence to the study of peace as a subject worthy of study. With this vision, peace research takes a hybrid line of investigation, what Comins Mingol (2018a; 2018b; 2015) call critical and constructive lines. The latter, within this dissertation, is used with respect to imperfect peace (Muñoz 2001; 2004) and mutual recognition (Honneth 1995) to make visible the experiences of women as peacebuilders.

Section 1.2 introduces the concept of gender as a social construct. In addition to exploring the integration of the gender perspective in peace studies, which was incorporated in 1980 (Martínez Guzmán 2001; Comins Mingol 2018a; 2009), it further stresses the need of the epistemological turn that both lines of peace studies (critical and constructive) are able to investigate a given topic without falling into contributing to the naturalization of women as victims. Furthermore, this section also explores decolonial feminism to shed light on feminist initiatives from and at the grassroots level. The section also reviews some works of Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2018; 2007) regarding decoloniality of knowledge. In addition, the concept of *A Larger Than Islam Framework* by Fatima Sadiqi (2014) is explored. Choosing to focus on these scopes is suitable to the topic of this dissertation regarding Amazigh women in Morocco, examining their daily struggles and adversity to their aspirations and empowerment.

Section 1.3 is dedicated to major theories, terminology and approaches used in the dissertation such as: intersectionality, agency, resilience, empowerment, identity, and vulnerability. Defining these keywords will help us understand the thesis as a whole.

Section 1.4 explores hypotheses relevant to the topic of this dissertation. And finally, *Section 1.5* expresses hypotheses in Spanish.

1.1. Peace Studies as Transdisciplinary Field[9]

Following a conceptual literature review method which categorizes and describes relevant concepts in the field of peace studies in intersection with gender, this chapter aims to provide a simple outline of peace studies' developments.

1.1.1. Peace studies: A General Overview

Peace research in the west was established as a discipline roughly in the middle of the 20th century and has its origin in the reaction to World War I & II, a time in which violence reached its highest levels due to the mobilization of war resources and the destruction it left (Muñoz and Rodríguez Alcázar 2004; Correa Vanegas 2017). These wars generated a strong emotional and intellectual impact that fostered the longing for peace in different academic groups, which created awareness of the need to react with intellectual resources to counter such brutal events. This phenomenon, together with the progress of social sciences in the 19th and 20th centuries, favored the emergence of scientists and researchers who believed it necessary to address such problems within the framework of a specialized discipline (Martínez Guzmán and Muñoz 2004, 595-596).

> Se produjo una fuerte convulsión en la conciencia de los políticos, religiosos, pensadores y población en general que se hicieron conscientes de que las 'buenas' intenciones no eran suficientes para conseguir un mundo más justo y pacífico. Efectivamente, la mayor parte de las personas no querían la guerra y, sin embargo, ésta se producía una y otra vez. Era necesario, pues, utilizar todos los recursos disponibles para que la guerra no se repitiera. En el ámbito intelectual, la reacción consistió en desarrollar una *teoría de la paz* profunda y coherente que optimizara todos los recursos disponibles y trabajara por avanzar en su desarrollo. De ese modo nació la investigación para la paz (Muñoz and Rodríguez Alcázar 2004, 1).[10]

Peace studies addresses topics as diverse as war, the effects of political, cultural and social violence, poverty, social justice, gender, environment, development, education,

---

[10] Translation mine: [In the consciousness of politicians, the religious, thinkers and the general population who became aware that 'good' intentions were not enough to achieve a more just and peaceful world. Indeed, most of the people did not want war, and yet it happened over and over again. It was therefore necessary to use all available resources so that the war would not be repeated. In the intellectual realm, the reaction consisted in developing a theory of peace which is deep and coherent that will optimize all the available resources and will work to advance in its development. Thus, Research for Peace was born].

democracy, theory of international relations, social recognition of human rights and guidance to achieve peaceful conflict resolutions (Webel and Johansen 2012, 24). In addition, these authors maintain that "peace studies investigates the reasons for and outcomes of large- and small-scale conflicts as well as the preconditions for peace" (Webel and Johansen 2012, 24).

Peace research has been a transdisciplinary field since its appearance up to the present day that incorporates and addresses such topics and puts it in dialogue with other disciplines and fields of study to enrich its impact find nuances, alternatives, deficiencies, or excesses (Martínez Guzmán 2005b, 78). For instance, it draws from philosophy, history, anthropology, sociology, pedagogy, psychology, and economics. In a world in which we face new challenges it contributes, as stated by Comins Mingol and Muñoz (2013), to changes in mentalities and knowledge strategies enabling peace to become one of the fundamental axes of reflection.

Peace scholars notice evolutions in peace agendas, which goes from an investigation focused on violence to one more focused on alternatives of peace. Researchers identify and set three ongoing waves/stages of peace studies that appeared accordingly corresponding to three different ways of understanding and addressing violence and peace as follows.[11]

1.1.1.1. Stage I: Negative Peace vs Direct Violence.

The first stage of peace studies is heavily characterized by its focus on violence, the scientific study of war and a conception of peace as "negative peace". According to Galtung (1967, 12; 1969, 168) peace is defined by absence of its negative thus absence of war/direct violence, of active, organized collective violence or military violence that may occur "between major human groups, particularly nations, but also between classes and between racial and ethnic groups because of the magnitude internal wars can have" (Galtung 1967, 12). This is referred to as peace as a negative peace. This meaning is represented by the Latin word *pax* meaning the absence of overt organized violence, typically a condition of non-resistance (Barash and Webel 2009, 7).

---

[11] Peace studies in its development passed three stages throughout different periods of time: the first stage 1930-1969 (negative peace *versus* direct violence), the second stage 1959-1990 (positive peace *versus* structural violence), and the third stage from 1990 to present time (a culture of peace *versus* cultural violence).

At the beginning, these war studies were known as polemology, a term etymologically derived from the Greek *pollemos* that mean *war against foreigners* (Martínez Guzmán 2001, 63). Therefore, the study of violence was prioritized to tend to "focus on the histories of war, their causes, and their resolution" (Haessly 2009, 4) as well as "on the factors leading to victory or defeat in conflicts waged principally by violent means and to increased or decreased 'security' of one or more but not all parties involved" (Webel and Johansen 2012, 24).

For Galtung (1996) in order to know what peace is, we need to know and explain what violence is. His approach is by beginning to identify and labeling the three types of violence that are present in our societies as in the figure below. At this Stage (I) the urgency focus was on direct violence because it was visible especially as this stage appearing between World Wars I & II. The impact of such horrors, suffering and destructive events left people traumatized and in shock (Jiménez Bautista 2018; Harris 2006). This led the first groups of scientists such as Sorokin, Richardson and Wright who believed it was necessary to tackle these problems with the utmost rigour and with the intellectual resources available to the search for alternatives to the paradigm of political realism and the so-called just war, the dominant idea until then (Correa Vanegas 2017, 70-72).[12] Thus, the urgency of addressing it with negative peace (to stop wars and aggression) was a priority.

Figure 1: Galtung's Triangle of Violence
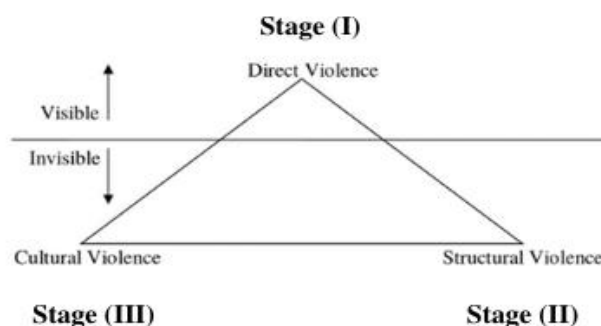
Source: Figure adapted from Galtung (1990, 295).

---

[12] According to Correa Vanegas (2017, 71-72) the work of Sorokin, Richardson and Wright, considered to be the founders of peace research, is complemented by the contributions of other authors who, although they did not have the influence and recognition of these authors, also made valuable contributions.

Galtung sees violence as about preventing human beings from achieving their physical and mental potential. His framework comprehends violence as needless degradation of basic human needs such as survival, well-being, identity, and freedom needs (Galtung 1990, 292).

Thus, direct violence, to Galtung represents actions that reduce the ability for basic human needs to be met or that threaten life such as physical or verbal aggression, sexual assault, and emotional manipulation. Jiménez Bautista (2018, 136) denotes that today peace studies are well advanced from the time period in which the first stage was conceived and therefore negative peace must include the absence of ill-treatment, rape, child abuse, and street killings as direct non-organized violence.

1.1.1.2. Stage II: Positive Peace vs Structural Violence

The understanding of peace as negative was increasingly challenged by peace workers and peace movements claiming peace is not merely the absence of war or violence, but rather peace is the elimination of all aspects of injustices, domination, subjugation, exclusion, oppression and all types of human suffering (Harris 2006; Jiménez Bautista 2018; Haessly, 2009). This explains the emergence of stage II of peace studies in 1959 at the Oslo Peace Research Institute by peace scholar Johan Galtung. This was the beginning of peace research in the strict sense (Correa Vanegas 2017, 76). Peace as not only absence of war but rather what Galtung (1967, 12) for the first time coined and proposed to expand the conception of peace with the notion of "positive peace" to encounter the social injustices, inequalities and unsatisfaction of basic human needs he phrased as structural violence.

Galtung (1967, 12) refers to positive peace as "synonyms for all the other good things in the world community particularly cooperation and integration between human groups with less emphasis on the absence of violence". This concept is the lack of structural violence, so it "would exclude major violence but tolerate occasional violence" (1967, 12). Hereby, meaning that peace would be "widespread in underprivileged groups, groups that are less status quo oriented" (1967, 12).

According to Del Arenal:

> Su desarrollo [estudios de paz] tiene, pues, mucho que ver con la gravedad y magnitud de los problemas a que en la actualidad se enfrenta la humanidad, derivados no solo de la amenaza de guerra nuclear, sino igualmente del hambre, de la miseria, del subdesarrollo, de la opresión y de la degradación del medio humano, problemas todos ellos que reclaman respuestas y

soluciones urgentes, que difícilmente van a venir a corto plazo de los actuales gobernantes. De ahí, el sentido crítico y alternativo con que la investigación para la paz enfrenta el problema de la paz (Correa Vanegas 2017, 76).[13]

Peace at stage (II) is understood not only to be the absence of war, but also refers to the existence of conditions of justice and development necessary to optimize the realization of basic human needs to counter structural violence (Martínez Guzmán, Comins Mingol and París Albert 2009). According to Galtung, as violence stems from social and economic inequities, the ideas of peace and violence must be incorporated within the general framework of the socio-economic process. Structural violence derives from the fabric of the system itself and in this case means that if there is injustice and dissatisfaction of basic human needs by some human beings, there will be no peace even if there is no direct aggression (Galtung 1996). Structural violence is based on inequality of power and consequently on inequality of opportunities and can be summed up as being social injustice (Correa Vanegas 2017, 78).

Among the important elements of Stage (II) is the identification of negative peace as substitute of direct violence, and positive peace as substitute of structural violence granting peace workers a more positive focus point. This in turn allowed for the consideration of peaceful cooperation between dissimilar people, groups or countries (Martínez Guzmán 2005a, 50). To Correa Vanegas (2017,79) positive peace implies not only the control and reduction of direct and structural violence, but also giving insight into how structural violence comes to be, and how to overcome it to realize social justice. Hence, Galtung posits the notion of positive peace as "the integration of human society". This correlation between positive peace and the creation of the concept of violence with the distinction between direct and structural violence led to an enumeration of the concept of "positive peace as the absence of structural violence". Thus, the task of peace worker at stage (II) is construction of social justice such as equal distribution of resources and equal participation in decision-making about this distribution. In addition, the task also addresses development in terms of integration and cooperation, so that all human beings can satisfy their most basic needs.

---

[13] Translation mine [Its development [peace studies] has, therefore, much to do with the gravity and magnitude of the problems that humanity is currently facing, arising not only from the threat of nuclear war, but also from hunger, poverty, underdevelopment, oppression and the degradation of the human environment, all problems that require urgent answers and solutions, which are unlikely to come in the short term from the current rulers. Hence, the critical and alternative sense with which peace research faces the problem of peace].

1.1.1.3. Stage III: Culture of Peace vs Cultural Violence

From the 1990s to present day, the concept of a culture of peace as a substitute to cultural violence was coined as a third tenet, moving peace studies into its third stage (Galtung 1990). Cultural violence is represented in cultural symbolic aspects, "those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence-exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics)-that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence" (Galtung 1990, 291).

Cultural violence acts as an octopus and each of its tentacles is working wholly to maintain structural values. Through cultural violence that legitimizes and is normalized by the media, structural violence gains power to minoritize and disenfranchise the unprivileged.[14] Cultural violence is maintained hierarchically, allowing men to be in positions of power (Eltahawy 2019).

Cultural violence holds intact the structural violence, patriarchy and most of the time is justified and legitimized by words like *it's our culture, it's what our ancestors left us*. It has strong mechanisms sometimes supported by patriarchal interpretations of religion indicating how subjects, especially women, must be controlled under certain codes of honor and shame. Such violence is veiled under many layers and traditions and customs that can be sensitive or taboo to touch or talk about out of the fear one would be rejected by the community or society one lives in. Therefore, Galtung (1990, 291) warns that, researchers must be aware of cultural violence manifested for instances as symbols, traditions, metaphors, discourses, representations that legitimizes direct and structural violence. Thus, as Paulo Freire (1970) highlights, oppressed people must be aware of the situations of injustice and violence to promote action, in order to overcome and transform them. Freire puts the emphasis that in order for development to take place, only if it is accompanied by an awareness on the part of the interested parties regarding their potentials and their rights, and through an active participation in the decisions and actions that affect their lives.

Galtung (1996) at this stage suggests focusing on the transformation of conflict with empathy and creativity without violence which will endeavour to a solid solidarity/ harmony relationship among people and ultimately emerge a culture of peace. According to Muñoz and Molina Rueda (2010, 44 - 45), the idea of a culture of peace is based on the need for a culture with capacity to guide and implement a more peaceful world. At

---

[14] This concept/metaphor is inspired from Mona Eltahawy (2019)'s octopus of oppression.

the same time, it is promoted as a means of managing conflict, and particularly as an antidote to conflict and violence. This work delves into the meanings of the culture of peace, understood like all those actions that promote the greatest possible balance.

In accordance with Muñoz and Molina Rueda (2010, 44-45), culture of peace is an idea that can be understood with some ease thanks to the collective imaginaries on which it relies and the need for a culture with capacity to guide and implement a more peaceful world. The authors believe that is so because a large portion of human beings practice and are immersed in social dynamics with extensive content of peace. They add that this is also because most of the history of humanity has been led by peace, by the culture of peace. Besides, culture of peace to Jimenez Bautista (2018, 140) is not a punctual event, situated on the positive or negative side. Hence, once the triangle of violence (direct, structural, and cultural) is closed and the triangle of peace (direct, structural and cultural) is opened, everything is centered on the conflict, which we consider neutral, thus consolidating the peace conflict-violence relationship.

The culture of peace as an antidote to violence is quickly accepted, because as Elise Boulding states (2000, 1) it "is a culture that promotes peaceable diversity. Such a culture includes lifestyles, patterns of belief, values, behaviour, and accompanying institutional arrangement that promote mutual caring". More than that as she adds, a culture of "equality that includes appreciation of difference, stewardship, and equitable sharing of earth's resources among its members and with all living beings". Boulding maintains that "peaceableness is an action concept, involving a constant shaping and reshaping of understandings, situations, and behaviors in a constantly changing lifeworld, to sustain well-being for all" (2000, 1).

The third stage of peace studies is considered the optimal way of peacebuilding, rejecting all forms of violence, and committing to prevention of conflict at its root. Dialogue and negotiation are at its core which are combined with resolution of cultural violence. Martínez Guzmán (2005a, 2001) and Jiménez Bautista (2018) put great emphasis on the importance of culture of peace in conflict transformation using new means of education and communication for peace.

This stage (III) also notices the UNESCO being in charge of promoting the study and dissemination of the culture of peace as a way of life. Not only as a concept, but as an option to do things in such a way that its results can be translated as the experience of a positive peace. As the UNESCO preamble states that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed". To Beltrán

Zambrano (2019, 159-160) when we speak of a culture of peace, we speak of the act of peace in all settings where culture develops, to as a patrimony of educators, peacemakers, researchers, or peace collectives. It is a heritage of humanity and therefore that culture of peace must be reflected in all these areas.

Using these three lenses of diagnosis of violence will guide our understanding of Amazigh women's hardships, struggles and adversities. On one side I summarize in chapter three various hardships as being related to marginalization and exclusion of Tamazight language, culture, and identity from public spaces until relatively recently in 2011 when reforms to the constitution were made which included Tamazight as one of the official languages (Laghssais 2021). On the other side these lenses also guided the field work study findings that are analyzed in chapter six regarding voices of Amazigh women from the grassroot level.

1.1.2. Peace Studies: An Epistemological Turn

Comins Mingol (2018a, 46) explains that peace as an object of study has suffered an epistemological invisibility both in philosophy and in the different sciences including research for peace which only has recently incorporated the explicit study of peace and those elements that would contribute to the construction of a culture for peace. Comins Mingol affirming that philosophy, the humanities, and natural sciences have experienced a seduction by the study of violence and war as a human phenomenon, leaving peace and nonviolence out of the analysis.

Comins Mingol (2018a, 46) illustrates a few examples of disciplines like history that have given priority to the study of violence such as battles, wars, and conquests over the study of peace as in agreements, negotiations, mediation, and coexistence even though the latter are more common and numerous. Also, in the fields of anthropology, psychology, and sociology, there is also a systematic deviation that turns violence and war into an object or a subject worthy of study, but not peace. This is what Francisco Muñoz (2001, 24) describes as cognitive dissonance. As humans we value, desire, seek and pursue peace, however, we think of it in terms of violence. Hence, to Comins Mingol (2018a, 46) peace research has not escaped this cognitive dissonance in fact it suffers from it because the majority of teaching, research and publications on the topic, use the old peace research agenda that focuses on different forms of warfare and violence often ignoring peace as the actual object worthy of study.

The focus on violence within media and science and the invisibility of peace provides only a filtered view into the full spectrum of life, and has impact on social change, understanding generated about humans as well as politics and security. Media and science which have a role in analysis, study, and representation of this inadvertently play a part in maintaining this imbalance (Comins Mingol and París Albert 2020).

Peace research continues to be identified by its polemology approach however with the common objective of reducing human and natural suffering. From the UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace at Jaume I University, the philosopher Vicent Martínez Guzmán (2001) suggests to transform the ways in which we to understand and approach peace, approaching it not from the denial of violence but from the normative reconstruction of our competencies and capacities to make peace.[15]

Martínez Guzmán (2000; 2001; 2005a) proposed an epistemological turn with which he seeks to scientifically and philosophically base Research for Peace, and at the same time subvert the current scientific paradigm, looking for new ways of understanding and approaching reality. Peace research must be approached from two distinct perspectives, one critical and the other constructive. With two general objectives as indicated by Martínez Guzmán, Comins Mingol and París Albert (2009, 95): objective one, to carry out a diagnostic analysis of the society, to make visible and denounce the different types of violence (direct, structural and cultural) that suffered by human beings and nature; objective two, overcoming the violence by building positive alternatives for transformation by peaceful means.

As stated in Comins Mingol and París Albert (2012, 6) the epistemological turn involves ceasing to understand science as objective to being understood as an interaction between people. Besides approaching the knowledge of peace from peace and understanding violence as its negation, the turn also refers to our ways of knowing and understanding science and knowledge. These authors agree that a key element in this turn lies in the shift from objectivity to intersubjectivity which in turn involves changing from an observing perspective to a participatory and performative perspective.

---

[15] The UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace at the University of Jaume I was initiated by Martínez Guzmán together with a group of researchers which has been working on peace for more than two decades. This research group focuses on the construction and maintenance of cultures to make peace and addresses topics such as communication for peace, gender and peace, ethics of care, peace education, and peaceful transformation of conflicts.

1.1.2.1. Dimensions of Peace Studies: Critical line and Constructive line

Following the proposed epistemological turn which asserts the necessity and urgency to broaden horizons of peace research, it recommends two hybrid dimensions to peace studies: one, critical standpoint as an important line of work for diagnostic analysis of conflicts (despite its remaining the dominant line of peace studies). The second is the irenology standpoint identifies as a peace perspective and focuses on studying peace.

- *Critical line*

According to Martínez Guzmán, Comins Mingol and París Albert (2009, 95-99) the first dimension of research for peace starts from the diagnostic analysis of the different types of violence (direct, structural, cultural or symbolic) suffered by both human beings and nature, in order to make them visible and denounce them. Critical line brings together the work carried out during the Stage (I) of Peace Research, which aims to analyze the causes of war in order to raise awareness of conflict phenomena and contribute to their prevention, in short, as contrasting to the classic proverb that states *if you want peace, prepare for war,* polemology would pose the alternative as *if you want peace, know about war* (Correa Vanegas 2017, 96).

This is a very important and necessary dimension because we cannot intend to peacefully transform conflicts or situations of violence if we do not recognize, understand, make visible and denounce them (Comins Mingol 2018b, 153; Comins Mingol and París Albert 2020, 3). By not reflecting critically on the violence integrated into our society and lives, we risk not gaining adequate awareness of those who suffer and society in general. By being critical, we can shed light on injustices and violence, and denounce them consciously instead of passively accepting them as part of our lives, impacting our behavior and wellbeing negatively in the process.

Within the scope of this dissertation, Amazigh women in Morocco have traditionally suffered structural and cultural violence manifested as marginalization and adversity as lack of health care, education, language, and identity struggle for recognition (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a).

Even though the first critical perspective is hegemonic and a central line of peace studies, researchers of peace should not remain anchored in it. Comins Mingol (2018a, 47) informs that if researchers of peace do not overcome and go beyond the classic critical line, that two risks are expected: One being the naturalization of violence due to the

reductionist representation and bias which exists towards the negative side of life's complexity. The second risk is contribution to the construction of a collective imagery of fear and impotence. That is why the second dimension of research for peace takes on special urgency and relevance, as expressed by Martínez Guzmán, Comins Mingol and París Albert (2009, 95) we cannot limit ourselves to studying and describing how bad everything is, we must make an epistemological investment and focus our energies, and research on proposing alternative options to be able to make peace(s).

- *Constructive line (Irenology)*

The second dimension takes a peace perspective as core and focuses on peace and in the construction of alternatives that promote a peaceful transformation of conflicts, injustices, and violence (Comins Mingol 2018a, 47). The second dimension is called irenology which is etymologically derived from the ancient Greek "Eirene" or *ειρήνη* "Irene" *eirenē*, which means "the goddess of peace" (Czupryński 2021, 59). According to Webel and Johansen (2012, 24) this dimension "focuses on the analysis and prevention, de-escalation and solution of conflicts by primarily peaceful, or nonviolent means, thereby seeking victory for all parties involved in the conflict, rather than a winner take all outcomes".

The irenology dimension of study pursuant to Comins Mingol and París-Albert (2020, 3) is to study and analyse, diagnose, visualize and rebuild our competences for peace making. It reconstructs and makes visible the human competencies to make peace, while creatively seeking peaceful ways of relating to each other and to nature, as well as proposing alternatives from which to build new futures. In this sense to Martínez Guzmán (2001, 112-113) the irenology dimension blooms from the idea that people have intuitions, feelings, hunches, traditions, images and stories about what a peaceful coexistence would be. People have a wide range of capacities or competencies, and among them is the power to organize our coexistence in a peaceful way.

The irenology standpoint is characterized by being a space for reflection in which a wide range of themes are involved, always with the guiding thread of a strong normative concern for peace. It does not claim to be a science with a specific methodology, but rather a grouping of all the scholars, researchers, and currents that study peace with a strongly normative content, which corresponds to stage (III) of peace research (Correa Vanegas 2017, 96). Some of the topics of reflection and characteristic of irenology would be peace education, human rights, the peace movement, the discourse on the culture of

peace and globalism. Perhaps the saying that best defines irenology would be *If you want peace, know about war and conflicts, and prepare, build and live a world of peace* (Correa Vanegas 2017, 96).

Czupryński (2021, 59) states that "the cognitive scope of irenology concerns structural violence" which according to this author is "related to the violation of human rights, improper organization of social life, authoritarian or hybrid systems, flawed democratic system, social exploitation, civilization backwardness, and other reasons". To him, irenology focuses on peace as an engine towards new bright horizons. Therefore, it commits to the moral responsibility to make visible and uphold the existing peace, and to rescue and value the capacities, resources and experiences that allow us to propose creative alternatives for the construction of a culture of peace.

In this line of thought García González (2014, 4) says that we are obliged to be seekers of peace and to find directions towards which to go, rethinking the reality in front of us to investigate possible alternatives from an imagination of an ethical nature. To that Martínez Guzmán (2001, 211) approaches the *Philosophy for Peace* methodological proposal as a reconstruction of human competencies to make peace. Addressing peace with this hybrid approach will create balance between both lines of work, critical and constructive, in order to strengthen agency, capacity, and creativity and thus contribute to the positive change needed in the world. Thus, "peace [is] understood as an autotelic value and metaphor of 'normal' functioning of states and societies" (Czupryński 2021, 63).

Hence it is important for the scope of this dissertation about Amazigh women in Morocco to balance both approaches to peace the critical and constructive line and situate my theoretical frame in this direction. Using both lines of peace research, the critical line with lenses of Galtung's to see, diagnose, denounce and make visible structural and cultural violence in the struggles and adversities of Amazigh women in Morocco. Employing the constructive line, I emphasize and focus on human competencies to make peace. And peace is approached as a process that would harness experiences of lives of Amazigh women in constructing and reconstructing daily peace(s), with resilience and agency they are empowering themselves, and contributing to their wellbeing and that of their collective communities in doing so they are transforming their adversities by creative means.

1.1.2.2. Imperfect peace

> La paz imperfecta será la que siempre nos dejará tareas que hacer, la que no terminará nunca (Martínez Guzmán 2001, 227).[16]

Imperfect peace (Muñoz 2001, 42) blossomed within the irenology standpoint of peace studies. Imperfect peace continues with the plain idea to break the cognitive dissonance that dominates western perception of peace by approaching peace from its imperfection, understanding peace as imperfect, inconclusive, complex, perfectible; and not as a perfect, utopian, infallible, finished, distant and unattainable peace in the short term.[17] It is imperfect in the sense of *imperfective,* which grammatically refers to the verbal aspect that expresses a lasting, unfinished action.

To García González (2018, 12) even though imperfect peace tries to regulate controversies peacefully, it also coexists with conflicts and certain forms of violence. Peace thus understood becomes a process that we build, and we must build day by day among all people. Given that peace is not immobility, it does not have to do with inactivity or a static condition because building it implies a great effort of action and dynamism.

In the same vein, Carmen Magallón (2001, 138) says the new perspective of imperfect peace seeks to embrace the broad baggage of peace practices that have been developed by humans, from altruism, love and compassion to international treaties. In this way, bringing the concept closer to what we really do, it opens the way to the hope that peace, on a daily basis, has more opportunities and is more achievable than it seems to us. It is important according to Magallón to focus on valuing what we already have but in an invisible mode (what also is referred to in anthropology as the *veil to familiarity*). Peace as imperfect is an adjustment or interpretation of what there is, compared to peace as a guide or utopia that points the way (Magallón 2001, 139).

Confronting this *veil to familiarity* concept, peace, according to Muñoz (2001, 42-43) is to be reflected on carefully. It can be seen in instances that peace flourishes in our lives. It can be observed when humans succeed in transforming conflicts peacefully when the basic needs of others are satisfied and when the maximum possible peace is built within a given circumstance. Muñoz (2001) warns us of negative connotations when

---

[16] Translation mine [The advantage of imperfection is that we will never be totally in peace nor absolutely fair, we can always ask more from ourselves].

[17] Francisco Muñoz, together with researchers from the Institute of Peace and Conflicts at University of Granada, have worked on the idea of imperfect peace to define, identify and enhance the real, omnipresent, but unfinished processes of peace building.

using the term *imperfect*. To him it is not a question of denying a way of *doing*, of *not-doing*. It is, rather, a proposal to carry out in a sense of positive, purposeful transformation, of change towards a positive epistemology.

To Muñoz (2004, 898- 899) utilizing the concept of imperfection is not as a negation which can etymologically be understood as *unfinished*, *processual*. Rather he means it in its dynamic and procedural form from the root assumption of our weakness and fragility as humans. Muñoz urges us to consider peace as of all the steps we take in its direction without waiting for absolute or complete peace to be obtained. Following this path makes peace achievable, acceding to all people's realities regardless of their demographic, offering greater research options and facilitating a better promotion of ideas, values, and behaviors towards peace.

In concordance with Comins Mingol and París Albert (2020, 5) speaking of imperfect peace they stated that "adding the adjective imperfect means that speaking of peaceful intersubjective relationships does not imply speaking of absolute peace". They maintain that it "rather seems a diverse peace, which is noticed in human interactions, always dynamically". This departs from the notion that there is no perfect or absolute peace, because "historical examples show that when it has been expressed thus, what in reality has been done is to impose forms of understanding peace by some human beings into others" (Comins Mingol and París Albert 2020, 5).

Muñoz put forward that the idea of imperfection distances us from *objective* closedness, and it brings us closer to the *intersubjective*, open communication. It also helps us to accept our own fragility and our own imperfection as people. Human beings live in continuous conflict as a result of the diversity of individual and social options that are possible due to our capacities and social contexts. To these authors accepting our limitations in our imperfection can contribute to the understanding of our conflicts, as well as can help us to recognize our capacities to transform our realities. Accepting our fragility does not make us weaker, but rather stronger. It has been the historical acceptance of frailty that has led us to develop values such as cooperation and solidarity.

> Efectivamente frente a lo perfecto, lo acabado, al objetivo alcanzado, todo ello lejos de nuestra condición de humanos, comprendemos como procesos inacabados, inmersos en la incertidumbre de la complejidad del cosmos, la paz imperfecta nos 'humaniza', nos permite indentificarnos con nuestras propias condiciones de existencia y nos abre las posibilidades reales basadas en la realidad que vivimos– de pensamiento y acción (Muñoz 2001, 21 - 66).[18]

---

[18] Translation mine [Indeed, in the face of the perfect, the finished, the achieved objective, all of this far

Muñoz's concept of imperfect peace (2001; 2004) seeks first of all to recognize peace as a primal element, present in all human relations would be encouraged to recognize peaceful practices wherever they occur; by doing so other manifestations of peace would be promoted.

All in all, to Comins Mingol and París Albert, using such a notion of understanding peace as imperfect therefore a human condition *ongoing* p*rocess*, urges towards the epistemological-turn proposal. As it endeavours to acknowledge peace(s) related expressions as "the moments when in the history of relationships human beings have exercised their capability to live in peace, the various ways they express from diversity, cultures and beliefs" (2020, 2 – 5). The acknowledgement of many human peace(s) and in their imperfect sense "allows addressing the various ways for peace-making that will always be in the making, that will always be in movement" rather than a "single consideration of single absolute peace imposed by a group of humans onto others" (2020, 2).

In this respect, making visible and acknowledging other peace(s) and ways and cultures of making peace: that of the Amazigh women in Morocco, their daily life, capacity and resilience with which they continue to live their lives, practices they use to wave threads of peace in their communities. Such human competences and capabilities to build peace even as in their imperfect sense must be made visible, recognized, and valued as grassroot efforts to peace which grant the creativity to its regeneration.

1.1.2.3. Mutual Recognition

According to París Albert (2010) recognition comes etymologically from the Latin verb *cognōscĕre* meaning *to know*. The added *re-* prefix may see the word interpreted as *to find out again* or to get to know which was forgotten. París Albert goes further illustrating that "this act of getting to know again opens up the possibility of seeing the people we meet throughout our lives with new eyes, focusing on traits and aspects that we had more or less ignored earlier on" (París Albert 2010, 2). That according to her is "when we hope to receive the same recognition from the other person, becoming aware of what characteristics we have in common as human beings and what differentiates us"

---

from our human condition, we understand as unfinished processes, immersed in the uncertainty of the complexity of the cosmos, imperfect peace 'humanizes' us, allows us to identify ourselves with our own conditions of existence and opens us the real possibilities based on the reality that we live - of thought and action].

(París Albert 2010, 2). In addition, the term recognition can vary depending on its context and the underpinning philosophical theory. Paul Ricoeur in his book *The Course of Recognition* demonstrates and distinguishes that uses for this term might be ordered from active voice *recognize* to passive voice *be recognized* as if it were a process.

Mutual Recognition to París Albert (2010, 2) is "the one that most clearly demonstrates the necessary contact between people, so crucial in shaping our identity as human beings, the value of *intersubjectivity* in our personal and interpersonal fulfilment". Recognition as a subject worthy of study has been studied on from studies for peace perspective by a few "authors such as Bush and Folger […] who also relate it to revalorization or empowerment, and Lederach […], who mainly uses training to refer to empowerment" (Comins Mingol and París Albert 2020, 9).

This dissertation would like to explore the theory of recognition by Axel Honneth (1995), who belongs to a New Generation of the Frankfurt School that is broadly characterized by the consideration that modern societies exhibit a pathological deformation of rational human faculties caused by certain social practices. These social pathologies are the mis-developments, the disorder of a society that prevent the members of society to live a good life. Consequently, it is one of the motives that Honneth according to Comins Mingol and París Albert (2020, 9) is to ponder the social causes that produce the pathology of human rationality.

It is worth noting that the theory of recognition is not original to Honneth. It traces back itself to Hegel in his Jena-period writings that establish three forms of recognition: love, law and lifestyle. To Hegel every individual must experience these three forms of recognition to constitute themselves with full integrity (Honneth 1995). This laid the foundation for his magnum opus, Philosophy of Mind. However, according to Honneth, after the Jena period the theory was abandoned and no longer developed by Hegel nor anybody else. Axel Honneth according to París Albert (2009, 79) will retake this three-fold partition of mutual recognition from Hegel and indicate that every human being shall be reciprocally recognized in the three following ways to have full integrity.

In his philosophical approach to intersubjective recognition, Honneth (1995) informs that all types of violence direct, structural and cultural / symbolic, suppose the moral offense, the contempt and the lack of respect to human dignity. The core of the offenses is the denial of recognition. In the opposite direction, different types of moral offenses correspond, in a positive sense, to many other forms of recognition (Honneth 1995). These are specified in three alternatives to those offenses, taking into account that

"the forms of contempt must be distinguished by the criterion of what stages of intersubjectively achieved self-realization of a person occasionally injure or destroy" (Honneth 1995, 116).

Honneth (1995) identifies three kinds of social recognition which indicate that every human being shall be mutually recognized. Through each framework individual's formation of identity can be affirmed and protected as it implies a moral network of attitudes adopted to promote and secure the conditions of personal integrity:

First is recognition of our physical integrity equals recognition as love. This is the space where people form a web of social relationships free from domination because each perceives an interdependence with one another in the interaction. Thus, the meaning of love at this level is meeting the needs of the other. Honneth stated that love relationships relate to "primary relationships insofar as they on the model of friendships parent-child relationships as well as erotic relationships between lovers- are constituted by the strong emotional attachment among a small number of people" (Honneth 1995, 95). Thus, love in this instance represents a mutual understanding and recognition of each other's needs. This first recognition favors the development of self-confidence.

Second is the recognition of people as individuals that are part of a community which equates to having rights and obligations. This legal recognition stems from our cognitive aspect where personal autonomy is recognized. Due to their unique qualities, each individual is worthy of respect and their own personal freedom. This sort of recognition favors the development of self-respect, as it is defined by respect.

Third is the recognition of different lifestyles equivalent to solidarity. According to Honneth this refers to "interactive relationship in which subjects mutually sympathize with their various different ways of life because, among themselves, they esteem each other symmetrically" (Honneth 1995, 128). That is solidarity shared when individuals esteem each other because of their specific traits and abilities which results in a sense of honor that emerges. This is further translated into terms of dignity and integrity where it will create in the person a self-esteem because one sees their social relevance and contributes to their social life.

Thus, through these three types of social recognition, self-realization can be achieved which Honneth coins as identity formation. The following figure illustrates the relationships between the three types of social recognition and their path towards self-realization.

Figure 2: Forms of Recognition

The three forms of theory of Recognition (Honneth 1995)

Love   **Rights**   **Solidarity**

Emotional support.

Needs and emotions.

Cognitive respect
moral responsibility

Social esteem traits and
abilities

Self-confidence   **Self-respect**   **Self-esteem**

=

self-realization (identity formation)
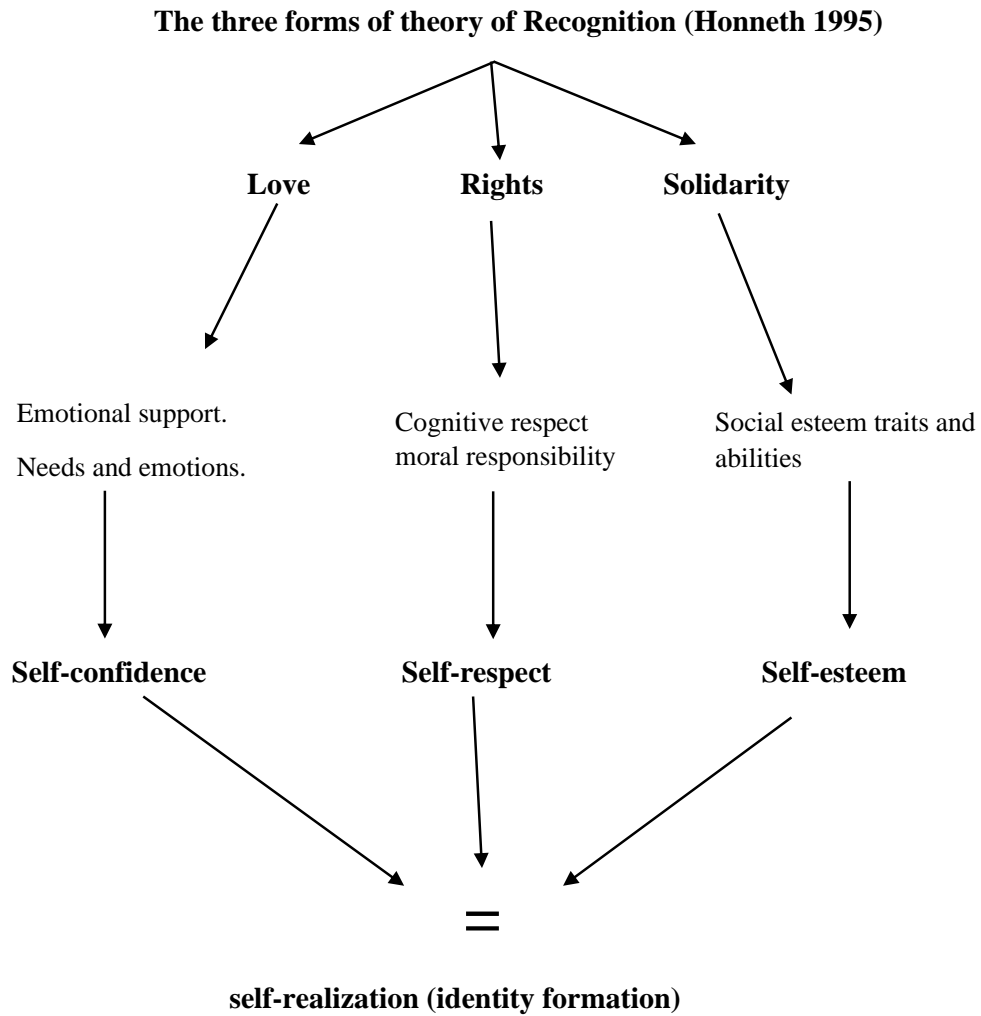
Source: Own elaboration based on Honneth's theory of recognition.

The denial of recognition to Honneth is disrespect. He states that "the experience of being disrespected carries with it the danger of an injury that can bring the identity of the person as a whole to the point of collapse" (Honneth 1995, 132). These forms of disrespect are defined as follows:

First is physical abuse. This is destructive to an individual's self-confidence and may lead to a "psychological death". Example: when a parent physically abuses the child, their self-confidence will be utterly destroyed from that love relationship (Honneth 1995, 132). Second is denigration, which is an attack on an individual's moral self-respect which results in "social death". Example: when a person is denigrated or deprived of their legal rights, they will lose their sense of moral self-respect because they are deprived from exercising their own freedom and rights (Honneth 1995, 133). Ultimately the third is degradation, this is an attack on an individual's social ideals and leaves "psychosocial scars". Example: When a person is humiliated socially it will leave them psychosocial scars where their traits and abilities are ignored (Honneth 1995, 134).

To Honneth the engine behind the social movement and protests seeking social justice is this struggle for mutual recognition. In this respect París Albert (2013, 4-5) sums up that "the absence of mutual recognition provokes indignation. A person may feel deeply indignant if he or she is not recognized or if she or he feels that other people are being degraded or treated with contempt". Therefore, París Albert following the footsteps of Honneth stresses the "emphasis on the value of mutual recognition for social justice is a pillar for the philosophical analysis of indignation" (París Albert 2013, 4-5).

Hence, to Honneth (1995) each of mentioned forms of disrespect assaults the three forms of social recognition (love, rights, and solidarity). Looking with lenses of Honneth will help see the struggle for recognition Amazigh women have traditionally faced. This dissertation is an attempt to acknowledge struggles of Amazigh women as well as focusing on the recognition of their skills of empowerment, agency and aspirations and resilience. The appraisal of these features as Honneth says enhance the social worth of an individual causing a sense of honour to emerge and allowing the person to enhance their self-esteem. This in turn enables one to see their social relevance and contributions. With the critical line we diagnose social pathologies linked to adversities of Amazigh women in Morocco and moving toward emphasis on the constructive line on how Amazigh women build their resilience to overcome these adversities.

1.2. Feminist and Gender Studies Lenses

This section presents some relevant theoretical postulates within gender and feminism studies in relation to peace studies as a framework. It starts with gender as a social concept and moves to the gender perspective in peace studies as was initiated during the 1980s, then shifts into focusing on decolonial feminism, Santos' Epistemologies of The South, and explores Sadiqi's *A Larger Than Islam Framework* as lenses that guides us throughout the dissertation.

1.2.1. Gender as a social concept

The term gender is broadly used by many academics, researchers and social movements to refer to distinct things. In this respect it is essential to stop here and explain the meaning gender carries in this dissertation regarding the topic of Amazigh women.[19] Gender as brought to light by Marta Lamas (2006) is a concept which bloomed during the 1970s thanks to various academics, to approach inequality between the sexes and to distinguish social and cultural influences of biology. The separation of gender and sex allowed for a distinction between the scientific and political perspectives. The first being able to comprehend and grasp social conditions and realities. The second confronting biological determinism highlighting socially constructed characteristics assigned to women instead of inborn by their sex.

As defined by Oxaal and Baden (1997, 3) "sex refers to the biological characteristics that categorise someone as either female or male" while according to these authors "gender refers to the socially determined ideas and practices of what it is to be female or male". According to Scott (1996, 270-272) the use of the term gender has taken many interpretations and symbolizations, and organizations of sexual differences in social relationships. Frequently, it is used as a synonym for women due to mainstream spreading of its use. Hence sometimes its usage aims to describe the study of matters concerning or associated to women and due to that moves more towards feminism.

The concept of gender as questioned in *The Gender Trouble* is by Judith Butler (2006) on whether people are assigned their gender at birth, or if it is performative based on the social values and norms. Butler puts forward that it is highly socially constructed and performative rather than being part of the nature beings act out. For example, the

---

[19] The study of the complexity of the concept of gender exceeds the scope and purpose of this research.

definitions of femininity and masculinity are socially constructed rather than inherent from within us.

Simone De Beauvoir (1956, 267) in her statement "one is not born a woman, but rather becomes one" started examining meanings and connotations to phrases of gender and femininity as being socially constructed and determining a social formula "set of rules" on how women should behave, be, do and act. Such rules are used to control women. Thus, to the author, people's thoughts and opinions are culturally and socially produced based on sets of beliefs. Therefore, femininity is not inborn but instead it is constructed and enforced via socialization through the community/society lived in that is heavily patriarchal based. The patriarchal system to De Beauvoir has treated women as secondary to men throughout history for various reasons. The author named among them patriarchal societies upbringing women to fulfill a male's needs so their entire existence as women is in relation to men. The author maintains that women seek external validation on self-worth, and self-realization as human beings remain linked to the outside social environment scale of manipulative pressures symbols as the good woman, good mother, good wife. As a consequence of such systems women had fewer legal rights, decisions making positions in history and minor public influence limiting women's opportunity to thrive.

De Beauvoir (1956) draws the comparison of girls to "being treated like doll" a *poupee* because from a young age boys and girls are brought up and socialized differently to perform their gender roles via the type of toys given to them. Boys are given toys such as soldiers, military cars that symbolize power and girls are given dolls as passive objects to dress up and make pretty. "The little girl will be led to identify her whole person and to regard this as an inert given object" (1956, 283). In the process "the little girl cuddles her doll and dresses her up as she dreams of being cuddled and dressed up herself; inversely, she thinks of herself as a marvelous doll" (1956, 283). The author maintains that by playing with a doll girls learn that "in order to be pleasing she must be 'pretty as a picture'; she tries to make herself look like a picture, she puts on fancy clothes, she studies herself in a mirror, she compares herself with princesses and fairies" (1956, 283). De Beauvoir informs in contrary to such an upbringing if a girl "were encouraged in it, she could display the same lively exuberance, the same curiosity, the same initiative, the same hardihood, as a boy. This does happen occasionally, when the girl is given a boyish bringing up" (1956, 285). Such cultural identity and set of rules have deep embedded roots into the subconscious of people, they learned repeating them throughout

generations. To break such chains and attain liberation, the author considered that women ought to recognize much of these 'social embedded norms' as constructions. By recognizing them they can start thriving beyond what society is set for women and be free.

1.2.2. Gender Perspective in Peace Studies

The gender perspective is another decisive force in shaping approaches to contemporaries of peace studies. To Martínez Guzmán (2001, 67) the incorporation of the gender perspective to peace studies in the year 1980 has undoubtedly been one of the milestones of the discipline and since then they have become a fundamental component, to the time that transversal that should not be ignored.

As explained by Chhabra (2006) it signifies "that various questions are analyzed and elucidated from the perspective of both women and men". Namely that the "analyses such as this must focus on the perspective of both genders, not just one of them". A key component of this viewpoint "is the question of the distribution of power between women and men". In addition, "to point out and taking action to rectify the uneven, gender-based distribution of power and influence in society". Currently, according to Comins Mingol (2018a, 52) a key struggle within peace studies, and society in general is the epistemological invisibility of women, and development of epistemologies which counter this in order to shed light on their contributions to history of philosophy, science and modern knowledge.

In corresponding to the two lines of research work for peace, which we have seen in the previous sections, we can remember two perspectives or lines of work in the approach of Gender in Peace Studies. It is necessary from a critical perspective to try to critically analyse to make visible and to denounce both the epistemological exclusion of women by Western thought, such as direct, structural violence and cultural violence that they are suffering. On the other hand, the constructive perspective arises "from the conviction that the experience of women in history is an essential legacy that has fed values of peace and nurturing life" (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 3). This line of investigation "focuses on reclaiming, reconstructing and making visible the legacy, the historically and socially constructed experiences of women". This allows enrichment and reflection upon "the classic paradigms of western androcentric thought, in matters as diverse as ethics, ecology, politics or economy development, politics, economics or epistemology" (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 3).

Hence, both lines of investigation as a hybrid line are not only fundamental but they are interdependent and are built in interaction. These two lines of investigations must be approached as hybrid as Laghssais and Comins Mingol (2021a, 3) states "in a synergetic and complementary way to avoid falling into a victimising and reductionist vision of women's experience, which can ignore its complexity and hide, for example, women's considerable contributions to peace, human development and the sustainability of life" This avoids contributing to the naturalization of women as victims (Comins Mingol 2009, 457). Magallón (2012, 9) adds that this hybrid line of investigation must start from women's own voices and testimonies to fill the silences and oblivion in the scholarship. Through these lines, the gender perspective becomes imperative in defining a culture of peace. Building peace implies "reconocer e incorporar la experiencia plural y diversa de las mujeres, sus saberes y sus formas de posicionarse" (Díez Jorge and Martínez López 2023, 11).

This approach according to Magallón (2012, 12) is also referred to as "the feminist standpoint perspective", the latter has two essential characteristics among other. One is it takes the experiences of women as a new source of theoretical and empirical resources, not their own life experience but plural and fragmented lives of women; and the second is it gives relevance to the research subject, placing it on the same critical plane as the object under investigation, in line with what is known as strong objectivity (Harding 1991). This viewpoint claimed by Laghssais and Comins Mingol (2021a, 3) "considers that the voices of marginalized or oppressed people can help create more objective notions of the world, and it defends the importance of starting from the experiences of those subjects who have traditionally been excluded from the production of knowledge". Therefore, according to Youngs (2004, 75-87) without taking into account the experiences of women only partial and incomplete understanding of the world can be generated. To fully be able to understand the world, politics and different levels of power relations, all of humanity, thus including women should be considered. Going a step further by shedding light on women's experiences through their own voices, a perspective from within, their agency is revealed and becomes a well of understanding on how to move from victims to peacebuilders (Comins Mingol 2016, 139).

According to Laghssais and Comins Mingol (2021a, 3) "the twenty-first century needs thinking committed to the elimination of human suffering. This is the origin and the driver of responsibility, our capacity to respond not only ethically but also epistemologically, in the construction of thought that takes the side of the most

vulnerable". The authors give examples of authors such as Lévinas who according to them "hold that genuine moral learning is the result of a gesture of approximation to the 'other' who suffers and demands justice" (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 3).

Following these steps in this dissertation, both lines of investigation (critical and constructive) must be employed with special consideration for the irenology perspective while analyzing Amazigh women's legacy and their contributions to peace within their community and homes.

The incorporation of Amazigh women's contribution to peace legacy accomplished by including peace values developed by women into a holistic inclusive educational system, converting them into human traits and values rather than gender-based ones. Therefore, putting it into context, first I start by diagnosing the adversities and struggles of Amazigh women in Morocco. Subsequently the legacy of Amazigh women as constructor and contributors of peace is analyzed, recognizing their agency, resilience and strength and the resultant self-empowerment this yields within these women's daily lives.

1.2.3. Decolonial Feminism: An Overview

Decolonial feminism is feminism from and at the grassroots level.

I utilize in this section the term decolonial rather than postcolonial feminism. Even though decolonial feminism is frequently used in Latin America, I find it fitting when talking of Amazigh women in Morocco. Although the decolonial thoughts are commonly constructed from postcolonial insights, decolonial authors often initially utilized postcolonial issues "to question the intersections of race, class and/or gender in their various formations and as part of the colonial history of the Americas" (Radlwimmer 2017, 19). Specifically, around Asian and African contexts these postcolonial lines of thought first emerged. Authors such as Spivak's "feminist intervention" contributed feminist-oriented perspectives to works of authors like Edward Said.

Spivak states that "if, in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow" (Spivak 1988, 28). According to Radlwimmer "deconstruction may count as much postcolonial (as an awareness of ongoing processes of the colonial), decolonial (an awareness of one's own ability to feel, think and speak), as it is feminist (an awareness of the private as public and vice versa)" (2017, 24). However, with emergence of decolonial thought/feminism

"the certitude that the subaltern can speak is one distinguishing feature of decolonial theory" (2017, 20)

Spivak's claim of the *subaltern* is frequently dismissed by decolonial scholars who instead propose a concept of *subalternisation/ the subalternized* as well as replacing *minority* with *minoritized* to highlight this way of thinking is constructed and imposed by colonial thinking. Therefore, decolonial thought is about the practice of rewriting in a self-conscious and critical way. Decolonial scholars "no longer accept one single way of making strong (literary or conceptual) texts" (Radlwimmer 2017, 18). Instead, they propose de-reconstructing and redefining the hegemonic norms.

Decolonial feminisms endeavours for a "deconstruction from within" by refining the hegemonic norms and "envision a feminism from and at the grassroots, and from and at colonial difference, with a strong emphasis on [...] a historicised, incarnate intersubjectivity" (Radlwimmer 2017, 27). The author further emphasizes that "decolonial feminisms have shifted from postcolonial feminist rewritings to powerful, creative constructions of cultural and literary coordinates as acts of resistance" (Radlwimmer 2017, 32). These lenses of decolonial feminism guide us throughout this dissertation to visualize Amazigh women's adversities, and their ability to function within a conflict situation to build a grassroot level peace feminism for self-empowerment and wellbeing of themselves and their communities through NGOs, IGPs, and cooperatives.

In line with decolonial thought and feminism I also employ feminist decolonial anthropology as critical lenses to de-reconstruct and redefine realities of Amazigh women from within. The need for utilizing these lenses comes from the history shaped anthropology to be male dominated. According to Susan Schaefer Davis, before the 1970s, the majority of understanding about Muslim women was produced by male ethnographers. She further notes that "in the presence of men, especially foreign men, women, if seen at all, are expected to enter a room serving food, silently with eyes downcast. This is how they are taught to behave and certainly gives the impression of submission" (2018, 7). She maintained saying that "when female scholars, both western and middle eastern, started studying the everyday lives of Muslim women, they were able to interact with women in their own domain, as men could not, and so their reports presented a much fuller picture" (Schaefer Davis 2018, 7).[20]

---

[20] The wives of professional male anthropologists were considered as some of the early female anthropologists who often acted as translators and transcriptionists for their husbands. Example of that in

Identifying myself as an Amazigh woman, feminist, and researcher hailing from the Ait Atta tribe of southeast Morocco where I experienced gender power dynamics within the Amazigh community, my contribution to this research is bringing to light and making visible through reflexivity on my experience growing up as Amazigh woman. In addition, contributing narratives of Amazigh women targeted by the study sample, making their voices heard and harnessing their stories of how they organize and empower themselves and their communities.

By doing so, according to Walter (1995) feminist anthropology reframes classical anthropological views and enhances them using a feminist perspective on culture. It examines power dynamics within the politics of culture and the role gender plays in it. It enquires about "how power is related to gender, how gendered structuring is promoted, enacted, accommodated, and resisted in everyday practice, and how it is sometimes overturned by political practice" (Walter 1995, 276).

In addition, by using feminist anthropology I bring the perspective from within unlike the traditional accounts of anthropology that apply hegemonic, sometimes orientalist, representations to the other culture based on a perspective from outside of the culture. As feminist anthropology sets the objective to overcome gender issues within a culture, a perspective from within is needed to fully understand the dynamics of gender *versus* power within a culture (Walter 1995). To balance the issues in representation and power distribution, many Amazigh Moroccan authors, and academics such as Fatima Sadiqi (2014), Moha Ennaji (2005; 2016a; 2020a) Naji (2007; 2012) and Skounti (2012), publications are used to strengthen the perspective from within and contribute to decolonializing of knowledge about Amazigh women.

Feminist decolonial anthropology is suitable for researching the topic of Amazigh women in Morocco and exploring gender perspectives in intersection with peace studies. In fact, Green (2007, 30) states that "in all of the work on feminism, the women's movement and feminists, there is little published on or by indigenous women". Sadiqi (2014, 1) notes Amazigh women are often represented in research as "illiterate" and "in need of help". Many texts focus on their marginalization, which reinforces the stereotypical image of Amazigh women as powerless and victim. However, with lenses

---

the context of Morocco and this dissertation is Ursula Cook Kingsmill, the wife of the anthropologist David Hart. In her book *Behind the Courtyard* Door: *The Daily Life of Tribeswomen in Northern Morocco* she documents that she accompanies David Hart in his field work with Amazigh people across the Atlas or northern Morocco.

of feminist decolonial anthropology running a careful examination of the history and the daily reality of Amazigh women allows us to discover that there is another side of the story about Amazigh women that has yet to be told and that this dissertation is endeavoring to shed light on. I will focus on the agency and resilience of Amazigh women and how they transform their daily reality and vulnerabilities into opportunities that empower them, their families and communities.

1.2.4. Decolonizing Knowledge via Ecology of Knowledge

Furthermore, among the topics and discussion of decoloniality, is power structures and knowledge structures. In this sense I bring to light some thoughts of researcher Boaventura de Sousa Santos. He starts by explaining how knowledge in academia is highly Western-centric and single-visioned and does not make room for other knowledge and epistemologies of the south with their plurality to speak for themselves. The hegemony of knowledge according to him is caused by three intersectional discourses of colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism. Due to colonialism, the western world has been blinded against non-western knowledges, collectively known as the epistemologies of the south. This is manifested as an ignorance of the west to acknowledge and learn from "experiences in the field of human rights or democracy, of secularisms, of spirituality, of other economics" (Santos 2018, 2). Perspectives created by epistemologies of the North exclude knowledge and experiences from the South. This western-centric cognitive dominance in intersection with capitalism and armed force, grants "the global North imperial domination of the world in the modern era" (Santos 2018, 6). Therefore, to him epistemologies of the North play a critical role "in contributing to reproducing capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy" (Santos 2018, 6). Eurocentric hegemonic knowledge is perceived to be "the only valid source of knowledge" (Santos 2018, 6) regardless of where that knowledge emanates from. Epistemologies from the south are thus regarded as ignorance with northern epistemologies promoted as the solution to this ignorance. Of these expressions it is presented that "the only valid understanding of the world is the Western understanding of the world" (Santos 2018, 6). Thus, there is not room left for other understandings of the world.

Such power and hegemony create a cognitive injustice. Therefore, Santos calls on and stresses the need for a real epistemological transformation where epistemologies of the south can be recognized. Santos refers to the south not a geographical south, but instead as an analogy for "an epistemological South, a South heir of struggles for other

knowledges and forms of being, a South born in struggles against the three modern forms of domination" (Santos and Meneses 2020, xv). These authors maintain that "this threefold domination has for many centuries been legitimated by the power-knowledge privileged by the epistemologies of the North" (Santos and Meneses 2020, xv).

Knowledges of the south are born from "experiences of those who systematically suffered injustice, oppression, and destruction caused by capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy" (Santos 2018, 1) Wherever such struggles occur, be it in the geographical North or South, such knowledges are produced are considered experiences rather than scientific knowledge. There the purpose of the epistemologies of the south's emergence is "production and validation of knowledges anchored in the experiences of resistance" (Santos 2018, 1) in addition to granting these oppressed social groups their own representation of the world framed within their own terms and knowledge enabling them to alter it towards their own needs and aspirations. These epistemologies of the south arise "as part of the struggles of resistance against oppression and against the knowledge that legitimates such oppression" (Santos 2018, 2). Thus, such alternative epistemologies "concern the knowledges that emerge from social and political struggles and cannot be separated from such struggles" (Santos 2018, 1).

> […The] aims is to demonstrate that there is no global social justice without global cognitive justice. The goal of epistemologies of the South is to achieve global cognitive justice, thereby empowering in new and more efficient ways the oppressed social groups and actors in both the geographical global South and the geographical global North (Santos and Meneses 2020, xv).

According to Santos and Meneses (2020), the global south is becoming conscious of a cognitive injustice imposed on them by the aforementioned threefold domination coming from western-centric hegemonic knowledge. With this rise of consciousness, a large-scale mobilization within subaltern groups is taking place, fighting for a peaceful world where human diversity is treated with respect and dignity. This mobilization takes the form of many different associations and social movements which "challenge the social exclusion to which the capitalist, colonial, and patriarchal system has been subjecting them for centuries" (Santos and Meneses 2020, xviii). These associations and social movements harness the voices of the subaltern groups through testimonies as documented by the authors: "we are not victims; we are victimized and offer resistance. We are many, and we use our new learning in very different ways" (Santos and Meneses 2020, xviii). In recent years focus by current controversies has been on inclusion and recognition of

cultural diversity. However, recognition of diversity of systems of knowledge has not been achieved and thus cognitive injustices remain (Santos and others 2007, xx).

By criticizing academia and structures of knowledge production about the world being Eurocentric and calling for alternative epistemologies of the south Santos is not displacing northern epistemologies/science. It is valuable and important knowledge and to demonstrate that he gives examples such as that if we need to go to the moon, we need scientific knowledge. However, we need to preserve biodiversity and indigenous knowledge, so we need different kinds of knowledges for different purposes. Therefore, Santos on this angle proposes what he coined as an *ecology of knowledges.* By "reinvention of social emancipation is premised upon replacing the 'monoculture of scientific knowledge' by an 'ecology of knowledges'" (Santos and others 2007, xx). The ecology of knowledges according to these authors encourages interdisciplinary dialogues within science allowing for "equality of opportunities" between a diverse set of epistemologies to enhance their contributions towards a "more democratic and just society and at decolonizing knowledge and power" (Santos and others 2007, xx).

Connecting ideas of Santos to my topic, Amazigh women's agency, strength, and resilience for social change suffers from an epistemological invisibility in literature investigation, as their representation is merely focused on their adversities and not on their strengths and power. The Amazigh people since the beginning of time have been written about from the perspective of the others, where Arabs or French and Spanish created a huge literature written about Amazigh people. Rarely it was documented from Imazighen themselves nor in Tamazight language. The knowledge about Amazigh women has always been from the perspective of others, yet Amazigh women have their own knowledge of the world and how they live their life. It is translated into language weaved into carpets with symbols, documented in pottery, sewed as designs and motifs onto clothes, tattooed onto bodies and maintained for centuries. These forms of knowledges of Amazigh women remain hidden despite many anthropological works that have been done on Amazigh people of Morocco. Still the transformation has not occurred, and the gap remains open. By choosing decoloniality of knowledge that goes in line with ideas of Santos this thesis aims to contribute to the canon of knowledge from the perspective from within.

The knowledge of Amazigh women is documented in tattoos, weaved on carpets, painted into pottery, yet knowledge documented by these women was not considered knowledge until Becker (2006a) wrote the book Amazigh art, recognizing Amazigh

women as artists. By taking their knowledge as knowledge away from colonial exotic narratives, Becker was able to access this knowledge because she is a woman and colonial knowledge is patriarchal as it came from men and men did not interact with women in their domains. Therefore, they viewed them as submissive and powerless, and they never saw them as knowledge producers nor preservers.

Amazigh women's artistic knowledge and scholarship and its socio-political impact are historically undermined by hegemonic forms of knowing and their associated power structures. This can be countered by incorporating this artistic knowledge and scholarship into an ecology of knowledges and recognizing their diversity in line with ecological thinking as proposed by Santos and others (2007).

Within the predominant monocultural conception of knowledge there is a lack of study of Amazigh women's art and the value and lessons it carries. Due to this epistemological invisibility of Amazigh women's knowledge and scholarship in academia, there is a sort of invisibility and underestimation of the role of the woman in society and their contributions to knowledge. Unfortunately, women as seen by men can't exceed the traditional roles that of the wife, mother, some women systemically undermine themselves and carry these norms. As the academia is historically has been patriarchal it is difficult getting rid of the structures unless there is an epistemological revolution which already feminist's criticism to science.

The way forward with decolonization is decolonization of knowledges by using decolonial methods listed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 142-161). While these are general methods applicable to indigenous people, as they share similar narratives which must be contextualized to the specificity of the indigenous group's historical narratives. Among these methods are: collecting testimonies; documenting and recording storytelling and oral histories; collective remembering of the past events; revitalizing and preserving indigenous languages, arts and their cultural practices. All in all, decolonial thinking combined with decolonial methods as outlined by Smith (1999) are steps forward to transformations. However, a lot of scholars still employ the methods of hegemony of knowledge because the decolonial narratives which emerged first in Latin America are still young, limited and academically growing.

This is visible with cases of appropriation *versus* appreciation. Many in the world nowadays get inspired from indigenous people and their culture gains popularity but the way the artists approach the indigenous culture is still colonial and exploitive. The cases of many international clothing brands using ethnic symbolism in their brands, or

production of carpets, or jewelry. Yet that is why the methods outlined by Smith are important to raise awareness, by claiming and documenting, the case Moroccan social media influencers talk back in a campaign called #CulturalPlagiarism naming few intimate brands that plagiarize the Moroccan *Babouch* in Moroccan language called *Bellgha.* The difficulty lies in the prices these international brands sell these products that are Moroccan while Moroccan artisans on the ground are not benefiting from these nor do these brands work with Moroccan artisans or give them credit.

1.2.5. *A Larger Than Islam Framework*: Fatima Sadiqi

According to Alberto Gomes (2018, 152), anthropologists have for a very long time written about indigenous people but not a lot is written on learning lessons from indigenous people. The work of Gomes (2018) is an inspiration to me to work on Amazigh indigenous women topics to bring some these lessons by Amazigh women's agency, resilience, strength and empowerment to feminism discussions in Morocco. To do so I am utilizing the work of Fatima Sadiqi, as a prominent Amazigh academic, who highlights the importance of linguistics in order to study women within the Amazigh civilization. In her book (2014) she describes and endeavored towards "a larger than Islam framework for Moroccan feminist discourses" to be more inclusive to the diversity of Moroccan society. She suggests making "room for the Berber dimension in conceptualizing women's struggle for rights, freedom, and dignity" (Sadiqi 2014, 156). She also highlights that "only a framework that transcends the coming of Islam to Morocco and links the pre-Islamic era with the current one can accommodate the reemergence of Berber women's symbolism and knowledge in today's Moroccan youth culture and the larger national discourses" (Sadiqi 2014, 156).

The two dominant feminist schools of thought according to Sadiqi (Islamic and secular, see chapter 3) fall within a framework which is primarily Islamic and thereby unfamiliar of indigenous nuances. Inconsiderate of Amazigh rural traditional aspects of the lives of Moroccan women, no room is left for discourses from within the Berber dimension of society. The cultural knowledge, spirit and languages carried within these women are all genuine sources of symbolic empowerment but have no environment in which to thrive (Sadiqi 2014). This absence of the Berber identity weakens these main feminist discourses and only works against uniting the different cultural identities which are present within Morocco. As Sadiqi continues, she emphasizes the contrast of these feminist discourses which only serve to reduce the feminist landscape to be mainly

centered around the cities of Rabat and Casablanca where most of the decision-making takes place.

According to Sadiqi this creates an opportunity for non-confrontational discussions that often miss the point completely regarding the fate of Moroccan women and hampers any progress towards alternative solutions. Sadiqi in her work calls for a framework which transcends its original borders set by Islam and one which is created to serve the entire spectrum of diversity within the Moroccan feminist movement, including the Berber traditions and cultural values. It should not serve to isolate or single out "secular Islamic discourses but to create a middle ground" (Sadiqi 2014, 156) which enables new discussions and opportunities for growth. Utilizing this frame chapter three and six bring to light the realities of Amazigh women in Morocco in addition it highlights their contribution to their empowerment and community development. Therefore, to include these new perspectives of Moroccan feminisms this proposed framework by Sadiqi is important to make space for intersection.

1.3. Theories and general approaches applicable to the topic of Amazigh Women

This section presents some theories and general approaches applicable to the topic of Amazigh Women in Morocco such as intersectionality theory, agency, resilience, empowerment and. identity. Defining such key concepts help elucidate the complexity of realities of Amazigh women.

1.3.1. Intersectionality

The word intersectionality (noun) "from French *intersection* (14c) is the act of crossing. Its etymology is derived from Latin *intersectionem* (nominative *intersectio*) 'a cutting asunder, intersection,' noun of action from past-participle stem of *intersecare* 'intersect, cut asunder' from *inter-* 'between'" (Harper 2000).

In this dissertation I utilize the theory of intersectionality coined in 1986 by the prominent academic Kimberlé Crenshaw (1990) which looks at of various factors such as class, gender, ethnicity, religious and political alignment and so on that create constructs of oppression and inequality identified within polemology as structural violence. Women's identities are looked at more in-depth within this intersectionality theory to ensure they are not left out due to cultural norms and socio-political structures excluding components of their identity such as race, religion, or class. By looking at

identity through an intersectional lens, a broader understanding of each other can be generated based on a complete picture rather than a few or singular traits. This in turns allows for enhanced mutual recognition and respect (Brown 2016, 3).

Using the intersectionality theory in this dissertation I analyze briefly the chain of circumstances of Amazigh marginalization and the interconnection between this marginalization and Amazigh women linked to rural socio-economic conditions, geography, gender and so on. How such conditions used to represent the stereotypical image of the Amazigh women as presented by some research as *illiterate*, *in need of aid*, *poor* and *rural*. Amid such intersectionality and complexity, I seek ways of inclusion of and incorporation of Amazigh women's voices and stories of power, agency, empowerment, scholarship, identity, and culture to make visible and enrich a broader literature about Amazigh women as not only being victims but also allowing them other identities such as peacemakers.

1.3.2. Vulnerability

Vulnerability, as an adjective, has an etymology derived from "c. 1600 late Latin *vulnerabilis* 'wounding' from Latin *vulnerare* 'to wound, hurt, injure, maim,' from *vulnus* (genitive *vulneris*) 'wound' perhaps related to *vellere* 'pluck, to tear'" (Harper 2000). The term vulnerable and 'vulnerability, plural vulnerabilities, is used throughout this dissertation in line with definition presented by Mackenzie and others (2014). These authors state that we are "social and affective beings; we are emotionally and psychologically vulnerable to others in myriad ways: to loss and grief; to neglect, abuse, and lack of care; to rejection, ostracism, and humiliation". They maintain that also "as sociopolitical beings, we are vulnerable to exploitation, manipulation, oppression, political violence, and rights abuses. And we are vulnerable to the natural environment and to the impact on the environment of our own, individual, and collective, actions and technologies" (Mackenzie and others 2014, 1-2).

Therefore, in accordance with the same authors, to be vulnerable is to be wounded as in latin *vulnus* "to be fragile, to be susceptible to wounding and to suffering; this susceptibility is an ontological condition of our humanity a universal, inevitable, enduring aspect of the human condition" (Mackenzie and others 2014, 4).

According to these authors "everyone is potentially vulnerable [….], what makes some persons or groups especially so is their lack of or diminished capacity to protect themselves". These authors further state that "then vulnerable persons are those with

reduced capacity, power, or control to protect their interests relative to other agents" (Mackenzie and others 2014, 6). Connecting this with the context of this dissertation, vulnerabilities lie in the sense that Amazigh women in Morocco face many vulnerabilities as in lack of access to health, education, and marginalization of their language among other factors that lead to their vulnerability.

1.3.3. Agency

The word agency (noun) means as of "1970s 'a mode of exerting power or producing effect. Its etymology is derived from the Medieval Latin *agentia*, abstract noun from Latin *agentem* (nominative *agens*) 'effective, powerful,' present participle of *agere* 'to set in motion, drive forward; to do, perform,' figuratively 'incite to action; keep in movement'" (Harper 2000). This term of agency is used throughout the dissertation to mean agency of Amazigh women. It goes in line with what Mendia Azkue (2014, 35) stated, that the concept of women's agency, elaborated by feminist theory, speaks to us of women's self-determination, that is, of women as actors in the world on their own terms.

According to Foucault and Vintges:

> The concept that the term 'agency' refers to may be defined as the ability to make specific choices and negotiate power within a socially rigid structure such as patriarchy. [...] In philosophy, agency is often understood as the capacity of an individual to action, transform, and influence the world, things, or other individuals (Sadiqi 2014, 36).

In addition, to Miller (2005) human agency means an individual's capacity to take action and impact their context and environment directly, implying the ability to effect social and political change. Miller maintains that agency can be influenced or limited by "one's cultural setting and milieu affect one's worldview" (Miller 2005, 11-12). However, the human nature and capacity to change perspectives "creates the space where individuals' choices of action are formed" (Miller 2005, 11-12). To him, "women are increasingly seen [… as] active agents of change: the dynamic promoters of social transformations that can alter the lives of both women and men" (Miller 2005, 11-12). According to Amartya Sen (2001) an agent is someone able to instigate change towards their own personal goals while holding on to their own personal values. This differentiates his meaning from the definition sometimes given where an agent's actions represent another entity. Therefore, agency to Amartya Sen relies on personal choices rather than external factors. Besides, Duranti (2004, 451) argues in relation to the concept of agency

in language that "any act of speaking involves some kind of agency, often regardless of the speaker's intentions and the hearer's interest or collaboration". Linguistic agency, therefore, according to Duranti, plays an important role in "communicative resources for the definition and enactment of (past, present, and future) realities and perceptions given to things" (Duranti 2004, 451).

This dissertation therefore explores the agency of Amazigh women from within as capacity to act and bring change to their life. Agency starts by developing personal and collective resilience to their marginalization and the difficulties they experience. Developing capability and capacity to transform their daily reality from vulnerabilities into opportunities for empowerment and growth for them, their families, and communities.

1.3.4. Resilience

> Resilience: the human capacity to overcome adversity (Comins Mingol 2015)

The word resilience, "its noun resiliency and as an adjective 'resilient' is meaning of 1660s 'resilience, tendency to rebound'. And meaning of 1857 'power of recovery'. Its etymology is derived from Latin *resiliens*, present participle of *resilire* 'to rebound, recoil,' from 're- back'" (Harper 2000). Resilience is used throughout this dissertation to mean "a capacity that develops over time in the context of person-environment interactions" (Egrland, Carlson and Sroufe 1993, 137). In addition to these definitions is the capacity for successful adaptation, positive functioning, or competence. In the same line as Wu and others (2013, 1) "resilience is the capacity and dynamic process of adaptively overcoming stress and adversity while maintaining normal psychological and physical functioning". According to Coutu (2002, 1) resilience has three attributes: People "coolly accept the harsh realities facing them. They find meaning in terrible times. And they have an uncanny ability to improvise, making do with whatever's at hand".

I relate this to my main topic through Amazigh women's experiences, struggles and adversities, structural and cultural violence detailed in chapter 3 and chapter 6. Nevertheless, as the constructive line of peace studies in intersection with gender focus on women as peacebuilders, here resilience of Amazigh women lies in overcoming these adversities and seeking opportunities for empowerment of themselves and changing their reality through expressions in their NGOs work, IGPs and cooperatives from the grassroot level.

Although the concept of resilience is used in psychology to be personal to each individual capacity to deal with adversity, in this research I use it as such in addition to collective resilience, that is when Amazigh women gather together in NGOs or cooperatives doing their arts and crafts as means of resilience to their adversities for means of economic empowerment at same time continue their Amazigh cultural legacy.

1.3.5. Empowerment

Empowerment as verb empower is "'to give power or authority to'. As a noun 'power' is 'ability to act or do; strength, vigor, might'. From Anglo-French *pouair*, old French *povoir*, noun use of the infinitive, 'to be able,' earlier *podir* (9c)" (Harper 2000). According to Oxaal and Baden (1997), "the idea of 'power' is at the root of the term empowerment". Power may be viewed several forms as follow:

> Power over: this power involves an either/or relationship of domination/subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance;
> Power to: this power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling;
> Power with: this power involves people organizing with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals;
> Power within: this power refers to self-confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how individuals can recognize through analysing their experience in terms of power and how it operates in their lives and gaining the confidence to act to influence and change (Oxaal and Baden 1997, 35).

The kind of power that this dissertation focuses on is *the power within* which goes together with building resilience and agency from within that Amazigh woman making change from grassroot level and resulting in their empowerment. According to Perry and others (2019, 5-6) "women's empowerment refers to the process whereby women's lives are transformed from a situation in which they have limited power and access to one in which they experience advancement, and their power and agency are enhanced". Besides, Sadiqi (2014) presents symbolic empowerment which focuses on immaterial empowerment and engaging with the socially disempowered to let them define empowerment in their own personal way. Since power within the concept of empowerment is not finite, "empowering women does not disempower men" (Sadiqi 2014; 158). Women's empowerment according to Elebute and Odokuma additionally involves the "ability to improve others' perception through exchange, education and

engagement and ability to improve one's positive self-image and overcoming stigma" (2016, 18).

- *Women Economic Empowerment (WEE)*

In addition, this dissertation talks also about the economic empowerment of Amazigh women. Adopting this theoretical frame makes plain that the concept of power that stems of Amazigh women comes from grassroots level feminism. In this line empowerment according to Susan Schaefer Davis means that "women can make individual and collective choices as active agents that produce desired outcomes for them and their communities, collective choices involve women working together as a group to overcome social structures or customs that limit them" (2020, 416).

Building resilience in the face of adversity, vulnerability and marginalization increases agency and allows women to be empowered from within and manifest this power via navigation of the social structure and therefore leading to social change. The manifestation of such empowerment in the context of Amazigh women is linked to economic empowerment. Before I explain that, I would first define the concept of economic empowerment and move on to contextualizing it to Amazigh women's economic empowerment in Morocco.

Research has shown that through *feminization of poverty* as coined by Diana Pearce "that women and children are disproportionately represented among the world's poor compared to men" (Christensen 2019). Such disparities to Makoko (2012, 2) in the African context are linked to "culture and traditional practices have placed economic, social and political powers in the hands of men to the detriment of women". This results according to this author in "women having their economic rights, access to resources and economic prospects constrained" (Makoko 2012, 2).

Due to such inequalities, in late years awareness for social change has been growing thanks to various actors that proposed various programs targeting women's economic empowerment. Such programs offer opportunities through which women learn skills that can be used to be economically independent. The latter goes in line with Avudaiammal (2019, 9000) that sees women's empowerment as a process to gain more control over material resources such as access to money and decision making on various levels in their lives to move from "a position of enforced powerlessness to one of power", strengthening the economic and societal position of women. Thus, being economically empowered allows women to fulfill their own needs without being depended on someone

else. As a result, independence is being reached by women in many developing countries via making of and selling handicrafts (Bano and others 2021, 374).

- *Rural Women Economic Empowerment through Art and Craft-Making as IGPs (Income Generating Projects)*

This section aims to explore economic empowerment as IGP (Income Generating Projects) derived from handicrafts, their effects in breaking out of chains of vulnerabilities and the role they play in changing women's lives via generating a channel for self-reliance.

The process of empowerment starts at an individual level. In this level according to Bano and others (2021, 372) "empowerment is about developing a sense of self and individual confidence or capacity". By becoming financially self-reliant in this way, they also start to recognise their ability to become breadwinners in their families. This further empowers them to take charge of their children's future and make decisions about their education and socialization. Thus women "can negotiate her decisions with her partner as well as the family members" (Bano and others 2021, 372). Through women cooperating in their handicrafts, they become an example to their surroundings and the process of empowerment is spread on a collective level.

According to Malema and Naidoo (2017, 5) for women to succeed and be economically empowered, there is the need for "opportunities to gain knowledge and skills about actions serve as requirements for success". In addition to that, acquiring new skills, new languages and marketing strategies may be involved. To the authors besides these factors, the support of one's environment is needed, "which can be friends, family, neighbours, or public services may contribute to empowerment as an outcome". This empowerment helps to negate factors which disempower these women "such as poverty, stress, negative self-image and negative leisure behaviour". Because these IGPs are within the women's own vicinity, no additional financial strain is put on them to access them. In addition, these projects are a way to transfer skills and cultural heritage to younger generations and might be "relied on for livelihood". Thus, such projects generate "a women-only environment which allows women to create networks of support and also provide them with a comfortable platform to discuss issues that affect them" (Malema and Naidoo 2017, 14).

All in all, this dissertation continues with the idea that IGPs generate economic empowerment which results in women being self-reliant, confident, decision makers and influencing positive change in their communities as collective empowerment.

1.3.6. Identity

Identity as noun "c.1600 means 'sameness, oneness, state of being the same' from French *identité* (14c). Its etymology is derived from Medieval Latin *identitatem* (nominative *identitas*) 'sameness' ultimately from Latin *idem* (neuter) 'the same'" (Harper 2000). As a verb "to identify 1640s, 'regard as the same,' from French *identifier*, from (*identité*). Perception of 'determine the identity of, recognize as or prove to be the same'. As an adjective identical 1610s as a term in logic; general sense of 'being the same or very similar'" (Harper 2000).

Identity to Amin Maalouf "cannot be compartmentalized; it cannot be split in halves or thirds, nor have any clearly defined set of boundaries". The author maintains "I do not have several identities, I only have one, made of all the elements that have shaped its unique proportions" (Maalouf 1998). Identity as found in work of Fearon (1999, 4-5) reviewing several authors meanings of identity. Identity to Hogg and Abrams represents "people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others". Identity to Deng is also "the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others based on race, ethnicity, religion, language, and Culture". Identity is used also by Jenkins to "refers to the ways in which individuals and collectives are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectives". In addition, social identity to Herrigel means "the desire for group distinction, dignity, and place within historically specific discourses (or frames of understanding) about the character, structure, and boundaries of the polity and the economy" (Fearon 1999, 4-5).

In this section to define and elaborate on identity, I set it as two categories: a. Individual identity. b. Collective identity being part of community/society:

a) Individual Identity

By individual, I mean personal qualities that everyone has and are unique to them. The best example of this is fingerprints. Everyone has their unique fingerprints, and no two look like each other in that regard. Galtung recognizes identity as a basic human need along with the need for wellbeing, survival, and personal and social freedom. These basic human needs are further understood by Martínez Guzmán (2001, 71) to be compulsory to

satisfy in order to stimulate a culture of peace. On the same line, To Honneth (1995) since identity is a basic need it should be recognized by self, and others (referring to the three forms of recognition: Love, Right and Solidarity) denial of recognition is disrespect that may bring a person to the state of collapse. The relation one has with oneself, age, thoughts, desires, passions, that is unique to the personal individual themselves.

b) Collective Identity

Collective identity is in relation to the collective dominant culture of a specific group or tribe. It is therefore manifested as a set of beliefs, traditions, customs, social behavior, arts, language, crafts, rituals, clothing, festivals, weddings, oral literature and common history that keep intact that tribe/group together and make this collective identity through the sameness of all mentioned elements. It is what makes a community/tribe unique compared with the rest of the other communities.

Becker (2006a) talks about Amazigh women as symbols of collective identity through their clothing and the way of dressing. "The Amazigh women both create and use the artistic symbols of the Berber identity, turning the decorated female body into a symbol in itself of that identity" (2006a, 96). Amazigh women, as she maintains, "also convey their gender identity through dress, which includes body paintings, tattooing, jewelry, hairstyles, and headgear, both in the way it is worn and, in its design" (2006a, 96).

Amazigh women are not only becoming the face of Amazigh culture but also have played a significant role in preserving and representing it for centuries. Sadiqi (2007, 27) states that "Amazigh owes its survival first and foremost to women". Giving the example of the Tamazight language, "the learning and use of Amazigh is closely associated with women; the oral literature (which is mainly disseminated in Moroccan Arabic or in Amazigh) is deeply feminine" (2007, 27). She maintains that "Moroccan women have preserved an entire heritage of oral literature, often anonymous since it belongs to the group, not the individual" (2007, 29).

> Through oral literature women have always inspired the greatest respect in their communities. History tells us that Amazigh women shared in decisions concerning family, inheritance rights and education. The work of men and women was clearly differentiated but was always recognized as being of equal value. In ancient history, Amazigh women occupied an important place and sometimes were at the head of kingdoms (Sadiqi 2007, 30).

Amazigh women represent their identity in their crafts, using their language, the Tamazight, and their Amazigh North African heritage as the main ornamental motifs. To Sadiqi (2007) "Moroccan towns transformed Amazigh jewelry by replacing silver with gold, and coral with diamonds". To this author "an Amazigh woman's attire is dominated far more by her jewelry than by her clothing. Women succeeded in preserving Amazigh jewelry together with the memory of past times and civilizations" (2007, 31). Therefore, the weight of maintaining traditions falls on the shoulders of women. By being a living representation of cultural identities: to dress, live and behave in accordance with collective identity and tradition (Magallón 2012; Hoffman 2007). Whereas the individual identity we talked about is fused within the collective dominant identity.

1.4. Hypotheses

I outline the following hypotheses as starting point for the development of this thesis:

H1: The condition of vulnerability, exclusion and marginalization of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco constructed in an intersectional way have heterogeneous causes that related to 4 main axes: Gender and Kinship, Identity, Culture and Language, Rural and Socio-Economic Conditions.

The intersections of various inequalities impact the lives of Amazigh women, exposing them to a situation of special vulnerability and adversity: by being women, Amazigh: identity and language status, rural, and their socio-economic conditions.

Gender, Kinship, Identity, Culture and Language is manifested as despite the structural changes of the constitution of 2011, Amazigh women continue to suffer on the margins. As expressed by Mariam Demnati (2018), Amazigh women as Moroccans are perceived as the same whether they speak Arabic or Amazigh. No difference is made even if they come from different social classes or backgrounds. The family law / code does not differentiate between any of these (social) factors for any woman. The laws focus on Arabic speakers. Which means Amazigh women are suppressed and neglected with their rights twice. First, like Arab women because of their gender *women* and second through culture and language. This even after the officialization of the Tamazight in 2011. An example presented by El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui is of court law No.3.64, article 5 still imposing "Arabic as the only language of the court proceedings; it is the language of deliberations, pleadings and ruling in Moroccan courts" (2018, 112).

Rural and Socio-economic conditions: Due to the harsh living conditions in rural areas, Amazigh women still face daily struggles. For example, due to the lack of regional development. Men emigrate for long periods to do agricultural work in cities or other parts of the country (Hoffman 2007; Sadiqi 2021b). They send money back to their families, where women are left with the burden of the responsibilities of tending the home, tending crops and farm animals without outside support, and responsibility to maintain family honor and raise children (Laghssais 2019; 2021). Being isolated in remote areas is one of the main challenges. Some women are forced to give birth at home with the help of the traditional midwife. However, in the absence of midwives, paved roads, transportation, hospitalization. To transport a pregnant woman to and from medical centers, mules are used as ambulances. Technological advances such as telephones have little effect on the problems that most women face on the way to health centers. In addition, newborns are at risk of being victims of these conditions and lack of medical care (Guerch 2015). Therefore, Amazigh women remain economically and socially marginalized.

H2: The identity and culture of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco expressed through their active participation in NGOs, cooperatives, and self-based IGPs increase their resilience and contribute to their personal, family and community empowerment at the same time reduce structural violence.

Amazigh women face numerous intersectional adversities as outlined in hypothesis 1, and the desire and aspirations of Amazigh women to overcome these adversities and *vulnerabilities* lies in their resilience and active participation in their community development as in hypothesis 3. Amazigh women have founded IGPs that aim to uplift women from marginalization and be economically independent via the cooperatives and works of their artisanal arts and craft products.

Amazigh women express their sisterhood and gender awareness through ritual, oral histories, and handicrafts. Their sisterhood and gender awareness are illustrated in the colourful rugs they weave, the pottery they make by hand, the tattoos they paint on their bodies, and the jewelry they wear (El aissi 2015; Becker 2006a). Amazigh women represent their identity in their crafts, using their language, the Tamazight, and their North African heritage as the main ornamental motifs and symbolism. By recovering and safeguarding tradition, Amazigh women not only rebuild the identity and cultural bases of the Amazigh people, but also contribute to the local development of their families and their own empowerment as women. Women express their voices through the emergence

of non-governmental organizations and associations that support rural women in creating their own cooperatives and projects. They are active in carpet weaving, production of argan oil, rose water and other products (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a)

Despite being portrayed in some research as *passive, illiterate* and *in need of aid* because of their rural based adversities which made it a general stereotype reinforced by the media, Amazigh women of the southeast of Morocco challenge that view and take pride in their Amazigh identity and contribute to their personal empowerment, agency, and community development via their grassroot level cooperative works of carpet weaving, crafts products. (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a).

The identity of being Amazigh, before the rule of King Mohamed VI, was seen as a marginalization factor (hypothesis 1), yet this has changed with Amazigh movements activism and following the efforts of the King Mohamed VI in the 2001 creation of IRCAM and in 2003 codification of *Tifiniagh* scripts, and in 2011 constitutional reforms which officialised Tamazight language (Laghssais 2021a, 74). All these give a public legitimacy to Amazigh people so "today the Berber culture is celebrated as part and parcel of the national identity" (Ennaji 2020a, 22). Yet despite all the efforts, without a clear organic law that organizes linguistics rights, people on the ground still face adversities related to linguistic rights. A clear example is the aforementioned court law No.3.64, article 5. In addition to rural and socio-economic related adversities.

At the same time, Amazigh identity in carpets and artistic production is what gives uniqueness to the things women do as they are keepers and preservers of Amazigh culture (Sadiqi 2007). I argue Amazigh women via their IGPs, artistic handmade products, and their expression of identity within that serves as empowering factor. Thus, the identity of being Amazigh plays both sides as being a marginalizing factor (hypothesis 1) and at the same time being a source of empowerment to Amazigh women artisans (hypothesis 2).

H3: Voices, discourses and practices of Amazigh women in the Southeast of Moroccan from the grassroots level contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco and at the same time contribute to a Culture of Peace.

Knowledges (cultural, social artistic, traditional)**,** *discourses, and practices based* on personal, family and community level experiences (lifting themselves from some of their adversity via their Amazigh arts and crafts IGPs projects among others that they sell through the cooperatives and in festivals and exhibitions) *of Amazigh women in the Southeast of Moroccan from grassroots level enrich feminism in Morocco* because they

operate from within and by Amazigh women finding alternatives to tackle their adversities related to economic situation, makes substantiable and not a quick fix. herefore, will is a contribution to overall feminism literature in Morocco and bring to the centre marginalized Voices to be part of the whole by contributing to existing new emerging literature on Amazigh women. *At the same time, they contribute to a culture of peace* at the interpersonal and community level, therefore bettering the coexistence of the Amazigh community in the southeast of Morocco via looking at imperfect peace(s) practices-maintained day to day among the community members and results in alleviating life to a level where some if not all the basic human needs are met.

These contributions of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco (hypothesis 2) generate a culture of peace and add new perspective to feminisms in Morocco. Feminism in Morocco is according to Sadiqi (2003, 215) "has largely been associated with educated, enlightened, and self-aware upper-class women". However, Sadiqi argues that feminist narratives need to contextualize to include capture/harness the diversity of all Moroccan women in what she later proposed in (2014) as the need for *a Large than Islam framework*. In addition, Bordat, Schaefer Davis and Kouzzi (2011) have presented examples of grassroots level NGOs including local development associations, economic cooperatives. As new faces and a new perspective of feminisms that are non-elite emerge, they function from the grassroot level to bring about social change and contribute to peace culture. The emergence of these NGOs and cooperatives, according to Sadiqi, is a new impetus for development, relocating the problems of Moroccan women into a broader framework than Islam, where secularism or Islamic or even a combination of both is insufficient (Sadiqi 2016c, 124). With the irenology of peace study, the contribution within this dissertation is to visualize grassroot level initiatives and IGPs of Amazigh women in the southeast as examples of cultures of peace even in its imperfect sense as *pearls of peace.*

1.5. Hipótesis en Español

Esbozo las siguientes hipótesis como punto de partida para el desarrollo de esta tesis:

H1: La condición de vulnerabilidad, exclusión y marginación de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos construida de manera interseccional tiene causas heterogéneas que se relacionan con 4 ejes principales: Género y parentesco, Identidad, Cultura e idioma, Condiciones rurales y socioeconómicas.

Las intersecciones de diversas desigualdades impactan en la vida de las mujeres amazigh, exponiéndolas a una situación de especial vulnerabilidad y adversidad: por ser mujeres, amazigh: estatus identitario y lingüístico, rural, y por sus condiciones socioeconómicas.

Género, Parentesco, Identidad, Cultura y Lengua se manifiesta como a pesar de los cambios estructurales de la constitución de 2011, las mujeres amazigh siguen sufriendo en la periferia. Como expresa Mariam Demnati (2018), las mujeres amazigh como marroquíes son percibidas igual, hablen árabe o amazigh. No se hace ninguna diferencia, aunque provengan de diferentes clases sociales u orígenes. El derecho / código de familia no diferencia entre ninguno de estos factores (sociales) para ninguna mujer. Las leyes se centran en las mujeres que hablan árabe, lo que significa que las mujeres amazigh son suprimidas y desatendidas en sus derechos dos veces. En primer lugar, como mujeres árabes debido a su género y, en segundo lugar, a través de la cultura y el idioma. Esto incluso después de la oficialización del tamazight como lenguaje reconocido en 2011. Un ejemplo presentado por El Kirat El Allame y Boussagui (2018, 112) es de la ley judicial No.3.64, artículo 5 que todavía impone el árabe como única lengua de los procedimientos judiciales; es la lengua de las deliberaciones, alegatos y fallos en los tribunales marroquíes.

Condiciones rurales y socioeconómicas: Debido a las duras condiciones de vida en las zonas rurales, las mujeres amazigh siguen enfrentándose a luchas diarias. Por ejemplo, debido a la falta de desarrollo regional, los hombres emigran durante largos periodos para realizar trabajos agrícolas en las ciudades o en otras partes del país (Hoffman 2007; Sadiqi 2021b). Envían dinero a sus familias, donde las mujeres se quedan con la carga de las responsabilidades de atender el hogar, los cultivos y los animales de granja, mantener el honor de la familia y criar a los hijos sin ayuda externa (Laghssais 2019; 2021). El aislamiento en zonas remotas es uno de los principales retos. Algunas mujeres se ven obligadas a dar a luz en casa con la ayuda de la comadrona tradicional. Sin embargo, a falta de comadronas, carreteras asfaltadas, transporte y/o hospitalización, se utilizan mulas como ambulancias para transportar a una mujer embarazada desde y hasta los centros médicos. Los avances tecnológicos, como el teléfono, apenas influyen en los problemas a los que se enfrentan la mayoría de las mujeres de camino a los centros sanitarios. Encima, los recién nacidos corren el riesgo de ser víctimas de estas condiciones

y de la falta de atención médica (Guerch 2015). Por lo tanto, las mujeres amazigh siguen estando marginadas económica y socialmente.

H2: La identidad y la cultura de las mujeres amazigh del sudeste de Marruecos, expresadas a través de su participación activa en ONG, cooperativas y PGI autogestionados, aumentan su resiliencia y contribuyen a su empoderamiento personal, familiar y comunitario, al mismo tiempo que reducen la violencia estructural.

Las mujeres amazigh se enfrentan a numerosas adversidades interseccionales, como se indica en la hipótesis 1, y el deseo y aspiraciones de las mujeres amazigh de superar estas adversidades y vulnerabilidades radican en su resiliencia y su participación activa en el desarrollo de su comunidad, como se indica en la hipótesis 3. Las mujeres amazigh han fundado PGI que tienen como objetivo sacar a las mujeres de la marginación y ser económicamente independientes a través de las cooperativas y las obras de sus artesanías y productos artesanales.

Las mujeres amazigh expresan su hermandad y su conciencia de género a través de rituales, historias orales y artesanías. Su hermandad y conciencia de género se ilustran en las coloridas alfombras que tejen, la cerámica que hacen a mano, los tatuajes que se pintan en el cuerpo y las joyas que llevan (El aissi 2015; Becker 2006a). Las mujeres amazigh representan su identidad en su artesanía, utilizando su lengua, el tamazight, y su herencia norteafricana como principales motivos y simbolismos ornamentales. Al recuperar y salvaguardar la tradición, las mujeres amazigh no sólo reconstruyen la identidad y las bases culturales del pueblo amazigh, sino que también contribuyen al desarrollo local de sus familias y a su propio empoderamiento como mujeres. Las mujeres expresan su voz mediante la aparición de organizaciones no gubernamentales y asociaciones que apoyan a las mujeres rurales en la creación de sus propias cooperativas y proyectos. Son activas en el tejido de alfombras, la producción de aceite de argán, agua de rosas y otros productos (Laghssais y Comins Mingol 2021a).

A pesar de que en algunas investigaciones se las presenta como pasivas, analfabetas y necesitadas de ayuda debido a las adversidades que sufren en el medio rural, lo que constituye un estereotipo general reforzado por los medios de comunicación, las mujeres amazigh del sudeste de Marruecos desafían esa visión y se enorgullecen de su identidad amazigh y contribuyen a su empoderamiento personal, a su capacidad de acción y al desarrollo de la comunidad a través de sus cooperativas de base dedicadas a la fabricación de alfombras y productos artesanales (Laghssais y Comins Mingol 2021a). (Laghssais y Comins Mingol 2021a).

81

La identidad de ser amazigh, antes del gobierno del rey Mohamed VI, se consideraba un factor de marginación (hipótesis 1), pero esto ha cambiado con el activismo de los movimientos amazigh y tras los esfuerzos del rey Mohamed VI en la creación del IRCAM en 2001, la codificación de las escrituras *tifiniagh* en 2003, en las reformas constitucionales oficializando la lengua tamazight en 2011 (Laghssais 2021a, 74). Todo ello otorga una legitimidad pública al pueblo amazigh, de modo que hoy en día la cultura bereber se celebra como parte integrante de la identidad nacional (Ennaji 2020a, 22). Sin embargo, a pesar de todos los esfuerzos, sin una ley orgánica clara que organice los derechos lingüísticos, las personas a nivel de campo siguen enfrentándose a adversidades relacionadas con los derechos lingüísticos. Un claro ejemplo es el artículo 5 de la mencionada ley judicial nº 3.64. Además de las adversidades relacionadas con el ámbito rural y socioeconómico.

Al mismo tiempo, la identidad amazigh en las alfombras y la producción artística es lo que confiere singularidad a lo que hacen las mujeres, ya que son las guardianas y preservadoras de la cultura amazigh (Sadiqi 2007). En mi opinión, las mujeres amazigh, a través de sus PGI, sus productos artísticos hechos a mano y su expresión de identidad en ellos, constituyen un factor de empoderamiento. Así pues, la identidad amazigh juega a dos bandas: es un factor de marginación (hipótesis 1) y, al mismo tiempo, una fuente de empoderamiento para las artesanas amazigh (hipótesis 2).

H3: Las voces, discursos y prácticas de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste *de Marruecos desde el nivel de base contribuyen a enriquecer el feminismo en Marruecos y al mismo tiempo contribuyen a una Cultura de Paz.*

Los conocimientos (culturales, sociales, artísticos, tradicionales), discursos y prácticas basados en experiencias personales, familiares y comunitarias (salir de algunas de sus adversidades a través de sus PGI de artesanía amazigh, entre otros, que venden a través de cooperativas y en festivales y exposiciones) de las mujeres amazigh del sudeste de Marruecos enriquecen el feminismo en Marruecos porque operan desde dentro y las mujeres amazigh encuentran alternativas para hacer frente a sus adversidades relacionadas con la situación económica, lo que hace que sean sustanciales y no una solución rápida. Por lo tanto, es una contribución a la literatura feminista general en Marruecos y pone en el centro a las voces marginadas para que formen parte del todo, contribuyendo a la nueva literatura emergente sobre las mujeres amazigh. Al mismo tiempo, contribuyen a una cultura de paz a nivel interpersonal y comunitario, mejorando

así la coexistencia de la comunidad amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos mediante la observación de las prácticas de paz imperfectas que se mantienen día a día entre los miembros de la comunidad y que tienen como resultado aliviar la vida hasta un nivel en el que se satisfacen algunas, sino todas, las necesidades humanas básicas.

Estas contribuciones de las mujeres amazigh del sudeste de Marruecos (hipótesis 2) generan una cultura de paz y añaden una nueva perspectiva a los feminismos en Marruecos. Según Sadiqi (2003, 215), el feminismo en Marruecos se ha asociado en gran medida con las mujeres de clase alta educadas, ilustradas y conscientes de sí mismas. Sin embargo, Sadiqi argumenta que las narrativas feministas necesitan contextualizarse para incluir la captura de la diversidad de todas las mujeres marroquíes en lo que más tarde propuso en (2014) como la necesidad de *un marco más grande que el Islam.* Además, Bordat, Schaefer Davis y Kouzzi (2011) han presentado ejemplos de ONG que incluyen asociaciones de desarrollo local y cooperativas económicas. A medida que surgen nuevas caras y una nueva perspectiva de los feminismos que no son de élite, funcionan desde el nivel de base para provocar el cambio social y contribuir a la cultura de la paz. La aparición de estas ONG y cooperativas, según Sadiqi, supone un nuevo impulso para el desarrollo, reubicando los problemas de las mujeres marroquíes en un marco más amplio que el islam, donde el laicismo, el islamismo o incluso una combinación de ambos es insuficiente (Sadiqi 2016c, 124). Con la irenología del estudio de la paz, la contribución dentro de esta disertación es visualizar las iniciativas a nivel de base y los PGI de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste como ejemplos de culturas de paz incluso en su sentido imperfecto como perlas de paz.

1.6. Recapitulation

In recapitulation, the chapter was dedicated to establishing the theoretical frame which takes together peace studies and gender and feminist decolonial as lenses to carry out this study. Using both lines of peace studies critical and constrictive allow me to investigate both the vulnerabilities and adversities of Amazigh women as well as their agency, strength, resilience, and empowerment through various ways such as arts, crafts, NGOs, and cooperatives from grass root level as IGPs. This chapter also have defined key concepts and theories used throughout the dissertation. Before I weave the threads of this dissertation it is important to present a brief history and laws reforms in recent years about Amazigh people and the situation of Amazigh people in North Africa which next chapter is dedicated to elucidating.

CHAPTER 2: STATE OF ARTS I: HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF AMAZIGH PEOPLE IN MOROCCO

This chapter is about the state of art. *Section 2.1* is about the historical background of the Amazigh /Berbers in North Africa focusing primarily on Morocco. It will also serve in creating a deeper understanding of the further chapters of this dissertation in relation to the status of Berber/Amazigh women in Morocco. Furthermore, this chapter unravels different discourses and steps in colonial history of the Kingdom of Morocco. Also, post-independence policies of creation of the new kingdom and impact and manifestation of Arabization on language, education as well as media and urbanization. This chapter is also an invitation to highlight the narratives of the Berber/ Amazigh movement and their cultural identity consciousness. And its transitions to a political discourse that draws attention to the Amazigh needs, rights and struggles and that eventually led to national recognition and re-wording of history from an inclusive perspective.

Section 2.2 invites us to explore and to go deeper into and focus more on the context of the social movement known as the Arab Spring in its Moroccan version the 20 February 2011 Movement (F20M), focusing on its inclusion of youth, women, and the participation of the Amazigh movement in this event. It resulted in many reforms which took place at a constitutional level focusing on the critical analysis of article 5 and article 19. This chapter will also give an overview of the reforms on the Moudawana (the Family Law code) of 2004 and its empowerment and limitation in supporting Moroccan women involved. It also draws attention to the violence against women (VAW) and the social stigma that surrounds it which prevent women from reporting it. This section also briefly explains Morocco's involvement in CEDAW and the protecting women vis-à-vis VAW.

2.1. Historical Background: Amazigh People

2.1.1. Amazigh/ Berbers

The Berbers, also known as the Amazigh (Plural Imazighen), are the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa. They are dispersed over a wide area from Egypt 's Siwa Oasis and through Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria and the Sahara Desert into Mali and Niger. Maddy Weitzman (2012, 109) states that the "north africa's native Amazigh (Berber)-speaking communities comprise approximately 20 million persons, concentrated primarily in Morocco consists of roughly 40-50% of the population" being from Berber

decent, while in Algeria this number is estimated to be around 20-25%. Although lesser in numbers, there are concentrations of Berber people to be found in: Libya with about 8–9 %, Tunisia with about 1–2 %, Egypt's Siwa oasis with about 20,000, and one million traditionally nomadic Tuareg Berbers, who reside mostly in Mali and Niger (Maddy Weitzman 2012, 109; Prah 2016, 180).

Across their history the Berbers/Amazigh were occupied by various civilizations, such as the Phoenicians 900B.C and the Romans 146B.C (AlKroud 2018, 30). This was followed by the Arab Muslim conquests in the 7th century, and ultimately in the 19th and 20th centuries by the French state. The impact of the Arab and French occupations have far reaching effects that still shape Morocco today (Prah 2016, 179; Ennaji 2005, 10).

According to Ennaji (2005, 10), in the eighth century the Arab conquest reached Maghreb; this conquest was rooted in the spread of Islam over a vast area stretching from Persia to Spain. During the spread of Islam within Morocco, the Arabic language also naturally spread as it is an integral part of becoming integrated within the Islamic empire. Being Muslim includes prayers and Qur'an readings, all of which is conducted in the Arabic language. In addition to religious practices being conducted in Arabic, Islamic centers of education were erected to educate a new generation of religious and political leadership. Most of the native Christian and Jewish communities within Morocco were converted to Islam at this time. Gradually, the use of Arabic became most prevalent in the coastal areas as well as the plains, where in the more mountainous and rural areas Berber languages were more preserved.

Hart's (1999) *Scratch a Moroccan, find a Berber* goes even further in saying that it is more likely the majority of North Africans are actually from *Berber* descent. Many Arab-speaking groups in the Maghreb region were *Arabized* and assimilated. Examples can be seen in the Middle Ages during the conquest but also during various other times. A lot of these Arab-speaking groups could also therefore be categorized as having a Berber heritage (AlKroud 2018, 30; Maddy Weitzman 2011, 1).

Most of what is historically written about the Amazigh people has been from the perspective of others. These perspectives usually describe them as semi-savage or primitive people who required civilization (Maddy Weitzman 2011, 2). Initially, as this author clarifies, the Berbers first appeared "in the Greek and Roman annals under a variety of names including Africans, Numidians and Moors" (Maddy Weitzman 2011, 2) in addition to numerous tribal titles. Berbers, as used by the Greek and Roman cultures, was a derogatory term derived from barbarians βάρβαρος, which in their language was

"an onomatopoeic word intended to imitate a babbling or stuttering sound and referred to all non-Greeks whose language was considered unintelligible" (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 4). In the late seventh century Berbers were also recorded in history by the conquering Arab-Muslim armies (Aitel 2014, 13). The Arabic word *barbar* means babble noise or jabber which refers to "a combination of incomprehensible sounds". Back then this name was given to people whose language was not recognized. Due to orality of their history, the Berber's history is disputed, and many myths were created about the origin of the Berbers. According to AlKroud (2018), the reason for this is the fact that during the early years of the Arab colonization, one of the predominant writers of the time, Al-Tha'alibi, maintained that the Berbers were Semitic. It was also claimed that Berbers migrated from the Arabian Peninsula over to North Africa and had an Arabic heritage. During the colonization of North Africa by the French, which ran from the 1912 up to the 1956, they created yet another Berber myth. This time it was stated Berbers were of European decent (AlKourd 2018, 31).

Today, these communities reject this stigmatizing, pejorative term *Berbers*, which was imposed on them by outsiders. They prefer to call themselves *Amazigh*, which in their language means *free noble people* (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 4). As a collective nation *Tamazgha* refers to the whole North African community as pan Amazigh identity movement (Maddy Weitzman 2012, 109; 2011, 2; Aslan 2014).[21] Historically, this community have never been "unified under one banner" (AlKroud 2018, 30). To this author "this could be due to the fact that they were geographically dispersed, and that they had been a tribal people whose allegiance was to the tribe and later to Islam. Due to this geographical dispersion, there has never been one unified Berber language" (AlKroud 2018, 30). However, according to Robert Montagne, he observed that there is "extreme uniformity of Berber society"; the culture being "found again and again in a virtually identical forms throughout North Africa, which reveals only minor variations from region to region. This fundamental unity of Berber culture, so evident in the realm of language, thought and technology is no less apparent in their political organization" (Prah 2016, 180). Likewise, attention is given to the point that "urbanization and Arabization policies have been steadily eroding the characteristic features of Amazigh culture and society,

---

[21] Throughout this dissertation the word Amazigh will be adopted, however for proper citation of some authors that use Berber for example Sadiqi, the term Berber will continue to appear when citing these authors.

thus there has been a measure of 'invisibility' inflicted upon Amazigh culture by dominant culture and ethos" (Prah 2016, 181).

In addition to that, the word *Berber language* has been supplanted by the term *Tamazight*, which refers to the type spoken by the Atlas Imazighen and all other Berber speakers. Maddy Weitzman (2011, 2) states that in Morocco there are three primary Tamazight dialects in three different areas from the southeast to north: Tashelhiyt, Tamazight, and Tarrifit. According to AlKroud, in Algeria "there are three main Berber speaking groups, the largest of which is concentrated in the debsely populated Kabyle" (2018, 30). The other two groups are the Chaouias of the Aures region as well as the people of the Mzab (AlKroud 2018, 30). In addition, a whole array of countries, including Niger and Mali, are where the third major group called the Tuaregs can be found. This group can be identified, among other things, by their distinct dialect of *Tamazigth* called *Tamasheq* (AlKroud 2018, 30-31).

All the various dialects have been categorized for a long time, beginning with the first Arab historians to encounter them under a common name which was "*al-lisan albarberi* (the Berber tongue) or *al-lisan al-gharbi* (the Western tongue)" (AlKroud 2018, 30-31). This act of naming consequentially obscured for a long time all the rich dialectical differences among the many Berber tribes.

Ibn Khaldun states:

> Their language is not only foreign but of a special kind, which is why they are called Berbers. It is said of Ifriqish son of Qays son of Sayfi, […] that he encountered this strange race with its peculiar tongue and struck with amazement exclaimed 'What a berbera you have!' For this reason, they were called Berbers (AlKourd 2018, 31).

As brought to light by Ibn Khaldun "the previously Berber tribes /žba:la/ were completely Arabized since the fourteenth century while the people living in mountainous areas were Islamized but not completely Arabized" (Kesbi 2005, 2). The author maintains that "the geographical element played an important role in facilitating the process of Arabization in the plains and hindering it in the mountains" (Kesbi 2005, 2). This meant that even though "the Berbers were eventually converted to Islam, their ethnic and linguistic purity has been persevered until today" (Kaplan 1982). Language is one of the primary factors which distinguishes Berbers from Arabs and is one of the main attributes of their culture which unites the diverse different groups within the Berber community. Language is the main feature which brings them all together and is seen as the main vessel

to carry down their collective memory and identity through generations (Brett and Fentress 1996).

> The history of Morocco shows that the country has never been totally 'homogenized', 'Arabized' or 'Islamized'. Morocco is a Berber, Arab, Muslim, Mediterranean and African country. […]. Moroccan women's present condition is the result of the various types of patriarchy that accompanied Morocco's historical evolution (Sadiqi 2003, 17).

Thus, the Berbers have always retained a part of their unique culture, values, language and identity despite all the different conquerors and colonizing forces trying to assimilate them. Up to 1933, the pacification period, Imazighen organized their socio-political life according to their customary law Izirf.

2.1.2. French Protectorate (1912-1956)

In the 20th century two European countries, Spain and France, colonized Morocco. France justified its colonial power as a protectorate (1912- 1956) "by claiming it had a mission to civilise and develop the region" (Ennaji 2009, 10). France wanted to claim political control of Morocco, exploit raw materials in the country as well as employ a cheap workforce to boost the European market. Both countries implemented economic policies that ensured Morocco remained underdeveloped and as a result became dependent on the work opportunities provided by the French. Colonial education was only available to local populations in order provide job training for low-level jobs available in the French labour market (Ennaji 2009, 10; Ennaji 2005, 13).

In 1930, the French protectorate introduced Dahir of May 16th, which was an administrative decree *Dahir Berbère* as part of the divide and rule tactic. The aim of the Dahir is that "the mountain Berber were to be administered by their own customary tribal law (Tm izirf, Ar. qa'ida, 'urf) while the Arabic-speaking population in the plains and cities were to remain subject to mainstream Islamic law as expounded in the shari'a and through the Qur'an" (Hart 1997, 12).[22]

The introduction of this Dahir resulted in the birth of the Moroccan nationalist movement which was made up of a group of young urban elite students at the time. They interpreted and understood from the Dahir that the French administration wanted to eliminate all the Islamic values and laws existing among the Berbers and substitute them

---

[22] For more in-depth information on topic of *Dahir Berbère* see Ennaji (2005) Wyrtzen (2009) and Hart (1997).

with the French law, which had secular European values (Hart 1997 and Ennaji 2005). Peyron adds to this that "they protested at being separated from their Berber brothers, whereas it is common knowledge that they had little common ground with people whom they traditionally regard as backward and uncouth" (Peyron 2021, 345).

The view of the nationalists was that the Dahir was "a violation of Islam which otherwise was protected by the treaty of Fes in 1912 which established the protectorate in the first place" (Hart 1997, 12). However, to Kaplan (1982) "Berber villages since antiquity have been governed by democratically run councils, or jamas. Because of the difficult terrain, central authority was never strong; each village was governed by its own set of rules". Kaplan maintains "'the jama established a tradition of pluralism in Morocco long before the country's contact with the West,' said Mr. Chafik'".

Despite accepting Islam as a religion during the Arab conquests "Amazigh people (Imazighen) maintained their pre-Islamic traditions and cultural rituals" (Ennaji and Sadiqi 2020, 39). Islamization during this era never completely succeeded to root out Amazigh culture, which remained a key facet of daily life for the Imazighen through to the present day. New villages and various social and political organizational units, such as the Jama, remained to function according to their customary law, which organized domains such as water irrigation. This separation in law and values within their territories allowed the Imazighen to preserve their language, culture and identity; this gave them a strong sense of community and independent lifestyles, especially in the mountainous and more geographically isolated regions of Morocco. To this effect "Amazigh people have kept their own institutions in parallel with the civil law and policies enforced by the new Arab rulers" (Ennaji and Sadiqi 2020, 40).

In furthering the French colonization, its administration at the time combined power and knowledge. Layachi (2005) Ennaji (2018b) puts it in to plain words that they were greatly aided by many anthropologists, scientists, missionaries and traveling writers who facilitated the colonization process. The majority of colonial texts produced by these enquiries "argued that Amazigh beliefs and artistic forms were the result of ancient Roman and Christian values, making Imazighen appear more European in order to reinforce the French justification of colonialism as their duty to reunite Imazighen with their European heritage and Christian roots" (Becker 2006a, 6).

The issue of linguistic difference was a breeding ground for the conflict generated by colonial powers. They exploited these differences to create a racial hierarchy whereby, according to AlKourd (2018, 31): "Arabic language had ascendancy over oral Berber

dialects. The hierarchy had not been a source of concern for the Berbers until the French presence" in the region. Because, according to Ennaji (2020a, 16-), "there are several historical, social, economic, political and cultural causes of the exclusion of Berber communities in North Africa". Prior to the Arab conquest Tamazight was never an official language, only being used within informal settings, as during these times Latin was adopted as the language of the state. "With the advent of Arab Islamic civilization, Berber continued to be excluded from public life, as Arabic became the official language of the state and Islam its religion" (Ennaji 2020a, 16).

The French tried to assimilate the Berbers to become Europeans because their language and some practices were pre-Islamic. However, the Berbers considered themselves Muslim (Sadiqi 2016a, 24). This is further explained by Gellner: "the Berber sees himself as a member of this or that tribe, within an Islamically-conceived and permeated world – and not as a member of a linguistically defined ethnic group, in a world in which Islam is one thing among others" (Maddy Weitzman 2001,43). In this context Assid (2010) demonstrates his view on the matter by stating that the Amazigh accepted the Arabs when they landed in North Africa. They did not act under the notions of Tamazgha and in fact accepted Islam as their religion and helped to spread it further in other countries. This divide-and-rule policy, according to Ennaji (2005, 14), "had, nonetheless, the opposite effect since it led to the strengthening of the solidarity between Arabs and Berbers and to the consolidation of the fight for independence […]".

However, according to Ennaji (2020a, 16 -17), "during the French occupation, Berbers remained, marginalized even though the French allowed the teaching of Berber language only in one high school (Lycée Franco-berbère d'Azrou)". Despite the state's attempt to assimilate the Berbers into a European race, "Berbers were suffering from the isolation which they suffered under the Protectorate" (Peryon 2021).

Mosques were the stage for meetings held by the nationalists, whose "movement gained momentum in the mid-1930s, and the moment the French authorities arrested King Mohammed V and exiled him and his family to Corsica and then to Madagascar on August 20th, 1953, the beginning of the end of the French occupation started" (Ennaji 2009, 10-11). In the 1940s, Morocco and other Arab nations saw the development of nationalists moving against colonization by spreading nationalist sentiment within Arab Muslim nations. These movements were led by leaders such as "Jamal Eddine Al Afghani, Muhamed Abdu, Rachid Ridha, (in Egypt), Ibn Badis (in Algeria), and Allal Al Fassi (in Morocco)" (Ennaji 2005, 27).

Pan-Arabization nationalism was a response to negative value judgements imposed by European colonizers who labeled the local populations as lazy unsophisticated people lacking the skills and productivity of civilized populations (Ennaji 2005, 27). The nationalists used Islam in the struggle against the French protectorate by using Islamic principles such as Jihad, which is "martyrdom or struggle in the name of Allah for the land" (Ennaji 2005, 12-13) as well as using mosques as a platform to spread their ideals and the promotion of free Arabic education. Allal Al Fassi, a nationalist leader, used the differences between Islamic and Western cultures to emphasize the value of the Moroccan cultural identity as a tool against colonialism (Ennaji 2005, 12-13). Instrumentalization of religion "unified urban Moroccans around Islam. However, the attitudes of the nationalists towards the politicization of religion were not unified: some self-identified as conservative and others as modernist" (Sadiqi and Winkel 2022, 293).

2.1.3. Post-Independence Morocco 1956-1970s: Arabization Policies

After Morocco gained independence in 1956, the state builders guided the construction of the state in line with new Arabization policies. According to Hoffman (2007 198) the construction "was aimed at replacing French with classical Arabic […] as a means of unifying expression and national identity". As stated by Ennaji (2020a, 17) these governments "used the Berbers as scapegoats and treated Berber as ex French collaborators, although Berbers actively fought, and many died".

According to Sadiqi and Winkel (2022, 293) "the attitudes of the nationalists towards the politicization of religion were not unified: some self-identified as conservative and others as modernist". The modernists sought to keep the essence of the French model by spreading French in many fields, such as education, media, administration, trade and so on. On the other hand, the traditionalist Istiqlal Party who "gained power and was faced with the task of national reconstruction" (Redouane 1988, 199) and gave "priority to classic Arabic language and Islam" (Ennaji and Sadiqi 2020, 40). This "party's position on language policy preferred a return to old ideals and the reinstating of a national Arab-Islamic identity in Morocco" (Redouane 1988, 199).

Arabization was justified and enforced because it aimed to justifying national unity and sovereignty. Such an idea of unity can be viewed as positive when uniting people; however, many indigenous ethnic groups may be forgotten, oppressed and marginalized based on the ideology that Pan-Arabism exposes them to (Laghssais 2021a, 72-73). In same vein Ennaji affirms that this Arabization policy that "has been

implemented since the 1960s to strengthen state building and to assimilate the Berbers, led to the latter exclusion for decades" (Ennaji 2020a, 17).

Since minorities were considered a threat to the security and unity of the state within traditional authoritarian regimes, state-building was often used as alibi to exclude Berbers. It was believed that Berbers, if left unchecked, would be a danger if they were recognized by their cultural identity. The states in the region enforced one language (Arabic), one religion (Islam), with one God (Allah), and one peoples (Arabs) who formed one Arab-Islamic culture. Thus, "an Arab-Islamic identity also served to legitimize and strengthen the rule of the Moroccan monarch, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad" (Becker 2006a, 6).

The aim was to have a unified nation without diversity and devoid of women's and minority rights (Ennaji 2020a). Imazighen "did not fit in with the Nationalist concept, the Berber language and culture were sidelined; basically, for those Imazighen unprepared to play the Arabization game, this resulted in relegation to second-class citizenship" (Peyron 2021, 353). The fact that the Qur'an is written in Classical Arabic was used as a tool to motivate replacement of French, "the language of the colonizer" (Tilmatine 2015, 7), with Classical Arabic to strengthen the Arab-Islamic identity. However, according to Ennaji "arabization had as a goal, not only to replace French with Arabic in all walks of life but also to Arabize the Berber populations across North Africa" (2020a, 17).

The policy of Arabization was implemented in education in order to achieve full Arabization of the first year of primary education within the first two years of independence. For the remaining years of primary education, a bilingual policy was implemented "during which students were given 15 hours of Arabic instruction and 15 hours of French per week (progressing in later years to 20 hours a week of Arabic and only 10 of French) and where elementary natural science and arithmetic were taught through the medium of Arabic" (Redouane 1988, 199). Mathematics and science were Arabised in 1973 by the government for primary and secondary education. Philosophy and social sciences were at the same time converted to Arabic in all of the different levels of education, causing French to become a second language, and Arabic to rise to the role of primary language within all disciplines of primary and secondary education. However, in higher education and private institutes sciences continued to be taught in the French language (Ennaji 2009, 18). Bilingualism and biculturalism caused problems for students due to the different usages of both languages as well as different roles they represented.

This led concretely to a "high rate of failure and dropouts in primary, secondary, and higher education" (Ennaji 2009, 18).[23]

According to Ennaji (2020a 16 - 18) in their pursuit of modernity and efficacy the Moroccan government rejected Amazigh language and culture due to it being regarded as primitive, under-developed and pointless in the new world. The rulers considered Amazigh languages as a hinderance to state building and unifying the Arab nations under their political power. Additionally, Imazighen were seen as pre-Islamic remnants and thus considered not a part of the new Arab nationalist agenda. Due to this they were neglected further and arguably worse off than before. Imazighen were encouraged to leave behind their old ways and become a part of the new Arab nationalist way of life. They were encouraged to integrate into the growing urbanized and modern zones which caused a rural exodus to happen between the 1980s and 2010s. Many urbanized Imazighen lost their mother tongue as a result due to all transactions in their new lives being carried out in Arabic. They failed to transmit their old ways and knowledge to their children; as a result, in urban areas a regression of Amazigh culture and low interest in their heritage is perceptible. Due to this "many Imazighen hold negative attitudes towards Berber [and] have become convinced that their language is worthless" (Belhiah and others 2020, 122). In some areas this resulted in the complete loss of language, but "varies according to context, circumstance, gender, and/or upbringing. Most men are bilingual; village women tend to be monolingual" (Peyron 2021, 369)

The Berber language was not taught in school; even at the Azrou Berber school it was discontinued after Morocco's independence due to the fact it was part of colonial policies by the French to divide Moroccans. Up until 2002 it was not taught, and this exclusion led to regression and marginalization of the language. Berbers were further excluded due to the impact of two military coups, on July 19th, 1971, and August 16th, 1972, which were mainly instigated by Berber generals and nearly led to the monarchy being overthrown. This caused Berbers to be left out of major decision making, their language being banned from public spaces and generally being discouraged. Furthermore,

---

[23] According to Ennaji (1988, 10) applying such policy between night and a day has meet with many hurdles. Administration staff were required to take Classical Arabic to improve their Standard of Arabic throughout the late 1960s. Books and materials containing techniques of correspondence in Arabic and a technical lexicon were made available to them to emphasize the ideal political sovereignty was not the only result of independence. Using one's national language throughout daily life was also seen as an integral part of being independent. Despite efforts to Arabize society and education through formal policies French language remained the main language for daily work and progress. Knowing the progress of their children in social and economic spheres depended on this, Political leaders in Morocco accepted bilingual or fully foreign educational institutions (Strengholt 2009, 16-19).

Berbers were stripped of their land, which was confiscated by the state or by rich landowners, and never recovered their lost properties. Today, with the revival of the Berber culture, there are strong new demands to recover their lands which are now called collective land or Aradi Aljummu. However, the state denies any claims to legal ownership of these ancestral lands (Ennaji 2020a, 16 – 18).

To foster Arabization within Moroccan society, Arabizing media was also applied to television and other tele-communications channels.

> Moroccan radio and television (RTM), which are government owned, are undoubtedly pioneers in the implementation and reinforcement of Modern Standard Arabic. The Moroccan radio began operating in 1956 and television in 1962. The Arabic-French bilingual radio (Medi 1) started to operate in 1980 while a new television channel (2M) was launched in 1989 (Ennaji 1999, 153).

Broadcast services were an important factor in "modernization of the Arabic lexicon and structure" (Ennaji 1999, 155). They implemented government language policies which paved the way to standardization of the language through translation of scientific, political and economic texts from French and English into Modern Standard Arabic, making it seen "as a prestigious written variety of Arabic" (Ennaji 1999, 155). More Moroccans have access to television and radio than ever before, which aids the spread and consolidation of Modern Standard Arabic and help establish it as the dominant language. All in all, these exclusion and marginalization policies and poor treatment toward the Imazighen led to the emergence of the Amazigh cultural movement, which advocates for the Amazigh cultural identity and linguistic rights.

2.1.4. Amazigh Cultural Movement Emergence (AMC)

In response to the suppression of the Amazigh language, culture and identity exclusion and marginalization by the Arabization process, the Imazighen activists started the Amazigh Cultural Movement-(ACM).[24] According to Suárez Collado (2013) El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui (2018) and El Aissati (2005), the Amazigh movementhas passed through stages and periods of development. The first stage was "a pre-IRCAM period, which started in the early 1960s and ended in 2001, was characterized by the state's resistance to the ACM demands to promote the Amazigh language and culture".

---

[24] As stated in El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui who defined the Amazigh cultural Movement as "an ensemble of activities, individuals, or groups that contribute individually or collectively, directly or indirectly to promoting the Amazigh language, culture and identity" (2018, 124).

The second stage was "a post-IRCAM period, which witnessed a growing interest in Amazigh" (El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui, 2018, 113).

- *Stage one: pre-IRCAM period*

The first stage stemmed from founding the first cultural association in 1967 by leaders from the Sous region in order to defend Amazigh culture under the name of *popular culture* as its promotion.[25] At the time, talking about the Amazigh case was one of the taboos for the Arab nationalist movement, within which any element of diversity was seen as a threat (Ronald and Hamaoumi 2012). Morocco existed in "a political context in which any demand in favor of the Amazigh language and culture could be seen as an attempt to recover the French colonial policy or an affront to the country's unity" (Suárez Collado 2013, 57-61).

The advocacy of the associations' work remained limited to research and exchanges in what they called *popular culture* and *popular poetry*, without any mention of the name Amazigh or Tamazight. Following this association, another one was established in Nadour in the North of Morocco from which several major artists graduated (Ait Mous 2006, 131–159).

The 1970s was a time known as *the years of lead,* which was heavily characterized by extensive repression and intimidation of political opponents. The attempted coups of 1971 and 1972 were connected to the fierce politics of adapting Arabization (Aslan 2014, 169). Maddy Weitzman notes that Hasan II "barely survived attempted military coups, in 1971 and 1972. Most of those implicated were Berber officers, foremost among them General Mohamed Oufkir; Oufkir and many of his associates had advanced through the ranks of the French Army during the colonial period and then formed the backbone of the Moroccan armed forces during the fifteen years of independence" (Maddy Weitzman 2017, 12). As stated by El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui (2018, 113) "the implication of Amazighs in those events resulted in further marginalization of regions where Amazigh is spoken and, therefore, more marginalization of the Amazigh language". Although their motivations were not outspoken to be "Berber" in essence, there was a general consensus that the orchestrated coups had a Berber tinge to them caused by "their common

---

[25] According to El Aissati (2005) "Brahim Akhyate, Ali Azaykou, Ahmed Boukous, and Abdellah Bounfour, among others, founded Amazigh cultural associations to maintain the Amazigh heritage". In addition to as stated by Ennaji (2020a) "thanks mainly to the hard work of Berber militants and activists like Mohammed Chafik, Mahjouhi Aherdan, Brahim Akhiyat, and Ali Sidki. official and unofficial attitudes and discourses have become "favorable to Berber".

backgrounds, links, and concerns" (Maddy Weitzman 2017, 11). To this author "many among Morocco's Arabophone elites viewed the coups as a Berber challenge to their privileged position in society, and Berbers were heavily stigmatized as a result" (Maddy Weitzman 2017, 11).

To Moha Ennaji:

> The marginalization of Berbers has widened the gap between rural and urban zones, and the gulf between the wealthy Arabs of the urban bourgeoisie and the poor Berber rural populations. As a result of their social arid political exclusion, Berbers have suffered for a long from discriminatory policies and practices, from a systematic denial of citizenship, and from linguistic and cultural exclusion (Ennaji 2020a, 18- 19).

In the 1980s, Amazigh activism started to ramp up further, making more specific public demands and taking on the character of a fully ethnic focused movement with clear goals. The organizational structure was much more well-defined and developed and continued to develop into the 1990s. However, the movement had only a limited appeal to rural populations and mostly consisted of well-educated, multilingual urban Berbers who often had strong international relations. The reason for the lack of interest in the more rural areas was mainly due to the fact the movement had not yet taken its more nationalist form due to carefully formulated state policies which were in place at the time (Aslan 2014, 165).

One of the more important public functions of the Berber activist movement was the Agadir Summer University. In the last two weeks of August 1980, a colloquium took place which was initiated by the Amazigh association *L'Association Marocaine de la Recherche et de l'Echange Culture* (AMREC). They had the main goal of bringing together intellectuals and researchers from the Berber communities all over the country to "put more emphasis on calls for identity recognition and linguistic rights" (El Aissati 2005, 66).

> [...AMREC] These groups dedicated themselves to the preservation and promotion of the Amazigh heritage, and the government tolerated them as long as they did not engage in political activity. Even as the Moroccan government attempted to suppress the political mobilization of the Imazighen, Amazigh artistic and cultural activity remained publicly visible. Photographs of Imazighen were featured on travel brochures, and Amazigh musicians commonly performed at government organized tourist festivals. In addition, Morocco's many markets were filled with Amazigh ceramics, carpets, and silver jewelry for sale. Amazigh activists angrily complained that the government was reducing Amazigh culture to a folkloric commodity for tourists while marginalizing the Imazighen and preventing them from

accessing the country's economic and political resources to the same degree as Arabs (Becker 2006a, 6).

Therefore, as the theme of the meeting *the Popular Culture: Unity in Diversity* suggests, the organizers put the emphasis on Moroccan unity and implied that the discussions would not be solely on the Berber identity. As documented by El Aissati (2005, 66) stating that among the things which lead to developments of the Amazigh movement was an influence from what was happening in Algeria during the Berber spring of 1980 in the Kbylie region of Algeria. March 10th, 1980 saw a talk on Amazigh poetry, which was given by Mouloud Mammeri, cancelled on government orders, resulting in large scale protests and unrest that ended in clashes between the Berber movement and government forces. This led to the event becoming "a symbol of the fight for a Berber identity, [...] celebrated by Algerians, Moroccans, and other Berbers of North Africa, both at home and in immigration countries" (El Aissati 2005, 66).

The second meeting of the colloquium in Agadir planned for 1982 "was crippled by the widespread repression initiated by the Moroccan regime" (Suárez Collado 2013, 57-61). Because the latter was sensitive about the politicization of Berber activism, it ended up "leading the Amazigh associations to work underground, if not to disappear completely" (Suárez Collado 2013, 57-61). This year's underground activity inspired what is named the *Berber renaissance* that stirred different Berber activists to collaborate together, which led to a further transition from working in silence into working collectively and publicly. This was not in the best interests of the state, so they arrested an Amazigh intellectual artist and poet Ali Sadiqi Azaykou for releasing an article on the History of Morocco, in which he questions and writes on issues of Arabization, popular culture, and the Moroccan national identity. According to Aslan, he "criticized the association of Islam with the Arab culture and argued that Arabization could be regarded as imperialism in Morocco, where the popular culture was actually based on the Berber culture". Aslan maintains that Azaykou "wrote that the Moroccans were not totally Arabized and asked for a revision of the official history as a way to do justice to both cultures" (Aslan 2014, 170). His illustration and criticism of the Arabs and nationalists as invaders condemned him to a year-long jail sentence for incitement of the public order. This was the first registered arrest on record of the Amazigh case (Maddy Weitzman 2011). After this period there were appearances of many artists singing about the Amazigh cultural identity, which raised empathy and awareness about the Amazigh cause

and questioned the fabricated national history. This transformation shifted from the focus on elitism of the Berber movement's leaders to the real public issues.

The events followed the signing of the formal call for recognition of Berber cultural and linguistic rights known as *la Charte d'Agadir* in 1991. The document was signed by six cultural associations in the city of Agadir (Peyron 2021). This document embodies "the first compilation and dissemination of the Amazigh ideology" and is considered the "the first formal and collective petition to the Moroccan state" (Suárez Collado 2013, 57-61) which acts as a form of "protest against the marginalization of Berber and puts forth demands like the recognition of Berber as a national language by the Constitution, its standardization and its inclusion in schooling" (El Aissati 2005, 66).

The Agadir charter was turned from a common demands document into an ideological ground for national coordination among Amazigh NGOs, so that they could become 11 NGOs that are monitored by National Coordination Committee (CNC) in making a protocol for coordinating its work. This period has seen many important events related to Tamazight, such as the arrests in the southeast of Morocco in Errachidia, where a number of Amazigh activists linked to the Cultural Association Tilelli were protesting on May 1st, 1994, on Labor Day. They raised banners with slogans written in Tifinagh that aimed to constitutionalize Tamazight. They were arrested and charged with disrupting public order (El Aissati 2005, 67). This "immediately became a *cause célèbre*, as scores of Berber lawyers converged on Goulmima to defend their own. Such was the outcry at this blatant disregard for cultural rights that King Hassan II himself intervened and the offenders were released shortly afterwards" (Peyron 2021, 359).

The consequence of this event was that pro-Berber activism reached its peak, which led the king at the time, Hassan II, to address the population in a speech on August 20th, 1994 in which he stressed the importance of Moroccan dialects, *Berber dialects*, in education. This was the first royal speech that tackled this topic directly.[26] To El Aissati (2005, 67), "the national public broadcasting channel (RTM) started airing Amazigh news bulletins for the first time in Morocco's history" (Belhiah and others 2020, 122-123). King Hassan II's speech "was seen as a major support for the Berber movement, seeing

---

[26] Near the end of Hassan II's rule he began to open up the regime more and allowed for example Amazigh activist voices to be heard more, and for them to more freely organize and state their demands. This allowed a new chapter in the book of Amazigh activism to commence where their image could more clearly be seen. Increased freedoms of association and press opportunities allowed Amazigh activists to establish additional organizations, initiate events such as conferences, sit-ins and public demonstrations, and publish their own journals.

that if the king himself is for the teaching of Berber, this would mean that it forms no threat to the established order" (El Aissati 2005, 67). Nevertheless, his speech unfortunately "remained an unkept promise, and steps were never taken to include the Amazigh language in the education system" during his reign (El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui 2018, 113).

Amazigh activism remained active throughout 1995 through the creation of the international Amazigh Congress. The Amazigh Congress hosted a lot of meetings aimed at coalitions with many Amazigh NGO actors in North African countries and the rest of the world. In 1996, the NGOs(of which there were 18 by this time) presented a document to the royal palace in which they requested modification of the constitution and suggested adding Tamazight as an official national language of the country.

- *Stage 2: post -IRCAM period 2001 – present*

The royal speech of 1994 marked the beginning of public visibility of the Amazigh cause from exclusion to inclusion. In 1999, King Mohamed VI ascended to the throne. The year 2000 saw the unification of the Imazighen people as the ACM and revitalized their demands by the submission of *the Amazigh Manifesto*. This in essence was similar to the *Agadir Charter*, though it stressed the recent marginalization policies towards Amazigh and was much more explicit and firmer in its demands for recognition of the Tamazight language, identity and culture.

The year 2001 marked a new beginning of the second stage of the ACM. A few months after the transition of the throne to the new king, Mohammed VI traveled to the city of Ajdir on October 17th, 2001 and gave an important speech in which he "announced the royal edict (Dahir) that established the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM)" (Aslan 2014, 164). According to Ennaji (2020a, 20) its "purpose is to promote Berber in all sectors, namely in education, culture, and media". Ennaji stated that "remarkable measures symbolize both a 'cooptation and a kind of liberation' […], but also represent a way of building a multicultural state which includes Berbers, a project which will have over-arching effects on the country, and on the whole of North Africa" (Ennaji 2020a, 20). The institute of El Aissati (2005, 68) "is the only one across Morocco with an official mandate to carryout research on Berbers, elaborate school manuals, and deal with issues related to Berbers".

The King Mohammed VI speech emphasized that the promotion of Amazigh as the national language was a responsibility carried by the state. Additionally, it was

"stressed that Amazighness belonged to all Moroccans and should not be used for political purposes" (Aslan 2014, 164). IRCAM's establishment was the first real tangible change in the state's attitude towards Berbers. After many years of harsh policies that neglected Amazigh culture and heritage, there suddenly emerged explicit recognition and support from the state, albeit with some strings attached (Suárez Collado 2013; Aslan 2014; Strengholt 2009).

Following the creation of the IRCAM, the general public was concerned by the newly formed institute and its functions, as this was a sensitive national issue. This resulted in the Amazigh movement having to slow down and wait and watch for the outcomes of this decision. All of these delays divided the movement in various directions; one faction considered the IRCAM a good initiative and supported it, which increased the king's legitimacy in their eyes. The other faction agreed that the creation of IRCAM was positive step for Morocco, but also believed that the state created it in order to contain the movement and slow down its efforts. The last faction rejected IRCAM because they thought it was created in order to undermine the activism movement (Suárez Collado 2013; Ronald and Hamoumi 2012).

By the year 2003 the discussion had evolved to choosing the official script for Tamazight. Due to lack of consensus between IRCAM members about adopting either an Arabic or Latin-based script for Tamazight, Tifinagh was chosen as official script because it is "the original script of the Saharan-dwelling Amazigh ancestors" (Peyron 2021, 362). According to Belhiah and others (2020, 123), "the issue was settled when the king issued a decree mandating the use of Tifinagh in February 2003". That later allowed Tifinagh to be "implemented in school textbooks for teaching Amazigh, starting in the 2003–2004 academic year, as well as in several other domains" (Belhiah and others 2020, 123).[27]

The importance of the Berber identity was further underlined in a periodic manner by the king in his public narrative as a key component of the Moroccan identity. Some of the initial Amazigh demands, such as state-owned television broadcasting news in Berber dialects and various radio broadcasts being in these dialects were addressed at this time.

Despite Amazigh being broadcast on the radio in limited fashion since 1928, it wasn't until after the speech of King Hassan II in 1994 that it entered the realm of

---

[27] According to Belhiah and others (2020, 123) the choice of Tifinagh remained criticised by some for years after as for instance can be seen in 2011 where the PJD opposed the alphabet on "political and ideological grounds". They urged "excluding the name 'Tifinagh' from the Amazigh language policy act" (2020, 123). The party's "former prime minister and leader Abdelilah Benkirane, vehemently criticized the choice of the script and likened it to Chinese in a campaign rally in 2011" (2020, 123).

television. The language was still not fully recognized, and it was referred to as dialects during news bulletin broadcasts in 3 variants of Tamazight (Belhiah and others 2020, 124-125).

In 2005 a new law, No. 77-03, was enacted that recognized the Tamazight language officially within media and granted Imazighen rights by law under the domain of audiovisual communications. This was done via a set of broadcast licensing obligations published at the time which specified the terms of use of Tamazight during public broadcasts. These new terms came into effect in 2006 when public TV channels started to broadcast Amazigh programs. In 2010 a whole new channel dedicated to Amazigh culture, broadcasted fully in Tamazight, was created. Yet, it wasn't until 2011 that the two most prominent TV channels, 2M and Al Oula, realized their licensing obligations (Belhiah and others 2020, 124- 125).

Thus, the ACM passed through various steps from a cultural discourse to a more politically oriented discourse aimed at state recognition of the Amazigh people's linguistic rights. Through a trajectory full of activism operated by associations, the ACM managed to move the status of Amazigh from a situation of marginalization to a situation of recognition under the reign of King Mohammed VI, to officially being recognized by the 2011 constitution as official language of the state alongside Arabic.

2.2. Awakening and Reforms

> Everyone defines it as the 'Arab Spring', in spite of the great participation of Amazigh. We prefer to call it the Democratic Spring (Rossi-Doria 2016, 67).

2.2.1. The Birth of February 20th, Movement (F20M)

Inspired by the revolutionary uprising in Tunisia that spread over the MENA region, Moroccans followed in their footsteps as protests rallied in the streets on February 20th, 2011. This date marks the foundation of the February 20th Movement (F20M), which was consequently named after it. Hereby, the movement became a Moroccan extension of the *Arab Spring,* which was initially born on the Internet and came as a reaction to the many harsh conditions suffered by the Moroccan people. It campaigned for establishing democracy in Morocco and organized weekly demonstrations calling for significant reforms of the monarchy (POMED 2011).

Among the broad scope of its initial demands, political, social and economic reforms were included. Among other things, dissolving the government and constitution,

access to housing, free education as well as reforms in the job market (such as better wages and access to jobs) were included in the demands. Youth activists were a major means of mobilization for the F20M, as it utilized various social media platforms to voice their struggles, such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter. The conversation that started there was about discussing the uprising in the neighboring Arab countries. As youths, they were not formally allied with any political party, although by the end they were supported by many actors. In the beginning "they considered themselves to be independent protesters, demanding freedom, equality, real democracy, social justice and dignity" (Brouwer and Bartels 2014, 16). By using "these new international terms, they were demonstrating that they rejected the old meanings of mainstream politics, but at the same time were trying to get access to an international public debate" (Brouwer and Bartels 2014, 16). Thus, to this author, social media became "not only a mobilisation vehicle for activists, but that it also represents a form of new meaning-making, the recognition of the activists' social participation in the global world" (Brouwer and Bartels 2014, 10).

Young participants had different reasons for joining the movement, but most all were frustrated with the socio-economic situation and bad living conditions in Morocco. "an estimated 15% of the population was unemployed of which 60% were university graduates" (Brouwer and Bartels 2014, 11). To this author "young people are particularly active on the internet and social media: 41% of all users are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four" (Brouwer and Bartels 2014, 12). This made their role a very important one in virtual communication and coordination of the movement through Facebook and Twitter.

By admission from the Ministry of the Interior, demonstrations took place in 53 cities and towns across the kingdom. Nearly 150.000 to 200.000 people took to the streets and marched for democracy, setting a distinctive example in Moroccan history (Brouwer and Bartels 2014, 17). Each city had its own local coordination committee to set dates and organize the details of the demonstrations. The committees, the majority of which were led by young activists, had no political affiliation. Their primary motive was addressing the unemployment condition of the country. The F20M did not only consist of independent youths. There were also other people throughout the country who participated in local protests organized through local council meetings. For instance, 14 separate groups and NGOs within Marrakech, including Amazigh groups, were coordinated by the local council there; this organization allowed for political groups

associated to the Amazigh to take part in protests without being tied to specific political sides giving rise "to a new political space in which different groups would put forward their own demands" (Rossi-Doria 2016, 67).

Although these groups focused on "common grounds such as social justice and the division of powers and constitutional rights, they did not become a unified political movement" (Bergh and Rossi-Doria 2015, 207) but rather a unique movement for everyone to express their needs. In particular the Amazigh movement, coming from both rural and urban areas as we have seen in chapter one, shifted to political discourse and took this opportunity of the F20M as a way to voice their struggles. Their efforts were not limited to only Amazigh culture and linguistic rights recognition but also focused on "condemning their economic marginalization and requesting more infrastructure in rural areas. Amazigh activists also demanded the protection of tribal lands from ongoing expropriation by state agents and private speculators" (Rossi-Doria 2016, 67).

According to Rossi-Doria (2016) while conducting her research and interviewing Amazigh militants on the Amazigh cause and contributions to the F20M, they noted that the national media initially was employed to discredit and delegitimize them. As documented by Rossi-Doria, "an Amazigh activist argued, 'at the beginning of the protests some media often associated us [Amazigh] with the Polisario or portrayed us as Israeli or Algerian friends. Sometimes they even defined us as non-Muslims" (Rossi-Doria 2016, 67). They continued to clarify that the media slowly increased visibility into the protester's demands until the confirmation came that new reforms would be added to the constitution. At this time most media changed "their focus from the protests to the constitutional phase inaugurated by the King" (Rossi-Doria 2016, 68).

The Amazigh demands were not praised by many, apart from a few leftist democratic activists. Most of the Amazigh demands were rejected due to challenges in their practical implementation, as was indicated by a member of the Socialist Union of Popular Force (USFP). In an interview by Rossi-Doria they "pointed out that 'the official recognition of Tamazight Language is just a populist move" (2016, 68). Most Amazigh demands were rejected on these practical grounds, such as Tamazight only being used within the familiar sphere as well as it lacking the grammatical structure needed to implement it into the education system (Rossi-Doria 2016, 68). Another interview by the same author questioned people from the Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Citizen's Action (ATTAC-Maroc), who reasoned that "the recognition of Amazigh culture was the only point accepted by the *Makhzen* among all of the F20M's

proposals" (2016, 68). They noted that they never deemed it to be the main objective. All in all, one can observe that there is a dichotomy in the nature of the demands of the civil society in different cities and regions. For example, in Amazigh speaking (rural) areas most activists and militants had a material nature to their demands. They focused on demanding local economic developments, including infrastructure related issues such as paved roads (Rossi-Doria 2016, 69). The urban intellectual elite activists, on the other hand, were aimed at constitutional arrangements and stressed a more political nature in their demands for improvements.

The question of women and feminism in Morocco was at the heart of the youth-led movement which Salime (2012) called the *new feminism*. This new feminism attracted the attention of young people. The call for participation was encouraged by youth such as "Amina Boughalbi's face and voice was unknown to the public, Amina, at that time a twenty-year-old journalism student and a founding member of February 20th" (Salime 2012, 101). This student had firstly initiated the call for protests on a YouTube video expressing: "I am Moroccan, and I will march on February 20th because I want freedom and equality for all Moroccans" (Salime 2012, 101). This initiative was followed by other people (men and women) recording their voices in the first-person, as the above quotation, stating their reasons for participating in the demonstration.

Gender equality was stressed at all levels of the movement's organization and mobilization. The Moroccan Association of Human Rights (AMDH) in Rabat, led by Khadija Riyadi, was the stage for the first press conference organized by the movement on the 17th of February 2011. Amina Boughalbi was one of the key speakers at this press conference (Salime 2012, 102). Various issues were discussed at these meetings such as the peaceful intent and nature of protests, and emphasizing the secular, modern and independent essence of the youth led movement who desired social equality and justice through peaceful means (Salime 2012, 102).

This pushed the movement to gain the attention of a wide spectrum of leftist political parties, human rights associations, unions and NGOs, among whom was the National Council of Support (NCS). The latter was comprised of media figures such as journalists, high-profile academics, most labor unions and a variety of leftist parties and human rights associations. Besides all these parties, there were a lot of volunteers involved in the council (Salime 2012, 102). "the NCS provided logistical support, legal advice and took part in the movements 'various activities and protests. Many women,

including Khadija Riyadi, Samira Kinani, Halima Morsli and Khadija Abnaou were involved as legal counsellors" (Salime 2012, 102).

It was clear that feminism became a source of inspiration within a more polarized political landscape. According to Salime "the new feminism seems to be emerging from outside of the traditional spaces of feminist organizations and seems to be carried out by men and women as partners in the struggle for social and economic justice". This author maintains that "seeing the question of gender equality is too narrow to encompass the general goal of social justice that includes men and women" (2012, 105). This political hybridity and pluralism of the F20M was seen by many as a positive space enabling a new era of feminist leadership and breakthroughs around the issue of gender equality on a state and policy level. In an interview by Salime (2012, 105) it was pointed out "that working together on issues of fair distribution of resources, accountability before the law, equal opportunities, dignity and freedom for all, will create an environment in which women are not isolated in their struggle for gender equality". The 20 February Movement had been an opportunity where different actors worked together to enable an apolitical culture in which women were perceived as equals in the movement.

2.2.2. The Constitution 2011: Reforms & Implementation [28]

Due to the fact that "the King's religious and temporal authority, protected by articles 19 and 23 of the constitution is viewed as the main obstacle to the rise of truly democratic institution and political accountability" (Salime 2012, 102).[29] King Mohammed VI swiftly implemented constitutional reforms in a televised address to his people on March 9th, 2011. This came as a response to the first waves of protests started after F20M made their demands. He announced the formation of *Une Commission consultative pour la réforme de la constitution Royal* (CCRC) "a council for the constitutional amendment and gave recommendations for institution of equality and gender parity" (Salime 2012, 106). To this author "the new constitution would also allow broader prerogatives to the Prime Minister, hypothetically limiting the sphere of the King's sovereignty" (2012, 106).

The committee worked on the process of drafting the new constitution and by June 17th his Majesty set the referendum's major goals. He promoted participation in voting

---

[28] The Constitution of Morocco was reformed and modified during several years as dates: 1962, 1970, 1972, 192, 1996, and the currently in 2011.

[29] Constitution of 1996.

during the constitutional referendum, which took place on July 1st and tackled the question of whether to move forward with the new constitution. Afterwards it was noted "the referendum's result was a success for Mohammed VI since the new constitution was approved by 98% of those who voted" (Biagi 2014, 8). Among the reforms people voted in favor of, and what this dissertation will primarily focus on, are the two articles that had a direct relationship with topic of this thesis. These main reforms came in the shape of article 5 and article 19 of the newly written constitution. Article 5 enforces recognition of the Tamazight language, which brought it from marginalized status to official. The second set of reforms comes through article 19, which claims gender equality and allows "women […] entering the scene as active subjects in the construction of a new citizenship" (Cherifati- Merabtine 1995, 60).

- *Article 05*

As far back as 1991, demands for recognition of Tamazight within the constitution have been made. Within the ACM concerns were expressed that solely through official recognition of the Amazigh cultural identity, and Tamazight, would the Amazigh people be guaranteed protection. Up to the emergence of the F20M however such demands went largely unfulfilled. It was at this time that King Mohammed VI made explicit the language issues surrounding Tamazight and the multiplicity of Moroccan culture through his speech on March 9th, 2011, in which he urged constitutional reviews to be held. This led to widespread agreement between the involved parties regarding Tamazight's officialization (Ait Mous and others 2015, 15).

According to article 5 of the 2011 Constitution:

> Arabic is [demeure] the official language of the State. The State works for the protection and for the development of the Arabic language, as well as the promotion of its use. Likewise, Tamazight [Berber/amazighe] constitutes an official language of the State, being common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception (Morocco's Constitution of 2011 2012, 4).[30]

Tamazight became an official language alongside Arabic in the new constitution of 2011. Due to the new role of Tamazight within the constitution, an organic law defining the practical implementation and integration into the primary aspects of public life was required for it to take the function of an official language. In addition to the *Conseil*

---

[30] Translated to English by Jefri J. Ruchti, Full reference see the bibliography: Morocco's constitution of 2011 (2012, 4).

national des langues et de la culture marocaine was created to take charge of "the protection and the development of the Arabic and Tamazight languages and of the diverse Moroccan cultural expressions" (Morocco's Constitution of 2011 2012, 4).

- *Article 19*

    According to article 19 of the 2011 Constitution:

    > The man and the woman enjoy, in equality, the rights and freedoms of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental character, enounced in this Title and in the other provisions of the Constitution, as well as in the international conventions and pacts duly ratified by Morocco and this, with respect for the provisions of the Constitution, of the constants [constantes] of the Kingdom and of its laws. The State works for the realization of parity between men and women. An Authority for parity and the struggle against all forms of discrimination is created, to this effect (Constitution of Morocco 2011 2012, 8).[31]

    The constitutionalization of effective gender parity was demanded by feminist NGOs during the 2011 constitutional reforms in relation to all rights stated in the constitution. Among the presented points was the fact that in the old constitution it was explicitly mentioned that Morocco would commit to all the universally recognized human rights. This evoked equality as a principle which should serve as a foundation for the constitution, as they were laid down as early as 1948 by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Raised by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, issues on gender equality were further legitimized and officially recognized within supplementary explanatory statements in 1993. Going further, the Family Code of 2004 emphasized the need for gender equality in all walks of life, including the domestic level through the conclusions of the report produced by the Equity and Reconciliation Commission on the 50th anniversary of Morocco's independence. Including gender equality within the constitution itself, however, proved much more powerful than either of these prior initiatives, as only this could guarantee future responsibility to institutionalize this concept within all domains covered by the constitution (Ait Mous and others 2015, 12-13). Article 8 of the former constitution of 1996 does recognize political rights of women; however, article 19 of the 2011 constitution (as expressed in the passage above) "recognizes that women in addition to having equal civil and political rights should have equal economic, social, cultural and

---

[31] Translated to English by Jefri J. Ruchti, Full reference see the bibliography: *Morocco's constitution of 2011* (2012, 8).

environmental rights" (Charifa n.d, 15). Gaining the right to vote and the right to serve as elected government representatives were significant milestones in the legal protection of women's political rights.

In addition, as expressed in article 6 of the 2011 Constitution as the following passage:

> […] The public powers work for the creation of the conditions permitting the effectiveness of liberty and of the equality of citizens [feminine] and citizens [masculine] to be made general [generalizer], as well as their participation in political, economic, cultural and social life (Constitution of Morocco 2011 2012, 5).[32]

Significant milestones have been achieved in Morocco by further aligning national laws with international human rights instruments. The address also set aprecedence of international law over national law. Additionally, the right for holistic contributions to the process from start to finish as well as implementation of decisions from elected bodies was provided. A new national instrument to monitor and ensure gender equality and protect against other related discrimination was also enshrined in Article 19 (ICAN 2015, 4). Adoption of various new laws, among which organic laws with dependencies on case specific circumstances were implied by the reforms. These are seen as one of the primary challenges within Morocco in moving towards effective implementation of the new reforms laid out by the constitution (Biagi 2014, 8).

Despite considerable progress on the King's part, concerning Tamazight's official status, the CCRC presented text which diluted the status of Tamazight and Arabic in its final form. In the initial text, Arabic and Tamazight were noted as two official languages, however in the final text this sentence was blurred. The Independence Party as well as the PJD were noted to be the point of origin for the pressure which eventually led to the absence of this passage. Amazigh activists view both of these parties as conservative in light of issues related to Tamazight (Ait Mous and others 2015, 15). After the referendum held on July 1st, 2011 the final constitutional text was created. This recognized Tamazight as official language, however neglected to specify how this would be implemented. It stated in Article 5 that "Arabic remains the official language of the state. The state works to protect and develop the Arabic language and to promote its use" followed by another sentence which declares that "similarly, Amazigh is an official language of the state, as it

---

[32] Translated to English by Jefri J. Ruchti, Full reference see the bibliography: *Morocco's Constitution of 2011* (2012).

is a common heritage to all Moroccans without exception" (Ait Mous and others 2015, 16).

The constitutional codification of Tamazight required, as we have mentioned before, the "adoption of an organic law to concretize Tamazight's new status. This has still not been finalized […nine] years later [as of 2019]. In addition, the teaching of Tamazight in the educational system, which was hastily and haphazardly initiated in 2003, continued to be fraught with difficulties" (Maddy Weitzman 2017, 16).

According to (El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui (2018, 112) "the organic law relative to the official implementation of the language has been pending since the adoption of the new constitution in 2011". These authors maintain that "this delay, which has lasted almost[nine] years, besides the deliberate absence of any political will from the state, render the real officialization of the Tamzight language mere ink on paper". Lack of this political will resulted in in the adoption of this organic law (number 26.16) exactly nine years later, in September 2019.

Not all parties adopted implementation strategies to cater to demands for equality. Parties such as the PJD, the Independence Party and others considered it against Qur'anic rules to adopt policies and laws to implement gender equality within the inheritance system. They argued that it was impossible to "enshrine the equality of men and women in civil rights, because of the 'national fundamental drawn from our religion' argument" (Ait Mous and others 2015, 13). These authors maintain "this has also been used in opposition to the inclusion of the primacy of international law on human rights over national legislation, which is the rule in all States of Law" (2015, 13).

> For feminist NGOs, the reason for the opposition to the constitutionalizing of equality is the fear that it could jeopardize the current rules of inheritance.33 To counter this opposition, women's NGOs have organized several initiatives during the constitutional review process. For example, the ADFM (Association démocratique des femmes du Maroc) organized demonstrations in Rabat and Casablanca on May 1st, 2011 to raise awareness of the 'constitutionalizing of effective equality between women and men in all rights'. The constitutional response to these claims was widely welcomed. The coalition of NGOs considered most of their proposals to be adequately expressed throughout the review process and taken into account in the final text of the constitution. In this way, the constitutional text came to use the term citizen for the first time. Article 19 of the new Constitution clearly states the consecration of equality (Ait Mous and others 2015, 13-14).

---

[33] According to Ait Mous and others "succession in Morocco is governed by the Fifth and Sixth Books of Act 70-03 of the Family Code, which remains largely inspired by Islamic law" (2015, 13).

The preliminary elections of November 2011 and subsequent government formation brought new life into the public debate on the topic of women's citizenship. Prior to its overhaul in 2013 the government contained merely one female member who was associated with the Islamic Party PJD working alongside 30 male associates. Due to this continued imbalance in gender representation within government, new debates and events have reinvigorated and reiterated the need for gender equality to be explicitly handled within the constitution, instead of the watered-down version which was produced by the government. According to Amina Lofti, an NGO employed feminist activist, "the process of democratization of our country will be a long one. It requires a lot of energy and sacrifice. This is why we should never give up" (Ait Mous and others 2015, 14).

2.2.3. The Moudawana 2004: Improvements and Limitations

As Defined by Malchiodi (2008, 4) "a Family Law Code (also referred to as a Personal Status Code) is the collection of laws that govern an individual's rights and obligations within the family, including rules that regulate engagement, marriage, divorce, financial maintenance, inheritance, and child custody". This author maintains that the "Family Law Codes exist in Muslim countries throughout the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and are derived from *shari'a*, or Islamic law. In Morocco the Family Code is the *Moudawana,* and it reflects Morocco's adherence to the Maliki school of [*fiqh*] Islamic jurisprudence" (Malchiodi 2008, 4).

After gaining independence from France and Spain Morocco's now modernized monarch tried to integrate *fiqh* Islamic jurisprudence within the French legal system which was still in place (Salia 2011, 6). The initial version of the *Moudawana,* in 1957, "attempts [...to] reform followed in 1961, 1962 and 1965 with the establishment of an official commission to examine any shortcomings in the *Mudawana, and* similar attempts were made throughout the 1970s. However, it was only in the 1980s that issues emerged concerning the rights and freedoms of women" (Booley 2016, 8-9). As he continues to note that "in 1993 the *Mudawana* thus underwent reforms by royal decree again, as had been the case with the previous reforms, instead of reform through parliamentary processes" (Booley 2016, 8-9).[34]

---

[34]According to Booley (2016, 8-9) the 1993 reforms were perceived as inadequate in light of the population's actual expectations due to the fact the Family Code was based on religious premises rather than civil law as was the case with the Penal Code and Constitution. This criticism was mainly raised from within liberal feminist circles.

The *Moudwana* was officially called *Moudawanat al-Ahwal al-Shakhsiya* (Personal Status Code) According to Elliott "this first Moudawana was to become the only religiously and tribally inspired law in post-independence Morocco". Contrary to the Family Code's more conservative approach, which affirmed existing patriarchal models and relations within society, the legal system of Morocco was rooted in the secular colonial system, which Elliot (2009, 213) noted as suggestive of the fact that the post-independence era would pursue a more progressive and modern standard towards economics, politics and law.

The Family Code assigned women to the role of a wife within the familial sphere, giving the man the right to repudiate his wife if she did not obey this traditional structure. This was the center of many controversies regarding the constraints put on women, which eventually led to the women's right for national debate in 1982. In March 2001, a year after taking the throne, King Mohammed VI created a royal commission to revise the Personal Status Code. Zoglin (2009, 968) states "three of the commissioners Appointed were women" and maintains that "the King asked the Royal Commission to review Family code laws in light of religious law, legal reasoning (*itjihad*), Islamic Principles of fairness, and universal human rights standards" (Zoglin 2009, 968). This was only reformed as recently as 2004, starting by "changing the name of the new code clearly signified a deep spirit of reform" (Deiana 2009, 73). The new name became *Moudawanat Alousra* (The family law code) instead of *Personal Status Code.* Harrak (2009, 7) expressed that the *Moudawana* reforms are an audacious historical milestone of Morocco and the struggles of *women* towards gender equality. In essence, significant changes were proposed by the family reform laws that strengthened the women's place within society, specifically by giving her a more prominent and equal role within the family. *Moudawana* called for gender parity and shared responsibility concerning domestic affairs. Additionally, it implemented a more modern interpretation of sharia law.

Among the major reforms and improvement that 2004 Moudawana brought to light in comparison with the previous Moudawana (Personal Status Code) of 1957-1958 are the following summarized in a table by Malchiodi (2008, 5-6):

Table 1: Comparison of Moudawana 1957-58 vs 2004.

Issue	1957-1958 *Moudawana* [1]	2004 *Moudawana* [2]
Marital Age and Consent	At 18 years of age for males, 15 for females; judges can authorize marriage of girls younger than 15 years of age. *Wali* (marital tutor) mandated.	At age 18 for both males and females; judges now required to provide a written justification if authorizing underage marriage. *Wali* optional but not required.
Polygamy	Men may have up to four spouses. Permission of the first wife not required to take an additional wife; recommended but not legally required that the new wife be informed of her husband's first wife at the time of marriage. Theoretically possible for a wife to ask her husband to commit to monogamy in the marriage contract, but no legal mechanism for enforcing the agreement.	Judicial authorization required to take a second wife; husband must have an exceptional reason for seeking an additional wife and prove his ability to financially support both wives and offspring equally. The first wife must be present when the husband appears before the judge to seek authorization. Wife can stipulate a monogamy clause in the marriage contract.
Responsibilities and Rights	Husband is the legal head of household, and the wife is legally required to obey the husband. Husband is legally required to financially support the wife.	Husband and wife are joint heads of household; legal requirement of obedience abolished. The husband is still legally required to financially support the wife.
Divorce and Repudiation	Repudiation executed through verbal pro- nouncement (―I repudiate thee‖), without cause or judicial control (but notarized by an *adoul*); wife's presence not required. Two types of divorce available to women: (1) divorce ―for cause‖ (five causes: harm, financial non-maintenance, abandonment,	All previously specified forms of divorce were retained. Repudiation placed under judicial oversight and wife must be present, so she knows she is being repudiated. It remains an option available only to males.

Table 1: Comparison of Moudawana 1957-58 vs 2004 (Continued).

Issue	1957-1958 *Moudawana*	2004 *Moudawana*
Divorce and Repudiation (continued)	long term imprisonment, or abstinence), or (2) a ―negotiated repudiation‖ where the wife pays the husband to repudiate her (*khul'* divorce).	Two new forms of divorce: (1)mutual consent (initiated by both spouses), and (2) irreconcilable differences (can be initiated by either spouse).
Filiation and Nationality	Filiation legally conceived of as a child's integration into his or her father's patrilineage. Children can only acquire Moroccan nationality through the father.	The child of a non-Moroccan father and Moroccan mother and can acquire his or her nationality through the mother. Judges can order paternity testing to establish paternal filiation.[3]
Custody and Guardianship	Sons remained with their mother until puberty, then the father assumed custody. Daughters remained with their mothers until marriage, at which time they became the legal responsibility of their husbands. The father is always the legal tutor (guardian), even if the mother is the physical custodian. A mother can lose custody of her children upon remarriage or if she moves to a location too distant for the father to exercise his rights as the legal tutor. Father is ―third in line‖ in the legally dictated sequence for custody, after the mother and maternal female relatives (The 1993 revision made the father ―second in line,‖ ahead of maternal female relatives)	Upon reaching fifteen years of age children can choose either their mother or father as custodian. Distinction between physical custody and legal tutorship remains. A mother no longer automatically loses custody for remarrying or moving; the father must petition the court within a specified period of time to gain custody.
Marital Property	Completely separate estates in terms of both property/wealth brought into the marriage and property/wealth acquired during the marriage.	Spouses can opt to enter into a prenuptial agreement specifying alternative arrangements.

1. Derived from Charrad […] pages 31-45 and 158-168.
2. Based upon Bordat […]and the HREA unofficial English translation of the *Moudawana*.
3. Gomez-Rivas […]; paternity tests reportedly cost over 600 USD and can only be performed in one location in Rabat.

Source: (Malchiodi 2008, 5-6).

The first noteworthy change was the removal of language and terminology that was demeaning to women. The new family law code, according to Deiana, (2009, 75) "uses a gender-sensitive terminology, thereby removing degrading or debasing language previously used in reference to women". This small change is just one way the document sought to recognize women's agency. The reforms also separated gender responsibilities within the family.

Article 4 breaks the tradition of discrimination and "eliminating woman's duty to obey her husband" (Deiana 2009, 73). Within marital issues (including divorces and polygamy), both genders' legal opinions are now considered equal. For example, in the former *Moudwana,* the age for marriage for a boy was 18 years old and for a girl it was 15 years old. Now according to article 19, the minimum age for marriage increased for women to 18 years old, as it was for men, although the judge may make exceptions after listening to a doctor. As in the previous system "a woman could not enter marriage without her *wali* (male guardian or martial tutor) signing her a marriage contract on her behalf" (Malchiodi 2008, 4). Articles 24-25 state that mature women can enter into marriage without the *wali.* Therefore, the *Wilaya* (Matrimonial guardianship) is longer required; it is made optional (Deiana 2009).

The new Moudawana 's Article 40-45 stipulates a clause within the marriage contract about monogamy in which the legal obedience clause has been removed and the wife's presence is a requirement for her to be recognized during repudiation. Therefore, polygamy was still allowed under the new code but under rare circumstances, with strict restrictions. One condition for legally entering into a polyagamous marriage was the need for a judge authorization. "The code clearly specifying the necessity of an objective justification and the exceptional character of the case as well as requiring sufficient economic resources of the husband in order to equally face the needs of two wives (and their children)" (Deiana 2009, 73). That is why the monogamy clause was introduced, for a woman to be able to set their own conditions on the marriage contract before the marriage takes place so "upon breaking these conditions the marriage contract is terminated" (Eltaweel n.d, 4).

Divorce as practiced in the former Moudawana was a "repudiation, or the unilateral divorce of a woman by the husband, could occur without judicial oversight, without the husband having to provide a justification, and without the woman being informed by her husband that she had been repudiated" (Malchiodi 2008, 4). Yet, the current family law code makes divorce "accessible to man and woman under the same

conditions and it has been regulated to limit the frequent abuse of repudiation by husbands (verbal repudiation is no longer valid)" (Deiana 2009, 74). Besides, it also encouraged new ways for women and men to initiate divorce, such as : divorce due to irreconcilable divergence (*shiqaq*) and consensual divorce.

Compare this to the former Moudawana, wherein "women could lose *[Hadana]* custody of their children if they remarried" (Malchiodi 2008, 4). Nevertheless, according to article 121, if cohabitation is no longer possible between the couples, the tribunal "takes all measurement needs with priority to protect the wife and the children in accordance with international procedures on the subject. The law also requires that the husband pays all monies owed to the wife and children in full, before divorce can be duly registered" (Deiana 2009, 74). In the new family code, article 166-184, custody of the child is granted to the mother, the father and then the maternal grandmother, and the right to parentage for the child conceived before the marriage. However, if the father, according to article 156 "refuses to recognize the child as his own, he can be forced to undergo a paternity test [DNA]" (Deiana 2009, 74).

As expressed, the new Moudawana introduced some major improvements to the family law in Morocco. hese reforms, however, were met with a number of obstacles and limitations as they were implemented on the ground.

Among other limitations that the *Moudawana* faces in implementation on the ground are that the *Moudawana* came as a social project which aims to completely change and transform the character of society. It is a sufficient indicator to the amount of work thatis needed to be put in to achieve gender equality. Generally, as referred by Elliott (2009), changing the mentality of conservative people is a more daunting task than making the modifications on the legal text itself. Hereby, it is about changing the mentalities of people and making them aware about the *Moudawana* laws that should be addressed and given more attention.

Eisenberg asserts that "the effect of a law in action often fails to mirror the law as stated on the books" (2011, 707). The main opposition to the reforms are the judges who refuse to carry out the reforms (Charifa n.d). That happens because of their "lack of knowledge […] regarding the application of the new laws, and in some cases outright resistance to complying with the reforms, threaten to undermine the potential for widespread change" (Malchiodi 2008, 7). In an interview with Malchiodi, Stephanie Willman Bordat says that "the changes to the text of the law are not always applied on the ground. There have been reports of *adouls* who verbally attack and try to intimidate

women who choose not to have a *wali* or inquire about inserting protective clauses into their marriage contracts" (Malchiodi 2008, 7). Therefore, as Willman Bordat maintained, some "judges are granting the majority of polygamy petitions and continue to authorize underage marriages without providing the required written justification of their decisions" (Malchiodi 2008, 4). Besides, Naqrachi also argues that the judge's decision to authorize the marriage of a minor is not subject to appeal. For instance, "in 2006, judges agreed to 90% of requests for underage marriage. Thus, 12% of girls between the ages of 15 and 19 have the status of the wife in Morocco [… hereby] the underage marriages comprise 8.34% of all marriages, or 21,660 out of a total 259,612 in the country" (Naqrachi 2014, 221). In addition, to cultural norms and *adouls* (Judges) authority that may prevent women from exercising their right of adding a clause stipulation to their marriage contract.

> The Global Reforming the Moroccan Personal Status Code Rights organization reports that the practice of women either including specific stipulations in the marriage contract or concluding a separate property contract remains rare. The reasons are of both a social and administrative nature. Women state that even when they know of this right, they do not exercise it because they are afraid of hurting the man's pride, fear of losing their fiance´, lack of self-confidence, intimidation from their family and society's scorn and judgement. Furthermore, the 'adoul do not explain the right to include stipulations or the contract's content and conclude the marriage contract without asking the woman for her opinion (Elliott 2009, 221).

Furthermore, there was a lack of awareness among people about the *Moudawana* especially among illiterate women who do not know about their rights and have a lot of misconceptions on the matter. In her field work in Morocco, Elliott (2009, 221) came to the conclusion that "many women, even after learning about the content of the *Moudawana* for one or more years still did not know its main stipulations or had only partial or distorted knowledge of them" as well as maintaining that "many women expressed their disagreement with some of the articles and with the general message of the king to his subjects conveyed in the preamble to the Code, which aims to protect women's dignity and advance their social status". This is mainly due to the lack of accurate information surrounding the new Family Code as well as a large part of the Moroccan population being either poorly or not educated. Another thing that impacts this lack of understanding is the use of legal jargon and Classical Arabic within the texts of the Family Code while most rural women speak Tamazight.

There is a problem of communicating with different classes of civil society, when authorities address them, they speak with an abstract terminology that only a certain class of people would understand. Consequently, "the fact that the information about the content is not readily available and accessible for the majority of Moroccans and particularly for poorly educated people in urban and rural areas, even the information that they have is largely distorted, ambiguous and thus easier to reject" (Elliott 2009, 221-222).

In addition to the aforementioned advancement in women's status, there are still some forms of discrimination that remain in relation to *inheritance.* This is because the *Moudawana* is based on religious grounds. They derived principles from there such as "that sisters inherit less than half of their brothers' 'share" (Deiana 2009, 75). According to Deiana the "only innovation brought by the revision concerns the rights of the children of a deceased mother to inherit from the maternal grandparents as it was for the children of a deceased father (art. 369)" (2009, 75). It is stated in the Quran exactly in *Surat Al-Nisah* 4:11 on inheritance:

> Allah instructs you concerning your children: for the male, what is equal to the share of two females. But if there are [only] daughters, two or more, for them is two thirds of one's estate. And if there is only one, for her is half. And for one's parents, to each one of them is a sixth of his estate if he left children. But if he had no children and the parents [alone] inherit from him, then for his mother is one third. And if he had brothers [or sisters], for his mother is a sixth, after any bequest he [may have] made or debt. Your parents or your children - you know not which of them are nearest to you in benefit. [These shares are] an obligation [imposed] by Allah. Indeed, Allah is ever Knowing and Wise (Quran 2016, 4:11).

The prominent debate was started by the publication of a book in French entitled *Les hommes défendent l'égalité en heritage* (Men who defend equality in inheritance) and was contributed to by 100 men from different domains who were defending women's inheritance rights in Morocco. This opened another debate about the injustice of inheritance via *tassib* which in English translates to residue. *Tassib* as referred to by Kasraoui (2018) "is the residual inheritance following a bequest. *Assabat* are typically distant relatives of the deceased owner of the estate, who benefit after the immediate family members have received their respective shares". In the book activists argue "that *taasib* is unfair, stating that the immediate family deserves the entire inheritance and should not be legally obligated to split residual funds with distant family members, who often have weak connections to the immediate family" (Kasraoui 2018).

According to Mohamed Abdelouahab Rafiqui, a Moroccan religious scholar known as Abu Hafs, emphasized the importance of ijtihad within Islam stating that "the question of inheritance must be consistent with the evolution of society" (Ennaji 2018a, 1).[35] He meant that the current social context is different than the historical context of these religious texts. For Abu Hafs, basing the judgments of inheritance solely on Quranic verses and Hadiths is deficient. Other factors must be considered via ijtihad, such as the social gender roles that have changed. This raised a lot of reactions regarding the fact the Qur'an is considered a holy and perfect, unambiguous text, where the Hadith and fiqh were open to more free interpretation. Some religious scholars go as far as resisting any and all changes in classical interpretation of the Hadith or fiqh (Kasraoui 2018). Sourcing the Moudawana within the sharia gives it a form of sacredness, which is not able to inherit, which makes it a limitation for further development for women's status.

2.2.4. CEDAW and Violence Against Women (VAW)

Only marginal efforts have been undertaken towards addressing widespread violence against women within Morocco despite the signing of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1993 which created the Ministry of Women's affairs in 1998. The new Family Code additionally lacks coverage regarding these issues and leaves many legal gaps within this area (ICAN 2015, 10).

> Domestic violence against women does not come necessarily from the husband. It can be perpetrated by the father, the brother, the relative or the employer. Not only can violence against women be physical or verbal or psychological or economic, but it can be also sexual. Because of the ravaging effects sexual violence has on women's psychology, it is considered as rape when carried out by the husband, as recognized by the laws in many developed democracies around the world. Any sexual relationship which not based on mutual consent, which is against the wishes of the wife or forced under any form of threat, is rape indeed. This is an issue, which many Moroccan women know little about. New laws must be introduced to halt such widespread practices. Most women do not denounce their violent husbands, however, report on sexual violence either for social reasons or because they consider those practices to be their partner's right. There are, therefore, very few reliable statistics on the matter which describes the many forms of violence women how much women can experience (Charifa n.d, 9-11).

---

[35] Ijtihad according to Yafout (2016, 108) is "an Islamic concept that requires an innovative effort: rereading the sacred texts of Islam while especially making a liberating spirit prevail in the reinterpretation over the literal meaning of the text".

A report published by the High Commission for Planning estimated that up to 65% or two-thirds of women in Morocco experience violence in their lives in one way or another. Nearly 50% of unmarried women have suffered from sexual and/or physical harassment and abuse. Even people unsupportive of the main feminist discourses like Bassima Hakkoui who was the minister for Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development has spoken out openly against violence targeted towards females and acknowledged the problem (ICAN 2015). This *led to the violence against women bill (VAW)* to be drafted in 2013 by minister Hakkaoui which makes some progress in areas such as criminalizing sexual harassment in public. There is plenty improvement yet to be made, as within families and in private places a lot of violence persists. The government has been heavily criticized by women's rights advocates due to them being excluded from the drafting process. Another party who insisted the draft of the bill was incomplete and lacking in a lot of areas was the Spring of Dignity Coalition.

They claimed it did not live up to modern standards regarding protections for violence against women. Two primary weak points in the draft were, according to them, neglecting to be inclusive towards single women within the stated protections and nonrecognition of marital rape. The existence of these issues emphasizes the family-bias that exists within Morocco. Reports produced by the High Commission for Planning included the fact that "68% of Moroccan women have experienced domestic violence and 48% have been subjected to psychological abuse" showing this is a critical issue within Morocco (ICAN 2015, 11).

The continually postponed bill was finally revised again by a ministerial commission in December of 2014. This time around however, people feared controversial topics such as marital rape would simply be omitted to avoid conflict on the topics (ICAN 2015, 11). Five years later, in 2018, the bill was passed after many cases of women being raped had come and gone. We recall the tragedy of Amina Filali, a 15-year-old victim of rape who was subsequently forced to marry the perpetrator "as a way to cover up for the dishonor brought to the family. Such a practice is common among families of girl victims of rape in Morocco" (El Aissi 2015, 216). Amina reacted by taking rat poison six months after her marriage and commiting suicide. The tragedy of Filali put Morocco on the spot and attracted the attention of the international human rights law, which further raised awareness about the ongoing VAW struggles (ICAN 2015). Many NGOs called for abolishment of Article 475 of the Moroccan Penal Code as a response to this event, which enabled rapists to evade legal consequences through forced marriage to the underage

victim. At the time, Amina's mother said, "I had to marry her to him, because I could not allow my daughter to have no future and stay unmarried; we would be the laughingstock of our neighbors" (El Aissi 2015, 216). Such a view reveals, according to El Aissi, "that norms and traditional values are still entrenched in women's minds in Moroccan society" (2015, 216). This article was amended in 2014, as expressed by Hassiba Hadj Sahraoui: "it took […] Amina Flail's suicide and nearly two years for the parliament to close the loophole that allowed rapists to avoid accountability" (Aljazeera 2014).

In addition, more recently the media was horrified by the story of Khadija, a young 17 year old girl, who was kidnaped by 12 men her fromt the front of her aunt's house. The men held Khadija captive for two months while they tortured, raped, and tattooed her entire body with swastikas. In "the footage, crude tattoos of the Nazi symbol, expletives, names and drawings are shown etched into her skin, alongside cigarette burns and bruises" (Trew 2018). As reported by the victim "I went to spend a week with my aunt. I was at the door of the home of my aunt and a group of men kidnapped me and took me to an empty lot that I did not know. She told the network […] They held me for about two months and raped and tortured me […] I will never forgive them. They have destroyed me" (Trew 2018). Khadija expressed her attempt to escape but in vain she said: "I tried to escape several times, but I was caught and beaten […] They tortured me, they did not give me food or drink, and they did not even allow me to take a shower" (BBC 2018).

These are just the stories that were reported on and made public, but many women in Morocco still face violence and suffer in silence, many never feel comfortable reporting any incidents. According to the High Commission for Planning, "only 8.7% reported sexual assault" (ICAN 2015, 10). Lack of reporting is often due to social stigma and cultural reputation. Additionally, "high rates of illiteracy among women, linguistic barriers for indigenous [Amazigh] peoples, and most importantly, social stigmas around family honor, which discourage women from reporting offenses and seeking legal protection and redress" (ICAN 2015, 10). It is also in some contexts normalized and what Bourdieu calls "a 'fact of life', inherent to patriarchal society and the habitus" (Gagliardi 2017, 12). Women stay silent in order to save their families from the *shouha, or shame of* being humiliated among the community because they were raped or violated. Women tend to keep it to themselves to avoid such a worthless position because "all the blame and guilt and dishonour of a rape attaches to the victim and the victim's family, not the rapist" (Allison 2012) The silence of so many has normalized the behavior and response and becomes a communal *habitus*.

Women's rights groups have, mainly, focused on legislative changes and awareness on VAW. What is noticeably absent from their agendas, however, is a grassroots understanding of the causes behind the persistence of VAW, including, women's fear of losing their children and basic means of living; self and collective shame and blame and stigmatization by/within their communities; unequal access to justice and legal remedies; absence of suitable living alternatives and domestic shelters for VAW survivors and their children; and an overall impunity for perpetrators (Gagliardi 2017, 13).

Violence against women increased more and more over time. This requires us to expend more effort protecting and securing a peaceful life for all Moroccan women. The stability of the Moroccan family was meant to be ensured by the new family code, so care and energy must be taken and spent to at least try to reduce the violence. To raise awareness and educate citizens is generally the best way to achieve progress in such an environment. Education in schools is an important first step, but focusing on other forms of media outreach is just as important, in order to connect with farmers, employees, and other people around the country. This would undoubtedly help citizens learn about and take their rights and duties to heart. Laying down laws sets a foundation, but without education no one can build upon it. Especially in the rural and marginalized areas, this holds true, as education there is at its lowest levels and people are simply unaware of the new family code (Charifa n.d, 9-11).

Indeed, the new family code law plays an integral role in improving women's positions within society. It goes much further to support their rights and needs in comparison to the former personal status code. However, "it seems that what certainly looks good on paper (2004 *Moudawanna*) still fails to confront the harsh social and cultural realities of Morocco women" (El Aissi 2015, 216) *vis-à-vis* VAW and addressing the above expressed limitation of the *Moudwana* 11 years later. It seems there is no strong political will to address the issues described above.

2.3. Recapitulation

In conclusion, *section 2.1* was about the marginalization of Berber Amazigh people throughout history, with a focus on protectorate and post-colonial times where Arabization policies were imposed upon the people to assimilate them under the guise of *unification.* These policies operated in many ways, such as excluding Tamazight from public schools, national media, and government administrations. To that end it led to a sense of cultural and linguistic alienation, along with feelings of exclusion among the

Amazigh population. This in turn has fueled the emergence of the Amazigh movement as a means of resilience and activism that lead to the creation of IRCAM in 2001. This was followed by the integration of Tamazight in primary schools in 2003 and further language recognition in the constitution of 2011.

The second *section 2.2* explored the February 20th Movement protests, which was an opportunity for Moroccans to make demands. Voices from the civil society were heard calling for reforms against fraud and miserable conditions around the country. F20M endeavored to draw attention through different media channels about the issues around women's rights and Amazigh culture in Morocco. The protests did not overthrow the government due to the King's swift response and political actions to amend the constitution.

In addition, this section speaks about reforms made in 2004 to the *Moudwana* Family Law Code and their impact and major limitations. The *Moudwana* still had a lot of flaws and ambiguity concerning VAW, inheritance, polygamy and other issues not touched upon in this chapter. Thus, the *Moudawana* law, as ink on paper, does not mirror the vague situation on the ground where each judge depends on their individual knowledge to sort out cases. The next chapter is a continuation of the state of art and introduces us to, in light of what we have seen, the overview of the situation of Amazigh woman in Morocco. It also sheds light on feminism discourses in Morocco, both secular and Islamic. It pays special attention to the exclusion of the Amazigh women within these discourses and how that leads to the emergence of Amazigh feminist NGOs from grassroot levels and their activism in light of the 2011 uprising.

CHAPTER 3: STATE OF ARTS II: AMAZIGH WOMEN AND FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN MOROCCO

Chapter 3 is an extension of the previous chapters' state of art and is organized as follows. *Section 3.1* of this chapter represents a general overview of the Amazigh women in Morocco. Amazigh rural women face double hardships, high levels of poverty and low levels of literacy compared to Moroccan urban women. These hardships manifest themselves initially in neglect of their language. This, in turn, creates difficulties accessing things such as public services, administrative and healthcare facilities.

Section 3.2 of this chapter introduces Moroccan feminist discourses starting with the two mainstream trends, secular and Islamic/st feminism, explaining their context and emergence. The secular branch started with the nationalist movement and passed through three stages of development. Islamic/st feminism in Morocco is manifested in the political landscape where it is marked by the presence of female activists from the JC led by Nadia Yassine, MUR group, and the PJD which is led by Bassima Hakkaoui. Within Islamic feminism there is additionally a *self-based* feminist experience of Fatima Mernissi and Asma as well as s*tate-based* Islamic feminism which operates through the Murshidat and Alimat programs since 2006 as part of the country's official discourse.

Section 3.3 explores the big absence of Amazigh feminism in the Moroccan feminist discourses (secular and Islamic) and presents a theoretical base towards inclusion of Amazigh feminism narratives in the feminist movement. Amazigh feminism is a critical approach toward the hegemonic feminisms which see Amazigh women as a challenge to include under their umbrella. While these feminist discourses mainly focus on the legal aspects of all women's rights on the national level, the grassroots level needs and priorities of Amazigh women seem unaccounted for. To theorize on Amazigh feminism narratives and activism, light is shed on the work of academics such as Fatima Sadiqi (2012; *2014; 2013a, 2013b,* 2016a; 2017a; 2020; 2021a) Susan Schaefer Davis (2004; 2007; 2016; 2018), Silvia Gagliardi (2017; 2019; 2021) and Cynthia Becker (2006a; 2009; 2021). Additionally, NGO activism is highlighted by looking at work of Amazigh feminist NGOs such as *the voice of Amazigh women* (in Tamazight *Imsli). The* section also presents a conceptual base of Amazigh women's historical agency through review of various figures such as Les Amazons, Tanit and Dihya.

3.1. Amazigh Women: A General Overview[36]

Amazigh women, like other Moroccan women, are all perceived to be the same. Whether they are Arabic or Tamazight native speakers, no differentiation is made regardless of if they come from various social classes. There are Amazigh women in bourgeois classes, middle classes, lower classes, and in the rural setting. The laws in the family code make no differentiations between any of these factors for any of these women as there is only focus on Arabic speakers within these laws.[37] This means that in the end, Amazigh women are suppressed and have their rights neglected twice. Firstly, like other Arabic women due to their gender as women and secondly through their cultural and linguistic differences. This is even after the officialization of Tamazight language in the constitutional reforms of 2011 (Demnati 2018; Taskin 2013), especially when referring to court "law No.3.64 which imposes on the Amazigh people to use Arabic in national courts. article 5 of law No.3.64 states that Arabic is the only language of the court proceedings; it is the language of deliberations, pleadings and ruling in Moroccan courts" (El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui 2018, 112).[38] This is what makes the particularity of the vulnerable situation of Amazigh women in Morocco and that is what this chapter will shed further light on in line with the UN Approach of *feminization of poverty.*[39]

---

[36] Parts of this section about Amazigh women are published in Laghssais (2021a) and in Laghssais and Comins Mingol (2021a; 2021b).

[37] I write here Arab speaking because being Amazigh is linked to land spanning multiple countries in the North of Africa. As pointed out by David Hart (1999) in "Scratch a Moroccan, find a Berber", all Moroccans are Amazigh. According to Moha Ennaji (2020a) due to a process of urbanization a lot of urbanized Imazighen have lost their mother tongue and failed to transmit that to their children due to increased migrations away from rural areas. This has caused a regression of Amazigh in urban areas, and low interest in their own language and culture. As explained before, the reason for this is that all communications and interactions within urban zones are carried out in Arabic, and thus Arabic becomes the primary language. Therefore, the linguistics is an issue as the Imazighen who are left behind in the rural areas don't speak Arabic. This portion of society, specifically female and rural is what is the target of this study which looks into and how they navigate their lives with determination despite all the difficulties they face. When I use the concept of *indigenous* or *Amazigh* I refer those women and people that did not urbanize and cannot speak Arabic or Darija. This section is about the particularity of their adversities, which urbanized Imazighen might not face.

[38] The fact these laws (No.3.64) conflict with the 2011 constitution clearly indicates Amazigh rights continue to be undermined and their language and cultural identity are under threat in addition to the fact the Amazigh community is not represented by any political party nor in mainstream media (El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui 2018, 112).

[39] According to UN women (2000) the imbalance between women and men living in poverty has continued to increase, which is commonly called *the feminization of poverty*. On a global level women on average earn about 50% of what men earn, as well as often getting little to no part in decision making in all walks of life. In addition to that, they often have no or lacking access to education, support services, healthcare and other general services. Because of this lack in basic resources and services, they are unable to have any immediate impact on their own situation.

Before I start elaborating more about Amazigh women, I will make a distinction and clarify the difference between those Amazigh women who live in urban areas and the ones who live in rural areas. Firstly, the Amazigh women living in urban areas, who are in one way or another integrated into the urban lifestyle, speak *Darija* (Moroccan Arabic) as a second language due to the environment that surrounds them. Their surroundings impose it daily on them through schools, healthcare and other municipal services.

Secondly, the Amazigh women who are concentrated in rural areas, most of which live in the mountains or other isolated areas "still suffer exclusion from many public services because of the remoteness of their habitats from the center and the language they speak" (Guerch 2015, 1). Therefore, "language [...is] one of the largest barriers strengthening the marginalization. If an Amazigh woman cannot speak Arabic or French, there are limited paths for survival" (Duskie 2019, 12). The language referred to is the Tamazight language. Rural Amazigh women suffer from double-edged hardships, marginalization, and neglect in many fields such as education, health, and several administrative arrangements. According to Guerch "hundreds of rights have been lost because of the inability of Amazigh natives to claim them as all administrative procedures have been done either in French, Spanish or Arabic" (Guerch 2015, 11). This has generated feelings of inferiority among the Amazigh natives as they are unable to use their native language to communicate within their country effectively.

3.1.1. Education and Language

Illiteracy in rural areas is extremely high, both among the older and younger generations of women (Idrissi Noury 2017). This can be seen in the illiteracy rates published in The National Observatory for Human Development (ONDH) progress report of 2011. The illiteracy rate on the national level in 2004 is 43% while in 2009 it decreased to 40.50%. In the urban settings, it is 29.40% as a total in 2004. In the rural areas in 2004 it was 60.50% in total. For rural women, it's 74.50% compared to 46.00% for rural men. In 2009 it went down to 56.70% in total yet for rural women it's 70.70% and for rural men, it is 42.30%. According to the World Bank, the female adult literacy rate in Morocco is a mere 58% (Sorensen 2016).

Thus, disparities exist between rural and urban spheres in terms of access to education, especially female education for rural women which in this context are Amazigh rural women. The Moroccan socio-political landscape is shaped by binaries such as "urban vs. rural, dominant group vs. ethnic minority, Arab vs. Amazigh" (Fischer

n.d. 32). Through linguistic, ethnic, and socio-economic differences, an environment to "breed and perpetuate inequality and marginalization […and] limit and hinder individual and group success" (Fischer n.d, 32) flourishes.

In combating this high illiteracy rate of rural women, the Moroccan government has, since the early 2000s, sponsored adult literacy classes called Mahou Al Omiya with aims to erase illiteracy (Naji 2012). These classes define literacy solely as the ability to read and write in the Arabic language. This, of course, received much criticism from writers and Amazigh militants such as Demnati (2013). The main motive behind these critiques is because it imposes education and training in two hegemonic languages which are Arabic and French. Consequently, Amazigh women have become estranged from their native culture, eroded, or when holding on to their cultural heritage have many of their rights denied such as the right to access language and educational facilities. These are granted rights as enumerated in article 13 and 14 of United Nations Declaration on Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP 2007). Although these classes are meant to combat the illiteracy rates in rural areas, they foster it because the classes are taught in Arabic or French and not in the rural women's native language. Due to these complexities "in many Berber-speaking areas, girls stay at home because school is taught in Arabic. The teachers provided by the state almost never know how to speak Berber" (Rodriguez 2017).

In addition to high adult illiteracy rates, the number of females dropping out of school is a pervasive problem in rural Morocco, even though in 2008 primary education became compulsory for all as part of the 2009-2012 national education emergency support program (Auletto 2017). Female students from rural areas, more than those living in urban areas, are the most affected by exclusion. This is especially an issue around the age of 6 to 11, a period where they should be enrolled in primary school. At 11 years old is the age of transition from primary to secondary school. Students in rural areas are more affected by exclusion than their peers in urban areas. This is a major issue for girls between the ages of six and eleven years old, which is the time they should be enrolled in elementary school (UNICEF 2015, 2). According to the Borgen Project, 'the number of girls attending schools in rural areas is only 26%, while for boys it is 79%' (Rodriguez 2017). The grounds of these numbers as claimed by Rodriguez "are largely due to the cultural norms in rural areas, where traditional gender roles are still prevalent. People still believe the proper place for a woman is at home" (Rodriguez 2017).

Reasons that girls drop out of school can collectively be summed up as follows. Cultural reasons are shaped by patriarchy such as a girl's expectation to stay at home and do household chores. Besides that, they also often drop out of school to get married at an early age. Some are as young as 15 years old which is around the age where students transition from secondary to high school. Even though "child marriage is illegal in Morocco, yet 16% of girls will marry before their eighteenth birthday and 3% will marry before they turn 15" (Girls Not Brides 2013). A recent shocking number of child marriages that the Moroccan courts had approved is 25,920 requests in 2019. According to article 19 of the Family Code, the Moudawana of 2004, the legal age for boys and girls to marry is 18 years old, nevertheless the family judge with permission of article 20 of the Moudawana can make exceptions and may authorize a marriage before the age of legal capacity to marry. This can be allowed for example by having the minor's parents or legal guardian specify interests and reasons for a marriage. Similarly, he may arrange for a medical expert or a social survey to be done in order to allow an exception to be made. The judge's decision authorizing the marriage of a minor is not subject to appeal.

Also included amongst the, in this case socio-economic, reasons that lead to huge rates of female exclusion from school is that of the family social class within those families that are considered to be poor. Oftentimes "fathers can barely provide for their family's basic needs, let alone provide for their children's education" (Fassih 2014). In some families "female education is considered less important than male education" (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2004, 74) because the male is believed to be the one who will keep the family title while the girls are married off to another family and therefore become part of that family, the boy becomes the financial provider of the family.

Lastly among the reasons would be concessions in resource distribution by the government to rural areas. Rural towns may have a primary school but no secondary schools. This is to say that the students, in order to continue their schooling, must commute every day to another town or village. They either need to walk for miles to reach the secondary school or, as is often seen with girls, remain at home. Boys often work in agriculture to support their family financially as an alternative to secondary school (McGee 2018). While the parents are afraid of their daughter walking alone in the mountains, the students whose families allow the perilous journey to school every day are faced with many environmental challenges. For example, during winter times when it rains heavily the roads become damaged and turn into mud, which makes it hard to walk along. Sometimes the routes to school may be flooded even due to the lack of

infrastructure and roads to connect isolated places with central towns. This journey becomes a daily challenge for the children and for the parents that are afraid that their children may get injured on their way (Al Jazeera 2018). This in comparison to an urban setting where infrastructure is in decent condition and schools are available for all without exception. The admission rates for urban children are high.

3.1.2. Health and Sanitation

Above and beyond challenges in the field of education as we have seen in the previous section, the field of health is still a very important field to be considered when speaking about indigenous people and particularly women. The fact of being isolated in the mountains and remote areas is a main challenge to the Moroccan health system. To the people who live there it has presented various challenges. As argued by Semlali (2010, 22). "difficulties in accessing health care for the poorest and for rural populations with a disparity between access and demand of care for certain illnesses" these are according to him "in particular chronic illnesses and non-satisfactory management of public hospitals, a centralized management, a deficiency in managerial competence, a poor quality of reception and care, and a lack of a policy to manage and develop human resources" (Semlali 2010, 22).

The effects of the lack of adequate infrastructure on the rural Amazigh women's right to good health and shortage of education facilities are directly linked to the absence of health care. As a result, from this remoteness and lack of facilities, most women in these areas must deliver their babies at home. Due to civil society and some committed medical practitioners, efforts were made to train local traditional midwives on hygiene and emergency cases (Guerch 2015). Nonetheless, in absence of midwives, paved roads, and transportation, some pregnant women are transported by mules to the closest and nearest medical center (Taskin 2013).

Technological advancements such as mobile phones have little effect on the plights most women face on the way to the health centers. In addition to that, the "newborn babies are at risk as victims of scorpions and snakes' bites still die because of the lack of ambulances, antidotes, and medical personnel" (Guerch 2015, 14). Recently, there has been the use of helicopters to dispatch emergency cases to regional hospitals, yet it remains limited as this is still an extremely limited involvement rather than a regular commitment (Guerch 2015).

In the field, the distance between the closest medical center or health facility and the patient's home varies depending on whether it is a rural, semi-urban or urban region. In rural zones the distances often exceed 10s of kilometers while in urban zones it can be less than 1 kilometer (Guerch 2015). But this should not conceal a bitter reality that the available health facilities only provide basic care. In case the patient needs to see a specialist, the distance may reach sixty kilometers or more. In a story shared by the World Health Organization (WHO) talking about Mrs. Souad, a woman from a rural village, she "delivered a healthy baby girl weighing 3.3 kg. But within minutes of the birth, she began bleeding heavily and the midwife diagnosed postpartum haemorrhage. She referred Mrs. Souad to the regional maternity hospital for specialist care" (WHO 2014). Women at the hands of midwives are at risk when they need extra care as in the case of Mrs. Souad, especially in such sickly conditions combined with the effects of the kilometers long journey to visit the specialist.

When seeking a health service, elderly, uneducated, and widowed women are the ones who suffer most. With truly little or no income, life for this category is hard. Either because of the long distance or limited income, most rural and urban women resort to the services of a traditional midwife and herbal traditional self-medication. Mental disorders and psychological problems are still often treated by the superstitious or left untreated with a strong belief that they are purely fatal (Guerch 2015, 14).

Due to several reasons such as embarrassment, illiteracy, a language barrier or nobody being available, most Amazigh women rarely go to a doctor to speak about their health problems. Often a shocking truth might come to light, especially if the disease were directly related to, for example, mistreatment from a husband. Such diseases come from gynaecology, neurology and domestic violence related cases. Most of the women who were interviewed by Guerch (2015) stated being discriminated against on base of their language or origins. Two patients claimed they were forced to bribe people for medical services. Most women also stated their preference to be treated by a female rather than a male physician. Of all these cases its noted corruption is uncommon in rural areas and more of an urban phenomenon.

The intersection between illiteracy and health may be summarized in several factors, among which it can be shown that they affect each other. As claimed by Bekker and Lhajoui that "Illiterates [women] are not able to understand the written information about their medical conditions" (Bekker and Lhajoui 2004, 2). In the health field, people need to be able to read information and understand it as they then require attending to in

their health-related needs. But non-familiarity about good, healthy behaviour might, therefore, be a significant obstacle which may easily lead to medical mistakes. For instance, it can happen that someone interprets a medical prescription wrongly. Thus, lack of understanding the instructions as well as physicians' expectations and language used by them, which are French and Arabic *versus* Tamazight, is therefore a barrier towards clear communication in order to use the medicine correctly (Bekker and Lhajoui 2004).

3.1.3. Rural/ Mountain Circumstances

Due to the hard living and environmental conditions in the countryside, rural Amazigh women suffer while doing daily household chores. For example, in the Atlas Mountains due to regional underdevelopment, men emigrate to work in other parts of the country for extended periods of time. While the absentee men send money home, "women stay behind and find themselves burdened with the responsibility of catering for the household [and taking care of livestock and crops by themselves] maintaining the family honor and raising children" (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2004, 75). In describing her and the women of her village's daily routine Fatima Kadjik told Aljazeera (2019) that "[they] never rest. [they] keep running all day until night falls," Most of them (women), as Ms. Kadjik describes, "wake up at 6 am to make bread and get the children ready for school. After, they take the cow to the field to graze. Then they wash the wheat, lay it to dry and prepare lunch. By that time the kids are back from school. They give the cow water and take it to graze" (Aljazeera 2019). During winter, conditions get worse with the falling of snow, because most of the houses in these villages are built of mud, rocks, tin, and plastic so they do not have toilets. People need to be left in the middle of the snow, causing them many diseases or having to wrap them in plastic bags if they have difficulty getting out of the snow due to heavy snowfall (Al-Qowaiti 2018).

> Poverty has risen since the 1990s from 13,1 percent up to 19 percent according to studies published by The Department of Statistics in Morocco. The study looks primarily at the female population in the country. In the years of 1998 and 1999 over 2.7 million women were declared being below the poverty line with a yearly growth factor of 6%. These women, primarily part of women ran households form one of the poorest segments of the Moroccan society. An important aspect of all of this is Age. 48.2 percent (of which 59.1 in rural areas) are under the age of 25 years old, 33.8 percent (of which 24.1% based in rural areas) are between the ages of 25 and 44, and the group aged over 45 consists of 13.0 percent of this group (of which 16.8 percent based in rural areas). All of this brings to light the fact that rural women suffer more from poverty that urban women (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2004, 73).

Despite women working on family-owned farms for more than 10 hours a day, it's the men who are in charge of the farm and are registered as the full-time workers regardless of their actual input to the work. The fact boys remain in school for more extended periods of time only emphasizes the need for this labour division. In these conditions, men take all the credit for the work the women do, and women are almost never credited for their hard work. Since 1989 as much as 82.9% of women were noted to be family aids due to the discriminatory inheritance laws put in place. Furthermore, the lack of a solid financial base heavily impacts adversities faced by rural women left at home (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2004). The devaluation of the rural female population is perpetuated by the discrimination sanctioned by the word of the law. Women's landownership claims are absorbed by their male partners resulting in increasing difficulties in their lives with things such as bank loans and access to financial services (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2004).

3.1.4. Adversities of Amazigh Women with lenses of Galtung

In the light of what we have mentioned about the hardships of Amazigh women, in this section I will point with lenses of Galtung (1996) as a summary of the above mentioned as a critical diagnosis.

Table 2: Amazigh women's adversities with Galtung's violence typologies

Structural Violence	Cultural Violence
- Neglect of the Tamazight language creates difficulties accessing things such as public services and administrative facilities. - The laws make no differentiations between any Arabic or Tamazight. Example: Law No.3.64 imposes use of Arabic language in courts through Article 5 which specifically states it is the sole language used in these legal proceedings. This law conflicts with the 2011 constitution which recognizes Tamazight. - Amazigh women suffer exclusion from many public services because of the remoteness of their habitats (Guerch 2015, 1). - Rural Amazigh women suffer from double-edged hardships, marginalization, and neglect in many fields such as education, health, and several administrative arrangements. - A stark contrast between rural vs urban exists in terms of access to education. Rural (Amazigh in this context) women are often excluded from the chance to participate in education. - *Mahou Al Omiya* with aims to erase illiteracy. However, it imposes education and training in two hegemonic languages which are Arabic and French and not Tamazight. - Due to the fact education is provided in Arabic, many girls stay home in Berber-speaking areas and "teachers provided by the state almost never know how to speak Berber" (Rodriguez 2017). - The number of females dropping out of school is a pervasive problem in rural Morocco, even though in 2008 primary education became compulsory for all as part of the 2009-2012 national education emergency support program (Auletto 2017). Female students from rural areas, more than those living in urban areas, are the most affected by exclusion.	-A girl's expectation to stay at home and do household chores. -Girls also often drop out of school to get married at an early age. -In some families "female education is considered less important than male education" (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2004, 74) because the male is believed to be the one who will keep the family title while the girls are married off to another family and therefore become part of that family. The boy becomes the financial provider of the family. -Due to several reasons such as embarrassment, illiteracy, a language barrier or nobody being available, most Amazigh women rarely go to a doctor to speak about their health problems. -*Hshouma* or *shame* is cultural violence used by society to maintain and reinforce the octopus of patriarchy / male privilege intact.

Table 2: Adversities of Amazigh women with lenses of Galtung violence typologies (Continued).

Structural Violence	Cultural Violence
-Child marriage: According to article 19 of the Family Code, the *Moudawana* of 2004, the legal age for boys and girls to marry is 18 years old, nevertheless the family judge with permission of article 20 of the *Moudawana* can make exceptions and may authorize a marriage before the age of legal capacity to marry. The judge's decision authorizing the marriage of a minor is not subject to appeal. -Rural towns may have a primary school but no secondary schools. This is to say that the students, in order to continue their schooling, must commute every day to another town or village. They either need to walk for miles to reach the secondary school or, as is often seen with girls, remain at home (McGee 2018). -The lack of adequate infrastructure on rural Amazigh women's right to good health and shortage of education facilities are directly linked to the absence of health care. As a result, from this remoteness and lack of facilities, most women in these areas have to deliver their babies at home. in absence of midwives, paved roads, transportation, and hospitalization. -Illiterates [women] are not able to understand the written information about their medical conditions (Bekker and Lhajoui 2004, 2). -Men emigrate for extended periods of time to work in other parts of the country due to regional underdevelopment. "women stay behind and find themselves burdened with the responsibility of catering for the household [taking care of livestock and crops] maintaining the family honor and raising children" (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2004, 75).	

Source: Own elaboration.

3.2. Feminist Discourses in Morocco

This section is a conceptual review of the modern Moroccan feminist movement's major steps of development over the past 70 years and its engagement with issues of women's rights. The Moroccan feminist movement traces its origin to its emergence in the first half of the twentieth century during the heat of nationalism against French colonialism. (1912-1956).

According to Sadiqi (2017b, 8-9) "two main feminist trends may be singled out in Morocco: a secular and Islamic trend". The latter of which has seen more development in recent times. The main difference between the two camps is the way in which Islamic laws are rendered into the Moudawana. Due to existing polarization between conservatives and modernists within Morocco, there is a significant difficulty to converge between the two sides. These tensions between the two major hegemonic trends came into existence in the 1940s when the 1930 Berber Dahir (a royal decree, see Glossary page) was promoted by the French protectorate triggering a nationalist response and giving rise to the *Moroccan* cultural identity. This response gave rise to two perspectives, a modernist and conservative line which both "supported nationalism and Moroccan identity, and also the marginal-ization of the Berber issue as a dividing element, they significantly differed in their reactions to the West and modernity" (Sadiqi 2016a, 16).

As explained in the previous chapter, the attitudes of the nationalists towards some aspects of the French system were different. Some leaned towards modernity favoring those parts of the French system not in conflict with their Arab-Muslim identity, and others were conservative and "opposed any influence of the West, especially in family and social matters" (Sadiqi 2016a, 16). Hence secular vs. Islamic or modernist vs. conservative dichotomies came into being. Such modernist vs conservative clashes are more expressed on a social level while secular vs. Islamic perspectives operate on a more political base. Outwardly in their expression "secular feminism seeks to achieve civic equality (e.g., in politics/the political sphere, labour rights, and education) and Islamic feminism works towards an egalitarian theology" (Hesová 2019, 29-30).[40]

---

[40] According to Gray it is important to clearly distinguish the terms Islamic, Islamist and Muslim as Islamic and Islamist are often used incorrectly. A Muslim is an individual who has Islam as religion or cultural background. Islamic in turn "refers to concepts and articles of faith deriving from the religion of Islam" (Gray 2013, 12). Islamist is a term which references a specific religious identity which came into being after the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and refers to people who use Islam as their main reference point for politics. Secular as political branch as explained by Masbah (2014, 2) in contrast to political Islamists does not use religion as main motivation behind their political agenda but instead utilizes a human rights-based

Moroccan feminists therefore are identified according to Borrillo (2016, 114-115) into three distinct groups.

1. Secular feminist militants, with a cultural and sociological Muslim background.

2. Critical Muslim theologians, some of them self-defined as 'feminist'.

3. Women of the political Islam or Islamist movement, who are active for the amelioration of women's situation.

In addition to this categorization by Borrillo (2016, 114- 115), I propose a fourth category as emerging voices that are not covered by either of the above-mentioned feminisms. Utilizing Sadiqi's concept of a *big absence in Moroccan feminism,* it criticizes the neglect of Amazigh women within these feminisms as well as constructing a base with what Amazigh women can contribute to women's issues. In light of such trends, Amazigh questions are disregarded, and the culture is further marginalized within feminist context. As summed up by Gagliardi (2019, 5-6) "feminist women's groups in Moroccan society have largely been excluding dissenting and marginalized voices both within and outside their circles, including those indigenous Amazigh women". Sadiqi (2014; 2016b) refers to a *big absence in the Moroccan feminist movements* pointing to the Berber dimension, where she proposed an approach inclusive to Berber women's agency, empowerment and oral knowledge and scholarship. This fourth category are rural feminists with Muslim background and grassroot feminist initiatives or feminist projects IGPs, NGOs, or cooperatives and are not affiliated with any specific political discourse. This category will be explained as a theoretical base in *section 3.3.* of this chapter and supported by empirical data in chapter 6 as result of fieldwork.

3.2.1. Secular Feminism

The genesis of modern feminist movements in Morocco was in the 1940s with a secularist feminist movement that started during colonialism and has been mainly promoted by urban elite and educated women. These women voiced their issues through a documented demand in 1946 and by the creation of the first women's association called *Akhawat Al-Safaa* (Sisters of the Purity). However, they stemmed from the democratic party of independence, where they had male relatives such as the case of Malika al-Fassi (Sadiqi 2017b; Ryadi 2021; Salime 2011; and Feliu 2012). According to Glacier (2014, 193) "Malika al-Fassi's feminism was rooted directly in the real repercussions of the

---

discourse. They are opposed political Islam but not local cultural Islam and hence they are noted to be seculars and not secularists.

inequalities between sexes in Moroccan society: women's illiteracy and their exclusion from the educational system". Adding their voice and calling for independence of the country they also sought promotion of girls' and women's education (Mernissi 1994).[41] Their public speeches and aspirations resulted in drafting the document *alwatiqa* that embodies essential demands such polygamy being abolished as well as respect in public and familial spheres. According to Sadiqi, "the nature of these demands and the attraction of their class by modernity position these pioneer women as secular" (Sadiqi, 2017b, 97-120). Their main objective and message have been developing and gaining momentum ever since they were adjusted after raising the flag of independence over Morocco (Sadiqi 2017b).

> Al-Fassi's feminism did not significantly differ from the feminism of many of her male colleagues. Both were fostered by the nationalist reformist current during the beginning of the twentieth century. In this sense, al-Fassi's feminism has roots in exchanges with Europe. Nonetheless, she sought to dissociate herself from the West and to reject some aspects of western feminism (Glacier 2014, 195-196).

> Malika al-Fassi […] was included in the signing of Istiqlal's Manifesto of Independence from France. The gesture was seen as political symbolism, as a concrete demonstration of the intent of Istiqlal to allow women to participate in the public sphere, and because Malika al-Fassi had earned the right through her own independence resistance (Sandberg and Aqertit 2014,-30).

According to Sadiqi (2017b), postcolonial secular feminism has been affected by intersectional factors such as globalization, Islamization, and a mixture of modernity, patriarchy and state feminism. In an attempt to adjust to recent developments such as the Arab spring uprisings, technological advancements, state Islamism and to try and bridge the generational gap secular feminism has gone through significant transformations in recent years. During these transformations two new groups of people, youth culture and Amazigh activists, have emerged within the public scene (2017b, 97-120).

Researchers such as Sadiqi (2017b; 2016b), Bouzghaya (2021), Ryadi (2021), Guessous (2020), Glacier (2014), Salime (2011), Hesová, (2019), Feliu (2012) identified this secular feminist movement has passed through three main stages influencing the dynamics of the developments in Moroccan society. The initial stage was from 1946 through the 1970s**.** The second stage lasted between the 1980s and 1990s and the last

---

[41] To Glacier (2014, 194-195) "the first issue that al-Fassi promoted within this organization was the necessity to establish secondary schools for girls. The Akhawat al-Safaa association eventually led to the creation of classrooms for girls in schools and was also a factor in the birth of the modern feminist movement in Morocco".

stage started from the 2000s up to present time. All of these stages had in common their secularist perspective yet come from a different historical and socio-political environment. According to Sadiqi (2017b) these movements together form a continued wave of transformation having large effects within Moroccan politics and perspectives on gender-based issues. Partly this success can be attributed to feminists now being able "to be secular in nature yet have the universal human rights rooted in their values without neglecting aspects of religion". Author maintains "the main source of oppression was found, for instance, to be patriarchy and not Islam or another religious element. Islam is therefore not perceived to be incompatible with women's rights" (Ennaji 2016b, 2).

Secular feminists focus on inclusion of civil law and internationally recognized human rights conventions. Within secular feminism, as with any other social movement, both more radical and moderate perspectives exist. This distinction can be seen in the fact that "radical secularists privilege rationality, consider religious texts as inherently anti-women, and highlight modernity as the sole path to guaranteeing women's rights" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120) where the moderate camp looks more at human rights rather than an Islamic frame of reference. When the latter does "address religious issues, they focus on *maqasid al-shari'a* (goals of shari'a law) more than *shari'a* itself and encourage the re-reading of the religious texts in the light of social changes in society" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120). The moderate secularist feminists, in order to make their demands more appealing to the Islamists, have been "identifying how the Koran supports women's claims and demonstrating that their goals were not Western inspired but in accordance with the Koran" (Sandberg and Aqertit 2014, 125) and integrating religious arguments into their discourse.

- *1ˢᵗ phase of secular feminist trend 1946-1970*

The first wave arrived in 1946 and lasted until the end of the 1970s and "was marked by a combination of state-building and post-colonialism which reinforced the 'modernity-tradition' co-habitation in the lives of women" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120). Despite being the first wave and being the first generation of women who were educated, upper-class women felt more privileged than lower class and rural women. They lacked status though and were painfully aware of not enjoying equal opportunities and privileges to men in the same social class who had more political roles (Sadiqi 2017b). These men for instance are active in various positions of power while their female counterparts, according to the family law code (1957-1958) at the time, were obliged solely to obey

their husbands (Glacier (2014; Ennaji 2016b). The main protectorate over Morocco saw it as a disruption of the traditions and models of living which were present in Morocco and introduced new modern ways which had to coexist and interact with the old lifestyles and traditions. The feminist movement was hereby caught between the two. This can be seen in the fact that "during the struggle for independence (1912-1956), both the nationalists and the colonizers capitalized on women in implementing their opposing agendas" (Sadiqi 2017b, 95-120). The nationalists viewed women as preservers of tradition and wanted to restrict their roles as such to safeguard family cohesion and values, using for instance their attire such as *Djellabas* and *The Veil* "as a sign of nationalism and authenticity" (Sadiqi 2017b, 95-120). The colonizers however recognized a way to propagate European values and values through upper-class women and tried to promote western attire as a sign of modernity. Despite the fact women in this way took a central role on both sides of the debate, neither had the best intentions towards the women, being solely interested in promotion of their own side's values and not the education or promotion of women for the women's own well-being (Sadiqi 2017b). Due to being stuck between these two worlds, the first wave of secular feminists tried to come towards both worlds through recognition of tradition as an anchor for their cultural identity, but seeing within modernity a path towards gender parity, acceptance into the job market and the ability to enhance their own agency and self-esteem. While having to adapt to the modern ways, such as using French language to facilitate free expression of taboo topics, they also needed to still maintain their national and cultural identities (Ennaji 2016b; Sadiqi 2017b).

Mainstream secular feminists were influenced by the progressive writings and emancipatory thoughts of the new Arab writers like Nawal Saadaoui, Fahima Charafeddine, Farida Nakkach, which had a profound impact on Moroccan intellectuals, because they came from the same culture and shared their history (Ryadi 2021). Guessous (2020, 608-611) names secular feminists "as *Bnat Al-Yasar* (daughters/girls of the Left)" and states that they were "influenced by the Egyptian feminist Nawal el-Saadawi's critiques of the patriarchal, capitalist, and imperial politics of the global beauty and fashion industries" (Guessous 2020, 608-611). This author describes those secular feminists "tend to dress in plain and loose-fitting clothes that deemphasize their femininity and class privilege. They usually have short hair and wear no makeup and very

little jewelry" (Guessous 2020, 608-611).[42] This author maintains that by doing that "they embody and cultivate a way of being that refuses to make itself legible and palatable to patriarchal and bourgeois conceptions of femininity. They also commit to living their everyday lives in ways that cohere with their politics" (Guessous 2020, 608-611). The publications of these writers helped create the intellectual foundation of Moroccan feminism (Ryadi 2021) "Zakia Daoud and Leila Abouzeid were two of the journalists in this feminist generation" (Glacier 2014, 182). In addition to "women such as the novelist Khnata Bennouna began to write novels and sociological studies questioning the validity of patriarchal structures. At the same time, along with the development of journalistic, literary, and academic writing, partisan feminism emerged in Morocco" (Glacier 2014, 182).

Following the path of the oriental writers the secularist feminist started to write and publish journalistic articles on women's issues and advocating for girl's education and legal reforms and women's participation in politics (Sadiqi 2017b). Nearing the end of the 1970s a series of large global events such as the fall of the Soviet Union as well as the Iranian revolution impacted heavily the discourse produced by the first stage of secular feminists, leading into the second stage. The fall of the Soviet Union and emergence of the United States as sole super-power weakened leftists' ideologies which were tied to socialist thoughts, whereas the Iranian revolution bolstered the concept of Political Islam in 1979 (Ennaji 2016b, Gray 2013, 12; Sadiqi 2017b).

- *2nd phase of Secular feminist trend 1980 to 1990*

During the 1980s and 90s the second wave started which was very much impacted by political Islam according to Glacier "while feminism was gaining additional rights for Moroccan women, it faced a backlash with the emergence of Islamism as early as the 1980s. Although it utilizes a religious discourse, Islamism is in fact a political movement—and its objective is to legitimize patriarchal norms and values" (Glacier 2014, 185). The second wave was becoming more heterogeneous by targeting women who were young, educated, urban, from lower social classes and sometimes from rural backgrounds to join the movement. Working together they had two main strategies. The first combined politics with activism and the second utilized scholarship and journalism.

---

[42] Guessous (2020, 608-611) documented that "one of my interlocutors told me that after reading el-Saadawi, she refused for decades to even own a mirror; it was only recently that she stopped associating all bodily care and attention with false consciousness".

According to Sadiqi (2017b) this wave realized that women's issues had demands that were never prioritized within any historical aspects of Moroccan politics nor post-colonial political trends. The women's committees in the universities, created by the activists of the student union National Union of Students of Morocco. These committees helped organize reflection on feminism and the situation of women in Morocco. They have helped to form feminist cadres and forge their knowledge and experience in the fight for women's rights (Ryadi 2021; Sandberg and Aqertit 2014; Salime 2011).

Fierce debates take place about the condition of women and about the specificity of women's struggles, which allowed the formation of many women activists who, after leaving the university joined the leftist political parties "such as the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (SUPF) and the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS)" (Glacier 2014, 183). According to this author "the paradigm of these feminists was 'insufficiency,' by which they meant to criticize the insufficiency of women's rights. Thus, many of these feminists called for equality between adult women and men in terms of the legal treatment they received" (Glacier 2014, 183). However, it was there they realized that their interests were also not adequately represented within the party overall agenda and that "the male elites of SUPF [considers] feminism [...] a bourgeois ideology and therefore only the abolition of capitalism would bring about women's liberation. As a result, the SUPF's parliamentary group did not retain the women's requests within their party platform" (Glacier 2014, 183). But "these feminists operating within socialist-leaning parties realized that women's issues transcended class struggles and the limitations of socialist and Marxist orthodoxies" (Glacier 2014, 183). In addition, the focus of the party was national issues, and the patriarchal model of the parties "tired of being marginalized within male political clubs" (Glacier 2014, 183), which led further to the creation of the first independent women's associations "whose objective was the advancement of women's rights" (Glacier 2014, 183) without letting go of their leftist perspectives.

L'Association Démocratique des Femmes Marocaines (ADFM) was the first association which was created from the Communist *Parti du Progrés et du Socialisme* (PPS) in 1985 by Nouzha Skalli, Amina Lamrini, Malika Naciri among others (Sandberg and Aqertit 2014, 56). Later the ADFM became an independent organization, declaring themselves separate from any political parties. According to Salime the ADFM's leadership "is composed of a group of academics, teachers, lawyers, and professional women with bilingual or exclusively French educational backgrounds" (Salime 2011, 55). In current times the ADFM draws its importance from serving as a federating organization

for numerous local NGOs throughout Morocco, enabling them to play a key role in the creation of "a transnational movement in North Africa under a unified agenda and discourse, organized around the Collectif 95 Maghreb Egalité" (Salime 2011, 55).

Following the birth of the ADFM, the next association to spring to life was *L'Union de l'Action Féminine* (UAF) in 1987 which evolved from *L'Organisation de l'Action Démocratique et Populaire* (OADP). Headquartered in Rabat, it has different sections in the major cities and towns throughout Morocco and like the ADFM has declared independence from any political parties and agendas in order to be open to all women regardless of their political orientation. Latifa Jbabdi, a human rights activist, became one of the main figures of this group. The UAF group was seemingly supported by the OADP as it emerged from the experiences gained producing and publishing the feminist magazine *March 8*. However, ties to the OADP had worn thin "after several events, including a division within OADP, the enlargement and diversification of the UAF's base, and a split of the leadership between old and new leftist political formations" (Salime 2011, 56).

These 2 NGOs played a major role in democratization and feminization of public life by advocating "implementation of rights for women that were already legally recognized, the abolition of legal discriminations against women, the end of women's poverty, the eradication of women's illiteracy, and the elimination of all forms of violence against women such as domestic violence and sexual harassment"(Glacier 2014, 183) due to the fact they not only birthed women's activism within, giving women a public voice, but also were an example to hundreds of other feminist associations which followed them[43]. The second wave both criticized their governments for deprioritizing women's issues and supported these governments during the rise of political Islam. The feminists rose up in both visibility and decision making as well as qualitative contributions to national politics after SUPF came to office in 1998.

Besides putting pressure at the state level to implement reforms into the Moudawana, the ADFM and UAF became a force to be reckoned with when they expanded into social and female awareness groups besides the social services already provided. Various things such as mental and physical healthcare as well as legal assistance for victims of gender-based violence and literary classes were part of their offerings (Sadiqi 2017b).

---

[43] In addition, in 1992 creation of the Moroccan Association of Women's rights.

One of the initiatives by Latifa Jbabdi, founder and president of the UAF, which positioned it as the frontrunner of the feminist movement was the One Million Signature Campaign aimed at reforms of the 1992 Family Law. Glacier notes this campaign intended "to eradicate a series of legal discriminations against women. The text of the petition was sent to King Hassan II, to members of the parliament, and to the main newspapers in the country. This petition constitutes a major document in the history of Moroccan feminism" (Glacier 2014, 183-184). As a response "King Hassan II ordered that the reform code be drafted in consultation with some women groups" (Ennaji 2016b, 33). This led to reforms being implemented in 1993 which though initially viewed as somewhat disappointing because "the legal modifications were minor" (Glacier 2014, 183) can be seen as a symbolic breakthrough "lifting the mask of sacredness around it [the Family Law]" (Ennaji 2016b, 33) now being "human product able to be abrogated" (Glacier 2014, 183-184). Some of the changes to the Family Law included fathers not being allowed to force their daughters into marriage, mothers being ensured legal guardianship of their children, and women having to consent marrying through a legal registry conducted by an appointee of the minister of Justice (Sadiqi 2017b). According to Zirari "this revision was nevertheless essential because it contributed to desacralising the text (the Mudawwana) and confirmed the need for continued activism towards its reform" (Zirari 2010, 265). The UN committee on the Status of Women formally acknowledged their prominent role in this matter by providing the UAF with a consultative status (Salime 2011, 56).

In 1998 the National Plan of Action for Integrating Women into Development (NPA) was developed as a result of the first socialist government SUPF rising to power and forming a coalition between various other political entities and feminist NGOs "most notably by ADFM" (Gray 2013, 56). The minister of human rights in 1999 was at the helm of development and implementation of the NPA purview which "proposed a large number of programs and reforms meant to improve women's economic, social and legal status" (Guessous 2011, 156) as well as "(1) education and promotion of an egalitarian culture in the schooling system; (2) reproductive health; (3) integration of women in development—that is, fighting poverty through facilitating women's access to training and employment; and (4) women's access to political positions" (Salime 2011, 113). amongst the demands of the NPA increasing age of marriage to 18 for girls, abolishment of polygamy, allowing single mother to give their surname to their children born outside the institution of marriage, legalization of all types of divorce, division of financial

resources between couples after divorcing and prohibition of matrimonial guardianship "on top of other measures related to increasing women's access to education, training programs, and decision making, and enhancing their […] image in the media and textbooks"(Salime 2011, 114). NPA sparked a lot of controversy and intense national debates confronting opponents and supporters of this reform NPA. This debate will culminate on March 12th, 2000, in a double manifestation in Rabat the leftist Feminists supporting the reform NPA and in Casablanca a countermarch held by Islamists opposing the NPA). Following this double manifestation, the draft integration plan was withdrawn. Hence, to Zirari "the expression of Islamist opposition to the reform of the Personal Status Code is actually a public confirmation of the existence of two concepts of the family advocating two different projects for society" (Zirari 2010, 265). However, this phase strongly marked the debate around the reform of the family code while energizing and giving a new dimension to the Moroccan public debate.

> The NPA materialized feminist liberal ambitions for an all-encompassing approach to women's conditions while actualizing the old leftist discourse of human rights. It was no surprise that this project involved consultation and financial backing from major international institutions such as the United Nations, the European Union, and the World Bank. Notably missing, however, were the Islamist groups, who joined the 'ulama to oppose a plan that was hailed as 'national,' but to them had been 'crafted behind closed doors.' More forces and individual players joined the bloc, including members of the government leftist and nationalist majority. This historical bloc declared the NPA unconstitutional because of its 'marginalization of Islam,'; the defining element of national identity in the Moroccan constitution (Salime 2011, 113).[44]

Overall, this wave of modern feminist used scholarship and journalism to reinforce political and activist ventures by taking aim at deconstruction of gender issues within Moroccan history by shedding light on marginalized women. Legal rights for women, the hijab and public freedom were main themes within this literature, which was disseminated in Arabic and French. Despite their secular nature, Amazigh marginalization still was not addressed by the second wave of secular feminists (Sadiqi 2017b).

---

[44] After the march, the Islamist activists "made it difficult for the government to implement this project and imposed a selective implementation of some of its parts—those that do not overlap with existing interpretations of the Islamic sharia" (Salime 2011, 114). Despite the government withdrawing the NPA "only to launch a new 'cycle' of feminist mobilization to keep alive the debate on the secularization of family law" (Salime 2011, 9).

- *3rd phase of Secular feminist trend 2000- present*

The 2000s and onwards gave rise to secular feminism's third phase which came out of a socio-political context where identity, Islamism, globalization, new technologies such as social media and popular uprisings in the region such as the Arab Spring all intersected. Among other things this period saw reforms to the family law code in 2004 as previously detailed in chapter 2. Besides that, various aspects such as class, education, multilingualism, religious identity and gender all contributed to a dynamic and complex landscape for the third wave to operate in. Notably a larger number of lower class and multilingual youths were enabled in their voices by the rise of social media platforms which allowed them to converse in Arabic and Tamazight and share images of the revolutions in the region (Sadiqi 2017b; Feliu 2012, 3-5).

The most prominent of four factors that shaped the third wave of secular feminists was that of identity politics which shifted Tamazight from a marginalized language to one that was officially recognized by the constitutional reforms of 2011 article 5. These new reforms additionally recognized gender parity which was another significant milestone achieved by the third wave. These 2 achievements both impacted Amazigh women as both on a cultural and gender level they gained recognition publicly (Ait Mous and others 2015; Rossi-Doria 2016). Amazigh and feminist consciousness became increasingly harmonious during this time as they shared secularism as one of their main principles. This joint consciousness can be seen in the rise of the *Spring of Dignity Network* which is a collaboration between 22 secular feminist NGOs founded in 2008 but reinvigorated after the uprisings of 2011 to support the Amazigh movement's One Million Signature campaign to push for constitutional reforms. Secular feminist demands now also include cultural rights as well as Tifinagh which is now used in secular feminist mottos (Sadiqi 2017b).

After the PJD won the 2011 elections as the first Islamist party, the third phase of secular feminists redefined their stance towards Islamism. The party itself also became more moderate in order to govern in a more democratic oriented way. Their stances against corruption led to them gaining a lot of votes from youthful Moroccans who gave the Islamist party a pragmatic vote against corruption rather than one based on religious perspective. A couple of years into their rule however the Islamists did not produce results regarding their promises surrounding unemployment and corruption causing the new generation of Moroccans who voted for them to become disillusioned to the concept of

political Islam. This conscious shift away from "political Islam was further enhanced by the failure of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the pragmatism of Moroccan youth" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120). Further factors impacting neutralization of Islamism within Morocco were the fact Morocco transitioned towards more democratic systems long before the 2011 uprisings took place giving their policies and activism space for targeting women's roles and rights. Another factor impacting political Islam in Morocco was the recent unexpected triumph of the secularist side over the Islamists in Tunisia (Sadiqi 2017b).

New technologies which came as a result of globalization were an important element in the mobilization of this new wave of secular feminism. Internet based tools, social media platforms and cellphones all played a large part in democratizing the linguistic landscape throughout Morocco (Sadiqi 2017b; Rossi-Doria 2016; Salime 2012) which enabled the organization of large-scale movements such as the February 20th Movement (F20M), which has been detailed in chapter 2. This movement's demands were acted upon by the king swiftly and "within two weeks, important constitutional reforms were announced. These reforms were approved in a referendum on July 1, 2011, by 98.5 percent of voters" (Sadiqi 2017b, 95-120).

In the context of the Arab Spring the "Spring of Feminist Democracy and Equality" was created in March 2011 "as a coalition of a thousand organizations working for human rights and the rights of women, presented a list of demands to the Advisory Committee for the Revision of the Constitution" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120). Their demands included "that the constitution guarantee a quota of 50 percent for women in all spheres of activity, including every level of decision making" (Glacier 2014, 185) in addition to urging state to commit "to combat all forms of discrimination against women" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120). In addition, they "demanded that the constitution recognize the principle of the indivisibility of human rights, so that women could enjoy their civil, political, economic, social, environmental, and cultural rights" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120).

Besides, The F20M demanded that international law would take precedence over national law within the constitution and thanks to their efforts most demands were fulfilled within the 2011 reforms to the constitution (Ait Mous and others 2015). This did not mean however that post-2011 women's legal gains were also met as similar advances on the social and political planes were not achieved. With the new government PJD swept into power despite there being 67 female MPs elected, more than double of years before where there were 30, this fell short by around half of the expected number which was a

third of all the 395 seats to be filled by women. Besides this shortcoming female minister headcount actually dropped significantly from seven down to just a single one between 2007 and 2011. The second version of this Islamist government included five more female ministers by October 10, 2013. The new version of this government also decreased Islamists numbers regarding decision making, requiring them to hand off part of their power to other parties (Sadiqi 2017b; Ait Mous and others 2015; Sandberg and Aqertit 2014).

Another significant victory of the 3rd phase of the secular feminists was the fact they strengthened their ability to fight Violence Against Women (VAW) as the story of Amina Filali (Chapter 2) shows. Their activism led in February 2014 to changes to Article 475 to remove any prosecutorial exemptions for rapists in case the victim was forced to marry him as well as raising the punishment for such crimes to 30 years in prison (Sadiqi 2017b; El Aissi 2015; ICAN 2015; Sandberg and Aqertit 2014).

3.2.2. Islamic Feminism

Unlike secular feminism that refers to international human rights laws and western feminists to defend rights of women, Islamic feminists deeply root themselves in an Islamic framework and at the same time encourage the production of Ijtihad (rereading and re-examination the sacred texts). As stated by Laghssais (2021b, 95) "the urge of Islamic Feminism emanated as a response to the injustices imposed upon women in the name of religion by the masculine system". The author maintains "its principal aim is to protect the rights of women and girls within Islam, as well as to reread and reinterpret the sacred manuscripts, and offer them a new interpretation that shall by some means empower women and girls" (Laghssais 2021b, 95).

Gender Inequality according to Joseph (1996) clarifies that it is based on the historically shaped patriarchy as she defines it as "an unequal system of greater rights for males and elders and the justification of those rights using kinship values which are usually supported by religion" (Joseph 1996, 14). However, the use of Islam as justification of these societal injustices and inequalities raised a fierce reaction from some scholars that identify as Islamic feminists among which are Amina Wadud, Margot Badran, Fatima Mernissi, Miriam Cooke, and Asma Lamrabet whom I want to shed light on in this part. These scholars claimed that injustices women face in Muslim society are based on male Muslim scholars' misogynist reading and interpretation of the Quran and Hadith and not from Islam as a religion itself. Therefore, they provide "new open reading

as re-interpretation of the religious texts from the feminist perspective" (Virkama 2006, 8).

3.2.2.1. Female Islamist Activists in Moroccan Political Scene: JC, MUR and PJD

Contextualizing Islamic feminism to the Moroccan political scene.[45] Rooted in the response from male Islamist politicians towards the secularist women's movement in the 1990s, debates between the modernists and conservatives around the family code reforms of 1992 gave rise to Islamist feminism (Sadiqi 2017b). The entire nation seemed involved, and people on the streets, in mosques, at home and within educational institutions were joining in. This initial burst of energy around this ideological confrontation culminated in the One Million Signatures campaign which was held on the 7th of March 1992 and saw political chaos and social anarchy as a result. At the time and with help from king Hassan II, secular feminists were also on a steep upward trajectory but faced major challenges from the Islamists due to their modernist approach (Sadiqi 2014; 2017b). In the center of all of this, the male Islamist leaders, trapped in the eye of the storm, realized their project now entirely depended upon their counter towards the secular feminists for which they proposed a new feminism with a more moderate and conservative approach. A veiled, female Islamist activists by doing so they contributed to "Feminization of the Islamist Movements" (Salime 2011, 127). To Sandberg and Aqertit "these Islamist activist women conducted face-to-face outreach to other women in neighborhoods all across Morocco to educate and bring the neighborhood women into an acceptance of the Islamists' worldview". They maintain that "when it was time to mobilize to oppose the National Action Plan, the work these women had done was evident for all to see as hundreds of thousands of women appeared in Casablanca to oppose the proposed reforms" (Sandberg and Aqertit 2014, 124).

> Islamist movements began to play a significant role in attracting a broad following and absorbing women's growing demands to be more engaged in political life. They advocate women's rights while being inspired by religious principles; this […] allows women's entry into the historically male-dominated structures (El Haitami 2016, 74).

---

[45] According to Salime (2011, 39) regarded as the root of Islamist movements within Morocco, the formation of al-Shabība alislāmiyya (the Islamic Youth) in 1969 marks the start of the rise of Islamist groups driven by the teachings of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers. This group was condoned and even supported by the state to go against the political left. To get approval of the political legitimacy, some groups such as the PJD willingly endorsed the king's role as Commander of the Faithful and the Islamic character of the state during the period of state liberalization in the 1990s.

In the year 2000, the NPA provoked several fatwas (religious decrees) which condemned feminists as atheists in the second wave of the confrontations between the modernists and conservatives as a response to SUPF's NPA. These women were depicted as the enemy of Islam in mosques around the country. Cassettes were distributed in the streets and public places condemning them (Sadiqi 2017b) in addition according to Salime the independent 'ulama "used the Islamist press as a medium for disseminating their own interpretations of the sharia. It is through this press that calls for capital punishment were made for women petitioning against the mudawwana in 1992" (Salime 2011, 35).[46]

In addition to this, Islamist men would take to the streets gesturing to females to wear their veils. For some people "to unveil means to be modernized and emancipated. For others it yet it means to be unfaithful to one's religious identity and roots" (Lamrabet n.d). Due to the use of Western-centric models for emancipation on March 12th, 2000, a protest march by Islamist groups was organized in order to publicly condemn the NPA (Gray 2013, 45). In 2002 in order to bring Islamist feminists more public visibility Islamist associations such as the *Forum Azzahrae pour la Femmes Marocaine* were created.

By establishing a political presence more aligned with existing principles of state, the PJD's popularity increased drastically, positively impacting 2002 elections. The following year however in 2003 the Casablanca bombings took place which allowed leftist groups to discredit the PJD, accusing them of having terrorist ties pursuant to Bekkaoui and Laremont in El Haitami (2016, 76) "the state held the PJD as 'morally responsible' for the bombing". this author maintains that shortly after this however, the PJD became more tolerated again after "reposition their discourse and activism" (Salime 2011, 13) despite its Islamist views. Hence the PJD rose up once again as key stakeholder in the upkeep of diversity of religion and state causing their existence to be further validated under the guise of a diversification in light of traditional political parties which did not succeed in attracting youths to their causes. Tolerance towards the PJD became a

---

[46] Despite them not being fully fledged Islamists, the Ulama shared a key concern with the Islamist camp over modernization and secularization of the state perceiving these changes as negative western influence as well as a threat to their religious and cultural identity. Both the Islamists and the Ulama "perceived the mudawwana as the last resort of the Islamic sharia, to be secured from the intervention of positive law" (Salime 2011, 35-36). With the rise of feminism both these groups recognized an opportunity to reframe themselves within the current political system safely in order to further their influence over the state and policy making. This caused gender to become one of the main spheres of influence regarding control over social change (Salime 2011, 35-36).

strategy to impact and fight against radical Islam and global fundamentalist ideology (El Haitami 2016, 76).

All of this brings to light the fact that female Islamist activism was primarily brought to life by male Islamist politician's tactics as they tried to counter secular feminism. This ideological aspect counteracted secular feminist trends to gain a larger following among illiterate and lower to middle-class women. Additionally, female Islamist activists appeared in the spotlights firstly to endorse political Islamists only after years to engage with and challenge the paternalism embedded within the movement, thereby taking on a more political role (Sadiqi 2014, 144). Islamists succeeded mostly in mobilizing large numbers of women who had no prior ideological or political orientations to endorse their Islamist perspectives.

In this section we will look into three distinct types of Moroccan Islamic feminists which influenced the political landscape: the women's section of the Justice and Charity Movement (JC), the Union and Reform Movement (MUR) and the party for Justice and Development (PJD).[47] The activism of these currently "act within the civil society in order to campaign and put political pressure against anything that affects Islamic identity" (Bouzghaya 2021, 1).

♣ *Women's Section of Justice and Charity Movement (JC): Nadia Yassine*

Al- Adl Wal- Ihsan group appears in many researchers' works sometimes translated as Justice and Charity (El Haitami 2016, 83), Justice and Spirituality (Yafout 2016, 100; Salime 2011, 213) or Justice and Benevolence (Sadiqi 2016b, 64). In this thesis I adopt it as justice and charity. According to Yachoulti (2016, 181) "*Al-adl wa alihassan* […] is the biggest and best organized islamist group in Morocco. It is active mostly in universities and in helping the poor, but it is banned [but tolerated] from politics due to mostly to what is seen as its hostile rhetoric towards the monarchy". The movement encompasses a sizable portion of Morocco's political landscape, being formed in 1987 by

---

[47] Among others "the Renaissance and Virtue party and the Civilizational Alternative party as well as the Salafi trend" (Bouzghaya 2021, 1). According to Bouzghaya (2021, 1) "other islamist groups the Renaissance and Virtue party which grew from the PJD in 2005, and the dispersed Civilizational Alternative party as well as some the Salafi trend in Morocco are all Islamic groups that do not have a significant weight in the Moroccan political spectrum although they do occasionally express conservative stands regarding women issues" As claimed by Yafout (2008) some of the Salafists followers expresses extremist views and positions regarding women issues in general.

a former member of the Boutchichi Sufi order, Abdessalam Yassine.[48] Besides providing religious edification it is also considered to be the main opposition movement. The importance of this can be recognized when one realizes Morocco's formal politics are largely controlled by the monarchy. Despite operating within religious patterns, the group does not follow the state Maliki jurisprudence, prioritising fundamentals of the Qur'an and adherence to those. Due to their open opposition to literal and conservative Qur'anic interpretations, the JC movement can be recognized as having leftist tendencies (El Haitami 2016, 84).

Members of the JC organization describe it as nonviolent and transparent with an open political program with Abdessalam Yassine acting as political leader as well as spiritual guide. They emphasize the Sufi nature of the organization and advocate the authority of their leader as spiritual guide (Salime 2011, 37). The organization is legally banned from operating within Morocco, yet it represents all levels of society, especially middle-class citizens between the ages of 30 and 35. The group has an estimated membership count somewhere between 50,000 and 600,000 members (Euben and Qasim Zaman 2009, 302). The female section of this group was created in 1998 by "Nadia Yassine represents the centrality of women in Islamist organizations; at least 50 percent of the [JC's] members are thought to be women, representing the most active section of the group" (Brooks 2020, 29).

Nadia Yassine, the daughter of Abdessalam Yassine, was born in Casablanca in 1958 and holds a university degree. During 1974 her father faced imprisonment/house arrest for criticizing the late king Hassan II and monarchy's Islam leadership. Amid such time Nadia Yassine accessed to the leadership of JC and established a women's section (*al-qitā 'e alnissaī*) and became the spokesperson of the movement (Salime 2011, 49; Euben and Qasim Zaman 2009, 303-304; Gray 2013, 93).

Active throughout every corner of Morocco, the women's section of the JC organizes around women's issues specific to their local environment and tune "their programs according to the particular needs of the neighbourhood" (Salime 2011, 50). In

---

[48] In 1974 the JC was born as a result from its leader Abdessalam Yassine sending a memorandum to the King inviting him to implement drastic reforms to political and economic policies to align them better with the sharia and social justice goals. In addition to these reforms, the King was requested to renounce his position as Commander of the Faithful and his allegiances to the West. As response to the memorandum, King Hassan II sentenced Yassine to three years of internment in a mental institution setting the stage for the struggles between the JC and the monarch. In an attempt to limit impact and influence, Yassine was put under house arrest in 1989. This did not significantly impact his ability to build what is today the largest movement of opposition to the monarchy (Euben and Qasim Zaman 2009; Salime 2011).

areas with education facilities, they focus on female students' needs such as lodging, funding and supplies and in more industrial areas they provide "training sessions, programs, and conferences relate to labor rights, unionization, and self-help" (Salime 2011, 50). Through the section, Nadia Yassine advocates for women's education, participation of women in religion and public society, and encourages women to conduct collective Ijtihad reading of texts (Gray 2013, 93).

Regardless of her popularity in the media, internally within the JC, Nadia Yassine's actions and views received criticism as her male peers did not believe a woman to be fit for a leadership role (Brooks 2020, 28-29). Besides this gender intolerance, the group also has objections against hereditary leadership as further case against her bid for leadership (El Haitami 2016, 86).

Despite advocating for women, Nadia Yassine rejects the label feminist as to her these resonate with western and elitist thoughts, preferring the terms militant or "social neo-Sufi" (Yafout 2016, 100; Euben and Qasim Zaman 2009, 309). Rather than advocating for gender equality, the term gender justice is coined, as justice is seen as a key tenet within Islam and "reflects more closely the language of the Qur'an wherein justice is upheld as an ideal" (Gray 2013, 91). In essence, gender justice and gender equality mean the same, however the JC employs the term justice "in order to distinguish the basis of [their] argument from that of secular women's rights activists" (Gray 2013, 91).

Nadia Yassine founded *The Female Collective Ijtihad Project* which promotes re-reading of religious texts to recover women's rights. She conceptualizes Islamic feminism as a push to regain rights inherent within Muslim societies which have been constantly repressed (El Haitami 2016, 85). Using the model of the Prophet (*Sira*) and that of his male and female companions as perspective on women's equal rights in Islam she made important contributions to re-include women in the production of knowledge on Islam outside of the Maliki *madhhab* which she views as a patriarchal law and "a major hindrance to women's emancipation" (El Haitami 2016, 84).

The collective Ijtihad groups of *sisters* tackle many thorny topics such as polygamy. According to Yafout (2016) polygamy should in practice be very limited, being an exception for rare circumstances where monogamy is the norm. Misuse of polygamy can have negative effects on society and families in various ways such as poor education for children, mistreatment and neglect of women and otherwise poorly functioning families. Within the JC, these practices are frowned upon, and leaders are

expected to be monogamous (Yafout 2016, 101-103). Nadia Yassine and her colleagues made observations regarding the fact progressive changes within society caused polygamy to become regulated and restricted. The first being that Qur'anic verses and Hadiths that legitimize polygamy are relatively narrow as the Quran states: "but if you fear that you will not do justice, then only one (one wife)" (Quran, 4/3) and further states "you will not be fair to your wives, even if you want to be so" (Quran IV/ 129). This seems to indicate God will curse a polygamous man who does not treat his wives equally, and that in turn, a man will not treat his wives equally if he has many. This causes Nadia Yassine and her sisters to conclude polygamy is a source of injustice and suffering for women (Yafout 2016, 102). [49] Lastly it should be noted the deconstruction of polygamy does not forbid it, but merely tries to restrict it to its original limited implementation (Yafout 2016, 103).

All in all, Gray (2013) documented that the passing of Abdessalam Yassine resulted in conflicts between Nadia Yassine and the new secretary general Mohammed Abbadi. As stated by Gray (2013, xiii) this led to the dissolution of the women's section of JC. According to the official website of the movement however, the women's section still functions under a new leadership, with Amane Jaroud as the new secretary general of the women's section.

● *Al-Tawhīd Wa-L-Islāh Union and Reform Movement (Mur) Female Section*

According to Salime (2011, 36) the leaders of MUR in 1982 announced a separation with *al-Shabība al-islāmiyya* (Islamist youth), which was regarded as the parent organization of many of Morocco's Islamist movements. They formed *al-Jamā'a al-islamia* (an Islamist group) that in 1992 altered its name to *al-Islāh wa-l-tajdīd* (reform and renewal). To Salime (2011, 36) "failure to get legal authorizations pushed this group to change its name once again, into the current *al-Tawhīd wa-l-islāh"* (Union and Reform movement/MUR).

In addition, in 1996, they merged with *al-Mustaqbal al-islami* (the Islamic Future) and employed some "strategic changes, such as the endorsement of the legitimacy of the monarchy and recognition of the Islamic character of the state" (Salime 2011, 36).

---

[49] A second observation which was produced by Ijtihad methods was the fact that within the Uhad battle due to many male Muslims perishing, a considerable number of Muslim women were widowed, and a lot of children orphaned. This caused polygamy to be employed as a practical means towards social solidarity as there were no social or state-level measures in place at the time to support such large numbers of widows and orphans (Yafout 2016, 102-103).

By doing so this movement was allowed to be part of the political scene "through a proper political party, *al-'Adāla wa-l-tanmia"* (Salime 2011, 36) known as the PJD. As of 1997 the PJD became a political wing of *al-Tawhīd wa-l-islāh* (MUR).

Local media perceives the PJD as one of the most democratic entities within Morocco. Regular elections and renewal of leadership have been commonplace since the dawn of the organization in 1996. This democratic aspect is perceived to be one of the primary strengths of the movement which operates within a political environment where most older party's leaders have not changed since Moroccan independence (Salime 2011, 37). According to Salime (2011, 37) "most leadership positions, however, remain in the hands of male members, and the nine-person executive committee has only one female member, the teacher Naima Benyaich".

A third of MUR's membership consists of a large network of professional and educated women. Salime (2011, 48) interviewed an activist from MUR about her reasons for joining the MUR Movement. The activist whom Salime named Hanan recounted her story as follows:

> I have been veiled since the elementary school. It was not very common in the late'70s to see city girls wearing headscarves in schools. The administration found my behavior alarming. The school principal warned me, talked to my parents, and then started pulling my scarves off my head, keeping them with her. I found it offensive and continued covering my hair. One day she brought a collection of my scarves and burned them before my eyes in the schoolyard. I was radicalized by this experience. I kept asking myself, why did she do that? Are we not Muslims? I understood that a headscarf is not a mere piece of cloth. I joined al-Shabība al-islāmiyya [mother organization of al-Tawhīd wa-l-islāh] and doubted of everything coming from the school. Now, as a founding member of al-Tawhīd wa-l-islāh, I am fighting for the right of others to veil (Salime 2011, 48).

Describing the path, she took from the radical *al-Shabība al-islāmiyya* towards PJD, she was part of the small group of female members that, since its establishment in 1992, were affiliated and active and participating on a political level within the *al-Islāh wa-l-tajdīd* (reform and renewal). The fact these women were able to create open spaces for women to hold meetings, have their voices heard and share interpretations of Islamic sources alongside male dominated structures is also described by Hanan. Communicational skills and political awareness are some of the things developed by women within these spaces. Despite this, only one woman, Naima Benyaich, is elected on its executive board, however during the 2002 elections a total of six women were elected as representatives of the PJD in parliament. Around 10% of seats in parliament

were attributed to women due to quotas promoted by feminists within political entities (Salime 2011, 48).[50]

- *PJD's Women Section: Bassima Hakkaoui*

According to El Haitami (2016, 75) the PJD was founded in 1998 as being broken up from MUR. After winning 42 seats out of 295 in the 2002 elections it entered the political scene. To Gray, "the MUR is a group that periodically has inserted itself in the public domain but, in contrast to the Justice and Charity movement, it has never questioned the role of the king. MUR members eventually formed the Islamist political party PJD, which is unequivocal in its support of the monarchy" (Gray 2013, 118-119). To Salime (2011), the PJD accepts the king in his role as the commander of the faithful and operates within the state's political foundation. According to El Haitami (2016, 75-78), "it steers clear of any criticism of the wider political system and focuses on social issues such as corruption, education, and the place of women within society".

Bassima Hakkaoui is at the helm of the PJD's women section and was appointed Minister of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development from 2012-2021.[51] Hakkaoui was the only female minister within this cabinet despite the PJD's declared focus on endorsement of women's rights and societal participation after the F20M. This further indicates the trend of women generally being appointed only to positions regarding low impact decision making and women issues, rather than allowing their participation in the full spectrum of political influence, decision making and power (Brooks 2020, 35).

By showing that women have important functions within the ranks of the PJD, Mustapha Ramid, who is one of the prominent leaders within the PJD, claims the PJD fully supports the rights of women to partake in public. He notes the PJD has the highest women's participation count within their party among all the political parties. Despite this fact Ramid emphasizes that no changes to *shari'a* laws such as inheritance laws will be supported by his party even though these laws clearly provide more privileges to male

---

[50] According to Ennaji (2016b) the MUR and PJD are conservative, opposing things like alcohol consumption, abortion and the LGTBQ+ community yet in contrast to the JC are considered only moderately Islamist because they are pro-monarchy. Outwardly their conservative values are "reflected in the way they dress: men wear beards, and women are veiled and wear Moroccan long -sleeve dresses (djellabas) of ordinary design" (2016b, 38-39).

[51] Despite the fact no less than six women served as ministers within the kingdom of Morocco prior to Hakkaoui, she was the first religious minister who wore a veil (El Haitami 2016).

over female heirs. This rigid stance is because of the perception these laws are sacred due to their roots in the Qur'an (Gray 2013, 118-119).

Talking about Morocco's 2011 ratification of CEDAW in an interview with Ouchtou (2012), Hakkaoui expressed concerns regarding Article 9 which in her eyes was a threat to "Morocco's sovereignty as a Muslim state with its system based on the principle of leadership of the faithful". Hakkaoui also noted Article 16 as problematic since it is in contradiction with the *Moudawana* by providing equal rights regardless of gender. As the constitution lays down a strict set of unchallengeable principles, an article of the convention must not go against these. Besides being contradictory to the Family Laws, Hakkaoui further insists on "biological differences between men and women" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120) claiming gender concepts promoted by CEDAW are *dangerous* as they try to refute these differences and claim both genders are equal. Employing a more Qur'an compatible idea, *gender complementarity* is promoted claiming its premises to be "more inclusive of women's roles than gender equality" (Brooks 2020, 36). To Ennaji, "Islamic activists claim that there is a complementarity between men and women and between rights and obligations. Women have rights to be provided for by their fathers or husbands, but they are obliged to obey them and to take care of their families and children" (Ennaji 2016b, 39).

Hakkaoui's stances regarding VAW are also controversial where she maintains domestic violence to be the most important issue women face and points to the fact this issue is not solved by western feminism, socialism or Islamism. She goes further to state VAW is not specific to women of Morocco, nor Muslim women, but instead a global issue prevalent in most cultures, belief systems and countries (Gray 2013, 121).

Hakkaoui is also a leader in *l'Organisation de Renouveau de la Conscience Féminine* (ORCF) (Gray 2013, 118). [52] The OCRF according to Hakkaoui employs different means and methods to combat gender-based discrimination, which are not in-line with the CEDAW (Gray 2013, 121). Despite Hakkaoui being a prominent public figure, she endorses the view that women should not work outside of the home, contradictory to her own lifestyle and role in society. This view is in direct conflict with

---

[52] The ORCF, founded in 1995, has two main objectives: resolving family disputes and training political leaders. The association primarily takes up the cases of women that it finds of particular interest, such as women discriminated against in the workplace because they wear the veil. The ORCF also offers limited legal advice to victims of domestic violence. From its headquarters in Casablanca, it encourages members to become politically active on the local level. The ORCF receives funding from the Moroccan government, but unlike secular women's advocacy groups it does not receive any international financial support (Gray 2013,122).

the women's movement's aims which strive for gender equality through political action and law. Law 103-13 for example aims to protect any Moroccan against gender-based violence regardless of where this violence takes place. This law was designed not only to apply to women, despite them being the most common victims of such discrimination and violence. By this stance, Hakkaoui demonstrates she is opposed to the feminist and women's organization's goals even though she is the only female participant in the cabinet (Brooks 2020, 36-37). Women's rights activists, as a response to Hakkaoui's criticism of CEDAW, have voiced their concerns regarding Hakkaoui's position in cabinet as Minister.

Her own organization, the ORCF, supports the view of women not being supposed to work outside of the home when the husband can support the entire family financially. This while she herself, a woman in her early fifties, commutes daily between Casablanca where she lives, and Rabat where she works, both running her organization as well as raising her children. Despite her political party being Islamist, she describes the ORCF as a women's rights association that attracts observant women, stating that the ORCF contributes to "careful policy planning based on exact study of the country's actual conditions" (Gray 2013, 122).

Both Nadia Yassine and Hakkaoui struggle with opposition from within their own parties due to the fact they are female. Due to the risk of becoming too isolated from their parties' male members, they both need to be careful in their views and stances and can thus not produce strong voices about women's issues and rights. This further leads to difficulties achieving milestones towards emancipation as that might cause them issues in their political positions (Gray 2013, 123). Both women have expressed that without holding their respective positions it would be impossible for them to achieve their goals and impact on society. The main differences in their approaches being that Nadia Yassine operates on more idealist grounds, where Hakkaoui is noted to be more of a realist. Hakkaoui tries to operate within the current constraints of the political system, where Nadia Yassine tries to go beyond these constraints and rejects them openly (Gray 2013, 124).

In interviews with Gray (2013, 123), Hakkaoui expressed awareness of some of her male colleagues holding more conservative views on women's roles in society. Due to this opposition within her own party on women's issues she felt it was important to have her own association in order to more freely implement and pursue her ideas without having to constantly take into account her colleague's more conservative views.

According to Rapp (2008, 25), the PJD's separation of women into their own section within the party has a net negative effect on the concept of including women into the party as this weakens their voices and reduces their impact solely to women's issues which concern this section of the party. Gray (2013, 123) goes further to state some observers question the integrity of Islamist parties such as the PJD in their inclusion of women, stating they elect them only to gain recognition of their inclusion of women and generally demote them to more traditional roles internally.[53]

On the topic of female activism within Morocco, both the term 'feminist' and 'Islamist' fail to encompass actuality. Given their secular or Islamist backgrounds, both camps do not agree on the basic principles they promote. Furthermore, most NGO's rarely implement open democratic systems and seem to concern themselves more with defining feminists or Islamists rather than taking on actual women's issues (Gray 2013, 45). Often the largest differences between feminists and Islamists are personal matters, and beliefs and concerns about gender rights are very similar between the two. Putting aside these personal disagreements would allow for more effective collaborations to take place between these NGOs and make their goals around gender rights more achievable. Together their voices would be more united and stronger, enhancing their following and impact. Another factor on which these 2 camps disagree is the concept of democracy. Secularists hold the belief that democracy is synonymous to individualism and liberalism and Islamists hold an opposite view, relating democracy to illiberalism. Due to these views being polar opposites, perspectives on women's issues also drift far apart between the two camps. A large number of NGOs see the politicization of religion as a constant threat to the achievements which women and secular organizations have realized so far (Sadiqi 2016a, 22).

3.2.2.2. Self-Based Islamic Feminism: Experience of Mernissi and Lamrabet

Another form of Islamic feminism in Morocco is academic self-based in which women "keep a neutral stand from all other prevailing political and ideological players" (Bouzghaya 2021, 1). In this section we will dive into the experiences of two such women, Mernissi and Lamrabet.

---

[53] Another former member of the PJD, Khadija Mufid, also launched her own small NGO after continued struggles within the party to express her ideas. She noted in an interview with Gray (2013, 124-126) that "independent thinkers are not welcome there". Holding meetings during night-time, being only relegated to a component within the party that deals with women's issues and other things made it clear to Mufid that in daily operations the idea of a woman being in the top tiers of government is still not welcomed.

- *Fatima Mernissi: A Bridge Between Secular and Islamic Feminism*

Fatima Mernissi is among major feminist leaders who left a great legacy written on feminism in Morocco. Mernissi's trajectory is described by many researchers (Ennaji 2020b, Yafout 2016, Rhouni 2010; 2016) as a thorny journey towards decolonizing Moroccan feminism. Mernissi started first with a secular approach and later shifted to Islamic feminism. She documented this in her book (1994) *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood.* She was born in a harem in the city of Fez in Morocco on 27 September 1940. While her parents had a monogamous marriage, her grandfather had polygamous marriages. Her awareness as she described in the book came about as she transitioned from girlhood to adulthood as a response, she rejected many changes that segregated the male and female interactions. Unlike women in her family who were illiterate, Mernissi was among the first generation of girls who were allowed to attend a school founded by the nationalist movement during the French protectorate (Laghssais 2021b, 103-104). Mernissi's wish was to look beyond the walls of the harem where she was born and dream of freedom and education. As she grew up, Mernissi pursued higher education specializing in sociology at Mohammed V University in Rabat, and later she moved to study abroad first at the Sorbonne University in Paris and then for doctoral studies at Brandeis University in the United States of America. After her PhD, Mernissi returned to Morocco to work as a professor of sociology at Mohammed V University (Laghssais 2021b, 103-104). The fact that Mernissi's journey of the decolonization of feminism led her from a secular perspective to an Islamic one allows her to form a bridge between the two.

Published in 1975, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society* was the first book which described Mernissi's secular path. Through this book she criticized society and religion. The focus on religion within this book was perceived by some critics such as Lazreg as being too narrow, pointing to Islam as the root of the problem. According to Lazreg, "religion cannot be detached from the socio-economic and political context within which it unfolds. And religion cannot be seen as having an existence independent of human activity" (Ennaji 2020b, 11). Lazreg adds to her criticism that Mernissi's book is deliberately secularist in its approach to studying society. It adapts methodology that focuses exclusively on religion, and it portrays Islam as a central obstacle to women's emancipation (Ennaji 2020b, 11). In the same vein Ennaji (2020b, 4) stated that "focusing solely on religion may blur or stop any serious assessment of the

living conditions of women in the region and thus impedes social change and women's liberation".

However, according to Rhouni, Lazreg was too harsh in her critiques, as even in her secularist phase Mernissi shows signs of decolonized feminism in light of anti-capitalism, pointing towards capitalism as major impact factor in oppression of women (Rhouni 2016, 130). Even in the critiques from a secularist perspective Mernissi avoids singling out Islam as solely being responsible for the oppression of women in Muslim cultures. Instead, she also points to capitalism and the exploitation of female labour. Since the 1970s, Mernissi has made great strides to shine light on structures of oppression responsible for the conditions of marginalized women such as "carpet weavers, farmers, illiterate women, factory workers and maid servants" (Rhouni 2016, 129). Besides highlighting conditions of these women, she also highlights these women's agency to live a decent and dignified life within such conditions. Among these structures by which women are "exploited and marginalized are an unjust family law (Mudawana) that overlooked women's remarkable socio-economic contribution, and a discriminatory development programme that did not appreciate their participation in the economy" (Ennaji 2020b, 11).

The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam which was originally written in French as *Le harem politique: le prophete et les femme'* and published in 1987. The publication of this book marked a radical shift from her earlier secularist feminist position. With this book she takes an egalitarian approach to the Islamic faith and uses that as the basis to advocate for women's rights rather than arguing that such rights and equality does not exist within the faith. This new feminist paradigm paved the way to a decolonized feminist approach yet was unintentionally undermined by orientalist thoughts promoted at the time (Rhouni 2016, 138). This shift from secularism to Islamic feminism seemed rather abrupt and drastic, however it might be understood within the socio-economic and political context in which the book was produced. Global events such as the Cold War, pan-Arabism, Arab-Israeli wars, political oppression within Morocco (years of lead) and military regimes coming to power in the Middle East all weighed in on this shift between secularist feminism and Islamic feminism. Especially among intellectuals these conditions led to distrust in secularism and western culture, further leading to the embracement of political Islam. Regardless, in general Mernissi's scholarship seems to indicate her academic development was the actual reason for her shift in perspective (Ennaji 2020b, 8; Rhouni 2016, 138-139).

Despite Mernissi's shift towards Islamic feminism, she remains critical towards male misogynist interpretations of Islam. She was "blamed for questioning, among others the integrity of some narrators of hadith, for their hostile position against women. This, in her opinion, shows their lack of intellectual credibility and honesty" (Yafout 2016, 98). For instance, hadiths of Al-Bukhari on women which were highly regarded and well respected at the time. Mernissi's methodological approach while re-reading these hadiths takes into account historical sociological and anthropological perspectives. Among these hadiths Mernissi examined the following hadith: "those who entrust their affairs to women will never know prosperity" and its effect on women's political participation during the 1970s and 1980s. This particular hadith is used in different context by different male personalities such as ulema, preachers and politicians alike to motivate their reluctance to allow females access to political decision-making (Yafout 2016, 99).[54]

As documented by Rhouni, another crucial factor in Mernissi's shift towards Islamic feminism is her meeting with male progressive scholars of Islam such as Ahmed Khamlichi (a member of the national council of ulama) who advocates for changes to women's rights using Islam as a basis for his claims. He distinguishes between sharia and fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), for him, while the first is divine, the second is human and subject to change. For example, the topic around reforms of the Moudawana his argument lay in that the "since the Moudawana is inspired from one of the schools of fiqh (the Maliki School), it is not sacred and can be subject to change using ijtihad" (Rhouni 2016, 138-139). In addition to her encounter with Ahmed Khamlichi, Ennaji (2020b, 8) documents that Mernissi's interaction with the Dean of the Faculty of Law in Rabat at the time, Moulay Rchid, further caused her to change her perspectives on Islam. As a result of these encounters Mernissi started to argue that secularism on its own was not enough to progress on the path of emancipation within a Muslim-majority society. A necessity for adoption of progressive Islamic perspectives regarding women's rights and adapting her discourses to include the local and Islamic contexts was identified.

Another pivotal moment in Mernissi's journey was the discovery of Sufi Islam. In 1984, "she published a series of articles in the magazine Jeune Afrique, which were

---

[54] To contrast to this male dominated narrative Mernissi published a book 'Forgotten queens of Islam' to present stories of many women who historically held leadership positions in or ruled directly over Islamic states. These women are often completely erased from official history. Furthermore, none of these women ever received the title *Caliph* which due to its religious and messianic connotations is considered to be especially valuable and prestigious, reserved for only a tiny minority of male leaders (Yafout 2016, 99).

collected and published in 1986 in a book entitled L'Amour dans les pays musulmans" (Rhouni 2016, 139-140). Its thesis is in complete opposition to *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society* in the concept that Islam is not against love. As Mernissi discovered, in Sufi Islam women are granted a more egalitarian status, allowing important female mystics like Rabia Adawiya to arise. In contrast to her earlier works, this book takes a look into liberal religious scholars that preached "faithfulness in heterosexual relationships" (Rhouni 2016, 139-140).

Overall, Mernissi's academic journey was a bridge between the secular and Islamic trends. Her attempt was "to reconcile the two" by creating an intersectional zone "while also remaining distinct". Mernissi "was very careful not to fall into the trap of the Islamic-secular binary" (Ennaji 2020b, 9). Being influenced by Mernissi's writing, feminists from both trends strived to democratize and transform Moroccan political history. Especially reforms to the *Moudawana* impacted the country in many areas and has brought more gender parity to Morocco. Despite it not being fully implemented in some parts, it has become a cornerstone of modernization and democratization within Morocco largely thanks to women such as Mernissi and human rights groups which paved the way towards legal and institutional reforms (Ennaji, 2020b, 19).

- *Asma Lamrabet Islamic Feminism Experience*

Another self-based Islamic feminist of which we will investigate her experiences is Asma Lamrabet. Born in 1961 in Rabat, Asma Lamrabet worked as a hematologist at Ibn Sina Hospital in Rabat. In 2003, she started her path as a self-based feminist to rediscover her origins and Islamic values. In an interview with Borrillo, she stated that her research journey ignited from her family dynamics that she describes as "schizophrenic". Her father was "a nationalist and socialist […] representative of the Moroccan left in the 1970s, progressive in the public sphere". But he was "firm about conservative Islamic religious values in the private sphere". Lamrabet talks about her years of adolescence as confusing because Islam was not clear for her. Her father carried a discourse on "freedom and justice at an ideo-logical level", however in personal life and daily social interactions she described him as "a conservative man". All which led Lamrabet later in her life to start this self-based trajectory stating "it was my wish to know by myself what the Quran said. It was my wish to know by myself what Islam means. And I was feeling free to be able to conduct my research alone, without any association, group, or movement" (Borrillo 2016, 118).

This self-based approach is not affiliated with the central Islamist movement or any political ideology. Lamrabet uses interpretations of "Qur'an and Hadith to support equality between the sexes and underline the egalitarian and universal message of Islam" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120). As stated by Gray "Lamrabet studied the history of Islam, the life of the Prophet, and, in particular, that of his wife Aïcha […], she began to focus more and more on the role and status of women in Muslim-majority countries" (Gray 2013, 152). Not being affiliated to any external political entities created difficulties to enter the public sphere for Lamrabet when starting out her journey since she only represented herself. It wasn't until her third book was published that scholars started to become acquainted with her and she started to be included into the domestic and international scene (Gray 2013, 152).

Between 2004 and 2007, she was the coordinator of a research group on Muslim women's issues in Rabat. In 2008, she was elected president of the international *Group of Studies and Reflection on Women and Islam* (GIERFI) based in Barcelona (Borrillo 2016, 118). During the same year she promoted the partnership between GIERFI, and *Center for Studies and Research on Women's Issues in Islam* (CERFI) affiliated with Rabita Mohammedia of the Ulama, directed by Ahmed Abbadi, the general secretary of this league. In 2011, Lamrabet was appointed as director of CERFI under the patronage of King Mohammad VI. Borrillo (2016) described Lamrabet's journey as fascinating because she ascended "from an intellectual position of someone who reads the Quran and reflects upon it from an academic and personal perspective about the normative power of its Surat (verses), to the role of director of CERFI" (Borrillo 2016, 118). According to Borrillo, Lamrabet requested Abbadi to review her book *Le coran et les femmes: une lecture deliberation.* Later Abbadi promoted the Arabic version of this book though this was later rejected by the academic council of Ulama who further refused to publish it in Arabic.

The rejection of publishing this book in Arabic further shows that these Ulama had difficulties to accept Lamrabet's progressive perspectives, citing her not being *Alima*, which is the lack of having a traditional diploma in Islamic studies, as justification for their rejection of her views. Regardless of her not being an Alima, Abbadi appointed her directorship of CERFI by 2010 giving an indication of the different levels of religious authority which exist within Islamic institutions (Borrillo 2016, 120).

For female members of the Rabita, Yafout (2016 106-107) states there are a number of difficulties to overcome for women scholars. Among these the two main

hurdles are firstly being stuck in a patriarchal framework for producing *Ijtihad* knowledge and not being allowed to break free from this model and produce their own knowledge, and secondly for Lamrabet her perspectives expressed in her book *Le coran et les femmes: une lecture de liberation* were considered too bold and her translation into Arabic of the book was halted. These conditions leading to struggles to freely explore their topics led in 2018 to Lamrabet's resignation from Rabita on account of "a row with male colleagues over the interpretation of Islamic texts relevant to inheritance laws" (Ennaji 2020b, 11).

Attempting to reconcile tradition and religion with modernity and with the egalitarian perspective of universal human rights a *third way* was proposed by Lamrabet and her Islamic feminist research team. This placed her in the void left "by liberal feminists whose lack of genuine religious commitment had exposed them to the accusation of cultural alienation or even apostasy" (Eddouada and Pepicelli 2010, viii). In short, this new perspective emphasizes the fact that Islamic feminists should shape their voices with pre-existing globally understood terms to be more clearly understood (Yafout 2016, 105).

Drawing inspiration from *Ijtihad* with the purpose of interpreting the sacred texts from a perspective of gender equality, Lamrabet provides an egalitarian view of the Qur'an and Sunna. To her, unity of God and creation (*tawhid*) is the theological reference used as a base of her work. Despite gender complementarity (*Takamul*) being the most popular discourse in most Muslim feminist communities, she uses her perspective to legitimize gender equality (*Musawa*) instead. Providing an alternative to the classical approach of gender complementarity which suffers from the fact it creates an undynamic system around gender obligations and rights, she promotes gender equality based on eleven concepts extracted from a direct reading of the Qur'an. Her book titled *Femme et hommes dans le coran: quelle egalite* explains these eleven concepts in detail. Her approach does not fall into the trap of gendered obligations and rights, which in classical models leads to further juridical marginalization of women under male obligations of the family, ulama and state (Borrillo 2016, 120-121).

Lamrabet wears a veil despite not seeing it as mandatory and advocates for all Muslim women regardless of their backgrounds or cultural identities or social status. She finds focusing on the veil a reductionist view of women, turning them into mere *bodies* rather than appreciating them fully as human beings and further highlights that in its basic principles "Islam is a religion of equality, knowledge, and compassion" (Sadiqi 2017b,

97-120). Qualities which in their importance within Islam rise far above particularities such as wearing a veil or not (Sadiqi 2017b).

All in all, according to Borrillo (2016, 123) "Fatima Mernissi wrote that only when women wake up and stop washing and cooking and start to understand why norms are not created by themselves, will women surely find the way to change the rules and the entire world", to Mernissi Quran and Sunna can be used as a 'weapon' to adapt the Islamic message to contemporary society. This idea of Mernissi is shared by Asma Lamrabet whose activity "aims to propose a new interpretation of the sacred texts based on a reformist approach, which aims to show the emancipatory character of Islamic revelation" (Borillo 2016, 123). Thus, "the experience of Asma Lamrabet denotes an example of self-negotiated authority in which we can observe a 'self-made' trajectory of the female subject that controls, chooses and organizes her proper agency to build a religious authority" (Borrillo 2016, 123).

3.2.2.3. State Islamic Feminism: The Murshidat and Alimat program

Another type of feminism within Morocco can be identified as state-based Islamic feminism which started to take shape after the 2003 terrorist attacks in Casablanca which saw the state attempt to eradicate terrorism by control of the national religious landscape (Sadiqi 2017b). This bid for control and "gender-based reform of the Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs [...], in 2004, institutionalized women's participation in the official Islamic bureaucracy and knowledge- production structures" (Borrillo 2018, 206). In 2006 the same Ministry appointed 50 female preachers (*murshidat*) in mosques as well as 36 female theologians (*alimat*) within several *ulema* councils (Eddouada and Pepicelli 2010, vii). These 2 events can be seen as the birth of state-based Islamic feminism which since then has become widespread, and also includes female activists from the JC movement and PJD.

The *Alimat* members can only be directly appointed by the King, however the *Murshidat* program sets entry requirements for any female who wants to join and consists of trainings and courses after the requirements for entrance have been met. The *Murshidat* program counted around 200 female preachers in 2010, adding around 50 new members each year since 2006. The program comes with strict requirements in order for a female to enter it. She has to be under 46 years old, hold a degree from a higher education facility with high grades and take part and pass an exam in which she needs to prove she has memorized half the Qur'an. Upon entering the program, the *Murshidat* are further trained

in various areas such as Islamic affairs, psychology, sociology, law, business, leadership, public communication and more (Eddouada and Pepicelli 2010, viii; Sandberg and Aqertit 2014,134).

> The fact that a woman is allowed to speak about Islam officially and in the public space of the mosque and other Islamic institutions, which are traditionally monopolized by male voices, has been perceived as a significant step towards the application of gender mainstreaming in public – including religious – institutions, and as a form of 'Islamic State feminism. [...] From this perspective, religious authority can contribute to questioning the Islamic patriarchal tradition and to affirming gender equality in society […] (Borrillo 2018, 206)

Once they complete their training, tasks are assigned to them including for example giving guidance to people in their religious practices within mosques, hospitals, prisons and various other public institutions. Here when speaking to mixed audiences they perform their general duties, providing Quranic and Hadith interpretations. However in their interactions with females, they add to that more intimate interactions such as giving advice on a personal level such as advice on how to dress modestly, male and female interactions and dynamics within the public and private sphere and how to navigate questions and issues related to sexuality (Sadiqi 2017b). One of the most notable impacts however that these female religious leaders have though is the fact that simply being perceived as a female within an important leadership role is now becoming more normal within Morocco, and the idea of females occupying leadership roles in other walks of life and business becomes less taboo. Merely altering secular practices has not been able to achieve such results regarding gender parity (Sandberg and Aqertit 2014, 134). One of the main distinguishing factors between the *Alimat* and *Murshidat* is the latter lacks religious authority to expand upon the official Islamic sources based on Ijtihad where the *Alimat* serves from a more officially recognized authority and permitted to perform such individual reasoning. *Murshidat* serve to disseminate official discourse and is controlled through a hierarchical system by the local Ulama councils as well as the Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs (Borrillo 2018, 207). Thus, these Murshidat and Alimat "could be considered 'docile agents' – the protagonists of a process of change that concerns the whole society – because the recognition of women's religious authority could also underline women's empowerment hence further facilitating the acquisition of women's rights" (Borrillo 2018, 207).

All in all, through a revival of Sufi Islam, state-based feminism promoted a moderate Islam as a middle ground between secularism and Islamists. This shift was aided

by the fact it was seen as an effective counter towards Wahhabism which was accused of spreading more radical forms of Islam and notably was seen as responsible for the attacks in 2003 and 2006 which in a way gave rise to the circumstances which enabled state-based feminism to take shape in the first place (Eddouada and Pepicelli 2010, viii). Overall, self-based and state Islamic feminism were well received by secular feminists as they focused on Sufi Islamic heritage rather than a legal orthodox model and the fact they included equality as one of their principles. Besides this, the introduction of reforms in gender dynamics within religion was also welcomed as a positive and powerful move (Sadiqi 2017b).

3.3. Post 2011 Emerging Feminisms: Example of Amazigh Dimension [55]

The aftermath of the 2011 uprising movement brought a "dramatic change [that] came with serious challenges to the feminist discourses as it unveils the stark absence of Berber, a women-related language, in these discourses" (Sadiqi 2014, 1). The literature available on Moroccan women online is highly hegemonic and not inclusive to Amazigh women. Especially the hegemonic literature that speaks about Moroccan women as Arab women and patriarchy within the Arab world. I noticed something was missing when I read literature about the Moroccan women's movement, a sense of it not being complete. This changed when I came across Sadiqi (2014), at which point I realized Amazigh language and identity was not represented in the mainstream feminist discourses. Regardless of their orientation being "secular or Islamic, Moroccan feminist discourses seem to be enmeshed with specific issues that concern educated urban women. The two discourses also seem to be disconnected from the changing realities on the ground" (Sadiqi 2014, 1).

---

[55] Activism related to Amazigh women's rights has been emerging publicly since post 2011 in context of the uprising, also in light of Covid-19. To what I in this thesis coin as Amazigh feminism narratives it is not only Amazigh feminism that has been emerging after the 2011 feminism scene shifted from an enlists state feminism to more dynamic's participation of youth and the use of social media and arts to call for rights. Zainab Fasiki (2019) is a Moroccan artist that advocates for personal freedoms and illustrates taboo topics related to sexuality via cartoons in an endeavor for Sexual revolution and breaking the taboos of *Hshouma* or shame. This thesis focuses on Amazigh women and the point Fasiki raises is not further developed in the thesis. For more information see the article of Fatima Ezzahraa El Fattah (2021). In addition, post 2011 also noticed participation of Diaspora through mediums such as Facebook and Instagram. Imazighen of diaspora became active on social media claiming Amazigh roots of north Africa. An example can be found in the work of Mounia Mnouer (2021) who published a chapter recounting her journey and navigating identity feminism and diaspora being outside of Morocco.

The issue with mainstream feminist discourses is that they seem to be predominantly focused and deeply impacted by leftist or Islamist ideology. The struggle for power which is perpetually observed between the two competing discourses has led to several losses on both sides of the battle. In the same context, Yachoulti (2016, 181) echoes this view stating that the Moroccan women's movement's originations are discredited due to focusing "in their demands largely on issues important to more elite women of urban areas and fail to address properly the need of poor rural women" (Yachoulti 2016, 181). In addition to that, according to the author "they are not homogenous in their 'raison d'etre' nor in their organization or operating methods. They are trapped by the web of elitism of their leaders and are essentially hierarchical and exclusive" (Yachoulti 2016, 181). The two main damaging aspects of this struggle is the side-lining of the bigger issue of how to include large groups of women from those groups who are represented as *illiterate*, *rural,* and *in need of aid* "both secular and Islamic feminist trends generally represent rural women as 'passive beneficiaries' or 'reasons' for securing national and international funding" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120) therefore as victims and not peacebuilders. Secondly, the side-lining of these women's rich heritage, knowledge and other facets that Amazigh women could contribute to enrich the feminist movement. Yachoulti states that "women's organizations have always favored elitism, secularism and fragmentation" because the "majority of their activists were or still are members within political parties" therefore in their activism they "usually reproduce ideologies of their parties" (Yachoulti 2016, 178).

In the same line, Ennaji (2016a, 3) argues that "secular organizations struggle for a liberal societal project, while Islamic women's associations work within the framework of Islam and aim for the Islamization of the country".[56] He maintains that "their doctrine is often rooted in leftist political movements, which do not see any compatibility between the two concepts of Islam and feminism" (Ennaji 2016a, 3). For many female Islamist activists, Islamic feminism has both self-based and state-based focus on "theological arguments rather than the socioeconomic and political questions" (Bahi 2011, 4). The work is "emphasizing verses in line with gender equality and reinterpreting the 'less clear' texts in what pertains to gender equality through a woman-friendly perspective" (Rhouni 2010, 251) making them very limited within this frame since all schools of Islam may

---

[56] Despite many women in these movements potentially being of Amazigh origins the fact of being urbanized and Arabized is valued more by political parties towards including them rather than rural Amazigh women.

agree on the *Hadith* but they all disagree on the Quran (Rhouni 2010, 252). Within this approach, all Moroccan women are represented and described as a homogenous group under an Islamic banner, excluding other elements of cultural diversity and causing Amazigh women to be excluded from their debate. Sadiqi describes the feminist landscape in Morocco suffering from "absence of the Berber dimension" which to her "weakened the Islamic feminist trend and called for a more inclusive secular feminist trend". Instead, she calls for "a broader-than-Islam approach" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120).

In addition to Sadiqi's (2014) criticism of the Moroccan feminist movement being hegemonic and leaving Amazigh women behind. Green stated that "in all of the work on feminism, the women's movement and feminists, there is little published on or by indigenous women" (Green 2007, 30). In the context of Amazigh historically "most of what has been written about Berbers has been written by non-Berbers" (Hart 1999, 25). This is due to Amazigh indigenous people having an oral history passed from one generation to the next. Amazigh women are celebrated throughout this oral heritage. Therefore, the consciousness of locating the Amazigh aspect in written records has been silenced in Moroccan history. As we have seen in chapter 2, this happened due to the Arabization policies which were in effect since post-independence 1956.

According to Green, "this gap in the [feminist] literature points to the invisibility of indigenous women in the women's movement and, beyond that to the unthinking racism of the movement that has often failed to see indigenous women in their full historical and contemporary contexts" (Green 2007, 30). As Amazigh women are female and subalternized and minoritized, I argue that they are doubly oppressed through silencing, stereotyping, and neglect of agency and identity by not recognizing their important contributions in different historical periods by feminist movements.[57]

The Amazigh identity carried by Amazigh women is structurally silenced, erased and stereotyped. A more harmful, hard to identify way to silence and make invisible is that perhaps most Berbers are not even aware of it. A vivid example of this silencing of Amazigh culture is that Berber women throughout their history have tattooed their various body parts as a sign of beauty or to the benefit of their health and spiritual protection. The designs of the tattoos are believed to help with fertility, health and protection against the

---

[57] Due to the fact official Moroccan history was documented by mostly men, women represented within this historic image are portrayed from the perspective of men. Differences between regions, genders and classes have been eroded and become vague in official accounts. According to Sadiqi "in these accounts, women's roles are either ignored or made secondary to men's, and as such, Moroccan women's subordination has been constructed and transmitted over the years" (Sadiqi 2003, 18).

evil eye. Tattooing of girls marked an important stage in their life as they reached puberty (Becker 2006a, 56).[58] Now, as influences of Islam emanate within society and the rising of political Islam, such an ancient Berber tradition quickly disappears. In fact, it is turned into a source of shame and a new social stigma. However, As Becker (2006a) expressed that despite the tattooing rituals no longer being practiced by modern Amazigh women, they found ways to integrate them in their arts, crafts of textile and carpet weaving as well as design of pottery patterns.

Regarding being silenced from taking part and participating actively in decision making of society, the two mainstream feminism discourses blur out the plurality of grassroot Amazigh women's lives and experiences as if they are presented as a singular entity (passive beneficiaries). They are erased "as a result of a discursive (politi-cal) construction that is based on the empowerment of urban women [centered in big cities]" (Sadiqi 2014, 192).

However, in 2011 officializing Tamazight has opened another door and given visibility to Amazigh women's demands that are based on basic human rights needs for indigenous rural women. Amazigh feminism, as I argue, is a window that seeks to describe and explain Amazigh women's situation and experiences. It supports their recommendation on how to improve them and on what they can bring to the table whilst working together with other feminists. Such reforms on the constitution level have made an impact on Amazigh monolingual women and how they are perceived. El Aissi states that "such recognition has brought the Amazigh women from the margin to the center and has made their contribution to the rise of feminist consciousness in Morocco more visible than before" (2015, 238). Through recognition of Amazigh language and identity Amazigh activism "has revitalized the Amazigh women's oral heroic stories and highlighted their significant role in Moroccan history". Despite being perceived as illiterate "Moroccan Amazigh women, all throughout history, have managed to play primary roles either within their tribes or within Moroccan society as a whole" which was previously silenced in national discourses.

This section theorizes what I propose as Amazigh feminism narratives. Accounts of Amazigh women's struggles for rights and empowerment in Morocco. This section is

---

[58] In ancient times tattoos were used as tribal identification marks allowing for different groups to distinguish each other. Each group embedded their own symbols within these tattoos for the purpose of unity and preservation of collective memories, stories and familial bonds. Even after Amazigh people embraced Islam, their preserved their traditions among which their tattoos which are technically considered Haram by the Quran.

organized into two parts. One about academic activism looking into the body of Amazigh women's literature reviewing works of scholars such as Sadiqi Fatima, Susan Schaefer Davis, Silvia Gagliardi and Becker Cynthia. [59]The second part tackles NGO activism by looking into the works of *Voice of Amazigh Women* in Tamazight *Imlisi.* Finally, this section also looks into the legacy of Amazigh female agency in ancient history which shows Amazigh women's power as queen Dihya, goddess Tanit, and Amazonnes, looking into the symbolic power these female figures carry within the Amazigh civilization.[60]

3.3.1. Academic Amazigh Activism

3.3.1.1. Sadiqi Fatima: Scholar Contributions from Within

Fatima Sadiqi, as a prominent Amazigh academic, highlights the importance of linguistics in order to study women within the Amazigh civilization. Her PhD is concentrated on Amazigh women, language, and gender in Morocco which she later published as *Women, Gender, and Language in Morocco* (2003). She also wrote *Moroccan Feminist Discourses* (2014) in order to discuss the feminist scene in Morocco and criticize the Moroccan feminism movement for being heavily urban focused. She spotted a big absence of the Amazigh women and their issues within these feminist movements. From this book the present thesis draws the foundations and the need to show the Amazigh women's efforts to change their realities beyond the description *in need of aid* or *illiterate.*

Sadiqi also wrote several academic articles focused on Amazigh women's role in preserving Amazigh culture such as (2007). In (2012) she stresses the importance of the Amazigh women as being the gatekeepers of Amazigh indigenous language and traditions, she sheds light on their work of carpet weaving, rituals, oral poetry, and the Tifinagh alphabet's resemblance to the designs found on the carpet designs weaved. She concludes that there is "an unbroken trajectory from prehistory to current times" (Sadiqi 2021a, 594) saved by the Amazigh women for centuries in their carpets and crafts designs

---

59 Other authors who also contributed to the topic I find contribution of values experience Naji Myriem (2007; 2012 among others) she talked about Education and the value Experiences female waivers. Also, Ursula Kingsmill Hart contributed with a book entitled *Behind the Courtyard Door: The Daily Life of Tribeswomen In The Northern Morocco* the book discusses stories and daily life of Amazigh Riffian women of northern Morocco. Also, Katherine E. Hoffman researcher who published her book (2007) which is ethnography among Berber women tackled various topics as language, migration and gender. In addition to writings and activism of the Amazigh militant Maryam Demnati (2013; 2018).
60 This classification is based on my own readings, other information may be available, and I was not aware of it at the time of my research.

and motives.[61] To Sadiqi, the carpet designs can be interpreted as Amazigh women's creativity and inspiration through symbolism analogous to writing. Publication (2020) spoke about the place Amazigh women have held throughout history within the Amazigh civilization, talking for example about remarkable women in Berber history such as queen Kahina.

In her autobiographical article (2017a), Sadiqi reflects on her personal journey navigating her Amazigh language and identity and feminism in the already existing hegemonic feminist scene in Morocco. Sadiqi takes an intersectional approach to it stating that "Berber language and culture and Islamic feminism constitute a fundamental mix in my intellectual journey, as well as in my life" (Sadiqi 2017a, 146).

Sadiqi reflects on her primary school years, as she documents that intellectual sensitivity to language was triggered by her "very first lesson at school". Where she and her classmates "were to read and memorize a text in Standard Arabic which started with the sentence: sukkan almaghrib al-awwalun hum al-amazigh –abnaa-u Mazigh (The first inhabitants of Morocco were Amazigh— sons of Mazigh)" (Sadiqi 2017a, 147). This piqued her interest as her grandfather at home told her about Amazigh history and legends, however, the rest of the year's syllabus went on and on about Arab-Islamic culture and civilization within Morocco and was painfully devoid of any mention of Amazigh culture. This led her to feel Amazigh culture was not welcomed but rather silenced within the official discourse of Moroccan history.

> But for the small girl I was, that class experience also came with a hint of shame. In retrospect, I see it as my very first painful realization that Berber was not 'welcome' outside home, that Standard Arabic and French were 'much better.' This feeling grew when I started to realize that to be a 'good Muslim,' you needed to read and understand the Qur'an, and that to be 'modern' and 'sound educated' you needed to speak French; I also bitterly realized that I needed to hide my mother tongue lest I would sound 'backward' (Sadiqi 2017a, 147).

Sadiqi in her later article "Language and gender in North Africa: contextualizing an emerging" (2021a, 598) described herself as "berber feminist linguist: both the Berber language and feminism constitute a fundamental mix in my intellectual journey and in

---

[61] In a lecture I attended by professor Sadik Rddad (2020) he spoke about the fact of being isolated in the mountain and talks about a case study among the Ait Hdidou tribe which helps to maintains the culture not being influenced by modernity and keeping its purity. When roads are built to these Amazigh villages the outside influenced comes and the culture changes instead of being regenerated naturally as it did hundreds of years ago. However, there are two sides to this as people want formal education for their children and hospitals, so a road is needed for these facilities. There is a need for a way to create modern structures and services while also keeping their culture alive.

my life". In addition, Sadiqi (2021a, 592) described "a lack of knowledge about indigenous groups at the national level as well as western stereotypes that all too often mar and homogenize views of gender relations in Muslim world". But despite the gap, Sadiqi initiated the space via her numerous publications where she created space to decolonialize, a space for Amazigh women within already existing academic literature on Moroccan women.

To Sadiqi, being Amazigh and speaking Tamazight language made a huge impact on how she tackled topics of the feminist movement and navigated her career by first seeing lack of representation of Amazigh women within these feminism trends in Morocco and secondly through her endeavors to establish literature that focused on the Amazigh women's art, oral literature, carpets and agency and empowerment. To Sadiqi (2017a, 151) her Amazigh and gender identity inspired her endeavours to dedicate her academic career to gender and women research (Sadiqi 2017a).

Sadiqi (2014) in her works calls for "a larger than Islam framework for the Moroccan feminist discourses" to be more inclusive to the diversity of Moroccan society. It should not serve to isolate or single out the secular Islamic discourses. Instead, it should aim to create bridges and open doors leading into new discussions and opportunities for growth. Sadiqi's (2014) inclusive approach's sincere representation seriously tackles issues Morocco has been battling with since post-independence such as issues of language, communication, female illiteracy and conflicting lifestyles moving between modernity and traditions. Amazigh women's illiteracy to Sadiqi "is often addressed in a condescending way whereby these women (and whatever knowledge they bring) are marginalized" (Sadiqi 2014, 191). From this we can observe illiteracy is employed to discredit women and hide their contributions and value to society. These contributions range from cultural and knowledge they carry with them, economic impact through arts and various textile products and other such things. Having a paid job and fully supporting a household does nothing to increase these women's freedom and independence if they are seen in this false image. By making space for the Amazigh feminist movement to grow and thrive, the issues of illiteracy and language will be looked upon with new eyes and hopes.

This however can only happen if they are presented as a self-represented dimension within the whole, so their voices are not once again lost among the masses of more general Islamic and secular feminist topics. It would also add a vast rich basis of knowledge and history to the entire picture carried out from within the Amazigh identity.

This new knowledge can then be shared, and Amazigh feminists could begin to be seen by others as partners instead of competitors. Their Amazigh cultural heritage will bring many sources of empowerment for all the Moroccan feminist discourses. This intersectional inclusive approach is not limited to providing improvements in the communication between parties due to the removal of linguistic barriers which have been in place. It is also able to elevate the entire feminist discourse into a single mobilization with one common goal instead of a multitude of different views in which none speaks for everyone (Sadiqi 2014).

3.3.1.2. Susan Schaefer Davis: Rural Women Artisans Micro Level Empowerment

Susan Schaefer Davis is an American anthropologist who commenced working with Moroccan women about 50 years ago when she was a Peace Corps Volunteer. Schaefer Davis published the book *Patience and Power: Women's Lives in a Moroccan Village* in 1983 which is a sociocultural anthropological study of Moroccan women living in villages in rural settings. She also authored the book *Adolescence in a Moroccan Town: Making Social Sense* in 1989 which is based on field studies she conducted in a town in northern Morocco that targeted 150 youths and their families with interviews on their opinions on topics of sexuality and male-female interaction, family, friendship, courtship, marriage, and social deviance.

In her autobiographical article, Schaefer Davis (2020) shares the trajectory and her work with Moroccan rural women since the late 1960s. During her work with Moroccan women, Schaefer Davis noticed few remarks about Moroccan women among them as she writes that "often-underappreciated strength of Moroccan women, and the value of including the realities of their lives at the grassroots level" (Schaefer Davis and Yabis 2016, 78). In the articles she wrote with Yabis (2016), she addresses the grassroots level feminism and notes most organizations within Morocco which address feminism are elitist and urban based. Most participants in these organizations "are beneficiaries of literacy or small-scale economic programs, rather than working to support feminism on a broader scale" (Schaefer Davis and Yabis 2016, 77).

In addition, Schaefer Davis co-wrote with Bordat and Kouzzi (2011) works which illustrated the "grassroots level NGOs including local development associations, economic cooperatives, and even hairdressers trained to educate clients about their rights". Schaefer Davis gives good examples of Amina Yabis' experience in female empowerment. Amina has her own brand of products and makes decorative buttons for

the traditional djellaba, or tunic worn by men and women. She teaches young women to weave and shows them how to use natural dyes, a skill that had almost died out in Morocco. She uses the internet to sell the buttons the cooperative makes (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 13). The experience of Amina demonstrates "a clear example of what can happen for at least some women at the grassroots level" (Schaefer Davis and Yabis 2016, 78) and therefore adds a "a valuable contribution to the literature on non-elite feminists" (Schaefer Davis and Yabis 2016, 78).

Schaefer Davis in her publications (2004; 2007; 2018) describes women selling online as a worldwide market with increased sales through which women rather than middlemen obtain more of the profits generated by their work; these profits are used mainly to support the family or for children's education and sometimes for community projects. As a result of these projects, the women are empowered in their daily lives and enabled to better facilitate the basic needs of themselves, their families and communities. In 2018, Schaefer Davis published a book entitled *Women Artisans of Morocco: Their Stories. Their Lives* which built on her previous academic work. The book documents life stories of Moroccan women artisans, weavers, button makers and embroiderers, the story behind them, their villages where they grew up and social conditions. Schaefer Davis describes female artisans stating "Moroccan artisans lead a hard life. In addition to practicing their craft, they cook three meals a day, feed the cows and sheep in rural areas, wash clothes by hand, and some haul water from the village well" (Schaefer Davis 2018, 7).

Schaefer Davis had an academic career as professor for ten years and later became consultant for the World Bank, Peace Corps and USAID where projects "focused on potable water projects, education programs for girls, microcredit for women, and child labor and youth activism issues" (Schaefer Davis 2018, 11) in several countries in the MENA region including Morocco. Throughout these projects she was able to observe girls and women in different cultural contexts. Later Schaefer Davis started collecting rugs and selling them back home in the US. Her husband helped her set up her website *Marrakech Express* and in 1994 she became one of the very first online merchants in a pro bono set-up for her website to help women in rural Morocco sell their produce. The website she later noted allowed her to pursue teaching about Moroccan culture to a wider audience. In 2016 she finished her work in *Marrakech Express* and encouraged the women to join a project called *Anou* (The Well), an online marketing platform, in order for them to continue selling their arts and crafts online. After ending her work with

Marrakech Express, Schaefer Davis continued to be involved in teaching and sharing about Morocco by leading various cultural tours and encouraging social interchanges by visiting artisans in their homes (Schaefer Davis 2018, 11).

3.3.1.3. Silvia Gagliardi: Amazigh Women from Human Right Perspective

Silvia Gagliardi is a Gender Advisor for major international organizations, academic researcher, and author of articles (2019; 2017). Gagliardi conducted her PhD on minority and Amazigh women's rights in Morocco which was later published as *Minority Rights, Feminism and International Law: Voices of Amazigh Women in Morocco* (2021). The author used a theoretical base from a human right perspective within international law, and a postcolonial standpoint as lenses to unpack several notions related to the Amazigh women marginalization, discrimination, rights, and equality. Gagliardi interviewed a total number of 58 Amazigh women from distinct backgrounds, "age educational and employment status, area of residence and origin, marital status" (Gagliardi 2021, 12-13) to investigate the examples of Amazigh women and the ways they articulate and demand rights in their communities.

Gagliardi's work (2021, 5) "attempts to fill a gap in the literature by examining how being an Amazigh woman impacts an understanding and enjoyment of human rights and gender equality. It also opens a space for marginalised, sidelined and silenced voices in a society where being both a woman and an Amazigh speaker often results in exclusion and discrimination".

In the aftermath of in of post Arab spring settings, and despite officialization of Amazigh language and culture, prior to that the creation of the IRCAM, nevertheless Amazigh women remain marginalized and suffer in the peripheries "from various forms of discrimination based chiefly on their sex and gender, Amazigh affiliation, and socio-economic" (Gagliardi 2021, 17) circumstances. Such marginalization is also in terms of representation by rights groups in Morocco. I outline two main points among other factors that came up in the book of Gagliardi (2021).

The first point is Feminist Groups in Morocco. Like Sadiqi (2014), Schaefer Davis and Yabis (2016), Gagliardi is also critical to feminist movements in Morocco in the base of being highly elitist and urban based. Despite Amazigh women joining feminist NGOs she found out that their voice is influenced by the NGO which has a political agenda. Amazigh women that "are embedded among the NGO elites, their voices are also generally absent from both scholarly and non-scholarly works on Morocco" (Gagliardi

2021, 1). This creates "discontinuity that Amazigh women feel with the leaders of their groups and, particularly, with women's movements". Therefore, to the author "the elite-driven prioritisation of certain issues and rights further marginalises non-elite women and suppresses their voices" (2021, 16). On this point Gagliardi's book supports the idea "feminism should be interpreted and contextualized locally to be effective and inclusive, and for possibilities for counter-hegemonic rights contestation to emerge" (2021, 16). In contextualizing rights demands and feminism locally, the author is in line with "a feminist strategy carried out at the grassroots level, based on localisation and domestication practices" (Gagliardi 2021,18). Henceforth, Gagliardi gives an example of a case of Sulaliyyates and land ownership movement. [62]

The second point is the Amazigh Cultural Movement. Gagliardi's (2021, 8) field work reveals that Amazigh women at the grass root levels are not reflected in terms of human rights used by members of the Amazigh movements. Many of the leaders and militants of the Amazigh movement are males who have been college-educated urbanites and urban based elites "despite the fact that the larger Amazigh community remains rural, non-literate and divided in multiple Amazigh-dialect speaking communities" (Gagliardi 2021, 102). The same author maintains that "Amazigh leaders' vision of the significance of being Berber does not necessarily equate to that of the masses of mostly rural and often illiterate Berber speakers" (Gagliardi 2021, 102). Amazigh organizations on the grassroots and local level are structured in such a way that ensures female participation remains minimal. Many of them reserve their leadership positions exclusively for male participants and have men as leaders who are either politicians or cultivated in law. A lot of meetings and events are furthermore held on evenings, sometimes in bars or cafes, which further discourage female participation (Gagliardi 2021, 102).

Militants of the Amazigh movement to Gagliardi (2019, 5) primarily "stress the importance of language and culture" as their identity kit that they are deprived of once they moved to the cosmopolitan urban cities. Whereas rural Amazigh find it hard to relate to the jargon frequently used by urban activists whether feminist or Amazigh movement "such as 'violations of basic human rights' and 'linguistic and cultural discrimination' against Amazigh people" (Gagliardi 2019, 4). Activists in their battle for equal rights had to shape their collective as a distinct group with a shared identity (Gagliardi 2019, 4-5).

---

[62] According to Gagliardi (2021, 16-18) "'soulaliyate Movement' might represent one notable exception where rural women are articulating collective rights independently and often in opposition to the rest of their (male) community members".

The rural level lived experiences isolated from the urban Arab characterized environment. They live in a space where they have access to their identity and shared language, however, the violation is felt once they step out of that environment and go to the urban city. There they feel their language and culture is diminished and feel deprived of it and confronted with Arabic and French language as the dominant ones. When they are isolated from their mother tongue, they feel that their rights are violated and therefore they stress its recognition (Gagliardi 2021, 102).

Gagliardi (2021, 106) further criticizes the elite Amazigh communities noting stark differences in how the value of Tamazight is conceptualized *versus* how the importance of language is promoted by these communities. Rights to register children under Amazigh first names is championed yet access to healthcare, job markets and education remains low and seems underprioritized. Hence, the two groups assessed above to Gagliardi "fail to translate lived experience of other women from grassroots level" (Gagliardi 2017, 10) and therefore "left Amazigh women, in particular, marginalised in multiple ways and underrepresented" (Gagliardi 2017, 155).

3.3.1.4. Cynthia Becker: Amazigh Women from Artistic Approach

Cynthia Becker is an American academic among the first early writers about Amazigh women's artistic approach. She authored several publications among which (2009; 2021). Becker's encounters with Amazigh arts date back to 1993 when she visited Morocco. Later she conducted her PhD around 1995 and 1997 on the topic of Amazigh arts which she published as (2006a). Her approach to women is from the artistic approach. From a non-colonial perspective, she focused her study in the southeast of Morocco and studied the Ait Atta subgroup Ait Khabbash as a case study. Her long stay among nomad tribes of Ait Khabbash gave her a chance to go in depth in analyzing the tribal ceremonies, rituals, arts and aesthetics gender meanings and provide oral poetries sung by women while working on their art. Furthermore, she analysed and argued the relationship that links art, gender, and ethnic identity.

Unlike most studies on Amazigh arts which fail to take into account "how the lives of Imazighen in Morocco have drastically changed in the last century due to colonialism and nationalistic agendas" (Becker 2006a, 6) this author aimed to move the "discussion of Amazigh art from the ethnographic past into the present, avoiding terms such as 'traditional' and 'authentic'" (2006a, 6). The book places this artistic approach within the appropriate cultural and historical context, taking into account the impact of

179

among other things the policies of the "French protectorate policies, Moroccan nationalism, changing gender roles, state education, and the transnational Berber movement on artistic production" (2006a, 6).

Becker's study provides accounts of women's arts meaning and symbolism that navigates metaphors of femininity, motherhood, fertility, and gender dynamics in collective dance performances which are found in women's art expressions that are textiles, woven clothes and carpets. Her ethnographic approach traces back through testimonies of elderly women and field visits to the nomadic and sedentary tribes of Ait Khabbash. The patriarchy among the tribe is manifested according to Becker (2006a, 2) in control over the female sexuality and fertility "due to their ability to give birth, Ait Atta women ensured the group's continuation into the future" (Becker 2006a, 4). in order to maintain their bloodline and ethnic traits which they trace back to a common ancestor named Dadda Atta.

Berber women's arts and designs represent their public identity, symbolically depicting concepts of suppressed and closely guarded female fertility. As the foundational principles of Berber ethnicity adapt to today's circumstance, women's arts also adapt and are transformed from rural ethnic symbols to a representation of transnational Berber identity. Becker examines the complexity of identity construction intertwined with gender and artistic production, where she did field work among the Ait Khabbash (Becker 2006a, 2-4).

3.3.2. NGOs Amazigh Feminist Activism

3.3.2.1. Voice of Amazigh Women *Imlisi*

At the turn of the century, Amazigh activism has yielded significant changes in society coming together in the birth of IRCAM causing the Amazigh cultural identity to become a key component within the Moroccan national identity (Sadiqi 2016c, 122). The 20 February Movement that led to the officialization of the Tamazight language in the 2011 constitution. Along the journey to gain recognition in the country after years of marginalization and Arabization, this cleared ground for the creation of associations within society working with Amazigh women rights and needs.[63]

---

[63] The Moroccan law states NGOs are at their core not for profit organizations which provide services on a community level. Cooperatives are profitable organizations which are taxed, have employees, and are allowed to make profit from their ventures (Naji 2007, 83).

The 2011 uprising has offered a fertile ground for emergencies of NGOs with Amazigh character. The constitutionalizing of the Tamazight language gives public visibility and legitimacy for Amazigh people in Morocco. These Amazigh Feminist NGOs appeared demanding "for additional right including cultural rights" (Outaleb and Sadiqi 2021, 122). Also, according to these authors "NGOs fight Berber women's illiteracy, which is mainly associated with their lack of access to standard Arabic (the language that most laws are written in)" (Outaleb and Sadiqi 2021, 122).

In order to address issues on language and identity among other things, many new Amazigh feminist NGOs started to pop up at the turn of the century focusing mainly on issues which were neglected by the mainstream feminist discourses which came before them. After the F20M, there was a significant uptick in activity by these Amazigh feminist NGOs which developed an audible public presence with clear goals (Sadiqi 2016c, 122). Among these development association that appeared are "Tamaynut […],Tinhinan Khemisset[…], Voix de la Femme Amazighe […], Association Tamghart […], Observatoire Amazighe des Droits et Libertés, Femmes[…], and Forum des Femmes Amazighes de Tamazgha" (Sadiqi 2016c, 123). and so on. All these associations share several key identifying factors. They advocate for Amazigh rights regarding language and culture as well as betterment of Amazigh women's predicament within Moroccan society and use the Tifinagh alphabet to reach their audience in their own native language. Their discourse is secular due to them positioning themselves and their work within human rights.

In addition to that, these NGOs "Berber women are fighting back against oppression from certain parts of the *Arab world*. These Berber women claim their matriarchal traditions and native language, among other issues, are under threat from the growing political influence of Islam" (GTHG 2016). They aim to embed Amazigh women's rights within the public policies of Morocco in order to promote and protect women's rights and fight against *illiteracy (*Sadiqi 2016c, 123). They also support women in aiming for decision making positions, encourage and aid in activities related to preservation of Amazigh heritage and oppose violence on all fronts (Sadiqi 2016c, 123).

Among the NGOs listed above, I will focus especially on one Amazigh feminist organization, *The Voice of the Amazigh Women* in Tamazight *Imlisi.* The latter was created in 2009 as a national NGO. It is considered the first association of Amazigh women which defends the rights of women in Morocco and in particular those of the Amazigh woman who suffers double discrimination, sexist and identity. Regarding the

NGO's leadership, it consists of "a 9-person predominately-female board and works on creating projects with, and for, Amazigh women" (Duskie 2019, 11).

The founder of *Voice of the Amazigh women explains:*

> We are the first organization to specifically target the vindication of the rights of women who are Amazigh. We are founded by Amazigh women from across Morocco and we are run exclusively by Amazigh women. We seek to educate Amazigh women of their rights as they may participate fully in society as equals to men and to non-Amazigh Moroccans. Our main strategies are education, awareness, activism and outreach (El Aissi 2019, 12).

This organization was created specifically to raise awareness about the problems this group is facing in relation to their place in society. Amina Zioual, President of the organization told *Women in the World* (WITW) that these women are doubly oppressed because of their gender as well as ethnicity. Zioual stated that "[they] created [their] group because the Amazigh woman — who typically speaks her native Tamazight, not French or Arabic — is not listened to and is even marginalized by the system in Morocco". She continued to say that "[Imazighen have been in all the countries of North Africa for 3,000 years. [they] are oppressed by [their] government. They are always talking about Arabs but [the Amazigh's] are fighting to rewrite the history of Morocco" (GTHG 2016).

> The Voice of the Amazigh Woman prioritizes servicing poor indigenous women living in remote areas outside the big cities. These vulnerable groups are excluded because they are overwhelmingly illiterate (more than 70% of Moroccan women in country areas cannot read or write and the figures are much higher for Amazigh women) and they do not speak Arabic or French. 'Amazigh women are at the receiving end of all the violence Moroccan woman in general suffer,' says Zioual. But then they are further marginalized because they cannot communicate in their language with government agencies, hospitals and the justice system where Arabic is almost compulsory (Symons 2016).

Feminists like Zioual believe many of the types of oppression Berber women face, essentially stem from religious influence. They are trying to encourage greater political participation from indigenous communities in order to change laws, enable them to get educated, marry later and understand their fundamental rights (GTHG 2016). The double marginalization that Amazigh women face indicates the failure of Islamic feminist and secular discourses to capture the Amazigh identity branch under their umbrellas. This is due to their urban modernity, centralization, and their views of Amazigh women as *illiterate*, *rural, in need of aid* and passive beneficiaries.

Voice of Amazigh women also stress the issue of language marginalization, in a recent article by Duskie (2019, 10) she interviewed various members of the NGOs among them Amina Zioual and I summarize her findings below. Linguistic exclusion remains a major factor impacting Amazigh men and women today. Despite the fact the language was officially recognized in 2011 in many areas of daily life this issue still persists. Among the examples to this exclusion according to Duskie (2019, 10) are:

- Due to lack of government services and business in the native language, Imazighen are discriminated against and struggle to find work, access healthcare and interact with society on a level that Arabic or French speakers do.

- This despite the official language in Morocco being Tamazight and Arabic. There are documented examples of extreme court cases for instance of women getting raped or otherwise abused, which fail to provide a fair trial as the judge does not speak the defendant's language. Amazigh women are victimised due to their inability to assert themselves in these domains, which effectively robs them of important opportunities due to this language barrier.

Voice Of Amazigh Women not only points out the marginalization of Amazigh in Morocco but also takes actions toward elevating the wellbeing of Imazighen especially in rural areas where access to information and resources is limited. This NGO raises awareness and educates community organizers through workshops and lectures about laws regarding child marriage. The work Amazigh women do regarding advocacy of these topics generally goes unnoticed and hence is not attributed to their agency. Due to the importance of this work within their communities, these efforts must not be underestimated (Duskie 2019, 12).

Despite efforts made by Amazigh NGOs to alleviate suffering of Amazigh rural populations, they still face challenges such as funding, resources, and media visibility due to various issues such as geographic division causing difficulties to access funding and other resources. Due to rural areas being painted as 'useless' historically, many women along with their languages have suffered from neglect simply due to these geographic

circumstances. [64] Initiatives within an urban setting generally gain more visibility within the socio-political landscape of Morocco (Sadiqi 2016c, 124).

The urban centered NGOs are therefore often backed by political agendas, secular or Islamist and can network with other feminist NGOs. Less sizable associations are centered more in rural communities, leaving them with fewer resources and less media attention. Their work however is more likely to be impactful to rural women's lives as they operate much more closely to their target audience and have projects to directly combat illiteracy and poverty within their locality. Over time these associations with more direct impact on the issues they try to tackle contribute as a result more directly to the agency and empowerment of rural women. Thus, the appearance of the NGOs according to Sadiqi is a new push forward for "development that relocates Moroccan women's issues in a larger-than-Islam framework, where secularism or Islamism or even a combination of both is insufficient. Which made many NGOs focus on Berber women as and their development" (Sadiqi 2016c, 124).

A meaningful dimension is added to Moroccan feminism and their activist endeavors as a result of these emerging NGOs. A centuries old female oriented legacy is revived and revitalized, this time around the inclusion of Amazigh culture. It compels Moroccan women to come forward and unite and let their discourses be open and sensitive to the diverse cultures and lives found among all their peers. In addition, it motivates them to bring once again to the forefront of the discussion the need for a complete dissection of the structure of Moroccan society in its entirety, including its political and economic base. All the while keeping a keen eye on the nature of how women are oppressed by political and productive relations.

3.3.3. Tracing Historical and Visual Symbolic Agency and Empowerment of Amazigh Women

Sadiqi describes Tamazight as "a female language" (Sadiqi 2012, 4). Women are openly celebrated and empowered in and by their language. As an example, the word for woman in Tamazight is *Tamghart* which implies them being *the leader* while the word for man is *Amghar* (elder man). Both come from the root *mghr* which means great, big, and prominent. The significance of this is that clearly an Amazigh woman is valued

---

[64]According to Sadiqi "French colonizers (1912–56) and post-independence state builders divided Morocco into *al-Maghrib al-nafi'* (useful Morocco) and *al-Maghrib ghayr al-nafi'* (useless Morocco)" (Sadiqi 2016c, 126).

equally high as men amongst her peers as she's seen to be a leader within familiar circles, but also extending out to the tribe. They are perceived to be leaders and powerful, contrary to how they are observed from outside their culture. Another example can be found in the word for brother which is *Gma*. This word means *I belong to my mother.* For a lot of words like sister, ladies, gentlemen the same kind of meanings hold true with respect to female empowerment. Throughout history these women's capacities and capabilities have been recognized and celebrated by their tribes, which have led to these thoughts being incorporated into their language itself (El Aissi 2019, 9). As Timjadin points out, it has always been at the forefront of the local community, dividing the work between them and men equally, as it has been the bedrock of the family and life celebration rituals based on rich cultural symbols, all of which highlight the importance of the role of Amazigh women (Timjadin 2012).

In their history, the Amazigh women from North Africa held the most powerful positions in all walks of life. In politics, social spheres and religious circles, they were held in high regard and seen to be leaders of their domains. Historical female figures and strong personalities that challenge patriarchy. They are role models and a source of inspiration whose footsteps are to be followed. The agency of Amazigh women is historically rooted in a matriarchal context which is rich in symbolism and figurative empowerment. Queens and goddesses are visible and can speak through and be identified in Berber women's many designs of carpets, textiles, jewelry, and Amazigh oral history. They were silenced and neglected in the masculine written national discourses and historic accounts. Therefore, there is a lot of ambiguity because "the position of Amazigh women is intertwined with legends and mythology" (El Aissi 2015, 230). To understand the past of Amazigh women in ancient periods we have to rely on the myths that help us to learn about some aspects of historical reality.

- *Les Amazonnes*

We can recall examples of the agency of Amazigh women from the oral accords of the Amazigh people. Such as the famous myth by the Greek historian Diodore De Sicile les amazonnes which means in English the Amazons but comes from Greek where it literally means women without breaths (Almarani 2013). De Sicile's les amazones recounts legends that portray powerful female Amazigh warriors. For example in the myth about the Amazons, it is said tribes existed with Amazigh women as leaders in the region that Amazigh people refer to as Tamazgha. Throughout Tamazgha land, which

was governed by women warriors, De Sicile narrates "to the ends of the earth and to the West of Africa lives a nation governed by women, whose way of life is quite different from ours, because the custom is there that women go to war, and they must serve a certain amount of time while maintaining their virginity" (El Aissi 2015, 240). The female warriors lived in an environment devoid of patriarchal authority, it was ruled by female power, structure, culture and values. After the end of military service, they were able to approach men in order to get pregnant and to have children to keep up their feminine ancestry, while exercising power and managing public affairs. While men spend their time "performing domestic work such as caring for the home and bringing up children" (El Aissi 2015, 230-231). De Sicile describes how "men spend their entire lives in the house, as do here our women and they work only in domestic affairs, because we take care to remove them from all the functions that could raise their courage" (El Aissi 2015, 230-231).

In contrast to our modern patriarchal society, these legends and myths are full of powerful women who contributed in decisive ways to military campaigns. For example, Queen Myrine was said to have "led many successful battles against her neighbour nations the 'Gorgones'" (El Aissi 2015 230-231) as well as having had many successes against the Arabs.[65] Until the time of Egypt, she ruled over her empire *Tamazgha*. Fantasy or truth such legends seem to confirm the matriarchal nature of the ancient Amazigh civilization and the political and military roles women held (El Aissi 2015, 231).

- *The Queen Dihya (El Kahina)*

Beyond these historical symbolic identities, the female Amazigh leadership and agency left a notable impact on North African history with their heroism and rebellious tales; many female leaders are still carved in the collective memory. For example, the queen of the Berber Dihya meaning the *beautiful gazelle,* she was born in the early seventh century in the Aures Mountains in Algeria. According to Ibn Khadldun cited in El Aissi (2015, 231) "among their most powerful leaders, we noticed especially the Kahena, queen of Mount Auras, whose real name was Dihya". She is also known in Arabic language by *El Kahina* meaning *prophetess* or *seer* or *witch* title given to her by Muslim opponents because of her alleged ability to foresee the future. Warrior queen Dihya played a significant role in defending her Kingdom and leading the North African

---

[65] According to El Aissi (2015, 230-231) "the Gorgones was another matriarchal nation held by women in Northwest Africa, their queen was named Medusa".

resistance against the early Arab- Islamic conquests also known as the *Futuhat* (the openings) of the Maghreb, the region back then known as Numidia (Mason 2018; Sadiqi 2020 and 2022; Mark 2018; Becker 2021).

Dihya had a female awareness about her actions and their impact and her goal unifying her tribe and ensuring its matriarchal culture. She is perceived as the fierce face of freedom, resistance, determination and feminine power among Berbers as Becker 2021) called her *The Female Face of Berber History.* In the same line of thinking, Lazreg in El Aissi (2015, 242) claimed that "Berbers see her symbol of the free woman in opposition to the stereotypical image of the 'secluded' Arab woman". Women's leadership and a matriarchal system being an integral part of Amazigh culture is reinforced by the stories of Kahena which further show Amazigh women held strong positions within politics and the military throughout North-African history (El Aissi 2015, 242).

Through her defeat which followed several clashes with Arab armies, and subsequently her death, the power structure transitioned to the Arab-Muslim men who had most power and influence in recruiting Imazighen warriors, including the sons of Kahina, for the conquest of Iberia and other places (Mark 2018; Sadiqi 2012, 6; 2011, 43). Sadiqi additionally states "Berber societies had to suppress their female characteristics in the public sphere of authority in order to form part of the (male) world of Islam" (Sadiqi 2012, 4). Therefore, the feminine system where the women were leaders and agents of power is diminishing by imposing a new social system/structure giving to men and women a specific role in society. For the men, his work is related to the work outside the home, and he becomes a leader, while the women's roles turn to be related to the domestic sphere and nurturing the children. Combining politics, power, and religion, the relations between women and men tensed where the latter dominated.

- *Tanit*

Within the Berber civilization, "women were venerated not just as ordinary human beings, but also as goddesses. Amazigh people in Carthage, now known as Tunisia, around 400 BC worshipped a woman, named Tanit. She was considered the goddess of prosperity, fertility, love, and the moon" (Naaim 2015). Her name according to Wolfstone "may be derived from *netet* meaning *to knit, to weave"* (Wolfstone 2016). The female goddess had a balanced presence in the religious conception of the ancient people in North Africa (Sadiqi 2014). They gave them various gifts and represented them in various forms

of physical effects such as mosaics, figurines, coins, and so forth. As well as the worshiped male gods such as the sun and the moon.

Many gods found in the Greek pantheon can be traced back to North Africa according to Herodotus (484-425 BCE). Poseidon, Tritonis, Libya, the Gorgons, Atlas and many more are supposedly located in North Africa (Wolfstone 2016). Herodotus, in his talk on the Libyans, says "the inhabitants of the lake of Tritonis offer sacrifices to Athena, as he means the Amazigh Athena known as *Tanit* of the Carthaginians and the *Neith* of the ancient Egyptians" (Alamrani 2013). As argued by Rigoglioso, he (Herodotus) also wrote that the birthplace of Neith was situated in the vicinity of lake Tritonis and later adopted by the Greeks under the name of Athena. He also confirms the fact that lake Tritonis was also home to Queen Myrina and the Libyan Amazons (Wolfstone 2016). Plato and Herodotus in their works refer to them as the *Athene.* Athene was worshiped by the Greeks who among other things named one of their most prestigious historical cities to her (Alamrani 2013).

Tin hinan and *Tamnugalt* meaning *she of the tents* and *president* respectively are how she is referred to by Amazigh in Azawad and the regions of Mali, Nigeria, Libya and Algeria which surround it. The name Tin Hanan always took a leading role in the protection of the Touareg tribes as she was revered and respected as a symbol of social, political and spiritual balance and stability. The Touareg tribes considered her to be their spiritual mother and thus the name Tin Hinan is understood by them to mean *mother of the tribe* or *queen of the camp* (Naaim 2015). According to Sadiqi, among Tuareg tribes she is described "as a woman of irresistible beauty, tall, with a flawless face, a luminous complexion, huge and ardent eyes, fine nose, the whole evoking both beauty and authority" (Sadiqi 2022, 55-56). Some scholars believe Tin Hanan to hail from the oasis of Tafilalt which is situated within the Atlas Mountains of Morocco. She was supposedly accompanied by Takamat who was a servant. Looking for a location situated near water to settle down in relative safety they found themselves at this oasis (Naaim 2015).

> The body of Goddess Tanit is represented with a circle for the head, a horizontal line for the arms and a triangle for the body. The goddess and her cult disappeared from Moroccan public life, but each one of her body members, as well as the three of them assembled, acquired immense symbolic significance throughout the centuries that followed her disappearance. This

symbolism is central to Berber culture and is reflected in the art and intangible heritage of Moroccans (Sadiqi 2014, 57). [66]

Within the Amazigh family structure but also in their society at large, women have always played an important role. "Scholars argued that the Berbers' worship of this Phoenician fertility goddess insulated their women from male domination and proved that Berbers were previously matriarchal" (Becker 2009, 73). As is true for Amadiume, who theorizes "that the traditional power of African women had an economic and ideological basis, which derived from the importance accorded motherhood" (Wolfstone 2016). Wolfstone, following along with Amadiume, proposes that historical mythology from North Africa of Tanit, another Amazigh woman, is the building block for a matriarchal ideological core value that helped shape numerous cultures spread across all continents (Wolfstone 2016).

Tanit, Tin Hanan and Dihya or El Kahina are some examples of Amazigh women who were revered and celebrated throughout Amazigh history for their contributions. These contributions have been neglected in North African countries by official institutions (Naaim 2015). As discussed earlier in this dissertation, this negligence was largely a result of colonizing forces trying to confuse and alter Amazigh history. Sadiqi states the female Amazigh "aspect of ancient Moroccan societies became gradually engulfed in magic and saint veneration" (Sadiqi 2013a, 8).

In the light of what we have seen, this table serves as a synopsis of the Moroccan feminist discourses.

---

[66] Tanit is referred to via symbolism in the shape of a triangle or sometimes trapezoid with a circle on top with both shapes separated by a horizontal line. This triangle is interpreted to depict the goddess to be a very simple woman (Naaim 2015).

Table 3: Synopsis of the Moroccan feminist discourses.

	Ideological framework	Objectives
Secular Feminism: AFDM 1985 UAF 1987 Moroccan Association of Women's rights in 1992 +	CEDAW IN 1979 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 They consider Islam to be resolved to the private sphere.	Gender Equality
Female Islamist activists: JC Nadia Yassine MUR PJD Bassima Hakkaoui	Islam as reference	Concept of Complementarity
Self-based Islamic feminism: *Third way* Fatima Mernissi and Asma Lamrabet	reconciliation between Islam and CEDAW IN 1979 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948	Islam and Gender equality
State based Islamic Feminism: *Alimat* and *Murshidat* program since 2006 Female religious guides	State combines notions of equality, gender participation in the political sphere, the public sphere, and the religious sphere through control of transmissions on official religious discourse (Sunni Maliki school of Islamic jurisprudence). *Murshidat* are key actors in promoting official discourse (Borrillo 2018, 208).	The content of this discourse is not compatible with gender equality promoted by secular feminist associations but *Murshidat* and *Alimat* promote a discourse about gender relationships that is oriented towards gender complementarity. At the same time these "docile agents are protagonists of a process of change that concerns the whole society – because the recognition of women's religious authority could also underline women's empowerment" (Borrillo 2018, 217).

Table 3: Synopsis of the Moroccan feminist discourses (Continued).

The gap:

The criticism to the above types of feminism is that they are predominantly focused on and deeply impacted by leftist or Islamist ideology. Amazigh women are represented with these discourses as *illiterate*, *rural,* and *in need of aid* "both secular and Islamic feminist trends generally represent rural women as 'passive beneficiaries,' or 'reasons' for securing national and international funding" (Sadiqi 2017b, 97-120). Therefore, they are perceived as victims and not peacebuilders. Amazigh language and identity are silenced in all the mainstream feminist discourses. The Amazigh identity carried by Amazigh women is structurally silenced and stereotyped. The neglect of Amazigh women within their discourse (secular and Islamic) creates a big gap.

Through the concept of a broader inclusive framework a third dimension must be conceived of to make space for interaction beyond the classical secular and Islamic models. The thesis of this dissertation is post 2011 looking at recognition of Amazigh language and identity, Amazigh activism and Amazigh women's voices which was expressed by emerging NGOs such as *the voice of Amazigh women* in addition to IGPs and cooperatives as grassroots initiatives empowering Amazigh women.

| **Emerging of Amazigh Feminists/ Feminism Narratives** in context of and post of 2011 advocating for Amazigh women rights -NGO *voice of Amazigh women* +grassroot level initiative of Amazigh women empowerment via IGPs + cooperatives economic empowerment -Authors like Fatima Sadiqi, Meryam Demnati and Guerch among others contribute with a body of literature to elucidate the situation of the Amazigh women in Morocco. | -With demands being secular in nature there is neglection and marginalization of Amazigh women in Morocco -CEDAW IN 1979 -Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 -Identifies as Muslims as cultural Islam. They position their work within human rights, diversity, freedom of expression, and development frameworks. | Equality Lack of disparities Amelioration of Amazigh women situation |

Source: Own elaboration

3.4. Recapitulation

In conclusion, the situation of Amazigh women's intersectional adversities in fields such as education, language, health, ruralness, identity and gender all play a role in their marginalization. This chapter also reviewed both feminist movements, secular and Islamic, and their failure to capture the grassroot level experience, adversities, and representation of Amazigh women. In fact, their understanding of Amazigh women is as illiterate, poor and passive beneficiaries of aid. Berber women are silenced in both hegemonic feminist discourses. The chapter also allowed us to investigate what has been emerging as Amazigh feminism and reviewed via few authors and through the NGOs. Only through this inclusive approach can Morocco effectively eliminate illiteracy and solve linguistic issues which exist since post-independence. In addition, this chapter allowed us to explore historical agency and empowerment of Amazigh women through historical figures such as *Les Amazonnes*, *Dihya* and *Tanit*. The next part will present to us the methodologies and strategies followed to conduct field work performed in the southeast of Morocco region, Drâa-Tafilalet Region using a qualitative and ethnographic approach.

PART II

Iɣrem inew

1. *Asnag aɣulɣ asnag aɣulɣ*
2. *Asnag aɣulɣ s iɣrem inew (X4)*
3. *Aduɣ ar adɣar n tayri tamqrant*
4. *Adɣar n iger daw isekla*
5. *Duɣ s imdwan nušuf liɣ*
6. *Duɣ s aḥanu n tegemi ixlan*
7. *Diliɣ gd nlula ɣur baba d ima yufaɣ tarula (X2)*
8. *Asnag aɣulɣ s iɣrem inew (X2)*
9. *Ani zarm aɣulɣ a tamazirt inew*
10. *Igran izizawn, aṭu n imndi*
11. *Aṭu niyidar, aṭu numdyaz*
12. *Aṭu n uhidus d win urenan*
13. *Ifrawn n tifawt usin timqa*
14. *Igḍaḍ imzan d waṭu n usmri*
15. *Asnag aɣulɣ asnag aɣulɣ (X3)*
16. *Asnag aɣulɣ s iɣrem inew*

My hometown*

1. When I go back, when I go back
2. When I go back to my hometown (X4)
3. I will go back to the place of great love
4. The place to sit below the trees
5. I will go back to see bank of lakes/rivers
6. I will go to see the living room of an old dwellings
7. Where I was born, where my dad and mom are. let's hurry up (X2)
8. When I go back to my hometown (X2)
9. I will come back to you my hometown
10. Green lands and the savour of wheat
11. The scent of clay walls, and sound of poets/poetry.
12. The sound of Ahidous and of Arnan singing bird
13. Leaves dry as the sun rises.
14. Small birds and the smell of cooking.
15. When I go back, when I go back (X3)
16. When I go back to my hometown

* This translation from Tashelhiyt to English is mine. If any error it is mine.

Source: Azrour (2020)

193

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGIES FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce methodology followed in this thesis. *Section 4.1* of this chapter is dedicated to the Methodological Strategies framework that takes a qualitative research approach and a socio-critical paradigm as epistemological and methodological lenses to approach the topic under study: the Amazigh women of southeast Morocco. It also uses ethnography as a method for qualitative research.

Section 4.2 presents the techniques chosen to obtain data that are part of the ethnographic method. The data triangulation strategy has been based on various sources: interviews, participant observation and field notes, reflexivity, and the use of a valuable tool such as photography, all in an attempt to avoid interpretative reductionism and broaden the general framework of understanding of both the object and the subjects of study. The combination of the mentioned allows for a research space of reflection on events that happened during the course of the field work and the relationship between the researcher and the informants.

Section 4.3 presents the criteria followed in selecting the study sample through a type of qualitative, non-probabilistic, purposive and snowball sampling, as well as the selection of the ethnographic context of the field work and its justification. Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco, the target typologies of Amazigh women profiles are those working in cooperatives or in NGOs or entrepreneurs or working privately non-structured sector. In addition, this section also covers various points related to the process of data collection steps such as choice of informants, meeting the informants, confidentiality, anonymity, as well as timing and context of interviews being amid a Covid-19 pandemic situation.

Section 4.4. is dedicated to the thematic analysis process inspired from Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013) which consists of steps nonlinearly organized. Following such steps helps organize collected data into codes (deductively and inductively) that later develop into categories/themes in a built excel matrix. Making it thematically organized for analysis and discussion for chapter 6 and later for interpretation in the conclusions.

4.1. General Methodological Framework

The qualitative research approach, together with the socio-critical paradigm, has been chosen for this thesis to investigate Amazigh women's adversities, resilience,

agency, and empowerment within the southeast of Morocco in the cities, towns and villages of Alnif commune, Tazarine, Saghro (Ikniouen and Ighrem Amazdar), Tinghir, and Tilmi.

Unlike the quantitative approach, the qualitative approach "emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data" (Bryman 2012, 36). Qualitative research emphasizes the individual's uniqueness by focussing on their personal experiences. Flick and others (2004, 5) add that "qualitative research claims to describe lifeworld's 'from the inside out,' from the point of view of the people who participate". These authors maintain that "by so doing it seeks to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features". Qualitative research centers on experiences from the informants' perspective. De Langen (2009, 52) affirms that "researchers use the qualitative approach to explore the behaviour, perspectives, experiences and feelings of people and emphasize the understanding of these elements".

Palmer and Bolderston (2006, 16) further state that through this approach "the researcher builds abstracts, concepts, hypotheses, or theories by asking such questions as 'why', 'how' and 'in what way'". Flick and others (2004, 3) describes qualitative research as "with its precise and 'thick' descriptions, does not simply depict reality, nor does it practice exoticism for its own sake". As these authors maintain, "it rather makes use of the unusual or the deviant and unexpected as a source of insight and a mirror whose reflection makes the unknown perceptible in the known, and the known perceptible in the unknown, thereby opening up further possibilities for (self-) recognition". Palmer and Bolderston (2006, 16) inform that "the validity of qualitative methods can be improved by using a combination of data collection methods (a process known as triangulation)".

Therefore, employing a qualitative method in this study is to discover and describe the life experiences and voices of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco, including adversities and struggles as well as their ways to empower themselves and organize themselves toward this self- and collective empowerment. A qualitative approach is appropriate to capture their experience and narratives as peacebuilders and their contributions to peace culture in their communities.

The socio-critical paradigm falls within qualitative research. It emerged in the 1920s, in the Frankfurt School, as a response to the positivist doctrine which maintained that the only valid knowledge was scientific. Positivism became reductionist, leaving out important factors of analysis. According to Ayala (2020), the socio-critical paradigm, by

reacting against positivism, postulates that science is not objective and begins to study the role of both technology and science in social transformation and their links with power. It is based on critical theory, which aims to understand the forms of social domination of post-industrial societies and the changes brought about by capitalism. Thus, it introduces an ideological notion in the analysis of social change.

Ayala (2020) maintains that for the socio-critical paradigm, critical theory is a social science that is not only empirical or only interpretive, but the dialectical result of both factors; knowledge arises from analysis and studies carried out within communities and from what is called participatory research. That is, it is within the same community where the problem is established and where the solution is born, through analysis of what members of that community make of the problem. By postulating that the solutions to certain problems are within the same society, the socio-critical paradigm establishes that through the self-reflection of its members on the conflicts that afflict them, a true and authentic reflection can emerge and, consequently, the most appropriate solution.

Thus, qualitative research approach together with socio-critical paradigm precisely fits the topic of Amazigh women, who are hegemonically presented in much research as illiterate and in need of help, to identify from their own narratives, from their own voices and perspectives, both their suffering and vulnerabilities as well as their stories of resilience and empowerment and recognition and make their voices heard.

4.1.1. Ethnography

Ethnography is a process through which knowledge about a certain sociocultural reality is documented as textual or audiovisual data through the application of a set of field techniques and the analysis and interpretation that the anthropologist makes of this acquired data. Ethnography is a method of qualitative research through which the researcher gathers data about a group of people via interviews or observation and reflection (Bryman 2012, 466).[67] Ethnography is used primarily as a method of social and cultural anthropology where the classic anthropologist would travel to designated destinations and live among the people of that place for a period of time while participating in and documenting their life, how they live, customs, traditions, culture,

---

[67]As stated by Bryman (2012, 466) "ethnography is a term that refers to both a method and the written product of research based on that method".

ceremonies and so on. However, ethnography as a method is integral to the social sciences and humanities generally (Bryman 2012, 466).

In line with the section decolonial feminist anthropology, it is important also to employ a decolonial methodological strategy which respects ethical considerations and proposes the usage of *ethnography as collaboration*. This further invites us to rethink traditional hegemonic field work practices and the relationships between the researcher and investigated subjects. Between informants (Amazigh women) and the informed (myself: the researcher also identifying as an Amazigh woman). Likewise, Millar (2018, 261) informs that "ethnography is a collaborative process of knowledge creation in that the researcher and researched generate new knowledge via mutual exchange".

To change the "extractive" vision of the field to another paradigm in which the individualistic and colonial approach is replaced by a decolonial feminist approach and decolonial anthropological methodology, the action taken is to decrease the distance between the investigator and investigated. The author is not the "authority," it is not who asks, and their informants "only" respond (McGranahan and Rizvi 2016). The relationship between the researcher and those who are researched is collaborative and horizontal. The researcher learns "with" and "from" informants in a collaborative, non-individualistic, close ethnographic process in which trust, empathy and intersubjective recognition are what make it possible for knowledge and data to flow. The collaborative ethnographic encounter in the field enriches everyone, the researcher and the subject of study.

Decolonial feminist ethnography has to not fall into repeating the same patterns of hegemonic anthropology. Even though I am Amazigh myself, I want to decolonize my epistemology and how I bring about this topic. To bring the Amazigh women's perspective from within because, as stated by Green (2007, 30) "not a lot is written or published by indigenous woman," in our case Amazigh women, and if it has been, it has always been from the perspective of others which focus on study of violence and therefore reinforce a single story and an image of Amazigh woman as victims, as *illiterate*, as *in need of aid*, and neglect their resilience and agency and empowerment which makes the literature incomplete. That is why the contribution of this thesis is voices from within, making Amazigh women's voices heard as peace builders and their contributions to peace understood as significant.

Conducting ethnography as a method employed in this dissertation is a space to contribute to decolonization of knowledge of what is written about Amazigh women from

the perspective of others. Generally contributing to what Boaventura de Sousa Santos refers to as the *Epistemologies of the South*, which invites us to critically rethink and re-imagine field work practices and power relations/dimensions between the researcher and investigated subjects. In doing so, I, with the words of Santos, am attempting to contribute to making visible what has been made invisible (Santos 2014).

In being hopeful and ambitious to reach these goals, I must also be aware this is a contribution to enrich the canon of knowledge about Amazigh women. I also must be aware of the impact of my identity as Amazigh, both its strengths and its limitations, being the researcher and studying the place where I was born. The strengths I bring to bear in this investigation include the ability to speak the language Tamazight and to be able to look from within and explain and show the depth and implication of the study in a way perhaps a foreign researcher would not be able to do. Being a woman studying women has its advantages. Schaefer Davis (2020, 415) pointed out, "female ethnographers have a distinct advantage in Muslim and many other cultures, since usually males do not have this kind of access. Muslim males will have some access to the women in their families, but usually not to most or all spheres as women do".

A good researcher must be aware of the implications and be transparent. Therefore, coming across the works of Moroccan anthropologists such as Ahmed Skounti, coming across his *Le Sang & le Sol Nomadisme et sédentarisation au Maroc* (2012), particularly the last section of this book titled as "*POSTFACE: Un ailleurs intérieur L'anthropologie chez soi au Maroc: entre ethnographie et biographie*". This work has been a major transformation for me and my consciousness in the scholarly field work trajectory I am about to embark on. I was deeply touched and inspired by his work. It helped me find meaning in times of blockage and doubt, as being both the researcher and identifying as Amazigh is very challenging yet worthwhile both in the personal and professional level of this research. I could not find the right words to express what I was feeling until I encountered Skounti's work (2012), and I completely relate to it, in this sense processing the internal and external of *anthropology at home.* This is despite not being an anthropologist and this being my first-time doing ethnographic work on the ground. However, I am employing this participant observation / ethnography as the method of study. Insights of *anthropology at home* given by Skounti (2012) resonate with me to keep in mind its strengths and limitations as an approach toward the study of the self, the same, the similar, and the familiar.

Skounti (2012) talks about his experience when he was a PhD student of anthropology in Paris and going back to his home to conduct field work among Ayt Merghad, his home tribe. I felt the same in the journey I am about to take from Spain back to Morocco where I was born, to do research among people I have always known or thought I have known. I am about to embark on a journey inward, because I was born among those I am going to observe. Skounti (2012, 283) warns about the *veil of familiarity* and what it would allow the researcher to see or not to see. I was born there, my parents live there, I connect with the language with my heart. Skounti invites the researcher to question what gaze will be looking at people; is it interior or is it exterior?

Distancing myself from the subject studied since I connect with the topic firsthand in a region where I was born and was living there until I went to university to Marrakech in 2015 to study B.A of English Literature. Now coming back with eyes full of reminiscence after a Covid-19 pandemic situation of lockdown isolation and borders closing, coming back with eyes full of tears to see the loved ones to hug and kiss my mother and brothers and sisters because I was far away finishing my studies in Spain, to work to help the people I belong to, coming back to study them how will they see me as researcher or as me (Bochra) one of them or both. If both, how this both will unravel itself in conversation digging about the past in their adversities in their aspirations, in details of their daily life. Will there be embarrassment to tell me about events in their life that are so painful or intimate that people want to forget, or perhaps shortening answer to as '*this is what our ancestors do'* or as you know in our wedding ceremony, we do such and such, '*you know'* end of conversation.

Instead of traveling to study some other people or other regions of Morocco, I return to me, to what I consider mine. I was not aware of the difficulty of this of both being the researcher and the one under study as a collective. I know that I cannot be fully objective because I am too involved in the topic. Therefore, I embrace it and it may be considered both as a limitation and a strength. Only the end-result will tell. The objective is to add to the canon of knowledge from different angles of the topic and my contribution is from within.

Taking my region and tribal group as a topic of study for ethnography, I thought I knew my community better because I was born among those I am about to talk about and tell their stories. Yet coming back home with the eyes of a researcher, with a critical eye to question, doubt, and a desire to learn, and relearn to (re)remember and document. Due to me being away and having integrated and learned new languages and adopted new

practices, I no longer take part in the daily experiences of the women over there because I was far away finishing my education. Many things have happened while I was away.

In accordance with Skounti (2012) hegemonic and classical accounts of anthropology were all about the *science of the otherness* or *science of difference*. The journey in anthropology being towards an elsewhere, the *outside*, *toward a different culture* you have to go far away to meet the difference to legitimize the gaze focused on humanity, what is referred to as *the myth of the founder*. Skounti gives reference to statements of several authors such as R. Cresswell saying "*La science ethnologique est en quelque sorte la sociologie d'autres cultures que celle à laquelle appartient l'observateur*" (Skounti 2012, 288).[68] In addition to P. Rabinow when he said "I was going to Morocco to become an anthropologist" and *"J'allais au Maroc dans le but de devenir anthropologue"* (Skounti 2012, 288). So, in the traditional sense of anthropology, ethnography is the journey of a person toward *the outside*, the far and *unfamiliar.* Therefore, when finding the work of Skounti, I was relieved that I was able to explain the complexity of my position in this research and of my topic and chosen methods and techniques out of the belief it will add richness to the canon of knowledge I accept the complexity of challenge and scientific endeavor.

I am investigating what Skounti (2012) called *Anthropology of the same, the close, the similar and the familiar.* The idea of an anthropology that looks at the familiar, the near, the ordinary is relatively recent compared to the long hemogenic literature on the foreigner, the distant, the extraordinary exotic which made the glory of the field (Skounti 2012). The interest of one's own society is what my thesis is to explore using the perspective from within, from grassroot level transformation of adversities to empowerment.

As concluded by Skounti (2012), which gave me hope in times of doubt that it is an opportunity and challenge. As a new section of anthropology, it helps understanding the complex and intertwined relationship between the researcher and the self, and my tribe that I am studying. It is a thorny journey concealing invisible and unpredictable traps; thus far I accept the challenge with the belief that this methodology will allow me to see key hidden local knowledge from grassroots level initiatives to alleviate life of Amazigh women, their families and the community.

---

[68] My translation of the latter as [the science ethnological is in a way the sociology of culture other than that to which the observer belongs].

4.2. Ethnographical Research Techniques and Tools

In order to increase the validity and increase quality of my study, I use a triangulation strategy which is defined by Carter and others (2014, 545) as usage of numerous "data sources [...] to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena". The triangulation combined interviews, participant observation, field notes, reflexivity, and the use of valuable tools such as photography. All in an attempt to avoid interpretive reductionism and broaden the general framework of understanding both object and subject of study.

4.2.1. Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

An interview is defined by Easwaramoorthy and Zarinpoush (2006, 1) as "a conversation for gathering information". Interviews are carried out with the aim to gain deeper understanding of "views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters" (Gill and others 2008, 292). To carry out this study and explore diverse in-depth information and informants' experiences and viewpoints, it is necessary to employ semi-structured in-depth interviews as a technique of ethnographic research. The justification of this choice is that the semi-structured in-depth interviews outline relevant general themes by the researcher to ask the informants questions related to it. Unlike the structured with a prior- prepared set of fixed questions, "semi-structured interviews have no rigid adherence. Their implementation is dependent on how the interviewee responds to the question or topics laid across by the researcher" (Adhabi and Blash Anozie 2017, 89).

The researcher provides the informant with general themes around the topic under study to reflect on them and explore themes in which the informant is comfortable to discuss their views and experiences (Adhabi and Blash Anozie 2017, 89). Compared to unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews imply the researcher already has an idea on what themes to focus on while conducting the interviews. In-depth, when used together with semi-structured, means "detailed information about a person's thoughts and behaviors" (Boyce and Neale 2006, 3). From the general themes related to the main research topic emerges a set of guiding questions to lead the conversations, however the responses of the participants give the researcher the space and to improve the initially formulated questions.

Another reason I opted for semi-structured in-depth interviews is that "interviews can either be individual or […done] in groups" (Adhabi and Blash Anozie 2017, 89). Seeking in-depth information, I merely conducted individual interviews to preserve sensitivity/intimacy of information told to me and as stated by Adhabi and Blash Anozie (2017, 89) "the advantage of dealing with an individual conforms to the title 'in-depth interview', whereby the researcher can go deeper and highlight personal issues".

In addition, choosing the semi-structured in-depth interview method is because of emergent themes that might arise due to the interviews being open-ended. According to Fox, it also "provides opportunities for the interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail" (2009, 3). If the informant may face some difficulty in providing an answer or may answer briefly, then the "interviewer can use cues or prompts to encourage the interviewee to consider the question further" (2009, 3). Following such paths, the opportunity to follow up with certain responses to the informant arises, and the researcher can therefore develop in-depth data by diving further into topics introduced by informants.

Thus, such guidelines make this type of interviews suitable for the nature of this topic under investigation endeavouring to achieve certain depth about Amazigh women's struggles, adversities and vulnerability as well as their strategies of resilience, agency and personal and collective empowerment. To pursue such endeavours, individual face to face interviews were selected. Face to face interviews are chosen for it "enables attention to be paid to non-verbal behavior and establish a rapport over an extended period of time" (Fox 2009, 6) and are in fact "preferable when the subject matter is very sensitive, if the questions are very complex or if the interview is likely to be lengthy" (Fox 2009, 6).[69] Given the period of the fieldwork being the time of Covid-19, the number of people interviewed was kept at 13 informants. Face to face interviews employed with respect to physical distance and mask wearing during interviews as recommended by World Health Organization regarding Covid-19 guidelines.

During the process of my fieldwork, I used the following techniques to collect data. First is Audio Recording, after I explain my study and the confidentiality and anonymity of the interview data and time frame to destroy the data collected after it has

---

[69] Due to Covid-19 pandemic restriction, some method of interview such as Group interviews or often known as focus group are limited for this research. Instead, I employ Individual interviews and face to face interview during the field work. This of course respecting the safety regulations recommended by WHO (World Health Organization) regarding Covid-19 that is the physical distancing of 1 meter and half distance and wearing a facemask during the interviews with participants out of concern for their and my own safety.

been completely anonymized. I ask the informant if she will contribute to my study and if yes both sign a written consent form. After the consent is granted by the informant, I tape record the conversations/ discussion which was carried in Tashelhiyt language of the region south-east of Morocco. Later after each interview, I transcribe all verbatim answers to be transcripts, label them as codes and remove any information that may identify the informant's personal data for means of data protection. Second, during the interview, as it is important to maintain eye contact with informants, handwritten notes were taken and such notes were limited to specific questions and any unusual non-verbal behavior. In addition to post-interview notes that were taken as reflection on what was said by the informants and help the process of reflexivity as adjunct to the interview data.

4.2.2. Participant Observation

In the course of conducting this study, participant observation is employed because it is the basis of the ethnographic method. According to Crinson and others (2016), "by observing a group of people, the researcher sets out to identify the meanings people develop about their existence". By living together with the informants, the researcher trys to get a sense of their daily life and events that occur in it which involve observing their thinking, their feelings and interactions with each other and the world around them.

According to Bryman (2012, 432), "'participant observation' seems to imply just observation, though in practice the participant observers do more than simply observe". In fact, as claimed by Crinson and others (2016) "the researcher adopts the perspective of those studied". The latter maintains that "observation can also involve a combination of methods, including e.g., unstructured conversations/interviews, notes on observations, recordings […] and illustrative material".

Thus, participant observation starts from being Amazigh myself and having lived and studied in the region throughout my life having previous knowledge of the area and language. In addition to academic participant observation of the informants chosen for this study which is made this time over a period of three months. The Ait Atta Amazigh indigenous group that is the center of this study is distributed throughout the southeast of Morocco. I chose to focus for the observation in one ethnographical location that is Alnif that is native of this population in addition to field visits I made to several other locations that are Tazarine, Saghro (Ikniouen and Ighrem Amazdar), and Tilmi. Participant observation is carried out in these towns/ villages where it is about everyday life of

Amazigh women. These observations are of course impacted by Covid-19 where many public events in which women participate cannot be observed due to Covid-19 safety regulations by government forbidden public gathering of more than twenty people. My observation is on how they carry on with their lives depending on storytelling of pre-Covid-19 life and their current life situation impacted and limited by Covid-19.

4.2.3. Reflexivity

Self – Reflexivity is also employed in this investigation, and it is as defined by many researchers' reflection on oneself and thoughts in relation to the study subject (Bourdieu 2022; McNair and others 2008; Millar 2018; Sakti and Reynaud 2018; De Langen 2009). Reflexivity "addresses our subjectivity as researchers related to people and events that we encounter in the field" (Primeau 2003, 9–16). It according to the latter "enhances the quality of research through its ability to extend our understanding of how our positions and interests as researchers affect all stages of the research process" (Primeau 2003, 9–16).

Reflexivity is employed therefore in the research to help to process and report what is happening throughout the research journey. Reflexivity is important "for ethnographic work. This is because of the particularly close involvement of the researcher in the society and culture of those being studied" (Sakti and Reynaud 2018, 162). Thus, ethnographers ought to be accustomed to diverse means through which knowledge is being acquired, shared, and transmitted.

Utilizing reflexivity keeps the researcher in check with their thoughts and feelings which are brought to light by McNair and others (2008, 1-6) "focusing on oneself as the interviewer can highlight our assumptions and values that may be subconsciously driving the interview". Hence to these authors, "reflexivity has been recommended as a means of ensuring that not only the data gathering, but also interpretation of the findings is qualified by this knowledge" (McNair and others 2008, 1-6).

In choosing to employ reflexivity in this research, I become both the researcher and participant at the same time and not detached from the topic under study. This enables me as researcher to be in a "continuous process whereby researchers reflect on their preconceived values and those of the participants, such as reflecting on how data collected will be influenced by how the participants perceive the researcher" (De Langen 2009, 55-56). While documenting this reflexive process, the researchers should be transparent about their actions, sentiments, thoughts, and conflicts undergone during research and

reflect about it for the purpose of attaining credibility of the study, self-reflection and critical perspective is important to this transparency (Bourdieu 2022; De Langen 2009).

Agreeing with De Langen (2009, 55-56), there are three reasons for reflexivity outlined as follows. First is by "helping the researcher with self-monitoring, to spot if something is going wrong and correct it". Second is "analysis of the data and finding a way through mass of data". And lastly "self-injunction and showing others to believe in the researcher's interpretation" (De Langen 2009, 55-56). Although as demanding a process as it, the value is worthwhile. Valuing analysis of subjective elements creates "greater data transparency [...] and development of a more critical approach to interviewing [... and] A (hopefully) more honest appraisal of one's own role in the interview" (Rabbidge 2017, 961). In this study as the researcher, I noted down my reflexive sentiments, thoughts, preconceptions, conflicts and assumptions.

4.2.4. Field Notes

Field notes are also taken during the fieldwork of this study. They are defined by Allen (2017) as "written observations recorded during or immediately following participant observations in the field and are considered critical to understanding phenomena encountered in the field". Pursuant to Allen (2017), field notes are "a collection of documents from a researcher's observed experience in a specific setting or environment". He considers "documents such as written notes, reports, and materials from the environment, including pictures, videos, and pamphlets, can all be used to help the researcher become immersed in the environment under observation" (Allen 2017).

During ethnography of this study many field notes are taken that are later organized into different categories such as "descriptive notes and reflective notes" (Creswell 2007, 169). In descriptive notes, I documented descriptions of places, peoples, conditions. As for reflective notes, I documented my personal thoughts and perceptions about the topic under study.

Among other notes that I took during the fieldwork are observational notes which tend to focus on "statements bearing upon events experienced principally through watching and listening [...they] contain as little interpretation as possible" (Schatzman and Strauss 1973, 100). In addition, I draw Theoretical notes by linking theoretical knowledge of peace studies and gender to what I have observed in the field whether by labeling types of violence to certain behaviors or stories gathered via interviews that occurred in the community under study or identifying types of culture of peace of

examples and initiatives I observed. Lastly are Methodological notes which are "statement[s] that reflect an operational act completed or planned: an instruction to oneself, a reminder, a critique of one's own tactics. It notes timing, sequencing, stationing, stage setting, or maneuvering" (Schatzman and Strauss 1973, 101). It is a way of keeping track of my own process of collecting data. In addition, sometimes I used photography as a tool to capture visual notes of information, names of cooperatives and NGOs, street names, posters, and brochures of information.

In addition to field notes, I kept a personal diary documenting what I have done every single day of the fieldwork. This diary is useful to go back to later to keep track of dates and events that happened, especially to enhance and refresh memory during the data analysis period months later. All the notes taken followed general guidelines recommended by Newbury that is keeping track by documenting important things throughout the fieldwork including "thoughts and reflections, a record of reading (with comments/summaries/quotes), a record of phone calls and meetings," as well as "notes on methodology, observations, unresolved problems, issues or questions, plans for action, keywords, visual material" (Newbury 2001, 8).

Throughout the process of my research, I kept a field notebook in which I document various notes in mixed method of what previously outlined by Newbury (2001), Allen (2017), Creswell (2007) and Schatzman and Strauss (1973) which included notes about informants, about deductive categories/themes, observation notes, personal journey reflexive notes, notes about places and description of places and events, as well as photographical notes. These notes generated as outcome of field notes will later be sorted out and categorized into themes that go with interview themes. To demonstrate few examples of my Field notes in respect to the mentioned authors guidance I created the following illustration:

Table 4: Excerpts from Field Notes

PERSONAL JOURNEY AS RESEARCHER

The journey of 8 hours to go back home started from Marrakech at 10am. The whole trip was amazingly interesting, yearning to see my home again after the lockdown of Covid-19 and the restrictions to travel for a year. […] June 26th, I put down my feet in my hometown, my eyes full of tears of happiness met with heat of weather they dried in seconds. So many things have changed in town, new stores appeared selling plastics kitchen stuff here and there. […] For the rest of the afternoon, I sat down with a cup of tea at hand and almonds and nuts, enjoying a conversation with my family (June 26th, 2021).

OBSERVATIONAL: SOUQ

These errands sometimes also ran by taxi or minibus drivers for people of remote villages that need medicine instead of paying transport to come to Alnif to buy it and go back themselves. They send the driver of the minibus to bring medicine to their villages. This not only for medicine but also other things they may need if it does not require personal attendance (16 August 2021).

ABOUT THEMES/CATEGORIES

Amazigh Women that work locally without being part of a cooperative, their self-based work limited to the local village. Once women join a cooperative it presents to them the opportunity to be part of the national market and participate in expositions and other activities. It gives them more exposure to market their products and be known.

Also, the use of social media is important for marketing. I-5 expressed to me that she created bread/couscous cooperative because bread is something people use and eat all time unlike arts and crafts which are seasonal to weddings and happy festive events which happen mostly during summertime. Making bread sells more than crafts but is more demanding and a full-time job opposed to crafts which are a part time afternoon undertaking for some women (20 August 2021).

ABOUT INFORMANT

It was genuinely nice conversation at the Souq with I-6. She sells women beauty products and accessories. All women that visit Souq that day to shop in the Souq stop by her. It's a way to drop off and pick up news. All women gather by I-6 and tell the stories where they came from, why they came to the Souq that day whether it's for *center de sante* or some legal matters or to visit the pharmacy to buy medicine. All information is exchanged that day of the Souq.

The hours I spent with I-6 I was able to listen to women's adversity and their resilience to carry out their daily life one step at a time. I-6 beside being merchant women she is also a psychologist of sorts, listening to women and sometimes giving advice and sharing her opinion on their matters. She has listened to many stories over the 8 years she was in the Souq, so she knows and gathered a lot information and knowledge (16 August 2021).

PHOTOGRAPHICAL NOTES
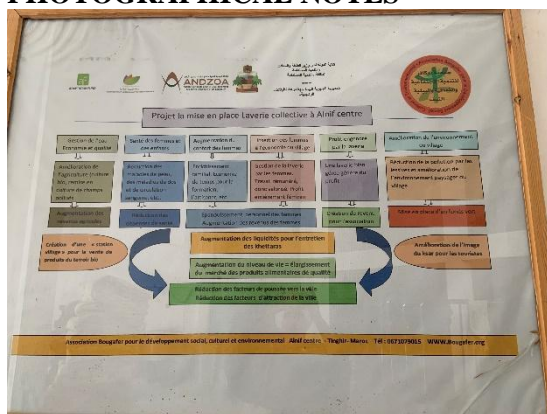
Photo of informative poster about the project of collective laundry in Alnif. This photo was taken by myself during my field visit on 10 July 2021.

Source: Own elaboration

4.2.5. Photography

During the fieldwork I took several photographs as means to show reality and document movement from field work. Visual photos include "artwork, cartoons, drawings, and maps" (Holm 2014, 4). Photography is utilized as a tool in this research "as a means of documenting a variety of social settings, for the purposes of producing a richer ethnographic account than can be achieved through words alone" (Newbury 2001, 5). Photos are an important data collecting tool for this thesis' study. It helps to document the community under study and give a glimpse about the life of Amazigh women and their arts. As I ensure the anonymity of my informants for data protection and privacy purposes, I don't include photos of women themselves but of the locations, and crafts and arts they made in the cooperatives.

The majority of photos are taken by me (the researcher). Few discussed topics such as collective weddings that I unfortunately was not able to observe during the field work due to Covid-19 pandemic restrictions prohibiting public gatherings and events so all the public events were cancelled. I was not able to take photos of my own from some of these events. However, I asked the local NGO that organized the collective wedding to grant me access and permission to use their photographs of "the collective weddings celebration". The photos used in this research in chapter 6, are processed and categorized to fit the interviews' themes, they are used accordingly in relation to the themes.

4.3. Sampling Design

This section presents the criteria followed in selecting the study sample through a type of qualitative, non-probabilistic, purposive and snowball sampling, as well as the selection of the ethnographic context of the field work and its justification.

4.3.1. Non-Probabilistic, Purposive and Snowball Sampling Method

This section presents the sampling design as the road map that guides selection of the sample. The sample as defined by Bryman is "the segment of the population that is selected for investigation. It is a subset of the population. The method of selection may be based on a probability or a non-probability approach" (Bryman 2012, 187). Based on Bryman (2012, 187) "the term non-probability sampling is essentially an umbrella term to capture all forms of sampling that are not conducted according to the canons of probability sampling". The phrase "covers a wide range of different types of sampling

strategy" for example "the convenience sample; the snowball sample; and the quota sample" (Bryman 2012, 201) in this research I will follow a non-probabilistic, purposive and snowball sampling method.

By Purposive non-probabilistic, I have chosen from among all the possible informants the ones/those I thought because of their characteristics (they work in cooperative/NGO/ entrepreneurs) they could offer broader and deeper valuable information to enrich this study. Together with Snowball, also known as chain-referral sampling, in line with Bryman "with this approach to sampling, the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others" (Bryman 2012, 203).

Non-Probabilistic, Purposive and Snowball Sampling is that before the fieldwork I have chosen one or two key informants with the set characteristics (working in cooperative/NGO/ or are local entrepreneurs). Upon arriving to the field, they can introduce me to other potential informants for the study that fit the profile of Amazigh women working in cooperatives of NGOs or independently in her crafts and selling them locally for a living.

For the ethnographic location, the southeast of Morocco known as Drâa-Tafilalet region is chosen for three reasons. First being that I was originally born and raised there and having lived there for 23 years of my life and speaking the language Tashelhiyt brings a level of connection. The informants come from my lineage tribal line, the Ait Atta Tribe. Second is that using non-probabilistic, purposive and snowball sampling in this research my informants introduce me to other potential informants from their own social network with the same affiliations, working for cooperatives or NGOs and being leaders or participants of such communities. Lastly, Alnif is a major town in the region for my ethnography, participant observation and interviews. However, field visits have been made to several locations in the region, such as Saghro, Ikniouen and Ighrem Amazdar. I also visited Tazarine, Tinghir and Tilmi where I conducted other interviews.

4.3.2. Organization of the sampling

Non-probabilistic, purposive and snowball sampling criteria were followed in the sense that I relied on some key informants with the set characteristics (working in cooperative/NGO/ or are a local entrepreneurs) to lead me to more informants. The sample has been attempted to be as heterogeneous as possible. That is to say that it included the greatest possible combination of variables that would ensure heterogeneity.

Examples include different ages, different work professions, different life stories and family situations; some women are unmarried, some are divorced, some are widows, and some are single. The sample targets adult women (+18 years old to 90) with profiles relevant to the topic. The need to interview women leaders in community but also women as participants in these cooperatives to gain an understanding on how these cooperatives transform their lives.

Table 5: Informants Codification

Informants	Age	Town or village	Civil State	Level Education	Children	Ngo/cooperative/ self employed	Code of informants
I-1	50	Tazarine	Widow	Illiteracy classes	0	Self-based	1-W-50-Self-based
I-2	25	Alnif	Married	Went to school	2	Coop	2-M-25-Coop
I-3	49	Alnif-Tinghir	Married	Illiteracy classes	5	Coop	3-M-49-Coop
I-4	40	Alnif	Divorced	Illiteracy classes	5	Self-based sells within her network	4-D-40-Self-based
I-5	30	Alnif	Divorced	Went to illiteracy classes	1	Coop	5-D-30-Coop
I-6	48	Alnif	Married husband sick	Illiteracy classes	3	Self-based Sells at Souq	6-M-48-Self-based
I-7	44	Saghro Ikniouen	Married	Illiteracy classes	4	Coop	7-M-44-Coop
I-8	30	Saghro Ikniouen	Married	Studied until secondary school.	2	Coop	8-M-30-Coop
I-9	30	Saghro: Ighrem Amazdar	Single	Illiteracy classes	0	Coop	9-S-30-Coop
I-10*	51	Tilmi	Divorced	Self-Taught	Took care of 7 of her brother's children	Coop	10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader
I-11	29	Tazarine/ Marrakech	Single	University level	0	Self-based	11-S-29-Self-based
I-12	46	Mellab	Married	Illiteracy classes	3 girls	Self-based YouTube	12-M-46-Self-based
I-13	29	Tinghir	Single	University level	-	NGO	13-S-29-NGO

*All informants belong to Ait Atta tribe except 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader that belong to Ait Hdidou.

Source: Own elaboration based on fieldwork informants' information in the southeast (period of field work 2021-2022).

Although I didn't classify informants prior to the field work with strict characteristics to meet, based on my experience and readings I intentionally set a general profile of women as looking for the ones working in cooperatives and those working with Amazigh arts. I read in the article of Sadiqi (2007) and book of Becker (2006) that women are preservers and gatekeepers of Amazigh cultures and arts as weavers and the link is created that most of these women operate via cooperatives. In addition to that, I know from my own life experiences growing up in the region where I am doing the field work and have seen people on the ground while growing up working on art for a living but working independently which was the case ever since. Working in cooperatives is an activity that allows women to earn money, so I focused a lot on those during the fieldwork while I interviewed informants of local NGOs in projects that target women.

My fieldwork participant observation led me to identify the following elements that are special to my non-probability, snowball and purposive sampling target group which is a group of women working to alleviate their life adversity while at same time contributing to the preservation of Amazigh culture, arts and culture of peace. Though details will be presented in the next chapter, at this level it is important to distinguish three types of women adversity profiles with which I can determine the social class level of the targeted women category.[70]

Typologies of women profiles:

- *Women type 1:*

1. Is widow, divorced, orphan, single mother, unmarried. They don't have any source of income. They must go out to work. They work on things they know how to do, some do crafts, some do cleaning, some make bread and sell it, some take sheep to graze and sell them during Eid Adha and have chicken and sell eggs daily. These women are at the bottom of the pyramid. Some in fact work in cooperatives as a coping mechanism. A possibility of finding woman, widow yet may have a relative abroad that sends monthly remittances she would be at the same level of woman type 2.

2. Despite that she does her best to empower herself and have resilience and she still faces adversities such as there not being any hospitals in proximity when she gets sick, when her son/daughter reaches high school, she needs to pay to transport or pay for

---

[70] Information based on my field work observation and conclusions; any error is mine.

them to stay at a boarding house in the next town. She can't afford private checkups; she goes to a basic public *center de sante*.

Typologies correspond to interviews informants: 1-W-50-Self-based, 5-D-30-Coop, 6-M-48-Self-based, 7-M-44-Coop, 9-S-30-Coop, and 12-M-46-Self-based.

- *Women type 2:*

1. This woman is more like a married woman as they have men taking care of finances and their work remains within the household. These women are seen to be privileged because they don't have to go outside and face adversities associated with men. She works inside the house on carpets or crafts for herself or may sell them among her friends or neighbors.

2. This woman still faces the same problem of structural violence as lack of hospitals and lack of schools for her children. She still experiences adversity of this sort but usually if the husband works, they may afford to pay a general practitioner that is private instead of going to the public health facilities. Despite that this type may be seen as facing lighter adversities when compared with urban settings, both woman 1 and woman 2 enter the same category as rural and poor.

None of my interview informants correspond to this typology. However, I have observed it during my field work, and I used it to show a bit of contrast to typology 1 which is one target category of the sample.

- *Women type 3:*

This is a mixed profile that is feminist and conscious through arts, NGO advocacy and political activism. Women of this typology are aware of feminism as a social project. This typology has mixed ages, some went to formal school, some did not. Informants such as: 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader, 11-S-29-Self-based, 12-M-46-Self-based and 13-S-29-NGO correspond to these typologies.

Figure 3: Organization of Informants According to their Sector of Work

Self-based Entrepreneur

- **1-W-50-Self-based**
- **12-M-46-Self-based**
- **11-S-29-Self-based**
- **6-M-48-Self-based**
- **4-D-40-Self-based**

Cooperatives based

- **2-M-25-Coop**
- **3-M-49-Coop**
- **5-D-30-Coop**
- **7-M-44-Coop**
- **8-M-30-Coop**
- **9-S-30-Coop**

NGO Advocacy based → **13-S-29-NGO**

Political Activism based → **10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader**
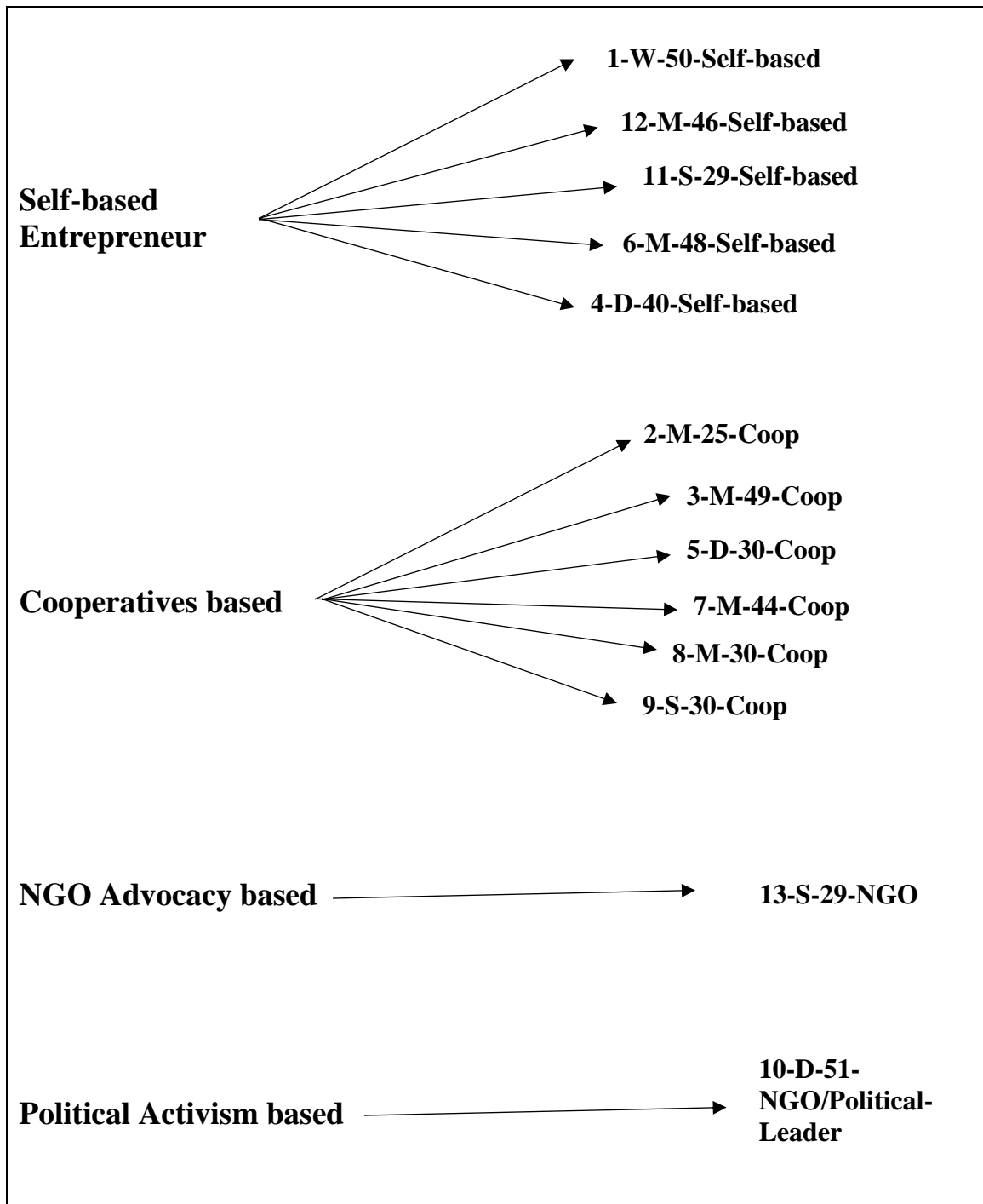
Source: Own elaboration.

4.3.3. Data Collecting

4.3.3.1. Choice of informants and meeting the informants

The informants are chosen based on their profile being women and working in cooperatives of NGOs, working as local entrepreneurs, or working privately owning a shop where they sell bread, clothes or such things. When I reached the region, I spread the word within my network (snowball technique) given my connection to the field and region. For the initial pilot interview test, I already knew them beforehand. As recommended, if I did not know the informant before and was recommended to me by my network, I would go to visit her to first introduce myself and my work and gather primary information based on observations during the introductions.

Once I have contact with the first informant and have a primary conversation, what is named by Sancho Moreno (2020, 256) as a *negotiation phase,* which is very crucial in character. Sancho Moreno recommends approaching this moment from a contractual perspective, since it is the moment in which the researcher and the informants must clearly specify all the ends of the investigation. Following this concept, the initial meetings with informants have been focused on the following aspects:

- Reasons why I undertake this research and objectives that I pursue with it.
- Number and basic characteristics of informants in it. Reasons why I have thought of them as informants the valuable their work is and what it will add to the field of Amazigh feminism.
- Organization process: meeting planning, staying with them, participant observation, interview recording, photo taking…
- Purpose of the narratives: incorporation of these in this thesis and of extracts in possible articles.
- Confidentiality and anonymity: camouflage of people and situations that arise throughout the interview.
- Informed consent: explanation of the document and collection of the signatures written or orally.

This meeting put faces on names and broke the ice, so next time I went by to stay with the woman, she already knows me. All interviews were held face to face except (*12-*

M-46-Self-based and *13-S-29-NGO*) that I conduct after I came back from fieldwork, same question was asked to these informants.

Table 6: Initial informant meeting

Information of the informant
Number of orders of the interview:
Date:
Time of starting the interview:
Time of ending the interview:
Place:
Location (village /house /kitchen?):
Language of interviews:
Place of birth:
Occupation/ work:
People present during the interview:
Code of the Informant:
Name of the informant:
Fictional name of the informant:
Civil status:
Number of children:
Ages of children:
How did I know the informant?
Previous meeting with informant:
Contact information / phone number:

Source: Own elaboration

The interviews conducted were open interviews with general themes related to the hypotheses. Its open converting that semi structured as following deductive categories/themes[71]:

---

[71] More detailed interview guide can be found in the appendix.

Table 7: Content/deductive themes of the interviews

Categories/ themes	Interest	Sample questions
Adversities/ vulnerabilities	I am interested to know how Gender, Kinship (patriarchy) Rural and socio-economic conditions influence the living conditions of Amazigh women	Do you think living in a rural area affects your life? When you visit the hospital do you know what to say to the doctors? What language do you use to communicate with doctors?
Identity, language, culture religion: adversities or empowerment	I am interested to know how identity can be a source of empowerment	What is it to be an Amazigh woman for you? Why is it important to keep Amazigh culture (Tattoos in your chin, Clothes, food, dress, body ornaments, crafts, celebrations, music, friends, family belonging to Ait Atta tribe)?
Aspirations	I am interested to know the aspiration of women and hopes behind their resilience strategies to adversity.	What aspirations do you have? What do you like to do in your life? Do you think other women too have the same aspirations and desires like you?
Resilience, Empowerment and Agency	I am interested to know whether or not that culture, identity expressed in their cooperative work carpets. contribute to their economic empowerment?	-Do you consider yourself a strong woman? -What does women rights/ empowerment mean to you? What do you think when you hear those words? What's their meaning in your opinion? -Why do you attend a cooperative? What are you learning from the cooperative? -Before the organization through cooperatives women do loom together / Crafts how did they sell it just for their homes?
Amazigh Women Contribute Moroccan Feminism and Generate Community Culture of Peace	I am interested to find out how Amazigh women can contribute to enrich Moroccan feminism from grassroot level, and how as peacebuilders can Generate community culture of peace?	-Do you follow women's rights in Morocco? -Do you know about Moudwana of 2004 and its rights for women? - Some research describes Amazigh women as illiterates, in need of aid. How do you feel about that? Do you think it's true? Are Amazigh women powerful? -How do women take care of each other in the village? What Sorority practices? - What aspects of Amazigh traditions and ways of life help to improve coexistence?

Source: Own elaboration based on research questions and hypotheses.

4.3.3.2. Confidentiality and anonymity

In this study, the identification codes are also used as a way of preserving the anonymity of the informants who make up the sample. They have all expressed their interest in this being the case and for data protection laws therefore real names of informants are not included. Following guidelines from the Ethics Commission (Comisión Deontológica) at Jaume I university regarding data protection laws in Europe the informants have been codified to anonymize them. These guidelines were provided by the Ethics Commission upon review of the thesis plan. Due to the data coming from outside of Europe the interviews had to be anonymized before taking the data into Europe. While some informants did provide consent to share their data, to keep everything consistent and within the scope of the data protection laws, all the informants have been treated the same way. For photographs some informants did not give explicit consent hence all photographs have been anonymized to keep it consistent throughout the thesis and make it easier to manage and reason about.

I hereby have assigned each informant a code organized as:

Examples of identification codes I used:

1-W-50-Self-based
4-D-40-Self-based
2-M-25-Coop
13-S-29-NGO

For the codes demonstrated above they are organized in chronological order, numbered by the semi-structured interviews. First starting by the number of the informant, then their civil status (W for widow, D for divorced, and M for married, S for single). followed by their age, and ultimately their profession working as self-based artists or entrepreneurs, working for NGO or working for cooperatives.

4.3.3.3. Translation and interpretation of the interviews

All interviews were held in Tashelhiyt as the locals would call it. Linguists identify the language spoken in the area of Anti-Atlas as Tamazight, but people on the ground refer to it as Tashelhiyt, as it comes up in interviews as Tashelhiyt, I keep referring

to it as such.[72] After each interview, I would sit for many hours to transcribe the interviews so that if there is something that came up that I did not understand, I would be able to go back to the informant and ask while the conversation is still fresh. All interviews were translated and anonymized for means of data protection policies before I returned to Spain. In translating, I kept the words like the informant said them, simple words using words and voices of the women and the way they express themselves. It was changed sometimes regarding a few cultural expressions to English which were hard. Therefore, they are kept in their original language due to the cultural weight they hold. I try to provide my possible translation and interpretation. Therefore, any error in the translation is mine.

According to Doucet and Mauthner (2006, 41) the relationship and interactions with the informants and ethics of being transparent and reflective should not only be limited to the field when conducting the interviews but also, they should be present during the whole process of the analysis when we sit in front of the computer to transcribe, interpret and analyze the materials obtained through these meetings to presenting it as qualitative data.

Despite that most of the interviews are translated by me to English, however, sometimes a few original Tamazight words that refer to names of artists' products such as *Taḥruyt / tiḥruyin* or phenomena in culture were kept because the original names are suitable as well as proving photos of the art of women in some contexts. For these Tamazight words that I decided to keep in its transcription, I follow a system adopted from Salem Chaker cited in Becker (2006a, x).

---

[72] *Tashelhiyt* is a very common name for Berber for non-linguists, even Rifberbers of North Morocco may call their Berber that way, Linguists distinguish three groups for Morocco on a linguistic basis: Rifberber in the North, Middle Atlas Berber in the Middle of Morocco and Tashelhiyt (or Tasusiyt) for the South. So, linguists call the language of tribes such as Ayt Hdiddu, Ayt Atta, Ayt Merghad, Ayt Sokhmane Tamazight (or more precise southern dialects of Tamazight) or Middle Atlas Berber. For me info sees the linguistic map of Morocco by G. Colin in E. Levi-Provencal (ed.), Initation Au Maroc, 3rd ed, Rabat 1945, p. 203.

Table 8: System of interview transcriptions

Letter	Tamazight Example	English Translation
a	*azul*	Hello
b	*aberkan*	Black
d	*tudert*	Life
ḍ	*aḍar*	Foot
e	*amellal*	White
ɛ	*aɛerrim*	Teenager
f	*tiflut*	Door
g	*Agadir*	Wall
h	*uhu*	No
ḥ	*tiḥli*	Beauty
i	*izli*	Song
j	*iledjigen*	Flowers
k	*akal*	Earth
l	*tamlalt*	Antelop
m	*asmun*	Companion
n	*alni*	Brain
q	*aqrab*	Bag used by men
r	*irifi*	Thirst
s	*tislit*	Bride
ṣ	*ṣber*	Patience
š	*išwa*	Sharp
t	*itran*	Stars
ṭ	*imeṭṭawen*	Tears
u	*afus*	Hand
w	*azwu*	Wind
x	*axdil*	Stomach
y	*kuyan*	Everyone
z	*Izi*	Fly
ẓ	*Iẓẓay*	Heavy
ɣ	*aɣbalu*	Water Source

Source: Becker (2006a, x).

4.3.3.4. Timing and context of interviews

The timing of the interview is a critical one as we are in the middle of a global pandemic related to Covid-19, and physical distancing was required.[73] The fieldwork took place over the course of 2 months from July 2021 to September 2021. In ethnography, a lot of the normal life activities may not be witnessed but having been from there I rely on

---

[73] Since the first case of Covid-19 -19 in Morocco was reported on March 2, 2020, thousands of Moroccan citizens have contracted the virus, with over 881,042 confirmed cases and 12,993 deaths as of September 6, 2021.

my memory and storytelling of the informants to provide pre- and post- Covid-19 descriptions. Although Covid-19 is not a main topic since we are still living currently in the time of pandemic, questions related to it will emerge in the interviews.

For the purpose of choosing location, I concentrated on one town called Alnif as the main ethnographical site. However, additional field visits to other places such as Saghro: Ikniouen and Ighrem Amazdar were made where I visited women working in cooperatives of bread, couscous, weaving and other crafts. I also was able to visit Tazarine, Tinghir, and Tilmi where I conducted a few interviews.

4.4. Data Analysis

In this thesis both inductive and deductive approaches were followed. An inductive approach means drawing findings and concepts out of the data, and a deductive approach means using data to test existing theories and concepts. This means the researcher draws results from specific to general and simultaneously consults existing theories to validate. For this purpose, before I went to the field, my interviews were designed in relation to the hypotheses of my research so that in the end I can answer my research question. The interviews already include categories of theoretical analysis that try to delve into the variables of the hypothesis: vulnerability, adversity, resilience, aspirations, empowerment, agency. From the interviews emerging/inductive categories will arise or may arise that may not have been expected and which must be identified.[74] The analysis categories/themes is closed when as have read in depth my interviews, diary and field notes. The categories/themes I chose have allowed me to extract the relevant information from my data and finally allow me to confirm or refute fully or partially my hypotheses and answer my research question.

4.4.1. Analytical method: Thematical Analysis

Approaching gathered data after the fieldwork in the southeast of Morocco, I follow thematic analysis inspired from works of Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013) where these authors define "thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79) and "a method for identifying and analyzing patterns in qualitative data" (Braun and Clarke 2013, 2). Despite that it's a "a

---

[74] The Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews of this study to be found in the Appendix.

poorly demarcated and rarely acknowledged, yet widely used qualitative analytic method" (Braun and Clarke 2006, 77). Besides, "Thematical analysis is used as an analytic method, rather than a methodology" (Braun and Clarke 2013, 1). Thus, it is helping us organize and process findings of our data and later present them to answer the question and hypothesis set at the beginning of the study. The reason I choose this analytical tool is because of its flexibility. According to these the authors, "the search for, and examination of, patterning across language does not require adherence to any particular theory of language, or explanatory meaning framework for human beings, experiences or practices" (Braun and Clarke 2013, 1).

The reasons for choosing Thematic analysis for its useful and "basic" method outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013, 2):

> a) it works with a wide range of research questions, from those about people's experiences or understandings to those about the representation and construction of particular phenomena in particular contexts.
> b) it can be used to analyze different types of data, from secondary sources such as media to transcripts of focus groups or interviews.
> c) it works with large and small datasets.
> d) it can be applied to produce data-driven or theory-driven analyses.

The data analysis process according to Miles and Huberman (1994, 12) is not a linear process but rather continuous, iterative and feeds back, with the different stages being able to occur simultaneously, alternately and/or repeatedly. The authors graphically illustrate the tasks that are part of the analysis process as follows.

Figure 4: Process of data analysis
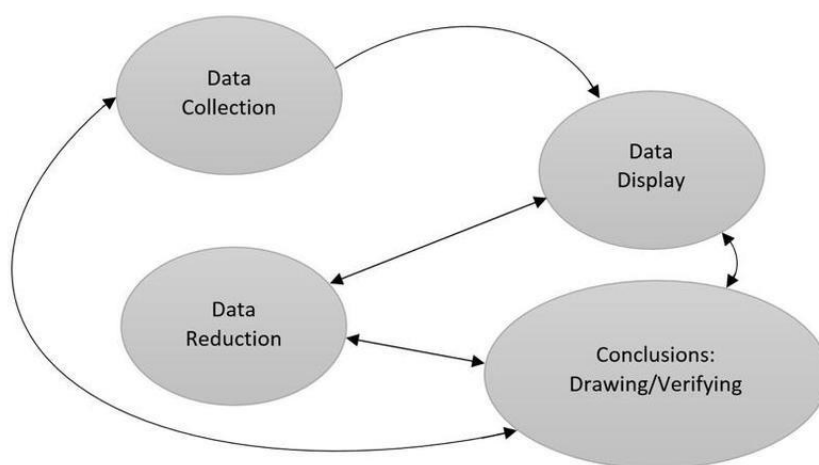
Source: Miles and Huberman (1994, 12).

223

Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013) identified six phases or steps data reduction and process, despite being outlined organized six steps, yet it is not a linear process "where one cannot proceed to the next phase without completing the prior phase (correctly)" But rather it is "a recursive process of analysis" (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79).

- **STEP ONE: FAMILIARIZATION WITH THE DATA**

This step is popular among each types of qualitative data analysis. It requires that the researcher to "immerse themselves in, and become intimately familiar with, their data; reading and re-reading the data (and listening to audio-recorded data at least once, if relevant) and noting any initial analytic observations" (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79). As many anthropologists called it a deep hanging out with the data collected, reading and reading many times the interview transcripts, participant observation documented in the field work and going through photographs taken in the field.

This process starts after I have translated, transcribed and anonymized the interview transcripts, then as step one I import all the data collected in the program Dedoose. Next, familiarization with the data and reading and re-reading it starts. The reasons for choosing Dedoose are many such as its practicality to have a tool to systematize data, and its simple and intuitive to use, in addition to the availability of many tutorials online and instruction on how to use it while handling qualitative data. In addition to that, the monthly based subscription and the storage of information were also deciding factors.[75]

- **STEP TWO: CODING**

Coding is a shared element of many approaches to qualitative analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994, 56) define codes as "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning […] codes are usually attached to 'chunks' of varying size, words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs". Braun and Clarke add that "coding is not simply a method of data reduction, it is also an analytic process, so codes capture both a semantic and conceptual reading of the data". Therefore, to the authors, "the researcher codes every data item and ends this phase by collating all their codes and relevant data extracts" (Braun and Clarke 2013, 2-3). Codes can be phrases that capture attention. While reading the transcriptions the

---

[75] Dedoose is "a cross-platform app for analyzing qualitative and mixed methods research with text, photos, audio, videos, spreadsheet data and more". See: https://www.dedoose.com/

researcher highlights with or underline them and later see the relationship that could group them to gather under the main theme's umbrella. Here within the Dedoose program, I read the interview transcripts and start by labelling segments of the interview initially as 1st level code. Later I revised all the codes created to turn them into 2nd level codes and later categorized them into a general theme.

<div align="center">1st level codes----> 2nd level codes ---> Categories/ Themes.</div>

a) Coding Interviews

The following figure is a screenshot taken from the Dedoose program documenting the process of coding the interview transcripts.

Figure 5: Assigning codes
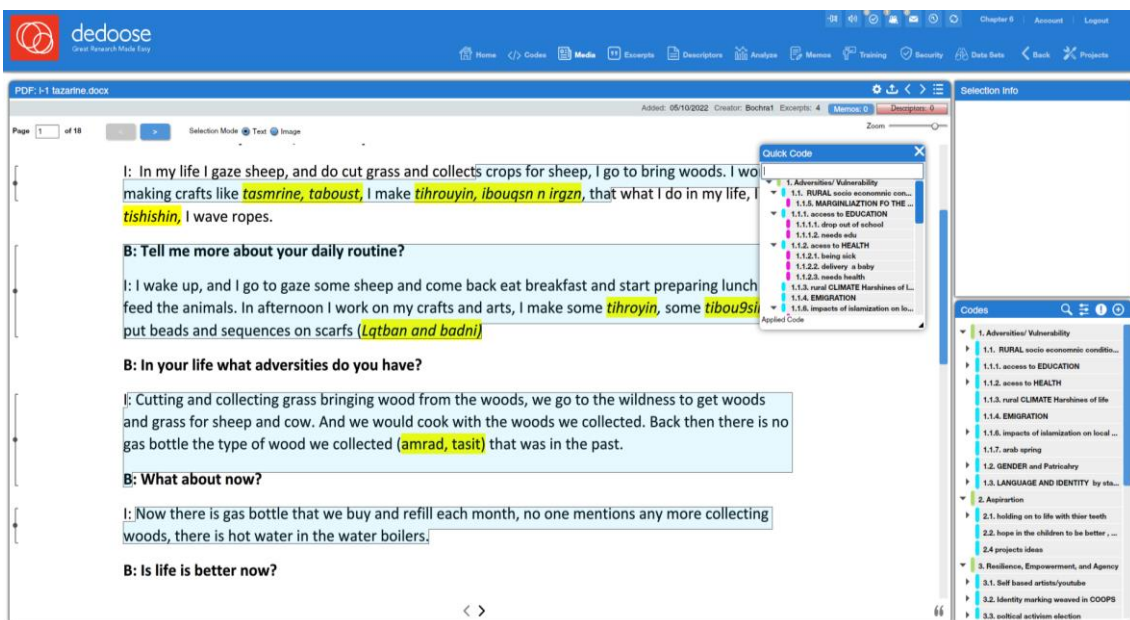
Source: Screenshot of Dedoose.

The following figures demonstrate codes used in Dedoose to help organize and process finding of the data.

Figure 6: Assigned colors to codes

Figure 7: Elaborated Codes

Source: Screenshot of Dedoose.

Another useful tool by the program Dedoose or digital coding is that I can apply more than one single code to the interview transcript segment. As well as adding interpretation memos about it to compare or add in as notes for analysis later. It addition it provides meta data such as length of information referenced by each code, where codes intersect and how many informants answers to each code. All these data points are valuable makes it easy to compare and discuss.

b) Coding Field Notes

For field notes I did the coding process manually because during field work, I wrote them by hand in sets of three notebooks. Each note is read an assigned sticky bookmarks as labels. Later once it's all labelled into codes and grouped themes, I digitized the notes into a Microsoft Word document simultaneously applying heading coding. then, I imported all the field notes to Dedoose to see which ones would go with each information, or general information about the themes or background descriptions, or my personal journey. Once that is done, I export everything to a matrix build in Microsoft Excel documents.

Figure 8: Manual coding of fieldnotes process

Source: Own photos of the manual coding of fieldnotes process

The following figure shows the Assigned code colours same as applied to interviews being applied to the field notes.

Figure 9: Assigned codes colors same as applied to interviews

Source: Own elaboration.

c) Coding Photos

For the photos, I have them stored in my laptops during fieldwork. I went through them one by one, selecting which photos to use and which corresponded to each theme. If people's faces are appearing on photos taken on the street, I for means of data protection laws blur the faces. For photo organization for later use in chapter 6 I group them in a Microsoft word document each under a specific code and description, reasons for utilization of that particular photograph. Unless otherwise indicated, all photos utilized in this thesis are mine.

Figure 10: Photography Coding
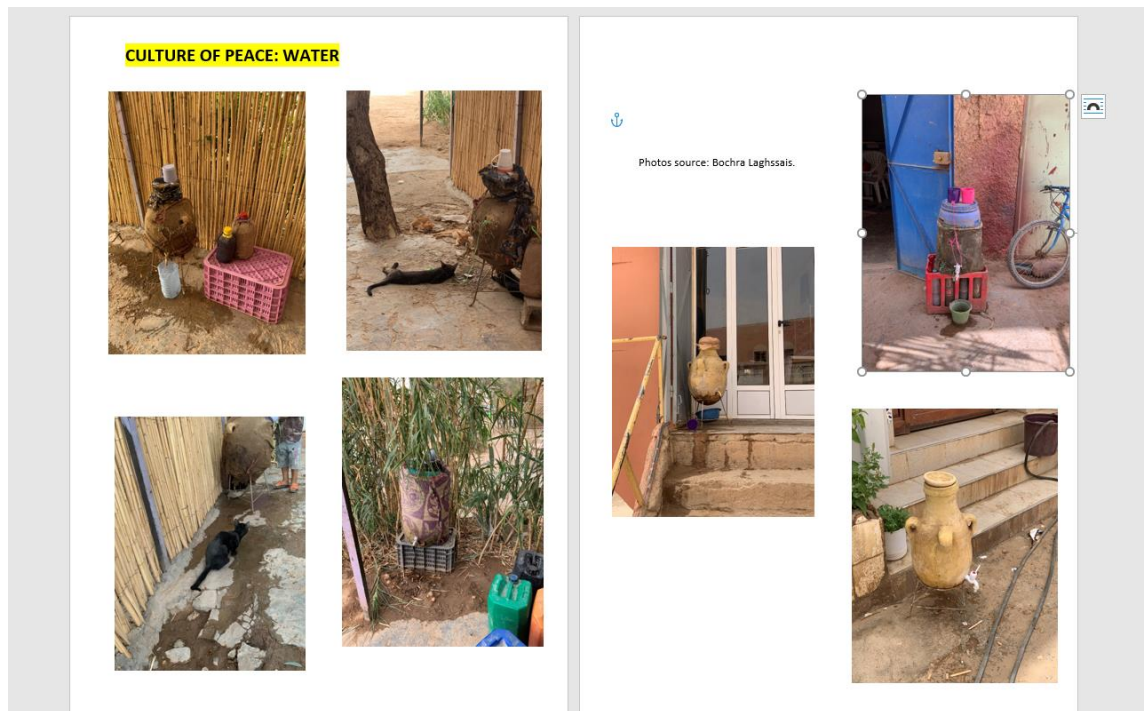
Source: Own elaboration.

Although this may look organized and clear, the process to come up with an organized plan and method is a messy and iterative process.

- **STEP THREE: SEARCHING FOR THEMES**

A theme as defined by Braun and Clarke (2013, 2-3) is "a coherent and meaningful pattern in the data relevant to the research question". The authors give examples such as:

> If codes are the bricks and tiles in a brick and tile house, then themes are the walls and roof panels. Searching for themes is a bit like coding your codes to identify similarity in the data. This 'searching' is an active process; themes are not hidden in the data waiting to be discovered by the intrepid researcher, rather the researcher constructs themes. The researcher ends this phase by collating all the coded data relevant to each theme (Braun and Clarke 2013, 2-3).

I have already deduced categories/themes when I read through the data, and I will make codes that will fit to the deduced themes. In addition, I work inductively with emerging themes and finding new codes. I have general themes from the hypothesis that guided the semi-structured interviews. And I have sub themes. The following is an example for my data.

General theme: Adversities/ vulnerability.
Sub-themes: In the field of education, in health, in rurality.
Inductive sub theme: Amazigh women amid Covid-19

Despite the interviews not being about the adversity of Amazigh women amid Covid-19 pandemic, since the fieldwork took place at the time of Covid-19 the topic emerged frequently in all interviews as women brought this up a lot. While this is inductive, I would still find a way to fit it within the broader deductive theme.

- **STEP FOUR: REVIEWING THEMES**

As explained by Braun and Clarke (2013, 2-3) "involves checking that the themes 'work' in relation to both the coded extracts and the full dataset". The researcher then "should reflect on whether the themes tell a convincing and compelling story about the data and begin to define the nature of each individual theme, and the relationship between the themes". The authors add that "it may be necessary to collapse two themes together or to split a theme into two or more themes, or to discard the candidate themes altogether and begin again the process of theme development".

I should note that within my own topic, codes are intertwined and complex as they sometimes play at two sides. For example, the identity of being Amazigh, before ruling of King Mohammed VI was seen as a marginalization factor, yet with Amazigh movements activism and the following efforts of the King Mohammed VI in the 2001 creation of IRCAM and 2003 codification of *Tifiniagh* scripts, and in 2011 constitutional reforms and officialization of the Tamazight language (Laghssais 2021a, 74). All these give a public legitimacy to Amazigh people which "today the Berber culture celebrated as part and parcel of the national identity" (Ennaji 2020a, 22).

Despite all the efforts, there is not yet a clear organic law that organizes linguistic rights, so people on the ground still face adversities related to linguistic rights. A clear example of court law No.3.64, article 5 still imposing "Arabic as the only language of the court proceedings; it is the language of deliberations, pleadings and ruling in Moroccan courts" (El Kirat El Allame and Boussagui 2018, 112). In addition, Amazigh people remain economically and socially marginalized. At the same time, Amazigh identity in carpets and artistic production is what gives uniqueness to the things women do as they are keepers and preservers of Amazigh culture (Sadiqi 2007). I argue Amazigh women via their IGP, artistic handmade products, and their expression of identity within that

serves as empowering factor. Thus, the identity of being Amazigh plays both sides as being a marginalizing factor and at the same time being source of empowerment to Amazigh women artisans.

- **STEP FIVE: DEFINING AND NAMING THEMES**

This step according to the authors Braun and Clarke "requires the researcher to conduct and write a detailed analysis of each theme". They stated that the researcher should be asking him/herself questions such as "'what story does this theme tell? And 'how does this theme fit into the overall story about the data?". It helps in "identifying the 'essence' of each theme and constructing a concise, punchy and informative name for each theme" (2013, 2-3).

After I identify the general themes and subthemes and interview fragments that will go in each section, I export the themes created within the Dedoose program to Microsoft Excel in which it creates a matrix with all the data sets organized. This will help me visualize the data themes of the study and will be easy to compare within units or within themes to make correlations.

In the following table we can see the result of the final themes (Tree of Categories) after the multiple reformulations that we have just commented:

Table 9: Categories Table: General Themes and Sub-Themes

General themes	Sub-themes
Adversities/ vulnerability	**Rural and socio-economic conditions:** Examples in access to education, to health, and Harshness of life, climates, and lack of water leads to Emigrations. **Gender, Kinship:** Examples in social pressure, fulfilling society expectation to what is a good woman, Male domination, Marriage, violence, divorce, and shame, Early marriage -18, Women's Rights, maintaining patriarchy or preserving identity and culture? **Identity, Language, and Culture** Marginalization experienced related to being Amazigh, speaking Tamazight. **Amazigh women amid Covid-19 related adversities.** Adversities experienced during Covid-19 **Changes to local Amazigh community: between globalization, capitalism, modernization and islamization of local customs.** Examples of changes that happens to the Amazigh community by outside influence.
Aspirations	**Hope in their Children: Access to Education** **Hope in Projects IGPs of Arts and Crafts**
Resilience, Empowerment and Agency	**Expressions of Identity and culture Self based, auto- entrepreneurs IGPs.** **Expressions of Identity and culture via Cooperatives works IGPs.** **Expressions Identity, culture and language activism via NGOs** **Women's political parturition in development of the community**
Manifestation of Culture of Peace(s) in Amazigh Women's Daily Life	**Tiwiza concept of solidarity, generosity, care, empathy in the southeast of Morocco** Voices, discourses, and practices of Amazigh women amid the community Aɛeban peace offering for reconciliation. Sharing of public and free water sources **Collective Launderette Community Project to address Women's Adversity** **Collective Weddings as medium for community peacebuilding and culture of peace**
Expressions of women empowerment from the grassroots level contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco	**Voices, discourses and practices of Amazigh women in the Southeast of Moroccan from grassroots level contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco**

Source: Own elaboration based on research question, hypothesis, and fieldwork outcomes.

Table 10: Inductive/ Emerging Themes

Inductive/ emerging themes
Covid-19 impacts
Emigration impacts
Impact of islamization/ globalization on local Amazigh culture examples
Amazigh women self-based auto-entrepreneurs

Source: Own elaboration based on fieldwork outcomes.

In the following figure, it shows how the themes look once they are exported into Microsoft Excel matrix and ready for the final stage writing up the qualitative data.

Figure 11: Dataset organization in Excel Matrix
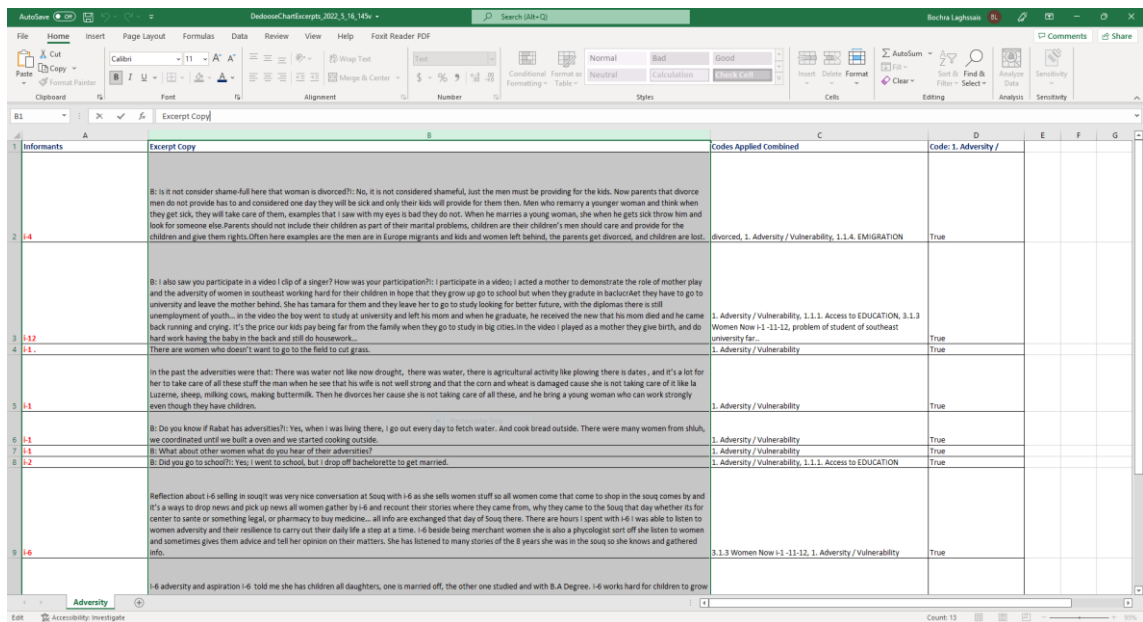
Source: Own elaboration.

The same process will go with fieldnotes, photos and observations to filter through them and identify them according to each category and the informants and some reflective

notes if they relate to a particular fragment in the matrix in order to combine them to build a thorough understanding.

STEP SIX: WRITING UP:

The final step is writing up. Braun and Clarke describe it as "an integral element of the analytic process" (2013, 2-3) in thematic analysis and in the majority of qualitative research. Therefore, "writing-up involves weaving together the analytic narrative and (vivid) data extracts to tell the reader a coherent and persuasive story about the data and contextualizing it in relation to existing literature" (Braun and Clarke 2013, 2-3).

Writing up also involves mapping and interpretation. It starts with describing and mapping field notes with interviews and photos and linking them. When describing the cases interviews and when describing themes, I create typologies. I will link the typologies with themes. Additionally, I will link type of people with type of themes that came up during the interviews or observation and develop explanations of the themes and sub-themes that will be presented in Chapter 6: *Amazigh feminism narratives: voices of Amazigh women's aspirations, agency, and empowerment.* Once all my data set is coded and organized into themes and subthemes, I go to the next level which is comparing and writing a story out of it presenting my qualitative data. Therefore, this process needs precise focus and brings everything together, the hypothesis, the objectives, the theoretical frame and discussion of the results. For this I proceed by writing up theme by theme to give maximum attention and focus to analysis and discussions.

4.5. Recapitulation

In summary, this chapter presented the methodological strategies framework followed to carry out this study, which take a qualitative research approach and socio-critical paradigm as epistemological and methodological lenses. In addition, the study uses ethnography as a method for qualitative research. In an attempt to not reduce the interpretation of reality during data-analysis and to broaden the understanding of the study subject and participant in the fieldwork, the data triangulation strategy has been based on several different sources such as interviews, participant observation, field notes, reflexivity, and photography. Thus, to carry out such a qualitative study non-probabilistic, purposive and snowball sampling method was followed to find informants with a set of general criteria and characteristics that are important and could enrich deeper the finding of the study. This chapter also covered the thematic analysis steps followed to organize

and process the finding of the data collected during fieldwork. Such steps inspired from Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013) helps organize all the gathered data of sets into codes then themes in a way that help write up explanations, analysis and discussion to answer the research question and the hypothesis.

CHAPTER 5: THE SOUTHEAST OF MOROCCO: AIT ATTA AMAZIGH TRIBE

This chapter is organized from general to specific. it presents in *section 5.1* introductory insight about the region Drâa-Tafilalet/ in the southeast of Morocco. It provides information about the geographical location and demography and looks at recent and major developments and statistics of the region. Its aims to show the geographic context of the region, socio-political and economic factors that intervene and powerfully influence the forms, projects and life opportunities, mentalities and discourses of the subjects of this study.

Section 5.2 reveals and describes the characteristics about the region in general then moves to details about the specific tribe studied, the Ait Atta tribe, by reviewing work of David Hart (1981).

Section 5.3 presents information about the towns and villages where interviews took place. I focus on the town of Alnif as the main ethnographic location in addition to other field visits to some nearby towns and villages. It has to be noted that the sources to build this chapter, especially information about the villages and towns, were very limited. Access to monographs of the villages and towns was limited given the short time spent in these villages. Apart from the commune of Alnif which was the main ethnographic location, I was able to acquire the monographs and present its information in this chapter. I rely on existing official resources of government agency the Haut Commissariat Au Plan that have official statistical data on Census of 2014 that covers various areas as health, education, marriage, fertility, employment. These data sets are large and cover more years that I would not be able to do individually on my own as researcher. Therefore, utilizing the already existing sources is convenient for the nature of information it provides.

5.1. The Southeast of Morocco: Drâa-Tafilalet Region

> The Tafilalet oasis is somewhat marginalized from the rest of Morocco (Becker 2006a, 11).

> This geographic divide has implications for the impacts of the NGOs and for their access to funding and the sources of authority. Historically, rural areas have been marginalized and constructed as 'useless' (Sadiqi 2016c, 124).

> French colonizers (1912–56) and postindependence state builders divided Morocco into 'al-Maghrib al-nafi' ' (useful Morocco) and 'al-Maghrib ghayr al-nafi' ' (useless Morocco) (Sadiqi 2016c, 125).

The field work of this study will take place in this region of the southeast of Morocco also referred to as Drâa-Tafilalet region; therefore, it is important to make known its characteristics and environment. All the data presented in this section is officially based on the 2014 General Population and Housing Census as made available online by Haut Commissariat au Plan of Morocco.

5.1.1. Presentation of the Drâa-Tafilalet region

According to the Haut Commissariat Au Plan (2015) the region of Drâa-Tafilalet, whose capital is in the city of Errachidia, was instituted like the 11 other regions of the Kingdom, in accordance with decree n ° 2.15.10 of February 20, 2015, fixing the number of regions, their names, their capitals and the prefectures and provinces composing them. This region of Drâa-Tafilalet has administrative boundaries with the regions of Fès-Meknes and the region of Béni Mellal-Khénifra in the North; The region from the Oriental to the East; The regions of Marrakech-Safi and the region of Souss-Massa to the west; Algeria in the East and in the South. This region of Drâa-Tafilalet administratively is made up of five provinces (see map below) as follows: Errachidia, Ouarzazate, Zagora, Midelt and Tinghir. With 125 communes: 16 urban communes and 109 rural communes.

Figure 12: The Drâa-Tafilalet region
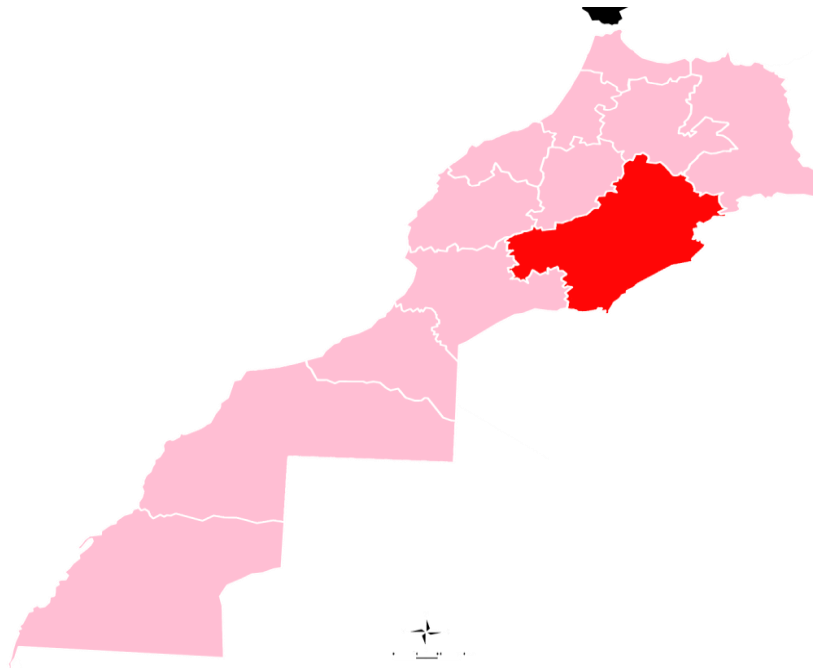
Map source: Wikipedia Contributors (2021c).

Figure 13: Provinces of the Drâa-Tafilalet region
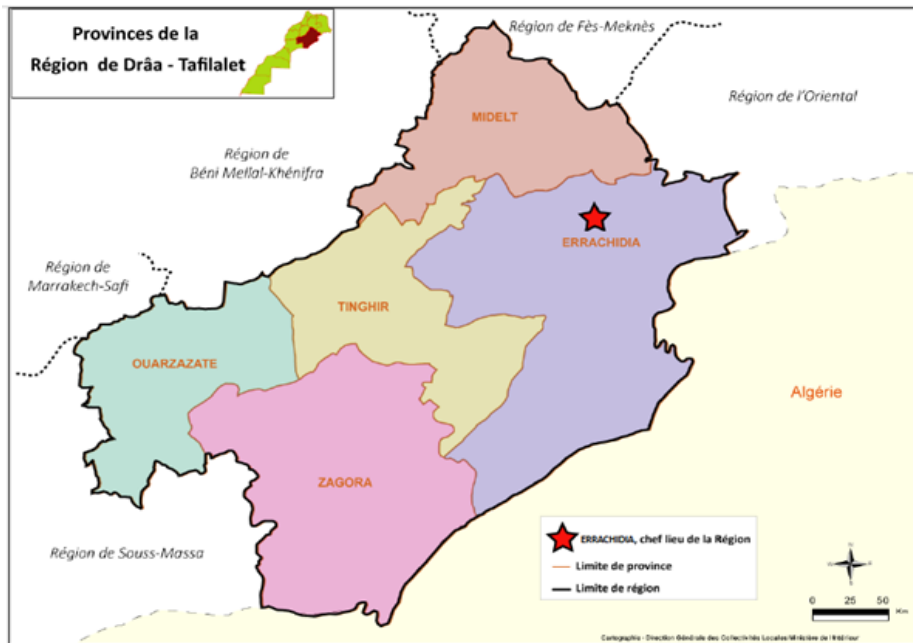
Map source: Haut Commissariat Au Plan (2015).

5.1.2. Overview of Some Characteristics of Drâa-Tafilalet Region

This section presents an overview of some characteristics of the region of Drâa-Tafilalet.

5.1.2.1. Demographic Characteristics

The demographic characteristics of the population are generally understood through its demographic growth, its age structure, its marital status and its fertility level. This part focuses on the evolution of the population of the Drâa- Tafilalet region, at its rate of development as well as at the rate of urbanization at the regional level between 2004 and 2014. According to the 2014 census, the Drâa-Tafilalet Region (including the provinces of Errachidia, Midelt, Ouarzazate,Tinghir and Zagoura,) has a million six hundred and thirty five thousand and eight inhabitants (1,635,008) Which represents 4.8% of the Kingdom's total legal population, compared to 4.9% in 2004. The region's urban population is around 560,738, representing 34.2% of its total population (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 11).

Table 11: Distribution of the legal population of the region by place of residence

Désignation	2004			2014		
	Urbain	Rural	Total	Urbain	Rural	Total
Drâa-Tafilalet	463 900	1 029 447	1 493 347	560 738	1 074 270	1 635 008
Maroc	16 463 634	13 428 074	29 891 708	20 432 439	13 415 803	33 848 242
Région/ Nation (%)	2,9	7,5	4,9	2,7	8,0	4,8

Table source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 11).

By place of residence, the urban population amounted to 560,738 inhabitants in 2014, or 2.7% of the national urban population. The rural population was established at 1,074,270 inhabitants, or 8% of the national rural population. However, it should be noted that if during the intercensal period 2004-2014, the share of the regional urban population fell by 0.2 point, the share of rural population recorded an increase of 0.5 point (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 11).

a. Evolution by sex

The table below gives the distribution of the population (in%) by sex between 2004 and 2014.

Table 12: The proportion of the population of the sex

Désignation	2004		2014	
	Masculin	Féminin	Masculin	Féminin
Drâa-Tafilalet	48,2	51,8	48,9	51,1
Maroc	49,3	50,7	49,8	50,2

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 12).

The data in the table above show that the proportion of the population of the sex female is higher than that of male sex, both at the regional level (51.1% against 48.9%) than at the national level (50.2% against 49.8%). In addition, from 48.2% to 48.9% during the 2004-2014 intercensal period, the proportion of men at the regional level has seen a slight increase of 0.7 point, and this to the detriment of women who saw their share decrease by 0.7 point (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 12).

b. Evolution of the population by province and by place of residence

The table below highlights the population of the Drâa-Tafilalet region and its five provinces in 2004 and 2014.

Table 13: Evolution of the population by province and by place of residence

Province	2004			2014		
	Urbain	Rural	Total	Urbain	Rural	Total
Errachidia	168 226	228 305	396 531	194 084	224 367	418 451
Midelt	101 263	157 619	258 882	126 098	163 239	289 337
Ouarzazate	86 777	183 511	270 288	113 752	183 750	297 502
Tinghir	64 832	219 446	284 278	76 056	246 356	322 412
Zagoura	42 802	240 566	283 368	50 48	256 558	307 306
Drâa-Tafilalet	463 900	1 029 447	1 493 347	560 738	1 074 270	1 635 008
Maroc	16 463 634	13 428 074	29 891 708	20 432 439	13 415 803	33 848 242

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 13).

According to Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 13), during the 2004/2014 intercensal period, the total population of the region has recorded an overall growth of 141,661 people, or about 14,166 inhabitants more annually. Thus, of the 141,661 more people in the region on September 1, 2014, 68.4% were city dwellers. This increase is mainly due to the increase in the urban population. which rose from 463,900 people in 2004 to 560,738 in 2014, i.e., an increased total of 96,838 people, slightly more than double the increase recorded in rural areas (44,823 people).

5.1.2.2. Education Characteristics

The ability to read and write specific languages as well as the level of education, two important situations in education, are dealt with in this section. According to Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 31) The ability of the population to read and write is captured through what is called the illiteracy rate. The illiteracy rate is calculated by relating the size of the illiterate population aged 10 and over to the corresponding total population, by sex and by place of residence. A literate is a person able to read and write both a simple presentation and brief facts related to his daily life (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 31). [76]

---

[76] Definition adopted by the RGPH

Table 14: Illiteracy rate (in%) of population aged 10+

Milieu	Sexe	Drâa-Tafilalet		Maroc	
		2004	2014	2004	2014
Urbain	Masculin	17,7	12,2	18,8	14,0
	Féminin	43,6	32,5	39,5	31,0
	Total	31,1	22,6	29,4	22,6
Rural	Masculin	35,7	27,5	46,0	34,9
	Féminin	67,0	53,1	74,5	60,1
	Total	52,3	40,7	60,5	47,5
Total	Masculin	29,6	22,2	30,8	22,2
	Féminin	59,4	46,0	54,7	42,1
	Total	45,3	34,5	43,0	32,2

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 31).

According to data from General Population and Housing Census of 2014, the illiteracy rate in the Drâa- Tafilalet region stands at 34.5%, against 45.3% in 2004, i.e., a drop of around 10.8 points due to the efforts made to eradicate this at the national level as well as at the level of the various administrative subdivisions of the Kingdom. This rate remains high at the level of the Kingdom, affecting 32.2% of the population aged 10 and over.

An examination of this rate by place of residence at the regional level reveals that despite efforts made, illiteracy persists even more in rural areas, with a rate of 40.7% against 22.6% in urban areas. Analysis by sex shows that women are still the most affected by this phenomenon, both in urban and rural areas. The rates recorded at this subject are 32.5% for women against 12.2% for men in urban areas and 53.1% for women against 27.5% for men in rural areas.

a. Illiteracy rate by sex and age

Illiteracy rates (in%) according to the major age groups concerned are summarized in the table below:

Table 15: Illiteracy rate (in%) by age group and sex- Drâa-Tafilalet region

Groupe d'âges	2004			2014		
	Masculin	Féminin	Total	Masculin	Féminin	Total
10-14 ans	6,7	14,8	10,7	4,0	5,3	4,6
15-24 ans	14,2	41,2	28,5	6,3	14,8	10,6
25-34 ans	23,6	63,1	45,3	15,6	40,8	29,0
35-49 ans	41,3	84,7	64,6	25,6	64,7	46,5
50 ans et +	68,7	96,4	83,0	54,7	90,7	73,1
Total Région	29,6	59,4	45,3	22,2	46,0	34,5
Maroc	30,8	54,7	43,0	22,2	42,1	32,2

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 33).

The table above shows that the illiteracy rate increases with age, reaching its maximum among generations aged 50 and over, i.e., 73.1%. The evolution of this rate during the intercensal period 2004-2014 reveals a decrease for both sexes as well as for all age groups. It should be noted that for each age group (except the first and the last group), the illiteracy rate is more than twice as high among women as among men.

b. Knowledge of languages

The languages read and written by the population, for the regional and national levels are given by the table below:

Table 16: Distribution of population (in%) by language

Langues lues et écrites	2004			2014		
	Masculin	Féminin	Total	Masculin	Féminin	Total
Néant	29,6	59,4	45,3	22,2	46,0	34,5
Arabe seule	22,9	15,2	18,9	25,2	20,1	22,6
Arabe et Français	37,2	21,4	28,9	29,7	19,8	24,6
Arabe, Français et Autre langue	10,1	3,9	6,8	18,2	10,6	14,3
Arabe et Autre(s) langue(s) sauf Francais	0,1	0,0	0,0	4,1	2,9	3,5
Autre(s) langue(s)	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,4	0,3	0,4
Non déclaré	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,3	0,2	0,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 33).

In 2014, 22.6% of the population aged 10 and over read and write Arabic alone, 24.6% read and write Arabic and French, 14.3% read and write another language in addition to Arabic and French, and only 3.5% read and write another language with

Arabic (except French). By sex, the proportion of men who read and write languages is higher than that recorded in women. Thus, in 2014 25.2% of men against 20.1% of women read and write Arabic alone, 29.7% against 19.8% read and write Arabic and French and 18.2% of men against 10.6% of women read and write another language besides Arabic and French (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 34).

Based on this available report. Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 33) despite the officialization of Tamazight language in 2011, yet the census of 2014 did not include the Tamazight language in the census, whether if it's the one indicted as *other languages*.

c. School enrolment rate for children aged 7-12

The level of education of the population is apprehended by calculating the rate of schooling at the ages concerned. This is the ratio of schoolchildren aged 8 to 13, i.e. 7-12 at the start of the 2013-2014 school year to the number of children belonging to this age group (8 to 13 years old).

Figure 14: School enrolment rate (in%) of children aged 7-12

Sexe	Drâa-Tafilalet			Maroc		
	Urbain	Rural	Total	Urbain	Rural	Total
Masculin	98,2	94,5	95,7	97,8	93,0	95,7
féminin	98,2	92,4	94,3	97,9	90,1	94,4
Total	98,2	93,5	95,0	97,8	91,6	95,1

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 34).

It emerges from the table above that the Drâa-Tafilalet region recorded practically the same enrollment rate for children aged 7 to 12 as that observed at the national level, i.e., 95%. Analysis by area shows that the rate recorded in regional rural areas is lower than that recorded in urban areas, i.e. 93.5% and 98.2% respectively.

By sex, a slight gap still persists in rural areas (2.1 points) while equality between the enrolment rates of the two sexes is observed in urban areas, as well at regional and national level (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 35). According to Haut Commissariat Au Plan (2015), the region has several establishments providing education for future generations: the region contains 654 primary education establishments (including 44 private); 150 college secondary schools (including 20 private); 79 qualifying secondary education establishments (including 5 private). Haut Commissariat Au Plan (2015). The region has the following higher education institutions: Polydisciplinary faculty in

Errachidia and Ouarzazate; Faculty of Science and Technology in Errachidia; Preparatory classes for engineering schools.

5.1.2.3. Economic Activity Characteristics

This is to identify the participation of the population in economic activity through the type of activity and the net activity rate, as well as the status in the profession. Two levels of analysis are retained, namely, the distribution of the population according to type of activity and the net activity rate achieved. The distribution of the population into active and inactive population and by sex is given by the following table (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 39).

Figure 15: Distribution of population by type of activity

Désignation	sexe	Population Active	Population Inactive	Population totale [4](2014)
Drâa-Tafilalet	Masculin	376 294	420 111	796 405
	Féminin	70 777	760 087	830 864
	Total	447 071	1 180 198	1 627 269
Maroc	Masculin	9 030 773	7 716 749	16 747 522
	Féminin	2 517 691	14 344 871	16 862 562
	Total	11 548 464	22 061 620	33 610 084
Région/ Nation (total)		3,9	5,3	4,8

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 39).

In 2014, the population of the Drâa-Tafilalet region consisted of 447,071 people active (3.9% of the national active population) and 1,180,198 inactive people, i.e. 5.3% of the national inactive population). By gender, the regional labor force is predominantly male. Indeed, out of ten active people, there were only two females. The inactive population is characterized by a preponderance of women, thus out of 10 inactive people there are more than 6 women (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 39).

a. Status in the profession

The following table summarizes the data relating to the status in the profession of the employed working population and unemployed people who have already worked (AO and Ch 2) by environment of residence.

Figure 16: Distribution of population (in %) by profession

Désignation	Drâa-Tafilalet			Maroc		
	Urbain	Rural	Total	Urbain	Rural	Total
Employeur	2,9	1,1	1,7	3,7	1,5	2,9
Indépendant	27,1	32,4	30,6	25,2	37,5	29,8
Salarié/ secteur public	25,8	5,3	12,4	14,4	3,2	10,2
Salarié / secteur privé	39,4	48	45	52,3	39,7	47,6
Aide familial	1,9	10,9	7,8	1,2	15,4	6,5
Apprenti	0,9	0,8	0,9	0,9	0,7	0,9
Associé ou partenaire	1,5	0,9	1,1	1,8	1,6	1,8
Autre	0,5	0,6	0,6	0,4	0,5	0,4

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 41).

According to the report by Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 41). analysis of the distribution of the employed active population and the unemployed who have already worked according to the situation in the profession reveals a predominance of salaried private sector at both regional (45%) and national level (47.6%). This status is predominantly rural in the Drâa-Tafilalet region (48% in rural *versus* 39.4% in urban areas), while the opposite situation is observed at the national level (39.7% in rural areas against 52.3% in urban areas).

The status of the self-employed comes second with a share of 30.6% at the regional and 29.8% nationally. This status is more present in the middle rural since it concerns 32.4% of the population concerned (AO and Ch 2) at the regional level and 37.5% at the national level, against respectively 27.1% and 25.2% in urban areas.

The status of public sector employees takes third place with a share of 12.4% at the regional level and 10.2% at the national level. Note that this status is rather urban with 25.8% of the population concerned (AO and Ch 2), at regional level and 14.4% at the national level against respectively 5.3% and 3.2% only in rural areas. Caregivers occupy the fourth position with a share of 7.8% at the level regional (6.5% nationally). This status is more present in rural areas with 10.9% at the regional level and 15.4% at the national level, against respectively 1.9% and 1.2% only in urban areas. Employers, apprentices and associates or partners represent relatively low shares, respectively 1.7%, 0.9% and 1.1% at the regional level against 2.9%, 0.9% and 1.8% nationally.

b. Crafts

Moroccan craftsmanship is considered one of the most productive and generative sector jobs. The sector presents a major tool for sustainable and socio-economic development. In the Drâa-Tafilalet region, the artisanal sector reflects an enormous heritage and has above all an important cultural and human value linked to the history and traditions of the Moroccan people in general and the region especially. It is also a sector that occupies a workforce important and thus generates considerable income. However, the sector offers great investment opportunities and possibilities, mainly in carpentry, traditional weaving, sewing and embroidery, etc (Haut Commissariat Au Plan 2018, 113).

c. Cooperatives

According to Haut Commissariat Au Plan (2018, 97) democratic values centered around mutual aid and solidarity cooperatives have become a more prominent factor for socio-economic progress within Morocco. Especially since 2005 which saw the establishment of the national human development initiative (INDH) focusing on sustainability within social and economic structures, cooperatives are gaining more and more weight in economic and social terms in the Moroccan economy. At regional and national levels, there are female cooperatives and also for young people promoters operating in all sectors of activity (Haut Commissariat Au Plan 2018, 97).

In 2015, the Drâa-Tafilalet region had 885 cooperatives in the field of consumption, housing, crafts, services and transport and agriculture. The number of members of these cooperatives across all sectors has 37,574 members with a subscribed capital of 51,730 thousand dirhams and a paid-up capital of 90,930.8 thousand dirhams (Haut Commissariat Au Plan 2018, 97).

The province of Errachidia alone holds more than 47% of the region's total cooperatives with several members which reaches 13,983 and a subscribed capital of 42,270.9 thousand dirhams. The most present cooperatives in the region are agricultural cooperatives. So, the number of cooperatives in the province of Errachidia is 377, 99 in Midelt, 88 cooperatives in Zagora, 85 in Tinghir and 70 cooperatives in the province of Ouarzazate (Haut Commissariat Au Plan 2018, 98).

Distribution of agricultural cooperatives by branch of activity: Provinces Ouarzazate - Tinghir and Zagora Agricultural cooperatives in the provinces of

Ouarzazate, Tinghir and Zagora number 243 with a membership of 15,202 people. The agricultural cooperatives, at the level of these provinces, exercise in different agricultural fields such as the collection and marketing of milk, breeding, date palms, saffron, roses, etc. Distribution of craft cooperatives by branch of activity: Ouarzazate - Tinghir provinces and Zagora. There are 64 artisanal cooperatives in the provinces of Ouarzazate, Tinghir and Zagora with a membership of 1,846 people. The artisanal cooperatives, at the level of these provinces, carry out activities of weaving, pottery, carpentry, electricity, (Haut Commissariat Au Plan 2018, 98).

5.1.2.4. Households and Housing Conditions Characteristics

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the number of households, their size and their housing conditions through the type and age of housing and the basic equipment of occupied dwellings, as well as the characteristics of the heads of households. According to the general population and housing census, the household is defined as a group of relatives or not, usually living in the same accommodation and whose expenses are common. In addition, the head of household is the resident person and recognized as such by the other household members. It is the person who has moral authority or material within the household (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 47).

a. Number and size of households

The number of households recorded in the Drâa-Tafilalet region, by residence, between the two censuses 2004 and 2014, are presented in the table which follows:

Table 19: Number of households according to the area of residence

Désignation	2004			2014		
	Urbain	Rural	Total	Urbain	Rural	Total
Drâa-Tafilalet	86 282	138 796	225 078	114 631	163 376	277 998
Maroc	3 439 809	2 225 455	5 665 264	4 807 743	25 06 063	7 313 806
Région/ Nation(%)	2,5	6,2	4,0	2,4	6,5	3,8

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 47).

During the period between the last two censuses, the number of households in the region has grown from 225,078 to 277,998 households, which corresponds to an additional 52,920 of which 53.6% are in urban areas and 46.4% in rural areas. In 2014,

248

households in the region represented 3.8% of all households in the nation against 4% in 2004 (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 47).

Table 20: Average size of households by area of residence

Désignation	2004			2014		
	urbain	Rural	Total	urbain	Rural	Total
Drâa-Tafilalet	5,5	7,3	6,6	4,8	6,6	5,9
Maroc	4,8	6,0	5,3	4,2	5,3	4,6

Source: (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 48).

During the intercensal period (2004-2014), the average number of people per household has experienced a slight decrease at the regional level, from 6.6 people in 2004 to 5.9 in 2014. This size remains greater than that recorded at the national. By place of residence, the average size of households in the region.

b. Housing conditions of households

In this section, housing conditions are discussed from a typical point of view, status, occupancy rate and age of the accommodation as well as basic equipment in the accommodation. The general population and housing census provided for a *typology* of accommodation that distinguishes between villa, apartment, Moroccan house (traditional and modern), basic housing or shantytown and rural-type housing (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 52).

Table 21: Distribution (in%) of households by type of housing and place of residence-2014-

Type de logement	Drâa-Tafilalet			Maroc		
	Urbain	Rural	Total	Urbain	Rural	Total
Villa	3,4	0,5	1,7	4,5	0,8	3,2
Appartement	3,5	0,2	1,6	17,5	0,3	11,6
Maison Marocaine	82,2	24,4	48,4	70,4	30,7	56,8
Habitat Sommaire ou bidonville	2,0	0,4	1,0	5,2	3,1	4,5
Logement de type rural	8,2	73,8	46,6	1,3	64,1	22,8
Autres	0,7	0,7	0,7	1,0	1,0	1,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan (2014, 52).

According to the results of the last census, the occupied habitat is characterized by the types of the following accommodation:

- A predominance of the Moroccan house saw that 48.4% of households in the region live there, which is also the case at the national level where this share was 56.8%.
- Rural-type housing comes in second position since it houses 46.6% of households against 22.8% nationally
- The villa and apartment types are occupied by only 1.7% and 1.6% of households (against 3.2% and 11.6% nationally).
- Basic housing or shantytown is occupied by 1% of households in the region against 4.5% nationally.
- Examination of urban data reveals house-type dominance Moroccan in the region comprising 82.2% of households, followed by housing type Rural area which still persists in urban areas, housing 8.2% of households. The apartments and villas concern only 3.5% and 3.4% of households.

These percentages are respectively 75.6%, 1%, 17.5% and 4.5% at the level of the national urban setting. In rural areas, rural-type housing predominates with 73.8% followed by Moroccan type housing which equates to 24.4% of households. The basic dwellings or shantytowns make up only 0.4% of households. At the national level these percentages are 64.1%, 30.7% and 3.1% (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2014, 52-53).

5.2. Ait Atta Tribe in the Southeast of Morocco

The southeast of Morocco is known to host many tribes among them Ait Atta, Ait Hdidou, Ait Yafalman, Ait Siddrat, Ait Merghad. Despite the presence of various tribes' groups in the region, in the interviews conducted the informants belong to the tribe of Ait Atta tribe as I myself hail from that tribe. Networking beyond the tribe was limited due to the Covid-19 pandemic situation. I was able to have access to women within the same tribe as my network goes, except for informant (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader) who is from another tribal affiliation.

According to Sadiqi (2021b, 11) in today's Morocco, "although the concept of the 'tribe 'is today officially replaced by the concept of 'commune rurale' (the rural commune), conceived as the administrative cell of the Moroccan society". Sadiqi notes that "the tribe is still neutral framework of rural life in Morocco and the locus of the rural first identity". The tribe in Morocco in the past for many centuries held the political, economic, and social organizational structure.

> The tribe may be defined as a group of the families, occupying a common geographic territory and sharing a common ancestor. Land ownership is part and parcel of tribe-affiliation. This Berber concept of the tribe is different from the European feudal system. Whereas the latter is based on the concept of a lord, who carries a land of nobility, the Berber tribal system is designed into a collective or private properties. The right to graze one's animals or to cross the territory needs to be obtained apriori from the chief of the tribe. Some tribes impose taxes equitable than the European one (Sadiqi 2021b, 11).

The Ait Atta tribe's history developed from being nomads that migrated across the Anti-Atlas to the Middle and High Atlas. In this section I try to explain the tribe from its origins as nomads and its sub-groups and later to its sedentary living by focusing on sedentary groups. Despite that, nomads belonging to the same tribe are still found in the southeast and they keep living nomadic lives. However this study did not have contact with nomads of Ait Atta.[77] And nomadic women still do artistic production but for self-sufficient reasons; as they need tents, they weave tents.

Some nomads decide to settle into a sedentary living in one of the villages across Saghro like my ancestors did, and other prefer to keep the nomadic lifestyle with few adaptations. A family relative of mine told me that for example they no longer travel walking across Saghro to Dades to go up to the Middle Atlas, but now they rather hire a truck/lorry to put all their sheep and camels and donkies they have and travel until they reach the destination where they want to go.[78]

As stated, the condition of rural women is the same regarding their adversity and lack of access to school for their children or hospitals nearby. The reason I focus on Ait Atta tribe is because the majority of women interviewed belong to this tribe, as well as for the aesthetic of the tribe and the symbolism behind it in its expression of affiliation to the collective culture of the tribe. Due to Covid-19 limitations, I was not able to go deeper

---

[77] This study is not historical tracking of changes to the tribal social system, I don't claim that many studies attributed to that. but my idea to explore in this section is how the tribal affiliation despite it not central anymore is still present in the daily life of the Amazigh people mainly this focus group of Ait Atta.
[78] Very interesting topic for future research, studying the transformation to nomads lifestyles.

with a holistic approach to analyze all tribes but that would be an endeavour for future work.[79]

Despite this region being inhabited by many Amazigh tribes, I choose to focus on Ait Atta tribe to avoid generalizing. The information I found on Ait Atta tribe are by the work of anthropologist David Hart who conducted field work in 1950s and 1960s, among Ait Atta and documented it in several publication as (1981). According to David Hart, Ait Atta are the largest and most remarkable tribal group in southeast-central Morocco. They number approximately 135,000 by extrapolation from the 1960 census of rural Morocco. They are territorially spread out in discontinuous clusters over no less than three provinces Ourzazate and Qsar S-suq and the south central and south-eastern parts of the country (Hart 1981, 1).

According to Hart (1981, 1), throughout history, the Ait Atta have shown an extreme degree of marginalization with respect to much rest of Morocco, not only in geographical and linguistic sense but also in a political one, in times of often polarized relations between the Berbere speaking tribes and the mountain and desert region, the makhzen, the Moroccan central government headed by the sultan. The marginalism is manifested in many ways, for the connectivism of the Ait Atta is both cultural and structural as well as linguistic.[80]

- *Transhumance / Tarahhalt*

According to David Hart:

> The Ait Atta mean by the term igzdu 'camping, camping unit) – in pre-protectorate times at least seven tents of close kinsmen) or tarahhalt ('transhumance'- and by extension, irahhalen, 'transhumance') is a co-existence of settled agricultural life with that pastoral nomadism, each being practiced at different and alter-nating periods during the year. Ideally, and as most Ait Atta see it, transhumance is the true midpoint between a sedentary agricultural existence on the one hand and one of true camel herding pastoralism on the other. The essence of this midpoint compromise is sheep, the major form of calculable wealth, and so reckoned in movable property (Hart 1981, 5).

Throughout autumn and winter, most Ait Atta commune members live in a fixed location, generally in three or four storied houses made of mud and stone masonry. Several estates might be grouped into clan settlements or smaller communities. During

---

[79] Due to Covid-19 I choose to limit the scope of this to cover only women in the south east of Morocco mainly of same group.

[80] Other contextual maps on Ait Atta location and nomadism locations see (Hart 1981, 33-34).

spring, a part of each of these communities' travels into the central Atlas to reach the high summer pastures. The part of the community which transhume usually resides in black wool or goat hair tents (*Takhmat*) and pasture their sheep until they return back to their respective communities in the lower valleys of the Atlas Mountains (Hart 1981, 5).[81]

- *Origins/ Izghran*

Pursuant to Hart (1981, 8-11), in order to properly understand the dynamics, present distribution, ideologies and social structures, the origins, traditions and history of Ait Atta should be carefully considered. One of the key figures in their traditions is Dadda Atta, who is regarded as the common ancestor and held up as the prime example of their virtues despite the fact none of them can trace their genetic history back to him. The fact he was a genuine historical figure and Berber tribesman from Saghru cannot be doubted, as his final resting place, the tomb of Tagunit in the upper Dra Valley is well known. There is no accurate information on what time period exactly he lived, but correlations between him and two historically important saints might give clues to the time frame in which he lived. Namely the two saints, Mulay Abdallah bin Hsain who perished somewhere between 1566 and 1592 AD around Zawiya Amghariyin, and Sidi Said Ahnsal who was the founder of the central high Atlas around the late fourteenth century. These two saints are the primary saints within Imazighen and Ait Atta who still hold up traditions related to them.

Another story about the origins of Ait Atta is documented as a legend by David Hart (1981, 11- 12) The story has it that Atta had 40 children, and they were wedded in one collective marriage ceremony.

A rival Amazigh tribe (Ait Siddrat) dispatched one man to fill the barrels of the sons' guns with water to render them unusable. Later that night during the ongoing festivities of the wedding, the rival group attacked as Atta's sons were preoccupied with the wedding festivities. Rushing to respond to the attack, the sons were all killed as their weapons malfunctioned. Before this however, all the sons had already impregnated their new wives, and so 9 months on, 39 sons and 1 daughter were born. Atta isolated himself from the family and led a solitary life after this, leaving the women to bring up the new-

---

[81] The purpose of this section is to provide context give to a brief history about the Ait Atta tribe. The informants interviewed are from this group. While nomads belonging to this tribe still live a nomadic life, others have chosen a sedentary life. This thesis focusses on the latter, those living in the villages and towns visited during fieldwork.

born babies. Once the children grew up, they united Atta which was from then on named Dadda Atta which means Grandfather Atta. Fueled by a sense of vengeance, Dadda Atta's sons declared a state of war on their father's aggressors and drove them out of the region. The children continued on establishing all of the subgroups of the Ait Atta tribe who presently still reside in the southeast of Morocco.

- *The segmentary system: the political capital and the five fifths of the Ait Atta*

> Access to grazing land was determined by membership in a *Taqbilt* (pl. *tiqbilin*). This highly elastic term is related to the Arabic word qabila, which is often translated as 'tribe'[…]. Hart translates taqbilt as 'clan' or 'sub-clan', noting that in the 1960s some tiqbilin were found in just one village whereas others, like the Ait Bu Iknifen, were found in ten […]. The tiqbilin were further divided into ighsan (plural of ighs, or 'bone'), which Hart describes as 'lineages' no more than four generations deep […]. Strangers could become members of ighsan by sacrificing to them. Members of the same taqbilt, as well as those of the same ighs were referred to as aitma, literally 'brothers'[…] (Munson 1993, 269).

According to David Hart (1981, 24), "the Ait Atta socio-political system can be considered either in terms of ordinary and structural-functional anthrophony or in those of structural dynamics. This involves the crucial notion of khums or fifth and of khams khams (classical Arabic khamasa (tu) akhmas) or 'five fifths,' or five maximal groupings of Ait Atta".

Figure 17: Ait Atta Five Fifths/ Khums Khmas n Ait Atta

Khams Khmas n-Ait 'Atta - The "Five Fifths" of the Ait 'Atta
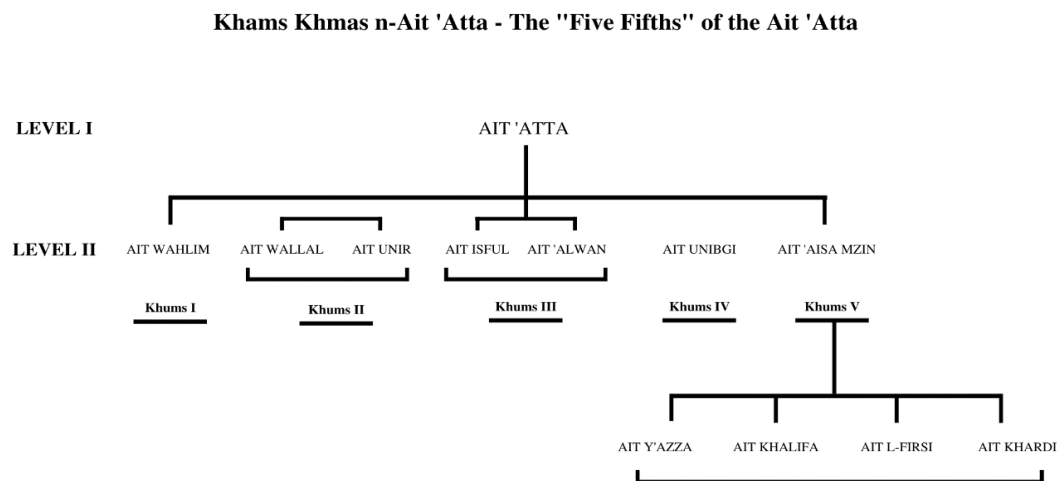
Source: (Hart 1981, 24)[82]

---

[82] The rest of the Ait Atta line segments in details see (Khmus I, Ait Wahlim branch (Hart 1981, 36); Khmus II, Ait Wallal/Ait Unir branch (Hart 1981, 46); Khmus III, Ait Alwan/Ait Alwan branch (Hart 1981, 52); Khums IV, Ait Unbgi (Hart 1981, 54); Khums V, Ait Aisa Mzin/Ait Y'azza (Hart 1981, 56).

The phenomenon of 'five fifths' is one distributed here and there over the Moroccan tribal map it represents, indeed, what may be a peculiarly Berber contribution and addition to the 'normal' segmentary tribal structures of Morocco and perhaps of the maghrib in general, for it may even antedate Islam in the area at large (Hart 1981, 29).

According to Hart (1981, 20), "the name Ighram Amazdar has come over time to mean the lower community" but there is excellent evidence for the fact that its original meaning was the pristine one- for the word ighram of "the lower collective northern part of the saghru range 25 kilometers northeast of the old administrative post of Ikniwn and about the oasis (both depending today on the post of bumaln, in the warzazat province)". Hart maintains that "Ighram amazdar itself is situated in a wide but shallow basin, ringed by mountains; and the area around it of some 29 square kilometers, known as the tafrawt n-lgharm Amazdar or more directly as the tafrawt nait- atta- the bowl of ighram amazdar or the bowl of the Ait Atta" (Hart 1981, 20). The latter "was and is the political heart of Atta land and the repository of Atta customary law. The is underwritten by the fact that no murders could be committed within its precincts and no shots could even be fired" (Hart 1981, 20).

5.3. Specific towns/villages

Beyond this brief introduction to Ait Atta as one of the major tribal groups in the southeast of Morocco, this section is about places, the towns and villages where I visited for the interviews. While people throughout the south earth belong to the Ait Atta group at large yet claim to belong to a particular sub-group of the five fifths. In the main area (Alnif) of the ethnography, informants belonged to Ait Yazza.

Figure 18: Sketch of area of ethnography locations and interviews
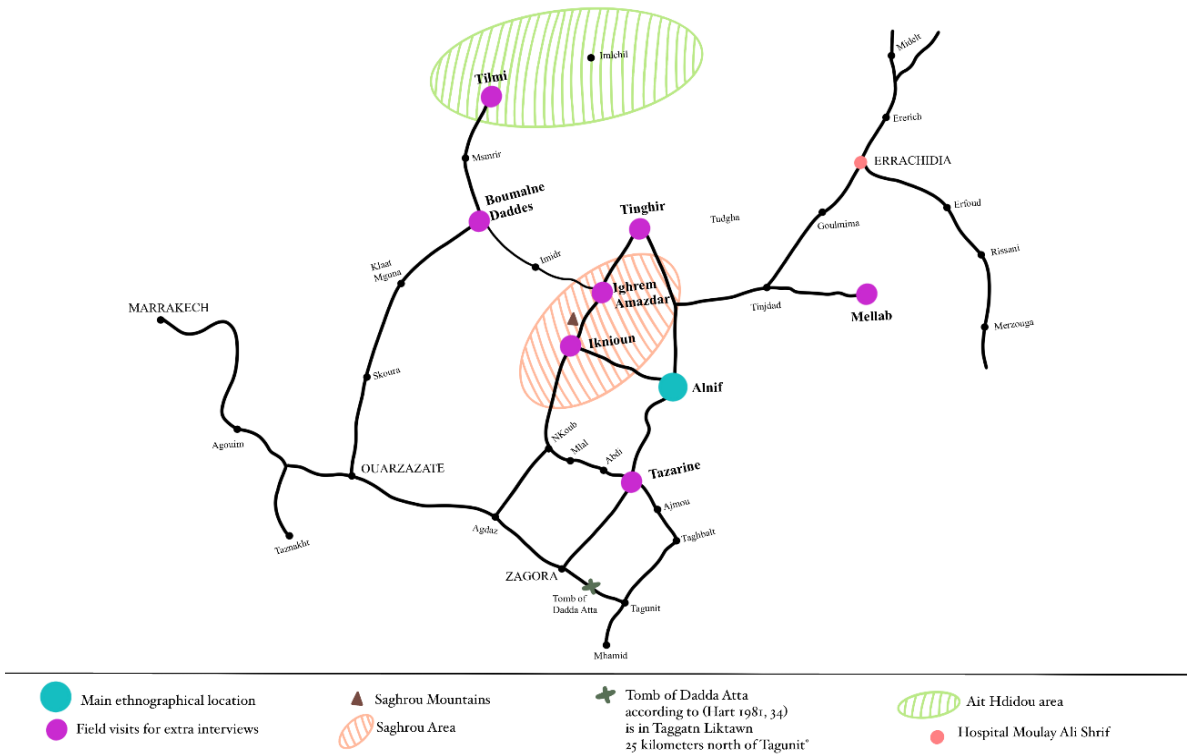
Source: Own elaboration based on fieldwork.

5.3.1. Alnif commune

This section will present information about the Alnif commune as the main ethnographical location of interviews and observations and where I could access the monograph for official information about the commune. Therefore, despite visiting other places I don't have access to detailed information due to lack of information online at the time of doing this research, the Haut Commissariat au Plan source doesn't have online local commune monographs. Therefore, I will only present the information I have access to, to give a glimpse about the commune.

The oasis of Alnif is part of the rural commune of Alnif. It is located in the province of Tinghir. The commune covers an area of about 1820 km², or 13.9% of the total area of the province. Geographically it is located at the crossroads of three provinces, Errachidia, Ouarzazate and Zagora and is part of the Eastern Anti-Atlas. The climate is dry Saharan type with continental tendencies. It is influenced by the Saharan air masses and south-western Atlantic air masses, with the former predominating. The annual rainfall does not exceed 80mm and the temperature can reach 45°C in summer (Houssni and others 2020, 83). The Drâa-Tafilalet region, a pioneer in production of dates, has a semi-

arid desert climate and is considered one of the agricultural regions despite its harsh climate. Located on the eastern bank of Morocco it is of considerable geographic importance sharing a long strip of border with Algeria. Film tourism and natural medicine tourism are hallmarks of the region.

Located in the center of Morocco within the Drâa-Tafilalet region, Tinghir province extends geographically between the regions of Ouarzazate to the west, and Errichidia to the east. Its population is estimated at just over 289,000 people which equates to around 21 people per square kilometer. This is a considerable density compared to other regions within Morocco. The province has a surface of around 13,619 square kilometers. The population of Tinghir can be divided into three main urban groups. According to administrative data in the region, the population consists of 25 geographically identifiable groups of people. Three municipalities make up the urban areas, and a further 22 rural areas.

The climate of the Tinghir region is a dry continental climate, exposed to desert air masses and southeast Atlantic masses. Rainfall in the region is characterized by being irregular and changing from one region to another, reaching 200 millimeters per hour in the High Atlas heights in the north of the region, and between 130 and 170 millimeters in the central regions, as is the case for the city of Tinghir and the province of Mgouna. As for the temperature, it exceeds 40 degrees during the summer, and reaches 5 degrees during the winter in Msmrir, Egil Nomgon and Tilmi, among these groups, the latter includes the Alnif group (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 3-4).

Figure 19: Map 1 of the Alnif commune
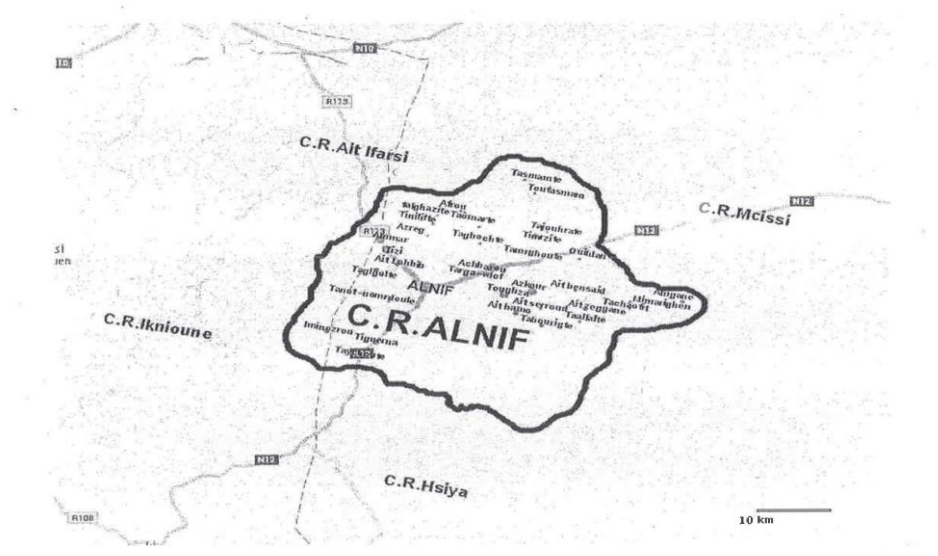
Source: (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 4).

Figure 20: Map 2 of the Alnif commune
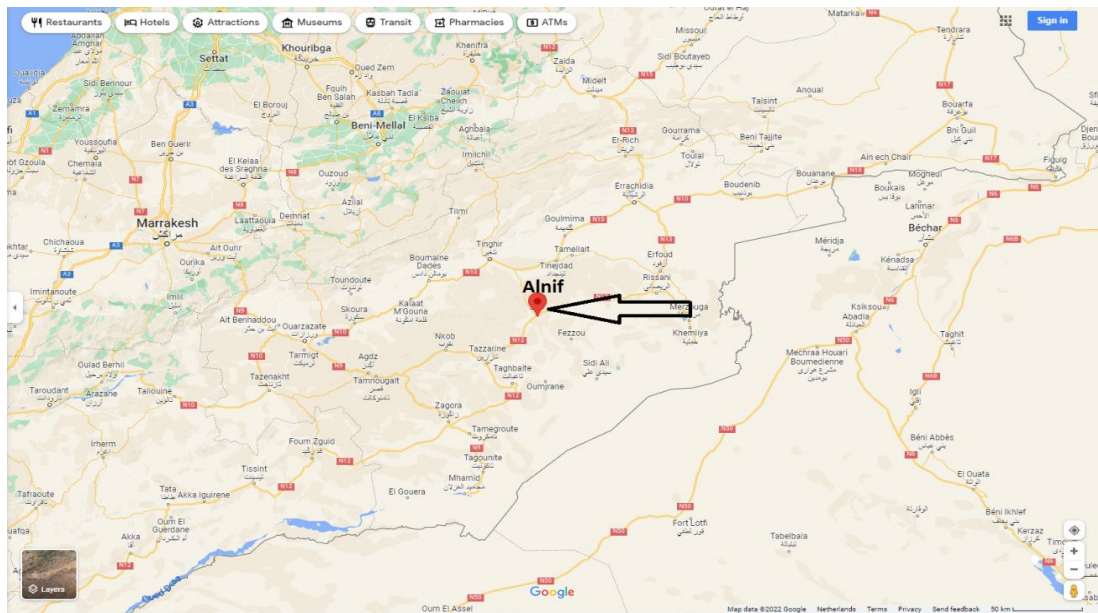
Source: google map (https://www.google.es/maps) with own adaption.

● *Brief history of Alnif commune*

The Alnif community was created by virtue of Decree No. 2- 59- 1884 dated 12/02/1959, and the Amssissi and Hasya communities were subdivided from it under the collective division of 1992 (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 6).

The Alnif community is located south of the city of Tinghir, about 68.35 km away, administratively affiliated to the Alnif Command, Alnif District, Region Tinghir, Drâa-Tafilalet region. With an area of about 1,820 km2, which is equivalent to 13.9% of the total area of Tinghir Province, and a population of about 22,724 people, according to the statistics of 2014, with a density of 12 people per km 2, distributed on 34 roundabouts (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 6).

Community coordinates are 5,166 0' 0" west/ 31,11 0' 0" north. The population of the Alnif Center is about 4,728 people (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 6). Alnif community boundaries are the Ait Al-Farsi commune to the north, Hssya commune to the south, the Ikniouen commune to the west, and the Messissi commune to the east. The inhabitants of Alnif consist mainly of five tribes, namely the Ait Atta tribe, the Amalwan, the surafa Haratines and the lmourabtin (Almoravids), and Tamazight is considered the primary language spoken in the area (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 7).

● *Nearest towns and cities:*

Cities	The distance in km
Ait El Fassi ايت الفرسي	34,94
Msissi امصيسي	36,94
Hasya احصيا	41,59
Akdim اكديم	57,33
Tinghir تنغير	68,35
Asrir اسرير	73,76
Ouaklim واكليم	77,17
Tinejdad تنجداد	78,80
Rissani الريصاني	74,85
Goulmima كلميمة	98,10
Tazarine تزارين	60 00

- The nearest train station is located in Marrakech about 350 km.

- The nearest harbor is located in Casablanca about 685 km.

- The nearest Airport is Moulay Ali Sherif in Errachidia about 200 km.

259

The topography of the community in terms of environment and climate is characterized by a diversity of flat lands, semi flat plateaus, and narrow plains along the oasis along the banks of the oasis Boulahem and Bouchama. The commune's climate is dry desert, and rainfall is characterized by irregularity, whose average does not exceed 80.5 mm per year and is far from the national average of precipitation, which amounted to 300 mm in 2010. And the average temperature is 45, the climate is characterized by sandstorms and shirky winds. Most of the soil is of sand type, clay type (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 8).

Roadmaps of the commune pass through the commune soil, National Road No. 12, which connects the commune to the rest of the national territory. Regional Road 113, the non-returning roads, is about 120 km, allowing the commune headquarters to be connected to the rest of the places. Because of the vastness of the commune space, a group of places suffer from real isolation and many difficulties in connecting them to the center (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 9).

The lack of paved roads between the places and the isolation of the latter contributed to the lack of public transportation and the spread of unorganized transportation, which necessitates the community to work on increasing the number of double transportations permits as a solution to the problem of public transportation (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 9).

The community still suffers from a significant shortcoming in providing the population with drinking water, as the drinking water associations are the main source of the population's drinking water supply (24 association). The population also depends on individual wells for 42.5%. Qasr (palace) Alnif is the only one that has a single connection system to the drinking water network. Efforts have been made in recent years to provide the community Qasr with safe drinking water. A set of water points (wells and pits) with the necessary fixtures (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 9).

The percentage of connection to the electric network is 98% (this percentage is 66.3% at the level of Errachidia governorate). The Qasur (palaces) that don't have access are Afriq, Tanot and Tafgroin. The workforce in Tinghir has set among its priorities the deployment of the electricity interconnection network for all communes (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 9).

The agricultural activity represents the most important economic activities practiced by the residents of the commune. The number of practitioners of this profession is more than 831 practitioners, with a percentage of 27.8%. Most of them are active in the

field of raising livestock, especially sheep. In addition to the category of daily workers within the territory of the commune, then the category of workers in the construction sector with percentage 50.6 % of the active population so that their number reaches more than 1513 workers. As for women, the only activity that they practice is taking care of household affairs and helping the man, whether in agriculture or in raising livestock (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 10). The cultivable agricultural areas used does not exceed 1515 hectares, of which 580 hectares are irrigated

According to the Monography of Alnif commune (2014, 10), community farming agriculture with its two categories (agriculture and livestock) is considered the most important economic activity and a major qualification in the village commune of Alnif, as it occupies 27.7% of the active population, and the most important crops are mainly palms, grains, olives, henna, cumin, almonds and some vegetables mainly destined for self-consumption, as the cultivated areas are weak in yield due to:

- Poor levels of formal educational level of most farmers.
- The narrowness of the cultivated areas, as most of the agricultural plots do not exceed 0.5 hectares.
- The narrow arable agricultural area, 1515 hectares arable for a population of more than 37,000 people.
- Poor use of agricultural techniques and fertilizers.
- Conventional watering systems.
- Poor farming and agricultural guidance

Despite the importance of dates production in the community's economy, it suffers from several constraints and obstacles, which are mainly summarized as follows: Small agricultural fields, years of drought, and the spread of some diseases, especially eggs, which threatens mainly high-quality species Lmjhoul dates (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 10).

Other information found in the Monography of Alnif commune (2014, 10) detail the geographic space. The number of mosques in the commune is eight. In addition, military barracks have more than 1,500 soldiers. Some external available facilities are the Post office, Banque Populaire, The Royal Gendarmerie, Caidat et cercle, Wafa cash, and Monegramme. Three school groups have about 3,100 students, with middle schools with about 1530 students and one high school with about 1325 students and 70 teachers.

The community has especially important natural tourist qualifications and is worthy of visiting and archaeological research, especially oases and sand dunes. It is also an essential corridor between two major tourist poles, Erfoud and Tinghir. However, these various natural qualifications and this raw material remain limited, as they lack modern tourist infrastructure and tourist reception centers from hotels, restaurants and camps. In the absence of investment in this field and the small number existing hotels is five. Unclassified hotels with a capacity of 80 beds, and the failure to value the natural and cultural wealth available in the region with programs to introduce these qualifications and aimed at attracting tourist actors, tourism remains in the community in a modest situation, which necessitates the community and other local actors to work on developing tourism activity by integrating reception structures into the community's project, as well as supporting local, national and international initiatives to create tourist shelters and camps so that the community does not remain just a tourist transit area. It also contains six cafes (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 11).

There are other economic activities in the community. First is handicraft with the exception of the unorganized traditional crafts practiced by women to produce some products that are often used to meet household needs. It is not possible to talk about a developed traditional industry in the commune, given the weak purchasing power of the majority of the population. The community also does not have any infrastructure such as training centers, production units, a manufacturer's house, a typical village (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 12). Second is quarries and minerals. The commune has multiple sites limited to the extraction of marble, fossils and some minerals (particles and lead). The completed quantity is about 75 thousand tons annually, and the number of units is 13, but they are used randomly and do not contribute to the development of the group's own financial resources, which makes it necessary for the latter to rehabilitate the sector and census and the organization of craftsmen and traditional craftsmen, and this sector can play a key role in the community in the case of its organization and the search for new types of minerals and the attraction of new investors to develop this sector to exploit it in rational ways and create job opportunities for the benefit of the community's population, especially since the minerals of Imider Tinghir occupy number 2 in Africa in the production of minerals and it's possible to benefit from this experience (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 12). Lastly is trade. The weekly market is in the community center, and this market is known for its great commercial popularity, as the number of arrivals or visitors to it reaches about 8000 to 9000 visitors per week, given its dynamic

3 days a week and its distinguished strategic location among the Hesya and Masisi communes. The market's income is about 140.000,00 dirhams yearly addition to importance of the local products that are offered, especially clothes and household utensils, also attract consumers from Ait Farsi commune from outside the area (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 12-13).

Furthermore, in terms of social sectors of the commune, the health sector in the community has one health center in Alnif the center, with one doctor, and two health facilities for the neighboring villages with two nurses for a population of more than 22,724 people. Thus, medical supervision remains far from the national average, which is estimated at one doctor per 1,800 people (the 50s Report) (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 13). Only a small percentage of the community's population benefits from the services of this health center due to its distance from most of the places and the difficulty of most roadways. This center also provides only simple primary services, which are mainly vaccination, doing some preliminary examinations, vaccinating children and women, and distributing medicines to some patients. Forcing the remaining percentage of the population to resort to the regional hospital Moulay Ali Cherif in Errachdia. The commune also has 3 health facilities, but they are not enough compared to the vastness of the area (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 13).

In general, the health services provided in the center remain extremely limited due to the scattering of places, the difficulty of roadways, poor equipment, and the lack of health frameworks. Most of the medical consultations take place in the health center of Moulay Ali Sharif (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 13). In addition, the birth giving house/ facility *Maison D'accouchement* in the commune lacks the basic equipment, the families resort to services of traditional midwives' birth attendants who suffer from lack of training and medical expertise (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 13).

The available sports and social facilities are the Youth House Socio-Sports Center, Local Stadium, the modern socio-cultural complex and the women's club (Monography of Alnif commune 2014, 14).

5.3.2. Other places where some interviews took place

Due to lack of access to monographs, official data, and the short time spent in these places, they will not be detailed. The other places where some interviews took place are Tazarine, Saghro: Ighrem Amazdar & Ikniouen, Tinghir and Tilmi.

Tazarine is a rural commune situated within Zagora Province set "in the part area of the mountain of Saghro which contains the villages of Tamsahelte, Timarighin and Oum raman with near municipalities are N'kob in the northwest, Taghbalt and Ait Boudaoud". The municipality has a population of around 13,721 people according to the 2004 census data. Several Marabout tombs as well as a petroglyph site of Ait Ouazik which is approximately dated to 5000 BC are also located within and around the town (Wikipedia Contributors 2020).

Saghro also known as the anti-Atlas, is the area of Jbel Saghor, separated from the high Atlas by the valley of the Dadès. Amalou n'Mansour is the highest peak in the area at 2,712m. The Jbel Saghro area is a native region of the Aït Atta Amazigh community which is very sparsely inhabited with the only prominent villages being those of N'Kob and Tazzarine. Jbel Saghro is an area considered homebase to nomadic families who spend their winters in the region but migrate to Air Bougemez (Paradise Valley) in the summer to graze their livestock. Camels and donkeys are used to transport all of their belongings on this journey. As more of them move to permanent settlements, their numbers decline yearly. This as a result of trying to provide a less hardship filled life for their kids and trying to offer them chances to education (Wikipedia Contributors 2021a). During my field visits in the area, I was able to visit Ighrem Amazdar and Ikniouen:

Ighrem Amazdar, Pursuant to Hart (1981, 20), means in Berber "the lower community" the village, in fact, is located in a plateau of the chain of Saghro in the lowest place of the plain. The center of the Ait Atta is a simple town populated by families. It is a symbolic place where the banner of the tribe and the founding parchment of the confederation are kept. It is also the legal capital where internal conflicts are arbitrated.

Ikniouen "is a commune in the tinghir Province of the Drâa tafilalte administrative region of Morocco. At the time of the 2004 census, the commune had a total population of 15738 people living in 1645 households" (Wikipedia Contributors 2019).

Tinghir is located south of the High Atlas and north of the Anti-Atlas. This city is located in the Drâa-Tafilalet region and "is the capital of Tinghir Province. its name originally refered to the foothills of the Atlas Mountains, but its area has expanded to encompass surrounding villages and refers to the entire oasis" (Wikipedia Contributors 2021b). The entire region has a population of 322,412 with 42,077 of those living within the city of Tinghir according to the 2014 census. Predominantly Amazigh make up the main ethnic group in this area, and the city itself is regarded as "one of the most attractive oases in southern Morocco" (Wikipedia Contributors 2021b).

Tilmi is a rural commune in the province of Tinghir in the Drâa-Tafilalet region. Segons at the 2014 census had a total population of 11,372 people (Wikipedia Contributors 2018).

Figure 21: Map of interview locations
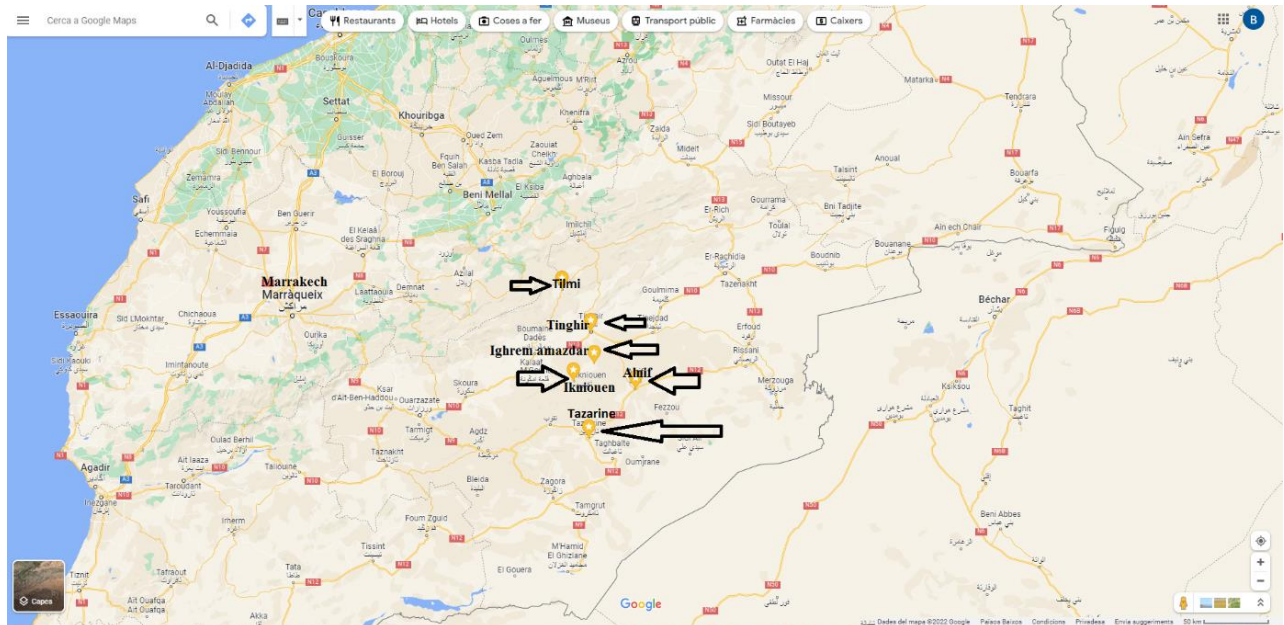
Source: google map (https://www.google.es/maps) with own adaption.

5.4. Recapitulation

In recapitulation, this chapter covered the background information on the region Southeast of Morocco Drâa-Tafilalet Region. Looking into recent and major developments and statistics of the region, it aimed at shedding light on the geographic context of the region, socio-political and economic factors that intervene and powerfully influence the forms, projects and life opportunities, mentalities and discourses of the subjects of this study. In addition, the chapter also delved into the population of the sample Ait Atta tribe as majority of the women informants belong to that tribal group. Lastly, the chapter despite lack of resources/monographs apart from Alnif commune tried to give a glimpse about the towns and villages visited for interviews. Thus, this chapter serves as background information to understanding geographical and social, economic, political context of the region.

CHAPTER 6: AMAZIGH FEMINISM NARRATIVES: VOICES OF AMAZIGH WOMEN'S ASPIRATIONS, AGENCY, AND EMPOWERMENT IN SOUTHEAST OF MOROCCO[83]

The literature review has shown that literature on Amazigh women in Morocco is incomplete. Its focus has been primarily on investigation the marginalization of the Amazigh women which reinforces the stereotype image of Amazigh women as victim, or it focuses on women as preservers of Amazigh culture and arts which idealizes and romanticizes the image of Amazigh women. This chapter attempts to fill this gap by addressing both perspectives, critical and constructive, in order to see the reality of Amazigh women with all its complexities. Another major gap this chapter tries to fill is a lack of fieldwork and up to date data. Major literature was made using secondary sources and it represents the Amazigh women as a homogeneous group. This generalization about cultural practices falls short of the situation on the ground because each Amazigh group has their own specific traditions, and language variations. Despite having their own traditions being Amazigh and rural they share common patterns of geographic isolation which leads to suffering similar issues such as lack of schools, hospitals, lack of paved roads and so on.

Due to the above mentioned my proposal in this thesis is to fill this gap and investigate the topic of Amazigh women in southeast of Morocco from peace studies lenses. With the critical line I was able to see types of violence (structural and cultural) suffered by Amazigh women in their community and region. This is represented in the adversities they face in various levels predicted by Hypothesis 1. Additionally, irenology enabled me amid all these types of violence and adversities to look for *pearls of peace*. These are represented by Hypothesis 2 as the expressions and initiatives of Amazigh women to lift themselves from adversity and contribute to their own, their families' and their communities' wellbeing. As a result, in intersection with Hypothesis 3 they build a culture of peace and contribute to enrichment of feminism in Morocco. This chapter is set to address the above mentioned and it represents primary data from fieldwork. The analysis is organized in themes that reflect both the objectives and hypotheses of this

---

[83] All the interview verbatims will appear along the chapter in italics. B: refers to me Bochra. I: refers to Informants.

dissertation. The themes generated from the study are organized into big themes and sub themes.

Section 6.1 is about vulnerabilities and adversities. It explains and investigates the adversities of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco from various angles such as rural socio-economic conditions which includes access to education, healthcare and factors leading to emigration and its consequences. In addition to that, gender and kinship are factors that contribute to the adversities of Amazigh women. They are manifested through social pressure and the need to fulfill expectations of society about what a good woman is. The patriarchal system through which women that are divorced, widowed or single mothers face cultural violence and shame. In addition, this section spoke about underage marriage that happens when girls drop out of school at an early age. Informant's perceptions of women's rights are also presented and the questions whether women maintaining patriarchy through their efforts to preserve Amazigh identity and culture. Another factor is Language, culture and identity which intersects with various sectors from the above mentioned. Amazigh women due to their culture and identity still face marginalization in many aspects of their lives. From healthcare to education, the judicial system and daily interactions within urban centers due to the stigma against their culture and their inability to communicate in Arabic women face difficulties accessing services and discrimination from their Arabic speaking peers. Despite laws being in place to try and protect Amazigh language and culture, due to slow implementations and lack of resources and funding, little effect from these initiatives is felt by Amazigh women in the margins. In addition, under this section the impact of Covid-19 on Amazigh women is discussed which emerged as a theme during interviews conducted with the sample of informants during fieldwork. From impact on their finances due to lockdowns and public life being put on hold, to issues in healthcare and increased domestic violence, the informants reported different levels of impact in these various areas. Changes to local Amazigh communities due to globalization, capitalism, modernization and Islamization of local customs and their impact on the daily lives of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco are also discussed. The decline in cultural traditions due to shaming by conservatists, modernist views on body art such as tattoos and other elements impacting the decline of Amazigh culture are noted.

Section 6.2. is about seeds of aspirations and hope that informants have about their lives. Despite their adversities Amazigh women have many aspirations often linked to the lives they wish their children to have. They work tirelessly to provide for them and give

them the chances they never had in life such as to continue education and have job opportunities. Ultimately, they hope that their children will work and take care of them in return when they get older. Informants also expressed aspirations regarding their IGPs that they built for means of economic empowerment which allow them to be independent and able to provide for themselves and their families.

Section 6.3. is about resilience, agency, empowerment and manifestation of the aspirations of Amazigh women into self-based and collective IGPs. Many types and forms of expression and ways women try to cope with adversity and empower themselves to be financially independent are investigated. Cooperatives, becoming female merchants in a male dominated society, having self-based local projects, being part of NGOs and also political activism is looked into. Through these projects, the breaking of taboos of the conservative culture these women hail from, as well as changing socio-economic conditions and gender dynamics is brought to light.

Section 6.4. is about manifestation of culture of peace and peacebuilding efforts at the local level of the Amazigh community in southeast of Morocco. Through analysis of daily life and events in the Amazigh community expressions of culture of peace and their manifestation through collective solidarity concept called *Tiwiza* are investigated. It is this concept of *Tiwiza* which guides the Amazigh rural community and enables collective action, empowerment and solidarity. Examples such as mediations and peace offering in time of conflicts, collective weddings as medium of coexistence and peace building and collective projects which target challenges and adversities within the community such as a collective fridge project and collective launderette, and how these projects impact the lives of women in the region are highlighted.

Section 6.5. Expressions of women empowerment from grassroots level contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco. This section emphasizes and sheds light on contributions by Amazigh women to enrich feminism in Morocco through their work on IGPS, cooperatives, NGOs, and political participation.

6.1. *El Dolor Del Sudeste:* Vulnerabilities and Adversities[84]

The typologies of the sample of women interviewed are of the vulnerable category widow, single mothers, divorced, and orphans. The analysis of this section is guided by the concept of *feminization of poverty* which as explained in chapter 1 refers to the fact women are affected by poverty more than men. In Morocco, according to Skalli "poverty has many faces and dimensions. Its dominant face in Morocco is becoming increasingly female, rural, illiterate and unskilled" (Skalli 2001, 73). According to Gagliardi's recent publication "a significant number of Amazigh women face multiple forms of discrimination – as women, as minorities and as non-elites within their community" (Gagliardi 2021, 1).

As we have seen in chapter 3 the intersection of various adversities and inequalities impact life of Amazigh women and weave oppression and marginalization in various field such as education, healthcare, language and ruralness. Although I have already presented in *section 3.1.* of chapter 3 a general overview of Amazigh women adversities in Morocco, some points might be repetitive. However, this section will contextualize the adversity to the scope of the fieldwork, adding the particularity of the region Drâa-Tafilalet.

During one of my interviews and in the process of data collection I realized that some Amazigh women may interpret their adversities as faith of God. That it is their destiny which may cause them not to link their adversities to the political level and lack of developments and opportunities. They accept things as part of life and continue working their crafts as past time. They are not bothered or worried about achieving financial stability through their crafts and don't take it as business model of sorts but as a normal part of their life and culture (Subsistence level).

---

[84] I have to state that these adversities are shared by women of southeast and not only linked to Ait Atta women. If there are no schools, no hospital it is the same for everyone. I chose specifically Ait Atta women during my fieldwork because of the Covid-19 situation making it difficult to broaden my scope to a lot of informants and my existing network being spread within my own tribal line except for 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader who is from Ait Hdidou.

I was made aware of this point during interview with 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader when I asked about marginalization of rural women.

> *B: Do you feel that women of rural areas are marginalized?*
> *I: In her mind she [Amazigh rural woman] is not marginalized but I feel, and I see that she is marginalized. I see these inequalities, but she doesn't think she is marginalized because she is not educated, she is not aware, she can't travel alone. It is because of marginalization, lack of paved roads, no hospitals, no education, no youth houses for youth activities. There are no activities that help to women to take the lead and go forward. Women are smart, they know how to make carpets and set looms, but they need to be pushed forward. There are no opportunities for women in rural areas where women can show their skills sets and creativity (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

I asked 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader to explain further to me about the condition that leads to marginalization of Amazigh rural women. She raised a crucial point lack of chances.

> *B: What is the condition of the woman in rural area?*
> *I: Her situation now is that she [Amazigh rural woman] marginalized. She can't do public speaking but because the chance is not given to her. The role model is not given to or seen by her. People are not supportive of her. She doesn't have experience in this [public speaking] (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

This point raised as not having a successful role model in the community reminds me of a statement I read in Mona Eltahawy (2019) where she talks about ambitions and becoming. She stated that "it is hard to be what you can't see" (Eltahawy 2019, 86). She also adds that "you need to see what you want to become" (Eltahawy 2019, 100-134). About her own life Eltahawy says "I had the privilege of having our mother modeling at home for us the behavior of an ambitious woman. We had parents who were each other's intellectual and professional equals, who promoted knowledge as the most important thing in the world" (Eltahawy 2019, 861). Therefore, having role models that are female helps you to grow your ambitions and become and realize your dreams beyond the restrictions of traditional roles applied to women by society. As 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader said in the data point above *she can't do public speaking* because Amazigh women are not accustomed to see women doing public speaking in their community. This intersects with the second statement *but because the chance is not given to her* due to the fact Amazigh women are labeled as *illiterate*, *in need of aid* and *passive beneficiaries* (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 1).

One of my observations upon interacting with some informants is that it is difficult for women to describe their current life as adversity because they are living it. Because it is hard to see adversity there is this common belief that it is what destiny is. People live and accept their destiny even if it is full of adversity and don't seek ways to alleviate their suffering. Two women interviewed, 1-W-50-Self-based and 12-M-46-Self-based, when asked about their current adversity don't recognize their life as adversity because in the past they came from a family with a nomadic lifestyle. There they keep moving through mountains with only basic necessities. Now they are in sedentary life which to them is much better because they have for example bottled butane gas to make fire instead of having to collecting wood. For them they accept their life as it is because in contrast with their historical experiences it has much improved. Due to these women not recognizing adversities within their lives instead of asking women what their adversities are I simply ask them what their daily routine is and ask them about health, education, and work to get a clearer picture of their daily lives.

For example when interacting with 1-W-50-Self-based keeps referring to the past as adversity and her current life now as good and she does what she likes and is more at ease. She told me in the past she used to need to travel for miles to get firewood and to fetch water. She used to carry water jugs on her shoulders, but now has bottled butane gas for cooking, and access to tap water at home. To pay for these utilities she works on her crafts to generate income as well as being a shepherd. 1-W-50-Self-based does not recognize her life as shepherd as adversity because she does not know a different life. In contrast when I interview other women such as 2-M-25-Coop who works in crafts through a cooperative they say that shepherding work is adversity. This because they know a different, perhaps a bit easier life than others outside of the cooperatives.

The lack of opportunities and developments in the region regarding women is structural violence. When women adversities are then further justified as faith, passively accepted, and women are taught by society to be patient towards these adversities this can be interpreted as belonging to a culture of violence as coined by Galtung (1990). It is important to recognize these different types of violence as they heavily impact the answers provided by informants when asked questions.

I raised this point here before I got to detail to demonstrate how I interpret adversity and how some informants may interpret adversity. Two different perspectives on adversity. Despite some women accepting their predicament, women like 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader and 13-S-29-NGO are Amazigh and rural yet aware of their

272

adversities. They choose to advocate and raise awareness through activism to alleviate the suffering of the Amazigh rural women in southeast of Morocco.

The following sub themes explain in great details what diverse types of adversities/ vulnerabilities faced by Amazigh women and are outcome of field work.

Photo 1: Azdam

Photo used to illustrate *Azdam* – palm leaves gathered from the fields to feed livestock.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 2: Woman cutting parcely

Photo used to illustrate Woman cutting parcely.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 3: Women returning from the fields

Photo used to illustrate Women returning from the fields carry grass and Lucerne/Alfalfa with help of a donkey.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Tilmi, 2021

Photo 4: Women returning from the fields

Photo used to illustrate Women returning from the fields carrying grass and Lucerne/Alfalfa on their backs.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Tilmi, 2021

6.1.1. Rural and Socio-Economic Conditions

At this stage, I want to introduce the life of Amazigh rural women and their socio-economic circumstance. Firstly, I describe their daily life routines which I asked informants to describe to me. Due to rurality and typologies of the sample, life patterns are similar between them. 1-W-50-Self-based is a widow woman in her 50s. She does not have children and therefore lives alone with her mother. 1-W-50-Self-based Her daily routine as I observed is she wakes up early as dawn and lets out the chicken and turkeys to cool down a bit. After that she makes breakfast for her mom and herself and cleans the house. After cleaning the house, she goes out to the fields with her sheep to let them graze. After she comes back, she feeds the animals and prepares lunch. All of this is quite difficult and intensive work. She mentioned one of the sheep hit her three different times on her foot causing her an injury. She takes care of and breeds her animals so when Eid comes she can sell them.[85] It's her way of generating some income to lift herself out of adversity.

Some days she goes to the market to buy things like oil, sugar, tea, tomatoes, potatoes, onions, and meat. Running errands for the household necessities. In the afternoon, she sits down and works her crafts for around 2 to 3 hours. After that around Maghrib prayer[86], she feeds her animals and prepares and eats dinner, and rest a bit to repeat the same routine the next day. In addition, 1-W-50-Self-based was left with the responsibility to take care of her mother about a year ago besides working hard to maintain a life of her own and spending her afternoons making arts and crafts to sell locally. She leads a harsh life where she is usually alone especially after her husband died.

Informant 12-M-46-Self-based is a 46 years old woman who has 3 daughters. 12-M-46-Self-based like many Amazigh women does not know their real age because they were not registered on time. 12-M-46-Self-based stated that at the time she was born her father did not have the family book in order to properly register her birth. Only when she was about to get married her father amended the family book. Due to this, her real age is unknown as upon late registration only a guess is performed to someone's age. 12-M-46-Self-based was married three times and got divorced and remained as *tamdwult* (unmarried woman) for a while until she married her last husband with whom she is currently married. 12-M-46-Self-based told me that when she came to the house of the

---

[85] Eid Adha which is a Muslim holiday celebration where Muslim sacrifice a sheep.
[86] Maghrib prayer is one of the five mandatory Islamic prayers. It is called Maghrib because it is performed when the sun has completely set beneath the horizon.

husband, she did not know he was sick and in need of constant care. His family were giving him medicine and they hid that away from her. It was not until she was pregnant of her first daughter with him that her mother-in-law told her about the medicine her husband needed, and that she was now responsible for this. 12-M-46-Self-based was shocked about the fact this information was hidden from her before she was pregnant. She told me her mother had divorced her father when her mother was pregnant of her. Once she was born, custody was transferred to her father which deprived her of her mothers' care and love. Because she did not want the same fate for her own daughter, she decided to stay with her husband.

12-M-46-Self-based eventually ended up having 3 children with her husband. Her daily routine is similar to that of 1-W-50-Self-based. In the morning she goes out to *aḥšaš* (cut grass. See photo 2) and bring *lfeṣṣa* (Lucerne/Alfalfa) for the sheep and cooks and cleans. In the afternoon she sits and has some free time. The interview of 12-M-46-Self-based was during holy month of Ramadan where Muslims across the world are expected to fast from sunrise to sunset. Therefore, when I asked about her routine, she provide a comparison between normal days and the days of the month of Ramadan. Before Ramadan, she wakes up early to pray, prepare breakfast and send her children to school. Afterwards she cleans the house and prepares lunch and feeds the sheep. Once the children come from school in the afternoon break, they eat and go back to school again. In the afternoon she sits down to do some crafts. She films videos when one of her daughters is not studying because her daughter can then film and edit the video. During Ramadan while fasting during the day she prepares food for her daughters as they have not yet reached the age to join in fasting. In the afternoon from around 4pm she starts preparing for Iftar (breaking the fast) which involves making *aḥrir* (soup) and bread, boiling eggs and so on. After Iftar she collects and cleans dishes, prays and rests. At dawn she wakes up to eat *Seḥur* (food eaten early in the morning before fasting). Some days during the days of Ramadan she films and prepare content for YouTube.

4-D-40-Self-based is woman in her 40s who is divorced and has 5 children. She also reported a similar daily routine. She wakes up at dawn, prays and goes on the road to *Igran* (fields) to do *aḥšaš* (cutting grass. See photo 2), after that she returns home and has breakfast. If people call her again to do other work she will go out, otherwise she stays at home to give water and *lfeṣṣa* (Lucerne/Alfalfa) to the sheep. 4-D-40-Self-based spends about from 2 to 4 hours in *igran* (the fields). She mentions that the time spent in the fields is dependent on the quality of the grass. If the quality is bad, then she needs to

spend additional time finding good patches of grass. When the weather is dry and hot, this creates bad conditions for *lfeṣṣa* (Lucerne/Alfalfa) and thus she only takes grass. She must also return home before the sun reaches its peak and the heat of the day becomes problematic for working outside. When 4-D-40-Self-based returns from *igran* (the fields) in the morning she prepares breakfast for her children and sends them to school. Her older daughter now is about 16 years old and dropped out of school, so she takes care of her and younger siblings. After breakfast she feeds the sheep/cattle. She has another job as an assistant to a local traditional healer which she works for 3 days a week when the souk (market) is open.

7-M-44-Coop is a woman of 44 years old who is married and has four children. She wakes up have breakfast and go to the cooperative to work. When she does not go to the cooperative, she goes to *igran* (fields) and brings back *lfeṣṣa* (Lucerne/Alfalfa) for her sheep and does other errands. I asked 7-M-44-Coop to describe to me the routines of other women in the village. She noted they go to *igran* (fields) to cut grass to bring back for their sheep. The majority of families are structured here as large families where you would find grandparents, their children and their childrens' wives all living together. Sometimes families might have as much as 3 sons, all with their wives, living with their parents. When the woman goes to the field the other females prepare food. The women will often exchange tasks with each other on different days so as to not have the same routine each day. Also, women *dad zdmnt* (they bring firewood) hauling the wood they find from as far as 4 kilometers away. Some women use the aid of a donkey and put a pile of wood on the donkey to bring more wood, but also still carry a large load themselves at the same time.

5-D-30-Coop is 30 years old, divorced, and has one daughter. She works as part of a cooperative that specializes in bread and couscous. She describes to me her routine as collective with other women working at the cooperative. At night they come and sleep at the cooperative so they can wake early to start making bread. Before they sleep however, they sieve flower and prepare everything for the next morning. The next morning, they wake up at 3am and start working. They work until the afternoon around 4 to 5 pm. After their shift they clean everything in their workplace and return home to have dinner with their families. After dinner they return to the cooperative again to prepare for the next day. They get about 4 hours of rest at home and are back at the cooperative already at 9pm. Sometimes, if they have a lot of orders, they do not have any time for rest and need to continually work to fulfil the demand for their produce. On days where 5-D-

30-Coop is not at the cooperative her routine as she describes is as follows. She wakes up in morning at 6am, prepares breakfast and cleans the dishes and the house. Despite there being a total of 9 people living together in her house she has the main responsibility to take care of the household and all the chores.

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader, a woman of 51 years old started with a life story similar to other Amazigh women until NGO work sparked her interest and she and created an NGO herself. Later she moved to politics because she believed she could do more work towards development of her town from inside the official institution rather than advocating from the outside. 2-M-25-Coop is woman of 25 years old who is married, has 2 children and is part of a cooperative. The life she leads essentially consists of working at the cooperative and fulfilling her housewife duties. Her routine regarding her housewife duties is to wake up early at 5am to make soup and bread so at 7 she can host breakfast. Afterwards she cleans the house thoroughly as the younger children in the family make everything dirty when they play. She keep cleaning all morning and once she's done makes dough for lunch to bake bread. She then prepares lunch and after lunch she prepares an afternoon snack and takes little nap. In the afternoon she starts making dinner already. She is constantly working house chores while also having a formal role at the cooperative tending to people when the cooperative's president is not there. It is possible for her to perform these 2 roles as the cooperative is headquartered in her own house.

The section aimed to provide context around the daily lives of some informants. With that being provided we can move on to look at adversities mentioned by the informants and understand them within the context of their lives.

6.1.1.1. Access to Education

Access to education is an important topic within the rural socio- economic sphere. Various reasons impact lack of access of women and girls to education and reasons of drop out. Based on the fieldwork, 7 out of 13 informants reported to me that growing up they did not have the chance to go to a formal school because it was considered shameful for girls to study among boys.

278

B: In your childhood did you went to school?
I: I didn't. My family didn't register me because school was considered shameful for girls to go to school and study among boys. Not only for me but for all other girls of my generation. Only men and boys went to school (1-W-50-Self-based).
B: What about your brothers did they attend school?
I: Yes, they went (1-W-50-Self-based).
B: Didn't you say 'ohh I want also to go to school' since your brother went?
I: I couldn't. I was afraid to ask, they would shout at me that school is 'shame for girls'. Nowadays it is normal girls go to school and study until they are older (1-W-50-Self-based).

Laghssais and Comins Mingol (2021a, 7) explain that when socio-economic conditions intersect with access to education many parents "consider female education to be less important than male education on the grounds that the man will keep the family title, while the girls become part of another family when they marry". Therefore, they rather ensure the boys "become the financial provider of the family and hence investment in their education is prioritized" (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 7). This is exactly the case for 1-W-50-Self-based who reported that in her childhood education for her brothers was prioritized over hers because she was expected to get married at an early age. Hence her parents considered for her that the kitchen is the place where she should be to learn cooking skills that she can take to her husband's house when she gets married.

The story of 5-D-30-Coop shows her lack of access to education is due to lack of registering her in the family book. Children that are not registered in the family book do not have access to education because they are considered out of wedlock (Moroccan law Article 490) regardless of whether the family is married locally. As this is not officially registered, they do not have papers to enroll into school. Although her parents (5-D-30-Coop) were married, the uncle refused to register them after the father died.

B: Why did not you study?
I: My father died as I was born, and my uncle refused to register me in the family book so my mom was not able to do anything. I remember when I was 7 of age, I saw girls and boys my age going to school, and I followed them until they entered school. I stayed outside crying because I didn't have papers to enter school. It was very tough because I wanted to study, and they did not allow me. It pains me and that is why I want my kid to be able to have all opportunities to study and remain in school. I had the will, and I wanted to go to school. Later in life I enrolled in literacy classes studied as an adult (5-D-30-Coop).

As we have seen in chapter 3 lack of access to education raises illiteracy rates in rural areas among older and younger generations of women. Among rural women, since

the early 2000s the Moroccan government has promoted literacy classes through a program called *Mahou Al Omiya* (Naji 2012). However, despite being denied the opportunity to attend the formal school when they were younger 6 out of 13 informants expressed to me that at a point in their life they became interested to study again so they joined the literacy classes.

> *B: Where did you study the literacy classes? Was it via an association?*
> *I:It was via a local association. When I studied it was in 2001. Now there are literacy classes given by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs where they teach literacy in mosques. They teach the Arabic alphabet and Quran and hadith a lot. Not like before when I studied, I learned letters and counting and numbers like actual school. Now it's usually a lot of elderly women who want to know the Quran. Before during my time it were younger girls who did not go to school and wanted to catch up by studying in literacy classes (5-D-30-Coop).*

Regarding literacy 5-D-30-Coop told me girls have more chances to go to literacy classes when they are divorced or before they get married. Once married, a woman becomes loaded with responsibilities and expectations such as taking care of the house, husband and delivery and upbringing of children. There is little time left for women to go and study. This echoes experiences of 4-D-40-Self-based who also did not go to literacy classes because life was difficult.

> *B: What about school of adults' literacy classes. Did you go there?*
> *I: Now that I have children, I don't have time. I work a lot to provide for them. Also, when I was single, I was working for my father to take care of him. After, when I got married, there were problems of marriage causing me to have no time nor the will to study anything. Children are demanding, they need to be educated and I need to buy them school supplies, clothes and other essentials (4-D-40-Self-based).*

Nowadays almost all villages provide literacy classes of varying quality. These literacy classes face some challenges as previously mentioned by researchers such as Demnati stating that literacy classes are provided only in Arabic, and not Tamazight. Additionally, women face difficulties understanding the teachers as they often speak very little Tamazight, and the women speak little to no Arabic. Another challenge facing these literacy classes is lack of teachers in rural areas assigned for teaching adults. Often you see girls who drop out in 9th grade teaching literacy classes to adults without any Andragogy training. In many villages another challenge is that due to hearing that it is shameful for girls to go to school, motivating women to take literacy classes is a taboo.

Despite these challenges literacy classes face, we can't deny it has benefits as also the experience of 5-D-30-Coop shows that it opened up opportunities for her to learn:

> *B: Does being educated through formal education help you in the administrative work of running the cooperative?*
> *I: If you are not educated, management and running the cooperative is hard. You need then to bring someone else to do paperwork and calculations. Now that I am educated via literacy classes I do these things for the cooperative myself. I am the main responsible person for financial administration and bookkeeping. We have external accountant for yearly audits, but I collect and organize all information and data before I give it to him. Things like how much bread we sold, what we bought and other income and expense details (5-D-30-Coop).*

With the skills 5-D-30-Coop picked up during literacy classes she was able to set up the cooperative. Also, 1-W-50-Self-based, being a self-based artisan, reported that despite she does not master the Arabic language and how to write in Arabic. She did learn basic mathematics and knows to work with numbers very well. Being self-based artisan, she needs these skills in her own business to manage and balance her expenses and income. Only 1 out 13, that expressed that even though the patriarchal nature of her generation toward female access to formal school she managed to learn at some point in her life.

> *B: Women that were born around 1960s like you, most of them did not go to school. How come that you did go to school?*
> *I: For Me, later on in my life, it was children who taught me. They came to me, and I did their homework assignments. Their teacher told me that I am the one who learned not the children. I wrote the Lɛuquba (punishment given by the teacher to the student when they did not memorize a school lesson so he/she make them write down the lesson many times in notebook). I learned writing, grammar, history, geography, and science. I know everything (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader, with such unique story of being self-taught, opened many doors for herself to later become a regional political persona.

- *Girls Dropping out of School*

Girls' education is slowly becoming more and more generally accepted in rural areas in today's Morocco. Attending primary school is made mandatory by the government for children in both rural and urban areas. Many parents accept the girls to go to school when they are very young. However, when girls reach middle school and high school they make their daughters drop out of school to prepare them for married life.

9 out of 13 of the interviewed informants share the status of being mothers and were deprived of the chance to go to school according to each of their personal family circumstances and stories. Yet, when I ask them about education, they all agree that they want their children to study. The will is there however they reported to me various obstacles for girls' educations that I elaborate on below.

According to Sadiqi regarding education, girls "might have had encouraging mothers but given the nature of the overall Moroccan social structure, fathers were the ones to decide on their daughter's education" (Sadiqi 2021b, 3). When I was interviewing 7-M-44-Coop as she has 4 girls, I asked her whether she would let her daughters continue to secondary school as they are now in middle school. She told me that one of the girls reached that age and her father told her to stay at home. So, the father decides if the girl should study or not based on various beliefs.

> *B: What about the girls? Do they study (attend school)?*
> *I: They study. The older one until 9th grade (middle school) which is when her father withdrew her from school because the high school is in Alnif so he is afraid to let her go there alone. The middle girl did not like school and dropped out quite early. The small one now is going to study in 7th grade in Ikniouen center this year. They walk to middle school and walk back. We are worried about them especially in the winter when it gets dark early, and they leave school at 6 pm when it is already very dark. The ones that do have scholarships (mostly boys) can rent a room in Ikniouen or pay their transport costs of 110dh each month. It's not easy to pay these costs when you have a large family. Also renting is difficult as well because it's not only about the costs of the room or garage they rent but also what they will eat every day (7-M-44-Coop).*

The fragile economic situation of parents in combination with the geographical challenges of traveling to school is an important factor causing a lot of girls to drop out of school. It becomes difficult especially when you have many children (for example 7-M-44-Coop has 4 children) and need to pay for the school bus for all of them. Some mothers such as 5-D-30-Coop, to ensure safety of her daughter, sends her via school transportation that she has to pay for monthly. She only divorced with one girl and having one child can be manageable. Other women in the same cooperative have 3 to 4 children and then it becomes hard to pay the 110dh each month for each child plus their school supplies and their clothes and food. It's a huge responsibility that falls on the mothers in absence of child support being provided by the fathers.

B: How much do you pay for the transportation?
I: Each month 110dh, if a family has 3 children and no income it's very hard for them to have their children educated. There is no discount for large families. When it's the 12th of the month if you don't pay the transportation, they won't pick up your child. If the father has a simple job (as builder and the woman is housewife), how will they find 330dh a month each month. That's what makes parents unenroll their children from school. This is also what makes people move out from these village to have a better paying job so they can have their children educated in the city. For this transportation hours are not convenient as for example a child has to study from 10 to 12. But the transportation is only provided to pick up students at 8 am so they go to Alnif and stay on the streets until its 10 to go study. 2 hours is wasted waiting in the streets. There are no places for the children to waiting during this time (5-D-30-Coop).

Dropping out of school is on the raise and the phenomenon becomes more visible year after year. Among its other causes is patriarchy. During field work many informants provided examples and stories of girls dropping out of school due to this. The patriarchal structure of society protects its conservative values as means to control women and girls. Parents often state their daughters should not go out, not sleep away from home, study close to home, and should not be late when coming back from school. The culture of girls to be independent and take care of their own lives is still a social taboo. The social psychological attachment of people goes to what is negatives such as dangers that the girls might face in their travels to and from school, instead of thinking of what girls could achieve if they went to school.

The issue of dropping out of school happens often to girls who live in remote villages far away from the center of Alnif which is the main ethnographic location for this study. The center of Alnif has many facilities not found in the remote villages such as healthcare facilities, middle and high schools, a weekly marketplace and other essential services. In order for girls from far away villages to study in Alnif they have to stay at a boarding house (either *Lantirna* or *Dar Talib*). The requirements for these boarding houses are that students need excellent grades, to be female and to be from the farthest villages. In case the girls do not qualify for these boarding houses there are also villages that provide *transport scolaire.* Girls from villages that provide transport are not eligible for access to a boarding house. Students come in the morning to Alnif, and in the afternoon they have to go back to their village. They only benefit from lunch meals at *Lantirna*.[87]

---

[87] Students come to Alnif from many villages such as Timrzit, Tasmamt, Taghmart, Azrg Ligiz, Amgan, Mi Marighn, Imin Ouzrou, Tazlaft, ighf n ighir Takshtamt, Wawglout, Asmartas and others.

An example of such a long journey to school is that of a student from the farthest village Tamrzit to Alnif center who takes *transport scolaire* every day. Tamrzit is 35 kilometers from Alnif center where schools are available. The journey starts with having to wake up at 5am to have breakfast and prepare to wait for the bus. They arrive in Alnif near their secondary schools at 7:50am, still tired and exhausted from waking up so early and such a long bus ride. The first hour they have difficulty to concentrating as they are still sleepy. They are always late, and school already finishes initially at 12pm. Then they eat lunch in Lantirna after which they have nowhere to go as they are only allowed to benefit from a lunch meal and the school only starts again in the afternoon from 4 to 6pm. Especially girls suffer from this problem as after lunch until 4 pm they have nowhere to go and need to stay on the streets waiting until 4pm.

> *I: That is why parents are worried to leave their daughter each time on the streets waiting for 2 hours. They may face harassments or assaults when they are by themselves as they do not have protection during these waiting hours. Due to the long journeys and risks involved waiting around on the streets each day the children become demotivated to study. Middle schools and high schools have to be created for people near their own villages. These should be priorities to be done (5-D-30-Coop).*

If a father visits Alnif one day and finds his daughter out in the streets during the waiting time he will not allow her to continue schooling. Their line of thought would be that during the time of waiting someone may harass her or be violent towards her when she is on the streets alone. In addition, when girls have their period at the ages of secondary school and high school, management thereof and hygiene becomes hardship especially when they are waiting on the streets for school to open to be able to use the toilet.[88] In a male dominated society boys does not face these issues because they are male.

After being outside in the sun waiting for their next class to start only with one meal, when the class starts at 4pm the student's energy is low and it becomes a challenge to concentrate on classes and their mind drifts to the journey back home. They finish school at 6pm but the school bus only departs at 6:30pm so he/she will not arrive back in

---

[88] A social activist during one of my fields visits for participant and ethnography observations to this location told me that as part of the NGOS they try to solve issues like these by providing a space in a socio-cultural complex which is open from 8am to 7pm for girls to stay when they have to wait. In this space there is water and a toilet. This is an initiative of the NGO and not a sustainable solution to issues girls face while they try to continue their education as the NGO only has limited resources and operations. While this may be a good initiative from social workers, the issue is still faced elsewhere in similar contexts across the region due to its limited reach.

Tamrzit until around 8.30pm. Once they arrive, if it's a is a boy, he throws his school backpack out and runs off to play outside a bit. If it's a girl however, society expects differently and so girls go to help in the kitchen at home. They arrive home and discard their backpack only to immediately proceed to the kitchen to help their mother prepare dinner. The boy goes out for one hour to play and when he returns back home, he finds his family ready to eat dinner and go to sleep. In the villages people sleep early unlike in the city where people usually stay up a bit later. They do not have any time to do homework. The next morning, they need to rise really early to wait for the bus again to take them to school, and thus also have no opportunity to do any schoolwork at that time. They have to repeat the same journey each day, year after year until they may lose interest when they reach the second year of secondary school where many boys think to emigrate to Spain and girls are presented with suitors for marriage.

The Moroccan government's ministry of education attempts with some programs to reduce school dropout rates in rural areas. One such program is the mentioned school transport, but this suffers from the issues described above. Due to these issues the trip to school should not exceed 15 kilometers to make it a more realistic and less troublesome daily journey for the students. When it exceeds this distance, then it is not school bus anymore it is transportation of goods/ good carrier. The provided school transportation if it entails long journeys like we see from Tamrzit to Alnif merely delays the dropping out of school for students by a year or so, but eventually due to the imbalance in their school and personal lives caused by this, and the difficulties to keep up with homework and concentrate in school they often still drop out.

During interviews it also came to light that due to school being in Arabic and students not having anyone at home who speaks this language, students face difficulties mastering this language and this is further compounded by other languages such as French and English also being mandatory but none of these being their native languages. Tamazight is also added as a standardized Amazigh language but in the region people speak Tashelhiyt so students are required to make even further efforts to learn this standard Tamazight language. In addition, as parents are often not educated in formal schools themselves, the student's only exposure to Arabic is through school. Often there is a lack of people to help them to revise what they have studied. The students find themselves all alone in their struggles to understand and master any topics at school in light of these language issues and lack of support from teachers and parents.

When dropping out of school also intersects with patriarchal values it creates cultural violence through its expectations of girls to maintain the honor of the family. To Sadiqi in Laghssais (2022, 40) Amazigh culture can be described as a "space-based patriarchy". The latter is manifested through identity which is acquired via masculine intermediation and belongs to the male ancestral bloodline. Women hold the public responsibility of maintaining the purity of the male bloodline by keeping up strict strategies to control female virginity with piety codes as not to bring shame to the family name and reputation within the tribe and town. Women and girls are responsible for keeping the family reputation intact below are few testimonies from interviews. These values of purity are some key motivational factors for the males in the families to object to girls going to school or work, being far away from home every day and having to be out in the streets for hours each day waiting on classes.

> *I: They drop out of school to stay at home and cook and wash clothes and clean the house, helping their mother at home and maintaining a good reputation until someone ask their hands for marriage (1-W-50-Self-based).*
> *B: Did you go to school?*
> *I: I studied until 6th grade. Before there was no middle school in the village so my parent dropped me out of school, they did not let me finish my study. They preferred that I stayed at home to take care of my younger siblings. Nowadays more girls go out to study in Tinghir or Boumlane (9-S-30-Coop).*
> *B: What about studying until university?*
> *I: The parents do not let them do that. Its hshouma (shameful) that girls go out to study to be like men. Some women and girls believe that their place is at home in the kitchen, giving birth to, and taking care of children (9-S-30-Coop).*

According to this belief system to be labeled as a *a good girl* is to be the one who drops out of school and keeps her piety until she gets married. When she gets married, she is expected to remain at the house of the husband and take care of the household. Girls drop out of school to work at home and help mothers bring up other siblings. Previously I mentioned statements from Eltahawy (2019, 100-134) such as "you should see what you want to be". When girls are told about marriage and other conservative conventions each day, they become conditioned to think this is what reality has in store for them and it becomes a normal part of their lives. All they think of is romantic dreams to live with their boyfriend rather than thinking about education and their futures. As soon as someone ask their hand for marriage they often drop out of school as the societal model for them is a girl who is married and has children and takes care of things at home.

B: Why do a lot of girls here in the southeast dropout of school?
I: As I told you the culture is that girls of family should stay at home and wait a husband. But lately it is not much this culture, more people are being aware of importance of education now unlike before. She studies until 6th grade and drop out cause the middle school and high school is in another town, in our case is Alnif. Before they used to tell girls that the dream is to marry, and your husband will allow you to be free so many young girls dream to be married to be free but unfortunately once they marry, they fall in a circle of marriage responsibilities and expectation to take care of the home and the sheep and to give birth to children. Between all these responsibilities there is no freedom to do what they dreamed of, such as education or projects of their own (5-D-30-Coop).

From what 5-D-30-Coop experienced and what I have seen growing up in the region, usually as soon girls get married at a young age, they get children and fall into responsibility while what she actually wants and needs is good guidance especially throughout adolescent years. After a few years if does not get along with her husband she returns to the house of her parents with her children and she is met with social stigma of shaming due to being divorced. 2 out of 13 of my informants have experience this firsthand. They married and when the marriage did not work out, they return to the house of the family and faced problems of verbal abuse from the wives of their brothers. Some found and joined cooperatives or maintain personal projects to be able to take care of their children financially.

6.1.1.2. Access to Adequate Health Care

Informants of this study when they get sick rely primarily on traditional healing remedies embedded in the collective culture and visit traditional healers in the community if the need arises. One of my informants 4-D-40-Self-based noted it is her parttime job to assist a traditional healer during the days of the local market while he heals people with traditional remedies. Among the common practices is performed by such healers is *tiqad* (sulfur burns on skin). The belief is that it heals people when they have broken bones or *iluɣzm* (sprained a leg or arm).

B: Why do people do tiqad and how do you assist the traditional healer?
I: People who have buzlum (rhumatisme). I help him, he fixes people that are broken. I help him holding people straight to apply the stuff to solidify the hand or leg. When someone has a dislocated joint/limb or has vein of bumzwi (irritable bowel syndrome) which is said not to be treated by doctors even if you go to France. It is said the vein of bumzwi (irritable bowel syndrome) has no cure. People only do tiqad in such cases. There are people who do 4 surrounding the belly button and ones who do a single one. Each traditional healer and what he does to people varies. The man with whom I work does only one, and Allah bring the further cure to people. Sometimes he tells people to pray to Allah to be cured because he only shows the way, and the cure ultimately is in the hand of Allah (4-D-40-Self-based).

My first meeting with 4-D-40-Self-based was during her work near the local market. During a session I observed between a client that was injured, the traditional healer and her, they performed their practices on the client to heal him. Her presence as a women assistant for the healer also encourages other women to visit the healer as the healers themselves are traditionally men.

I: I am there as woman so women can also come and not be afraid. When you came yesterday you found us fixing a boy, who is injured in his arms twice. He went first to another man to fix him, and he did not do it in the right spot. Then after 15 days the stuff unfolded, he went to the doctor, and he did an imaging machine and saw the bones did not return to their place properly. He then tied him again with a paste of Fenugreek and Henna. After another 15 days it came undone again and he came to us yesterday. We tied his arm with the white of the egg, flower, bandage and cotton. That what we do we clean the arm then we rub it then add Vaseline, then cotton and then bandage. The boy stays a day or two and he return to us the cut the sides of the bandage because the flower solidifies more than plaster. The white of an egg and flower are very strong (4-D-40-Self-based).

According to 4-D-40-Self-based the efficiency and results of this traditional practices lies within the person having faith and believing in healing.

I: What is important is that people believe that they will be cured, if there is that a strong will, they will be healed if not even if they go to other healers or regular doctors they will not be cured. Everything works for having the will and strong belief in something. Whoever wants to do something should ask Allah and have faith in Allah they will be cured (4-D-40-Self-based).

This practice of traditional medicine has been very common in Morocco for a long time before modern medicine appeared. When people are sick, they go to visit saints and ask for blessings, and some even bring a sacrifice. The people stay there at the saint's tomb for a few days and when they go home, they are healed. It is the idea that when their

belief is strong enough, they will get healed. It is akin to the law of attraction, putting positive energy toward something to get positive or healing energy back. Yet the practice of visiting saints or their tombs despite the historical role they have played are no longer as popular as before.

I asked 4-D-40-Self-based why people have a strong belief in traditional healing despite that plaster and other materials and services for if someone is injured are readily available at the local healthcare center.

> *B: Don't do they have these services at the local healthcare center here in town?*
> *I: No, you go to health center they give you a referral and send you to Tinghir or Errachidia. Even when the doctor gives you a paper, and you go to Tinighir they just do something to hold it together until you arrive to Errachidia. There is no hospital in Alnif and even now there is a small hospital in Tinghir but it doesn't have people that treat most types of injuries and have to send them to Errachidia. When they arrive in Errachidia if the person has money they go to a private clinic, if not they just stay at the public hospital but there it might take a long time before they get help that's why they seek traditional cheaper ways to get healed such as traditional medicine (4-D-40-Self-based).*

According to 4-D-40-Self-based people come to traditional healer mainly because of their economic situation, especially if they come from far and have to be referred to a big city like Errachidia. If a person does not have the RAMED card, a healthcare card which allows poor people free healthcare, they need to pay.

While I was visiting 1-W-50-Self-based for interviews I also observed that some woman came asking for her to help her to bandage her leg as she just fell down. From this it appears that women initially seek out traditional healers for a while trying to feel better with what they have at home or in close proximity to their homes. After if it gets worse, they go directly to a pharmacy to ask for modern medicine. Women say the doctor is very busy and so they go directly to a pharmacy to buy medicine such as antibiotics. It is rare for them to visit a general practitioner and if they need further checkups they need to travel to Zagora, Tinghir or sometimes even to Rabat or Marrakech to get them.

The distance and financial situation are challenging and so a lot of people who come from the Zagora region come to the city without having a place to stay and no money to pay for a hotel. Some of the sick people end up sleeping in the streets until their appointment. Only few that are lucky to have their relatives in a big city they stay with them until they heal.

3-M-49-Coop is highly active busy woman who has many engagements. Often, she returns home with back pains as she has to carry straw on her shoulders or bags full

of artisanal products she created to souqs. Especially during the high seasonal pressure of lEid and summer weddings. She has to visit every souq in the region to sell her products. She carries them from her house in Tinghir to a taxi or minibus to take her to different souqs. She rents a location for souq day in some places and in others she takes her tent and puts up it and sells like that in free locations. She comes back home bruised, tired and in pain. She asks a member of the family to apply to her a technique like one that she explained as taking paper of a cement bag, shrinking it like a ball then putting it on spot of her pain and lighting it on fire. Then a glass jar is placed on top of it which seals the fiery paper on top of the bruise. Then after smoke fills the jar, she holds the jar then after a while the jar is lifted up to suck the pain from her flesh. this repeats this all the areas she has pain as an alternative to regular medicine.

Another common sickness that people get during the summer is infected or enflamed tonsils. It is very common sickness to have among people during summer season as it is very hot and people try to cool down by eating and drinking too cold substances which causes the tonsils to be infected. To heal this in a traditional way they put salt and lemon on the jaw from the outside. Some also drink raw lemon to clean the infection. The conclusion here seems that when people get sick, they don't immediately go the doctor, but they try home remedies first. In case the home remedies or traditional medicine does not work they go to the doctor.

The evil eye is also believed and considered to cause sickness in the region at large. On July 12th, 2021, I was at a souq where I met a woman that told me a story about someone that saw her and gave her the evil eye. She got sick and spent time sleeping to try and recover. Her eyes hurt until she went to a traditional healer that put water imbued with a talisman or a piece of paper with Qur'anic verses in her eyes until she felt that she could see well again. People believe in the evil eye very strongly in the region, and children and newborn babies are given a black pendant to protect them from the evil eye.

- *Being Sick: Lack of Adequate healthcare center and community hospital*

The situation regarding of healthcare and sanitation services in the southeast of Morocco in rural areas face various issues such as lack of staff, equipment, ambulances and having only a small capacity which does not cover the entirety of the rural population. The testimonies gathered during my fieldwork in the Alnif area does not differ from the general situation of healthcare in the rural area presented in chapter 3.

Starting with souq day being *a medical day*. During souq days in Alnif which are Monday, Wednesdays and Fridays, people from villages and towns up to 40 kilometers away come to the center of Alnif to visit healthcare facilities and see the doctor or to purchase medicine in the pharmacy. Due to prior experiences of long waiting times and not being helped timely a lot of people when they get sick go directly to the pharmacy to buy medicine without a doctor's prescription. This view echoes the experience of 1-W-50-Self-based when asked about the matter.

B: When you get sick what do you do?
I: I don't go to the healthcare center. I stay at home and sometimes I take paracetamol because I go in the sun a lot and after I come back, I often have headaches (1-W-50-Self-based).
B: Is there a healthcare center around here that people can go to?
I: Yes, but before there was only this government healthcare center there was one doctor not only for this town but to covers many villages. Sometimes people go there, and the doctor is on holiday so they have to go to Zagora for a checkup and people here don't have money to pay all the transportation fees. These small Centre de santé don't have radio and equipment for analysis. In case of serious ailments, they refer you to Zagora or Ouarzazate for further checks and examination (1-W-50-Self-based).
B: Tell me about when you get sick what do you do?
I: If it is something small like a headache, I go to a pharmacy directly and buy medicine. If it is something big that requires scans, for example for my foot which hurts me a lot, sometimes it hurt me until I fall, I go to check with a general partitioner (1-W-50-Self-based).
B: Why is it many people don't go to a healthcare center?
I: Many people do natural herbs and prefer not to go to the healthcare center. I once went and found a nurse, I told him this is the medicine I take he told me no you have blood pressure low. If you drink this medicine, you will not wake up. He sent me to measure the blood pressure with another nurse. He sent me to another doctor. I went and asked them to give the medicine I usually take. He also told me 'You have blood pressure this medicine is not good for you'. So, I also went to another nurse to test the blood pressure. He measured my blood pressure and told me: 'this is the medicine you have to buy!'. I waited until I came out of to healthcare center and destroyed the paper into pieces and left. They made me angry that day. I spent a lot of money; I asked myself why is this? It's the diet? I do it for myself, so I cut sugar and salt. Since then, I never went back to them. When I feel bad and have a headache, I drink strong tea and I feel better. The tea, strong and bitter, is good against headaches for me (1-W-50-Self-based).

While informants expressed lack of equipment in local healthcare center. In later years more and more people native to the southeast returned from universities with doctor's degrees and opened a cabinet to respond to peoples' needs. Nowadays there are two private general partitioners in Alnif where you pay 100dh in consultation fees to be able to visit them. Before when they were not there yet people used to get sick and would

not get properly checked and were likely to eventually die from curable ailments such as appendicitis. There are people with diabetes who are only now aware of it because there are these general practitioners with better equipment. I was told by informants that a medical caravan came to one of the villages Ait Zegan and tested people for diabetes to discover 70 people suffering from it who did not know they had it and were badly affected by it. The informants interviewed seem to endorse and prefer these private general practitioners as they do not have to travel anymore to a big city for most health issues.

> *I: There is this private doctor who is ashlhy and speaks Tashelhiyt, people feel more comfortable to go to him because he understands what they say to him. Sometimes when someone is sick, he goes to the doctor who uses equipment to examine and see what is wrong with him. In the healthcare center, once they find difficulties to treat you, they send you to Tinghir or Errachidia. People now go pay the private doctor and treat themselves and buy medicine and that is it (1-W-50-Self-based).*

For surgery people still need to be referred to Errachidia. If the need for surgery on a patient is not urgent, an appointment has to be made. If the case in the other hand is urgent, the patient can be immediately operated on.

The governmental healthcare center is considered Level 2 which means it has only a general practitioner and 2 to 3 nurses. In these healthcare centers they have only limited equipment and spaces. There are no beds for the sick and so if people are really sick they get medicine prescribed and need to go back home again. There are no specialists in the centers so for more complicated situations patients get referred to Errachidia or Tinghir to go to a hospital.

Informants reported during interviews that on souq days lots of people from distant villages visit Alnif and a lot of them visit the doctor at once. On these days due to it being so busy sometimes the doctor will say their equipment is broken simply because they have no time to process all of the people through complicated procedures. With a 100 or more people coming in a single day who all need to be processed, the doctor's time is too limited per person to perform in depth analysis of their ailments using more complicated analysis equipment despite it being available.

People coming for example Hssiya, Msisi and other villages travel to Alnif in a minibus together. As these busses go on certain times, usually early in the morning and at 12pm, people need to find the doctor's help before that time in order to be able to travel back home. If they cannot get help from the doctor before 12pm they sometimes need to stay until the next day. If they do not have any relatives living in Alnif they often end up

spending a night on the streets waiting for the next day to visit the doctor's office. If a woman might have for example internal hemorrhaging during her pregnancy and is not aware of this, and not able to get her turn on-time at the doctor, she might go back home with the minibus at 12pm already because she cannot wait out on the streets all night as this is dangerous for a woman. In doing so, she might lose her baby or even her life simply because there are no facilities available for her to wait or get the medical attention she needs in a timely manner.

Fortunately, due to advocacy of local associations in rural area of southeast of Morocco, nearly every village now has an ambulance available. The associations have taken this upon themselves because the municipality could not afford and make available a lot of ambulances to transport patients in the region. Due to this lack of ambulances the associations have become partners in the healthcare sector and rural communes. Each village has an association, and the association has an ambulance.

Photo 5: Ambulance in Alnif.

Photo used to illustrate Ambulance in Alnif.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 6: a Mini bus

Photo used to illustrate Mini bus used by citizens to commute to Alnif.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Ikniouen, 2021

During one of the field visits I was told by a social worker that the area of Alnif has 18 ambulances operating in the region facilitated by NGOs while the commune of Alnif itself has only one ambulance. Women who have complications during delivery she has to go to a hospital in Tinghir or Errachidia while these hospitals already need to service a lot of people from their own regions. They become overloaded taking on the additional burden of different surrounding communes such as that of Alnif.

Despite there being more ambulances available these days through the associations, issues of medical transportation are not solved. If there are for example 4 women in the same night who need to give birth, the ambulances available might already all be enroute to hospitals with other patients. The situation is much improved by the association's work, but there is still a lot of ground to cover to ensure proper access to healthcare facilities for everyone in the commune.

During fieldwork I was told by my informants that the situation of women regarding healthcare has improved by much and women are now more likely to seek out medical assistance as it's less of a taboo topic now. Especially regarding women giving birth the situation has much improved. In the 80s and 90s it used to be very uncommon for a doctor ever to see a newly born baby. Usually, they would only see them after around 40 days when the woman was comfortable to take the baby outside as before that time due to strong beliefs in the evil eye, women kept their babies inside and away from prying eyes. There were traditional midwives available to help with the delivery, but as they are not trained doctor's they are unable to identify more complicated ailments the babies might suffer from. Unfortunately, going to the doctor so late with a newborn had as an effect that many early ailments that might affect babies and can be solved, might not be curable anymore as they need to be treated immediately after birth.

In Alnif there are 2 nurses' and a traditional midwife who mainly perform ultrasound examinations on women. Unfortunately, there is this mentality in many villages that women should keep their pregnancy silent as to avoid the evil eye which causes many women not to have these examinations performed. Even if a family is financially capable to have these examinations performed they often don't go through with it. When I was in the field, I was told by an informant that a family in the neighborhood who's family includes two male engineers who work and live in Spain did not have the examinations performed. Despite the pregnant woman wanting to have an examination done, due to the men not being around, their fate is in the hands often of the mother of the husband or men in the family. As the grandmother in this story still held firmly to beliefs surrounding the evil eye, she refused to send the woman for an ultrasound. A source of complications in many women is the fact that they keep the pregnancy secret, and thus need to still work long hours every day and perform all their usual daily chores throughout the entire pregnancy. Once they do go to the doctor at the very last minute, deviations to the baby are often found which are resultant of continued hard labor during pregnancy.

Often women in these situations have to give birth at home with the traditional midwife present. However, this is prone to complications which might have been foreseen using an ultrasound examination which can be difficult to handle for a traditional midwife without the proper environment and equipment at hand. When this occurs, they need to relocate by ambulance to the local healthcare center. As this takes precious time the situation by then might be escalated even further requiring a journey to a hospital to complete the delivery. This is an even longer journey, so the risks involved can be dire.

> *B: Are there hospitals in the area of Mellab?*
> *I: There is a healthcare center but there are still more needed in small villages. For example, women here if they want to give birth, they don't go to healthcare center. They do delivery via traditional midwives at home. When complications arise, they take her to this local healthcare center. At night for example, or during the day, you come to the healthcare center and find it closed. You ring the bill or knock the door and the nurse does not want to open the door even though she is inside. If they open, they tell us it's too late you should go to Errachidia to Hospital Moulay Ali Cherif. Sometimes women go to Errachidia and in the middle of the journey give birth. Sometimes a c-section is performed at the hospital (12-M-46-Self-based).*

As it takes around 3 hours to travel from Alnif to Errachidia by ambulance, there is a big risk the baby will already come during the journey. There are many cases reported of further complications happening at this point such as massive blood loss which might occur during delivery which cause the mother, the baby or both to die on the road to the hospital.

Two informants out of 13 expressed that they have been insulted and experienced *lḥgra* (discrimination) from personnel in healthcare centers as well as in hospital for being rural and Amazigh whereas the personnel of these places often identify as Arab and are urban and educated. Insults such as 'animal' or 'illiterate' are commonplace.

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader tells her story regarding being discriminated upon in a local healthcare center.

> *I: This is not the first time it happens, when my child was little, she was once sick with fever, and I took her running to the healthcare center and I was waiting my turn and when it was my turn the nurse told me that she could not look at the child because only the ones with vaccine should be served. I was angry and I told people we should protest. She heard that and came out asking who said that. I confronted her that it was me. She said do it or not I don't care. I jumped to her and held her from her hair and started at her. And I had the child on my back. She said she would call the gendarmerie and I told her to do so. We came to the gendarme, and they asked us what was between us is. I told them what happened, that she did not want to check my child (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader continue to explain that she has been insulted and called names as *animal* and that often the health personnel sent to rural areas are on their internship and do not respect local rural culture and often showing up late on workdays.

> *I: There was one nurse yesterday who insulted a woman during the Covid-19 vaccine because she came at 10 am, and she insulted us as animals. She told her she had to be there at 8 am. She doesn't know the conditions of this woman nor why she arrived at 10 am. Many people of this town have PhDs or are engineers, or otherwise educated highly and she comes and insult us with names. She comes and spends her internship with us and leaves. She is welcome among us, but she needs to respect us (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

12-M-46-Self-based in the same vein also has experienced bad treatment in the hospital of Moulay Ali Sheriff in Errachidia while she was sent there as result of having complications during delivery.

> *I: For me for example I gave birth to all my daughters through c-sections. They always sent me to Errachidia When I gave my first birth it was very harsh, I did not speak Arabic. I hated that hospital. I came in and the nurses were very mean to me because I did not speak Arabic. This happened to me twice. My first baby and the second. They insulted us and told us we had a lot of children, and that we keep giving birth like a bunny and to use eat contraceptives. The first time the Arab speaking nurse physically hit me, I did not understand her, I was not dirty or anything and she was hitting me. I did not understand. The second time the ambulance left me there and I also had a really bad experiences with nurses. It is hard when you don't have the network or money to bribe the personnel to take care of you. I stayed there 4 days waiting to give birth, until I couldn't stand it anymore. I was in a lot of pain, and with lack of warm covers, I felt really cold. I spoke on the phone to a relative I had there (Errachidia) to bring me a blanket from home and she did (12-M-46-Self-based).*

It is urgent to develop among health professionals more cultural sensitivity and anthropological skills (Escrig Sos 2019, 423) to reduce the structural and symbolic violence that Amazigh women suffer when accessing health services. As Escrig suggests it is very important for health professionals to develop anthropological abilities that increase their agency in the delivery of culturally competent health care. There is an urgent need to transform the mentalities of health professionals regarding cultural diversity and interculturality in health, deconstructing prejudices, training and informing themselves (Escrig Sos 2019, 423).

While I was interviewing 3-M-49-Coop about adversities of women in southeast of Morocco. She spoke about the condition of nomad women that live in the mountains and their challenges to give birth. 3-M-49-Coop starts describing a story of a nomad

woman, who is alone and went to the fields with her livestock to let them graze while she was pregnant. While there, the baby decided to come, and she was all alone in the middle of the mountains. She had to give birth by herself in the mountains. There was no blade to cut the umbilical cord so instead she took a rock and cut it. The troubles did not end there. She left the new-born with her dogs to protect it and went to gather all the sheep to return to camp. She reached her tent eventually with her new-born and sheep and immediately had to make bread and lunch as her husband did not know how to cook. His role is to take care of the camels and milk them.

The story shows the burden of responsibilities placed on women to give birth and take care of children and sheep. This woman's story brought tears to my eyes as 3-M-49-Coop was explaining it to me. This is one of the stories which touched me deeply as I imagined the journey and the life of this woman alone in the mountain dealing with all of this alone without water for cleaning, basic medical equipment or tools, or any form of care from others. In the area of Mellab, 12-M-46-Self-based also has expressed adversities related to nomad women echoing the story told by 3-M-49-Coop.

> *I: you have to know that we have women are marginalized and suffer a lot, I heard last week of a woman nearby who is mountain tarhalt (nomad) who was died giving birth in her tent. She gave birth and had some soup and then she died and left the baby orphaned. There is no ambulance, the association of Mellab created an ambulance but its only one ambulance. Sometimes there two women giving birth with complications that need to receive care at different times or other people with illnesses who occupy the ambulance service. In the case of this woman the ambulance was gone already and there was no additional ambulance to take her to give birth in the hospital. The situation is painful, and people are dying because there is a lack of ambulances and they are far away from the city. There must be double the number of ambulances at each commune to cover a lot of people and there must be hospitals in the vicinity so that ambulances would take less time on their journeys which would and save a lot of lives. There are the villages and towns of Ourtouri, Mellab, Ygli, Oukhyt, and Gnat, In each village there is a woman who has complications to give birth and there is no one to bring her to hospital. There is a healthcare center in Amagan, near Talghoumt. They filled in papers that it has doctor and nurses but they are not really present. That healthcare center should have doctors and nurses and ambulances. For them, if there is a woman who want to give birth in Amgan if an ambulance from Mellab did not go there to bring her there is no way she would come to the healthcare center and later to hospital. And if a taxi or minibus driver brought her. the gendarmerie will stop him for an offence as he has no right to bring her (12-M-46-Self-based).*

- *Language barrier and embarrassment ahyouyf (shyness)*

My informants in Alnif told me that sometimes during souq days when a doctor faces a large number of patients as discussed previously, he tends to them in groups and ask them collectively about their ailments. Due to taboos around discussing certain things in public, such as gynecological issues, women in such cases often either fall silent and refuse to discuss their issues or lie and state a different less taboo issue in order to avoid embarrassment in front of the group. The fact that most doctors are male also doesn't help in allowing these women to freely discuss their issues.

> *I: It also happens that women are shy here, for example when they go to a doctor who is a man, apart from the language barrier, she is shy if she has for example an issue in her uterus. The pressure and embarrassment cause her to tell the doctor that for example her foot hurt her. She is embarrassed to talk to male doctors about this and tells him I had some sickness. She views a male doctor as if he is an ogre (afraid). You have to know that we Amazigh rural women are a bit different in this sense. It is something that should be normal as the state put him in that position because of his knowledge and studies. They should not be afraid to talk to him because he will help them. That is a big difference between Amazigh and Arab women. Arab women are outspoken a bit and are not shy in these things because they live in the city (12-M-46-Self-based).*

During the field work, I got sick with food/water poisoning when I was in Tinghir. I woke up one morning and went looking for a general practitioner that is private. During the waiting time at the doctor's office, I had the chance to talk to women that also came to see the doctor about ailments, and we had conversations about many things including them preferring a female doctor. During these conversations it came to light that a major factor causing women to prefer female doctors is because they are afraid to undress in front of a man who is not their husband. Another idiosyncrasy which came up during our discussion, is that husbands and fathers often do not want their wives and daughters to go to a male doctor despite them also not wanting them to study. This raises an issue that if the women are not allowed to study, it is impossible for any of them to become a doctor. It shows that certain cultural beliefs that are held can sometimes be contradictory and counterproductive to resolve these kinds of issues.

Embarrassment exceeds interactions with the doctors and also for example plays a large role in girl's lives since puberty regarding their menstrual cycles and the management of hygiene which comes with that. Buying for example pads and other materials girls need during their menstrual cycle can be difficult. They need to ask their parents either to buy them or ask them for money despite being embarrassed about their

situation. As the costs for these items is considered on the level of luxury items, around 30dh or more, the parents will ask what the girl needs the money for. As they are embarrassed often, they end up buying either diapers meant for babies, or pieces of cloth they use rather than pads which ultimately is detrimental for their hygiene. If they use pieces of cloth for example, another issue is that they need to clean and maintain this. As this entails hanging them out to dry outside, often this is not done or done infrequently, again causes hygiene issues.

> B: Why is this embarrassment?
> I: You know we are taught since young age to adhere to the codes of piety that is why. To speak to a man is already something let alone to talk about uterus issues. Even though he is there to help us when we are sick but that is what happens unfortunately being shy lead many women to hold sickness until they die. Also, more nomad women are worse at this because they are just living with their families in the mountain and have no outside influence or TV unlike sedentary women living in iɣrman (towns) (12-M-46-Self-based).

I also heard that to counter this an NGO in Alnif is started working on handmade reusable pads as alternative to drive down costs and the number of times girls will need to overcome their embarrassment to ask for money to buy supplies. During field work 2-M-25-Coop told me a story of a teenage girl around the age of 14 or 15 who did not have her period for a year. Due to embarrassment, she told no one. Each month she had cramps, but her period did not come. Her mother saw and interpreted the cramps as stomach pain but since it persisted monthly, she decided finally after a year to take her to the doctor to check. The doctor checked her and found out she had a completely covered hymen which did not allow menstrual fluids to come down. The doctor saw this and advised to operate and cut the hymen open and all the blood came out old and rotted.

• *Healthcare coverage: RAMED vs AMO (Assurance Maladie Obligatoire/ Compulsory Health Insurance)*

RAMED (Le Regime D' assistance Medicale) created in the 2011.[89] RAMED was a healthcare card that allowed poor people free healthcare at public healthcare facilities. It was aimed at people who were not able to benefit from other structures provided by the healthcare system due to financial reasons.

During interviews I asked informants if they benefited from RAMED or not. The experience of 4-D-40-Self-based showed that she was not benefiting from the RAMED

---

[89] https://www.ramed.ma/ServicesEnligne/home.html

Card. Before when she got married, she got married traditionally and did not register the marriage on with the government. Later when she had children, she ran into problems due to the fact that without a registered marriage, she could not register her children, as it is not allowed to have children outside of wedlock in Morocco. Without divorce papers, which would make it legal for her to have children and not be married, 4-D-40-Self-based could not benefit from RAMED and ultimately if she or her children are sick, she has to pay the hospital with help from donations gathered locally from the community to help her.

> *I: I was fighting for a long time to make a family book. Now that I have it, I did not yet start the procedures of divorce. When I went to make a RAMED card, they told me to bring them the certificate that I got divorced. They refused to give me the card (4-D-40-Self-based).*
> *B: When you get sick do you go to hospital?*
> *I: I go but for me I am not considered married nor divorced. Without RAMED when I go to hospital in Errachidia I have to pay (4-D-40-Self-based).*

RAMED during the time of the Covid-19 pandemic unveiled many social disparities and lack in the area of coverage of the program. In that regard on October 9th, 2020, the King Mohammed VI in a speech called for the generalization of compulsory health insurance for all Moroccans by 2022. This new program is now known as *Assurance Maladie Obligatoire* (AMO).

The AMO falls under the CNSS (La Caisse Nationale de Sécurité Sociale). It has three phases. The first as the government declared is registration of people and determining its cost to be 100dh per month. The second phase includes a family allowance to help families pay for the health insurance for their children. There are various factors and financial aspects taken into account to calculate the exact amount paid out to families per child.[90]

---

[90] As of 1st December 2022. Nearly 11 million citizen who with previously health care card RAMED are transferred to benefit from AMO. the State takes charge of the contributions relating to this scheme for this category of citizens as long as they are unable to pay them. These people can consult both in the private and public sectors hospitals. At the public level its free and in the private they get, the continuity of services and benefits is ensured. In other words, the care provided will be free in hospitals, university hospitals and dispensaries. Beneficiaries of this AMO will be reimbursement. The coverage rate are up to 70% of the national reference tariff; and, From 70% to 100% for certain Long-Term Conditions and Heavy and Costly Conditions; more information on AMO can be found here: https://www.cnss.ma/fr/content/amo-assurance-maladie-obligatoire

13-S-29-NGO explains the AMO as follows:

> *I: For health insurance there is this new program of compulsory insurance which started during the Covid-19 pandemic. Its compulsory for all people. Whether you have a new project or not. This health coverage is for all citizens, not only the people that work. Artisans that do have small local undocumented businesses such as women working at home, making sweets or crafts, and selling locally must even register now at the state for health insurance. The program targets all citizen of society whether you have business or not. Even if you are unemployed you must register. The previous card of RAMED is no longer effective with this new health care coverage. Also, if a woman is married the man goes to register in this compulsory health coverage. His registration will also include his wife and children. If the woman does not have a husband, she goes and register herself and her children. If she is alone, she registers by herself alone. On the other hand, people now are in the process or registering. All the artisans and merchants are registering but people in this specific category of society are not coming forward a lot yet. People need to register either per person or per family where the whole family would benefit from the health coverage. The details of this program are not well known yet because people first need to register and after few months the government has statics of who is registered and who is not in order to target unregistered people to see why they did not register and ease the process for them. The process of this health insurance is not clear. As NGO we have not seen a person who has it and benefited yet. I don't know how it really functions in the real world. Theoretically it's like I explained but in practice its different. There are many laws but in practice its different. So, for this specific program I don't know yet of examples of experiences of women who benefited to be able to share it. For the artisans it follows the Ministère du Tourisme, de l'Artisanat et de l'Economie Sociale et Solidaire. Now there is a registration of all artisans within this ministry so that the state knows they are artisans (13-S-29-NGO).*

Being the main typology of the sample women artisans, working in cooperatives. Despite women being local artist and preserving Amazigh culture they don't have the economic capacity to pay 100dh a month due to the unstructured nature of their work. For example, these women may take three days to craft one item (*tabuqst*) which they can sells for 30dh. There is no guarantee someone will come by to buy it, and hence their income fluctuates a lot. In order to make enough money to be able to pay the health insurance these women need to increase their productivity each month and ensure that their items are sold quicker and at a higher price. Effort has to be made so women belonging to this category can be given trainings on project management in order to increase productivity, develop their projects further and register themselves as entrepreneurs in order to be able to meet the requirement for the compulsory health insurance.

- *Amazigh Women's Needs in Healthcare*

While being interviewed, several informants expressed needs and demands regarding healthcare which I'd like to highlight here. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader expressed needs related to medical equipment and doctors which are permanently stationed in the area rather than only there for internships. She further expressed it should be encouraged to employ people from the local region.

> *B: How does the Amazigh woman try to improve the situation regarding healthcare issues in the region to lift herself, her family, and community from adversities faced in this area?*
> *I: If we had paved roads, big projects would enter, ambulances could come and go more freely, and the region could develop more easily economically. The healthcare center we have in the commune now has 4 ambulances so when something happens such as a woman giving birth, we can send her to hospital with an ambulance. Now what is needed here are properly working and maintained medical devices which allow people to be checked regularly. We need doctors that are permanently stationed here. We do have 4 ambulances now, but no proper medical devices, and enough doctors. we have a lot of local people with diplomas who are unemployed (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

While I was in Alnif, there was a protest going on at the local commune about the need for a hospital in the vicinity of the commune whilst the commune was planning to build an additional healthcare center. An informant expressed there that the healthcare in Alnif has not been updated since 1960s. Furthermore, they emphasized that the most important thing is quality of services and not the space and location of the healthcare center. The hospital would service a number of different communes in the region including Alnif, Mssissi, Hssiya of which the people now need to travel long distances to visit a hospital. People also protested that day the current lack of emergency services, lack of a first aid post and no 24/7 staff being available for emergencies during nighttime.

Given the nature of the area and wildlife such as extremely venomous scorpions, snakes, extreme drops in temperature during nighttime in winter it is quite common to have emergencies in the night. People might step on dangerous wildlife or become hypothermic or have other issues which need immediate attention from medical staff. The informants expressed it is possible to reach a doctor, but they need to go to their private homes and knock on the door to get help. There should be a first-aid or emergency service available during the night. If each night the doctor out of his own goodwill opens the door to people and helps them, during the day his daytime work is negatively impacted by this.

Access to healthcare is one of the basic needs in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Yet several informants expressed lacking healthcare services and facilities. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader when asked to compare the urban and rural situations regarding developments surrounding women's issues expressed that there are still needs to be met in education, healthcare, and labor opportunities in order for women to achieve self-realization and become economically independent.

6.1.1.3. Harshness of Life, Climates, and Lack of Water Leads to Emigrations

In addition to issues surrounding healthcare and education, the harsh environment of the Southeast of Morocco is a key factor contributing to adversities faced by Amazigh women. Extreme temperatures and drought create a harsh environment for living and each year due to climate change the situation worsens. This ever-increasing harshness as well as lack of regional developments to counter this causes many people to emigrate from the region to more northern parts of the country or to Europe looking for better opportunities and milder conditions. 4-D-40-Self-based expressed that climate change plays a significant role in the life of Amazigh people. Due to the absence of water and food people are forced to emigrate which changes their way of life and the nature of the Amazigh culture in general.

During summer 2021 while I was conducting my fieldwork it was a period known to the region as watermelon season. Due to the nature of watermelon farming, this has a drastic impact on the life of citizens especially around Zagora and neighboring villages and towns. This due to the fact watermelons during their lifecycle absorb all the water in the grounds and therefore the wells remain empty. As I was told by 4-D-40-Self-based.

> *I: Watermelons drink water and the wells are empty. The day before yesterday I visited my sister, in Targa Nait Izou. It's been 20 days now they do not have tap water. What will they drink? People ask Allah mercy (4-D-40-Self-based).*

- *Lack of Regional Development*

Due to the vast geographical space and the nature of climate being harsh and deserted regional development in the Drâa-Tafilalet region is slow and challenging. In the Southeast of Morocco, Drâa-Tafilalet is the largest region composed of 88,836 km² and a population of 1,635,008 as of the 2014 census. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader told me that in her area of Tilmi vast empty stretches of land exist between towns and cities. She continues to explain that this large geographical space is a factor in girls dropping

out of school because schools are far away students need to walk miles to reach school. On top of that, prices to stay at boarding houses are not affordable for most people in the region. Given her political activism, 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader endorses efforts being made in the last years by King Mohamed VI's representative.

> *I: These last years there are some developments such as the road Tilmi to Tinghir passing Tamddoucht is being paved. Tilmi Agdal is in the process of it and Tilmi Msmrir is also being paved. Let me tell you why. It is because of the representative of his majesty King Mohamed VI. He is the one who gives instructions for the projects I just spoke about. When he came to the region, he found Tinghir as an abandoned widow, there were no projects there. Also, the agriculture chamber and the province council give us a lot but the region and the parliament representatives they did not give us anything (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

In addition, 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader spoke about lack of regional development despite the region Drâa-Tafilalet possessing many natural resources such as gold, copper, barite, silver, manganese, cobalt, iron oxide, marble, lead, zinc, antimony, industrial sand and more. She further links regional underdevelopment to women's lack of employment. In the area of Tilmi where she resides, she expressed the lack of jobs for women despite their mastery of several skills such as carpet weaving.

A similar point was expressed by 8-M-30-Coop who mentioned women in the region only work in traditional roles as housewives or if she is in need, a cooperative. But there are no further opportunities for women in the region to develop themselves.

> *B: What are the adversities of the women in rural area?*
> *I: The adversity is that women are not working as when we see on tv, in the big city women are working outside of the home like men. Here in this region, it's difficult circumstances for women and they are not working outside apart from within these cooperatives. They are conditioned since early age to marry and take care of children (8-M-30-Coop).*

Due to lack of development of opportunities in the region for women to work, they are unable to become financially independent:

> *B: What are adversities of women in region?*
> *I: In general, the woman remains without work and the woman does not have the capacity to buy a phone. The man is the main provider, and he hardly meets the months requirements for the house and the children's demands. The woman only works around the house and once she finishes there is nothing else to do for her (8-M-30-Coop).*

Consequently, the lack of job opportunities intersecting with dropping out of school create conditions for girls to find themselves with nothing but boredom and a lot of social pressure to get married. Therefore, under such conditions, girls get married early and from an early age bear responsibility for the household and family. The cooperative where my informant 2-M-25-Coop works was specifically created to address this issue by trying to target girls that drop out of school to help them learn skills of sewing and embroidery and other practical skills with which they can create their own projects.

- *Lack of Water*

The lack of water leads Amazigh people to emigrate toward places where they have better and more stable access to it. This is not only for nomads who transhumance for water and greeneries for their cattle but also for sedentary people who have settled into villages and towns. Due to climate change the last decade water has becomes a big issue in the southeast of Morocco. The quality of tap water, if available at all, can vary a lot and in many towns, it is unfiltered and colored red and brown from the sand and dirt. In addition to not having adequate clean water, the electrical net is also very unstable, and it is dropping out often causes fresh foods and drinks that are stored in a fridge or freezer to go bad. Due to the extremely high temperatures this process is amplified especially in summer months. Besides hygiene issues this also puts an extra burden on the finances of families living in the region. These issues affecting the southeast are not new. Locals have been protesting and demanding better quality of life for a long time, also joining in with the 2011 Arab Spring movement.

People and associations around Alnif organized peaceful local protest to raise awareness about these issues and request help in combating these problems as some villages were suffering a complete lack of water. In the absence of water women are the ones that need to walk for miles to fetch water as providing the family with water is a responsibility shoulder primarily by women. This causes women to be at the heart of the demands in the southeast of Morocco.

As the woman is expected to take care of the household and amongst other things she needs to clean, prepare the shower, wash dishes and clothes, cook, and have water for the lavatory. All of these tasks require water and thus she needs to travel often to fetch large amounts of water. She might need to walk kilometers with heavy loads of water several times a day. Due to the extremely dry climate, she often finds a source of water has ran dry and she needs to use her indigenous knowledge and all her senses to find a

good source of clean water in the area. She may despair for 2 to 3 hours in searching for water before she finds any, so this process can take up a large part of her day and cause a lot of stress as it is not an option to return home without water. If the woman fails to provide water, she cannot clean her children and herself, and people might observe this and blame and shame her for not providing for her family. All of these challenges are recurring each day as the fine sand in the region and perpetual drought causes everything to constantly be covered in dust and require thorough cleaning with water.

The issue of water is attempted to fixed after the protest of 2011 by digging wells. However, the issue is complex than digging a well. Because what happens is for example today the issue of water in village X is fixed by digging a well for them and building a water tower. The water becomes available, and people are happy to fetch water and drink from it for up to 5 years until it runs dry. After this, the location has dried up and the invested infrastructure becomes useless. The village is desperately searching for water, and they find eventually another spot and dig again and 5 years later the well runs dry again. This process causes a lot of different very deep holes to appear over time in and around villages. As people don't close those holes thoroughly in many cases this leads to dangerous situations where children sometimes fall into wells. In the beginning of 2022, there was a high-profile case where a child called Rayen fell 32 meters down into a deep well and emergency services had extreme difficulties to get him out. He ended up being trapped in the well for four days only to die soon after he was freed due to his injuries. [91]

In the section on healthcare, I spoke about the availability of ambulances via associations within villages as part of the 2011 demands to strengthen the healthcare sector as before that time many women died due to pregnancy complications and lack of ambulances to bring them to hospital. However, informants told me that the availability of ambulances is also increased due to another important factor in regional development which consists of diaspora who send remittances and sometimes start projects in their birthplaces after moving away to seek work, education or less harsh living conditions. They send money to their families and villages, but also for example buy secondhand Ambulances in Europe and send equipment needed in the regions. The government does not levy additional import costs or taxes on vehicles used for these purposes by associations which are imported via diaspora, so this becomes an important way to encouraging the efforts of social work. This is a big reason why in each village there are

---

[91] Details about Rayen's case from BBC news network: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-60275177

associations. All of these issues caused by drought and climate change cause Morocco to become very aware that climate change is a direct and serious risk to the livelihoods of people in the country and since it has put effort into raising awareness around this topic and hosted evens such as the COP22 (United Nations Climate Change Conference 2016).

- *Impacts of Emigration*

All the above-mentioned factors contribute toward emigration of Amazigh people who look for better opportunities and less harsh conditions. 12-M-46-Self-based links emigration to climate change:

> *I: Climate change led people to leave agriculture and go to big cities like Nadour to work in the north of Morocco. They send money back home or bring food. People saw that there is that prosperity in the north of Morocco and more of them followed often leaving behind women, children, and the elderly. Then from the north of Morocco people started going to Spain and other destinations in Europe after which then emigration become more widespread (12-M-46-Self-based).[92]*

Other reasons for migration are better job opportunities, the futures of children or family reunification. When I interviewed 11-S-29-Self-based, who is from the southeast originally but emigrated to Marrakech looking for job opportunities, expressed that living in a small town limited the success of her small artisanal business. Marrakech as big international city offers better opportunities for her for marketing and tourist exposure of her products. The experience of moving to a big city or busy place is not ideal for everyone as can be seen in the testimonies gathered from 1-W-50-Self-based and 4-D-40-Self-based. They both followed their husbands to the city of Rabat when their husbands found work there, but both moved back after a while because they could not integrate properly in this new and drastically different environment. They have difficulties adjusting on distinct levels such as language and finances. In the cities it is more common to speak Arabic or French rather than Tamazight and back in their villages often accommodations are owned by families over generations, reducing the costs of living a lot. Often times they do not need to pay rent back home, but in a big city such as Rabat rent, and other living costs can be high. 1-W-50-Self-based further noted that the specific

---

[92] In the 70s many people went to Europe especially Netherlands as Gastarbeiter to work about 4000 Moroccans first got deals and after that a 1968 a lot of Moroccans followed them many checks were made after the date to find out approximately 20.000 undocumented immigrants besides the documented ones. In 1976 KMAN (Komittee van Marokkaanse Arbeiders in Nederland)is made. In 70s it was about 20.000 workers at 90s it grew to 68.00 that caused family reunification. Source: https://npokennis.nl/longread/7771/hoe-kwamen-de-marokkaanse

items she crafts, *tiḥruyin* (Traditional black wrap with colorful embroidery worn by women in southern Morocco when they go outside of the home see photos 17, 38, 39.), *ibuqsn* (groom's accessory for the wedding he wears from the shoulder down to the waist), and *tibuqsin* (head accessory. See photo 24), are in demand in her hometown, but less so in the big city. This makes it complicated to earn the additional revenue to make ends meet in this more financially demanding environment. 4-D-40-Self-based returned home after having lived in the city for a while with her husband. When I asked her if she would consider moving away again, she said the following:

> *I: People now follow their children. Now I am here educating my children and, when they grow up and have jobs, I will follow them wherever they are. I will not stay alone. I stay with my children; I work for them until when they grow up, I will follow them. I cannot stay here alone. They go to big cities where there are opportunities to study and work (4-D-40-Self-based).*

Consequences of emigration are many among them leaving women and children behind. 13 out 13 of the informants have a relative that emigrated from the region towards the North. Many women are left behind with the responsibility of taking care of the household and children while their male counterparts emigrate to seek a stable income. That echoes the experiences of 1-W-50-Self-based. While her brothers are abroad, she is left with the responsibility of taking care of her mother and the household despite the remittances that get sent to her by her brother from time to time. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader further elaborates on this point:

> *I: Amazigh rural women have a lot of harsh work in the fields. Men work in the cities, and they leave women, grandmothers and children behind with the lands and animals the whole responsibility to take care of everything at home on their shoulders. Despite the man sending money occasionally and returning to town 2 times a year during l'Eid holiday putting food on the table is hard. The children that grow without seeing the father most of the time and the mother ends up playing the role of both the father and the mother. The majority of women in these villages carry on their shoulder the community in the southeast of Morocco. When men are away to big cities or abroad working the work of women is doubled or tripled (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

Therefore, leaving women behind creates a linguistic inequality according to Hoffman (2007, 108) women that are left behind looking after the homeland and children remain monoglot comparing polyglot counterparts. Speaking of a second language Darija opens opportunity to learning in system that is in Arabic. Other writers such as Chtatou (2022) go further and claim that being monoglot is what preserves the Amazigh language

as he places the responsibility of survival of the Berber language and cultural identity on the hand of Amazigh mother.

In an interview with 12-M-46-Self-based she raised the point that emigration creates social inequality when diaspora comes back during summer and bring a lot of money and goods with them for their relatives. Other people who are not so lucky to have relatives bring them all kinds of luxury items and financial help see this inequality which drives them to also want to emigrate and provide for their families in a comparable way. This further increases the number of emigrating people more, as the more people emigrate and send home money and goods, the more people become aware of these possibilities and follow suit.

> *I: Some take their family and children to Europe and others don't. When they come back to visit, they demonstrate wealth and come back with a car and have money and they host extravagant weddings and show off money and which leads others to want the same thing. Other people who are left behind feel the pressure and want to level up to do as the other did and they start borrowing to do weddings and other expensive things. When people go to cities, they build their life there and they don't come back. Their children speak Arabic or European languages and no longer Tashelhiyt and they lose touch with their roots. When they come back, they get rid of heirlooms inherited from their family because they do not serve them anymore. They are never going to return to be nomad anymore, so they throw away tents and other equipment. People go to Nadour and Mellila and life changes for people. Even though their grandparents were nomads now people act as if that never happened. People lose touch with who they are. They act as if never happened, Amis ur djin ɣifs tkki tmara, ntta lliɣ da ɣifs itɣima uqidur ard i iɣmel (as if she has never experience adversity, but before aqidur dress stays on her until its caked to her skin by hard labor and the extreme climate). There is a song that documents this by Assinu that tells how Imazghen changed when they went to Europe. How does it impact the life of people back home? Also, when school came people went to study and have formal jobs and no longer want to work in agriculture. Everyone wants to be a teacher or a doctor so that's how life changes. Also know dad tasyt tafrdut at tdzzt ša, inaš wadjar tsdɛti (you take the mortar and pestle to pound something and the neighbor tell you bother me). Why because now, there is electric mixer. If you make qub qub (sound that the mortar and pestle make) people treat you as if it's shameful if you use Afrdu (mortar and pestle) (12-M-46-Self-based).*

4-D-40-Self-based expresses that modernization is linked to emigration. People become influenced by modernity they see abroad and by modern luxuries and influences which get imported to their towns via diaspora. They start to grow accustomed to these new ideas and ways of life and want to leave the old lifestyle of their grandparents behind.

I: They keep going in life, going to igran (field), taking care of cow and sheep, drought hit us hard, she tries hard then she sells the cow. The old houses that made of clay remain unmaintained and are toppled down eventually, and people want houses with cement and butane gas. Everyone says I want to enjoy my life too. Old houses are associated with misery and old days, people want new houses, old houses also require a lot of maintenance. During winter when its rainy you need to always find the holes that water comes from and fill them with earth. Until maybe there is no who know how to dig a hole for a dead person, when someone dead there is no one who know how to dip a hole cause people want modern life. To clean him and do the traditions of the dead person (4-D-40-Self-based).

Poetry in Amazigh culture often expresses the wounds and scars emigration has left on community. An example of this can be found in a song by Imran Azrour and Moha Mallal which speaks of *Taɣufi*, an Amazigh word meaning in English longing or yearning. The singers express the deep yearning felt by loved ones who are separated for extended time periods due to having to work abroad in order to make ends meet.

Taɣufi	Longing/ Yearning[*]
1. *Mayga iɣimi n yumayn,*	1. Is a stay of two days enough?
2. *Mayg i tɣufi n ɛamayn? X2*	2. Enough to cover for the longing of two years?
3. *Mayd igi Iga ayli, ayli X2*	3. Is it enough my daughter, ohh x2?
4. *Tizwury telit iddi g ulinw telit iddi,*	4. At beginning you were in my heart, were in it.
5. *Amš uliɣ Tulit iddi, Amš ṭṣiɣ ṭeṭṣit iddi*	5. If cry you cry with me, if I laugh you laugh with me X2
6. *Mayga iɣimi n yumayn,*	6. Is a stay of two days enough?
7. *Mayg i tɣufi n ɛamayn? X2*	7. Enough to cover for the longing of two years?
8. *Mayd igi Iga ayli, ayli X2*	8. Is it enough my daughter, ohh X3?
9. *Tqimammt g iɣerman ar talamt i wussan*	9. You stayed behind in the hometowns, and you are crying to the days X2.
10. *Ṭḥdumt iberdan d unfa d iliy n wass X2*	10. You watch roads each morning and at night X2.
11. *Ifedamn dan zlan g umadal dan zlan X2*	11. Youth (males) are gone, they are lost in the world X2.
12. *Mayga iɣimi n yumayn,*	12. Is a stay of two days enough?
13. *Mayg i tɣufi n ɛamayn? X2*	13. Enough to cover for the longing of two years?
14. *Mayd igi Iga ayli, ayli X2*	14. Is it enough my daughter, ohh X2

[*] This translation from Tashlhyt to English is mine. If any error it is mine.

Source: Azrour and Mallal (2021)

The song is written from the perspective of a man who addresses his daughter in line 3. When he asks *it is enough my daughter*. This question which kicks off the song is the father asking his daughter if a 2-day visit will be enough to make good for all the longing and yearning that was felt during the 2 years he was away. Implying he never returned home in the last 2 years. In reality, people that are away often return only for Eid

celebrations or collective weddings in summer. Line 4 and 5 express that when he was around in the hometown before he left he used to share his pain and happiness and feelings with loved ones but now as he is away he feels that he is lonely and he can't share those sentiments anymore and that life becomes difficult without his loved ones by his side to share his joys and pains with. Line 8 addresses women and girls directly, blaming them for staying in the hometown and crying every day for the longing of their relatives and loved ones that are away in the urban cities or abroad. Line 9 and 10 addresses women to keep watching from morning to night the road for the bus or car to come by in case their son returns home from far away. When they return after two years of being away, they have to go again after only 2 days as responsibility and commitments call for them in the cities. Line 11 states that the youth that left the homelands (males) are gone, they are lost in the world. That with their new life they build in the city it's unlikely they return to build their life at hometown anymore considering what the urban cities offer in education and opportunities and due to the lack of regional development in the southeast. Finally lines 12 to 13 repeat the question with which the song started.

Photo 7: Alnif's fields of palms

Photo used to illustrate Alnif *igran* (fields of palms)
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 8: *Iɣrem*

Photo used to illustrate alley in the old part of town in Iɣrem
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Tazarine, 2021

Photo 9: Bottles of water

Photo used to illustrate bottles of water wrapped with wet fabic
to keep the water cool in summer.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

-

Photo 10: *Iɣrem* of Alnif

Photo used to illustrate old fortifications in Iɣrem of Alnif
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 11: Drought in the area around Alnif

Photo 12: Town of Alnif

Photo used to illustrate drought in the area around Alnif.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo used to illustrate impression of the old town of Alnif
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 13: Desertification and drought in the region

Photo used to illustrate desertification and drought in the region.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Tazarine, 2021

6.1.2. Gender and Kinship

This section is about gender and kinship deals with cultural violence within Galtung's definition of the term and the practices of society that relate to it and limit women's fulfilment and push them into "manipulative symbols as good mother and good woman" (Comins Mingol 2016). I asked 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader about the situation of Amazigh women in rural and mountainous areas of the southeast of Morocco. She shared her perspectives from within the domain of political activism and how she sees projects and developments take on a more gendered approach. To her it is not possible to talk about a gendered approach without having equal access to education and healthcare compared to more urban areas.

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader repeatedly referred to a gender approach throughout my interview with her and therefore I asked her to explain to me what she meant by that. She replied that a gender approach entails communication as equals between men and women and women having equal opportunities to men in order to develop themselves and build independent critical thinking. As 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader describes, currently due to lack of equal opportunities, women are inclined to go along with cultural notions of submissiveness towards men. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader said *if you tell her to raise her hand, she raises it*.

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader is known to be an outspoken and strong woman. She attends public gatherings to discuss the situation of women in the southeast and is known for her critical and fierce advocacy of rural women's rights. She told me that one time in the presence of an official governmental personality in a gathering they refused to give her the microphone to speak up about the adversities of Amazigh women. However, she grabbed the microphone and spoke about her point of view anyway. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader explains her fierceness is a result seeing many injustices against rural women in her life such as for example as explained previously that some healthcare personnel insult Amazigh rural women and call them by dehumanizing names and insults as *animals*. Counter to the general case of rural Amazigh women, 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader breaks the cycle of expectations and repressions of women and patriarchal control to shed light on the issues of women from her region.

6.1.2.1. Social pressure: fulfilling society's expectations to what is considered a *good woman*

This section is about social pressures faced by rural Amazigh women and girls in their daily lives. As gender is a social construct, it is controlled by the codes of honor and shame (Laghssais 2021b). Through notions of purity in body women become controlled by their families and tribes from an early age. Always kept under close watch lest she bring shame to the family or tribal name. By putting a lot of pressure on codes of honor to hold the rural community in such a status quo, the women and girls who chose to lead a different life are not accepted by the collective society/community and are considered bad women or bad influences. Breaking the cycle of such a rigid and complex system requires a lot of willpower, self-awareness, and confidence due to the deeply rooted conditioning from an early age to believe that their ultimate dream and goals in life is to be submissive, get married, and remain pure and honorable before marriage.

Many Informants reported that this social pressure persists throughout the lives of girls until they become adolescent and step to adulthood. As these girls often marry at young ages, in reality this means that the social pressure only ends when they have fulfilled their social duties to get married only to evolve into the next form of social pressure. Once a girl is married a new list of social demands and expectations is pushed onto them. When she was a girl, she was under the responsibility of her father and brothers but when she gets married this responsibility and authority is transferred to her husband and his family. This is because upon consummation of the marriage, effectively the woman is given away to the family of the man. Following marriage, the expectation is submissiveness, delivery of babies, and working hard in the household, tending to livestock and being accepting of their newly imposed lifestyles. It is culturally unacceptable to saying they are tired, or they can't or won't live such a life.

A lot of people get married traditionally, meaning arranged marriages where the wife does not know her husband until the night of consummation of the marriage although this practice is slowly becoming outdated as modern life catches up. The match maker now is still common but with modern techniques using photographs. The match maker collects photographs of girls that wants to get married along with their name, age, and educational level if any and shows them around to families that have boys that want to marry. Often men set conditions to the match maker such as that the girl should be young, should not go to school, and is of a good and respected family. While men have all these conditions to dictate towards girls in marriage, girls are expected to have none because of

this belief: *urda isɛyab uryaz xs jjib nns* (a man is not flawed except if he does not have money). A man is only criticized for his wallet and if he has money and can provide for the wife, he is allowed to marry her, and he can set as many conditions toward her as he wishes. Conditions might include things such as the need to have patience as the man travels to big cities for work, staying at home and taking care of their new parents, grandparents, and once they give birth, their children and taking care of livestock among other things. The wife is simply expected to obey his conditions. People rarely marry out of love, but rather marry out of necessity. 6-M-48-Self-based, due to her job as a merchant in soups and her ability to travel and visit many villages and places, naturally is a matchmaker. She marries and connects couples in the different places she visits while selling her merchandise during her day job. For this traditional practice she gets paid additional money as families of the girls pay up to 5000dh to have their daughter married. The families of the girls go to these extents because the stigmas surrounding unmarried girls after a certain age bring shame to the families.

The pressure to marry is high as there is a lot of unemployment and many girls aren't encouraged to go to university and study because they don't have role models to look up to and follow. Many women get married and always the same cycle repeats as the conditioning that girls receive persists and their whole upbringing, they hear people tell them to they pray for you them to get married. Their life goal is to get married. Once married people ask the women constantly why they do not have children yet as if that is their sole purpose after marriage. People don't understand how hurtful that question might be for women who can't have children or have other dreams in life, reminding them every they will never be accepted in society. Some women are afraid to say they do not have children because people might start rumors saying they are sterile. Married women are valued only when they have children, and more specifically only when they have boys.

1-W-50-Self-based found herself in this situation of being sterile and not having children. She kept emphasizing that she could not have children and there was thus no one to take care of her. Especially now in her fifties she finds herself alone with her mother to take care of. Children are expected to take care of their parents and often grandparents, but since girls are given away to other families upon consummation of marriage only boys are perceived to take care of their own mothers and carry the family name and lineage. However, once the boys marry, they expect their wives to carry out these responsibilities of caring for the parents.

When the women give birth to a baby girl people expectations are not satisfied, and they tell her have another baby which must be a boy this time. If she has another girl, the pattern continues until she delivers a boy. Because of historical and cultural memories of low fertility rates and lives full of risk where people often die from diseases or harsh conditions, a social landscape is created where women are often pushed to have many children. They can have up to 7 or 8 children sometimes and this is not including sometimes a lot of miscarriages they also go through as they work hard continually during their pregnancies. Sometimes they end up giving birth up to 11 or 12 times to have enough children to meet cultural and social expectations. There are also economic reasons historically for having a lot of children as agriculture was a main theme for rural people back then to be self-sufficient and provide a source of income. Hiring aids to work on farms is expensive so having a lot of children and a large family was seen as a cheaper workforce.

One of my informants' life, 2-M-25-Coop, mirrors this harsh reality as she works very hard and already has 2 children, one of 7 years old and one of 3 years old. She had her first child when she was 18. The 7-year-old daughter is already expected by her mother to bathe and wash her younger brother, dress him and to do parts of the household such as sweeping the floor or helping out in the kitchen after she comes back from school.

On 12 July 2021, While I am walking in the Souq I stopped by an acquaintance who sells clothes at Souq in a shop. Speaking to her throughout the day this pressure of marrying for girls became painfully clear to me as the only conversation that which repeated during the day was that of marriage. Sitting with her in her shop, the women that entered there constantly reminded her she needed to be married and they were praying for her to be married as soon as possible also emphasizing the fact she is too old to be unmarried at 27 years of age. One of the women jumped in to tell her 'if you weren't old, I could have married you to my son. he is 24 years old'. The issue here and what stuck with me is that people normalize marrying girls as young as 15 years old to men of 40- or 50-years old but a man would never marry a woman older than them.

6.1.2.2. Male domination, cultural violence, shame: a formula of oppression

Male domination forms a patriarchy that oppresses women to live up to a submissive image however this image gives men privileges that they enjoy. Therefore, they don't question the status quo and keep the patriarchal system because it benefits them. According to Eltahawy (2019) "this world is run by men for the benefit of men […]

men challenged other men for power in order to secure a share of that power for themselves, not for equality and justice for all" (Eltahawy 2019, 100-134).

An example of that is the fact that when a woman marries, authority over her transfers from her father to her husband. 1-W-50-Self-based told me she is a self-based artist that works at home but as soon as she heard there was a *Nadi Niswi* (woman's club) in town she wanted to join to enhance her skills and learn more about art and embroidery, but her husband did not allow her. In the southeast there are various cultural sayings which demonstrates and symbolizes pure patriarchal and male dominance such as *Urna itr wawal n uryaz s wakal* (the word of a man is his honor; his word should not be dropped on the ground) and *Hat itrit flan hat wur na du ɣulɣlɣ g wawl inuw (*someone has asked her hand for marriage and I gave them my word. I will not return in my word). This patriarchal mentality persists today and is prevalent in cultural traditions such as marrying off a girl to her cousin in order to try and keep wealth in the family. A father might insist a girl to marry a relative and deny his daughter the right make her own choices.

Such a mentality enforced by cultural beliefs and sayings are examples of cultural violence that give empower men's voices and provide them with authority over women. If a woman opposes this reality, she is considered a bad woman and frowned upon by society. In some cases, men can even become violent towards women when they try to speak up. She is expected to obey and be silent. 1-W-50-Self-based experienced violence from her brother because she expressed her opinions about when her family inherited land. A land to which technically she also has rights. She did not report it when he physically beat her because of social pressure and shame. Up to this day still she tells people that a sheep caused her leg injury.

> *I: This is the area of my leg that hurts me. Once my brother hit me so hard because I disagreed with him during an argument. He hit me with wooden stick. Look at my leg. [silence]I wanted to report him to the gendarmerie, but people kept begging me not to because he is my brother (1-W-50-Self-based).*

Domination, power, and being conservative is a triangle of oppression towards women and girls and ultimately result in a general sense of inferiority amongst women. The woman does not have the right to take decisions about family affairs nor is she consulted about any issues by her male counterparts. Especially in the nuclear families it's always the men who decide. Women are perceived to birthing machines pressured to produce male offspring and to take care of the farm, livestock, and household.

When suitors look for a bride, they solely look at a women's abilities to take care of the household, livestock and other duties they expect them to fulfill. If a girl is a hard worker in these areas and is able to put up with adversities and hardships and remains patient throughout, she is seen as a suitable bride. Physical strength, working long hours in the fields out in the sun, hauling heavy loads long distances are all seen as qualities of a good wife. If a woman is not capable enough, she is perceived as flawed and she and her mother will be insulted about her upbringings and lack of resilience. Women are expected to be machines. 12-M-46-Self-based explains from her own experiences both in marriage and being divorced that women suffer when they are asked for marriage. The larger and richer the family of the husband is, the more burden and adversities for women they must handle.

> *I: There is harshness of life as women work for a living doing agricultural activities such as plowing, cutting grass and alfalfa. Women are marginalized, the predominant family structure is a nuclear family. A girl is married quite young, and she think she will live a romantic life and married life is happy ever after but when she gets married especially to a nuclear family, she is expected to take care of the parents in law and the nuclear family is a big family. She cooks, makes bread, and takes care of sheep and cows and on top of that is expected to have children as soon as she gets married. She takes care of the children so even if there some love between the couple the woman gets tired and old quite easily in rural areas due to all these responsibilities. Often the man goes to the city looking for jobs and leaves his wife to care for his parents and children. Women suffer a lot. You think that if they are married to big family that they are rich and have maids, but the woman bride is expected to do everything. Wake up at dawn, make aḥrir (soup), bake bread, prepare breakfast, go to farm alfalfa, feed the livestock, clean the house, and prepare meals. Sometimes families have many sons, so they live together all in one house with all their wives. Disagreements amongst the women about their chores are common (12-M-46-Self-based).*

7 of 13 of informants interviewed for this study break free this cycle of cultural and social expectations each with their own story and circumstances being either unmarried, divorced, widow, or single mothers. Although similarities between these informants exist in their daily plight, some did not end up without a husband by choice. In such cases they come back to the house of their father and brothers and often join cooperatives. Behind the strong, courageous, resilient personalities of these women hide a lot of traumas. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader explains her story as she was married quite young at an age where she did not know what marriage is. She ran away after a few days of marriage and returned back to the house of her brother.

319

I: I was married in the 70s when I was very young. I took care of my parents until they died. In 2004 I returned to my brothers' home. His wife died when she gave birth to her daughter. She left her 7 children and I took care of them. Now 2 of them are teachers, some of the girls are married some are studying. I was in a difficult situation; I used to go and work hard in the fields cutting grass and I took care of the children and do the entire household until they grew up (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).

1-W-50-Self-based was married 3 times and experienced divorce and tells her story as follows:

B: How many times did you got married?
I: The first time I married I got divorced, I married a second time and he died, and I married third time with an Arab man who also died recently (1-W-50-Self-based).
B: Your last husband is an Arab man? Where did you know him from?
I: He saw me in the center of town, and he liked me, and he sent a someone I know to ask me if I want to marry him (1-W-50-Self-based).

As previously discussed, 12-M-46-Self-based was also married before but because of what she lived through regarding being given away to her father and not growing up with her mother, she stayed with her current husband. 12-M-46-Self-based had three Caesarean sections performed when her children were born.

Additionally for 4-D-40-Self-based her story shows she was married traditionally without papers causing difficulties for her when her husband left her whilst she was pregnant of a child. When her children reached the age to go to school this caused problems to register her children for school as she was not officially married and thus should not have children. In order to register her children for school she needed official registration of them in a family book, which is only possible when the marriage is officially registered. In a conversation about children custody and child support. 4-D-40-Self-based expressed that for a woman with children it is complicated to remarry due to the burden of custody because it is not accepted for a new husband to take care of the children from the previous husband. As 5-D-30-Coop expressed in such cases often the father of the children will demand custody in order to prevent them being raised by another man: A divorced woman is perceived as dangerous by society because she has lost her virginity and therefore can't be controlled in terms of sexual activities outside of marriage.

Due to the complexities when children come into the picture in marriage as well as the hardships faced to live up to cultural and social expectations, many married women are not happy but rather are just patient towards their husbands in order not to be sent

back to their fathers' home where further adversities await them. In the southeast of Morocco usually brothers stay living at the parents' house even when they get married. If their sister gets divorced, she returns to her parental home too. Once this happens her parents and brothers become her guardians again as if she was a child again. Due to the stigma against unmarried women disputes between the sisters and wives of their brothers often happen. Due to the fact such a harsh and sometimes violent experience aways an unmarried woman, she will often stay with her husband despite being deeply unhappy. 2-M-25-Coop Other told me her sister got divorced because she did not know her husband well before marrying him. He was an alcoholic and would come back every night drunk and beat his wife until one day she decided that it was enough, and she left him to return to her father's house.

- *Violence Against Women (VAW)*

Culturally when women are victims of violence from their partners or family members they don't report to the gendarmerie because they are afraid of *šuha* (shame) or *lfṭṭiḥt* (shame). When they have had enough of the violence and leave their husbands to return to their parental house *ayt lxir* (mediators) might be dispatched reconcile with the couple in order to get her to go back to her husband. The culture is that when couples having a conflict the woman returns to her father's house until the man goes there and asks for her return, sometimes taking along a mediator to help in the dispute.

> *I: Even if you say women rights there is no one to give them to you [rights], women are abused by their husbands, fathers, brothers, they are broken, and their faces are green from beating. Me as example I used to be abused by my husband. Who will give you rights? (4-D-40-Self-based).*
> *B: What is the role of ayt lxir(mediators)?*
> *I: Ayt lxir (mediators) enter the conflict before it goes to the gendarmerie. Many women go to the gendarmerie nowadays though and get divorced and the men do not give her alimony. She struggles to live and raise her children. Women as soon as they get married, they have children the very first night. There is an example of woman I know in my family; she is divorced from her cousin, and he swore not to give her alimony. He goes spend time in prison because he refuses to pay alimony and after returns and starts working again. These days she is sick and has to go to Errachidia with her child as she has a liver issue. Here in our country people with money would have rights if you don't have money, you have no rights (4-D-40-Self-based).*

According to 4-D-40-Self-based it is an issue for women that when they report something to the gendarmerie the *ayt lxir* (mediators) enter the conflict and pressure the

woman to forgive the man. She decides to forgive him and reconcile with him due to considerations for her children and the fact the father might need to go to prison when they refuse to pay alimony.

> *B: Women do not go to the gendarmerie to declare the violence?*
> *I: Even when they declare to the gendarmerie the people of town will enter to do reconciliation between the couple and she returns to the husband's house again and he will continue to abuse her even more after she returned because she humiliated him within the community. He takes revenge on her. A woman should be absolutely sure she wants to leave her husband before she goes to the gendarmerie because if she ends up going back to the husband, she will face severe abuse for bringing shame to the husband. It's not good that after she takes him to the gendarmerie she goes back to him, why go to the gendarmerie if you will return to him again and he beats you and violates you. Women tend to have patience for the children they have and say I would return to him and be patient for my children. She ends up raising the children in an unhealthy and violent environment. I say a woman should not go to gendarmerie until she is sure of herself that she does not want to return to him, when you have enough you take your children and that is it. But to take him to the gendarmerie, he swears on you and when you return to him, he abuses you. Women told me he put her head in the oven, many were violated. He (husband) tells her is you wanted me then why take me to the gendarmerie. Many women get divorced, and he swears not to give alimony. He goes to prison for a short while and comes back again. Where are the rights here. When the court tells the man come forward and pay the money for the children or you go to prison, and he refuses and chooses prison he spends 15 days to 1 month in prison and after that short sentence the children have will have lost their rights for financial support from their father. Other women see these examples around them and decide to remain silent about abuse they face, and they do not go to the gendarmerie to report it (4-D-40-Self-based).*

- *Divorce and shame*

Fasiki talks about shame in her book *Hshouma* (2019) meaning *shameful* or *embarrassing*. Fasiki relates this *Hshouma* culture to many aspects of culture such as to sexuality and a male centric mindset which she portrays in illustrations and cartoons. According to Fasiki the multiplicity of political, religious and sociocultural norms generates frustrations in the population. A sexual and emotional deficiency, which results in sexual violence such as harassment and rape. It is therefore essential to decriminalize desire and pleasure (Fasiki 2019, 2).[93]

---

[93] Fasiki's cartoons and illustrations open avenues for discussion via a visual platform. Fasiki says that at beginning when she started drawing her naked cartoons the public was shocked to see such thing coming from a Moroccan 'conservative Muslim society'. Due to her art-based activism which she started in 2017 she landed an interview on the JOOJ MEDIA platform where she says that the power of images and cartoons breaks taboos of Hshouma presented in our society. Therefore, arts become a tool for social change (Fasiki 2022).

For divorced women it is not common to remarry and start a new life with another man. Many women decide to settle down and dedicate their lives to the upbringings of their children. 5-D-30-Coop's story echoes this reality.

> *I: For me I was married but divorced. I came back with one child, a daughter (5-D-30-Coop).*
> *B: What was the reason for divorce?*
> *I: We did not get along; I married an Arab from Khenifra and our traditions and culture and theirs is not the same. I couldn't get along and one day I decided to come back home (5-D-30-Coop).*

When I asked 4-D-40-Self-based about reasons of divorced she stated men are often not loyal to their wives.

> *B: Why women get divorced here?*
> *I: Zaghn irgzn (unfaithfulness), men are wild, they harass other girls, he has woman at home and goes outside looking for others. Even if the woman is divorced the fathers should take care of the children and not leave the responsibility on the shoulders of women alone to be caring for them (4-D-40-Self-based).*

Many informants that are part of cooperative falls within this category of being divorced. 9-S-30-Coop explained in an interview that due to poverty and child marriages often relationships go awry and once divorced girls will join the cooperatives. She noted to have 3 working with her at the cooperative to try financially cope. Similarly, 8-M-30-Coop explained she has 7 women working with her of which the majority is divorced and have children. Often times the women have dropped out of school to get married, and now live a harsh life working hard to try and raise their children and take care of their families alone. Most divorced women find difficulty in providing for the children as the husband in many cases refuses to pay the children alimony or provide any other form of care for them. Often children become victims of marriage disputes and lose a lot of opportunities in life because financially they are not supported by both their parents.

I asked informants about shame and how it takes shape in their life. Many report it is not shame anymore because they simply need to provide for themselves. They do not care anymore how society looks upon them due to the hardships they face in their daily lives.

> *I: It is not shame anymore. No one will say anything. I work my crafts and it is ok. I am proud of it. For working in these crafts, no one will tell you anything (1-W-50-Self-based).*

However, shame takes different shapes and can greatly vary from town to town. Unlike Alnif which is more open during souq days and where you can observe both men and women in souq, the next town 60km away which is Tazarine is much more conservative, and women are not allowed by the community to enter the souq. 1-W-50-Self-based is from that town and explains the background behind such restrictions.

> *I: Women are not allowed to enter to the souq here in this town because it's dominated by men, so women get harassed by men when they enter. To avoid that they don't allow women to enter to the souq (1-W-50-Self-based).*
> *B: What about old days when the souq was in a different area? Were women allowed to go to the souq back then?*
> *I: It was allowed for women to go back then. Later these harassments started, and women stopped going to the souq. Women used to go out and get stuff for themselves. Now they rely on males of the family to go to the souq. It's difficult when you don't have a male at home like with me as my husband died. I can't enter the souq, so I need to ask some men or boy to go inside and get my groceries for me. Only recently that I am lucky a small shop opened nearby which sells vegetables and chicken. I am happy about that as I can go by myself and buy whatever I need. Also, now for the souq who ever want to go they go. But people talk badly about them that they are not good people and call them prostitutes (1-W-50-Self-based).*

Historically due to patriarchy being linked to spaces and public spaces being perceived as male authoritative domains, women being in public spaces was considered shameful. In more recent years what was coined by Sadiqi (2021ba,19-20) as *feminizing the public spaces* can be seen where now more and more women can be seen working in public spaces.

> *I: Before it was a shame for women to work outside the home, only now that women are more visible outside working these jobs, some work cleaning the high schools and primary school, public institutions, banks, restaurants, hotels. But even though women work these jobs they have no formal rights and work undocumented jobs (4-D-40-Self-based).*

Looking at economic empowerment especially of divorced or widowed women amongst my informants it can be seen they struggle to get economic resources to provide for themselves. Generally, in these villages when a woman does not have a husband it is accepted, she has a job, and the community tries to help her but a woman who has a husband is frowned upon if she works. Also, by cultural norms a man should be the financial provider of the family (his family) therefore, letting his wife work outside the home causes the perception that he is not capable of taking care of his family which brings him shame.

Similarly access to education was frowned upon culturally but in recent years it has become more accepted. During the childhood of informants 1-W-50-Self-based, 3-M-49-Coop, 4-D-40-Self-based, 5-D-30-Coop, 6-M-48-Self-based, 8-M-30-Coop, 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader, 11-S-29-Self-based it was not culturally accepted for them to go to school, but for 2-M-25-Coop, 7-M-44-Coop, 12-M-46-Self-based, 13-S-29-NGO it was more acceptable to get an education. 2-M-25-Coop expressed that during primary to high school people are able to now accept that they go to school but to continue to university is still a challenge as many families prefer to see their daughters married before that time. Once married, following further education is often no longer possible.

6.1.2.3. Early Marriage -18

Early marriage of girls is a phenomenon that happens throughout the world. In the world "12 million girls are married before the age of 18 each year" (Girls not Brides 2020). In the Morocco the family code sets the legal age for a girl to marry at 18 however it contains clauses to enable exceptions to be permitted in case the parents or legal guardians of the girl specify valid reasons for her to marry before that age. This structure provided to enable exceptions to made enables judges to permit underage marriage for girls to which no appeals can be made after the ruling.

9 out of 13 of the informants experienced early marriage and have female relatives who married before turning 18. Some informants such as 1-W-50-Self-based are not opposed to child marriage for girls due to cultural beliefs held especially by the older generations. This is because historically girls were seen as too old to marry already at an early age causing problems for them later in life. To avoid such problems, a lot of women do not oppose underage marriage simply to remedy the challenges unmarried life brings.

When I was in the field, I was told that around 2014 in Alnif there where 40 underage girls in town were allowed to marry in a single year. The judge came to make marriage certificates for all of these girls despite them being underage. The judge asks the girls questions about if they know what marriage is, and if they study. When satisfied with their answers he creates a marriage certificate for them so they can get married. In one instance that year he refused to create a certificate as the girl in question was only 13 years old. This 13-year-old girl subsequently waited for him to complete the certificates for the 39 other girls and proceeded to ask the judge to permit her to marry anyway because she feared this was her only chance in life at marriage. The judge was embarrassed at her boldness to confront the reality she was in and surprised the social

context caused this girl even though she is minor to speak to him with a manner of logic about the subject. She told him, she wanted to marry on her own accord and that she and her future husband wanted both to get married and that he refused them the opportunity. She blamed him for destroying her life because she feared the man would marry another girl and no one else would want to marry her. The judge was taken aback by this and ended up signing a certificate for her anyway to enable the marriage. This situation shows the cultural and social context these girls live in where they believe it normal to marry at such an early age and shows the judge's power in this process to enable underage marriage.

Another story explained to me was that of a 14-year-old girl who got married only to divorce 8 months later to go back to her family and be a child again and play *tiqula* (game with rocks played by children in the region. See photo 14) with her siblings. Her reputation, despite being 14 years old, was that of a divorced woman which caused her to be perceived as a bad woman even while she was just a child. After a while this girl returned to school because she did not have any children.

Photo 14: *Tiqula*

Photo used to illustrate a game girls play called *tiqula* (rock game played by children).
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

If the judge decides not to authorize an underage marriage the family will generally go ahead with the marriage anyway via traditional channels using oral consent

of a *fatiha*.[94] As previously discussed, not being officially registered for marriage can cause issues when the girl gets children as they won't have an official family book and cannot register for things like education or social services. Usually once the girl turns 18, they will then officially register the marriage. If divorce takes place before this, it becomes problematic for the children.

Further problems with underage marriage consist of things like the girl not knowing a lot about married life, using contraceptives and other basics. They often cannot visit the pharmacy by themselves and so it is common that on the first night of marriage consummation they already get pregnant. This child can then not be officially registered as they have no family book. According to Moroccan law article 490. Even if the whole village attended the wedding, since it is not officially registered it is considered a crime. In order to regulate this, the involved parties can gather evidence of the marriage process guided by article 16 of the Moudwana of 2004.

Early marriage among Amazigh community goes back to the nature of their historical lifestyle. Before the central government had laws after independence 1956 the Imazighen had another law called *Izrif* (customary law) that guided their social and political life. After independence the customary law disappeared and was replaced by shari'a law which requires marriage to be formally registered at the central government of Morocco.

As the Amazigh community comes from a nomadic past, they have not registered the babies in the family book until they started a sedentary lifestyle and official communes were established. Often at this time, the date of birth of unregistered individuals was guessed in order to register them with the central government. The normalization of underage marriage within the culture can thus also be historically attributed in part to people simply not knowing their actual age and having no concepts of this. If a girl was strong enough and possessed the skills to take care of her responsibilities, she was seen fit to marry. This cultural basis still shapes decision making within many Amazigh communities because throughout the girl's life since the day she is born, they say already plan her marriage for her and she is raised to be a wife of a specific person, often a cousin or some relative.

Local NGOs in Alnif work on raising awareness about the topic by promoting education for girls and supporting initiatives and cooperatives where girls can learn new

---

[94] Marriage by fatiha means the family gathers and they read the first verse of the Quran.

skills. These NGOs organize events and debates around the topic and try to sensitize people to the concept this is not a normal or good thing to try and change the mentalities of people towards underage marriage. They stress the importance of education during such debates and the fact children need to live the life of a child, playing with their friends and not living only towards becoming a good wife.

When asked about the dropout rates of girls 5-D-30-Coop stated early marriage also intersects with lack of education in the sense that many girls drop out of school due to geographical or financial reasons and then get married off at an early age. Once married they fall into the cycle of marital responsibilities and are unable to pursue their dreams such as going back to school or getting a job. 2-M-25-Coop further stresses that child marriage is also linked to lack of job opportunities in addition to lack of education.

6.1.2.4. Informants' perception of Women's Rights

According to Elliott (2009) and Eisenberg (2011) there is a lack of awareness among women about the *Moudawana* especially among illiterate women who as a result do not know about their rights and have a lot of misconceptions in this regard. I asked my informants about their perceptions on such matters and what they know about women's right and what it means to them. How they get informed and whether they follow news and media about women's rights programs when aired on national television.[95]

> *B: Do you follow what is happening in Morocco regarding feminism and the Moudwana?*
> *I: Like now a couple if they marry and the man want to marry second wife, he need authorization from first wife (1-W-50-Self-based).*
> *B: Do you think these rights are good for women?*
> *I: If she doesn't like him anymore, she can divorce him, now there is this divorce not like before women can't divorce. Now women have more rights (1-W-50-Self-based).*

1-W-50-Self-based knows about rights of women when divorced and knows they should get custody of children and alimony payments from the ex-husband. The perception of rights to 1-W-50-Self-based is that the woman's basic needs are to be

---

[95] Lack of information about rights and Moudawana awareness among people in rural areas is partially due to it being available only in Arabic and French. In addition, there is a lack of feminist programs that address these issues. As far as I am aware only lately since 2021 a T. V program called Horrates meaning in Arabic 'free women' is broadcasted on News channel M24TV. Although the program is in French and rural women needs feminist information about laws in their native language the initiative of such a 100% feminist program on Moroccan T. V is good step forward. Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLGWyfe2PDmvv4mMMGzhr1gPP77EW5k_Lh

provided for if the woman divorces while having children. To her, necessities such as food and groceries are what's needed for a woman to survive. Her views seem very much aimed at survival needs rather than officially documented rights. Another thing she remarked was that she feels women should have freedom of movement to travel where they want to go and visit family and friends who live far away. She goes further to explain that to her the right to be independent in her choices to for example join a woman's club or learn arts and crafts is also important. In summary, she links rights of women to freedom of movement and independence in making her own lifestyle choices.

Related questions were asked to 5-D-30-Coop to see her perspective on things as she was not allowed to study. She links rights to education and child support as these have been challenges in her own life. When asked about the Moudawana of 2004 she mentions she has heard of it but has never really been informed on what it is about.

> *I: The girl should be given rights as a child by going to school before she reaches the age of an adult and marries and has children of her own. Parents should not keep their daughters from going to school. In my time it was a shame for girls to go to school. Parents keep their daughters at home thinking that they are protecting them from the outside world but that is wrong. If the girl is educated, she knows how to protect herself that is how you care for children (5-D-30-Coop).*

5-D-30-Coop further links rights to peace that when rights are guaranteed the possibility to live in peace is possible.

> *I: Women's rights to me are that the woman can live in peace and not have to struggle all her life to live. To have a life of dignity and a chance to study is to have rights (5-D-30-Coop).*

2-M-25-Coop also links women's rights to education and learning. She mentioned she does follow media about women's rights on the television and emphasizes girls should have the rights to pursue a life of their own. To get educated, learn crafts, and not have to stay at home taking care of the household like traditional roles dictate. Despite the awareness of some informants, this does not reflect the overall rural population. The informants being of the social category of widows, divorced, single mothers and working together in cooperatives leads to being more informed about these laws and challenges in their lives than the general population. Married women who take care of the household are often not away because they do not follow media and are too busy fulfilling their traditional roles to even consider their own rights.

6.1.2.5. Maintaining patriarchy or preserving identity and culture?

Patriarchy "does not have just one form or shape where it is perpetuated" (Laghssais 2021b, 93). Joseph (1996, 16) considers women to be partially responsible in maintaining these patriarchal systems as elderly women often try to maintain their cultural identities which inadvertently aligns with patriarchal values. In the same vein Sadiqi in Laghssais (2022, 40) states that women in rural Amazigh society hold the public responsibility of maintaining the purity of the male bloodline by keeping up strict strategies to control female virginity as not to bring shame to the family and tribe's reputation. Women and girls are responsible for keeping the family reputation intact.

Amazigh women being the face of Amazigh culture leads me to ask about the freedom of the Amazigh women and consequences of choosing not to maintaining their traditions? What type of traditions should we keep as Amazigh people, and which traditions perpetuate the patriarchal system?

There are examples of strong female warriors in Amazigh history, but they are often isolated incidents which are overromanticized such as the example of Adjou Mouh who was a militant in the Battle of Bougafer of 1933. Her story shows women in time of war helped the men to fight off foreign invades. This highlights women's heroic deeds in exceptional historical circumstances despite in reality they suffer and are maltreated by their male counterparts. The woman is not allowed to walk side-by-side with her husband but must walk behind them and be submissive and obedient. This does not match the heroic image the Amazigh woman holds as presented by historical context like that of Adjou Mouh.

Becker (2006a) further details the Amazigh woman carriers of Amazigh identity and therefore the public face and identity of Imazghen. Chtatou (2022) also states that within music and poetry Amazigh women play a big part in keeping the communities together, informing them of various events and upholding moral and social codes. Their songs and poems form a common memory for the community. The responsibility of keeping alive and transmitting the Amazigh language and culture is in the hands of Amazigh women even though in the same act they also perpetuate patriarchal values. In an interview with 5-D-30-Coop she said elderly women also play a vital role in this by maintaining traditions and facilitating the ceremonies of marriage and carrying the collective knowledge of the tribe. 2-M-25-Coop expresses that being born Amazigh and

female automatically grants women and girls this responsibility to transmit their culture to future generations.

> *I: Because she is an Amazigh woman; her origins are Amazigh. Amazigh culture is transmitted to her, and she upholds it and protects it by wearing it. One who does not uphold her culture, what is her value? It's important to maintain it (culture) and transmit it to her children (2-M-25-Coop).*

According to Magallón (2012) the burden of maintaining traditions frequently falls on the shoulders of women. They are required to be the living representation of their cultural identity: To dress, live and behave in accordance with tradition no matter how devastating this is to their individual freedom. Then woman's identity is controlled by the collective identity. Amazigh women are expected to fulfil this role of keeping alive and transmitting their cultural identity and language to their children to secure it for future generations.

There is no freedom to choose for example to one day wear traditional attire and accessories such as *tibuqsin* (head accessory worn by women) and another day to wear more modern clothing. In a way it might be perceived as beautiful that Amazigh women are in charge of maintaining and representing their culture but due to the patriarchal values it perpetuates in reality it causes a lot of adversity. Aesthetically it can be beautiful, the traditional attire, different garments, jewelry and accessories that go along with cultural events such as weddings. *Tislit* (bride) wear *tibuqsin* (head accessory worn by women), *tazra n luban* (amber necklace), *Zafran* (Saffron), *Izbyan n nnqurt* (Silver Bracelets), and *ṭazwta* (black liquid used for decorating women's face with dots*)*. These traditions however should not set limits on the freedom of Amazigh women as they commonly do.

Women are perceived to be is good when they keep to traditions but once they decide to live a different lifestyle, they are considered flawed by society because they do not abide by society's roles. It is hard to leave the familiarity of the old life behind despite the challenges and adversities it brings because these women have no role model to follow into a different lifestyle.

4-D-40-Self-based told me many families still keep these traditions because they still have an elderly person at home that demands the family structure to be kept like that. Because people respect their elders, they upkeep their traditions. Once the older generation dies the family might decide to leave these traditions behind. One such tradition that often causes problems is the fact 2 families with sons and daughters might

have multiple couples formed between the children. If one of the couples has a falling out, that generally means that the other couple also needs to break up because both families in their entirety will be in dispute. The couple who is still happy together is also broken up, and because of the cultural stigma around unmarried women, the women are then victimized while the boys can go on to seek a new wife from another family.

In Amazigh culture elderly women also contribute to male dominance in the fact that they preserve the traditions for example in having a strong preference to producing male offspring over female offspring. When there are both boys and girls as children, the boys always get preferential treatment when there is good, in education, healthcare and most other domains. Informants mention regarding inheritances that often women give their share of an inheritance to their brothers despite themselves needing it. At weddings elderly women dictate how girls should behave during the ceremonies and how they should be represented to the public.

As a female Amazigh researcher studying my own culture reflect upon my life and tell myself I like the culture and its traditions aesthetically. They are beautiful and rich full of folklore, performance art such as *ahidous* and other cultural patrimony. Despite this I must recognize the fact women's inferiority and maltreatment is perpetuated by the same cultural values which causes a lot of adversity for them women who patiently and proudly carry their cultural identity with them. Mothers while preparing their children to fit into their socially expected roles and giving their sons preferential treatment and opportunities while they tell their daughters they do not belong to them and will belong someday to their husband causes girls to be conditioned to accept their fate to live with their arranged partners even if they are unhappy. The process of breaking the cycle is a big challenge and require a lot of willpower, education, and the chance for girls to become financially independent.

6.1.3. Amazigh Language, Culture and Identity

While section 3 theorizes about the resilience, empowerment, and agency that Amazigh women get from their cultural identities, this section highlights that there are also practical and impactful downsides for them in society. Their cultural identity is often marginalized and not properly recognized yet in all walks of life especially in urban areas, the public sector and media.

Since King Mohmmed VI acceded to the throne in 1999 efforts have been made to create and implement laws and policy which recognize the Amazigh culture and

language, but their real-world implementation is very slow (Laghssais 2021a). This leads to problems still being prevalent for native Tamazight speakers especially when accessing public or governmental services such as healthcare, education and the justice system as those systems remain to be delivered in Arabic.

Despite positive changes happening gradually, they are often still inaccessible for them due to Tamazight still not being used often in these areas. A lot of rural Amazigh people, especially female, are still monoglot. High dropout rates in school for females, and the burden of cultural and societal expectations being on their shoulders contribute to the high number of monoglot Amazigh women as they simply do not get the opportunities to learn other languages as their male counterparts do.

The issue of language and identity is overly complex as it intersects in a lot of areas with rural-socio economic conditions and gender and kinship. I decided to make it a distinct section despite this as language and identity is often the lens used to identify problems which then are categorized ultimate as socio-economic or gender issues. In addition to that, since Tamazight languages are only officially recognized as of 2011, there are many linguistic barriers still to overcome for Amazigh people as not all areas of public life have been made available in their native languages. While these language barriers affect all Amazigh native speakers in a way, women are often most impacted as men often travel to big cities and learn Arabic or French in that environment, and men often have more opportunities to get a formal education where they learn either or both of these languages.

After 11 years officialization of Tamazight in the constitutional text, the newly elected government headed by the liberal Aziz Akhannouch in 2022 presented a new agreement between the Ministry of Justice and IRCAM. This agreement facilitates the translation of administrative and legal texts and documents in advance of further measures such as use of Tamazight in court related affairs are put in place in an attempt to implement the instructions of law 26-16 which aims to integrate Tamazight within all aspects of society.

While legislative measures are put in place increasingly to aid the integration of Tamazight language, turning these legislations into concrete implementations on the ground will require much more time and effort. The National Federation of Amazigh Associations (FNAA) published a report on the 6th of July 2022 regarding governmental activities pertaining to the integration of Tamazight language according to law 26-16. The report showed that there are still numerous cultural, financial and practical challenges to

overcome before Tamazight can be used in an equal capacity to Arabic and French. For example, teachers of Tamazight language still face structural violence and discrimination regarding their didactic trainings being put on hold. Activities and projects related to promoting and implementing Tamazight remain underfunded and understaffed. All in all, the report concludes that Tamazight is still treated as a dialect rather than its own language and that the government should increase their efforts to adhere to law 26-16 as it would help preserve an important part of Moroccan heritage and culture as well as enable Amazigh knowledge to be used in a professional capacity.

In the field I was able to document my informant's experiences with public services from both the perspective of informants who only speak Tamazight and informants who speak both Tamazight and Darija. Some of my informants' interviews revealed they gained some limited knowledge of Darija through national television which is all in Arabic except for 1 channel which broadcasts in Tamazight since 2010. A few others mentioned they had learned some basic Arabic when they emigrated to a more urban area where daily transactions are more often in Arabic which pushed them to learn it a little.

Many Amazigh rural women face difficulties interacting with public services as they are unable to speak Arabic.

> *B: Does an Amazigh woman that does not speak Arabic face difficulties interacting with public institutions because she does not speak the language?*
> *I: She finds communicating difficult which results in cases such as medical staff calls them animals. There hope exists that since 2011 the language was officialized, but this has not been entirely implemented (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader spoke a bit more about the insults by medical staff she mentioned.

> *I: She sees us wearing our traditional clothes and living in these mountains and she comes from the city wearing the modern clothes. She thinks we are animals. She can't communicate with us in our language nor understand our life (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

Not being able to speak the language means the inability to communicate and therefore the doctor as 1-W-50-Self-based says may provide a wrong prescription.

> *B: If you didn't go to Rabat and learned Arabic there wouldn't it be hard to explain to your doctor what is happening to your body when you visit them?*
> *I: Indeed. Language is important for communication. If I don't know what to say, what is wrong with me. He may give me a wrong medicine (1-W-50-Self-based).*

When 1-W-50-Self-based first moved to Rabat she experienced difficulties due to not speaking Arabic. She was not able to communicate in Arabic and told me she felt like a *statue* when neighbors and people around her were having conversations.

> *I: When you don't speak the language its hard, you feel like a statue not understanding Arabic, when I went to Rabat first time, I felt badly because I didn't know what to say to people and nor did they understand me if I needed something. I sat aside and little by little started learning. When I did not know the language I shout my mouth, when I first went to the city, I was observing and listening. Then I learned (1-W-50-Self-based).*

Due to lack of jobs in her hometown her husband was forced to move to Rabat looking for job opportunities and she followed him for to keep the family together. They came from a rural area and started living in the shanty town on the periphery of Rabat as it was affordable on a small salary. In such areas there is no access to water nor electricity. 1-W-50-Self-based could not remember the exact year she was in Rabat but told me that she experienced unpleasant quarrels with Arabic speaking neighbors about access to water.

> *I: When I go to Rabat back then, we used to get water from a public drinking fountain from which everyone collects their water. When Arabs when back then find our buckets (we Amazigh women) waiting our turn and know that we are Amazigh they throw our buckets away so we can't get water. I still remember this today. They said that they are the only ones allowed to fetch water because they are Arab, we Amazigh women should be the last ones because the water drinking fountain is on their land as they told us (1-W-50-Self-based).*
> *B: Was it like a water truck that used to come, and people get their water from?*
> *I: It is water coming from a spring, they put a tap to it, but the tap was in the land of the Arab women. Whenever they find our buckets, they don't speak to us. They take our buckets and throw them away and put theirs first. Until one day I coordinated with some other women who are also Amazigh like me to demonstrate there. We said the first one of us who goes fetch water, and they throw her buckets away. We will demonstrate together and support each other. Someone told the Arab women this and the next day they came and waited in line for their turn and didn't throw out our buckets away anymore (1-W-50-Self-based).*

While Tashelhiyt is the dominant language used at home for all the informants, due to television, learning Darija is increasing among people. When asked about being

discriminated because of being Amazigh 1-W-50-Self-based said that after she lived in an urban city, she learned Arabic and does not use Tashelhiyt anymore.

> *B: Have you ever felt discriminated against because you speak Tashelhiyt?*
> *I: I wouldn't speak Tashelhiyt at all when I go to the city Rabat or Casablanca. Though they have different dialects I speak like other people. When I go to the city sometimes, I meet women who don't speak Arabic. I try to help them a bit and teach them words and translate for them (1-W-50-Self-based).*

Despite not mastering the language, informant 12-M-46-Self-based can get by when she is faced with situations in which she has to speak Arabic but stresses the fact women who cannot speak Arabic should not run into problems interacting with public services.

> *I: when she goes to hospital, she should at least find someone who speak her language. It should be requirement for hiring people to work in these public services posts so that people don't feel marginalized and feel undermined in their country. There must be Arab and Tamazight speaking at each administration. (12-M-46-Self-based)*

12-M-46-Self-based experienced exclusion and insults in hospital of Mouly Ali Sherf in Errachidia when she was sent there to give birth to her first child.

> *B: Why do you think they do that in that hospital exactly? Is it because there are a lot of people coming from all communes to that specific hospital?*
> *I: they have a lot of people, but people come there already sick or in difficult situation to give birth and they are added by bad treatment of the personnel in the hospital. Women should not be treated like that in public institutions. If they have a lot of people to cover and lack of personnel, they should build other hospitals and hire more people to attend to all people. There are a lot of youth graduated with diplomas and unemployed and they should be working. We deserve better treatment in our country especially in our most vulnerable unhealthy state that is why we come to the hospital to be cared for and treated to heal. If it's a minor thing like flu we know what to do, we go to the pharmacy and buy medicine. Women are afraid to go to hospitals because they heard that children get stolen in hospitals. Amazigh women get beaten by Arab nurses in Hospital Ali Sherfi and insulted. When they can't speak the language, they are dehumanized. Amazigh speaking nurses do not do this (12-M-46-Self-based).*

I asked 1-W-50-Self-based whether in her opinion Tamazight is useful to be taught in school for all children.

B: Is it important children learn Tamazight in school?
I: It is important as half of Morocco is Amazigh and people who don't speak Arabic need to be understood when they go to court or to the doctor. The children who are studying will grow to have posts where their clients or patients are Amazigh. It's good for communication between people (1-W-50-Self-based).

Identity for Amazigh women according to Becker (2006a) is expressed through their attire. I discussed the topic with informants and asked whether they keep the traditional local dresses when they travel to urban cities or if they change to wear Jellabas (a more common dress worn by urban women). Informants revealed that when going to urban areas they wear more modern clothes or Jellabas. In the experience of 1-W-50-Self-based, she stated that if she wore her local clothes she would be harassed and called names on the streets when she is in Rabat.

B: Why did you say when you do not wear a Jellaba that people call you šluḥ?
I: When you got to Rabat or Casablanca you have to wear a Jellaba to assimilate like them and look Arab. I don't want to be the only one with aḥruy (garment worn by rural women) and everyone looks at me. The Arabs women say 'ohh look at her wearing this, it's old fashioned' and they insult me (1-W-50-Self-based).

2-M-25-Coop similarly expressed she does not wear traditional Amazigh clothes when she visits urban centers.

I: In the city they do not have our traditions and it is not possible to wear them (traditional clothes) in another city where they do not carry the same rich cultural background. I don't feel comfortable in the city no matter how long I spend there my heart is always yearning for my hometown because it represents safety. People can leave their house's doors open (2-M-25-Coop).
B: Regarding Amazigh dresses, do women wear them when they go to Rabat?
I: No, they don't because you look awkward among people of the city. There are many people who don't like Amazigh people and are not proud of Amazigh people. Those clothes we keep them for our rural villages where it makes sense to wear them (2-M-25-Coop).

In the educational sector, school is in Arabic and students from the southeast have no one at home to speak Arabic with and thus they struggle to learn the language. Children make a lot of spelling and grammatical mistakes and can hardly master the Arabic language, let alone French and English which are also mandatory. Tamazight is also added in the sense that is a standard language, but in the region of this study people speak Tashelhiyt which is a different Tamazight language. This only adds to the student's burden as now they have yet another language to learn which was originally intended to be familiar to them. Sometimes this even causes confusion between students and teachers

as they both assume their own language is Tamazight while the teacher might not understand Tashelhiyt spoken by the student who assumes the class is in his own language.

In addition to the issues in education, the government in Morocco in accordance with law 37-99 requires children who are born to have names which are Moroccan in nature and written in Arabic. Imazighen still face difficulties in naming their children classical Amazigh names such as Illy, Tilili, Chaden, and Dihya among others. There is an available list of Amazigh names which must be written in Arabic characters. Amazigh names which are not listed are considered foreign. There have been several cases in the news about complaints after Amazigh people were denied the right to name their newborn.

In light of this section and the reforms happening the life of Amazigh women in the margins is still plagued by inequalities and much of the reforms happening, despite being a positive general direction, have unfortunately had little real impact on the ground. A lot of women are still not aware of their rights and laws aimed to protect them as information is not available in their native languages. Due to issues in education, this issue still persists oftentimes even in the younger generations. Because they face these adversities in every aspect of their lives from healthcare to urban centers, education and media, a lot of Imazighen feel portrayed as and are treated by Arabic speaking people as illiterate, backwards and primitive. They face verbal and sometimes physical abuse when interacting with public services and more modern institutions and through this societal exclusion are condemned to only feel safe and free to be themselves at home in their villages.

6.1.4. The impact of Covid-19 pandemic on Amazigh women

Despite Covid-19 is not being a primary topic of investigation, this theme kept emerging in conversation with informants given the time period of interview and fieldwork being amidst the Covid-19 pandemic. This section investigates and highlights adversities of women interviewed during Covid-19 time.

As the pandemic impacted the globe, Morocco like the rest of the world experienced severe economic challenges as well as drastic measures being put in place restricting people's movement within public spaces. Moroccan authorities implemented strict lockdown measures forcing people to stay at home and work and study from home as much as possible. Going out was only really permitted for basic necessities such as

food and medicine, and traveling between regions was restricted only to people who received permission due to special reasons. Since the first case of Covid-19 in Morocco was reported on March 2, 2020, thousands of Moroccan citizens have contracted the virus, with over 850,000 confirmed cases and over 12,000 deaths as of September 6, 2021. Due to life being restricted to the home and private spheres, women faced additional adversities during this time, as the amount of work around the house they were expected to do drastically increased, as well as there having been a significant uptick in cases of domestic violence against women.

An example of such impact can be seen in the experiences expressed by one of my informants 1-W-50-Self-based who lost her husband just before Covid-19 happened. Whilst still mourning the death of her late husband, she found herself in a difficult situation as demand for her artisan products fell away from under her due to public gatherings such as weddings and joyful events being banned, and her products mainly being applicable to such events. In addition to that, supply lines for materials she needed were cut as shops were forced to close if they did not sell essential items such as food or medicine.

> *I: The Corona (Covid-19) stopped everything. Before, a lot of people came from everywhere to visit these festivals but now it is not happening anymore. Even if I needed to buy the materials the shops were closed, I couldn't buy the thread and fabric to create, only the shops of food were open. At the time some people had nothing to eat, let alone to buy arts and crafts. Also, I exhibit my crafts and arts at local festivals and exhibitions. With Corona everything is cancelled. Before Corona it was nice because a lot of people came to these events, and I could sell a lot of things. But now Hamdullah the lockdown is lifted by the government; the shops are open I can buy the materials I need to create my crafts and the diaspora are coming back to visit and they like the traditional stuff to buy and take it back with them to Europe. I am hopeful that my crafts will be sold again this summer (1-W-50-Self-based).*

Due to economical challenges faced during the Covid-19 pandemic, some women saw this as an opportunity to band together and form cooperatives in order to help themselves and each other through these times. For example, 7-M-44-Coop and 8-M-30-Coop both founded their own cooperatives during the Covid-19 period. Starting a new cooperative during this time was an opportunity to share in each other's adversities, but also presented the women with similar challenges to those faced by 1-W-50-Self-based as the products from their respective cooperatives were also closely related to public events and gatherings.

Informant 8-M-30-Coop experienced difficulties in marking her products because of lack of local demand due to there not being any local events such as weddings. Due to the reality she was faced with, 8-M-30-Coop during Covid-19 took to social media and opened a Facebook account in an attempt to sell her crafts online. This new form of marketing and selling products online requires a completely new set of skills and resources. However, access to good and stable internet, knowledge of language such as French, Arabic and English, photography skills to take pictures of products, and storytelling in order to market the products and describe their nature. Next to these issues, one of the largest issues was facilitating payment for the crafts. Often times these women have no bank accounts and rely on post office shipments and services like Western Union to facilitate the payments. As globally people are more used to credit cards, online banking and regular bank transactions, this causes difficulties for them explaining their customers how to pay for their crafts and forms a potential barrier for customers even to engage with them.

Other informants such as 4-D-40-Self-based took other routes towards economic empowerment such as breeding cattle such as sheep to sell during Eid festivities. Due to the pandemic however, produce needed to keep their livestock healthy, such as straw, barley and hay, increased drastically in prices. In addition to that, merchants at local markets could not increase the rates at which they purchased the animals, causing the need for 4-D-40-Self-based to borrow money to sustain her trade and be able to raise her 5 children and pay her utility bills.

4-D-40-Self-based describes life during lock downs of the pandemic as totally *blocked* as the region on general benefits from tourists and tourism but this industry completely collapsed due to imposed travel restrictions both regionally and internationally during the Covid-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, vaccines were developed to prevent severe disease, hospitalization, and deaths of Covid-19. At beginning of the vaccine rollout, initially King Mohammed VI was administered the vaccine on public television to encourage people to join the efforts against the impact Covid-19. This was followed by police officials, doctors, teachers, and the military. After these groups of people received their vaccines elderly citizens older than 65 years old were requested to get vaccines. Subsequently they moved to younger age groups until they reached 18 years old and below. After vaccines were rolled out about a year into the pandemic, travel restrictions were eased a little bit, but travel was still recommended

against, and the tourism industry wouldn't see a return to pre-Covid-19 levels for a long time after.

> *B: What are effects of Covid-19 on your life?*
> *I: Now people are blocked, I bring my sheep to the market, and they tell me 300dh, 200dh and say there is no money. And when I go buy straw or barley and hay, or šmandar (fodder) are expensive as are water and electricity The living conditions and expenses are difficult in these lands. Before Covid-19 I would work hard and not feel the weight of the living expenses because I work to earn money. Even if electricity is expensive, I work double to pay everything on time. If I sold some sheep or a bull it gave a financial boost, but now no jobs, nothing, you count every coin. Now life is blocked over here and in Europe. The world is blocked from moving. Before Covid-19 the tourists would come by to our town and hotels are working and the tourist would buy some Taḥruyt or Amazigh shawl or local stuff. Now everyone stays at home, people that died because of Covid-19 may Allah grant them mercy and those remaining may Allah grant them a long healthy life. Diaspora also are blocked abroad (4-D-40-Self-based).*

In such a period of uncertainty brought upon by Covid-19, 4-D-40-Self-based said that everybody was impacted on different levels. For her on normal days when she needed money, she would borrow from her network, but during Covid-19 it was difficult to borrow money as everyone was facing economic uncertainty and loss of income. When I interviewed 5-D-30-Coop who works at a bread and couscous cooperative she shared her struggles amid Covid-19 with the cooperative work.

> *B: Did Corona impact your work at the cooperative?*
> *I: At the beginning where there was total lockdown its hard, we were closed for a year. We remained at home without clients. Diaspora did not come back to visit since Summer of 2019. Its important thing that diaspora comes back every summer to visit as then weddings happening throughout the region and more economical activity happens. Now even though the lockdown is lifted partially the economy is still impacted. We started working again November 2020 until now as you see. It's hard with children at home, we need internet payment and, laptops or smartphones to be able to teach them and if you have more than one child it's a lot. If you are not working, where will you get money to buy laptops for 4 children (5-D-30-Coop).*

A similar situation was shared by 2-M-25-Coop who also has a cooperative for crafts and artisans' products. 2-M-25-Coop stated that before Covid-19 their cooperative was active and have participated in several exhibitions throughout Morocco.

> *B: For products of the cooperative do you participate in exhibition?*
> *I: We participate in a lot of exhibitions in Morocco for in Gersif, Dakhla, Tinghir, El Kalla, Ouarzazate, Marrakech, Medilt. We go to present the products of crafts of the cooperative and market them in other cities of Morocco. We sell products there a lot, but now due to Covid-19 we did not participate in these events until this period again (summer). Weddings are going to happen again now, and people need the traditional stuff we make for celebrations (2-M-25-Coop).*

Hence, Covid-19 has impacted the life of Amazigh women in many levels from economic impact to having to learn new skills to cope with doing business whilst the country was in lockdown, and needing to find new ways of economic empowerment during this period. Due to lock downs in their town festivals and exhibitions were cancelled causing a lot of cooperatives and self-based artisans to lose nearly all of their business as it is aimed primarily at traditional arts and crafts related to these celebrations. Besides this, cooperatives operating in areas such as bread and couscous also saw a large drop in revenue as families struggled to make ends meet and did not have the economic capacity to purchase their goods or had to buy their goods under market price. A major seasonal event which was cancelled causing a lot of loss of business were for example the collective weddings in Alnif which are organized yearly on summer. Such events usually create a lot of financial headroom for artisans and craftswomen in the region as such a large event brings them a lot of profit in a short time period which sustains them for a large part of the year. In addition to the economic challenges faced by these women, lacking healthcare facilities as mentioned in the section about healthcare previously were amplified due to the increased demand for healthcare services brought upon by Covid-19. From physical to mental health a lot of people needed extra medical attention, in a region where under normal circumstances it is already difficult to receive proper medical treatment.

6.1.5. Changes to local Amazigh community and customs

6.1.5.1. Globalization, Capitalism, and Consumerism

Changes to the local community due to the advent of globalization, capitalism and consumerism emerged as a topic during the fieldwork interviews through participant observation as contributing to adversities suffered by Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco. From the onset of the fieldwork, I noticed the presence of a lot of plastics and plastic product in shops and marketplaces. This was something which was much less prevalent when I was growing up in the region.

Furthermore, during events such as the collective weddings in Alnif, one of my informants 4-D-40-Self-based explained that one of the impacts they saw of modernity coming to the southeast of Morocco was that for instance during the day that the brides would normally reveal their faces in a ceremony called *amẓid* (third day of wedding) they will now wear an additional yellow veil under their traditional garment out of fear of appearing in videos or photos on social media unveiled (See photo 64). (Details of the collective wedding will be covered in *section 6.4* about culture of peace).

> *B: What about before, when there was fewer social media? Did they (brides) show their faces in public?*
> *I: Back then they used to show their faces and stay more in public. Now the media limited the tradition in this sense. Also, a lot of people come from many cities in Morocco, and they film and put things on YouTube. As locals we don't want to be on YouTube. This is matrimony of real people not modelling or acting. Why would someone take your photos and video without permission and post them online? Now everyone has phones, and they take pictures of newly wedded brides and grooms. People take photos and videos and put them on YouTube. Until people don't want to be on photos of and put online in the day of revealing in the public area, they wear the yellow veil, so it hides their face and when they are out of the public area, they wear the yellow veil. The bride and groom hold hands until they throw the almonds in water then as is customary. Then they go out of the public square and when they are private, they can show their face if they want to (4-D-40-Self-based).*

4-D-40-Self-based explains how TV and phones change the lifestyle of Amazigh women by comparing between the situation of the previous generations and the current situation with modern life and access to sedentary lifestyles. She noted that these days a lot of people stay home and watch TV or make themselves busy with their phones rather than taking part in collective or community events and work. Before women would wear their traditional attire, *aḥruy,* every day even when working in the fields but now due to influence from media and television they want to dress differently and assimilate into modern lives. 5-D-30-Coop talks about lifestyle changes as the Amazigh society heads more and more toward a consumerist lifestyle, having many imported goods such as food and clothes available in the villages.

I: Our parents were self-sufficient from what they grow on their lands. They did not need to buy anything from the market. But now we depend on buying things like butane gas and we must pay for electricity. Before there was no light, people had candles. Water is in every home now and you must pay bills. Before women, and still in some areas, walked miles to bring water and wood for cooking. Now life is easy in terms of hard work but also expensive that you must work to get money to buy these things for living. They needed carrots and tomatoes and meat and usually had stockpiles and make couscous every dinner. Now people want to buy and eat different things (5-D-30-Coop).

Such consumerism also affects children according to 5-D-30-Coop. Where before children used to spend a lot of time outside playing and making their own toys and games yet now due to excess of smart phones and available plastic toys and games on the market children are losing interest in making their toys.

I: Now children whatever they see they want. Toys and all these things of plastic unlike in our time where we used to play with cans of fish and handmade wooden toys. Now as they grow up their responsibilities are growing with a lot of products on the market now such as jam, cheese, and butter. We consume a lot because the children want to have what their friends have. Money is important to live. But of course, parent should teach their children patience. Not everything they want to get it for them. If everything they want you bring it, they will not be responsible, patience is important to teach to children even if you have money and can afford to buy them what they want. Of course, you should take care of them, but also teach them patience (5-D-30-Coop).

With such consumerist culture and everything becoming more available, life becomes expensive and leads people to change their lifestyle to keep up with modernity.

6.1.5.2. Islamization

Due to the rise of globalization and access to television channels from the east such as *Iqaa* spreading in Morocco at end of 90s, the spread of CDs and cassettes containing religious preaching *daɛwa,* and the access to internet, Islamization has seen an increased spread throughout Morocco. While Amazigh people have always been Muslims since the coming of Islam to Morocco, the Islam they practiced is moderate and culture oriented. They are expected to pray, fast Ramadan, give alms, celebrate Eid, and those who were able have visited Mecca (Sadiqi 2003). Despite being muslim, they kept their daily life and socio- cultural, political and economic structures according to *izerif* until after independence in 1956 (Hart 1981) where sharia was introduced as law that guides various aspects of their lives. Within Morocco the "official Islamic school in Morocco is the *Sunni Maliki* school (*madhab*), itself based on *al'sharia* 'Islamic law'" (Sadiqi 2003,

40). By Islamization the process through which a society under influence shifts towards conservatism Islam is meant. Due to the spread of influence of television where programs spread a different more conservative form of Islam the status of Islam within Moroccan society changes with it. Now many practices which were accepted before in Amazigh culture such as mixed gender events, dances, and celebrations, shaking the hand of a woman and other cultural traditions such as clothing style are considered *Haram* more often. In the testimony of informant 12-M-46-Self-based through her life she has seen these shifts and changes happen to the Amazigh community.

> B: Tell me about difference between old days and now?
> I: In old days there is less religiosity and people prayed less unlike now. In old days women ran around trying to take care of the household and farm. They were too busy to pray and only old ladies that no longer worked prayed more regularly (12-M-46-Self-based).

6.1.5.3. Tattoos Declining in Amazigh Culture

Tattoos in Amazigh culture is a major topic when we talk about changes happening to Amazigh. Tattooing carries many meanings in Amazigh civilization to indicate tribal affiliation, and gender identity, whether the girl is married or not, and adorning their faces with tattoos symbols that believed to cure diseases and bring fertility, and protection from the evil eye (Felix & Loretta Leu, 2020). Tattooing in Tamazight plural *tayzayin*, singular *Tayzayt* comes from the verb *yzay*. It is a permanent scar or mark of motifs and symbols found throughout different Amazigh tribes. The girl that tattoos indicates that she reached puberty and is thus passing into adulthood and therefore ready for marriage. The resistance of the girls to the pain of getting the tattoos indicates a new beginning of the cycle of life of the Amazigh girl and therefore she catches the eyes of bachelors who can then request her hand for marriage. The meaning of these tattooing goes beyond that to include symbols of the tribes and each tribe has their own symbols with their own meanings attached to them. Women would be identified by the symbols they carry on their bodies and through that demanded respect from strangers.

Tattoos are done to carve a life history of the woman into her body, memories of her past, whether happy or sad, also her dreams and aspirations of the future. Women recorded their lives on their bodies. An Amazigh poetry verse echoes the latter where *tayzayt* is mentioned in runs as follows: *Idda usmun izri yid azmul g wul, /// urda ttmḥunt tnqat n tisgnit* (The companion went and left a wound in my heart /// such as needle dots that can't be erased). Needle dots refer to tattooing.

The tattooing practiced is performed in rituals by using a sharp-edged object or needle and using natural green flowers or plants such as Lucerne/Alfalfa as a base for ink. For the pigmentation to have a radiant strong green colour the process is repeated several times throughout a month after which it is left to heal naturally applying oil or butter to aid the healing process. The choice of the colour green is because it represents the concept of *baraka* (blessings) and because it also its linked to vegetation, fertility, and henna leaves. Despite Amazigh having adopted Islam as religion the practice of tattooing continued for generations after. It was not until last few decades with the appearance of television and Islamization that these practices started to erode. 1-W-50-Self-based told me about her sister who lives in Rabat and received much criticism about her facial tattoos causing her to decide to remove it.

> *I: Tattoos is what we found through our parents as a symbol of beauty of a woman. Now culture changed and people don't do tattoos anymore. Women who have tattoos pay to remove tattoos for 1000dh or more. They don't want it anymore because they heard its haram. My sister because she lives in Rabat removed it with 1000dh. She went all the way to the city of Beni Mellal to remove it. There is someone who removes them there. On her chin the removal left traces and spots like holes on her face. She took the skin and meat out until it looked bad. I prefer when she was tattooed rather than the holes she has now. For me I like my tattoos I have them on my hands and my chin. I will keep them (1-W-50-Self-based).*

Tattoos in Islam are considered "a sin because it involves changing the natural creation of God, inflicting unnecessary pain in the process" (Becker 2006b, 50). In 1993 Becker did her ethnography among Ait Khabbash and observed closely the early signs of these changes in the lifestyle of Amazigh women. Becker documented as certain hair styles are no longer carried and continued by women, and also the use of silver accessories such as bracelets, fibulae, hair pendants decreases as the white colour of purity and innocence is replaced by gold. Despite these traditions degrading and slowly disappearing, Imazighen find new avenues for their symbolic expression is found within carpet weaving, pottery and other arts and crafts. Another principal factor impacting the decline of traditional tattooing practices is the rise of capitalism and access to education which brings new stigma around the art of tattoos outside of the religious pressure exerted on these traditions. Pursuing modern careers such as teachers or doctors is often impossible with tattoos as these are forbidden by many institutions as being representative of deviant or irresponsible behavior.

6.1.5.4. *Id Yennayer*: Amazigh New Year

Amazigh new year known as *Id Yennayer* and is celebrated on January 12th. On this day Imazighen celebrate the bond they have with the land as well as the earth's wealth and generosity. It is the time of the year when the fruits of the land are celebrated and agricultural endeavours are assessed with the goal to increase their yield the following season. During this celebration people make special dishes such as couscous or *Tagulla*. The latter is a corn kernel with butter ghee or Argan oil and remains a classic during the festivities. Traditionally Imazighen hide a date seed in a *Tagulla* plate and the lucky person who finds it will be blessed throughout the whole year. The dishes cooked that day include a lot of vegetables that are products of the land to reinforce the special relationship Imazighen have with their North African land. It is also an opportunity to socialize and exchange food between families, friends, and neighbors. In my interview with 12-M-46-Self-based she told me she celebrates *Yennayer* among the Ait Atta members of Mellab.

> *B: Do you celebrate Yennayer?*
> *I: Yennayer we celebrate here for 3 days and prepare couscous with 7 vegetables. When it approaches people remind each other of the date. We do not do spicy spices so that the year would not turn to be spicy or bitter. We make a lot and give some at the entrance of Iɣrem (the village) in the afternoon and people eat it collectively. You also add to it takourdast (meat) saved from last Eid. To make the children happy and joyful you give them almonds. Before men would go imi n iɣrem, tadɣart n tqbilt (the entrence of the village, the location of the tribe) and play aḥidus (dance performance) after dinner. Nowadays people do Lumsya/lumsyat (evening of entertainments) and they bring sort of theatre stand and comedy and singers and orchestras. Before it was us men and women twtmin na iswan aman n iɣfnst (women that are mature) that join together to play aḥidus, there is line of men and line of women, and they would exchange words of poetry. Little by little such changes happen, and younger generations take the lead and do aḥidus. It was not until recently that they do Lumsyat and no longer play aḥidus like before (12-M-46-Self-based).*

Although Imazighen have been widely celebrating this holiday since thousands of years it has not yet been recognized as a national holiday in Morocco as of May 2021 in comparison to for example Algeria where since 2017 the celebration has been recognized as national holiday. Each year around the approach of the Amazigh new year, some imams say it is *haram* to celebrate it due to it being rooted in paganism, others still say it is a French invention. Amazigh activists however still advocate to make the celebration a national holiday.

6.1.5.5. *Tlla Aɣnja Tislit n w Anzar*: The Bride of the Rain

Another practice on the decline due to rise of religious conservatism is *Tlla aɣnja: Tislit n w Anzar* which translates to *bride of the rain*. The story behind this celebration is rooted in a time before the appearance of monotheistic religions where civilizations were still mostly pagan. In these times legends existed and many gods and goddesses tied to natural phenomena such as water, rain, harvest and the sun were revered often focused around elements impacting agriculture or other important life necessities. North Africa is known for the legend of Anzar which is also represented in Amazigh culture.

The legend of Anzar, lord of the sky, rain and water, is about an encounter between Anzar and a beautiful girl he finds bathing in a river. He proposes to marry her, but due to fears of what people will say about her marrying a God, she refuses. Furious about this refusal Anzar lets rivers run dry, stops rain from falling and causes suffering throughout the region until the girl calls to him and marries him to stop the suffering. Once they are married, the rain comes back, and rivers start to flow again. This legend is said to have started the *Tislit n w Anzar* or *the bride of Anzar* tradition to appease him and ensure water is plentiful in the region. Initially in the old days villages would select the most beautiful girl in their village and have her perform a ritual and sleep on an altar to symbolically offer her to Anzar. Later this tradition evolved into women using dolls of the bride (See photo 15, 16) to enact the ritual rather than real girls. The wooden doll is dressed in rags, simply suggested by a pestle or a ladle and whose arms are represented by two spoons destined to symbolically receive and conserve the long-awaited rainwater. The doll is further dressed up like a bride with ornaments and accessories and the ceremony of a wedding if performed with the doll. Once the doll is created women go around the village to collect offerings from people for the wedding which is to be enacted. These offerings usually take the form of wheat, tea, sugar, and songs. After the collection process has finished, the doll is brought to all the places on the riverbed which are dried up and put the doll headfirst into the dried-up parts to ensure an abundance of rain will come. This practice is a common heritage shared by all Imazghen throughout North Africa (Becker 2006a, 37-38**;** Camps and Chaker 1989, 1-2; Gélard 2006, 81-102).

Speaking about this practice to 12-M-46-Self-based she stated that it is still practiced in some villages but not as much as before due to people becoming more conservative in recent years. The story of *Tislit n w Anzar* bares the same significance and meaning throughout different tribes yet the decoration of the bride differs according

to each tribes' traditions and customs. 12-M-46-Self-based mentioned the traditions of Ait Atta and how they hold the practice of *tlla aɣnja* in which they collect offerings and celebrate and sing collectively.

> B: Do you still practice tlla aɣnja?
> I: There are still villages that still hold this practice when there is Aday laḥ anẓar (a time of drought). Women in the morning around 9 am ask aɣnja n tadgalta (See photos 15, 16) specifically from a woman that is widowed and has children. [they bring aɣnja from her because people say that she a widow is pure her social status is that of saint anything that she asks God he responds to]. They dress aɣnja like a bride, the customs, and traditions of Ait Atta are that they put aɛbruq (headgear) on the head and dress it with aḥruy (garment) and bracelets of silver, an amber necklace. and they give it to little girls and boys to carry while they follow them saying: ttlaɣnja asi urawen nnm s ignna/ a ɣr i rbbi ad ig anẓar s kigan (ttlaɣnja raise your plams to the sky, ohh god bless us with a lot of rain). The girls go around and collect meat, wheat and they bring it to older women to cook. And all women of Iɣrem (the village) gather to clean it and eat lunch together. They grind it in azreg (traditional quern) and sieve it. Meanwhile girls go to fetch water and clean the space of imi n iɣrem, tadɣart n tqbilt (the entrence of the village, the location of the tribe)They gather the supplies such as tarukut d wagra (couscous pan and steamer). They send someone to get fresh vegetables such as courgette, pumpkin, and turnip from the igran (fields). The chores are divided, and everybody works collectively. They gather at the end to make couscous for everyone from the tribe. After they eat, they recite verses from Qur'an then Anzar (rain) and isafn (rivers) will flow in the coming days. Dasnd i tiɣit rbbi s niyt nsn (they have good intent and faith and make supplicant to God and God relieves them by sending water), unlike now people lose faith in these things (12-M-46-Self-based).

During the course of my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to ask 1-W-50-Self-based to help me in the process of creating *tlla aɣnja*. One afternoon we sat together an did the ritual singing and creating it. First, we started by finding wooden branches tying them together in the basic shape of a person. After this was done, we gathered and prepared all the adornments and garments and accessories such as the *aɛbruq* (bride's head covering), *Tasmert/tismren* (Wool belt given by mother to their daughter upon marriage usually in yellow, red and green colors. See photo 23), *aḥruy* (garment), *azbg/Izbyan n nnqurt* (a silver bracelets), *tasfift/tasfifin* (semi-circular head silver accessory), and two *aɣnja* (hand-carved wooden spoons) of the bride. After all necessities were gathered and prepared we started dressing up *tlla aɣnja*. We tied everything with string, and we dressed her up in a caftan and on top of that we dress her in an *aḥruy*. We sing and laugh as we dress her and then put *aɛbruq* on top of her head and tie it. We tie *aḥruy* with *tasmert* yellow and green and red colors. After that we add to her *Tibuqsin* (head accessory) and we add to her *tšaš* (tinsel) and *tasfift* plus *tazra n luban* (necklace of

amber) and later *aɣnja* will be added to her as hands. They face upward to represent open hands which are able to receive water. The following is a transcript of the song we sang during the ritual.

1. *Tlla aɣnja numn s rbbi x2*
2. *Tada ygan adig anzar*
3. *Tlla aɣnja numn s rbbi*
4. *a ɣr i rbbi ad ig anẓar s kigan*
5. *ttlaɣnja asi urawen nnm s ignna/ a ɣr i rbbi ad ig anẓar s kigan*

Source: 1-W-50-Self-based

1. Tlla aɣnja we believe in God x2.
2. The one that will bring rain.
3. Tlla aɣnja we believe in God.
4. Tlla aɣnja ask God to give a lot of rain.
5. ttlaɣnja raise your plams to the sky, ohh God bless us with alot of rain

Photo 15: Tlla aɣnja.

Photo used to illustrate the process of making Tlla aɣnja.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Tazarine, 2021

Photo 16: Tlla aɣnja.

Photo used to illustrate our final result of making Tlla aɣnja.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Tazarine, 2021

I asked 12-M-46-Self-based about the reasons behind the decline of such practices. She said that is no longer practiced as much as before due to the rise of Islamist culture and the subsequent shaming and labeling many aspects of Amazigh culture as haram.

B: Do people still practice tlla aɣnja these days?

I: mayt id yiwin allig ur yad da n skar aya. Igat lhemm daɣ n isunnyin. (What happened that we no longer practice these things, is the issue of the islamists sunist/conservative islamism) that the conservatist start to spread within Amazigh people who become influenced by conservatism of Islamists. And they start saying everything is haram. They say that tlla aɣnja is superstition and there is nothing but Allah. That's why. Zman (before) people had niyt (faith), they have good intentions and celebrate tlla aɣnja and God responds with rain. Now due to this (conservativism) they said no. Those who practice tlla aɣnja are shamed and pointed out as non-religious. People now instead do collective prayer of Salat-Listisqa (prayer to Allah for rain used during periods of drought). Aglid (the King) announced to all mosques to do salat listisqa and that's what people do now. Zman no we found our ancestor do Tlla aɣnja and we do it as collective practice that gathers us to cook together and eat together and the end of it, we do fatiha. Zman that's what their intention were and their niya (faith). Now they said there is nothing than the hands of God. Zman people were not educated that's what they thought of, performed, and found the cultural practices and carried them on. Back then was not the same as now, a lot has changed. People were happy. They gathered together, men, women and children, to eat, drink tea and tell stories and riddles, singing and dance together. Now not anymore. But also, now if someone wants to do tlla aɣnja they can still do it (12-M-46-Self-based).

6.2. Seeds of Aspirations

Despite the numerous adversities we talked about in the previous section, Amazigh women in southeast of Morocco show resilience and perseverance to hold on to life and transform their adversities into opportunities for empowerment both internally and externally. This section discusses what aspirations, ambitions, and dreams the interviewed informants have to keep them going despite adversities they face daily. Aspiration as defined by Kosec and others (2018, 7-8) as an "individuals' goals for the future". Aspirations can be aimed at various domains in life such as for example financial, educational, or social. Aspirations come from the internal capacity to hope and exercise a strong will from within to pursue goals. Such hopes are often tied to the environment or circumstances in which a person finds themselves. For Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco the adversities discussed in the previous section are a common source of motivation and inspiration to instigate change and empower themselves, their families, and their communities. From interviews conducted during the fieldwork, two prominent areas where hopes and aspirations manifest for the informants are their children and their IGPs.

351

6.2.1. Hope in their Children: Access to Education

Informants with children 9 out of 13 expressed their aspirations lie with their children as these informants did not have the chance to go to school themselves. They want to give that opportunity to their children.

> *B: What are ambitions of women in southeast of Morocco?*
> *I: Their ambitious are many, to live a good life, up bring their children, they want their children to go to school, they want to see their children in good positions. They think of their children more than they think of themselves, Amazigh women sacrifices her life for her children to educate them and provide for their education and their upbringing working day and night. Working to the maximum of her capacity to see her children one day reach their goals and have a decent job (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

6-M-48-Self-based told me she has children, all daughters. One is married off to another family, another studied and earned a B.A degree. 6-M-48-Self-based works hard for her children to grow up so one day they can take care of her. She told me that she has passed through a lot *tamara* (adversity) in her life. When she was young, she had to go to work on the farm near Rabat. She found the work there to be difficult and tough as well as expressing being homesick while having to work there as she was far away from her family and could not speak in her native language.

> *I: I want my daughter to study and become someone important in Morocco (6-M-48-Self-based).*

Similarly, 12-M-46-Self-based also expressed that amongst her aspirations are the education of her daughters and bringing them up in a way that they are content with what they have. She takes a lot of pride the way she raises her daughters and the hard work she puts into their upbringing to provide them with opportunities she herself never had.

> *I: ixṣṣa ad ɛnqnt (they have to be content). So, if we have a bulk of food at home, I show it to them (her daughters) and tell them this is yours you are the ones that will eat it but let's be smart and organize it to cover many days. So that they take part in the house organization system and take responsibility. I am not hiding anything from them. My daughter wanted a phone, I bought one for her. My other daughter wanted a new dress, I bought one for her. So that they would have similar clothes and accessories as other girls in their generation. If I would not provide this to them they might look at children of rich people and think that I am not providing for them and a ɣntn ibrdan ur i ḥlin (they might take wrong direction). Now I am facing adversity for my daughters, dɣi awd nkkin da ɣifsnt katɣ tamara (Now I am also working hard to provide for them). Our prophet said if you have a daughter and your raise her and educate her well, Allah will grant you palaces in heaven (12-M-46-Self-based).*

5-D-30-Coop also expresses hope in her daughter and willingness to let her continue her education. She expressed that because she did not go to school, she feels her daughter is making her dreams come true by going to school and getting educated. She expressed a yearning for education which following literacy classes did not satisfy for her. 5-D-30-Coop hopes her daughter will have a better life than her and encourages her daughter every day to pursue her education.

> *B: What do you wish for your daughter to be?*
> *I: I ask her what she wants to be when she grows up. She tells me she wants to be an engineer. She is going to study in middle school this year, she will be studying and commuting to Alnif center (5-D-30-Coop).*
> *B: Do you benefit from the cooperative?*
> *I: We benefit a lot, despite there is difficulties with our work wake up early and barely sleeps. But the fruits of my work when reflected in my child means the world to me and I am proud to see my child go to school every day, I see myself in her, because I did not have that chance and I decide to give it to my daughter to have a better future than of mine (5-D-30-Coop).*

Photo 17: Aspirations and hope of women

Image used to illustrate aspirations and hope of women in their children.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

6.2.2. Hope in their IGPs

While the main driving force and spring of the resilience of the informants seems to be their children and living with dignity, to support these aspirations for their children,

many informants expressed a strong will to be financially independent in order to be able to provide the life they want to their children. 4 out of 13 informants established their own IGPs to elevate their lives and enable them to provide their children with chances to education and food on the table as well as enriching their communities. Looking at the projects they established it can be seen that the cultural identity of informants empowers them in their arts and crafts to pursue their aspirations as many projects of Amazigh women are about expression of Amazigh identity and culture.

> B: What are your aspirations?
> I: I want to fill this garage with my crafts tiḥruyin (traditional black wrap with colorful embroidery worn by women in southern Morocco. See photo 17, 38, 39), Lqṭabn ayt iḥbiran (scarves. See photos 26, 34, 35), tibuqsin (head accessory worn by women. See photo 24) and sell stuff that I make from there. Whatever people need in this area. Now I sell only when people ask me to make something for them on demand but when I make this project (open the garage as a store) people will see all the crafts and arts that I make and buy it. Also, I would work with other women that do the same things as me who only work from home. I would have space to exhibit their work too and we help each other (1-W-50-Self-based).

12-M-46-Self-based she expressed many hopes and aspirations when interviewed among which the establishment of a museum of Amazigh culture at her house where she collects vintage items used in daily life by members of Ait Atta during nomadic times and sedentary living. She does that to keep alive the culture of her ancestors and to remind the younger generations of their heritage. Because people transitioned to sedentary lives and settled in *iɣrem* (village. See photo 10, 8) for various reasons, little by little they lose touch with the culture of their ancestors. She noted that people who emigrate or transition to sedentary living throw away or sell these heirlooms because they remind them of *tamara* (adversity) they have left behind. The idea of 12-M-46-Self-based is to through her museum collect these items and keep alive the memories attached to each item as it tells the story of the collective past of Ait Atta. In addition to the museum project 12-M-46-Self-based has opened a YouTube channel where she shares the same related content about the items she collected and the life the traditions of Ait Atta for example of weddings, traditions, harvesting, grinding wheat etc.

B: What are your aspirations? What do you wish to do in your life?

I: I wish to take care of my daughters and have money to build a house of my own. I also endeavor to create a museum of Amazigh arts, traditions and culture for tourists that visit me here in town. I am collecting old items. I also wish to go to Haj (pilgrimage to Mekka) in the future to visit the prophet's tomb. I also wish that Allah blesses my path of my YouTube channel to start having revenue with which I can live and with which I can also give alms and support others in need (12-M-46-Self-based).

B: You do a lot of activities on your YouTube channel. Where did you learn all these skills?

I: I know how to use these items because I found them with my parents. I learned these things from my parents and my surrounding. As you know we (Ait Atta) moved from nomads to sedentary living and kept most of these items. But there are some things I don't know so I would ask an elderly woman to tell me how it works. For example, there is tanurt (type of traditional oven) I did not know it (tanurt) nor have eaten its bread until I wanted to make a video and people tell me do this do that. I asked an older woman to tell me and describe to me how to build tanurt. She gave me descriptions that it is smaller than the size of the mud oven, she gives indications when she was describing to me. I draw it on the ground with a stick and I came to my house and build it in my kitchen. Even though did not go to formal school but I am very smart woman. I build the oven from mud following the descriptions given to me by the woman (12-M-46-Self-based).

Photo 18: Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based

Photo used to illustrate Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based.
Photographer: 12-M-46-Self-based
Location and date: Mellab, 2021

Photo 19: Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based

Photo used to illustrate Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based.
Photographer: 12-M-46-Self-based
Location and date: Mellab, 2021

Photo 20: Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based

Photo used to illustrate Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based.
Photographer: 12-M-46-Self-based
Location and date: Mellab, 2021

Photo 21: Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based

Photo used to illustrate Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based.
Photographer: 12-M-46-Self-based
Location and date: Mellab, 2021

Photo 22: Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based

Photo used to illustrate Museum Project of 12-M-46-Self-based.
Photographer: 12-M-46-Self-based
Location and date: Mellab, 2021

In recent years women's cooperatives in Morocco have become widespread especially in rural areas. They have become a beacon of hope for rural Amazigh women to gather around the cooperative and learn skills and work in Argan, rose water-based products, and carpet weaving that could empower them to become economically independent (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a; 2021b).

8-M-30-Coop, who founded a cooperation herself, also confirms that women from her village aspire to join a cooperative or want to establish one themselves.

> *B: What jobs do women want to work on?*
> *I: They want to work, like in cooperatives to shed light on Amazigh culture via products and crafts all made by their hands. They know great and beautiful motifs. There are also some that paint on glass. There are women who know how to sew. The only thing we need is contacts and to apply for funds to get materials like machines. Most of all, we need access to the market so that we can sell our products and not just remain on the local level (8-M-30-Coop).*

In some NGOs they provide a kindergarten so women with children can focus on their learning while their children are taken care of. 13-S-29-NGO speaks of the NGO they founded in Tinghir to help facilitate women's learning. Other aspirations expressed by my informants are for example that of 11-S-29-Self-based who is a self-made entrepreneur designing clothes with an Amazigh touch. Her aspiration is growing her brand internationally and work more with other Amazigh women. Furthermore, 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader joined political activism because she has aspiration to change the system from within. She was part of an NGO since 2010.

> *B: Why did you start politics? Did you hope in politics to have more power to make a change?*
> *I: In NGOs I speak from the outside, in politics I speak from within. Before when I was advocating, shouting, and protesting it's from outside in the street. Now I speak directly with people in positions of power so together we can make some better changes. I tell them you have to work and make development projects. We need roads and hospitals, but the woman is still marginalized (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

Overall, the aspirations of Amazigh women are strongly linked to alleviating adversities their daily life, living in dignity and providing opportunities for their children. However, after my interview and field visit of 7-M-44-Coop, 8-M-30-Coop, and 9-S-30-Coop. I reflected on a few points. Despite women trying hard to change their realities with the basic tools and knowledge at their disposal, it remains difficult due to the geographic isolation they live in and the lack of initial funding to start projects. With this

section I tried to shed light on some of the aspirations of Amazigh women to empower themselves in an endeavour to become financially independent and provide a better life and environment for their children. Through initiatives like that of 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader and this thesis in general the hope is that one day people in power will better understand the challenges of Amazigh women in the region and how empowerment of these women helps to improve the lives of them and people in their communities so the process of empowerment can be helped along through funding, education, and investments in the region.

6.3 Building Resilience in the Face of Adversity: Amazigh Women Weaving Threads of Identity through IGPs in Pursuit of Empowerment

Women's contribution to peace faces epistemological invisibility in science due to the dominance of the critical perspective of peace studies. With the new agenda of peace studies an epistemological turn is proposed by scholars such as Vicent Martínez Guzmán, Irene Comins Mingol, Francisco A. Muñoz, Carmen Magallón Portolés or Elena Díez Jorge among others. Increasingly women's perspectives and contributions to peace are studied from an irenology perspective. This section explores irenology which arises from the conviction that the experience of women in history is an essential legacy that has propagated values of peace and nurturing life. Its goal is to shed light on women's experiences and voices and how they try to lift them self from adversities via economic empowerment.

Based on similar presented content in the previous section about vulnerability, exclusion, and marginalization, many research focuses on investigation of marginalization. The reductionist views produced about women within the critical line fails to recognize the agency and resilience of women in historical context and fails to do justice to the plurality of women's experiences and contributions to peace building and contributes to perpetuation of stereotypical gender roles and the image of women as victims. When this condition of women as victims is substantial enough this becomes embedded within the identities of these women, contributing to reshaping their lives into a victimized individual. Multiple factors contribute to this process of which two can be identified to play a major role. Firstly, affected women are considered weak and seen as objects in need of protection rather than humans subject of rights. Secondly, this perspective of women as victims constructs a biased and limited vision of otherness and

358

reproduces the underlying mentality of the victimizer and furthermore reduces women to passive objects rather than active agents (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 8). In the context of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco it can thus be said that the image of them being *illiterate* and *passive beneficiaries*, and *in need of aid* can be framed as reductionist and a reinforcement of the stereotypical image of Amazigh women as powerless which fails to recognize their contributions towards peacebuilding and other positive aspects of their lives.

In recent years, peace studies through its irenology line has attempted to transform and elucidate the reductionist view of women painted by the critical line by recognizing women as visible, active participants and agents rather than passive objects by adding a new constructive perspective which allows to view these women in a more positive light which recognizes better full spectrum of their existence (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 8). The complementary nature of the critical and constructive lines allows real problems to be recognized but not to dominate and dictate the image constructed of women, hence enabling peace builders to illuminate women's considerable contributions to peace, human development and the sustainability of life by finding *pearls of peace* using the irenology perspective amidst conflict identified by the critical line.

Keeping this in mind and recognizing the reductionist image that is projected onto Amazigh women, another side of their story that has yet to be told in order to bring the perspective on Amazigh women closer to reality by recognizing their agency and resilience and how they transform their daily realities and vulnerabilities into opportunities for empowerment.

To look at the self-empowerment and contributions of Amazigh women to peacebuilding we need to recognize their agency and resilience on a personal and collective level. As discussed in earlier chapters agency is the ability to effect change and subsequent occurrence of act by a person or group (Miller 2005, 11-12) and resilience is the human capacity to overcome adversity (Comins Mingol 2015). As this thesis looks at Amazigh women of the Ait Atta tribe in the southeast of Morocco collectively, it is important to factor in the concepts of collective resilience and agency while investigating their lives as due to these women living within communities which on a social and cultural level still carry a lot of values from tribal times still holding on to a collective community and culture. As Amazigh women are proud gatekeepers of their shared heritage this creates a strong collective bond and mutual recognition between them which cannot be ignored. This causes an observable effect where women mobilize and work together on a

collective level to empower themselves, each other, and their communities. Collective resilience allows a group of individuals to work together to overcome adversities and create a support system around themselves based on collective solidarity which can generate individual and collective empowerment and lead to collective agency as can be seen in for example the cooperatives operated by these women. This empowerment enables self-confidence, self-awareness, decision making skills and independence and brings about positive social change and takes shape for example in IGPs and collective learning and sharing of knowledge. Some IGPs are individual projects, often supported by collective learning efforts, and others are cooperatives and NGOs in which women bond together to empower each other and their communities. Women also address structural violence through activism and advocacy via NGOs and through political participation.

6.3.1. Women Supporting Women: Crafting a Space for Sisterhood and Collective Empowerment

Sisterhood is expressed by Amazigh women in various ways through their domains of work. For example, through political activism 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader encourages women to be active in politics as the King has given women the opportunity to participate in politics.

> *B: What should the woman do to lift herself from adversity?*
> *I: The women should also help themselves you know, now that the king has given instructions that parliament should have at least a third of its members be female. The women representation should be there in this 2021 election which is a huge improvement because before in many villages women didn't run for power. Now its mandatory for a party whether local or regional to have women onboard. Women should be politically active in the communal, regional, provincial, parliamentary and governmental levels. Why is that? He (the King) knows that women work hard and are serious and responsible. In all homes it is the woman that is responsible for the house so why not also have leading roles in the community. Now is the opportunity for women of rural areas to be in power and lead their communities to provide services and opportunities for development (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).*

In arts and crafts women support each other in the learning process. As Amazigh arts and crafts are a cultural and collective phenomenon, they are passed down through generations from mother to daughter. Women carry the responsibility for safeguarding the identity and culture in arts and crafts that they possess.

Sisterhood is an important factor in the lives of Amazigh women to lift each other out of adversity as the initiatives of strong women who perform their crafts inspire women in other villages to create similar initiatives or band and work together to work on shared initiatives.

> B: How do they know these crafts?
> I: They learn amongst themselves from each other. It's a small village, everyone knows everyone, and we are from the same tribe, so we know each other. What is made is needed to preserve traditions and costumes of our tribe. Because here in the southeast there are many tribes, and each has their own traditions and costumes that differ from each other's. Women keep these alive by continuing to perform these crafts that are inherited from their ancestors, adding innovations each year but keeping the essence aligned with the name of our tribe, Ait Atta (5-D-30-Coop).
> B: Do women support each other here in the village?
> I: That does exist Hamdullah. Women if they do not know something they teach each other how to make something; in crafts; also, in the cooperative we have all women. No matter what tribe they hail from they are welcome to come to learn (2-M-25-Coop).

Sisterhood also exists among neighbors as people living in these villages often still rely on each other in light of lacking public services and facilities such as healthcare and elderly homes.

> B: Do women here help amongst themselves? If one needs something the other helps her to build a network of support for women?
> I: The neighbors are important. When you are sick, they ask about you or bring you food until you are ok. If you need, they lend you money. If someone is sick and has no money to go to hospital for treatment, people of the village gather and collect the money needed to help them. Unlike in the city where people move there and are stranger to each other and it become more individualistic. If you don't buy something no one will knock your door to give it to you. Hamdullah these culture of solidarity and community is still in our region (5-D-30-Coop).
> B: What do women do between themselves to help each other?
> I: Women here in town when they are neighbors and when you are sick, they come help you, or send you food because you can't cook. Women are empathic and helpful of each other. Whether water or bread we give it: No one would refuse, and they will give you what they have even sometimes when someone comes after we have eaten, we still make new food for them. We are all one Amazigh people. At our weddings and events, you find all tribes co-existing. It's our responsibility as we inherited this culture from our parents to keep it alive and transmit it to our children. Here people if you knock at someone's door and you needed something they receive you and give you to eat and drink even if they don't know you. No one will tell you go to the cafe or restaurant or something. Even on Souq day we make a lot of food because people might pass by and ask us for food. We provide it for free (2-M-25-Coop).

In the case of 11-S-29-Self-based as she has a brand and from the revenue, she earns she supports girls' education NGOs which provide shelter for girls who go to school in Marrakech to help them continue their education.

> *B: You mentioned that through your brand you support women's empowerment. Can you elaborate on that?*
> *I: My aunt taught me arts and showed me how to sew and do embroidery because she does tiḥruyin (traditional black wrap with colorful embroidery worn by women in southern Morocco) and growing up I was confronted with arts in and around my family. My memory is visually rich by this art being around me. These experiences empowered with skills to perform arts, and I want to give back to the community where I grew up and support women myself. I come from the southeast of Morocco where education for girls is not supported. I am lucky I have a supportive family and I was able to go to the big city to study. Many other girls did not have that chance. Until relatively recently many families did not let their daughters go to big cities to study, but with the help of NGOs that provide them shelter and support during their studies they are now able to travel long distances and stay away from home more safely for the benefit of their education. I work with a local NGO in Marrakech that supports girls' education and hosts girls from the south of Morocco. I support them by donating 30% of my revenue to them. In the future I would like to do workshops on women empowerment and how to be independent. How to economically be empowered via setting up your business (11-S-29-Self-based).*

In the context of this dissertation and the chosen topic, building resilience in face of adversity increases agency to allow women to be empowered from within and manifest this power via navigation of the social structures subsequently leading to social change. The manifestation of such empowerment in the context of Amazigh women is linked to economic empowerment.

6.3.2. Self-Based IGPs: Threads of Aspiration, Resilience, Agency and Empowerment

This section focusses on the role of handicrafts in small businesses of Amazigh women from the southeast of Morocco as tool of individual empowerment which contributes to their family's and community's empowerment. The sample of informants interviewed during fieldwork were diverse as some have created their self-based projects or initiatives and others work collectively through cooperatives. Self-based here means that women work individually without being part of a cooperative or collective. They work on their crafts at home and operate either on a local or international basis. Some are undocumented and therefore not formally included in economic statistics, and others have the formal status of auto entrepreneur.

Amazigh women are lined to handicrafts historically as being part of their daily lives to live a self-sustaining nomadic lifestyle. Many Amazigh women until recently still partially or fully lived a nomadic lifestyle in which their crafts were used to create products such as carpets, bags, clothes, tents, and other necessities that come with a nomadic lifestyle. Due to policies established under French rulership during the French Protectorate families were encouraged to settle into a sedentary lifestyle, and slowly more and more Amazigh families settled down in villages. Despite this transition to a new lifestyle, many women still retained their skills in arts and crafts and continue to pass these down through the generations to preserve this part of their heritage. Through these arts and crafts, they oftentimes express their cultural identity, and the symbols they embed in their arts and products "can be interpreted as symbols of womanhood" (Becker 2006a, 12).

As a result of settling into this new sedentary lifestyle, a new social category of women was born, namely the category of women who live their lives without partners due to various reasons such as for example being widowed or divorced. Having no financial provider in the family has pushed these women to apply their inherited skillsets from nomadic times within self-based IGPs in order to empower themselves financially. Arts and crafts in this way can be recognized as a powerful sign of resilience and agency for these women who are otherwise unable to sustain a decent livelihood and apply their cultural skills and knowledge to better their lives and those of their communities.

Self-based IGPs provide women with economic empowerment and financial self-sufficiency whilst giving them full control over their resources, materials, knowledge and creativity. Additionally, it contributes to an increase in access to economic resources and opportunities which are essential to allow them to gain control over their own destinies and frame them as independent people with rights rather than passive beneficiaries. It allows them to set and reach their own life's goals without being dependent on others.

6.3.2.1. Amazigh Women First Attempts at Arts and Crafts through Informants' Memory

As expressed by informants during the fieldwork investigation, before when women used to work the loom, women gathered and started a loom in one woman's house and they all gathered at that woman's house especially each day after completing their morning routines. The loom plays an important role in Amazigh society as Becker (2006a, 15) explains "the process of weaving itself is central to the discussion because of its reliance on collaboration and mutual assistance, reflecting a nomadic lifestyle that is

based on cooperation". After the loom is created and the *aḥndir* (woven carpet) is completed the woman owning the house where the loom was set up takes ownership of the carpet. The woman is also entitled to sell the carpet making it an economic resource for her. As the creation of the carpet was a collective effort, local people in the village and nearby places and relatives know of its creation and might purchase it.

The social role the loom fulfils is that women gather around it and recount and talk about their adversities, share poems and learn about other women's lives and wellbeing creating a social construct where daily information and news are exchanged. This causes the loom to play a vital role on the family and community levels causing people to live in solidarity with each other, help each other through their adversities and celebrate their joys.

> *B: How do the women learn these arts and crafts skills?*
> *I: Women are housewives they do most of the housework and chores during the morning and do lunch. After lunch they clean dishes and they start resting and sometimes gather around a cup of tea and start working these crafts and talking, exchanging news and information, and learning together. If a woman does not know a certain craft, this is their opportunity to learn from other women who know the crafts already. When I first came to this village, I was married to live in this village. I did not know crafts, but through these gathering I learned a lot and am still learning. I already have registered lots of knowledge (8-M-30-Coop).*

Speaking to 3-M-49-Coop on women's early involvement in arts and crafts she expressed the following:

> *B: How were women involved in arts and crafts historically, and did they sell their products?*
> *I: A while ago people had sheep so they collected wool from their sheep and brought the wool to you and thread and you would make something for them. They paid only for the effort and not the materials. We made them for local people only. Back then there were no cars nor minibuses like nowadays. Back then there were only donkeys which men took to the local market to get some wheat and exchange goods. There was no soap, we used to take dram (type of plant) and grind it until it gives foam like soap with which we cleaned clothes in the river. Women were connected and discussed things amongst each other. They were gathered and before they started doing crafts, they made an offering to Allah by making couscous and giving it as charity to people. There were no machines, so women used querns to grind by hand. Women of the neighborhood gathered and at night to make tea and stay at night to grind the wheat for two hours. The light was that of gas lamps and they would sing and feel joy throughout the night. Until morning, then they go to igran (field) to get grass (3-M-49-Coop).*

She continued her story on the first concepts around self-based projects:

I: The first idea for self-based projects were around wool and carpets. During l'Eid women took wool from the sheep and went to the river to clean the wool. As they cleaned the wool, they sang poetry of joy and asked Allah to bless their crafts. An example of such a poem is: šmml ɣf ifassn na garɣ ad alin a rbbi/a rbbi g l'baraka g uyna giɣ (god bless the hands that I throw, and give baraka to what I do). Back then it was shameful for women to go to sell products in the market, so they sent their products with a male relative. They asked among themselves 'how many sheep do you have each' and said 'ohh we must make something beneficial out of it'. One said 'no my husband is difficult and I have children so I can't'. The other would consult with her husband to allow them to collect the wool. First, they gathered the wool, they cleaned it in the river and dyed it into natural colours. Then they weave a aḥndir (carpet) or taḥndirt (woven women's cloak). They have left over of wool to make tamndilt n uɣrum (cloths to cover bread). They spread the word in the village about that they have tamndilt n uɣrum in case anybody want to buy them. One woman who was the leader went to houses and spoke to women to see if they wanted to buy them. They went to one family and the man did not want to buy it, but they bartered, and he gave them wool for the tamndilt n uɣrum. With the two bags of wool, he traded with them they could make more things. Once this small business started picking up, they added colors to the products. They used natural resources for colors: Blue from the indigo flower, Red from the dried peels of a pomegranate or henna leaves, for olive color they used the leaves of tazart (fig). Before money as currency was dominant people would barter according to their needs (eggs, dates, dates bones for sheep, wheat flour) (3-M-49-Coop).

According to 3-M-49-Coop, even before cooperatives arrived, self-based women supported each other by banding together and all investing 20dh or 10dh to buy primary materials such as sequins and beads and fabric. They created *iqidar* (garments worn by women. See photos 36, 37, 40, 42, 43), *tasbnyet* (type of scarf), *lqtib /badni* (scarfs. See photos 26, 34, 35). After producing the items, they sold them and either divided the money amongst themselves or re-invested it in further materials to produce more items. They stashed the earnings away. Back then a dried pumpkin was used to hide the money. The pumpkin was cleaned, dried, and used as money storage. *Tirgt* (charcoal) was used to write down business plans. Due to lack of education and literacy they would illustrate things.

8-M-30-Coop before said that before cooperatives women self-base was common that a woman within the tribe is responsible to make arts, crafts and tattoos which were used in rituals and ceremonies.

B: What did the women used to do to sell their crafts before they gathered in cooperatives?
I: These crafts were inherited skills. Women know how to perform these crafts to continue and cover the necessities of the tribe by making for example tibuqsin (head accessory. See photo 24), badni/lqtib (scarf. See photos 26,34, 35). All these are needed during marriage ceremonies and rituals and each tribe has their own distinguishing features. Amongst the tribe it was known which women created these products, so people knew where to go if they needed things (8-M-30-Coop).

6.3.2.2. Self-Based IGPs: Current Informant's Experiences

This section is about how women turn skills acquired and passed down from previous generations into IGPs. Amazigh women learn arts and crafts amongst themselves in a collaborative process as the art is collective and represents the collective shared identity of the tribe. As these arts and crafts guarantee continuity of the tribe's symbols and identity, since a young age girls are taught these skills of embroidery, knitting and making designs for *tahruyt* (traditional black wrap with colorful embroidery worn by women in southern Morocco. See photos 17, 38, 39), *tabuqst* (head accessory. See photo 24), *badni* (scarf. See photos 26, 34, 35) Women often sell these products by putting them at points of sale across the town. When they put then at a store some shopkeepers ask for a commission, others do not.

4 out of 13 of the sample of informants identify as self-based artisans or entrepreneurs and this section will further dive into their current experiences around their IGPs.

- *1-W-50-Self-based: a Local Artisan*

1-W-50-Self-based is an independent artist in her village who is known to make arts and crafts for everyone who needs something. They simply knock on her door and request her to make products. She produces a variety of items such as *tismren* (woman's wool belt. See photo 23), *tušušt/tišušin* (woven tray. See photo 28), *tibuqsin* (head accessory. See photo 24), *tiḥruyin* (traditional black wrap with colorful embroidery worn by women in southern Morocco. See photos17, 38, 39), *Iguta* (ropes) and weaves carpets and produces brooms form palm leaves. Besides her artisanal work she also breeds sheep and has turkeys and chickens. If she needs financial resources, she sells some of her animals. Usually after doing her daily tasks, she works on her artisanal products in the afternoon in her free time. She describes this time as her moments of joy as she is free to work on them as she pleases and sings and rejoices her artisanal freedoms.

366

During my interview with her I asked her about the process of learning the crafts and mastering it as it is a long and repetitive process to master these skills. She told me ever since she was young she made handmade items throughout her childhood, learning from other women. Other times if no one with the right skills to teach her was available, she would purchase products and unravel and take them apart to see how they are constructed. After learning how something is constructed, she applies the same technique over and over until she masters how to make something. 1-W-50-Self-based shows a lot of ambition, dedication and discipline to learn crafts and expand her knowledge, challenging herself to learn how to make new things step by step.

> *B: When acquiring new skills, do you learn them from someone?*
> *I: I learn by seeing. I watch them (women that works on the crafts) do what they do and then go home and practice. I learn and if it is nice its nice, if it's bad I do it again and again until it works. I used to make Taḥruyt (traditional black wrap with colourful embroidery worn by women. See photos 17, 38, 39) and when the outcome was bad, I took scissors and cut in the middle and started over again. I return to the women and watch how they craft and come back home to practice. I watch with my eye and create with my hands. I know how to make these traditional crafts, iguta (ropes), tušušt/tišušin (woven tray. See photo 28), tiḥruyin, tismren (woman's wool belt) and reed mats. People used to sell these (reed mats), the big one for 50dh and small one for 35dh. Back then 35dh was something you know. It takes 4 days to make a big mat. I work making crafts like tismren (woman's wool belt), tabuqst, I make tiḥruyin, abuqs/ibuqsn (groom's accessory for the wedding he wears from the shoulder down to the waist). That is what I do in my life. I make tišušin, I weave iguta (1-W-50-Self-based).*

1-W-50-Self-based also told me that as a way of marketing her stuff when she is invited to weddings, she takes with her what she made and sells it there. She uses social events like this as a platform to market and sell her products and build her network of potential buyers.

> *B: How do you market your products?*
> *I: I make tiḥruyin (traditional black wrap with colorful embroidery worn by women), I make them and decorate them with motifs. When I finish, I give it to a woman and she sells them, doing marketing for me in the village. If the woman doesn't sell them, I keep them at home. Whoever ask me for them I show them, and they buy them if they like it. I give to the woman 7 to 10 tiḥruyin. When she sells theses tiḥruyin I give her a percentage from the income and that way we support eachother. I also sell in wedding events or ceremonial events. I make tibuqsin, lqtban and tiḥruyin and I put them in a bag take them with me walking to weddings across our town and there I have all the women gathered making it easy to showcase my arts there. People who don't know me can then get to know me and learn that I make these crafts. Even if they don't buy something there,*

later when they need something they come to my house and request what they want (1-W-50-Self-based).
B: How much do you sell the products for?
I: An abuqs/ibuqsn (groom's accessory for the wedding he wears from the shoulder down to the waist) is 30 dh. Tasmert (woman's wool belt) is 40 dh. Taḥruyt goes for 100 dh. Sometimes it depends on the persons preference. Some people don't like the Taḥruyt to be too full of motifs and designs so for them I make a simple one. Others prefer it full so it's more expensive (1-W-50-Self-based).

Festivals and *aydud* (collective gathering) are also events where 1-W-50-Self-based sells and markets her products. When asked about her participation in these events she said that during a henna festival in her town she used to sell her items via a merchant who already had a stand there. After a while her customers complained they had to pay extremely high prices for her goods despite her setting a cheap price with the merchant for the items. The merchant sold her items for a larger profit and did not share this with her. Due to this nowadays she has made her own place at the event to sell her products, laying them out on the ground for display and effectively cutting out the middleman so she can keep her prices fair towards her customers. Due to this experience, she usually sells her own things now rather than doing it via a merchant when it comes to such collective gatherings.

Photo 23: *Tasmert*

Photo used to illustrate *Tasmert* (woman's wool belt).
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 25: Informant making arts

Photo used to illustrate informant making arts.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 27: Silver Amazigh jewellery

Photo used to illustrate silver Amazigh jewellery.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 24: *Tabuqst*

Photo used to illustrate *tabuqst*
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 26: *lqtban*

Photo used to illustrate lqtban (scarf).
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 28: Arts and crafts of Amazigh women

Photo used to illustrate arts and crafts of Amazigh women
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

369

- *12-M-46-Self-Based: YouTube and Amazigh Arts, Culture, and Memories Museum Project*

Months after I came back from my fieldwork trip to the southeast of Morocco, I came across a video of 12-M-46-Self-based where spoke about and celebrated *Yennayer* (Amazigh new year) and showed the traditions and food behind this celebration such as *ṭṭɛam and tagulla* (food). When I saw her profile, I noticed she fitted my sample of informants, comming from the southeast of Morocco and belonging to the Ait Atta tribe of Mellab. She owns a YouTube channel where presents and discusses old traditions of Ait Atta to preserve them for future generations. My network in the region helped me get in touch with her for an interview about her life and endeavors to preserve Amazigh culture and empower herself with her self-based IGP.

She is mother of three daughters and her husband suffers from a disability that prevents him from working so she thought of creating a cultural channel on YouTube to contribute to the family's financial situation to alleviate adversities caused by the fact her husband cannot generate income due to his condition. She is a prime example of a resilient woman whose aspirations led her to create her channel which has steadily been growing. She created it on May 22, 2021, and has over 377,000 views as of 14 April 2022. Before 12-M-46-Self-based started her YouTube channel she did various other things to try and provide some income for her family.

> B: How did you provide for your family before having a YouTube channel?
> I: In the beginning I started with breeding sheep. I had sheep I took care of them. Then I used to go out to do *aḥšaš* (cutting grass. See photo 2) for other people in order to be able to afford some Lucerne/Alfalfa for my sheep. Later I found out that my family has a piece of land, so I decided to plow it until it was good for planting and I planted Lucerne/Alfalfa on the land. I realized it did not benefit me a lot because I had to pay for the water irrigation system. It's not a natural water system and its expansive to maintain this agricultural activity (12-M-46-Self-based).

12-M-46-Self-based also mentioned other projects to try and lift herself from adversity:

> B: What else did you do to lift yourself from adversity?
> I: I also did embroidery onto tiḥruyin. I made tibuqsin, tismren (woman's wool belt). I also make taḥlawt (dates jam). Before I could not do it (make dates jam) because the dates are expensive, and I didn't have the money. As you know for business first you need to invest before you can make a profit. What I mean by this is that I needed to spend money to buy materials so that I could make what I wanted to make. I worked independently and there were no NGOs or cooperatives

to help me out nor were there diaspora family members to help me. Despite all this I continue forward with YouTube videos now. I like working on videos for YouTube as it gives me more flexibility to explore my interests and work according to those (12-M-46-Self-based).

12-M-46-Self-based opened a YouTube channel:

B: Where did you get the idea to do YouTube?
I: I worked in many temporary jobs here and there, until my daughter insisted that I open a YouTube chancel about a year ago exactly in 2021. My daughter told me 'Mom there is a work online in YouTube if you can work, we (her daughters) will take care of logistics online management' My eldest daughter insisted that I buy a phone and said it was important and urgent that I buy a phone with camera to start working in YouTube. At beginning a man from the electronics shop helped me. I asked him to help open a YouTube channel for me. He agreed and 15 days later I started my YouTube channel. Starting out is challenging because to make content I have to keep buying stuff such as an internet service. My daughter told me to sell a sheep to afford Wi-Fi. Since I bought Wi-Fi, we have internet and we make videos and upload them on a weekly basis. When I need something, I sell a sheep until have none left except a small goat. I asked my daughter jokingly 'what will we do in l'Eid'. My eldest told me 'mom it's sheep that people buy for l'Eid'. I joked to her goats are better than sheep. Give a goat food and she will be like a sheep. So, hamdullah my channel is spreading around and I have more subscribers (12-M-46-Self-based).
B: How do you decide upon the content on your channel?
I: I have the ideas myself. At beginning I started with my kitchen. I was thinking of an idea that would be original to me and I thought I live in a mud house, and I have a traditional kitchen upstairs where I cook. I cleaned it and I started with tarukut d wagra (couscous pan and steamer). I built tanurt d tafrnat (types of ovens) and I build almsi (another type of oven). I also started buying traditional stuff (12-M-46-Self-based).

12-M-46-Self-based also established a museum to exhibit memories of the Amazigh culture in parallel with her idea of a YouTube channel both inspired out of necessity to record and keep alive the history and memories of the Amazigh people. The idea behind her museum is to save the remaining traces of the collective memories of the Ait Atta tribe. Due the rise of globalization and developments which go along with it such as emigration and urbanization, indigenous cultures are under threat as social changes brought about by these developments cause urbanized Imazighen to gradually lose touch with their roots.

Younger generations of Imazighen born abroad or in urban centers learn through her YouTube videos and museum exhibitions about traditions and cultural events and arts and crafts, cuisine and other things which often they may have never had the pleasure of experiencing in their modern lives.

> *B: Where do you buy the traditional items?*
> *I: Whenever I hear someone is selling something I rush to them to buy it. When someone gives something away, they give it to me because they know what I do. I collect these items to show them to on YouTube to keep alive our ancestors' legacy. I say let us remember it through YouTube. My hope is that after the covid-19 pandemic tourists will come to visit so they can visit my museum (12-M-46-Self-based).*

Some people criticize her and tell her they discard these cultural items and memories because they are reminded of the *tamara* (adversities) of the past. 12-M-46-Self-based despite these critiques remains confident and determined to continue her efforts towards preservation of the culture and identity of the Ait Atta tribe and Amazigh people in general.

> *B: You create content related to traditional Amazigh items on YouTube. How do people respond to this?*
> *I: Some people support me and appreciate that I am documenting the last traces of our existence, but others don't value our ancestors' culture and they diminish my work. I like to preserve my culture and I will continue my path to empower myself and my daughters. There are people who tell me 'people throw away their adversity and you are returning to it'. You see, some people relate Amazigh culture with adversity especially in the ways their parents lived harsh lives. They don't want to be reminded of their nomadic past (12-M-46-Self-based).*

In recent years YouTube has become a platform where people can earn a living. 12-M-46-Self-based through her idea to preserve Amazigh culture and share it via this platform to earn money shows that modernization and globalization can also provide opportunities given the right skillsets and capacity to adapt.

> *B: Do you earn money from your YouTube channel?*
> *I: Not yet as there are a few conditions to meet for YouTube channels to start earning money. I need to have over 1000 subscribers and engagement. I need to have over 4000 hours of content. Once I complete them, I will request the AdSense to start earning money from my videos. I am working towards this (12-M-46-Self-based).*

The content created for her YouTube channel is all in Tashelhiyt as she does not speak Arabic. Her main audience is thus largely from the southeast of Morocco as this is the only region where people speak this dialect of Tamazight. The process of filming and broadcasting Amazigh culture and identity on YouTube for 12-M-46-Self-based is not easy it's a process that involve a lot of steps.

B: What is the process of creating content for you?
I: First we (She and her daughter) look for ideas, then organize and collect items needed for the video, then we film it using a phone and do editing on the phone and post it on YouTube. As you can see, we need to start somewhere even though the video quality is not clear because it is filmed by phone. However, we are doing our best until we can afford a good camera (12-M-46-Self-based).

12-M-46-Self-based also uses her YouTube channel to promote her handmade *taḥlawt* (dates jam). She has videos which show how she creates the jam from start to finish which are popular on her channel and cause people from the region to reach out to her to purchase her jam. Through the videos people can see the quality of the product and production process which instils trust in her product with her clients. This allows her to sell her jam in medium sized bottles for up to 40dh giving her a margin of profit.

Photo 29: 12-M-46-Self-based's IGP

Photo used to illustrate 12-M-46-Self-based's IGP.
Photographer: 12-M-46-Self-based
Location and date: Mellab, 2021

- *11-S-29-Self-based Entrepreneur Artist*

11-S-29-Self-based designs and creates Amazigh clothing and moved to Marrakech to establish her own brand and reach a wider audience. She is officially registered as a business to protect her brand and give herself more financial security when doing transactions. Her clients also appreciate that she sends official invoices and noted people take her more seriously as they trust an officially registered business more. Especially for online sales this is important as people are suspicious of unofficial online traders due to the high volume of fraudulent individuals within the online trade domain.

B: Now you are an entrepreneur of an Amazigh handmade brand. How was your journey to reach that status?
I: When I started my small business, I did not think I would advance to be entrepreneur. I was just doing my hobby which is drawing and painting. I started from scratch until I became an entrepreneur. Since an early age I enjoyed painting and one day I had the idea to paint on t-shirts so that is what I did. That became my business eventually. In beginning I only sold to my friends. Later I started putting my t-shirts and tote bags in spots around the medina of Marrakech. In beginning it was not clear, I was doing mandalas, doors, and flowers. After that I did a lot of introspection and started putting into my design the inspiration from Amazigh tattoos. I grew up seeing the tattoos my aunt and grandmother had, and all the motifs they have in tiḥruyin (11-S-29-Self-based).
B: Tell me about the Amazigh identity and culture being the core of your design?
I: I am Amazigh from the southeast of Morocco from the Ait Atta tribe. I have knowledge of my Amazigh culture that I have visually seen all my life growing up. In tattoos, on food, carpets, many different designs and motifs. To me it is natural that I get inspired when I draw from this cultural heritage I have (11-S-29-Self-based).

Emigration to a big city offered 11-S-29-Self-based opportunities establish and grow her brand.

B: Do you think that being in Marrakech is a key to success of you brand?
I: Not every city will help my business to grow. Marrakech is right for my brand. A city of tourism, fashion, and culture. Marrakech provides many opportunities and many stores where I can market my brand. Here we learn that access to opportunities impacts the success of women. If I stayed in my hometown with the goals that had in mind, I may not be able to reach them due to lack of resources, audience, material and opportunities. On the other hand, it can be very challenging for me to be in Marrakech as I draw my inspiration from my hometown so coming here disconnects me from the source of my inspiration a bit. My hometown is a bit conservative, plus being rural is difficult because I want to grow my business. I need the right environment for business opportunities. I feel like my brand has success in the city more than in the rural areas. Despite having clients from my own region, being based there for business is challenging especially at beginning when I started in my own region as there are not many places to sell my products. Later when I moved, I was able to put my products in many shops in Marrakech to sell with 30% commission. Also, my motifs are traditional but the items I draw them on are modern and there in my hometown people wear traditional clothing apart from some of the youth that buy from me. Moving to Marrakech to establish my business was the right choice despite not being able to live off my business fully yet. I have another full-time job that is more stable, so my business is more a hobby-business or pastime passion for now. The initial stages of a business cost a lot of money, so I need to invest a lot in the beginning to reach where I am now, well known around social media (11-S-29-Self-based).

For women to succeed in an arts and crafts IGP 11-S-29-Self-based expressed that she feels it is necessary to adapt to the modern era and go along with modernization and

globalization a bit in order to reach a wider audience who is increasingly becoming more modern and part of a global community.

> *I: My ideas about this for women of the southeast that already do these arts and crafts are that in order to develop their product they need to go beyond the local uses of their art. Taḥruyt for example is the primary identity for women in the southeast. They use it to cover from the wind, and the sun. They design it with a lot of symbols and motifs. Tiḥruyin are not worn in Rabat or in Marrakech though so if they made the same designs on gandoura, jellaba, or as cushions, small scarfs, trousers or other more modern items so that everybody would be tempted to wear them. Tiḥruyin are limited to the southeast of Morocco. To have a wider reach we need to innovate. Also, every tribe, town, or village has a Taḥruyt design that makes them distinct so why not innovate and make these designs accessible in many ways. Yes, it is true that each tribe want to keep their own distinct identity and symbols, its natural it's what keeps Amazigh culture alive today but from a business and marketing point of view it is different. They have to go beyond the usual uses of arts and offer them in ways that go along with the modern life of Morocco. Also, they need to work more on social media as it with Covid-19 it has become part of our reality. People now shop online, and work online. A large part of life has become digitalized now so women should focus on that or find someone to help them to allow for people to find them online and shop from them. When you put your products online you increase your chances of success, if not you are only known locally and that's it (11-S-29-Self-based).*

11-S-29-Self-based talks about how new skills need to be acquired to have a successful IGP in the current times where social media and internet are an opportunity for marketing. Especially during the Covid-19 pandemic times social-media has become a powerful tool for marketing.

> *I: I learned how to use PayPal, how online payments work, photography skills and writing descriptions of products. As an entrepreneur, apart from that I am the artist I have to do everything by myself on top of a full-time job. For example, I had to figure out a payment system online linked to my website, I also have to find a source where I can buy high quality t-shirts in nice colors and draw and paint the design onto them. I do photography and sometimes look for and recruit models and need to think of creative ideas for photoshoots to display my products. Once I do a shoot, I put it on the website with sizes and descriptions and then I share it on my social media accounts. After this I wait until someone orders something, I pack the order and I go to the post office to send it. My business model is to make items on demand. I don't want to make a lot of designs up front. I create one with which I do a photoshoot and everything and once someone orders it, I make it for them and send it the next day. Sometimes I work at night a lot because I am working full time job during the day (11-S-29-Self-based).*

Being a small business owner and having another job 11-S-29-Self-based juggles a lot of work in her life. When asked about the revenue from her small business and how it compares to the amount of work she puts into it, she explained the following.

375

I: Now the prices that I made for my collection are reasonable to me. I don't count all the effort I do because I do it out of love. Currently I am working on a new high-end collection on which I will put a bit higher price because I created everything from scratch, not only drawing on t-shirts but I design the dresses too. Generally, my business style is casual so that everybody can buy and its accessible for everybody so this new high-end collection is a new venture for me. I usually sell my items (t-shirts, hoodies, tote bags, sweaters, small pouches, and kimonos) for around 35 to 40 US dollars. It depends a bit on how much time I spend on the items. It also depends on how much designs and motifs are involved. For me, as I said, I was drawing since a very young age. I was also doing henna designs for a while. When I had the idea of my business, I did not hesitate a second because I knew it is a passion of mine and I wanted to turn into a business (11-S-29-Self-based).

11-S-29-Self-based is careful to preserve the authenticity of Amazigh designs and style as it was passed down to her from her ancestors whilst giving a modern life to the design. She is determined to keep originality and essence of Amazigh crafts and arts therefore she uses drawing by hand as her technique to draw symbols and designs to remain original and in the spirit of Amazigh culture.

B: I see now many people have designs that they print into the t-shirt. Why did you choose hand drawing despite the reduced production capacity that comes with such an approach?
I: As a child I was drawing. I want what I draw on paper to draw it on fabric. I don't want to print because I feel like hand paining is helping to channel my ancestor's heritage and energy and it helps me to express my feelings, soul, and energy through the designs I create. When I paint, I feel I am alive and it gives meaning and value rather than systemically printing something using a machine (11-S-29-Self-based).

Besides being a business, her art also shares information about Amazigh arts and crafts internationally via her website.

B: Is the audience you reach via your website more international than national? Do they ask question about Amazigh culture, and do you provide answers to their queries?
I: My audience is curious about Amazigh culture and civilization. With each collection I work on a theme related to Amazigh culture and my memories, documenting it via my brand and giving life to the motifs again in a modern way. My platform is educational as well. I explain the products, the colors, and motifs I use and what they mean. Amazigh culture is becoming increasingly popular (11-S-29-Self-based).

Through her online presence 11-S-29-Self-based has found opportunities to collaborate with other artists to feature her clothing brand for example in their music

videos which helps her further promote her brand visibility. She gives the artists a few items for free in exchange for them featuring them on their media channels.

11-S-29-Self-based raised a prominent issue facing artisans which are laws that protect intellectual property. Despite Morocco having implemented copyright laws since 2011, enforcing such laws is increasingly difficult especially online. Furthermore, to actually patent or copyright designs or items is extremely costly, so small business and independent artists have no way of affording protections for their work. It is also very expensive to register a brand officially, and register identities on social media channels and other places with this brand. All these costs are impossible to cover unless a business is exceptionally large. Hence the implementation of copyright laws and protection for artist brands is ineffective for smaller artists and businesses such as that of 11-S-29-Self-based. Another aspect of this is that in many cases, as is the case for 11-S-29-Self-based, handcrafted items are produced slowly. If a large international corporation decides to mimic one of their designs, they can mass produce and mass market them which completely drowns out the efforts for small artists and businesses to market their products. It is impossible to compete in such a market. There are even cases in which designs are mimicked by larger corporations and subsequently patented by these corporations effectively making it illegal for the original artists to continue their crafts.

> *B: What challenges you face in your brand and how do you protect your own designs and ideas?*
> *I: People copy my designs and create their business around it, but this issue is present not only for me but even big brands like channel have this issue of replicas though they are less affected because they are very large. Sometimes I see it is because my brand is successful that they copy from me. But there are no laws to protect artists and original ideas. Sometimes I don't know what to do about it, I don't like that it happens but at the end they are just copies. I am the original, I have the brain that made those from the scratch, and I started painting and drawing so I can make innovative ideas again (11-S-29-Self-based).*

With the use of social media on the rise, due to lack of accessible protection laws and difficulties for enforcement of laws around this topic, artisans are prone to become victimised by larger corporations through appropriation, exploitation, and plagiarism of their work. 11-S-29-Self-based talks about how Amazigh arts and crafts being appropriated:

> *I: Taḥruyt is one of the original products native to the southeast of Morocco. You can find them online being sold by large corporations for 500dh while the price that women sell this for on the ground is 100dh or even 50dh. While some are*

really bad quality, touristic ones, using cheap fabric, and cheap threads, they are more expensive than the good quality ones made by women in the southeast of Morocco. Therefore, the ministry of culture should take responsibility to protect women artists from appropriations and exploitation. Women don't benefit a lot and they need to be benefiting. For example, my aunt's artistic knowledge is huge and vast, she makes tiḥruyin for all tribes so when someone comes to her, she knows which tribe and does exactly what they need regarding colours and symbols of their tribes. The issue with selling online is there is theft. You can have original ideas and put them online only to find the next day 20 pieces like that on the market cheaper than yours. For me I prefer if you have direct network with people that organize trips to Morocco. To bring tourist to your shop and they will buy directly. Of course, you publish or post one or two items just to say 'here I am' to market your products (11-S-29-Self-based).

11-S-29-Self-based explains the need for protection laws specifically targeting artisans in Morocco as well as the need for educating artisans on their rights and the value of their efforts and work on the market where their products are sold rather than being victim of middlemen who undervalue their work to take a large profit for themselves on the final sales to clients.

I: To be honest Morocco all of it needs these laws of protecting. I follow the minister of culture Mr. Mehdi Bensaid on social media, and he said they are working on laws to protect Moroccan culture by creating a Moroccan label known as 'LABEL Maroc'. Its aim is protecting Moroccan patrimony. This is very important for us. Each region of Morocco has arts and culture and patrimony. For example, Ait Atta we have our own culture. This means also that women should know their rights and ask for a good price that covers their whole effort and values their efforts and designs. The whole process of the carpet for example is very complex. I once visit Khniefra city and there was a market of carpets. So, the women bring their carpet to the local market and give it to the Adllal (auctioneer) to sell as sort of an auction. They start with a minimum price of 200 dh, and it goes up until 1000Dh. If the market is good if not the carpet ends up being sold for around 500dh. They need pay with that money the person responsible for the auction. Then once it's sold to the people of the bazaar they themselves sell it for more money to Marrakech and Fez and Rabat and then it's sold directly to clients online. Some carpets sold online or in big cities can go for up to 10000dh (11-S-29-Self-based).

In lack of protection law and valorisation of efforts and labour of women artisans, they remain prey to middlemen whether national or international. If they knew how to value and sell their own products, they could potentially make more than 10 times as much as they currently do.

- *6-M-48-Self-based: Merchant at Souq*

6-M-48-Self-based is an example of self-based merchant at a souq. A woman in her 40s who wears a veil. I came across her when visiting the souq one day and sat with her so I could tell her about my research and ask her a few questions. She told me that she is the oldest female merchant in the souq. She started coming to the souq about 8 years ago. She comes from another village to sell her products in Alnif and other souqs in the region. Next to 6-M-48-Self-based at the souq another woman is stationed who according to what she told me saw 6-M-48-Self-based in the souq selling and felt encouraged and inspired to also come to the souq and sell her *taɛṭṭart* (merchandise). With their products of arts, crafts and beauty products laid out on the floor they wait for people to come and buy them. Both women are very strong and tough women, to able to sit in the sun and sell their merchandise in a souq dominated by men. They need to keep up a strong and tough appearance in order not to get intimidated by the men.

> *I: I started out selling spices. I made them at home and brought them here. Also, if women brought their products to me, I sold them for them. These lqtban and tibuqsin, it's me that works on them on free days. I come from a village nearby. The souq days are Monday, Wednesday and Friday. When I am not here on souq days I work on making these. It takes many hours putting all the beads and sequins together and everything. People buy them and especially during summer I sell more due to the weddings. During the winter not much. I make these lqtban ait ibɛtuln (scarfs. See photos 26, 34, 35) to sell for 60dh and these lqtban of sequins I sell for 100dh. Now due to Covid-19 not a lot of people buy them because there are less weddings because the government said they may stop the wedding season. You see my life is hard, but I try to work on something and come here to the Souq and sell these lqtban to make a living. Today I only sold this one scarf for 20dh. I still need to go buy some medicine and go back home. It's very hot and the sun is reaching us as we sit now in the shadow of a tent of another merchant (6-M-48-Self-based).*

Despite there being many women in the souq shopping publicly these days it is still taboo for women to sell merchandise in the souq so it takes a lot of courage for these women to have their place in the souq and start selling products directly to women or to men who for example buy gifts for their wives, sisters or daughters. As 6-M-48-Self-based does not have her own tent to protect her from the elements, conditions are harsh as temperatures can reach up to 50 degrees in the shade in summer. To keep hydrated in such conditions 6-M-48-Self-based brings water and dates from home to sustain herself and have energy throughout the day.

6-M-48-Self-based and the woman selling products next to her empower and support each other and other women. While I was sitting with them some women would come and bring their arts and products and leave them with 6-M-48-Self-based and her

neighbor so they can sell them for them during the souq. When it is sold, they take a small commission. From what I gathered these women are not from Alnif but they come from another village. They need to be in Alnif already at 6am to claim their spot and prepare to showcase their *taɛṭṭart* (merchandise). 6-M-48-Self-based is the oldest, so she has a larger variety of items on sale such as Henna, *izgran* (incence), *taẓult* (black powder made from antimony sulfide mixed into paste. Used by women as eye make up for the eyes), *tibuqsin*, and *lmeswak* (walnut bark chewed by women to make the lip orange to red color as lipstick). The woman next to 6-M-48-Self-based sells *lqtban* (scarfs) that she makes at home when it's not souq days. Around 12pm to 1pm the women already must leave the souq to go catch the minibus back home. 6-M-48-Self-based who has more items on sale has someone she trusts in Alnif so she can leave her *taɛṭṭart* (merchandise) with them. She picks it up again only on the souq days, so she does not have to carry it every time as its heavy. She does travels with a few things that she can always sell, and which weigh less like *taẓult* and *lmeswak*.

   As a female selling in a souq 6-M-48-Self-based expressed to me that working in a souq is very difficult. Because when she started, she was the only female. She noted there were men who tried to harass her, thinking that if she is in a public space, she is a prostitute. 6-M-48-Self-based toughened up and became strict and does not accept these men's insults and harassments so she defended herself in the souq until men started respecting her. She explained that nowadays everyone knows her and knows she is a good woman. No one would try to harass her anymore. Another thing she did to counter the harassment was to have her place next to that of a man in a busy area. She mentioned that this offers her some protection as he keeps an eye on her. Sometimes she also brings her son to sit with her as the men who put out the harassments wouldn't do this in the presence of her young son. A few years into her venture the woman she inspired joined her which also helps as now she is not the only woman selling in the souq. Their aim is to continue working at the souq until their children grow up and start working so their children can take care of them.

Photo 30: 6-M-48-Self-based's merchandise

Photo showing 6-M-48-Self-based's merchandise.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 31: 6-M-48-Self-based's merchandise

Photo showing 6-M-48-Self-based's merchandise.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 32: 6-M-48-Self-based's merchandise

Photo showing 6-M-48-Self-based and her neighbors place at the souq.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 33: 6-M-48-Self-based's merchandise

Photo showing 6-M-48-Self-based's merchandise.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

From the testimonies of these women, it can be seen that traditional designs and handicrafts can offer them opportunities for financial self-empowerment. However, a lot of painstaking effort goes into creating products and art to sell which often times is sold relatively cheap compared to global markets and the costs incurred by modernization and globalization. Tourism plays an influential role in the sales of these women's products as a lot of tourism in Morocco is based on its cultural heritage, and tourists want to experience that. Hotels, riads and other touristic venues, as well as the tourists themselves form a large part of the market for these women. As the demand for their products grow, women need to do valorization of their products in order to gain a fair price for the time invested to create them. This increased revenue could at the same time offer them opportunities for growth in their businesses, allowing them to keep up with the ever-increasing demand for their items.

To maximize their profits and be able to properly sustain themselves and their families they also need to find ways to cut out the middlemen who traditionally sold their products for them and receive a large commission for doing so. By breaking taboos of being female merchants as well as finding new markets to sell their products such as the internet, allowing them access to the global market, these women are gradually learning to navigate a more modern world to their benefit. Challenges here lie in the fact that often times they need to either fight for their right of existence such as being a female merchant, being resilient and strong in the face of harassments by their male counterparts, or they need to acquire new skills such as managing websites, photography, online marketing, managing finances, online payment systems and a lot of other things which are completely new to them.

6.3.3. Cooperatives Strengthening Aspirations, Resilience, Agency and Empowerment

In addition to self-based individual IGPs Amazigh women empowerment is manifested through organizing themselves via cooperatives. According to Tizza and Boujrouf from the year 2000 onwards "the Moroccan government and many NGOs have worked together to promote the status of rural women through the creation of women's cooperatives and associations" (Tizza and Boujrouf 2014, 40). Several laws have been adopted in support of women's rights starting with the Action Plan for the Integration of Women in Development in 1999 followed by the new Mudawana of 2004 and the creation of the INDH (National Human Development Initiative) in 2005 which provides women

with an important role to combat poverty. Furthermore, the establishment of the Green Morocco Plan in 2008 supported action taken towards protection and improvement of natural resources by women.

Women have been given a more prominent and central role in socioeconomic and cultural developments at the local level due to the visible growth and developments around women's rights in Morocco over the past few years. Cooperatives have become another path towards collective empowerment of women who founded many cooperatives with different focuses such as Henna, rose water, *zafaran*, arts and crafts, carpets, argan and walnut oil, pottery, bread and couscous, sweets and patisserie and more. These women's cooperatives provide women with opportunities that transform their lives empower them to be economically active to support their families and do several other things. This in turn has had beneficial effects various areas of their lives. Health has improved due to cooperatives enabling better working conditions and allowing women to acquire machines to do certain physically demanding tasks. Self-esteem and confidence increases as these women can feel good about being able to take good care of themselves and their families, are able to enjoy more financial freedom and are able to attend activities such as literary classes to enable them to better interact with public services and modern life (Laghssais and Comins Mingol 2021a, 12).

Due to findings from the literature review phase of this research I deductively investigated IGPs from the perspective of arts and crafts, looking at how Amazigh women in the southeast use them as tool to lift themselves from adversity. However, during the course of the fieldwork, though an inductive approach I found that in both self-based and cooperative IGPs many other focus areas existed for these women such as cooperatives of bread, couscous, and traditional spices as revealed for example through interviews with informant 5-D-30-Coop.

> *B: How do you preserve Amazigh culture via participation in your cooperative?*
> *I: Couscous is Amazigh and the way we do our couscous is traditional, mixing wheat barely and corn together. Also, the spices we make for couscous are traditional, like in amrkas (traditional Amazigh type of couscous). Creating couscous and the spices for it in the traditional, natural way, is part of the essence of Amazigh culture. These mixed spices are famous and a specialty for this region. Making the couscous available to people helps to preserve this part of our culture (5-D-30-Coop).*

According to the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage from 2003, traditional food can be seen as a social and cultural practice

involving the knowledge and skills which have been passed down through generations by a culture. Hence its recognized that preservation of such traditional food practices is essentially a part of preservation of culture and promotion of cultural diversity. It also plays an important role in support of sustainable agriculture and the promotion of local economies. Therefore, during the fieldwork the sample of informants also includes women from cooperatives involved in production of traditional food as their cooperatives are a collective way of cultural preservation when perceived from this perspective.

As explained within the theme of adversity, joining a cooperative for women is still considered shameful in some villages because it portrays the male head of the family as incapable to provide for his family. However, in reality it can be noted that most women who work at such cooperatives fall within the category of widows, divorced, single mothers, orphans and drop out of school. This social category is socially permitted or allowed to work because they are in need while if a woman has a healthy husband she maybe considered less in need because her husband is the main financial provider of the family and therefore her contribution to the families' finances is considered secondary. It wasn't until relatively lately that these women stepped up to break the cycle of shame and started creating their own cooperatives. They don't have a financial provider which in the rural cases is always a male member of the family. Their social circumstances led these women to take the responsibility of financial provider of their families. These fieldwork results are limited to experiences and stories of my 13 informants and women that identify within the same social category. Therefore, claims about this being the general case for all Amazigh women or even all women from this specific region cannot be made.

In order to motivate and encourage women to pursue the path of joining or starting an IGP 2-M-25-Coop told me that her cooperative filmed a documentary with a Moroccan television channel in which they show how the arts and crafts are made, paying special attention to details and the process of making of accessories for the brides and grooms at Ait Atta weddings. The documentary targets valorisation of artisanal products made by women which takes an incredible amount of time and skill, highlighting the prices don't do justice to the number of hours spent making the items. The idea according to 2-M-25-Coop is that when broadcasted on the television Amazigh women see it and will feel inspired to continue and create cooperatives in their villages. They feel encouraged and confident to run their businesses.

Initially when women started to find creative solutions to alleviate adversities in their lives such as *aṣṭṭa* (weaving on a loom), making and selling carpets in self-based

IGPs, this quickly spread throughout the southeast of Morocco as a common mechanism of self-sustainment. With the rise of cooperatives facilitating women to collectively work on these projects, the women are exposed to more opportunities for growth and participation on a broader scale within society. Additionally, through cooperatives they earn a legal status, and their efforts of economic empowerment also contribute to the national economy through taxes and attracting tourism to the regions they operate in. More and more cooperatives are being founded each year to help Amazigh rural women economically sustain themselves.

6.3.3.1. Arts and Crafts Cooperatives as a Medium for Peace Building

Traditional arts and crafts are also considered part of the intangible cultural heritage convention of UNESCO from 2003 as they are based on the knowledge and skills passed down through generations of a culture. It is included in the convention in order to attempt to safeguard it and enable the continued transmission and promotion of these traditions in the future as embodiment of the creative and artistic expressions of a culture as well as the significant role it plays in the promotion of preservation of cultural diversity, economic empowerment of indigenous communities as well as promotion of sustainable developments within these communities. Furthermore, traditional arts and crafts are a valuable tool in the process of peacebuilding within these communities empowering women at the grassroots level from within their own indigenous communities, using abilities and practices familiar to them as they have been passed down by them through the generations of their culture. By providing economic opportunities, preserving cultural heritage, engaging the broader community, and promoting entrepreneurship, traditional arts and crafts can contribute to building peaceful and resilient communities.

Arts and crafts projects present these women with opportunities which are compatible with their daily lives as they can often start working on such projects in their past times close to home within their own communities. The projects do not require them necessarily to learn new abilities as the skillsets passed down to them from within their culture can be utilized to empower them directly especially through cooperatives which reduce the overhead of the business side of these projects and allow these women to focus on their crafts.

Being the first deductive category, this following is aimed at showing how Amazigh women use traditional arts and crafts to express identity and culture and

contribute to economic empowerment of themselves, their families, and their communities.

- *8-M-30-Coop*

8-M-30-Coop is member of a cooperative located in Saghro. The cooperative was founded as way to innovate and keep alive the crafts and arts of Ait Atta related to accessories and adornments used at local weddings and celebrations. This cooperative is hybrid in the sense it combines both arts and crafts and making couscous.

> *B: How do the women working in cooperatives contribute to the preservation of Amazigh culture and traditions?*
> *I: These crafts are inherited skills and traditions of Amazigh women. Women know how to do and create these crafts to continue and cover the necessities of the tribe by making tibuqsin (head accessory worn by women. See photo 24), badni/lqtib (scarfs. See photos 26, 34, 35) all of which are needed during the marriage ceremonies and rituals. Each tribe has their own distinguishing features. Amongst women of each tribe there are a few that are known to work on creating these necessities. For the tribe to preserve their traditions and culture specific to them and innovate in it as time changes around us. I came with the idea to create the cooperative and gather all these skills and all of us also teach other young women and pass this knowledge to them (8-M-30-Coop).*

Among other reasons 8-M-30-Coop's cooperative was created is to address the economic situation of women from her village.

> *I: We created a women's cooperative. We are 15 women. We started the cooperative because we didn't have resources nor opportunities for women to benefit because we are in a mountainous area of Saghro. Women here in mountains are marginalized. But we as women we did not want that so we try to change and so we created this cooperative to benefit from it. Everything we do, all the crafts, are hand made by us. We do tiḥruyin and tibuqsin. We do couscous and we do berkuks (semolina-based pasta). We work all these with our hands. But to move forward we need to be helped also. We started something from us and our idea and crafts are unique to us as Amazigh women. We still struggle with marketing. We don't have anything outside of the people of the village who buy from us or if someone travels and has some of our items people might learn about us and ask us to send items to them. We want help our men in providing for the household. It's difficult now as there is a drought and there are less job opportunities in the region. We want to be able to help also just to be able to buy soap and bottles of shampoo so we could be able to buy things for our home and support our children (8-M-30-Coop).*

The cooperative was started only a few months before the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 which caused challenges in the initial phase of the cooperative as demand for products dropped and acquiring resources to enable production became very expensive.

I: In beginning it was though and we would each month all of us contribute 10dh each and try to collect money so we could continue developing the cooperative. First, we started with aṣṭṭa (weaving the loom). We bought some threads and wool and started working. Some people of the village see us working hard and sometimes help us to move forward (8-M-30-Coop).

Due to the hybridity of this cooperative. the women are organized into groups, group of arts and crafts that works on making the loom, *lqtban/ badni, tiḥruyin* and group who makes couscous. The women come to the cooperatives during different times of day according to their groups. According to 8-M-30-Coop when working on couscous, the women arrive as early as 6am in the morning and work until 2pm. They bring the materials to create the couscous from their own homes as they do not have these items yet at the cooperative and are still working to secure funds to purchase these. Some of the items made by the cooperative such as *Taḥruyt* can take as much as 4 or 5 consecutive days to create depending on their size and specifications.

In addition to work on their crafts and earn some money, the cooperatives also provide an opportunity to socialize and learn new skills from each other. Among the benefits of this collective learning and empowerment is exchange practical skills and techniques.

B: What else do women benefit from the cooperative?
I: They benefit as some women did not know certain types of crafts and they learn it and exchange knowledge on these crafts. Because before you would find a woman is doing one thing at home and specialized in that, so she knows very well how to create that and with time she builds expertise, often each having their own specialization. Gathering these women masters here enables them to share their knowledge and practices with younger generations also. The biggest struggle we have now is the marketing of our products. As you see here, we have a lot of creations in the cooperative, but we need to sell them to gain some money so we can buy new materials and make new ones (8-M-30-Coop).

In marketing the products of cooperative, 8-M-30-Coop tried several approaches. Among them is the traditional way of putting the products made in several selling points around town such as shops. She goes to different towns and cities in the region such as Tinghir to find shops to collaborate with in marketing and selling their products. Once the collaboration is verbally agreed upon, the minibus service us used to send goods to the distant selling points, and receive the earnings back in order to prevent unnecessary travelling between cities for this purpose. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic 8-M-30-Coop expressed there were difficulties in getting their products sold via shops as shopkeepers

saw a decreased demand in their items due to collective events such as weddings being cancelled. 8-M-30-Coop given her skills using social media opened a Facebook page for the cooperative on which she displays and markets the products they make.

Photo 34: *Badni*   Photo 35: *Badni*

Photo used to illustrate *badni/ lqtib* (scartf).
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo used to illustrate *lptban* (scafs).
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

- *2-M-25-Coop*

2-M-25-Coop is a member of a cooperative based out of Alnif. The cooperative was founded in 2019 with the goal to preserve Amazigh arts, crafts and artisanal traditions. The specialize in garments worn during weddings in the southeast of Morocco. They make *tasbnyet* (type of scarfs), *tabuqst, aɛbruq n tslit,* (bride's head covering), *Taḥruyt, Tasmert* (woman's wool belt)*,* and *badni* (scarfs). The cooperative in addition to their products also facilitate a learning environment for girls who drop out of school to learn skills that enable them to empower themselves financially.

> B: When did your cooperative start its operations?
> I: In 2019 the president of the cooperative started her dream which is to help girls as she is also one of them and understands the issues women face without school diploma. Having a craft at hand is useful when times are uncertain. One can open a store and start sewing to make clothes for people and thereby help themselves. She (the president of the cooperative) is a tailor and wants to enable other girls by teaching them her trade. She started with girls but now there are also married women and elderly women who want to learn. They now know how to make dresses and sew. Now they are empowered, and some have a sewing machine at home which helps them practice more at home (2-M-25-Coop).

2-M-25-Coop's cooperative received 120.000Dh in funding from the INDH (National Human Development Initiative) to target 45 girls and women in Alnif. The funds allowed them to buy machines and supplies such as fabrics, threads and supplies needed for classes and workshops.[96] The funding helps the cooperative to go in the direction of supporting IGPs. Due to lots of girls dropping out of school and getting married at a young age, and due to limited possibilities and resources to do vocational trainings (from the Office de la formation professionnelle et de la promotion du travail/OFPPT) the cooperative empowers and enables girls of rural areas to get a certificate that will enable them to create person projects in sewing or to be independent tailors.

> *I: Our cooperative concentrates on teaching crafts to as much women as possible. It's a second chance at school to learn an art or craft which helps them to not get married early because learning these crafts comes natural to them so they eager to learn and start creating. Sewing supports them to become economically empowered and enables them to support their family (2-M-25-Coop).*

In addition to sewing and embroidery 2-M-25-Coop said that they have expanded their lessons to include further crafts.

> *B: What else do women learn at the cooperative?*
> *I: They learn to make izuɣran (incence), l'henna (grind henna leaves to powder), taẓult (a black powder made from antimony sulphide, mixed into paste. It is used by women as make up for the eye), lxyaṭa (tailoring), badni (scarf), badni n muzun (scarf with sequins) tiḥruyin (decorate by hand scarf with beads and sequence motifs). Each woman comes to learn something they want, and we teach them (2-M-25-Coop).*

The program of learning in the cooperative is based around the concept of collective learning and is organized as twice a week. One group enter from 2pm to 4pm and another group from 4pm to 6pm. The trainings depend on the girls, because some of them who went to school and dropped outlearn faster than women who did not go to school. The program to earn a diploma runs for a year, but depending on the learning capacity of the participants can also be extended to cover another year of learning. Some women also have the opportunity to practice at home which affects how fast they

---

[96] In addition to funding provided by various institutes, diaspora members of the community play an important role in supporting women's self-based projects and cooperatives on two levels. Firstly, through direct donations to cooperatives to help them buy materials or rent a workplace. Secondly, when they come back to visit in the summer during weddings seasons, they purchase arts and crafts of women.

complete the course. After graduating with diploma and being equipped with the skills and knowledge from the cooperative some participants open stores of their own and some work from home using second hand machines. During high season they collaborate with local tailors and work on items from home to take a share of the profit of the tailor as they help keep up with seasonal demands.

> *B: Does the cooperative provide consultancy services on the business aspects of projects?*
> *I: Not all participants here want to open a store. Some just want to learn as their main goal, and they can work from home and take the crafts to selling points. Others indeed are interested to open stores or join other cooperatives. We help them by providing information how we started because the first steps are often unclear. By explaining the procedures, we try to encourage women to do personal projects and not just learn sewing. Some women with small children prefer to work from home as they have young children so they can take care of their children while at same working on their crafts (2-M-25-Coop).*
> *B: Do you offer only workshops for girls to learn at your cooperative, or will they work for you later when they graduate?*
> *I: The cooperative offers workshops that will help them learn how to sew and later they can create their own personal projects with the skills they learned. Also, some women here have a machine at home. They buy fabric and sew aqidur (standard dress) that women wear here and on souq days they take it to a salesman with a tent and put their products there for sale. The salesman visits many souqs throughout the week and takes the items with him and sells them in different locations. That's what they do. The founder of our cooperative started like that too, but now she goes to different souqs across this region herself because these products are needed very much in these areas and the souq is the chance for more isolated villages to come and shop (2-M-25-Coop).*

Festivals and exhibitions are a good opportunity for artisans to participate in on the national level with their arts and crafts so this cooperative is very active during these events. This offers the women opportunities to visit new cities, expand their network and makes new collaborations possible.

Photo 36: Arts and crafts of Amazigh women

Photo used to illustrate arts and crafts of Amazigh women.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 37: Arts and crafts of Amazigh women

Photo used to illustrate arts and crafts of Amazigh women.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 38: *Taḥruyt*

Photo used to illustrate *Taḥruyt* (large scarf as arts of Amazigh women).
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 39: *Taḥruyt*

Photo used to illustrate *Taḥruyt* (large scarf as arts of Amazigh women).
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 40: *Aqidur* dress

Photo used to illustrate *aqidur* dress in plural iqidar.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 41: *Iqidar* dresses

Photo used to illustrate *aqidur* dress in plural iqidar.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 42: Iqidar dresses

Photo used to illustrate aqidur dress in plural iqidar.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 43: Iqidar dresses

Photo used to illustrate aqidur dress in plural iqidar.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

6.3.3.2. Bread, Couscous and Spices Cooperatives

In addition to art and crafts cooperatives, Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco founded cooperatives with speciality of making bread, couscous, and spices. The reason to choose this path for them was that it provides a steady income throughout the year unlike arts and crafts for which demands are high only in the summer due to collective weddings and other events which happing only during summer in the region.

- *7-M-44-Coop*

7-M-44-Coop is member of a hybrid cooperative located in Saghro that does arts and crafts as well as couscous. Being recently founded in 2020 started with couscous. However, women wanted also to work on arts and crafts, so they decided on a hybrid approach with different groups of women focussing on different products. There are 7 women at the core of the cooperation as board members and around 43 women which participate in the cooperative's activities. 7-M-44-Coop started the cooperative upon the request of many women in her town. Given her leadership skills and fierce personality she took it upon herself to organize and help set up the cooperative.

Although 7-M-44-Coop mentioned that the participants and her herself did not go to school, her outspoken personality helped her find a school dropout who can help with the paperwork, accounting, and administrative side of the cooperative. When the cooperative was established 7-M-44-Coop received help from local social workers when she went to the local commune to prepare the paperwork. For example, in the beginning she needed to send papers to Agadir to get the name legitimized and the logo and pay the application fees. To cover these fees, the involved women each contributed 10Dh to pay for the application.

Speaking more about the products the cooperative produces 7-M-44-Coop explained women prepare couscous amongst other things.

> B: What do you do in the cooperative?
> I: We work couscous of barley and ṭṭɛam (kind of pasta) We sell to shops. 20 kilo 40 kilo. We don't have location where to work. It's been a year since we started and the materials that we use we take them from our homes. We are not yet making profit. Couscous of barely, you buy them and clean them then grain them a bit and sieve them to take out ilammn (bran) and with the rest you make couscous. People with high blood pressure its good for them this type of couscous (7-M-44-Coop).

I asked 7-M-44-Coop about the process of making couscous as it's one of the traditional dishes from the region, a hallmark of this specific region in southeast of Morocco. She explained barley and wheat is used in the process. They first need to dry and clean the wheat and barley. Once cleaned they can take it to a local shop which can make it into flour. They take it as flour to the cooperative and sieve it to take out any impurities and once its cleaned thoroughly they can start the process of making it into couscous. This involves adding water and steaming the flour until its cooked. For making *ṭṭɛam* (type of pasta) they need to add another step to the process to roll the cooked flour into small balls by hand. The work in the cooperative starts at 7 am and the women are divided into two groups working on alternating days of the week. The location of the cooperative where the women work together is rented locally.

In addition to couscous 7-M-44-Coop after discussing with the other members of the cooperative added arts and crafts to their portfolio. In order to start arts and crafts and invest in it, 7-M-44-Coop first needed to find selling points such as stores with which the cooperative could collaborate to sell their products. For this purpose, she visited Boumalne Dades and Tingrir. According to 7-M-44-Coop they work on seasonal things during Ramadan making *Chbakia* (type of Moroccan pastry), *Zemita* (type of Moroccan pastry), *Helwa* (type of Moroccan pastry) which they send Boumalne Dades where there is a large demand for that from big stores. The cooperative focusses on wholesale marketing, selling primarily to shops and big events to sell large enough quantities to work towards making a profit for the many women involved in the cooperative. Being based in Ikinoun 7-M-44-Coop sends the products to her collaborators in different cities with a minibus on monthly basis.

> B: What about the transport that you use to send the materials to selling points in Boumalne Dades?
> I: I use the minibus that comes from Boumalne through Ighrem Amazdar to Ikinoun. It passes by our village so I go there in the morning at 7 am near the road and wait for it to pass at certain time and deliver to him the packs of couscous. I pay him 10dh for transport. After that I call the store in Boumalne and I tell him to go to station of the minibuses to pick up the package I sent. Women now are saying we don't have a lot of money left as we rent the location. Despite that we work but we are still at early stages and with limited materials we cannot make large quantity. We are a lot of women also so we need profit to cover our costs (7-M-44-Coop).

Photo 44: Cooperatives' couscous making process

Photo used to illustrate the cooperatives'
couscous making process.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Ikniouen, 2021

Photo 45: Cooperatives' couscous making process

Photo used to illustrate the cooperatives'
couscous making process.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Ikniouen, 2021

- *9-S-30-Coop*

9-S-30-Coop is member of a cooperative which is located in Ighrem Amazdar near Ikniouen. The cooperative is run by 11 members and was founded in 2016. They started the cooperative to empower themselves financially and focus mainly on making bread.

After coming together with the involved women in her village the idea of a cooperative started, and they decided to focus on bread because everyone needs that every day and they wanted a year round steady demand for their products. Initially, they took everything from their homes, ovens, flour, all the supplies and ingredients required in the process. The group consists unmarried girls and a few divorcees all from humble and poor families. Usually, they start work as early as 5am and walk to the cooperative's location as its close to a road. When there is a high demand for their products, they sometimes start already at 2am to meet the demand. They produce around 60 breads a day, but on busy days this can go up to 100 breads. Each bread they sell for 2.50dh. They do everything in the traditional way by hand.

Even though this cooperative applied for funds through the INDH (National Human Development Initiative), this only provided them enough funds to buy a big oven.

They still need to produce all the dough for the bread by hand. Some participants are lucky to have someone helping them at home, but others must work twice as they need to work at home and at the cooperative. Often when girls are divorced, they will move back in with their mothers and need to take responsibilities in the household. Because the large amount of manual labour involved in this cooperative's work, the women often spend the entire day there and have to prepare their lunches at the cooperatives.

To buy primary supplies for the cooperative such as flour and bottles of butane gas they have made agreements with transporters (lorries) that bring these materials to towns. They stop by their cooperative once a month so they can purchase the needed supplies.

> *B: Where do you buy flour and materials you need to make bread?*
> *I: Each week a lorry passes by that sells it. If we need something we call him and he stops by to sell it to us. Before when we just started and did not have these contacts, we used to bring it from Tinghir ourselves (9-S-30-Coop).*

9-S-30-Coop cooperative's marketing and sales is limited to local vicinity only due to lack of machines to meet demands of a larger area. The condition under which they work is still basic despite the receiving funding. They use an older building without light or electricity and need to use a flashlight when they start working in the early morning until daylight comes.

Photo 46: Cooperatives' bread making process

Photo used to illustrate the cooperatives' bread making process.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Ighrem Amazdar, 2021

Photo 47: Cooperatives' bread making process

Photo used to illustrate the cooperatives' bread making process.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Ighrem Amazdar, 2021

- *5-D-30-Coop*

5-D-30-Coop is member of a cooperative located on the outskirts of Alnif. Its products include bread, couscous, sweets, biscuits, and spices for couscous. The first time I visited them they picked me up at a location with their motorized trike along with 3 women of the cooperative. It was interesting to see a woman ride a motorized trike herself as the region is very conservative. The cooperative consists of divorcees and one widow who work hard to lift themselves from adversity and provide for their families.

> *B: Before there was a cooperative what did these women do to support their families in terms of breadmaking?*
> *I: There are two women who already before the cooperative started made bread at home and people of our village buy from them. They were independent vendors. They were known in the village to make bread just like with other things like arts and crafts women that makes tiḥruyin and tibuqsin. The cooperative opens more doors not only to be local for this village, but also nearby villages have heard about us, and they place their orders to buy from us especially. We have large orders for occasions like weddings in summer or funerals or any celebrations throughout the year where people eat bread and couscous. We have a lot of clients from this village and outside of it. Restaurants and cafes also buy bread from us (5-D-30-Coop).*

5-D-30-Coop's cooperative was established in 2017 by 7 women who are both board members of the cooperative and make the bread. If we need more women, we provide them with a contact of 3 to 6 months depending on the orders we have.

> *B: You have 7 women here? What are the social conditions that led them to work here?*
> *I: The majority of us are divorced and brought back children to our family home without custody money. We must be both the mother and the fathers to our children. One is married has a lot of children and she needs to help her husband. Another dropped out of school at an early age and wanted to work. Each one of us has harsh life conditions but that does not limit us form advancing in our life. We try to find solutions to cope and move forward (5-D-30-Coop).*
> *B: How much capacity does the cooperative have to include more women?*
> *I: Now we are 7 and their families. When we have a bigger location also, we will have 4 to 5 women who specialize in making cookies, and 5 for couscous and there will be more women for spices and bread. It would total to about 30 women, impacting their life and helping them. Plus, in addition to these 30 on occasions and holidays we will need to add more temporary staff. We hope to grow our cooperative (5-D-30-Coop).*

> *B: What is objective of the cooperative?*
> *I: To support ourselves and be financially independent and support and educate our children. We also want to grow more the cooperative, to be able to impact more women to help their children too. In that way we also contribute to development of our community and its economy as more women will be working with us and that is impacting a lot of families here in the village. We even think about having cooperative locations in other villages and town and the impact would be big (5-D-30-Coop).*

The cooperative's choice of bread over arts and crafts is because it is more sustainable in the long term as there is a year-round demand for their products in contrast to arts and crafts which usually are seasonal products.

> *B: Why did you choose bread rather than crafts or something else?*
> *I: Because bread is in higher demand throughout the year. The crafts especially the ones made in this region are seasonal, its peak is in the summer for wedding traditions. That is when most wedding happen, and diaspora come back and buy these crafts. The rest of the year there is little demand. For working in bread making there is always demand throughout all seasons (5-D-30-Coop).*
> *B: Do you work more during the winter or during the summer?*
> *I: We have work throughout the year actually. People need bread all time. But in the summer demand is higher as diaspora come back, and more weddings happens during the summer (5-D-30-Coop).*

The production process for the bread in the cooperative bears similarities to that of 9-S-30-Coop. At around 8pm the women with the motorized trike picks up the other women of the cooperative and they start preparing for production of the next day while their relatives care for their children. Once the preparations are completed they sleep at the location of the cooperative in order for them to be able to wake up and start working around 2am. The work continues until around 4pm which is when they can go home and shower and see their families and perform household duties. At 8pm the cycle restarts. If demand is very high such as with the collective celebrations in summer, they work non-stop and do not have time to sleep. They produce a lot between the 7 of them as they have machines to make dough and big ovens thanks to funding from ANDZOA (Agence Nationale pour le Développement des Zones Oasiennes et de l'arganie). This funding also helped them in purchasing the motorized trike and a driving licence. During high-demand periods, they might receive many orders, where the amounts of breads ordered can vary between 100 up to 300 breads per order and there might be multiple orders per day. Often large orders come from the villages of Ait Ihya, Ait Sdan and Ait Zgan.

B: Is it not tough the working in the summer at 46 plus degrees baking bread in the oven?
I: Its tough indeed, but not like before when we had small ovens to bake in it. 300 breads are a lot, its time consuming and hard also for the skin to sit behind the ovens all day. The small oven took only 2 breads at time one above one below. Now we have funding from ANDZOA, and we have big materials. The oven we have now takes 12 breads at a time. Now also we have a machine for dough, so we don't do it traditionally by hand. Now the machine does it and we just put the flour and salt and yeast, and it mixes it for us. What takes time now is weighing and shaping the dough to make it round. Now hamdullah everything is easy and nice with these materials. Before we did not have materials and had a lot of orders it was tough to make it all. These materials provide a big comfort for us, that we don't do the dough by hand anymore which takes time, small oven we had 4 and each woman used one oven. Now no, only one woman can bake 12 breads at once instead of before 4 women baking 8 breads at once (5-D-30-Coop).

In addition to bread which they excel at and is the main source of income the cooperative members also make sweets and traditional couscous and spices used in couscous.

B: What about couscous how do you do?
I: We make it from flour, let it dry, put it in packages and put the cooperative stickers on it. We make amrkas (type of couscous). In it, wheats, barely and corn flower are mixed and dried by hand until it looks like little beads. We also make isifir (spices for couscous) from paprika to be added while cooking couscous. We also make cookies. If our location is large, we would do it all at the same time with more women, but the location is small as you see, and we can only work on one thing at a time (5-D-30-Coop).

5-D-30-Coop had the chance during her adult life to attend the literary classes and with determination she managed to learn maths and writing which are useful skills which she uses now to run the cooperative. Not only that but also manages communication and social media channels such as their Facebook page.

B: How did you get known as cooperative for bread?
I: First we started with a page on Facebook where we post on it bread and that people can make orders online via DMs. And post on couscous, sweets, spices, and bread. People share the posts and that's how we got famous. We are also invited to speak on the radio of Tinighir a lot of times and the word is spreading (5-D-30-Coop).

Like cooperative of 9-S-30-Coop, 5-D-30-Coop also uses the same technique to buy the primary supplies using her contacts with transporters who stop by the cooperative monthly so they can purchase the needed supplies. Selling and marketing for 5-D-30-Coop is easier because of the location they are in. They sell to stores, cafes, and

restaurants. Especially during souq days there are people from all nearby villages coming to shop and they need to eat and prefer bread made at home. This raises the cooperative's popularity and trust clients put in them.

Photo 48: Cooperatives' bread making process

Photo used to illustrate the cooperative's breadmaking process.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 49: Cooperatives' bread making process

Photo used to illustrate the cooperative's breadmaking process.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

6.3.3.3. Non structured jobs: Agriculture

While conducting interviews for the fieldwork through an inductive approach another project came to light which is aimed at financial empowerment of women. The agricultural sector created an initiative to help rural women by giving them some cattle (sheep and goats) to raise and breed for them to sell. When asked about this initiative 12-M-46-Self-based, who breeds sheep, stated that like these initiatives and similar ones in her eyes tend to not reach the people in need as they are mainly provided among a specific network of people that work in the commune.

> *B: I heard some women get sheep via projects of the agricultural sector. Do you benefit from these projects?*
> *I: No, I don't get any sheep from anyone. These initiatives do exist, but people get them via networks, not determined by any requirements or conditions they need to meet. As you know now, we are in month of Ramadan during which the state gives a solidarity box of taḍamun (charity box given by the government to*

poor people during Ramadan). It contains a bulk of food and supplies for poor families but once they come to the commune they are tudmawin (shared among networks) and I don't get one even though I am in need (12-M-46-Self-based).

13-S-29-NGO also told me that there have been numerous challenges regarding the success of these initiatives to help rural women. Amongst the challenges mentioned are a lack of training on how to breed the livestock and the fodder to feed to the animals being very expensive which the rural socio-economic conditions don't allow these women to afford.

B: Tell me about the agriculture sector empowering women by giving them sheep?
I: The agricultural sector gives sheep and goats to NGOs, cooperatives and individuals. There are women who participate in this and have positive experiences but in general women who receive these animals don't have trainings how to breed them. To make a project for breeding sheep it is classified as breeding livestock. Breeding livestock requires specific knowledge such as that at a certain age you should take the new sheep to the market, what type of food is needed for baby sheep and what type of vaccines are required for them. Even if women possess the right skills and knowledge, they don't have the resources to buy fodder for the sheep. These women have enough difficulties financing their daily living and to put food on the table let alone to provide the certain types of expensive food (barley, corn, hay) to the sheep to grow up. What happens is that with this project they give you sheep, and you have to figure out the details of breeding yourself. Women do not have previous trainings on production of livestock. There is also a problem that there is no profit from this. If something is needed in the household the woman then decides to sell a sheep. Sometimes when she is in urgent need, she will sell it for half the price or less. For example, in order to pay utility bills or to cater to their children's needs. So, she sells her sheep, and she doesn't know to how to invest the money in facilities. The money gained therefore only goes towards covering household expenses and is not reinvested back in the livestock. This is way projects like this did not succeed due to lack of management experience of women. This is also experienced by many cooperatives. The idea is their women know how to do arts, but they don't have someone to help in bureaucratic processes and marketing (13-S-29-NGO).

The main reason for breeding livestock is that the rural environment provides plenty of space for the livestock and because of *Eid Adha* which is a Muslim holiday celebration where Muslim sacrifice a sheep. Eid provides a good opportunity to sell the sheep. In addition to the sheep and goat breeding projects from the agricultural sector some women also work in agriculture locally cutting grass or Lucerne/Alfalfa for other people. They either get paid in money or get paid some of the yield of their work which they can then give to their cattle. Some also produce Lucerne/Alfalfa on their own as

shown by the experiences of 12-M-46-Self-based who used the money earned from this to help buy medicine for her husband.

Informants also expressed working in other side-jobs often on a temporary or part-time basis. These jobs include things like harvesting of wheat and cleaning in places such as schools, public institutions, banks, restaurants, and hotels. All in all, these jobs are informal and unregistered. Despite this, women try to get by on a day-to-day basis struggling to maintain their lives and put food on the table. It's generally not sustainable and does not grant financial stability and security as explained by 12-M-46-Self-based. She explained that depending on various factors such as the number of children, their social status and health within their families the amount earned can very between barely being able to sustain them to not at all. In the situation of 12-M-46-Self-based whose husband is ill and needs medicine constantly the community helps a bit and gives alms to her family to help cover their increased living costs.

6.3.4. NGOs Advocacy Role to Address Structural and Cultural Violence

As María Elena Díez states, the involvement of women as agents of peace is increasingly visible thanks to their incorporation into NGOs mobilized for peace and human rights (2004, 85). This section is about women's participation in local NGOs advocacy contributing to reduce structural and cultural violence against Amazigh women in southeast of Morocco.[97] In the beginning the NGOs were primarily engaged in protesting structural violence against women in the region, calling for the government to implement changes. Later they evolved to engage in activities to alleviate these issues themselves as protests alone were found to be ineffective. The NGOs in the region are organized under one federation in order to jointly speak for all citizens and their demands. In the rural areas of the southeast of Morocco, communes generally do not have the budget to provide solutions to the demands of the citizens. The NGOs take up the role here to apply for funds and resources in order to fill this gap. During the fieldwork I had the chance to visit a local NGO called *Association Bougafer pour le développement* to learn about their activities targeting women empowerment in the region.

In Alnif one of the many things the local NGO engages in is the preservation and renovation of Iɣrem (historical part of town). Due to emigration people leave these old buildings and they deteriorate over time as they are no longer occupied and maintained.

---

[97] NGOs in this context are groups of people that gather with a specific objective to work on activities beneficial for citizens free of charge. The board members don't get paid and volunteer. The NGO may hire other staff that do get paid, but board members do not get paid. On the other hand, cooperatives are groups of people who engage in activities that generate income.

Buildings where people do still live are also targeted as its usually the poorer parts of the community who still live here who do not have resources to maintain these buildings themselves. Iɣrem has 10 streets each street has approximately 10 houses. The total number of houses in Iɣrem is 102. The renovation is funded by the Moroccan government's ministry of housing as well as UNDP (United Nations Development Program) and UNESCO.

In addition, women are part of the NGO in Alnif working for instance during collective weddings organized by the NGO. Women volunteer and help the organization of collective ceremonies. During *timɣriwin* (weddings) they accompany *tislatin* (brides) to explain to them the traditions and program during weddings because some brides come from outside of Alnif and are not familiar with the customs.

The NGO also works to addresses the structural and cultural violence, hosting and organizing discussions and debates around the topic of child marriage. The NGO organizes these events because child marriage rates in Alnif are high. Through the NGO's events people gather to become sensitized about the negative consequences of child marriage and promote the ideas that girls should receive education and make their own life's choices. The NGO goes further to provides alternatives to child marriage by encouraging girls' education and facilitating opportunities for girls to learn skills they can use in projects to empower themselves. One example of such workshops to empower women and girls are sewing classes provided by the NGO. The program started in 2008 and has about 20 machines to their disposal. Yearly many women graduate from their classes and are able to find work sewing in the region enabling them some financial freedom and empowerment. The NGO aims to develop the program further into a sewing factory targeting the creation of clothes used by workers in a local brass mine in Majran as that provides a steady demand of sewen products. The goal is to employ around 10 women, providing a decent income for them and CNSS registration.

The primary task for NGOs in the region is to raise awareness and educate women and girls rather than immediately creating projects for them as most are uneducated or dropped out of school. They also need to break taboos and reduce social stigmas which prevent society from developing in the direction of more equal opportunities and treatment of women and girls. One example of these awareness campaigns is a campaign held in 2005 to raise awareness surrounding personal hygiene. An issue was identified where a lot of houses built by nomads moving to a sedentary lifestyle did not include toilets, as the population was not accustomed to these from their nomadic lifestyles as

well as there being a lack of running water in houses required to operate sanitary facilities. The NGO helped people create the necessary plumbing and cement in their houses and provided toilets with the aim of helping every citizen to have access to one, improving the hygiene of the general population.

One of my informants, 13-S-29-NGO, works at another NGO which is based out of Tinghir and similarly targets Amazigh women from the region. When asked about the work the NGO does in the region, she explained the NGO was created in 2005 with the goal of encouraging and empowering girls and women from the region. They target various sectors such as healthcare, arts and crafts, law, the local economy and the social sphere.

> *I: As an NGO we diagnosed the problems of women in the region and found out that the region has a lot of women in difficult situations and there is no one to support them. We decided to make an NGO that we called 'the space of women'. The NGO is independent and does not following any political parties nor ideology. It simply rose from the needs of Amazigh women in the region of Drâa-Tafilalet (13-S-29-NGO).*

Within the healthcare sector they address structural violence and provide financial aid and help women cover medical costs and get adequate treatment without being discriminated upon. They also raise awareness about reproduction and its consequences and challenges through campaigns in the region. In the area of law and rights they provide legal aid to women who are for example the victims of domestic violence. Due to the social stigma surrounding being open about personal issues such as domestic violence, the NGO has strict privacy policies in order to protect the privacy and identity of the women who come to them. This allows the women to freely speak about their issues openly and without shame. They explain their rights, provide a safe space for the women to reside in if they face such issues, and help them in the process of engaging with law enforcement agencies and court if needed. The social workers of the NGOs assist the women in bureaucratic processes around such topics such as applying for social benefits made available by government, going to hospital or engaging with lawyers and courts. The NGO also partners with other NGOs where its practical, such as an NGO they work with in Errachidia which they refer women to when they need to go to hospital as that city has a modern hospital.

Besides helping the women on practical matters of daily life, the NGO also encourages women to learn about various new fields that have arisen from modernization

and globalization such as technology. They give workshops on how to use computers so they can work as secretaries to increase their chances of finding a job. The women targeted by these programs are often school dropouts who are literate but have no diplomas. After learning these skills, the girls are further helped to find jobs and if needed to help get funds such as loans from banks or funds from initiatives such as INDH to form cooperatives or start other projects. One of the NGO's locations also contains a kindergarten so women who start working after completing their programs can have their children attend this and get an education while the women are at work. The NGO also started a Pâtisserie so girls and women interested in cooking can learn about it there. They are provided additionally with classes teaching about hygiene in food production as well as learning how to operate their own projects in order to start IGPs of themselves. There are also artisanal workshops provided for women who wants to learn arts and crafts. These programs upon completion offer the girls an official certificate which they can use to enrich their resumés and enables them to find jobs in cooperatives or start working from home.

13-S-29-NGO explained the NGO also visits communes such as Alnif, Kella Mgouna and Boumalne Dades and do workshops and awareness campaigns for women to educate them on their rights, reproductive health, hygiene. Sometimes they will also take along a doctor so they can on the spot perform medical checks and tests on women who come by.

Thus, development moves more and more toward participatory development where civil society is part of the plan for development and takes part in developmental activities. The communities identify their needs and make proposals for funds and resources. As result NGOs advocacy and work contributes to a large share of the work done on local rural development. The participatory approach also entails that if people want to be included in initiatives, they need to contribute to them, enabling more work to be done and everyone sharing a part of the burden. Due to this engagement with the community and contributions made the projects are much more sustainable in the long run, and directly target specific needs of the community, decided by the community themselves.

6.3.5. Political Participation and Activism Transforming the System from within

In addition to the previously mentioned IGPs, this section sheds light on women's experiences in political participation given the circumstances of the 2021 elections and

one of my informants being political figure in the southeast. This year within the election gender quota system the ratio of women to men required to participate is higher than previous years. In an interview with 5-D-30-Coop she told me that she was as asked to participate in the elections by running for a local party. However, her engagement at her cooperative prevents her from political activism.

> B: Are there women from the region participating in politics?
> I: Actually, the people of the village asked me to make myself candidate for local elections, but I don't want to because I have responsibilities here at the cooperative. I don't have time to do two things at a time, so I declined their request. If I need to fulfil both responsibilities at the same time, I will not be able to give them both 100% of my attention, so I prefer to remain in the cooperative. There are women who do run here for the first time, because I saw on tv its mandatory for women to be included in political parties. It's nice so that voices of women can be heard and women's, right can be defended (5-D-30-Coop).

I asked informants if they would vote for women, they said yes and seemed enthusiastic and hopeful that will lead to changes to their local communities. However, some informants also expressed a general hopelessness in politics based on the infamous reputation that politicians promise to fix and provide better services within education and healthcare but after elections don't live up to their promises.

In the case of one of my informants, 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader, she transitioned from being active in an NGO to political participation because she feels that from within the political system, she is able to have a bigger impact on issues in her local community. She is member of a political party. I had the chance to interview during the time of the elections and spoke to her about the journey she took from NGO advocacy to political participation.

> B: Have you done NGO work and social work before joining politics?
> I: I have an NGO through which I bought 68 sheep of which I gave it away for free to widows, orphans and poor families in my community. People make donations via the NGO such as for example school bags and supplies for children. In 2015 I started in politics and won in local elections to be able to participate. I live and breathe politics and activism regarding rural mountainous areas. I cannot hold back from defending the Amazigh culture and defending the Amazigh woman in rural and mountain areas until I die. My mission in life is defending the Amazigh woman, nothing will change that for me. Even now that I am in politics it's my main priority (10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader).

Her journey to politics after many years of NGO advocacy was triggered by the realization that in politics she can speak for women from inside the political system and can impact and change policies while in the NGO she worked from outside giving

recommendation and advocating. With politics, especially now her party is in power, she can actively make changes from within the system.

10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader's rise to fame was during 2007 where she appeared in videos talking about her adversities and the video went viral and from there she used her fame to draw attention to rural youth and women's adversities and struggles. With her popularity at the time, she founded an association to advocate for women of rural and mountainous areas and made efforts to shed light on the economic and social marginalization these women experience in their daily lives. She was recently promoted to a position of significance.

Through 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader's awareness of development projects she learned that there is a disparity in resources distribution in regions of Morocco. For example, the region Drâa-Tafilalet is the largest region in Morocco and rich in natural resources, yet the population is the poorest within Morocco and due to climate it is considered unfertlized soil and useless for agriculture and thus not subject to a lot of budget which gets allocated to regions which are seen fit for agriculture. This despite a lot of revenue and value coming to the nation from its natural resources such as brass mines and other industries which thrive in the region.

Due to her participation with her political party, 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader works hard to try and make good of the promises made by her political party to the region in an attempt to contrast previous experiences of women in the region and restore their faith in the political system, hoping to show that political participation from women in the region can lead to real change.

Because 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader is famous in the region I asked other informants about her and how they perceive her impact as a politically active women in the region.

> *I: I know her, I like her she is a fierce woman, defending woman rights in rural areas. Due to conservative traditions women don't speak up their minds in presence of men, but [10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader] breaks those barriers and speaks loudly about women problems and the problems of the community (7-M-44-Coop).*

> *I: I know her from TV. She is a brave Amazigh woman and speaks fluently. I like her. She knows how to speak publicly in front of people on topics that defend women of rural areas (12-M-46-Self-based).*

> *I: Bravo to 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader, she is an example of the Amazigh rural women who is intelligent and aware. She did not go to formal school, but*

she is aware and challenged her reality and the taboos of society. To have courage to speak in front of people, men, in a conservative society is not easy. Meaning locally to provincial to national to international to be a public figure it's not easy. She sets an example for women and girls. 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader speaks with simple words, with her simple French, Arabic, and Tamazight spoken understandably and plainly. She has self-confidence. To have this characteristic of self-confidence it's not easy. Her experiences and circumstances of where she grew up made her this strong woman. She self-made and challenges society and everything to be the voice of the Amazigh rural woman (11-S-29-Self-based).

I: I like her. She is a fierce woman and very serious. She talks about the problems of rural women and youth unemployment, and rural social conditions (5-D-30-Coop).

I: She is a militant woman but very cultivated. She speaks French and I am very proud of her representing the rural Amazigh women's real problems and hardships. She is a good leader and very courageous woman. She went to cities and outside of Morocco representing the Amazigh woman. She knows what she does and knows women's rights and knows their adversities. She is the best representative of us in Morocco. Her story is like ours and her adversities are ours. We see us in her and she consistently in all her participations in festivals represent the voice Amazigh women of the southeast. She is a lioness of the south-east, and we are proud of her. What I also like about 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader is that she supports and empowers women. When women ask her what they need to do, she gives them ideas and provides support. She is doing good. Women running for power is good to encourage other women too, to also show themselves and their capabilities in leadership and giving importance and respect to themselves (2-M-25-Coop).

In addition to 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader as political figure profile. I recently came across Khira Lahiane who is also a politician figure in Errachidia region. Lahiane is 44 years of age and holds a university degree in English studies. Her commitments are towards instigating change within the social-economic conditions of women in her region by encouraging female participation in politics and community action. She also busies herself in the preservation of Amazigh culture and traditions as in her earlier life she was a craftswoman. She engaged in politics from around 2009 when she was elected to the local council and was re-elected for another 6-year term in 2015. Unfortunately, during fieldwork, I did not have the opportunity to get to know or meet her.

As a conclusion of the theme. Despite being described as illiterate, marginalized, unknowing or incapable, Amazigh women try to break free of this image and the hardships they endure via arts and crafts. At same time they contribute to the preservation and documentation of Amazigh culture within their work. They lift themselves from adversity through sustainable projects at the grassroots level using skills rooted within the

culture and traditions passed down to them through generations. Despite Amazigh culture in recent years becoming more popular due to ethnic designs adopted by larger enterprises, these women contribute greatly to the preservation of their culture as larger enterprises operate on the trends of the day, and often drop things they appropriated from indigenous cultures when the trends shift to other things.

For the Amazigh women it's their culture whether trendy or not and they will persist in their efforts to sustain it regardless of its popularity. They live their natural lives and get inspired by that to create and innovate in Amazigh culture with Amazigh people being their primary audience. Outsiders such as tourists to them are merely an added bonus. Amazigh women are at the heart of sustaining, regeneration and perpetuation of Amazigh culture.

Self-based women work their projects locally without cooperatives and are thus limited to local audiences. Cooperative opens the door for them to national and international markets and allow them to participate in expositions and other activities. The cooperatives also provide them with opportunities for funding as institutes who fund projects only fund cooperatives and do not fund individual projects. Cooperatives give them more visibility to market their products. The role of social media is also increasingly important for marketing and sharing Amazigh culture and designs. Despite 5-D-30-Coop, 8-M-30-Coop, 11-S-29-Self-based and 12-M-46-Self-based having experience with social media, the majority of Amazigh women are not able to take advantage of social media yet. They still use the traditional marketing models and because social media demands new competences like photography, writing skills, knowledge about the internet, and using things like shopping apps. They are unable to employ someone to do this for them, such as a social media or internet marketeer, because they do not have enough income.

Due to capitalism and globalization Imazighen run the risk of losing access to their own cultural items as large global corporations can copy and sell items from their platforms cheaper to a wider audience. Local artisans cannot compete with such investments, causing their products comparatively to be much more expensive. One prime example of this is in the market for carpets. These have seen a large uptick in global demand due to their popularity, but usually consumers will opt for cheaper fakes available from factories of large corporations rather than getting original handmade works from local artisans. This affects greatly even the local demand for these products as the poorer

rural populations also rather go for a cheaper option. It is impossible for local artisans to match these prices so their products will not be bought.

Some projects decided to focus on food and daily necessities for a steadier source of income year-round as the traditional arts and crafts are more seasonal in nature, being used primarily at weddings and events which happen mainly during summer. Despite daily necessities selling more steadily than arts and crafts the work is much more demanding and treaded more as full-time jobs. Arts and crafts are more commonly part-time jobs taking place in the afternoon thing for some women. Besides these projects women also occupy side-jobs in various areas such as cleaning and agriculture, and there are some projects around the breeding of livestock though their effectiveness was noted to be limited by some informants who cannot find themselves in a position to benefit from this despite being in urgent need.

Thus, Amazigh women do suffer adversities but persevere to empower themselves and their communities. Initiatives of strong women who perform their crafts and break taboos publicly to empower themselves is an inspiration to girls and women around the region creating for them a role-model to follow allowing further self-empowerment amongst girl and women in the region.

Indeed, Amazigh women can empower themselves and those around them through their arts and crafts to alter the socio-economic conditions which surround them. They also inspire and influence their surroundings breaking taboos of the conservative environment there are from, working in public and changing gender dynamics of their society in the process. Although they might not have had these opportunities when they were young, all interviewed informants emphasized their aspirations lay with their children having better opportunities in life which is the main motivation for them to persevere in their projects, breaking the cycle of poverty and laying out a path towards self-sufficiency for the next generation of girls.

NGOs can also be seen to play a significant role in addressing structural and cultural violence through workshops and campaigns aimed to raise awareness and educate women about their rights and providing them with skills to economically empower them through IGPs. They also provide social services for women in the region, aiding them with the complexities of modern life within the domains of healthcare, economics, law and more. Some NGOs also provide job opportunities for women in the region and skill-based certificates which increase their chances on the job market, as well as giving them more self-confidence and women working at the NGOs as role models for young girls in

the region thereby breaking taboos and changing the classical conservative gender roles present in society.

Through the experiences of 10-D-51-NGO/Political-Leader and informants' perception of her it can also be seen that through political participation real and positive changes to society but maybe more importantly positive changes to the perception of women in politics, and how women themselves perceive political participation.

6.4. Manifestation of Culture of Peace(s) and Peacebuilding in Amazigh Women's Daily and Community Life

As discussed in chapter 1 peace suffers from an epistemological invisibility making it challenging to identify instances of peace. Peace is often visualized symbolically through for example representations of white doves. Representations of violence however are often based on concrete and visible things such as weapons or victims of war. Through the concept of imperfect peace as coined by Muñoz peace can be visualized within the daily lives of people in practices, they engage in to resolve conflict in their lives (Muñoz 2001; Díez Jorge and Martínez López 2023, 10). The aim of this section is to make visible and recognize the culture of peace and peacebuilding practices based on the concept of collective solidarity in the daily lives of Amazigh women and their community in the southeast of Morocco.

Peace "appear discreetly, without fanfare, noise, scandal, they are usually silent peace(s), whose manifestations tend to go unnoticed. However, we cannot remain mute and deaf to these experiences and we must be attentive and sensitive to hear and claim their voices" (Herrero Rico 2021a, 5; 2021b, 329). During the fieldwork various challenges to identify culture of peace presented themselves. Firstly, due to the dominance of the critical perspective which has taken root in society and the perspectives of my informants. Adversities and violence are easy to label, but instances of peace are often considered normal life and therefore less noteworthy. Secondly, due to the restrictions imposed during the Covid-19 pandemic a lot of collective gatherings and events where peacebuilding and community building might manifest were forbidden and could not be attended. As irenology is a new subject of study, to identify what behaviours, acts, practices are considered acts of imperfect peace, a process of reflexivity was used during the fieldwork interviews to continually adjust the interviews to focus on the instances of peace which were identified. Within Amazigh community the concept of

Tiwiza can be found which is a concept of collective solidarity on which their community building is based.

6.4.1. *Tiwiza* concept of solidarity, generosity, care, empathy in the southeast of Morocco

In the southeast of Morocco there is a concept known as *Tiwiza*. This translates roughly as collective solidarity. When collective services are required such as during harvest and maintenance and construction of community buildings and infrastructure such as roads the concept of *Tiwiza* provides a collective spirit under which members of the community gather to provide these services. All healthy and able members of the community carry this spirit.

Tiwiza as collective collaboration and solidarity is guided by and rooted in *Izirf* (customary law). Despite *Izirf* being replaced by the current central and official laws in Morocco after independence as explained in chapter 1, the cultural and social lives of Imazighen are still influenced by the humanitarian values which originated in it such as *Tiwiza*.

After independence in 1956, *Dahir 58* was proposed by the state to organize the freedom of public action and the freedom of creation of associations needed to perform collective activities required by and meet demands of civil society. This allowed for activities important to the development of society to be performed formally as public service where under regular laws such gatherings and collective projects are not permitted without government approval. Guided by this article of the *Dahir* many NGOs have been created under the spirit of *Tiwiza* to aid in and facilitate more formally and in a more organized way the undertaking of such collective activities. This allows communities to work more efficiently, apply for government funding, take advantage of international collaborations between NGOs, and more.

Photo 50: *Tiwiza example*

Photo used to illustrate example of *Tiwiza* (collective solidarity)
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

There are many practical aspects of communities which are still directed by *Izirf and Tiwiza*. A lot of villages for example to this day still rely on water systems which are maintained in the ways described in *Izirf*. These systems are not maintained by utility companies but by community members who volunteer.

Disputes or conflicts between members of the community are often reconciled via a community mediator called *ayt lxir* (people of good). The tradition has it that an *Aɛeban* Peace Offering is presented in the process of reconciliation. *Aɛeban* is a piece of white cloth placed in front of the person who was wronged. This symbolizes a peace offering as request for forgiveness. When *Aɛeban* is offered and the person who was wronged is generally expected to accept to the request. The color white symbolizes what is right and good. If another color is used, the conflict might escalate. *Aɛeban* is a common practice among the community in the southeast. It is always associated with a truce or peace. *Ayt lxir* are usually elderly, respected, and notable men in the community. Their word is considered good and therefore whenever they are involved in the mediation the *Aɛeban* Peace Offering is accepted. *Ayt lxir* enters to resolve disputes between two people such as between husbands and wives or between two people quarrelling, or community disputes about land.

Another common aspect of *Tiwiza* I observed in the southeast is the sharing of public and free water sources. During summer in times of high temperatures and busy days like souq days, locals put jugs of water in front of their houses for passers-by to

413

drink. This is an example visualization of culture of peace as free clean water is offered to anyone who might need it to help cope with thirst as a lot of people might come from far away and are not able to carry with them the water required for the entire day. As this is a common problem for everyone in the region, the community comes together with a solution. The following photos present an attempt to contribute to the visualization of peaceful practices and culture of peace.

Photo 51: Water sharing

Photo used to illustrate example of water sharing.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 52: Water sharing

Photo used to illustrate example of water sharing.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

6.4.2. Collective Launderette Community Project to address Women's Adversity

Guided by the concept of Tiwiza as spirit of solidarity local NGOs such as *Association Bougafer Pour le développement* made a collective launderette to target several issues of women's and children's health as well as environmental issues. This project started in 2017 and is funded by ANDZOA (Agence Nationale pour le Développement des Zones Oasiennes et de l'arganie) who gave 30 million dh to buy industrial laundry machines which operate with power provided by solar panels.

Before the community launderette was created, it was expensive for women to do their laundry at home. Due to this, women often brought their laundry to the water channel to clean it there as its water is free (See photo 54). They used bleach, soap and detergents which enter the water channels and have adverse effects on agriculture which is also irrigated using the same channels. Due to usage of excessive and toxic detergents the

414

women often suffer skin irritations and other issues related to use of such products in an unsafe way. Despite the environmental problems being known to the community who implemented a ban on doing laundry in the water channels, as there was no alternative to this, the women continued to do their laundry there. Washing heavy rugs, bedding and other larger materials in the water channels was hard work so women often suffered back pains and other injuries as a result of this work. Additionally, when women had small children or newborns they needed to take them along and this posed a risk to the children's health in the same way as the women's due to the use of toxic detergents and substances while doing the laundry.

Due to all these health and environmental risks the local NGO in Alnif created the collective Launderette project to ease the hardships of women in the community. The prices are reasonable for the gains. If a woman brings a large heavy carpet of 17kg they only pay 10dh to have it washed. They do not need to bring any water or detergents, and everything is included in the price. The focus of the launderette is to help on the heaviest laundry tasks such as carpets, rugs, blankets and other large or heavy items. They can drop off their laundry items and once the items are cleaned, they are phoned to come and pick them up again, allowing the women to go about their day while the laundry is being done. In the time they gain the women can work on arts and crafts, hobbies or IGPs. Each month around 250 people pass through the collective launderette who save time, run less risks to their health and that of their children and pose less of a risk to the environment as their laundry is now done in a sustainable way. Another benefit of this approach is that all these people would waste a lot of water when washing carpets and other big items at home. As much as 50 liters or water might be used when washing at home, a lot of it wasted. At the collective launderette due to the advanced industrial laundry machines, they use only around 8 to 10 liters per item. This has a big impact on water management in the community especially around events such as the collective weddings which happen during summertime. During these events which take 3 days the whole town needs to clean all of the bedding and carpets used during the events. A lot of people come visit the region during this time, and diaspora return home for the weddings so there is a huge uptick in demand for laundry to be done.

All in all, this project is very effective, targeting not only the hardships of women and the health hazards to them and their children but also the environment and risks to agriculture and nature from toxic detergents.

Photo 53: Launderette project's plan

Photo used to illustrate the launderette project's plan.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 54: Women doing laundry in the water irrigation channel
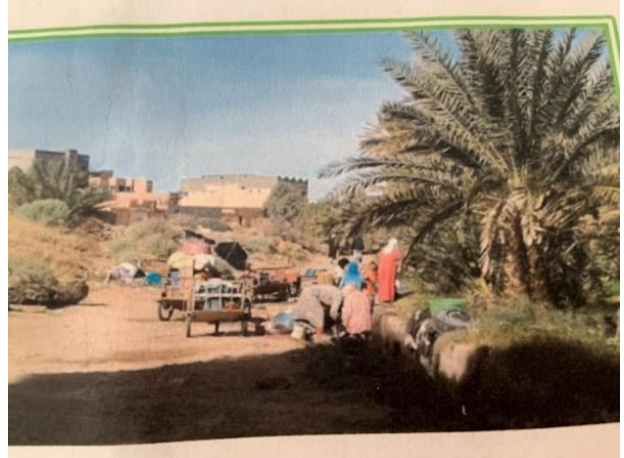
Photo used to illustrate how women used to do laundry in the water irrigation channel before the collective launderette project.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 55: Woman bringing her carpet to the collective launderette project

Photo used to illustrate woman bringing her carpet to the collective launderette project.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

Photo 56: Machines used at the launderette.

Photo used to illustrate the machines used at the launderette.
Photographer: Bochra Laghssais
Location and date: Alnif, 2021

6.4.2. Collective Weddings as medium for community peacebuilding and culture of peace

Another manifestation of *Tiwiza* and collective solidarity in the Alnif community are collective weddings. Collective weddings are a recurring event that takes place in August in the southeast of Morocco where on a single date every couple who wants to get married can do so collectively at a single event. As weddings can be expensive, and usually the whole tribe or community is invited, having a single wedding for all couples can save a lot of time and resources compared to having all these weddings take place separately. Since 2007 the local NGO in Alnif has taken the responsibility to organize these events. Due to these wedding events being based in tradition, these events contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage and the moral values carried by such events.

Another important aspect of these collective weddings is the fact that due to the nature of weddings in the region and their associated costs poor people generally do not have the resources to get married and might thus not have an opportunity to get married at all without these collective events. In more recent times this has become more important as poverty and unemployment is on the rise due to climate change as agriculture was the main source of income for the region. Due to severe droughts, most agricultural activities have ground to a halt permanently.

Collective weddings are not merely ancient rituals being performed but serve as a platform for joy and celebration and sharing the collective memories of the region. The local NGO does not focus on the folkloric essence of the weddings but rather tries to focus on bringing everyone together in an opportunity to express and debate topics relevant to the community such as education, child marriages and other important topics. These weddings serve as an opportunity for local vendors to sell products and local artists and performers to share their art and performances such as poetry, dance, music, food and storytelling. The collective weddings engage with the entire community, and everyone has a chance to share what they want to share. Its noteworthy that during these events competitions amongst artists and performers are held to stimulate creativity and inspiration and entertain attendees.

Despite the local community and thus most weddings around Alnif being between members of the Ait Atta tribe, members from other tribes are equally welcome as they are equally considered to part of the local community. Amongst the values carried by these events is the concept of *temuzɣa* (togetherness in being Amazigh) which aims to preserve the idea that before tribal affiliations the community members are all Imazighen

and together in that fact which contributes to better human rights and helps in situations of tribal conflict by generating a strong sense of community that transcends the tribe.

Another goal of these events is to fight inequality among people. This is achieved by the collective weddings by representing all participants in the same attire. This makes it so the participants' wealth is not reflected in their outward appearance, providing an equal portrait of all participants. From construction workers to doctors, they are all represented uniformly in traditional attire belonging to their tribe.

The weddings being held on the public square in town symbolizes the open and equal access to the event for all people regardless of ethnic or racial differences or conflicts that might be present in society. This confronts the ethnic and racial tendencies which sometimes exist among people of rural decent. It aims to develop a spirit of solidarity and equality and the values of tolerance and synergy between families and community members. The public square where the events are held can hold more than 4000 people and often visitors from outside of the region, national and international, come to attend the event to discover the region, culture and its traditions. These events attempt to mitigate the creep of globalization and modernization which erode cultural tradition. In addition to preservation of traditions these events also promote values such as generosity, kindness, and hospitality. The entire community contributes and makes donations for the events and people volunteer their time and labour as a form of collective action to support this common cause.

6.4.2.1. Wedding traditions, ceremonies, and rituals

Essentially weddings are joyous and celebratory occasions, representing a significant social and cultural practice. In fact, they fall within the purview of Article 2.2, section (c) social practices, rituals and festive events of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention of 2003. Weddings as celebrations being under this section highlights the profound value that weddings hold as they often intertwine various customs, traditions, and merriments that are firmly embedded in the fabric of a specific community or society.

In this section I will briefly describe the practices and rituals performed during collective wedding events specific to Ait Atta in Alnif in the southeast of Morocco as described by my informants in the spirit of safeguarding these traditions. Due to the Covid-19 lockdowns happening at the time of the fieldwork interviews, it was not

possible to attend these events as they were banned along with other public gatherings during the restrictions implemented by government.

The Amazigh wedding of Ait Atta takes place during three days at the groom's house in a ceremony called *Tamyra* (wedding) However, before the bride is brought to the groom's house she has her own party called *asqimu* (bride's bachelorette party) at her parent's house. Here the bride does a henna ceremony during the day and at night they do *askrat* which is a ritual where elderly women braid the hair of the bride and apply *lxlxalt* (a mixture of herbs such as rose and saffron mixed with water until it becomes a paste and applied to the bride's hair with strands of wool as a symbol of fertility). They also apply *aɛbruq* (bride's head cover) The elderly women sing *warou* (poetry) throughout the ritual and give the bride 7 almonds and salt which is tied to her garments. The bride sleeps with her attire on all night until morning after which she is taken to her husband in a ceremony called *Tanaka*.

The groom sends his ambassadors called *Isnayn* to retrieve the bride from her location. This tradition is due to the fact that members of the Ait Ata tribes were nomads, and therefore they sent four strong and honest ambassadors to collect the bride. A time and date for the meeting would be set and the ambassadors were meant to protect the bride on the journey between camps from smugglers and bandits. Before the family of the bride gives the bride away to the ambassadors, they put the ambassadors to the test through various challenges posed to them to test their values and see if they were trustworthy to take the bride to her groom. Challenges were often playful such as asking them to dance or dress up like women or giving them tea with salt and expecting them to drink it without flinching. After passing their tests, the ambassadors would use camels and horses to transport the bride to her future home. These customs and rituals rooted in nomadic life have remained a staple of Amazigh culture in the southeast of Morocco even through the shift to a sedentary lifestyle.

- *Day 1 Azugz*

The first day of the collective weddings is called Azugz which means bringing the bride to the groom's house. This is the day where the brides are dropped off in Alnif. This passes through two stages. Under the organization of the local NGO a bus is rented to transport all the brides from their point of arrival to the public square. This is to avoid traffic congestion in the town as well as inequality between people with more or less valuable cars. When they are all onboard the bus kicks off a tour around the city to

announce the start of the wedding rituals and ceremony. During the tour of the town people come from their houses and everyone goes outside to clap and cheer and rejoice the start of the collective weddings. After the tour the bus stops at the public square the brides are transferred into a tent on the square.

After all the brides are gathered in the tent on the public square all the ambassadors of the grooms are gathered before a committee. Each ambassador represents one of the grooms. The public and a group of people representing bandits, symbolic to the bandits they might encounter on their journey with the bride during nomadic times, examine the ambassador's strength and patience to assess their ability to take the brides from the tent to the groom's house. This ritual is intended to entertain the visitors of the collective weddings and the ambassadors are asked to do dances, apply makeup, add flowers to their hair and faces, eat raw eggs and other things to comical effect. Upon completing their tasks and challenges they receive permission to take the bride to the groom's house. After these activities are completed in the morning, everyone leaves the public square to reunite later in the afternoon on the same day to continue the rest of the rituals. This allows for people to have a more intimate time with their families and friends during weddings and share breakfast at home. Often these more intimate celebrations are still open to everyone, but as there are many celebrations usually only people closer to the family will attend the celebrations taking place at the house of the groom.

In the late afternoon, the ceremony of *teɣmi n islan* starts which means the henna of the grooms. All the grooms are gathered at the public square by the organizers, and each is accompanied by mother and their ambassador to adorn and embellish them by putting on henna, *taẓult* (a black powder made from antimony sulfide, mixed into paste. It is used as make up for the eyes) and *lmeswak* (walnut bark chewed to make their lips orange to red color as lipstick), and perfume. They also dress in a traditional *jellaba* and *selham* (cape), *ikurbyin* (shoes) all in a white color and a colorful *Tikrzyt* (head gear worn by men). Water and henna are applied to their feet and they wear socks over it to protect it. They also put almonds and salt in the pockets of the cape. This ritual is done to make the groom presentable to his bride at night. In parallel with this ritual taking place, women sing songs and poetry for the occasion called *waru waru*. After the ritual is completed, the groom kisses the hand of his mother and his ambassador as sign of appreciation of their help. After this he shakes the hands of people who come to greet him. With the rituals completed the crowd on the public square is free to enjoy entertainment provided by the locals such as music, *aḥidus*, theatrical performances, storytelling and more. The

entertainment lasts until dinner time at which point everyone retreats to the homes of their hosts to continue celebrations over dinner. The first night after dinner the marriage consummation is announced to the public and the bride's mother and her *timnayin* (brides' maids) ululate three times to announce the news to everyone. It's a custom to wait after dinner until the announcement by the women that the marriage has been consummated.

Photo 57: Brides gathered on the first day of the wedding

Photo used to illustrate brides gathered on the first day of the
wedding.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

Photo 58: The entrance of Iɣrem Alnif and the brides and
grooms.

Photo used to illustrate the entrance of Iɣrem Alnif and the
brides and grooms.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

Photo 59: The collective wedding the main square

Photo used to illustrate the collective wedding the main square.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

Photo 60: The collective wedding the main square

Photo used to illustrate the collective wedding on the main
square.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

- *Day 2: Aḥidus n islan (dance of brides and grooms)*

The second day starts by the groom's family praising the bride's beauty through song and requests almonds from the bride's mother. They keep singing until she comes and gives them almonds. After receiving the almonds, the men leave, and the women collect the bride again for the second day's ceremonies and re-apply her *aɛbruq*. The women sing to her to congratulate her transformation from girlhood to womanhood and they sing songs of sorrow for the mother who sees her daughter depart to a new family. Later the ceremony of *teɣmi n islan* is performed for the groom in the public square. What makes the second wedding day special is the performance of the *ahidus* dance by all of the wedded brides and grooms in the public square which is later followed by dances and performances of local artists.

Photo 61: Dance of the brides and grooms during the second day of the wedding

Photo used to illustrate the dance of the brides and grooms during the second day of the wedding.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

Photo 62: Dance of the brides and grooms during the second day of the wedding

Photo used to illustrate the dance of the brides and grooms during the second day of the wedding.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

- *Day 3: Amzid: unveiling the faces of the brides*

The third and final day arrive which is called *amzid* and *asufɣ n uqmu* brides unveil their face which was veiled throughout the two previous days. The elderly women take off her *aɛbruq* (bride's head covering) and fold it over backward and add *tšaš* (Tinsel) and *tasfift* (silver accessory) on top. As the women sing, they braid her hair and decorate her with makeup and saffron. Due to privacy concerns for brides, I created an illustration to show the face of the bride on the third day (see photo 65, 66). Once this is done, the brides and grooms join on the public square Due to the spread of social media now despite it being the third day where bride shows her face in the public, due to social media now they wear a yellow veil in case they do not want to be on display in public or on media channels (see photo 64).

The NGO created a water fountain on the public square for the next part of the ceremony. The groom and bride are organized in a row each holding a bucket full of almonds and a stick with the Amazigh flag ornamented with sparking tinsel and balloons (see photo 63). One by one the couples come forward to throw the almonds in the fountain in an act called *amzid*. After depositing the almonds, they take water from the fountain and walk back home. The couple will splash water on each doorstep in the house as a blessing for a new start. After that each family and their guests gather with their grooms and brides at their home for dinner and the final celebrations to conclude the wedding.

Photo 63: Amzid the unveiling of the face of the bride

Photo used to illustrate *Amzid*, the unveiling of the face of the bride on the third day of the wedding.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

Photo 64: Amzid the unveiling of the face of the bride

Photo used to illustrate Amzid, the unveiling of the face of the bride on the third day of the wedding.
Photographer: *Association Bougafer Pour le développement*
Location and date: Alnif, n,d.

Photo 65: *Amzid* the unveiling of the face of the bride
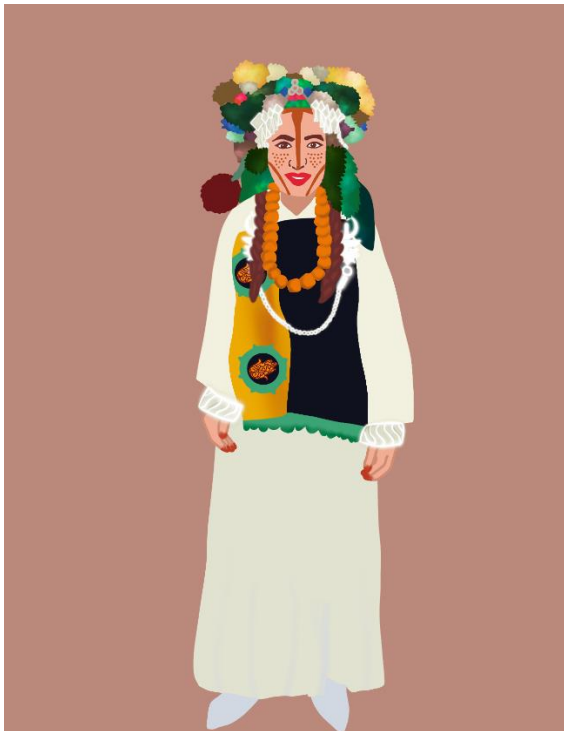
Photo 66: *Amzid* the unveiling of the face of the bride
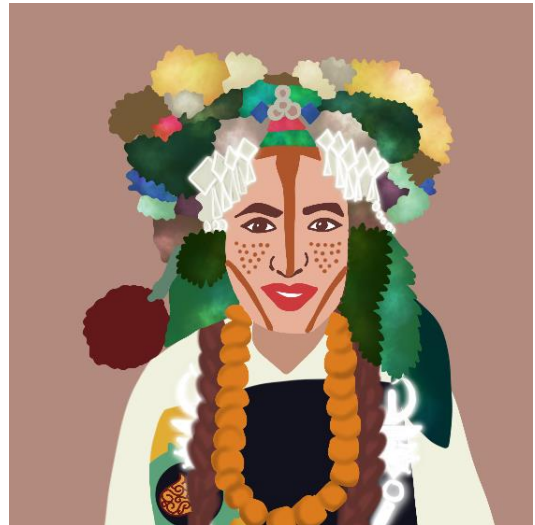
Photo used to illustrate Amzid, the unveiling of the face of
the bride on the third day of the wedding.
Illustration: Bochra Laghssais and Julie Feng 2023

Photo used to illustrate Amzid, the unveiling of the face of
the bride on the third day of the wedding.
Illustration: Bochra Laghssais and Julie Feng 2023

- *Day 4: Tama*

On the day after the wedding an additional day called *Tama* is reserved for the families of the bride and groom to conclude the celebrations in a more personal setting. This is the last day the families will be together in celebration of the newlyweds. On this day the ambassador of the groom uses a ceremonial blade to lift the *aɛbruq* of the bride's head and deposit it in a tray of almonds. The *aɛbruq* is then placed upon a head of an unmarried girl to bless her for marriage in her future. When the veil is removed the bride wears a *lqtib* (scarf) and *tasfift* (silver accessory). The groom who is seated next to his bride gives his bride a silver bracelet and a plate of fermented butter is prepared. This plate symbolizes a special mirror which they gaze into to receive blessings.

Following the day of *Tama,* on the next day the family of the bride invite the newlyweds to dinner in a tradition called *tarda n islan* (the showering of the bride and groom). A plate of *Tabṣil n ṭṭɛam d udi* (a plate of fermented butter and small balls of pasta) is prepared. The bride and groom put join their hands and put them into the plate and the ambassador of the groom takes fermented butter and pours it onto their hands which then trickles onto the plate while the family prays for them to have prosperity, happiness, and health. After this the bride and groom are required to eat the dish to complete the ritual and receive the blessings bestowed onto the dish. Once this dish is consumed this is officially the end of the wedding for the families. The ritual is referred to as a showring similarly to a baby shower as upon consummation of the wedding its customary to conceive a child.

6.5. Expressions of women empowerment from the grassroots level contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco

Due to Amazigh women being described as *illiterate* and *in need of aid*, as Adichie (2019) warns, *the danger of the single-story* risks Amazigh women falling victim to this singular description causing them to subsequently be denied other identities such as that of peacebuilders or community leaders despite their contributions to peacebuilding in their communities. Amazigh women despite the intersectionality of their adversities, marginalization and vulnerability with aspirations and resilience move toward empowerment via IGPs, cooperatives, NGOs, and political participation. As Adichie (2019) points out, we have a responsibility to look beyond the single stories about other cultures, other groups or other women. Despite suffering multiple vulnerabilities being

female, Amazigh and rural, Amazigh women display courage, resourcefulness, resilience and deep concerns for the wellbeing of their families, communities and the preservation of their cultural traditions.

Amazigh women's participation in IGPs, cooperatives, NGOs and political participation all contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco. With this dissertation I tried humbly to shed light on voices of Amazigh women from the margins that without a doubt deserve to be heard.

Based in aspirations for a better life for their children Amazigh women work hard and challenge their realities to overcome adversity and social stigmas and patriarchal structures in an attempt to lift themselves from adversity and provide greater opportunities for their children than they had growing up. As a sample of informants interviewed for this study were child brides, divorced with children or widowed they strive to prevent the same fate for their own children.

Through empowerment via IGPs and cooperatives, collective action through NGOs as well as political participation from a grassroots level these women enable themselves to become economic providers for their families as well as become active agents of positive and peaceful change within their communities. These efforts gradually reshape their communities from the ground up towards a more equal and sustainable model where women and girls receive equal rights and opportunities as men. Feminism inspired by the necessity to change conditions of rural women and girls through the voices we have seen it can be concluded that indeed these projects contribute towards empowerment of women and enrich the feminism trends within Morocco with the perspectives of rural and Amazigh women. Women working hard to change their realities through these projects become role models for rural girls to follow and look up to, inspiring future generations and instilling them with new values of equality and peace as well as preserving their cultural heritage. Therefore, enrichment of Moroccan feminism comes from the grassroots level and addresses key elements of sustainability, working on projects and skills that are familiar to them and have been passed down through generations.

6.6. Recapitulation

This chapter presented and discussed empirical data yielded from fieldwork considering the thesis's hypotheses combining both the critical perspective in hypothesis 1 about adversity and the constructive perspective in hypothesis 2 and hypothesis 3 about

resilience, empowerment, agency, and culture of peace in the lives of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco and their contributions towards the enrichment of feminism in Morocco.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

These general conclusions interpret the data collected throughout this research, returning to the hypotheses that have guided this work in the light of these data in order to review them and establish their total or partial validity or refutation. It will also reflect on and answer the research question. This section also presents some of the strengths and limitations that have become evident throughout the research process, as well as emerging future lines of research.

Hypotheses and Research Question Revisited

The research started with the question: *The heterogeneous socio-cultural dynamics of Amazigh women in the Southeast of Morocco are accompanied with vulnerabilities and structural violences but also with practices that try to reduce those adverse circumstances. In what ways do Amazigh women establish personal and community practices addressed to reduce their vulnerability factors, increasing their personal agency, family, and community empowerment?*

In attempts to answer the question from a peace studies perspective in intersection with gender studies and a feminist decolonial perspective three hypotheses were set. The first hypothesis was dedicated to investigating the marginalization, vulnerabilities and adversities of Amazigh women using the critical line of peace studies.

H1: The condition of vulnerability, exclusion and marginalization of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco constructed in an intersectional way have heterogeneous causes that related to 4 main axes: Gender and Kinship, Identity, Culture and Language, Rural and Socio-Economic Conditions.

This hypothesis is structured along four main axes: gender and kinship, identity, culture and language, rural and socio-economic conditions. The data collected during the fieldwork confirm these four axes as variables that generate marginalisation and diverse exclusions for the Amazigh women studied, as well as the other additional inductive variables (globalisation, islamization, climate change, emigration, and Covid-19) that reinforce these conditions of marginalization and exclusion.

The point of rural social economic condition is confirmed by the field work data and analysis results and adds to it concrete data on how adversity and marginalization of Amazigh women is linked to rural social economic conditions. Specifically, it points towards it being manifested in a lack of access to adequate education which in turn leads

to girls dropping out of school at an early age, consequently leading to underage marriage. The same cycle of oppression is perpetuated by lack of education, opportunities, and role models for young girls. In addition, within the healthcare sector women suffer in delivery of babies and lack of ambulances and medical equipment lead to deaths of women who are unable to receive the right medical treatment in their own surroundings and are not able to make the long journey to a modern medical facility. Furthermore, in addition to what was framed by the hypothesis through inductive methods during fieldwork, the effects of emigration from rural areas due to lack of the education, healthcare, job opportunities but also climate change were identified as a factor contributing to the adversities of Amazigh women, as the women are often left behind to fend for themselves and take care of everything back home by themselves. Two types of migration were noticed to have impact on different areas of Amazigh women's lives. Firstly, it is common for men to emigrate to big cities or different countries in order to have better job opportunities. In this case the women are left back home to take care of everything alone and in that situation due to social and cultural expectations they are robbed of opportunities to make their own life choices and pursue their own dreams. A second type of emigration is that whole families move away from rural areas due to lack of opportunities and climate change. This type of emigration causes especially younger generations to lose touch with their cultural heritage and language completely, slowly causing the Amazigh cultural identity and language to fade into obscurity. This further causes the image of Amazigh women being *backward* and *illiterate* to be upheld as less people understand their way of life.

Gender and kinship are a second factor that causes marginalization of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco. Results of the investigation show that social pressure exerted on women in intersection with a patriarchal structure of society contribute to the oppression of women, limiting them to strict gender roles that control their virginity and puts the maintenance of the purity of the bloodline of the tribe in their hands. Rural society is patriarchal and limits women to the traditional rules of being mothers and giving birth to continue the legacy of the tribe. Such a system creates cultural violence towards women as when a woman is divorced or otherwise becomes a single mother is considered shameful. Due to being pressured into strict gender roles, girls often drop out of school and marry at an underage, causing them to lose the opportunities in life to pursue education or a job. Once married they are immediately expected to have children and take care of the household. Girls get conditioned from an early age that they should marry and

have children as soon as possible, and through that conditioning often do not recognize the impact such acts might have on their future. As young girls often are not informed properly about what marriage entails, they have a romantic idea of it and when confronted with its reality, often end up divorced in the end, sometimes having many children. This then in turn causes the aforementioned shaming and cultural violence towards them as well as financial challenges of having to take care of their children alone. Lastly due to the gender roles women assume, and these roles framing them as preservers of Amazigh identity and language, they inadvertently perpetuate the patriarchal systems that cause them adversities themselves, causing the cycle of marginalization and cultural violence to continue.

Language, culture and identity are variables which are a double-edged sword for Amazigh women as they both find strength and adversity through them at the same time. Amazigh women are regarded as preservers of their cultural identity and language yet the same cultural norms they keep alive, also give shape to adversities through the patriarchal culture that persists with it.

Looking from the perspective of Hypothesis 1, language in particular was marginalized through Arabization policies detailed in chapter 2. Only recently in 2001 through the creation of IRCAM King Mohammed VI initiated a process of reconciliation which in 2003 led to the codification of *Tifiniagh* script followed by constitutional reforms in 2011 which officially recognized Tamazight language. Amazigh women suffered different hardships related to marginalization and exclusion of language, culture, and identity from public spaces until these constitutional reforms. Through the processes of legitimizing Amazigh people, more and more people feel at home in their cultural identities and no longer afraid to go to jail or be harassed if they advocated their native cultural identity.

In line with Hypothesis 2 which guessed that identity and language contribute to economic empowerment and sorority amongst women, the fieldwork shows that these variables are indeed slowly evolving into a source of empowerment for women in the margins who now see economic opportunities through their cultural arts and crafts. Many of my informants reported income either through self-based sources of income or via working for cooperatives.

In addition, the impact of Covid-19 on Amazigh women emerged as a variable during the field work as this was conducted during the time of Covid-19. Due to the imposed lockdowns during the pandemic, many women saw their financial endeavors

grind to a halt entirely or needed to learn new skills such as online marketing and selling to see continuity of their businesses. Additionally due to public events and gatherings being banned, events that generate a large chunk of the yearly income such as collective weddings in Alnif did not happen for a year. Due to economic pressure exerted on society through the impact of lockdowns, cases of domestic disputes and violence increased dramatically. Furthermore, an already strained healthcare system in the region which in normal times already has difficulties to keep up with demands of the local population was completely overloaded, and many women faced increased difficulties accessing these services and getting the care they needed throughout the pandemic.

Another variable that emerged through fieldwork observations and interviews, although it may not have direct connection to the hypothesis, are changes to local the Amazigh community, culture and traditions due to globalization, capitalism, modernization and Islamization. The variable investigated various changes which happened to Amazigh culture in the southeast through impact of capitalisms from the perspective of my informants.

Arabization in intersection with Islamization manifested in later years a decline of some aspects of Amazigh culture such as tattooing, mixed gender celebrations and dances, and the ritual of *Tlla aɣnja Tislit n w Anzar*: *Bride of The Rain*. It also goes into the fact that *Id yennayer* (Amazigh new year), an Amazigh cultural holiday, is still not recognized as official holiday in Morocco. These changes and the general decline of Amazigh culture is felt by Amazigh women as a lot of their arts and crafts and a large part of their identities is rooted in these traditions. The decline and shaming of these traditions has led to many Amazigh women removing their tattoos, and hiding their identities especially in urban areas where the predominant part of the population is assimilated into more conservative Islamic views. Additionally young children, especially girls, with access to modern education no longer bear the hallmarks of these cultural traditions such as facial tattoos as within the modernist views such tattoos are related to poor decision making and irresponsible behaviour. Having such tattoos impacts drastically the chances of finding a job after completing education as in a lot of sectors such as education and healthcare they are not acceptable. A more modern lifestyle being picked up by younger generations and access to technology such as televisions and smartphones also has a big impact on the decline in these traditions. People yearn for more modern products and lifestyles, and often busy themselves with these new concepts

and abandon the old collective traditions and events in preference of consumerism and media.

In light of what we have seen, linguistic, socio-economic, educational, geographic, cultural and gender-based barriers deprive Amazigh women of the southeast to adequate access to public services. They rob them of their dignity through shaming and cause their resilience, knowledge and cultural identities to be failed to be recognized. Therefore, these barriers cause adversities in their self-realization and empowerment.

The second hypothesis is about expressions of resilience, empowerment, and agency by Amazigh women in southeast of Morocco. This hypothesis was guided by the irenology perspective of peace studies.

H2: The identity and culture of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco expressed through their active participation in NGOs, cooperatives, and self-based IGPs increase their resilience and contribute to their personal, family and community empowerment at the same time reduce structural violence.

Interviews conducted during fieldwork confirm partially that Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco empower themselves, their families, and communities through their IGPs and through participation in NGOs and cooperatives despite them still facing issues of cultural appropriation and unfair competition on global markets by large international enterprises. Additionally political participation emerged as a new empowering factor for women in the southeast giving them a chance to change their society from within the political system in addition to advocating for these changes externally through work at NGOs.

6.2. Seeds of Aspirations Section explored the aspirations and motivations of Amazigh women informants. Despite the adversities they face, they challenge their environments and daily reality to alleviate themselves from their adversities and live with dignity, respect, and recognition. As results have shown, the motor behind their resilience is to be independent, and to provide life opportunities for their children and to develop their own projects or joining a cooperative. It can be clearly seen from the testimonies of the informants that generally their IGPs are aimed towards financial empowerment, in turn needed to provide opportunities for their children and safeguard their future. One of the main challenges noted by informants in achieving these goals was financial, though geographic isolation was also mentioned to be challenging for example when trying to sell their products. Growing their projects enough to make ends meet and provide for their

children means extending their projects beyond their local villages and markets. The internet is proving to be a new realm of possibilities for women to promote and sell their crafts but gaining access to it, and learning the skills needed to operate an online business can be a challenge. Furthermore, securing funding for cooperatives or self-based projects is often met with bureaucratic processes which are difficult and slow to navigate.

Amazigh identity and culture become a source of empowerment which when expressed through arts and crafts can turn into IGPs as means of economic empowerment. Traditional crafts and arts within Amazigh culture are a symbol of collective Amazigh identity. Amazigh identity expressed in arts and crafts of Amazigh women both self-based and through cooperatives as we have seen in the women testimonies contributes to collective resilience and empowerment.

The social category of women that work on IGPs as widow, single or divorced suffer financial adversities as classically within their conservative society their male counterparts are responsible for maintaining financial health of the family. Two main types of IGPs were identified during the fieldwork. Self-based IGPs which are initiatives by individual women which provide them with some economic empowerment through application of their arts and crafts and skills inherited from their ancestors. These self-based IGPs are operated on the local level and products are sold primarily to the local community based on their needs. Besides the self-based IGPs another form of collective IGPs was identified which are cooperatives. In these cooperatives women band together to work collectively on projects in order to craft a space for sisterhood and collective empowerment. Through these cooperatives the women can enjoy benefits such as having a formally registered income, higher production yields through collaboration, learning new skills from each other, participation in national expositions, more structured business and a reduction of administrative and financial burdens. In addition to this, cooperatives as they are registered as official businesses might apply for funding or be subject to donations and other charities and financial aid which individuals are not privy too. Where self-based IGPs are often based around personal skills that often entail inherited skills such as arts and crafts, cooperatives have a wider assortment of produce and activities they can perform due to more women being involved. Cooperatives can also focus more on producing items which are more labour intensive or costly. Since they need a more steady stream of income they often include more daily necessities into their production such as bread, oils, textiles, linen, embroidery, and more.

The testimonies of the sample of informants interviewed have proven that working on these IGPs transformed their lives and provided them with financial independent allowing them to provide for their children and families as well as support each other. The IGPs these women engage in contribute to skill-building, community building and preservation of cultural heritage while at the same time leading to economic and social empowerment as well as the breaking of stigmas and taboos around women being financial providers of the family.

Although these projects help towards financial empowerment of rural Amazigh women and help reduce cultural violence by changing the ways society looks upon these women, these projects do not address structural violence present within their society. To further address structural violence present in their society, some women have taken to NGO advocacy or political participation to address these types of issues. The work they do in NGOs and within the political scene in addition to addressing structural violence also further contribute to women empowerment by providing young girls with role-models to follow as well as providing opportunities to learn skills and become self-sufficient through application of these skills. Additionally political participation and NGOs help shed light on the disparity in resource distribution within the country allowing for smarter and more effective investments to be done in the communities based on their actual and direct needs which are gathered from locals within the communities.

Despite only having one informant active in this area, through my interviews I learned of a new avenue for peacebuilding and positive change which is direct political participation. Through this direct line into politics which extends beyond simply being allowed to vote towards being active members of political parties, women are enabled to bring the debate on marginalization and exclusion of rural Amazigh women up to the national level to engage with government to work towards improving the situation for women in rural and mountainous areas. All in all, increased access to economic and educational resources for women allows them the knowledge and authority to break the patriarchal nature of society. Furthermore, access to public spaces allows them to break the cycle of space-based patriarchy.

The reason why this hypothesis is only partially confirmed is due to the new challenges faced by women venturing into the territory of economic self-empowerment. Amongst these challenges one notable issue is cultural appropriation of their arts, crafts and heritage by international cooperations which copy their work and mass produce similar items. This causes further unfair market competition for rural Amazigh women

who generally do not possess the knowledge and skills to counteract this. This causes the challenges that women overcome regarding hypothesis 1 to be exchanged by these new challenges related to globalization and modernization and bringing their products into an online, global market. In addition to causing difficulties around sales, items copied and appropriated by global enterprises erode away the cultural and historical meaning of the items and the symbolisms carried by them as well as sometimes contributing to a false representation of otherness. Items are copied without knowledge of their meanings and through that misrepresent the cultures from which they come. The Amazigh identity in this way becomes a mere marketing ploy and label for these cooperations and no regard to authenticity is given. As these copied items are generally sold much cheaper than authentic items, even Imazighen can end up being forced to buy them as local artisans cannot compete with the global prices and poorer constituents of the communities are not able to afford the authentic items anymore.

The third hypothesis is about culture of peace and enrichment of the feminism movement in Morocco. This hypothesis overlaps with hypothesis 2 but is derived from irenology as well as recognition through decolonial feminism of discourses and knowledge of Amazigh women which contribute to wellbeing of their communities.

H3: Voices, discourses, and practices of Amazigh women in the Southeast of Moroccan from the grassroots level contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco and at the same time contribute to a Culture of Peace.

Fieldwork has confirmed both aspects of this hypothesis and shows examples of culture of peace such as for example the practices around the concept of *Tiwiza* as well as further showing how through grassroots initiatives such as IGPs and NGOs and through political participation these women enrich the landscape of feminism within Morocco and strive to make it more inclusive for rural and Amazigh women.

Due to the aforementioned epistemological invisibility facing peace studies and peace in general caused by dominance of the critical perspective of peace studies, peace is left only with simple visual representations of white doves and a peace sign. As these representations are only symbolisms, this made it hard for me to identify pearls of peace during the course of the fieldwork. Often peace is taken for granted as part of normal life, and not much attention is given to it compared to the various types of violence. It was easy to identify types of violence because I was equipped with Galtung's triangle of

violence which helped me label events within the stories of informants by the type of violence identified within them. During the process of transcribing interviews, I became aware that many instances of violence could be easily identified but peace was hard to recognize. Through reflectivity performed during the transcription process which I did right after each interview I was able to shift my focus more towards peace with the perspectives of irenology and imperfect peace as explained by Muñoz. To better understand the context of the stories of my informants to help identify instances of peace in their lives, besides interviews with informants, observations and interactions within the local communities in which the fieldwork was performed played an important role to decipher and recognize peaces within the stories and lives of my informants. A factor impacting my ability to perform such observations was the fact that during the course of my fieldwork many community events and gatherings were banned due to the restrictions put in place during the Covid-19 pandemic at the time. Despite this however I was still able to talk to community members, visit the marketplace during souq days and visit cooperatives and NGOs to gather observations about instances of daily imperfect peaces. Results of the fieldwork have shown a strong presence of the concept of *Tiwiza* among Imazighen in the southeast of Morocco. This concept guides the cultural and social lives of Imazighen around collective solidarity, generosity, and empathy and enables collective action towards the collective good.

From the fieldwork several examples of peacebuilding on a collective level were identified guided by the concept of *Tiwiza*. One example mentioned were community mediators offer *Aεeban* (peace offerings) to reconcile disputes between community members. This helps in a very direct way to maintain peace within the community. Another activity performed under the guide of *Tiwiza* is the sharing of resources such as drinking water on hot and dry days which is placed in front of houses for passers-by to take whenever they need and the maintenance of public water systems such as wells and irrigation channels. Collective projects to alleviate some of the daily adversities of Amazigh women also came to light through interviews as can be seen in the example of the collective laundrette in Alnif which helps women save time and hard work and costs with their laundry as well as improving general hygiene in the area and being done in a sustainable way using solar panels and proper plumbing systems causing the environment to be less affected by pollution from chemical detergents and other things. Lastly there were also projects and events identified which focus on joyous occasions and contribute to collective solidarity and equality. Events such as the collective weddings organized

each summer allow the entire community relief from hardships as well as providing equal chances for all members of the community to get married regardless of their financial or social status as the events focus on equal representation of all participants.

Projects and practices like these should be made visible in order to show peacebuilding efforts in the community aimed at building daily imperfect peaces from a grassroots level. In particular, events such as collective weddings contribute towards promoting a sense of community and equality; the preservation of intangible heritage, cultural traditions and patrimony; sharing of resources amongst the community members; promotion of values such as hospitality and generosity; and fostering intergenerational relationships all of which encompass and demonstrate a culture of peace.

The Arab spring created a fertile ground for Amazigh voices to be legitimized and recognized and allowed for the experiences from the margins to take a central stage in the discussion on human rights and feminism within Morocco. Via NGOs, Amazigh women address structural issues such as school dropout rates, child marriage and other societal issues. These grassroot level initiatives of Amazigh women contribute to enrich feminism in Morocco. Through the testimonies of informants gathered during fieldwork regarding their aspirations we can conclude how the self-based IGPs, cooperatives, NGOs and their political participation contributes to the wellbeing of women and girls in rural areas within the southeast of Morocco. My hope with this contribution is to add to the existing literature about Amazigh women and feminism in Morocco the perspectives from women on the margins and how they lift themselves, their families and communities from adversities and change their social realities towards a culture of peace.

Answering the Research Question

This section aims to answer the main question of this thesis: *The heterogeneous socio-cultural dynamics of Amazigh women in the Southeast of Morocco are accompanied with vulnerabilities and structural violences but also with practices that try to reduce those adverse circumstances. In what ways do Amazigh women establish personal and community practices addressed to reduce their vulnerability factors, increasing their personal agency, family, and community empowerment?*

In an attempt to reduce their vulnerability factors, increase their personal agency and empower themselves, their families and their communities' Amazigh women engage in various projects and activities on a personal and collective level. In this thesis various activities such as self-based IGPs, cooperatives, NGOs and political participation have

438

been brought to light as elements which contribute to empowerment, peacebuilding and reduction of vulnerability factors. Another element which came to light was the practice and concept of *Tiwiza* which guides the social and cultural lives of Imazighen and is rooted in collective solidarity and equality. Collective action based on the principles of *Tiwiza* contributes directly to a culture of peace and day to day peacefulness.

Through self-based IGPs and cooperatives women can become economically empowered and additionally contribute to preservation of cultural practices and intangible heritage passed down to them through generations. Additionally, this contributes to their agency and self-confidence, sisterhood and collective resilience. The image they portray as hard-working rural women furthermore inspires future generations of girls to follow in their footsteps and empowers them to provide better opportunities for their children.

Through participation in NGOs challenges on a community level, structural violence and girls' education and empowerment are addressed. Through these organizations activities can be performed more efficiently, in collaboration with local government and other organizations and challenges like fundraising and administrative work can be overcome.

A less common but important factor discovered during the fieldwork was direct political participation of women in rural areas as members of active and large political parties. Through the testimonies of my informants, it can be concluded that such involvement in politics yields more direct results within the community level as well as serving as a source of inspiration for girls and women to follow suit. Additionally, the stigmas around women community leadership and women in politics is slowly eroded by the example set by one of my informants. From the testimonies of other informants interviewed on this matter the positive impact of such engagement in politics can be clearly felt.

The complexities of experiences of Amazigh women in Morocco cannot be diminished to a singular story of that of women who are *illiterate* and *in need of aid*. The perspective towards Amazigh women as victims does not do justice to the resilience, strength, patience and drive of Amazigh women who work tirelessly towards a brighter future for their families and communities.

My hope is that this thesis has humbly contributed to the necessary task of recovering the invisible and silenced stories of peace and women, and from there, integrate them into the established history. Amazigh women undoubtedly deserve this recognition and visibility.

Strengths and Limitations of the Investigation

- **Strengths:**

a. Field work

Among the strengths of this PhD investigation is that it contains fieldwork interviews which fill gaps identified by the literature review such as the fact that much of the existing literature is written by outsiders and based on outdated information which portrays the Amazigh women as a homogenous group. In order to deepen my knowledge of the selected sample population and obtain the most solid results possible, I set myself the challenge of using the ethnographic method, including data collection techniques (semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation, field diary and photographs), as well as reflexivity as the backbone of the triangulation of all of them. All these ensure the validity and rigor of the study which allowed me to document the lived experiences of my informants that provide insights that are unavailable to researchers looking at quantitative studies.

b. A perspective from within

This study's main concept and contribution to the canon of knowledge theorizing *Amazigh feminism* is the contribution *from within* which attempts to deliver key first-hand hidden local knowledge and explain meanings behind it as a way of decolonizing and reclaiming narratives as Imazighen. Given the interviews were conducted in Tashelhiyt language my knowledge of the language and identity serves as strength as it allowed for more free and open communication with the sample of informants.

c. Looks at both critical and constructive line of peace research intersection with gender and decolonial feminism

This thesis combines both the critical and constructive perspectives of peace studies to delve into the complexity of realities of Amazigh women in the southeast of Morocco and aims not only to highlight adversities and challenges faced by these women but also make visible their peacebuilding efforts and contributions to a culture of peace.

- **Limitations:**

a. Lack of Access to Official Information: Monographies

Lack of access to monographies of some villages and towns where few short fields visit and interview took place such as Ikinoun and Ighrem Amazdar, Tilmi, Tazarine, and Tinghir. Except the monography of Alnif, main ethnographical location, which I was able to access.

b. Limited Funding

Due to the lack of grants and funding and not having applied for a scholarship the scope of the fieldwork was impacted. All the informants volunteered their time, and my travels were restricted to one region.

Future Research

a. Amazigh Women in Morocco

Due to mentioned limitations, my hope is that these results can be built upon in my postdoctoral research or by other academic researchers to provide further perspectives and experiences to continue development of this young academic field of *Amazigh feminism* and *Amazigh women as peacebuilders*. This research can be taken further in different ways, such as collecting and comparing more stories and testimonies of Amazigh women in Southeast Morocco from other tribes such as Ait Hdidou and Ait Merghad, highlighting their contributions to peacebuilding and feminism within Morocco. Furthermore different methods for example biographical research can be applied to the same topic to broaden the knowledge about Amazigh women as peacebuilders and referents of Amazigh feminism.

b. Peace Studies: prospects for further development

Within inter- and transdisciplinary peace studies, historically, much emphasis has been placed on the investigation of the different causes, consequences, and typologies of violence. However, nowadays, at the international level, numerous studies, such as the one in this thesis, are being approached from an irenological perspective. In fact, as already pointed out in Chapter 1, we can affirm that there are two complementary and non-exclusive perspectives of work and research within peace studies: the critical line,

more focused on the study of the conditions of violence and the constructive one that, from the epistemological turn, puts its focus on the diversity of experiences of peace that are present in all cultures and at all social levels (micro-meso-macro) of the world of life.

In my future research I would like to further explore different topics and objects of study from this constructive perspective of peace.

CONCLUSIONES GENERALES EN ESPAÑOL

Estas conclusiones generales interpretan los datos recabados a lo largo de esta investigación, volviendo a las hipótesis que han guiado este trabajo a la luz de estos datos para revisarlas y establecer su validez o refutación total o parcial. Así mismo también se va a reflexionar y responder a la pregunta de investigación. En este apartado, además, se presentan algunas de las fortalezas y limitaciones que se han evidenciado a lo largo del proceso investigador, así como futuras líneas de investigación emergentes.

Hipótesis y Pregunta de Investigación Revisada

La investigación comenzó con la pregunta: *Las dinámicas socioculturales heterogéneas de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos se acompañan de vulnerabilidades y violencias estructurales, pero también de prácticas que intentan reducir esas circunstancias adversas. ¿De qué manera las mujeres amazigh establecen prácticas personales y comunitarias dirigidas a reducir sus factores de vulnerabilidad, aumentando su agencia personal, su familia y su empoderamiento comunitario?*

En un intento de responder a la pregunta desde una perspectiva de estudios de paz en intersección con los estudios de género y una perspectiva feminista descolonial se establecieron tres hipótesis. La primera hipótesis se dedicó a investigar la marginación, las vulnerabilidades y las adversidades de las mujeres amazigh utilizando la línea crítica de los estudios de paz.

H1: La condición de vulnerabilidad, exclusión y marginación de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos construida de manera interseccional tiene causas heterogéneas que se relacionan con 4 ejes principales: Género y parentesco, Identidad, Cultura e idioma, Condiciones rurales y socioeconómicas.

Esta hipótesis se estructura en cuatro ejes principales que son género y parentesco, identidad, cultura e idioma, condiciones rurales y socioeconómicas. Los datos recogidos durante el trabajo de campo confirman estos cuatro ejes como variables que generan marginación y exclusiones diversas para las mujeres amazigh estudiadas; así como las otras variables inductivas adicionales (globalización, islamismo, cambio climático, emigración y Covid-19) que vienen a reforzar esas condiciones de marginación y exclusión.

El punto de la condición socioeconómica rural se ve confirmado por los datos del estudio de campo junto con los resultados del análisis y agrega datos concretos sobre

cómo la adversidad y la marginación de las mujeres amazigh están vinculadas a las condiciones socioeconómicas rurales. Específicamente, estas condiciones se manifiestan en falta de acceso a una educación adecuada, lo que a su vez conduce a que las niñas abandonen la escuela a una edad temprana, lo que conlleva al matrimonio de menores de edad. El mismo ciclo de opresión se perpetúa por la falta de educación, oportunidades y modelos a seguir para las niñas. Dentro del sector de la salud, las mujeres sufren en el parto y la falta de ambulancias y equipos médicos conduce a la muerte de mujeres que no pueden recibir el tratamiento médico adecuado en su propio entorno y no pueden hacer el largo viaje a un centro médico moderno. Aparte de lo que se enmarcó en la hipótesis a través de métodos inductivos durante el trabajo de campo, los efectos de la emigración de las zonas rurales debido a la falta de educación, salud, oportunidades de trabajo y el cambio climático, se identificaron como un factor que contribuye a las adversidades de las mujeres amazigh, ya que las mujeres a menudo se quedan atrás para cuidar de todo en casa y valerse por sí mismas. Se observó que dos tipos de migración tenían un impacto en diferentes áreas de la vida de las mujeres amazigh. En primer lugar, es común que los hombres emigren a las grandes ciudades o a diferentes países para tener mejores oportunidades laborales. En este caso, las mujeres se quedan en casa solas para cuidar de todo y en esa situación, debido a las expectativas sociales y culturales, se les roban oportunidades para tomar sus propias decisiones de vida y perseguir sus propios sueños. Un segundo tipo de emigración es que familias enteras se alejan de las zonas rurales debido a la falta de oportunidades y al cambio climático. Este tipo de emigración hace que especialmente las generaciones más jóvenes pierdan el contacto con su herencia cultural y su idioma por completo, causando lentamente que la identidad cultural y el idioma amazigh se desvanezcan en la oscuridad. Esto hace que se mantenga la imagen de las mujeres amazigh como *atrasadas* y *analfabetas*, ya que cada vez menos personas entienden su forma de vida.

El género y el parentesco son un segundo factor que causa la marginación de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos. Los resultados de la investigación muestran que la presión social ejercida sobre las mujeres en intersección con una estructura patriarcal de la sociedad contribuye a la opresión de las mujeres, limitándolas a estrictos roles de género que controlan su virginidad y ponen en sus manos el mantenimiento de la pureza de la línea de sangre de la tribu. La sociedad rural es patriarcal y limita a las mujeres a las reglas tradicionales de ser madres y dar a luz para continuar el legado de la tribu. Tal sistema crea violencia cultural hacia las mujeres, ya que cuando una mujer se

divorcia o se convierte en madre soltera, se considera vergonzoso. Debido a que se les presiona para que asuman roles de género estrictos, las niñas a menudo abandonan la escuela y se casan siendo menores de edad, lo que les hace perder las oportunidades en la vida para continuar la búsqueda de educación o trabajo. Una vez casadas, se espera que inmediatamente tengan hijos y cuiden de la casa. Las niñas son condicionadas desde una edad temprana a que deben casarse y tener hijos lo antes posible, y es a través de este condicionamiento que a menudo no reconocen el impacto que tales actos podrían tener en su futuro. Como las jóvenes a menudo no están informadas adecuadamente sobre lo que implica el matrimonio, tienen una idea romántica de él y, cuando se enfrentan a su realidad, a menudo terminan divorciadas, a veces teniendo muchos hijos. Esto a su vez causa la vergüenza y la violencia cultural anteriormente mencionadas, así como los desafíos financieros de tener que cuidar a sus hijos solas. Por último, debido a los roles de género que asumen las mujeres, y estos roles que las enmarcan como preservadoras de la identidad y el lenguaje amazigh, perpetúan inadvertidamente los sistemas patriarcales que les causan adversidades, causando que el ciclo de marginación y violencia cultural continúe.

El idioma, la cultura y la identidad son variables que son un arma de doble filo para las mujeres amazigh, ya que en ambas encuentran fuerza y adversidad al mismo tiempo. Las mujeres amazigh son consideradas como preservadoras de su identidad cultural y su idioma, pero las mismas normas culturales que buscan mantener vivas, también dan forma a las adversidades a través de la cultura patriarcal que persiste con ella.

Desde la perspectiva de la Hipótesis 1, el lenguaje en particular fue marginado a través de las políticas de arabización detalladas en el capítulo 2. Sólo recientemente, en 2001, a través de la creación del IRCAM, el rey Mohammed VI inició un proceso de reconciliación que en 2003 condujo a la codificación de la escritura *Tifiniagh*, seguida de reformas constitucionales en 2011 que reconocieron oficialmente el idioma tamazight. Las mujeres amazigh sufrieron diferentes dificultades relacionadas con la marginación y la exclusión del idioma, la cultura y la identidad de los espacios públicos hasta estas reformas constitucionales. A través de los procesos de legitimación del pueblo amazigh, cada vez más personas se sienten como en casa en sus identidades culturales y ya no temen ir a la cárcel o ser acosadas si defienden su identidad cultural nativa.

En línea con la hipótesis 2, que suponía que la identidad y el lenguaje contribuyen al empoderamiento económico y la sororidad entre las mujeres, el trabajo de campo

muestra que estas variables están evolucionando lentamente hacia una fuente de empoderamiento para las mujeres en la periferia que ahora ven oportunidades económicas a través de sus artes y artesanías culturales. Muchas de mis informantes reportaron ingresos, ya sea a través de fuentes de ingresos propias o trabajando para cooperativas.

El impacto del Covid-19 en las mujeres amazigh surgió como una variable durante el trabajo de campo, ya que este se llevó a cabo durante el tiempo de Covid-19. Debido a los cierres impuestos durante la pandemia, muchas mujeres vieron cómo sus esfuerzos financieros se detenían por completo o necesitaban aprender nuevas habilidades como el marketing en línea y la venta para ver la continuidad de sus negocios. Debido a la prohibición de eventos públicos y reuniones, los eventos que generan una gran parte de los ingresos anuales, como las bodas colectivas en Alnif, no ocurrieron durante un año. Debido a la presión económica ejercida sobre la sociedad a través del impacto de los confinamientos, los casos de disputas domésticas y violencia aumentaron dramáticamente. Además, el sistema de salud ya sobrecargado de la región, que en tiempos normales ya tiene dificultades para satisfacer las demandas de la población local, estaba completamente sobrecargado, y muchas mujeres enfrentaron mayores dificultades para acceder a estos servicios y obtener la atención que necesitaban durante la pandemia.

Otra variable que surgió a través de observaciones de trabajo de campo y entrevistas, aunque puede no tener conexión directa con la hipótesis, son los cambios en la comunidad, la cultura y las tradiciones locales debido a la globalización, el capitalismo, la modernización y la islamización. La variable investigó varios cambios que ocurrieron en la cultura amazigh en el sudeste a través del impacto de los capitalismos desde la perspectiva de mis informantes.

La arabización en intersección con la islamización manifestó en años posteriores un declive de algunos aspectos de la cultura amazigh, como el tatuaje, las celebraciones y bailes de género mixto, y el ritual de *Tlla aɣnja Tislit n w Anzar: La novia de la lluvia*. También entra en el hecho de que *Id yennayer* (año nuevo amazigh), una fiesta cultural amazigh, todavía no se reconoce como fiesta oficial en Marruecos. Estos cambios y el declive general de la cultura amazigh son sentidos por las mujeres amazigh, ya que muchas de sus artes y artesanías y una gran parte de sus identidades están arraigadas en estas tradiciones. El declive y la vergüenza de estas tradiciones ha llevado a muchas mujeres amazigh a eliminar sus tatuajes y ocultar sus identidades, especialmente en áreas urbanas donde la parte predominante de la población se asimila a puntos de vista islámicos más conservadores. Además, los niños pequeños, especialmente las niñas, con

acceso a la educación moderna ya no llevan las características de estas tradiciones culturales, como los tatuajes faciales, ya que dentro de los puntos de vista modernistas, tales tatuajes están relacionados con la mala toma de decisiones y el comportamiento irresponsable. Tener tales tatuajes afecta drásticamente las posibilidades de encontrar un trabajo después de completar la educación, ya que en muchos sectores como el de educación y atención médica no son aceptables. Un estilo de vida más moderno que está siendo adoptado por las generaciones más jóvenes y el acceso a la tecnología como televisores y teléfonos inteligentes también tiene un gran impacto en el declive de estas tradiciones. La gente anhela productos y estilos de vida más modernos, y a menudo se ocupan de estos nuevos conceptos y abandonan las viejas tradiciones y eventos colectivos en preferencia por el consumismo y los medios de comunicación.

A la luz de lo que hemos visto, las barreras lingüísticas, socioeconómicas, educativas, geográficas, culturales y de género privan a las mujeres amazigh del sudeste de un acceso adecuado a los servicios públicos. Les roban su dignidad a través de la vergüenza y hacen que su resiliencia, conocimiento e identidades culturales no sean reconocidas. Por lo tanto, estas barreras causan adversidades en su autorrealización y empoderamiento.

La segunda hipótesis es sobre las expresiones de resiliencia, empoderamiento y agencia de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos. Esta hipótesis fue guiada por la perspectiva irenológica de los estudios de paz.

H2: La identidad y la cultura de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste *de Marruecos expresada a través de su participación activa en ONG, cooperativas y PGI autogestionados aumentan su resiliencia y contribuyen a su empoderamiento personal, familiar y comunitario al mismo tiempo que reducen la violencia estructural.*

Las entrevistas realizadas durante el trabajo de campo confirman parcialmente que las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos se empoderan a sí mismas, a sus familias y comunidades a través de sus PGI y a través de la participación en ONG y cooperativas, a pesar de que todavía enfrentan problemas de apropiación cultural y competencia desleal en los mercados globales por parte de grandes empresas internacionales. Así mismo, la participación política surgió como un nuevo factor de empoderamiento para las mujeres en el sudeste, dándoles la oportunidad de cambiar su sociedad desde dentro del sistema político, además de abogar por estos cambios externamente a través del trabajo en las ONG.

6.2. Seeds of Aspirations (semillas de aspiraciones) sección exploró las aspiraciones y motivaciones de las mujeres informantes amazigh. A pesar de las adversidades que enfrentan, ellas desafían sus entornos y la realidad cotidiana para aliviarse de sus adversidades y vivir con dignidad, respeto y reconocimiento. Como han demostrado los resultados, el motor detrás de su resiliencia es ser independientes y proporcionar oportunidades de vida a sus hijos y desarrollar sus propios proyectos o unirse a una cooperativa. Se puede ver claramente en los testimonios de las informantes que generalmente sus PGI están dirigidos hacia el empoderamiento financiero, a su vez necesario para brindar oportunidades a sus hijos y salvaguardar su futuro. Uno de los principales desafíos señalados por las informantes para lograr estos objetivos fue financiero, aunque también se mencionó que el aislamiento geográfico era un desafío, por ejemplo, cuando se trata de vender sus productos. Hacer crecer sus proyectos lo suficiente como para llegar a fin de mes y mantener a sus hijos significa extender sus proyectos más allá de sus aldeas y mercados locales. El internet está demostrando ser un nuevo ámbito de posibilidades para que las mujeres promuevan y vendan sus artesanías, pero obtener acceso a ellas y aprender las habilidades necesarias para operar un negocio en línea puede ser un desafío. La obtención de fondos para cooperativas o proyectos autosuficientes a menudo se encuentra con procesos burocráticos que son difíciles y lentos de navegar.

La identidad y la cultura amazigh se convierten en una fuente de empoderamiento que, cuando se expresa a través de las artes y artesanías, puede convertirse en PGI como medio de empoderamiento económico. Las artesanías y las artes tradicionales dentro de la cultura amazigh son un símbolo de la identidad colectiva amazigh. La identidad amazigh expresada en las artes y oficios de las mujeres amazigh, tanto autosuficientes como a través de cooperativas, como hemos visto en los testimonios de las mujeres, contribuye a la resiliencia colectiva y al empoderamiento.

La categoría social de las mujeres que trabajan en PGI como viudas, solteras o divorciadas sufren adversidades financieras, ya que clásicamente dentro de su sociedad conservadora sus homólogos masculinos son responsables de mantener la salud financiera de la familia. Durante el trabajo de campo se identificaron dos tipos principales de PGI. Los PGI autogestionados, que son iniciativas individuales de mujeres que les proporcionan cierto empoderamiento económico a través de la aplicación de sus artes y oficios y habilidades heredadas de sus antepasados. Estos PGI autogestionados se operan a nivel local y los productos se venden principalmente a la comunidad local en función de sus necesidades. Además de los PGI autogestionados, se identificó otra forma de PGI

colectivos que son cooperativas. En estas cooperativas, las mujeres se unen para trabajar colectivamente en proyectos con el fin de crear un espacio para la hermandad y el empoderamiento colectivo. A través de estas cooperativas, las mujeres pueden disfrutar de beneficios tales como tener un ingreso registrado formalmente, mayores rendimientos de producción a través de la colaboración, aprender nuevas habilidades entre sí, participar en exposiciones nacionales, negocios más estructurados y una reducción de las cargas administrativas y financieras. Encima de esto, las cooperativas, ya que están registradas como empresas oficiales, pueden solicitar financiación o estar sujetas a donaciones, ayuda financiera y otras organizaciones benéficas, de las que personas no están al tanto. Mientras que los PGI autogestionados a menudo se basan en habilidades personales que comúnmente implican habilidades heredadas como artes y oficios, las cooperativas tienen una variedad más amplia de productos y actividades que pueden realizar debido a que más mujeres están involucradas. Las cooperativas también pueden centrarse más en la producción de artículos que requieren más esfuerzo mano de obra o financiero. Dado que necesitan un flujo de ingresos más constante, a menudo incluyen más productos de necesidad diaria en su producción, como pan, aceites, textiles, lino, bordados y más.

Los testimonios de la muestra de informantes entrevistadas han demostrado que trabajar en estos PGI transformó sus vidas y les proporcionó independencia financiera que les permite mantener a sus hijos y familias, así como apoyarse mutuamente. Los PGI en los que participan estas mujeres contribuyen al desarrollo de habilidades, la construcción de comunidades y la preservación del patrimonio cultural, mientras que al mismo tiempo conducen al empoderamiento económico y social, así como a la ruptura de estigmas y tabúes en torno a las mujeres como proveedoras financieras de la familia.

A pesar de que estos proyectos ayudan a empoderar financieramente a las mujeres amazigh rurales y ayudan a reducir la violencia cultural al cambiar la forma en que la sociedad mira a estas mujeres, estos proyectos no abordan la violencia estructural presente en su sociedad. Para abordar aún más la violencia estructural presente en su sociedad, algunas mujeres han recurrido a la promoción de ONG o a la participación política para abordar este tipo de cuestiones. El trabajo que realizan en las ONG y dentro de la escena política, además de abordar la violencia estructural, también contribuye aún más al empoderamiento de las mujeres al proporcionar modelos a seguir a las niñas, así como brindar oportunidades para aprender habilidades y ser autosuficientes mediante la aplicación de estas mismas. La participación política y las ONG ayudan a arrojar luz sobre la disparidad en la distribución de recursos dentro del país, lo que permite realizar

inversiones más inteligentes y efectivas en las comunidades en función de sus necesidades reales y directas que se recopilan de los locales dentro de las comunidades.

Aunque solo tuve una informante activa en esta área, a través de mis entrevistas aprendí de una nueva vía para la consolidación de la paz y el cambio positivo que es la participación política directa. A través de esta línea directa con la política que se extiende más allá de simplemente que se les permita votar para ser miembros activos de los partidos políticos, las mujeres pueden llevar el debate sobre la marginación y la exclusión de las mujeres amazigh rurales al nivel nacional para comprometerse con el gobierno a trabajar para mejorar la situación de las mujeres en las zonas rurales y montañosas. En general, un mayor acceso a los recursos económicos y educativos para las mujeres les permite el conocimiento y la autoridad para romper la naturaleza patriarcal de la sociedad. Además, el acceso a los espacios públicos les permite romper el ciclo del patriarcado basado en el espacio.

La razón por la cual esta hipótesis se confirma sólo parcialmente se debe a los nuevos desafíos que enfrentan las mujeres que se aventuran en el territorio del auto empoderamiento económico. Entre estos desafíos, un problema notable es la apropiación cultural de sus artes, artesanías y patrimonio por parte de cooperaciones internacionales que copian su trabajo y producen en masa artículos similares. Esto causa una mayor competencia desleal en el mercado para las mujeres amazigh rurales que generalmente no poseen los conocimientos y habilidades para contrarrestar esto. Esto hace que los desafíos que las mujeres superan con respecto a la hipótesis 1 sean intercambiados por estos nuevos desafíos relacionados con la globalización y la modernización y llevar sus productos a un mercado global en línea. A parte de causar dificultades en torno a las ventas, los artículos copiados y apropiados por empresas globales erosionan el significado cultural e histórico de los artículos y los simbolismos que llevan, además de contribuir a veces a una falsa representación de la alteridad. Los artículos se copian sin conocimiento de sus significados y, a través de eso, tergiversan las culturas de las que provienen. La identidad amazigh de esta manera se convierte en una mera estratagema de marketing y etiqueta para estas cooperaciones y no se tiene en cuenta la autenticidad. Como estos artículos copiados generalmente se venden mucho más baratos que los artículos auténticos, incluso Imazighen puede terminar viéndose obligado a comprarlos, ya que los artesanos locales no pueden competir con los precios globales y los constituyentes más pobres de las comunidades ya no pueden pagar los artículos auténticos.

La tercera hipótesis es sobre la cultura de paz y el enriquecimiento del movimiento feminista en Marruecos. Esta hipótesis se superpone con la hipótesis 2, pero se deriva de la irenología, así como del reconocimiento a través del feminismo descolonial de los discursos y el conocimiento de las mujeres amazigh que contribuyen al bienestar de sus comunidades.

H3: Las voces, discursos y prácticas de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste ***de Marruecos desde el nivel de base contribuyen a enriquecer el feminismo en Marruecos y al mismo tiempo contribuyen a una Cultura de Paz.***

El trabajo de campo ha confirmado ambos aspectos de esta hipótesis y muestra ejemplos de cultura de paz como, por ejemplo, las prácticas en torno al concepto de *Tiwiza*, así como también muestra cómo a través de iniciativas de base como los PGI y las ONG y a través de la participación política, estas mujeres enriquecen el panorama del feminismo dentro de Marruecos y se esfuerzan por hacerlo más inclusivo para las mujeres rurales y amazigh.

Debido a la invisibilidad epistemológica antes mencionada frente a los estudios de paz y la paz en general causada por el dominio de la perspectiva crítica de los estudios de paz, la paz se deja solo con simples representaciones visuales de palomas blancas y un signo de paz. Debido a que estas representaciones son solo simbolismos, esto me dificultó identificar perlas de paz durante el curso del trabajo de campo. A menudo la paz se da por sentada como parte de la vida normal, y no se le presta mucha atención en comparación con los diversos tipos de violencia. Fue fácil identificar los tipos de violencia porque estaba equipada con el triángulo de violencia de Galtung que me ayudó a etiquetar los eventos dentro de las historias de las informantes por el tipo de violencia identificada dentro de las mismas. Durante el proceso de transcribir entrevistas, me di cuenta de que muchos casos de violencia podían identificarse fácilmente, pero la paz era difícil de reconocer. A través de la reflexividad realizada durante el proceso de transcripción que hice justo después de cada entrevista, pude cambiar mi enfoque más hacia la paz con las perspectivas de la irenología y la paz imperfecta siguiendo a Muñoz (2001). Comprender mejor el contexto de las historias de mis informantes para ayudar a identificar instancias de paz en sus vidas, además de entrevistas con informantes, observaciones e interacciones dentro de las comunidades locales en las que se realizó el trabajo de campo, jugó un papel importante para descifrar y reconocer las paces dentro de las historias y vidas de mis informantes. Un factor que afectó mi capacidad para

realizar tales observaciones fue el hecho de que durante el curso de mi trabajo de campo muchos eventos y reuniones comunitarias fueron prohibidas debido a las restricciones establecidas durante la pandemia de Covid-19 en ese momento. A pesar de esto, pude hablar con miembros de la comunidad, visitar el mercado durante los días de souq (zoco) y visitar cooperativas y ONG para recopilar observaciones sobre casos de paces imperfectas diarias. Los resultados del trabajo de campo han demostrado una fuerte presencia del concepto de *Tiwiza* entre los Imazighen en el sudeste de Marruecos. Este concepto guía la vida cultural y social de Imazighen en torno a la solidaridad colectiva, la generosidad y la empatía y permite la acción colectiva hacia el bien colectivo.

A partir del trabajo de campo se identificaron varios ejemplos de consolidación de la paz a nivel colectivo guiados por el concepto de *Tiwiza*. Un ejemplo mencionado fueron los mediadores comunitarios que ofrecen *Aɛeban* (ofrendas de paz) para reconciliar disputas entre miembros de la comunidad. Esto ayuda de una manera muy directa a mantener la paz dentro de la comunidad. Otra actividad realizada bajo la guía de *Tiwiza* es el intercambio de recursos como el agua potable en días calurosos y secos que se coloca frente a las casas para que los transeúntes la tomen cuando lo necesiten y el mantenimiento de los sistemas públicos de agua, como pozos y canales de riego. Los proyectos colectivos para aliviar algunas de las adversidades cotidianas de las mujeres amazigh también salieron a la luz a través de entrevistas, como se puede ver en el ejemplo de la lavandería colectiva en Alnif, que ayuda a las mujeres a ahorrar tiempo, trabajo duro y costos con su lavandería, así como a mejorar la higiene general en el área y se realiza de manera sostenible utilizando paneles solares y sistemas de plomería adecuados, lo que hace que el medio ambiente se vea menos afectado por la contaminación por detergentes químicos y otras cosas. Por último, también se identificaron proyectos y eventos que se centran en ocasiones alegres y contribuyen a la solidaridad colectiva y la igualdad. Eventos como las bodas colectivas organizadas cada verano permiten a toda la comunidad aliviar las dificultades, así como proporcionar igualdad de oportunidades para que todos los miembros de la comunidad se casen, independientemente de su estado financiero o social, ya que los eventos se centran en la representación equitativa de todos los participantes.

Proyectos y prácticas como estas deben hacerse visibles para mostrar los esfuerzos de consolidación de la paz en la comunidad dirigidos a construir paces imperfectas diarias desde un nivel de base. En particular, eventos como las bodas colectivas contribuyen a promover un sentido de comunidad e igualdad; la preservación del patrimonio inmaterial,

las tradiciones culturales y el patrimonio; compartir los recursos entre los miembros de la comunidad; promoción de valores como la hospitalidad y la generosidad; y fomentar las relaciones intergeneracionales, todo lo cual abarca y demuestra una cultura de paz.

La primavera árabe creó un terreno fértil para que las voces amazigh fueran legitimadas y reconocidas y permitió que las experiencias desde la periferia ocuparan un lugar central en la discusión sobre los derechos humanos y el feminismo dentro de Marruecos. A través de las ONG, las mujeres amazigh abordan problemas estructurales como las tasas de deserción escolar, el matrimonio infantil y otros problemas sociales. Estas iniciativas de base de las mujeres amazigh contribuyen a enriquecer el feminismo en Marruecos. A través de los testimonios de informantes recogidos durante el trabajo de campo respecto a sus aspiraciones, podemos concluir cómo los PGI autosuficientes, cooperativas, ONG y su participación política contribuyen al bienestar de las mujeres y niñas en las zonas rurales del sudeste de Marruecos. Mi esperanza con esta contribución es agregar a la literatura existente sobre las mujeres amazigh y el feminismo en Marruecos las perspectivas de las mujeres de la periferia y cómo se levantan a sí mismas, a sus familias y comunidades de las adversidades y cambian sus realidades sociales hacia una cultura de paz.

Respondiendo a la pregunta de investigación

Esta sección pretende responder a la pregunta principal de esta tesis: *Las dinámicas socioculturales heterogéneas de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos se acompañan de vulnerabilidades y violencias estructurales, pero también de prácticas que intentan reducir esas circunstancias adversas. ¿De qué manera las mujeres amazigh establecen prácticas personales y comunitarias dirigidas a reducir sus factores de vulnerabilidad, aumentando su agencia personal, su familia y su empoderamiento comunitario?*

En un intento por reducir sus factores de vulnerabilidad, aumentar su agencia personal y empoderarse a sí mismas, a sus familias y a sus comunidades, las mujeres amazigh participan en diversos proyectos y actividades a nivel personal y colectivo. En esta tesis se han puesto de manifiesto diversas actividades como los PGI autosuficientes, las cooperativas, las ONG y la participación política como elementos que contribuyen al empoderamiento, la consolidación de la paz y la reducción de los factores de vulnerabilidad. Otro elemento que salió a la luz fue la práctica y el concepto de *Tiwiza*, que guía la vida social y cultural de Imazighen y está arraigado en la solidaridad colectiva

y la igualdad. La acción colectiva basada en los principios de *Tiwiza* contribuye directamente a una cultura de paz y paz cotidiana.

A través de los PGI y las cooperativas autosuficientes, las mujeres pueden empoderarse económicamente y, además, contribuir a la preservación de las prácticas culturales y el patrimonio inmaterial que se les ha transmitido de generación en generación. Esto contribuye a su agencia y confianza en sí mismas, hermandad y resiliencia colectiva. La imagen que presentan como mujeres rurales trabajadoras inspira a las futuras generaciones de niñas a seguir sus pasos y las empodera para brindar mejores oportunidades a sus hijos.

A través de la participación en los desafíos de las ONG a nivel comunitario, se aborda la violencia estructural, la educación y el empoderamiento de las niñas. A través de estas organizaciones, las actividades se pueden realizar de manera más eficiente, en colaboración con el gobierno local y otras organizaciones, y se pueden superar desafíos como la recaudación de fondos y el trabajo administrativo.

Un factor menos común pero importante descubierto durante el trabajo de campo fue la participación política directa de las mujeres en las zonas rurales como miembros de partidos políticos activos y grandes. A través de los testimonios de mis informantes, se puede concluir que tal participación en la política produce resultados más directos dentro del nivel comunitario, además de servir como fuente de inspiración para que las niñas y las mujeres sigan su ejemplo. Así mismo, los estigmas en torno al liderazgo comunitario de las mujeres y las mujeres en la política se erosionan lentamente por el ejemplo establecido por una de mis informantes. A partir de los testimonios de otras informantes entrevistadas sobre este asunto, se puede sentir claramente el impacto positivo de tal participación en la política.

Las complejidades de las experiencias de las mujeres amazigh en Marruecos no pueden reducirse a una historia singular de la de las mujeres analfabetas y necesitadas de ayuda. La perspectiva hacia las mujeres amazigh como víctimas no hace justicia a la resiliencia, la fuerza, la paciencia y el impulso de las mujeres amazigh que trabajan incansablemente hacia un futuro mejor para sus familias y comunidades.

Mi esperanza es que esta tesis haya contribuido humildemente a la necesaria tarea de recuperar las historias invisibles y silenciadas de la paz y las mujeres, y a partir de ahí, integrarlas en la historia establecida. Las mujeres amazigh, sin duda, merecen este reconocimiento y visibilidad.

Fortalezas y Límites de La Investigación

- **Fortalezas:**

a. Trabajo de campo

Entre los puntos fuertes de esta investigación de doctorado está que contiene entrevistas de trabajo de campo que llenan los vacíos identificados por la revisión de la literatura, como el hecho de que gran parte de la literatura existente está escrita por personas ajenas y se basa en información obsoleta que retrata a las mujeres amazigh como un grupo homogéneo. Para profundizar en el conocimiento de la muestra de población seleccionada y obtener resultados lo más sólidos posibles, me propuse el reto de utilizar el método etnográfico, incluyendo técnicas de recogida de datos (entrevistas semiestructuradas en profundidad, observación participante, diario de campo y fotografías), así como la reflexividad como eje vertebrador de la triangulación de todas ellas. Todo esto asegura la validez y el rigor del estudio, lo que me permitió documentar las experiencias vividas de mis informantes que proporcionan ideas que no están disponibles para los investigadores que buscan estudios cuantitativos.

b. Una perspectiva desde dentro

El principal concepto y contribución de este estudio al canon del conocimiento que teoriza el *feminismo amazigh* es la contribución *desde dentro* de la cual intenta entregar conocimiento local oculto clave de primera mano y explicar los significados detrás de él como una forma de descolonizar y reclamar narrativas como Imazighen. Dado que las entrevistas se realizaron en idioma Tashelhiyt, mi conocimiento del idioma y la identidad del idioma sirven como fortaleza, ya que permitió una comunicación más libre y abierta con la muestra de informantes.

c. Analiza la línea crítica y constructiva de la intersección de la investigación de la paz con el género y el feminismo descolonial

Esta tesis combina las perspectivas crítica y constructiva de los estudios de paz para profundizar en la complejidad de las realidades de las mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos y tiene como objetivo no solo resaltar las adversidades y desafíos que enfrentan estas mujeres, sino también visibilizar sus esfuerzos de construcción de paz y contribuciones a una cultura de paz.

- **Limitaciones:**

    a. Falta de acceso a la información oficial: monografías

Falta de acceso a monografías de algunos pueblos y ciudades donde se realizaron pocas visitas cortas y entrevistas como Ikinoun e Ighrem Amazdar, Tilmi, Tazarine y Tinghir. Excepto la monografía de Alnif, ubicación etnográfica principal, a la que pude acceder.

    b. Financiación limitada

Debido a la falta de subvenciones y fondos y al no haber solicitado una beca, el alcance del trabajo de campo se vio afectado. Todas las informantes ofrecieron voluntariamente su tiempo, y mis viajes se restringieron a una región.

Futuras Líneas de Investigación

    a. Mujeres amazigh en Marruecos

Debido a las limitaciones mencionadas, mi esperanza es que estos resultados puedan ser aprovechados en mi investigación postdoctoral o por otros investigadores académicos para proporcionar más perspectivas y experiencias para continuar el desarrollo de este joven campo académico del feminismo amazigh y *las mujeres amazigh como constructoras de paz*. Esta investigación se puede llevar más allá de diferentes maneras, como recopilar y comparar más historias y testimonios de mujeres amazigh en el sudeste de Marruecos de otras tribus como Ait Hdidou y Ait Merghad, etc. destacando sus contribuciones a la consolidación de la paz y el feminismo dentro de Marruecos. Diferente métodos, tales como la investigación biográfica, pueden ser aplicados al mismo tema para ampliar el conocimiento sobre las mujeres amazigh como constructoras de paz y referentes del feminismo amazigh.

    b. Estudios para la paz: perspectivas para un mayor desarrollo

Dentro de los estudios inter y transdiciplinares para la paz, históricamente, se ha hecho mucho énfasis en la investigación de las diferentes causas, consecuencias y tipologías de violencia. Sin embargo, hoy en día, a nivel internacional, se están enfocando numerosos estudios, como el de esta tesis, desde la perspectiva irenológica. De hecho, como ya se ha señalado en el Capítulo 1, podemos afirmar que existen dos perspectivas complementarias y no excluyentes de trabajo e investigación dentro de los estudios para

la paz: la línea crítica, más centrada en el estudio de las condiciones de la violencia y la constructiva que, desde el giro epistemológico, pone su foco de atención en la diversidad de experiencias de paz que están presentes en todas las culturas y en todos los niveles sociales (micro-meso-macro) del mundo de la vida.

En mis futuras investigaciones me gustaría seguir profundizando en diferentes temas y objetos de estudio desde esta perspectiva constructiva de la paz.

EPILOGUE

Researching peace is a necessity and an important challenge within the human and social sciences that should provide the world with more tangible and real visualizations of peace, even in its imperfect nature.

From the constructive perspective we can move from a reductionist conceptualization of women as marginalized and/or victims, to a reconceptualization of women as peacebuilders that allows us to recognize, value and make visible their contributions to cultures for peace and, in this way, that their valuable contributions can be recognized and recorded in the annals of history.

The complex and diverse representations and everyday experiences of peace in the world matter. Peace is rooted in everyday life in all societies and cultures, including Amazigh, and like pieces of a mosaic, each of different shape and color, though seemingly imperfect or broken, together they form something beautiful: cultures of and for peace.

Epílogo en Español

Investigar la paz es una necesidad y un reto importante dentro de las ciencias humanas y sociales que deberían proporcionar al mundo visualizaciones más tangibles y reales de la paz, incluso en su naturaleza imperfecta.

Desde la perspectiva constructiva podemos pasar de una conceptualización reduccionista de las mujeres como marginadas y/o víctimas, a una reconceptualización de las mujeres como constructoras de paz que nos permita reconocer, poner en valor y visibilizar sus contribuciones a las culturas para la paz y, de esta forma, que sus valiosas aportaciones puedan reconocerse y registrarse en los anales de la historia.

Las complejas y diversas representaciones y experiencias cotidianas de paz en el mundo importan. La paz se arraiga en la vida cotidiana en todas las sociedades y culturas, también en la amazigh, y como piezas de un mosaico, cada una de diferente forma y color, aunque aparentemente imperfectas o rotas, juntas forman algo hermoso: culturas de y para la paz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adhabi, Essa and Christina, Blash Anozie. 2017. "Literature review for the type of interview in qualitative research". *International Journal of Education,* 9(3): 86-97.
- Adichie, Chimamanda. 2019. *El peligro de la historia única. Barcelona*: Random House.
- Ait Mous, Fadma, Olivier Deau and Maâti Monjib. 2015. "The debates on citizenship in Morocco. Social movements and constitutional reform". *Euspring*, 4 (11). April 04th, 2019.
- Ait Mous, Fadma. 2006. "Le réseau associatif amazigh: émergence et diffustion". In *Usages de l'identité Amazighe au Maroc*, ed. Hassan Rachik, 131–159. Casablanca: Imprimerie Anaja.
- Aitel, Fazia. 2014. *We are Imazighen: The Development of Algerian Berber Identity in Twentieth-Century Literature and Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. [e-book]
- Aljazeera. 2014. "Morocco repeals 'rape marriage law". *Aljazeera.com,* https://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/01/morocco-repeals-rape-marriage-law-2014123254643455.html, May 20th, 2019.
- Aljazeera. 2019. "Morocco's Village Superwomen". *Aljazeera.net,* https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/aljazeeraworld/2019/01/morocco-village-superwomen-190127081811562.html, January 21st, 2019.
- AlKroud, Eman A. A. 2018. *Renarrating the Berber in three Amazigh translations of the Holy Quran: Paratextual and Framing Strategies*. [PhD Dissertation], Manchester: The University of Manchester,https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/jrul/item/?pid=uk-ac-man-scw:315798, March 15th, 2019.
- Allen, Mike. 2017. "Field Notes: The sage encyclopedia of communication research methods". In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*, ed. Mike Allen, 563-566. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Allison, Simon. 2012. "Amina Filali: a Story of Rape, Suicide and the Society Searching for its soul". *Dailymaverick.co.za,* https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-03-20-amina-filali-a-story-of-rape-suicide-and-the-society-searching-for-its-soul/, May 20th, 2019.
- Al-Qowaiti, Sanaa. 2018. "قرى الأطلس المغربي :معاناة من التهميش والثلوج‎ [The villages of the Moroccan Atlas: suffering from marginalization and snow]". *Aljazeera.net,* https://www.aljazeera.net, February 12th, 2019.
- Aslan, Senem. 2014. "The rise of the Amazigh movement and state cooptation in Morocco". In *Nation-Building in Turkey and Morocco: Governing Kurdish and Berber Dissent*, ed. Aslan Senem, 164- 195. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [e-book]
- Assid, Ahmed. 2010. "Identité Amazighe Ahmed ASSID الهوية الامازيغية‎, [the Amazigh identity: Ahmed Assid]". *Aljazeera Arabic*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1FhbERqPOkc&t=211s, [YouTube Interview] February 4th, 2019.
- Auletto, Amy. 2017. "Gender Inequity in Moroccan Secondary Education: A Mixed Methods Case Study". *Reconsidering Development*, 5(1).
- Avudaiammal, B. 2019. "Empowering Women Through Skill Development: A Study with Reference to Shg's And Enterpreneurship". *Think India Journal,* 22(10): 8997-9003. ISSN:0971-1260
- Ayala, Maite. 2020. "Paradigma sociocrítico: características, métodos, representantes". *Lifeder*, https://www.lifeder.com/paradigma-socio-critico/, May 27th, 2021.
- Azrour, Imran and Moha Mallal. 2021. "*Taɣufi*". *Spotify* [song], https://open.spotify.com/album/5xzQKoqEewlaHBGDzxpqEs, July 22nd, 2022.

- Azrour, Imran. 2020. "Iɣrem inew", *Spotify* [Song], *https://open.spotify.com/album/2gP4EFvOtPquWYBxE8xyCD, May 21st, 2021.*

- Bahi, Rahim. 2011. *Islamic and secular feminisms:two discourses mobilized for gender justice.* Florence: European University Institute.

- Bano, Shahina, Neelam Farid, Asia Ashfaq, and Siti Mas'udah. 2021. "Uplifting the socio-economic empowerment of women through handicraft industry". *Masyarakat Kebudayaan dan Politik*, 34(4):367-379.

- Barash, David and Charles Webel. 2009. "the promise of peace, the problems of war". In *Peace and Conflict Studies: A Reader,* ed. Charles Webel and David Barash, 19-69. California: SAGE Publications, INC.

- BBC. 2018. "Morocco shock at 'Khadija brutal rape ordeal'". *BBC.com,* https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45321342, May 20th, 2019.

- Becker, Cynthia. 2006a. *Amazigh arts in Morocco: women shaping Berber identity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Becker, Cynthia. 2006b. "Amazigh textiles and dress in Morocco". *African Arts, 39*(3): 42-55. Retrieved from https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/amazigh-textiles-dress-morocco/docview/220983450/se-2?accountid=15297, March 20th, 2022.

- Becker, Cynthia. 2009. "Matriarchal nomads and freedom fighters: Transnational Amazigh consciousness and Moroccan, Algerian, and Nigerien artists". *Critical Interventions,* 3(1): 70-101.

- Becker, Cynthia. 2021. "Visual Culture and the Amazigh Renaissance in North Africa and Its Diaspora". In *Islam and Popular Culture*, ed. Karin van Nieuwkerk, Mark LeVine and Martin Stokes, 100-121. New York: University of Texas Press.[e-book]

- Bekker, Marrie Hj and Mina Lhajoui. 2004. "Health and literacy in first-and second-generation Moroccan Berber women in the Netherlands: Ill literacy?". *International Journal for Equity in Health,* 3(18).

- Belhiah, Hassan, Mohamed Majdoubi, and Mouna Safwate. 2020 "Language revitalization through the media: A case study of Amazigh in Morocco". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,*2020 (266): 121-141.

- Beltrán Zambrano, Roberto. 2019. "Cultura de paz y derecho humano a la paz". In *Gestión de conflictos*, ed. Francisco Jiménez Bautista, Roberto Beltrán Zambrano and Diana GabrielaMoreira Aguirre, 160-165. Ecuador: Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja.

- Bergh, Sylvia I and Rossi-Doria Daniele. 2015. "Plus ça change? Observing the dynamics of Morocco's 'Arab Spring'in the High Atlas". *Mediterranean politics*, 20(2): 198-216.

- Biagi, Francesco. 2014. "The 2011 constitutional reform in Morocco: more flaws than merits". *Jean Monnet Occasional Paper (07)*, *Malta, Institute for European Studies.*

- Booley, Ashraf. 2016. "The rights and freedoms of Moroccan women: has the 2004 reforms benefited Moroccan women?". *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal,* 19(1): 2-23.

- Bordat, Stephanie Willman, Susan Schaefer Davis, and Saida Kouzzi. 2011. "Women as agents of grassroots change: Illustrating micro-empowerment in Morocco". *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 7(1): 90-119.

- Borrillo, Sara. 2016. "Islamic Feminism in Morocco: the discourse and experience of Asma Lamrabet". In *Moroccan feminisms: new perspectives*, ed. Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges, 111-128. Trenton: Africa World Press.

- Borrillo, Sara. 2018. "Islamic female religious authority between agency and governmentality From the Moroccan model to 'multicultural' Europe". In *Imams in Western Europe*

Developments, Transformations, and Institutional Challenges, ed. Mohammed Hashas, Jan Jaap de Ruiter, and Niels Valdemar Vinding, 205-228. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University. [e-book]

- Boulding, Elise. 2000. *Cultures of peace: The hidden side of history*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 2022. *Retour sur la réflexivité*. Paris: EHESS.

- Bouzghaya, Ilyas. 2021. "The King's Feminists: Reordering Relations Between the State and the Moroccan Feminists". *Moroccan Institute for Policy Analysis*, https://mipa.institute/8763, December 16th, 2021.

- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2006. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology". *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2): 77–101.

- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2013. "Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning". *The psychologist,* 26(2): 1-13.

- Brett Michael and Elizabeth Fentress. 1996. *The Berbers*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

- Brooks, Rachel Christine. 2020. *The role of Islamic feminists in Moroccan legal reform: a case study of the 2018 law on violence against women*. [Master thesis]. Austin: University of Texas.

- Brouwer, Leni and Edien Bartels. 2014. "Arab Spring in Morocco: social media and the 20 February movement". *Afrika Focus*, 27(2): 9-22.

- Brown, Priscilla. 2016. "What is intersectionality PowerPoint". *slideshare.net,* https://www.slideshare.net/PriscillaBrown9/what-is-intersectionality-powerpoint, June 2nd, 2019.

- Bryman, Alan. 2012. *Social research methods*. New York: Oxford university press.[e-book]

- Butler. Judith. 2006. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.

- Camps, G and Chaker S. 1989. "Anẓar". *Encyclopédie berbère 6* [online] DOI : https://doi.org/10.4000/encyclopedieberbere.2554, June 10th 2022.

- Carter, Nancy, Denise Bryant-Lukosius, Alba DiCenso, Jennifer Blythe, and Alan J. Neville. 2014. "The use of triangulation in qualitative research". *Oncol Nurs Forum*, 41(5): 545-7.

- Charifa, Hiba. n.d. "The social and Political situation of Moroccan woman after the new constitution". *Academia.edu,* https://www.academia.edu/8513807/The_social_and_Political_situation_of_Moroccan_woman_after_the_new_constitution, May 17th, 2019.

- Cherifati- Merabtine, Doria. 1995. "Algerian Women at a Crossroads: National Liberation, IslamiGzation, and Women". In *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies,* ed. Valentine M. Moghadam, 40-39. London: Zed Books.

- Chhabra, Satbeer. 2006. "Gender Perspective in Peace Initiatives: Opportunities and Challenges". *Women's Link Journal*. 1-13, https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/pktrain_genderperspectivepeaceinitiatives2005_0.pdf, March 25th, 2022.

- Christensen, MacKenzie. 2019. "Feminization of Poverty: Causes and Implications". In *Gender Equality. Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals*, ed. Leal Filho W, Azul A, Brandli L and Özuyar P, Wall T, 1–10. Springer: Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-70060-1_6-1, March 25th, 2022.

- Chtatou, Mohamed. 2022. "Discovering the Amazigh People And Their Culture Analysis". *Eurasia Review: A Journal of Analysis and News*, https://www.eurasiareview.com/26052022-discovering-the-amazigh-people-and-their-culture-analysis/, June 4th, 2022.

- Comins Mingol, Irene and Francisco Muñoz. 2013. *Filosofías y praxis de la paz.* Barcelona: Icaria.

- Comins Mingol, Irene and Sonia París Albert. 2012. "Epistemologías para el humanism desde la filosofía para la paz". *Recerca* 12: 5-11.
- Comins Mingol, Irene and Sonia Paris Albert. 2020. "Recognition and Care: Philosophy for Peace and Imperfect Peace in Dialogue". C*onvergencia-revista de ciencias sociales.* 27: 2-23.
- Comins Mingol, Irene. 2009. "Coeducation: teaching peace from a gender perspective". *Peace & Change*, 34 (4): 456-470.
- Comins Mingol, Irene. 2015. "De víctimas a sobrevivientes: la fuerza poiética y resiliente del cuidar". *Convergencia*, 22(67): 35-54.
- Comins Mingol, Irene. 2016. "Hacia una superación de la reificación de la mujer como víctima. Reflexiones filosóficas". In *De víctimas a indignados. Imaginarios del sufrimiento y de la acción política*, ed. Vicente Benet, and Alex Iván Arévalo Salinas, 133-146. Valencia: Tirant Humanidades.
- Comins Mingol, Irene. 2018a. "Horizontes epistemológicos de la investigación para la paz: una perspectiva pazológica y de género". In *Enfoques contemporáneos para los estudios de paz*, ed. Dora Elvira García-González, 45-68. México: Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología.
- Comins Mingol, Irene. 2018b. "Retos epistemológico-normativos de la investigación para la paz". Revista *de Paz y Conflictos*, 11(2):143-160.
- Correa Vanegas, José Domingo. 2017. *Las etapas de la Investigación para la paz y la transformación del concepto de paz a la paz imperfecta. La paz no solo como anhelo, también como cotidianidad*. Bogotá: Universidad Santo.
- Coutu, Diane. 2002. "How resilience works". *Harvard business review,* 80(5): 46-56.
- Creswell, John W. 2007. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches*. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Crinson, I, M Leontowitsch and G Morgan. 2016. "The Principles of Qualitative Methods". *healthknowledge.org,* https://www.healthknowledge.org.uk/public-health-textbook/research-methods/1d-qualitative-methods/section2-theoretical-methodological-issues-research, November 14th, 2022.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. 1956. *The Second Sex.* London: Lowe & Brydone (printers) Ltd.[e-book]
- De Langen, Agnes Ntlaletse. 2009. *Nurses' opinion of pain in patients who suffer from dementia.* [Master Thesis]. Pretoria: University of South Africa, http://hdl.handle.net/10500/1796, March 25th, 2021.
- Deiana, Manuela. 2009. "Improving Women's Rights in Morocco: Lights and Shadows of the New Family Code (Moudawana)". *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences,* 3(11): 69-80.
- Demnati, Meryam. 2013. "المرأة الأمازيغية والظلم المزدوج [The Amazigh woman and the double-edged injustice]". *Hespress,* http://www.hespress.com/writers/74176.html, April 17th, 2019.
- Demnati, Meryam. 2018. "Entrevista a Meryam Demnati. III Foro Euro-Amazigh". *Fundación Euroárabe,* [Youtube Interview], https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JBj_r1umW6w, April 18th, 2019.
- Díez Jorge, María Elena and Cándida Martínez López. 2023. *Mujeres y discursos de paz en la historia*. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Díez Jorge, María Elena and María Dolores Mirón Pérez. 2004. "Una paz femenina". In *Manual de Paz y Conflictos*, eds. Beatriz Molina Rueda and Francisco Muñoz. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

- Doucet, Andrea and Natasha Mauthner. 2006. "Feminist methodologies and epistemologies". In *Handbook of 21st Century Sociology*, ed. Clifton Bryant and Dennis Peck. Thousand Oaks.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 2004. "Agency in language". In *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Duskie, Paige. 2019. "Structural Violence, Intersectionality and Indigenous Women in Morocco". https://scholar.google.es/scholar?q=Structural+Violence,+Intersectionality+and+Indigenous+Women+in+Morocco&hl=en&as_sdt=0&as_vis=1&oi=scholart, January30th, 2022.
- Easwaramoorthy, Muthuswamy, and Fataneh, Zarinpoush. 2006. "Interviewing for research". *Canada Volunteerism Initiative*, 1-2.
- Eddouada, Souad, and Renata Pepicelli. 2010. "Maroc: vers un féminisme islamique d'État". *Critique internationale*, 1: 87-100.
- Eisenberg, Ann Marie. 2011. "Law on the books vs. law in action: Under-enforcement of Morocco's reformed 2004 family law, the Moudawana". *Cornell Law Library Prize for Exemplary Student Research Papers*, 693-728.
- El Aissati, Abderrahman. 2005. "A socio-historical perspective on the amazigh (berber) cultural movement in north africa recent developments in the berber cultural revival". *Afrika Focus, 18(1-2):59-72.*
- El Aissi, Hanane. 2015. *The Rise of Feminist Consciousness in Morocco: A Study of the Moroccan Feminine/ Feminist Discourse*. [PhD Dissertation]. Rabat: Mohammed V University.
- El Aissi, Hanane. 2019. "The 2011 Constitution: The Moroccan amazigh Woman's Empowerment". *Rivista Sinestesie*. 26: 8-14.
- El Fattah, Fatima Ezzahraa. 2021. "The Orthodox Dichotomy between the Secular and Islamic Feminisms in Moroccan Young Activists". *Journal of Gender, Culture and Society*, 1(1): 14-21.
- El Haitami, Meriem. 2016. "Islamist feminism in Morocco:(Re) defining the political sphere". *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 37(3): 74-91.
- El Kirat El Allame, Yamina and Yassine Boussagui. 2018. "Amazigh in Morocco". In *Heritage Language Policies around the World*. ed. Corinne A. Seals and Sheena Shah, 111-127. New York: Routledge.
- Elebute, Ayo, and Ese, Odokuma. 2016. "Arts and crafts as veritable sources of economic empowerment for marginalized people in Nigeria". *International Journal of Development and Economic Sustainability*, 4(3):11-24.
- Elliott, Katja Žvan. 2009. "Reforming the Moroccan Personal Status Code: A Revolution for Whom?". *Mediterranean Politics,* 14(2): 213-227.
- Eltahawy, Mona. 2019. *The Seven Necessary Sins for Women and Girls.* Boston: Beacon Press.[e-book]
- Eltaweel, Hend. n.d. "Understanding the 2004 Moroccan Family Code (Moudawana)". *Acdemmia.edu,*https://www.academia.edu/10303476/Understanding_the_2004_Moroccan_Family_Code_Moudawana_, May 18th, 2019.
- Ennaji, Moha and Fatima Sadiqi. 2020. "Rerthinking islam and secularism in the amazigh culture". In *Managing Cultural Diversity in the Mediterranean Region*, ed. Moha Ennaji, 39-48. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. [e-book]
- Ennaji, Moha. 1988. "Language Planning in Morocco and Changes in Arabic". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 74:9-39.
- Ennaji, Moha. 1999. "Language and ideology: Evidence from media discourse in Morocco". *Social Dynamics*, 25(1): 150-161.

- Ennaji, Moha. 2005. *Multilingualism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco*. New York: Springer.
- Ennaji, Moha. 2009. "Multiculturalism, citizenship, and education in Morocco". *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, 14(1): 5-26.
- Ennaji, Moha. 2016a. "Women, gender, and politics in Morocco". *Social Sciences*, 5(4): 75.
- Ennaji, Moha. 2016b. "Secular and Islamic feminist movements in Morocco: contentions, achievements and challenges". In *Moroccan feminisms: new perspectives*, ed. Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges, 29-50. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Ennaji, Moha. 2018a. "Morocco's Inheritance Laws Are Hurting Women and Must Be Reformed". *The Conversation.* https://theconversation.com/moroccos-inheritance-laws-are-hurting-women-and-must-be-reformed-95446, December 17th, 2021.
- Ennaji, Moha. 2018b. "Conquest and contact in North African Lnaguges". In *Tracing Languages Movement in Africa*, ed. Erika A. Albaugh and Kathryn M. De luna, 121-142. Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press. [e-book]
- Ennaji, Moha. 2020a. "The Amazigh Movement in Morocco: From Cultural to Political Rights". In *Managing Cultural Diversity in the Mediterranean Region*, ed. Moha Ennaji, 13-28. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ennaji, Moha. 2020b. "Mernissi's impact on Islamic feminism: a critique of the religious approach". *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 49(4):629-651.
- Escrig Sos, María Lidón. 2019. *Interculturalidad, salud y convivencia. Saberes, discursos y prácticas de la inmigración marroquí en Castellón*. Castelló: Universitat Jaume I.
- Euben, Roxanne L. and Muhammad Qasim Zaman. 2009. "Nadia Yassine". In *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden*, ed. Roxanne L Euben. and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, 302-311. Princeton: Princeton University Press.[e-book]
- Fasiki, Zainab. 2019. *Hshouma: corps et sexulate au Maroc*. France: Massot editions.
- Fasiki. Zainb. 2022. "كيفاش نرسمو شي حاجة حشومة: زينب فاسيكي [Zeinab Fasiki: How do we draw something hshouma?]". [YouTube Video], https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LfWfJpDGbaQ, June 6th 2022.
- Fassih, Anas. 2014. "Females' drop-out of school: a gender discrimination and inequality". *Morocco World News*, https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2014/01/121148/females-drop-out-of-school-a-gendre-discrimination-and-inequality/, April 19th, 2019.
- Fearon, James. 1999. "What is identity.as we now use the word?". [Unpublished manuscript]. California: Stanford University.
- Feliu, Laura. 2012. "Feminism, Gender Inequality and the Reform of the Mudawana in Morocco". *Scientific Journal of Humanistic Studies*, 4(6): 101-111.
- Felix and Loretta Leu. 2020. *Berber Tattooing in Morocco's Middle Atlas.* Ireland: Seed Press.
- Fischer, Sarah. n.d. "Amazigh Legitimacy through Language in Morocco". *Topical Review Digest: Human Rights in the Middle East & North Africa*, https://www.du.edu/korbel/hrhw/researchdigest/mena/Morocco.pdf, April 20th, 2019.
- Flick, Uwe, Ernst von Kardorff and Ines Steinke. 2004. *A companion to qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Fox, Nick. 2009. "Using interviews in a research project". *The NIHR RDS for the East Midlands/Yorkshire & the Humber*, 26.
- Gagliardi, Silvia. 2017. "Violence against women: the stark reality behind Morocco's human rights progress". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 23(4): 569-590.

- Gagliardi, Silvia. 2019. "Indigenous peoples' rights in Morocco: subaltern narratives by Amazigh women". *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 23(1-2): 281-296.
- Gagliardi, Silvia. 2021. *Minority Rights, Feminism and International Law: Voices of Amazigh Women in Morocco*. New York: Routledge.
- Galtung, Johan. 1967. *Theories of peace a Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking.* Oslo: International Peace Research Institute.[e-book]
- Galtung, Johan. 1990. "Cultural Violence". *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3): 291-305.
- Galtung, Johan. 1996. *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and Conflict. Development and Civilization.* Oslo: Prio Sage Publications.[e-book]
- García González, Dora Elvira. 2014. "Hacia una prospectiva de paz a partir del realismo de la violencia: una construcción desde la imaginación ética". In *Trascender la violencia. Críticas y propuestas interdisciplinarias para Construir la Paz*, ed. Dora Elvira García González, 12-15. Mexico D.F.: Porrúa.
- García González, Dora Elvira. 2018. "Apuntalar la paz como valor ético fundamental y altura del pensamiento". In *Enfoques contemporáneos para el estudio de la paz*, ed. Dora Elvira García González, 7-34. Puebla: Resolución Creativa de Conflictos RECRECOM SC.
- Gélard, Marie-Luce. 2006. "Une cuiller à pot pour demander la pluie Analyse de rituels nord-africains contemporains". *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 81-102 https://doi.org/10.4000/africanistes.192, June 17th, 2023.
- Gill, Paul, Kate Stewart, Elizabeth Treasure, and Barbara Chadwick. 2008. "Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups". *British dental journal*, 204(6): 291-295.
- Girls Not Brides. 2013. "a teacher's journey to keep girls in school and avoid child marriage in morocco". *Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage,* https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/mohamad-keeping-girls-school-avoid-child-marriage-morocco/, April 18th, 2019.
- Girls Not Brides. 2020. "About child marriage". *Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage*. https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/about-child-marriage/, June 7th, 2022.
- Glacier, Osire. 2014. "Moroccan Feminism as Universal Feminism: African Voices of the Feminist Struggle, 1930-1994". In *African Voices of the Global Past*, ed. Trevor R. Getz, 169-204. London: Taylor & Francis. [e-book]
- Gomes, Alberto. 2018. "Lessons from the Margin". *Organicom,* 15(28): 149-166.
- Gray, Doris. 2013. *Beyond feminism and Islamism: Gender and equality in North Africa*. London: Tauris & Co Ltd.[e-book]
- Green, Joyce. 2007. "Taking Account of Aboriginal Feminism". In *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, ed. Joycee Green, 20-32. Halifax N.S: Fernwood Publishing.
- Guerch, Keltouma. 2015. "Moroccan rural Amazigh women: the oppressed of the oppressed". A*cademia.edu,*https://www.academia.edu/25065591/Moroccan_rural_Amazigh_women_The_oppressed_of_the_oppressed_1, April 01st, 2019.
- Guessous, Nadia. 2011. *Genealogies of feminism: leftist feminist subjectivity in the wake of the Islamic revival in contemporary Morocco*. [PhD Dissertation]. New York: Columbia University.
- Guessous, Nadia. 2020. "Feminist Blind Spots and the Affect of Secularity: Disorienting the Discourse of the Veil in Contemporary Morocco". *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 45(3):605-628.

- Haessly, Jacqueline. 2009. "Promoting a culture of peace". *Peace, Literature, and Art-Volume I.* 289.
- Harding, Sandra. 1991. *Whose Science? Whose knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives.* New York: Cornell University Press. [e-book]
- Harper, Douglas R. 2000. *Etymonline - Online Etymology Dictionary.* https://www.etymonline.com, December 9th, 2021.
- Harrak, Fatima. 2009 "The history and significance of the New Moroccan family code". *Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa (ISITA)*, Working Paper Series.
- Harris, Ian. 2006. "Introduction Peace Studies at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century". In *Global Directory of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution Programs*, ed. Ian Harris and Amy Lynne Shuster. San Francisco: Peace and Justice Studies Association.
- Hart, David M. 1981. *Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons: the Socio-Political organizations of the Ait Atta of Southern Morocco.* Whitstable Kent:Whitstable Litho Ltd. ISBN: 0906559073
- Hart, David M. 1997. "The Berber Dahir of 1930 in Colonial Morocco: then and now (1930-1996)". *The Journal of North African Studies,* 2(2): 11-33.
- Hart, David M. 1999. "Scratch a Moroccan, find a Berber". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 4(2): 23-26.
- Haut Commissariat au Plan. 2014. "Caractéristiques Démographiques et Socio-Economiques: Region Draa-Tafilalet". *Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat de 2014, https://www.hcp.ma/draa-tafilalet/RGPH-2014_r4.html?start=1,* June 2nd, 2021.
- Haut Commissariat au Plan. 2015. "Présentation de la région de Drâa Tafilalet". https://www.hcp.ma/draa-tafilalet/Presentation-de-la-region-de-Draa-Tafilalet_a4.html?com#comments, June 2nd, 2021
- Haut Commissariat au Plan. 2018. "Monograpghie Regionale 2016 Direction Regionale De Draa-Tafilalet". https://www.hcp.ma/draa-tafilalet/Monographie-Regionale-de-Draa-Tafilalet-2016_a43.html, June 2nd, 2021.
- Herrero Rico, Sofía. 2021a. "Peace education in times of Covid-19: rethinking other kid of logic from the imagination, fantasy, creativity and utopia". In *Creativity. A Force to Innovation*, ed. Pooja Jain, 3-22. London: IntechOpen.
- Herrero Rico, Sofía. 2021b. "La Educación para la Paz en tiempos de la Covid-19: repensar otras lógicas desde la imaginación, la fantasía, la creatividad y la utopía", *Araucaria. Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política, Humanidades y Relaciones Internacionales*, 23(48), 325-348.
- Hesová, Zora. 2019. "Secular, Islamic or Muslim feminism? The Place of Religion in Women's Perspectives on Equality in Islam". *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research*, 20(2): 26–46.
- Hoffman, Katherine. 2007. *We share walls: Language. land and gender in Berber Morocco.* Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.[e-book]
- Holm, Gunilla. 2014. "Photography as a Research Method". In *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research,* ed. Patricia Leavy, 380-402. Oxford: Oxford University Press.[e-book]
- Honneth, Axel. 1995. *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts.* Great Britain: Polity Press.[e-book]
- Houssni, Mhammad, Mohamed El Mahroussi, Hasnae Ben Sbih, Mohamed Kadiri, and Mohammed Ater. 2020. "Agriculture traditionnelle et agrodiversité dans les oasis du Sud du Maroc: cas des oasis de la région Drâa-Tafilalet". *Bari-Chania-Montpellier-Zaragoza*, 82-88.

- ICAN. 2015. "Morocco's Dilemma: Rights and Reform or Closure and Conservatism?". *International Civil Society Action Network*, (13): 1-12.
- Idrissi Noury, Ahmed. 2017. "Lifting Moroccans Out of Poverty". *Fair Observer,* https://www.fairobserver.com/world-news/poverty-morocco-world-news-sustainable-development-34540/, April 18th, 2019.
- Jiménez Bautista, Francisco. 2018. "Cartografía de paces y Cultura de paz". In *Temas actuales para la promoción de la Cultura de paz, el estudio de los conflictos y el desarrollo*, coord. Gómez Collado and Martha Esthela, 13-34. UAEM: Toluca.
- Joseph, Suad. 1996. "Patriarchy and Development in the Arab World". *Gender and Development*, 4(2): 14-19.
- Kaplan, Robert. 1982. "In Morocco A Berber Face Hides Beneath An Arab Mask". *New York Times,* https://www.nytimes.com/1982/06/06/weekinreview/in-morocco-a-berber-face-hides-beneath-an-arab-mask.html, May 24th, 2019.
- Kasraoui, Safaa. 2018. "Inheritance Debate and the Call for Gender Equality Persist in Morocco". *Morocco World News, https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2018/04/244028/inheritance-debate-call-gender-equality-persist-morocco.* December 17th, 2021.
- Kesbi, Abdelaziz. 2005. "Islamization and Arabization in Morocco". *Academia.edu,* https://www.academia.edu/7519462/Islamization_and_Arabization_in_Morocco, May 23rd, 2019.
- Kosec, Katrina, Akramov Kamiljon T, Mirkasimov,Bakhrom, and Song Jie. 2018. *Aspirations and women's empowerment: Evidence from Kyrgyzstan.* [IFPRI Discussion Paper 1786]. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute. [online] http://ebrary.ifpri.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15738coll2/id/133033, June 13th, 2022.
- Laghssais, Bochra and Irene Comins Mingol. 2021a. "Beyond Vulnerability and Adversities: Amazigh Women's Agency and Empowerment in Morocco". *Journal of north Africa studies*. 1-21.
- Laghssais, Bochra and Irene Comins Mingol. 2021b. "¿Vulnerabilidad o agencia? Resistencias y empoderamientos de las mujeres indígenas en Marruecos", *En-Claves del Pensamiento,* 30.
- Laghssais, Bochra. 2021a. "Voces desde el margen: luchas de mujeres Amazigh entre necesidades y derechos en Marruecos". In *Investigació I Gènere A La Universitat Jaume I 2020, coord.* Mercedes Alcañiz Moscardó. IV Congreso Investigación y Género, 69-79. Castelló: Universitat Jaume I. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.6035/Humanitats.2021.65
- Laghssais, Bochra. 2021b. "Manifestation of Empowerment in Mernissi's Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood". In *Emergents 2: Les societats diverses. Mirades interdisciplinàries des de les Ciències Humanes i Socials,* ed. Francisco Javier Vellón and Patricia Salazar, 91-105. Castelló: Universitat Jaume I.
- Laghssais, Bochra. 2022. "Feminist Daughters with Military Fathers: The Forgotten Legacy of Rural Berber Men". [Book Review], *Journal of Feminist Research Gatha Cognition*, 6(1), 39-41.
- Laghssais, Bochra. 2023. "Peace studies in intersection with gender: a theoretical overview". In *La família humana Perspectives multidisciplinàries de la investigació en Ciències Humanes i Socials*, ed. Lucía Bellés-Calvera and María Pallarés-Renau, 37-50. Castelló: Universitat Jaume I. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.6035/Emergents.4
- Lamas, Marta. 2006. *Feminismo. Transmisiones y retransmisiones*. Mexico D.F.: Taurus.
- Lamrabet, Asma. n.d. "Muslim Women's Veil, Between The Colonial Ideology And Traditionalist Islamic Ideology: A Decolonized Vision". http://www.asma-

lamrabet.com/articles/muslim-women-s-veil-between-the-colonial-ideology-and-traditionalist-islamic-ideology-a-decolonized-vision/, April 26th, 2019.

- Layachi, Azzedine. 2005. "The Berbers in Algeria: Politicized Ethnicity and Ethnicized Politics". In *Nationalism and Minority identities in Islamic societies,* ed. Shatzmiller Maya, 195-228. Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press. [e-book]

- Maalouf, Amin. 1998. "Les identité meurtriè [Deadly Identities]". Al Jadid, 4(25). https://www.aljadid.com/content/deadly-identities. September 29th, 2022.

- Mackenzie, Catriona, Wendy Rogers and Susan Dodds. 2014. "Introduction: what is vulnerability. and why does it matter for moral theory?". In *Vulnerability New Essays in Ethics and Feminist Philosophy*, ed. Catriona Mackenzie, Wendy Rogers and Susan Dodds, 1-27. New York: Oxford University Press. [e-book]

- Maddy Weitzman, Bruce. 2001. "Contested identities: Berbers, 'Berberism' and the state in North Africa". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 6(3): 23-47.

- Maddy Weitzman, Bruce. 2011. *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to the North African States*. Austin: University of Texas Press. [e-book]

- Maddy Weitzman, Bruce. 2012. "Arabization and Its Discontents: The Rise of the Amazigh Movement in North Africa". *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 3(2): 109–135.

- Maddy Weitzman, Bruce. 2017. "Berber and nation -state in North Africa". *Oxford Research Encyclopedias,*http://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acreore9780190277734-e-105, March 23rd, 2019.

- Magallón, Portolés Carmen. 2001. "El pensamiento maternal: Una epistemología feminista para una cultura de paz". In *La paz imperfecta*, ed. Francisco Muñoz, 123-141. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

- Magallón, Portolés Carmen. 2012. "Representaciones. roles. y resistencias. de las mujeres en contextos de violencia". *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais,* 96(3): 9-30.

- Makoko, Reboetsoe Rosemary. 2012. *Examining women's experiences of an economic empowerment project: a case study of women participants in Teya-teyaneng craft projects of Berea District*. [Master dissertation] Howard College Campus.

- Malchiodi, Beth. 2008. "Assessing the Impact of the 2004 Moudawana on Women's Rights in Morocco". *Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Curriculum Project*, 1- 46.

- Malema, D.R, and S. Naidoo. 2017. "Spaces for the empowerment of women: Rural arts and crafts projects". *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisur.* 6(2): 1-18.

- Mark, Joshua. 2018. "Kahina". *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, May 10th, 2019.

- Martínez Guzmán, Vicent and Francisco Muñoz. 2004. "Investigación para la paz". In *Enciclopedia de paz y conflictos*, ed. Mario López Martínez, 209-211. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

- Martínez Guzmán, Vicent, Irene Comins Mingol, and Sonia París Albert. 2009. "La nueva agenda de la filosofía para el siglo XXI: los estudios para la paz". *Convergencia. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 16: 91-114.

- Martínez Guzmán, Vicent. 2001. *Filosofía para hacer las paces*. Barcelona: Icaria.[e-book]

- Martínez Guzmán, Vicent. 2005a. *Podemos hacer las paces: Reflexiones éticas tras el 11-S y el 11-M*. Bilbao: Desclée De Brouwer.[e-book]

- Martínez Guzmán, Vicent. 2005b. "Filosofía e investigación para la paz". *Tiempo de Paz,*78: 77-90. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/166117, April 20th, 2022.

- Masbah, Mohammed. 2014. "Islamist and secular forces in Morocco: not a zero-sum game". *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/comments/2014C51_msb.pdf, April 4th, 2022.
- Mcgee, Matthew. 2018. "Girls' Education in Morocco: The Long Road To Progress". *The Borgen Project*, *https://borgenproject.org/girls-education-in-morocco/,* April 16th, 2019.
- McGranahan Carole and Uzma Z. Rizvi. 2016. "Decolonizing Anthropology". *Savage Minds*, https://savageminds.org/2016/04/19/decolonizing-anthropology/, April 8th, 2021.
- McNair, Ruth, Angela Taft and Kelsey Hegarty. 2008. "Using reflexivity to enhance in-depth interviewing skills for the clinician researcher". *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 8(1): 1-6.
- Mendia Azkue, Irantzu. 2014. *La división sexual del trabajo por la paz*. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Mernissi, Fatima. 1994. *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood.* New York: Perseus Books.
- Merriam-Webster. 2019. "Harem definition". *Merriam-Webster.com*, April 19th, 2019.
- Metz, Helen Chapan. 1994. "The Arabization Movement". In *Algeria: A Country Study*, ed. Metz Helen Chapan, 220-221. Washington D.C: GPO for the Library of Congress.
- Miles, Matthew and Michael, Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE publications.[e-book]
- Millar, Gearoid. 2018. "Conclusion: The Constructive Tension of Interdisciplinary Endeavours". In *Ethnographic Peace Research Approaches and Tensions Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies*, ed. Gearoid Millar, 253-273. Manchester: University of Manchester. [e-book].
- Miller, Christopher. 2005. *A glossary of terms and concepts in peace and conflict studies,* ed. Mary King. University for Peace. ISBN 9977-925-36-4. [e-book]
- Mnouer, Mounia. 2021. "ⵜⵉⵜⵍⵓⵚⵜ ⵥ ⵥⵛⵊⵠⵗⵓ ⵥⵖⵢⵉⵇⵓ। The Imazighen of Morocco and the Diaspora on Facebook". In *Indigenous Peoples Rise Up: The Global Ascendency of Social Media Activism,* ed. Bronwyn Carlson and Jeff Berglund, 80-92. Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey.[e-book]
- Monography of Alnif Commune 2014, June 12th, 2021.
- Morocco's Constitution of 2011. 2012. *constituteproject.org*, https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf, April 02nd, 2019.
- Muñoz Francisco and Beatriz Molina Rueda. 2010. "Una Cultura de Paz compleja y conflictiva. La búsqueda de equilibrios dinámicos". *Revista de Paz y Conflictos*, (3): 44-61.
- Muñoz, Francisco and Javier Rodríguez Alcázar. 2004. "Agendas de la Paz". *Manual de paz y conflictos*. 426-444.
- Muñoz, Francisco. 2001. *La paz imperfecta*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Muñoz, Francisco. 2004. "Paz Imperfecta". In *Enciclopedia de Paz y Conflictos*, ed. López Martínez Mario, 898-900. Spain: Universidad de Granada.
- Munson, Jr Henry. 1993. "Rethinking Gellner's Segmentary Analysis of Morocco's Ait Atta". *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 28(2), 267-280.
- Naaim, El Houssaine. 2015. "Amazigh Civilization: A Lesson in How to Treat Women". *Morocco World News,* https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2015/02/149995/amazigh-civilization-lesson-treat-women/, May 9th, 2019.
- Naji, Myriem. 2007. *Weaving and the value of carpets: female invisible labour and male marketing in Southern Morocco*. [Ph.D. Dissertation]. London: University of London.

- Naji, Myriem. 2012. "Learning to weave the threads of honor: Understanding the value of female schooling in southern Morocco". *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 43(4): 372-384.
- Naqrachi, Anissa. 2014. "Chapter Sixteen: Early Marriage in Morocco". In *A New Paradigm: Perspectives on the Changing Mediterranean*, ed. Toperich Sasha and Andrew J. Mullins, 152-155. Washington D.C: Center for Transatlantic Relations.
- Newbury, Darren. 2001. "Diaries and fieldnotes in the research process". *Research issues in art design and media*, 1(1): 1-17.
- Ouchtou, Siham. 2012. "Interview with Morocco's Minister Bassima Hakkaoui". *Qantara*, https://en.qantara.de/content/interview-with-moroccos-minister-bassima-hakkaoui-some-politicians-see-women-as-intruders, February 23rd, 2022.
- Outaleb, Fatima. and Fatima Sadiqi. 2021. "The 2004 Moroccan Family Law (Moudawana): Home-grown Islamic Feminism with Potential to Grow". *Al-Raida*, 44(2): 112 - 124.
- Oxaal, Zoe and Sally Baden. 1997. "Gender and Empowerment Definitions: Approaches and Implications for Policy". *Brighton: BRIDGE. Development and Gender*, 40, April19th. 2017.
- Palmer, Cathryne and Amanda, Bolderston. 2006. "A brief introduction to qualitative research". *Canadian Journal of Medical Radiation Technology*, 37(1): 16-19.
- París Albert, Sonia. 2010. "Mutual Recognition as a Means of Peaceful Conflict Transformation". *Journal of Conflictology*, 1(2): 1-8.
- París Albert, Sonia. 2013. "Philosophy, Recognition, and Indignation". *Peace Review*, 25(3): 336-342.
- Perry, Wendy, Olivia Rappe, Ali Boulhaoua, Latifa Hassan Loux, Youness Elhouss, Hichame Ait Ahssain, Zohra Ait Barich, Hasna Akhiyat, Tayeb Amine Aznague and Sahar Hraïd. 2019. "Argan oil and the question of empowerment in rural Morocco". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 24(5): 830-859.
- Peyron, Michael. 2021. *The Berbers of Morocco: A History of Resistance*. Great Britain: Bloomsbury Publishing. [e-book]
- POMED. 2011. "Press Kit June 2011". *Project of Middle East Democracy,* https://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Press_Kit_June2011.pdf, April 1st, 2019.
- Primeau, Loree A. 2003. "Reflections on self in qualitative research: Stories of family". *The American journal of occupational therapy*, 57(1): 9-16.
- Quran. 2016. "Surah An-Nisa [Chapter Women]". *Sahih International,* https://quran.com/4/3, June 3rd, 2019.
- Rabbidge, Michael. 2017. "Embracing reflexivity: The importance of not hiding the mess". *Tesol Quarterly*, 51(4): 961-971.
- Radlwimmer, Romana. 2017. "Decolonization and Gender: Perspectives on Literatures and Cultures of the Americas". *Gender a výzkum / Gender and Research*, 18(2): 16–34.
- Rapp, Laurel. 2008. "The Challenges and Opportunities Moroccan Islamist Movements Pose to Women's Political Participation". *Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy.*
- Rddad. Sadik. 2020. "Prohibited Love; Myth and Reality in Imilchil". *Culture Vultures*. https://culturevultures.ma/ [Lecture delivered on Monday 23rd of November 2020].
- Redouane, Rabia. 1998. "Arabisation in the Moroccan Educational System: Problems and Prospects". *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 11(2):195–203.
- Rhouni, Raja. 2010. *Secular and Islamic feminist critiques in the work of Fatima Mernissi*. Leiden: Brill. [e-book]

- Rhouni, Raja. 2016. "Decolonizing feminism a look at Fatema Mernissi's work and its legacy". In *Moroccan feminisms: new perspectives*, ed. Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges, 129-144. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Rodriguez, Maria. 2017. "Five Facts About Women's Education in Morocco". *The Borgen Project*, https://borgenproject.org/womens-education-in-morocco/, April 18th, 2019.
- Ronald, Margaret and Hamoumi Hamid. 2012. "الحركة الأمازيغية في المغرب : دفاع عن هوية ثقافية، مطالبة بحق الأقليات أم بديل سياسي؟ [the Amazigh Movement in Morocco: between cultural identity, minority rights, or a political alternative?]". *Insaniyat,* DOI:10.4000/insaniyat.8374, March 25th, 2019.
- Rossi-Doria, Daniele. 2016. "'Le Printemps Démocratique': Amazigh Activism in the February 20 Movement in Southern Morocco". *Contemporary Levant*, 1(1): 64-75.
- Ryadi, Khadija. 2021. "El movimiento feminista en Marruecos: recorrido y perspectivas". *Sinpermiso,* https://sosracismo.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Islamofobia-y-género.-SOS-Racismo.pdf, March 12th, 2022.
- Sadiqi, Fatima and Ennaji Moha. 2004. "The impact of male migration from Morocco to Europe on women: A gender approach". *Finisterra,* 39(77).
- Sadiqi, Fatima and Heidemarie Winkel. 2022. "Politicizations of religion in Marocco and Germany. Between fundamentalist contestations and feminist renegotiations". In *Global Contestations of Gender Rights*, ed. Alexandra Scheele, Julia Roth, Heidemarie Winkel, 287-306. Germany: Bielefeld University Press. [e-book]
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2003. *Women, Gender, and Language in Morocco.* Boston: Brill.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2007. "The Role of Moroccan Women in Preserving Amazigh Language and Culture". *Museum International*, 59(4): 26-33.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2012. "Oral Knowledge in Berber Women's Expressions of the Sacred". *Global South Project Cornell University*, https://globalsouthproject.cornell.edu/oral-knowledge-in-berber-womensexpressions-of-the-sacred%, May 10th, 2019.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2013a. "Berber women's oral knowledge". In *Women and Knowledge in the Mediterranean*, ed. Fatima Sadiqi, 108-143. London: Routledge.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2013b. "Women's NGOs and the Struggle for Democracy in Morocco". In *Non-State Actors in the Middle East*, ed. Galia Golan and Walid Salem, 42-53. London: Routledge.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2014. *Moroccan Feminist Discourses*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.[e-book]
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2016a. "Centrality of Women's Movements in the Post-revolution Dynamics in North Africa". In *Women's Movements in Post- 'Arab Spring' North Africa,* ed. Fatima Sadiqi, 1-12. Fez: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2016b. "An assessment of today's Moroccan Feminist Movement (1946-2014)". In *Moroccan feminisms: new perspectives*, ed. Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges, 51-76. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2016c. "Emerging Amazigh Feminist Nongovernmental Organizations". *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 12(1): 122-125.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2017a. "Navigating the Berber culture/Islamic feminism intersection". *Journal of World Philosophies*, 2(2): 146–156.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2017b. "The Moroccan Feminist Movement (1946-2014)". In *Women's activism in Africa: struggles for rights and representation*, ed. Badri Balghis and Tripp Aili Mari, 97-120. London: Zed Books Ltd.[e-book]

- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2020. "A History of the Amazigh Woman". In In *Managing Cultural Diversity in the Mediterranean Region*, ed. Moha Ennaji, 27-38. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2021a. "Language and gender in North Africa: contextualising an emerging discipline". *Gender & Language*, 15(4): 591–602.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2021b. *Feminist daughters with miliary fathers: the forgotten legacy of Rural Berber Men.* New Jersey: The Red Sea Press.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2022. "Constructing North Africa: the role of Berber women". In *Women and Resistance in the Maghreb*, ed. Nabil Boudraa and Joseph Ohmann Krause, 53-64. New York: Routledge.
- Sakti,Victoria and Anne-Marie Reynaud. 2018. "Understanding Reconciliation Through Reflexive Practice: Ethnographic Examples from Canada and Timor-Leste". In *Ethnographic Peace Research Approaches and Tensions,* ed. Gearoid Millar, 159-180. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen.
- Salia, Rachel. 2011. "Reflections on a Reform: Inside the Moroccan Family Code". [Bacholar of Arts Dissertation], New York: Columbia University, https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D8CR61B6, May 17th, 2019.
- Salime, Zakia. 2011. *Between Feminism and Islam: Human Rights and Sharia Law in Morocco*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.[e-book]
- Salime, Zakia. 2012. "A new feminism? Gender dynamics in Morocco's February 20th Movement". *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 13(5): 101-114.
- Sancho Moreno, Magdalena. 2020. *Maternajes (imperfectos) para hacer las paces.* [Thesis Doctoral]. Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I.
- Sandberg, Eve, and Kenza Aqertit. 2014. *Moroccan women, activists, and gender politics: An institutional analysis.* London: Lexington Books.[e-book]
- Santos, Boaventura De Sousa and Maria Paula Meneses. 2020. "Introduction: Epistemologies of the South—Giving Voice to the Diversity of the South". In *Knowledges born in the struggle: Constructing the epistemologies of the Global South*, ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Maria Paula Meneses, *xvii-1.* New York: Routledge. [e-book]
- Santos, Boaventura De Sousa, Joiio Arriscado Nunes, and Maria Paula Meneses. 2007. "Introduction: Opening Up the Canon of Knowledge and Recognition of Difference". In *Another knowledge is possible: Beyond northern epistemologies*, ed. Boaventura De Sousa Santos, xx-ixii. London and New York: Verso Books.[e-book]
- Santos, Boaventura De Sousa. 2014. *Epistemologies of the South: justice against epistemicide.* New York: Routledge.
- Santos, Boaventura De Sousa. 2018. *The end of the cognitive empire: the coming of age of epistemologies of the South.* The United States of America: Duke University Press. [e-book]
- Schaefer Davis, Susan, and Amina Yabis. 2016. "Moroccan Feminism at the Grassroots Level". In *Moroccan Feminism: New Perspectives*, ed. Ennaji Moha, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges, 77-94. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Schaefer Davis, Susan. 2004. "Women weavers online: rural Moroccan women on the internet". *Gender technology and development*, 8(1): 53-74.
- Schaefer Davis, Susan. 2007. "Empowering women weavers? the internet in rural morocco". *Information Technologies & International Development,*4(2): 17-23.
- Schaefer Davis, Susan. 2018. *Women Artisans of Morocco: Their Stories. Their Lives*. Coloarado: Thrumps books.

- Schaefer Davis, Susan. 2020. "Taboo Topics? Women. Adolescents and Artisans". *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 55(3):411-429.
- Schatzman, Leonard, and Anselm L. Strauss. 1973. *Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Scott, Joan W. 1996. "El género: Una categoría útil para el análisis histórico". In *El género: La construccion cultural de la diferencia sexual*, coord. Marta Lamas, 265-302. Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de México.
- Semlali, Hassan. 2010. "The Morocco Country Case Study: Positive Practice Environments: Morocco Case Study: Health Care Environments in Morocco". *World Health Organization,* https://www.who.int/workforcealliance/knowledge/resources/ppemorocco/en/, April 19th, 2019.
- Sen, Amartya. 2001. *Development as freedom.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.[e-book]
- Skalli, Loubna H. 2001. "Women and poverty in Morocco: The many faces of social exclusion". *Feminist review,* 69(1): 73-89.
- Skounti, Ahmed. 2012. *Le Sang & le Sol Nomadisme et sédentarisation au Maroc,* 281–296. Rabat: Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe, https://ahmedskounti.weebly.com/uploads/7/4/0/8/7408619/le_sang_et_le_sol._nomadisme_et_sdentarisation_au_maroc.pdf [e-book]
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd.[e-book]
- Sorensen, Juliet. 2016. "Why Girls' Education in Morocco Needs More than Money". *womensenews,* https://womensenews.org/2016/07/why-girls-education-in-morocco-needs-more-than-money/, April 18th, 2019.
- Spivak, Gayatri. 1988. "Can the subaltern speak?". In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Nelson Cary and Lawrence Grossberg, 271-313. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education. [e-book].
- Strengholt, Jose Maria. 2009. "Arabization policies in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia". https://strengholt.info/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Arabization-Policies-in-Morocco-Algeria-and-Tunisia.pdf, December 10th, 2021.
- Suárez Collado, Ángela. 2013. "The Amazigh movement in Morocco: New generations, new references of mobilization and new forms of opposition". *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, 6(1): 55-74.
- Symons, Emma-Kate. 2016. "Morocco's indigenous Amazigh women unite against Islamists and Arab elites". *Womenintheworld.com,* https://womenintheworld.com/2016/03/24/matriarchal-traditions-in-north-africa-under-threat-from-islamists-and-arab-elites/, May 03rd, 2019.
- Taskin, Khadija. 2013. "المرأة الأمازيغية في المغرب: بين التهميش وضياع الحقوق [Amazigh Women between Marginalization and loss of rights]". *Hespress*, https://www.hespress.com/tamazight/74079.html, April 19th, 2019.
- The Moroccan Family Code Moudawana. 2004.[An unofficial English translation of the original Arabic text], *Human Rights Education Associates (HREA),* http://www.hrea.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Moudawana.pdf, June 7th, 2022.
- Tilmatine, Mohand. 2015. "Arabization and linguistic domination: Berber and Arabic in the North of Africa". *Language Empires in Comparative Perspective. De Gruyter*, 1-16.
- Timjadin, Fatima. 2012. "اليوم العالمي للمرأة: هل من التفاتة حقيقية للمرأة الامازيغية؟ [World Women's Day: Is there a real attitude for Amazigh women?]". *Hespress,* https://www.hespress.com/tamazight/49084.html?print, May 02nd, 2019.

- Tizza, Wafaa and Said Boujrouf. 2014. "Cooperatives to support women's emancipation in Morocco's High Atlas Mountains". In *Tourism in Mountain Regions Hopes, Fears and Realities,* 40-41. Department of Geography and Environment: University of Geneva.

- Trew, Bel. 2018. "Moroccan police arrest 12 over alleged gang rape of teenage girl 'tattooed with swastikas'". *Independent.co.uk*, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/morocco-gang-rape-teenager-latest-police-arrests-khadija-sexual-assault-a8512626.html, May 20th, 2019.

- UN Women. 2000. "The Feminization of Poverty". *UN Women,* https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs1.htm, May 27th, 2019.

- UN Women. 2008. "CEDAW Overview". *UN Women,* https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/, May 21st, 2019.

- UNDRIP. 2007. "United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples". *Assembly UN General*, 1-18.

- UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. 2003. https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention, March 16th, 2023.

- UNICEF. 2015. "Summary Morocco Country Report On Out-Of-School Children". *Middle East and North Africa Regional Office*, http://allinschool.org/wp content/uploads/2015/04/Morocco_Exec_Sum_En.pdf, April 18th, 2019.

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights.1948. *UN General Assembly.*

- Virkama, Anna Kristina. 2006. *Discussing Moudawana: Perspectives on Family Law Reform, Gender Equality and Social Change in Morocco*. [Master Dissertation]. Kuopio: University of Joensuu.

- Walter, Lynn. 1995. "Feminist anthropology?". *Gender & Society,* 9(3): 272-288.

- Webel, Charles and Jorgen Johansen. 2012. "Peace Studies, Peace Education, and Peace Research". In *Peace and Conflict Studies: A Reader*, ed. Charles Webel and Jorgen Johansen, 23-40. California: Sage Publications.

- WHO. 2014. "Morocco Takes a stride forward for mothers and children". *World Health Organization*, https://www.who.int/features/2014/morocco-maternal-health/en/, April 25th, 2019.

- WHO. 2019. "Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) update". https://www.who.int/bangladesh/emergencies/coronavirus-disease-(covid-19)-update May 26th, 2021.

- Wikipedia Contributors. 2018. "tilmi". *Wikipedia*, https://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tilmi, April 7th, 2022.

- Wikipedia Contributors. 2019. "Ikniouen". *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ikniouen, April 7th, 2022.

- Wikipedia Contributors. 2020. "Tazarine". *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tazzarine, April 7th, 2022.

- Wikipedia Contributors. 2021a. "Jbel Saghro". *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jbel_Saghro, April 7th, 2022.

- Wikipedia Contributors. 2021b. "Tinghir". *Wikipedia,* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tinghir, April 7th, 2022.

- Wikipedia Contributors. 2021c. "Drâa-Tafilalet". https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dr%C3%A2a-Tafilalet, May 13, 2022.

- Wolfstone, Irene Friesen. 2016. "Tamazight Matriculture in N. Africa". *Terra Mandala,* Http://Terramandala.Ca/Natality/3matriculture/Tamazight/, May 11th, 2019.

- Wu, Gang, Adriana Feder, Hagit Cohen, Joanna J Kim, Solara Calderon, Dennis S. Charney and Aleksander A. Mathé. 2013. "Understanding resilience". *Frontiers in behavioral neuroscience*, 7(10): 1-15.

- Wyrtzen, Jonathan. 2009. *Constructing Morocco: The Colonial Struggle To Define The Nation, 1912-1956*. [PhD Dissertation]. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.454.6586&rep=rep1&type=pdf, March 20th, 2019.

- Yachoulti, Mohamed. 2016. "The women of 20- February Movement in Morocco: A new feminist Consciousness". In *Moroccan feminisms: new perspectives*, ed. Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges, 163-184. Trenton: Africa World Press.

- Yafout, Merieme. 2016. "Islamic feminism in Morocco: concepts and perspectives". In *Moroccan feminisms: new perspectives*, ed. Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges, 95-110. Trenton: Africa World Press.

- Youngs, Gillian. 2004. "Feminist International Relations: A Contradiction in Terms? Or Why Women and Gender are Essential to Understand the World We Live in". *International Affairs*, 80(1): 75–87.

- Zirari, Hayat. 2010. "Women's rights in Morocco: assessment and perspectives". *European Institute of the Mediterranean*, https://www.iemed.org/publication/womens-rights-in-morocco-assessment-and-perspectives/, December 2nd 2022

- Zoglin, Katie. 2009. "Morocco's family code: Improving equality for women". *Human Rights Quarterly*, 31(4): 964-984.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Semi-structural In-depth interview

Semi Structure question used to guide the conversation with informants, not all the questions asked to each informant, but the conversation was freely run, and I tried to cover the main points as in this guide. The interviews were run in Tashelhiyt version of the anti-atlas.

Semi-structural In-depth interview

1. ADVERSITIES/ VULNERABILITIES RELATED TO:

1.1. Gender, Kinship (patriarchy)

- Name-tells me about your life. Are you happy?
- What make your life easy or hard?
- Do you have difficulties in life? Do you think these problems happen also to other women in the village?
- Describe to me your daily life/ routine, what you do?
- are you married, widow, divorced single? What is it to be -----------that in your village?
- As a female do you feel free to do what you want in public space?
- Covid-19 impact on your life?

1.2. Rural and socio-economic conditions

- Did you go to school when you were young? Is school accessible for girls in the village? Child marriage, dropping out of school?
- Do you have children do they study to finish school? Do they drop of school?
- If you get sick, what do you do? Do you go to the hospital? Are there hospitals here? What about other women what do they do? Do u think it is enough capacity to cover all people? When you visit the hospital do you know what to say to the doctors? What language do you use to communicate with doctors?
- Do you like living in the village? Do you think if you go to the city, you will have better life?
- Do you think living in rural area affect your life? and of women? How?
- Do you work? What about other women do they work too?
- Is working an advantage or burden to work?
- Does your husband support you? What about men in the village are they supportive of their wife to work in cooperatives?

1.3. Others

- What are others problem you face? or think other women face in the village?
- What makes your life harder? What situations?

2. IDENTITY, LANGUAGE, CULTURE RELIGION: ADVERSITIES OR EMPOWERMENT?

2.1. Identity, Language

- What is it to be Amazigh woman for you?
- Is it important to keep and speak Tamazight or other languages (arab/French/)?

- What language do you speak at home with your relatives, friends, neighbors?
- In 2011, the king of Mohamed 6 appears on tv to talk about new constitution? Did you know about it? Did you vote yes/no for the constitution? Rights of Amazigh.
  Do you understand the infos on T. V?
  how do you get informed about what's going on in Morocco?
- Is there difficulty not being able to speak Tashelhiyt in public services, institutions, hospitals?
- Have you ever felt discriminated against cause of being Amazigh woman and speaking Tashelhiyt?
- Do you consider it is important that children learn Tamazight at the School? Why?

2.2. Culture Religion

- Why is it important to keep Amazigh culture (Tattoos in your chin, Clothes, food, dress, body ornaments, crafts, celebrations, music, friends, family belonging to Ait Atta tribe)?
- When you travel big cities (casa, rabat …)? Do you wear the same clothes, or you wear Jelaba? why?
- What aspects of Amazigh culture, traditions forms do you like (nice positive), or dislike?
- Are you proud to be an Amazigh, or maybe, you like Arab culture better?
- In Morocco there are people of many cultures, especially Amazigh and Arabs, what advantages does be an Amazigh woman have for you, for your life? what disadvantages?
- Is religion is important to you?
- You are an Amazigh woman and Muslim, do you think that Islam and Amazigh traditions and culture, together, are positive for your life?

3. ASPIRATIONS
- What aspiration do you have?
- What do you like to do in your life?
- Do you think other women too have same aspirations and desires like you?

4. RESILIENCE, EMPOWERMENT and AGENCY

4.1. Resilience

- Do you consider yourself a strong woman?
- How do you overcome the adversities of life?
- what do you do to feel happier? What personal strategies you have to lift your self and family from adversity?
- When the adversities of life make you suffer, do you seek **help or not** from your family, friends, neighbors, from religion?
- Your culture and ways of living as Amazigh help you to recover quickly from adversity? Why?

4.2. Empowerment and agency

- What does women rights/ empowerment mean to you? what do you think when you hear those words? What's their meaning in your opinion?

4.2.1. Cooperatives / NGOS Q:
- Do you attend a cooperative or NGO? Do you like it?
- Hoe does NGO/cooperative help you? What does the cooperative means for you?
- How do you **benefit** from the cooperatives/ NGOs? Personally, and family? Are you happy?

- Why do you attend a cooperative? What are you learning from the cooperative? Did it change your life?
- Or did you feel that now you have to work double at home and in the cooperative?
- How does working in the cooperative impact you financially and your family?

- How did you start in coop? Does coop/ ngos get funds by GOV?
- Why is it important to help other women?
- In your opinion how does other Amazigh women also benefit from the cooperatives/ NGOs?
- How does cooperatives and NGOs help Amazigh women voice address their adversities?
- Where and when did you start learning crafts?
- Before the organization through cooperatives women do loom together / Crafts how did they sell it to just for their homes?
-

5. AMAZIGH WOMEN CONTRIBUTE MOROCCAN FEMINISM AND GENERATE COMMUNITY CULTURE OF PEACE

5.1. Contribute Moroccan feminism.

- Do you follow women's right in Morocco?
- Do you know about Moudwana of 2004 and its rights for women?
- How do you think your voice as a leader from grassroot level benefit Moroccan feminism in general?
- I found some research describe Amazigh woman as illiearte, in need of aid. How do you feel about that? Do you think it's true? Are Amazigh women powerful? Examples of initiatives to change those narratives.
- How does the cooperatives and NGOS better life of women here?

5.2. Generate community culture of peace.
- How do women take care of each other on the village? What Sorority practices?
- What does peace mean to you? And to your community? How is it manifested?
- How does women contribute to persevere tradition of culture of peace?
- Do you think that Amazigh traditions and ways of life are always peaceful? Why?
- What aspects of Amazigh traditions and ways of life help to improve coexistence?
- In what ways do you think Amazigh women contribute to improving the life of the community?

Appendix 2: Informant Consent Form

Participant were asked to sign or give verbal consent for recording their answers.

استمارة موافقة المشارك PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Personal information/ معلومات شخصية

Name of participant / الاسم

....

Name of the doctoral thesis / اسم مشروع أطروحة الدكتوراه

Amazigh Feminism Narratives: Aspirations, Agency, and Empowerment of Amazigh Women in the Southeast of Morocco

الروايات النسوية الأمازيغية: تطلعات ووكالة وتمكين المرأة الأمازيغية في جنوب شرق المغرب

مدير أطروحة الدكتوراه /directors of the doctoral thesis
IRENE COMINS MINGOL Y MARÍA LIDÓN ESCRIG SOS

أطروحة دكتوراه / Doctoral tesis/

Name of the student / اسم الطالبة   جواز سفر /Passport

BOCHRA LAGHSSAIS /بشرى لغسيس ⵯⵓⵛⵔⴰ ⵍⵖⵙⵙⴰⵉⵙ

PhD program/ الدكتوراه برنامج
Doctorate In International Studies of   الدكتوراه في الدراسات الدولية للسلام والنزاعات والتنمية
Peace, Conflicts and Development

MANIFEST/ البيان

أنني قد أُبلغت بشكل كافٍ بالأنشطة التي سأشارك فيها نتيجة البحث الجاري.	That I have been sufficiently informed of the activities in which I will participate as a result of the research being carried out.

أن أوافق وأوافق بحرية وطواعية على المشاركة في هذا المشروع وأوافق على اتباع التعليمات وإضفاء الطابع الرسمي على الاستبيانات والمقابلات المقترحة.

يمكنني ترك البحث / التعاون في أي وقت أريده.

يمكن للباحث الرئيسي أن يقرر إنهاء مشاركتي إذا لم ألتزم بالحد الأدنى من الإرشادات المعمول بها والتي تسمح بالعلاج المناسب.

أنه ، مع الحفاظ دائمًا على الحق في الخصوصية ، أقبل أن البيانات التي قد يتم الحصول عليها من هذا البحث يمكن استخدامها للنشر العلمي.

أن البيانات الواردة في هذا النموذج ، إلى جانب بقية المعلومات التي تم الحصول عليها من خلال المقابلات ، ستبقى تحت إشراف الطالبة بشرى لغسيس. سيتم إتلاف البيانات الشخصية بعد ستة (6) أشهر من مناقشة الرسالة.

1.ⵎⵓⵜ ⵜⵍⵓⵏⴶ ⵓⵔⵏⵓ ⵓⵓⵏ ⴳⵓⴳⵍⵢ ⵅⵣ ⵓⵎⵓⵏ ⵏⴳⴸⵏⴷ⵿ⵏ ⵉ ⵏⴳⵓⵅⵜ ⵉⵓ, ⵓⴳⵢ ⵓⵏ ⴸⴳⵣⵢ ⵉ ⵏⴳⴶⵣⵓⴰⵓⵏⵓ ⵏⵢ.

2.ⵎⵓⵜ ⵓⵓⵣⴶⵣⵓⵢ ⵙ ⵏⵅⵓⴻⵓ ⴳⴰⵚ ⵓⵏ ⴸⴳⴶⵢ ⵉ ⵏⴳⵓⵅⵜ ⵏⵢ ⵓⵏ ⵜⵓⴸⴶⵓⵢ ⴳⴵⵙⴵⵜ ⵉⵓ ⴳⵓⵓⵍⴶⵉ.

3.ⵎⵓⵜ ⵔⵓⴵⵊⴽⵓⴳ ⵓⵏ ⵉⵓⵓⵅⴸⵓⵢ ⵉⵢⵏ ⵓⵏ ⵜⵓⵓⵍⵉⵢ ⵏⴵⵣⵜ ⵍⵓ ⵓⴳⵢ.

4.ⵜⵓⵓⵏⴳⵓⴵⴳⵜ ⴳⵣⵔⵍⵓⴻ ⵓⵜⵔⵣⵍ ⵏⵉⵣⵟⵓⴰⵓⵏⵓ ⵏⵢ ⵏⴸⵏⴳ ⴳⵉ ⴵⴰ ⴵⵜⵓⴳⵣⵔⵢ ⴳⴰⵚⵜ ⵉⵓ ⴳⵓⵓⵍⴶⵉ.

5.ⵓⵜ ⵓⴻⵏⵓ ⵓⵜ ⴵⵣⵓⵏ ⵅⵣ ⵏⵅⵓⴵⴰⴵⵓⵙⵓ ⴳⴰⵚ ⵣⴻⵏⵓⵢ ⵏⴳⴸⵏ⵿ⴳⵜ ⴳⴰⵚ ⴳⴶⵢ, ⵓⵏ ⵜⵉⵜ ⵜⴰ⵿ⴷⵓⵏ ⵉ ⵍⵓⴳⴰ ⵏⴸⴳⵏⴷⴶ.

6.ⵓⵜ ⵏⴳⴸⵏ⵿ⴳⵜ ⵍⵓ ⴳⴰⵏⵍ ⵉ ⵍⵓⴵⵙⴰⵏⵉ ⵏⵢ ⵍ ⵏⴳⴸⵏ⵿ⴳⵜ ⵍⵓ ⵉⴶⵢ ⵉ ⵏⴵⵣⵟⵓⴰⵓⵏⵓ ⵣⵓⵜ ⵣⴶⴳⴵⵜ ⵅⵣ ⵏⴶⴳⵟⵓⴴⵉ ⵜ ⵜⵓⵏⴳⵓⴵⴳⵜ ⵯⵛⴳⵓ ⵓⴰⵟⴰⵡⵣ ⵣⵓⵜ ⵍⴵⵣ ⵏⴳⴸⵏ⵿ⴳⵜ ⴳⵅⵓⵛⵏ 6 ⴳⴱⵚ⵿ⵛ ⵜⵓⵓⵜ ⵏⴵⵣⵍⵓⴵⵏⴴⵉ ⵉ ⵏⴳⵓⵅⵜ ⵉⵓ.

المهتم الشخص   *The interested person*   *Principal investigator of the project or director of the doctoral thesis*
الباحث الرئيسي في المشروع أو مدير أطروحة الدكتوراه

Date and location/ التاريخ والمكان:

GLOSSARY

- ***Amazigh:*** Plural *Imazighen* meaning free Nobel people. It refers to indigenous people of North Africa including Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania, Northern Mali, Northern Niger, and a small part of western Egypt (Siwa).
- ***Berber:*** Berber term *has* a colonial connotation it was given by Greek and Romans to describe the inhabitant of North Africa in general as a collective based on their different language describe a barbarous (barbarian) which implies foreigners (Maddy Weitzman 2011). The Arabic word *barbar* means *babble noise* or *jabber* referred to a combination of incomprehensible sounds (Aitel 2014). The terminology *Berber* is viewed by many Berbers as pejorative term, they replaced it to Amazigh.
- ***Dahir Berbère or Berber Dahir:*** in 1930, the French protectorate introduced Dahir of May 16th, which was an administrative decree Dahir Berbère as part of the divide and rule tactic. The aim of the Dahir is that "the mountain Berber were to be administered by their own customary tribal law (Tm izirf, Ar. qa'ida, 'urf) while the Arabic-speaking population in the plains and cities were to remain subject to mainstream Islamic law as expounded in the shari'a and through the Qur'an" (Hart 1997, 12).
- ***Dahir*** ظهير: A royal decree issued by the king of Morocco.
- ***Eid Adha:*** which is a Muslim holiday celebration where Muslim sacrifice a sheep.
- ***Fiqh:*** Literally , Islamic Jurisprudence. It centers on correct observance of rituals, morals, and legislation within Islam. This is the process of interpreting the Qur'an, *Hadith*, precedent and using *ijtihad* to apply Shari'a concepts to specific cases. There are four main schools of *fiqh* within Sunni Islam, called the *madh'hab*, among which are the Hanafi (centered in Turkey and the Levant), Shafi'i (centered in the gulf and Egypt), Hanbali (centered in Saudi Arabia) and Maliki (centered in North Africa). Morocco is a country that follows Maliki *fiqh*. Those who are knowledgeable about historical fiqh are known as *fuqah* (Salia 2011, 4)
- ***Hadith:*** Collections of actions and sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammed. These are narratives about the Prophet passed on through word of mouth and recorded, then verified according to the chain of narration (*isnad*). Depending on the *isnad*, the *hadith* is either considered to be sound or weak (Salia 2011, 4)
- ***Harem:*** "usually secluded house or part of a house allotted to women in some Muslim households" (Merriam-Webster 2019).
- ***Ijtihad:*** Technical term which refers to making a legal decision by independent interpretation of legal sources, the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Recent reforms have called for an increase in *mujtahids*, who are those independent citizens who reject the authority of the *'ulama* and interpret the texts for themselves (Salia 2011, 5)
- ***Maghrib prayer:*** is one of the five mandatory Islamic prayers. It is called Maghrib because it is performed when the sun has completely set beneath the horizon.
- ***Makhzen:*** According to Feliu, The concept of *makhzen*, has a triple dimension in its contemporary meaning: first, it refers to all the state elements that are controlled by central power, such as the government, the army, local and central administration, and those social, economic and religious actors who are co-opted by the regime; second, it alludes to a style of governance that implies authoritarianism, coercion and the existence of a machinery of repression; and third, it regards a

mythical origin represented as a hidden and atavistic current which readapts itself to unsettled circumstances (Suárez Collado 2013, 57)

- *Qur'an:* The religious text of Islam. It is the actual word of God, revealed through the Prophet Muhammad (Salia 2011,4)
- *sh ūra:* a Qur'anic concept requiring consultation of the base during the process of decision making and used in Islamist literature as an alternative to the term "democracy" (Salime 2011, 37).
- *Shari'a:* The sacred Islamic law, set forth within the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. Not punitive nor a set of given codes: instead, these texts provide the basis for a moral path that Muslims should follow. Often confused for *fiqh*, which is the actual interpretation of these sources and the application of *Shari'a* in legal situations (Salia 2011, 4)
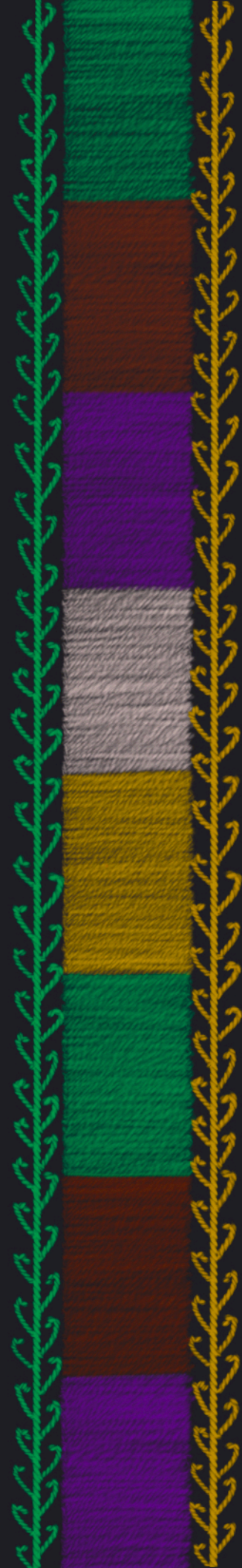- *Sunnah:* Recorded collection of the sayings (*hadith*) and living habits of the Prophet Muhammad (Salia 2011,4).
- *Tamzagha:* The description given by Amazigh people to the territory of North Africa or what is known as the Maghreb*.*

TAMAZIGHT WORDS FROM FIELDWORK:

- *Abuqs / ibuqsn*: Groom's accessory for the wedding he wears from the shoulder down to the waist.
- *Adllal***:** Auctioneer.
- *Aɛbruq*: Bride's head covering see photo 57, 58, 65.
- *Aɛeban:* Peace offering white cloth.
- *Afrdu:* Mortar and pestle.
- *Agmmun*: Square piece of land.
- *Aḥidus:* Dance performance see photo 61, 62.
- *Aḥndir*: Woven carpet.
- *Aḥrir*: soup.
- *Aḥruy:* Garment worn by women.
- *Aḥšaš:* Cutting grass. See photo 2.
- *Aḥyuyf:* Shyness.
- *Akraṭ n tslit:* Bride henna ceremony.
- *Akrfṣ:* Suffering.
- *Amrkas:* Type of couscous.
- *Amẓid:* Third day of wedding see photo 63, 64, 65.
- **Ašlhi/** *šluḥ*: A person identifies as ašlhi.
- *Asnay/* **isnayn:** Ambassadors sent by the groom to bring the bride in ait atta wedding traditions.
- **Asnsi:** Scarf see photo 26, 34, 35.
- **Asqimu:** Bride bachelorette party.
- **Aṣṭṭa:** weaving the loom.
- *Asufɣ n uqmu:* Unveiling the face of the bride during the third day of the wedding. see photo 65, 66.
- *Aydud* Collective gathering.
- *Ayt lxi:* mediators.
- *Azaɣar*: The pleins example Rabat.
- *Azbg/ izbyan n nnqurt***:** A silver hand bracelet.
- *Azdam/ zdm:* Collecting wood.
- *Azreg:* quern.
- *Azugz:* First day of the wedding see photo 57, 58.
- *Badni / lqtib***:** Scarf see photo 26, 34, 35.
- *Badni n muzun:* Scarf with sequins see photo 26, 34, 35.
- **Berkuks:** Semolina-based pasta.
- **Bumzwi:** Irritable bowel syndrome.
- **Bušrwit:** A rag rug usually knotted rather than flatweave. Made of rags bought at the market or of unravelled yarn from there or old family clothes.
- *Buzlum*: Rheumatism.
- *Da ftlnt ṭṭɛam***:** They roll couscous see photo 44, 45.
- *Da ksant***:** They are pasturing.
- **Da ttẓunt l'henna**: They plant the henna.
- *Dad tasyt tafrdut at tdzzt ša, inaš wadjar tsdɛti:* You take the mortar to ound something and the neighbor tell you bother me.
- *Dad zdmnt*: They bring firewood.
- *Daɛwa:* religious preaching
- *Ḥgra / lḥgra:* Undermining someone/ discrimination.

484

- **Ḥuquq lmara'a / lḥuquq n tmṭṭuṭ**: Women's right
- *Idda usmun izri yid azmul g wul, urda ttmḥunt tnqat n tisgnit*: The companion left and left a trace in my heart, a trace that even tattooing would not erase.
- *Iɣrem/ **iɣrman**: village. See photo 10, 8.
- *Iguta*: Ropes.
- *Iḥzamutn*: Belts.
- *Ilammn:* Bran.
- *Iluɣzm:* Sprained a leg/ arm.
- **Imrɣan:** A dish eaten at lunch.
- *Iqidar:* Garments worn by women see photo 36, 37, 40, 42, 43.
- *Isifir:* Spices.
- *Islan d tislatin*: Bride and groom. See photos 61, 62.
- *Isnsar***:** Silver ornament/jewelry worn around the head.
- *Isnsitin n muzun*: Sequins scarfs See photos 26, 34, 35.
- *Ixṣṣa ad ɛnqnt*: They have to be contented 'contentment القناعة'.
- *Izirf:* Customary law.
- *Izuɣran*: Incense.
- **L'ɛrɛar:** Juniper plant.
- *L'henna*: A plant grown through north africa from which dye is extracted. It is used by amazigh women to dye their hair and stain the skin among other things.
- *Lfatiḥa:* A verse from quran recited to officiate a matrimony.
- *Lfeṣṣa:* Lucerne/alfalfa.
- *Lfṭṭiḥt:* shame.
- *Lḥzam n muzun*: sequin belt.
- *Ljawi*: benzoin resin incense.
- *Lmeswak:* Walnut bark chewed by women to make the lip orange to red color as lipstick.
- *Lmḥmṣṣa*: Food like couscous/ semolina-based pasta.
- *Lqṭabn ayt iḥbiran:* Scarfs.
- *Lqtib /badni* : scarfs. See photos 26, 34, 35.
- *Lumsya / lumsyat*: Evening of entertainments.
- *Lxlxalt*: Mixture of herbs such a rose, zafran mixed with water until it become a paste and applied to the bride's hair on the ceremony of her wedding.
- *Lxyaṭa:* tailoring.
- *Maḥu lumiya*: Literacy classes.
- *Mayt id yiwin allig ur yad da n skar aya. Igat lhemm daɣ n isunnyin:* what happened that we no longer practice these things, is the issue of the islamists sunist / conservative Islamism.
- *Muqarabat alnawɛ* : Gender approach
- *Nsirdawn s lhena, nsirdawn s ṣṣaḥt* : we shower you with peace, we shower you with health.
- *Šmandar*: Fodder.
- *Šmml ɣf ifassn na garɣ ad alin a rbbi / a rbbi g l'baraka g uyna giɣ:* God bless the hands that i throw, and give baraka to what I do
- *Šuha*: Shame.
- *Ṣulḥ*: Reconciliation.
- *Tabṣil n ṭṭɛam d udi:* A plate of fermented butter.
- *Tabuqst / tibuqsin:* Head accessory worn by women. see photos 24, 31.
- *Tabuqst n lḥrir*: Head accessory worn by women of silk.
- *Taḍamun*: Charity box given by the government to poor people during ramadan.
- *Ṭaduṭṭ*: Wool.
- *Taɛṭṭart*: Merchandise see photos 30, 32, 33.
- *tagatut*: Ropes used to tie sheep in the stable.
- *Taḥlawt:* Dates jam.
- *Taḥndirt*: Women's woven large cape/cloak often decorated with sequins.
- *Taḥruyt / Tiḥruyin*: Traditional black wrap with colorful embroidery worn by women in southern Morocco when they go outside of the home see photos 17, 38, 39.
- *Tama:* Type of hair style worn by the bride on the 4 day of the wedding.
- *Tamara*: adversity.

485

- *Tamdwult/ tahjjalt:* Unmarried woman/ spinster.
- *Tamɣra/ timɣriwin*: Weddings See photos 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63,64,65.
- *Tamnayt/ timnayin:* Brides' maids.
- *Tamndilt n uɣrum*: Cloth to cover bread.
- *Tanurt*: Type of traditional oven.
- *Tarda n islan*: washing for bride and groom.
- *Tarḥalt:* Nomadism.
- *Tarukut d wagra*: Couscous pans and steamer
- *Ṭarz d lxyaṭa*: Embroidery and tailoring
- *Tasbnyet:* type of scarf).
- *Tasfift /tasfifin*: Semi-circular head silver accessory, see photo 65, 66.
- *Tasmert / tismren:* Wool belt given by mother to thier daughther upon marraige usulay in yellow, red and green colors, see photos 23.
- *Tayzayin/ tayzayt:* tattoos.
- *Tazra n luban:* necklace of amber.
- *Taẓult*: a black powder made from antimo-ny sulfide, mixed into paste. It is used by women as make up for the eyes.
- *Teɣmi n islan*: henna ceremony of grooms See photos 59, 60.
- *Teɣratin:* ululating.
- *Temuzɣa*: the message what is to be amazigh, free person.
- *Tiɣṭṭen*: goats.
- *Tikrzyt / tikrzyin:* white head gear woren by men.
- *Tikurbyin/ ikurbyin*: shoes.
- *Timnaṭin:* type of amazigh poetry.
- *Tinqat:* dots.
- *Tiqad:* sulfur burns on skin
- *Tiqula*: game with rocks played by children in the region, see photo 15.
- *Tirgt*: charcoal.
- **Tisɣnas**: fibulas. See photos 65.
- *Tislit / tislatin*: Bride /brides see photos 61, 62 63, 64.
- *Tiwiza:* Concept of collective solidarity for peace building.
- *Tixzrin n ṭazwta:* Dots maked by this black liquid.
- *Tlla aɣnja tislit n w anzar:* Bride of the rain. See photos 15, 16.
- *Tšaš:* tinsel.
- *Tšiɣ wahli n tmara*: I have been through alot of adversity.
- *Ṭṭalb:* koranic sholar.
- *Ttlaɣnja asi urawen nnm s ignna/ a ɣr i rbbi ad ig anẓar s kigan*: *Ttlaɣnja* raise your plams to the sky, ohh god bless us with alot of rain.
- *Tušušt / tišušin*: Woven tray see photo 31.
- *Twtmin na iswan aman n iɣfnst*: Women that are mature.
- *Urda isɛyab uryaz xs jjib nns*: A man is not flawed except if he does not have money.