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Women in Parliament: A Study of Issue-Specific Female Coalition Building in Morocco

Lura Morton
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Women in Parliament: A Study of Issue-Specific Female Coalition Building in Morocco

Lura Morton

Currently, 81 out of 395 members of the House of Representatives, Morocco's lower chamber of Parliament, are women. In other words, roughly 20.5% of the representatives are women. For comparison's sake, the world average is 23.8%.¹ Morocco is near the world average in terms of representation, but what does female representation accomplish? Are the women in parliament effective at representing Moroccan women, their rights, and their concerns? This paper explores the concept of female parliamentarians as substantive representatives of female citizens. Specifically, this paper examines if female members of parliament (MPs) form coalitions around issues that are specific to women, such as women's political representation and violence against women. This paper also investigates the various reasons that women do not work across party lines despite pressure from civil society and the women's movement.

Keywords: *Political Science, Gender Studies, and Public & Social Welfare*

Academic Director: Taieb Belghazi
University of Puget Sound | Comparative Politics and Government
Rabat, Morocco
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¹Women in National Parliaments, Inter-Parliamentary Union, April 1, 2018,
<http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

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Introduction

In Morocco, “when you are a successful woman or a woman in power, people do not call you Mrs., they call you Mr.” When I met with Nouzha Skalli, a member of the House of Representatives in the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS) and former Minister of Solidarity, Women, Family, and Social Development (2007-2012), she told me this joke in a lighthearted fashion. However, when we took a moment to reflect after the initial chuckle, the weight of reality hit us. Women in politics are often called men in a complementary fashion because men are associated with strength and power. Being a women in politics is not easy.²

Moroccan society continues to be patriarchal despite the continuous efforts of the Moroccan women’s movement to force equal legislation out of the post-colonial regime, yet there is no place where the patriarchy is more prevalent than within Morocco’s political system. My research is on substantive representation, or how female members of parliament (MPs) better represent women’s rights because of their shared gender identity. I attempt to analyze substantive representation through the phenomenon of female MPs building cross-party coalitions around issues that are specific to women’s rights. Morocco provides an insightful case study on this type of representation because the women’s movement, nongovernmental organizations, and other types of civil society have been pushing for increased women’s representation in politics for the express purpose of increasing women’s rights countrywide. This type of representation is prevalent in Morocco’s lower chamber of Parliament, the House of Representatives. However, there are many forces acting on female MPs that restrict them from working together across party lines. I conducted my research around the question: does Morocco’s women’s movement

² Interview with Nouzha Skalli, April 2018.

encourage female parliamentarians to cross political party lines to form issue-specific coalitions that are pertinent to increasing the rights of Moroccan women? And if this does occur, what actors or forces restrict female MP's from working together regardless of their political ideology?

This paper is organized as follows: literature review, assumptions, methodology, analysis, and conclusion with my policy recommendation. The literature review section is broken down into three sections. First, I provide an overview of the existing primary source information that will be referenced throughout the paper. Next, I analyze sources pertinent to Morocco's women's movement and political history to give necessary background information for the subsequent analysis. The third section of the literature review analyzes the existing theories on female parliamentarians that I employed to guide my research and interview questions. My analysis section is also broken into multiple thematic sections that emerged as a result of my interviews: the importance of women's political representation, men's versus women's roles in parliament, women's different parliamentary roles according to political party, instances of women crossing party lines, Law 103.13, and a section on hindrances to issue specific coalition building (the quota system, party politics, patrimonialism and nepotism, the electoral system and intentional marginalization of the parliament, and cultural and educational considerations).

Literature Review

My research attempts to fill the gaps in literature on female parliamentarian coalition building in Morocco's House of Representatives around issues specific to women. Much of the current literature on female members of parliament in Morocco revolves around the women's national list for elections, or in other words, the quota system. Additionally, there is much

literature on women's political participation and the women's movement in Morocco that is necessary to review before one can understand the state of female MPs, coalition building, or the lack thereof. This literature review is composed of three sections. First, I will analyze primary source documents pertaining to women's political participation such as the United Nations' Convention for the Elimination for the Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the text of Law 103.13 passed in February 2018 on the elimination of violence against women, and the 2018 U.S. Aid Report/Morocco Gender Analysis by Stephanie Willman Bordat and Saida Kouzzi. Next, I will provide an overview of the existing secondary sources pertaining to female MPs as is necessary to understand the history of the Moroccan women's movement and the current gender dynamic of women with political power. Thirdly, I will review the current theories on the importance of women in positions of power.

Primary Sources

United Nations Convention for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW)

Morocco signed CEDAW in 1993, but with reservations to Articles 2 and 16 pertaining to marriage, its dissolution, and national identity not being passed from mother to child as they conflicted with Morocco's Code of Personal Status -- Mudawwana.³ After pressure from women's associations, the government released its reservations and ratified CEDAW in its entirety.⁴ Particularly relevant to women in politics is Article 7:

“States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: (a) To

³ Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji. “The Feminization of Public Space: Women's Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco,” *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 2, no. 2 (2006): 100.

⁴ Moha Ennaji. "Women, Gender, and Politics in Morocco," *Social Sciences* 5, no. 4 (2016): 6.

vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government; (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.”⁵

However, there is a dichotomy in Morocco between law and practice. While the Moroccan government takes great care to present a front of women’s high participation in politics and policy making, women’s participation is not necessarily encouraged by the government.

Law 103.13

Law 103.13 was officially made law on February 22nd, 2018 after being passed by the upper and lower houses of parliament, signed by the Head of the Government, Mr. Saad Eddine Othmani, and marked with the royal seal of King Mohammed VI. Law 103.13 is a law specifically on the elimination of violence against women. The law is composed of 18 articles describing what constitutes violence against women and punishments for such violence. Article 1 defines violence against women as “any material or moral act or omission thereof based on gender discrimination that results in physical, psychological, sexual, or economic harm to a woman.”⁶ Articles 12-16 of Law 103.13 create national, regional, and local

⁵ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence Against Women, United Nations, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm#article7>

⁶ Royal Edict # 1.18.19, Dated February 22nd, 2018, Implementing Law # 103.03 on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, English Translation Copyright © MRA Mobilising for Rights Associates, 2018, 1.

committees to ensure implementation of the law and ensure perpetrators of violence are dealt with accordingly.⁷ Civil society, academics, and various politicians critique Law 103.13 for being too vague regarding punishments and what classifies as violence.

USAID Report/Morocco Gender Analysis

The 116-page, 2018 “USAID/Morocco Gender Analysis” by Stephanie Willman Bordat and Saida Kouzzi of Mobilising for Rights Associates (MRA) reviews women’s role in political establishments and records multiple instances of gender discrimination against women in politics. They find the biggest challenges facing female elected official’s “effective and sustainable participation” to be related to the general political culture based on cronyism and favoritism, blatant discriminatory practices, dependence on political party structures and resources, unfavorable conditions to effective participation once elected, and insufficient accompaniment and institutional support for female candidates and representatives.⁸ Bordat and Kouzzi also record that despite women’s presence in Parliament, women’s role in the crafting and passing of Law 103.3 was minimal; “only one quarter of the House was present during the initial vote on the draft law in July 2016. The House of Councilors [upper house] then passed the draft law in January 2018 with only one-third of their members present.”⁹ In order to improve women’s political inclusion, the authors recommend “campaign reform, accompaniment and

⁷ Royal Edict # 1.18.19, Dated February 22nd, 2018, Implementing Law # 103.03 on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, English Translation Copyright © MRA Mobilising for Rights Associates, 2018, 11-12.

⁸ Stephanie Willman Bordat and Saida Kouzzi, “USAID/Morocco Gender Analysis,” *Banyan Global*, (2018): 39-40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

support to women candidates, and the preparation of conducive conditions within elected bodies.”¹⁰

Historical Background

In order to understand female parliamentarians and their actions in parliament, one must reflect on the circumstances and movement that first enabled women politically. For this purpose, I strongly utilized “The Feminization of Public Space: Women’s Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco” by Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji who provide an overview of the feminist movement that began in 1946 when the Akhawat Al-Safaa (Sister of Purity) Association, a sect of the Istiqlal party, demanded various rights for women in the public sphere.¹¹ They also review the “cultural background against which the feminization of space took place.”¹² The idea of a male/female, public/private binary has existed in Morocco since the Greek empire’s expansion into Morocco.¹³ Women were historically associated with private life and the home, while administration, law, and public life were linked to men.¹⁴ Although centuries have passed, this binary still exists. For example, when Moroccan women walk in a public setting, they are tirelessly subjected to street harassment that makes them feel unsafe and unwelcome.¹⁵

No longer tolerant of the societal cult of domesticity, in the 1960s, women started organizing themselves into “political parties,” such as the Union Progressiste

¹⁰ Stephanie Willman Bordat and Saida Kouzzi, “USAID/Morocco Gender Analysis,” 42.

¹¹ Sadiqi and Ennaji, “The Feminization of Public Space: Women’s Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco,” 96.

¹² *Ibid.*, 87.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 88

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

des Femmes Marocaines and the Union National des Femmes Marocaines, which were just the start of women's expansion into the political sphere.¹⁶ Women soon joined the ranks of left-leaning political parties such as the Party of Progress and Socialism and the Socialist Union of the Popular Front.¹⁷ On June 1, 1985, the Democratic Association of Moroccan Women (ADFM) was founded by Nouzha Skalli and Amina Lamrini as a women's rights association affiliated with the Party of Progress and Socialism.¹⁸ The Female Action Union was created soon after.¹⁹ These women and associations made one of their primary priorities overturning of the Moudawana, Morocco's Code of Personal Status, or Family Law, based on the Maliki school of Islamic thought, as it was a system of laws that disadvantaged women and gave them less legal status than men.²⁰

The beginning of the 21st century marked many milestones for the women's movement that were aided in 1999 by the Secretary of State for the Family, Children, and the Disabled, Mohammed Said Saadi, who implemented "the Plan for Integrating Women in Development."²¹ According to Sadiqi and Ennaji, one must also recognize the role of the monarchy in helping advance the women's movement, such as when the newly crowned Mohammed VI called for increased women's rights in his speech one month after he took power and later appointed women to various

¹⁶ Sadiqi and Ennaji, "The Feminization of Public Space: Women's Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco," 98.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

²¹ Sadiqi and Ennaji, "The Feminization of Public Space: Women's Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco," 103-104.

high-ranking government positions.²² However, one must also consider the ways in which the political system, its history, and the role of the monarchy have actually restricted women's rights while supposedly implementing equality.

In her article, "Surfing the Democratic Tsunami in Morocco: Apolitical Society and its Reconfiguration of A Sustainable Authoritarian Regime," Emanuela Dalmaso reviews the aspects of the Moroccan political regime that often function in a top-down fashion that civil society, like the women's movement, must respond to. For example, in 2001, "the Plan for Integrating Women in Development," was revoked and replaced by a royal commission that made changes to the code. The desired result was the same as if the changes had emerged from the plan of action being debated by Parliament. The women's movement consequently discovered that the top-down nature of the monarchy's interventions could be used to their advantage.²³ Dalmaso goes as far as to call the Moroccan regime authoritarian and believes that civil society has been so immersed in the authoritarian system to the point of being "synonymous with co-optation."²⁴ However, she also makes the point that civil society responded to the top-down regime with bottom-up procedures, such as when the ADFM created the Spring of Equality (SOE), a compilation of women's rights associations to function as one network to advance women's rights.²⁵

²² Sadiqi and Ennaji, "The Feminization of Public Space: Women's Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco," 105.

²³ Emanuela Dalmaso. "Surfing the Democratic Tsunami in Morocco: Apolitical Society and the Reconfiguration of a Sustainable Authoritarian Regime," *Mediterranean Politics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 225.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 220.

²⁵ Dalmaso. "Surfing the Democratic Tsunami in Morocco: Apolitical Society and the Reconfiguration of a Sustainable Authoritarian Regime," 225-26.

Extremely relevant to cross party coalition building is Morocco's multi-party parliamentary system which is both a result and cause of Dalmaso's so-called authoritarian system. Inmaculada Szmolka's article, "Party System Fragmentation in Morocco," examines a phenomenon that she calls Morocco's "competitive authoritarian political system" defined by Levitsky and Way as "hybrid regimes which make use of democratic frameworks - such as elections - together with authoritarian forms and practices."²⁶ The multi-party system is, on the one hand, a result of the many actors who participated in the independence movement from France and Spain.²⁷ Some political parties who trace their origins to the independence movement include the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS), the Independent Liberal Party, the Popular Movement (Mouvement Populaire), and the Istiqlal Party (PI); the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP) branched off of the PI and the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) branched off of the UNFP.²⁸ This type of party formation was just the beginning of Morocco's path to having over 30 political parties.

On the other hand, Szmolka claims that the plurality of parties was a direct strategy of King Hassan II who did not want the government to be monopolized by one party, the PI, after independence because this would overshadow the King as the primary source of political power.²⁹ Thus, the multi-party system is maintained so no party gains too much power by the seat distribution laws which limit the number of

²⁶ Inmaculada Szmolka. "Party System Fragmentation in Morocco," *The Journal of North African Studies* 15, no. 1 (2010): 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

seats each party can have per district, the hare proportional (largest remainder) electoral system, and six percent electoral threshold that parties need to gain a seat in a district.³⁰ There are also various parties that are directly associated with the monarchy. The most notable of these parties is the Authenticity and Modernity Party (PAM) created in 2008 by the Minister of Interior, Fouad Ali El Himma.³¹ The women's movement necessarily operated within this semi-authoritarian setting to increase women's rights.

In addition to understanding the context that the women's movement functioned in, a review of the divides within the women's movement in Morocco is helpful. In her article, "Gender Dynamics in Morocco's February 20th Movement," Zakia Salime praises Morocco for its unique brand of feminism that acts as a leader in the region for sparking change.³² Noteworthy, in the year 2000, women were appointed to various 'ulama constituencies and positions within state-led mosques, which is symbolic of Islamic feminism's rise to challenge Morocco's historically liberal brand of feminism.³³ In his article, "Women, Gender, and Politics in Morocco," Moha Ennaji analyzes the three primary perspectives on women's rights in North Africa: the secular path, Islamist (fundamentalist) path, and the moderate Islamic path.³⁴ Secular feminists believe that the women's movement and Islam are incompatible, while the Islamist path views traditional Sharia law as desirable in

³⁰ Szmolka, "Party System Fragmentation in Morocco," 19-21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

³² Zakia Salime. "A New Feminism? Gender Dynamics in Morocco's February 20th Movement," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13, no. 5 (2012): 103.

³³ Salime, "A New Feminism? Gender Dynamics in Morocco's February 20th Movement," 104.

³⁴ Ennaji, "Women, Gender, and Politics in Morocco," 1-2.

regards to women in public spaces and the home.³⁵ The moderate Islamic path believes that favorable views on women can be found in the holy texts; for example, Fatema Mernissi and Leila Abouzeid, leading Moroccan feminists, have both stated that “anti-woman interpretations of the faith, as well as fictitious accounts of Prophet Muhammad’s saying and ideas” are to blame for the current atmosphere of misogyny.³⁶ Despite these differences, civil society, regardless of ideology knows the necessity of working alongside political actors to invoke change, such as the elimination of the law requiring the husband’s consent for a woman to practice a trade (1995) or work abroad (2004), the revoking of the law that stated Moroccan women cannot transmit citizenship to their children, and most notably, the reform of the family code, *Mudawwana* (2004).³⁷

The women’s movement advanced when King Mohammed VI announced the first round of changes to the *Mudawwana* in 2001, and the movement capitalized on this energy to push for increased women’s political rights. Their largest feat was the quota system, or national list, for female parliamentarians that was first used in the 2002 parliamentary election. The women’s movement pushed the political parties into a “voluntary agreement” to guarantee women 30 of 325 seats in the House of Representatives.³⁸ In 2009, in response to pressure from women’s rights organizations, Nouzha Skalli, and the Ministry of the Interior, gender quotas expanded into the local government with a minimum of 12% of female

³⁵ Ennaji, “Women, Gender, and Politics in Morocco,” 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁸ Anouk Lloren. “Gender Quotas in Morocco: Lessons for Women’s Descriptive and Symbolic Representation,” *Representation* 50, no. 4 (2014): 3.

representation in local councils.³⁹ In response to the Arab Spring's demand for democracy and pressure for increased women's representation, the 2011 Constitution included 60 seats for women out of 395 total seats in the House of Representatives.⁴⁰ This brings me into a discussion of one of my primary theoretical sources, "Gender Quotas in Morocco: Lessons for Women's Descriptive and Symbolic Representation," by Anouk Lloren.

Theoretical Approaches

There are many theories about the importance of women in parliament that I used to guide my interviews. Lloren's focus group study of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) and how women within the party were affected by the introduction of the quota system finds that "the implementation of reserved seats increased women's descriptive [quantitative] representation, but at the same time has led to the introduction of a new glass ceiling."⁴¹ In terms of women's symbolic representation, "this article provides evidence that quotas have failed to democratise decision-making procedures, both at the level of party organisation and of the political system more broadly."⁴² Furthermore, highly relevant to coalition building, Lloren records that the fact that women only compete against women on the national list weakens solidarity among female MPs.⁴³ As evidence, one USFP respondent remarked, "why do we need to have more women in politics? Since the introduction of quotas, we saw that women do not

³⁹ Yasmine Berriane. "The Micropolitics of Reform: Gender Quota, Grassroots Associations, and the Renewal of Local Elites in Morocco," *The Journal of North African Studies* 20, no. 3 (2015): 434.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴¹ Lloren, "Gender Quotas in Morocco: Lessons for Women's Descriptive and Symbolic Representation," 2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7.

necessarily defend women' (Respondent 1)."⁴⁴ However, I believe that Lloren's research is limited because she exclusively interviewed members of the USFP and did not include the insight of other political parties. Thus, my research will further her's by incorporating responses from representatives of Mouvement Populaire, the Party of Progress and Socialism, the Federation of the Democratic Left, and the Justice and Development Party on the impact of gender quotas.

I also drew inspiration from Lena Wångnerud's piece, "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation," that speaks on whether or not female MP's primary role is descriptive or substantive. Descriptive representation relates to the number of women in parliament while substantive representation regards female MP's influence and presence.⁴⁵ Wångnerud draws from Anne Phillips' 1995 book, *the Politics of Presence*, which defines the politics of presence as the idea that

"female politicians are best equipped to represent the interests of women... built upon differences between women and men in their everyday lives, such as differences relating to child-rearing, education and occupations, divisions of paid and unpaid labor, exposure to violence and sexual harassment, and the fact that female politicians, at least to some extent, share the experiences of other women."⁴⁶

Wångnerud touches on counter arguments to the theory of substantive representation that I also considered in my research. For example, political ideology, class, ethnicity, and the

⁴⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁵ Lena Wångnerud. "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation," *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, (2009): 51.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 52.

parliamentary institutions themselves might act more on female parliamentarians than the demand to represent female constituents.⁴⁷ She also proposes Iris Marion Young's theory of "feminist awareness" that "does not ascribe importance to female politicians per se, but to politicians with a feminist agenda (Young 2000)."⁴⁸ Wångnerud's research focuses primarily on established Western democracies, not authoritarian or semi-authoritarian (semi-democratic) states, such as Morocco. Thus, this is a gap in the literature that I attempted to pursue in my research.

Additionally, I used "Changing Politics from Below? Women Parliamentarians in Morocco" by James Sater to help formulate my research questions. Sater explores the concept of substantive female representation in Morocco. He is critical of the concept behind substantive representation in non-democratic states, "...substantive issues of democratization from the liberal tradition, such as women's empowerment, are in themselves elusive aspects of a pseudo-democratic politics wherein the established patterns of power remain unchanged."⁴⁹ Additionally, he thinks that the issues with substantive representation are compounded when a country is torn "between three equally strong political traditions in the Muslim world – republican, liberal, and Islamist."⁵⁰ Thus, I used his research to understand that there are many aspects of politics, especially within Muslim-majority countries, that inhibit opportunities for substantive representation. His research is also from 2009, and thus, does not include changes from the 2011 Constitution like the 60-seat quota system.

⁴⁷ Wångnerud, "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation," 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁴⁹ James N. Sater. "Changing Politics from Below? Women Parliamentarians in Morocco," *Democratization* 14, no. 4 (2007): 726.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 727.

Assumptions

Before collecting primary source data, I had many assumptions about women's participation in politics. First, I assumed that Moroccan female MPs were an example of substantive representation; I posited that female MPs are better at representing the rights of female citizens because they are female. I speculated that because of the large scale of the women's movement, numerous organizations working for women's rights, and the implementation of the quota system for women's representation, there would be pressure for women to form cross party coalitions around women's rights. I was especially interested in researching parliamentarians' perspectives on Law 103.13 as it is a law specific to violence against women. I hypothesized that despite party affiliation, women would have crossed party lines to work on this bill because the Moroccan women's movement has a long history of fighting for this type of legislation.

Methodology

My study is composed of qualitative research in the form of seven semi-structured interviews with politicians, parliamentarians, international and domestic non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and a domestic think tank associated with the Party of Justice and Development (PJD). I used a process of snowballing to establish contact and rapport with my interviewees. My point of entry came from my advisors Taieb Belghazi and Stephanie Willman Bordat who provided me with the contact information of experts and organizations in the field who subsequently gave me contact information of parliamentarians and other active politicians.

I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews for various reasons. Ideally, I would have conducted a focus group interview as Anouk Lloren did in her piece, “Gender Quotas in Morocco: Lessons for Women’s Descriptive and Symbolic Representation,” on the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (SUPF), so participants could build off of each others’ answers or question each other in a way that I did not consider.⁵¹ However, the four-week time constraint of the research period was simply too short to find one time that would work well with these political actors’ schedules. Additionally, I chose to keep the interviews semi-structured to increase the dialogue and to allow the participant to offer the information that they consider to be the most important. In Figure 2. of the appendix, one can find the list of interview questions that I drew from during my interviews. Furthermore, because of the similar nature of our research topics, I conducted four out of seven interviews with Grayson Rost, a fellow student in SIT’s Human Rights and Multiculturalism Program. We bettered each other’s questions in a way that made the interviews even more fruitful and added increased perspective.

Initially, I wanted to exclusively interview parliamentarians; however, very quickly I learned of their relative unavailability whether because of busy schedules or unreachability by email or phone. Thus, I decided that I would gather descriptive and insightful answers if I widened my research pool to include organizations working to improve women’s participation in politics. I also realized that learning about women’s presence in Parliament would be impossible without analyzing civil society’s role. I was able to interview three organizations that represent the different types of organizations working for women’s political rights in Morocco.

⁵¹ Lloren, “Gender Quotas in Morocco: Lessons for Women’s Descriptive and Symbolic Representation.”

I first interviewed the National Democratic Institute (NDI), an international NGO operating in Morocco, wherein I spoke with Slobodan Milic, NDI's Resident Director in Morocco. In his words, "the NDI promotes democracy globally. We work with parliaments, governments, political parties, and NGOs."⁵² In Morocco, their work on women in politics focuses on campaign management, candidate training, working with civil society and several leading organizations to change the electoral framework to allow more women in the parliament.⁵³ The NDI has two programs that work specifically with female parliamentarians that will be discussed later.

My second NGO interview was with Yasmine Zaki, the Vice President of L'Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (the Democratic Association of Women of Morocco - ADFM). The ADFM works in three cities, Rabat, Casablanca, and Marrakech, wherein each site works on a different theme relating to women's rights.⁵⁴ Rabat works on changing laws, lobbying, and hearing domestic violence complaints.⁵⁵ Casablanca focuses on political laws, socioeconomic laws, environmental laws, and institutional violence. Marrakech works primarily with harassment and sexual assault.⁵⁶

My third interview was with Soumia Benkhaldoune, President of the Executive Board of Forum Azzahrae and an ex-minister. Associated with the PJD, this organization is a vast forum and think tank for women's rights organizations across Morocco. Forum Azzahrae hosts trainings, attends workshops at the UN on human rights, works with youth on increasing political involvement, and conducts cross-country caravans to speak with women about their rights and

⁵² Interview with Slobodan Milic (NDI), April 2018.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Interview with Yasmine Zaki (ADFM), April 2018.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

ways to become involved in political work.⁵⁷ Much of their focus is in the villages and college campuses.⁵⁸

Additionally, I met with three parliamentarians and one female politician. The first parliamentarian is Omar Balafrej of the Federation of the Democratic Left (FDG) who was elected in 2016 to represent the Rabat-Ocean District. The second parliamentarian is Loubna Amhaïr of Mouvement Populaire; she is a woman who was elected on the national list for the 2011-2016 term. The third parliamentarian is Nouzha Skalli who was the Minister of Solidarity, Women, Family, and Social Development from 2007 to 2012. She is now a member of the House of Representatives as a member of the Party of Progress and Socialism. Finally, my last interview was with Latifa El Bouhsini, a renowned Moroccan feminist who worked in the State Secretariat for Women, the Family, and the Integration of the Disabled under minister Mohammed Said Saadi.

My intention was to interview parliamentarians who represented a variety of parties to gauge their responses on cross-party coalition building. I include one male representative as to analyze the responses of men versus women in response to questions on gender discrimination within parliament. Three of my interviews required the use of a translator for assistance (one in Modern Standard Arabic (Fusha), one in Moroccan Arabic (Darija), and one in French, while the other four were conducted in English. I tried not to allow a language barrier to be an issue in data collection because if I only had interviewed English speakers, this would bias my sample as those who speak English are often part of an elite class with a high degree of education and interest in the West. And while I would have liked to have more interviews with

⁵⁷ Interview with Soumia Benkhaldoune (Forum Azzahrae), April 2018.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

parliamentarians, the four-week time period limited the amount of candidates I was able to contact and receive a response from. Generally, I am happy that I was able to interview representatives of political parties with different ideologies. However, I am aware that many of my respondents may be biased towards a more liberal perspective. Additionally, all participants gave consent for their full names to be used in my research. If a participant asked for something they mentioned to be anonymous, I did not include this information at all as to protect the participant's request.

Analysis

Importance of Women's Political Representation

One of my primary goals with each interview was to learn about that particular individual's or organization's conception of the importance of women's political participation as their conceptions are an indicator of women's role in politics. According to Slobodan Milic, the NDI conducted a focus group study before the 2016 election that "found people trust women politicians more than men politicians... and even though there are these misconceptions that women are supposed to take care of the kids, they still believe that women spend more time and work harder in the parliament."⁵⁹ Others stated that women's representation should be 50% because women are 50% of the population.⁶⁰ In line with the theory of substantive representation, Yasmine Zaki, the ADFM's Vice President, stated that women are better at representing women.⁶¹ Latifa El Bouhsini echoed a similar point that women representatives are necessary to advance conditions for women.⁶² Nouzha Skalli stated that she sees women's political power as the one

⁵⁹ Interview with Slobodan Milic (NDI), April 2018.

⁶⁰ Interview with Omar Balafrej, April 2018 and Interview with Yasmine Zaki (ADFM), April 2018

⁶¹ Interview with Yasmine Zaki (ADFM), April 2018.

⁶² Interview with Latifa El Bouhsini, April 2018.

path to ensure women other rights.⁶³ Soumia Benkhaldoune of Forum Azzahrae stated her opinion is that God gave men and women equal rights, and humanity cannot continue without one or the other. Her conception as a Muslim woman is that religious rights are human rights, and they must be guaranteed for both men and women.⁶⁴ She also stated that there need to be women in politics to talk about women's rights, such as family rights, but women's role needs to be about advancing all human rights, not just women's rights because, in the end, men and women are the same.⁶⁵

Some general themes emerge from these responses. First, they all agree on the importance of women in positions of power. However, the NDI's response was the single one centered around the constituent's desire for women representatives. Zaki and Skalli's responses were similar as expected because Skalli was one of the co-founder's of the ADFM. Soumia Benkhaldoune was the sole interviewee to quote religious reasons; however, this is unsurprising as she is a member of the Islamist Justice and Development Party (PJD). Most importantly, the idea of substantive representation was present in some way in all of their responses.

Men's versus Women's Roles in Parliament

Before understanding why women do or do not form cross party coalitions, one must understand the similarities and differences in the types of work that men versus women do in parliament; however, I received mixed responses to the question of whether men and women's work in parliament differs. The NDI's response was that roughly half of the women in parliament gained their seats through nepotism or some other means, and thus they are not

⁶³ Interview with Nouzha Skalli, April 2018.

⁶⁴ Interview with Soumia Benkhaldoune (Forum Azzahrae), April 2018.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

actually interested in participating in politics.⁶⁶ Meanwhile, the women who are interested often work in committees related to gender and the family, rarely in matters such as finance or defense.

⁶⁷ As a male parliamentarian, Balafrej stated that he does not observe a difference within his party, the Federation of the Democratic Left (FGD) but other political party's management is usually men.⁶⁸ During her time as a parliamentarian from 2011-2016, Loubna Amhaïr witnessed the gender divide first hand. However, in her experience, women are more involved in political work because they attend trainings hosted by NGOs and are the most present in the committees as they are not accountable to a local constituency like men who are elected via local constituency.⁶⁹ Soumia Benkhaldoune noted that power and types of work depend on how many questions and projects one proposes, not gender.⁷⁰ In general, the men's responses were often more critical of women's role and found them more restricted, while the women respondents often spoke of female MP's superior effectiveness.

Women's Different Parliamentary Roles According to Political Party

Another necessary idea to analyze before that of coalition building is if women's roles differ according to political party as their different roles may be an indication of why women do or do not cross party lines to work together. In Milic's observations, there are professional and less professional parties, but there are also palace parties and grassroots parties, so women's roles vary according to those classifications. Nabila Mounib, now of the FDG, is the first and currently the only female party leader. Mouvement Populaire, Loubna Amhaïr's party, is not progressive in terms of women's rights because without the national list, they most likely would

⁶⁶ Interview with Slobodan Milic (NDI), April 2018.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Interview with Omar Balafrej, April 2018.

⁶⁹ Interview with Loubna Amhaïr, April 2018.

⁷⁰ Interview with Soumia Benkhaldoune (Forum Azzahrae), April 2018.

not support any female candidates.⁷¹ Benkhaldoune stated that her party, the PJD, welcomes women's opinions; however, she thinks one may find a representative in every party who does not think men and women's rights should be equal. And while Latifa El Bouhsini believes that parties control women's power, Benkhaldoune believes that the power depends on the individual woman and not her party affiliation. Nouzha Skalli's response when asked about differing roles was critical of the PJD, Benkhaldoune's party. Skalli stated that "we know the Islamist party is allergic to women's rights because on many occasions they show that their conception is that the best place for women is the home to take care of children and so on."⁷² The PJD's feminist classification would undoubtedly fall under the Islamist interpretation.

Instances of Women Crossing Party Lines

This section explores when, how, and why female MPs have crossed party lines to form issue-specific coalitions to advance women's rights. On some occasions, female MPs cross party lines to advance women's rights, although not as often as one would expect considering the strength of the women's movement and pressure from civil society. During the interviews, the most commonly discussed instance of women crossing party lines was the parliamentary gender committee on equality and parity created to increase women's political representation. Female parliamentarians unite behind the idea that women's political participation must be guaranteed. Some respondents even stated that this committee was the exclusive instance that they knew of female MPs crossing party lines. The committee was created by ADFM and the efforts of Nouzha Skalli because she "knew that it was very important to have a coalition of women

⁷¹ Interview with Loubna Amhaïr, April 2018.

⁷² Interview with Nouzha Skalli, April 2018.

representatives.”⁷³ She was also instrumental in establishing the rotating presidency so that the committee is never exploited by one party.

The committee demonstrated its strength in the 2002 election when women from every political party gathered and demanded their rights.⁷⁴ As a result, the number of seats went from 2 seats in 1997 to 35 seat in 2002.⁷⁵ However, the committee still faces many challenges because it is not recognized as an official commission, but as a forum under the rules and regulations of Parliament, not under the law.⁷⁶ Regardless, the committee is a place where the female MPs can momentarily leave party ideology aside. In the words of Loubna Amhair, “you have to stick to the line of the party, stick to the line if you are in coalition of opposition... But for the issues, regarding women’s equality, specifically, we agreed on that.”⁷⁷

Law 103.13

One of my initial assumptions was that female MPs worked across party lines on Law 103.13, passed in February 2018, as it is a law that is specific to violence against women; however, from my interviews, I quickly found that women did not cross party lines in the formulation of this law. Yet, female MPs and politicians did have a distinct role in pushing for this type of legislation in general, even though women did not work together across party lines for Law 103.13. The women’s movement pressured the 2013 Minister of Solidarity, Women, Family, and Social Development, Bassima Hakkaoui of the PJD, into taking the lead with this

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Interview with Latifa El Bousini, April 2018.

⁷⁵ Interview with Latifa El Bousini, April 2018.

⁷⁶ Interview with Nouzha Skalli, April 2018.

⁷⁷ Interview with Loubna Amhair April 2018.

project.⁷⁸ Women agree about the necessity of a law for violence against women, but they do not agree on how to “describe this type of violence.”⁷⁹

Opposition parties and much of civil society feel that Law 103.13 is “too little, too late.” “The division in the parliament was between those who were going to vote for it because it's better than nothing and those who were going to be against it were because it was too little too late.”⁸⁰ The ADFM blames the lack of women’s coalition building around this law and the laws obscurity on the fact that “women in Parliament in the majority party have a patriarchal mentality, and they tend to use their political power more in relation to Islam than human rights. Because within Islam, sexual assault within a marriage doesn’t count as sexual assault.”⁸¹ The FDG was also opposed to Law 103.13 because there was not adequate acknowledgement of violence against married women from their husbands.⁸² However, Soumia Benkhaldoune stated that this law is just the start, and more legislation will be developed with time.

Hindrances to Issue-Specific Coalition Building

The second half of my analysis primarily focuses on the hindrances to female MP issue-specific coalition building. Specifically, I will review my interviewees’ responses on the quota system, party politics, the electoral system and intentional marginalization of the parliament, widespread patrimonialism and nepotism, and cultural and educational aspects.

The Quota System

The quota system was an incredible accomplishment for the women’s movement in 2002 and again in 2011 when it was expanded; however, the system was only meant to be a temporary

⁷⁸ Interview with Latifa El Bousini, April 2018.

⁷⁹ Interview with Loubna Amhaïr April 2018.

⁸⁰ Interview with Slobodan Milic (NDI), April 2018.

⁸¹ Interview with Yasmine Zaki (ADFM) April 2018.

⁸² Interview with Omar Balafrej, April 2018.

measure to normalize women's presence in parliament.⁸³ The theory was that once Moroccan citizens became accustomed to women in politics, the quota system would become unnecessary as women could run alongside men and still win seats. Instead, the quota system has become highly institutionalized in a way that limits female MP's influence in parliament. First, women cannot be elected on the national list twice. And there is very little incentive on the parts of the political parties to put women in the first party position in a local constituency when they can easily put a male incumbent who is well known in the party in that same seat.⁸⁴ As a result, women often serve one term in parliament and then move on to careers with NGOs or education. They are not afforded the second term as an incumbent to keep working on the projects and legislation they started during their first term. This also means that they have less time to work with women from other parties and build relationships that could contribute to coalition building. Additionally, if a woman does want to seek a second term off of the national list and in a local constituency, then she needs the full backing of her party. Working with women from other parties may diminish her party's opinion of that particular MP, thus she does not try to work across party lines.

The quota system is also restricting because there is a conception among voters and male MPs that women elected on the national list are secondary MPs. This has made female MPs work even harder to prove their political might and stamina. In Loubna Amhaïr's words, "we just explained that we are representative of the people, we are elected, we are MPs, and we are MPs as much as them. And it is not level one or level two of MPs, everyone is the same." There has been a push by civil society, such as the ADFM, to abandon the quota system, at least at the local

⁸³ Interview with Loubna Amhaïr, April 2018.

⁸⁴ Interview with Loubna Amhaïr, April 2018.

level, and replace it with a ballot that alternates men and women's names.⁸⁵ However, at this point, women feel that they will not win seats without the quota system because they do not trust the parties to support their candidacy, so changes to the system are unlikely in the foreseeable future.

Party Politics

As the previous section touches on, party politics are a large deterrent of coalition building. In Morocco, politics is often a family affair, so women do not have many points of entry into the political arena. For example, Loubna Amhaïr's father was a well-known member of Mouvement Populaire, and his name helped her gain prestige in the party and in elections; all she had to do was mention his name.⁸⁶ Loubna was in parliament from 2011-2016. She made many contributions during her time, such as the legislation that opened the 30-seat youth quota to women.⁸⁷ However, when she wanted to run again after her first term, Mouvement Populaire would not back her. "They didn't see the priority to nominate me as a candidate in 2016 because they prefer the man because he is there.... It's like with you, they are gambling, they don't know. But the thing is that they are also gambling with the others because I know many men that fail."⁸⁸ In her opinion, "it's a failed strategy from the political parties because it was an investment in these women. Now they have more knowledge, they know how to do it. You always do better the second term because the first term, maybe you lost time understanding."⁸⁹

However, one party, the PJD, seems to understand the importance of supporting women in local constituencies. There are currently 81 women in the House of Representatives; 60 are

⁸⁵ Interview with Yasmine Zaki (ADFM) April 2018.

⁸⁶ Interview with Loubna Amhaïr, April 2018.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

from the women's national list; 11 are from the youth national list; and, most of the remaining 10 are members of the PJD. This means that in these local constituencies, the PJD placed women at the top of their candidate lists. Slobodan Milic once asked the female staffers of his office, all multilingual and highly educated, which party they would run under if they were to pursue a political career.⁹⁰ "Most of them say PJD, and none of them are very Islamic, but this party gives people a true chance... The other 7 [major] parties, no way. If you're not part of the family, or a notable family or so on, you're not going to get a chance."⁹¹ Many of the centrist/left-wing parties claim to champion liberal feminism, but they do not place women at the top of their candidate lists in local elections. In general, the political parties are regressing in terms of feminism.⁹² To many observers, the PJD does not seem very enthusiastic about women's rights; however, their descriptive representation of women is noteworthy. While party politics undoubtedly limit female MP's opportunities in Parliament, and consequently, limit their chances to form coalitions, the parties all operate in a system with a history of patrimonialism and nepotism.

Patrimonialism and Nepotism

In almost all of my interviews, we discussed the fact that the election process for those running in a local constituency is highly corrupt. For the purpose of this paper, I will define patrimonialism as "where the leader, in return for obedience, provides benefits to a small group of supporters,"⁹³ and nepotism as "the act of using your power or influence to get good jobs or

⁹⁰ Interview with Slobodan Milic (NDI), April 2018.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Interview with Nouzha Skalli, April 2018.

⁹³ Patrick O'Neil. "Chapter 6: Nondemocratic Regimes," *Essentials of Comparative Politics* 5 (WW Norton & Company, 2015).

unfair advantages for members of your own family.”⁹⁴ Large regions in Morocco are ruled by notables, “strong families that are more or less the rulers of the regions... Political parties go to these strong people and they say here is a nice lucrative contract from the state or a seat in the parliament or what not in exchange for the votes.”⁹⁵ Thus, parties choose the easy route and often buy votes and seats, for men and women rather than applying energy to grassroots movements and campaigns.⁹⁶

In addition to vote buying and money being pumped into the electoral process, parties will often place daughters, sisters, or wives of notables at or near the top of their candidate list for a local constituency as a mode of payment for some kind of service. This results in a noteworthy number of women in Parliament who have no interest in politics and are simply there as a type of placeholder or sign of appreciation. This also applies to the women’s national list. Parties will put women related to or associated with notables on the list as a mode of repayment or to show thanks for generous donations to the party. According to Nouzha Skalli, another example is when “two men want to be in the same constituency. They [the parties] say okay, we will leave him in this constituency and I’m going to put your wife on the national list, or your daughter on the national list in a good place.” Women are used as twofold pawns. First, their presence makes the party look as if it is fighting for women’s rights and gender equality, even though it is actually doing the exact opposite by using women’s political participation as a bargaining chip. And second, because they do not have a background in politics, there is a very small chance that these women will do anything to affect the party while in office. This is

⁹⁴ Nepotism, Cambridge Dictionary, May 5, 2018, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/nepotism>

⁹⁵ Interview with Slobodan Milic (NDI), April 2018.

⁹⁶ Interview with Slobodan Milic (NDI), April 2018 and Interview with Omar Balafrej, April 2018.

relevant to my research because a fairly large percentage, one respondent speculated up to 50%, of female MPs have no background in politics or true desire to be in their positions, so they are less likely to work with women from other political parties on issues of substance.

Electoral System and Intentional Marginalization of the Parliament

This system of patrimonialism and nepotism operates within the larger electoral system that intentionally marginalizes parliament in order to reserve the majority of power for the King and his ruling elite, together called the “makhzen.” As discussed in the literature review, the electoral system is intentionally crafted so no political party can ever gain the majority on its own. Many of the respondents mentioned this aspect of government in their interview as an explanation of why women do not receive adequate political rights and opportunities. Morocco is no longer a dictatorship, as many considered it in the 1980s and 1990s; however, it is not a full democracy.⁹⁷ This situation “creates a lack of trust in society, especially with the educated and middle class.”⁹⁸

Thus, many citizens who would otherwise be interested in politics and having female representation do not vote because they feel detached from the political system. One must consider that only 25% of people voted in the 2016 election; in other words, roughly 6 million out of 25 million Moroccans over the age of 18 care about politics.⁹⁹ Moroccans do not believe their vote matters because they do not believe Parliament has any real political power. Educated people in particular do not vote because they do not foresee any changes as they assume true

⁹⁷ Interview with Omar Balafrej, April 2018.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

power lies with the King.¹⁰⁰ People are unaware of Parliament's actual legislation capabilities, such as on the finance committee with setting the nation's budget.¹⁰¹

Additionally, voting is also not made easy or accessible. Currently, "the way in which elections are held illustrate that there isn't a real democracy. In order to vote, you have to register on the list of electorates and registration happens five or six months before the actual elections." The very act of voting is complicated for Moroccans who already feel disengaged from politics.

Campaign financing issues are an additional reason that women have trouble participating in political institutions. In Morocco, campaign fundraising from the public is illegal.¹⁰² Political parties receive their funding exclusively from the state, and the majority of the time this money falls into the hands of the male party leadership who do not value women's political representation. Thus, women are left to the whims of the political parties for campaign financing or they must use their own personal funds. This is a large barrier to women who desire a political career, but who cannot afford the cost of entering the political establishment. Furthermore, often times many female politicians are called elitist for having connections with the parties; however, there is little room for advancement for women who do not have such connections.

Cultural and Educational Considerations

Certain aspects of Morocco's culture and education system also play into the lack of women's representation in parliament and desire to form coalitions. On the one hand, Morocco is torn between the desire to modernize with a Western model of globalization left behind by colonialism's poignant legacy. On the other hand, Morocco wants to maintain its traditional

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Interview with Loubna Amhaïr, April 2018.

cultural integrity in an attempt to distance itself from its colonial past and economic ties to Europe. However, as a result, in cities and villages across Morocco there is still the long-established idea that women's' responsibilities revolve around the home and raising children.¹⁰³ Widespread illiteracy also contributes to this issue. "People don't actually vote for a platform or party or ideology but for a person"¹⁰⁴ that appeals to them in a populist manner. Morocco's illiteracy rate is around 40%, while the percentage is even higher among women, especially women in rural areas who do not have access to schools and other resources.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion and Policy Recommendation

In conclusion, female parliamentarians in Morocco are crossing party lines to build coalitions to advance women's rights, but not as often as expected given the strength of the women's movement. In this paper, I explored the current literature on Moroccan female MPs including primary source documents like the UN Convention on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW), Law 103.13, and the USAID Report/Morocco Gender Analysis crafted by the Moroccan NGO, MRA. I also summarized literature on the history of the women's movement and political history of the country. Additionally, I reviewed the sources that I used to provide the theoretical foundation of my research questions by Lloren, Wängnerud, and Sater.

My analysis included interviews with three parliamentarians, one politician and educator, one international NGO, one domestic NGO, and one domestic think tank. I broke this section into multiple thematic sections that emerged as a result of my interviews: the importance of women's political representation, men's versus women's roles in parliament, women's different

¹⁰³ Interview with Omar Balafrej, April 2018.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Yasmine Zaki (ADFM), April 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Slobodan Milic, April 2018.

parliamentary roles according to political party, instances of women crossing party lines, Law 103.13, and a section on hindrances to issue specific coalition building (the quota system, party politics, patrimonialism and nepotism, the electoral system and intentional marginalization of the parliament, and cultural and educational considerations). I entered this research period with various assumptions about female MP's actions once elected, and while some of these initial assumptions were correct, others were not. For example, female MPs did not have a decisive role in creating Law 103.13 even though it is a law that directly affects women. On the other hand, women cross party lines regarding women's political participation because they agree that increased women in politics are necessary to better represent the rights of women (substantive representation), but also to show that women are capable of holding positions of power.

In terms of a policy recommendation for the future, I agree with much of the existing literature and with my interviewees that women's substantive representation is unlikely to improve in the current Moroccan political realm. The political parties are too strong and disinterested in true female representation to provoke change, and the electoral and quota system prevents women from gaining the power of incumbency to rival male politicians. Additionally, this all operates within a system that largely benches the Parliament in favor of the Monarchy. One must also consider that many in Morocco still live and believe in a patriarchal lifestyle where women are meant to be domestic creatures who serve the male breadwinners of the family. And while this idea is changing, the male/female, public/private binary is a sizable barrier for women entering political life.

Thus, my policy recommendation is for civil society and the women's movement to continue to push for incremental change as they have done since Moroccan independence in

1956. Of the organizations that I interviewed, various programs are maintained to help increase women's participation and influence in politics. For example, the NDI hosts two programs for female MPs. The first connects female MPs with youth at leading universities to be interns who have the opportunity learn more about political careers.¹⁰⁶ And the second is called "the International Women Leadership Club" where the 81 female MPs are paired with 21 ambassadors to meet every 2 months and informally talk about challenges and solutions they face as women in the men's world of politics and diplomacy.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, the ADFM works with women from all political parties in an attempt to align their values to better fight for women's equal representation in parliament.¹⁰⁸ The ADFM and Nouzha Skalli have been responsible for many programs, one of which is the commission for gender equality with the primary job of convincing women to work across party lines.¹⁰⁹ Finally, Forum Azzahrae also works to increase female MPs rights and representative equality by attending conferences involving all women's parties.¹¹⁰ And even though Forum Azzahrae is associated with the PJD, "Forum Azzahrae and the parties are two different things. We can't make the women in other parties think the same thing as Forum Azzahrae, but we can meet the women and discuss these things."¹¹¹ Therefore, I believe that changes for women's substantive political representation and increased coalition building around issues specific to human rights will emerge if the women's movement continues to apply pressure to the system. However, the extent of change will continue to be limited as long as Morocco maintains the quota system, party politics,

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Slobodan Milic, April 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Yasmine Zaki (ADFM), April 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Soumia Benkhaldoune (Forum Azzahrae), April 2018.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

patrimonialism and nepotism, the electoral system and intentional marginalization of the parliament, and cultural and educational aspects that promote female domesticity.

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Appendix

Figure 1. Consent Form (although verbal consent was primarily used)

School for International Training Multiculturalism and Human Rights - Rabat

Consent Form

Project Title: Moroccan Female Parliamentarians and Coalition Building
Researcher: Lura Morton

Purpose

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by *Lura Morton* from the University of Puget Sound. The purpose of this study is to explore Moroccan Female Parliamentarian Coalition Building and this study will contribute to the completion of my Independent Study Project.

Research Procedures

Should you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to sign this consent form once all your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. This study consists of an interview that will be administered to individual participants in their offices or a location of their convenience. You will be asked to provide answers to a series of questions related to Moroccan Female Parliamentarians. With your permission you will be audio recorded

Time Required

Participation in this study will require 30-60 minutes of your time.

Risks

I do not perceive any risks or more than minimal risks from your involvement in this study.

Potential benefits from participation in this study include learning more about the state of female parliamentarians in Morocco.

Confidentiality

The results of this research will be documented as an ISP paper and presented orally to the SIT MOR students and staff. The results of this project will be coded in such a way that the respondent's identity will not be attached to the final form of this study, unless the respondent gives their consent for their name to be shared. The researcher retains the right to use and publish

non-identifiable data. While individual responses are confidential unless consent is given, aggregate data will be presented representing averages or generalizations about the responses as a whole. All data will be stored in a secure location accessible only to the researcher. Upon completion of the study, all information that matches up individual respondents with their answers (including audio – video tapes, if applicable) will be destroyed unless the respondent gives consent for it to be used in further research.

Participation & Withdrawal

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to choose not to participate. Should you choose to participate, you can withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any individual question without consequences.

Questions about the Study

If you have questions or concerns during the time of your participation in this study, or after its completion or you would like to receive a copy of the final aggregate results of this study, please contact me at:

Researcher's Name: Lura Morton
Email address: lmorton@pugetsound.edu

Giving of Consent

I have read this consent form and I understand what is being requested of me as a participant in this study. I freely consent to participate. I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions. The investigator provided me with a copy of this form. I certify that I am at least 18 years of age.

I give consent to be (*video/audio*) taped during my interview. _____ (initials)
(If applicable, please include this consent box and statement.)

Name of Participant

Name of Participant (Signed)

Date

Name of Researcher (Signed)

Date

Figure 2. Sample Interview Questions

1. Why do you think, if at all, women's political participation is important?
2. Can you please describe what a usual day working as a parliamentarian looks like?
3. Do women face gender discrimination in parliament? If so, can you please explain what forms it takes?
4. The 2011 Constitution contains articles that require a minimum number of seats for women in parliament -- a quota system.
 - a. What is your opinion on this quota system?
 - b. Do you feel that these quotas are respected?
 - c. Do the quotas empower women?
 - d. Have they encouraged women to vote for women?
 - e. Have they encouraged women to run for seats against men in local elections? In positions not guaranteed to be won by a woman?
 - f. Are they restricting? If so, how?
5. Do the duties entrusted of men and women differ in terms of what legislation women focus on or the work that they do for their parties?
6. Do women in some political parties hold more power than women in other political parties?
 - a. How so? What form does this power take?
7. Do women from different political parties consult on issues?
8. Do parliamentarians feel pressure from women's rights NGOs to create legislation pertinent to advancing women's rights?
9. Do NGOs pressure female parliamentarians to work together regardless of party affiliation?
10. What restricts women from working together across party lines?
 - a. Personal ideology?
 - b. Political party ideology?
 - c. Fear of being voted out of position or party?
11. Did female parliamentarians have a specific role in crafting law 103.13 as it is a law specifically for violence against *women*?
 - a. Did they seem more passionate about the law because it relates specifically to women's rights?
12. How many women voted in favor of the law?

- a. Were all female parliamentarians present at the final vote for the law?