Stereotypes and Women in Moroccan Culture*

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Abstract

Stereotypes about women in Morocco may be characterized as incomplete and inaccurate cultural beliefs that some people hold about them and that are encoded in linguistic expressions as well as in underlying discourses. Popular Moroccan culture employs powerful representations to vehicle and sustain these stereotypes. Although there are some positive stereotypes, most stereotypes about women in Morocco are negative and reflect the underlying patriarchal dictates that structure gender relations in Moroccan cultures. Moroccan women are not, however, passive recipients and transmitters of stereotypes; they use strategies to fight back.

0. Introduction

The term “stereotype” initially referred to a printing stamp which was used to make multiple copies from a single model or mold. Walter Lippmann (1922) was the first scholar to adopt the term and use it as a means of describing the way society sets about categorizing people or “stamping” them with a specific set of characteristics. Lippmann (Ibid) identifies four major aspects of stereotypes: simplicity, secondhand acquisition, falsehood, and resistance to change. Accordingly, stereotypes are simpler than reality (often capable of being summarized in only two to three sentences), acquired from

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cultural mediators rather than from direct experience, false by nature (as they attempt to claim that each individual human being in a certain group shares a set of common qualities with the members of that group), and tenacious (even after centuries of recorded history, the old stereotypes relating to gender and race are still stubbornly present in the most developed countries).

In Morocco, stereotypes are significant because Moroccan culture regulates men’s and women’s lives in a rather strict way and, hence, creates a strong common cultural mindset which is translated into sociolinguistic patterns of thought and behavior. Stereotypes in Moroccan culture are direct expressions of beliefs and values. This article is structured into three main sections: Section 1 deals with the major components that constitute Moroccan culture, Section 2 with stereotypes and gender relations, and Section 3 with women’s reactions to negative stereotypes.

1. The Major Components of Moroccan Culture

Culture may be broadly defined as a system of practices, rituals, beliefs, values, and ways of meaning of a community. All cultures control their members, but they differ in the degree of the control they impose on the individual and social behaviors of their members, as well as the parameters within which the members conduct their destiny within their overall environment. Moroccan culture is of a type that strongly constrains the behavior of men and women. The strength of this control comes from the fact that it is channeled through powerful social institutions, eight of which have a direct impact on gender perception and gender role assignment: (i) history, (ii) geography, (iii) Islam, (iv) orality, (v) multilingualism, (vi) social organization, (vii) economic status, and (viii) political system (Sadiqi, 2003).

1.1. History

Although Moroccan national history is still in the process of creation and is as much a product of oral tradition as recorded history, it is considered by the state and the Moroccan educational system part of al-‘ilm (written knowledge/science). Moroccan national history has been officially recorded by men, and hence the images of women in
it are presented from typically male points of view. In these views, women’s roles as
individuals are either ignored or made secondary to men’s, and as such, women’s
subordination has been constructed and transmitted over the years. Indeed, male views in
historical records justify women’s subordination in postcolonial societies (cf. Kandiyoti
1991; Cooke 1994; Badran 1995). Given the quasi-absence of female interpretations of
events in the Moroccan recorded history, a rigid gender dichotomy has been adopted
throughout the centuries and is inherited by the relatively recent generations in the
present times. This historical legacy has deepened the gap between the two sexes and its
impact has been accentuated by the status of written history as a “venerated” institution in
the Moroccan socio-cultural context. The close association between Moroccan national
history and written languages¹ distances it even further from women, the overwhelming
majority of whom are still illiterate, and, thus, ignorant of Morocco’s written history.

1.2. Geography

The geographical position of Morocco is important in understanding Moroccan
“pluralistic” culture (Khatibi 1983). Morocco is the Westernmost country of North
Africa; it is situated at the crossroads between Africa and Europe, a fact which provides it
with both African and European characteristics. Although Morocco has always been
considered part of the East by Westerners, it is the most accessible to the West; it is the
first stop for many Western European travelers who often consider it the prototypical
African, Arab, Muslim country. Morocco’s geographical position explains three gender-
related facts: religious tolerance, cultural heterogeneity and linguistic complexity.

¹ Among the languages used in Morocco, Standard Arabic and French are written, but Moroccan Arabic
and Berber are still mainly oral.
1.3. Islam

Like history and geography, Islam is a pillar of Moroccan culture. Islam was introduced in Morocco in the year 712 and has ever since been the official state religion. Morocco is defined in the Constitution as an Islamic monarchy, symbolized by the King’s status as the head of the executive power and the *amir a-lmu?minin* (the Commander of the Faithful). Morocco’s proximity to Europe has promoted a spirit of tolerance in the way Islam has been conceived and practiced in Morocco. Islam in this country has never been daily threatened by the presence of Christianity or Judaism, as is the case in the Middle East, where Islam coexists and even “competes” with these two religions.

When dealing with Islam and modernity, it is crucial to differentiate between Islam as “faith” and Islam as “culture”. Islam as faith is perceived as a personal relationship between an individual and God, and Islam as culture is perceived as part and parcel of the Moroccans’ overall identity (whether they practice Islam or not). The strong cultural identity aspect of Islam is apparent in many strong icons of Moroccan social life. For example, almost all aspects of Moroccan social behavior are religious in origin and nature, such as greetings and leave-takings, as well as rituals that accompany the celebration of marriage, birth, circumcision, funerals, etc.

Islam interacts with other aspects of Moroccan culture (Geertz 1968; Eickelman 1976). It is perceived and practiced in a way that is peculiar to the Moroccan socio-cultural context in the sense that Islamic principles are translated into the Moroccan local culture and have become impregnated by it. This is attested in the “classical style” of Moroccan Islam, as opposed to the “national style” of Indonesian Islam (cf. Geertz 1971), for example. As Geertz (1971) notes, these differences are exhibited in the shape of the mosques, dress, and ritual practices and are due to the fact Morocco and Indonesia constitute the farthest geographical limits of the Islamic geographical area.

The relationship between “gender”, as a modern analytical tool, and Islam is tightly linked to the relationship between feminism and Islam: liberal feminists prone feminism with Islam as Islam is part and parcel of Moroccan culture and is, thus, embodied in the feminists’ secular orientation.

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2 Islam was the official religion of both Arab and Berber royal dynasties.
3 It is true, however, that there are Jewish and Christian Moroccans, but these are relatively much smaller in number than Muslims.
1.4. Orality

Orality is an important component of Moroccan culture which deeply differentiates it from mainstream Western culture. In the Moroccan culture, speech carries greater significance in regulating everyday life than writing as communication is mainly channeled through unwritten languages. As Moroccan culture is deeply based on “collective Self” (Sadiqi 2003), the views of others count and carry social meaning. For example, oral blessings, profanity, curses, insults, etc. are more consequential in Moroccan culture than in Western culture. These oral ways of expressing the Self are not mere words; they carry genuine positive or negative values and regulate people’s behavior in no trivial way. The importance of speech in Moroccan culture is also attested in the fact that conversation is perceived as a means of bonding between people. Speech in Moroccan culture is inherently dependent on the private and public dichotomy: public and private speeches are two distinct acts: whereas the former is geared towards keeping appearances and, thus, is far from reflecting facts, the latter is more personal and direct.

The unique place of orality in Morocco is largely due to the fact that the two mother tongues used in this country (that is, Moroccan Arabic and Berber) are still perceived and practiced as oral mediums of communication. The tight link between non-written mother tongues and orality positions the latter at the center of the Moroccan speech community’s sensory experience. As such, orality is a powerful system of communication that deeply shapes the way visual and non-visual representations of cultural roles, among which gender roles, are constructed, maintained and perpetuated in the Moroccan culture. Being related to seeing and hearing, orality is a valuable source of information and a strong vehicle of cultural values.

Orality is also closely related to illiteracy women, as the vast majority of the latter are illiterate and do not have access to print and electronic texts. These women express their inner Self, transmit various types of knowledge to their children, and communicate with the world outside home exclusively through the oral medium. The written medium is generally perceived by these women as alien; and even when the written languages (that is, Standard Arabic and French) are used orally in the audio-visual media, these women do not readily identify with these languages; they do not generally understand movie
broadcasts on TV and television programs. Most of them identify with Egyptian films because the latter are channeled through the typically oral Egyptian dialect.

Orality has a dual status in Morocco: it is simultaneously both a “degenerate”, “vulgar” and “lower class” medium of expression and a powerful symbol identity and authenticity. The negative attitude to orality resides in the fact that it is transmitted by the non-prestigious mother tongues: Berber and Moroccan Arabic. As for the positive attitude to orality, it resides in the fact that it characterizes Moroccan culture from Western literate cultures, thus constituting an identity aspect in cross-cultural encounters. The power of ikelma (the oral word) is attested in many deep aspects of the Moroccan culture, such as the marriage contracts, business contracts, and even legacies after death. These contracts were, up to relatively recent times, based exclusively on the oral medium. In present-day Moroccan society, ikelma, more precisely ikelma d rrajel “the oral word of a man” has authority, especially in rural areas. The dual status of orality in the Moroccan socio-cultural context is deeply related to the ambiguous status of women in the Moroccan socio-cultural context.

1.5. Multilingualism

Like orality, multilingualism is a defining component of Moroccan culture. An understanding of gender role conception in Moroccan culture necessitates a prior understanding of the overall linguistic situation in this country, as well as the way languages are used by men and women. The linguistic situation in Morocco is complex as it not only involves a variety of languages but also highlights the social meanings of oppositions such as mother tongue/learned languages, oral/written languages, prestigious/non-prestigious languages, etc. The complexity of this linguistic situation is the result of Morocco’s historical background and geographical position. The languages used in Morocco neither have the same status nor the same symbolic value in the local linguistic market (Ennaji 1991; Boukous 1995).

Unlike in the Middle Eastern cultures where multilingualism is often considered a threat to Arab unity and identity, multilingualism is perceived in Moroccan culture as a positive identity-builder. It is highly respected and generally perceived as a way of
increasing the individual’s potential for communication and a way of opening up horizons for him/her so far as jobs and social ascension are concerned. Indeed, the mastery and use of more than one language brings social power to language users in Morocco. In the private sector, knowledge of French and/or English is an absolutely necessary requirement. As for intellectuals, they perceive multilingualism as a means of knowing better oneself, one’s own language(s) and culture, and as a source of social capital, as well as a basis of tolerance toward others.

Being a power-related factor in Morocco, multilingualism has social meaning and is important in gender perception and construction. Its importance stems from its correlation with class and level of education: the more economically privileged and more educated a person is the more likely s/he is likely to be multilingual, and the poorer and uneducated one are, the less likely one are to be multilingual (cf. Boukous 1995, and Ennaji 1997).

If Moroccan women are considered as a group, then the most economically privileged sections are likely to be bi-, if not multi-, lingual. Women who speak only Berber and/or Moroccan Arabic usually belong to the lower classes and are at a disadvantage at the level of communication in comparison to middle and upper class women. As for monolingual women who speak either Berber or Moroccan Arabic, they are illiterate in the majority of cases. Monolingual Berber women usually live in remote rural villages. Within this overall Moroccan social context, monolingual women are socially perceived as constituting the most disadvantaged portion of the Moroccan population (Ennaji and Sadiqi, forthcoming). However, these women are very successful in the local communities where they live: they work inside their homes and in the fields, they support families and move easily between local villages.

1.6. Social Organization

Of all the components of Moroccan culture, it is social organization that has the strongest impact on gender perception and gender construction. Men and women in Morocco evolve within the same social and cultural context. Cultural discourses constantly circulate and affect their speech and behaviour. These discourses are not internalized and reproduced mechanically; they filter through an “active” reproduction
mechanism where social organization plays a key role. Moroccan society is built on clear role assignments for men and women. These roles guarantee the structure and functioning of society. Control over men’s and women’s behavior is ensured through rituals, the codes of honor and morality, and “collective Self” (Sadiqi 2003). These three designata are created, fostered and perpetuated in the unit of the Moroccan social organization: the family. The family in Morocco is in most cases agnostic and patriarchal. Moroccan family structure is generally headed by the father and the father’s male lineage and is legally founded on blood relations; “natural” affiliation (that is, cases where women, usually very young, give birth to a child whose father is not known) and adoption are rejected culturally.

The patriarchal system is built on the exclusion of women from spaces of public power and by the sanction of all forms of physical and moral violence against them in these spaces. Women’s freedom is seen as a challenge to the patriarchal social fabric and men’s status quo. It is in the family that women are initiated into their role of guardians of social organization. This initiation is channeled through a rigid system of kinship relations, a battery of traditions and rituals, and taboo. This channeling is largely achieved through the use of language. Given this state of affairs, it is only within the Moroccan social organization framework that gender role assignment and subversion can be understood.

1.7. Economic Status

Morocco’s developing economic status is another component of Moroccan culture. Before and during the colonization by France which lasted from 1912 to 1956, Morocco’s economy was typically rural and traditional as it relied mainly on agriculture. After Morocco’s independence, the country started its process of modernization which materialized in the emergence of modern-type cities and sustained rural exodus to urban areas. This dramatic transition deeply upset traditional Moroccan social organization and resulted in relatively “abrupt” gender-related transformations. Two aspects of these transformations are relevant from the perspective of this article: a reorganization of gendered spaces with the advent of women’s salaried work and the problem of illiteracy especially in rural areas. Both aspects existed before modernization, but their social
meanings changed with modernism. For example, with the emergence of salaried work, the notions of “public space” and “private space” changed, and with the emergence of a liberal urban female elite, illiteracy became associated with poor and rural areas. To these aspects, is added the fact that development has brought a widening of the difference between what women produce and what they earn, as well as a difference in the technologies between those used by men at work and those used by women at home.

1.8. Political System

The Moroccan political system is another important component of Moroccan culture. It is relevant to the understanding of two major aspects of gender perception in the Moroccan context: the rigid dichotomization of gender in the public sphere and the role of monarchy in promoting women at the political level. Indeed, the domain of politics is a strong site of public power which is closely linked to men in the Moroccan society (Arat 1989). Men are the ones who make politics and discuss political issues inside and outside the family. This association of politics with men has its roots in the Moroccan culture where the notion of jama’a (group), which constitutes the basis of the Arab-Islamic tradition of ruling, is perceived as containing men only. By implication, citizenship is culturally assumed to be first and foremost male because in the Moroccan cultural imagery, men are the ones who are supposed to rule over women and children. The cumulative effect of this state of affairs has created a “political culture” where the hierarchical superiority of men over women is deeply inscribed in the public sphere.

As for monarchy, it is positively viewed in the Moroccan culture, as it is associated with both religion and and modernity. Monarchy has had a very significant impact on the political status of women in Moroccan society. More than political parties and civil society, it was monarchs who foregrounded women on the political scene. The last three Moroccan kings openly encouraged the integration of women in the social and economic developments by adopting a view that reconciles “tradition” with “modernity”. King Mohamed V, who ruled from 1927 to 1961, was the first king in the history of Morocco to “unveil” his own daughter in public. King Hassan II, who ruled from 1961 to 1999, nominated the first four women Secretaries of State. King Mohamed VI, who became king in 1999, is the first Moroccan monarch to nominate a female Royal
Counceller. He further constantly refers to giving wider opportunities and more integration of women in decision-making and special attention to the eradication of female illiteracy in rural and urban areas.

This brief overview of the major components of Moroccan culture is meant to show that gender perception and gender role assignment in Morocco stem from the way Moroccan culture defines men and women. The negative stereotyping about women in this culture is mainly due to the rather negative representations that culture creates in the family and perpetuates in the powerful institutions of the public sphere. What is then the relationship between gender roles and stereotyping in Morocco.

2. Stereotypes and Gender Relations in Moroccan Culture

Stereotypes are valuable tools in the analysis of gender relations in Moroccan culture. They provide us with an important and revealing expression of otherwise hidden beliefs and values. This means that stereotypes are especially useful in tracing the evolution of gender relations —the way in which the beliefs and values associated with specific groups change over time.

It is true that Moroccan women are socially heterogeneous, but they are subject to the same patriarchy (based on space –*hudud*) and the same social organization, both of which constituting the root of stereotyping. It is within the family, where socialization starts, that Moroccan women are generally believed to be “too emotional”, “too weak”, “too wicked”, “hard-working”, “patient”, and “obedient”.

These stereotypes are created and perpetuated by the social meanings they are given in the Moroccan socio-cultural context: women are socially defined as more emotional, weaker, more wicked, more hard-working, more patient, and more obedient than men. These constructed, sometimes paradoxical, social definitions of women are highly valued and, consequently, readily adopted and transmitted by both men and women to their children. Failure to adapt to these socially constructed ideals of how women are expected to be and behave is strongly resisted from within society and leads to rejection and marginalization. The actual process of stereotyping is cumulative and

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largely unconscious, a fact which explains its tenacity and pervasiveness in a social system. This tenacity and pervasiveness stem from the “taken-for-granted” nature of stereotypes and sanctions their validity and close association with the prevailing social wisdom in a society.

Gender stereotypes in Moroccan culture present a number of characteristics. First, they are mainly channeled through language. In fact, there is a direct correlation between the way speakers of Moroccan languages use gender nuances in their everyday speech and these speakers’ knowledge or stereotypes of the way sex-roles are distributed in Moroccan society. A host of paradoxical expressions in Moroccan Arabic such \textit{lmra yir wliya} “a woman is weak”, \textit{cyalat lefṣat} “women are vipers” clearly reflect the stereotypes that women are at the same time weak, unreliable, and wicked by nature. Other expressions which invoke “social utility” such as being a good wife and a good mother are more positive: \textit{mra Salḥa ḥsan man myat rajel} “a socially useful woman is better that a hundred men”. The mere utterance of such stereotypical expressions has a great force of persuasion in conversations. In fact, expressions that reinforce stereotypes function as social reminders of how women need to behave and how men need to treat them.

Second, gender stereotypes in the Moroccan socio-cultural context may be explicit or implicit. Explicit stereotypes include explicit gender identity and are attested in areas relating to home and work. These stereotypes highlight the ambivalent attitude of society in general, and men in particular, towards women. For example, men exhibit a positive attitude towards mothers and “good” wives, but negative attitude towards a “female leader”. Explicit stereotypes reinforce the close relationship between women and their homes and “fight” any association of women with the public sphere (the street as opposed to home) by featuring women as victims, alien beings, transgressing invaders, in the public domain. This type of stereotypes is exemplified in two popular sayings: \textit{shawr lmra w la ddir brayha} “consult a woman but do not take her opinion into consideration” and \textit{lmra ḥqalha Syīr} “a woman’s mind is small”.

As for implicit stereotypes, they constitute the sum of internalized attitudes and beliefs about gender as a social category. This internalization is largely unconscious and results from socialization and everyday cumulative behavior at home, school, work, etc.
As such, implicit stereotypes operate in a way which often escapes conscious control and ends up by constituting some kind of symbolic law for the members of a community. For example, women are implicitly assumed to be poor public leaders, poor interlocutors in religious matters, weak advisers in serious matters, etc. Such implicit stereotypes are attested in the behavior and speech of even people who do not espouse explicit stereotypes. Compared to explicit stereotypes, implicit stereotypes are extremely pernicious and tenacious.

Third, gender stereotypes in Moroccan culture may, in principle, be positive or negative. While positive stereotypes are not problematic, negative ones create prejudice and shape a powerful and lasting male-biased group mentality. Most of the stereotypes about women in Moroccan culture are negative. In general, female talk, attributes, actions, and habits are more negatively depicted in Moroccan languages than male talk, attributes, actions, and habits. Women and their language are systematically subject to biased, pejorative, and reductive stereotyping that are reflected in some most common expressions in everyday speech such as *suq nnsa* (literally “women’s market”, but meaning “trivial” and “unworthy”), *shul lgyalat* (literally “women’s work”, but meaning “something badly done”), and *klam legyalat* (literally “women’s talk”, but meaning “unreliable” and “childish”). These and similar expressions are often used as derogatory terms or even insults. The fact that women’s voice in Moroccan culture is ‘awra “taboo” is at the root of the strong stereotypes surrounding their language. In fact, there is a stereotype in Moroccan culture which strongly disfavors women’s language in general. The notion of differentiating Moroccan women’s language from men’s results from the “duality” (men-leader/women-subordinate) stereotype that is deeply rooted in Moroccan culture. It is on the basis of this stereotype that what is understood as “women’s language” is often associated with a distinctive pronunciation (e.g. high pitch), distinctive word choices (e.g. diminutives), and distinctive performance styles (e.g. euphemisms) although Moroccan women exhibit a wide range of variety in their intonation patterns, do not always use diminutives, and are often taxed as lacking “nuanced” ways of expression that are attested in specific constructions like euphemisms. The social attitude to “women’s language” is an attitude to a monolithic image of women that Moroccan society has constructed and wants to preserve. It is this constructed image that freely
produces stereotypes according to which women talk too much or too loudly, gossip, lie, limit their conversation to trivialities, pronounce words incorrectly or with too much precision, hesitate, and are too raucous or too polite. “Women’s language” is also stereotyped as domestic and subservient in the Moroccan culture.

Another stereotype about Moroccan women is the fact that they bring about the “evil eye” through their speech. The evil eye refers to “evil” (illness, misfortune, or even death) that a person’s language or presence causes. If, for example, a person gets hurt, looses something, or hears bad news after having met or spoken to a woman, this person would readily attribute the mishap to the woman. Women that are particularly considered a source of the evil eye are usually old, divorced, or widows. In the presence of this category of women, newborns, brides, and even businesses are usually “protected” by “amulets” that are inserted in clothes or put in hidden places. This stereotype neutralizes the power that these this category of women have in Moroccan culture; a power which resides in the fact that they have more public freedom and are more likely to subvert conventional gender roles and, thus, need to be “socially tamed” through stereotyping. Interestingly, old and divorced men, as well as widowers, are positively viewed in Moroccan culture as they constitute potential husbands and do not jeopardize the male status quo.

Some stereotypes are not straightforwardly negative, but are nonetheless “harmful” to women in the sense that they put much pressure on them. For example, in Moroccan society, women are expected to work very hard; to the extent of sacrificing all their time to the welfare of their husbands and children. The harder a woman works the better she is socially judged. This stereotype is epitomized in the two concepts of sbbara “enduring” and hadga “hard-working”, both being two highly valued attributes according to which women are primarily judged inside and outside their families. Girls are trained to be enduring and hard-working from their young age, and the more girls show an eagerness to do housework, the better their chances are in finding a husband. Even if they have a job outside home, women are expected to be enduring and hard-working. A career urban woman is said to be mra w rajel “both a woman and a man” or lalla w mulati “mistress of the house”; both expressions refer to “do-it-all” career women. The latter stereotypes are as unliberating as the previous ones; they often make women feel the need
to continuously work hard and justify each of their actions in order to achieve recognition in the family and in society. Paradoxically, the category of “do-it-all” career women does not fit in the positively viewed shy, submissive and “feminine” category of women and it is up to women to accommodate both, which puts further stress on them.

Moroccan Women’s Reactions

Moroccan women have never been passive recipients of negative stereotypes. Depending on social variables such as geographical origin, class, level of education, marital status, etc., women react to stereotypes by adopting one of the following strategies:

First, the use of “countertypes”. A “countertype” is a positive stereotype (one which arouses “good” emotions and associates a group of people with socially approved characteristics) which evolves as an attempt to replace or “counter” a negative stereotype which has been applied previously to a specific group of people. The negative stereotype of “Women as Helpless Victims” has been challenged in recent years. Countertypes are important reflections (and shapers) of popular beliefs and values, but at least two characteristics need to be emphasized lest we permit good intentions to blind us to their real meaning and nature: (i) countertypes are still stereotypes, and this means that they are still oversimplified views of the group being stereotyped. A countertype, in other words, cannot be accepted at face value any more than the negative stereotype it is seeking to replace or meliorate. (ii) countertypes are often merely surface correctives -- scratch an intended countertype and you will often discover an old stereotype lurking underneath.

Second, women’s advocacy groups have argued for years that the absence of successful women role models, particularly in public life and education, perpetuates stereotypes of women’s unsuitability for leadership positions.

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5 The various stereotypes that surround women and their speech are reinforced in textbooks and the media.
Third, intellectuals have shown that placing women into easily-understandable categories eliminates the necessity of trying to understand them, while serving to reinforce the superiority of men’s own way of thinking.

Fourth, researchers in business have shown that behavior based on stereotypes can have dramatic consequences for an organization’s success.

Fifth, researchers have also determined that exclusively male networks may be responsible for developing stereotypes and nurturing negative attitudes and prejudices towards women managers. They have discovered that if corporate women had more access to networking groups then perhaps they could reach senior management positions and in turn partake in international management.

Conclusion

Moroccan culture is replete with stereotypes that are negative to women. These stereotypes hide the heterogeneity and great complexity of women in Morocco. In the Moroccan context, stereotypes are very hard to circumvent because they are often unconscious and experienced as an emotional reaction to our own cultural programming, urban legends and popular myths, hearsay, labeling, and media misrepresentation. It is easier to create stereotypes when there is a clearly visible and consistent attribute that can easily be recognized. This is why women are so easily stereotyped. Being aware of stereotypes that harm women is the first step towards combating them.

Bibliography


