

Legal Literacy & the Moudawana

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Abstract

In 2004, the Moroccan government passed a reformed version of the 1993 Moudawana, or family law. On paper, this law significantly increases the rights of women. However, it has yet to be fully implemented due to several factors, one of which is legal literacy. Through interviews with the British Embassy and the International Human Rights Law Group, I assessed the educational model each organization utilized in its efforts to address the issue of legal literacy amongst women in Morocco. Additionally, I determined the success of each association in the short-term based on the specific social, political, legal, and cultural context of Morocco.

Introduction

In 2004, the Moroccan government passed a reformed version of the 1993 Moudawana, or family law. On paper, this law significantly increases the rights of women. However, it has yet to be fully implemented due to several factors, one of which is legal literacy. Many organizations have recognized the lack of legal awareness in Morocco as problematic, especially amongst semi-literate and illiterate women. Without specifically targeted efforts these women have limited opportunities to learn and practice their legal rights in a political and legal environment.

Within the scope of this paper, I describe and analyze how two organizations, the British Embassy and the International Human Rights Law Group, have addressed the problem of low legal literacy amongst women in Morocco and to what extent they have been successful. First I describe at length the objectives and efforts of both associations. Afterwards, I characterize their initiatives as one of three models: information-giving, integrated, and interactive. Based on the social, political, legal, and cultural context of these programs, I then determine the effectiveness of each in the short-run. This type of research will not only aid efforts to improve the efficiency and potential of legal literacy agendas within Morocco, but will also add to the quality of available research in the field of legal literacy on an international scale.

In order to obtain information on the constraint imposed by limited legal literacy and the measures taken to address it, I conducted interviews with two organizations, the British Embassy and the International Human Rights Law Group in Rabat, Morocco from December 20, 2008 through January 5, 2009. Each interview was conducted in English and lasted an average of two hours. A list of questions posed to each organization is in the appendix.

Literature Review

The literature on legal literacy as a theoretical concept and in practice is abundant. A variety of definitions are presented and described within the body of work, ranging from vague statements generalizing the idea to precise explanations complete with specific details.

James Boyd White uses a broad definition in his article “The Invisible Discourse of the Law: Reflections on Legal Literacy and General Education” that clarifies how an informed individual uses legal literacy. He states that a legally literate citizen that understands the structure knows when to ask for help, can protect and advance his or her interests, and is able to fully participate in the political system¹. Florence Butegwa, author of “Challenges of Promoting Legal Literacy Among Women in Uganda”, provides an equally vague explanation that it is the acquisition of legal knowledge and the legal system². This is incomplete, however, as it fails to reference the role of practice that is emphasized in legal literacy education. Jay Erstling addresses this component in his article “Some Observations on Women’s Legal Literacy and the Promotion of Economic Development in South Asia,” arguing that “self and social empowerment to take action for change” should be the desired outcome³. This is too basic of a definition, as it lacks any mention of pertinent details.

The GenderReach Information Bulletin supplies a detailed explanation in its article “...And Justice for All: Legal Literacy for Women”, but it is too specific for the purpose of this paper. The programs in Morocco that I analyzed cover a wide range of activities and intentions that do not necessarily meet the rigorous demands listed. It describes legal

¹ James Boyd White, “The Invisible Discourse of the Law: Reflections on Legal Literacy and General Education,” University of Colorado Law Review Winter 1983: 2 – 3.

² Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham and Margaret Schuler, Legal Literacy: A Tool for Women’s Empowerment (New York: UNIFEM 1992) 150.

³ Jay Erstling, “Some Observations on Women’s Legal Literacy and The Promotion of Economic Development in South Asia,” Sri Lanka Journal of International Law 1996: 61.

literacy as the process of helping women overcome their role as victims through cultivating a new thinking towards their status and explaining how the law is relevant to their lives. It also illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of the law and how it can be used as an instrument for change⁴.

The definition of legal literacy that I have chosen for this paper is provided, but not written, by Erstling. Margaret Schuler and Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham are the original authors of this succinct yet sufficient description. They state that legal literacy is the “process of acquiring: critical awareness about rights and the law, the ability to assert rights, and the capacity to mobilize for change.”⁵ This addresses the key components of legal literacy but is still broad enough to incorporate the three most common program models discussed in the literature: information-giving, integrated, and interactive.

The information-giving model is the most basic and frequently used of the three methods. Its underlying rationale is that the social and economic inequality that exists is due to a lack of awareness surrounding legal rights⁶. Once an individual or group has been educated on their legal rights, it is assumed that this awareness will translate directly into practice⁷. This can best be achieved through seminars, conferences, pamphlets, and lectures that educate the uninformed⁸. Those interested in responding to injustice within the system leave this responsibility to trained lawyers, rather than working to reform the law themselves⁹.

Most of the case studies found in the literature follow this model. In Malaysia, legal literacy initiatives were manifested in the form of a conference. In a three-day international

⁴ GenderReach, “...and Justice for All: Legal Literacy for Women,” GenderReach Information Bulletin [Bethesda] 30 September 1999: 1.

⁵ Erstling 62.

⁶ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 96.

⁷ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 143.

⁸ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 96.

⁹ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 130.

seminar, individuals presented their perspectives on legal literacy and 200 participants took part in workshops. Pamphlets were distributed for the purpose of helping women leaders spread information about the law to their respective villages and neighborhoods¹⁰. Indonesia's Institute for Consultation and Legal Aid both educated women and children on their legal rights and provided legal aid to those in need through access to lawyers and social workers¹¹.

Other programs included the legal aid component, but primarily focused on increasing awareness through other means. In Sri Lanka, various strategies were employed, such as the distribution of printed materials, production of films about legal literacy, monitoring the courts, and the organization of informational seminars¹². Programs in Argentina provided training through similar methods, but also established centers for legal assistance and legal literacy education¹³. Designs in Uganda and India focused on discussion groups that were devoted to the priorities of their populations, such as marriage conditions and divorce¹⁴.

In addition, the Flora Tristan Center in Peru, the Sudan Legal Aid Association in Sudan, and the Women's Integrated Legal Literacy Project in Uzbekistan utilized seminars and workshops, distributed pamphlets, and provided counseling services to increase awareness of legal rights^{15 16}. Overall, these nine programs gave their respective populations access to information about the law and their rights, but failed to educate

¹⁰ Margaret Schuler, Empowerment and the Law: Strategies of Third World Women (DC: OEF International, 1986) 204 – 8.

¹¹ Schuler 208 – 12.

¹² Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 123 – 32.

¹³ Schuler 342 – 5.

¹⁴ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 99 – 100 & 146- 7.

¹⁵ Schuler 219 – 21 & 330 – 4.

¹⁶ WIN, "Uzbekistan: Women's Integrated Legal Literacy Project," WIN News [Lexington] Autumn 2000: 1.

participants on the structure of the political and legal system¹⁷. They also failed to provoke a critical reassessment of the power structure within society¹⁸.

The integrated model addresses one of the weaknesses mentioned in the critique of the information-giving model: the lack of attention given to the political system. Programs utilizing the integrated model inform about legal rights and the structure of the political and legal system¹⁹. The underlying rationale is that a comprehensive knowledge of the environment is necessary for the successful promotion of legislative reform²⁰.

Seven of the eighteen case studies met the criteria for the integrated approach. The Manuela Ramos Movement in Peru and the Women's Legal Office in Bolivia each focused solely on educating its respective populations. This was achieved with an explanation of the constitution and the legal system through workshops and publications²¹.

Others, such as the Family Law Projects in Nigeria, the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) in the Caribbean, and the Dominican Center for Legal Counseling and Research in the Dominican Republic incorporated an additional component on exercising legal rights. The Family Law Projects established a family law center with the mission of helping women understand the legal structure and exercise their rights confidently without forgoing their family responsibilities²². CAFRA's Women & Law project designed a program that provided information on the content of the law, as well as the structure of the parliamentary and judicial systems. This knowledge was imparted with the belief that it would help women become active participants in the legal process²³. The Dominican Center for Legal Counseling and Research created a program resembling that of

¹⁷ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 124.

¹⁸ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 100.

¹⁹ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 150.

²⁰ Schuler 214 – 5.

²¹ Schuler 221 – 4 & 326 – 9.

²² Schuler 335 – 41.

²³ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 81 – 4.

CAFRA, but placed a particular emphasis on promoting legislative reform and encouraging collective action²⁴.

Legal literacy programs in India and Bangladesh also replicated the designs in Nigeria, the Caribbean, and the Dominican Republic. A ten-day workshop in India and a longer-term program established in Banchte Shekha, Bangladesh both educated its peoples on the law and the structure of the system through role plays and songs in group settings²⁵. All of these programs taught legal literacy education in the context of the political and legal system. They did not, however, respond to the existing power structure to ensure enduring reform and change.

The interactive model builds upon the integrated model while addressing its major deficiency. Proponents of this approach argue that only a complete understanding of the limits and possibilities of the law will ensure female empowerment. This can only be accomplished through a critical look at the role of social relations in society and the legal process²⁶. Women will achieve change when they question their assumptions about their role in society and acknowledge the limits and possibilities of the law in their daily lives²⁷.

Only two case studies reflected programs with the interactive approach in mind. A government program's equality fair in India that lasted three days educated women on their legal rights while challenging them to question the societal norms they had previously accepted. Each day, female participants were lectured on the law's relevance to their lives as a large group, followed by smaller group discussions on the key topic. Through the sharing of personal stories, the facilitators had the opportunity to force the participants to

²⁴ Schuler 213.

²⁵ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 106 – 8 & Erstling 69 – 72.

²⁶ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 97 – 8.

²⁷ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 100.

reassess their assumptions²⁸. The Women and the Household project, sponsored by the Center for the Promotion and Action of Women (CEPAM) offered a similar opportunity to critically look at the social and legal systems in place. However, this process was achieved through courses, seminars, and workshops²⁹.

All eighteen of the legal literacy programs mentioned above, regardless of the model chosen, enrich the literature available on legal literacy initiatives around the world.

However, each case needs to be considered within a political, social, and cultural context that is unique to each country. Morocco's political, social, and cultural framework is not the same as that of Argentina, Sudan, or Uganda. This reality merits the need for a specific case study on Morocco to best address its individual situation. This paper will complement the limited literature available on legal literacy programs in the Middle East and North Africa. It will also improve the quality of the overall body of literature utilized for implementation and research in the future.

²⁸ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 101 – 6.

²⁹ Schuler 323 - 6.

Background Information on the Moudawana and Morocco

The Moudawana of 2004 has little resemblance to its predecessors of 1993 and 1957. The Personal Status Code of 1957 was created immediately after independence from France as a result of Allal al-Fasi's, the leader of the political party Istiqlal, efforts to incorporate 20th century expectations with Islamic principles³⁰. It was criticized for its limited scope and poor representation of reality of the average Moroccan female. Laurie Brand illustrates her disapproval of this version through her statement that it was designed for "a rich woman who does not work outside the home and whose status is guaranteed by reliance on her family. The poor woman is not really taken into consideration."³¹ It was founded on the Malikite school of Islamic law, which treated the woman as a minor throughout her life³². Many elements of Moroccan society agreed with this assessment and attempted to reform the 1957 family law, but were not successful until 1993.

The One Million Signature Campaign started by the Union de l'Action Feminine (UAF) in March 1992 gained enough momentum to attract King Hassan II's attention. The initiative targeted specific issues, including the need to restrict polygamy and the role of a *wali*, a male relative who has an instrumental role in securing a marriage contract, have divorce procedures supervised by a court, and increase women's access to education. In September of that year, he met with women activists and organizations and agreed to create the National Council for the Modification of the Moudawana and the Defense of Women's Rights to research the issue³³. This commission was composed of 21 persons, of which all but one had a background in religion. Only one woman was included. They drafted a

³⁰ Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, "Women, Islam, and the Moroccan State: the Struggle over the Personal Status Law," The Middle East Journal Summer 2005: 399.

³¹ Katja Zvan, "The Politics of the Reform of the New Family Law (the Moudawana)," Unpublished Dissertation (St. Antony's College, 2007) 52 - 3.

³² Maddy-Weitzman 399.

³³ Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, "'Demonstrating Islam': The Conflict of Text and the Mudawwana Reform in Morocco," The Muslim World [Oxford] January 2009: 144.

proposal that recommended only cosmetic changes³⁴. King Hassan II granted approval of the reformed document by royal decree on September 10, 1993, without any input from the Chamber of Representatives³⁵.

Despite the high hopes of women activists and organizations, the reform of 1993 was viewed as modest and insufficient, spurring further impetus for greater reform³⁶. A woman was able to choose her own *wali*, which allowed her the opportunity to have more influence on her future spouse. She, in addition to two professional witnesses, had to be present in the courtroom for a judge's declaration of a divorce to be legitimate. In the case of divorce, the wife was given custody of the children, a change from the precedent that the father automatically took control. Finally, a wife had to be informed of her husband's intention of marrying an additional wife and a judge's approval had to be given before polygamy was acceptable³⁷.

Women had gained some rights, but too few in comparison to the goals of the UAF and other organizations involved with the advancement of females in Moroccan society. Buskens protests "most male prerogatives were preserved, out of respect for the venerable Maliki tradition and for traditional values and customs, in order to avoid social upheaval."³⁸ It was noted that women still did not have the right to pursue a divorce unless neglect or abuse on the part of the husband could be proven. This was not easy, keeping women from practicing the same rights granted to their male counterparts. In the opinion of the

³⁴ Maddy-Weitzman 401.

³⁵ Leon Buskens, "Recent Debates on Family Law Reform in Morocco: Islamic Law as Politics in an Emerging Public Sphere," *Islamic Law and Society* 2003: 80.

³⁶ Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "How the Door of *Ijtihad* was Opened and Closed: A Comparative Analysis of Recent Family Law Reforms in Iran and Morocco," *Washington and Lee Law Review* 2007: 1507.

³⁷ Zvan 63 – 4.

³⁸ Buskens 81.

disappointed activists, women did not receive the treatment they deserved as adults in society³⁹.

Discontent continued to grow amongst female activists and women organizations, but opportunity for further advancement did not appear until the Alternance government was elected in 1999. Under its leadership, improving women's rights and economic conditions became a top priority. The Moudawana was explicitly referenced as a law that was "a serious obstacle to participation in all forms of public life for half of Morocco's population."⁴⁰ Following the death of King Hassan II, Mohammed VI took the throne and the Moudawana once again resurfaced as an issue on the government's agenda. In January 2000, Secretary of Social Protection, Family, and Childhood, Said Saadi presented the Plan for Women's Integration, which consisted of 215 recommendations for the improvement of health, labor, and education. 14 of these measures specifically referred to the personal status of women⁴¹.

Women congregated in Rabat to march for their cause in March 2000, prompting King Mohammed VI to respond. Organized by the Party for Progress and Socialism, trade unions, and 60 feminist associations, an estimated 40 – 50,000 people demonstrated their support for the Moroccan government and the World Bank⁴². Representing the opposition, the Organization in Defense of the Moroccan Family, a coalition of Islamist groups, also protested in Casablanca, drawing three times the number of participants⁴³. King Mohammed VI announced that his government would enforce the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and that he had replaced Said Saadi as the minister of the Ministry in Charge of Social

³⁹ Zvan 63 – 4.

⁴⁰ Maddy-Weitzman 402.

⁴¹ Dieste 145.

⁴² Maddy-Weitzman 393.

⁴³ Dieste 145 – 6.

Protection, Family, and Childhood. In his place, the King gave Nouzha Chekrouni the role of running the renamed Ministry in Charge of the Condition of Women, Protection of the Family, Childhood, and the Disabled. A year later, he met with women activists and organizations, listening to their needs and concerns⁴⁴. A commission was established in April 2001 to resolve the issue. It consisted of 16 members, 3 women and 13 men. Of the 13 men, 2 were progressive Islamic scholars⁴⁵. In January 2003, the committee announced it would make recommendations for the creation of a new Family Code rather than rewrite the Personal Status Laws. On October 10, 2003, King Mohammed VI publicized his reform proposal and submitted it to Parliament for approval. His version was still based on Shari'a law and Moroccan religious traditions, but the new changes were significant enough to allow a differentiation between it and the 1993 reform. Parliament approved the updated version of the Moudawana in January 2004⁴⁶.

The new Personal Status Code made substantial changes to all the areas contested by women activists and organizations, with the exception of inheritance and polygamy. These topics were not flexible within the reform debate, as the Quran clearly prescribes how to handle such matters. Other areas, such as marriage and divorce, were significantly altered for the benefit of the female population. The legal age of marriage for women was raised from 15 to 18, the same standard as it is for men⁴⁷. Women were given complete control of their choice of a spouse, as the requirement for a *wali* was eliminated. They were relieved of their duty to be obedient to their husbands and the responsibility of the family was given to both the wife and the husband. Additionally, the practice of polygamy was placed under strict judicial control, ensuring that acquiring another wife would be nearly

⁴⁴ Zvan 84 – 6.

⁴⁵ Mir-Hosseini 1509.

⁴⁶ Maddy-Weitzman 404.

⁴⁷ Zvan 91 – 2.

impossible. Divorce by repudiation, too, was given over to the control of a judge and the right to divorce by mutual consent was established⁴⁸. This means that both the husband and the wife have to be present for a divorce to be declared official by a judge. In the case of divorce, the woman automatically received custody while the husband is required to pay child support. Another improvement was that grandchildren on the daughter's side of the marriage were given the same inheritance rights as their counterparts on the son's side in the case of a grandparent's death⁴⁹.

The Moudawana of 2004 has been the subject of both praise and criticism. In the *"Best Practices": Progressive Family Laws in Muslim Countries*, this reform is characterized as a model case for Muslim countries attempting to integrate "new, progressive laws within the framework of Islam."⁵⁰ The report specifically applauds Morocco for its achievements in increasing the marriage age, requiring a woman's consent in marriage, awarding child custody in the case of divorce, removing the obedience clause from marriage contracts, ensuring full legal status for women, and granting citizenship to children⁵¹. Maddy-Weitzman, too, praises the effort in his statement that "given the intense interest in the subject, and the controversy it generated, the passage of a new family law replacing the *moudawwana* marked a seminal moment in the history of the struggle for women's equality in Morocco."⁵²

Nadia Yassine, however, is one of many that individuals and organizations that views the achievements of the Personal Status Code with skepticism. Yassine acknowledges that the new law is progressive, but warns that "the whole society and its structures need to

⁴⁸ Stephanie Willman Bordat and Saida Kouzzi, "The Challenge of Implementing Morocco's New Personal Status Law," *Arab Reform Bulletin* 2004: 1.

⁴⁹ Maddy-Weitzman 405.

⁵⁰ Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and RAND Corporation, "Best Practices' Progressive Family Laws in Muslim Countries," *Middle East Program* August 2005: 10.

⁵¹ Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and RAND Corporation 10 – 45.

⁵² Maddy-Weitzman 410.

be effectively reformed in order for the stipulations of the new Family Law to have an impact on society at large...reform has to happen in every sphere of society.”⁵³ The Moudawana of 2004 is only one step in the overall mission to advance the rights and overall status of women.

Yassine emphasizes that Morocco’s political and social context play a key role in the successful execution of the Moudawana. Not surprisingly, these components have slowed, and sometimes blocked, implementation efforts.

The Moroccan government is a constitutional monarchy, a style of government founded upon an authoritarian tradition that can be traced back through the country’s history. King Mohammed VI, the current king of Morocco, is the head of executive branch and acts as the “protector of the rights and liberties of the citizens, social groups, and communities.”⁵⁴ The prime minister, an individual chosen by the king, is in charge of serving the ministries within the government and initiating laws at the administrative level. The Parliament is composed of the Chamber of Counselors and the Chamber of Representatives. The former body has 270 seats that have a nine-year term. Professional organizations and labor groups indirectly choose one-third of the seats every three years. The Chamber of Representatives has 325 seats that have a five-year term, but these positions are filled through direct elections based on popular vote. In 1992, the Parliament was granted new budgetary powers and has the ability to force the king to enact all laws passed within thirty days. Additionally, the judiciary branch is comprised of the Supreme Court and subsequent courts, such as the communal and district courts. The king oversees over the Supreme Court and the Council of the Judiciary selects the sitting judges. Sorenson

⁵³ Zvan 80 – 90.

⁵⁴ David S. Sorenson, An Introduction to the Modern Middle East (Philadelphia: Westview Press, 2006) 399 – 400.

assesses this structure to be “a relatively open society compared to other traditional countries in the Arab World.”⁵⁵

As an Islamic state, the role of religion is deeply intertwined with Morocco’s system of governance. Raphael Chijioke Njoku acknowledges this reality through his assertion that “...although the European cultural influences have remained remarkable, Muslim ideology and customs permeate Moroccan life. Islamic ideas and worldview dominate the way millions of Moroccans explain reality...”⁵⁶ The political leader, the king in this case, must not only be the leader of his country, but also of the faithful Islamic community. As king, Mohammed VI has both worldly and religious authority. His religious status is a direct result of the royal family’s claim to be descendants of the Prophet Mohammed. This link requires that Moroccan citizens acknowledge the king as a descendent, bringing respect and legitimacy to his position of power⁵⁷. In addition, the role of Islam has allowed the government to place Shari’a law above all international and domestic secular law if there is a conflict of interest⁵⁸.

As of July 2009, there will be an estimated 34 million people living in Morocco. A majority, 64.7%, is between the ages of 15 and 64. 30% are between the ages of 0 and 14, and a mere 5.2% are 65 years of age or older⁵⁹. One-third of the Moroccan population lives in urban areas such as Rabat, Casablanca, Fez, and Meknes⁶⁰. The three most common languages spoken are Arabic, French, and Berber⁶¹.

⁵⁵ Sorenson 399 – 402.

⁵⁶ Raphael Chijioke Njoku, Culture and Customs of Morocco (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006) 18.

⁵⁷ Njoku 33.

⁵⁸ Zvan 68 – 9.

⁵⁹ CIA The World Factbook, “Morocco” 19 March 2009, 25 March 2009

<<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html#Geo>>

⁶⁰ Njoku 5.

⁶¹ CIA The World Factbook.

Literacy is defined by the CIA The World Factbook as someone who is 15 years or older who can read and write. In 2004, 52.3% of the population was literate. 65.7% of males could read and write, but only 39.6% of females had this ability⁶². Two years later, the overall literacy rate had increased to 54.7%⁶³. Maddy-Weitzman estimates that nearly two-thirds of Moroccan women are illiterate in comparison to 41% of men⁶⁴.

The role of Moroccan culture and tradition creates the social context into which the Moudawana of 2004 was introduced. In an interview with a young Moroccan named Hussein, Gary Gregg illustrates the importance of these two elements. Hussein states “if one comes to cut the *silat* (chains/links) of ideas or the chain of tradition or customs, you can’t live. Even if you’re in the middle of a big city, you can’t live. There isn’t anyone who can live without his traditions and customs.”⁶⁵ Sorenson, too, acknowledges the place of tradition in his observation that “tradition has its impact on gender relations in Morocco...husbands expect their wives to devote themselves to the home.”⁶⁶ This reality is partly a natural response of the historical view that women are sacred and in constant need of protection⁶⁷.

It is also a reflection of the dominant patriarchal authority that still exists in society today. It is assessed that “traditional Arab societies are hierarchal, patrilineal, patriarchal, and class-based, leaving women, children, and the poor as their most oppressed elements.”⁶⁸ Generally, men have a higher status and superior position to women, but this is changing as gender discrimination is becoming less prevalent⁶⁹. Kinship, however,

⁶² CIA The World Factbook.

⁶³ UNDP, “UNDP – POGAR: Arab Statistics” 25 March 2009
<<http://www.arabstats.org/countries.asp?cid=12&gid5>>.

⁶⁴ Maddy-Weitzman 398.

⁶⁵ Gary S. Gregg, Culture and Identity in a Muslim Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 133.

⁶⁶ Sorenson 404.

⁶⁷ Gregg 143.

⁶⁸ Maddy-Weitzman 394.

⁶⁹ Njoku 102 – 3.

continues to be defined through patrilineal lines. Married women are expected to take the name of their husbands and all resulting children belong to their father's kinship group. Children have a significant place within the family, as they make divorce more difficult because it is in the nature of parents to feel a need to protect their children's welfare⁷⁰. Another reason that women historically have not pursued divorce, even though the law allows such action, is that society does not deem it acceptable⁷¹. This illustrates the reality that the male dominated power structure is a component of tradition and culture that will often trump the opportunities that the law permits.

In the context of the challenges presented by the government structure, role of religion, and the educational and power hierarchy realities, the preventative factors described by Stephanie Bordat and Saida Kouzzi from Global Rights are expected and reasonable. They fear that the training provided to judges by the Ministry of Justice may not be enough to keep conservative religious interpretation out of the family court. There are an inadequate number of family courts in the rural areas, allowing families to continue to use the traditional *adouls* to preside over marriages and create contracts. Further, the high rates of illiteracy amongst women make the task of informing the public of the changes within the Moudawana more taxing. 42% of urban women and 82% of rural women are illiterate, leaving vast opportunity for extremist religious groups to spread incorrect information about the 2004 reforms⁷². For my research, however, I examined how legal literacy education was conducted, whether the women were literate or not.

⁷⁰ Njoku 94 – 5.

⁷¹ Njoku 101 – 2.

⁷² Bordat 1 – 2.

Presentation of Research

During my time in Morocco, I met with and interviewed two organizations involved with legal literacy campaigning for the reformed Personal Status Code. The British Embassy finished its project two years ago in 2007, while the International Human Rights Law Group (Global Rights) have continued their efforts.

The British Embassy

The British Embassy has been supportive of Morocco's continued efforts to democratize and modernize through human rights projects since 2000. Each project, including the production and distribution of the Family Judge booklets, was completed with the use of British and local expertise. Moroccan experts that aided the Family Code project included judges, lawyers, academics, and civil society activists. The Embassy has also been involved with electoral awareness, HIV, and media freedom projects throughout this period⁷³.

I met with Imad Eddine Rachid at the British Embassy in Rabat, Morocco on December 31, 2008. He served as Projects Officer during the period of production and distribution of the Family Judge booklet. At the conclusion of the interview, he gave me a copy of the Family Judge booklet in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Berber, as well as a DVD discussing the creation and distribution process.

In 2005, the British Embassy launched a two-year project in coordination with over 250 NGOs, both international and local, to spread awareness about the reformed Moudawana of 2004. This initiative was partially tied to the reality of limited educational opportunities in rural areas. In these places, the poor quality or lack of transportation

⁷³ "Embassy Supported Projects in Morocco 2000/2005" The British Embassy 2009, April 1, 2009. <http://ukinmorocco.fco.gov.uk/content/en/article/postma_projectsinmorocco#back_to_top_link>

options to travel to school makes it difficult for children to receive consistent schooling. Low literacy rates inevitably result, increasing the complexity of the task to inform populations about the Moudawana. Taking the low literacy rate into consideration, many non-government organizations (NGOs) responsible for distributing the booklet taught women their rights through the forum of a literacy course. It was noted that women learning their legal rights in these literacy courses had a greater motivation to study and become literate.

In some cases, women were not the only participants in legal literacy courses. Men, too, attended sessions in order to understand the rights and responsibilities granted to women in the new Moudawana. Misconceptions were dispelled and the male participants were exposed to the true principles of the reformed Family Law. This often led to less resistance towards the training of women in their legal rights, as well as their ability to use their legal knowledge in a real life context.

The British Embassy printed 40,000 copies of the booklet in simple MSA and left 186 NGOs with the task of distribution. This was in accordance with the participatory approach implemented by the Embassy. Although it was acknowledged that the Moroccan government needed to be involved to a certain degree, the key to efficiency and success is held by civil society. As a result, NGOs, rather than the appropriate government ministry, were responsible for distribution of the booklet and the education of the Moroccan population. It led to the education of 65,000 literate individuals and reached over 100,000 women in a two-year period⁷⁴.

Divided up into eight sections, the major themes and changes are addressed in the booklet through dialogues, brief explanations, and illustrations. Topics include the

⁷⁴ Imad Eddine Rachid, Personal Interview, 31 December 2008.

components of the marriage contract, the minimum legal age for females to marry, polygamy, and divorce.

Throughout the booklet, sample dialogue and illustrations complement the presentation of information to make comprehension easier for a semi-literate female audience. For example, the first chapter discusses the legal age of marriage. In a blue box underneath an image of a husband and wife in a living room, it summarizes law 19 from the Moudawana: a male or female can marry when they are 18 years old and mature. The following three pages consist of a dialogue between Fatima and Ahmed about the age of marriage for males and females. To conclude the section, the student is asked three questions: When can you marry? Can you order a female that is a minor to marry? Why? See this selection of the booklet in the appendix. This format requires that the students recall the facts given in the selection and that they apply it to their own lives. This structure continues throughout the booklet, drawing the students' attention to the key points and requiring that they personalize the newly acquired information.

The program implemented by the British Embassy was modeled on the information-giving model. As described above, the booklet provides information on the new Moudawana, but limits its scope to the legal rights of women. It does not place these legal rights within a political context nor does it ask the reader to critically look at the political, legal, or social structure currently in place.

The International Human Rights Group

The International Human Rights Law Group, or Global Rights is active in numerous countries around the world, including Afghanistan, Bosnia, India, and Nigeria. It defines itself as a "human rights advocacy group that partners with local activists to challenge

injustice and amplify new voices within the global discourse.”⁷⁵ Through the development of skills of local activists, Global Rights is able to “promote racial and gender equality and help people and communities feel empowered to change their societies.”⁷⁶ Underlying this mission is the belief that authentic and sustainable change will only occur if it is a result of an internal movement within the nation. Human rights cannot be forced upon a population, but must be “built from the ground up.”⁷⁷

I met with Houda Benbarek, the Regional Assistant Manager in the Maghreb for Global Rights in Rabat, Morocco, on December 24 and 25, 2008. She showed me the resource library and gave me several reports and publications related to legal literacy and the Moudawana⁷⁸.

Within Morocco, Global Right’s purpose is to help promote awareness of legal rights amongst female populations, create and strengthen links between urban-centered women’s NGOs and community-based groups, and increase the participation of women’s groups in the social and political atmosphere. Its human and legal rights education courses are designed to “increase women’s knowledge and awareness of their rights under national and international laws, and develop their individual and collective capabilities to defend their rights and mobilize for change.”⁷⁹

These intentions were the underlying motivation for the publication of “Making Human Rights Real: A Human and Legal Rights Education Program for Women in Morocco”

⁷⁵ Global Rights, 2009, April 1, 2009 <
<http://www.globalrights.org/site/PageServer?pagename=index>>

⁷⁶ Global Rights website.

⁷⁷ Global Rights website.

⁷⁸ I received a copy of the “Moroccan Family Code of February 5, 2004” translated into English, the book *Conditions, Not Conflict: Promoting Women’s Human Rights in the Maghreb through Strategic Use of the Marriage Contract*, and a copy of the “Facilitating for Women’s Human Rights Education Training Workshop Final Report” from 2002. The most relevant materials I received were a copy of the “Enhancing Legal Literacy Among Women in Morocco: Program Implementation and National Consultation Final Report” and a copy of the Moudawana Law poster that they created.

⁷⁹ Global Rights website.

in February 2002. The guide is 288 pages⁸⁰ and served as a resource for training female program facilitators throughout Morocco. Initially it was used to educate individuals that chose to serve as women leaders in their communities. They voluntarily attended an intensive four-day workshop called “Facilitating for Women’s Human’s Rights Education” with the expectation that they would repeat it in their respective village or hometown. Between April 1 and December 31, 2002, 41 local organizations trained 468 program facilitators. In total, 882 legal literacy awareness sessions were held and 5,098 individuals participated⁸¹. These seminars and workshops addressed issues particularly relevant to the lives of Moroccan women, including rights to property, family responsibilities, reproductive rights, and participation in public life⁸².

The participants had diverse socioeconomic backgrounds and lived in different locations throughout Morocco. The variety of women attendees ranged from those who were illiterate and lived in rural areas, single mothers, to factory and sex workers to those with physical disabilities. They lived in all areas of the country, including the Middle Atlas, Rabat, Casablanca, and outside Marrakesh⁸³.

Responses to the legal literacy programs were overwhelmingly positive. Comments included the observation that “two single mothers reached the conclusion that they will declare their children without any fear of being imprisoned” and that “the number of women seeking assistance from our center for women victims of violence increased.”⁸⁴ It was mentioned in one of the evaluations that girls in a village refused to marry at an early

⁸⁰ “Making Human Rights Real: A Human and Legal Rights Education Program for Women in Morocco,” Global Rights 2004: 3.

⁸¹ “Enhancing Legal Literacy Among Women in Morocco: Program Implementation and National Consultation Final Report,” Global Rights July 2003: 5 – 6.

⁸² Houda Benbarek, Personal Interview, 24 - 25 December 2008.

⁸³ “Enhancing Legal Literacy Among Women in Morocco”

⁸⁴ “Enhancing Legal Literacy Among Women in Morocco” 7 – 8.

age, basing their decision on information received from a session on the legal age of marriage⁸⁵. Finally, the program coordinator in Fes declared success because

...some of the beneficiaries, inspired by what they learnt during the sessions, started to address their problems themselves, without the help of anybody else...we were sure then that the sessions were helpful for a great number of women from different social classes, for allowing them to change their way of thinking.⁸⁶

Although the manual produced in 2002 had resulted in tangible successes, the reform of the Personal Status Code in 2004 required it be updated. With the assistance of 31 women's rights NGOs and local development associations, it was improved to include changes made in the Moudawana and was lengthened to 420 pages⁸⁷. In addition to its previous content, it describes the changes to Moroccan law since 2002 and further clarifies the role and behavior of a program facilitator. Subjects that are explained in detail include the concept of oneself as a subject of human rights, the components of the marriage contract, a woman's right to equitable economic development, property, and full citizenship, as well as freedom from violence and stereotyping⁸⁸.

Global Rights also created a poster displaying nine of the most important changes resulting from the reformed Family Law. Using images drawn by Moroccan artists, nine boxes indicate the new standards for the age of marriage, polygamy, conjugal domicile, marriage without a written contract, division of marital property, the role of the marital tutor, the expectation of a wife's obedience to her husband, and procedures for divorce. Brief explanations underneath the illustrations are provided in French, Arabic, and Berber⁸⁹. See the appendix for a copy.

⁸⁵ "Enhancing Legal Literacy Among Women in Morocco" 7 – 8.

⁸⁶ "Enhancing Legal Literacy Among Women in Morocco" Appendix.

⁸⁷ Global Rights website.

⁸⁸ "Making Human Rights Real" 3 – 7.

⁸⁹ Personal Interview, 24 – 25 December 2008.

The program implemented by Global Rights follows the interactive model. The Executive Summary of the second edition of “Making Human Rights Real” illustrates its fulfillment of the criteria in the statement that

by promoting analysis, critical reflection and the development of participants’ capacities, human rights education encourages contributions by people at the grassroots to the development of international human rights standards through dialogue and engagement with advocacy and development NGOs...in this way, human rights become dynamic and accessible to all people – in both their application and in their creation.⁹⁰

This program provides its female population information about their legal rights, but places it in a political and social context. It also requires that the participants consider the current environment in a critical manner while encouraging political participation and activity.

This becomes clearer when the purpose of the facilitators manual is further explored. In the Executive Summary of the second edition of “Making Human Rights Real,” three overarching missions, each with a list of subset goals, are provided. The aims are to increase knowledge of human and legal rights among illiterate and semi-literate women, encourage self-empowerment and self-motivation, and teach networking skills. Numerous expectations are listed, including an understanding of the laws and governmental structures in Morocco, as well as the current social, cultural, and political restrictions that keep women from practicing their rights. With this knowledge, women are expected to critically reflect on the status quo, see self as an agent of change, and become an active citizen by defending one’s rights. Additionally, the role of collective action and the ability to mobilize to increase the influence of an action is highlighted⁹¹.

⁹⁰ “Making Human Rights Real” 10.

⁹¹ “Making Human Rights Real” 11 – 2.

Analysis of Research

The British Embassy and Global Rights both explicitly declare that their respective program was a success. The British Embassy uses quantitative data while Global Rights utilizes qualitative evidence.

The British Embassy bases its claim on the fact that the booklets reached more women than its initial target of 45,000. Over a two-year period, 65,000 literate women were trained in the new Family Code. Through further booklet distribution by NGOs and by word of mouth, 30,000 more people were impacted. Mr. Rachid stated “women would often ask for two or three copies of the booklet. One was for them and the rest were meant for their daughters to read.”⁹² In total, 100,000 individuals were reached.

The Berber community was one beneficiary of additional production and distribution of the Family Code booklets. Upon request, the British Embassy printed 50,000 copies of the Arabic Family Code booklets in Berber. It was spread throughout Berber communities across Morocco due to the efforts of 20 to 25 NGOs. See the appendix for a copy of the cover and a sample chapter.

When discussing the achievements of the Family Code project with Mr. Rachid, he noted the above figures with pride. He also explained that women who attended literacy classes were more motivated to learn their legal rights. This system of increasing legal awareness along with literacy was one of the main reasons he believes the program was so successful. Mr. Rachid observes that literacy rates have a great impact on this type of effort, since “individuals who cannot read the booklet and do not have access to accurate information through radio or television remain unaware. Misconceptions, especially amongst men, are one major reason women do not attend such courses.”⁹³ In many rural

⁹² Personal interview, 31 December 2008.

⁹³ Personal interview, 31 December 2008.

areas, the attitude that the Moudawana is enforcing women's rights at the expense of men's dignity and rights was prevalent prior to attending awareness classes. One topic of particular concern was the division of property in the case of divorce, as many men thought the land they brought into the marriage would be included. As they discovered, however, this was not true. Only land purchased or acquired during the length of the marriage could be split up between the husband and wife. Once properly informed, men were frequently found encouraging their wives and daughters to attend both legal awareness and literacy classes.

Another reason for the degree of success achieved by the British Embassy was the support received from the Moroccan government. Mr. Rachid characterized the government as open-minded and extremely helpful throughout the campaign. Two persons within the Ministry of Literacy were appointed specifically to aid the British Embassy in the initial stages of development. A memorandum of understanding was signed with the Minister of the Literacy department in the fall of 2005, further signifying the deep interest the Moroccan government had in the Family Code project. Upon completion of the booklet, copies were given to other ministries throughout the government in an effort to spread awareness of the project and its objectives⁹⁴.

Instead of a quantitative assessment, Global Rights considers qualitative evidence to support its claim to success. Based on overwhelmingly positive feedback, it determines that the program has achieved its mission. In its evaluation of its program, Association Chourouq in Fes noted "beneficiaries found in these sessions an outlet for some of their problems."⁹⁵ A few examples are cited, including one of a girl who used her knowledge to convince her father not to force her into a marriage and another in which a woman

⁹⁴ Personal interview, 31 December 2008.

⁹⁵ "Enhancing Legal Literacy" Appendix.

practiced her rights in order to keep her family together⁹⁶. In Casablanca, the evaluator of the Centre d'Ecoute pour les Femmes Victimes de Violence mentioned that participants “gained enough confidence in their capacities and in themselves” and “showed, through tangible examples, how they were able to defend their rights before the police or in courts.”⁹⁷

One factor that led to success was the “participatory methodology which increases knowledge of human and legal rights while developing skills for moving from information to analysis to action – individually and collectively.”⁹⁸ Women that completed the four-day intensive training participated with the expectation that they would return to their villages or communities and use their knowledge for the benefit of others. Ms. Benmbarek lauded this process because it “helps develop sustainable grassroots programs for women’s human and legal rights education.”⁹⁹ Through direct activity and involvement, local communities of women were able to take responsibility for themselves, as well as their legal rights and needs.

Global Rights also encouraged women to look at their economic situation and social status within Moroccan society from a critical angle. In the implementation of various programs across Morocco, an emphasis was placed on helping women acknowledge the constraints placed on them and their ability to pursue their legal rights. Ms. Benmbarek explained that participants were “discouraged from looking at themselves as victims, but rather as bodies capable of changing the restrictions placed upon them.”¹⁰⁰ Through an understanding and analysis of the laws, government structures, and cultural practices affecting the status and role of women in the political and economic arena, women became

⁹⁶ “Enhancing Legal Literacy” Appendix.

⁹⁷ “Enhancing Legal Literacy” Appendix

⁹⁸ “Enhancing Legal Literacy” 4.

⁹⁹ Personal interview, 24 – 25 December 2008.

¹⁰⁰ Personal interview, 24 – 25 December 2008.

empowered. Not only could women practice their rights and monitor for any legal violations, but raising critical consciousness allowed for networking and collaboration. Through a unified and collective effort for reform and advancement, the amount of influence received from and acknowledgement given by the Moroccan government and society as a whole increased exponentially¹⁰¹.

Four key considerations necessary for the achievement of success emerge from each organization's elaboration on the specific strengths of their respective programs. The British Embassy regarded literacy rates to be a major component in their campaign, as evidenced by the combination of legal awareness and literacy education in the classroom. The political system, in this case a constitutional monarchy led by King Mohammed VI, was also deemed to be valuable. The support of the government was acknowledged to be vital throughout the stages of the Family Code project, ensuring smooth reception from those politically empowered. The role of tradition and values was factored in as well. Through efforts to incorporate men in legal literacy training, the British Embassy was working with the realities of the predominantly patriarchal social structure.

Global Rights, too, addressed the role of tradition and values in its legal awareness model. Women were encouraged to look at their society from a new and critical perspective, one free of the male-dominated values, in order to truly become empowered. Intertwined in this effort was an attempt to consider the status of women in an economic framework, as well as a social one.

The actual success of these two programs cannot yet be fully determined. The long-term perspective, in addition to the short-term view, must be taken into consideration before judgment can be made. The rate of success in the long-term will depend on the ability of the women's movement to continue to press for advancement through increased

¹⁰¹ Personal interview, 24 – 25 December 2008.

implementation of legal rights and additional reform through legislation. In addition, the attitudes and beliefs of society as a whole must be modified in order to achieve further female empowerment.

In the short-term, however, the programs implemented by the British Embassy and Global Rights have been successful. Each incorporated a majority of four emerging features, which indicates awareness of the social, political, and legal operating context. These types of considerations are key for continued success in the future. However, further efforts will be necessary to ensure that long-term objectives are reached.

Conclusion

This difference in measurements of success between the British Embassy and Global Rights illustrates the lack of consensus within the legal literacy field, both in Morocco and internationally. Without a standard definition, success can mean anything and everything. This does not lend itself to country comparisons, which are beneficial for the advancement of legal education. A universal set of criteria needs to be established to allow for further learning and improved efficiency of legal literacy programs.

The four features that emerge from analysis of the legal literacy programs initiated by the British Embassy and Global Rights reflect the social, economic, and political realities for women within Moroccan society. Upon a cursory review of the cases highlighted in the literature review, these trends can also be found in several of the articles. For example, Savitri Gooneskere, author of the Sri Lanka study, mentions the positive impact high literacy rates amongst the population had on the implementation of an information-giving legal awareness campaign¹⁰² Lilia Rodriguez acknowledges the importance of the status of women in a social and economic context in her piece on Ecuador. By placing responsibility on the “machismo aspect of society” for the lack of enforcement of CEDAW, she argues that the law is a reflection of interests and preferred organization of dominant groups. In this particular case, she is referring to men¹⁰³. In Erstling’s critique of legal literacy efforts, he emphasizes the role of traditional values and law through the observation that cultural biases and practices keep women from participating in the political environment¹⁰⁴. Additionally, Cristina Zurutuza notes a positive change in momentum in response to a change towards a more democratic government in Argentina. This illustrates the impact

¹⁰² Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 117 – 37.

¹⁰³ Schuler 323 – 6.

¹⁰⁴ Erstling 62.

the political system and the attitude of the government towards legal literacy efforts have on the rate of success¹⁰⁵.

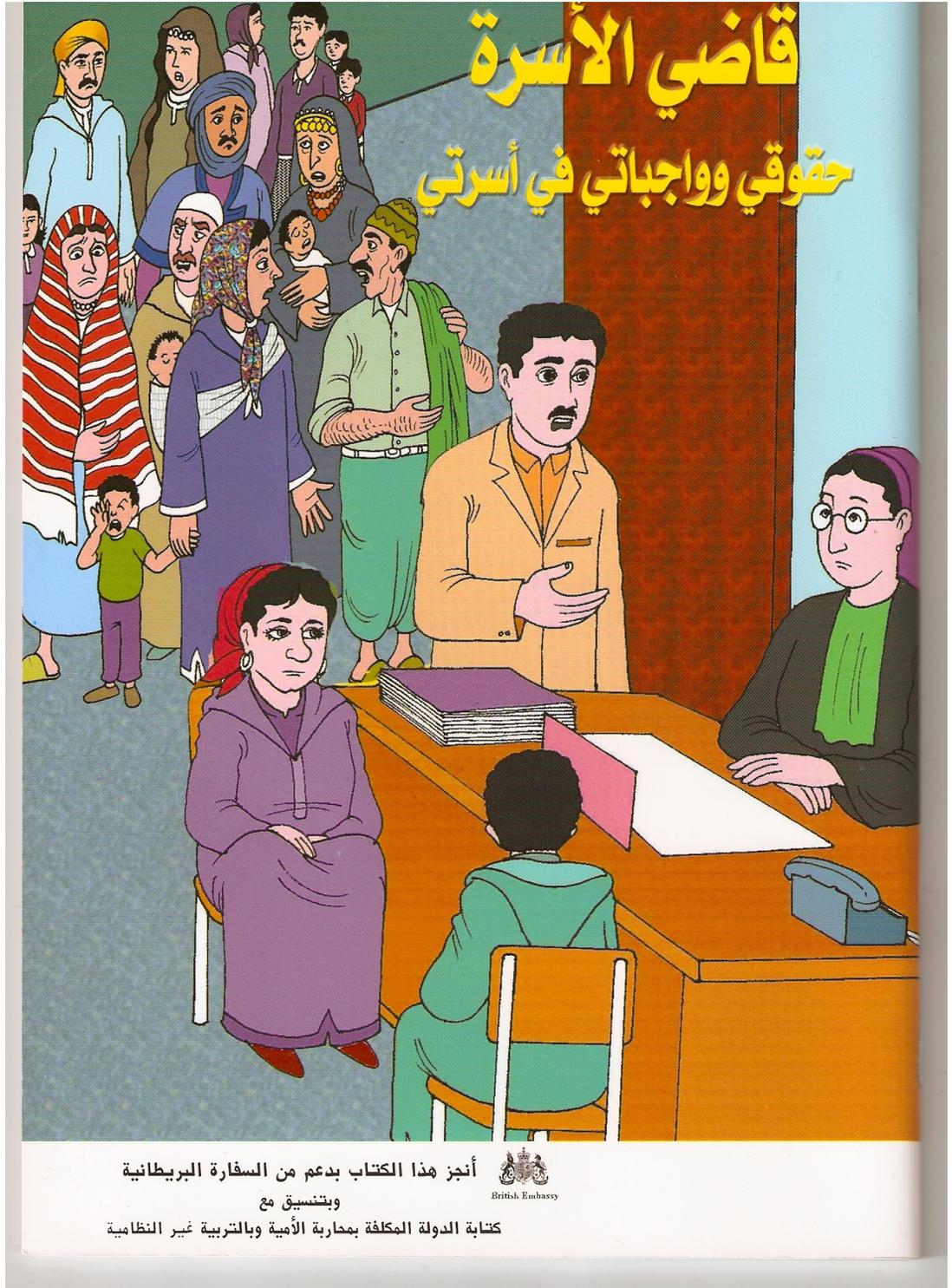
The prevalence of these features merits further investigation and research in other areas of the world. The social, political, and legal context that each of these trends appears in will vary by country, requiring a case-by-case analysis because of the significant differences.

The existence of such factors in Moroccan legal literacy programs described in this paper provides additional impetus and support for further research. With a greater knowledge of the commonalities between the numerous legal literacy efforts around the world, the possibility of a standard definition of success becomes more realistic and feasible. Advancement in the field of legal literacy education will certainly follow.

¹⁰⁵ Kadirgamar-Rajasingham 342 – 5.

Appendix

1. The Family Code booklet in Arabic



1- الْقَاضِيَةُ:

كَانَتْ فَاطِمَةُ جَالِسَةً فِي غُرْفَتِهَا، تُطَرِّزُ مَنَدِيلًا، لَمَّا دَخَلَ زَوْجُهَا فَرِحًا، عَلَى غَيْرِ عَادَتِهِ.
جَلَسَ قِبَالَتَهَا سَاكِتًا، لَا يَعْرِفُ مِنْ أَيْنَ يَبْدَأُ كَلَامَهُ.. ثُمَّ ظَهَرَ لَهُ
سُؤَالٌ.

أَحْمَدُ: لِمَنْ تُطَرِّزِينَ هَذَا الْمَنَدِيلَ؟.. هَلْ لِبَنَاتِنَا فَتِيحَةَ؟
هَزَّتْ رَأْسَهَا، وَحَطَّتْ نَظَارَتَهَا وَمَنَدِيلَهَا جَنْبَهَا.
فَاطِمَةُ: قَبْلَ أَنْ أُجَابِكَ، قُلْ لِي أَنْتَ أَوْلَا: لِمَاذَا رَجَعْتَ الْيَوْمَ
مِنْ حَانُوتِكَ بَاكِرًا؟
أَحْمَدُ: يَجِبُ أَنْ تَسْعِدِي وَتَحْمَدِي اللَّهَ، وَتُزْعِرِي بِصَوْتِ عَالٍ،
حَتَّى يَسْمَعَكَ الْجِيرَانُ!
فَاطِمَةُ: مَاذَا تَقُولُ يَا رَجُلٌ؟!.. هَلْ أَصَابَتْكَ حُمَّى (1)؟!
أَحْمَدُ: افْتَحِي عَقْلَكَ وَأَسْمَعِينِي.. قَرِيبًا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ سَتَصِيرِينَ
حَمَاءً!

1- حَرَارَةٌ شَدِيدَةٌ.



المادة 19: تُكْتَمَلُ أَهْلِيَّةُ الزَّوْجِ بِإِتْمَامِ الْفَتَى وَالْفَتَاةِ الْمُتَمَتِّعِينَ بِقَوَّاهُمَا الْعَقْلِيَّةِ
ثَمَانَ عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً شَمْسِيَّةً.

أحمد: الآن فهمت!.. إذن، التلفزيون هو الذي فتح عينيك
وعقلك، وأطلق لسانك!

فاطمة: إذا لم تصدقني، نذهب إلى القاضي نسأله!
أحمد: لم تقولي إلا صوابا!.. البسي جلبابك، وأتبعيني!..
فاطمة: ماذا تقول؟!.. أتبعك!.. انتظرنني (1) حتى نمشي معاً،
رجلاً برجل!

أحمد: ما شاء الله!.. أصبح لسانك طويلاً!

أجيبيني، لقد نسيت ما قلته لي قبل قليل:

- متى تكتمل أهلية الزواج؟

- هل يجوز لي إرغام بنتي القاصر على الزواج؟

- لماذا؟

1 - عيني، أمهلي بعض الوقت لألحق بك.

1 - تانزار فوت :

تقيم فاطمة كتمصريت نس، ارتطرازيات تاحربيلت، سيغن نكشم
وركاز نس، نئومر، ماش، ورئسين ماني زغ را ئسنيتي اوال نس.
ئميك و كان يضر ديان و سقسي غ ئخف نس.

أحمد: ما مي تطرازت تاحربيلت أن؟ ياك و رد ئلتنغ فتيحة؟
فاطمة: ئني ئيي زوار ما كيد ئسموسن أسا زيك زغ تحانوت
نك؟

أحمد: ئقانكم د أد تنومرت، تسنيمرت باب ن إكثوان، ترزمت ئيي
د ئي يات لالاس ن تغريطين، ف أد أس ئسلا كويان.
فاطمة: ما تنيت أ ياركاز؟ ياك و رد تافوكت أد أك ئكرن ك ئخف؟
أحمد: رزم أمزوغ نم، تسفلدت ئي ما را د ئنيغ.
ك ما د يازن، ئغت ئسمد ربي، ئرا أد تكت تادكالت.

ينومر: ئفرح

ئسنيتي: ئبدو

تسنمريت: تشكرت

ئسمد: ئكمل



ئمير ويس 19: آر تسمادن ئعزيرين ناؤر يوضنن كؤ ئخفاون نسن ازمز
ن تسلويا كؤ تام د مراون و سگاس كؤ ورن ئحصا و ميا.

تاسلويا: ليتيھال

أحمد: غيلاد بحرا جور مسغ. هيا ألالا تيليفيزيون أيا د أم نرژمن
تيط د نلي، أر تساوالا.

فاطمة: نغ نبي أ كُما ور تومنت، ندو دار ونزارفو، نسقسات ك
تغاوسيون أد.

أحمد: ور تني ت مندو أفولكي، لس تاجلابيت نم تطفرت نبي
فاطمة: ما تني ت؟ .. أك طفرغ .. أوي شور أر د نمون أضرانو ك

وينك

أحمد: أوال ياضنين أيا د .. نغزيف نلس نم

رار د توغ غايدا س تني ت كُام لي:

- مان أكود ك نثوايسماد و زمزن تسوليا؟

- نس زضارغ أد ستاهلغ نلي س بزيز؟

- ماخ؟

رمسغ: فهمغ
مندو: أمر، غار

4. Interview Questions

- a. What has your organization done to address the issue of legal literacy amongst women? How successful have these efforts been? Why?
- b. To what extent is the low literacy rate amongst women an issue that needs attention for proper implementation of the Moudawana?
- c. How would you/your organization assess the government's effort to address legal literacy amongst women? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the policies? What could the government do to improve its efforts?
- d. What solutions does your organization propose to solve the problem of legal literacy? How long will it take to see the results? How feasible is it? What role could the government play in implementing these solutions? [if NGO]
- e. What further actions should the government take to solve the problem of legal literacy? How long will it take to see results? How feasible is it? What role could NGOs play in implementing these solutions? [if GOV]

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