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Moroccan Single Mothers between Rejection and Social Reintegration: Fez and Casablanca as Case Studies

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved parents whose words of encouragement are my source of inspiration. To my husband whose support is not forgettable. To my dearest children who are the joy of my life. To my sisters and brother who were always on my side.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my supervisor Dr. Fatima AMRANI and to my professors who have supported me throughout the academic process. I dedicate this work to my friends who have never hesitated to help me. I will always appreciate all they have done, especially Mrs. Sanae AMRANI, Mrs. Wafae TRIBEK, Mrs. Souad BELHORMA, Miss. Hajar BERGHABI for their time and encouragement.

I dedicate this dissertation to everyone who helped me in a way or another.

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Abstract

The present dissertation tries to examine and scrutinize the extent to which the suffering, injustices, and rejection Moroccan single mothers undergo affect their socio-economic reintegration in Moroccan Society. These are women who give birth to children outside the legal institution of marriage. They are badly represented because they trespass the mainstream religious, cultural and legal norms. By focusing on the study of their daily life experiences and on the perceptions people have on this category of women. This thesis will contribute in a deep understanding of the issue and a clear elucidation of two main important concepts; social rejection and reintegration. The study is based on a mixed method approach; data are collected using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Moreover, descriptive statistical and socio-cultural analysis of the data obtained from the questionnaires and interviews in order to reach logical conclusion derived from reality are provided. The results show that though there is a kind of understanding and sympathy with single mothers and their children, their stigmatization still exist especially in a country that owe to the power of culture and traditions. In this regards this study argues that single motherhood in Morocco see an interaction of social, legal and religious norms that correlate together to produce a discourse either of social rejection or reintegration.

Key words: Single mothers, Social Rejection, Social reintegration, socio-cultural approach.

مقتضب

تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى دراسة وبحث مدى تأثير معاناة وظلم ونبذ الأمهات العازبات المغربيات على عملية إعادة إدماجهم السوسيو-اقتصادي بالمجتمع المغربي. وهُنّ نسوة رُزقن بأطفال خارج إطار مؤسسة الزواج، يُنظر إليهن نظرة السوء بسبب مخالفتهن للتعاليم الدينية والقواعد الثقافية والقانونية السائدة. وبتسليطها الضوء على الحياة اليومية لهذه الشريحة من النساء والزوايا التي ينظر الناس من خلالها إليهن، ستعمل هذه الأطروحة على شرح جوهر الإشكالية وتفسير مفهومين وازنين، ألا وهما النبذ وإعادة الإدماج المجتمعي. وهذه دراسة ذات مقاربة بحثية متنوعة، تستند على مناهج بحث نوعية وكمية، يدعمها تحليل إحصائي وسوسيو-ثقافي وصفي للمعلومات التي تم استقصاؤها عبر استبيانات وحوارات تهدف للخروج باستنتاجات مستمدة من الواقع. ولم تخلوا النتائج من مشاعر التفهم والتعاطف مع الأمهات العازبات وأطفالهن، لكن ازدراءهن أمر واقع ولا سيما في بلد تسود فيه الأعراف والعادات. وترى هذه الدراسة أن إشكالية الأمهات العازبات بالمغرب تخضع لتفاعل الأعراف الاجتماعية والقواعد القانونية والسنن الشرعية التي تتبلور لينتج عنها خطاب النبذ أو إعادة الإدماج المجتمعي.

المفاتيح: الأمهات العازبات، النبذ المجتمعي، إعادة الإدماج المجتمعي، المقاربة السوسيو-ثقافية.

Contents

The study suggested that women with low educational background are more exposed to experience being single mothers. The respondents expressed that their level of education makes of them docile bodies and sexual objects; they are manipulated and exploited sexually from the part of their partners. They, at the early stage of the relation, showed no abjection to run illegal sexual relationships because of their naivety. They further expressed their wish that their children would not undergo or face any obstacle that may affect for any reason their educational

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General Introduction

It is generally noted that Morocco is cited as an example of moderation and progressiveness in its attitudes regarding women. In fact, this progress derives from the activism of women's feminist movement which began in Morocco in the late 1940s and still continues today. The main concern was to progress the status of women focusing on their education and legal rights, and include them in the social, political, and economic spheres as to make them active in both the private and public spaces. In this regards, several laws have been reformed and developed starting by the one of the family law which according to some feminists' voices relegated women to home, denied them from basic rights and distanced them from public sphere.[1]

After independence, there was a push to women's emancipation through pioneer women's associations "Akhawat Al Safaa" (Sisters of Purity) along with L'Association Democratique des Femmes Marocaines (The Democratic Association of Moroccan Women) which were one of the first associations that embodied a number of legal demands, among which the abolition of polygamy, full equal political rights, and the increase presence of women in the public sphere. Therefore, a strong demand to revise the family law (Moudawana) was among the prominent interest that women's activists struggled for. For them, the first code of personal status was a disappointment because it was based on the religious Maliki law at a time when other codes were based on civil law such as the Penal Code and the Constitution. At that time, feminists started a movement to push for women's rights from a religious perspective, they implemented strategies of a gradual downplay of the religious role of the veil in their writings and practices, they used more Arabic, Qur'an and Hadith, and flexible readings of the Qur'anic texts. Moreover, they attempted to bring the attention to the real problems that women faced along with

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[1] Fatima Sadiqi, "Women, Gender, and Revolutionary Movements: The Maghreb" (n.d.): 2.

their children including their lack of legal protection. These feminists made an excellent use of the media to depict the dire situation of the social misery of women and child victims of divorce.[1] Indeed, by doing so, Moroccan feminists managed to gain the necessity to reform the Family Law.

The strong efforts made by women's feminists to revise the Family Law were a step forward to amend its articles twice; the first one in 1993 and the second in 2004. Therefore, many changes were achieved among marriage, divorce, and child custody. However, despite the changes occurred in that period, women's activists were not highly satisfied; they perceived the modifications as a step backwards because it did not fit women's right in child custody; instead of giving custody to the maternal grandmother, it was given to the father in case of the mother's remarriage. Accordingly, a re-examination of the family law was extremely required especially after the speech of King Mohammed the sixth who emphasizes the importance of women's right as a part of social development.

In 2004, the Moudawana was renewed and brought changes such as equality between men and women in rights and duties within the family. Moreover, it allows women to initiate divorce proceedings, and give them custody rights of children. In fact, these efforts were a step forward to enhance women's positions in the public sphere; they become royal counselors, head of national offices, ministers, to name but a few. In addition, women's associations become more active, hence, more accessible to women's issues. However, regardless of all these changes, women in Morocco still face discriminatory attitudes, and laws containing inequalities for women still marginalize and

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[1] Fatima Sadiqi, "The Central Role of the Family Law in the Moroccan Feminist Movement" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. (2008): 330.

ostracize groups of vulnerable groups. These are women victim of violence, girls working as domestics and single mothers. This later will be the focus of this dissertation.

The term "single mother"[1] may correspond to various situations; it can be divorced, widowed or never married women who had children outside the framework of wedlock. In this thesis, focus will be on never married women who have had sex and become pregnant outside of the framework of a legally recognized marriage. The choice of this category of women was not done randomly. Being a student of Women's and Gender studies Master program paved the way for me to be introduced to women's issues, and to deepen my knowledge and awareness on subjects related to women's problems. Therefore, much interest was gained to work on this vulnerable category of women. Moreover, although investigation on the issue of single mothers in Morocco has increased immensely over the past years, to my knowledge, studies on the notion of rejection and reintegration has not gained much attention. Thus the aim is to consider this gab by examining the situation of single mothers and their children in Morocco through exploring the interaction of rejection and social reintegration in the field of single mothers and their children.

Following what have been stated above, the present project of research is a continuity of my previous MA research paper: *Single Mothers Between Law and Civil Society in Morocco: "Association Solidarité Féminine" as a case study*. Coming to the conclusions that single mothers are not protected by law, and still experience discrimination, marginalization and exploitation, and are only empowered through the sustain and support of non-governmental organizations eager my interest of investigation and pushed me to continue my research; thus the aspire is to explore the social reintegration of unwed mothers and their children in the Moroccan society. Hence, the objectives of the study are

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[1] The term single mothers and unwed mothers are going to be used synonymously during the whole dissertation

as follows: first, to assess the position of single mothers and their children through the examination of their socio professional position, and discover the main difficulties impeding their development in the public sector. Second, to study people's perceptions on the issue of single mothers and their children and to find out their epistemologies towards that phenomenon. In other words, to identify their will to accept or reject these category of women. Finally, to provide an analysis on how the support of non-governmental associations contribute in the social reintegration of unwed mothers and their children in Morocco.

Therefore, throughout the present thesis, I will be arguing that single motherhood in Morocco see an interaction of social, legal and religious norms that correlate together to produce a discourse either of social rejection or reintegration. In other words, it says that Moroccan single mothers face a kind of societal decay which is translated in their transgression and deviation from the ideal prescribed by society. As a result, they face discrimination which may lead to their exclusion and hinders their social reintegration.

The main research question that the thesis tries to answer back is the following: Is there a real reintegration of single mothers and their children in Morocco? This question subsumes under it other sub questions: What leads to the social exclusion of single mothers in Morocco? Is it just a temporary exclusion or a permanent one? How do people perceive the issue of single motherhood? To what extent these perceptions affect unwed mothers and their children in their life? To what extent does the support and activism/ sustain of NGO's contribute in the social acceptability and reintegration of single mothers and their children?

To answer the above research questions a number of hypotheses are set as the following:

1- Women transgressing the socially accepted standards are likely to encounter problems that will lead to their social exclusion.

2- The more people are sensitized about the issue of single mothers, the greater the chance to be socially accepted is.

3- Women who choose to keep their children and benefit from the support of non-governmental associations are likely to have consolidation of their families, especially that their training in the association enable them to gain a kind of economic independence that lead them to support their children.

The thesis applies the eclectic approach of analysis. First, it adopts the social exclusion theory as one of the most prominent sociological theories that deals with the notion of "ostracism" and social rejection toward variety of individuals. Socio cultural approach remains a central approach in the present thesis as it will be of a paramount importance in explaining how society deal with the issue of single mothers .

The bibliographic data of this thesis has been selected from a diversity of materials. I haven't been collecting only books and articles talking about the issue of single mothers in Morocco, but also videos from YouTube, programs launched on T.V and newspaper articles that dealt with that issue in order to develop the understanding of single mothers' status in Morocco and in the Arab countries as well. To reinforce these thoughts, a survey will be conducted through a quantitative research method. 20 single mothers from the city of Casablanca will be interviewed; their age will vary from 20 to 41 years old and they are going to be selected by the help of the association solidarité Féminine in Casablanca.

The choice of the city was not done randomly. First, this city contains a number of associations that deal with the issue of Single mothers "Association Solidarité Feminine"

is one the pioneers in Casablanca. Hence, access to single mothers will be easy by the help of this association especially that I will target "Ex beneficiaries"[1] who are hard to find by myself. Focus on this category of women is necessary as they are now depending on themselves and living on their own with their children, thus they can be concrete examples for the case study. Second, Casablanca remains among the cities where people migrate to look for work from all over Morocco, as a result a diversity of interviewees will be available.

Moreover, questionnaires are going to be distributed to examine how Moroccan people perceive the issue of single mothers; are they willing to reintegrate and empower Moroccan single mothers in their society or rejecting their existence. The respondents are going to be chosen on diverse criteria; they will be both men and women, educated and uneducated, young and old.

The thesis consists of two central parts. The first part is the theoretical one; it is divided into two chapters, the first one is a review of literature through which a historical background of the concept of single mothers in the Western, Arab, and Moroccan contexts is provided. The second chapter highlights theories of social exclusion and shed lights on this concept as being the core concept of this dissertation.

The second part is practical. It is divided also to three chapters; the first one will explore in details the thesis methodology and structure of the field work used in this project. The second chapter is devoted to investigate the basis on what single mothers are rejected. It will study how the religious, Social and legal aspects view the issue of single mothers in Morocco. The third chapter will study the perceptions and attitudes toward the issue of Moroccan single mothers. It will be built up on the analysis of people's opinions

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[1] Single mothers who have benefited from the associations' services for three years

towards the issue of single mothers and their children. Finally, a concluding chapter is dedicated to wrap-up the main ideas produced in the thesis and provide recommendations that could help future researchers to explore more on that issue.

Single mothers' issue in the Middle East is a new phenomenon that is spreading nowadays. As a researcher in the field of Women's and Gender Studies, the matter of single mothers is a significant issue that should be investigated in order to unveil a reality that was among the "Undiscussed" and the taboos that no one can voice out.

The subject of unwed mothers is considered one of the most important societal subjects that have increased in significance since the last ten years. It has attracted numerous researchers and social activists to work on it; however, only few academic references that discussed the issue are available.

Most Moroccan literature on the matter of unwed mothers in Morocco was written by social activists and sociologists defending the issue, such as Aicha Echanna[1] via his first book *MISERIA* (1996) and the second book *A HAUTE VOIX* (2013), Soumia and Chakib Guessous *Grossesses de la Honte* (2005), the in depth study that was published in 2002 by the Casablanca regional office of the Moroccan "High commission of planning" (haut commissariat au plan) in cooperation with several United Nation bodies and local organizations, and the 2010 study done by the psychologist Nadia Cherkaoui, "*Le Maroc des mères célibataires. Étude diagnostique de la situation. Ampleur et réalités, actions, représentations, itinéraires et vécus »*. All these works provide a systematic overview on the religious, legal and social situation of single mothers in Morocco. Most of them are

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[1] Aicha echanna is an activist and president of Association Solidarité Feminine which remains among the pionner association in Casablanca that deals with the issue of single mothers

based on testimonies and personal experiences that make the reader nearer from the reality of the issue.

Hence, dealing with the issue from other perspectives would be very important; questioning the concepts of rejection and reintegration will be a significant addition to the field of research especially that to my knowledge, the concept of social rejection and social reintegration has not been tackled before in Morocco except with Amal Bousbaa who is a recently graduated PhD student[1]. Therefore, exploring the concepts of rejection and reintegration will lead to the investigation of theories such as Social rejection theory which stream at the heart of the thesis. Moreover, shedding lights on concepts such as virginity, premarital sexuality, abortion, and "l'enfant endormi" (the sleeping fetus will help in a better understanding of the phenomenon.

Because Single mothers are most of the time victims of familial, social and economic exclusion, this study will investigate the basis on which single mothers are rejected via adopting the social exclusion theory and the basis on which they are reintegrated via adopting a quantitative and qualitative research method.

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Part one:

Theoretical and Conceptual

Framework

Chapter One:

Single Motherhood in the Western, Arab, and Moroccan Contexts

The purpose of the present chapter is to provide a historical overview of the issue of single mothers in the Western, Arab, and Moroccan contexts. The chapter consists of three major sections; the first one addresses the subject of single mothers in the Western countries,[1] it discusses the emergence, the development and the decline of the subject matter. The second one discusses the issue of unwed mothers in the Arab countries[2] focusing on their sufferings and distress. Finally, the third one reviews the phenomenon of single mothers in the Moroccan context.

I- Single Mothers in Western Countries

No one can deny the fact that the issue of single mothers represented a significant problem in most Western countries mainly in the 18th and 19th centuries. Illegitimacy and illegitimates characterized social irregularity and instability. Hence, it is of paramount importance to review how various studies discussed this phenomenon.

Unmarried motherhood is an issue with which many Western societies have not been at ease. As demonstrated by scholars working on the field, attitudes towards unwed mothers and their children were always associated with immorality and social instability. Hence, a harsh humiliation and moral stigmatization was strongly directed to them. This means that if a woman becomes pregnant while she is still living at home with her family, she is forced to leave this house and move to an area where she is not known. However, if she wants to return back to her family home, she is forced to dispose of and/ or abandon her child shortly after delivery. Consequently, this situation made single mothers outcasted by their family in particular and their community in general. In other words, the unwed mothers live in disgrace and alienation from their families and surroundings. This

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[1] In this chapter Western countries are meant to be European countries, United States, London, Wales and England.
[2] In this chapter Arab countries are meant to be Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Algeria.

means that they demonstrate non respect to the social ethics and traditional attitudes created by the customary laws. Sexual relations out of wedlock were perceived as erroneous acts. Therefore, a child born by an unmarried woman was seen as an offence to morality. Indeed, bearing a child out of wedlock was considered as a proof of women's transgression of social norms. Though they might be victims of masculine desire, they bore the guilt of their own willful surrender. Consequently, they suffer grievously because of their laps. This ideas is enhanced by

However, earlier to the 19th century, having a child out of wedlock was not highly stigmatized and having sexual relationships before marriage had been normal especially within the lowest classes. It is only when social, moral, and economic attitudes changed, that women bearing a child out of wedlock become problematic.[1] Children born outside the framework of marriage were under the liability and support of their fathers, and if they did not, the mother had the right to make the putative father arrested on justice's warrant and put him in the prison until he agreed to do so.[2] Changes to this, occurred when the poor law[3] act was reformed. Unwed mothers became the only responsible for their children after the promulgation of the new poor law of 1834 which emphasized that all illegitimate children were to be the sole responsibility of their mothers until they were 16 years old.[4] This means that the putative father was absolved of any responsibility for his illegitimate offspring and all the charge of illegitimacy was faced by women alone. This

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[1] Unknown author.*Growing Stigma Around Unmarried Motherhood*. July 26, 2013, Culturedcreative under History, motherandbabyhomes.wordpress.com/2013/07/26/growing-stigma-around-unmarried-motherhood/. Accessed 16 march 2015.

[2] Haller, Dorothy L. "Bastardy and Baby Farming in Victorian England". The Student Historical Journal,Vol.21, Loyola University, 1989-1990, pp.1-12.

[3] The Poor Law is a collection of laws that provide assistance and support for the poor. It was reformed in 1834 by the aim of reducing costs to rate payers and changing the poverty relief system in England and Wales. For further information see The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales. London,1835 http://www.workhouses.org.uk/poorlaws/1834act.shtml accessed in 16 march 2015.

[4] For further information, see Act 71 of the law relating to the poor in England and Wales 1834. http://www.workhouses.org.uk/poorlaws/1834act.shtml accessed 16 march 2015.

harsh treatment toward women was done on purpose, thinking that putting ruthless pressure on women only will be more effective in order to put an end to the birth of illegitimate children. Conversely, this act was not as efficient as they thought, and an increase in the number of illegitimate children was highly observed.

It is generally argued that the rate of illegitimacy and prenuptial pregnancy increased heavily at the end of 18th and the beginning of 19th centuries. This increase began in Western European countries mainly in England, France and Sweden, and spread to the regions of Eastern Europe after several decades.[1] Scholars working on the issue of single mothers in European countries related this increase to several factors. For instance, they include social and economic changes which happened in that era, women's liberation, people's sexual behavior change as well as lack of awareness of contraceptive methods.

The rise in illegitimacy was highly perceived during the two World Wartime apogees. During this period women were left by their husbands for long periods exceeding nine months. As a result, there was a higher possibility that the putative father would have moved on before the pregnancy was discovered and/or would not come back because of death. Moreover, because of the socio-economic position occurred in that period, a high level of unemployment was increased, thereby, marriages were extremely postponed. In this regard, non marital births were increased progressively.

According to E. Shorter (1973), illegitimacy explosion undoubtedly shows that a greater number of young people were engaging in premarital sex, therefore, there were "slip-ups"[2] that resulted in the birth of illegitimate children. On the other hand, Peter laslett (…) relates the rise in illegitimacy to the long time courtships; he explains that the

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[1] Reto, Schumacher. Grazyna, Ryczkowska. Olivier, Perroux. "Unwed Mothers in the City. Illegitimate Fertility in the 19th Century Geneva" History of the Family, Vol.21, 2007, p.189-202

[2] Edwars, Shorter. "Female Emanicipation, Birth Control and Fertility in European History," The American Historical Review, Vol.78, No.3 (1973), 605-640. P 612

process of courtship and marriage took a long time, during which couples might copulate well before the ceremony. Since circumstances for marriage were economically more propitious and feasible, couples take the risk to accept being engaged in premarital sexual activities. Consequently, the rise of illegitimacy was due to the sexual activity happening in courtship period[1].

Moreover, E. Shorter (1973) linked the increase of illegitimacy rate to women's liberation and named the rise of sexual relations outside marriage as the *"sexual revolution"*[2]. He argued that the mental change released among the growing population, especially women, led to their autonomous emancipation and sexual realization[3]. Hence, their wish to be free contributed to the rise of illegitimacy. Furthermore, Shorter maintained that industrialization led to the sexual emancipation of working class women by offering employment opportunities outside homes. He argued that paid work made women more independent and less powerless, as a result, work led to sexual liberation by revolutionizing women's attitudes about themselves.[4]

Tilly, Scott, and Cohen (1976) disagreed with Shorter's view that working class women went out to work because they were seeking freedom and emancipation. They argued that women in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generally played an important economic role within the family since the pre industrial society[5]. For

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[1] Petter, Laslett, "Introduction: Comparing Illegitimacy over Time and Between Cultures", in idem, Karla Oodterveen, and Richard M. Smith (eds.) *Bastardy and its Comparative History* (London, 1980) in Jona, Schellekens. "Courtship, The Clandestine Marriage Act, and Illegitimate Fertility in England". *Journal of Interdiciplinary History,* XXV:3(1995),433-444

[2] Sofie, De Langhe. Maja, Mechant. "Vulnerable Women? Unmarried Women in the Southern Netherlands during the Eighteenth and First Half of the Nineteenth Century". Netherlands: 4th Flemish-Dutch Conference, 2009.p

[3] Reto, Schumacher. Grazyna, Ryczkowska. Olivier, Perroux. "Unwed Mothers in the City. Illegitimate Fertility in the 19th Century Geneva" History of the Family (2007): 189-202

[4] Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen."Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)

[5] Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)

them, women did not go to work because they were lacking independence but because they want to contribute to the interest and well being of the family. In other words, Tilly (1976) saw that work outside the home was by no means synonymous of freedom as Shorter (1973) argued. Young women most often sought that work outside home is only a means of better serving the family interest[1].

On the contrary to what Shorter (1973) said, Tilly, Scott and Cohen (1976) did not relate the increase of illegitimacy rate to "women's emancipation" and revolution against traditional attitudes, but they perceive women as the greatest victims of modernization As most women were unskilled, uneducated and unemployed, they were looking for husbands with whom they might reestablish the family economy especially that unwed mothers have difficulty finding employment with the added responsibility of a child; hence, their desire to establish a family led to the increase rates in illegitimacy.

It was also argued that the increase number of illegitimate children was due to the unfulfilling marriage promises that women received from men. The fact that men do not keep their promises is due to their poor economic situation (e.g., joblessness, low income, the impossibility of affording a logging…..etc). As a result, lack of marriage possibilities contributes in the rise of illegitimacy births. According to Laslett marriage has been often associated with financial security and socio-cultural objectives that all women want to achieve. Thus, the perspective of marriage according to Schumacher (2007) was an important factor that led young women to accept premarital relationships thinking that "unexpected" pregnancy could be as a tool to force a man to accept marriage[2]. Therefore, the most prominent raisons behind the rise in illegitimacy according to tilly, Scott, and

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[1] Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)

[2] Reto, Schumacher. Grazyna, Ryczkowska. Olivier, Perroux. "Unwed Mothers in the City. Illegitimate Fertility in the 19th Century Geneva" History of the Family (2007): 189-202

Cohen (1976) were related to the legal and economic barriers to marriage, failed efforts to force marriage by pregnancy, and the alternative forms of cohabitation.[1]

Fear, from social instability and vulnerability, made women easily assent to the sexual wishes of their partners, especially that most unwed mothers belonged to the lower classes and most of them were of poor origins.

Accordingly, their wish to improve their economic situation made them more vulnerable to become unmarried mothers bearing a responsibility of illegitimate children in a society that stigmatize them. Indeed, there is a huge association between illegitimacy and vulnerability, one is interacting within the other as Schumacher (2007) states "*vulnerability can be considered as a main factor leading women to engage in premarital sexual relations and illegitimate childbearing may be considered as a main factor that leads to social stigma and vulnerability*".[2] One can say that the search of stability and security could be one of the main reasons behind pushing young women to accept extramarital relationships easily.

The increase rate in illegitimacy was also associated with the lack of birth control methods; lack of awareness of the importance of contraception methods on the part of both partners may lead to unwanted pregnancies, and therefore, an increase in the number of children born out of the wedlock framework is observed.

Indeed, unmarried mothers were increasingly stigmatized due to the changes that occurred in the late 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. The exceeding rate of illegitimate births put their situation under bad conditions. Single mothers and their children were cruelly humiliated and rejected from society. It was only when means of contraception,

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[1] Reto, Schumacher. Grazyna, Ryczkowska. Olivier, Perroux. "Unwed Mothers in the City. Illegitimate Fertility in the 19th Century Geneva" <u>History of the Family</u> (2007): 189-202

[2] Reto, Schumacher. Grazyna, Ryczkowska. Olivier, Perroux. "Unwed Mothers in the City. Illegitimate Fertility in the 19th Century Geneva" <u>History of the Family</u> (2007): 189-202

high prosperity, and adoptions spread that the illegitimate fertility rate started to decline, and single mothers issue start to be accepted in society.

According to shorter, Knodel and Van De Walle (1971), and Tilly, Scott and Cohen (1976), there are two main explanations for the decline of illegitimate fertility: the first one is that the decline in illegitimacy may have been the extent to which contraceptive methods were known or accepted[1]. The second suggested a rise in working class prosperity as an important reason for the decline in illegitimate fertility.[2]

Shorter (2011) and his associates attributed the decrease in illegitimate fertility at the end of the nineteenth century to the diffusion of birth control awareness and practices.[3] The acceptability of contraceptive methods encouraged women to curb their fertility and become mentally prepared for small families.[4] Consequently, the late nineteenth century fertility decline was a result of applying new forms of contraceptive behavior that was unthinkable and not done earlier.[5] They also linked the decline of illegitimate fertility to the change of motivations women had to avoid pregnancies and excessive families. Indeed, the change in these motivations contributed in women's changeable attitudes towards reproduction and in the acceptability of contraception.[6]

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[1] Edward, Shorter. John, Knodel. Etienne, Van De Walle. "The Decline of Non-Marital Fertility in Europe, 1880-1940". The Journal of Demography, Vol.25, No.3 (2011): 375-393

[2] Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)

[3] Edwars, Shorter. "*Female Emanicipation, Birth Control and Fertility in European History*", The American Historical Review, Vol.78, No.3(1973), 605-640. In Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)

[4] Edwars, Shorter. "Female Emanicipation, Birth Control and Fertility in European History," The American Historical Review, Vol.78, No.3(1973), 605-640. In Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)

[5] Bavel, Jan van. "The decline of illegitimacy and the control of marital fertility during the demographic transition : testing the innovation-diffusion hypothesis using cohort fertility data from a Belgian town, 1850-1910". *Historical Social Research,* Vo.l32, NO.2, (2007): 42-67.

[6] Edward, Shorter. John, Knodel. Etienne, Van De Walle. "the Decline of Non-Marital Fertility in Europe, 1880-1940". The Journal of Demography, Vol.25, No.3 (2011): 375-393

On the other hand, Tilly, Scott and Cohen (year) pointed that the rise in working class prosperity was a significant reason behind the decline of illegitimate fertility. They argued that *"Find-de-Siecle prosperity did bring about some compositional changes in European populations which tended to reduce the size of the population which produced illegitimate births"*[1]. Indeed, these changes are related first, to the decrease of women in vulnerable situations; such as women working as domestic servants and female migrants to cities working on their own. Second, increase in prosperity led to a decrease in the number of propertyless men seeking for job opportunities.[2] Third, increased prosperity let to a new emphasis on marriage as the urban working classes began to obtain goods and even landed property in working class suburbs.[3] In fact, regular employment and enhanced incomes opened up new aspects for workers to ameliorate their social situations.

Furthermore, Sckellekens' analysis affirms that prosperity affected illegitimate fertility through a change in social norms. He argues that the rise in working class prosperity affected illegitimate fertility through a change in social norms governing the degree of intimacy allowed between partners during courtship especially that premarital sexuality was common among working classes and parents control was very weak . On the other hand, a rise in working class prosperity may also affect illegitimate fertility through the viability of marriage happening after a promise to marry or between conception and birth[4], hence, high prosperity lay behind falling illegitimacy rate.

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[1] Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)
[2] Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)
[3] Louise A, Tilly. Joan W, Scott. Miriam, Cohen. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". The Journal of Interdisciplinary History (1976)
[4] Jona, Schellekens. "Illegitimate Fertility Decline in England, 1851-1911". The Journal of Family History, Vol.20, No.4 (1995) : 365-377 p6

Illegitimacy decline was also associated with adoption. Though it was conducted under confidentiality, adoption appeared as a positive solution from many women to get rid of their children and be separated from their so-called moral mistake; hence, be able to live their normal life and return to acceptable society. It was the increase number of children born outside wedlock in the wartime that necessitated adoption; consequently, the growing demand for orphanages in the war period was an issue that society was forced to engage with. Adoption was then legalized when the first Act of 1926 was passed. This act paved the way for illegitimate children to become legitimate in the eyes of law. It served them removing their previous sad legal status and granted them legal rights including that of inheritance.

Indeed, thanks to adoption, legitimate and illegitimate children become treated similarly and the guilt that women felt in such circumstances was compounded by having their children adopted. Adoption was a shifting point that created a kind of acceptance toward single mothers and their children in society and decreased the social stigma associated with them. Indeed the positive changes in society's attitudes made the issue of unwed mothers different; instead of being rejected and hidden to prevent the humiliation of her family, prejudices towards single mothers decreased and being a single mother has become a choice that women can make nowadays.

To conclude, one can assume that attitudes towards illegitimacy and children born outside the framework of marriage changed heavily throughout the past few centuries. Single mothers and their children who were harshly rejected and stigmatized become more acceptable and their living conditions become better adjusted. The availability and knowledge of birth control methods, the development of women's emancipation, the change of legal acts and spread of welfare support helped in shifting the attitudes towards

single motherhood. Do single mothers in the Arab countries face the same position as in the western countries? This will be the main concern of the following section.

II- Single Mothers in the Arab Countries

The issue of single mothers is not widely discussed throughout the Arab countries because it is categorized among the taboos. However, the problem exists and the number of children born outside the framework of marriage is rising. Though, it is difficult to gather statistics that precisely depict the number of unwed mothers and their children in the Arab world, Studies and field works indicate that the number of single mothers is on the rise. For example, in Egypt, more than 12000 paternity cases were registered during the last few years[1], most of them are related to children born of common law or "Orfi"[2]marriages which are commonly used by young people to circumvent the prohibition of pre-marital sex. In Jordan, there are about 1300 orphans living in twenty four orphanages 25% of them are identified illegitimate.[3]

In Tunisia, 1054 children born out of wedlock were recorded in 2006 according to a study conducted by the Ministry of social affairs in 2007[4]. Although contraceptive methods and free abortion (until the third month) were allowed since 1961 in Tunisia[5], women were ignoring it often for lack of resources or information. According to a UNICEF report released in 2004, the number of children born outside marriage in Tunisia has increased from 300 in 1960 to over 1000 in 2004 and to 1660 in 2014[6] a fact which

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[1]

[2] Orfi marriage is a simple contract drawn between the two partners in front of a minimum of two witnesses.

[3]Dima Hamdan. «illegitimate in the Arab World». the BBC's international Journal. http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/1156_wag_gen_next/page7.shtml 26/06/2015

[4] Baseline Study on Trafficking in Persons in Tunisia: assessing the scope and manifestations

[5] Rim,Turki. "Le Taboo de La Maternité Célibataire Dans Les Sociétés Arabo-Musulmanes Exemple De La Tunisie ». La Meditérrannée De Femmes (1998) :133-155, p133

[6] Mohamed, Bouhouch. « Sociologie des mères célibataires ». Avril2009. Tunisie. p3

shows the rise of the phenomenon. Accordingly, there is large number of unmarried women in Algeria with around 3000 children born outside marriage annually.[1]

The issue of single mothers represents a source of shame and disgrace. In fact, being a single mother is allied to depravity especially that things related to sexual relations outside marriage remain forbidden, illegal and *Hchouma.* Islam advocates that sexual needs should be satisfied in a legitimate framework which is marriage. On the other hand, laws penalize adultery and risk imprisonment from people practicing it. Moreover, cultural traditions associate the issue with family honor and girls' purity. Women who bear children outside marriage suffer from so called "family honor crimes" in which family members harshly react against women for their transgression against the family honor. According to the Human Rights, an estimation of 200 women are murdered in Syria each year. In Jordan, 25 women are murdered along with 89 in Kurdich Iraq and 66 in Lebanon between 1999and 2007.[2] In this regard, a strong rejection of the issue is highly visible.

Single Mothers and their children are always persecuted, and victimized. In Lebanon, women are greatly looked down upon for having a child out of wedlock, yet if they want to keep their children, they have no right to register them in the civil status. In Saudi Arabia, children born to unmarried parents are seen as the "seed of the devil"[3] because sexual intercourse outside of wedlock is strictly prohibited. Furthermore, Tunisian society rejects, stigmatizes and refuses single mothers and their children. Being a single mother in Tunisia is to go beyond the social framework of sexuality, virginity,

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[1] Ertürk, Y. 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Yakin Ertürk – Addendum, Mission To Algeria', UN Human Rights Council, 2008. Accessed 13 June 2016.
[2] Besty, Fisher. "WHY NON-MARITAL CHILDREN IN THE MENA REGION FACE A RISK OF STATELESSNESS." HRVARD HUMAN RIGHTS JOURNAL. JANUARY, 2015.
[3] Alex, Venetos."Illegitimate Children and Single Moms." November 17, 2012

concubinage and illegitimacy whose social form is marriage. Therefore, a woman can become a mother in an Arab Muslim society, only if she is legally married. In reality, Tunisia's single mothers still suffer to overcome the social stigma especially after the election of Ennahda party; Souad Abderrahim , a female representative of the Islamist party, Ennahda, called single mothers as disgrace. She states:

> I am ashamed of those who try to make excuses for people
>
> who have sinned." Adding, "We cannot work on
>
> legitimizing the existence of single mothers in Tunisia. We
>
> should preserve our high morals and not wade into issues
>
> that are alien to our culture… We cannot reward women or
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> men who deliberately choose to break the law. Illegitimacy
>
> is not a choice.[1]

From the above quote, one could not only consider that Abderrahim's perception towards single motherhood as a powerful example of rejection but also could criticize her for not defending women's right as being one of the modern female representative of the party. Abderrahim was also criticized by feminist social activists who called her declaration as "outrageous." In this regard, despite the fact that Tunisia is seen as a quite liberated country, its legislation is lower to adapt and conservative values still prevail. Besides, In Algeria, unwed mothers and their children are ejected, and women who are pregnant outside marriage suffer from an immense pressure because of their violation of the family honor. Many women very often opt either for abortion or abandon. Though abortion is illegal, single mothers risk the dangerous clandestine abortion in order to remove the social stigma. Moreover, many women are tempted to leave their children in

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[1] "What the Women Say: The End of the Beginning: Tunisia's Revolution and Fighting for the Future." Brief 2: April 2012.

hospitals, streets or give them to state nurseries. Indeed, regardless of how women found themselves pregnant whether it was a result of consensual relationship, rape, abuse, or even a lack of sufficient sexual education, they are all seen as disgraced.

However, in the last few years, a wave of reforms sparkled throughout the Maghreb mainly Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Many changes occurred thanks to the civil society activism and feminist thoughts that challenged the public debate of this topic. In fact, the purpose of the change was to develop the status of women in general and single mothers and their children in particular as being considered one of the most vulnerable groups. Thanks to a law passed in 1998 called "Patronymic name law" in Tunisia, unmarried mothers are allowed to conduct a paternity search, using a DNA testing when the father is known but refuses to recognize his child. If this is unsuccessful, legal advances allow the mother to give her own name and establish a formal affiliation with her child. Article 40 of the 2005 family code in Algeria also allows DNA testing to establish paternity, and allocates an amount of 10 thousands dinars for women giving birth to a child outside the framework of marriage. This was done in order to decrease child abandon and encourage unwed mothers to keep their children and take charge of them.

Algerian legislature has also facilitated birth procedure by making special arrangement in hospitals allowing single mothers to give birth anonymously. This act gives new born babies the possibility to be born in faire conditions. In Morocco, similar changes are done; women are able to register their children under their names, however, if they fail they can chose a patronymic name from the list of potential names given by the civil status. Moreover, a DNA testing can be reached in case pregnancies happened in an engagement period. Indeed, these changes occurred as a positive step that substantially improves the legal position of unwed mothers and their children. Yet, negative judgments

towards single mothers still exist as well as hindrances to promote their children's rights such as the one of inheritance which is not granted for them.

In the light of the above discussion, it can be deduced that there is a cruel public scorn and humiliation towards unwed mothers and their children in most Arab countries despite the huge legal progress happened. The following section will enlighten how is the issue of single mothers perceived and discussed in the Moroccan literature.

III-   Single Mothers in Morocco

Though the issue of single mothers in Morocco has become common nowadays in mainstream media, there are a number of issues that are still undiscussed. Several Moroccan sociological works and studies have been published to tackle unwed mothers' subject. The purpose is to unveil the obscured reality of the subject, to provide statistical data on the number of single mothers in Morocco and to reveal the extent to which this phenomenon is complex. Their aim also is to come up with solutions and recommendations that could contribute in the social reconciliation of this category of women. Accordingly, this research seeks to elaborate on some issues related to the problematic of single motherhood in Morocco that, I think, are still not exhaustively investigated. But prior to any discussion, I deem it of paramount importance to the purposes of the present dissertation to critically review the previous studies conducted in the Moroccan context.

According to Baraud (year), Single motherhood is categorized among the Moroccan social marginalities that transgress the social order of the norms prescribed by society.[1] This violation puts unwed mothers in a situation that takes them from the centers to the margins, consequently being pointed out as "Outsiders". In fact, in a society that forbids

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[1] Emilie, Barraud. « Les femmes face aux transformations socio-économiques. Conflits, négociations et émergence de nouveaux rapports sociaux ». Avril 2008, Rabat, Maroc. P2

sexuality outside the framework of marriage, single mothers do not have any social and legal status, they are considered as trouble makers and origin of all social woes of the Moroccan society,[1] as a result, they are rejected and considered responsible for their situation. Indeed, society always blames women for being liable of their acts, and forgets about men who are also responsible. It attributes women's behavior to the bad outcomes occurred even if they were victims of men's aspiration. In this regard, the habit of seeing women as the only responsible for their anomalies[2] contribute to the accumulation of the public attitudes towards single mothers and their children.

Single mothers are badly represented in Morocco, especially in the eyes of the mainstream culture. They are unaccepted to be seen outside the traditions and norms mainly to fulfill men's needs. These women are inadequately treated because Islam severely forbids any sexual intercourse outside marriage. In this regard, it is important to note that sex is prohibited for both men and women; however, because of the notion of virginity that serves to protect the family's honor, only women are stigmatized. On the other hand, masculine virginity is culturally accepted; a man could engage in sexual intercourse without facing any kind of problem because he has no "hymen" to lose. The importance of girl's virginity is deeply rooted in the Moroccan culture; yet, its loss put women under ruthless judgments because they have not protected their bodies.

Children born out of wedlock are considered illegitimate. Many of them are abandoned by their mothers at birth because of the strong social pressure that is acting on them. By abandoning their child, single women destroy all trace of transgression. As stated by Barraud (2008), "*abandonment is seen as a means of erasing the fruit of*

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[1] Emilie, Barraud. « Les femmes face aux transformations socio-économiques. Conflits, négociations et émergence de nouveaux rapports sociaux ». Avril 2008, Rabat, Maroc.p6

[2] Emilie, Barraud. « Les femmes face aux transformations socio-économiques. Conflits, négociations et émergence de nouveaux rapports sociaux ». Avril 2008, Rabat, Maroc.p6

transgression, of redressing misconduct, of escaping from family exclusion.[1]"(my translation) In other words, this can help in living a normal life that goes beyond the one of single mothers. Furthermore, because of the bad treatment in the public hospitals, and the fear of being accused as prostitutes, single mothers find themselves sometimes obliged to disappear leaving their new born babies in hospitals or in streets, in front of mosques or next to doors of some houses to name but a few. This act results in twenty four children abandoned every day in Morocco without taking into consideration hidden cases[2].

Beforehand, people used illicit beliefs such as "the sleeping child" to avoid the shame of illegitimacy and to protect children from abandon. These beliefs are proposed as solutions that restore the social order and provide a legitimate mechanism of protection. Indeed, there are more than twenty years everything was done to make the existence of single mothers impossible[3]; girls were married in an early age, divorced and widowed women were hastily remarried and polygamy was tolerated. However, in the last decade, everything has changed; modernization is affecting family life and things are becoming clearer. Yet, single mothers are no longer treated the same way they were and the strategies used to circumvent single motherhood disappeared.

Recently, in the Moroccan society there is a tendency among Moroccan young women to delay their marriages either because they chose to continue their higher studies or to reach a position in the job market or because of the complicating conditions of marriage opportunities that is happening. Men on the other hand are postponing their marriages because of the lack of employment and marriage possibilities; consequently, both the rate of celibacy and single motherhood are on the rise.

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[1]Emilie, Barraud. « Les femmes face aux transformations socio-économiques. Conflits, négociations et émergence de nouveaux rapports sociaux ». Avril 2008, Rabat, Maroc.p5
[2] Aicha Echenna speech
[3] Emilie Baraud. « Lafiliation légitime à l'epreuve des mutations socials au Maghreb ». Droit et cultures : 2010. http://droitcultures.revues.org/2118

Earlier, there were no statistical data that depict the number of single mothers and their children in Morocco. It is till 2002, when a study conducted by the Casablanca regional office of the Moroccan "High Commission of Planning" (HCP, herafter) in cooperation with several United Nations groups, local organizations and the Casablanca city council that the total number of unwed mothers in Casablanca was estimated by 5040 women. This study revealed that 64% of those single mothers kept their babies while 36% have abandon them.[1] This number reflects the situation of single mothers in Morocco between the period of 1996-2002. In 2010, a study carried out by (INSAF) The National Institution for Solidarity with Women in distress finds out that the total number of single mothers in Morocco, between the periods of 2003-2009, was 210434 with an estimation of 27199 women in 2009.[2] These women gave birth to more than 500000 children which give 196 children born every day. Indeed, these numbers cannot be static since it didn't include hidden cases, births that happen at homes, infanticide, child abandon and abortion. It only includes women giving birth in hospitals and resorting to associations.

This enormous number of single mothers can be regarded as a proof of the existence of sexuality outside the framework of marriage though its prohibition. It is blatant that premarital sexuality is forbidden in Islam, and remains a shameful act within the traditional and cultural norms. Despite this, most of people trespass these norms through experiencing prenuptial sexuality. In her article, Barraud (2010) reinforced this idea by arguing that young people do not wait to experience sexual intercourse before marriage though the tenacity of the notion of virginity that still exist in the Maghreb.[3] Although

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[1] Haut Commissariat au Plan, Direction Regional du Grand casablanca 2002. Etude sur les Mères Célibataires et les Enfants Nés Hors Mariage dans la Wilaya de Casablanca. Casablanca. P :9
[2] Etude insaf p116
[3] Emilie Barraud. « La Filiation Legitime à L'epreuve des Mutation sociales au Maghreb ».Droit et Culture, Juin 2010 avialable at http://droitcultures.revues.org/2118 my translation of « le tabou de la virginité est

virginity in the Arab-Muslim world is related to the honor of the family, most of people prefer to live their sexual life freely **in condition** of not losing their virginity. Guessouss's interviewees who did not practice prenuptial sexuality reinforce the idea by arguing that "*it is profitable for a woman to experience premarital sex provided that it happens in secret and preserves virginity*"[1]. Sexes are not treated the same way in the Moroccan society. Traditional norms put enormous differences between both sexes. Men are encouraged to experience premarital sexuality and achieve the desire of their sexual life; however, women are obliged to keep their virginity because it represents their reputation and family honor. Consequently, they experiment sexual life that excludes penetration as to preserve their virginity.

Soumia Gessous (year) emphasized the idea that most people experience sexual intercourse before marriage by shedding lights on the number of women experiencing premarital sexuality; she argued that on her survey done in Casablanca between the period of 1981-1984 "*among 200 women, 65.3% declared that they have experienced prenuptial sexuality at least once*"[2]. Amal Chabch (year), a Moroccan sexologist confirms also this point by stating that "*Most men and women have had what is called "superficial" sexual intercourses before marriage, and now, more and more couples decide to live their sexuality, defying taboos and beliefs*[3]". In his turn, the sociologist Abdessamad Dialmy, argues that sexuality before marriage exists; he explains that the age range that exists

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encore très tenace au Maghreb. Mais malgré cette ténacité, les jeunes n'attendent plus le mariage pour expérimenter des relations sexuelles »

[1] Soumia Gessouss. Au dela de toute pudeur. P48 my translation of (la plupart des femmes interogée trouvent q'une experince sexuelle leur parait frofitable avant le mariage, à condition qu'elle se passe dans le secret et qu'elle préserve la virginité)

[2] Soumaya Naamane Guessous. *Au Dela de Toute Pudeur P.45*my translation of « 65.3% des jeune fille interrogées à déjà connu au mois un rapport sexuel »

[3] Amal Chabach. « Les Marocain vivent une dichotomie intérieure, une vraie torture ». la vie éco, 16 juillet 2012 available at **http://www.lavieeco.com/news/societe/amal-chabach-les-marocains-vivent-une-dichotomie-interieure-une-vraie-torture--22769.html** my translation of (La plupart des hommes et des femmes ont eu des rapports sexuels dits «superficiels» bien avant le mariage, et aujourd'hui, de plus en plus de couples décident de vivre pleinement leur sexualité, bravant interdits et croyances)

between the age of having a full sexual intercourse (16 years old for men and 18 years old for women) and the average age of getting married (31 years old for men and 26 years old for women) is too long, consequently people cannot wait around nine years to experience their sexual lust. Accordingly, the sexologist, Moussaid, confirms that the practice of sexuality outside marriage is common, for him, it is quite logical that girls and boys do sexuality outside marriage especially in a society where celibacy lasts more because of high cost of marriage and problems of housing that arise.

In this regard, it can be assumed from what have been discussed above that sexuality before marriage exists, its existence is influenced by the socio economic conditions happening, mainly lack of job opportunities hindering marriage possibilities. As a result, marriages are delayed and single motherhood increases. However, socio economic conditions are not the only reasons that lead to the rise in single motherhood; there are other factors that are considered among the important ones behind outside marriage pregnancies. These are poverty, lack of education, marriage promises and lack of sexual education which remains among the prominent reason behind this phenomenon.

It is undeniable that poverty is considered as an important factor that led/ is behind the fact of being a single mother, especially in rural areas, where families suffer not only from miserable living conditions, but also from a low level of schooling. Their need to be financially supported makes them send their daughters to work as domestic workers in urban areas and forget about the negative effects that can be directly attributed to them. In fact, living as domestic workers may particularly affect these girls physically, psychologically and sexually. Many women argue that they were sexually abused either by their employers or employer's family members. In this regards, the UN special rapporteur on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography noted that

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"there has been an increase of girls living on the streets, invariably child maids who have run away from intolerable working conditions, which may have included sexual abuse by her employers of members of the employer's family."[1] As a result of this abuse, many of domestic workers become single mothers. The 2002 reported that 41% of women who come to associations to benefit from its services had worked as domestics previously in their childhood[2], this work comprise the largest percentage of single mothers in Casablanaca in comparison to other professions.

Lack of access to formal education is another determinant to single mothers. Instead of pursuing their education, children become members of the working poor particularly girls, who easily drop out early from schools. The 2000 study of the "Haut Commissariat au plan" shows that *"45% of unwed mothers in Casablanca had been unschooled, while a further 26% only attended primary school*[3]". Though education in Morocco is free and compulsory for both sexes from 6 till 15 years old, poor parents, especially in the rural areas, prefer not to send their girls to school, but to work in order to pay the school costs of their brothers. This gender discrimination make parents most of the time fail to see the benefits of their girls' education and rely on the monthly income they can provide. They believe that becoming a domestic worker prepares their daughters to become better wives and mothers in the future, while education will only lessen that possibility. They deny the fact that educated women are better informed about their legal rights. They have skills, self confidence and information they need to become good mothers, workers and citizens. Therefore, they can be less exploited.

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[1] Go back to advocacy
[2] Etudes 2002 p 51
[3] Kai. Kreutzberger. "Single Mothers and Children Born out of Wedlock in the Kingdom of Morocco". Years of Islamic and Middle Estern law, volume 14, Leiden- Boston 2010. P:52

Single mothers, largely poor and uneducated may face several means of exploitation and be susceptible to the lure of marriage promises which prove empty at the mention of pregnancy. Association Solidarité Feminine (ASF)'s survey on 276 unmarried women, notes that 73% of unmarried pregnancies are from marriage promises[1]. Accordingly, INSAF association reports that 74% of 684 single mothers had illegal pregnancies under marriage promises[2].

Since they want to have the emotional relationship of family and childhood that they missed out in their own live, they often sought the tenderness they had missed in their own childhood; therefore they throw themselves into the arms of the first men, who show them some kind of interest. Feeling unsecured, these girls seek to find someone who could protect and marry them conforming to the socio-cultural norms that abide by man as the protector and the supporter of a woman "man is the cover of a woman's head"[3]. However, things go against these expectations once the pregnancy occurs. Indeed, unwanted pregnancies can be explained by the lack of sexual education women have and lack of awareness towards contraceptive methods.

The expression of "sexual education" is a part of the taboos that characterize the society of this country. Sexual education as a part of the programs of the academic study exists neither in the primary nor in the secondary academic programs. "*What is taught is provided in the form of scientific knowledge of the anatomy of the sexual organs and of*

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[1] Myriam Tinouch Stucki. « *Dire la maternité célibataire Étude menée entre Casablanca et Rabat, Maroc* ».Mémoire de licence en ethnologie, 2004 p.90 My Personal translation of « L'enquête menée par ASF auprès de 276 mères non mariées l'ayant contacté parle de différents types d'agressions à l'origine de la grossesse illégitime : 73% issues de promesse de mariage (non tenue) ».
[2] Ibid My personal translation of « INSAF a publié début 2003 les résultats d'une enquête effectuée auprès de 684 mères célibataires La source du problème (grossesse) est expliquée à 74% par une promesse de mariage ».
[3] An Arab Dialectical Proverb.

the biology of fertilization"[1]. Discussing sexuality with parents remains a strong taboo in Morocco. Thus, children talk with their friends since they are left to their own devices.

In Morocco, there is a big difference between boys and girls; boys are encouraged to display their genital organs, while girls are supposed to hide their intimacy. Therefore, women remain secluded and pushed to the margin. Mothers tend to talk with their girls but they do not talk about sexual education as they talk about the obligation to preserve the virginity which remains the important characteristic in Moroccan society. "*The principal role of the mother is to obligate her daughter to preserve her virginity with a talk full of modesty and "hchouma"*[2]. A study in 1992 by Soumaya Guessouss showed that *"in 360 Moroccan men, divided equitably between the urban and rural areas, no man had ever gotten information from his father"*[3]. In such a situation, children, especially girls, are the most affected since they lack communication with their parents in topics that could help them in the future. Certainly, Aboubakr HARAKAT, a psychotherapist and sex therapist in Casablanca, affirms that it is the lack of sex education that helps in spreading the phenomenon of single mothers. He argues that *the majority of girls who has sexual problems with men do not even know the seriousness of the problem, because they had no education in the Family*[4]. This fact does not inform, but it prohibits.

According to Soumia Nouaman Gessouss (year), the body is presented to girls as an object that is not theirs. It is the property of their future husbands. Moreover, puberty is

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[1] http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/IES/morocco.html#3 10/03/2011
[2] ibid
[3] http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/IES/morocco.html#3 10/03/2011
[4] Myriam Tinouch Stucki « *Dire la maternité célibataire Étude menée entre Casablanca et Rabat, Maroc* ». Mémoire de licence en ethnologie, 2004 P.93 my personal translation of « Selon Aboubakr HARAKAT, psychothérapeute et sexologue à Casablanca, C'est le manque d'éducation sexuelle qui fait que le phénomène des mères célibataires se répand, Je peux vous dire que la plupart des jeunes filles qui ont eu des problèmes sexuels avec les hommes ne savent même pas le sérieux du problème, parce qu'elle n'a pas eu une éducation dans la famille »).

not represented as a normal stage in the development of the body, but as a danger because at that time girls become fertile and can bring dishonor by illegitimate pregnancy. Living under the oppression of the patriarchal society, girls are always prohibited to go outside home; they are always under the surveillance of their parents, brothers and relatives. By acting as such, many girls fail to protect their bodies and easily succumb to men. On this basis, countless girls are paved to be single mothers living a life of struggle. In this regards, placing emphasis on education remains crucial since it will help in reducing the likelihood of girls becoming single mothers.

Indeed, under the harsh gaze of social and cultural norms, an unmarried mother remains and offence to morality. She is discriminated, ostracized and totally castrated from society. An unwed mother is vulnerable to social and legal abuse; therefore, she is pointed out as "outlaw". Since sexuality outside marriage is illegal, any woman experiencing it is considered as a prostitute; her pregnancy proves that she has broken the law, as a result, she is afflicted by bad judgments that complicate her life. Facing difficulties to secure housing, employment, or even legal document for their children give her no choice but to turn to prostitution, streets or law wages work.

To conclude, the present chapter attempted to provide a review of the issue of single motherhood in the West, the Arab and the Moroccan Contexts. The subject represents a source of social problems that only the Western countries succeeded to overcome in contrast to the Arab and Moroccan ones. Indeed, the literature reviewed testifies that the phenomenon of unwed mothers still represents a significant trouble especially in the Arab-Muslim Countries where conservatism still prevails. Overall, it is not easy to cope with a social phenomenon that is rejected by society, religion and law. Yet, though the significant progress achieved to ameliorate the situation of single mothers and their

children, much work is needed to empower this category of women which remains vulnerable to social exploitation and rejection. This rejection may be derived from the gender differences prescribed by the patriarchal society. The next chapter shifts attention to the discussion of the concepts of gender and sex as a way of understanding the differences between men and women in a society where man is dominant.

Chapter Two:

Explaining Social

Exclusion

The present chapter tries to provide an overview of the concept of social exclusion in both the Western and Moroccan contexts focusing mainly on the emergence, and development of this notion. The aim is to see whether there is a link between the notion of social exclusion as defined in the Western societies and the one applied in Morocco. In other words, to see how much the notion of social exclusion as defined in the west is applied in the Moroccan context. Hence, the importance of contextualizing the concept remains essential.

This chapter is divided in to two sections; the first one discusses the notion of social exclusion in the Western societies, whereas the second section shifts to discuss it in the Moroccan one, namely to consider how various studies approach the concept of social exclusion from an eclectic perspective.

I-   Social Exclusion: Conceptualization and Definitions

1-   History of the Concept

It is generally argued that social exclusion is a challenging term that can go beyond the distinct meaning of concepts of poverty, unemployment, deprivation and hardship.[1] Indeed, it is a term that came to encompass dimensions and conceptions of social disadvantage.[2] Consequently, tracing the evolution of the term social exclusion remains essential for a better understanding of the concept.

It is undeniable that social exclusion existed before its emergence as a concept in the 1970s. Every decade was characterized by a specific form of rejection and exclusion such as ostracism, racism and social class discrimination. However, these forms were not highly recognized as now, and were therefore socially accepted. Conversely, it is only

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[1] Robin Peace, "Social exclusion: A concept in need of definition?" *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand.* (2001): 17–36.
[2] Hilary Silver, "Social Exlusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms" *1994.* 133 (n.d.): 531–578.

when the revolutions and protest movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries happened, that acceptability of exclusion started to diminish and claim of social rights started to emerge. However, social exclusion has by no means disappeared, yet struggle to fight against it spread and increased.

The contemporary uses of the concept of social exclusion were related to the change in the economic restructuring that the state was undergoing during the mid 1970s and to its early crisis. Since that time, new social problems have emerged and many people felt unsecured especially that in the countries of the European Union 50 million of people were living below poverty line and 16 million people were registered unemployed.[1] These economical upheavals played a big role in the widespread of the social exclusion discourse.

The term social exclusion was at first coined in France in 1974 when Rene Lenoir, a secretary of state for social action in French government published his work entitled *les Exclus, un Francais sur dix* and popularized the term. The aim was to point out the need to improve the situation of those who were left behind by the economy or as Donzelot and Roman named *"the ones that the economic growth forgot"*[2] and strengthens social cohesion. He spokes of the excluded by referring to the population groups who were unable to find a place in the salary nexus and whose rights to social citizenship were limited, or at least, not recognized.[3] Thus, Lenoir estimated ten categories of the excluded:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Jane Mathieson et al., "Social Exclusion Meaning, measurement and experience and links to health inequalities" *A review of literature. WHO Social Exclusion Knowledge Network Background Paper*. 1 (2008): 91.

the physically and mentally handicapped, suicidal, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginals, asocials and social misfits.[1]

All these categories were excluded because of their lack of paid work position which prevented them from social insurance; hence, being in the margins of French society.

Moreover, The social and political crisis that successively erupted in France during the 1980s made the notion of social exclusion refer to a process of social disintegration,[2] that is to say, a progressive rupture of the relationship between the individual and society which occurred because of increasing long term unemployment, family instability, and rising violence in the low cost housing settlements on the periphery of cities.[3] (Gore, 2) In other words, it is the breakdown of social bonds between the individuals and society. In France, this was considered as a serious problem because solidarity and cohesion were a central political and cultural concern. Hence, promoting social cohesion and preventing social exclusion were highly reinforced in the French republican thoughts.

Furthermore, the term was hastily developed around the European Union. The aim was to avoid the stigma of concepts such as poverty, and deprivation [4]and to find a different word that seemed to defend the language of indecency and offensiveness. Accordingly, the term social exclusion was *a less blatant and more malleable*[5]as it fits the general tendency.

More importantly, the social exclusion discourse has not only served to avoid conceptual stigma of poverty, discrimination and marginalization, but also served in

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[1] Peace, "Social exclusion."
[2] Gerry Rodgers et al., *Social Exclusion: Rhetoric, Reality, Responses*, vols., 1995.
[3] Gore, Charles. "Introduction: Markets, Citizenship and Social Exclusion". *Social Exclusion: Rhetoric, Reality, Responses,* International Labour Organization, 1995.
[4] Peace, "Social exclusion."

[5] Ibid.

political purposes. The term politicized the concept; that is to say that social exclusion has been assigned by a range of political actors who have reformulated it to fit varying political ends.[1] In a similar vein, Estivill emphasized the idea that the shift from poverty discourse to the one of social exclusion could serve political purposes by arguing that "*a policy focus on poverty inevitably raises difficult political questions about the distribution of wealth in society*".[2] (6) Consequently, endeavoring for an inclusive society could give new direction to remedial policies and actions. Thus, "*social exclusion may be less stigmatizing than poverty and therefore more acceptable to public opinion and to those primarily affected*".[3] (6) To put it differently, social exclusion can be less threatening than poverty and consequently its flexibility can make it more adequate to a range of political positions. In short, the shift from a poverty discourse to the discourse of social exclusion offered a fresh alternative to avoid the visibility of extreme marginalization which became hidden under the umbrella of social exclusion.

To conclude, one can say that the discourse of social exclusion was emerged to be used as another way of talking about poverty as a broader concept and a way of naming processes that work to deprive people of access to opportunities that lead to their well being. Being used to avoid the nasty term and notion of poverty, social exclusion is regarded as a multidimensional term that entails lack of resources and social rights; thus, it is defined in different ways. The aim in the next section is to explain what is meant by social exclusion by providing some of the multiplicity of meanings available in the literature.

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[1] Mary Daly, "Social Exclusion as Concept and Policy Template in the European Union. CES Working Paper, no. 135, 2006" (2006).
[2] Mathieson et al., "Social Exclusion Meaning, measurement and experience and links to health inequalities."
[3] Ibid.

2-   Defining the Concept

In general terms, there is a consensus that defining social exclusion is not an easy task. It appears to be a "terme flou"[1]a fuzzy term, evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional, and expansive matter that can be defined in many different ways.[2] Moreover, according to a recent review of sociological theories of exclusion, there is an agreement on the impossibility of having a single, simple criterion with which to define exclusion.[3] As a result, a diversity of meanings is provided. Furthermore, the multiplicity of different interpretations that varies according to the context and time make the notion of exclusion appear as an elastic term that can be defined diversely[4]. Thus, according to silver (1994), exclusion is a "polysemic" term that has multiple meanings.[5] This multiplicity of meanings proves that there is a huge concern and debate on what social exclusion is.

In the words of Silver, the meaning of social exclusion is determined by the nature of society, or the dominant model of the society from which exclusion arises; accordingly, it varies in meanings according to national and ideological contexts.[6] (Rawan 2) this means that the meaning of social exclusion can be explicable depending of its part of origine.

The UK Social Exclusion Unit (SEU's) defines Social

exclusion as:

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[1] Mongin, Olivier. "Le contrat social menace?". No. 182, June 1992, pp. 5-11. *In* Silver, Hillary. "Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity Three Paradigms". International Labour Review, Vol.133, 1994,pp.531-578.p2

[2] Silver, "Social Exlusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms."

[3] Weinberg and Ruano Borbalan 1993 in Silver, Hillary. "Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity Three Paradigms". International Labour Review, Vol.133, 1994, pp.531-578. p5

[4] Nabin Rawal, "Social inclusion and exclusion: A review" *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*. 2 (2008): 161–180.

[5] Silver, "Social Exlusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms."p6

[6] Rawal, "Social inclusion and exclusion."

A short hand for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown.[1]

This means that according to SEU social exclusion is often linked to a set of problems that happens to group of people and make them deprived from their basic rights. In other words, it is a denial of opportunities and resources which enhance people's well being. Moreover, Teague and Wilson (1995) consider that social exclusion is:

a set of *processes*, including within the labour market and the welfare system, by which *individuals, households, communities* or even whole social groups are pushed towards or kept to the margins of society. It encompasses not only material deprivation but also more broadly the denial of opportunities *to participate* fully in social and civil life.[2]

This demonstrates that social exclusion is related to a process that deprives individuals from a full participation in economic, social, political and cultural life. To put it differently, one can say that social exclusion according to Teague and Wilson refers to the status of being shut out from the systems which determine the social integration of a person in society. Furthermore, social exclusion is also defined as a multidimensional process. Silver, and Miller (2003) define social exclusion as follows:

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[1] Ibid.
[2] "CAIN: Democratic Dialogue: Social Exclusion, Social Inclusion (Report No. 2)," n.d., online, Internet, 12 Jan. 2018. , Available: http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/dd/report2/report2m.htm#inclusive.

Social exclusion is (1) multidimensional or socioeconomic, and encompasses collective as well as individual resources, (2) dynamic or processual, along a trajectory between full integration and multiple exclusions, (3) relational, in that exclusion entails social distance or isolation, rejection, humiliation, lack of social support networks, and denial of participation, (4) active, in that there is a clear agency doing the excluding, and (5) relative to context.[1]

This shows that social exclusion, which is meant to describe and analyze social problems especially those linked to problems of poverty and deprivation that can be faced up once in the integration process, consists of three constituent elements; the first one is multidimensional. It encompasses socio-cultural (poor social relationship), economic (lack of access to employment), and political (lack of political participation) disadvantages that enable different sources of deprivation and hardship. The second is dynamic, it emphasizes that the nature of social exclusion changes over time and place. Social exclusion is not static, it rather changes over time and places depending on the conditions and context in which it occurs. The last one is relational; it refers to relational links with society. In this sense, social exclusion appears if rupture of relationships and the breakdown of social ties between people and society in which they live happen. All these elements emphasize the idea of deprivations that prevents human being to fully participate in the normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live. Social exclusion

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[1] Hilary Silver and S. M. Miller, "Social exclusion" *Indicators*. 2.2 (2003): 5–21.

is then characterized by its multidimensionality that touches people at all levels; economic, sociological, cultural, and political.

The fact that social exclusion is multidimensional makes some researchers such as Garci Roca (1998) identifies three dimensions to social exclusion. The first one is a structural or economic dimension. It is related to exclusion from the labour market. It stresses that individuals who are not in paid work may be held to be socially excluded because paid work is seen as an important arena of social contact and social interaction. Unemployment most of the time leads to income poverty which in its turn interrupts social relations. In this instance, individuals are unable to fully participate in the normal activities of citizens. Therefore, as Silver (1995) notes   they may be excluded from:

> a livelihood; secure, permanent employment; earnings;
>
> property, credit, or land; housing; minimal or prevailing
>
> consumption levels; education, skills, and cultural
>
> capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equality;
>
> democratic participation; public goods; the nation or the
>
> dominant race; family and sociability; humanity,
>
> respect, fulfilment and understanding.

These basic needs remain essential to fully include people in community. The second dimension is labeled as a contextual or social dimension. It is associated with lack of integration into family life and community. Individuals may face kind of discrimination, humiliation and rejection from Family, labour market, neighbourhood, society, or community, which lead to their social exclusion. Moreover, the last one is subjective

dimension which is related to increase sense of anomie and social isolation.[1] People with insufficient capability to be socially visible or to show their self esteem, interests and motivation in life are more likely to experience socially exclusion and isolation. Indeed, the failure of only one of these dimensions lead to a constitution of social exclusion. Atkinson (2000), identify these dimensions as social systems (social, economic, institutional, territorial and symbolic references) that people are excluded from. For him, breakdown of one of these systems results in social exclusion. He then argues that *"we can only talk of social exclusion when, for individuals or groups, several of these systems break down as part of a chain reaction."*[2]

To sum up, all these definitions about the concept of social exclusion show that it is characterized by its plurality of meanings. They differ from one researcher to another depending on the context and time of its appearance. However, lack of participation of individuals in society is at the heart of nearly all definitions. This multiplicity of meanings may imply a complex understanding of the concept. Consequently, scholars and researchers find it hard to provide a universal definition.

3- Alternative Definitions of the Notion of Social Exclusion

a- Hilary Silver's Paradigms of Social Exclusion

The variety of definitions given to social exclusion was also stressed by Hilary Silver in her Work *"Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigm"* in which she emphasized the fact that social exclusion is characterized by its plurality of meanings. For

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[1] Mathieson et al., "Social Exclusion Meaning, measurement and experience and links to health inequalities."
[2] Fletcher Farrington, "Towards a Useful Definition: Advantages and Criticisms of 'Social Exclusion'" *GEOView: Online Undergraduate Review of Geography and Environmental Studies*. (2011): 7.

her, these meanings are embedded in three paradigms: Solidarity, specialization and monopoly. Each paradigm gives an explanation of multiple forms of social disadvantage.

The first paradigm is that of solidarity. It is rooted in the French republican thought and reinforced by Durkheim social theory. Indeed, maintaining social relations between individual citizens and society was represented as an essential concern, and preventing social exclusion was very crucial. In this sense, Solidarity paradigm views social exclusion as a rupture of solidarity ties and a breakdown of social bond between the individual and society as a whole. Following Durkheimian sociology, solidarity paradigm sees society as something external, moral and normative rather than grounded in individual group or class interests.[1] This means that the emphasis is placed upon a socially constructed society rather than an individual one.

The second paradigm is labeled as specialization and it is derived from the Anglo-American liberal thought. It perceives exclusion as a form of discrimination, market failures, and unenforced rights which happens when individuals are deprived of free movement and exchange between both economic and social spheres. Exclusion then, arises from the relations between individuals with different skills and capacities in the context of social and economic exchange occurring within society. Consequently, it assumes that individuals differ. This differentiation may lead to social exclusion, disaffiliation, isolation and disqualification.

The third paradigm known as the monopoly has its influence in Britain and some European countries. It is based on the existence of hierarchical power relations. Dominant groups control the access of outsiders by constructing barriers to occupations, to cultural resources and to good and services which is known as social closure. The distinction and

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[1] Silver, "Social Exlusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms." P11

inequality made between the insiders and outsiders lead to social exclusion. This latter occurs when rules and restrictions are set by those who are at the top of society. It also arises from the interaction of class, status and political power. Thus, it leads to an unequal society which serves only the interest of the included. As a result, a form of monopoly and power is applied over the excluded.

Indeed, Silver's analysis of the different meanings of social exclusion may be summarized in three points; morality, liberalism and authority. Each point tries to examine how lives of individuals are affected by the inter-relations between economic restructuring and social institutions. Throughout these paradigms silver tries to give a clear view on the notion of social exclusion from three different perspectives all of them are based on social relationships between two groups; the included and the excluded.

b- Ruth Levitas' Discourses of Social Exclusion

On the other hand, Ruth Levitas (2005) identifies three different discourses to the meaning of social exclusion. These are the redistributionist discourse (RED), the moral underclass discourse (MUD), and the social integrationist discourse (SID). The following is a description of the three discourses. First, the redistributionist discourse. It lays on the way by which poverty hinders the full social participation of individuals in social life. In other words, it prevents people's ability to practice their full rights as citizens. According to this discourse, people who do not have an adequate income level are most likely to be excluded and marginalized. Hence, poverty is seen as a key cause of social exclusion along with inequality.[1] Consequently, to avoid this kind of discrimination, necessity to provide sufficient levels of income to people who are unable to work because of obstacles

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[1] Ruth Levitas, "Social exclusion in the new breadline Britain survey" *Perceptions of poverty and social exclusion*. 41 (1998).

like disabilities is inevitably important. Second, the moral underclass discourse. It is concerned with the issue of dependency. This viewpoint emphasizes that the existence of welfare state results in dependent individuals rather than independent ones.[1] As a result, "*the major policy implication is that the income support should be kept at low levels to deter people from choosing dependency*".[2] Indeed, according to the moral underclass discourse, welfare benefits are not good because they subvert people's ability to be self-sufficient. The third discourse is labeled as the social integrationist discourse. Unlike the RED and MUD discourses, SID focuses on the necessity to be included in the labor market. According to the social integrationist discourse, social inclusion is related to paid work. However, social exclusion can be emanated from both the unpaid and the poorly paid work that can prevent people from being totally included in society.

In fact, Levitas' discourses are mainly related to the market labor attachment, and to the policies and strategies to abolish social exclusion. The discourses rely on the necessity to include people in the paid work in order to avoid being excluded. Thus, social inclusion is strongly linked to the fact of being integrated in the labor market which remains a major contributor of social integration.

The social exclusion theory was also reproached by some French sociologists such as Robert Castel, Serge Paugam, and De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti who studied this phenomenon and suggest that this term should be replaced by other concepts with great theoretical interest such as social disaffiliation, social disqualification and social disinsertion. That implies that social exclusion should not be taken as one cover term to include all categories of individuals. This criticism of social exclusion states that a more

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[1] Beth Cook, "The social exclusion discourse and welfare reform" (2009), online, Internet, 12 Jan. 2018. , Available: http://ogma.newcastle.edu.au:8080/vital/access/manager/Repository/uon:8939.
[2] Ibid.

appropriate treatment of this issue should take into account the ideological assumptions inherent in this notion.

Castel, Paugam, and De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti emphasize the great importance of the changes that happen in one's life due to social and economic changes like a job loss, a change in matrimonial situation or a combination of both that can lead a person, who was formerly integrated in a situation, to turn out in a position where he/she is socially excluded because he/she falls into an uncertain economic situation which limits his freedom in space (i.e., relational space),and leads him into social isolation.[1] Hence, the necessity to take into account the qualifications of social integration (e.g., financial resources) remains important.[2] In what follows, I will go through the three concepts adopted by Castel, Paugam, and De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti in turn.

c-   Castel's Notion of Disaffiliation

In face of the static dimension, fixedness and inability to show the variability to which social exclusion refers to, Castel suggests a new notion of social exclusion in terms of disaffiliation. For him, the term social exclusion is an ambiguous term that functions as an umbrella term under which variety of specific usage are hidden. Consequently, he opts for disaffiliation which he considers more specific and meaningful than exclusion. In his view, this approach helps in transcending the description of state or a situation of frustration to tell about the experiences, trajectories, and processes.[3] Thus, the concept of disaffiliation is used to understand the real situation of persons who are rejected from the normal social relation path.

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[1] Mamadou dit Ndongo Dimé, "Social Exlusion in the Sociological Literature of the French-speaking World: Paradox and theorization." (presented at the Equidad, igualdad y diversidad en sociedas globalizadas, Mexico, 2003) 8.
[2] Ibid., 4.
[3] Ibid., 8.

Castel started his analysis of social exclusion by departing from changes in the labour market, and social network. For him, changes of the social question refer to a descending process from social integration to absolute social exclusion, which turns into a loss of citizenship. Indeed, the process of exclusion according to Castel is related to *"a transformation of the social question: a crisis in social regulation systems, a deterioration of community links consequent on entry into wage earning society and a calling into question of the centrality of work"*.[1] Thus, he explains the process of exclusion as the following:

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[1] Ibid., 9.

Crisis in the Salariat: Structural Unemployment

INTEGRATION INTO THE WORK WORLD

Individualization zone	**Integration zone**
Stable work Social isolation	Stable work Strong Social network

EXCLUSION SOCIAL NETWORK

Vulnerability Zone
Job uncertainty
Ralational Fragility

INTEGRATION SOCIAL NETWORK

Lack of work Social Isolation	Social allowances Formal social network
Exclusion zone	**Assurance zone**

EXCLUSION FROM THE JOB MARKET

Social State Gaps

Increased importance of the market in the

structuring of social relations

Figure 1:The process of Exclusion according to Castel (1991,1995) Schaut(2001)[1]

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[1] Ibid.

From the above figure, one can deduce that Castel links the notion of rejection to the work world integration. This means that employment deterioration lay behind leading persons to relational fragility and social isolation.

Speaking about the French society, Castel adopts a historical approach to trace the development of the social question in France. From his point of view, poverty is considered from a constructive perspective. Thus, the changes that take place in the mechanisms for treating populations in poverty are not fixed and stagnant, but they are dynamic. Social safety structures that are commonly built by the social states are likely to be changed and produce new forms of vulnerabilities, which lead to the breaking of the social bond.

In brief, Castel's analysis of disaffiliation to replace social exclusion in the French context actually highlights a rupture of social bond, the resort to history to locate how this social question evolves, and a consideration of policies of social integration as the main fundamental elements.[1] In this sense, Castel's approach of disaffiliation remains more specific and evocative than social exclusion. Its particular focus resorts to the importance of the employment component and social solidarity (i.e. if you do not have an independent economic situation and solid social relations, you will be immediately rejected, marginalized and excluded).

d- Paugam's Notion of Disqualification

Another perspective to the term social exclusion was suggested by Paugam's new term "disqualification". The latter is related to individuals who are categorized and identified as being different from the normally integrated persons. His perspective adopts

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[1] Ibid., 10.

an ethnographic reading of the relationship between poverty and social institutions that are supposed to help individuals belonging to this socially excluded categories. His main assumption is that poverty is the outcome of a social construction while the basis needs that seem to allow individuals to be integrated (such as unemployment) seem to be absent. Thus, individuals are undeniably exposed to the risk of desocialization because of the weakening of links with employment. Based on this conception, which emphasizes employment as the main element of the normative insertion of individuals in society, Paugam sees that his concept of "*disqualification seems to be the inverse of social integration*".[1]Consequently, he emphasizes that the process of disqualification comprise three successive phases: fragility, dependence and the fracture of the social bond.[2] Fragility is related to the persons who become fragile because of their loss of employment and breakdown of social bonds. Their fragility leads them to fall in a phase of dependency and thus accept their new status of dependence.

   In his evaluation of social integration policies in French society, Paugam suggests the minimum income of insertion (revenue minimum d'insertion) as a policy which regulates the social bond. He argues "Since employment no longer plays an integrative role for a growing segment of the population, one of the challenges of the policy of fighting against poverty is to restore the social bond and, thus, avoid the formation of an underclass". The aim then according to Paugam is to recreate and restore the social bond which consolidates relations between institutions and individuals.

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[1] Ibid., 11.
[2] Michel Autès, "Genèse d'une nouvelle question sociale□: l'exclusion" *Lien social et Politiques*. 34 (1995): 45.

e- De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti's Disinsertion

Like Castel and Paugam, De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti prefer to use a term close to that of social exclusion, which is disinsertion. In their view point, disinsertion remains a basic concept that allows them to analyze individuals' position in social life. In their words, disinsertion is related to the study of "individuals engaged in a dynamic of conquering a space in a society which has rendered them useless in the world".[1]In this sense, disinsertion can be characterized by the decline of individuals from society. Hence, it can be viewed as a process which is the converse of insertion.

Based on their analysis, De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti find that disinsertion process encompasses four stages. The first one is related to the individuals rupture or failure of individuals (e.g. job loss, marital breakup, abandonment, etc). The second stage corresponds to the sequence of other breaks such as loss of a loved one, breakdown of social and familial bonds, physical diseases…etc. The third phase is that of dropping out and despair. In this stage, the person starts losing his self esteem and confidence on his abilities. As a result, he starts feeling that his identity changes in the eyes of others. The last point is that of personal deterioration and deprivation in which Individuals enter the group of excluded and isolation.

Indeed, in the four steps outlined above, disinserted individuals are likely to meet three phases. These are resistance during which individuals mobilize all their emotional, social, and cultural resources to solve the problem by themselves. Adaptation, when they start organizing their new way of life, and finally the settling in phase, when individuals accept their situation of passivity, deprivation and isolation.

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[1] Dimé, "Social Exlusion in the Sociological Literature of the French-speaking World: Paradox and theorization." 12.

In short, De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti interpretation of the concept of disinsertion lies in their focus on the role of individuals' life. For them, people' exclusion is defined by the system of values and social utility which is measured by the income level they receive for their activities. That means, if you have money to fulfill your individual needs, you have value in your society while if you do not have it, you are automatically excluded because you do not fit the normative requirement of society.

Based on the above discussion, one can presume that the three approaches share in common similarities and differences. To start with, the first commonality between the three approaches to the notion of exclusion is that they all start by a rejection of the notion of social exclusion. Other terms such as disaffiliation, disqualification and disinsertion are used instead as being more suitable to the analysis of the notion of exclusion. The second one is that the approaches agree on the idea that social exclusion is a process built on economic and social dimensions. That means insertion and integration are mainly related to strong and solid social relationships and to paid work as well. However, the approaches differ on the way each theorist analyzes the notion of exclusion. While Paugam highlights the strategy of labeling and categorizing individuals by the institutions, De Gaujelac and Taboada-Leonetti place greater emphasis on individual destinies and response strategies to which these persons have recourse. On the other hand, Castel stresses stages of a historical process for the analysis of the production of social cohesion. Moreover, the authors differ in the central cause triggering the process of exclusion; it is conceived by some from the point of view of economic, social, cultural and political structures, while for others the central cause is due to the difficulty or inability of individuals to adapt.

f- Amartya Sen's Capability Approach

Another alternative to the term social exclusion can be that of Amartya Sen; capability approach. For him social exclusion has conceptual connections with the notion of poverty and deprivation. In that sense, social exclusion according to Sen (2000) "should be placed in the context of the old idea of poverty as capability deprivation".[1] Generally speaking, poverty is linked to shortage of income. Consequently, lives are affected by the inadequacy of income individuals suffer from. This means that people's way of living is interrelated to their income level. That is to say the more income you have, the better you live. The less income you get the worst and deprived life you have. Hence, as in the words of Seen (2000), on the one hand "income may be the most prominent means for a good life", and on the other hand, it can be "an important cause of poor living"[2] which makes individuals unable to live in a decent way. From this sense, Amartya Seen views social exclusion as an approach to poverty and capability deprivation that is the lack of capability to live a minimally decent life, and the inability to participate in social life.

According to Sen (1993) Capability approach is linked to two interdependent aspects which go beyond income and commodities. They are "functionings" and "capabilities". Functionings represent the various things that a person manages to do, while capabilities are related to the person's ability to achieve their functionings. For example: the capability to achieve some basic functionings like good health, good housing, and a decent wage.[3] Consequently, the main focal point of capability approach is people's capabilities to

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[1] Amartya Sen, *Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny*, Social development papers no. 1 (Manila, Philippines: Office of Environment and Social Development Asian Development Bank, 2000) 3.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Robert Salais, "Social Exclusion and Capability" in *Marginalisation and Social Exclusion. ,* 2003 8.

function.*1* Moreover, Capability approach is linked to the freedom of choice, that is to say people have the possibility to be responsible and to assume the choice of actions and activities that they want to undertake and be who they want to be. Thus, capability approach is a liberal approach par excellence.

Social exclusion as capability deprivation is thus, related to the lack of basic functioning such as being educated, being housed, having a decent job, having social relations, etc, and lack of freedom to lead the lives individuals want to lead. As a result, "limited choice among funtionings can lead to capability deprivation and, in extremis, social exclusion".*2*

In short, Sen's analyisis to the concept of social exclusion in relation to capability deprivation can be summarized in two brad line. Firstly, social exclusion is connected to poverty. Thus people with no income are likely to experience deprivation. Secondly, social exclusion is relational in the sense that social relations play a significant role in the process of social integration.

Based on the above approaches, social disinsertion provides the most adequate approach to the phenomenon of our research topic. De Gaujelac's and Taboada-Leonetti's approach focuses on individuals' disinsertion which is resulted from their lack of income based on unemployment, illness, divorce, familial rupture and other unfortunate events. Hence, its relation to our study remains on that. Indeed, disinsertion essentially results from a series of breaks that can reach every individual in society. Single Mothers remains among those individuals that have experienced these breaks, hence, they remain rejected

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[1] Van Staveren Irene, "Capabilities and Wellbeing" (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, and Radboud University Nijmegen., n.d.) 1.
[2] Fotis Papadopoulos and Panos Tsakloglou, "Social Exclusion in the EU" *A capability*. (2005): 4.

and disinserted. Our work is also in line with Sen's approach, which is based on the capabilities of individuals to achieve their daily life functionnings. Our analysis will highlight the correspondence between this approach and our research topic.

Finally, after presenting the theories on social exclusion, this notion will be treated in the context in which it moves, that is to say in a Moroccan context because social exclusion in Western societies is different. This is why we propose to give an overview of the notion of exclusion in national writings in order to highlight the distinctive features of exclusion in Morocco and focus mainly on a so-called excluded population, namely single mothers.

To conclude, this chapter has tried to shed light on the notion of social exclusion as it has been discussed in the sociological literature. A description of both its historical and theoretical backgrounds was of our interest. The aim is to better understand the roots of the notion of social exclusion as it remains the core of this dissertation.

The multiple understandings of the concept of social exclusion derive from the variety of meanings and the different approaches given to the notion of social exclusion. As a result, social exclusion is perceived as an appropriate term that is used in political, social, and economic discourses.

II- Unmarried Motherhood between Illegitimacy and Social Rejection

1- Moroccan Single Mothers: Trespassing the Norms

Each society is abided by its own socio- cultural, religious and legal standards. In Morocco, these standards play an important role in the social equilibrium of the country, and the normal behavior of its individuals. This chapter will illustrate the religious, social

and legal norms set by the Moroccan society. It will also study to what extent the norms which lead individuals to a "normal" social behavior contribute in the non existence of single motherhood. Before doing so, a brief definition of the term "norm" should be provided here.

According to oxford dictionary, the word "norm" means "*standard or pattern especially of social behaviour that is typical or expected*"[1]. Becker defines the norms as "*rules that all social groups make and attempt at some times and under some circumstances, to enforce them*"[2] Other sociologist define the word norms as "*any rules developed by group of people that specify how people must, should, may, should not, and must not behave in various situations*"[3]. Thus, the norms correspond to all aspects provided by a social group in order to fit social standards.

Social norms promote a great deal of social control. It makes people formally or informally conform to the normal behavior and the regulations that individuals live by. As a result, people of different levels of social class find themselves able to perform and act in the approved manner. Unfortunately, single mothers do not enter within this normative framework, since they are trespassing and transgressing the norms recognized by society. They are situated on the margins of the religion, society and law. In the following sub-sections, we point out each on these norms.

a- Religious norms

Morocco is defined as an Islamic country, and this has a considerable effect on its population. Consequently, religion remains among the interesting aspects that the Moroccan country stands for.

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[1] (Oxford Dictionary, 2015)
[2] (Becker, 1963, p.1).
[3] (Sociology Guide, 2015).

Sexuality outside the framework of marriage is forbidden in Islam namely in the Coran Sunnah and fiqh (Islamic law). It is considered as a threat of the social order of the community. Every relation outside the wedlock is defined by the Coran, Sunnah and Fiqh as "Zina" fornication which is a term referring to all sexual acts that happen outside the framework of marriage as well as any sexual relationship in adultery. In the Islamic religion, fornication is prohibited and the Coran precise to avoid it "*do not approach unlawful sexual intercourse. Indeed, it is an immorality and evil way*"[1]. Furthermore, Islam condemns severely any premarital sexuality and punishes both unmarried persons with hundred stripes and adultery with death by stoning.

> The woman and man guilty of illegal sexual
> intercourse, flog each of them with hundred stripes.
> Let not pity withhold you in their case, in a
> punishment prescribed by Allah, if you believe in
> Allah and Last Day. And let a party of believers
> witness their punishment[2].

Indeed, religion has put/ imposed strict rules and punishment to prevent sexuality outside the legitimate framework. Moreover, several preventive measures are implemented to avoid fornication among which marriage.

To protect humans from disorder and sins, ensure their continuation and make them live in serenity and peacefulness, Islam has much emphasized marriage. It is considered as

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[1] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. Al Israa. Verse 32. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/
[2] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. An-Nur. Verse 2. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/

one of the most virtuous and approved institutions that make the couple procreate and live in tranquility. "*It is He who created you from one soul and created from it its mate that he might dwell in security with her*"[1]. Marriage is also a resource of affection and love "*And among His Signs is this, that He created for you wives from among yourselves, that you may find repose in them, and He has put between you affection and mercy. Verily, in that are indeed signs for a people who reflect*"[2]. Moreover, it is a source of establishing a family which remains among the fundamental unit of the society " *And Allah has made for you your mates of your own nature, and made for you, out of them sons and daughters and grandchildren, and provided for you sustenance of the best*"[3]. Men are weak as a result, marriage remains important as it preserves the weaknesses of men toward sexual intercourse with women. "*Allah wishes to lighten for you; and man was created weak*"[4].

Unlike other religions Islam advocates marriage and prohibit celibacy. The prophet peace be upon him declared that there is no monasticism and celibacy in Islam. He further proclaimed according to Al Bokhari that all Muslim believers who are physically and economically able to marry must do. "*O you young men, whoever is able to marry should marry, for that will help him to lower his gaze and guard his modesty*". Marriage is considered as the half of religion because it protect Muslims from adultery, fornications and other evils and sins, in this regards the prophet peace be upon him said: "when a man marries, he has fulfilled half of his religion, so let him fear Allah regarding the remaining

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[1] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. Al Araf. Verse 189. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/
[2] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. Ar-Rum. Verse 21. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/
[3] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. An Nahl. Verse 72. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/
[4] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. An Nisa. Verse 28. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/

half". He also said: "Marriage is my sunnah. Whosoever keeps away from it is not from me". Hence, marriage is highly recommended in the Mulim religion.

Indeed, Marriage is regarded as the only possible bond between men and women, and any sexual relationship outside wedlock is considered as an offense *par excellence*. Concubinage is also forbidden and any couples living together are perceived as transgressors of the social norms prescribed by the Moroccan society. Consequently, single mothers are seen as a menace of the social order of the Arab-Muslim society in general and the Moroccan in particular. They subvert the ideal by flouting the norms of sexuality and reproduction[1].

Unwed mothers are perceived as a bad example that all young girls should not follow. Their existence is all the time related to sin, prohibition, illegitimacy and taboo that lies at the root of their situation. Indeed, they are considered as a resource of shame and dishonor a fact which makes their right to exist unacceptable in a Muslim society. Single mothers are stigmatized for their deviation from rules of sexual conduct and prosecuted for having had sexual relations outside marriage; therefore, they are considered as the only responsible for their offense. Single mothers are stigmatized for their deviation from rules of sexual conduct that are considered to be at the roots of Islamic society.

b- Social Norms

Social norms play a big role in the Moroccan society. Their application is typically related to the regular behavior of the population. However, their transcend is associated with the social disorder of the society.

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[1] Amal bousbaa

Because of the cultural and traditional norms, women suffer from control over their bodies and sexual behaviors. Thus, addressing the issue of premarital sexuality is always related to the notion of "*hchouma*", "*Aib*", "*Aar*" shame, flaw and disgrace which are all notions associated with illegitimacy and taboo.

"*Hchouma*" shame is a concept that "*dictates, control, and prohibit. It is a code through which we conform without thinking, and that legislates all situations of existence*"[1]. It reflects according to Tinouch- Stucki "*a mixed feeling of shame, embarrassment, guilt, forbiddance and the unsaid*"[2]. This feeling is felt when a thought, a word or an action transgresses the standards of social life.[3]

The notion of shame "Hchouma" is always associated with the subject of premarital sexuality which is all the time related to sin, offence and transgression. Therefore, sexuality remains among the taboos that are addressed neither at home within family members nor at schools. In fact, it is a word that does not even need to be pronounced[4].

Arab-Muslim countries associate sexuality with the concept of virginity which symbolizes the honor of both the girl and her family. Since a young age, a girl is controlled by her family and educated to reject sexuality from her life. Her body must not be touched or seen till the day of her marriage. "*We teach them to preserve their body, to protect their genitals and to keep themselves intact. All this, is to belong entirely to her husband*"[5]. Instead of making them aware of what sexuality outside the frame work of marriage is or what does it mean to be pregnant without getting married in an informative way, parents namely mothers teach their daughters some aspects based on "hchouma" shame. They do not inform them, but they forbid.

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[1] (Guessous, 2007, p.5)
[2] Stouki tenouch
[3] Stouki tenouch
[4] Soumia guessous p5
[5] Guessous 2001 :p66

From a young age, mothers make their daughters understand that their corps are not theirs but are for their husbands and they have to protect them. Consequently, this sexual education does not inform about the development of the body or the control of its procreative function, it only makes the girl know that her body is a source of trouble[1]. Indeed, Virginity represents girls' purity, respect and honesty; consequently, having the fear of losing it put girls under an over-control from their families.

The loss of virginity before marriage remains a major transgression of social norms, which radically labels the woman as an outsider. Any girl who loses her virginity before her wedding night is perceived as a prostitute and non conformist to the rules prescribed by society which is not the case for men.

Men's virginity and purity is stigmatized and perceived as a violation of manhood construction. According to Bennani Chaibi, *"men's sexual experience is necessary and natural"*[2]. A man could engage in premarital and extramarital sexual relationships without facing any kind of problems; He is free to express his sexual freedom because he is a man and have no "hymen" to lose.

However, In Islam, virginity is required both from men and women. Virginity in Islam is not associated only with the Hymen but it is related to any form of sexual conduct with the opposite sex; however, society blames and points always an accusing finger only at women.

Society also imposes the fact that the hymen should be offered till the wedding night to the husband to deflower it and enjoy seeing the blood on a white sheet which is also a part of the Arab Muslim traditions. According to Elaji

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[1] Guessous
[2] (Bannani charibi, cited in Bousbaa, 2013, p.15).

> Blood is important for a Muslim wedding than the
> wedding itself, blood is before love, blood is the
> starting point for a happy family. A wedding
> without blood is a calamity for both families and it
> may start even a fight which will cause more
> bloodshed.[1]

Single mothers are considered among the vulnerable group of women that are blamed for losing their virginity and getting pregnant as well. Their act represents a huge offense and transgression of social values. Unwed mothers' pregnancies symbolize family disgrace and ignominy; as a result, they are always humiliated, secluded and rejected.

c- Legal Norms

a) Penal code and illegitimate pregnancies

There is a strong rejection of extramarital relationships in the Moroccan Penal code and in society as well. According to Jamila Bargach, *"there is a considerable support in Moroccan society for prohibiting extra- marital relationships in the penal law"*[2]. Guessous reinforces the idea noting that "*pregnancies outside the wedlock are considered by the penal code as a result of series of crimes*"[3]. Additionally, article 490 and 491 of the penal code stipulates that:

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[1] Said, Hoton. *"Virginity in Morocco: man after blood as a cruel vampire"*. Available at http://newsoutlook.info/index.php/business/134-virginity-in-morocco-man-after-blood-as-a-cruel-vampire.html 04/10/2014
[2] Single mothers and children born out of wedlock in the kingdom of morocco p60
[3] Guessous

All persons of opposite sex who are not related by

marriage, and have sex with each other, are punished

by imprisonment of one month to one year[1]

Moreover,

Is punished by imprisonment of one to two years any

married person convicted of adultery. The

prosecution is carried on a complaint from the

offended spouse. However, if one of the spouses is

out of Morocco, the adulterous spouse may be

prosecuted automatically at the initiative of the

prosecution"[2].

In this regards, the penal code provides a clear idea about the offences prescribed for

illicit sexual relationships. Hence, each one who practices it has to be punished.

Furthermore, the penal code does not only prevent sexual relations outside the legal

framework of marriage but also criticizes abortion. In fact, abortion is illegal unless

deemed necessary to protect the mother's health[3], and voluntary and illicit abortions are

harshly punished; any woman who intentionally aborted or attempted to do so face a

prison sentence of six months to two years and a fine of 200 to 500 Moroccan Dirhams.[4]

Abortion is also illegal in case of rape or incest. If a man raped a woman he faces a prison

sentence of five to ten years and a fine of 10000 to 100000 Moroccan Dirhams[5].

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[1] Code penal article 490
[2] Penal Code. Dahir 25/7/1993, loi 11.99. El BADII Edition. 2001. Article 491 (my translation of « Est punie de l'emprisonnement d'un à deux ans toute personne mariée convaincue d'adultère. La poursuite n'est exercée que sur plainte du conjoint offensé. Toutefois, lorsque l'un des époux est éloigné du territoire du Royaume, l'autre époux qui, de notoriété publique, entretient des relations adultères, peut être poursuivi d'office à la diligence du ministère public »).
[3] Penal code article 453
[4] Article 454
[5] Article 486

Moreover, if the rape is committed against a minor under eighteen years, a person known by its weak mental faculties, or a pregnant woman, the punishment is imprisonment from ten to twenty years[1]

However, every day about 800 illicit abortions take place in Morocco carried out in secret, sometimes under inhuman and medical unsafe conditions as it is claimed by Dr. Chafik Charibi the president of the Moroccan Association against illegal abortion.

Based on these enormous numbers, a huge debate on legalizing abortion has been opened recently. Many social activists and doctors supported this initiative and asked for the illumination of articles 449 and 458 of the Moroccan Penal Code which condemn any woman who has an abortion or attempts to do so.

Led by the king, the National Human Rights Council, the minister of justice and freedoms, and the minister of Habous and Islamic affairs were ordered to develop an abortion law which has recently resulted in legalizing the abortion only in three cases; rape, incest, fetal abnormalities and situations where the health of the mother is at risk. These laws are not sufficient because it will not stop hidden abortions as Dr. Charibi argued but it is a step forward to continue his mission toward illegal abortions.

Indeed, though a huge work is done to progress human rights in general and women's rights in particular, extra marital sex is still illegal in the penal code and pregnancies outside the framework of marriage are still perceived as illegitimate. As a result single mothers will always remain punishable for their illegal act.

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[1] Article 486

b) Family law "Moudawna"

Family law called also "Moudawana" recognizes only legitimate parental filiation by which children are attributed to legally married parents. "Natural" or illegitimate filiation does not exist in the Moroccan law, and Moudawana does not oblige the father to recognize his children out of wedlock. According to article 148 of the family law *"illegitimate filiation to the father does not produce any of the effects of legitimate filiation"*.[1] In this regards, children born to unwed mothers have no rights to be recognized by their biological fathers unless deemed legitimate. Hence, they have no right to bear family name, receive financial support, or inherit. However, mothers are legally affiliated to their children by the fact of giving birth to them.[2]

Furthermore, family law provides a DNA test to establish a paternity certificate for children born outside wedlock if requested by the unwed mother. However, this test is not reachable for everyone; the new family code requires the test only in the case of pregnancies occurred in the engagement period and if all the conditions laid down by the code are proved.

> If an engagement takes place by an offer and acceptance but for reasons of *force majeure* the marriage contract was not officially concluded, and during the engagement period the engaged woman shows signs of pregnancy, the child is affiliated to the engaged man on the grounds of sexual relations by error when the following conditions are met:
>
> a- If the two engaged person's families are aware of the

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[1] Family law 2004 p36
[2] Family law, article 142-162

engagement, and if the woman's legal tutor, if required,

has approved the engagement;

b- If it appears that the engaged woman became pregnant

during the engagement period;

c- If the two engaged persons mutually acknowledge that

they are responsible for the pregnancy.

These conditions are established by a judicial decision not

open to appeal.

If the engaged man denies responsibility for the pregnancy,

all legal means may be used to prove paternity[1]

As a result, the only way for children to benefit from "legitimate" paternity if their parents are not legally married is to claim that they were engaged at the time of conception. Yet, evidence to prove that the time of conception was during the engagement period is highly required such as photos, videos or testimonies.

Consequently, the child conceived during the engagement period has the same rights as a legitimate child even if their parents are not married. He has the right to be registered in the civil status, bear his father's name and receive financial support.

Indeed, it is noticeable that all the norms stated above contribute to the social rejection, stigmatization and humiliation of the Moroccan single mothers. Their offense to the prescribed standards by society plays a big role in their seclusion. Hence, their situation remains very appalling.

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[1] The Moroccan Family Code (*MOUDAWANA*) of February 5, 2004, article 156, an English translation of the original Arabic text, Global Right 2005.

Part two: Analytical

and Practical Part

Chapter One:

Research

Methodology

Adopting a specific methodological process is an essential step in doing a research. In fact, to answer research questions, and to test the validity of the study under investigation, knowledge of research methodology and approaches, whether quantitative, qualitative or mixed is very crucial. Thus, choosing the most appropriate methodological approach is of great importance to investigate a phenomenon in social sciences.

The present chapter focuses on the methodology used in this dissertation. It first starts by a description of the data collection methods and techniques adopted to analyze the data collected. Then, it provides an explanation of the process of field work. Finally, it discusses the main limitations encountered during the research process.

I-   Data Collection and fieldwork

1-   Data Collection Methods

This dissertation uses mixed methods approach as one of the best suited to the present investigation. The aim behind choosing it is its variation in data collection methods that leads to greater validity of findings. Moreover, its possibility to involve and integrate both qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study provides a better understanding of a research problem under investigation. In this regard, it is important to provide a general overview about the research methods used in this study.

This dissertation uses three methods of research; these are qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches. The aim is to generate credible findings and discover how data are collected, organized, and interpreted. This section tries to provide an overview of these approaches in order to give a more complete understanding of the methods of research used in this study. Moreover, it discusses in details the tools and instruments used to collect the data adopted in the present survey.

a- Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research method is an approach for investigating how individuals ascribe meaning of their social problems.[1] Its main aim is to understand the multiple views of social reality that the researcher seeks to interpret.[2] Most of all, a qualitative approach explores dimensions of the social world including the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work[3]. This means that this approach focuses on the process of human meaning making by collecting thoughts, impressions and views to react about a specific phenomenon. One of the major characteristics of qualitative approach is that the researchers collect data whereby the participants experience the issue under investigation[4]. That is to say that information are gathered by interacting directly with people and observing their behaviors and acts through using multiple forms of data such as interviews, observations and visual materials. These instruments help the researcher assess reality subjectively through his lens.

Qualitative approach is associated with certain worldviews and epistemologies which according to Denzin and Lincoln can be assembled in three categories: constructivist-interpretive, critical, and feminist.[5] Concerning the constructivist or interpretative approach, the meaning of the phenomenon under study is established from the perception of participants' behaviors during their engagement in activities.[6]

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[1] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks: Sage publication, 2014: 32.

[2] Sharlene, Hesse-Biber. « Qualitative Approaches to Mixed Methods Practice ». Qualitative Inquiry, Vol.16, No.6 2010:455

[3] Jennifer, Mason. Qualitative Researching (2nd Edition). London: Sage Publication, 2002:1.

[4] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks: Sage publication, 2014: 234

[5] Sharlene, Hesse-Biber. « Qualitative Approaches to Mixed Methods Practice ». Qualitative Inquiry, Vol.16, No.6 2010:455

[6] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks, Sage publication, 2014:48

Consequently, a subjective reality is assumed to be consisted rather than an objective one. For them, there is no objective social reality[1]; however, it is socially constructed by observers, and the findings are influenced by the beliefs of people doing research[2]. In this regards, qualitative research is characterized by it subjectivity. The critical paradigm focuses on power, dominance and class oppression. Its aim is to advance an agenda for change to improve people's (marginalized, alienated, suppressed) lives. According to Creswell, *"Critical theory perspectives are concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class, and gender"*[3]. That is to say to go beyond explaining and describing certain phenomenon and dig beneath to release and expose social prejudices.

Critical perspective help the researcher understand assumptions of how the world works and why the problems of oppression, domination and power relationships exist. As for the feminist perspective, it tries to reflect the nature of human experiences, mainly women's ones as they were totally missing in the world of research and social knowledge. Years before, knowledge was based on men's experiences and males' ways of thinking, such thing made feminists struggle to find a place within academic research. As a result, feminist methods emerged and women's lives started to be studied using techniques like observations, interviews and analysis of document which were not used within the traditional research approach which is the quantitative.

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[1] Sharlene, Hesse-Biber. « Qualitative Approaches to Mixed Methods Practice ». Qualitative Inquiry, Vol.16, No.6 2010:455
[2] Doing quantiataive researching p 4
[3] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks, Sage publication, 2014:98

b- Quantitative Research Method

Quantitative research is an approach involving the use of numerical data in order to investigate a specific phenomenon. Indeed, it is a process of inquiry based on testing the research hypotheses and determines whether the predictive statements hold true. In other words, quantitative research methods are intended to produce statically reliable data. In the words of Creswell, quantitative research is defined as:

> An approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures.[1]

This means that a researcher adopting a quantitative approach uses a tool[2] that measures the data which are analyzed using statistical procedures. Generally speaking, one may conclude that quantitative research is about collecting numerical data to explain a particular phenomenon.

Contrasting what have been said about qualitative method as being subjective, quantitative research method is perceived as being realist or positivist. Researchers interested in the field see that the truth that the researcher seeks to reveal should be uncovered using objective research methods. This means that the researcher needs to detach him/herself completely from the research and use techniques that maximize

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[1] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks, Sage publication, 2014: 32.
[2] These are questionnaires, schedules, observations and rating scales which provide the data that the researcher seeks to test the validity of the research hypothesis.

objectivity.[1] However, this view is criticized by subjectivist. For them, a researcher cannot detach him/herself from what s/he is researching and react as an outsider from the world s/he is part of. Moreover, reality is not out there to be objectively observed, but it is socially constructed and changeable; hence, truth can only be relative and is never definitive as claimed by positivists.[2]

Indeed, there is a big difference between qualitative and quantitative research methods. These differences are seen in the basic philosophical worldviews provided, and the techniques used to analyze the data collected. Each researcher chooses a specific method depending on the research questions they try to answer. However, sometimes the use of both qualitative and qualitative methods is most appropriate in some cases; therefore, a mixed research methods was developed to provide a complete comprehension of the research problem using multiple methods, different worldviews and assumption as well as different forms of data collection and analysis.[3]

c- Mixed Research Method

The mixed research approach is a methodology of research that mixes both quantitative and qualitative data within a single investigation. According to Creswell, it is defined as the following:

> An approach to inquiry involving collecting both
>
> quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms
>
> of data, and using distinct designs that may involve

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[1] Daniel, Muijs. Doing Quantitative Research in Education with SPSS. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi, London. Sage Publication 2004:4

[2] Daniel, Muijs. Doing Quantitative Research in Education with SPSS. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi, London. Sage Publication 2004:4

[3] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks, Sage publication, 2014: 40

philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone.[1]

In this scope, the mixed method focuses on collecting, analyzing, and using pluralistic approaches to obtain better understanding of the research problem. This notion is highly confirmed by pragmatists who claim that *"knowledge arise out of actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions"*[2]. For them, the problem is more important that the methods; consequently, researchers are free to choose the methods and procedures of research that best meet their needs and purposes in order to better understand the problem under investigation.[3]

Indeed, the aim behind using mixed methods approach is to provide reliable findings via both using quantitative and qualitative research methods. According to Creswell and Clark, "*the combination of qualitative and quantitative date provides a more complete picture by noting trends and generalizations as well as in depth knowledge of participants' perspectives*"[4]. This means that a need to enhance quantitative with qualitative data is essential to the provision of comprehensive analysis of the research problem.

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[1] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks, Sage publication, 2014: 40

[2] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks, Sage publication, 2003: 11

[3] John, Creswell. Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and Mixed Approaches. Thouasands Oaks, Sage publication, 2003: 12

[4] Creswell, Vicki & Clark. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (2nd Edition) California: Sage Publication, 2011:32

2- Data Collection Techniques

It is generally noted that each research needs specific techniques to collect data. These techniques called also research tools or research instruments remain crucial to get information about the population under study and to measure their attitudes. In this respect, the present study includes two main research instruments to get both numerical and non numerical data. The first one is the interview, and the second is the questionnaire. The following is a description of both tools used in the present study.

a- Interview

Interviewing is a technique that the researcher uses to gather information on the behaviors, beliefs and attitudes of a number of people. According to Burns, an interview is a verbal interchange in which an interviewer tries to elicit information, viewpoint and opinions from another person.[1] In this regards, interviews permit an exchange of ideas and information between two or more individuals. This means that interviews deal with words and not numbers unlike questionnaires.

Interviews give the researcher the freedom to decide on the format, content and the wording of questions s/he wants to ask. The process of asking questions can be either flexible where the interviewer is free to ask questions as they come to her/his mind, or inflexible where the researcher have to keep strictly to the questions decided beforehand.[2] In fact, there are different types of interviews that the interviewer can use while conducting her/his research. First, the structured interview in which the researcher uses

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[1] Kanjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011:137.

[2] Kanjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011:137.

predetermined set of questions. That is to say that all the interviewees receive the same questions in the same order as it is arranged in the interview schedule.

The questions are frequently very specific and are either formed as closed ended, closed, pre-coded, or fixed choice questions[1], and it can be asked either face to face, by telephone, or by other electronic media[2]. Second, the semi structured interview in which the interviewer is able to vary the order of the questions s/he has already prepared unlike what we found in the structured interview, and ask further questions in response to what is seen as significant.[3] Third, the unstructured interview, It is characterized by freedom and spontaneity. Opposite to the structured interview, the unstructured interview gives the interviewer the freedom to modify the sequence of the prearranged questions, change the wording and sometimes explain or raise issues depending on what occurs at the time of interaction.

In the present study, the interview technique will be used as a qualitative research method in order to establish the meaning of the phenomenon under study from the view point of the participants. The aim is to use the interviewees' knowledge, views, understanding, and experiences to give meaning of the social reality which the research questions intend to investigate. More importantly, the interest is to study single mothers' life experiences on the issue of inquiry. Talk, listen and ask them questions face to face will lead to further understanding of their living experiences.

[1]Alan, Bryman. Social Science Methods (4th Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012 : 210
[2] Kanjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011:138.
[3] Alan, Bryman. Social Science Methods (4th Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012 : 212

Moreover, a semi structured interview is used in this study in order to provide reliable qualitative data. This is done through the use of an interview guide[1] which facilitates the gathering of information through following the set of questions already prepared. This type of interviewing remains beneficial as it provides consistent, comparable qualitative data which allow the researcher to strengthen his/her understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Single mothers are interviewed either at their places of living or in the association. Interviews are mainly performed either in the morning or the afternoon depending on the flexibility of the interviewees. Each interview took around 45 minutes to 1 hour depending on what occurs in the time of discussion. Furthermore, a tape recorder is used once it is approved by the interviewee. The use of a tape recorder remains essential since it permits the interviewer to return back to the interviews whenever needed. Finally, confidentiality and anonymousness is ensured in the beginning of each interview.

b- Questionnaire

The second tool used in this study is the questionnaire. It is a data collection technique that enables the researcher to gather information from a large population in a cheap, quick and efficient way. Indeed, it is a form of inquiry document which contains a systematically well organized set of questions intended to obtain information which will provide insight to the problem under study. According to Goode and Hatt (1968) *"the word questionnaire refers to a device for securing answers to questions by using a form which the respondent fills in him/herself."*[2] The aim is to establish answers to the

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[1] This is a list of questions that need to be covered during the conversation, usually in a particular order. Translated version of the interview guide into standard Arabic and English are included in the appendices.
[2] Goode, William, J. & Hatt, Paul K. (1968). *Methods in Social Research*, McGraw-Hill: New York.

substantial research questions and obtain statistical data which ensures the validity of the findings. Compared to other methods of data collection, questionnaires are mostly not expansive, more anonymous and less time consuming. They are often self-administered in which respondents answer questions by completing the questionnaire themselves.

It is very crucial to note that designing a questionnaire remain essential to the quality of the research undertaken; hence, the way questions are worded affect the answers respondents give[1]. In this regards, the questions should be clear and easy to understand. Moreover, the Layout of the questionnaire should be easy to read and pleasant to the eye.[2] Additionally, how questions should be asked remains a crucial concern for the researcher. Consequently, it is of paramount importance for the researcher to decide on the way s/he would ask her/his questions. This is either in an open or closed format.

In a self administered questionnaire whereby respondents are given the opportunity to answer questions by themselves, closed questions are the most used format. First, it is easier and quicker to complete. Instead of writing, it allows the respondents to choose the appropriate response via circling or ticking an item out of the given responses. This may clarify the meaning of questions for the respondents. For example: sometimes the questions may not be clear enough to the respondents; hence, the availability of the answers may help to clarify the situation for them. Second, closed questions are easy to analyze.

According to Bryman (2012*), "closed questions greatly facilitate the processing of data."*[3] (Bryman 211). It gives the researcher the chance to code the answers and turn the processing of data into a fairly simple task. Opposite to closed questions, open questions

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[1] Daniel, Muijs. Doing Quantitative Research in Education with SPSS. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi, London. Sage Publication 2004:45

[2] Kanjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 138

[3]

do not require the respondents to select from the alternatives. Instead, they give the respondents the freedom to answer the questions and express their opinions however they wish in their own words. Thus, more in-depth answers are obtained. However, open questions remain more complex than the closed ones. They are time consuming because it takes greater efforts from the respondents and longer time to answer the questions. Moreover, they are difficult to analyze as the researcher have to read the answers and put them into categories by coding which is most of the time hard.

In order to study the perceptions of people toward the issue of single motherhood in Morocco, the present study uses the questionnaire as a qualitative data collection instrument. This latter is distributed to different people in the city of Fez who are chosen randomly, they are men, women and youth whose age vary between 18 and 60 years old. The questionnaires are self administered; they are distributed in cafes, parks and public places.

The questionnaire includes 33 questions classified under four axes. A part from the first axis which deals with the personal information of the participants, each one deals with questions from different perspective (religious, social and legal). The first axis is about the general information of the participants. It includes their gender, age, marital status, place of birth, educational, and economic levels. The aim behind gathering these information is to know how different categories of respondents perceive the issue of single mothers in Morocco, and to see whether their gender, geographic origin and educational level influence their perceptions on/ about the problem of single motherhood in Morocco.

The second axis is related to questions from religious perspective. The objective is to study to extent to which religious approach influence the participants' thoughts as being

Muslims. The following axis, addresses questions associated with social aspect mainly to identify how people deal with single mothers in their daily life. Finally, the last questions are concerned with how people perceive the legal procedure applied on single mothers. The questionnaires include different types of questions namely open ended and closed ones.

The questionnaires are designed in Arabic language because not all the participants are supposed to know the English language. They are afterword translated into English language, coded using SPSS[1] software, and then analyzed. Moreover, in order to make sure that the reliability, which insures "*the accuracy, stability and predictability of a research instrument*", and to be sure that the statements are clear and understandable for the respondents, the questionnaires were reviewed by my supervisor and by a professor specialized in the field. The aim is to be sure that there are no significant language problems as well as style, and that the wording and structure are correct. Furthermore, confidentiality and anonymity are ensured to the respondents as they are informed in advance about the aim of the study.

In short, quantitative data gathered using questionnaires will be presented in this dissertation as tables and graphs. Moreover, qualitative data collected using interviews will provide the study with desirable information that will help in the analysis. Hence, more credibility, reliability and objectivity will be presented in the research.

c- Selecting a Sample

The following step that comes after choosing the suited research instruments, that are going to be used in the study, is selecting the sampling. In fact, in conducting a social

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survey, a researcher has to determine what kind of population is appropriate to the investigation of the subject. This means that, a researcher needs to select a sample, which is a group of individuals who are selected from a large population, to be a representative sample of the study. The aim is to administer a research instrument to a small group of individuals to identify trends in attitudes, opinions, and behaviors of a large group of people[1]. Therefore, in the words of Ranjit (2011)

> Sampling is the process of selecting a few (a sample) from a bigger group (the sampling population) to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group.[2](Ranjit 177)

That is to say that the process of selecting a sample make the researcher only estimate about the situation prevalent in the total population from which the sample is drawn. This process, however, may lead to a possible expectation of an error. Therefore, the method of enquiry should be correct in order to avoid the possibility of error and obtain reasonably accurate findings. According to Kanji (2011) accuracy of the findings is based on the sample size and the extent of variation in the sampling population. He argues that *"the larger the sample size, the more accurate the findings."*[3] However, *"the greater the variation in the study population with respect to the characteristics under study, for a given sample size, the greater the uncertainty."*[4] In other words, finding based upon larger

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[1] Creswell, John W. Educationa Research Planing Conducting, and evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research. 4th edition, University of Nebraska, Lincoln 2012 p:21

[2] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 177

[3] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 180

[4] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 180

sample have more certainty than those based on smaller ones, and diversity in the study population may lead to an amount of sampling error. Hence, to avoid the chance of error in a study, some strategies should be followed. In a survey research, there are two types of sampling: random or probability sampling and non-random called also non-probability sampling.

Random Sampling is a quantitative sampling procedure in which the researcher gives the chance to each element in the population the same chance of being selected in the sample.[1] Therefore, the choice of an element in the sample is not influenced by other consideration such as personal preference.[2] This method known also as probability sampling includes three subtypes. They are summarized as the following:

Simple random sample: is the most basic form of probability sampling.[3] *"each unit of the population has an equal probability of inclusion in the sample".*[4](Bryman 190). That means it gives each element in the population the opportunity to be included in the sample of enquiry. The selection of a random sample can be done through adopting three methods: the first one is the fishbowl. It is a method in which the researcher selects his/her sample via using numbered slips of paper for each element then he/she starts picking without looking until reaching the sample size decide upon[5]. The second method is computer program. It is based on programs that help the researcher select a random

[1] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 182

[2] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 182

[3] Bryman 190

[4] Brayman p190

[5] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 183

sample[1]. The third one is a table of randomly generated numbers which is a table of numbers that is used randomly to select samples.

Systematic sample: is based on the selection of elements from the sampling frame. According to Bryman (2015), the researcher "*selects units directly from the sampling frame without resorting to a table of random numbers.*"[2] The procedure begins by dividing the sampling frame into a number of segment called intervals, then choosing a random start number and continues until reaching the desired simple size[3].

Stratified random Sampling: is a random sample in which the researcher divides the sampling frame into groups according to the specific characteristics the researcher requires for the study, like gender, age, marital status, social class, etc. it is then based on the selection of the sample from a diversity of starta.[4] The researcher can after that, choose either a simple random sample or a systematic sample for each starta. Indeed, the advantage of stratified sampling is it ensures that the stratum desired will be represented in the sample.[5]

Multistage cluster sampling: is considered as the most appropriate method to be used while dealing with a large population such as a national population, or a large city, state or country. In fact, it is difficult to draw a sample from a widely dispersed population, in this sense, cluster sampling gives the possibility to the researcher "*to divide the sampling population into groups called clusters and then to select elements within each cluster using the simple random sample technique*".[6] This procedure is done through following

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[1] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 183
[2] Bryman 191
[3] Ranjit, kumar. Research Methodology a step by step guide for Beginners. (3rd Edition). Sage Publication 2011: 190
[4] Creswell, educational research p 144
[5] ibid
[6] Ranji p 186

different stages.[1] The first one is about the identification of clusters and the second one is concerned with the choice of the population units in the selected clusters.

Probability sampling remains an important procedure in social survey research. It gives the researcher the possibility to generalize findings derived from a sample to the population which is not the case in non- probability sampling. Unlike the probability sampling, the non- random sampling do not follow the same principals of probability in the choice of elements from the sampling population.[2] Instead, "*the researcher selects individuals because they are available, convenient, and represent some characteristic the investigator seeks to study.*" In other words, the researcher selects participants who are ready for investigation. There are four main types of non- probability sampling: convenience sampling, purposive or judgmental sampling, snowball sampling and quota sampling. The following is a description of these types.

Convenience sampling: in this type of sampling, the researcher chooses the subjects that are convenient and available for the study. In the words of Bryman *"a convenience sample is one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility."*[3]the problem with this sampling strategy is that the sample cannot be representative and the findings cannot be generalized to a population.

Purposive or judgmental sampling: it is based on the researcher's judgment on the subjects. This means that the researcher chooses his/her participants with a particular aim in mind.[4] In other words, the researcher chooses only participants who in his opinion are likely to have the required information that are going to serve his /her research objectives.

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[1] For more information about the different stages of cluster sampling see ranji et bryman
[2] Ranji 187
[3] Bryman 201
[4] Neuman 274

Snowball sampling: is a process of selecting a sample using networks.[1] The researcher starts with a few participants who are asked to identify other individuals who are going to be also a part of the sample. It is then a method which begins small and finishes larger. According to Neuman "*Snowball sampling is a nonrandom sample in which the researcher begins with one case and then, based on information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases and repeats the process again and again.*"[2] This means that the sample of the group to be studied is built upon the links and contacts of the initial case.

Quota sampling: with the quota sampling, the researcher selects the target population based on some specific characteristics that the researcher seeks to use depending on his/her research purposes[3]. These characteristics may include the gender of the study population, age, educational level, marital status, social class etc. once the categories and the number of people to be studied within each category is decided upon, the researcher starts to select individuals who fit these categories until he/she reaches the planned number of the subjects. The advantage of using this method is that it is less expensive, and easy. However, the disadvantage is that findings cannot be generalized to the total sampling population, and the sample may not be truly representative[4].

All in all, what remains essential to the researcher is his/her ability to choose the right type of sample that suits his/ her research taking into consideration that the sample should be as much as possible representative of the studied population. In this regard, a stratified simple random sampling and snowball sampling are chosen as the research methodologies best suited to the present investigation. The sampling subjects to whom the

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[1] Ranji 190
[2] Neuman 275
[3] Bryman 203
[4] Ranji 188rd

questionnaire is administered is stratified into groups based on their educational level. The aim is to know how people from different educational levels perceive the issue of single mothers in Morocco. On the other hand, the snowball strategy is used in order to reach the number of single mothers needed to be studied. The reason behind choosing it is the difficulty to locate single mothers. In this case, snowball strategy is the most appropriate one because it allowed me to conduct a field research with the located subjects and ask them to suggest other subjects to the study.

II- Fieldwork

In order to guarantee the feasibility of the study and the effectiveness of its results I followed one of the prominent phases in research methodology which is piloting or also called the pr-testing phase. This step remains essential because it does not only ensure that the research instrument as a whole functions well, but also guarantees that the survey questions operate well. In the words of Baker (1994) pilot study is *"a trying out of a particular research instrument"*.[1] It is also defined as *"a small study to test research protocols, data collection instruments, sample recruitment strategies, and other research techniques in preparation for a larger study"*.[2] The aim is to identify questions that do not make sense to the participants or problems with the research instrument that might lead to biased answers. In other words, piloting is a process of pre-testing elements that *"might give advance warning about where the main research project could fail … or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated"*.[3]

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[1] The importance of pilot studies p1
[2] Stewart PW. Small or pilot study, GCRC protocols which propose "pilot studies". Cincinnati Children's Hospital Medical Center in
https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4453116/#R01

[3] The importance of pilot studies p1

A pilot study was carried out to avoid falling in these problems. As a result, some modifications are done, such as adding new questions and deleting others, making questions more clear and understandable to the respondents who find some questions inappropriate and hesitate to answer them, and changing the length of the questionnaire.

Accordingly, in order to determine the feasibility of the study instrument, I administered the questionnaire to a population of 30 participants who are not members of the sample that is used in the full study but who are comparable to members of the population from which the sample for the full study is taken. Moreover, the interview guide was addressed to five single mothers, who do not belong to those taken as sample of the study, in order to test whether the questions are well defined, clearly understood and appropriate.

The questionnaires along with the interview guide are designed in Arabic language due to the nature of the target population that is not supposed to know the English language. They were afterward submitted to a professor of Arabic to be sure that there are no significant problems in terms of language and style. The pilot study was conducted during the period of December 2015 and March 2016.

The process of testing the research instrument is done perfectly. I ask the respondents to answer the questions and think out loud of what exactly comes into their minds. For example: to say if they do not understand the questions or if they find them appropriate or inappropriate. In other words, I request them to give their points of view regarding all the major changes that are needed to the questions, structure and length. Indeed, all their comments were taken into consideration in order to have a clear and well structured version of research instruments.

The step that comes after the process of testing the research instrument is the evaluation of the results. In fact, this step allowed me to make some adjustments to prevent any kind of misunderstanding and provide a well structured and organized version of both tools. Finally a printed version was available after being carefully tested.

Indeed, the decision to conduct a pilot study remains essential because it helps the researcher ensure the validity and reliability of the research tool used in the research project. Moreover, it puts the researcher on the right path of doing a research and provides him/her with the groundwork of a research project.

To conclude, the aim of this section is to give to the reader a clear idea on the research design and various techniques used in the investigation. The following section gives deep insight on the way data are analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

III- Data Analysis and Limitations of the Study

Data analysis is considered as one of the main important step in doing research. it is the step that comes after extracting and collecting the required information. Its aim is to make sense of the information collected in order to find answers to the research questions of the study. In other words, it is the step in which the researcher proves or disproves his/her research hypothesis, and analyses the data retrieved to achieve the objectives of his/her study. Consequently, in order to analyze the data collected, it is of paramount importance to clarify and describe the way it is communicated to the reader.

Phenomenology approach represents a good method of analysis in the present dissertation along with the socio-cultural and gender approaches. According to Creswell (2007) phenomenology approach is described as *the meaning of several individuals of*

their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon".[1] this means that it describes what

all participants have in common as they all experience the same phenomenon. Its aim is

"to reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal

essence".[2] In other words, phenomenological approach consists of a description of what

and how the participants experienced the phenomenon. Thus, it is a descriptive method

that focuses on the experiences of individuals. On the other hand, Creswell pointed that

"*phenomenology is not only a description, but it is also seen as an interpretation of the*

meaning of the lived experiences".[3] In this regard, phenomenological approach has an

interest in discovering, describing and interpreting meanings of lived experiences in a

phenomenon. This purpose met with the main goal of my research. as a result,

phenomenological approach is the best suited approach of data analysis of this

dissertation.

Socio-cultural approach is also related to people's lives. It is a method that helps in

understanding and making sense of human behavior. This approach emphasizes the

influence of society on the individuals' learning process. Consequently, cultural factors

such as social norms and social structures can obviously influence people's attitudes and

social behavior. Furthermore, gender approach is used in this dissertation mainly to

identify ways in which specific features of a culture influence specific aspects of lives of

women in a country where single mothers is a situation which is hard to live.

All these approaches are essential in the analysis of my data. They are employed in

the practical part of the research in order to study, discuss and interpret experiences lived

by single mothers in Morocco. The aim is to understand these common experiences and

develop a deep understanding of the features of the phenomenon, and how lives of these

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[1] Creswell 2007
[2] idid
[3]

women are shaped by the social and cultural norms of society. Moreover, to draw conclusions and recommendations that may be developed in further researchers.

In order to have accuracy of findings, it is important for the researcher to rightly choose the sample of the population under study reffered to as the Unit of analysis. This unit necessarily needs to be representative and meet the same criteria and characteristics of population. In the present investigation, I work with two kinds of participants. The firsts are single mothers residing in the city of Casablanca. I get their contact from "Association Solidarité Féminine" which is a non-governmental organization that deals with the issue of single mothers in Morocco. I choose this association because it remains of the pioneers that deal with single mothers from different parts of Morocco. Thus, diversity of participants will be available. Ten single mothers are interviewed in order to revel their experiences and understand them better.

Moreover, the second kind of participants is people who are collected at random. They represent both educated and uneducated male and female informants. The collection of participants is done from the university of Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdelah, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Dher El Mehraz Fez which consists of 11 departments. I choose 20 students from each department which give a number of 220 participants. In addition, in order to get a representative sample, I tried to have the number of males equal to the one of females.

The choice of the faculty was not done randomly, but because it gathered diversity of students from different cities and with different cultural background. Consequently, the diversity of views will enrich the analysis of data. My sample embraces also illiterate informants and those with an average educational level. They are chosen in order to make a kind of comparison between the educated and uneducated participants with the aim to

know how educational level affects their perceptions and attitudes toward the phenomenon of single mothers in Morocco. Therefore, 300 questionnaire are administered to informants including both men and women whose age varies between 18 and 65 years old.

1- Quantitative Data Analysis

Analysis of quantitative data requires several steps. The first step is to prepare the data for analysis.[1] This means, to score the data. In other words, to assign a number to each response provided on the instrument used to collect the data. In this regard, numbers are assigned to responses of each question provided in the questionnaire. The second step is to select a statistical program. Consequently the SPSS software is used to analyze the data. This latter is software that helps the researcher getting statistical techniques to analyze his/her data. After choosing the suitable statistical program, the next step is to enter the data to the file created in the statistical program already chosen. This step is done through creating a file in SPSS and entering the data in a format that is easy to analyze. The last step remains essential because it helps the researcher avoid the possibility of having errors in the data. For this reason, all the entered data are checked and revised before the final version of tables and graphs is used in the analysis.

2- Qualitative Data Analysis

It is not easy to analyze data that mostly takes the form of written words. In this regard, a number of steps should be followed to guarantee the effectiveness of the analysis of data. I started the analysis of my data by transcribing the data derived from the interviews and make them in a text format that can be easily read and interpreted. Second,

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[1] Creswell in education p175

I identify the main themes that will be used as the basis for analyzing the data provided. Then, I move to assign codes to the main themes. The coding process helps me to be more familiar with the data collected. Hence, classifying them easily under the main themes emerged from the study. Finally, I integrate the themes and discuss them by using verbatim responses inside the text. This method allows me to go beyond description. It rather paves the way for interpretation, explanation and understanding of certain aspects revealed in the study.

3- Limitations and constraints of the study

It is undeniable that any researcher faces problems while dealing with a research project, this project is not an exception. The first problem I faced during the present investigation is the difficulty to get access to single mothers. Because of the sensitivity of the topic and invisibility of this type of women, it was very hard to find single mothers by myself. In this regard, I had to go to Association Solidarité feminine. This latter provided me with single mothers' contacts and helped me to overcome this problem.

The second problem that I faced during the data collection process is related to the fill in of the questionnaire. Indeed, some of the respondents were illiterate and others with an average educational level which could not allow them to fill in the questionnaires themselves. Therefore, I had to do the task of reading, explaining, and writing the responses personally, which was time consuming.

Finally, the last limitation was related to the difficulty of using the data analysis software SPSS and to the translation process. Coding and entering the data in SPSS was not an easy task since I do not have enough knowledge on how to do that. Moreover, both qualitative and quantitative data were done in Arabic considering the linguistic nature of

the sample. In this respect, more time was consumed in the translation of the words used by the respondent that are culturally bound and very hard to translate in another language.

To conclude, I would say that doing research is not an easy task. However, the will to investigate this phenomenon and work on such a challenging topic helped me code and overcome all the limitations and constraints I encountered during the phases of research. Thus, the objective of this chapter is to give a clear idea about the methodological framework adopted in this research. The following chapters will deal in details with the presentation of the data collected and the discussion of the findings. The aim is to see whether there is a confirmation or refute of the research hypotheses developed in the beginning of the research process.

Chapter Two:

Single Mothers in Morocco between Rejection and Reintegration

In the previous chapters, it has been discussed that the issue of single mothers in Morocco is related to shame and disgrace. It is further characterized by forbiddance, transgression of the socially accepted norms and standards, and illegitimacy, which lead to their social exclusion and marginalization. Consequently, it is assumed that women, who bear a child or children outside the legal framework of marriage, face problems that enhance and boost their social rejection. Additionally, it has been explored that single mothers in Morocco are now facing some kind of support especially from civil society which try hardly to empower and make them socially reintegrated after being rejected. The current chapter examines the situation of single mothers, mainly, their daily life experiences. The aim is to get deep understanding on how single mothers cope with their hard situation in order to be reintegrated in society and live in a decent way.

Research Design and overview of the study

In order to explore and understand the lived experiences of single mothers, a descriptive phenomenological approach is used. Individual semi structured interviews are conducted with single mothers who were ex beneficiaries of "Feminine Solidarity Association" in Casablanca. The aim is to give single mothers the opportunity to describe and narrate their stories trying to divulge their realities as being "excluded" and "marginalized" segments in the Moroccan society. Indeed, the study tries to give a critical insight about the real conditions of single mothers and the extent to which their 'sin' affected their lives, family, and children.

The interview guide used in this investigation is divided into questions related to three phases: these are before pregnancy phase, during pregnancy, and post delivery phase. Each phase is based on questions related to the way how social life of single mothers has been lived. The data are analyzed using a thematic analysis which is a method

that helps in *"identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data"*.[1] Consequently, flexibility in providing rich and detailed account of data is available.

Ethics and consent

In order to gain research approval, ethical norms in research remains very important. For this reason, a lot of care was devoted to ensure the secrecy and safety of the participants involved in this study. Hence, the most important ethical issues that should be considered in this investigation were taken into consideration. At the very beginning, the respondents were informed and sensitized about the main objectives of the study and the aim behind interviewing them. Moreover, they were certified that their identities are going to be anonymous, and their names are going to be coded in the process of data presentation to uphold their mystery.

The participants were also assured that their information and the data given are going to be used only for academic purposes. Furthermore, more focus was on the creation of an appropriate atmosphere of discussion in order to guarantee two aspects: first, to have fruitful and effective interaction; second, to make sure that the participants will not provide information that may violate the norms of confidentiality. Consequently, I avoided being harm to participants. I tried to ask questions that do not hurt them, and that are not sensitive and embarrassed. As a result, the participant consent and approval was highly perceived during the time of interviews.

Study Area

The study is conducted in one of the largest cities in Morocco, exactly in Casablanca. This urban city is one of the most important cities in Morocco and the African world too. It is situated in the central-western part of Morocco bordering

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[1] Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. P7

the Atlantic Ocean. It is the largest city at both the economic and demographic levels. The largest companies and factories in Morocco are located there which makes of it a destination for many seek-work human resources from different parts of Morocco. Moreover, the city contains one of the pioneer associations that deal with the issue of single mothers which is "Association Solidarité Féminine". This latter, facilitated for me access to single mothers and played the role of coordinator between me and the interviewees. In this regard, the choice of this city is based on all these characteristics.

Role of the Coordinator

It is obvious that to have a list of single mothers in Morocco is impossibility because of the nature of society. To this end, getting data about single mothers endeavors continuous efforts to have a suitable context to conduct the research. Accordingly, through the trainings I had in Association Solidarité Féminine, I had the privilege to meet and see the lives of a number of single mothers who have been ex-beneficiaries of the association and get their confidence. Access to these women would not be achieved without the help of the association. This has played a big role in helping me to get contact with single mothers. Kahdija BENTOUIR who is an assistant responsible for single mothers' literacy classes and help of trainees that come to the association arranged a schedule of meeting with single mothers. She contacts them, organizes time for meeting and describes and explains the aim of the study in order to get confidentiality that will help in getting reliable information from the interviewees.

Study Population

In this study, the population of research is composed of single mothers from different parts of Morocco residing in Casablanca. They are all ex- beneficiaries of "Association solidarité féminine" and they all share the same lived experience with

different stories, circumstances, and conditions. Due to the difficulty of getting access to these women, only few of them accepted to unfold and disclose their experiences to the public through this academic field work. In this regard, the number of interviewees might have a number of limitations on the study as it does not give a general overview about this social phenomenon.

Study Participants

Twenty Moroccan single mothers, who were beneficiaries of the association "Solidarité Feminine", are recruited to be representative sample of this study. Their age varies between 23 and 41 years old, they are with different social and educational backgrounds and from different places of Morocco. The point they have in common is that they share the same lived experiences, obstacles and challenges.

Data Gathering Technique and Instrument

A face -to -face interview method was used in the study under examination to investigate the life of single mothers in the Moroccan context. The participants try to mirror the untold part of their stories. The interview is used, accordingly, to help the participants in narrating their experiences in a structured manner. It is an instrument that stands to be practical and effective for both the researcher and interviewees alike; it helps the participants to be organized in the process of unfolding their thoughts and experiences; it also helps the researcher to elicit data that are relevant to the nature of the topic, its implications, and its objectives.

The interview was designed in a semi-structured frame; it aimed to address issues on single mothers and have a deep understanding to the specificities of their life-style before and after pregnancy. The semi-structured interview which is used in this investigation makes it possible for both the researcher and the interviewee to engage in a kind of

stretchy interaction that would contribute in the production of data that are significant and pertinent to have an understanding to the situation. The interview guide was designed in Arabic and later on translated into English. The purpose behind the use of Arabic as a language in this semi-structured interview is to guarantee a full understanding of the questions from the part of the participants.

The interview put its center of attention on studying the interviewees' background information, the characteristics of the pre-pregnancy phase, the pregnancy phase specificities, and the post delivery phase traits. The timing allocated to each interview varied according to the understanding competencies of each interview.

Procedure

Interviews lasted between 30 and 45 min. they were conducted at a time and location convenient to the participants. Most interviews were held in the participant's place of living, some were in their place of work and the others were in the association's office. Meetings were always held in daylight hours avoiding the unsafety of night. Only four interviews were recorder using a digital voice recorder, the other interviewees did not accept to record their voices out of fear from their families, thus written notes were taken during the time of interview.

Data Analysis

To guarantee the effectiveness of data analysis, several steps are taken into consideration. First, Intensive and repeated readings are done on a regular basis to write a synopsis on every interview. Subsequently, transcribed verbatim are done in order to facilitate the understanding and interpretation of data. Following this, identification of the major themes and sub themes is done. Indeed, to reach a correlation between the research

questions and the analysis of data, a thematic analysis from a socio-cultural perspective is chosen in order to establish a bridge between what is theoretical and practical. For the purpose of categorizing the most relevant and expressive verbatim across interview, the thematic analysis is systematically used putting more stress on the process of identification of common and relevant themes within the data.

The purpose behind the step of identification is to facilitate data representation and descriptions taking into account the primary objective which is to answer the research questions. The process of identification demonstrates that there are major and sub themes with variation in significance. The coding process, which remains essential to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees comes afterward. Moreover, in order to ensure participant's confidentiality, all participants' names are replaced with fake names. Finally, translation of data into English language is done before starting the analysis.

I- Description of the Data Findings

In the aforementioned sections it has been stated that the interview guide is divided into three phases that characterize the life of single mothers. These are the pre-pregnancy phase, the pregnancy phase and the post delivery phase. Focus in these three important stages pave the way for a comparative study of the process of life single mothers experienced. The following is the description of data obtained from the interviews. They are going to be organized according to the chronological order presented in the interview guide. A copy of the interview guide is provided in the appendices.

Qualitative data derived from this study reveals that among twenty of the respondents fifteen of them were working before getting pregnant, while only five were staying at home. All of them affirm that they started working in an early age because the economic situation of their families needed to be supported. Most works they were

engaged in are either factory workers, waitresses in cafes or domestic workers. As far as their family relations are concerned, twelve out of twenty claim that they do not have any kind of problems with their families mainly their mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers. However, eight of single mothers assure that they were having problems mainly with their brothers whose patriarchal power strangled their freedom of life. Moving to the social relations, there are two categories of women; those who still have contact with their relatives and neighbors without making them know about their social problem and those who do not have any relations with their relatives because of the stigma of being a bad girl that should not be accompanied. Mariem (a fake name) is a single mother who argues that "*whenever I go out with my daughter or alone, I hear neighbors claiming to their daughters to avoid contact with me because I brought a child out of street.*"

The pregnancy phase is characterized by its harshness toward single mothers. The big majority of women 80% were ejected from their work because of their pregnancy especially after the show up of their bellies. Said a single Mother from Casablanca claims that once her pregnancy started to show up, her employer asked her either to bring the marriage certificate to prove her legal pregnancy or to avoid coming to the work. She states *"he said I do not want any kind of problem, it is better for you to avoid coming to work till you get rid of that "hram" in your wombs"*. A Part from Mariem a single mother from Fes, all the interviewees claim that they have flee from home once they knew about their pregnancies. They know the harsh perceptions and attitudes of society toward this issue. Therefore, they preferred to escape to other places where they are not known in order to avoid being stigmatized from their families, friends, and relatives. The majority of them argued that they went to Casablanca as being one of the big cities where people

have some kind of freedom and where can one find work in order to keep with its situation.

When I asked my interviewees on the reaction of their family (mother, father, sisters, brother) once they knew about the problem. All of them affirm that it was a ruthless reaction accompanied with feeling of shame and dishonor. The majority of families ejected their daughters because of their sinful act. Rbaha an interviewee from Beni Mellal argues that *"though my mother's reaction was so hard and shocking, in her inside, she wanted to embrace me; however, my brothers and father rejected the idea because for them I was the shame and embarrassment of my family. Therefore, I had to move out from my parent's house"*.

Furthermore, the post pregnancy phase has been characterized by some kind of solidarity toward single mothers and their children. All of them claim that they have been introduced by the help of someone to "Association Soldarité Feminine" which embraced; supported and helped them coped with their situations. They all affirmed that the three years they spend on the association paved the way for them to keep hope, to learn how to be self confident and be independent. Additionally, the association played a big role in making them learn how to love their children and avoid thinking of their abandon. Rabha declared that " *the fact of sharing the same experiences, pain, torment and the same hope make me cope with my situation especially from psychological perspective. Moreover, being surrounded by a space where everyone lives in the same way helped me overcome the pressure I lived with once I was pregnant"*.

To conclude the interview I asked the interviewees on what they have learned from this experience. All of them answered mainly the same answer: *"you do not have to believe in men"*. What can be noticed from the interview is that the age categorization of

the interviewees varies between 20 and 41 years old. Moreover, their educational level is very law and miserable. Most of them haven't accomplished their studies in order to work and help their families. Moreover, they are all till singles; they claim that they do not want to marry; their objective in life is to educate their children and live with them in a decent way.

II- Analisis of Data

The findings show that many factors contribute to the rise of the number of single mothers in the Moroccan society among which poverty which lead to the dropping out of education, marriage promises and lack of sexual education remain amongst the important factors that contribute in the emergence of this phenomenon. These factors put them in a situation where they suffer from marginalization, exploitation and rejection.

The Economic and Financial Problem:

Poverty plays an important role in the fact of being a single mother especially in rural areas where most of people still live under poor conditions. According to Loubna Skalli's work: "*Women and Poverty in Morocco: The Many Faces of Social Exclusion*" (2001), "*Poverty has many faces and dimensions. Its dominant face in Morocco is becoming increasingly female, rural, illiterate and unskilled*"[1]. This idea was much emphasized while I was doing my interviews with 20 single mothers from the **"Association Solidarité Féminine" (ASF)** in Casablanca; the majority of single mothers that I talked with were coming from poor areas where they have no accessibility to education as well as working skills, all of them argued that they were working as housemaids because of the need of income to support their families or to realize an economic self-sufficiency. In this respect,*"Non-governmental organizations estimate*

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[1] Loubna H.Skalli. "Women and Poverty in Morocco : The Many Faces of Social Exclusion" , Palgrave Macmillan Journals, 2007.p.73

that about 90 percent of single mothers in Morocco were housemaids in their childhood"[1]. All this stresses the idea that the issue of single mothers is more common in the underprivileged areas where these women suffer from suppression and marginalization.

Luck of Education:

Education in Morocco is free and compulsory from 6 till 15 years old. Poor parents especially in rural areas who do not know the importance of education most of the time withdraw their children especially girls from schools due to the demands for household income which often push children to work. This problem lies often among girls whose parents are uneducated and lacking awareness. Therefore, many girls are affected and as a result, they leave their homes at a very early age in order to work outside; hence, they become victims and vulnerable to any kind of aggression, manipulation and exploitation.

Parents in rural areas do not value girl's education; they think that it is not of necessity since they will go to their husband's house and become housewives. They deny that educated women are better informed about their legal rights. If women are educated, they will have the skills, the self confidence and the information they need to become good mothers, workers, and citizens as well as they will have the power to defend themselves in the case of any problem.

a) **Lack of sexual education**

In Morocco, the expression of "sexual education" is a part of the taboos that characterizes the society of this country, talking about sexuality remains among the illegitimacies that no one could discuss. Sexual education as a part of the programs of the academic study exists neither in the primary nor in the secondary academic programs. "*What is taught is provided in the form of scientific knowledge of the anatomy of the sexual organs and of*

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[1] http://streetkidnews.blogsome.com/category/1/africa/morocco-streetkid-news/ 24/02/2011

the biology of fertilization.[1] In Morocco, there is a big difference between boys and girls; boys are encouraged to display their genital organs, while girls are supposed to hide their intimacy. Therefore, women remain secluded and pushed to the margin. Mothers tend to talk with their girls but they do not talk about sexual education as they talk about the obligation to preserve the virginity which remains evidence for honesty and chastity in Moroccan society. *"The principal role of the mother is to obligate her daughter to preserve her virginity with a talk full of modesty and "hchouma" shame"*[2]. In such a situation, children, especially girls, are the most affected since they lack communication with their parents in such topics that could help them in the future.

Based on my interviews, I have noticed that lack of sexual education has affected many girls in the association where I have conducted my survey. The majority of single mothers in the (ASF) did not know that they could get pregnant without losing their virginity. Hence, they ignore the fact of being pregnant till they find themselves in the sixth or fifth month of pregnancy. So, they find themselves obliged to keep the baby as they could not abort it. Many mothers in ASF reinforced that they have never talked with their parents in topics related to sexuality. According to Aboubakr HARAKAT, psychotherapist and sex therapist in Casablanca, it is due to the lack of sexual education the phenomenon of single mothers is widely spread. He argues that *the majority of girls who has sexual problems with men do not even know the seriousness of the problem, because they had no education in the Family*[3].Indeed, many factors contribute in the fact of being a single mother. These

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[1] http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/IES/morocco.html#3 25/05/2013
[2] http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/IES/morocco.html#3 25/05/2013
[3] Myriam Tinouch Stucki « *Dire la maternité célibataire Étude menée entre Casablanca et Rabat, Maroc »*. Mémoire de licence en ethnologie, 2004 P.93 (my translation of « Selon Aboubakr HARAKAT28, psychothérapeute et sexologue à Casablanca, C'est le manque d'éducation sexuelle qui fait que le phénomène des mères célibataires se répand, Je peux vous dire que la plupart des jeunes filles qui ont eu des problèmes sexuels avec les hommes ne savent même pas le sérieux du problème, parce qu'elle n'a pas eu une éducation dans la famille »).

factors make them suffer from all kinds of marginalization, exploitation and social stigmatization as well as a lack of legal protection.

Marriage Promises:

Another factor that represents a great portion in the fact of being a single mother is "marriage promises" meaning when a man promises to marry a woman but he does not. *According to Association Solidarité Feminine (ASF)'s survey on 276 unmarried women, 73% are from marriage promises[1].* In 2003, INSAF association published the result of a survey on 684 single mothers arguing that *74% of illegal pregnancies are due to marriage promises.* In fact, due to the complexity of living and the protection they suffered from in their villages, and because of the excess of independence and freedom these girls have in the city once they arrive, they lose their morals and they start setting up relationships with young men, these relationships are based on marriage promises which are never achieved. Feeling unsecured, these girls seek to find someone who could protect or cover them; as it is said in our Moroccan culture "*man is the cover of a woman's head*".

Single mothers trust their lovers and start abiding by their needs waiting for the day of marriage. However, they find themselves pregnant before that day comes. Having a baby out of wedlock is considered a sin and it is punishable by law. "*Women who become pregnant outside of marriage can be imprisoned for prostitution, although the law is reportedly seldom enforced*"[2],this is the reason why the majority of men who are "the fathers" of these children deny their responsibilities and ask the mothers for "abortion" which is also forbidden in Islam. All these problems are due to the naivety of these

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[1] Myriam Tinouch Stucki « *Dire la maternité célibataire Étude menée entre Casablanca et Rabat, Maroc* ».Mémoire de licence en ethnologie, 2004 p.90 (My translation of « L'enquête menée par ASF auprès de 276 mères non mariées l'ayant contacté parle de différents types d'agressions à l'origine de la grossesse illégitime : 73% issues de promesse de mariage (non tenue).
[2] Refugee Review Tribunal, RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE, Research Response Number: MAR31637, Morocco, 3 May 2007 p.1

categories of girls. All these factors lead actually to the emergence of single mothers phenomenon which in turns lead to all sorts of exclusion from society since this act of having a sexual relationship outside the norms of a legal and conventional marriage is considered to be the "*haram*" "the forbidden". All these explain the harsh unforgiving eye of society towards these women, because for a conservative society as the Moroccan one these women are violating the social, religious and legal norms which gives rise to immorality and corruption.

Single Mother's Social Exclusion:

The loss of virginity before marriage remains a major transgression of social norms, which radically labels the woman as an outsider; any girl who trespasses the red lines and having a sexual relationship outside the wedlock is considered to be a source of shame and disgrace. From this, one can deduce how the Moroccan community perceives these segments of society; they are seen as a source of dishonor and ignominy. their transcend is associated with the social disorder of the society.

Most of the respondents confirmed the fact that they have faced rejection once people knew about their pregnancy outside of the wedlock. We might assert that rejection starts from them first because they feel ashamed once they realize that they are pregnant. That's why they try to move away or far away from their families. They sometimes themselves do not accept the idea that they are pregnant and they face a psychological rejection of their situation. Being called a single mother is considered as a stigmatizing title. Therefore, many single mothers tend to seclude themselves in a distant place so as to avoid being looked down at either by their families or friends. Isolating themselves or at least changing the house or city where they are living seems to be the first step they

undergo, this is because they already know that they will not be accepted for what they have done. They will be judged and put under quarantine.

Once these single mothers leave their house or city seeking help from some institutions, they sometimes face some kind of rejection from certain NGOs, hospitals, and the police. For instance, when a woman wants to give birth to her child in a hospital, most of the time she finds difficulties because she might be asked about her husband. In case he is not there and once they realize that the child is outside of wedlock, she might be humiliated, ill treated, and abused. They might also call the police because it is an illegal pregnancy. The police on their part might have different attitudes toward that single mother. The police reaction depends on whether or not this is taking place in the city or the country side. In the first case, they will make sure that the mother does not leave her child and that she registers him/ her in the child's birth. They might also make NGOs interfere in this situation to see what kind of help they can provide her with. In rural areas, the reaction of the police differs thoroughly. The single mother can face some serious problems since they might open legal proceedings against her for having an illegal sexual relation. She might be punished for such a behavior and be put in jail. The police can also keep an eye on all her movements. The single mother can also be treated badly by the police throughout the process.

Hence, Single mothers are considered among the vulnerable group of women that are blamed for violating the social and religious norms. Their act signifies a huge offense and transgression of social values. According to the Moroccan social norms, unwed mothers' pregnancies brings disgrace and shame to their families; as a result, they are always humiliated, secluded and rejected because they are viewed as "fornicator" "zania" which

is a considered to be in the Islamic religion as an unforgettable sin in which its perpetrator should be severely punished.

   In actuality, single mothers face different kinds of problems which necessitate therapeutic intervention. Based on the interviews with the participants, almost all of them confirmed the huge role of the non- government organizations' role in supporting them and providing them with the aid and assistance to cope with their situation and manage to deal with the difficult conditions that may surround them. In fact, the majority of the participants confessed that they received all kinds of social and physical support and problem solving. Effective assistance and support has been acknowledged as an important factor in pushing these families to cope with problems of single mother phenomenon.

   As such, non-governmental organizations have been launched to reduce the stigma that these women suffer from and empower them to gain their dignity and legal rights as well. The following section will diverge to shed lights on the massive work that these NGOs do to progress unwed mothers' legal and social status and move them out of social segregation. "Association Solidarité Féminine" will be taken as a case study.

   In this respect, civil society aims at improving these women's situation by talking on their behalf and demanding their rights. These rights include the ones mentioned in the Moroccan family law, like receiving respect for their names, identities, nationality and registration in the civil record. Aicha Ec-Chenna, who is the symbol of activism in this field since 1983, plays a crucial role in demystifying the social stigma and torment that single mothers suffer from everyday. Ec- Chenna is –in many ways- trying to emphasize the Islamic values of tolerance and acceptance of the "illegitimate" children and the situation of single mothers in general. She tends to spread indulgence and compassion in the Moroccan society so as Moroccans can sympathize with these marginalized women.

This is because the Moroccan society does not have mercy on these women and their children. [1]

The role of the Moroccan NGOs working on this issue is to insure that the children are legally recognized. The "legal existence" is very important since the law does not acknowledge a person who is not officially identified and certified. Thus, the legal recognition guarantees that the children benefit from their rights as all other citizens. However, the laws which deal with this matter are not easy to make because they have something to do with religion and they have a sacred nature. Consequently, "article 490 of the Penal Code outlaws premarital sex." [2] That is to say, premarital sex is religiously considered as a taboo and an illegal act which condemns and criminalizes its doers.

I- NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMEN'S SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

A non-governmental organization is an organization or a group of people working independently with specific objectives and aims to achieve tasks that lead to a social change in a society.

Since independence, Moroccan feminist movement played a big role in the social change of the country. A lot of Ngo's have been launched to advance and promote women's rights and issues, and to facilitate women's empowerment in Morocco. Women were most of the time victims of violence and discrimination. Their invisibility in the public sphere pushed them to interfere and react on their position. As a result, a new family law was promulgated in 2004 seeking for women's equality rights. The new family Law was a step forward to attain legal changes especially regarding women's rights. However, despite of the progressive achievements that the new family code attained, gaps

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[1] Nicole Fauster, "Memoirs of a Mother: Life between an Islamic fantasy, Cultural Patriarchy, and the Startling Reality." (2014): 8.
[2] Ibid.

still persist for marginalized women such as single mothers and women victims of domestic abuse.

Many Ngo's advocate the issue of single mothers in Morocco among which "Association Solidarité Féminine" (ASF), and "National Institute of Solidarity with Women in Distress (INSAF) in Casablanca, "Association Initiative pour la Protection de Droit De La Femme" (IPDF) in Fez. "Association 100% Mothers" in Tangier, and others. Their aim is to help women in difficult situations; reintegrating them in society and promoting tasks and occupations that can help them later to be self independent. "Solidarité Féminine" (ASF) is one of these associations that work hard to support unwed mothers in Morocco.

Founded in 1985, "Solidarité Féminine" remains the pioneer association that held the issue of single mothers and their children in Morocco. Since her objective is to prevent children's abandonment, Aicha Echanna the president of the association took the responsibility to take charge of this category of women and their children. The association seeks to reintegrate these unwed mothers in society and involve them in activities that generate their income. Additionally, it aims at institutionalizing legal reforms that strengthen their situation.

ASF accepts more than 50 single mother every year, each one of them receive three years training either in cooking, baking or sewing. They also benefit from other services like daily child care, medical treatments in addition to psychological counseling and legal support. These services enhance unwed mothers' personality and help them gaining their dignity and self respect.

"Solidarité Féminine" consists of three centers; two restaurants and one fitness and SPA center in which unwed mothers are hired to practice what they learn in their

trainings. This strategy encourages single mothers to be autonomous in their future lives. For example four unwed mothers had the possibility to rent their own kiosk and set up their own business with the help of the association while others had the opportunity to work in fitness centers. In fact, this experience helps single mothers reach their goal and become more financially independent.

By helping unwed mothers, associations working on that issue are contributing to the social empowerment of these women and the social change of the country as well. If single mothers are empowered enough, their stigma will not remain a problem and their children will benefit from all their rights as normal citizens; they will have the right to get the paternity certificate by which they can register in school, benefit from free medical care, and get the national identity card.

Furthermore, single mothers' empowerment will help in changing the old mentalities that ostracized unwed mothers and their children and lead to the social reintegration and acceptance of these women in society.

Aicha Ech Channa has deconstructed a social cultural taboo in order to change the social perception towards single mothers. Thus they could be transformed from a condemned population to a recognized one. She trains these girls to be independent and to rely on themselves. Additionally, she also advocates a legal reform that would make the biological fathers take the paternity tests and make them convinced of the importance of recognizing and supporting their children. Thanks to this work, 19% of single mothers have been married, the majority of my interviewees were reconciled with their families and almost all of them have found jobs. More than 50 women receive training every year in literacy, human rights, cooking, baking, sewing, fitness services and accounting. The beneficiary participants as they call them in the association also receive daily child care and

medical treatments in addition to social, psychological and legal support and counseling for better reintegration in their society.

ASF aims to establish a bond between the mother and the child. Rajae, a social assistant says, "Enabling a woman to nurse and care for her child for a short time leads her to change her decision to get rid of him and gives her an opportunity to become attached to her child and reconnect with him."

ASF also initiates contacts with the single mother's family in order to bring them closer, search for a means of reconciliation and urge acceptance of their daughter's new circumstance. They also help single mothers register the child's civil status to protect them from being abandoned or subject to an adoption in which the child loses all connection to his biological mother. Through this process, the child is given a family name, even if borrowed, rather than the term "Father: Unknown", which could affect the child throughout his life. The association also provides emotional and psychological support for single mothers in order to make them overcome their psychological troubles.

Thanks to the efforts made by the associations, and civil society, single mothers have become able to register their children in the registry of civil status and obtain a family booklet. They have also gained the right to request a paternity test ADN, and a paternity certificate to prove the paternity of their children conceived out of wedlock.

In short, single mothers have gained numerous rights that enabled them to ameliorate their situation. However, none of these is actually applicable by law for 100%. Laws which are supposed to protect women's rights exist only on paper. They are often not applied in reality while their implementation would take a long time to be executed. "man is the cover of a woman's head".

Thus, at the economic and financial level one can deduce that most of the participants chose to penetrate the workplace in order to better their financial situation as well as to being able to reintegrate within the community without any kind of constraints. This, in fact shows that Moroccan single mothers are highly willing to change their terrible situation by assuming responsibility and throwing behind all the bad experiences they encountered.

The majority of the participants show that they were not obliged to work before getting pregnant; their motive of work was to attain an independent situation from their family. However, all the participants confirm that they were in a deer need to work in pre- and post pregnancy in order to supply their babies' needs and to reach a decent life. The answers giving by each interviewee foreground that almost all of them belong to a homogenous group in terms of their social and economic status; they are poor, young and not well educated. Also, all the participants seem to belong to conservative families, where it is prohibited to have premarital adventures. However, the participants claim that they let themselves go and break all settled family norms especially the ones related to the notion of the honor of the family, because they trusted their lovers and because of their young age. As the story of each participant develops, the participants feel the duty and the need for sensitizing other young girls to maintain their loyalty and allegiance to the social and moral norms; the interviewees at the end of the interview admitted that a woman has to despise and reject all their admiration for a lover, if it is beyond the bounds of the institution of marriage. As a case in point premarital contacts with males should be considered as an attack to the honor of the family as well as to the life of the victim girl.

However, and though all the efforts done by the Ngo's, Single mothers still face serious economic challenges; increasingly, Many single mothers have been resilient in the context of welfare reform and more recently, during the severe economic recession. This leads to the fact

that single mothers in Morocco are disproportionately working in low-wage jobs with few benefits, and children growing up in single-mother families remain among the most vulnerable children in the country. While neighborhood characteristics, schools, and peer networks play important roles in children's development, parents continue to provide the major source of social and economic support in children's lives.

Three-fourths of all single mothers are in the labor force, and the majority of employed single mothers are working in lower-wage retail, service, or administrative jobs that offer few benefits. Despite high rates of labor force participation, almost all single mothers do not have health insurance. Low-income single mothers are more likely to be young, never married, less educated, and unemployed. Over half of low income single mothers are very young women, but the paradox exists in this fact that almost all of the participants confirmed that they are satisfied by their wages since they manage to provide their kids with the necessary for their survival. Three-fifths of low-income single mothers have not attained a complete education and that what explains their exclusion from good positions with a fair salary. This combination of maternal characteristics puts these women in a very hard situation; they are torn between struggling to survive as well as striving to create for themselves a role in a society which tends to abolish and exclude them from all their rights as normal citizens of the community. As a result, a large number of lower-income single mothers have become "disconnected" from a fair acces to work trainings and why not a good education. Given the current state of the job market, these single mothers are at high risk of remaining jobless and poor, with approximately no hope of pulling themselves out of poverty.

This issue has always been the focus of studies in the relevant field. For instance, single mothers who are seen as the main victims, are overwhelmed by various difficulties such as: "(1) taking new roles and responsibilities, (2) being absorbed with their own needs, (3) having a

poor communication with their families and neighbors , (4) facing a shift from old interaction patterns to the new social roles, (5) feeling lack of social support in their newly developed situation, (6) feeling more stress, (7) adopting restrictive, inappropriate, and punishing parenting behaviors, and (8) feeling social isolation".[1] All these forces lead to psychological dissatisfaction which will affects in turn these single mothers' children who are experiencing negative, dysfunctional, and high-conflict home atmosphere. Children who suffer from these conditions are more likely to exhibit externalizing problems such as aggression, noncompliance, and conduct behaviors. These social problems may also develop a negative and distorted view of themselves and the world at large. Here comes the role of all the components of the society among which the government, the civil society and the citizens to provide all sorts of help and support to this group of women to help them overcome all the obstacles and hardships of life in order to be able to reintegrate their society and be effective and productive.

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[1] Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, 1981; Colletta, 1983 (e.g., Wallerstein & Blackeslee, 1989; Amato & Keith, 1991)As quoted in *Marziyeh ALIVANDI VAFA, KHAIDZIR Hj. Ismail*, "Reaching out to single parent children through filial therapy", *US-China Education Review, ISSN1548-6613, USA Volume 6, No.2 (Serial No.51), Review, ISSN1548-6613*, (USA, 2009), p. 2.

Chapter Three:

Attitudes toward the

Issue of Single

Mothers in Morocco

It has been assumed that single women transgressing the socially accepted standards are likely to encounter problems that may lead to their social exclusion. This chapter tries to analyze this assumption by examining the different viewpoints gathered from the quantitative data collected. (link) The aim is to better understand how Moroccan citizens perceive the issue of single mothers and to explore the extent to which their attitudes affect the social life of this category of women. In this regard, a self-administered questionnaire was distributed hand in hand to three hundred participants from the city of Fez. The sampling which contains both men and women was divided into two categories; the educated mainly university students and people with a high educational level, and people with an average and low educational level. The questionnaire contains thirty three questions related to different perspectives; the religious, the socio-cultural and the legal. This would allow the understanding of the different perceptions toward the issue under study. In what follows a description of the data collected. I will proceed by providing each question as provided in the questionnaire and comment on it. Then, I will more to analyze the data directly in the second section of this chapter.

I- Description of the Data

- Background Information

Table 1: Gender

	Frequency	**Percentage**
Male	149	49,7%
Female	151	50,3%
TOTAL	300	100%

Source: Fieldwork Results

Based on the findings of the quantitative data, table 1 shows that the gender variable of my informants was about to reach equality. 149 males which represent 49.7% and 151 females 50.3% are asked to fill in the questionnaire. The necessity to use a gender approach in this study is to avoid being biased and to reach some kind of equality between sexes.

Table 2: Age Categorization

	Frequency	Percentage
No respond	1	0,3%
Under 20	33	11,0%
From 20 to 22	53	17,7%
From 22 to 24	85	28,3%
From 24 to 26	49	16,3%
From 26 to 28	22	7,3%
From 28 to 30	12	4,0%
30 and above	45	15,0%
TOTAL	300	100%

Source: Fieldwork Results

Table 2 represents the age categorization of the participants which ranges from 18 years old as a minimum age and 62 years old as a maximum one. Data are grouped into seven classes. Participants whose age varies between 22 and 24 years old come in the first place with a percentage of 28.3%. In the second place come the participants whose age varies between 20 and 22 years old with a percentage of 17%. While participants whose age varies between 24 and 26 years old comes in the third place with a percentage of 16.3%. In the fourth position come participants whose age is more than 30 years old. They make the percentage of 15%. Moreover, the fifth place goes back to participants whose age is less than 20 years with a percentage of 11%. Participants whose age is between 26 and 28 come in the sixth place with a percentage of 7.3% and the last category is that of participant whose age is between 28 and 30 years old with a percentage of 4%. As a result, data retrieved from the questionnaire reveal the predominance of the adult active

population. The diversity of ages among the population can be a positive point to get variety of different perceptions that can provide richness in the analysis of this phenomenon.
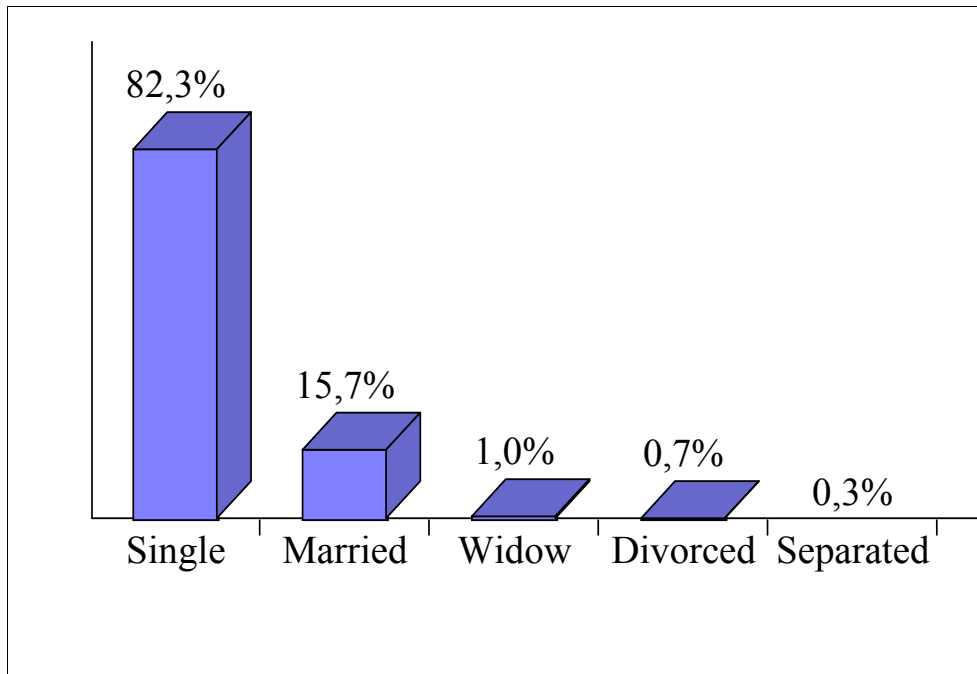
Figure 2: Participant's Marital Status

Source: Fieldwork Results

The results show that the respondent's marital status is divided into five categories. The first category is that of the singles with a percentage of 82.3%. The second category is that of the married with a share of 15.7%. The third category is dedicated to the widows with a percentage of 1%. The divorced reached the fourth category with a percentage of 0.7% while the separated are the least represented in the sample with a share of 0.3%. Examining the distribution of participants based on their marital status, it can be noticed that the highest rate is allocated to single people.
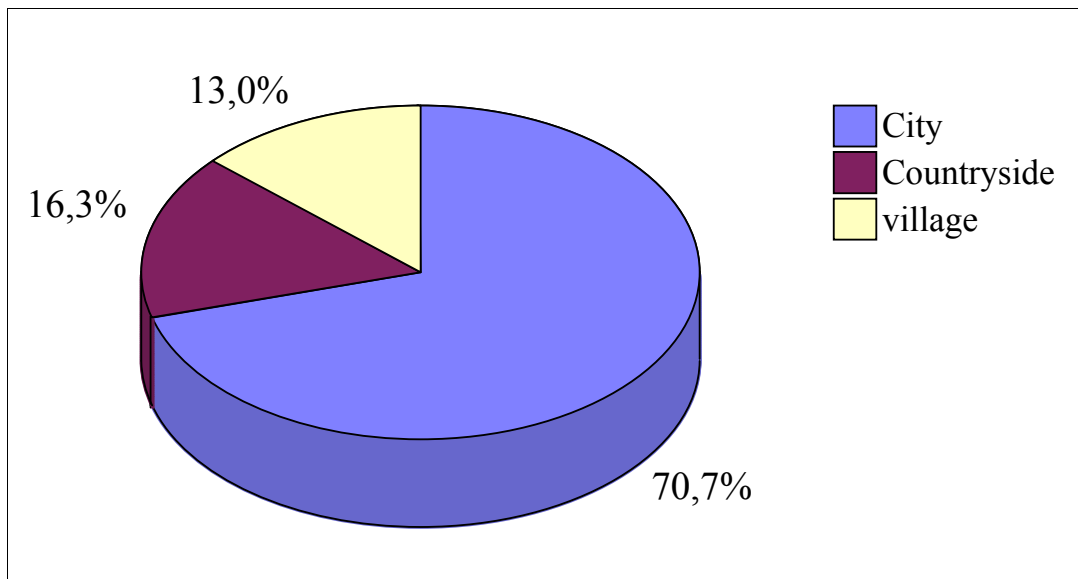
Figure 3: Participant's Geographical Origin

Source: Fieldwork Results

As for the Geographical origin of my respondents, data reveal that the big majority of participants originate from the city with a share of 70.3%. People originated from the countryside come in the second place with a percentage of 16%. Whereas those originated from the village represent 12.7% of the study population.

Illiterate	0,0%
Primary	0,7%
Secondary	0,7%
High school	1,0%
Baccalaureate	0,7%
University Level: Undergraduate	61,0%
Master	32,3%
Phd	3,7%
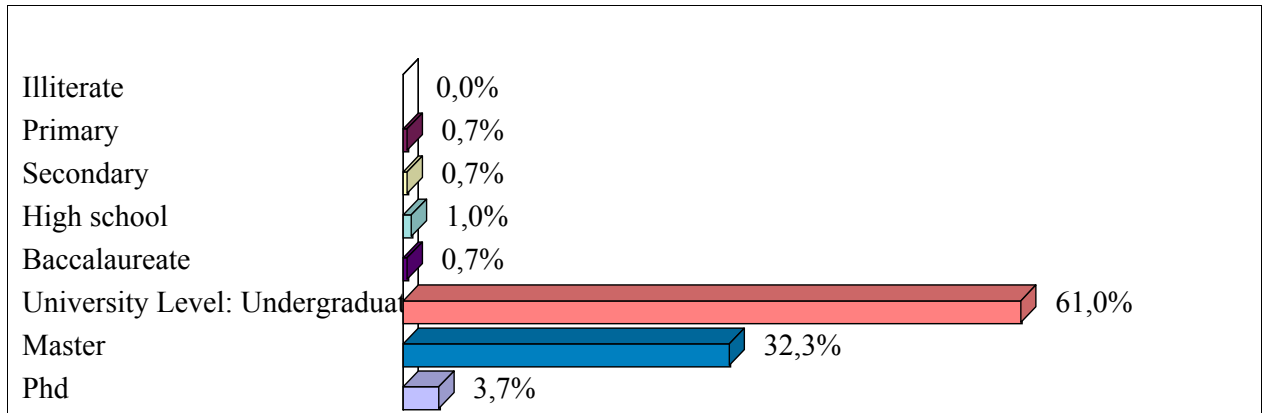
Figure 4: Participant's Educational Level

Source: Fieldwork Results

It is highly perceived that the big majority of respondents belong to the university level. 61% are undergraduate, 32.3% held a master degree, 3.7% are PhD holders and 3.1% represent participants with primary, secondary, high school and baccalaureate level. These statistics indicate that the population under study is with an average educational level.

- **Information about the Concept of Single Mothers**

5,7%

Yes
No

94,3%
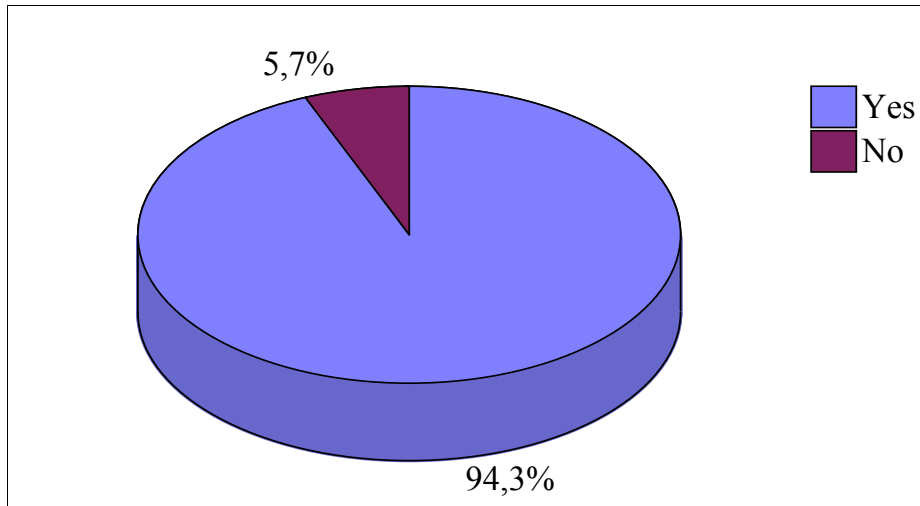
Figure 5: Participant's knowledge of the term single mother

Source: Fieldwork Results

It seems that the majority of respondents know what the term single mother means, and have already heard about it in the Media mainly on TV Programs, magazines and newspapers as well. This is highly illustrated in figure 4 in which 94.3% of respondents answered yes and only 5.7% of the participants answered no.

Table 3: Term Consideration

	Frequency	Percentage
Normal	63	21,0%
Intruder	82	27,3%
Appropriate	40	13,3%
Illegal	115	38,3%
TOTAL	300	100%

Source: Fieldwork Results

As far as how the respondents consider the term single mother, data reveal that the majority of respondents consider it as an illegal term with a share of 38.3%. This means that a high portion of the study population tackle this phenomenon from a religious **perspective. This shows that there is an influence of religions on the participant's thoughts.** Furthermore, 27.3% consider this term as intruded and should not be used in an Arab-Muslim society. In other words, they consider it as a term that goes beyond the Islamic and cultural values of the Moroccan society. 21.3% see that this term is normal and can be used to describe a situation as any other used terms. Moreover, 13.3% consider it as an appropriate term to the situation.
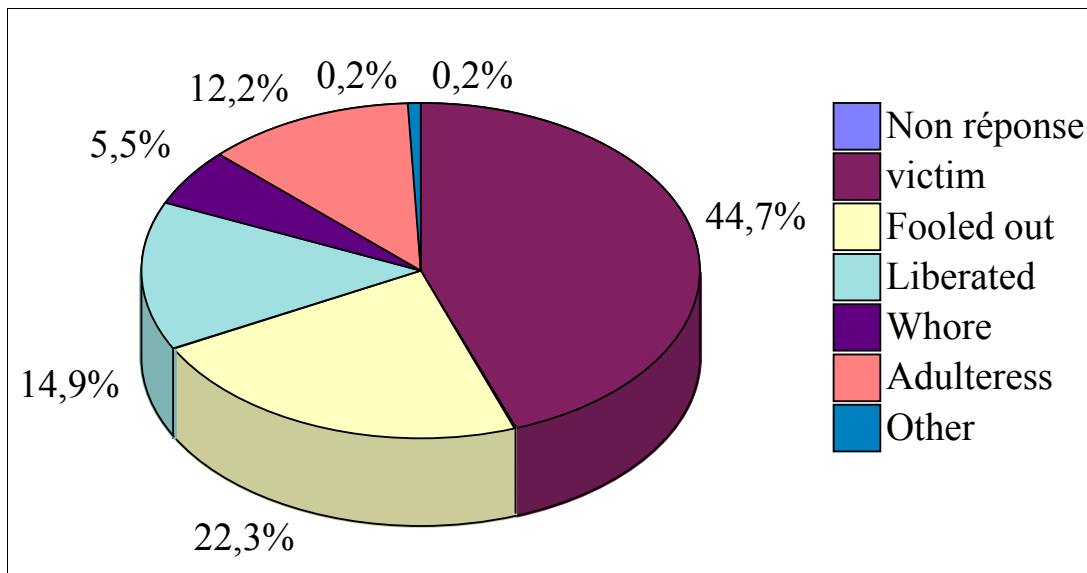
Figure 6: Participant's perception of single mother

Figure 5 shows that 44.7% of the respondents perceive a single mother as victim, while 22.6% see her as fooled out. 14.9% consider her as liberated and 12.4% of the participants see that she is an adulteress and only 5.5% consider her as a whore. The results show that there is a kind of sympathy with single mothers as the majority of respondents see them as victims.

II- The Religious Approach to the Phenomenon of Single Mothers

Table 4: the Perception of Religion about the Issue of Single Mothers

	Frequency	**Percentage**
Yes	143	47,7%
No	157	52,3%
TOTAL	300	100%

Source: Fieldwork Results

As far as the participants' knowledge of what religion says about the issue of single mothers, more than half of the study population denies their knowledge about the religious perspective on this phenomenon. Their denial was most of the time related to their fear of confusion between religion and culture. For them in order to say what Islamic law says on the issue of single mothers you have to be familiar with proofs from Quoranic verses and hadits. 52.3% of the participants who answered Yes were asked to provide what religion says about the issue of single mothers. the answers are divided into two categories: those who relate the act of single mothers to "Zina" adultery which is forbidden and punishable in Islam, *"Being a single mother means that this woman has involved in adultery and therefore it is forbidden in religion of Islam which posits that such a woman should be punished unless the context is not appropriate (e.g., someone raped that woman)"*, and those who relate the problem to the nature of the act and see for example *"if the woman is raped, the issue becomes more social and cultural than religious"*.

13- From a religious perspective, how should the subject of single mothers be dealt with?

Most answers revolve around sensitization, tolerance and ways to find alternative solutions to the problem of single mothers. The majority of respondents claim that this

issue is a social reality that needs to be studied especially from a religious perspective. They see that it is time for religious institutions to open a door of discussion and raise more awareness about the issue. However, other answers suggest applying the Islamic low as it is the only way to predict this phenomenon. According to one of the respondents, *"to deal with the subject of single mother from religious perspective one should simply apply the Islamic Low as it is indicated in the Ayet* الزَّانِيَةُ وَالزَّانِي فَاجْلِدُوا كُلَّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمَا مِائَةَ جَلْدَةٍ وَلَا تَأْخُذْكُمْ بِهِمَا رَأْفَةٌ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَلْيَشْهَدْ عَذَابَهُمَا طَائِفَةٌ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
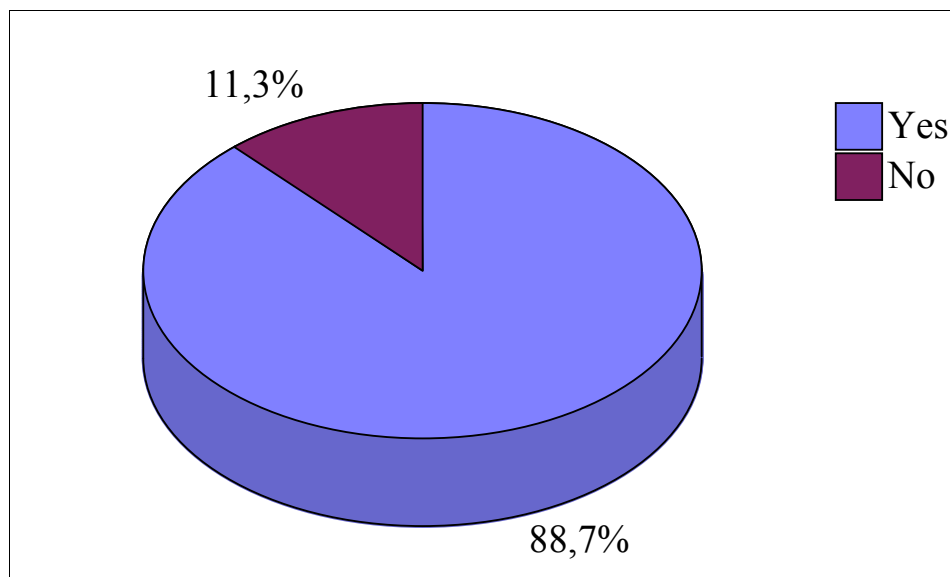
Figure 7: Appropriate Place to raise awareness on the issue of single mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results

Based on the data retrieved from the above question, which insist on sensitization as an important feature to deal with the issue of single mothers from a religious perspective, 88.7% of respondents agreed to raise this problem in mosques as it remains a public space where people receive lessons of preaching and guidance in all what concern people's social and religious life. As a result, this phenomenon should not be excluded from the religious discourse in mosques. However, it should be addressed in details in order to make people aware of the seriousness of this phenomenon, its causes, effects and

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appropriate solutions to treat it. 11.3% of the study population disagreed to raise this issue in mosques. For them this social issue remains a taboo and a sensitive topic in a way it should not be raised in such respectable places.
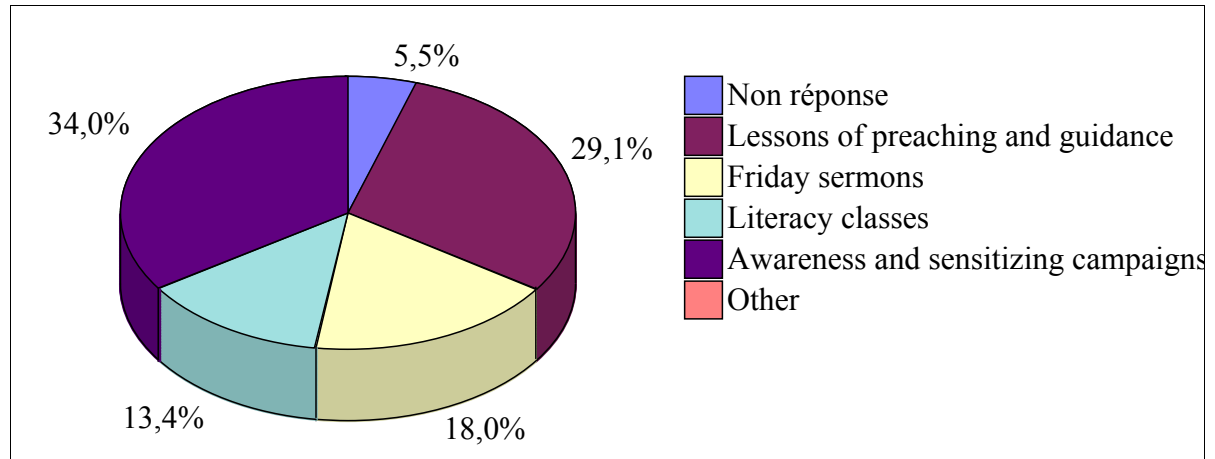
Figure 8: Place of Debating the Issue of Single Mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results

Among those who accepted to address the issue of single mothers in mosques, 34% of them find that the appropriate place to raise this issue is in awareness and sensitizing campaigns. Lessons of preaching and guidance come in the second position with a percentage of 29.1%, while Friday sermons reached the fourth position with a share of 18%. The last position goes back to literacy classes with a percentage of 13.4%. From the illustrated result, we can deduce that the dominant percentage goes back to awareness and sensitizing campaigns and lessons of preaching and guidance. I think the reason behind that is that the majority of audience, or people who go there are women, thus they can be sensitized about the problem.

15-How can religious institutions help in the reduction of the issue of single mothers?

Almost all answers is attributed to sensitization, awareness, and preaching. Here are some viewpoints provided by the participants. Religious institutions can help in the reduction of the issue of single mothers

- *"By informing the youths how to avoid the causes of this phenomenon and the whole society to find realistic solutions for them."*

- *"As a Moroccan citizen, I guess through awarness though I do not think the traditional mind will understand because of the stereotypes they have regarding this category of women".*

- *"Preaching the males to respect women's status in society and that a relationship should be throughout a wedlock. For women, to be more rational about their actions since it will be all pinned on their shoulders not on males' for the cultural structure of the state".*

- *"They can sensitize and raise awareness among teenagers and young generation particularly young men to assume responsibility."*

The social approach to the phenomenon of single mothers
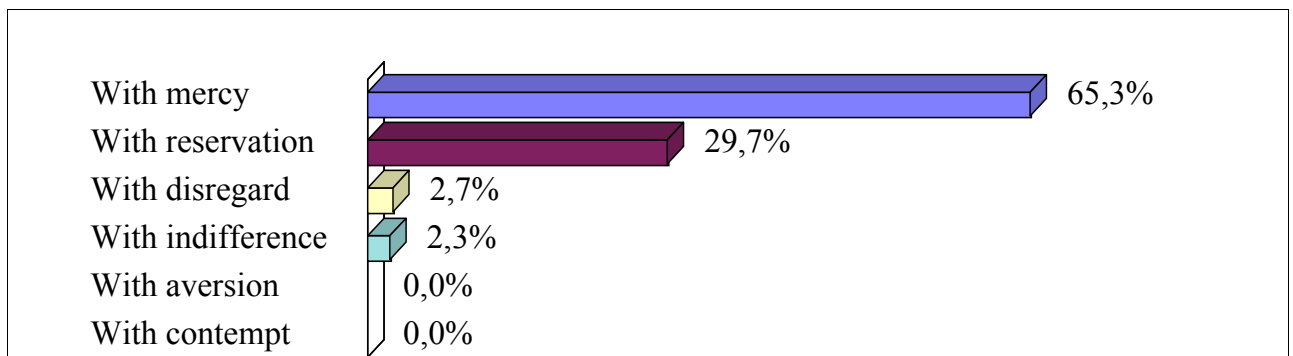
Figure 9: Single Mothers' Way of Treatment

Source: Fieldwork Results

65.3% of the participants see that they should treat a single mother with mercy. Despite what happened to her, they consider her as victim that should be treated in a way that does not hurt her. (Awkward style) 29.7% think that a single mother should be treated with reservation. For them, what happened to her remains her problem and should not be interfered to affect her social life. 2.7% think that she should be treated with disregard and 2.3% see that a single mother should be treated with indifference. From the above statistics we can deduce that the big majority sympathize with single mothers.
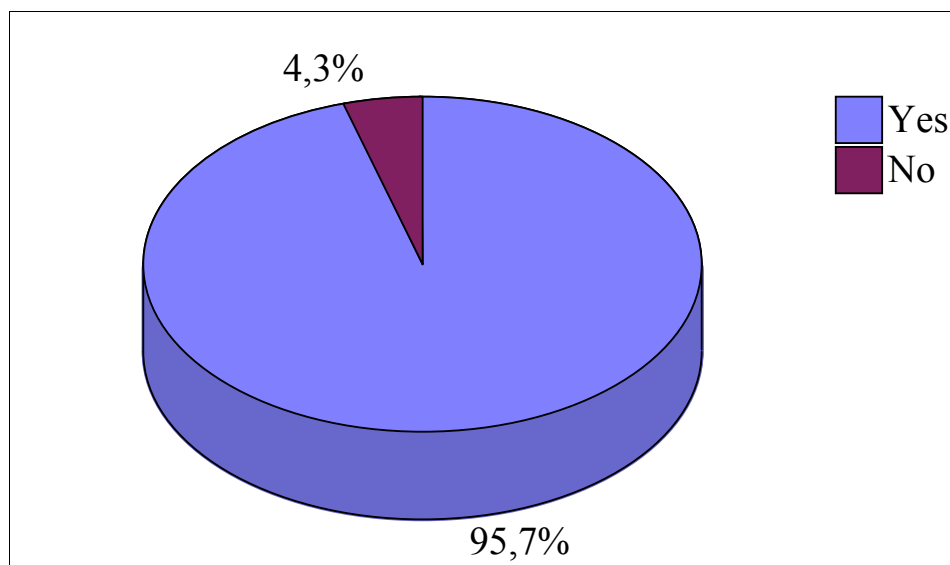
Figure 10: Participants' Will to Help Single Mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results

Almost the total study population 95.7% has the will to help single mothers. However, they differ in the kind of help they can provide. 40.6% prefer to provide single mothers with moral help, 32.9% choose to guide her to association or other places that can offer help, and 24.6% desire to provide material help.
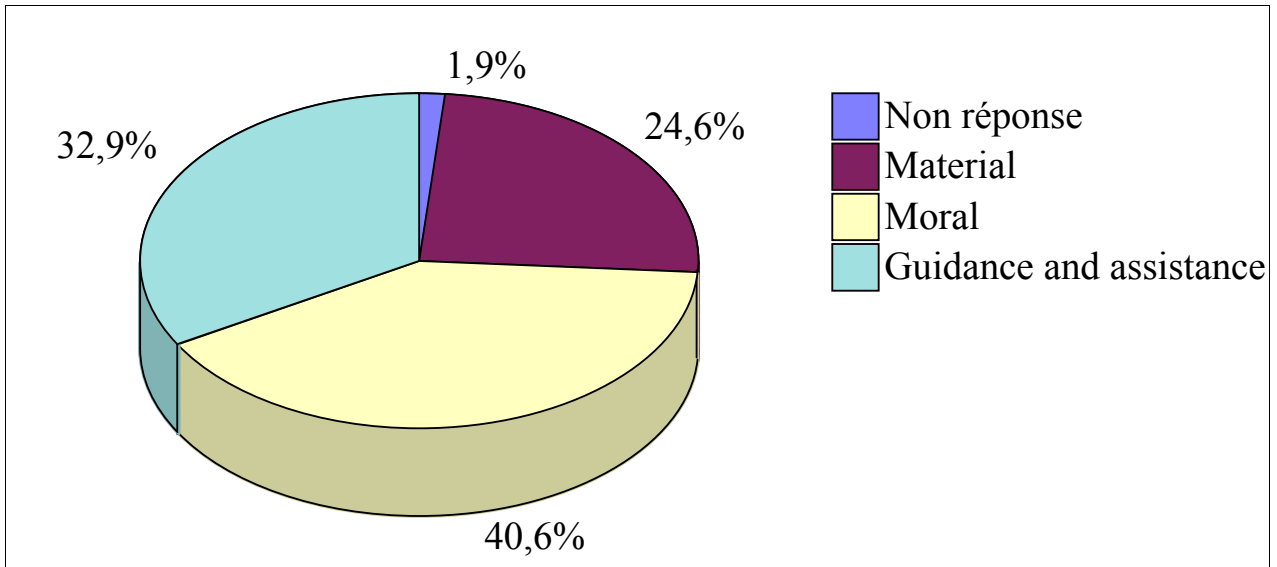
Figure 11: kinds of help to single mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results
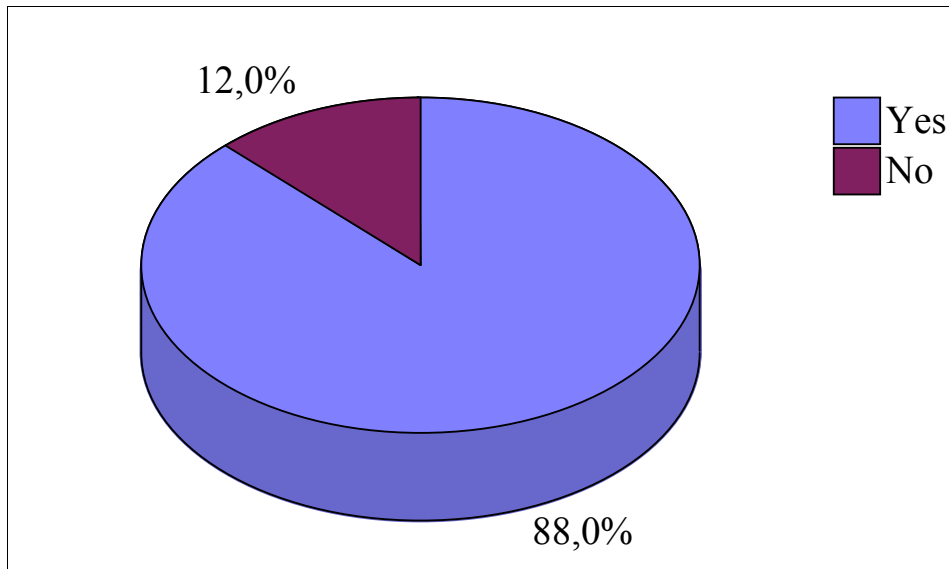
Figure 12: Men and Women Responsibility

Source: Fieldwork Results

It is well illustrated that the big majority of the participant do not blame only women for their act. 88% of the respondents see that both men and women are guilty in this act. However, 12% think that only one of them who bears the responsibility of this sinful act, most of the time women are the one blamed.

20- How do you consider Moroccan women who have a child outside of marriage?

Answers to this question are also grouped into two categories. There are those who consider women who give birth outside of marriage as victims or preys of men whose aim is to meet their instinct especially if the act was out of her will or by force such as rape. On the other hand, there are responses who consider single mothers as accused and responsible of their act. One of the respondents claim that " women who give birth outside the framework of marriage are foolish enough to commit such act since they know what they will face especially that men are not judged upon their actions and women are the only the blame".

21- How do you perceive the act of giving birth outside marriage?

As far as this question is concerned, the big majority of answers consider this act as forbidden, shameful and out of the Muslims community beliefs and traditions. It is also argued that it is "a result of weakness in a certain moment".
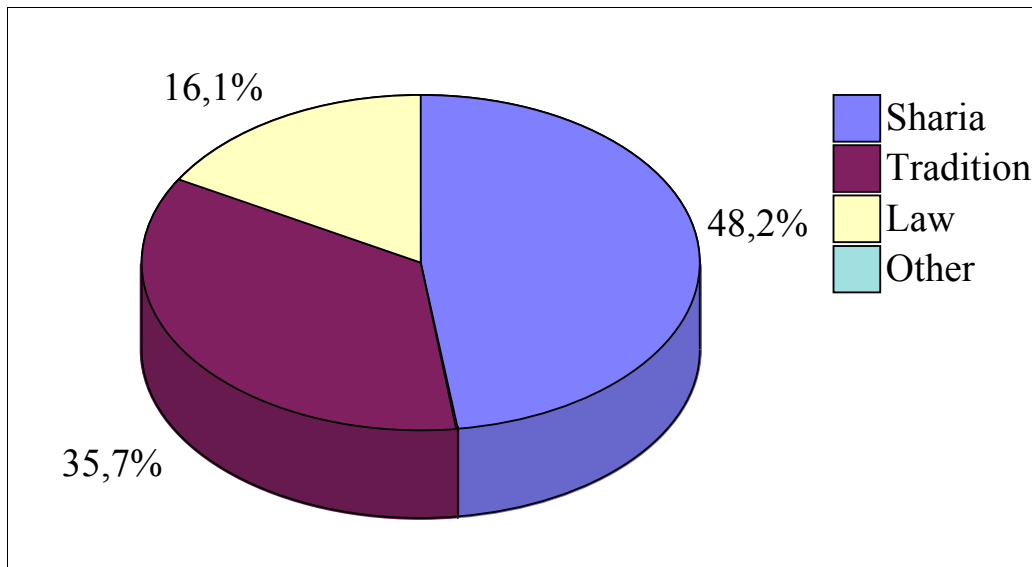
Figure 13: Participant's thought on single mother' social rejection

Source: Fieldwork Results

Statistical data indicate that most respondents link the rejection of single mothers to their transgression of religion with a share of 48.2%. This means that religious perspective is prominent in people's thought. 35.7% of participants see that single mothers are rejected because of their transgression of traditions and only 16.1% of the respondents relate single mothers' rejection to their offense to the societal legal norms.

- **The legal approach to the phenomenon of single mothers**
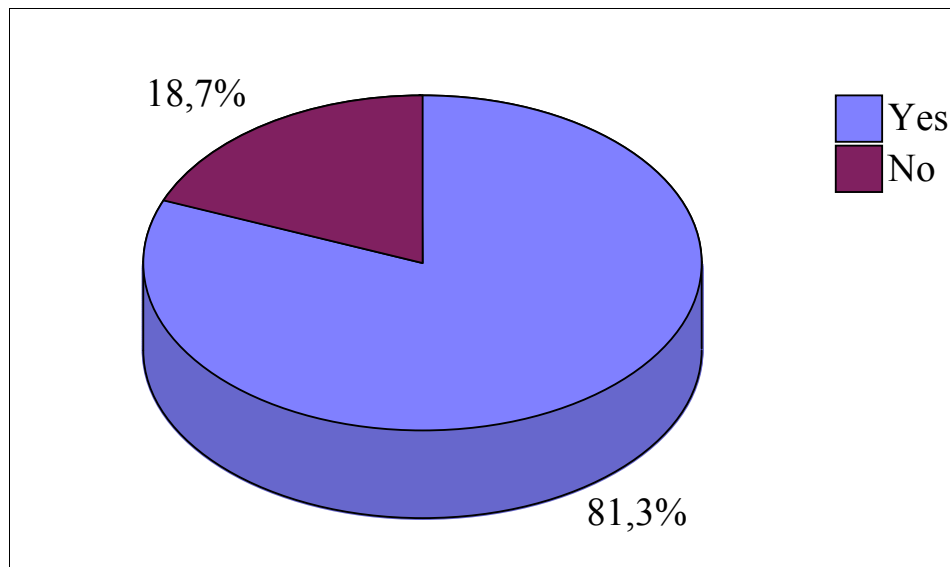
Figure 14: Law Criminalization of sexual relation outside marriage

Source: Fieldwork Results

The majority of people in the survey tend to have a certain knowledge about the penal law which criminalizes sexual relations outside the institution of marriage with a share of 81.3%. However, 18.7% deny their knowledge, arguing that they do not have much information on such an issue from the legal perspective.

If your answer is yes. Why?

People who answered yes were asked to justify from their point of view why law criminalizes sexual relations outside the institution of marriage. Reponses vary from one person to another. However, the common point they share is that law is based on religion which forbids any sexual relation outside the institution of marriage. Hence, it is criminalized.
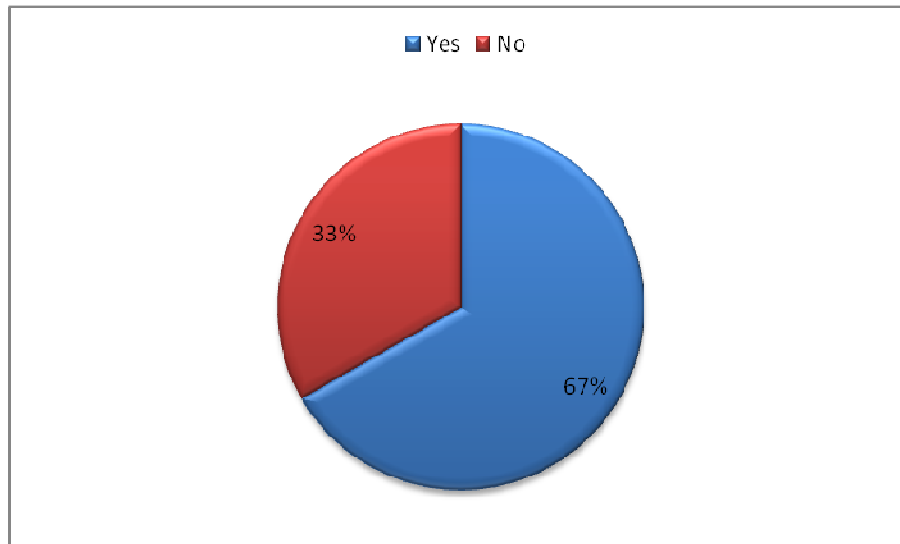
Figure 15: For or against law criminalization

Source: Fieldwork Results

From the above graph, it is well illustrated that all the respondents are for the criminalization of sexual relations outside marriage. For them the criminalization of prenuptial relations may help to some extent in the reduction of the issue of single mothers. However, if we tolerate it the number of those women will increase. Hence, a huge number of abandon children who are vulnerable to juvenile delinquency will be more pervasive. One of the respondents argues that *"our society is not ready for sexual liberty; this act will be the cause of many dangerous social problems that can destroy the overall development of a community. As a result, crime, drug addiction, homelessness etc… are some of the main consequences"*.

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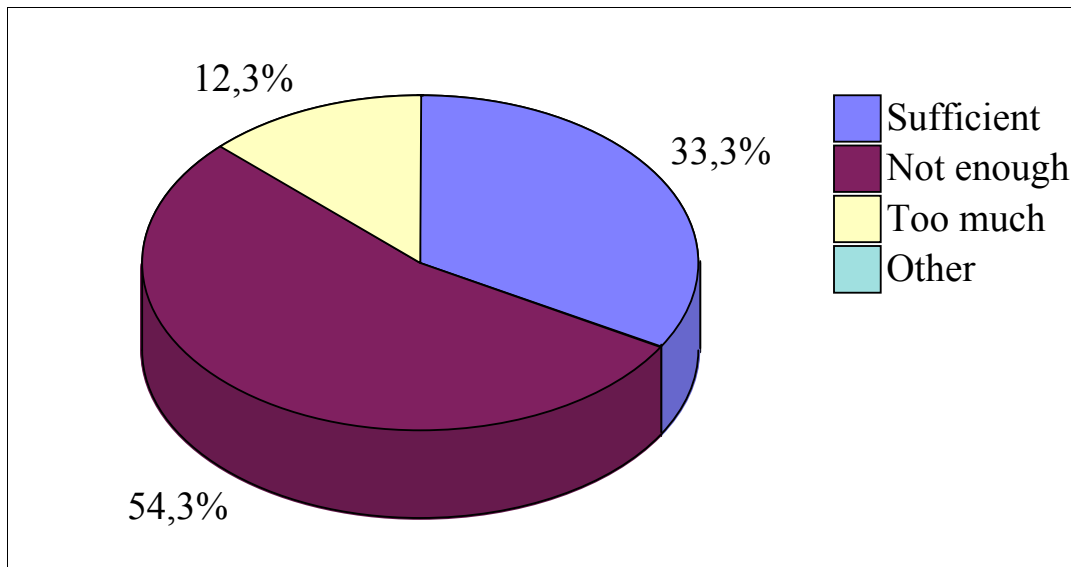
Figure 16: Participant's thoughts on the Penalty

Source: Fieldwork Results

With regard to the view point of the participants on the penalty afforded to both men and women in case of "fassad". More than half of the population under study thinks that it is not enough with a share of 54.3%. 33.3% perceive it as sufficient. While 12.3% see that it is too much.
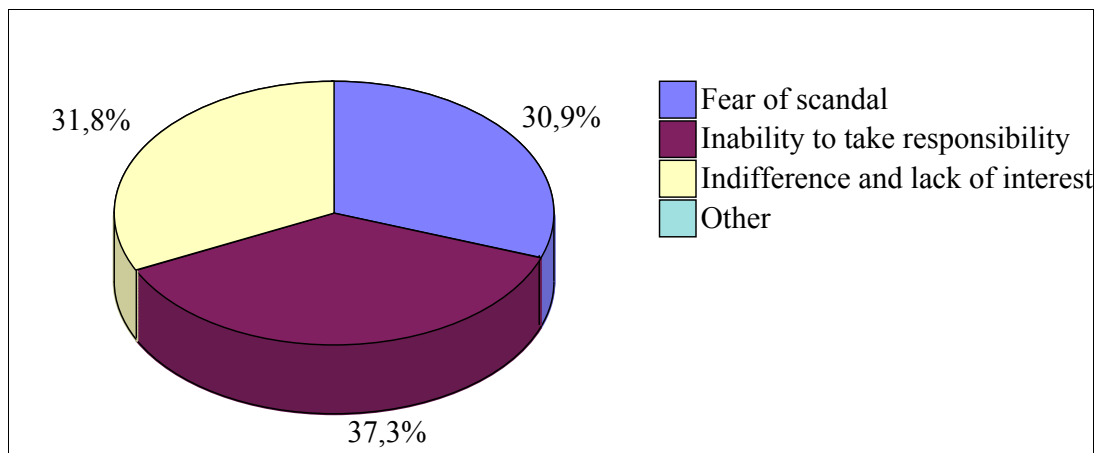
Figure 17: Reason behind the denial of the biological father to his child

Source: Fieldwork Results

While examining the reason behind the denial of the biological father to his child, we noticed that the inability to take responsibility represent the highest rate 37.3%. Indifference and lack of interest along with fear of scandals are approximately near with a share of 31.8% and 30.9%.

24- **What is your opinion about the Moroccan civil status law (article 16) which gives the right to the single mother to register her son/daughter in the civil status under her family name or choose for him/her an adequate family name?**

The big majority of respondents see that it is a positive step and a good initiative to protect and enhance children's right. It is a way to save many children from the stereotyped words affiliated to them such as "herami" or "weld zna". Moreover, it is a way that allows those children to have an identity which will facilitate from them the way of living.
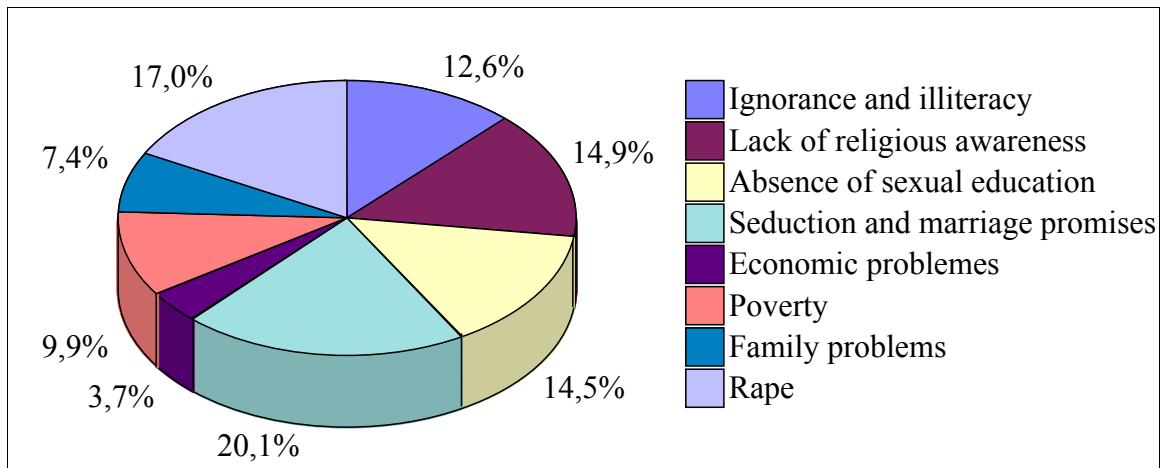
Figure 18: Causes of the Phenomenon of Single Mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results

The respondents attribute the causes behind the issue of single mother firstly to the seduction and marriage promises with a share of 20.1%. In the second place comes rape with a percentage of 17%. The lack of religious awareness comes in the third position with a share of 14.9%, while absence of sexual education take the fourth place with a percentage of 14.5%. In addition, 12.6% of the study population attributes the main cause behind the issue of single mothers to ignorance and illiteracy. 9.9% relates it to poverty, 7.4% to family problems and finally, 3.7% relate the cause to economic problems.
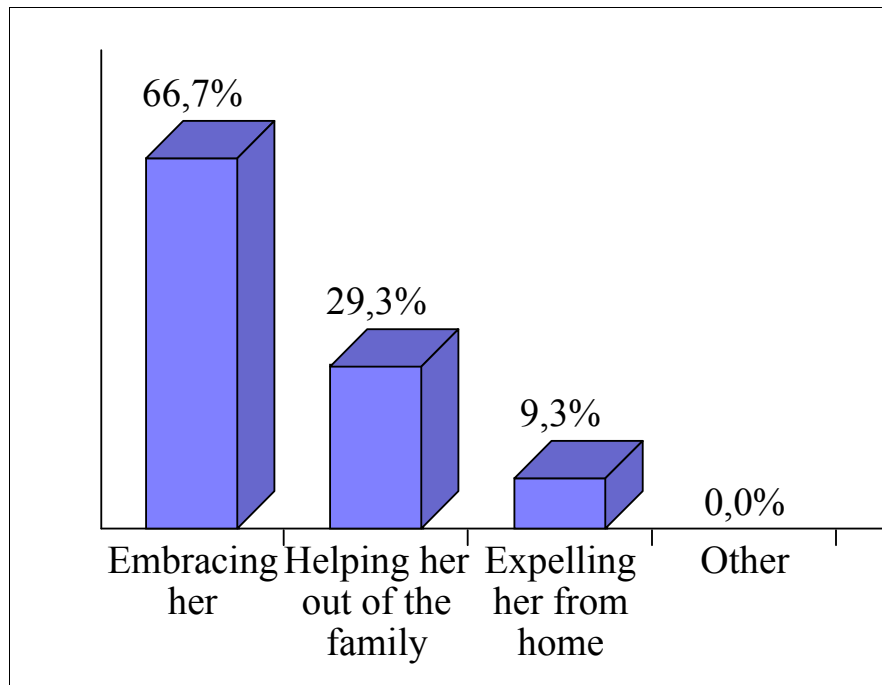
Figure 19: Family Treatment

Source: Fieldwork Results

It is well illustrated that 66.7% of the respondents are for embracing single mothers and not rejecting them. This shows that despite the epistemologies that people have about the issue of single mothers they share some kind of sympathy with them because they link it to human affairs. 29.3% see that single mothers should be helped outside home in order to avoid disgrace and shame that could be attributed to her and her family. However, only 9.3% are for expelling her from home.
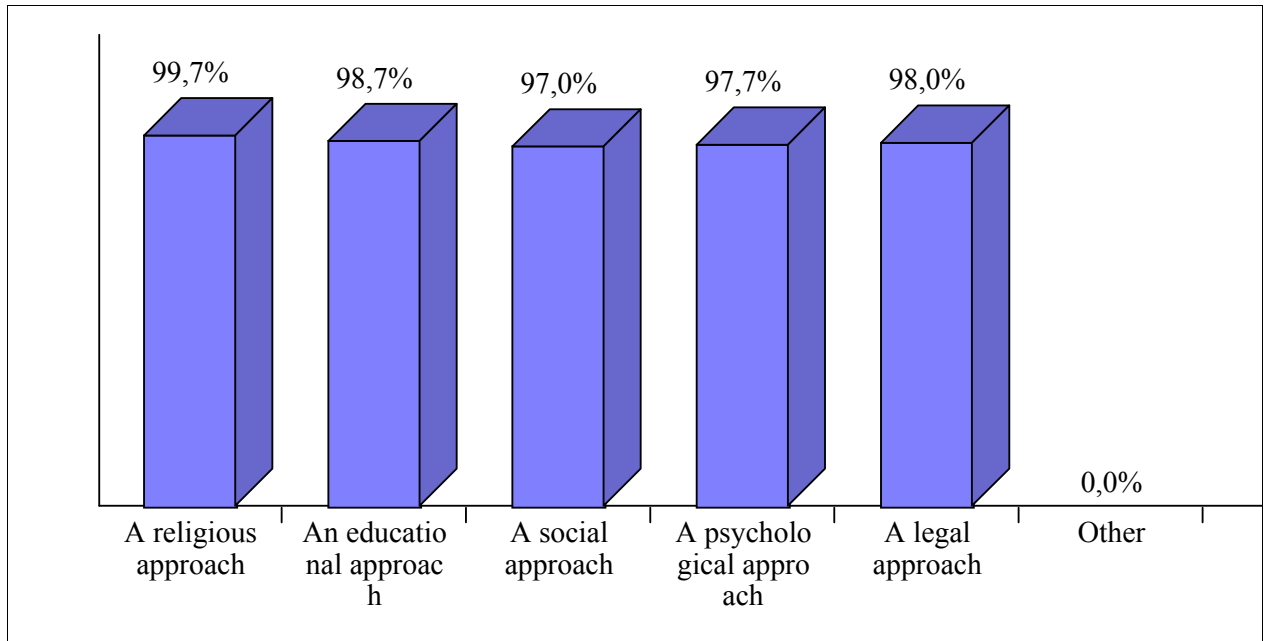
Figure 20: Effective Approach to the Issue of Single Mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results

It is highly perceive that the percentages of the approaches are very close. However, the religious approach comes in the first position with a percentage of 99.7%. The educational approach takes the second position with a percentage of 98.7% while the legal approach reaches the third place with a share of 98%. The psychological approach comes in the fourth place with a percentage of 97.7%. Finally, the last position is for social approach. It represents 97%.

25-In your opinion, how can the state contribute in finding adequate solutions to reduce the phenomenon?

A high rate portion of respondents see that the state should create institutions for help and sensitization. It should pave the way for educational institutions to spread awareness about the issue by including both sexual and religious education in school programs and sensitize students from the early beginning about the seriousness of the

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issue. The role of Media is also recommended, broadcasting documentaries and movies that debate this social phenomenon will help in increasing awareness on the issue. Another point is that of enhancing people's economic conditions; for example provide job opportunities for young people to be able to marry. Moreover, the state should implement more severe punishment for men who are not willing to assume their responsibility and support civil society who is willing to help, guide, and support this category of women.
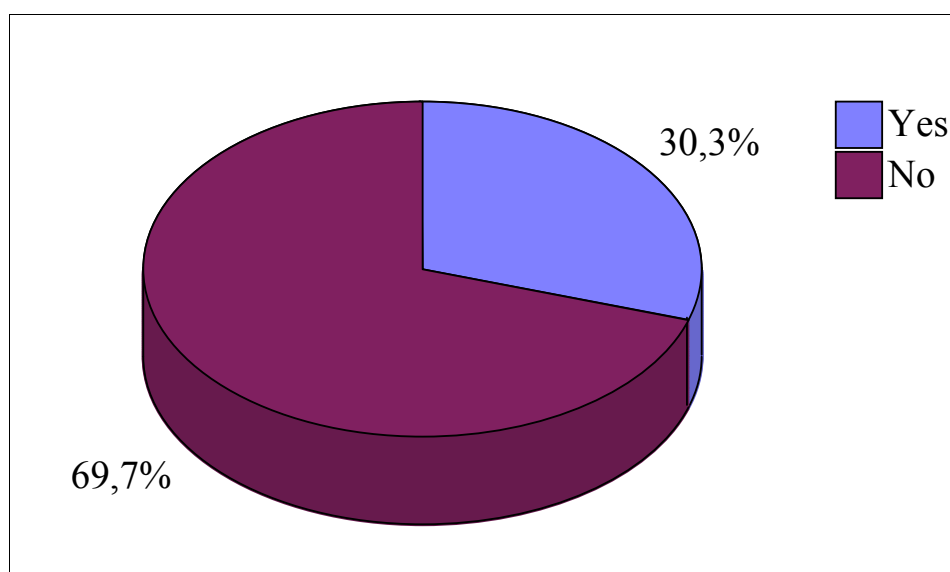
Figure 21: Participants' Knowledge of NGO supporting Single Mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results

69.7% of the participants do not know about the associations working to support single mothers in Morocco. This emphasizes the idea that civil society should receive more attention from both the state and Media. On the other hand, 30.3% of the participants who claim that they know association working on the issue of single mothers mention only one association which is "Association Solidarité Féminine" in Casablanca. However, there are associations around Morocco especially in big cities like Tangier, Agadir, Marrakech to name but a few.
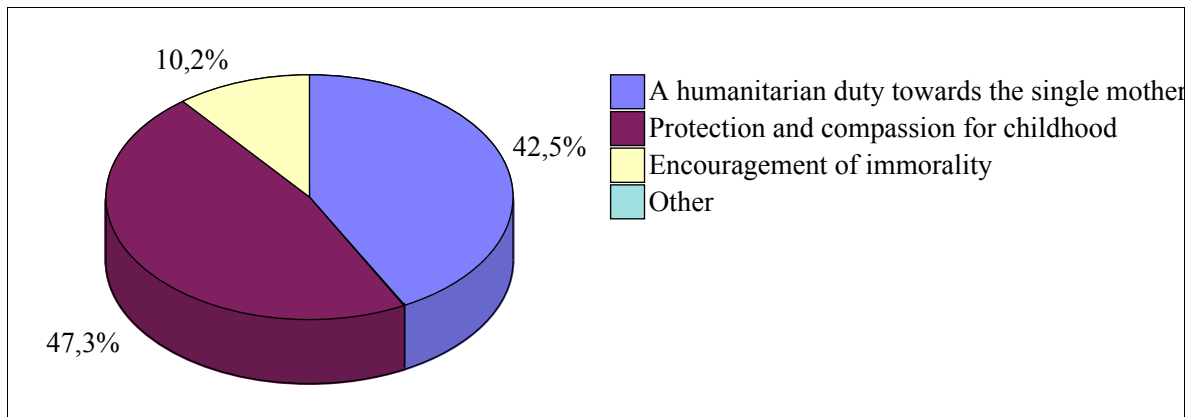
Figure 22: Participants' Viewpoint on the Role of Association Working on the Issue of Single Mothers

Source: Fieldwork Results

47.3 of participants claim that the major role of associations working on the issue of single mothers is to protect children born outside the framework of marriage and help them gain their rights to live in decent way and to be treated as a normal citizen. Other participants 42.5% consider the role of associations interested in single mothers as a humanitarian duty toward this category of women. The aim is to support and empower them to be independent and reintegrated in society. In addition, 10.2% confirmed that these associations' aim is to encourage immorality and serve external targets.

27- What do you think of the efforts being made by the associations to reintegrate the single mother into society?

The majority of respondents agreed on the fact that efforts made by civil society to strengthen the situation of single mothers are not enough. However, they are good and give to these women an opportunity to be reintegrated in society and be aware of their rights. One of the participants argues " as a person who witnessed many single mothers problems during my internship at "Solidarité Féminine" association, I would say that they

are going hard work to help single mothers and their children to gain back what they lost."
From the above answers it can be deduced that the work of civil society is receiving a
positive view and is appreciated by the majority of the participants as well.

III-   Analysis of the Data

This chapter attempts to discuss the findings obtained from the respondents which
they either confirm or reject the past research results. Different approaches and
assumptions are used to address the themes which were previously mentioned. The
foremost themes discussed include the following aspects: the effect of education on the
phenomenon, the economic impact factor, and the role of civil society and NGO's.

It has been hypothesized that women transgressing the socially accepted standards
are likely to encounter problems that will lead to their social exclusion, and the more
people are sensitized about the issue of single mothers, the greater the chance to be
socially accepted is. This section tries to study whether the predictive statements hold true
by analyzing the qualitative data presented in the above section.

1- Perceptions on Single Mothers

It is highly perceived that the population under study is aware enough of what the
term single mother means. Based on their answers, there was a consensus that a single
mother is a woman who gets pregnant without being married. In other words, she is a
woman who bears children outside the institution of a legal marriage. Variety of attitudes
toward this term as being paradoxical was widely discussed in a way of how a woman
who bears children could be single and how a single woman could have children. This
means that the participants' knowledge of the term in not only limited to the lexical
meaning of the term but also to its ideological meaning.

Considering the term single mother as an illegal and intruded term emphasizes the idea of its rejection. Using a term which goes beyond the Islamic and cultural structures as a normal term may to some extent lead to a kind of legitimization of illegal relations between sexes and lead to the abolition of marriage.

However, the fact of considering single mothers as victims shows a great sympathy toward this category of women. Despite what happens to them, people most of the time tackle this issue from a humanitarian perspective, in the sense that no woman chooses to live in a challenging situation like the one of single mothers, especially that the majority of women know what will happen to them if they trespass the red line of sexuality. Hence, the majority of women may be victims either of an unwanted situation like rape or men's exploitation like marriage promises.

2- The religious approach to the phenomenon of single mothers

Most Muslims view sexuality outside marriage as sinful and dangerous to the social order. Yet, its presence is very common. People most of the time attribute the illegality of fornication to religion and claim that Morocco is an Islamic country. However, in reality the majority of them do not know what the Quran says exactly about that. 157 out of 300 persons deny their knowledge on what religion says about the issue of single mothers. On the other hand, they claim that it is a sinful and forbidden act that should not exist in an Islamic society. In reality, their knowledge on the issue does not derive from the religious perspective; on the other hand, it is rooted from the imposed rules learned during childhood and years of puberty. In fact, the gender differences, which insist on men to have sexual freedom and women to remain virgin until marriage, play a big role in the spread of social problems among which the issue of single mothers. Moreover, preaching women to preserve their body and their virginity for their husbands and letting men do

whatever they want regarding sexual relations may contribute in way to women's exploitation.

Religion is very clear on that issue; the Quran highlights the importance of sexual preservation from illegal sexual acts for both males and females. It does not stigmatize and blame only women for their act. On the contrary, Quran emphasizes that men first should lower their gazes and women should on the other hand preserve their private parts. Moreover, Quran insists on avoiding sexuality *"do not approach unlawful sexual intercourse. Indeed, it is an immorality and evil way"*[1]Furthermore, Islam condemns severely any premarital sexuality and punishes both unmarried persons with hundred stripes and adultery with death by stoning.

> The woman and man guilty of illegal sexual
>
> intercourse, flog each of them with hundred stripes.
>
> Let not pity withhold you in their case, in a
>
> punishment prescribed by Allah, if you believe in
>
> Allah and Last Day. And let a party of believers
>
> witness their punishment[2].

As far as issues of rape are concerned, women victims of rape are not to blame. This act is emphasized by Wail Ibn Hujr who reported that *"a woman publically accused a man of raping her, the man was brought to the prophet, and the offender was sentenced to death".* [3] This means that Islam is fair enough in such harmful situations and does not mix

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[1] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. Al Israa. Verse 32. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/
[2] Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Quran. An-Nur. Verse 2. Dar Us-Salam Publications available at http://www.noblequran.com/translation/
[3] Nicole Fauster, "Memoirs of a Mother: Life between an Islamic fantasy, Cultural Patriarchy, and the Startling Reality." (2014): 42. In Hujur, Wail Ibn. Hadith, Sahih Bukhari. Rep.no.4366. N.p.: n.p., Print

between a rape victim and girls who choose to be in sexual relations like what culture and traditions do.

In the same vein, there was a story of a woman who acknowledged that she committed adultery and returned to the prophet peace be upon him to be purified. However, the prophet peace be upon him delayed her punishment until she delivered her child and weaned him.

> He (the narrator) said: There came to him (the Holy Prophet) a woman from Ghamid and said: Allah's Messenger, I have committed adultery, so purify me. He (the Holy Prophet) turned her away. On the following day she said: Allah's Messenger, Why do you turn me away? Perhaps, you turn me away as you turned away Ma'iz. By Allah, I have become pregnant. He said: Well, if you insist upon it, then go away until you give birth to (the child). When she was delivered she came with the child (wrapped) in a rag and said: Here is the child whom I have given birth to. He said: Go away and suckle him until you wean him. When she had weaned him, she came to him (the Holy Prophet) with the child who was holding a piece of bread in his hand. She said: Allah's Apostle, here is he as I have weaned him and he eats food. He (the Holy Prophet) entrusted the child to one of the Muslims and then pronounced punishment. And she was put in a ditch up to her chest and he commanded people to stoned her. Khalid Ibn Walid came forward with a stone which he flung at her head and there spurted blood on the face of Khalid and so he verbally abused her. Allah's Apostle heard his (Khalid's) curse that he made upon

her. Thereupon he (the Holy Prophet) said: Khalid, be gentle. By Him in Whose Hand is my life, she has made such a repentance that even if a wrongful tax-collector were to repent, he would have been forgiven. Then giving command regarding her, he prayed over her and she was buried.[1]

From what have been discussed above, we can understand that Islam is merciful toward women. Moreover, the punishment is equally applied on both men and women. In this sense, ignoring the male's role in this phenomenon like what most Arab-Muslim societies do is highly wrong and contradicts with what religion says about that issue. These epistemologies may be drawn from the cultural and traditional background that people have on sexuality outside marriage and the patriarchal mindset that influences them. In this regard, sensitization remains essential as it helps people to be aware of this issue.

3- The legal Approach to the Phenomenon of Single Mothers

Examining the perception of people on sexuality outside marriage from a legal perspective gives a clear idea that people are for the criminalization and punishment prescribed by the Moroccan law on that issue. The focus here is to apply punishment on both males and females and do not only stigmatize and penalize women. They are both guilty of that act and should be both punished. Qualitative data demonstrate that people emphasize the implementation of harsh laws that could make men responsible of their act and protect women's and children's rights. Indeed, lack of men's punishment remains among the essential factors behind this social problem in a sense that men are free of any responsibility once they deny their affiliation to their children. They do not bear any cultural or legal liability for their children. Instead, they are allowed to make love as they

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[1] Ibid., 43.

want with as many as they like; however, if women become pregnant outside the institution of a legal marriage, all fingers are pointed to her.

- **The Socio- Cultural approach to the Phenomenon of Single Mothers**

The study suggested that women with low educational background are more exposed to experience being single mothers. The respondents expressed that their level of education makes of them docile bodies and sexual objects; they are manipulated and exploited sexually from the part of their partners. They, at the early stage of the relation, showed no abjection to run illegal sexual relationships because of their naivety. They further expressed   their wish that their children would not undergo or face any obstacle that may affect for any reason their educational process.

Additionally, the findings of the research disclosed that the economic factor and the financial problems that the respondents face affect the life standards of single mothers. It is challenging for a single mother with a poor background to support the expanses of the daily life necessities; it is hard for them to afford basic needs with very restricted funding. The respondents confirmed that they have no way to have a stable and easy life owing the fact that they have financial difficulties. Moreover, a high portion of the participants take part in the informal sector and struggle to take care of their children. Due to the harshness of their financial condition, single mothers sometimes generate more than one activity to earn their livings according to this research.

This study recommended that the wellbeing of both the single mother and her children is affected also by supporting systems which include the civil society and the NGO's as well. The participants revealed that the fact of receiving emotional and financial support from community services, civil society institutions, and nongovernmental

organizations including: national, regional, and local ones does play an important role in their empowerment. The respondents assumed that their life conditions are affected by the pieces of advice and the humanitarian aids they get from the previously mentioned institutions.

The themes discussed earlier can be further examined and approached from a social perspective. They are also linked with the different research questions and influence the results at large. The findings of the present study showed that there are three factors that increase the ratio of single mothers in Morocco. The observable fact is the outcome of three main aspects with a high percentage as the data representation illustrated in figure 17: seduction and marriage promises, rape, and luck of religious awareness. From a social dimension, the low educational background, the economic status of these women, and the intervention of civil society at large exercise three fold authorities over the respondents. To illustrate, a high percentage of women participating in this study confirmed that their educational level is low down which negatively impacts their sexual considerations. They are easily engaged in sexual relations without thinking twice especially if they receive marriage promises. Moroccan society based its education on 'shame' not 'guilt'; therefore, in the pre-pregnancy phase many of the participants showed less grasp to the outcomes of their sin as their low quality education is not based on effective sexual education per se.

Rape is deemed to be disturbing the proportion of single mothers in the Moroccan context. Accordingly, it is another factor is of a paramount importance in the analysis. Verity of women contributing in this study revealed that they are subjected to violence because of the socialization which produces violent men. The nature of Moroccan society makes of its uneducated women a segment living in the margin; they can be exposed to

different forms of brutal aggression. Violence is gendered and it is exercised in patriarchal societies like Morocco. Women who are raped prefer to remain silence because they have low quality education and have less courage to unfold such experiences to the public. They are also short of mechanisms of communication and tools they can use to defend themselves. Rape as a phenomenon has a wide range of factors which could be explored in further research. In this section, the researcher tries to show that rape for the respondents takes place because of two main things: the low down education and the socialization process.

From an Islamic religious perspective, the sexual interaction between unmarried man and a woman is called "Zina"[1] (Noibi, 2004 and Ogunlayi, 2003). The 'Zina' in this context is not viewed as a sin; it is a shameful act which is not religiously and socially accepted. The religious awareness is an additional issue which affects the topic under investigation. This research discloses that the majority of respondents accuse their parents for not raising their awareness about religious concerns that deal with sex issues. The ignorance which is filled with curiosity is harmful and unconstructively affects the social interactions and interventions. The socialization and the malfunction to educate children is the real reason behind having a number of social phenomena like single mothers and abortion in inhuman and unsafe conditions

As far as the family's reaction, the way a single mother is treated within the community is not the same. However, the respondents showed that a high percentage of Moroccan family's embrace single mothers out of sympathy and solidarity. They care

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[1] Noibi, D. O. S. (2004): "Child-Marriage, Education and Social Responsibilities" Islam, Health and Muslim Women, Abuja: Fomwan Publications
 Ogunlayi, Munirat (2003) Islam and HIV/AIDS "A paper presented at the 10TH Anniversary of Women's wing of Organization of Muslim Unity (O.M.U) Nigeria Akure –Branch Ondo State on 25th Jan., 2003

about the well being of both the victim and the child though the nature of the society does not permit; to embrace a single mother might be considered as an encouragement of sexuality. Therefore, the embracement is not done in public but in private as many of the respondents suggested in figure 18.

The inability to find a refuge in the family leads the women under examination to seek protection from the civil society. It is worth mentioning that there are nowadays numerous associations and centers supporting single mothers on the international scale. However, many of the women participating in this study expressed less understanding to the different roles of these associations; a percentage of 69.7°/° of the respondents showed no understanding to responsibilities of these organizations and institutions in their empowerment. The fact of not being aware of the roles of NGO's is related to a number of interpretations. It is because of the shortage of awareness raising campaigns, scarcity of sensitization, and mere absence of communication between these institutions and single mothers.

However, some of the respondents showed their understanding of the roles of these institutions. The contributors in the present study receive emotional support from community services and organizations. They receive compassion and protection for their children which is expressed indirectly through providing them with financial and emotional support.

General Conclusion

The main aim of the present study was to examine the situation of single mothers in Morocco from different perspectives; the religious, social, economic, and legal. Further aims were to study the public attitudes and discourses towards this social problem and to provide challenges made to help this category of women by making them socially and economically integrated.

The thesis was divided into two main parts: the first part introduced both the theoretical and conceptual framework of the research. It was divided into two chapters; the first chapter of the present dissertation focused on providing an overview on the issue of single mothers in the Western, Arab and Moroccan contexts. It particularly reviewed what various previous studies said about the subject mainly its genesis and development. The purpose was to spotlight the issue and make it more comprehensive to the reader. The second chapter of the present thesis provided a theoretical understanding of the main concepts. It particularly concentrated on theories and approaches of social exclusion as being the main drives of this chapter. This is to best understand social exclusion's different meanings and provide appropriate background for the data analysis.

Moreover, part two is divided into three chapters. It mainly revolved around methodologies of research and data analysis. The first chapter provided a detailed methodological framework followed in the collection of data. It was mainly based on the discussion of mixed method approach using both qualitative and quantitative methods. In this respect, using both questionnaires and interviews, served as an important means to generate some findings and to come up with statistical results. The second chapter and third chapters were devoted to data analysis. While the second chapter examined the situation of single mothers, mainly how they strive for better condition and decent way of life, and how they try to find jobs in order to fit their basic and daily needs. The third

chapter examined the attitudes and perception of Moroccan citizens toward the issue of single mothers. The chapter studied these perceptions from different perspectives; the religious, social, cultural and legal. In this regard, the dissertation provides a number of findings and conclusions.

Single mothers remain among the most vulnerable groups in Morocco; they experience all sorts of discrimination, exploitation and marginalization. They are considered as prostitute and their children as illegitimate. Their status is always connected to shame, embarrassment and dishonor regardless of the circumstances that happened such as rape, and incest. Having a child outside marriage holds many consequences for both the mothers and the children.

From a religious perspective, single mothers are perceived as adulteress. They should be punished according to the Islamic law. Thought there was a kind of mercy toward such issue in the ear of the prophet peace be upon him, punishment remains essential in a sense that it helps in the reduction of single mothers huge number which in on the rise day after day.

The findings of the present study showed that there are three major factors that increase the number of single mothers in Morocco. A high percentage goes back to seduction and marriage promises, rape, and luck of religious awareness. This is due to the weakness and naivety of this category of women which fall easily in men's words and expressions that most of the time steam after they know about the pregnancy.

Single mothers are seen as the only responsible for their children. They are the one punished and stigmatized by society because of their shameful acts. Instead of blaming both sexes, mainstream culture stigmatized only women because of their loose of virginity which serves to churn out the family's honor that relies heavily on people's

cognition. This gender differences are influences by the patriarchal background which provides permission to men to freely deal with women, and oppress women to freely live their life in both the private and the public space. As a result, the freedom of women is mostly limited by both the socio cultural and patriarchal features.

Findings on the basis of the data analyzed revealed that there is a kind of sympathy toward single mothers and their children. People are taking into consideration the current social changes occurring nowadays. Such as: mixed schooling, lack of employment, lack of marriage possibilities, and delay of marriage. All these changes can be taken as push factors which contribute in the spread of the phenomenon. Moreover, educational level contribute in the understanding of the phenomenon in a sense that it can be understood as a social problem that exist in reality and should be overcome.

It can be deduced from the data analysis that the well being of single mothers and their children is related to the supportive institutions which include the non-governmental Organizations. These NGO's try to shelter unwed mother, they prepare them for a social and economic reintegration in society and help them to gain their rights in a society which reject them. In fact, supporting this category of women does not mainly mean encouraging them as many people believe. Indeed, providing social, economical and legal supports will lead to the decrease of the number of single mothers.

Generally speaking, data analyses affirm that unwed mother still need support. The efforts made by non-governmental associations to help single mothers cope with their situations and be easily reintegrated in society are not sufficient. Single mothers are not fully reintegrated in society; gaps that enhance their well being still exist. Therefore, work is still needed to help this category of women overcome the hardships of life.

Accordingly, the following are some recommendations that the government should take into account while dealing with this issue.

- There is a need to develop strategies to uplift the conditions of single mothers and their children.

- The state should take the responsibility of overcoming this social problem by providing more center and institutions that could help single mothers and their children.

- Promote the access of single mothers to their social, legal and economic rights through training and awareness-raising.

- Promote the access to DNA testing that will help in the recognition of the biological father. Hence, children are going to be protected and will preserve their rights.

- Make the putative father assume their responsibility by implementing more severe punishments.

- Provide more sensitization in order to avoid the stigmatization linked to single mothers and their children.

After summarizing the finding of the present research and suggested some recommendations to cope with persistent hindrances to the promotion of single mothers' situation and integration, it is highly relevant to make some suggestions for further research. Since the present study was conducted in fez and Casablanca, it seems impossible to generalize the results to all regions of Morocco. This study needs to be replicated in different regions of Morocco in order to be able to understand the situation of single mothers from different thought and perception of Moroccan citizens including both the one living in urban and rural areas. This latter will enrich the research by providing the

opportunity to compare between the rural and urban perceptions and see how geographical origin along with other variables influence people way of thinking.

It is undeniable that any researcher faces problems while dealing with a research project, this project is not an exception. The first problem I faced during the present investigation is the difficulty to get access to single mothers. Because of the sensitivity of the topic and invisibility of this type of women, it was very hard to find single mothers by myself. In this regard, I had to go to Association Solidarité feminine. This latter provided me with single mothers' contacts and helped me to overcome this problem.

The second problem that I faced during the data collection process is related to the fill in of the questionnaire. Indeed, some of the respondents were illiterate and others with an average educational level which could not allow them to fill in the questionnaires themselves. Therefore, I had to do the task of reading, explaining, and writing the responses personally, which was time consuming.

Finally, the last limitation was related to the difficulty of using the data analysis software SPSS and to the translation process. Coding and entering the data in SPSS was not an easy task since I do not have enough knowledge on how to do that. Moreover, both qualitative and quantitative data were done in Arabic considering the linguistic nature of the sample. In this respect, more time was consumed in the translation of the words used by the respondent that are culturally bound and very hard to translate in another language.

To conclude, I would say that doing research is not an easy task. However, the will to investigate this phenomenon and work on such a challenging topic helped me code and overcome all the limitations and constraints I encountered during the phases of research. Thus, the objective of this chapter is to give a clear idea about the methodological framework adopted in this research. The following chapters will deal in details with the

presentation of the data collected and the discussion of the findings. The aim is to see whether there is a confirmation or refute of the research hypotheses developed in the beginning of the research process

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Appendices

Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdelah University   Research Structure

Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences   Language, Communication

               and Didactique

The interview Guide

Interview Designed for Single Mothers in the Region of Casablanca

This interview is designed to examine the situation of single mothers in Morocco before and after their pregnancy. This thesis aims to depict how Moroccan single mothers manage or not to be reintegrated within community. The interviews' interaction is highly appreciated as they helped in the data gathering.

Name of the interviewee…………………………………

Date of interview……………………………………

Place of interview……………………………………..

Time of interview……………………………………

I. Pre-pregnancy phase

Professional level:

1. Where you working before your pregnancy?

    ……………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………………………

2. What was your first job/work?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

3. What was your age when you first worked?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Where?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Were you obliged to work?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

6. Were you satisfied with your income?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Does your familial economic level push /force you to work?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

8. Did you use to help your family financially? If yes, to whom did you use

to give the money?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

Family relationships:

9. Were you living with your family before your pregnancy?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

10. What is the marital status of your parents?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

11. Did you have family problems? If yes, how did the problems affect your

life?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

Social relationships:

12. How did your friends and neighbors use to treat you before your

pregnancy?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

13. Are you still in contact with them?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

14. Did they know about your pregnancy?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

15. How did they use to treat you after knowing about you pregnancy?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

II. Pregnancy phase

Professional level:

16. Were you working during your pregnancy?

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

17. Do you still have the some work? If no, why?

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

18. Did you boss know about your pregnancy? If yes, what was his/her

reaction?

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

Social relationships:

19. Did your family members know about your pregnancy? If yes, when?

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

20. What was their reaction?

……………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………

21. In case of refusal: how did they express it? Do they still have the same reaction?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

22. In case of acceptation: how did they express it ? Do they still have the same reaction?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

Social relationships:

23. How can you describe your friends and family treatment during your pregnancy?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

III. Post-delivery phase:

Professional phase:

24. Did you work after your delivery?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

25. What was your job?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

26. How did you manage to get the job?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

27. What is your income?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

28. Is it enough for your daily necessities? If no, do you have another part-

time job or source of money?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

29. If you don't work, how do you manage to pay for your daily necessities?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

Family relationships:

30. Do your family members accept your family status?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

31. Do they accept your new born baby child?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

Social relations:

32. Have you changed your place of residence after your delivery? If yes, why?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

33. Do you have new friends?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

34. What is their family status?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

35. How is your relationship?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

36. Do your neighbors x friends know about your current status? How do they treat you and your child?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

37. Is people's treatment to you affected by their gender? If yes, how do men and women treat you?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

38. What establishment(s) did you consult after your pregnancy? (Police station, hospital, court, province, …)

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

39. How do they treat you?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

40. How do you react in case they refuse to provide help?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

41. Did you consult any associations when you face the problems? When?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

42. Did you know the association before?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

43. Were you living in the association?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

44. For how long did you live there?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

45. Did you receive help/support?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

46. What forms of support did you receive?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

47. How was your relationship with the members of the association?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

48. What aide did the association provide you with?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

49. Does it still help you?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

50. Did you suffer from exclusion?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

51. What is the nature of this exclusion?

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

52. When did the exclusion manifest itself?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

53. What was your reaction?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

54. How do you see yourself as a single mother?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

55. How do you assess the society's attitude towards your status?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

56. What changes have you encountered daring this experience?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

57. What have you learned from this experience?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

58. What is the real cause contributing to your status as a single mother?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

IV. Background Information

How old are you?

....

Where are you from?

....

Where do you live?

....

How many children do you have?

....

Did you have access to education?

....

What is your educational level?

....

Why did you drop out from school?

....

What is your current job?

....

What is your marital status?

....

دليل المقابلة

اسم المبحوثة

تاريخ المقابلة

مكان المقابلة

I- <u>فترة ما قبل الحمل</u>

* **المسار المهني**

- هل كنتي تعملين قبل الحمل؟

....

- ما هو اول عمل قمتي به؟

....

- كم كان سنك؟

....

- في اي مدينة؟

....

- هل كنتي مضطرة للعمل؟

....

- هل كنتي راضية عن المدخول؟

....

- هل الدروف الاقتصادية للاسرة هي التي دفعت بك للعمل؟

....

- هل كنت تساعدين اسرتك ماديا؟ اذا كان الجواب "نعم" لمن كنتي تعطين هذه المساعدة؟ لماذا؟

....

الروابط العائلية

هل كنتي تعيشين مع عائلتك قبل الحمل؟

………………………………………………………

ما هي الحالة العائلية لوالديك؟ (في حالة الطلاق، مع من كنتي تعيشين؟)

………………………………………………………

هل كانت لديك مشاكل عائلية؟ في حالة نعم، كيف كانت تأثر عليك في حياتك؟

………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………

الروابط الاجتماعية

كيف كان يعاملك اصدقاؤك، الجيران قبل الحمل؟

………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………

هل لازلتي على علاقة بهم؟

………………………………………………………

هل علموا بحملك؟

………………………………………………………

كيف كان تعاملهم معك؟

………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………

<u>**فترة الحمل**</u>

- **المسار المهني**
  - هل كنتي تعملين اثناء الحمل؟

………………………………………………………

- هل تحتفضين بنفس العمل اليوم؟ اذا كان الجواب "لا"، لماذا؟

....

....

- هل علم مشغلك بحملك؟ اذا كان الجواب "نعم" كيف كانت ردة فعله؟

....

....

الروابط العائلية

هل علم افراد اسرتك بحملك؟ اذا كان الجواب "نعم" ، متى؟

....

كيف كانت ردة فعلهم؟

....

....

في حالة الرفض: كيف كان هذا الرفض؟ هل لازال مستمرا؟

....

....

في حالة القبول: كيف كان هذاالقبول؟هل لازال مستمرا؟

....

....

الروابط الاجتماعية

كيف كان تعامل عائلتك و اصدقاؤك اثناء فترة الحمل؟

....

....

فترة ما بعد الولادة

المسار المهني

هل عملت بعد الولادة؟

....

ماهو نوع العمل؟

....

كيف استطعت تدبيره؟

....

كم هو دخلك؟

....

هل هو كافي؟ اذا كان الجواب "لا"، هل لديك دخل ثاني؟

....

....

في حالة عدم العمل، كيف تلبين حاجياتك؟

....

الروابط العائلية

هل تقبل افراد عائلتك حالتك العائلية الحالية؟

....

هل تقبلوا مولودك؟

....

الروابط الاجتماعية

هل قمت بتغيير سكناك بعد الولادة؟ إذا كان الجواب "نعم" ؟ لماذا؟

....

....

هل لديك أصدقاء جدد؟

....

ماهي حالتهم العائلية؟

....

كيف هي علاقتك معهم؟

....

هل يعلم جيرانك و أصدقاؤك بوضعك الحالي؟ كيف يتعاملون معك
ومع ابنك؟

....

....

هل هذا التعامل يتغير بتغير الجنس؟ إذا كان الجواب "نعم" كيف يتعامل
الرجال معك وكيف يتعامل النساء؟

....

....

ما هي المؤسسات التي قمت بالتوجه اليها بعد الحمل؟ (شرطة، محكمة،
مستشفى، مقاطعة)

....

كيف كان تعاملهم معك؟

....

كيف يكون ردة فعلك في حالة عدم المساعدة؟

....

هل توجهتي الى جمعيات عند حدوث المشكل؟ متي؟

....

....

هل كنت تعرفين الجمعية؟

....

هل كنت مقيمة بالجمعية؟

....

كم كانت مدة الاقامة؟

....

هل تلقيتي مساعدات؟

....

ما هي؟

....

....

كيف كانت طبيعة علاقاتك داخل الجمعية؟

....

ماذا وفرت لك الجمعية؟

....

هل ترين ان توجهك للجمعية كان ايجابيا ام سلبيا؟

....

من قدم لك المساعدة اثناء تعرضك لهذا المشكل؟ و لماذا؟

....

ما هي طبيعة هذه المساعدة؟

....

هل لازالت مستمرة؟

....

هل عانيت من الاقصاء اثناء تعرضك لهذا المشكل ؟

....

ما هي طبيعة هذا الاقصاء ؟

……………………………………………………………………

متى بدأ هذا الاقصاء ؟

……………………………………………………………………

كيف كانت ردة فعلك اتجاهه؟

……………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………

كيف تنظرين الى وضعك الحالي كأم عازبة؟

……………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………

كيف تقيمين نظرة المجتمع اليك؟

……………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………

ماذا تغير فيك من خلال هذه التجربة؟

……………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………

ما هي العبر التي استخلصتها من هذه التجربة؟

……………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………

ما السبب الذي ادى بك للوصول الى هذه الحالة؟

……………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………

بيانات عامة

كم عمرك؟

من اين اتيتي؟

اين تقطنين حاليا؟

كم عدد اطفالك؟

ها هو مستواك الدراسي؟

ما سبب انقطاعك عن الدراسة، او عدم التمدرس؟

....

ما هو عملك الحالي؟

ما هو وضعك العائلي الحالي؟