

Discourse Analysis of Women Subjected to Marital Violence in Morocco

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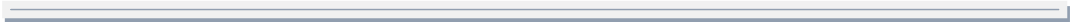
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مقتضب

تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى اكتشاف الطريقة التي تحاول من خلالها النساء المغربيات المعرضات للعنف الزوجي إضفاء الشرعية لخطابهم على شاشة التلفزيون و كيف ينظر إليها من قبل الجمهور العام. يتم ذلك من خلال الافتراض أن العلاقة الوثيقة بين وسائل الإعلام و الجمهور معقدة وكبيرة، بمعنى أن وسائل الإعلام تشكل فضاء تسعى النساء من خلاله إلى إضفاء الشرعية لممارساتها و نزع الشرعية عن المعنف و منبرا للمغاربة للتعبير عن مواقفهم و آرائهم حول هؤلاء النساء. لقد اعتمدنا في بحثنا على تحليل الخطاب النقدي، هذا الإطار النظري الذي يسלט الضوء على وظيفة و قدرة الخطاب في تفعيل العلاقات الاجتماعية و كشف الايدولوجيا الموجودة في المجتمع وذلك من خلال توضيح دور الخطاب كممارسة اجتماعية تأطر المجتمع. سوف نعتد نموذج ثلاثي الأبعاد لفيركلوف (النص- ممارسة الخطاب- السياق) .

لقد تطرقنا في تحليلنا أيضا على تفكيك سياق النص الخطابي و ربطه بالسياق الاجتماعي من خلال السرد حيث لجأنا إلى نظرية لابوف (1972) كأداة معرفية من شأنها أن تمكننا من فهم ما يحدث في ذهن المرأة التي تتعرض للعنف. اعتمدنا في تحليلنا على شرعية الخطاب من أجل فهم ديناميت الإقناع و توضيح قدرة السرد كعنصر أساسي في إضفاء الشرعية على الممارسات الاجتماعية التي تشكل و تمثل الواقع وما لها من أهمية بالنسبة لنا في تقييم الخطاب في السياق الثقافي المغربي.

لمعرفة ما إذا كانت النساء المعرضات للعنف قد نجحن أو فشلن في إقناع الجمهور، ارتأينا انه من الضروري اللجوء إلى موقعي ميديا و يوتيوب لتحديد الآراء المختلفة التي عبر عنها المعلقون كرد فعل مباشر على العرض.

لقد قمنا بتصنيف التعليقات حسب كونها ايجابية أو سلبية وكذلك وفقاً لموضوعات مختلفة (9 مع النساء- 6 ضد النساء). لقد مكننا هذه الموضوعات من تحليل التعليقات في إطار الحركة النسوية مثل استخدام مفاهيم مثل السلطة الذكورية ، علاقات القوة ، الصور النمطية ، و أيضاً في السياق المغربي العام الذي يميّز أساساً بالأمية والفقر.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims at discovering the way Moroccan women subjected to marital violence legitimize their positions on TV and how they are seen by the general audience. This objective is guided by the assumption that the close relationship between media and the audience is complex and significant in the sense that the media constitute a platform where women seek to legitimize their position and delegitimize the position of the wrongdoers and a platform for Moroccans to express their attitudes and opinions about these women. In this project, we will adopt Faircloughs' three dimensional model (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995b), which relies on a text-discursive practice-context combination.

To analyze media texts as narratives, we have had recourse to Labov (1972) six part structure of narratives as he provides a satisfactory account of how the latter act as social practice and how they constitute and represent reality. Of importance to us is the segment of evaluation because it gives us insights about how women think and how their discourse can be deciphered in the Moroccan cultural context.

To know whether the women in the show have succeeded or failed to persuade the audience has compelled us to access Medi 1 TV website and YOUTUBE to quantify the different opinions expressed by commentators as a direct reaction to the show.

We have classified the different comments according to whether they are positive and negative and also according to different themes (9 for and 6 against women). These themes have enabled us to analyze the comments within the framework of feminism by using concepts such as patriarchy, power relation, and stereotypes, and within the general Moroccan context that is characterized mainly by illiteracy and poverty.

DEDICATION

I would like to thank my family for supporting me spiritually throughout writing this thesis and my life in general.

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General Introduction

“Over the course of their lifetimes, one in three women in Morocco are victims of physical violence, one in four of sexual violence, and one in two of psychological violence. The majority of violence against women occurs in the context of marital, family or other intimate relationships” (Bordat & Kouzzi, 2017, para. 5). This alarming finding posted in *Morocco World News* clearly shows the necessity to understand the roots that underlie violence against women in Morocco; hence, this constitutes a rationale for carrying research in this under-documented area of social science in Morocco.

Since the issue of violence against women is multifaceted and multidimensional, we have decided to approach it from a media angle. In this respect, we will attempt to study how Moroccan women subjected to marital violence (WSMV) express themselves on a national TV program called “Qeset Nnas” on Medi 1 TV and how they are perceived by the Moroccan audience online. These two elements (representation (on TV) and perception (on the Internet)) will be dealt with within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352).

In this critical approach, texts are not neutral and “all texts are critical sites for the negotiation of power and ideology” (Burns, 2001, p. 138). For Fairclough (1989), CDA is a really helpful tool for understanding the relationships within language because of its Hallyidayan view of language where language is inseparable from its socio-linguistic context, its mediation of ideology and its relation to power structures within society. A characterization of the linguistic mechanisms through which ideology is constructed gives CDA an invaluable

resource to crystallize the hidden methodology an author adopts in discourse to enclose representations of the world, consciously or unconsciously.

Our overall objective within this framework is to scrutinize how the Moroccan discourse about the violence committed against women is articulated and how TV and the Internet play a pivotal role in legitimizing/delegitimizing women's discourse and how it affects Moroccans' perception of this discourse. Within this analysis, we will be mainly concerned with answering questions related to the way WSMV represent themselves, their situations, and the general Moroccan context on TV and the way these representations in the media impact the different perceptions (negatively or positively) nationwide. For us, linking representation on TV with online perception is of paramount importance as it is pivotal to the accumulation of research on this crippling phenomenon that will undoubtedly unveil many unseen dynamics that participate in the promotion of violence in Morocco and the distribution of both positive and negative attitudes among the Moroccan population (males and females) in total harmony with CDA, where the focus is on "relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 249).

It will be shown that in exposing the different facets of violence through discourse, the Moroccan media both project and constitute Moroccans' perception and how society reacts to this phenomenon. The way of working through this project locates our work at the crossroads of many disciplines like sociology, anthropology, linguistics, discourse, psychology, etc.... Although we do not intend in any way to provide concrete and detailed solutions by the end of this research, we do believe, however, that our characterization that links the text with the context and discursive practice will surely provide insights for those practitioners interested in the field and who strive to find equitable remedies for problems related to marital violence, which in turn constitutes an application of our theories to solve practical problems in an "applied critical discourse analysis".

To reach the desired results, we have focused on one show from a Moroccan TV station (Medi 1 TV), namely Qesset Nnass, which deals with different social and personal issues on a thematic basis. Specifically, we have covered the shows that dealt with marital violence from the period that started from 9/4/2013 to 2/10/2015. We have chosen this show because of its wide viewership in and outside Morocco, and because it is easy to access the shows that are saved on both Medi 1TV website or in YOUTUBE.

Our research is shaped by the assumption that the intricate relationship between media and the audience is complex and significant in the sense that media constitute a platform where women seek to legitimize their position and delegitimize the position of the wrongdoers and a platform for Moroccans to express their attitudes and opinions about these women. Hence, we will have a chance to test whether the women in the show have succeeded or failed to persuade. To achieve this objective, we have deemed it necessary to access Medi 1 TV website and YOUTUBE to quantify the different opinions expressed by commentators as a direct reaction to the show. The nature of the subject has made our research a mix of methodologies in that while we have adopted a qualitative approach in analyzing the discourse of the WSMV in the shows through direct observation, it has been compulsory to deal with the comments of the audience in a quantitative manner. This methodological step has enabled us to circumscribe the relation between media and the public opinion in a manner that can make it possible to see how mutual and direct this relation can be.

One main limitation of this research has to do with the decision to focus on one show and exclude others. This decision has been taken due to the intricate nature of the topic that encompasses many issues that range from social, cultural, economic, etc... to legal ones; hence, including other shows would weaken our analysis due to time and space constraints. In addition to this reason, incorporating another show like 2M's LkheyT LebyeD, which has a different structure and

dynamics, will deprive us of the uniformity that we look for in our analytical framework.

We have divided our thesis into four chapters. The first chapter introduces the reader to the fundamental issues handled within the field of Discourse Analysis (DA) and CDA. Specifically, we will highlight the features of DA that concern our research project which is mainly axed around the perceptions of the image of WSMV in a Moroccan channel, where the emphasis is put on the relationship between language in use and the construction of social relations through textual and contextual descriptions in conformity with the definition provided by Stubbs (1983, p. 1), which states that DA deals with language use above the sentence/utterance, the connection between language and society, and the interactive elements of everyday communication.

In the first part of the chapter, we will introduce the main ingredients and approaches in/to DA. Then, we will provide a brief account of the difference between discourse and text. Finally, we will survey some elements that constitute the backbone of our subsequent analysis, namely identity, social situatedness, and context. In other words, we will go beyond the assumption that discourse comprises just “Stretches of language perceived to be meaningful, unified and purposive” (cook, 1989, p. 156).

The second part of this chapter exposes the main premises that underlie CDA. We start by showing the importance of hegemony and ideology within CDA. Then we will exhibit the major elements of CDA as a critical theory that deals with social inequalities. Finally, we finish with the main tenets of Fairclough’s model, a framework that we adopt in our project.

The second chapter contains both a review of literature on the image of WSMV in the media and the methodology adopted. Its first part addresses the pieces of research that have dealt with the image of women in the media in the Arab world and Morocco. The focus will be on WSMV and their image, though, as

our thesis zooms over this fragile category. Reading this part will undoubtedly prove that research in this field is rare and incomplete as the majority of the findings are to be found in general reports and human rights articles. The scarcity or even quasi inexistence of articles devoted to the issue in specialized scholarly journals has encouraged us to tackle the topic in a new way.

To achieve the goal above, we have dedicated the second part of the chapter to outlining the theory we will be adopting in the rest of the thesis which is CDA, a theoretical framework that underscores the function and the ability of discourse to frame and to be framed by social power, and shows how discourse mediates both the producer and the consumer. We use Faircloughs' three dimensional model (Fairclough, 1989, 1995b), which relies on the elements of the text, discursive practice, and the context. Thus, we will introduce these three elements in a manner that clarifies the text which is made of the pieces of discourse narrated by WSMV, discursive production engendered in women's attempt to legitimize this discourse and discursive interpretation represented in the online audience response to women's narratives, and finally the context of discourse which we have divided into a linguistic and sociocultural one.

Our addition of the element of online reactions and attitudes and their quantification to measure the audiences response and perception is a complementary step to perfect the approach of Fairclough by solving the problem agglutinated with CDA, namely the subjectivity of the researcher through bringing a third party to react (in our case the online audience). This external element, which is our innovation in the field, also functions as an instrument to fathom the degree of WSMV success or failure to persuade i.e., was legitimation effective? In other words, bringing real narratives and dissecting them in a Labovian manner has enabled us to see how legitimation works in the media and our incorporation of the audience online comments has clarified to us whether this legitimation has worked

or not. Since CDA is a theory and a method, the premises that underpin our model are also our methodological tools in researching the discourse of WSMV.

The third chapter, which analyzes the show in terms of the text (the first element in Fairclough's model), is an analytical one as it identifies the semantic macrostructures that have been used throughout the text because they constitute the key messages, and are therefore a useful starting point for analysis (Van Dijk, 2009). The chapter also traces the narrative structure of the stories told. Of particular importance is the section on evaluation where we will have to explain textual matters by referring to contextual cues. In other words, we will explain textual elements by referring to Fairclough's context as an explanatory device.

Chapter four, which handles discursive practice and context (the last two elements in Fairclough's model), starts with explicating the way in which the different types of legitimation in the narrative are established by women through the adoption of legitimation strategies (i.e., an analysis of women's discursive practice (production) in the Moroccan context). Then, we will survey how Moroccans perceive the image of WSMV in Qesset Nnass (the audience's discursive practice in the Moroccan context). As we mentioned before, to do this, we have collected data from Medi 1 TV website and YOUTUBE, data that consist of all the comments on the shows (episodes that dealt with marital violence against women) during the period starting from April 9, 2013 to October 2, 2015.

We have classified the comments of the people found on the net according to whether they hold positive or negative attitudes toward the women present in the shows. Then, we have organized all the comments according to the themes they display (comments may include more than one theme). We have finished the chapter by an analysis of the results obtained.

Chapter One
General Issues in Discourse Analysis and Critical
Discourse Analysis

Chapter One: General Issues in Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

We will provide an introduction to DA, which manifests itself in virtually all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. The story of the nature of this field of study is exciting because of the contributions it has made to our perception of language use, communication and social interaction. DA, as a term, was first used by Harris (1952), which he identified as a method for analyzing speech or writing above the sentence and for linking culture with language.

Discourse may be broadly characterized under two different approaches. The first approach belongs to a structuralist trend, tends to perceive discourse simply as language beyond the sentence or the clause (Schiffrin, 1994). As Michael Hoey (1983) states:

Conversation involves an interchange between two or more people in which each contributor may produce more than one utterance and each contribution builds (normally) upon the previous contributions either directly or indirectly. We know immediately if, for example, the subject matter of a conversation changes and will comment on it appropriately if it appears to have been for ulterior motives or because of some misunderstanding. Similarly, in writing, sentences bunch into conventional units called paragraphs, paragraphs into chapters, and chapters into books. In short, in our everyday speech and writing, the sentence is only a small cog in a normally much larger machine. (p. 1)

The second perspective, which is functionalist in essence, emphasizes the social element (absent in linguistic definitions); in other words, discourse is embedded in its social and cultural context from which it cannot be dissociated i.e., as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001, p. 4) stated, “discourses are developed in specific social context and in a specific manner which will keep the needs of the social actor, inserted in the context” .In addition to these two approaches, a more comprehensive view was given by Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2001, p.1), who sorted anterior definitions of DA into roughly three types: “(1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language.”

Since the object of our thesis is the study of the perceptions of the image of women in the Moroccan media, we will be concerned with DA in as far as language in use stands in a tight relation with the making of social relations and identities by paying close attention to both textual and contextual descriptions. Hence, our chapter will be divided into two parts.

In the first part of the chapter, we will attempt to provide a general characterization of discourse. Then, we have deemed it necessary to clarify the difference between textual and discourse analysis as there is a fundamental difference between the two in that while ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ can be used in similar ways, the text can be defined as a written form of a communicative event, while discourse as its contextual interpretation (Nunan, 1993). Finally, an overview of the key issues in the field has to be included in this chapter as the elements of identity, social situatedness, and context are crucial elements that have to be elucidated in order for this thesis to be comprehensive.

As our thesis uses CDA as our model, in the second part of this chapter will expose the main premises that underlie CDA. We start by showing the role hegemony and ideology play within the model. Then, we will display the major characteristics of CDA as a critical theory that deals with social inequalities, and

its main issues. Finally, we will focus on the model of Fairclough as it constitutes the framework we will be adopting in the rest of this thesis with some modifications. It should be noted that the main difference between DA and CDA relates to the fact that the former studies relationships between language and its contexts of use whereas the latter tackles issues of language, power and ideology within the discourse of texts (McCarthy, 2006, p. 5). CDA attempts to stress how language is used within texts to construct specific ideological positions that entail unequal relations of power; in this way, CDA focuses on the linguistic dimensions of language, and at the same time maintains a strong political agenda in reference to how the language is used (Coffin, 2001, p. 99).

1. 1. Discourse Analysis

1. 1. 1. Definitions and Scope

“DA focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used.

Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships of participants as well as the effect the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world and identities are constructed through the use of discourse” (Paltridge, 2006, p. 2)

This is confirmed by (Benveniste, 1971, pp. 208-9) when he declared that discourse should be seen from a wider angle as every utterance assumes the existence of a speaker and a hearer and in the hearer there is undoubtedly an intention to influence the other in some way, a thing that makes all discourse an argumentative piece of language.

For Jones (2012, p. 2), “discourse analysis is not just the study of language, but a way of looking at language that focuses on how people use it in real life to do things like joke and argue and persuade and flirt, and to show that they are certain kinds of people or belong to certain groups”. Similarly, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) assert that:

Our access to reality is always through language. With language, we create representation of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality. That does not mean that reality itself does not exist. Meanings and representations are real.

Physical objects also exist, but they only gain meaning through discourse [...] Language, then, is not merely a channel through which information about underlying mental states and behaviour or facts about the world are communicated. On the contrary, language is a ‘machine’ that generates, and as a result constitutes, the social world. (p. 9)

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) add the fact that “Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. It is constitutive in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the status quo, and in the sense that it may contribute to transforming it” (p. 258).

The fact that discourse is closely tied to the pragmatic notion of speech acts and speech events entails a sort of preference of the spoken medium at the detriment of the written one. Once we include the intention, we move away from the chomskyan perception of language as a set of ideal forms to a more social view that immerses language in its context and this is exactly what Stubbs (1983) meant when he stated that discourse must be used with its social purpose, which is totally geared to language use in social contexts, and in particular to interaction or dialogue between speakers.

From the above pragmatic orientation of discourse, text sentences are subject to analysis in terms of the functions: representations, relations, and identities (Sheyholislami, 2001) i.e., textual analysis draws on Halliday's (1978) systemic functional linguistics (SFL), which contains three domains of ideational, interpersonal, and textual analysis. The ideational functions afford representations of aspects of the world and refer to the author's experience of it; it "serves for the expression of 'content': that is, of the speaker's experience of the real world, including the inner world of his own consciousness". The interpersonal functions illuminate role relations and highlight the author's approach to particular participants. The interpersonal metafunction "serves to establish and maintain social relations: for the expression of social roles, which include the communication roles created by language itself – for example the roles of questioner and respondent, which we take on by asking or answering a question; and also for getting things done, by means of the interaction between one person and another". The textual functions refer to the linguistic characteristics of the texts, their structure, and the connection between texts and their contexts. The textual metafunction "enables the speaker or writer to construct 'texts', or connected passages of discourse that is situationally relevant; and enables the listener or reader to distinguish a text from a random set of sentences" (Halliday 1970, p. 143).

All the assumptions pointed so far have encouraged us to adopt this framework as a viable means to investigate our subject due to its importance and due to its ability to deal with issues related to language, society, culture, and thought.

The term Discourse is subject to controversy but this contestation can be best dealt with by adopting Gee's (1990) position which refers to the term discourse as language in use/language in context to produce activities and identities; however, he holds the view that language is not an isolated product as social contexts are key elements when it comes to its manifestation like participants, places, circumstances, time, particular semiotic signs (such as gesture, dress and symbols) and values, attitudes, beliefs, emotions and ideologies. These key elements are named "Discourse" by Gee (2000), which entails that discourse occurs within Discourses which themselves are characteristic (socially and culturally formed, but historically changing) ways of talking and writing about, as well as acting with and toward, people and things. These ways are circulated and sustained within various texts, artifacts, images, social practices, and institutions, as well as in moment-to-moment social interactions. They in turn cause certain perspectives and states of affairs to come, to seem, or be taken as 'normal' or 'natural' and others to seem or be taken as 'deviant' or 'marginal' (Gee, 2000).

1. 1. 2. Text Analysis versus Discourse Analysis

DA analyzes the text, which "... involves much more than attending to whatever is 'in' those texts. ... The point ... is not to get the text to lay bare its meanings (or its prejudices), but to trace some of the threads that connect that text to others" (MacLure, 2003, p. 43). The importance of the notion "text" in relation to discourse emanates from the premise that it is a unit of the highest level and

from the attested fact that discourses are formed by sequences of utterances, which become ambiguous once taken from within a discourse.

Like Crystal (1987), we think that DA focuses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language, as found in such ‘discourses’ as conversations, interviews, commentaries, and speeches. Text analysis focuses on the structure of written language, as found in such ‘texts’ as essays, notices, road signs, and chapters. For us, stating that texts are written and discourse is spoken is not totally accurate as we talk about oral texts and written discourse too. The distinction between the two, therefore, has to go beyond the difference in medium to focus on the function instead. In particular, ‘discourse’ and ‘text’ can be used in a much broader sense to include all language units with a definable communicative function, whether spoken or written. Some scholars talk about ‘spoken or written discourse’; others about ‘spoken or written text’ (Crystal, 1987, p. 116).

Following Hawthorn (1992), we believe that discourse is socially oriented whereas texts are meaning oriented as the author made it clear that the text may be non-interactive whereas a discourse is communicative as in discourse people interact in a two way manner whether in formal or informal conversation.

1. 1. 3. Some key Issues in Discourse Analysis

1. 1. 3. 1. Identity and the Social Situatedness of Discourse Analysis

Closely related to this social aspect of discourse is social situatedness. Linguistic performance in the traditional sense is not enough to display our identity and the perception of the other of us. There are many factors that help us exhibit our social identity. These include our manners of dressing, our paralinguistic behavior, our daily interaction, and other factors that determine our social identity exposure

(Gee, 2005). Whereas former studies into the relationship between language and identity were based on a variationist perspective as they scrutinized the relationship between social variables such as social class in terms of variation in the use of linguistic variables, more recent publications have adopted a cultural view of language and identity, which they see as an entity in constant process (Swann et al., 2004, pp. 14-15, as cited in Paltridge, 2006, p. 39).

The information a person gives off about himself and his identity depends on the context, occasion and purpose of discourse and also on the space and place of the interaction as a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others, not by oneself (Paltridge, 2006).

According to the author, identity is not just a matter of using language in a way that reflects a particular identity; it is rather a socially-constructed self that people constantly form and reform in their interactions with each other. This leads to different ways of doing identity with different people in different situations (p. 42).

1. 1. 3. 2. Context and Discourse

Context has been classified differently by different linguists. Lichao Song (2010), for example, identified context along the following line

1. 1. 3. 2. 1. Linguistic Context

At this level of discursal context, the relationship between the words, phrases, sentences and even paragraphs is highlighted. This category of context can be approached from three points: deictic (like reference to time, place and person expressions), co-text (like reference to other previous texts), and collocation (syntagmatic relations) (Lichao Song, 2010, p.876).

1. 1. 3. 2. 2. Situational Context

This type of context has to do with the environment (temporal and spacial) where any piece of discourse takes place, in addition to participants. For her, this variable is conventionally handled within register theory as propounded by Halliday, a theory that links language to context via three elements: the well-known field, tenor, and mode (Lichao Song, 2010, p. 877).

1. 1. 3. 2. 3. Cultural Context

Being a social product, language is necessarily linked with the social structure and value system of society, where the influence of factors like social role, social status, sex and age, etc... is important (Lichao Song, 2010, p. 877).

For Van Dijk (1988, p. 29), any DA should mix the text and the context of use; in other words, the use of a discourse in a social situation is at the same time a social act. This view dictates a thorough consideration of the relevance of the two key elements (society and context) in all analyses.

Harris (1952) was among the first linguists to scrutinize the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behavior to tackle the important issue of how people know from the situation they are in and how they interpret what someone says. This moves linguistic analysis to an interest in what happens when people use their linguistic knowledge to do things in the world (Johnstone, 2002, p. 3): it is thus the analysis of language in use. For Chimombo and Roseberry (1998), the objective of DA is to understand and appreciate texts, spoken or written, and to highlight how these texts become meaningful to their users.

A real grasp of the functions of language in context is of paramount importance to an understanding of the relationship between what is said and what is understood in discourse. The context of situation of what someone says is crucial

to understanding and interpreting the meaning of what is said. In this respect, an array of basic concepts of “context” relevant to the production and interpretation of discourse have to be enumerated, namely the situational context in terms of what people know about what they can see around them, the background knowledge context in terms of what people know about each other and the world (it includes cultural knowledge and interpersonal knowledge), and contextual knowledge which also includes social, political, and cultural understandings that are relevant to the particular communication (Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000).

Closely related to the notion ‘context’ is intertextuality as texts are not to be interpreted in isolation; in other words, texts are naturally interpreted against the background of other texts as we naturally make sense of language against the background of other stretches of language of a similar kind (Lemke, 1992, 1995). The bottom line is that all texts are in an intertextual relationship with other related texts.

To conclude this section about key issues in DA, we should make it clear that all the elements we have exposed so far provide an explanation to language variation, a sociolinguistic concept which refers to the fact that speakers often have a repertoire of social identities and discourse community memberships. People have a number of varieties they use to communicate in their particular communities. Generally, opting for a specific variety is governed not only by the domain the language it is used in, such as with family, among friends, in a mosque, etc...., but also by social factors such as addressees, the topic, function and goal of the interaction, social distance between speakers, the formality of the setting or type of the interaction and the status of each of the speakers (Holmes, 2001), in addition to ideological considerations.

1. 2. Critical Discourse Analysis

1. 2. 2. Discourse, Hegemony and Ideology in CDA

Since the concepts of hegemony and ideology play a prominent role in CDA as a model, we will first expose the main premises that underlie them prior to outlining CDA itself. Fairclough defines ideology as “significations generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggle over power” (1992, p. 67). For the author, in its relation with language, it is maintained that language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it.

Hall (1997) (Cited in Morley & Chen, 1996, p. 26) describes this process as having “especially to do with the concepts and the languages of practical thought which stabilize particular forms of power and domination”, the purpose of which is to “reconcile and accommodate the masses of the people to their subordinate place in the social formation.”

Bourdieu’s (1971, pp. 192-3) notion of ‘habitus’ or “a set of deeply interiorized master-patterns...(which) may govern and regulate mental processes without being consciously apprehended or controlled” is another related important concept. This cultural framework, within which and by which habitual thought and social action happen, gives the chance to persons to be aware of some possibilities but not others, and to generate practices and perceptions while also limiting them. For Bourdieu, dominant groups have power which enables them to set the standards of success and failure i.e., they legitimize the position whereby in society their habitus is dominant over others and their outcome is equal to success, and build characteristics of the habitus of the group being subordinated to look like a failure. The Neo-Marxist perception of power and control, which is another influential source behind the emergence of CDA, sees language as a socially determined entity, a projection of social inequality, and one of the means used by the dominant group to stay in power. Antonio Gramsci’s notion of hegemony has

considerably influenced this trend. This political philosopher crafted the term hegemony in a negative way to describe the mechanisms of power that controlled society in capitalist and fascist societies and in a more positive way as a more socially reasonable alternative to such political and economic domination (Hussein, n.d.; Ives, 2004).

They argued that the first way Gramsci sees hegemony is a manner in which the political system maintains power by exploiting consensus and ideology, which for him is a better option as a mode of control than the coercive instruments of the state like the army, the police and the judiciary (a coercive apparatus that keeps the domination in the hands of the ruling classes by means of force, which Gramsci called 'domination'). The social institutions like the church, the education system and the media in addition to political groupings vehicle domination by smoothly achieving acceptance and organizing the spontaneous adherence of the population to the dominant group rule. This is done by the endorsement of shared ideals, the purpose of which is to tame the population (Gramsci gave examples from the church in Italy and Fordism in the US, where there is a promotion of the existence of a God master plan in the former and the promotion of the validity of capitalist values like work ethics in the latter).

For them, the second way Gramsci conceives hegemony, which is not spontaneous, is more positive as he holds the view that it grants opportunities to be resisted, provided it is organized. He refers to this second type as alternative hegemony, which seeks to create a more democratic and egalitarian bundle of values and a political determination, through the bias of the party-led population, to change society for the better through education and culture. In fact, it is clear that Gramsci's political affiliation with the Marxist paradigm was behind this academic orientation.

Maley (1994), has criticized CD Analysts for being axed on the notion of the struggle against hegemony. Maley justifies his argument by pointing to a

logical problem whereby any attempt to criticize it will eventually lead to a potential accusation of being a victim of false consciousness.

The values and ideologies which underlie texts tend to be hidden rather than overtly stated. As Threadgold (1989) observes, texts are never ideology-free or objective, nor can they be separated from the social realities and processes they contribute to maintaining. In her view, a spoken or written genre is never just the reformulation of a linguistic model, but always the performance of a politically and historically significant process.

There are many ways in which ideology might be explored in a text. The analysis may start by looking at textual features in the text and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the analysis. This may include tracing underlying ideologies from the linguistic features of a text, unpacking particular biases and ideological presuppositions underlying the text and relating the text to other texts and to the reader's and the speaker's own experiences and beliefs (Clark, 1995). This is exactly what the analytical part of CDA concerns i.e., the way texts are seen: what is included and what is omitted has to be incorporated in any account (c.f. Rogers, 2004, pp. 3-8).

One aspect that might be considered in this kind of analysis is the framing of the text (Gee, 2004; Blommaert, 2005); that is, how the content of the text is presented and the sort of angle or perspective the writer or speaker is taking. Closely related to framing is the notion of foregrounding; that is what concepts and issues are emphasized as well as what concepts and issues are played down or backgrounded in the text (Huckin, 1997).

Foucault (1977, qtd. in Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6) sees discourse as a social cognition of "a socially constructed knowledge of some social practice" developed within fixed social contexts. It requires not only a local coherence within texts, but also an assessment of the significance or value of the global textual items within it (Sayer, 2006, p. 450). Within the narrative structures of

discourse we find the evaluative schemas, by which narrators can communicate ideological suppositions, disclose their degree of involvement within the action of the discourse and also confirm their recognition of audience expectations (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996, p. 267).

Van Dijk (1995, p. 273) sees that one of the principal elements of ideological arguments are presuppositions “because they pertain to knowledge or other beliefs that are not asserted, but simply assumed to be true by the speaker, they are able to 'introduce' ideological propositions whose truth is not uncontroversial at all.” Fairclough too (1995a, p. 219) states, “...it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt.’ Because presuppositions appertain to knowledge and beliefs that are not asserted, but simply assumed, speakers are able to infuse ideological propositions into texts that take specific beliefs for granted.”

The role ideology plays within discourse consists of organizing individual thought in line with a specific mode of reasoning where ideological perspectives can be emitted by manipulating language to make sure the audience follows pre-established patterns of common sense that do not lead towards subversive conclusions (Lemke, 1995, p. 13).

For Kress (1985, p. 7, qtd. in Noth, 2004, p. 18), “the grammar of a language is its theory of reality”. The Hallidayan approach to language sees that language grammar is manipulated to construct ideological arguments and presuppositions for the construction of reality based on experience, but also sees that individuals introduce ideological statements for reproduction that control not only the grammar and the representations within ideology, but also the messages that are contained within the grammar and experiences (Stubbs, 1996, p. 60). Van Dijk (1995, p. 248) holds that ideologies constitute fundamental frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted

by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group. These frameworks, according to the author, sustain and perpetuate the attitudes and beliefs of one group over another which position one group's view of the world as being dominant over another so that the representations of beliefs will not stop reproducing the social practices planned for.

1. 2. 1. CDA: Scope and Issues

CDA's objective is to clarify the relationship between language, society, power, and ideology through benefitting from an array of approaches within theories of language, communication, social theory, etc. It also tends to establish a relationship between language (semiotic signs, paralanguage, advertisements etc), ideology and power (Haque, 2007, pp. 2-3).

Batston (1995) states that CDA adepts attempt to attain the objective whereby "Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly because they are covert, they are elusive of direct challenge facilitating what Kress calls the "retreat" into mystification and impersonality" (pp. 198-99).

As acknowledged by all scholars, CDA is not a single theory but an array of different approaches in that if we consider for example Van Dijk, we will find that he mingles cognitive psychology and CDA to uncover how ideological structures are hidden in people's memory (Chilton, 2004). In the light of the above understanding of discourse, Van Dijk (1998) defines CDA as a field that sets as an object the study and analysis of texts to disclose the sources of power, dominance, and inequality at the level of discourse. Specifically, it inspects the

way these sources are managed to be kept unchanged and reproduced in their social, political and historical environments.

Fairclough, on the other hand, sees CDA as a discipline “which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony” (Fairclough, 1993, p. 135).

This means that Fairclough stresses social conflict and its linguistic manifestations in discourses of dominance, difference and resistance (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA emphasis is not on “... language or the use of language in and for themselves, but upon the partially linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 271).

Wodak (1989), on the other hand, mainly studies gender discrimination and political groups/nations tracing of their territory by means of language in addition to the interplay between discourse and society. The social nature of discourse is clear when the author claimed that: “[CDA] studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed” (Wodak, 1997, p. 173).

Wodak and Meyer (2001) have provided one of the best definitions of CDA when they posited that “CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is

expressed, signaled, constituted, and legitimized, and so on by language use (or in discourse)” (p. 2).

Although the above definitions pinpoint different research emphases in CDA, it remains that the main unifying point is its concern with social issues due to its link with Marxism. “CDA involves a principled and transparent shunting backwards and forth between the microanalysis of texts using varied tools of linguistic, semiotic and literary analysis, and the macroanalysis of social formations, institutions and power relations that these texts index and construct” (Luke, 2002, p. 100). Being a cross-discipline approach within applied linguistics, and a relatively new branch of DA, it emanated from research within various disciplines in the 1960’s and early 1970’s ranging from linguistics, semiotics, to psychology, anthropology and sociology in addition to the social theories of Foucault, Bourdieu, and Habermas as well as the linguistic theories of Halliday (Burns, 2001, p. 138). Halliday’s (1985) systemic-functional linguistic theory, embedded in the theory of discourse of social theorists such as Foucault and Bourdieu, also constitutes a strong basis for critical linguists (Sheyholislami, 2001). Its emergence as an influential field of study came partially as a response to discourse analysts’ (like Sinclair & Coulter, 1975) view of texts as pure products, an approach, which according to Fairclough (1992, p. 15) pays “insufficient attention to interpretation” due to an “absence of a fully developed social orientation to discourse”.

This means that CDA is dedicated to dealing with social issues by paying close attention to the notions of ideology, power, inequality, etc. The exploitation of social and philosophical theory, which makes CDA an explanatory critique is clear when Fairclough (2001, p. 26) said that “CDA analyses texts and interactions, but it does not *start* from texts and interactions. It starts rather from social issues and problems, problems which face people in their social lives, issues which are taken up within sociology,

political science and/or cultural studies.”

Within this mode of thinking, CDA is a multidisciplinary approach (and a historical outcome of linguistics, post-structural and neo-Marxist influences) to the study of language use that stresses the intimate relationship between language and power. The quality of being an explanatory critique obliges CDA adepts to adopt the idea that social research should set as an objective the identification of problems so as to solve such identified inconsistencies or problems (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 33).

We can say that CDA aims at spotting the prominent textual features of a text to decode the ideologies implicit within the representations and grammatical structure of the discourse. It is multidisciplinary in that it seeks to unravel the nature of social power and dominance by making explicit the intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture (Van Dijk, 1995). The same Marxist orientation is made clear when Paltridge (2006) presents four principles of CDA: (1) “social and political issues” are reflected and constructed in discourse; (2) power relations are “negotiated and performed” through discourse; (3) “discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations”; and (4) “ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse” (p. 178-184).

The terms critical has to be explained because it has been interpreted in various and sometimes disputed ways. In CDA, the notion ‘critical’ means arguing against a realist and neutral view of the world in conformity with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, which is engaged with power relations. Since CDA is based on the philosophy of Marxism, the meaning of the word critical in CDA is linked with Marxist critical theory (Hammersley 1997, p. 240).

CDA is clearly political in its objectives. Discourse is “a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other, as well as a mode of representation” (Fairclough 1992: 63). The word

“critical” “implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change.”(Fairclough, 1992, p. 9).

Fowler (1981, p. 25,cited in Jaworski and Coupland, 2006, p. 27) states that: “[To be critical within CDA means to produce] a careful analytic interrogation of the ideological categories, and the roles and institutions and so on, through which a society constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members...All knowledge, all objects, are constructs: criticism analyses the processes of construction and, acknowledges the artificial quality of the categories concerned, offers the possibility that we might profitably conceive the world in some alternative way.”

This critical stamp is what enables the discipline to unveil the power relations hidden in society and which are to a large extent constructed through language to eventually expose and confront the social unfairness being reinforced and reproduced. The critical facet of CDA lies in “its explicit and unapologetic attitude as far as values and criteria are concerned (van Leeuwen 2006), its commitment to the analysis of social wrongs such as prejudice, or unequal access to power, privileges, and material and symbolic resources (Fairclough, 2009), its interest in discerning which prevailing hegemonic social practices have caused such social wrongs, and in developing methods that can be applied to their study (Bloor & Bloor, 2007)” (Cited in Hidalgo, 2011, pp. 187-188).

For CD Analysts, language helps to construct a negative hegemony through marketing the dominant groups mode of thinking as common sense, inevitable, the best option , etc.; Fairclough (1992) uses the term ‘naturalization’ in this respect.

As far as gender and media are concerned, Fairclough as well as Van Dijk have both paid close attention to the linguistic properties of discursive

production, but their approach to the analysis of media texts is different. While Van Dijk's systemic approach focused more on a 'top-down' relationship, although he states that the micro-macro relations are both descending and ascending, and emphasizes everyday routines of textual production as well as the everyday practices of textual consumption (Van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 1993), Fairclough highlights more the ways in which social relationships and identities emerge in, and through discourse, and underscores the conflictual character of the meaning-making activities associated with both the production and the reception of media discourse.

The explicit emphasis upon social domination and social inequality also encompasses discourse research in gender. Scholars in this field have tried to understand how the enactment and perpetuation of male dominance and female resistance operate. It was found that the significant changes in women's condition in the last decades did not eradicate discursive gender domination which still persists, despite the fact that it may have taken more subtle and indirect forms (Jahnsen, 2007).

Kendall and Tannen (2001) have surveyed the development of research on discourse and gender historically and have found that among the most important aspects, we have the acknowledgement of the socially constructed nature of gender, and the relationship between gender and discourse serving as discursive resources as well as constraints.

1. 2. 3. Fairclough's Approach

CDA is concerned with three analytical focuses in dissecting any communicative event (interaction): *text* (e.g. a news segment), *discourse practice* (the production and consumption operation), and *sociocultural practice* (social and cultural environment leading to the communicative event)

(Fairclough, 1995b). Fairclough's model of discourse, then, relies on the above three dimensions: the text, which deals with the linguistic aspects of the text as different grammatical and lexical elements, and which highlights different representations, identities and interaction positions; discourse practice as production and consumption which forms a medium that bridges the text and sociocultural practices where it is couched; and finally sociocultural practice, which is the global social context.

Linking this to media, Fairclough (1995b) in *Media Discourse* attempted to examine concrete media discourses so as to show the critical character of and the empirical basis in concrete studies; thus, a level of 'social practice' was incorporated in his analysis of communicative events in line with his general view where an analytical distinction between discourse as a vehicle of representation and discourse as a means of enacting social relations and social interaction, the so-called communicative level of discourse is made clear. The first dimension is semantic, whereas the second is concretely communicative as the dimension of concrete communication is perceived as a species of social interaction. In other words, Fairclough distinguished between three modes of analysis in the process of deconstructing a media text. The rationale of his three-dimensional mode is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another to form a whole: analysis of language texts, analysis of discourse practice and analysis of discourse as socio-cultural practice i.e., the semantics of the discourse, the practices surrounding the production and consumption of the discourse, and the discursive act approached as an event occurring within a socially situated context (Fairclough, 1995). The three dimensions that characterize his model are illustrated below:

The first element in Fairclough's three-part model is the text. This linguistic analysis, which takes lexical-grammatical and semantic properties as

its domain of application, goes together with other analyses in line with SFL (Sheyholislami, 2001, p.7).

It is common to start analyses with the study of small-scale semantic units and their relationships to each other. In this respect, Fairclough enumerates six sentence-level syntactic relations (causal, conditional, temporal, elaborative, additive, and contrastive) which are used in the kind of texts that feature in the media discourse, namely texts which attempt to communicate something about “the real world” to the reader. The syntactic structures mentioned work as elements to build the higher-level semantic structures inscribed in larger units of discourse, such as articles and papers (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 91-4). It remains, however, that the mapping of the structural properties of a piece of text is only the first step in any analysis of the text’s semantic dimension since we need to complexify the analysis by a thorough mapping of the thematic dimension (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129) where we can locate thematic complexes as signified by lexical strings (word combinations) and metaphorical constructions. Semantic macrostructures identification is an identification of discourse topics, which refer to the underlying ideas that structure the sequences of sentences. Fairclough identifies two classes of representational operations which are prominent in the majority of texts: the ones that produce representations of ‘process’ and the ones that create representations of ‘actors’ (Fairclough 2003, pp. 140-1).

The primary categories of the process are ‘causation action’ (relationship between the actors or objects which influence one another), ‘mentation’ (the relation between a thinker and the object of thought), and ‘attribution’ (relations between a carrier and an attribute). The causation-action relation, which is the most important of all the above due to its occurrence in many texts, involves two types of actors: the passivated ‘patient’, or object of the action and the activated ‘agent’, or subject of the action. Mentation relations require thinkers and

attribution relations necessitate carriers, and the agent/patient couplet is the necessary constituent of the causation-action relationships. As we said before, media texts are typically dominated by causation-action relationships; that is why examinations of media texts in CDA characteristically focus on the types of patient and agent emerging from the texts' most salient representations (Jahnsen, 2007). Consequently, texts may involve social actors rather than objects or non-social actors, and they refer to one or more of the various types of social actors which have been distinguished by social analysts such as Brubaker (1996). One end of the scale contains actors who are both collective and abstract (e.g. institutions); the other end contains concrete individuals – individuated social actors in real social settings who can be personalized or objectified and impersonalized, although in terms of categories, they keep being distinct from the abstract actors. Between these two spectrum edges, actors who are both collective and concrete are spotted. These ones can be institutional – i.e., the 'government', - corporate units (i.e., interest-based groups), or what Brubaker (1996) calls 'categorical units' (i.e., ethnic groups) (Jahnsen, 2007).

For Fairclough (2003, pp. 129-33), identifying discourses in texts operates by identifying the representations of particular 'themes', or identifying particular angles or points of view where these are represented. Identifying themes is done by detecting how differing themes are represented in the material subject to study. He further states that the most obvious way to distinguish different discourses is by distinguishing different features of vocabulary (2003, p. 129). However, Fairclough thinks that a mere concentration on different lexical choice is not enough as it would be more useful to see how different discourses structure the world differently; in other words, attention should be paid to the semantic relationship between words. All in all, textual analysis belongs to the descriptive stage where linguistic features like word choice, grammar and text

structure are closely examined. For Fairclough (1989), "description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text" (p. 26).

Textual analysis is located within the analysis of other discursive practices that are productive and interpretive in nature. Discursive practice belongs to the interpretation phase. Fairclough (1989) posits that "interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with considering the text as the product of a process of production, and as recourse in the process of interpretation" (p.26). In interpretation, the link between discourse and its production and its consumption has to be interpreted. He adds that discursive practices are:

constrained by the fact that they inevitably take place within a constituted, material reality, with preconstituted 'objects' and preconstituted social subjects. The constitutive processes of discourse ought therefore to be seen in terms of a dialectic, in which the impact of discursive practice depends upon how it interacts with the preconstituted reality. With respect to 'objects', it is perhaps helpful to use both the terms 'referring' and 'signifying': discourse includes reference to preconstituted objects, as well as the creative and constitutive signification of objects".
(Fairclough, 1992, p. 60)

At this level, Widdowson (1995), in an ELT educational context, has offered some of the most documented pieces of criticism against CDA. For him, CD analysts are often reductive and their arguments are partial as he claims they rarely state that texts can be interpreted in different ways by different audiences,

and they frequently say that a 'single interpretation is uniquely validated by the textual facts' (p. 169). The way critical discourse analysts couch text interpretation within their ideological perspective is itself a sort of oppressive intellectual hegemony they try to fight. That is why Fish (1981) points to the danger of this 'interpretive positivism', marked by the fact that linguistic data is exploited to confirm à priori text interpretation. In our case, this piece of criticism is null and void as our analysis of the audience will be very minimal and the appendix will give a chance to the reader to judge.

Social practice is part and parcel of the explanatory stage. Fairclough (1989) has noted that "explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects" (p. 26). Here we have to refer to historical, social, and cultural frameworks. The dimension "discourse as social practice," or more accurately "socialcultural practice" is best addressed by referring to notions like ideology and power to be able to account for the relationship between socio-cultural context and the production and consumption of texts.

In this level, the relation of discourse to ideology and to power, and the place discourse has within a view of power as hegemony, and a view of the evolution of power relations as hegemonic struggle is underscored. Fairclough has relied upon adepts of Marxism like Althusser and Gramsci because of their rich contributions in discourse as a form of social practice and because of their adoption of approaches where the theorization of ideology has been most influential in recent debates about discourse. In other words, the third dimension in CDA has to do with social practices, which are ideologies, hegemonies and hierarchies that are in power in the culture and society the discourse is produced in (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 66). Fairclough (1992) sees social practices as the things people have accepted and learned from the environment, culture and

society they live in, and discourses as a part of a particular social practice being produced in a certain cultural, historical environment. Fairclough (1992, p. 64) further argues that discourse contributes to the social practices by reconfirming and by reconstructing them. Language or text can reconfirm, reconstruct, recreate or change already established discourse structures or hierarchies (Fairclough, 1992).

Fairclough (2003, p. 9) posits that “ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. This ‘critical’ view of ideology, seeing it as a modality of power, contrasts with various ‘descriptive’ views of ideology as positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, etc. of social groups without reference to relations of power and domination between such groups. He further explains that ideologies are “the significations/constructions of reality (physical world, social relation, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production or transformation of relations of domination” (1992, p. 87). Ideologies, from this angle, are not simply learned; they are reconstructed in all the aspects of life. Fairclough (1992, p. 87) suggests that the ideologies that are embedded in discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized, and people see them as common sense, which need not be questioned. Besides, Fairclough (1992, p. 90) argues that people are not always aware of the ideologies they practice, and they do not always realize them because the ideologies are so natural and automatic.

Fairclough (1992, p. 92) characterizes hegemony as leadership and domination over the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of society; it is power over society as a whole. For Fairclough (1992, p. 90), hegemonic power is under constant struggle, which means that the ones who

have the dominance want to keep it and maintain the hegemonic power and the ones who are not in hegemonic power challenge and question it. Fairclough (1992, pp. 66-67) suggests that these struggles over power can be seen in discourses.

To conclude, the way in which social structures influence discourses, and the way social structures are themselves the product of discourse are part and parcel of contextual analysis. The particular interest of Fairclough is due the fact that discourses signify and constitute ideological power.

Summary

We have attempted to expose major components and tenets in DA and CDA. First, we have tried to delimit the field of DA, distinguish between text and discourse, and explain some prominent points in the discipline, namely identity, social situatedness, and context. Second, we have exhibited the main tenets and issues in CDA; more specifically, we focused on circumscribing its scope, together with elucidating the term CDA itself and its critical nature after we highlighted the role of ideology and hegemony in the model. We finished with a section on the model of Fairclough as it is our framework (with some modifications) in the coming chapters.

Next, we move to the second chapter to outline the methodological steps we will follow to investigate the image of Moroccan women on television talk shows. Before doing this, we will review the literature on the image of women in the media.

Chapter Two
Review of Literature and Methodology

Chapter Two: Review of Literature and Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter, which is two-fold, is to review anterior research done on Moroccan women representation in the media with a special focus on WSMV, and to outline the methodology we will be using in the rest of the thesis. In the first part, we will clarify the fact that research carried on women and their image in the media in Morocco and in the Arab world is not substantial as apart from governmental and human rights organizations reports, it is very rare to find well articulated works like articles in scholarly journals or books dedicated to the topic.

The second part of this chapter will be devoted to our methodological orientation. We will expose our research design in dealing with the media texts that are axed primarily on the discourse of WSMV on Medi 1 TV talk show “Qesset Nnas”. After displaying the data collection procedure, the methodology used to process the texts, and which revolves around the application of Fairclough’s (1989, 1992, 1995b) model (with some modifications), which is based on the integration of three levels of analysis, namely text, discursive practice and context, will be detailed. Following Mullins (2012), at the textual level, we will focus on the semantic macrostructures present in the discourse of WSMV to find the underlying pattern that unites the discourse of WSMV. After doing this, we will submit the media texts chosen to the labovian narrative six-part structure. Attention will also be paid to some linguistic traits of importance to our project.

As far as discursive practice is concerned, we devote the production part of Fairclough’s discursive practice to WSMV’s legitimization (in the manner Mullins treated official documents) of their discourse by exploiting Van Leuween’s (2007) four legitimation categories. The second inherent element of

Fairclough's discursive practice, consumption or reception, will be included in the analysis of the audience's comments on women's discourse in YOUTUBE and Medi I TV website, which are collected from the net. Combining both a qualitative analysis (through text and discursive production analysis in context) and a quantitative approach (through reception analysis of the online audience in context) is an innovation in the field as the main piece of criticism of CDA which is subjectivity has been overcome. A more detailed account of data identification, description, classification, and analysis will be made available in chapter four.

2. 1. Review of Literature

2. 1. 1. The image of Arab/Amazigh and Moroccan Women in the Media

Abdul-Latif and Serpe (2010, p. 3) started their report entitled "The Status of Women in the Middle East and North Africa: A Grassroots Research and Advocacy Approach: Preliminary findings from surveys in Lebanon and Morocco" by the revealing fact that like women in the Middle East and North Africa, women in Morocco suffer at all levels ranging from a lack of social and economic autonomy to a lack of political and media representation, a thing that makes them rated negatively in comparison with women from other countries, and even with men in their region. The authors of the report added that the scarcity of comprehensive data on these areas renders research even thornier and thus the evaluation of the status of women becomes difficult.

For Al-Ariqi (2009), women are either invisible or negatively portrayed and she is even skeptical about whether media has been able to empower women as many studies have demonstrated that media do not give enough attention to women's issues in general and those of women in the Middle East (countries similar to Morocco) in particular. She supports her argument by referring to a

report conducted in 2005 by the Global Media monitoring countries including the Middle East, which found that only 21% of news subjects are female. She also mentions the 2002-2005 Arab Human Development Report, released under UN sponsorship, which identified key 'deficits' harming the Arab region, including 'freedom deficits' and the 'women empowerment deficit'. This report adopted a set of indicators such as 'voice and accountability' and 'media independence' to reveal that most voices are stifled and that women's voices are stifled more.

Allam (2008, p. 3) has argued that "research on the Arab media's depiction of women has focused mainly on the mental and psychological aspects of their portrayal. The usage of women's bodies as sexual commodities or as a vehicle of sexual arousal was found to be the main negative image used in the Arab media, followed by an image of women who are in some way immoral. Other negative images included the portrayal of women as being illiterate, of limited intellectual capability, inexperienced, materialistic, opportunistic, weak, or dependent".

Al-Ariqi agrees with all scholars on the point that studies treating the portrayal of Middle Eastern women in the media are scarce and that the ones conducted on the broadcast sector in Arab countries are mainly geared toward the content of drama programs such as movies and TV series, or the image of women in advertisements and video clips and "neglected other important programs, such as newscasts, political talk shows, social programs, and documentaries. Despite being incomplete, these studies found that 78.68% of the images of women were negative" (2009, p. 7).

Naomi Sakr (2000) backs up the idea and adds that the relatively low number of women who practice in the media is also a factor to be taken into account behind the low coverage of women's issues in the media.

Oubou (2013, p. 1) holds that the economic, social, and political situation of women which has tremendously changed over the past two decades is not reflected in the Moroccan media which keeps producing the same outdated, stereotypical

images of women broadcasted on television programming, especially in sitcoms, without taking into account the new roles women play in modern Morocco.

She cites two popular TV shows, *Moudawala* (Jury Deliberation) and *L'khit L'byed* (The White Thread), which represent women negatively, mainly from low classes, as being unskilled and submissive. These generalizations, according to the author, overlook the complexities surrounding the status of Moroccan women and convey a false image about them. Another argument advanced by Oubou is her finding that Moroccan media “perpetuates a false image of dichotomy and extremes. Women are presented either as well educated and chic, or docile and “traditional.” However, reality is much more nuanced and complicated.

Unfortunately, though media outlets could be so helpful to the advancement of the Moroccan feminist movement by broadcasting the ongoing process, they choose to perpetuate false and often detrimental images of Moroccan women” (p. 2).

The media, from an economic perspective, is a business owned by the elite for whom gender equality is not a priority. Accordingly, the lack of civic responsibility does not help in enabling the Moroccan change makers to exploit the power of the media to trigger meaningful social, political, and economic improvement. The case of women portrayal is revealing in this regard as “the media’s insistence on portraying women as victims, uneducated, or as a source of scandal, may even exacerbate women’s social troubles and violence against women.” (Oubou, 2013, p. 2).

Ennaji (2012, p. 156) posits that “ICTs can improve women’s lives and gender relations, promote social change at the individual, institutional, country, and broader social levels”. He further argues that digital technologies influence the portrayal of gender roles and relations, and they paradoxically make both the perpetuation of gender stereotypes and the positive transformation of gender roles an easy endeavor. He concludes his article by saying that ICTs make it possible for each case of abuse to be made into an individual case that attracts attention.

Rahbani (2010) adds that Arab media have shifted from representing women as sex objects to new images of women as mothers, wives, and active participants in society. The problem with this shift lies in the fact that there was too much focus on housewives while women as workers or political leaders have been underrepresented, which means that “Arab media focus has turned towards a different, but still stereotyped direction” (2010, p. 10). She confirms previous findings that highlighted the fact that in talk shows and news, Arab women are more likely to be featured as victims in stories about accidents, natural disasters, or domestic violence than in stories about their professional abilities or expertise. She based her analysis on an international report containing information collected from monitoring news in 70 countries in different regions of the world and posits that, among other findings, “even in stories that affect women profoundly, such as gender-based violence, it is the male voice (64% of news subjects) that prevails, while women are more than twice as likely as men to be portrayed as victims”. ((GMMP, 2005, pp. 30-32, qtd. in Rahbani, 2010, pp. 12-13). The same report postulates that “Women make the news not as figures of authority, but as celebrities (42%), royalty (33%) or as 'ordinary people' ((GMMP, 2005, pp. 30-32, qtd. in Rahbani, 2010, pp. 12-13).

According to the same report, in talk shows and professional reports, “Expert opinion in the news is overwhelmingly male. Men are 83% of experts, and 86% of spokespersons. By contrast, women appear in a personal capacity - as eye witnesses (30%), giving personal views (31 %) or as representatives of popular opinion (34%)” (Rahbani, 2010, p. 12). The conclusion of the report is the following: “The world we see in the news is a world in which women are virtually invisible” (GMMP, 2005, p. 16, qtd. in Rahbani, 2010, p. 12)). The absence of women in news and talk shows in powerful positions seems to be an international feature.

Beyond the cube (2011, cited in Odine, 2013) qualifies Morocco as a country that relies extensively on social media to communicate and interact with the female population with women making up 33.5 percent of all users. In this respect, Euler (2013, p. 2) raised the question of self-representation inherent to social networking as these sites by nature allow their users to construct their own identities. Social networks challenge notions of privacy and publicity and modern technologies such as mobile phones and Internet access have resulted in new forms of socializing. Women gain a new agency through these new spaces. The freedom of interaction accorded to women within these public spaces makes them gain even more within the realm of social networking sites. The Internet has led to new definitions of social interaction that have formed a new socialization, mediating the concepts of domestic and public expectations (Euler, 2013, p. 22).

Skalli (2006), in her important study on gender communication in the public sphere in MENA countries, states that women have become more creative and more strategic in their actions despite the pockets of resistance they face. Women's efforts have found new places for expression like newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, television programs (including satellite television), radio programs, documentaries, feature films and the Internet. Women use different mediums to maximize their chances of inventing alternative discourses on womanhood and citizenship.

Skalli (2006, p. 39) agrees with Abdul-Latif and Serpe (2010) about the observation that research on women and the media in the MENA region is recent and scarce, including the issue of the negative stereotyping of women in print and broadcast media. She further states that some women journalists in the MENA have gained confidence, competence, and aggressivity, a thing that allowed them to tackle subjects that used to be considered taboo.

2. 1. 2. Violence against Women in Morocco

Concerning violence against women in the Middle East and North Africa, the survey published in “The Status of Women in the Middle East and North Africa: A Grassroots Research and Advocacy Approach Preliminary findings from surveys in Lebanon and Morocco” by Abdul-Latif and Serpe (2010) has scrutinized the general perceptions and attitudes towards violence against women and whether domestic violence, in particular, is tolerated or rejected by society at large. Among the findings related to the Moroccan context, a comparison between Morocco and Lebanon in the report under review shows that 93% of Lebanese women and 91% of men think that domestic violence is totally condemned in their communities. Likewise, whereas 91% of Moroccan women believe that domestic violence is completely rejected in their communities, 5% believe that it is somewhat rejected. The striking finding in this report is related to Moroccan men’s opinion about domestic violence and which notes that Moroccans differ from both Moroccan women and Lebanese men and women as only 42% of Moroccan men feel domestic violence is completely rejected and 45% believe it is only somewhat rejected (p. 11).

Even more striking is the finding that Lebanese women (4%) and men (10%) say they personally find it acceptable that a man beats his wife. It should be noted here that this acceptance of domestic violence by women declines with educational accomplishment and stays the same with educated and uneducated Lebanese men. Contrarily, nearly 9% of Moroccan women state that they personally find it acceptable for women to be beaten by their husbands in certain situations, and a striking one-third of Moroccan men agree (30%); additionally, the survey elicited information from respondents about whether they find beating a justified behavior “when framed in terms of six specific situations: if she neglected household responsibilities; if she was disobedient or did not follow his orders; if she neglected

the children; if she tried to impose her views; if she went out without telling her husband; and if she refused sex” (p. 12). 83% of Lebanese women and 79% of Lebanese men rejected domestic violence under all possible situations whereas men and women’s responses showed that 53 % of Moroccan women and 48% of Moroccan men say domestic violence against women is never justified in all five of these situations, which means that for them domestic violence may be tolerated in certain situations (Abdul-Latif & Serpe, 2010, p. 12).

Sadiqi (2010-2011, p. 17), on another level, points to the fact that questions related to domestic violence have been marginalized theoretically although activism and legal reform work remain strong in North Africa, and although gender-based violence is considered a major issue in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). For the author, this lack of theoretical work on domestic violence in the region has led to an absence in terms of decisions and action on the part of policy-makers. For her, academic theory on the topic cannot develop without stressing the “private with the aim of rendering it public” (p. 17). In her article, Sadiqi (2010-2011) links domestic violence with the nature and structure of the family in North African societies which are patriarchal and where “economic crises, unemployment, and a superficial form of religiosity led to a crisis of masculinity in the Maghreb, a fact which resulted in more domestic violence” (pp. 20-21). Domestic violence is not only a family effect as we find that the state also plays a role as studies have shown that state-building in the Maghreb has been based on family regulation (Charrad, 2007). For Sadiqi (2010-2011, p. 23), the media fulfill their function of sensitizing the population about violence directed toward women and showcasing the activities of civil society groups on the issue. As a matter of fact, investigative reports, advertisements dealing with violence against women, and talk shows are abundant on television. It remains, however, that for the author, the mainstream media do not project the different advances

made by women, and despite the fact that they have addressed issues like sexual harassment, domestic violence, and gender roles, these attempts remain scarce.

For Ennaji (2012, p. 155), mass media especially television, performs an influential job in raising awareness about women's right, mobilizing women to fight for their rights, breaking the silence about violence, and sensitizing the public to the dangers of violence against women. He exemplified with a recent national campaign against gender-based violence, an extensively mediatized event, in addition to programs like *Moukhtafoun* and *lkhitlebyad*, two famous 2M television talk shows that tackle the issue of violence against women. Information and communication technologies (ICTs), according to the author, constitute an ideal means to catalyze change in social relations as they are heavily adopted by NGOs to support women subject to violence and the people and organizations working to combat it.

In the article entitled "Media and the law: Potential friends or enduring foes of the women's rights movement in Morocco?", Oubou (2013) argues that the UN Women-sponsored study on Moroccan women in 2011, which stated that about 60 percent of Moroccan women have experienced some form of violence recently, is revealing in the sense that although it would be unfair to assert that violence against women in Morocco is caused by their misrepresentations in media, the big question about the extent to which "banal" portrayals of women in the media unconsciously reinforce the perception of women as less powerful than men in society remains crucial.

Skalli (2006, p. 40) says: "Whether we talk about domestic violence, rape, female genital mutilation, or sexual harassment, individual journalists are contributing to breaking the culture of silence surrounding women's reality". The author exemplifies the situation by referring to countries in the MENA region and mentions Morocco where "investigations of sexual exploitation, domestic violence and harassment at school and work have been published since the 1980's by

commercial and feminist magazines. In the mid-1990s, journalists from *Femmes du Maroc* and *Citadine* extended a practice initiated in the mid-1980s by *Thamania Mars* (March 8), an early feminist periodical published by the Union of Feminist Action. Despite the multiple episodes of censorship and threats from conservative groups, professional women remain determined to give a voice to the marginalized by articulating in public what society seeks to overlook, silence, or forget” (p. 40).

In a Gender Studies Report that dates back to March the 13th, 2017, Hayat Naciri has attempted to enumerate factors behind gender-based violence in Morocco. She has taxonomized these factors into societal and socio-economic ones. For her, at the social level, women are mistreated because violent husbands take drugs and drink alcohol. At the socioeconomic level, the dependence of women on their husbands financially leads also to violence, but she did not explain why. For the author, the direct outcome of this domestic violence is physical as it may lead to injuries ranging like fractures, bruises, disabilities, and burns. The statistics she advanced are revealing as she found that “62.8% of women in Morocco of ages 18-64 had been victims of some form of violence during the year preceding the study and 48% have been subjected to psychological abuse”, and that “this same study found that 55% of these acts of violence were committed by the victim’s husband, and the violence was reported by the wife in only 3% of such cases”(p. 14).

As far as the psychological effect of violence is concerned, Naciri (2017) observed that it definitely contributes to the dehumanization and loss of the sense of worth of women, which in turn leads to fear and insecurity. It also takes from women their right of being effective members in their family and their community. The effect is even greater on children who undoubtedly suffer from behavioural problems.

Naciri (2017) has suggested few solutions to solve this problem. The first solution is legislative and it consists of narrowing the judicial gap and devise a

redressive law that is able to incriminate the wrong doers. Second, religiously, she suggests that social and cultural modes that do not respect women under the label 'Islam' should be changed. Third, raising awareness is of paramount importance as this measure will use information, sensitization, and education to fight back, in addition to providing better job chances and structure non violent culture together with boosting women social networking and media.

What is more alarming in the review of literature about WSMV is the painful fact that not only women who live in Morocco are concerned, but also Moroccan women who live abroad. In their study about domestic violence during pregnancy in Turkish and Moroccan communities, Korfker, van der Palde Bruin, and Rijnders (2005) have found that among the largest minority groups who live in the Netherlands, namely the Surinamese, Antillean/Aruban, Turkish and Moroccan communities, there is a low level of domestic violence among these groups compared to the native Dutch population: 24% versus 45% due to underreporting because of cultural reasons. This does not mean that it is inexistent.

2. 1. 3. Limitations of Anterior Research

It is clear from the survey that research on women and their image in the media in Morocco and in the Arab world is scarce. It is true that many reports from both governmental and human rights organizations have dealt with issues related to women rights and violence against them, but articles in scholarly journals or books dedicated to the issue are rare.

Additionally, we did not find any piece of research that studies the image of women subject to violence in the Moroccan media, a thing that has encouraged us

more to take this challenge and attempt to deal with the issue which we consider a crucial one in the Moroccan context due to the big dimension of the phenomenon and its impact on the Moroccan society.

We intend to tackle the issue of violence against women from a critical discourse perspective i.e., our objective is to analyze the discourse of WSMV in a Moroccan talk show by linking the text, the context, and discursive practices in one model. The backbone of the analysis is the media text that takes the form of a narrative. At the level of discursive practice (production and reception), we will analyze women's discourse from two different but complementary angles: women as producers of discourse and Moroccans' perception of this discourse. Our innovation consists of measuring these different perceptions by analyzing different remarks, comments, etc... on YOUTUBE and Medi 1 TV website. This procedure has enabled us to overcome one of the criticisms directed against CD analysts, namely the idea that they put themselves in the receiver's shoes by trying to imagine what information he/she processes and how. Our methodological step has solved the problem since we have real people receiving and commenting on the discourse produced by women in the talk shows. Our project, then, is multidisciplinary, multifaceted and touches different aspects in different domains, but the goal remains one: it is an attempt to understand the situation of WSMV in the media and how Moroccans perceive them nationwide and abroad.

To conclude, we can say that the present research will hopefully constitute an addition to the field of media studies in Morocco and the Arab world thanks to its practical scope, current character, and mainly because of its bridging nature as we have located our topic at the juncture between linguistics, DA, sociology, legal studies, media analysis, psychology, politics, etc....

This review of literature on the image of women in the Middle East and North Africa in the media, and the issue of violence against women in the Arab world and Morocco and its manifestation on TV has clearly shown the degree of

the scarcity of documentation on a serious issue like the one of violence against women, which constitutes a rationale for our project in which we will attempt to analyze the image of WSMV on TV and its effect on the Moroccan audience at the attitudinal level. This objective makes of our research a mix of methodologies in that whereas we adopt a qualitative approach to the study of The Moroccan women image and legitimation, we adopt a quantitative approach to analyzing the data related to the comments made by the Moroccan audience online. How we did it will be exhibited in the following methodological section.

2. 2. Methodology

In this section, we will expose our research design in dealing with media texts that are axed primarily on the discourse of WSMV on Medi 1 TV talk show “Qesset Nnass”. First, we show how the data was collected. Then, we introduce the methodology that will be used to address the texts and which revolves around Fairclough’s (1989, 1992, 1995b) text-interaction-context model.

The second segment of our methodology consists of measuring Moroccans perception of the image of women in Moroccan talk shows. To do this, we have collected data from Medi I TV site and YouTube that consists of the comments Moroccans have made about the women who figure in the show. Details of data identification, description, classification, and analysis are included in chapter four.

2. 2. 1. The Research Design and Analysis

We have gathered our data for this study from the site of Medi 1 TV where there is an archive of the program “Qesset Nnass” that contains 41 episodes and from which we have selected the texts that deal with violence against women,

together with the comments of the viewers on YOUTUBE and Medi 1 TV website on what they saw. The comments made by the online audience are attached in the appendix (pp. 207-272).

2. 2. 2. Our Model

The analysis of the media texts we adopt will be heavily based on Fairclough's three dimensional concept of text-interaction-context and Mullins (2012), in addition to our own methodology. We rely on Fairclough whose model is deeply anchored in Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and critical linguistics as propounded in Roger Fowler in the seventies (Coffin, 2001; Sheyholislami, 2001). Critical linguistics and systemic linguistics theory criticized both dealing with language without an eye on its use and dealing with meaning and style or expression separately (Fairclough, 1992, p. 26). However, for him, critical linguistics emphasis on the text as product without considering its process of production and interpretation has to be corrected in addition to the necessity of grasping the pivotal notion of the social context where the preceding processes take place as he thinks that "language use in society is a form of social practice rather than an individual activity" (1992, p.63).

While Fairclough perceives discourses as forms of social practice, and as texts, he adds a third dimension "which focuses on discourse as a specifically discursive practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 71). Discursive practice is itself a form of social practice which focuses on the processes of text production, distribution and consumption. Thus he has integrated three axes in his multidimensional approach:

- Textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics i.e., the first element is the text that grants the possibility of a close analysis as the textual dissection of linguistic features like grammar and text cohesion is a must (Fairclough, 1992).

- The macrosociological analysis of social practice in its interplay with social structures where it is couched.
- The interpretivist element of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures (Fairclough, 1992, p. 72) as the interconnection between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice and as discursive practice itself consists of producing and interpreting the text as shaped by social practice (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

2. 2. 2. 1. The Text

Like Mullins (2012), who analyzed official documents as texts, in processing the corpus of media texts in their relation to WSMV, we start with a narrow textual analysis across the data to identify the key participants in the texts to see how narrative builds social practices related to women who have been subject to violence and how the legitimation of their discourse is processed.

At the textual level, we will focus on the semantic macrostructures prevalent in the discourse of WSMV to spot the main propositions articulated by these women. The purpose will be mainly to identify the common propositions that unite their discourse in order to find the main unifying structure of the discourse of this category. Then, like Mullins (2012), we will map the texts on labov's (1972) widely cited six-part structure. One of the elements of this narrative that bears a special rank in our analysis is evaluation as it provides invaluable insights about the psychological, social, cultural, and other issues couched in discourse in a complex Moroccan setting.

We will also analyze, when necessary, some linguistic features that bear some significance in our analysis as Van Dijk and Fairclough produced pioneering works that helped in the identification of linguistic features. The

questions raised refer to Fairclough's special adoption of the ideational, interpersonal and textual domains of discourse, and they also underscore how the linguistic devices employed contribute to maintain cognitive models.

2. 2. 2. 2. Discursive Practice

Our study will scrutinize the features of narrative across the texts dealing with WSMV, and how narratives construct social identities by different strategies and mechanisms. The discourse practice we emphasize zooms on questions related to the nature of the discourse inherent in the texts chosen for analysis, the nature of the narratives that emerge across the texts, the signification of the features in terms of social practices and conventions, and their indication in terms of the main scripts and schemas used to represent women who experienced violence.

Like Mullins (2012), at the level of discursive practice, we will show how women legitimize their discourse by having recourse to Van Leuween's (2007) four legitimation categories, which is our version of Fairclough's production practice. The other element of discursive practice, namely consumption or reception, will be dealt with by analyzing the audience's comments on women's discourse on YOUTUBE and Medi I TV website. To achieve this objective, we have collected a body of data from the above online sites, data that consists of all the comments that have been made on the shows that focused on marital violence against women. It will be shown that the different comments contain opinions that discursively back up or condemn these women and thus they are used as a tool to measure Moroccans' perception of the image of WSMV on Moroccan TV shows. This quantitative approach that we have combined with a qualitative approach (our methodological contribution) will hopefully constitute a breakthrough in CDA as we have been able to answer the major criticism of this model and which accuses CD Analysts of being subjective because they

come out with findings and conclusions that suits their ideological positions because quantifying the audience's responses to the discourse of women in a dialogic manner has given us a chance to detach ourselves from the phenomenon we are dissecting thanks to the scientific character of quantitative analyses. We think that this methodological innovation will have repercussions on the current academic debate in media and discourse.

2. 2. 2. 3. Context

As stated before, the important character of the notion "context" and its vital role in the understanding of the discourse articulated by WSMV in our model and in CDA in general has obliged us to devote a whole section in methodology for both the linguistic and sociocultural context in Morocco.

2. 2. 2. 3. 1. The Linguistic Context

Classical Arabic/Standard Arabic, Amazigh, Moroccan Arabic, French, Spanish and English are the languages that characterize the linguistic scene in Morocco. For Ennaji, the officialization of Classical Arabic and granting French the status of a second language has enabled French to be used in parallel with Classical Arabic. For him, French has been linked with uses related to modernisation and development, whereas Classical Arabic is used "for preserving the country's cultural identity and authenticity" (Ennaji, 2009, p. 14).

Amazigh and Moroccan Arabic do not have "the prestige" of French, the real competitor of Classical Arabic in different sectors. This competitiveness has created a tension between the two as "the supremacy of French is manifested essentially in administration, banking, commerce and technology. The

predominance of French implies strengthening the place of Classical Arabic after independence” (Zouhir, 2013, p. 274).

This is confirmed by Ennaji (2009) when he stated that the effect of this diversity on the sociocultural life and education is crystal clear, which in turn leads to sociolinguistic problems that have to be considered (p. 14).

Similar to Classical Arabic, we find Standard Arabic, which is a written Arabic variety with no native speakers, and since Classical and Standard Arabic are both assimilated through formal instruction, they are not spoken, but it remains that Standard Arabic, which is more flexible, is standardized, a fact that has enabled its modernization and its exploitation in education, administration, and the media (Ennaji, 2009, p. 15).

Moroccan Arabic, the spoken variety of nearly 60% of Moroccans, is made of an array of regional varieties. Whereas both Amazighs and Arabs consider Classical Arabic “as the language of God”, Moroccan Arabic owes its relative superiority to Tamazight thanks to its close relationship with Classical Arabic as “Moroccan Arabic is a deviant form of Classical Arabic” (Zouhir, 2013, p. 273).

Different uses are assigned to Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, but generally Moroccan Arabic is conceived as “the lingua franca” tapped into by both Moroccan Arabs and Berbers themselves; it remains that Classical Arabic is used in governmental, educational, and religious domains. The sociolinguistic and religious importance of Arabic made Classical Arabic enjoy a supremacy role (Zouhir, 2013, p. 273).

Tamazight is spoken by half the population; yet Arabophones perceive it as “debased” due to its non-standardised nature, although the process has started many years ago, and due to its lack of the religious and substantial literary component (Ennaji, 2009, p. 15). Berber consists of three categories. (a) Tarifit is spoken in the north. (b) Tamazight is spoken in the Middle Atlas. Speakers of

Tamazight are the largest group of speakers of Berber in Morocco, both in terms of native speakers and geographic region (Sirles, 1985, cited in Zouhir, 2013, p. 272). (c) Tashelhit is spoken in the southwest of Morocco. It is the most geographically remote of all the Berber varieties in Morocco. Tashlhit speakers are the most isolated of the Berber communities” (Zouhir, 2013, p. 272). Concerning the use of Spanish in the Moroccan north, this language “draws much of its importance from the geographical proximity of Spain to Morocco and is spoken mainly in the areas [previously] occupied by Spain”(Zouhir, 2013, p. 274).

2. 2. 2. 3. 2. The Sociocultural Context

The fact that the WSV we have studied speak only Moroccan Arabic points to the potential correlation between the linguistic repertoire of our subjects, illiteracy and poverty. Ennaji (2005) spots three major social classes: the upper class which dominates the scene economically and politically and consists of “the urban bourgeoisie, and the rich peasantry and landowners”; the middle class, “which comprises doctors, industrialists, administrators, university teachers, lawyers, etc”; and finally the lower class, “which includes workers, miners, small merchants and peasants” (p. 15).

While we think that monolingualism is strongly associated with illiteracy, there is a strong tie between social class, language and literacy as it is noticed that “while illiteracy is very high among the lower class, the majority of middle and upper class people are literate, bilingual or multilingual”(Ennaji, 2005, p. 15).

For Agnaou (2004, p. 21), Moroccan women are subject to intra- and inter- discrimination. The first one concerns injustice as far as “sexist” legislative texts, specifically *Al-mudawwana*, the Personal Code, are concerned. The

second one concerns discrimination “by class, language, area and level of education”. She links this discrimination with women’s illiteracy and affirms the fact that this latter is part and parcel of patriarchal societies where women’s roles are confined to children upbringing in a typical domestic sphere totally detrimental to education and communication.

The private/domestic sphere mentioned above is seen by Sadiqi (2003) as a system that excludes women and sanctions them physically and morally as any emancipation is considered as a threat to the prevalent masculine order. This is done through the pivotal notion of the family where a system of “kinship relations, a battery of traditions and rituals, and taboo” reinforce women gender roles as “guardians of social organization” (p. 54).

The access of women to the public sphere is incomplete and contested according to Skalli (2006), an observation she ascribes to the fact that “the public sphere has remained as the self-acclaimed space of male absolute power and dominance until recently. Women’s access to this sphere is contested because the male-dominated politico-religious centers of power in Muslim societies remain ambivalent in their positions toward the scope of women’s mobility as well as their visibility” (p. 38).

Skalli (2006, p. 38) relies on a survey on Arab attitudes which confirms the above mentioned ambivalence projected in the opinions gathered from the Muslim populations. This survey has come to the conclusion that while Arab respondents to the survey unequivocally praised the pursuit of knowledge and condemned authoritarian rule, they expressed the limits of their democratic aspirations with regard to gender equality and empowerment. In other words, “Arabs stood for gender equality in education but not in employment....Arabs expressed support for building the human capabilities of women but not for their utilization” (UNDP, 2003, p. 2, qtd. in Skalli, 2006, p. 38).

Agnaou (2004) ascribes women's low self-image to the culture that they largely participate in its transmission and which leads to the eradication of any motivation in them and in their daughters to learn (p. 21).

While the Moroccan state has become aware of the devastating effect of female illiteracy on socio-economic development, which is engendered in setting up corrective literacy programs "to compensate for their illiteracy, which is nowadays considered as an obstacle to socio-economic development, literacy programs have been developed to improve literacy rates, child care and immunization, and to decrease fertility rates. The question would be: what is the place of women's empowerment among such target national goals?" (Agnaou, 2004, p. 21).

The connection between women's grim situation and social organization is confirmed by Sadiqi (2003), who states that this organization has a huge effect on gender perception and gender construction. She states that:

Men and women in Morocco evolve within the same social and cultural context and cultural discourses are constantly circulating and affect their speech and behavior. These discourses are not internalized and reproduced mechanically; they filter through an 'active' reproduction mechanism where social organization plays a key role. Moroccan society is built on clear role assignments for men and women. These roles are meant to guarantee the structure and functioning of society. Control over men's and women's behavior is ensured through a set of three substantive designata: (i) rituals, (ii) the codes of honor and morality, and (iii) the concept of 'collective self'. These three designate are 'created', 'fostered'

and ‘perpetuated’ in the unit of the Moroccan social organization: family.

(pp. 53-54)

In an important article that dates back to 2001, Skalli has stressed the fact that over the last decades Morocco has abandoned investment in the social domains like health and education, a thing that has increased women’s vulnerability. Specifically, it has become hard to assure a job to cater for family needs, which in turn has compelled them to search for informal jobs with longer hours and lower wages (p. 83). Economic recession and restructuring has also affected the supporting network engendered in the family unit which has collapsed due to socio-economic, demographic, and cultural changes in the Moroccan family. Another impact is related to the reproduction of illiteracy as daughters are denied any access to education and they are sent to work in households at an early age in total violation of the law (p. 84).

The feminization of poverty is also clear in the cities where poor girls and women and with the lack of education and skills find themselves practicing risky activities like working in bars and nightclubs, jobs that lead directly to prostitution. To conclude this section, Skalli shows the intimate bind “between the feminization of rural poverty and the increasing feminization of migration in Morocco” as rural exodus has shifted from being a male activity to a decision made by rural women to survive” (Skalli, 2001, p. 84).

In an article entitled “Violence against women: 16 reasons to amend Morocco’s 103-13 bill” and published in *Morocco World News* by Stephanie Willman Bordat and Saida Kouzzi in December 19, 2017, the journalists have summarized the legal situation of WSMV in Morocco by first stating that thanks to the pressure imposed by NGOs, 28 amendments by the House of Representatives were advanced before the vote in July 2016 on the draft

law 103-13 on Violence Against Women (VAW), of which the Moroccan Government approved an initial version in March 2016.

According to the journalists, these amendments widened the scope of the meaning of violence to embrace“ all forms of physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence, as well as coercive control, deprivation and intimidation. Reforms also integrated acts intended to, are likely to, or may cause harm or suffering, including threats, and not just those that actually do result in harm or suffering. Other significant changes made by the House enable victims to file a request for a non-contact order, as well as integrate NGOs into local violence against women Committees” (para. 2).

For the authors, the amendments mentioned above are not enough. To explain, they advanced 16 reasons why the Draft Law 103-13 has to be amended. These reasons are the following:

1. VAW is invasive in Morocco.
2. To be able to better fathom and fight VAW.
3. VAW is costly for both the victims and the country.
4. To respect Article 22 of the 2011 constitution that defends women’s rights.
5. To abide by international commitments and laws.
6. To be part of the international community in as far as VAW is concerned.
7. To guarantee immunity against violence for women.
8. To respect human rights.
9. To participate in decreasing corruption in public services.
10. To adopt a global and integrated treatment of VAW.
11. To help and encourage women to report violence.
12. To eradicate tolerance for VAW (1): An explicit law in favor of more civic responsibility.
13. To eradicate tolerance for VAW (2): reinforce laws to have an educational role to sensitize the population about what is appropriate and what is not.

14. To grant a clear framework for public actors.
15. To synchronize services in the public sector nationwide.
16. “Finally, just because enough is enough.”

Amira El Masaiti, in her article “Draft law on violence against women adopted: Outlook remains bleak” published in *Morocco World News* too on February 2, 2018, i.e., 12 days before the bill became a law, has in fact summarized the legislative situation in a clear-cut manner. She mentioned the fact that pressure was put on the minister of the family, solidarity, equality and social development, Mrs. Bassima Alhakaoui, through a national campaign on VAW launched in 2006 and labeled “Towards a Law on Violence Against Women,” which was headed by women rights organizations (para. 4).

She added that the law 103.13 was drafted by the minister and introduced to the parliament seven years later, but the bill remained there without any further development. The situation was stagnant and changed only when the National Observatory on VAW issued catastrophic facts on VAW in a 2016 report, where it was confirmed that 73 percent of Moroccan women have undergone sexual harassment and verbal assaults in public spaces; that one in three women in Morocco are victims of physical violence; that one in four suffer sexual violence, and that one in two undergo psychological violence (para. 6). During this year, the bill was approved but without including the modifications needed (para. 7). The same bill was then sent to the House of Councilors where it stayed 1.5 years as a result of the pressure of NGOs and women’s rights advocates to make the right amendments (para. 8).

This draft law was seen as a setback rather than a step forward by many activists as the issue of laws implementation has not been solved. Some examples the journalist mentions the addition of prison sentences, fines, and the setting up of many commissions that will only leave the cases unsolved. Other examples that show the inefficiency of the law are the ones like the article that

states that “convicts of sexual harassment will now face sentences ranging from one to six months in prison and a fine of MAD 2,000 to 10,000. If the harasser is a coworker, supervisor, or security official, the penalty doubles and reaches up to 5 years in prison and a fine varying from MAD 10,000 to 50,000, if the aggressor is a family member” (para. 12). However, the law did not manage “to cover the reporting, investigation, and prosecution phases of VAW cases. Neither does it address current deficiencies in sexual violence laws, guarantee adequate protection for victims, nor does it provide women with concrete or specific services.” (para.13). Also, women will be protected only in case they report, knowing that only 3 percent of WSV do that. An alternative would be giving the family judge to issue civil protection order according to an activist mentioned in the article. These are just few problems among many others that are cited in the article like the one where no protection orders are granted to WSV before prosecution, a thing that fosters more violence against them; no attention was given to Human Rights Watch, which recommended in 2016 the harmonization of the texts with the UN-established legislation on VAW to widen the spectrum of domestic violence crimes “to prosecute aggressors of non-married women victims of violence, even if they are not engaged to marry” (para. 17); no attention has been given to the National Human Rights Council as far as the harmonization of the draft bill with the Constitution and international human rights law, engendered in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women; and no attention has been given to “other recommendations that include providing financial support for women and children, prosecuting offenders even if the victim retracts her testimony, compelling the police to conduct thorough investigations, providing free legal assistance automatically to women victims of violence, and

guaranteeing safe and immediate shelter for women victims of violence in emergencies” (para. 19).

Now that the third dimension in Fairclough’s model is clarified, we will integrate it with the level of discursive practice in order to unveil the way in which ideological positions are established and reflected in the media texts with respect to WSMV and how ideologies and social practices in media texts related to WSMV are enacted and established; particularly, attention is devoted to how the representative texts we have chosen from the show normalize social practices. Integrating the two tiers in one package (as with text/context) will give us a chance to see how the different actors produce (WSMV) and receive (The online Moroccan audience), legitimize (WSMV and a part of the audience) and delegitimize (WSMV and part of the audience) within the sociocultural context where they live. Characterizing this level will be done through explaining the different propositions made by producers and receivers and by linking them to the Moroccan context and to the body of literature accumulated on the issues in hand. This mode of analysis obliges us to move back and forth in the analysis from one level to another; for example, part of the explanation of the sociocultural level is found in our analysis of the evaluation segment at the text level.

Although this analysis is controlled by the theory of CDA, the fact remains that our interpretation of the data will be inevitably influenced by our own cognitive models and social context no matter how hard we try to minimize this interference. While this may hold for our textual analysis, the fact remains that we have surely minimized this drawback by adopting a quantitative analysis of the reception side of discursive practice.

Chapter Three
Qesset Nnass: The Text

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Introduction

This chapter addresses the following question: How does the show “Qeset Nnass” represent WSMV? It concerns the way in which the media text acts to construct WSMV identity. The extracts we will display constitute the media texts that we will reduce to the bare minimum to get access to the messages transmitted by WSMV; this will be done by extracting all the macrostructures that will be analyzed so as to come up with a general structure or master structure that can accommodate all the stories narrated.

We have treated these texts as narratives because they act like cognitive tools that mediate discourse and society. Dealing with media texts as narratives has given a chance to see how they are structured and how each part of this structure serves a definite purpose(s). A special focus will be set on one structural element: evaluation. Its importance emanates from the insights it affords to the researcher about the psychological, cultural, social, economic, legal, etc variables of discourse. Although evaluation has been incorporated in the textual analysis, it bears a strong relationship with discursive practice knowing that the levels of CDA are interconnected.

Following Mullins (2012) methodology, we start the chapter by laying out the semantic macrostructures of the main texts under study because they are easily analyzed (van Dijk, 2009). After this identification, we will map the texts of the show to Labov’s (1972) six part structure of narrative in order to characterize the flow of thoughts expressed by the women. It should be noted that even if we adopt Mullins methodological procedure (Macrostructure analysis followed by narrative structure), it is clear that our analysis is superior as Mullins dealt with official documents as narratives, which is not natural at all, unlike our account which has treated real WSMV narratives because the women

have told us real stories, not forced ones and this will be shown in the different outcomes of our analysis.

3. 1. Semantic Macrostructures in Qesset Nnass

Unlike microstructures which are “those structures that are processed, or described, at the local or short-range level (viz., words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and connections between sentences), and that are the actually and directly ‘expressed’ structures of the discourse” (Van Dijk, 1980, p 29), macrostructures are created by deletion, generalization and construction, and are global textual structures that form the overall meaning of the text: macropropositions or, simply stated, the text in its bare form. Macrostructures were introduced by Van Dijk (1972, 1977, 1980) and further developed into psychological notions of discourse comprehension by Kintsch and Van Dijk (1978) and Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983).

In what follows we will analyze the macrostructures in the texts that feature in Qesset Nnass. As pointed in Mullins (2012), Van Dijk (2009) has given the useful advice to proceed by starting CDA with an analysis of the semantic macrostructures in a text because they provide an overall picture of the global meanings, and the themes of a text. For this reason, a thorough exposition of the semantic macrostructures in the media texts to find the key themes with respect to the conditions of WSMV is a necessary research step; in other words, the global themes will tell us about the common features that unites the different discourses of WSMV that stand in an intertextual relationship between each other and render them one discourse due to the continuities that characterize the narratives.

Below we provide summaries of the stories we have selected for analysis and which we have translated from Moroccan Arabic into English and reported

in the third person singular. We have resorted to literal translation in context as a form of communicative translation in order to keep the meaning as close as possible to the one of the source texts. In his respect, we have kept the concepts that are culturally loaded in the target texts to make the reader experience the emotions expressed by the women. This step may give the impression that our translation is incorrect and the style is weak, but we have taken this decision deliberately to maintain the spirit of the translated oral texts. Additionally our minimization of the texts to macrostructures by breaking down the oral statement to the bare minimum and by mainly adopting basic syntactic structures has resulted in projecting the wrong impression that the style is deficient because it lacks in most cases coherence and cohesion, a natural outcome of deleting minor ideas from the integral texts we have processed by highlighting only the global macrostructures. This methodological step has compelled us to sacrifice style in favor of content.

3. 2. The Shows

3. 2. 1. Show one

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbJzIMk6o5c>

Title: I live in violence

First story: Fatima (41)

After three years of a calm marriage, her husband started to disappear directly after his two brothers came to live with them, and then he started to beat her for no reason in Laayoune (A Moroccan city).

She was patient just for the sake of the baby as he used to leave her without money. After a period of marriage, he beat her, took away the child from her and kicked her out of the house. She went to the hospital where her

aunt brought her the child. Later on, she realized that he sold all the furniture of the house; took the money of the lease and left to an unknown destination.

She complained but she was told her that theft accusations between husbands and wives are not acknowledged by the law. Four months later, in the tribunal he beat her again and took her son from her. There, they told her that she had to get her divorce in order to sue him. She was divorced and begged him to give her the child back, but her action did not change anything.

Before divorce, she had been battered four times but she forgave him in the police station because her family told her to be patient. Afterwards, she was beaten again. After divorce, she looked for him; they jailed him for two months but she could not see her child for one year and eight months. She found no solution; she even sent a letter to Mr. Benkirane (the previous prime minister).

She could not find the husband as he was always running away from her with the child, so much so that she had to take drugs to sleep. He even accused her of adultery. The police and the authorities are corrupt as they covered him because of the money he gave them. . She was even refused by her sister. She just wanted to see her child.

Second story: Rabia (27)

She got married when she was eighteen. Before that, she lived constantly in problems, so when she got married, she thought she would lead a calm life with her husband. In his parents' house, she found a totally different situation where she was subject to violence and interference from his sisters. After his accident, he could not support her financially and she got lost in the middle of his family. He told her he could do nothing to his sisters when she complained. She left the house when her daughter was one year and a half, but he ignored her. Her husband used to beat her when she was in his parents' house because of his

sisters. She stayed with her mother and her step father, who did not like her to stay with them with her daughter. She was patient although her husband became crazy on the day of the wedding; indeed, she backed him up till he became normal. After she left him, paying the alimony obliged him to come to her and ask for reconciliation. He left her in a room next to his family and they gave birth to another daughter who was then three years old, and another daughter later in a problematic family environment.

Later, she was not beaten by him; she was abandoned instead. She could bear physical violence, but not psychological one as he left her with three children alone without any financial support. She wanted him to solve the problem by telling his family to leave her in peace to raise the children. She could bear even being beaten since Allah granted her patience and because she was raised in a violent context when she was a child. Her ten year old daughter told her she did not want to see her father anymore. Actually, she used to be jealous when she saw couples living in peace. She did not even recognize him when he came to see them because he abandoned them when she was too young to remember him.

Third Story: Habiba (31)

She was married for thirteen years after she left school. After the wedding, her husband's father died and she was accused of being cursed. His family started beating her because of this death. When he came home, he used to finish the job.

He worked and sent money but his mother and sisters used to take it and even water and electricity were cut off in the room where she lived with them because she could not pay the bills. Once out of the house, they used to close the door and she had to wait for her child to come to open it.

All her body was wounded. She resorted to the police station where the husband said he would not repeat his acts and wrote a commitment, but soon after the incident, he started committing violence again.

His family turned him against her. After renting a house for her and four children, he extremely battered her and left her there with no money; only neighbors used to break the lock to save her from him. She could not seek help from her family because they did not want her children as they were poor. She went to an association, but she did not want to stay there.

She started to beg near a mosque days after her child's birth. His family did not want her because she complained when they beat her. He used to beat her in front of her seven year old daughter and ten year old child, who used to leave the house because of the violent scenes. He took the children after a hard beating and she was alone ever since. She did not feel beating anymore; she wanted to stay with him because she was used to him and because she wanted to stay with her children. He wanted her to apply for divorce but she did not want to; that is why she was patient. She wanted him to stay with her because of the children.

3. 2. 2. Show Two

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAnt-XuwRmQ>

Title: My Husband Beats me in Front of my Children

First Story: Ouafae

She married him because she loved him, a love that he did not share with her. She needed love because her mother was divorced, but he wanted her salary as she was a secretary of the minister. At first, he was reluctant to marry her. After marriage, he forced her to give him her salary and problems with his family

started to appear, a thing that led them to rent a house. When she was pregnant, he did not like her to have a baby, but she refused to abort.

In 1993, he broke her nose; she complained but her complaint was in vain! Her handicapped children used to beg him not to beat her. He was a monster so much so that they could not even eat if he did not give them their share of the food.

Concerning her son, he insisted on taking him to watch the horses in summer and it was too hot for the handicapped child. Against her will, he took him in one of the hottest days of summer; as a result, he had a hard fever and died. Her daughter died in a psychiatric hospital too after twenty five days of her attempt to commit suicide. She used to beg her to get divorced. While she was battered, his family used to laugh and enjoy the scene!

Before death, her daughter told her that her father was an evil person and that he wanted to marry her and have a child from her! They were living in two different flats in the house that she gave him as a property under his menace. One day she got into his room and found messages from his girlfriends taken from the phone and written on paper.

Once, he battered her but she forgave him in the police station because he menaced her daughters that he would take the hiba (a property in their name) he granted them. Besides, he took all the furniture. She still loved him! Her handicapped daughter begged him once for twenty dirhams to eat, but he slapped her on the face and bought credit units for his phone instead.

Second Story: Aicha

She was young when she got married with a husband who was addicted to drugs. Shortly after marriage, he started to close the door of the house the whole day leaving her with one loaf of bread! She tried to run away but her sister told

her to be patient because divorce is not allowed in their family tradition and because she has children. She experienced violence all the time. One day, her son, who was just six years old, told him he was hungry. He battered him for saying that. She sued him but he took her child from her and divorced her. She returned back to him and had another child. Her fifteen year old son was living in the street just because he told his father one day that he was lucky because he was eating a piece of chicken while he was hungry.

Her nine year old daughter was raped by a forty six year old man who seemed to be a respected religious man in the neighborhood. The doctor was appalled when he saw her. The husband did nothing; he was very passive and started nagging her because she worked till midnight.

Third story: Mina

Her daughter, who was seventeen, was married to a sixteen year old man they bought a TV set from. The man used to come to take the payments they owed him and decided to marry her. After few months, he started to beat her and the girl became depressed. She was pregnant but he did not like her to have a baby because he said he had already had children from his previous wife.

Her family protected her pregnancy. The husband jailed her in a faraway house, but the mother begged him to stay with her daughter. He accepted and the daughter finally had the baby. He battered her on a daily basis. One day, he beat her and she came back to her mother all wounded with a knife. She walked kilometers and had to beg someone with a utility car to bring her home. Her husband took her back home and had an accident that caused her a handicap. The man contracted AIDS too because of the illegal relations he used to have when she was sick.

3. 2. 3. Show Three

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0UaiTOAV4F4>

Title: My Relation with my Husband Led me to Suicide

First story: Fatna

She loved a man with whom she escaped from her family when she was nineteen years old. Her family refused him because he was addicted to alcohol and drugs. They went to Bouznika (A Moroccan city) where she became pregnant and where they finally got married. After that, he started to beat and hate her because her brothers refused him as a husband previously. Later, she discovered that he got married with another woman without her consent.

She was angry and started yelling in the police station where she decided to sue him. After two months of extreme suffering, she tried to commit suicide in the railway and another time in the forest. He had a daughter with the other wife and she had to live and survive all alone. He made another life and left her with a ten year old child. She tried to commit suicide by putting herself in front of a taxi, in a forest, in the railway, but people prevented her from doing so.

Second Story: Zhor

She married a man who lied to her because he had two daughters. Her father told her he could even raise them. She was pregnant after that, but he left her with his two daughters with no support. When he came back, he took her to a two meter square room with his daughters and his brother. She returned back to her parents' house. When she found him and talked to him, he told her to sue him if she wanted to!

She suffered in her work as a cleaner in a café till she almost lost her sight and started thinking about suicide. Her husband did not pay nafaqa “ the alimony” and the authorities told her to look for him!

3. 2. 4. Show Four

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ac_wCm4mIY

Title: I got married at an early age.

Story: Ghizlane

After working in houses as a maid when she was seven years old, her father married her to a man without a marriage contract when she was twelve and she became pregnant with twins at the age of thirteen from a man who was thirty. This latter kicked her out when he knew she was pregnant and even her family abandoned her.

When her children were just two years old, she found herself in the street without food or money and she had to beg near a mosque. A man came to her and asked her to sell them to him but she refused. When she became sixteen, her father married her to another man just with Alfatiha “a koranic verse” and she became pregnant for the second time. She wanted a man to protect her children, but she faced the same problem with him when he threw her away with her two children during her pregnancy. Her father nagged her and told her that she disturbed him with her marriages and pregnancy. She was pregnant and had to pay four hundred dirhams for rent. She tried to commit suicide when her children were one year old by throwing herself from the second floor but she did not die. She felt like she was seventy and her life was worthless. Her death was better than her life. She did everything to make her children live: she begged, stole, and did many bad things she was not proud of for the sake of her children.

She wished she could find someone to give the child to because she was tired. “How could a minor get married, have children and suffer that much?”, she said.

3. 2. 5. Analysis

An analysis of the semantic macrostructures in the above texts shows that the theme of injustice is continued. Below, we provide the key themes that are recurrent in the episodes dealing with WSMV and which constitute a master structure where we can fit all stories about violence against women:

- After a period of marriage, the husband starts beating the wife and disappears.
- In some cases, the husband runs away with his children.
- The woman is often forced from the house to find herself without necessities.
- Some women are unable to see their children.
- These women complain to the authorities, but no solutions are provided.
- Their families urge them to be patient and return back to the violent husband.
- Most of the time, women are beaten by the husband and his family or the husband beats the wife but the family just watches the violent scenes.
- Although some husbands are summoned by the police, they do not abstain from committing violence afterwards.
- Many women try to find the husband who escapes with children, but in vain.
- Many women want to return back to their husbands in spite of the violence either because they want to be with their children or because they love their violent husbands!
- Some husbands take their wives' salary or their money and start to be violent.
- Husbands exercise violence on even pregnant women and handicapped children.
- Many violent husbands are addicted to drugs and alcohol and they batter the wives and the children for no apparent reason.

- The wives suffer from severe conditions of depression as a result of bad treatment, a situation that pushes many of them to attempt to commit suicide.
- The impact on the children ranges from suicide and homelessness to rape.
- Many other women get married without papers at an early age and find themselves with children begging in the streets after being beaten.
- Families refuse to take care of their daughters' children.

It seems that the stories we have summarized point towards a recurrent structure that is omnipresent in all these experiences and which we can apply to the majority of the stories narrated on TV. Unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, and experience with divorced parents are common denominators that characterize the condition of the majority of women who experience violence after marriage. These pre-conditions often intermingle with two types of triggering factors: internal and external factors. Internal factors have to do with the addiction of the husband (drugs and alcohol) and external factors concern either the low possibilities of the husband to exercise a decent job or his reliance on his wife's money in some cases. These two types of factors trigger violent behavior, which itself lead the wife either to leave the house or stay in the same house but without any financial support from the absent husband. This helplessness and lack of income to support herself and her children obliges the wife to have recourse to the authorities (the police and/or the court); these latter are unable to provide any satisfactory solutions either because the law is unfair to women (e.g. there is no theft between husband and wife) or because it is hard to apply (the case of women who have to search for the husband in the whole country), and sometimes because the authorities are corrupt.

Sometimes, with this lack of viable solutions, women are obliged to return back to the same conditions to find themselves in a vicious circle again and again. What is worse is that sometimes women are obliged to experience

violence for the sake of being together with their children or because they say they can bear anything because they love their husbands!!

3. 3. Narrative in Qesset Nnass

The previous section exposed the key semantic macrostructures that were apparent in the discourses related to the texts of women subject to violence. Next, we will explore the structure of the narrative in a deeper way; specifically and as we mentioned in the introduction, Like Mullins (2012) we will match these texts onto Labov's (1972) six parts structure. Labov's (1972) six part narrative structure consists of an abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda. These components of the show are explicated according to Labov's widely cited structure.

The Abstract

The abstract foretells the story to follow and outlines a shortened format of the narrative, but never constitutes an exact replica of the whole story. It generally sets up the 'tellability' and whether the story is credible or not, and gains the audience's trust (Toolan, 1988, cited in Mullins, 2012). As a rule of thumb, this part of the show is located in the introduction read by the presenter. In this sense, the introduction acts as an abstract, outlining the major plot of the narrative. Below are the titles of the episodes under scrutiny (together with the semantic categories that make them up like "recipient, problem, etc...), which are attempts from the production of the show to foreshadow the issue dealt with later.

Titles of the Selected Episodes

Title 1: I live in violence (recipient, problem, setting).

Title 2: My husband beats me in front of my children (agent, problem, recipient, setting).

Title 3: My relation with my husband led me to suicide (agent, recipient, setting, problem).

Title 4: I got married at an early age (recipient, implied agent, setting).

Women (recipients) are the focus of this show; this is signaled by women sitting in front of the presenter waiting to disclose their stories. The abstract signals the major characters in the story who are in the case of this narrative the husbands who behave in an aggressive way towards their wives. The violent husbands are established as the agent, and women subject to violence are the recipients of the acts of the violent husbands. The “tellability” of the narrative is established through an implicit call to action in the introduction. The audience of the introduction is assumed to be the public, and the assumption is made that the audience shares the world view presented by the narrators. This world view presupposes that women subject to violence are victims of both the husbands and the system in general and that it is important to think about solutions engendered in setting goals – economic empowerment, and a prosperous future of every helpless woman.

The introduction, as a mini-narrative, anticipates the full narrative that will follow and provides a setting (a country where disparities between men and women exist), an orientation (the violent husbands and the helpless women are the characters; the narrative is related to the past, the present and the future), a complication (women are at risk, change is needed), an evaluation (pay attention to this story; it shows the injustice women live, and how society does nothing to help), a resolution (we will try to figure out solutions), and a coda (there is no

happy ending!). As in all narratives, we have a narrator who can be fallible and untrustworthy (Olsen, 2003). The following introductions exemplify the concept of the abstract:

Show One:

The Show Host

More than 50 percent of Moroccan women are subject to violence (recipient, problem). More than 50 percent of Moroccan women live violence in all its versions (recipient, problem). To be clear, more than 50 percent of women are beaten, insulted, humiliated, undergo discrimination and harassment at home, in the street, in the workplace, in all places and all the time (recipient, problem, setting). What is the reason behind this violence? Who is responsible? Is it the man, the woman herself, or the circumstances that are the real cause behind this number and this violence (recipient, agents, problem)? The subject today is: I live in violence (recipient, problem).

I welcome you on Medi 1 TV, the public in the studio, Souad Taoussi, an associative figure and a social assistant, who will accompany me in Qeset Nnass, and I welcome all the WSV present here with us (audience, recipient).

Fatima (41) stood in the face of the family and accepted the man who wanted to marry her (recipient, agent, setting). After three years of marriage, her life turned into hell (problem). She got her divorce but she could not stay with her child (solution, problem).

Rabiaa (27) accepted her husband for marriage, but then she started to suffer from violence (recipient, agent, problem). She refused his unfair treatment and claimed her rights like all wives (recipient, agent, problem, setting).

Habiba (31), she spent thirteen years of marriage where she has undergone all types of violence and torture (recipient, agent, problem, setting).

Nobody was fair to her and as a result she was “neither married nor divorced” (recipient, agent, problem).

Show Two:

The Show Host

I would like to welcome our guests, the women who will tell us their story about the violence they have been through, Azzouz Taoussi, a social psychology professor who will accompany me in this episode, and the guests in the studio (recipient, agent, setting, audience). My husband beats me in front of my children is our topic today in “Qesset Nnass” (recipient, agent, setting, problem).

Oufae: One child died and one committed suicide (problem) and she was subject to violence in front of the children (recipient, agent, problem, setting).

Aicha: She wished her husband became weak (recipient, agent, problem); otherwise, she would kill her husband in front of the children (recipient, agent, problem).

Mina: Her daughter was subject to violence; she became paralyzed and her husband let her down and took her children away from her (recipient, agent, problem).

Thanks for coming to narrate a special and extremely violent and unfortunate experience.

Show Three:

The Show Host

Welcome to our audience, our guest in the studio, Dr. Said leBheeyer, a psychologist, and our guests who accepted to be here to share with us their stories and experience in the studio (setting, audience, recipient). My relation

with my husband led me to suicide is our topic in Qesset Nnass (recipient, agent, problem, setting).

Fatna: Three suicide attempts and she still thinks about repeating the attempt because of a man (recipient, agent, problem).

Zhor lived many misfortunes; she thought about suicide but she feared God (recipient, agent, problem).

Thanks for accepting to talk about a sensitive subject that requires courage.

Show Four:

The Show Host

Ghizlane got married at twelve and at thirteen she gave birth to twins (recipient, agent, problem, and setting).

These extracts from the introduction of the show depict the essential propositions relevant to the themes that are taken up in the rest of the show. Basically, the introduction combines a rationale related to the importance of the theme tackled and the necessity to expose these issues in order to sensitize society about the extreme suffering of women in Morocco and ultimately hold the audience accountable for what is taking place in the country.

The Orientation

The orientation contains information relevant to the time, the place, and the persons involved in the story, which constitute the background information, and which usually occurs at the beginning of the narrative.

The who, when, where and what of the narrative constitutes its orientation as the entities presented as participants in a text's representation of events

together with the processes in which they are involved are necessary ingredients of stories. Toolan (1988, cited in Mullins, 2012) posits that in any narrative some groups tend to be agentive while others tend to “be the affected” (p. 238). This is obvious in the orientation of Qesset Nnass where the violent husbands are the major agents, and the women subject to violence are the affected ones.

From the previous section, we feel that the orientation has already been established early in the narrative, namely in the introduction as the abstract/introduction establishes the key macrostructure of the text related to the imperative to ensure that women suffer and thus need change. There are other characters that appear in the show; however, they do not count as major characters. These include experts and the audience in the studio. The orientation of the media text in Qesset Nnass appeals to both the emotional and mental states of the reader and the percentage given by the presenter, and the women who feature in the show are examples of elements that address the pathos of the audience.

Fatima

In the city of Laayoune, Fatima stood in the face of the family and accepted the man who wanted to marry her. After three years of marriage, her life turned into hell after they moved to Bejje3d (A Moroccan city). She got her divorce but could not stay with her child.

Rabia

She lived constantly in problems with her husband, who was helpless when it came to his family’s interference in their private life. She left the house when her daughter was one year and a half, but she returned to him after a while, then

he left her with three children leaving her alone without any financial support (no city was mentioned).

Habiba

Habiba was married for thirteen years after she left school in Casablanca. After the wedding, her husband's father died and she was accused of being cursed. His family started beating her because of this death. When he used to come home, he used to finish the job. As a result, she became homeless.

Ouafae

Ouafae's Problems with her violent husband led to the death of one child and the suicide of a daughter as she was being subject to violence in front of her children. The events took place in Rabat.

Aicha

Due to the violent behavior of her husband, she wished he became weak; otherwise, she would kill him in front of their children (no city was mentioned).

Mina

In Agadir (A Moroccan city), her daughter was subject to violence; after being paralyzed, the husband let her down and took her children away from her.

Fatna

After three suicide attempts, she kept thinking about repeating the act because of her former husband who divorced her and married another woman. The event took place in Benslimane.

Zhor

She lived many misfortunes; she thought about suicide but she feared God (no city was mentioned). She married a man who lied to her because he had two daughters. He disappeared leaving her with no support.

Ghizlane

She got married at twelve, and at thirteen she gave birth to twins with no husband to take care of them (no city was mentioned).

These descriptions give the audience an idea about the main characters, the time, the location (sometimes unspecified) and the main event.

The Complication

The complication is an event or series of events that are unexpected, dangerous, or unusual. In narratives, the complication, which may be a result of the action of an agent, or may be caused by external circumstances, leads to immediate action (Mullins, 2012). The complication is italicized and in bold in the next scripts.

Fatima

After three years of marriage, her husband started to disappear directly after his two brothers came to live with them and started to beat her for no reason. After a period, he beat her, took away the child from her and kicked her out of the house. She went to the hospital where her aunt brought her the child. After that, she realized that he sold all the furniture of the house; took the money of the lease and left to an unknown destination. She went to the tribunal where they told her that theft between the husband and the wife is not included in the Moroccan law. In the tribunal he beat her again and took her child away from her. In the police station, they told her that she had to divorce in order to sue him. *She was divorced and she begged him to give her the child, but in vain.*

This last segment forms the complication as it marks the climax of the story that leaves the main protagonist no choice but to look for an option that the show aims at figuring out.

Rabia

She was subject to violence and interference from her husband's family. After his accident, he could not support her financially and she got lost in the middle of his family members. She left the house when her daughter was one year and a half, but he did not support her. Her husband used to beat her when she was in his parents' house because of his sisters. She stayed with her mother and her step father, who did not like her to stay with them with her daughter. After she left the house and after her husband had to pay the alimony "nafaqa", he came to her and asked for reconciliation. He gave her a room next to his family and had another daughter who was, then, three years old and another daughter later. His family kept being a problem. Later, she was not beaten by him but she was

abandoned instead. ***Later, he left her with three children leaving her alone without any financial support.***

Being abandoned by her husband with children and without any financial support is an example of the concept “complication”.

Habiba

She was married for thirteen years after she left school. After the wedding, her husband’s father died and she was accused of being cursed. His family started beating her because of this death. When he used to come home, he used to finish the job.

All her body was wounded. She resorted to the police but the husband said he would not repeat his acts and wrote a commitment, but soon after that, he started committing violence again. ***After renting a house for her and her four children, he extremely battered her and left her there with nothing.***

The complication here shows that after a series of events, the woman has reached the bottom (being in a house with children and without support).

Ouafae

She married him out of love but he did not share this love with her. She needed love because her mother was divorced, but he wanted her salary as she was a secretary of the minister. At first, he was reluctant to marry her. After marriage, He forced her to give him her salary and problems with his family started to appear, a thing that led them to rent a house. When she was pregnant, he did not like to have a baby, but she refused to abort.

In 1993, he broke her nose; she complained but in vain! Her handicapped children used to beg him not to beat her. He was a monster so much so that they could not even eat if he did not give them their share of the food.

Concerning her son, he insisted on taking him to watch the horses in summer and it was too hot for the handicapped child. Against her will, he took him in one of the hottest days of summer; as a result, he had a hard fever and died. Her daughter died in a psychiatric hospital too after twenty five days of her attempt to commit suicide. She used to beg her to get divorced. While she was battered, his family used to laugh and enjoy the scene!

Before death, her daughter told her that her dad is an evil person and that he wanted to marry her and have a child from her! They were living in two different flats in the house that she gave him as a property under his menace. One day she got into his room and found messages from his girlfriends taken from the phone and written on paper.

Once, he battered her, but she forgave him in the police station because he menaced her daughters that he would take the hiba (a property in their name) he granted them. Besides, he took all the furniture. She still loved him! Her handicapped daughter begged him once for twenty dirhams to eat, but he slapped her on the face and bought credit units for his phone instead.

In this specific case, we cannot talk about one complication but a series of complications. We can consider the death of her two children as the main complication, though.

Aicha

She was young when she got married and her husband used to take drugs. Shortly after marriage, he started to close the door of the house the whole day with one loaf of bread! They had children. She tried to run away but her sister

told her to be patient because divorce is not allowed in their family tradition. She experienced violence all the time. One day, her son, who was just six years old, told him he was hungry, but he battered him for having said that.

She sued him but he took her child from her and divorced her. She returned back to him and had another child. ***Her son is now fifteen years old and is living in the street just because he told him he was lucky because he was eating a piece of chicken.***

Like Ouafae, this woman lives in a catastrophic situation where many complications can be identified. In addition to violence, her daughter's rape, and the fact that her child lives in the street because of the unexplained tyranny of an addicted father may be seen as the main complication.

Mina

Her daughter, who was seventeen, was married to a sixteen year old man they bought a TV set from. After few months, he started to beat her and the girl became depressed. She was pregnant but he did not like her to have a baby because he said he had already had children from his previous wife. The husband jailed her in a faraway house. After her mother begged him to stay with her daughter, this latter finally gave birth to the baby. He used to batter her on a daily basis. ***One day, he beat her and she came back to her all wounded with a knife. She walked kilometers and took a utility car to arrive. He took her back home and had an accident that caused her a handicap.***

In this example, the climax of the story is engendered in the accident that made the daughter a handicapped person, which is in turn a direct result of the violent behavior of the husband.

Fatna

She loved a man with whom she ran away from her family when she was nineteen years old. He went with her to her family, but they refused him because he used to drink and smoke. They went to Bouznika (A Moroccan city) , where she became pregnant and got married.

After that, he started to beat and hate her because her brothers refused him as a husband. She discovered that he got married to another woman without her consent. She yelled in the police station and sued him. *After two months of extreme suffering, she tried to commit suicide in the railway and in the forest.* He had a daughter with the other wife and she had to live alone and pay everything to survive.

It is clear that reaching the stage of committing suicide, which is the last resort after depression got hold of the woman, is the complication as the crescendo of the events is reached. What is worse than suicide?

Zhor

She married a man who lied to her because he had two daughters. After she got pregnant, he disappeared leaving her with his daughters. When he came back, he took her to a two meters square room with his daughters and his brother. She returned back to her parents' house. When she found him and talked to him, he told her to go to the tribunal. *She suffered in her work as a cleaner in a café till she almost lost her sight and she kept thinking about suicide.* Her husband did not pay the alimony and the authorities told her to look for him!

Zhor depicts herself as a helpless woman who has run out of options as the complication shows that the defiant husband who let her with his daughters

refused to find an acceptable solution. Like Fatna, losing her sight and ultimately starting to think about suicide can be considered as the complication.

Ghizlane

After working in houses as a maid when she was seven years old, her father married her to a man without legal papers when she was twelve and she became pregnant with twins at the age of thirteen from a man who was thirty. This latter kicked her out when he knew she was pregnant and even her family abandoned her. When her children were just two years old, she found herself in the street without food or money and she had to beg near a mosque. When she became sixteen, her father married her to another man just with Alfatiha and she became pregnant for a second time. He left her with her two children during her pregnancy. She was pregnant and had to pay four hundred dirhams for the rent. *She tried to commit suicide when her children were one year old by throwing herself from the second floor but she did not die.*

What applies to the other two women above applies to Ghizlane too.

The Evaluation

For Toolan (1988, cited in Mullins, 2012), the evaluation is instrumental in founding the significance of the story as it rationalizes the narrative and the narrator's main message. It may involve a temporary suspension from the telling of the story proper and heighten the audience's interest at any time during the narrative (Labov, 1972; Mullins, 2012). In other words, opinions on the events of the story, alternative outcomes, or adding credibility to the story on the part of the narrator are evaluative options up the narrator's sleeves in case they are needed to make the story more persuasive.

As far as this narration component is concerned, the answer to the question “So what?” is key because the narrator finds it necessary to stop telling the story “what’s going on” i.e., suspending narrative action and interrupting the sequence of temporally ordered clauses of the core narrative’s complicating action in order to make a point (Labov, 1972; Mullins, 2012). Below evaluative remarks are underlined.

Fatima

They spent three years of a calm marriage before the child was born, but when the child was one year and six months old, her husband started to beat her after his two brothers came to live with them for no reason and in front of them and then disappeared. He did not pay the bills. She was patient just for the sake of the baby as the husband used to leave her without money.

The external evaluation mentioned by Labov (1972) is meant to raise questions on the part of the audience as the narrator points towards the strange fact that the beating started to take place for no apparent cause. This violation of the narrative’s cause-effect logic acts as an intensifier that is intended to attract the audience sympathy. We have to clarify that Labov sees that external evaluation takes place when: a. the narrator stops the narrative to say what the point is, or b. when the narrator tells the listener what he/she thought at the moment of the events (indirect discourse addressed to the listener).

The theme of patience is advanced in this narrative segment as a response to the audience implicit question about the rationale behind the decision to live with a violent husband who beats his wife for no apparent cause. Mixing patience with the child’s interest also intensifies the tempo of the narrative as we are all bound to believe that women sacrifice themselves to protect children, and

addressing the pathos by referring to the family, children, mothers, the nation, religion etc... has been proved as an efficient tool to persuade the general public about the legitimacy of any action although sometimes the cause effect relationship is violated as in the case in hand.

After a period, he beat her savagely, took away the child from her and kicked her out of the house. She went to her aunt, who took her to the hospital and brought her the child. Her aunt told her to wait to see what would happen. After that, she realized that he sold all the furniture of the house; took the money of the lease and left to an unknown destination. She complained, but they told her that there is no theft between husbands and wives. After four months, in the tribunal he beat her again and took her child. In the police station and in the tribunal, they told her there was nothing they could do for her.

Referring to the authority's proposition is yet another argument to justify her helplessness. We mentioned before that she was helpless because of her child and after she was helpless because the authorities did not have any measures to implement to get her rights. The embedded evaluation shows, among other things, the impotence of the system to protect women; thus the discourse of the official documents is contradicted and considered null and void in reality. As a matter of fact, we flagrantly realize, as with the other women, that there is no continuity between the two opposing types of discourse as the official one idealizes the situation and the women's discourse marks the total helplessness of this fragile category. Concerning embedded evaluation, Labov (1972) posits that it contains the following elements:

- a. the narrator quotes what he/she was thinking at the moment of the events.
- b. the narrator quotes his/her words to someone else in the story.

c. the narrator introduces a third person/character who evaluates the actions, quoting that character's words.

d. the narrator uses evaluative action, telling what people/characters were experiencing vs. what they said (often with the verb "to be" –"they were screaming"—vs. the narrative/complicating action—"they screamed.").

e. The narrator departs from basic narrative syntax, using:

1) intensifiers:

gestures in spoken narrative,

quantifiers,

repetition,

ritual utterances.

2) comparators (negatives, futures, modals—auxiliaries):

negatives--comparing what happened to what could have happened,

modals (would, could),

futures—(will, won't),

questions—(as speech acts),

imperatives (implies that something different will happen if not followed),

comparatives—(comparative and superlative--as big as, higher than, the highest;

similes, metaphors).

3) correlatives

progressives (be. . .ing),

appended participles (sequence of verbs with –ing),

double appositive.

4) explicatives (add information looking forward or backward in time).

Later she filed a complaint, and the authorities sent her to bejje3d (a Moroccan small town). At that time, she was not divorced yet. She made medical

certificates that did not exceed eighteen days of disability, which means that they are judicially useless.

This evaluative remark made by the woman refers to this crucial point in the current conflict between men and women, namely the interference of the medical institution with the judicial one. Giving an eighteen days disability certificate is like telling the court that nothing happened; in other words, doctors cover wrongdoers and the court's reaction to these medical documents in a passive way is a factor that promotes violence. It is like telling the violent husbands to beat, but not to kill!

They told her that she had to be divorced in order to sue him. She did not find any solution. Later, she was divorced and she begged him to give her the child, but it was in vain. Before divorce, she had been battered four times but she forgave him in the police station because her family told her to be patient. His brothers were the cause as they used to tell him things about her; he told her that she was responsible for holding him in Laayoune.

The evaluative remark refers us to the other stories in the show where women refer to the husband's family as accomplices who form a clan to make the wife and the children suffer. Understanding this phenomenon is complicated in a Moroccan context as families negate the borders between the personal and the familial. Even when a man is married, he has to give priority to his old family at the expense of the wife who is generally perceived as a stranger, a person who comes to steal the husband from his mother, sisters, brothers, etc. In the Moroccan mentality, a man who sides with his wife for whatever reason is generally conceived as 'not a man', a man who listens to his wife, a man who is under the spell of the evil wife.

She looked for him; they jailed him for two months only! She said, “I haven’t been able to see my child for eight months now.” She was battered four times and the last time he beat her, he used a construction tool, but she forgave him in the police station. Her aunt told her to forgive him because it was the first time, but he became even more violent afterwards. Her family used to tell her to be patient. The judge told her theft accusations between a husband and a wife are not acceptable in the Moroccan law. After that, he took the child away from her with the furniture. She said, “I think only about my child, not money.”

The direct quote summarizes the rationale behind her patience: the child. The child, under the current family law, should be under her custody, but the problem in Morocco has mainly to do with the implementation of the laws and this is an issue that should be debated publicly to find a quick solution if we want to call ourselves a country that aspires to be democratic.

When she went to the authorities, they told her to go away. She found no solution and she even sent a letter to the former prime minister, Mr Benkirane. “My solution is you.”, she said.

She could not find him as he was always escaping with the child, who lived in different houses of his family. He accused her of adultery too and his family was his witness, but his complaints were null and void. She suffered so much that she had to take drugs to sleep because the child was young. The police and the authorities told her to look for him, how come! They were far away and if she went there, they would kill her. Nobody wanted to accompany her in her search. “Authorities are corrupt; they took money to cover him.”, she said. She continued, “These people take money from him; I have no money; all I have is the option of death.”

This accusation of the judicial system is direct and unambiguous. In another country, this allegation would open a quick investigation. Bribery, another impediment that hinders the normal evolution of Morocco towards democratization, helps in the process of leaving the woman alone in her struggle to have her rights. The confessions of women like Fatima prove that the phenomenon is omnipresent, but as it is the case with all sorts of illicit practices, it is very hard to prove. This leaves women subject to violence in a dilemma as the only organism capable of solving their problems and making an end to their suffering sides with the person who can pay, and knowing that the Moroccan woman is in most cases materially deficient, the result is clear: despair and depression that pushes them to hope they would die. The question that comes to the surface in this type of situations is: where are human rights associations? The answer given by Fatima is clear. She complained in an anti-violence cell in laayoune (a human rights office), but they did not do anything. "I eat a sandwich and I sleep in a ouali (a saint) because even my sister refused to host me.", she said.

The evaluation of Fatima is very significant as her case does not only prove that the prevalent discourse in Tamkine, which is the articulation of the official Moroccan discourse on the ground, does not have any positive impact on women, but it also raises a big question about the role of human rights associations in lending a helping hand to this fragile category. This goes contra the discourse of human rights associations too, which is a discourse that criticizes the way the government handles the case. We normally anticipate a different treatment from these organisms. The conclusion we reach is very negative as we are faced with a huge gap between discourse and practice. This confirms what we have surveyed in the first chapter about the grim outlook of women living in a patriarchal system. Kate Millett in her book *Sexual Politics*

(1969) made it clear that "... our society, like all other historical civilizations, is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance – in short, every avenue of power ... including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands" (p. 25).

Patriarchy prevails where positions of authority are appropriated by men in all walks of life: the economy, the law, religion, education, etc... (Johnson, 2005, p. 9). Patriarchy is a very important concept that helps in understanding the power relations established in society (Pillay, 2008). This key term in feminist studies is referred to as a means to account for the social and static inequality of women in terms of rights. The same framework can afford logical explanation to the case of Rabiaa.

Rabiaa

She got married when she was seventeen. The man looked nice but in his family's house things were different because his family was bossy and violent.

Rabiaa mentioned an important point in her evaluation: it is not enough to have a decent husband; his family should be nice too. Like Fatima, the notion of the clan is put forward to justify the failure of marriages in Morocco where the society is a patriarchal one par excellence. Women get fooled by the first impression about the husband, but once they go to his home where he lives with his family, marriage turns into a total fiasco. The decisions taken in this home are not individual; they are collective and emanate from different people who tend to be consensual about one thing: make the wife's life hell.

When he was sick, his family used to have fun of her, interfere in everything, and became violent with her. He was nice but under their influence, he became different. He was passive. She first accepted to live in his family's house because he was poor. She suffered with her daughter. She was beaten by him and his sisters for futile reasons.

Being beaten by his sisters seems to go contra feminist theories we mentioned before where sympathy between members of the same gender and militating in favor of common causes is a key. Within patriarchal societies, bossing around people is hierarchical: the father bosses around everybody; the mother bosses around the son; the husband bosses around the wife and everybody bosses around the same wife!! This is the essence of patriarchy.

After one year and half, she left with the one and half year old child, but “he did not follow me.”, she said.

The fact that he did not follow her seems to an external observer pathological because by nature parents protect children; it is instinctive and natural. Even animals have this intuition of protection. Therefore, how can we explain this anomaly? Opting for his big family instead of his small one is another argument that backs up our finding that patriarchy is the main reason for this malfunction as husbands are heavily criticized if they back up their wives even when they are given an unfair treatment and they are even called ‘not a man’ if they do the opposite thing. Discarding masculinity from a man when he sides with his wife against his unfair family together with convincing him with false allegations about her that he has to believe like the accusation of the wife of using magic to manipulate the husband, in addition to the very powerful religious notion of parents blessing vs. damning that give the husband no further

option but to follow the parents' instruction even when they are unfair are behind the aberrant misconduct of the husband who leaves his children to face their own destiny.

When I was sick, he used to tell me, "You don't have the right to be sick too." He became crazy in the wedding because of demons, but she didn't abandon him till he became fine; his sisters didn't like them to get along, though.

She puts forward this evaluative remark which is culturally grounded as we ascribe many mental disorders to paranormal phenomena to contrast her support to him in a very disastrous case with his rejection when she needed him just to stay with his family, which is from a discourse analytical perspective, a form of explicative that goes back into time to contrast two opposing situations: in our case her support in their wedding with her being abandoned by him then.

He beat her, so she left. The alimony obliged him to tell her to return back in a nearby room next to his family. She had another child who was then three years old. After, they had three children. She asked his family to leave them alone, but the biggest problem was the fact that he used to leave her alone for one to two years. He didn't even pay the rent and he was living with his family instead. She said, "Now I tell them to leave us to raise the children and I can even bear physical violence because we (women) are used to it."

Like all the other women, this woman has pointed to an important evaluative notion that is recurrent in all the discourses of the beaten women: they don't feel pain anymore; they can bear pain if they can be together with their children and husband. To a European feminist, this is really deranging, but

in our society violence is naturalized as a taken for granted activity. According to Hunnicutt (2009, pp. 554-555), there are five arguments that can help explain violence against women like the case of Rabiaa :

-A theory of violence against women has to account for varieties in patriarchal structures—that is, a range of different patriarchal manifestations among cultures and clans.

-Men's violence toward women is a product of social structural conditions. To understand male behavior, it is necessary to reveal how men are situated in their own scheme of domination.

-A theory of patriarchy must contend with the potential divergence of structure and ideology. Varieties of patriarchal ideology may exist apart from structural conditions. Patriarchal ideology may endure despite structural gains in gender equality.

-The concept of patriarchy must be developed together with other forms of hierarchy and domination in which it is inextricably embedded.

-There are labyrinths of power dynamics in patriarchal systems. Violence against women cannot be understood as a simple formula of “oppressor and oppressed.” Patriarchal systems must be envisioned as “terrains of power” in which both men and women wield varying types and amounts of power.”

The violence perpetuated against Rabiaa can be understood from the last argument as we feel that the power network in the house where she lives with her husband's family is a ‘terrain of power’ where each individual tries to get the maximum benefit from the power relations at play.

Habiba

She was married to her brother's neighbor who has a utility car in Casablanca for thirteen years after she left school. She was never happy in her life. "I will never forgive him or his family. I will tell everything.", she said.

This is an interesting introductory remark as it is a clear evaluative tactic that aims to show the amount of despair the woman suffers from and the high eagerness she has to start telling her story as if this show would solve all her problems. The only explanation we can seek at this point has probably to do with the confessional nature of the show that may be seen as a show that leads to catharsis or a form of absolution that may eventually lead to psychotherapeutic alleviation.

His father liked her when he saw her in Wlad Ziyyan (Casablanca bus station).

The above evaluative observation may also constitute an explanation of why marriages fail in Morocco, a failure that may be largely attributed to the modality of marriages itself as in the Moroccan tradition and in the majority of cases, parents choose partners for their sons.

He was nice and his family too. After the wedding, her husband's father died after two days and she was accused of being cursed. His sisters beat her for this. *They told him not to bring her home since their father died.* His family started beating her because of this death. He used to be at work and she was being "eaten". One sister died and the other was still alive. *When he came home, he used to finish the job.*

This is a typical scenario of underdeveloped countries' discourse in motion. First, sticking the accusation of killing the father to a newly married woman is a myth. Second, resorting to beating the wife as a result of this death is absurd. Third, thinking that one of his sisters died just because she was against her is as absurd as thinking that the father died because of the coming of a new bride; in other words, the woman uses an argument that she discarded in the first place, namely an argument based on paranormal superstitious ideas that she suffered from. Finally, beating her in concert refers us back intertextually to the argument we mentioned in other cases: in patriarchal societies we do not have partners; we have clans (the wife versus the husband with his family).

He worked and sent money but his mother and sisters used to take it and even water and electricity were cut off in the room where she lived with them because she could not pay the bills. When she used to leave the room, they used to close the door. He told her when she complained on the phone, “go to your room and wait till I come.”. She had to wait for her child, who is five years old, to open the door for her.

We have here a narrative of suffering and victimization that are easily linked to the previous chains of the story. What do you expect from a family who is sure their father died because of the bride?

*All her body was wounded.“ If you take me to the hospital now you will find that my head is sore with “tfershikh” (hard beating).”, she said. *She resorted to the police but the husband said he would not repeat his acts, so she forgave him. He wrote a commitment, but soon after that he started committing violence again.**

If we assess this, we will easily notice that the home which is supposed to harbor the wife and her children has turned into a detention centre where all forms of physical abuse are allowed. Through the physical description (and the agreement of the show host), we realize the savage treatment women are submitted to in the domestic sphere and we realize too how far from democracy we are as a similar confession on a European TV will definitely lead to the beginning of a criminal investigation. Instead, all we saw in the show is the sarcastic laughter of the audience in the studio because of the details the woman mentioned and because of the word “tferchikh”, which means heavy battering, a word that we actually use when we split the head of a sheep into two. No wonder, the title of this episode on you tube was “13 YEARS OF TTFERCHICK”.

His family turned him against her. His mom insulted her and he didn't give her a chance to even explain why. After renting a house for her and her four children, he extremely battered her and left her there with nothing. Only neighbors interfered to stop him when he was squeezing her head against the floor and the wall. She asked the talk host to see her head and she said she had two broken ribs. She continued:

“I tell him: give me food and give me clothes; he beats me;

I tell him: stay with me; he beats me;

I tell him: live with me; he beats me”.

In terms of the external evaluation adopted here, and which mainly refers to departing from the main syntax of the narrative to use a special syntactic mechanism to have a wider effect on the audience, the woman exploits repetition to contrast two situations: one that shows her normal and legitimate

requests and the other one shows the result of the request, which is beating. The rhetorical effect is similar to a song of pain where the singer says poems about his grim outlook. Similar patterns are used by Moroccans in funerals where they produce sad lyrics that document their deep grieving.

She could not go to her poor family because they did not want her children. She went to an association but she did not want to stay there for more than three months. He came to her and lived with her again but he left her again in hunger even in Aid Aladha. He bought a sheep and dessert and went to his parents' house alone. She started to beg near the mosque days after her child birth. His family did not want her because she used to complain when they beat her. They told her not to complain even if they beat her.

Suffering in silence is the title of this evaluation. Under the patriarchal system of the Moroccan family, talking and divulging the truth of what happens at home when the husband is absent has heavy consequences on the wife and because of the reasons we offered concerning the husband's tendency to believe and adhere to the story of his family, the destiny of the wife who dares talk is homelessness and eventually begging as it is the case of Habiba, who is caught in the web of the traditional power relations.

“When he beat me, my son used to watch him. When he saw him doing that, he left to his grandma's house. After, my husband left for good and took the children leaving me very sick. I made a huge effort to come here.”, she told the show host.

This is a very important remark that marks the gravity of beating the mother in front of the children. This has deep effects on generations of children

who grow troubled and violent too. Who knows? May be the percentage of women subject to violence may be seen from the other way around: 50 percent of husbands beat their wives because their mothers were beaten in a similar way! It makes sense, doesn't it?

“Isn't the mother necessary for the children in life?”, she said.

The above statement is a rhetorical question that waits for an answer from the general public. Obviously the answer is yes but the husband should be here to answer this question. One of the problems of the show resides in the absence of the husband to talk for himself and answer questions.

“He tells me to be patient; patient about what? Hunger? Beating? God granted me strength. He beats me and I can bear! I am used to him! I can't get away from him!”, she said.

The embedded evaluation in this extract reveals a contradictory series of propositions that are very hard to understand and accept from a westerner because a woman who suffers that much normally should file for divorce and confessing on a TV show that she can bear all these forms of suffering and that she is even stuck on him is bizarre. We can even decide that she is mentally deranged and thus she is in dire need of therapy. A look at the following propositions may elucidate the real reason, though.

“He told me, “If you don't want this, go and ask for divorce”, but I can't because if I do, I will not be able to see my children”, she said.

A thorough analysis of this case is revealing as we are facing a situation where the woman does not only suffer because of the patriarchal system she is trapped in and the web of power she is caught within, but also because of the wrong cultural values that people assimilate like the one of superstition. That is why we side with Rodgers & Roberts (1995), and Gelles (1993), who theorize that the explanation of the violence phenomenon should be located within a broader social context and that focusing only on patriarchy and excluding more general factors will not give a clear image of what is really going on.

Oufae

She married him out of love but he didn't share this love with her. She needed love because her mother was divorced and her father was married to another woman; that's why she needed affection.

Here, the narrator stops the narrative to make a point and adds that he wanted her salary because she was a secretary of the minister, which is a comparative statement that contrasts her love with his materialistic ends.

At first, he was reluctant to marry. After marriage, He took her salary and problems with his family started to appear, a thing that led them to rent a house. When she was pregnant, he didn't like to have a baby, although she was happy and told him, "I was looking forward to telling you I will have a baby from you".

This embedded evaluation where she quotes herself is meant to show her eagerness that she immediately contrasts with his quote "why are you pregnant; we don't need children now", which is another form of embedded evaluation as

the narrator uses another person's quote back in time to make a point. The point in question in this context is revealing as it raises questions about the antagonist's plans like the rationale behind this marriage in the first place if the husband is against the idea of having children.

His family thought she was infertile, but she was young and naive although people thought she was smart.

Here she displays the discrepancy between her reality and the allegation of the family in order to undermine the legitimacy of their claim.

In 1993 he broke her nose; she was bathing in blood, but he kept pulling her hair to put her under the water tap. He used to tell her, "I am above the law.", she said.

We have another form of embedded evaluation by quoting him again to underscore the fact that the law she may resort to is not acknowledged by the violent husband, leaving her no option other than bearing the consequences of physical abuse.

She complained but in vain! Her handicapped child used to pull himself against the floor to beg him not to beat her. He was such a monster that they couldn't even eat if he didn't give them their share of the food.

This last evaluation remark is crucial to the understanding of the dilemma the woman lives as she narrates a segment where the husband does not even dismiss a disabled child from his rude behavior and the final picture of not

allowing them to eat as they please is a revealing closing that summarizes everything.

Concerning her son, he insisted on taking him to see the horses in summer *and it was too hot for the handicapped child. Against her will, he took him in one of the hottest days of summer; as a result, he had a hard fever and died. He did that just to defy her.*

This form of external evaluation where she stops to make a point is addressed to the audience to tell us that his intentions are seemingly right but she is his wife and she knows him better than we do. That is to say, taking a child to see horses is seemingly a normal activity on the part of the husband, but his real intention is criminal as she supposes that this type of fathers can sacrifice his handicapped child just to harm the troubled wife.

Her daughter died in a psychiatric hospital after twenty five days of her attempt to commit suicide. She used to beg her to get divorced. She used to tell her, “you have to get divorced; my father is evil”.

Quoting her deceased daughter as an embedded method of evaluation, when coupled with what she said about his killing of the child, is meant to finish the narrative plot with a father who is undoubtedly a criminal, a quality that her daughter agrees with, a daughter who should normally try to find a compromise between her parents.

Her reply to this daughter, disclosed in a direct quotation, “how do you want me to get divorced; how do you want me to protect myself from him as I am like a cat and he is like a thunderbolt.” is also evaluatively embedded and couched in a rhetorical question answered by two contrastive statements using a

smile and a referential strategy to stick the label of thunderbolt to him in an attempt to win our sympathy.

While she was battered, his family used to laugh and enjoy the scene!

Mixing two extremes in one context, a scene of violence and another one of enjoyment serves the purpose of connecting the general mood of the house and a rationalization of why she says that “When he used to be absent, it was like a celebration for us.” Juxtapositioning these two states, enjoyment because of violence and enjoyment because of the father’s absence entails that we have two clans in dispute and not just a protagonist and an antagonist (the wife and the husband): the wife and the children and the father’s family. By detailing the picture in this way, the legacy of the man as a member of his family is being jeopardized.

Before death, her daughter used to tell her that her dad is a bad person and that he wanted to marry her and have a child from her!

Moving back into time, so characteristic of explicative in embedded evaluation, is used in this context to reinforce her position of someone trying to fully delegitimize her adversary by attacking his integrity as a father, but above all as a normal human being who thinks and behaves normally. Indeed, the argument advanced is not only shocking; it is deranging! The woman, who knows the danger of the previous comment and who knows that it is hard for her to convince us as a Moroccan audience with the rightness of her claim, has resorted to religion by adopting a ritual utterance: “I can swear in the mosque or on the Koran.”, which is itself a form of embedded evaluation too.

The ethical side of the husband is totally damaged with what she said about him. She confirmed this allegation by pointing to another proof, namely that she found the proof after 35 days. She said that because they were living in two different places in the house that she gave him as a property under his menace. One day she got into his room where she found messages from his girlfriends taken from the phone and written on paper. She said that she understood why her daughter told her he was bad. In other words, the woman was engaged in a process of delegitimation where she introduces fact after fact to finalize the ultimate picture of a deviant and obsessed man!

Later, after a series of events that started with battering, then with forgiving him in the police station because he menaced her daughters that he would take the hiba he granted them, and then with taking all the furniture, she announced the following: “I still love him!”.

It is hard to find a reason for this evaluative remark not only because it goes contra all previous statements, but because she just demonized him and because she said later that he applied for divorce and that he might beat her after the show and used a flashback describing her handicapped daughter who begged him once for 20 dh to eat, but he slapped her on the face and bought credit units for his phone instead. The message is clear: this is a husband who abused a handicapped and hungry daughter and bought phone cards to talk to his girlfriends. This utterance is not liable to any textual analysis and the explanation is surely psychological as the woman lived all types of traumatism and she probably needed therapy.

The narrator finished by telling the listener what she thought at that moment (indirect discourse addressed to listener), namely that before coming to the show, she went to the police station to inform them that she was coming to

the show in order to avoid any misbehavior from her husband if he happened to watch the show. This final statement serves the purpose of holding all Moroccan viewers responsible and witnesses. Turning a domestic affair into a public concern is actually one of the features of the show.

The case of Ouafae is different from the other women in the show because she is financially independent; therefore, what is the rationale behind insisting on staying with a violent and mean husband? For Ogle, Maier-Katkin, and Bernard (1995) (Cited in Hunnicutt, 2009, p. 562), there exists an entire ideology in situations of domestic violence that both promotes violence toward women and discourages women from escaping as “many women are socialized to regard their relationships as a core element of their identity and self-worth, some women may strive to preserve relationships at any cost, even in abusive situations with economic avenues of escape.”

Aicha

My husband used to take drugs, “but I did not know which type because all my family members are religious persons,” she said.

The point she wanted to make concerns the immediacy of marriage as there is no time that separates the acquaintance and the wedding and hence the wedding takes place between two absolute strangers who get shocked by each other’s real nature once they are under the same shelter. In this show we have the opinion of one part but we do not know the perception of the husband about the complaining wife.

He told me, “once I have money, I’m going to raise chicken, cattle, etc.”

She is quoting her husband as part of her external evaluation to refer to unmet promises at the debut of marriage and which turned into a different expectation.

“After marriage, he closed the door leaving me there with a loaf of bread”, she said. She escaped from him, but she used to return back because her sister told her, “we don’t have girls who get divorced in the family”.

This is an embedded evaluation where she quotes her sister’s déjà vu statement that stands in an intertextual relationship with the previous statements in the other women’s discourse, the theme of patience and the rejection of divorce as a solution.

Once, her six year old child told him, “I am hungry”; my husband replied, “ Do you see that I’m not”, *and started beating him at night.*

We are considering an embedded evaluation where she is quoting her husband and child’s own words to dramatize the scene and to send the same message of Ouafae in an intertextual manner from which we, the audience, get the message that the violent husbands do not distinguish between women and children.

He left them with nothing and came back around 11 o’clock the next day. “I told him: you have money to buy drugs, but no money for us to eat”, she said.

She is quoting her own words to her husband to hold him responsible for the mistreatment they undergo.

Her nine year old daughter was raped by a forty six man who seemed to be a respected man in the neighborhood as “he was a religious man’ who goes to the mosque.”, she said.

Her qualification of the rapist as someone who is trustworthy is a tactic on her part to tell us that she was not responsible as she uses a bandwagon logical fallacy “everybody thinks he is alright, why can’t I”?

My husband, who was at home when the rape took place, talked to the man and told him “what did you do to the girl? He answered him, “ what do you want me to do to her? nothing, don’t you see that you are just a poor man!”

Quoting the husband and the rapist in this form of evaluation renders the scene a black comedy where a father whose girl was raped talks in a friendly manner with a rapist who gives a pseudo explanation for his act which sounds irrational as he links his innocence from rape with the poverty of the father, a total nonsense. At the same time, she transmits the message that the husband who is an aggressive lion with her and his children is totally inoffensive when it comes to real aggressors.

The doctor was appalled when he saw her. “The man who did this has to be executed!”, he commented.

Legitimizing the gravity of the act by reference to a medical authority is yet another attempt from the woman to convince us that she was treated unfairly and that she was alone in her struggle to cope with the drama as she continued her speech by telling us that the husband did nothing as he was very passive and started nagging her just because she used to work till midnight.

She told him, “if you had provided all the necessities, I wouldn’t have to work and leave my children alone.”

Quoting herself again is a form of reminiscence that shows how the woman started to live back the traumatic experience where she blamed the irresponsible husband of the unfortunate outcome of his behavior. This is accomplished by telling him that the situation would have been different if he had acted differently. Using modality in this respect is a departure from the usual syntax of the narrative which is an embedded manner of evaluating past experiences.

According to Skalli (2001), women [like Aicha] are “vulnerable”, a term used by the author to refer to ‘economic insecurity’, which she attributes to patriarchy. For her, “Patriarchal ideology and systematic gender biases have denied women not only equal educational, and employment opportunities and treatment before the law, but also equal access to and control over resources, adequate health services, housing, social welfare, and support. These are important social indicators that have a direct bearing on the incidence of female poverty and reflect the different levels at which social exclusion is produced, justified, and perpetuated” (p. 76).

Mina

Her daughter, who was seventeen and who could not attend because she was handicapped due to the accident her husband caused her, was married to a sixty year old man they bought a TV set from. The man used to come to take the payments and he was crazy about her so much so that he wanted to rape her. They owed him money and he decided to marry her. “I don’t know how I

married her to this Satan.”, she said. He told her, “I want to get married and I want to live in Morocco; I am a broker and I need someone to help me”.

Here, we feel a flagrant contradiction between what the woman said about the 60 year old husband, his aggressive and mean character, and her acceptance of this marriage. When answering the show host question why she accepted to marry her daughter to him, she replied by: “I don’t know how I married her to this Satan”. Hence, intertextually, we still feel here the same reference to the paranormal nature of the reason behind her acceptance, which is hard to believe knowing that the audience consists of illiterate but also educated people.

After few months, he started to beat her for no reason and the girl became depressed. She was pregnant but he didn’t like her to have a baby because he said he had already had children from another woman.

In this evaluation, the woman introduces yet another fact about the husband that she accepted: she said he was sixty and a Satan, but nothing was mentioned about his children from another woman in order not to attract more criticism from the host and from the audience.

Fatna

She loved a man with whom she ran away when she was nineteen years old because she wanted to marry and have children. He went with her to her family in Benslimane (A Moroccan city), but they refused him because he used to drink and take drugs.

Patriarchy is seen from the angle of the wife's clan who sees the daughter as a guilty person who made a wrong choice; therefore, her rejection is a legitimate procedure. In a society where there is inequality between the two sexes, this rejection has consequences as the woman, in case marriage fails, will find herself in a thorny situation where she will not be able to support herself financially. This is exactly what happened to this woman. In a vicious circle, she found herself between two facets of rejection: rejection from her family and rejection from the husband who blamed her because of her family's rejection. She sacrificed for her love by living illegally with him, but the husband did not appreciate this sacrifice and kicked her out of his life after marriage which was forced by her pregnancy.

This pregnancy also raises the big question of literacy and sexual education because in a democratic society, it is hard to conceive pregnancy with someone she escaped with from her family in a conservative society, and with the fact that it would ultimately be very hard to raise the child once problems emerge.

She went to Bouznika, became pregnant and got married. After that, he started to beat and hate her because her brothers refused him as a husband. After marriage, she discovered that he illegally got married to another woman without her consent.

Another common denominator in this evaluation concerns the corrupt nature of the judicial system where a woman is a victim of a laxist system where husbands can easily violate rules without being sued or even when the violent husbands are sued, they are jailed for few months and then live their life normally after while the victims have to bear the consequences for life.

She yelled in the police station and took him to the tribunal. After two months of extreme suffering, she started committing suicide in the railway and in the forest. He had a daughter with the other wife and she had to live alone and pay everything to survive with her child. He made another life and left her with a ten year old child. Suicide was the only resort. She tried to commit suicide three times.

As a matter of fact and in the absence of viable solutions, the wife has recourse to extreme solutions like suicide.

She tried to commit suicide three times by putting herself in front of a taxi, in a forest, and at the railway, but people prevented her. “I felt like I was already dead before committing suicide.”, she said.

This summarizes it all; the wives are technically dead and suicide is just a concretization of death at the practical level.

“I thought about the child who, if I die, will not find a piece of bread; even his stepmother won’t accept him.”, she said.

We are in front of a contradiction between saying and doing as she said people prevented her from death but at the same time she said she didn’t die because she worries about her child’s destiny. Her repetition of the phrase “he got married illegally” shows her obsession with this fact. No matter how hard the show host tried to convince her to carry on her life, she kept repeating the same argument.

According to ICAN (2015, p. 10), “the system remains stacked against women seeking physical protection or legal redress. The police are slow to act in

domestic violence cases, and when they do intervene, the law is lenient toward husbands who commit crimes against their wives. The justice system is weak and corrupt, and justice officials often fail to implement laws they disagree with. Finally, the family is considered inviolable and is legally protected as such. Social taboos and customary practices mean that even laws that currently exist on paper protecting women's rights are often not applied in practice.”

Zhor

She lived a misfortune. She married a man who at first seemed kind but he lied to her because he had two daughters. Her father told her he could even raise them. He left her with his two daughters after her pregnancy. He disappeared and when he came, he told her, “I m going to take you to a room like a jail till you obey me”. He took her to a two meter square room with his daughters and even his brother.

As mentioned before, the absence of the second party makes it hard for us to know why the husband is so violent and why he would think about jailing her with his brother; this is a real enigma. Generally, this type of behavior will undoubtedly have a deep effect on the psychology of the wife that may easily lead to depression and hence suicide.

She tried to commit suicide even with pregnancy because of the shock. She said to herself, “if I continue living like this with him, my life will be ruined”. She returned back to her parents' house. When she found him and talked to him, he told her to go to the judge to complain.

She thought it was better to kill herself because she would just give birth to a victim, but she remembered God's punishment. She suffered in her work in cleaning a café till she lost her sight with the products she used and kept

thinking about suicide; it became a sort of a psychological problem as she could not even work.

She felt like life is grim but thinking about her son prevented her from committing suicide. Lacking necessities and finding no money to pay the rent is a form of death. Again, the theme of the inefficiency of justice and sexual education that push wives to be pregnant without being sure of the future of their partnership with a stranger is repeated. Here, the same remarks made about the former woman in ICAN (2015) can be reiterated.

Ghizlane

“I didn’t live childhood. I found myself a maid.”, she said. After working in houses as a maid when she was seven years old, she did all house chores and when she didn’t, she was beaten. Her dad told her to work against her will. She even suspected he was her father. She was twelve and she said that marriage might be a solution. Her father got used to her money. Her fiancé who was thirty took advantage of her. Her father married her to a man without a marriage contract when she was twelve and she became pregnant with twins at the age of thirteen. When her husband knew, he told her to leave. When a woman told her she was pregnant, she started laughing because she didn’t even know what pregnancy was. She saw her belly getting bigger, a thing she did not understand.

In her evaluation, she spoke her mind about how it feels to be a mother child in an underdeveloped country where fathers accept to marry daughters at an early age because of poverty.

“I was playing while I was pregnant and people used to look at me strangely.”,
She said.

She refers to a society that is surprised to see a pregnant child where in fact the same society did nothing to protect her, which is a kind of situational irony.

The doctor was surprised. He told her that she was a thirteen year old child with twins! The husband kicked her out when he knew she was pregnant and even her family abandoned her.

When her children were just two years old, she found herself in the street without food or money and she had to beg near a mosque. A man came to her and asked her to sell them to him but she refused. When she became sixteen, her father gave her to another man just with alfatiha and she became pregnant for the second time. She wanted a man to protect her children but she faced the same problem with him when he kicked her out with her two children during her pregnancy. Her father nagged her and told her that she disturbed him with her marriages and pregnancy. She was pregnant and had to pay a four hundred dirham rent. She tried to commit suicide when her children were one year old, by throwing herself from the second floor but she did not die. She felt like she was seventy and her life was worthless. Her death was better than her life. She did everything to make her children live: she begged, stole, and did many bad things she was not proud of for their sake. She wished she could find someone to give the child to because she was tired.

Both the story narrated and the evaluation introduced point to the predicted outcome of a child who gets married without legal papers. It is a story that we can anticipate without difficulty. Suicide and selling children as a result

of helplessness are natural consequences in a social framework that promotes such situations.

The problem with Morocco is that although Article 19 of the family code adopted in 2004 prevents marriage for girls under 18, child marriages persist, expand, and result in negative social consequences. According to AFP TV, official figures show that the number of child marriages in Morocco rose to more than 35,000 in 2010 up from 30,000 two years before (Arbaoui, 2013).

The Resolution

As a solution to the problem, or what Labov (1972) and Toolan (1988) describe as the “complication”, some actions are presented as resolutions. The resolutions introduce laws women should have recourse to, and which may help in the case of women under scrutiny. They also include a suite of initiatives related to achieving the goals of ameliorating the current situation of women.

Show One:

The Expert

Below are some solutions suggested by the expert:

-The first step to fight violence is to talk about it. There are many types of violence including economic and sexual one. Women also commit violence on women under the control of patriarchy (referring to the husband’s mother and sisters). Custody is also a solution (act 53) because it gives the right to women to keep the children in the case of divorce. For the Rahn “lease” problem, she should sue the people who gave money to the husband because the leasing was under the name of the woman.

-Violence impacts everybody and even the state; that is why we should mobilize all associations and the ministry which has the program “tamkine”, meant to fight violence committed against women.

-She needs therapy.

-She should let him down.

-There is also legal violence because there is no act to resort to or to apply.

-The mentality of society that promotes patience is key to understanding this phenomenon.

Show Two

The Expert

-These are pathological cases. Drugs, beating a handicapped, providing less than the necessities like bread are issues to be handled.

Show Three

The Psychologist

-They should set a goal and change negative thinking. These people are psychologically handicapped. They have to assume responsibility and they should not wait for others to help them. They have to enlarge their circle of opportunities.

The resolution, then, in the case of the texts in Qesset Nnass is to be found in the opinions of the experts. Unfortunately, a quick survey shows that these experts refer to the laws which are hard to implement, religious conviction in the case of suicide, the state that should assume its responsibility in handling these delicate cases, or to personal development that these women should acquire in order to trespass their thorny situations. The concluding remark remains that the

program “Tamkine” is a total fiasco as the state falls short of finding real and applicable measures to assist in the described case. These women need immediate action and not theoretical recommendations from experts. The invitation of the presenter to the public and the associations to help the women clearly depicts this failure as these women represent the visible tip of the iceberg: What about the other 50 percent of women who are not present in the show?

The Coda

The coda completes the narrative and provides an orientation shift from then to now (Mullins, 2012). It is a future-oriented statement that establishes a certain hope in the future. The coda of the show provides a final statement to assure the audience that change is not only legitimate; it is a human necessity.

Fatima

She looked for him; they jailed him for two months, but she could not see her child. She found no solution and she even sent a letter to Mr Benkirane (the previous prime minister). She could not find him as he was always escaping with the child so much so that she had to take drugs to sleep.

Rabiaa

He left her with three children without any financial support.

Habiba

He wanted her to apply for divorce but she could not; that is why she was patient. She just wanted him to stay with her.

Fatna

He made another life and left her with a ten year old child.

Zhor

When she found him and talked to him, he told her to see the judge. Her husband did not pay the alimony and the authorities told her to look for him!

Ghizlane

She wished she could find someone to give the children to because she was tired. How could a minor get married, have children and suffer that much?

A brief look at the coda of the show, and contrary to Mullins (2012), there is no positive outlook that emerges from the current situation of the women; hence, the closing of all the shows without exception points towards the obscure future that awaits the women. This is comprehensible in the light of the Moroccan scene where real change is still a myth under the prevailing legal, cultural and economic state of affairs. Unlike movies, real TV problems are not solved at the end and happy endings remain a Hollywood label.

3. 4. Further Textual Remarks

It is clear from the text that all the women who participated in the show have attempted to convince the audience by an appeal to emotions. From our observation, we can easily deduce that this form of appeal is meant to evoke a sense of fear in the audience. This technique of creating fear in the psyche of the receptor is meant to send to him the message that action is legitimized as a necessary precaution to avert the consequence the speaker is proposing (Reyes, 2011). A key feature to achieving this strategy is the construction of the adversary, ‘them’, in relation to the familiar group, ‘us’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Textually, Wodak (2001) refers to three speech strategies – referential, nomination, and predicative – to construct the other.

First, ‘referential’ strategies develop systems for referring to the enemy; for example, in political discourse, referents like terrorists, extremists, regimes etc. are widely attested. In the texts analyzed, the women have resorted to this tactic to delegitimize the violent husbands; accordingly, the use of referents like “monster, thunderbolt vs. cat” by Ouafae; “Satan” by Mina; “a type of humans” by Habiba; “wolf” by the show host etc... are examples of this strategy which is exploited as an appeal to emotions (Reyes, 2008).

Nomination traits and qualities (Wodak & Meyer, 2001) to portray the husband as evil are also heavily resorted to in the narrative. The essence of using nomination is to make the audience build a negative image about the husband by answering the question “how is the husband like”.

Ouafae has advanced many bad qualities like when she reported her daughter’s words that described the father as evil, a bad man who wanted to marry her and have children from her; when she accused him of adultery as she found messages from his girlfriends written on pieces of paper; or when she stuck the feature of being materialistic to his personality. Likewise, Fatna and

Aicha qualified their husbands as men who smoke hashish and drink alcohol; Fatima said that her husband is violent; Rabiaa linked her husband's violent behavior and passivity to his family's bossiness, violence and constant interference; Mina told us that her daughter's husband was a criminal, a rapist, and a person who commits adultery (a feature that brought him AIDS), etc.

Associated with referential and nominative strategies, the predicative one is achieved by using a clause or adjective to state something about the subject beyond the initial understanding of a verb or noun (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), and is added to reinforce the appeal to emotions. Many predicative tools have been used by different women to qualify negatively the image of the violent husband. Aicha's statement that her husband used to leave her in the room with one loaf of bread the whole day; Mina's reporting her daughter's husband who took her daughter to a faraway place, Fatna's complaint that her husband married another woman leaving her to her destiny, etc... are just examples among many others that build the final blocks to end the process of demonizing the husband and leave the final judgments to the receptors.

We have to note here that predication is often knitted in a dramatic way to have a deeper effect on the audience. For example, Oufae's description of her husband behavior as extreme (when they could not do anything without his consent like even drinking a glass of lemonade or eating a piece of meat if he did not divide the meal share) is revealing! Habiba's lengthy description of her husband's squeezing her head against the floor and breaking her ribs is also an example of this dramatization.

This strategy can also be used to define the victims of violence, demonstrating that the 'other' does not discriminate in his behavior as in the case of Ouafae's husband who slapped a handicapped daughter, or Aicha's husband who beat his son just because he said he was hungry.

All in all, the above argumentative strategies make it possible for specific persons or social groups to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 73). In our case, the women wanted to realize extremely persuasive utterances to delegitimize actions that have become naturalized into social practices of exclusion and discrimination through a description of what the ‘other’ did (c.f. Reyes (2011) for a similar argument about legitimacy). What the women have exposed so far through reference, nomination, and predication is meant to create a sense of fear in receptors since ‘he’ (the husband) or ‘they’ (the accomplices) are different from ‘us’. This state of affairs prepares us for the next step in argumentation to accept the women’s discourse which can be conceptualized in the results of the hypothetical circumstances. In other words, the women tell us implicitly, “this is what will happen if there is no solution”, which is another strategy adopted by the victims, and which implicitly or explicitly suggest circumstances that may transpire if the speaker’s warnings or suggestions are not listened to. Linking past problems with a potential bleak future is important in the legitimization process as the women attempt to convince us that change is necessary; otherwise, their state will only worsen. Sometimes, reference to this hypothetical future strategy uses altruistic motivations: change is not only needed by the women, but by others like children (Reyes, 2011) (see Morgan, n.d. for a similar application of the above strategies in political discourse). The protection of values is also advanced as a legitimizing tactic, a state described by Van Leeuwen (2007) as ‘moral evaluation’ by women like when Habiba asked the rhetorical question: isn’t the mother necessary for her children?

Summary

In this chapter, a CDA of the show *Qeset Nnass* and a description of the way the narratives have been constructed to address the problem of WSMV have been provided. First, we have identified the semantic macrostructures used throughout the texts. These texts constitute a range of cognitive scripts related to the threats of this fragile category of women and the need for change to enable them to face all sorts of challenges. These macrostructures have enabled us to reach a superstructure applicable to all the women who participated in the show.

In the subsequent section, we have dealt with the texts as narrative by following the six parts structure of Labov (1972), namely an abstract, an orientation, a complication, an evaluation, a resolution and a coda. Narrated by the women themselves, the stories establish them as the central characters, who at the same time feature like the recipients of action, rather than active participants in the events i.e., they are portrayed as vulnerable and as a problem to which solutions should be found. The violent husbands, on the other hand, are presented as the active and dynamic agents. The most important section in the stories structure is evaluation as it gives us insights about the cultural variable of discourse in context. The overall effect the women have tried to achieve is to evoke a sense of fear and a hypothetical failure by textually exploiting three textual tactics: reference, nomination, and predication. A more exhaustive account of legitimation/deligitimation will be presented in the next chapter, the bulk of which will be about discursive practice where production and interpretation will be studied in context too in order to complete the discursive picture of text, context, and discursive practice.

Chapter Four
Discursive Practice and Context in Qesset Nass

Chapter Four: Discursive Practice and Context in Qesset Nass

Introduction

In this chapter, we attempt to analyze the discourse of Moroccan WSMV on the TV talk show “Qesset Nnass” within the framework of CDA as it constitutes a useful method in analyzing the role of mass media in constructing and representing social identities and relations. Specifically, we will deal with the media texts produced by these women as narratives in order to answer the question of how women discursively legitimize their practice by using the four legitimation strategies introduced by Van Leeuwen (2007): authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis, which are used by the speaker separately or in combination to legitimize the speaker’s position and delegitimize his opponents’.

To achieve this goal, we will exploit the semantic macrostructures of the main texts under study that we introduced in the previous chapter in line with Van Leeuwen’s (2007), who posits that discourses legitimate, and deligitimate social practices. We will tackle the issue of how the show establishes legitimation by considering how the women who suffer from marital violence argue in order to persuade by having recourse to the four strategies as discursive tactics.

The second part of the chapter is pivotal as it will prove whether the tactics used by the women have been efficient to persuade the audience. To reach the desired results, we will analyze the data collected from Medi I TV website and YOUTUBE, where people have posted their comments to express their different opinions and attitudes towards the women in the show either in a positive or a negative way. The comments have been quantitatively taxonomized into positive and negative comments. Then, themes have been introduced in order to give them structure. This structure has been extremely beneficial in that

we have been able to go beyond the process of identification, description and classification to attain explanation, an explanation that is couched roughly into the framework of feminism where the concepts of power relations, patriarchy, and stereotypes are key, but without forgetting to analyze the comments through a direct reference to the Moroccan system which is characterized by poverty and illiteracy.

This methodological step is one of the innovations in the field and a new argument that responds to the criticism directed towards CDA, namely that the analysts put themselves in the interpreters' shoes and analyze texts within their ideological agenda. Relying on external data from websites has granted our account objectivity, which, in turn, has made it possible to have a psychic distance from the topic and grant scientific rigor for this piece of research.

4. 1. Qeset Nnass: a discourse of legitimation

4. 1. 1. Legitimation by WSMV

The theory of legitimation explains how social order is established. Van Leeuwen (2007, p. 92) provides four categories of legitimation:

- 1) Authorization i.e., legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested.
- 2) Moral evaluation i.e., legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems.
- 3) Rationalization i.e., legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity.
- 4) Mythopoesis i.e., legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions.

Many studies have already exploited these categories (cf. Morgan, n. d.; Mullins, 2012, mentioned before), but our study is different as we will investigate the role of narrative in legitimating practices as far as the image of the Moroccan woman on television talk shows is concerned, a topic which has not been treated before. The four legitimation categories have been posited by Van Leeuwen (2007): authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis are used by the speaker separately or in combination to legitimize the speaker's position and delegitimize his opponents'.

Authorization, the first category, refers to legitimation achieved via "reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested" (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 92). In other words, it is largely concerned with "because I say so," "because experts say so" and "because that's the way things have always been" argumentation. Lavrusheva (2013, p. 54) has divided this legitimation into personal authorization (references to public figures, analysts, experts...) and impersonal authorization (references to the government / governmental bodies and departments...). The author summarized its main feature in references to authorities, negative tone, direct quotes, and the critical tone. Its methods of application consist of a presentation of various opinions on the change, support of impersonal authorization by personal statements of influential official authorities, contrast of opinions and voices, and finally comments criticising decisions of the Government.

The introduction in the first show by the presenter where she highlighted the high percentage of women (More than 50 percent) who suffer from violence is an instance of this form of legitimation strategy. The rationale is to back up the argument by having recourse to statistics provided by institutions to give credibility to the statements proposed at the very outset of the show and to underscore the regular and systematic character of the phenomenon in the

Moroccan society, a fact that justifies the crucial nature of the debate and the time devoted to watching it by the general audience.

Resorting to the police and obliging the husband to write a commitment not to commit violence again (a thing he violated later) engenders another discursive tactic initiated by Ouafae whereby she implicitly sends a message to prove to us that she did what she had to do through reference to the measure taken (searching for the help of the authorities); here the ultimate purpose is to legitimate her argument via authoritative reference.

The “because I say so” argument, so characteristic of authorization argumentation, is clearly inherent in the discourse of the expert invited to the show and who exploited her specialized formation to argue for the position of divulging steps to address violence by stressing the important therapeutic notion of “talking about it”, and also by taxonomizing violence into different types like economic and sexual ones and enumerating possible solutions with a legal basis like Alhadana (custody), the legal solution for the Rahn (lease) problem mentioned before, together with her invitation to mobilize the different associations working in the field and the ministry that has initiated the program “Tamkine”, which set as a purpose the eradication of violence committed against women and the rehabilitation of this fragile category that needs help and support. In this regard, the expert points to legal violence because in the majority of cases women do not find an act to resort to or to apply in case there is one! The whole problem is being couched in a specific Moroccan context governed by a social mentality that thinks that patience is key, a fact that explains why so many women remain silent. The explanation of a part of the story in which women are violent with women under the control of patriarchy (referring to the husband’s mother and sisters in the case of Habiba) is an attempt to explain violence in terms of the prevailing culture.

In the case of Ouafae, since she knows that forgiving a violent husband is not a good idea when she told us that she forgave him in the police station, she argued that she had a reason to do so through reference to the authorities, namely that she did what she did because her husband threatened her daughters that he would take the “hiba” he gave them.

Aicha, on the other hand, made it clear that what happened to her daughter, a nine year girl who was raped by a forty six man, was a catastrophic case in point and mentioning the doctor who was appalled by what he saw crystallizes reference to authorization whereby the legitimacy of what she said is founded as the opinion of a medical doctor is an opinion of an authority in the domain.

Toussi, the expert who commented on violence in the case of Ouafae, sees drugs, beating a handicapped person, providing less than the necessities like bread as issues that need to be handled and concludes that society does not take women and children in charge; therefore, these latter become real victims of divorce. Being an academic in the field and being vested with scientific authority has undoubtedly contributed to the legitimation of his statement and the deligitimation of the negative practices prevalent in society.

Like the previously mentioned women, Fatima mentioned the detail of yelling in the police station and taking her husband to the tribunal, which is a way of involving the authorities in the process of legitimizing her measure although the same authorities did not help in solving the problem, which is in itself a deligitimation of the judicial system in Morocco.

Her husband did not pay the alimony and the authorities told her to look for him! This is an obvious negative portrayal of the authority that actually legitimizes the discourse of victimization and delegitimizes the system and the establishment, which is in turn a counter argument against Tamkine and an argument that validates the human rights discourse.

The psychologists in the show elucidated the issue when they agreed that debating a phenomenon where violence intermingles with psychology is complex. In the case of the women who attempted to commit suicide, they posited that the educational system falls short of helping in psychological immunity. At the same time, one of them thinks that the victims should set a goal and change negative thinking and proposes that psychologically handicapped women must take their future in their hands, assume responsibility, and enlarge their spectrum of options. The problem with these arguments lies in the manner of implementation, which shows that the academic authority's intervention remains general and unable to offer real and concrete alternatives.

The second category, moral evaluation, has to do with legitimation via "reference to value systems" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 92), and refers to moral values and ideology assimilated by a particular group of individuals. According to Lavrusheva (2013, p. 63), the main features of this legitimation are its reference to values, its moral basis, and its emotional elements. Some of its methods of application are as follows:

- Highlight of moral values / main public concerns.
- Overview of beneficial practices.
- Revealing indirect values related to the change.
- Criticism of practices.
- Opposing attitudes for and against the change.

Fatima foregrounded the general basis of her decisions by resorting to patience as the ultimate solution and by moralizing her attitudes which are determined by different factors like the fact that she has a baby to take care of, and family orders to respect, which leave her no room but to bear what happens to her as divorce is negatively portrayed in a conservative society like Morocco.

Hence referring to values and providing a moral basis to justify her behavior is clear in this discursive context.

One of the statements provided by this woman that needs our attention is her negative qualification of the system that should normally protect and serve her and which she accuses of being a corrupt institution that takes money from wrongdoers to “protect” and “serve” them by covering them. Together with her sister’s refusal to accommodate her in her home, a fact that compelled her to be homeless (sleeping in a Ouali “a saint”), the above confession constitutes a strong criticism of practices, which is so typical of the moral legitimation of her suffering and a deligitimation of the “other” engendered impersonally in the police institution and personally in one of her family members.

Habiba is an important case of study as she unveiled the deeply rooted phenomenon of superstition in Morocco; a thing that affects deeply women, as she ascribed her failure in making her marriage a successful enterprise to the value system prevailing in her community and which sometimes undermines the mutual understanding of a given couple. As we mentioned before, her husband’s father died right away after the wedding and she was accused of being cursed because Moroccans establish a strong link between a catastrophe and the coming of the bride. Indeed, she was held responsible of all the misfortunes of the world.

The story of Ouafae is also interesting as she used this legitimation technique of moralization to address the ethical character of her husband’s behavior who wrote the messages from his girlfriends on pieces of paper. The point she wanted to transmit revolves around the moral question of adultery to undermine her husband’s legitimacy. Coupled with the sensitive narrative segment about her handicapped daughter who was slapped by him for a futile reason, the narrative became emotionally loaded with affective elements that questioned the integrity of the husband, which finally aimed to convince the

audience in the studio and outside the studio that she was extremely mistreated. The whole argumentation process here manipulates pathos to persuade us with the rightness of her view point and the wrongness of the husband within a system of values where they occupy two extreme positions: the victim and the “monster”. Here, the method of persuasion applied is heavily based on emotional elements that serve the aim of criticizing previous practices.

The combination of reference to the value system with emotional elements and criticism of anterior practices are used by Aicha, who morally condemned her husband, a drug addict, who incarcerated her in the house without food and condemned the man who raped her daughter too; obviously this state of affairs questions the value system of the Moroccan society where an apparently respected middle aged man can commit such a horrible act.

The Moroccan solution of patience to avoid divorce as a traditional black spot that should be discarded as an option no matter what is a common denominator between the women present in the show where reference to values as a moral basis is key in the legitimation/deligitimation process of persuasion.

What we have addressed so far applies also to the other women in the show, but for space constraints we will not be able to mention all the cases, but it should be remembered that the analysis developed so far can be extended to all the other cases.

Rationalization, the third category, refers “to the goals and uses of institutionalised social action, and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity” (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 91). This category justifies the decisions “by reference to their goals, uses and effects” (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 91). It is usually couched in a cause-effect relationship. According to Lavrusheva (2013, p. 48), its features include reference to the utility / function of an action, common sense as a basis, rational explanations, requests for further explanations. Its methods of application are the following:

- Overview of past practices' consequences.
- Criticism of earlier applied actions.
- Examples of already implemented beneficial practices.
- Projection of possible future benefits.
- Opposition of various parties' attitudes.
- Reference to open opinion / knowledge of influential persons.
- Research and analyses findings.

The utility/function of an action to rationalize behavior is inherent in statements like the one of Fatima when she said that she was patient just for the sake of the baby as her husband used to leave her without money, which is clearly a form of rationalization. Likewise the issue of patience we analyzed before can also be seen from this angle as adopting silence in the case of battering four times and even forgiving him in the police station can be considered as a form of legitimation by reference to the utility/function of an action since the woman did so to achieve a purpose, namely to keep the baby.

Having run out of solutions, a factor that compelled her to write a letter to the Prime Minister, Fatima has provided all this to overview past practices' consequences and to criticize earlier applied actions which is a hopeless attempt on her part to convince us of the bleak outlook of her case in a rational manner.

An overview of past practices' consequences and the criticism of earlier applied actions are also tactics used by these women to legitimize their discourse. The propositions built like the ones narrated by Fatima, who referred to her health state which was degrading because of what happened to her so much so that she took drugs to sleep, serve this purpose.

Another element inherent in this type of rationalization, which is related to the reference to the utility/function of an action, is the expert's statement and

invitation to mobilize all associations and the ministry which has the program Tamkine meant to fight violence committed against women.

Establishing a cause effect relation between past actions and the present situation reinforces rationalization in discourse. To illustrate, Habiba describes the outcome of her husband's family rejection as catastrophic since she started to beg near the mosque days after her child birth. She finished her argument in an irrational manner as she confessed that she loved her husband despite being beaten on a regular basis, but her next statement makes the picture clearer as she resisted pain for the sake of staying with her children, which is in itself a sort of reference to the utility/function of an action. Likewise, Ouafae's son and daughter's death are ascribed by her to the same source: the husband who took the first to see horses in a hot summer and the second to a psychiatric hospital. This overview of past practices' consequences and the criticism of earlier applied actions are meant to condemn her husband by rationalizing the whole picture in a cause effect manner.

The same techniques are used by the other women like Mina's daughter, who after few months, started to be beaten and became depressed. This is a varied mix of past practices' consequences overview, criticism of earlier applied actions, and a cause effect relationship establishment.

All in all, the stories are characterized by a common denominator whereby all the women without exception try to attribute their suffering and their awful present state to past mistreatment which is logically articulated in a cause effect logic, the purpose of which is to rationalize their arguments and to represent themselves as victims of a gendered other who is a tyrant, wrongdoer and a "monster" to use Ouafae's term.

The final category, namely mythopoesis, refers to "legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions." (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 92), and whose potential is to

provide comprehensible explanation, or an illustration of, often, very complex argumentation. Lavrusheva (2013, p. 59) enumerated the following features that characterize this legitimation:

- Reference to stories
- Time scope
- Entertaining tone
- Dramatization
- Certain exaggeration
- Lengthy texts

Its methods of application, on the other hand, are the following:

- Evolution within the time.
- Historical summary of past events related to the change.
- Presentation of past practices as a support for new similar or related development / to stress the need for a change.
- Projection of future outcomes / behaviour influenced by changes.
- Forecast of the change's consequences.
- Comparison among past and present/future to justify the change.

All the women in the show tried to compare the past with the present. This comparison and contrast technique is meant to serve the purpose of juxtapositioning two opposing states to let the audience appreciate the gravity of the actual state of affairs. The quotation of Fatima that after three years of a calm marriage, her husband started to disappear directly after his two brothers came to live with them and started to beat her for no reason is an illustration of this mode of argumentation. Comparison of the past and the present is also used by Habiba, who stated that her relation with her husband was fine until his father died and then she was accused of being cursed. Oufae, too, referred back to her

love to her husband at the beginning of marriage, a situation that has turned 90 degrees as after marriage he took her salary and problems with his family started to appear, a thing that led them to rent a house where she underwent all forms of suffering. Aicha, on the other hand, narrated her story that she started with “shortly after marriage, he started to close the door of the house the whole day and gave her one loaf of bread”. Similarly, Mina qualified the calm period her daughter lived by few months to contextually modulate the situation by moving to a period of beating and depression. Fatna, in a likely manner, told her story which began with a love story that turned into hell as he beat her because he remembered that her family refused him because he used to drink and smoke. All the women projected bleak future outcomes as their behavior was deeply affected with what happened to them due to the changes they lived.

One of the characteristics of legitimation through narrativity is the use of the technique of developing an entertaining tone, dramatization, and a certain exaggeration. In this respect, the story of Habiba is a real illustration of this mode of argumentation. When Habiba used to go out and had to wait for her child to open the door for her; when she used to rely on neighbors to break the lock to save her from him; and when she said that she started to beg near the mosque days after her child birth can be seen as a form of dramatization where exaggeration is omnipresent. Her physical description of the different fights she had with her husband like when she insisted on his savage battering that may have broken her ribs also displays a little exaggeration.

Dramatization, and exaggeration also qualify Ouafae’s speech as narration elements like the reference to her handicapped children who used to beg him not to beat her and her metaphorical label “the monster” she glued to her husband’s personality, a husband who is so tyrant that they couldn’t even eat if he did not give them their share of the food, make the audience appalled by the description of the events due to the drama that we sometimes feel tends to approximate

exaggeration. No need to mention the other events that unveiled real deranging elements that take place in the domestic sphere like her daughter's death in a psychiatric hospital after twenty five days of her attempt to commit suicide and this latter's revelation about her dad who told her he wanted to marry her and have a child from her! Exaggeration is also apparent in some utterances like when her handicapped daughter begged him once for 20 dirham to eat, but he slapped her on the face and bought credit units for his phone instead. The lack of the presence of the father to give his version of the events may have been the cause behind such an exaggeration as the women try to influence the audience by offering a demonic characterization of the antagonist.

The same impression is felt in the case of Aicha, who provides a dramatic version of her story, a story that can be easily transformed into a fantastic script for a movie. All the elements for an entertaining story are there: drugs, incarceration in a house with one piece of bread, children battering for futile reasons, and rape. These dramatic loading is meant to construct the other as the evil, the villain who should be punished by society.

The suicide stories of the women are also categorized under the rubric of drama where the desperate housewives conceive the forest, the railway, etc as the ultimate solution to escape from the sour reality and only people prevent them from execution.

The story of Ghizlane has also been one of the most captivating episodes in Qesset Nnass as the disclosure of the consecutive events questioned the concept of the family structure and whether children are immune from the wrong decisions of the parents. The dramatic stance of her story has in fact been perceived by the audience as one of the bitterest stories in the show. What can be more dramatic than a child who gave birth to twins?

As we mentioned before, all the women who participated in the show have attempted to convince the audience by an appeal to emotions. From our

observation, we can easily deduce that this form of appeal is meant to evoke a sense of fear in the audience. Attempting to legitimate their positions is a form of discursive production that is part and parcel of Fairclough's interpretation phase. Whether women have succeeded in persuading the Moroccan audience or not depends on the second element of discursive practice: the reception of the audience. In order to measure the Moroccan audience consumption of the above discourse(s), we have carried an in-depth investigation of the comments posted by people on YOUTUBE and Medi I TV website. As we mentioned before, this quantitative methodological step is an innovation in the field of CDA, and one of the strongest points of our project as it grants us objectivity and scientific rigor. Before exploring this, we will consider legitimation in the official document "Tamkine" and in Amnesty International report.

4. 1. 2. Legitimation in "Tamkine" as a Government Policy Text

A study of the key discourses that prevail in the policy texts about women subject to violence is meant to serve the purpose of figuring out the key macrostructures in the documents under study and to check whether the discourses that were established in the policy environment are consistent or opposing with both the discourse of WSMV and human rights discourse. As a matter of fact, we have followed the same line of argumentation developed by van Dijk (2009) who starts CDA with an analysis of the semantic macrostructures in a text to spot the global meanings and the dominant themes of interest to textual processing. We have chosen Tamkine as a representative document that reflects the official position of the state vis-à-vis the problem of violence as this multisectoral program has been advertised by the Moroccan government as an efficient strategy to eradicate the phenomenon of VAW and strengthen the culture of human rights in Morocco. "Tamkine" program,

launched in March 2008, which integrates 13 sectors and 8 UN agencies, aims, among other things, to strengthen Morocco's international commitment to the fight against violence, especially the one based on gender.

In *Discourse and Social Change*, Fairclough (1992) states that his objective is to analyze discourse as a political and ideological practice. He believes that there is a one-to-one relationship between ideology and discourse, which means there is a one-to-one relationship between politics and discourse. Van Dijk (1997) came up with few criteria to know whether we have a political discourse in hand. Applying some of these criteria to our document, we find the following:

1. In the document named “Tamkine”, politicians (decision makers) are the *actors or authors* (Van Dijk 1997, p. 13) of the political discourse. The discourse of the WSMV who are “*participants in the political process*” is excluded although they are considered the main recipients.
2. The *context* of the document is political as it is located in a communicative event consisting of devising a plan to solve a problem that has political causes and consequences.
3. The principal *political process* in “Tamkine” is integration through agendas and policies by politicians.
4. The purpose is to share the same *political values* (like equality among women and justice nationwide).

Ball posits that public policies are ways of “representing, accounting for and legitimating political decisions. Policies are articulated both to achieve material effects, and to manufacture support for those effects” (Ball, 1998, p. 124).

4. 1. 2. 1. Macrostructures in “Tamkine”

In what follows, although we perceive the document Tamkine as a political discourse, we will treat it like any ordinary discourse. Specifically, we will handle it from a discursive and social practice angle. To accomplish this, we will first break down the document into its major semantic macrostructures in order to see the type of legitimation politicians seek to achieve. The main semantic propositions that are threaded in the document named “TAMKINE” (Ministry of Social Development, family and solidarity, 2008), and which we have extracted from an undated report by Saida Drissi Amrani (Head of Division , Women’s Affairs at the Ministry for social development, family and solidarity, Morocco) named “Tamkine Programme: Combatting violence against women in Morocco” are the following:

Morocco is determined to establish basic human rights. The legal and political reforms reflect this and reflect Moroccan commitment internationally to fight violence in general and gender-based violence specifically.

TAMKINE aims at achieving progress in gender equality, the protection of the rights of women and girls and their participation in political, economic, social and cultural life.

This involves 13 ministerial departments in Morocco, 8 United Nations agencies (UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNESCO, FAO, UNAIDS, UNHCR and ILO) and a large number of NGOs.

TAMKINE attempts to protect women and girls against all forms of violence: physical, verbal, psychological, sexual and economic.

This is done through finding a cure to their condition of poverty and vulnerability, but above all, and through stressing the medium of the combat: the empowerment of women and girls.

TAMKINE is also intended to benefit migrant or refugee women and girls. The actions include, among other things, better access for women, including migrants and/or refugees, to quality services like support in addition to economic, social and political empowerment.

The institutionalisation of these individual and family (micro level) changes and their dissemination at social level are also central to the TAMKINE Program.

The strategies used are: the advocacy actions of civil society, the capacity building of the institutional stakeholders in the area of gender-based violence, the development of data on this violence and finally the institutionalisation of territorial coordination mechanisms between stakeholders involved in protecting female victims of violence and their empowerment.

The Program is being implemented in 6 of the Kingdom's 16 regions, identified on the basis of criteria combining poverty and gender disparity rates (illiteracy/early school leaving/unemployment).

4. 1. 2. 2. Legitimation

Moral legitimation

Moral evaluation is used to legitimate actions based on moral values, rather than impose actions. Tamkine uses a range of discursive strategies to invoke moral evaluations.

“The fight violence against women and girls and the empowerment of women are a major concern in Morocco” (Drissi Amrani, n. d., para. 2) points towards the gravity of the issue of violence against Moroccan women and girls so much so that it is qualified as a major issue, a thing that constitutes a moral and ethical reason to take direct action to combat it.

“the policy of eliminating violence against women through the attainment, according to one of the results of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Morocco (UNDAF), of “significant progress as regards gender equality, the protection of the rights of women and girls and their participation in political, economic, social and cultural life.””(Drissi Amrani, n. d., para. 3) is an instance of moral commitment to Morocco’s international community and at the same time a moral commitment to realize equity at the political, economic, and cultural level.

“the aim of TAMKINE is above all to prevent and protect women and girls against all forms of violence (physical, verbal, psychological, sexual and economic) by establishing the direct link between their condition of poverty and vulnerability, but above all, and this is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Programme, by emphasising the means by which the combat must be carried

out moving forward, namely the empowerment of women and girls”(Drissi Amrani, n. d., para. 5) underscores the mission of the program at the moral level which consists of backing up a weak, vulnerable, and fragile category of the population through eradicating poverty and capitalizing on empowerment.

“In recent years Morocco has recorded an increase in Sub-Saharan migrants who are exposed to various forms of violence and vulnerability” (Drissi Amrani, n. d., para. 5) is also a statement that is morally driven and geared towards assisting African refugees, a thing that grants this proposition a humane touch and a commitment to human rights values.

“Dialectal Arabic courses (essential to avoid refugee women living in isolation and to facilitate the integration of their children into the Moroccan State education system) are organized on a regular basis” (Drissi Amrani, n. d., para. 7) highlights the moral legitimation in line with which the state deems it a moral duty to help African women to overcome their isolation and to give a chance to their children to integrate in the Moroccan society.

Authorization

“The legal and political reforms implemented in Morocco in recent years reflect the country’s determination to establish fundamental human rights and reinforce its international commitment to combating violence, in particular gender-based violence” (Drissi Amrani, n.d., para.1).

“In this context, the TAMKINE (“empowerment” in Arabic) Program, launched in Marrakech on 30 May 2008, is part of the policy of eliminating violence against women through the attainment, according to one of the results of the

United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Morocco (UNDAF), of “significant progress as regards gender equality, the protection of the rights of women and girls and their participation in political, economic, social and cultural life.””(Idrissi Amrani, n.d., para. 3).

These two statements highlight clearly this authoritative aspect of the government movement to combat violence through a deliberate reference to institutional power that grants it the capability to “establish” and “to reinforce”. The reference to the international community implies that people grant this power to be represented at the international level through its different instances.

“This is a pioneering experience in multi-sectoral joint coordination since it involves 13 ministerial departments in Morocco, 8 United Nations agencies (UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNESCO, FAO, UNAIDS, UNHCR and ILO) and a large number of NGOs involved in combating violence. Financed by the Spanish Cooperation in the framework of the Fund for the Attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)” (Idrissi Amrani, n.d., para. 4).

It is clear from the above statement that authoritative legitimation is omnipresent due to the focus on the multi-sectoral nature of the endeavor, a multitude made of ministries, and UN organisms, a fact that legalizes its scope of action nationally (at the formal and associative level) and internationally.

“In recent years Morocco has recorded an increase in Sub-Saharan migrants who are exposed to various forms of violence and vulnerability. That is why certain

activities of the TAMKINE Programme, which reflect its main areas of action, are also intended to benefit migrant or refugee women and girls. These actions include, among others, better access for women, including migrants and/or refugees, to quality services as regards support centres, including support for women in dealing with the courts, health and police authorities, as well as economic, social and political empowerment”(Idrissi Amrani, n.d., para. 6).

This statement shows that the authority granted to the programme trespasses what is national to embrace issues that relate to women who come from Africa and thus it exploits this authority to enlarge its scope of action.

Rationalization

“the aim of TAMKINE is above all to prevent and protect women and girls against all forms of violence (physical, verbal, psychological, sexual and economic) by establishing the direct link between their condition of poverty and vulnerability, but above all, and this is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Programme, by emphasizing the means by which the combat must be carried out moving forward, namely the empowerment of women and girls”(Idrissi Amrani, n.d., para. 5).

This is a rationalized statement in the sense that it associates the problem with a sound solution and hence this problem-solution structure is empirically verifiable as everybody would agree that the ideal solution for the eradication of

violence is empowerment, which is in itself a form of theoretical legitimation based on how things should be carried out.

“This is a pioneering experience in multi-sectoral joint coordination since it involves 13 ministerial departments in Morocco, 8 United Nations agencies (UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNESCO, FAO, UNAIDS, UNHCR and ILO) and a large number of NGOs involved in combating violence” (Idrissi Amrani, n. d. para. 4).

The organisms and the numbers provided in this statement aim at legitimizing the action and this is what renders the statement scientifically legitimized.

Mythopoesis

“Financed by the Spanish Cooperation in the framework of the Fund for the Attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the aim of TAMKINE is above all to prevent and protect women and girls against all forms of violence (physical, verbal, psychological, sexual and economic)”(Idrissi Amrani, n. d. para. 5).

It is clear that this key proposition sends a message that sets the general goal of the programme as one that tries to solve a problem by surely helping women, but at the same time by implicitly punishing and delegitimizing the other

category of people who may be perceived as the perpetrators of women's sufferings.

4. 1. 3. Human Rights Discourse

All the recommendations mentioned above are not sufficient for Human Rights Organizations who assert that Morocco has a long way to run before it becomes a state that respects human rights in general and women's right specifically. A brief look at the 2013 Amnesty International report reveals an opposing discourse that counters the claims propagated by the government. The following representative blocks taken from the report give a hint about the opposition inherent in their semantic macrostructures:

Legislative reforms to bring Moroccan law in line with international human rights law and standards are crucial for women (p. 7).

The law and ingrained societal attitudes lead to discrimination against women, as has been the case in the application of Article 475 (p. 7).

Amnesty International urges the Moroccan authorities to comply with their obligations under Article 5 of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (p. 8).

This elimination should be accomplished through measures to change conduct of men and women to achieving the elimination of all practices which are based

on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women” (p. 8).

These measures should include training of police and the judiciary on how to deal sensitively with complaints of violence against women and girls, and protect victims themselves, not their so-called “honour” or “morals”(p. 8).

Article 19 of the new Constitution adopted in July 2011 guarantees equality between men and women. However, equality is guaranteed “within the provisions of the Constitution and of Moroccan law”, provisions which are discriminatory against women, such as in matters of inheritance (p. 8).

The lifting of its reservations to Articles 9 and 16 of the CEDAW in April 2011, and the fact that in November 2012 the government began the process to enable Morocco to become party to the Optional Protocol to CEDAW are welcome steps. However, as long as Morocco continues to qualify its obligation to eliminate discrimination against women and to maintain discriminatory legislation, women will be treated unequally not only in practice but also in law (p. 8).

Amina Filali was failed by the law and the Moroccan authorities. They must urgently overhaul the Penal Code to ensure that no discriminatory provision is maintained and that the victims of gender-based violence in Morocco know that the law is there to protect them rather further victimize them (p. 8).

In her article, Szczepanik (n. d.) tried to analyze human rights discourse from a CDA perspective in order to scrutinize the bond between human rights, power and language. She found that “it serves as a tool to trace underlying

asymmetrical relations between the actors of international politics entangled in the powerful discourse of human rights that conceals actual political interests. As such, it becomes prone to discretionary interpretations and manipulation, so that it can correspond to hidden agendas of political actors”. She adds that there are “concerns of postcolonial societies about Western power being exercised under the disguise of ‘human rights protection’” (p.21). She finishes by concluding that CDA shows that the term human rights is ambiguous and that the notion of universalism is false.

As far as we are concerned, we think that while the discourse of human rights may have hidden agendas, it remains that this discourse counter balances the one propounded by the state and fathoms its weaknesses, a thing that may serve the official instances to devise redressive measures to cater for the potential needs of WSMV. The annual reports of human rights organizations put a constant pressure on the state to ameliorate the situation of women and this is a positive asset no matter how critical we can be of these organizations and agendas. It is only natural to have two differently polarized forms of discourses: a positive and promising one characterizing the official one embedded in an ideological system that tries to create social peace and stability, and a negative and critical one characteristic of human rights institutions that does not overlook any detail related to the grim situation of women in the third world and in Morocco.

We have added the two above sections to locate the media discourse of WSMV between these two discourses and spot the affinities between WSMV discourse and the official and human rights one. A simple and quick analysis clearly leads us to be aware of the strong concordance between WSMV discourse and Human rights one, and a huge gap between the official discourse and WSMV one. We can understand that while the official discourse is implementational as while the political actors “talk”, they also have the burden

of concretizing the talk on the ground, human rights “talk and wait” for results. These two approaches to the phenomenon are surely two different constitutive discourse components and this also shows that a “comparative critical discourse analysis” may be a viable option in future research to problematize and debate the notion of ideology and power in discourse. These two discourses also play a role in contextualizing the discourse of WSMV in as far the political and international context is concerned in order the make our general context of discourse thorough and consistent.

To conclude, we have dissected the official discourse represented in Tamkine, and human rights discourse represented in the 2013 Amnesty International report in terms of semantic macrostructures and legitimation to have an idea about the position and the affinity of WSMV discourse vis-à-vis the prevailing discourses and to finalize the notion of “context” we tackled before.

4. 2. Moroccans’ Perception of the WSMV

4. 2. 1. The Population

The population investigated consists of 217 persons (113 women, 79 men, and 25 unidentified persons because neither the names nor the pictures suggest their gender) who posted comments about the shows on YouTube and Medi 1 websites. The data covers all the comments on the four shows during the period starting from 9/4/2013 to 2/10/2015. It has been found that 164 (75, 57 %) persons hold a positive attitude towards the WSMV in the shows whereas 53 people (24, 43 %) hold a negative attitude.

In terms of gender, we excluded unidentified people from the data and we have found that from a sample of men and women (192), 149 persons (77, 60 %) are supportive while 43 (22, 40 %) hold a negative view about WSMV. In fact, concerning the category of the population studied, we found that 85 out of 113

women back up the women (75, 22 %) in their comments. Contrariwise, 28 women criticize them in a way or in another (24, 78 %).

Surprisingly, 64 men out of 79 (81, 01 %) have written favorable comments about the WSMV and 15 men held negative opinions (18, 99 %). This goes contra the findings we have surveyed in the review of literature concerning attitudes of men and women regarding the issue of violence against women in the MENA region.

Beyond the cube (2012, qtd. in Odine, 2013) qualifies Morocco as a country that relies extensively on social media to communicate and interact with the female population with women making up 33.5 % of all users. In this respect, Kathleen Euler (2013, p. 2) raised the question of self-representation inherent to social networking as these sites by nature allow their users to construct their own identities. In relation to the fact that the population that commented on the show consists of more women, which goes contra the finding above (only 33.5 % of women use the net), we think that it is clear that women in this particular show were affected more by gender identity especially that women are particularly sensitive to the phenomenon of violence and hence their massive contribution is a clear signal that they were emotionally involved.

We have taxonomized the comments of the people found on the net according to whether they hold positive or negative attitudes toward the women present in the shows. Then, we have sorted out all the comments according to the themes they display (comments may include more than one theme). We have found that the 217 comments expressed by the population (164 comments for and 53 against) surveyed contain 256 opinions (201 for and 55 against) that can be categorized into eighteen themes: 9 for and 6 against.

As far as the translation of comments is concerned, we have adhered to the same principle applied in the translation of women's speech .i.e., we have tried to transfer the cultural load from the written comments to the target texts. Although

the reader may feel that our English translation has a Moroccan Arabic aspect, we have decided to keep literal translation in context to conserve the attitudinal, effective, connotational and cultural dimension of the translated comments. This, in turn, has obliged us to prioritize style over content.

4. 2. 2. People with Positive Attitudes

4. 2. 2. 1. Blaming the Family (the Husband, the Father, Parents, the Mother-in-law, Sisters-in-law)

18, 40 % of the opinions expressed in the comments of those who seem to back up the WSMV blame the family in general; 56, 75 % blame the husband; 24, 32 % blame the father of the wife, and 18, 91 % blame the sister-in-laws, the parents, the stepmother or the wife's or the husband's family in general.

The opinions expressed against the husband show the degree of involvement on the part of the audience which has expressed strong opinions that range from criticism to insults. Below, we illustrate with few comments that directly blame the husbands and hold them responsible for the unfortunate situation of the wives. One commentator asked a crucial question and attributed violence to the ignorance of men of the fact that women are emotional creatures:

“I have a question: why does the husband start to impose his justice on the wife. If the woman had money, the man would have taken it into account and would have feared her loss. What is the reason behind this injustice? Do they think that women accept to marry them because they are hungry? Of course the woman is weak because she is influenced by her emotions and this is my opinion.”

Another qualified one of the husbands as “not a man”, a qualification that can be decoded in the Moroccan semiotic system as a person who lack valor, gallantry and bravery because Moroccans perceive men as not only a masculine

being but as a human being who has a sense of justice and who never mistreats a weaker person. This is confirmed by other comments like the ones which say:

“To hell with men if they think and act this way; no masculinity and personality.

He listens to his family. Shit!”

“Her husband is a bully. It is a shame to call him a man. He has a sister; would he like her to be beaten? This is really shameful!”

The theme of masculinity is then recurrent and embraces many facets that are deeply anchored in the Moroccan cultural system. The additional facet in the comment above is related to the problem of interference from the husband’s family between the married couple and which definitely leads to fatal problems. For Moroccans (especially women), a man should be autonomous and should not listen to his family because if he does he is perceived as a person who lacks masculinity.

For Moroccans, a violent man is not only half a man; he is an animal and not any animal: a donkey. Within the semiotic categorization of animals in this cultural system, the donkey is a symbol of stupidity par excellence:

“The husband you are married to is a real donkey! Shit! I beg God to get rid of him.”

Another commentator, who wrote the following comment in English, repeats this notion of lack of masculinity, but further qualified the person as not a father and as a criminal.

“This is why the Arab/Muslim world would never be successful in anything. As long as men don’t respect women and the law doesn’t punish this kind of criminals, we will never be fine. A man who beats his wife is not a man and a man who doesn’t take care of his children isn’t a man and definitely not a father.

Women shouldn’t stay with garbage like this. From the beginning, if this happens, get out. Never have children with these kinds of animals. People don’t change.

Girls should finish their school and work so they won’t be dependent on animals like these. Animals are better actually.”

In terms of discursive practice, these labels are part of nominative strategies that aim to take away the human side from the violent husband in order to delegitimize him. Many commentators have gone further than just characterizing the man as “not a man” to describe the whole Moroccan situation as a “catastrophe”:

“This is a catastrophe: Are men in our society like this?”

It is a catastrophe for commentators because not only husbands are mean (worse than animals), but also because the context of their misbehavior is favorable for such misconduct as the laws are absent and society is hypocrite:

“God is great! All men in Ghizlane’s life are more than human animals who exploited her childhood. Even the animal doesn’t torture its victim. When it is hungry it kills to eat and when it is not, it leaves it although it is not a rational being. The wolf in the case of Ghizlane, the weak and exploited woman, is the absent law, which, even if found, doesn’t have any effect. Carry on Mrs. Nouhad (the host) wishing that the sleeping authorities will hear you. How bitter and complicated the life of women is in such a deaf and hypocrite society!”

Some commentators approached the problem through a comparison of Morocco with western countries such as in the following opinion where Moroccan women are sharply contrasted with western ones. This contrast results in a revealing image: “American women live a prosperous life although they don’t respect their husbands and husbands have to share all housework and they can do whatever they want Muslim women, on the other hand, live a life of humiliation with husbands who deny God’s blessing.”

Other people have gone so far in their criticism that they started insulting the violent husbands as a result of total sympathy with women:

“This is a gay; if I find him, I will beat him so hard, bully son of a bully.”

“This man you are married to is really a son of a bitch.”

In addition to blaming the husband, many have directed their arrows towards the father. For them, all the responsibility should be assumed by him because he has the moral duty to take care of his daughter (in the case of Ghizlane) when she was a minor. For them, it is not only morally wrong to do so; it is a sin!

“The cause of all this is the father who married her to a man when she was only thirteen. It is a sin.”

“Poor girl! May God be with you. You father ruined your life and it is him who should help you. May God take revenge!”

Some commentators went further in their criticism than just condemning the father morally and religiously; they devoided him of the quality of the “father” and called his behavior a “scandal”:

“This poor girl should not call him my father. May God take revenge!”

“This is not a scandal; fathers actually create scandals for their daughters.”

Husbands and fathers are not the only ones to blame as many have held parents, the mothers-in-law, the sisters-in-law and the wife’s or the husband’s family in general responsible for the extreme suffering women undergo. Most of the time, the comments are couched in a religious language (supplication or curse) to highlight the fact that WSMV are caught between the hammer of the husband and the nail of the family members. Some hypothetically imagine themselves in positions of power where they can resort to the extreme sentence to get rid of the torturers:

“May God help you and grant you patience. You have a big reward from God and May God take revenge from those who made you suffer while you were still a child. If I were a judge, I would have hung your parents.”

“His family (the mother and sisters of Habiba’s husband) should go to jail. May God take revenge! The man died; it’s his destiny and she is held responsible for that. I wish they all died in order to leave her in peace. Poor girl; I feel sorry for her.”

Other women have told their stories which are similar to the one narrated on TV, stories that constitute an intertextual continuum like the one which says: “You have to live all this in order to understand these women. I lived a similar situation for nineteen years with four children. After divorce, I was negatively judged and I had no family support. I understand all these women. May God be with them.”

Others have lost trust in the actual state of affairs and believe that perpetrators of violence will not escape the punishment of God once life is over: “people are not afraid of God anymore. In doomsday, this man and his family, if they did what they did, will see.”

In some comments, the sister-in-law is pointed to as a contributor to violence: “The sister-in-law is the source of all problems.”

Many, on the other hand, think that in the absence of peace in the lives of women at home, the only solution left is their families; however, they are actually denied this last exit because either their families are poor or they do not want to assume a responsibility of taking care of another man’s children.

“The poor woman has no solution. Even if she decides to leave her home, there is nowhere she can go because her family wouldn’t accept her children.”

4. 2. 2. 2. Blaming Men in General

The same comments about the husband hold for comments about men in general as the following opinions show. In other words, people feel that the Moroccan case is catastrophic, lacks solutions, and society, where poverty prevails, does not forgive women if they choose to get divorced. Others feel that Moroccan men are materialistic persons who look only for money, and deserve prostitutes who have experience that enables them to profit from them. Other comments are directly

related to the comments made about violent husbands like the one that takes away masculinity from them.

“It’s a catastrophe. Have men in our society become like this?”

“These men are garbage. 50 out of 100 women are beaten in Morocco, but there is no solution. This is serious.”

“The problem with Moroccan women has to do with the fact that they tolerate men because we are poor and society doesn’t forgive. That’s why we let men do whatever they want.”

“Moroccan men are like garbage with black hearts and with a materialistic personality. They accept only women who have money; if not out! They easily forget the life they spent together. Only whores suit them. Luckily I am married to a foreigner. To hell with these men!”

“May God cut the hands of men who dare beat their wives.”

“If men were as strong as we are, women, we would have liberated the Sahara long time ago!”

“Men who beat their wives have to be taken to jail the same day.”

“All men who beat women are not men.”

To understand the findings in the above sections, it is necessary to put these comments in their social context, namely a conservative society characterized by a patriarchal dominance in all walks of life. The current literature on patriarchy seems to hold for our Moroccan context. Blaming the father and the husband is a direct response from the audience due to the cruelty of the men in the stories where women (the mother-in-law for example) act as accomplices. This very fact makes the family of the husband a clan that makes the life of the wives a hell on earth. For us, a thorough understanding of this state of affairs can be reached through an understanding of the notion of patriarchy, so characteristic of the Moroccan family and culture.

Patriarchy has been perceived as a principal ideological, social, and cultural power that places gendered expectations on both sexes, a notion backed up strongly by conservatism or traditional trends that endorse basic differences between the two sexes socially and culturally. The development and supremacy of ideological structures such as patriarchy have been accounted for under different approaches, one of which is the socialization process. This latter is based on psychology to understand social norms and practices. For feminists, the process of the individual's socialization is of paramount importance in the process of initiating social change in favor of understanding women; for example, radical feminists are for a more 'radical' change in the socialization process via scrutinizing the operation of patriarchy at different stages of socialization through cultural institutions like school or religion (Fetsha, 1997).

All feminist theories agree on the purpose of the liberation of women, which is a sort of political fight; however, for Hunnicutt (2009, p. 553), notwithstanding the crucial character of activism, feminists have not articulated a uniform theory on one of the crucial problems in patriarchal societies, namely violence against women.

Patriarchy as a concept was criticized for being an anti-male term that overlooks a package of positive interactions between men and women (Coward, 1983, pp. 272-273; Rowbotham, 2006, p. 52). It was also criticized for being a "too-encompassing term" which generalizes over all women no matter how their religion, race... are (Fox-Genovese, 1982, pp. 5-29).

In constructing a theory of patriarchy to shed light on violence against women, Hunnicutt (2009, p. 553) enumerates criticisms against associating patriarchy with violence against women: the concept of patriarchy oversimplifies power relations; its adoption entails a form of universalism; patriarchy puts men in one group; and the theory of patriarchy cannot deal with

other type of social violence like the one against men and why all men are not violent vis-à-vis women.

Patriarchy, which prevails where positions of authority are appropriated by men in all walks of life: the economy, the law, religion, education, etc... (Johnson, 2005, p. 9), and where cultural values of what is good, desirable, preferable or normal are identified with males is thus patriarchal (Johnson 2005, p. 6), is clearly discerned in all the stories without exception.

For McDowell and Pringle (1992, p.10), understanding the deep structures of women's oppression is central to an understanding of the power relations in society. Patriarchy as a concept was the center of debate in academic spheres as many writers (e.g.; Ferguson, 2004; McKay, 1987) saw the relevance of the different views about it. In this respect, Walby (1989, cited in McDowell and Pringle, 1992) looked at patriarchy from six perspectives in an interconnected system: patriarchy as a mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. Of particular importance for us is this violence exercised on women on a regular and systematic basis as the women we scrutinized are totally helpless and are in need of alternatives at all levels.

Blaming the family as a structural unit in Morocco is undoubtedly a criticism of patriarchy as it is perceived as a principal ideological, social, and cultural power that places gendered expectations on both sexes, a notion backed up strongly by conservatism or traditional trends that support social and cultural differences between the sexes.

To understand the above problem, we have to dissect the concept of gender itself. Conceptualizing gender by categorizing it in institutionalized gender, gender as constrained choice, gender roles, gender identity (including masculinities and femininities), gender relations, and gender as performance

(embodied gender) is important to understand the dynamics that underlie the concept (Johnson and Repta, 2012).

First, institutionalized gender refers to the fact that it is actually a product of social systems that encompass educational, religious, medical and other ones. The gender structure that results (which has a societal nature) refers to the different patterns in which it is manifested and voiced “through the different responses, values, expectations, roles, and responsibilities given to individuals and groups according to gender” (Johnson et al., 2007 qtd. in Johnson and Repta, 2012). To illustrate, workplaces are often gendered i.e., certain jobs are associated with a specific gender. Generally, men are more respected and valued than women and thus they are accorded power and opportunities in the public sphere. It is very important to note that institutionalized gender additionally mixes with other social constructs like class and identity to provide additional hierarchization of privileges (Johnson and Repta, 2012).

Second, gender as a constrained choice, according to Bird and Rieker (2008), is seen as a series of constrained choices that influence society members in complex ways. They argue that individuals make decisions in a network of power and privilege where gender accords various levels of opportunity and control beside other social factors.

Third, gender roles that take the form of social norms, or rules and standards that set the limits of behavior for both sexes shape the multiplicity of assignments in a community (Johnson et al., 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003). These gender-related roles constitute a powerful instrument of social organization that influences all walks of life from drinks to jobs, etc. Part of socialization, we are bound to learn conventional and stereotypic gender roles, regardless of our gender, and these roles tend to structure and constrain individuals’ experiences.

The notion of ‘gender roles’ can be perceived as the agreed upon assumptions shared by members of a given community in terms of the

assignments each individual has as defined by his/her sex/gender socially. Besides, these gender role beliefs point to what women and men usually do, and what they are expected to perform in society (Eagly, 2009).

Fourth, as far as gender identity is concerned, feminist theories rely basically on the philosophy of identity as reflexive self-relation (Butler, 2004; De Beauvoir, 1953/1974). A lot of similarities bind gender identity with the other social identities as it is associated with physical embodiment, and is mediated by individuals' relative position in their social context/environment and the way they are perceived by others and by themselves in terms of gender. "Individuals' inner feelings impact how they present themselves as a man, a woman, or another gender" (Johnson and Repta, 2012, p. 24).

Many comments have been especially centered around women's complaints about their inability to move away from the houses where they live because their husbands would not let them do so, or because they are not financially independent. This also has been confirmed in the literature on patriarchy.

Patriarchy, which has traditionally been characterized as the 'rule of the father' in a family dominated by men, was also seen by Ray (2011, p.1) and Walby (1989, p. 214) as a man-dominated system where structures and practices are characterized by male domination, exploitation, and oppression.

The early 1990s witnessed a movement away from patriarchy and an adoption of gender as a more beneficial tool that takes social relations as a package and not just sex role stereotyping (McDowell & Pringle, 1992, p. 12). McDowell & Pringle (1992) hold that when patriarchy is adopted as a defining concept in research, it leads to an analysis of sex roles that are tied to patriarchal ideology, a fact that limits research results and scope.

A more global perspective is suggested that includes other aspects of gender. This being said, we cannot deny the fact that patriarchy as an ideology

did not lose its importance in contemporary studies as women's issues that can be manifested in the form of oppression, emancipation and equality are still relevant in research (Diamond & Quinby, 1988). All the stories surveyed point to the direction that what has been mentioned by the above scholars is applicable to the Moroccan women and hence the explanation of the suffering of Moroccan women within the framework of patriarchy still holds.

4. 2. 2. 3. Supplication, Charity, Sympathy, Advice

Many commentators (17, 91 %) have shown their positive attitude through a direct plea to God to solve the problem women suffer from. Some of these supplications are illustrated by the following:

“May God fix things.”

“May God open his doors for you.”

“May God help these women.”

Others, on the other hand, married supplication with a sort of interpretive analysis of the situation like the following:

“The mercy that God has created in the hearts of Muslims doesn't exist anymore. May God have mercy on us because people have become disobedient to God and insensitive to good deeds.”

Charity, another concept that is deeply rooted in the Islamic tradition, is resorted to in many comments (5, 97 %). With the lack of viable solutions at the official level, many commentators think that a personal contribution may at least diminish the suffering of women. In the Islamic doctrine, charity is a means to get closer to God and also a way to make the Muslim society more cooperative. Some of the comments are shown below:

“Could you please give me the number of Ghizlane, who has three children?”

“She made me suffer. This is not a story; it is a reality that she lived. I hope God will bring her a good man to help her. If I were rich, I would have adopted her, but I am not.”

“I hope somebody will volunteer from here to help her and adopt her children.”

“Please, would you give me the pregnant woman’s contact number because I want to talk to her? I am ready to adopt her baby after he is born as I heard that she wanted to give him to somebody. I want to raise him and take care of him like my son or more. I am waiting for your response.”

Others have just shown sympathy (12, 43 %) with or without reference to religion as in the following:

“This is horrible. I want to help her.”

“Very courageous. Bravo! Twins are not easy to raise. I have twins too and I swear that it is not easy at all. It’s a big responsibility; God be with you and grant you power. This is motherhood; Girls in her age play and she is trapped with three children. May God open his doors for you.”

“She made me cry and I felt pity for her. May God be with her.”

“I worry for the second case. She looks very tired. She may risk death by her husband. I cry and laugh at the same time when she speaks. This is serious.”

“I really have pity for this woman. May God soften the heart of her husband.”

Other commentators have tried to contribute to the alleviation of the pain these women suffer from by giving advice (4, 47 %) as the following quotations show:

“Respect is the basis of success, not selfishness.”

“Poor girl! She is still young and seems to suffer from all the problems of the world, but I don’t advise her to give her children because they are going to help her later.”

To put the comments in the above section in their cultural context, we should take into account the important fact that Morocco is both

traditional/conservative and modernist/progressive (Ennaji, 2005, p. 1). In this respect, the use of religion as in supplicating God to help the women or curse the husbands to show sympathy or to ask/offer charity or even advice is a clear indicator of the religious trend in the Moroccan society which considers that religion is a very important element in the life of people. This also shows that Moroccans, with a flagrant lack of viable options for the helpless women legally, economically and culturally, have recourse to religion as the ultimate solution. Others were more practical in their support as they asked Moroccans to give charity to the women, a thing that is deeply rooted in the Islamic tradition too because they see that it is a means to show solidarity within a community that is supposed to be one big entity. Indeed, for some commentators, asking for charity is a solution to the problems these women suffer from. Others, on the other hand, show sympathy in general terms without any reference to the sacred like encouraging the women to be strong or offer advice.

4. 3. 3. 4. Blaming the System

Many commentators (15, 92 %) explicitly displayed their discontent with the system as a whole. The criticism encompasses points that range from a refusal to live in a country where women suffer that much to an identification of the government's inability to deal with vital issues that affect the lives of Moroccans on a daily basis like the ones related to poverty and illiteracy. The following comments reflect this tendency.

“Sad, sad! This is a rotten society that makes this woman suffer like this.”

“There is nothing left to do in this country.”

“May God help them. This is what the state should see to create jobs for people. I went to Morocco on vacation and all I found is prostitution. The rich live a

good life and the poor are concerned only about gas, bread and oil. Wake up!
The money they spend on festivals and the nude should be spent on jobs.”

“Unfortunately my country is like this!”

“There are no laws to protect women and children like the countries that respect themselves. I wish you made a photocopy in this domain.”

“The state is responsible because it doesn’t help women who suffer. Concerning men who beat their wives, they should be put in jail in the same day. Seeing is believing!”

“A country of illiteracy”

Criticizing the system can be seen mainly as a result of two prevailing phenomena in Morocco: illiteracy and poverty. In fact, there is a dialectical relationship between the two. Moha Ennaji (2005, p. 15) posits that social class interacts with language and literacy in many ways: illiteracy is high among the lower class; the majority of the middle and upper class are literate, bilingual or multilingual. He continues his argument by saying that “There are more illiterate women (61.9%) than men (33.8%) and illiteracy among rural people is higher (66.9%) than among the urban population (33.7%)... Although Morocco spends a quarter of its Gross National Product (GNP) on education, its performance level is rather weak in the sense that the registration rates are lower particularly among women and children in rural areas compared with similar developing countries like Philippines, Yemen, Algeria or Tunisia” (pp. 223-224).

Sadiqi (2003) confirms the above findings and adds that the great majority of illiterates in Morocco are women, and the pools of women that are still illiterate are older and frequently rural (p. 89). Ennaji (2016, p. 5) argues that the rate of poverty among women is high as “illiteracy is more widespread among women (60%) than among men (40%). Although women play a growing role in development, they still suffer from many social injustices, such as unequal pay and poverty. They have little access to top jobs or decision-making positions,

which is mainly due to negative attitudes and taboos against women”. Women look poorer than men, an observation which has to do with the inequality of the sexes in addition to the fact that it is hard for women to find a job in Morocco.

4. 3. 3. 5. Against Violence

The reaction of commentators against violence (4, 97 %) is clear as some of them have attributed it to the patriarchal mode in the Moroccan society; others have seen that the cause is the woman herself who is a tender creature; while others totally reject violence as a last means to solve domestic problems.

“This is not funny. Look at how the woman looks like. We live in a society where parents interfere between couples. From their early age, children are subject to violence, are humiliated and insulted by their parents so much so that they expect violence later.”

“The woman is a weak person in front of men. Give her little things and she will give you more. Hold her and she will make you a crown on her head. We, people, should talk and solve our problems wisely in order to preserve the life we have chosen and the person we have chosen in our life. No matter what the mistake is, we should not resort to beating and violence and we should not show our strength at the expense of women.”

“No to violence.”

“It is a sin that women are still beaten today.”

In the Moroccan *Haut Commissaire au Plan* (2011), it was found that there is an alarming rate of 62.8% of women in Morocco of ages 18-64 who had been subjects to some form of violence during the year preceding the study. 55% of these persons were victims of their husbands (The rate of reporting the crimes by the wives reached only 3%).

The U.S. Department of State, in its country reports on human rights practices, “2010 Human Rights Practices: Morocco”(April 8, 2011), revealed that in eight out of ten cases of violence, the husband is responsible. UN Women, in their “2011-2012 Progress of the World’s Women, Factsheet: Middle East and North Africa” (2011-2012) found that 33 % of the population investigated thinks that a man is sometimes justified to beat his wife. It was also found that 68 % of WSV expressed a distrust of the justice system. The above findings confirm the opinions of the population analyzed and point towards an urgent need to find practical solutions especially at the legal level

4. 3. 3. 6. Against the Audience or the Comments, and Other Subthemes

Other comments were mainly axed around reacting to the audience (either inside the studio or on the web) (10, 44 %) as the commentators express their opinions according to different backgrounds. The net is a forum where people express themselves from angles that highlight their different positions in terms of class, education, gender, etc...Some of the comments are listed below and they just reflect the interactivity of the online process since people as consumers of the online text react to each other to make a point.

“I can’t resist answering your inconvenient comments. Are you God or something? You allow yourself to judge this poor girl. You are disgusting. She is not a prostitute; her father sells her to men. One day you’ll regret your stupid comments! Go bastard!”

“Our problem is the following: instead of searching for solutions to help this kind of poor girls (May God help her and her children), the majority of comments try to make her look like a liar by saying that she looks older. This is totally pathetic. I hope this program will help make things better God willing.”

“I don’t get it! Why do those childish people laugh at her in the studio?”

“You insult people, don’t you? It is poverty that brings them to these programs. God is great.”

Finally, other comments (4, 47 %) either thanked the show for its courage to put the taboo under the light or blamed the media for supporting festivals instead of backing up the fragile population as the comments below show.

“Courage, courage and thank you Nouhad (the show host) for your program that helps in awakening our poor society.”

“I thank this program. Finally, we unveil real problems. I had tears in my eyes because of the problems in the first story. Don’t you realize that she knocked the door of ministries and of the president, but in vain? This is serious. Do we have to be on TV to get our rights?”

“You should blame Medi I TV, which doesn’t help you and gives millions to singers. May God take revenge.”

Generally, physical or psychological violence, as narrated by the women in the show, have been condemned by the population with positive attitudes. Many commentators have tried to understand the essence of violence by having recourse to many concepts like religion, poverty, etc ...This involvement on the part of the audience is revealing in the sense that while they reacted to specific cases of violence with an interpersonal nature, the opinions expressed recognized the impact of structural violence which is ‘built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as un-equal life chances’ (Galtung, 1969, p. 171). This latter made it clear that “when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence” (p. 171). For the author, while individual women experience incidents of interpersonal violence, the prevalence and the high frequency of violence point towards the violence present in inequitable social norms and access to resources, which ultimately underpin individual incidents and experiences.

A look at the comments also confirms the literature prevalent about the topic. For example, Amartya Sen (1999) characterized the effect of restricted freedoms (economic, social, political, legal) on human development and well-being. For her, the absence of freedoms is directly linked to economic poverty, which takes from people the freedom to satisfy hunger, or to obtain remedies for treatable illnesses, or the opportunity to be adequately clothed or sheltered. Additionally, she underscores the role norms and values play to “undergird inequitable economic and political systems, making them resistant to change” (Sen, 1999, p. 9).

Nussbaum shares the same views too and adds that the concept of violence is tightly linked to the notion of capabilities that she enumerates as: life, health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliations, relationship to the world of nature, play and control over environment (2005, pp. 171-173).

Next, we move to the second category of commentators who are definitely against the WSMV. There are many reasons that have pushed them to hold such a position. Let us discover what those reasons are and try to put them in their theoretical framework.

4. 2. 3. People with Negative Attitudes

4. 2. 3. 1. Blaming Women for their Passivity and for Having Children

People who seem to criticize the women in the show have mainly concentrated their dislike on the passivity of the guests (32, 72 %). They just couldn't stand how submissive and passive they were. In the following comments, it is clear how disgusted the audience were by the behavior of the women.

“They beat them and the women stay with them. Why sister? Is there a lack of men? They stick to men and these latter beat them. I hope you understand. I just don’t get it. Are we living in the Stone Age!

“Girls should study and work in order to be autonomous and not put themselves at the mercy of their husbands.”

“I don’t understand. The woman said her husband broke her nose, battered her so bad, killed his son and daughter, but she says she doesn’t want divorce because of her children. What a paradox! What do you expect from a man who mistreated even his children. Even her handicapped daughter told her to get away from him. She is stuck on him at the expense of her children.”

“She is eighteen. She can protect herself and her father is not the only guilty person.”

“This woman is wrong. She makes the same error by living with another man and having children again.”

“She cries and keeps going with men.”

“I don’t get it. He beats her and she is crazy about him. This is not love. I did my best to analyze her personality, but I couldn’t understand her.”

As far as criticizing the women because they either gave birth to children in a violent context or because they are submissive because of their children (10, 90 %), commentators hold that women should abstain from reproduction in contexts of violence which will just worsen their situations. Thus, WSV are held responsible for what happened to them and they further think that coming to the show to complain has no sense because nobody forced them to stay with the husbands they criticized and had many children with.

The same theme of passivity is recurrent in other comments, but it is coupled with the deliberate decision of having children in a context of violence that is not favorable for raising a family. The following comments show the degree of bitterness receptors feel about the issue.

“Marriage is not about having children. You have to be patient before and see how your life will look like and understand each other, then have children.”

“But since God has given her a twin, why did she have another child? People should learn from their mistakes and not get laid and complain later.”

It is felt like people are totally engrossed in the show so much so that they give their opinions in a very realistic way. However, to put these opinions in their framework, patriarchy as one of them, we should know that these women are Moroccan women who are caught in the web of power relations.

In the case of women passivity and reproduction in a violent context, we should be aware that the Moroccan context does not favor agency at all because this latter has many requirements in order to be implemented at the practical level. The salient ones are education and culture. When illiteracy and poverty are coupled with a cultural setting where women are not decision makers, the result is what we have seen so far since the spectrum left for the women is thin or inexistent. On the other hand, giving birth to children is also a result of both a lack of education in general and a lack of sexual education specifically and also a direct product of a conservative culture that considers the woman as a recipient whose main job is to reproduce. Another explanation lies in the cultural fact that stipulates that women should have children if they want their marriage to continue.

4. 2. 3. 2. Accusing Women of Being Liars, Scandalous, and Accountable

The audience who thinks these women are wrong in as far as their complaints are concerned sees them as liars (21, 81 %), women who look for a scandal (9,09 %), or as persons who deserve what is happening to them (18, 18 %). Some of the comments gathered illustrate these common points of views.

“Nonsense! The woman doesn’t say anything right.”

“It seems to me that she lies and tries to stick everything to her father.”

“I feel pity for her, but I think she lies because her speech is contradictory.”

“They gave her 40 million to give her child and she refused, but now she wants to give the child she is pregnant with! This is a contradiction. Besides, she looks old for a sixteen year old girl.”

“What a scandal!”

“A marriage of humiliation; no culture, no education, no good thinking. They are victims of themselves.”

“You deserve beating. You brought humiliation to all women.”

“The first woman deserves beating. She didn’t want to say the truth because she knows what she did.”

“We know that you, women, do things!”

“When you don’t get married, you are oppressed unmarried women, and when you get married, you make a scandal for your husbands.”

“She comes only by the hard way.”

“This is the result of getting married without your parents’ consent. Look at what parent’s disobedience leads to.”

The majority of comments in this category show that people react because of some underlying assumptions they have about gender and gender roles and because of a wrong conception about these two, we are faced with stereotypical judgments. We identify stereotypes because they are couched in the prevailing ideology at the social level and they are inherent in the social system of thinking (Hall, 1997). Within the conceptual framework of otherness, Hilton and Von Hippel (1994) refer to what they call out-group members which are not only considered as having less desirable features than in-group members, but they are seen as more homogeneous as well.

Stereotypes draw their *raison d’être* from people’s ability to identify them and link them with particular groups (Hilton and Von Hippel, 1994). Stereotypes

are additionally reinforced by a sustained exploitation in media content. The general understanding is that gender-based stereotypes ensue from patriarchal ideologies operating in society as many of them ensue from prior conceptions of gender roles in a particular society.

These perceptions lead to characterizing men as being ambitious, hardworking, responsible, and reliable, a characterization that links them with high-level, professional positions in contrast with women who are tied to a subordinate image. These roles grant a private sphere to women as a natural place due to their inherent traits while men would be a natural part of a more active context like the one that gives him the ability to support the role of a provider and worker.

Maas and Arcuri (1996) describe a stereotype as a form of thought process created in our own mind. For them, it is an oversimplification, or categorization, of a certain group's traits and behavior, an oversimplification that we try to link with previous experiences with people belonging to the same group. Since language is culturally shared, "it provides an ideal means of collectively defining and preserving stereotypic beliefs" (p. 194). Sarah Gamble (2006) observes that "the stereotype can be seen as an ideological discursive strategy which demarcates an us/them binarity which functions to reinforce the dominant discourse" (p. 323). She further makes the point that patriarchy often uses stereotypes in order to differentiate between the characteristics of women and men. In this way, patriarchy sets the limits between what is stereotypically feminine and masculine (p. 323). Being scandalous, a liar, a woman who deserves what is happening to her all fit in the above characterization and shows that in patriarchal societies, people's perception of women is limited by those cultural representations that we take for granted without further questioning.

4. 2. 3. 3. Other Comments

Other comments (7, 27 %) vary from criticizing Muslims as they think that violence is permitted in this religion, or criticize the media for handling the issue either because of the way the program treats the issue or because they think that the program will increase this sort of problems and not vice versa.

“They are all like this. They follow the words of God.”

“National Geographic Morocco. They sell the monkey and laugh at the buyer.”

“This program is a source of problems. They think they solve problems: in fact, they increase them.”

“Mrs Taoussi (the expert), your solutions hold for Europe. In Morocco: illiteracy + ignorance+ Lack of infrastructure = this result.”

“Can we have a program about husbands subjected to violence?”

“Why does the show host talk about the man like this although she doesn’t know him?”

To conclude the section on people who are not supportive of WSMV, we can locate the different pieces of criticism within the patriarchal system that yields such a type of extreme discourse and where gender socialization is considered to be one of the primary influences of behavior.

It is clear from the comments that Moroccan men and women are socialized from birth into gender specific roles based on social definitions of masculinity and femininity (Kilmartin, 2000) where the socialization into sex roles puts men in positions of social, legal, economic, religious, and political power and women in positions of subservience to men (Belknap, 2001). In this respect, femininity attributes are seen as weaker or lesser than those of men (see Kilmartin, 2000). As a matter of fact, sticking labels that are stereotypically constructed without trying to understand the essence of the problem WSMV undergo has been expected from commentators. For example, instead of

attempting to understand why women are passive (e.g. they are denied basic rights when it comes to education, economic empowerment, etc...), prefabricated and readymade judgments are up their sleeves to attack a really fragile category of our society. In one sentence, a simple look at the comments makes the reader feel a masculine interpretation of social order.

Galtung included cultural violence in the personal-structural-cultural nexus which 'preaches, teaches, admonishes, eggs on, and dulls us into seeing exploitation and/or repression as normal and natural, or into not seeing them (particularly -not exploitation) at all' (1990, p. 295). This may also act as an explanation of the comments surveyed so far which condemn the victim and idealize the aggressor.

Summary

To analyze how women discursively legitimize their different positions, we have tried to see how the women in the show exploited different strategies to strengthen their arguments in order to prove to us that they did their best to overcome the situations they have found themselves in. Resorting to the four strategies posited by Leeuwen (2007) has been noticeable in their argumentative discourse. The results reached in our research show that the process of legitimation the women have been involved in is successful as it has been found that 75, 57 % of the population investigated hold a positive attitude towards the WSMV in the shows whereas 24, 43 % hold a negative attitude.

In terms of gender, we found that 75, 22 % of women support the WSMV in their comments, whereas 24, 78 % seemed to criticize them. Unexpectedly, 81, 01 % men have written supportive comments about the WSMV and 18, 99 % have been critical. The findings are not in conformity of the findings we exposed in the review of literature concerning attitudes of men and women regarding the issue of violence against women in the MENA region, which stated that women support women more than men.

We have also found that the population consists of more women, which also contradicts the findings highlighted in the review of literature where it was posited that only 33.5 % of women use the net. We have explained the numbers in our research by referring to the fact that women are particularly sensitive to the phenomenon of marital violence, a thing that led to their massive online interaction with the show, which is a clear manifestation of their emotional response.

After classifying the comments according to whether they are positive or negative, we have classified them into themes (9 for and 6 against). As we said before, our inclusion of the audience response on the

net is a very significant contribution as it has enabled us to counter the criticism directed toward CDA as a theory that lacks objectivity since its adepts are accused of interpreting the audience from their own ideological angle. Additionally, our model is different from CDA in that we have divided the analysis into two elements: the text/context and discursive practice/context. The rationale behind dealing with the text-discursive practice-social context in a different manner has to do with the fact that it is impossible to explain textual evaluation and production/interpretation of texts without referring to the context and hence for us textual evaluation and discursive practice is a form of social practice and any division of this unit is just an artificial theoretical decision with no analytical effect. This does not mean that we have rejected Fairclough's model. We have adhered to his philosophy since we have analyzed how texts work within socio-cultural practice (Fairclough 1995a, p. 7), and we have also adopted his view that discourses contribute to the constitution of social identities, social relations, and knowledge and meaning systems.

General Conclusion

We have investigated how media represents WSMV in Morocco from a media vantage point. It has been found that by turning domestic issues into public ones that are subject to debate and critique, the media plays an essential role in shaping the public perception.

The literature review we have surveyed showed the scarcity of the existing research on the topic and formed the rationale and the necessity of carrying research in the field. Our dissertation has undertaken an in-depth study of the way in which the image of Moroccan women is constructed in the media (TV and the Internet). Taking the Internet as a site for the study of perceptions has been one of the strong points in our analysis as we have detached ourselves from the phenomenon under study and thus we have overcome one of the main criticisms directed against CDA, namely the involvement of the researcher in the results reached through projecting his ideological agenda on the subject under study. The thesis has confirmed the view posited throughout this study that discourses cannot be understood without taking into consideration the social practices in which they are manifested. Additionally, analyzing the semantic macrostructures of the discourse of women has enabled us to identify a range of cognitive scripts related to the daily suffering of a fragile category of women who came to the show to argue in order to persuade the audience of the rightness of their claim that they are living in an extremely dangerous situation that needs immediate action.

The analysis of macrostructures has also been key in unveiling a sort of master structure where all the stories seen can fit. In other words, we have come across a recurrent structure that is omnipresent in all the experiences narrated. It has been found that unemployment, poverty,

illiteracy, experience with divorced parents, among other causes, are unifying factors behind post-marital violence. In the majority of cases, in the absence of solutions, WSMV are obliged to return back to the same conditions to live the grim situation again, a situation they accept for the sake of being together with their children or because they think they are used to their violent husbands.

To analyze the stories, we have mapped them onto a six part structure of narrative, which has been an effective tool in locating the way in which the WSMV established cognitive scripts related to the necessity to take action to make sure that the nasty situations they live in would change. The six parts structure of narrative consists of the abstract, the orientation, the complication, the evaluation, the resolution and the coda. In the narratives, WSMV have been set as the central characters, but simultaneously as the recipients of action, rather than active participants in the events i.e., they are depicted as vulnerable, and as a problem to which solutions have to be sought in contrast with the husbands who were portrayed as active agents. Evaluation has been one of the strongest sections in this thesis as it has provided relevant ideas about the culture that underlies discourse in context and in motion. The general effect the WSMV have attempted to attain is to evoke a sense of fear and a hypothetical failure by textually exploiting three textual tactics: reference, nomination, and predication.

A combination of the labovian structure with legitimation theory has made it possible for us to spot the modality in which the media texts project legitimations in discourse. The identification of legitimation has been effective in locating the way in which certain social practices were justified and endorsed across the media. Indeed, we have backed up anterior research findings that the media constitute an open arena where identities,

social relationships and ideas are represented either positively or negatively. In this respect, authorization, rationalization, evaluation and mythopoesis have been extensively utilized by women to make their narratives solid so as to maintain their cognitive validity.

To check whether the women investigated were successful in using these legitimation techniques to convince the audience, we have accessed the net to see the different responses of Moroccans. It has been found that the WSMV have been successful since 75, 57 % of the comments are positive whereas 24, 43 % are negative.

At the level of gender, 75, 22 % of women support the WSMV in their comments, whereas 24, 78 % seemed to criticize them. We did not anticipate that 81, 01 % men would be supportive to the WSMV and that only 18, 99 % would be critical as the results do not match the ones we introduced in the literature review.

Concerning the online population that consists of more women than men, and which goes contra the findings surveyed in the review of literature that stated the 33.5 % of women actively use the net as a social networking device, we referred to the sensitivity of women to the issue of domestic violence, a factor that we believe is an explanation of the participation in a show that is emotionally loaded.

Positive and negative attitudes expressed by the Moroccan audience have been classified into themes (9 for and 6 against). The themes that express positive attitudes are: blaming the family (the husband, the father, parents, the mother-in-law, and sisters-in-law), blaming men in general, Supplication, charity, sympathy, advice, blaming the system, against violence, against the audience or the comments and other subthemes. The themes that express negative attitudes, on the other hand, are: blaming

women for their passivity and for having children, accusing women of being liars, being scandalous, and responsible, and other comments.

We can locate our findings within CDA by referring back to CDA principles (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, pp. 271-80):

1. CDA addresses social problems: Our emphasis on language, language use, and social and cultural processes has been a salient feature of the present thesis as we have adhered to the general cause of CDA that adopts a critical handling of social problems to highlight hidden power relationships. In this respect, our choice of a current issue in the Moroccan society, namely VAW is revealing as we have been able to spot many intriguing discursive situations where women were caught in the web of power of a conservative and underdeveloped country characterized by a patriarchal nature where men are superior and women are totally subordinate.

Since CDA also attempts to attain results that are practically important socially, culturally, politically and economically, we have shown from our textual analysis and from our characterization of women's discursive practice in context that WSMV suffer at all these levels and hence solutions have to be sought.

2. Power relations are discursive: Since CDA sheds light on the way social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse, the bulk of our thesis has been focused exactly on this issue. This has been done at both the textual level (at the level of semantic macrostructures and at the level of narrative structure where the segment of evaluation has been especially significant), and the level of discursive practice in context. As far as production is concerned, the different legitimation tactics adopted by WSMV mirrored either directly or indirectly the power relations (in favor of the violent husbands) as embedded in discourse. Concerning reception,

our quantitative analysis of Moroccan's reception of WSMV discourse has constituted a cornerstone in our analysis in as far as the projection of power relations manifestation in the discourse of the net user is concerned.

3. Discourse constitutes society and culture: The fact that language use contributes to the reproduction and transformation of society and culture (including relations of power) is noticeable in our project. The WSMV, in their attempt to expose their suffering and dead-end future, kept repeating the same arguments that sometimes condemn them and help reproducing the same social formulae that are not beneficial for their cause. The analysis is full of examples that illustrate this state of affairs like when they resort to patience as a solution to stay with their children, which is a proposition that helps naturalizing violence in society.

4. Discourse also does ideological work: We have gone beyond textual analysis to tackle discursive practice (how the texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have) as social practice by linking the various discursive events to their social context and eliciting the various inequities that are hidden in discourse.

5. Discourse is history: Discourses cannot be totally deciphered without referring to their historical context. Extralinguistic variables like culture, society and ideology have to be approached from historical angles. As an example, our description of the Moroccan society has been done in order to understand the essence of the different comments which are considered discursive moments at the crossroad between the evolution of a conservative society toward a progressive one.

6. The link between text and society is mediated: We have introduced a sociocognitive level as a mediator, but we have made this mediation more explicit by including narrative as a cognitive device in order to access the WSMV cognitive scripts.

7. CDA is interpretative and explanatory and a form of social action: Our exhaustive CDA has surely gone beyond pure formal description so characteristic of textual analysis to embrace interpretation and explanation by understanding the meaning of one part in the context of the whole to unveil opaqueness and power relations in a conservative society.

As we mentioned before, our inclusion of the audience response on the net is a very significant contribution as it has enabled us to counter the criticism directed toward CDA as a theory that lacks objectivity since its adepts are accused of interpreting the audience from their own ideological angle. Additionally, our model is different from CDA in that we have divided the analysis into two elements: the text/context and discursive practice/context. The rationale behind dealing with the text-discursive practice-social context in a different manner has to do with the fact that it is impossible to explain textual evaluation and production/interpretation of texts without referring to the context. This does not mean that we have rejected Fairclough's model as we have adhered to his philosophy since we have analyzed how texts work within socio-cultural practice, and we have also adopted his view that discourses contribute to the constitution of social identities, social relations, and knowledge and meaning systems.

In the spirit of CDA's engagement in social issues, our thesis has shown how a public issue is constructed in the media and how it is consumed by the general public with all its classes. Thus, we have come up with new insights for researchers, policy makers, and others who might be interested in the relation between public debate and the media. Our ultimate objective is to disseminate information for policy makers to fathom the gravity of the phenomenon of marital violence, and to devise the right measures to eradicate it or at least ameliorate the condition of those who suffer from it. The way violence as an issue of public interest has been

constructed through the media lens may be beneficial in that the government and legislators may be illuminated by the narratives as they afford some possibilities for emancipatory action by capitalizing on the complications of the diverse narratives. The objective is to craft new policies at the economic, legal, political, and social levels to make the coda more optimistic. Surely, the insights provided can contribute to finding the right redressive approaches to a complex phenomenon.

Among the recommendations we may make, we would strongly recommend that the government devises more inhibiting laws against husbands who commit violence in the domestic sphere and make the laws, which are abundant, easier to implement. Besides, more efforts should be done to reduce poverty and illiteracy by innovating new programs and calque others from countries which have been able to reduce these two diseases. Economic empowerment and total equity with men is also a key issue that has to be addressed if any progress is to be made in Morocco. Finally, at the academic level, it would be a good idea if future research tackles other forms of violence as narratives in the media from a CDA perspective by keeping with the plea made by other CDA researchers that action research may be a source of solutions at different levels.

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Appendix: Comments



قصة الناس

النساء المعنفات

في جميع المجتمعات هنالك نساء يتعرضن للضرب والتعذيب. ثلاثة نساء هم ضيوف هذه الحلقة جنن ليحكين قصصهن ومعاناتهن. عانين من الضرب والاعتداء من طرف أزواجهن والحرمان من الطعام. تحملن كل المشاكل من اجل أطفالهن، لكن غالبا ما تكون النهاية هي الافتراق والاتجاه إلى نقطة اللاعودة

medi 1

فرز حسب

الأبرز



...إضافة تعليق



مافي شئ يستاهل

مدرسة الحياة وتجاربها

دا منكر

بونيو، 04:46 مساءً 8 . رد . أعجبنى



Achtou Abdou

رمز تعبيرى wa3ra hadik dial talon hhhhh.. 9atlatni b dahk smile

أبريل، 10:41 صباحاً 22 . رد . أعجبنى 1



Sanae Ksassoua .

باريس

bonne continuation, par contre prk le Dr nahid rachad n'est plus présente... on espère la revoir bientôt

أبريل، 10:51 صباحاً 13 . رد . أعجبنى 1



Said Zufrieden .

شتوتغارت

had sou3ad tawsi ghir dyal l3sa

أبريل، 05:18 مساءً 12 . رد . أعجبنى 1



قصة الناس

النساء المعنفات

في جميع المجتمعات هنالك نساء يتعرضن للضرب والتعذيب. ثلاثة نساء هم ضيوف هذه الحلقة جنن ليحكين قصصهن ومعاناتهن. عانين من الضرب والاعتداء من طرف أزواجهن والحرمان من الطعام. تحملن كل المشاكل من اجل أطفالهن، لكن غالباً ما تكون النهاية هي الافتراق والاتجاه إلى نقطة اللاعودة

أبريل، 11:31 صباحاً 11 . رد . أعجبنى 2



المهدى بن بركة

لا يوجد قانون لحماية المرأة و الأطفال كما هو حال في دول التي تحترم نفسها
باريت ديرو فوطو كوبي في هذا المجال

أبريل، 05:45 مساءً 10 . رد . أعجبنى 2



Salaheddine El Omari ·

مدرس في Cégep Beauce-Appalaches

Rahma li khela9eha lahe fi 9lobe ale msalemines mabe9atech! Lahe yarehame bina wa safi ama bnadem 9albo 3assi 3ela lahe et 3ela ale khayer.

أبريل، 09:03 2013 صباحاً 10 · 1 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



Zakia Hm

الى صحافيتنا الأخت نهاد بنعكيدة ألف تحية و تقدير أرجو منك مواصلة انجازاتك الهادفة اجتماعيا عبر هذا البرنامج و لما لا من باب الانصاف تخصيص حلقة مماثلة لهذه الحلقة لإلقاء الضوء على العنف الجسدي الذي يتعرض له الأزواج الذكور و حتى الأبناء من بعض الزوجات لاسيما أن واقعنا المغربي سجل حالات قتل لنساء في حق ازواجهن و اطفالهن ، و شكرا

أبريل، 05:41 2013 صباحاً 10 · 2 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



Abdelghafour Laabid ·

الدار البيضاء

نهم تشكراتي للصحفية القديرة واصلي أعمالك الاجتماعية ، إنها مبادرة هادفة من خلال قصة الناس ، لن نكره كشف بعض حقائق العنف ضد الرجال ، هذا موضوع مسكوت عنه يجب مناقشته للحد من هاته الظاهرة ، والاخذ بتعاليم الدين الاسلامي تاذي يحث عن الرحمة والمودة ما بين الازواج كفانا عنفا فالنساء أمهات وأخوات وبنات الرجال

يناير، 01:54 2014 مساءً 19 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



قصة الناس

النساء المعنفات

في جميع المجتمعات هنالك نساء يتعرضن للضرب والتعذيب. ثلاثة نساء هم ضيوف هذه الحلقة جئن ليحكين قصصهن ومعاناتهن. عانين من الضرب والاعتداء من طرف أزواجهن والحرمان من الطعام. تحملن كل المشاكل من اجل أطفالهن، لكن غالبا ما تكون النهاية هي الاقتراق والاتجاه إلى نقطة اللاعودة

...مرحبا بكم في صفحة برنامج قصة ناس ..حضوركم يشرفنا

أبريل، 05:00 صباحاً 2013 · 10 · 1 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



WiLd Bõy

من فضلكم نريد الكتش نهيد لان الحصة بدون نهيد لا معنى لها

أبريل، 04:51 صباحاً 2013 · 10 · 3 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)

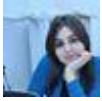


عشاق برنامج قصة الناس

في جميع المجتمعات هنالك نساء يتعرضن للضرب والتعذيب. ثلاثة نساء هم ضيوف هذه الحلقة جنن ليحكين قصصهن ومعاناتهن. عانين من الضرب والاعتداء من طرف أزواجهن والحرمان من الطعام. تحملن كل المشاكل من اجل أطفالهن، لكن غالبا ما تكون النهاية هي الافتراق والاتجاه إلى نقطة اللاعودة

رمز تعبيري heart مرحبا بكم في صفحة عشاق برنامج قصة الناس

أبريل، 03:42 صباحاً 2013 · 10 · 19 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



Sarah Rahimi ·

فاحIon Girls And BoyS يعمل لدى

اوك دائما في صفحة عشاق برنامج قصة الناس

أبريل، 03:59 صباحاً 2013 · 10 · 5 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



Nizar Rami

برنامج رائع

أبريل، 04:25 صباحاً 2013 · 10 · 2 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



Imane Imane ·

جامعة سيدي محمد بن عبد الله

ممکن حلقة على الرجال المعنفين من قبل زوجاتهم

أبريل، 2013 04:42 صباحاً · 6 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



Kawkawa Bam ·

Zitoune meknes

الاحترام اساس النجاح وعدم الانانية

أبريل، 2013 08:38 صباحاً · 1 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



Mima Mamo ·

Lycée International Victor Hugo

azawaj ribat mou9adas ayna hiya almawada wa rahma ??

أبريل، 2013 11:34 صباحاً · 1 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)



· **سيدة المعاني**

تازة

لاللعنف ضد النساء

يونيو، 2013 12:11 مساءً · 3 · [رد](#) · [أعجبنى](#)

قصة جد مؤثرة .. ولدت توأم في سن 13 عام وحاولت الانتحار



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قصة جد مؤثرة .. ولدت توأم في سن 13 عام وحاولت الانتحار

PLUS

TOUS LES COMMENTAIRES (65)

Ajouter un commentaire public...

Top des commentaires



Houria Jkari il y a 3 mois

البن ديال هاد البننت هو السباب دحية ديال بنت و 3 دلوالد

Répondre ·



hakima tiouach il y a 2 mois

elle a 18 ans , elle est capable de se protéger , son père n est pas le seule coupable .

Répondre ·



Bouchra Boufrahi El Hajja il y a 2 mois

Répondre ·



khalil Rifeño il y a 1 mois

Maskine hada makhshas tgolih baba lah yakhad fih lha9

Répondre ·



Najoua Soual il y a 1 mois

Momkin ta3tini nr telefon dial gezlan molat 3 drari.

Répondre ·



adil rezgui il y a 2 mois

Répondre ·



hakima tiouach il y a 2 mois

elle est folle cette femme , elle fait encore la même erreur , et elle chiale , elle vit encore avec un autre homme , et elle tombe enceinte

Répondre ·



Black Stork il y a 2 mois (modifié)

+hakima tiouach • حسب ماقالت، يُدانُ الأب

Répondre ·



UmmLayla36 il y a 2 mois

Hakima j'ai pas pu me retenir pour répondre à tes commentaires bidons et mal placés .
Tu es dieu ou quoi ? Tu te permets de juger cette pauvre fille ! Tu me dégoûtes ! Au fait tu parles arabe ou pas ? Elle se donne pas aux hommes c'est son père qui la vend ! Un jour ou l'autre tu regretteras tes commentaires d'imbéciles ! Hmara va !

Répondre ·



Said Bouraqba il y a 2 mois

بنس الاباء مثل هذا

Répondre ·



Brahim Lahssaini il y a 8 mois (modifié)

. twldi f dik lage c normale ,ms li anormale hwa lwa9i3 dialna w9lob lhjar wlkoffar
lwsskho dnya

Répondre ·



hakima tiouach il y a 2 mois

elle pleure , et elle n arrête pas de fréquenter les hommes

Répondre ·



Ferr NT il y a 6 mois (modifié)

je suis algerienne w soubhan allah had l'animatrice dahalt kalbi bayna nass mlah kima
ikolo andna malayekatha khfef

Répondre ·



Maryam Maryam il y a 7 mois

lahawlihah 3la jahl

Répondre ·



РозаЕкачѐва il y a 11 mois

Марокко какой дурдом.одна уродо

Répondre ·



Ayoub Mitnick il y a 11 mois

обвинить перевод -_-

Répondre ·



Khadija Njimi il y a 10 mois

الماتني وماشي قصة هادا واقع عاشتو المسكينة ياربي تجيب ليه شي محسن يرحمها من بعد الله تعالى انا كون كنت قادرا كون نتكفل بيها ولكن اليد بصيرة واليد قصيرة

Répondre ·



Queen Nana il y a 8 mois

maskina hsan 3wanhaa

Répondre ·



Johayna Yahya il y a 9 mois

آش هاد الشوهة الله ياخذ فيكم الحق Pfff

Masquer les réponses



اميرة ماهير il y a 8 mois

هدي مشي شوها واقيع ابااء لي كيدرو شوها بناتهم



naima misbah il y a 8 mois

dieser mädchen sagt der wahrheit sie ist selbst ein kind sie braucht helfer und dafür ist marrokanisch regierung zu standig sie müssen was tun

Répondre ·



Muchas cosas Hola il y a 5 mois

Yarabi ey3awnak y reza9ak sbar 3andek ajar kbir m3a alah welah yajod fihom hak hado
let3adaw 3lik wentinak ba9a tefla manekdebch 3lik ida cont ana kanihkem nihkem
3la waledek 2 chan9an

Répondre ·



Imane Almoutcharida il y a 3 mois

sbab fhad chi kaml homa lwalidine l7a9ache lokan machi homa mayzwjehache f13
hram



REGRAGUI bouchra il y a 1 an

triste triste triste quelle société pourrie comment cette jeune femme souffre
...c'est horrible j'ai envie de l'aider courage courage et merci Mme Nohad pour
votre émission qui participe à éveiller et réveiller notre pauvre société

6



Fadinio Andaloussi il y a 11 mois

اريد رقم قصة الناس... جزاكم الله خيرا

Répondre ·



Salihi Anas il y a 10 mois

SALAM CV SOUKA

Répondre ·



elkadi salma il y a 11 mois

Lah y7sen 3wan :(ya rebi tsehel 3la 3ibadek :(

Répondre ·

dida london il y a 10 mois

Marahach takdab maskina rabi ykoun m3aha wa ytala3ha 3la kier ntouma lamgarba fikoum had tbaya3 taba3tou bnatou mkadratak yakdmou ou yjibou laflous wahna fi Alger ou hata Tunisia

Répondre ·



souad doukkali il y a 10 mois

hchouma hchouma hchouma yekh 3la had denya s'il vous plait les coordonnées de cet enfant svp

Répondre ·



maryam sellami il y a 11 mois

....الله يصاوب ليها مسكينة

Répondre ·



dounia el allali il y a 10 mois

Voila d'où viens notre problème a nous les marocains, au lieu d'être à la recherche de solutions pour aider ce genre de pauvre jeune fille très touchante (Allah i7assen a3wanha hiya w owlidatha) la plus parts des commentaires cherches à la démentir en disant qu'elle fait plus vielle ou autres... Complètement pathétique !!! J'ose espérer que cette émission fera avancer les choses incha'Allah

Répondre ·



nada hmidouch il y a 1 an

allah yehsen le3wan walakin banet liya katekdeb ekatemseh f babaha louma

Répondre ·



hiba kada il y a 10 mois

ila kntii f balsthaa u 3ndek 13 l3am u walda twam , matnsaysh 13 l3am yallah tle3tii
lcolleague mazala mdabza m3a rask wash tdekhlii l'ecole wla la

Répondre ·



nada hmidouch il y a 10 mois

walakin hit 3taha allah twam 3lache nayda t3awed tehmel bnam kadouz 3lih mara
wehda machi lwahed yeb9a ghi halha efelakhir yebda yebki

Répondre ·



TheDody55 il y a 1 an

صراحة الله يكون فالعون ولكن حسيتها كتكذب وتسمح ليا لان كلامها متناقض

Répondre ·



ihsan ihsane il y a 9 mois

surement katkdeb kifach wladha 3ndhoum 3 ans ou hiya walda a 13 ans chnu daba
3ndha 16 ans??

Répondre ·



Manal Jdidi il y a 1 an

مسكينة الله يفتح عليك أبواب الخير ويرزقك من عند

1



amal hanin il y a 1 an

3tawha 40 mlyoune wayliiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii ou mabratch t3tee wldha ou daba brate t3te hadak li krchha kifach ? ewa tana9od hada

Répondre ·



Nourlhouda Anjay il y a 11 mois

Lai7sen l3wan c vraiment difficile..

Répondre ·



جوهره نادرة الوجود il y a 1 an

مسكينة

1



sih sih il y a 1 an

مسكينة الله اسهل عليها

Répondre ·



kabal Ayoub il y a 1 an

لمغريب مابقا فيه مايدار

Répondre ·



hadil1982 il y a 1 an (modifié)

courageuse bravo 3lik, les jumeaux c pas facil g le même cas c pas facile wallah d'avoir les jumeaux, c du boulot rabbi m3aak Allah yzidak 9owa 3la 9owwa hadi hiya omouma 9ranatha ka yla3bou whiya maskina hasla fi 3 dyal lawlad Allah yafta7 3lik wi yssahal 3lik

Répondre ·



azrrtuoo il y a 1 an

mossiba hadi wach rejal f mojtama3na welaw hakka??????

Répondre · 1



salwa Bel il y a 1 an

je voudrai répondre au commentaire de amal hanin il ne faut pas juger !!!!!!!ou gouli allah ihès hawounha

Répondre ·



اميرة ماهير il y a 8 mois

مسكينة الله معاك باباك لي خرج علك اهو لي خاصو اهزك الله يخذ حق

Répondre ·



SANA NAKI il y a 1 an

Mais arrêtez de critiquez comme ça elle a 17 ans puis c normal qu elle apparaît plus ke son âge avec tous cette souffrance que elle a vécu

Répondre · 2



fati laamarti il y a 1 an

Bkatni w b9at fya bzaf llah kon m3aha

Répondre · 2



sanal giyim il y a 10 mois

allah yahsan l3awn ms had lbnt galt hamla o3,ndha 13 odaba drari 3ndhom 3ans ms yaany daba 3ndha 16ans ms katbaan ktar akhouti

Répondre ·



Soy Saly il y a 10 mois

الله يحسن العون ، قصة جد مؤثرة ، أتمنى من المحسنين أن يلتفتوا لهذه المسكينة و أن ينقذها الدوافع التي تأتي للدعارة من بينها الفقر و صغر السن و المجتمع مايرحمش و ليس عندها سند و لا من يحميها ، الله معك أختي في الله ، أتمنى لك حياة خالية من الهموم و المشاكل و أسأل الله العلي القدير أن يرزقك بي الزوج الصالح ، أو من يشاركك في متطلبات الحياة من المحسنين

Répondre ·



soufiane Laasri il y a 1 an

Bladi malheureusement dayra b7al hakda !

Répondre ·



amal hanin il y a 1 an

wach hadi daba 3endha 16 ans ? je pense pas

Répondre ·



Yassine Hulk il y a 1 an

3ndha 17 ans,, c est normal tban kbira mn ba3d had lmachakil kamlin li dwzat f
7yathha.. wli ma3ash nafs dorof dyalha may9darch i7kam 3liha ..onzid haja khouraa
17aml rah kayji b iradt reppi mashi bdaroura tkoun baghya t7mall ..

Répondre · 5



Otman Hhh il y a 1 an

U

Répondre ·



Manouh Psyko il y a 1 an

wladha 3éndhom 3 ans o hya katgoul beli weldate f 13 ans o choufo hya 9edach katban
? kif darrete liha ???

Répondre · 1



Oum Ziyad il y a 1 an

wayyah oullahila tssa2élt nefss sou2al ou 3reft shi7ed aykoune sbe9ni fel commentaire
hhhh

Répondre ·



Youssef NAFIL il y a 1 an

ça veut dire que main,tenant elle a 16 ans, donc menteuse, j'ai fait la même remarque,
grave

Répondre ·



marocpiercing il y a 1 an (modifié)

لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله

Répondre ·



laidoudi kaoutar il y a 1 an

la ilaha ila lah :/

Répondre ·



Safae Saf il y a 1 an

Ah 3adi ykon 3anda 17 w katban kbira rah normal hadchi li dewzt kaml chebghitoha kif tban ?? Lah ychof men 7ala meskina wi3awda ala hadchi kaml yarebi :/

Répondre ·



dekraish il y a 1 an

لا اله الا الله أتمنى ان يتطوع رجل من هنا و يسترها و يتكفل بتربية أبناءها ،

Répondre ·



kami kaz il y a 1 an

18

Répondre ·

fatima قصة الناس : حياتي مع راجلي "قمة العذاب"



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قصة الناس : حياتي مع راجلي "قمة العذاب"

PLUS

TOUS LES COMMENTAIRES (4)

Ajouter un commentaire public...

Top des commentaires



REGRAGUI bouchra il y a 1 an

honteux honteux ces hommes qui se considèrent musulmans !!!!! une société violente la
hawla wala quoata ila billah



Black Stork il y a 1 an

نصف رَجُلٍ والعياذ بالله. أوصاف الجهل.

Répondre ·



AYUNERO SALEM il y a 1 an

almaroc huwa hadak

Répondre ·



جوهره نادرة الوجود il y a 1 an

يا رب يقطع ايد كل رجل مد ايدو على امراة
زوجي يعنفني أمام أولادي (حلقة كاملة)



[medi1TV](#)

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قصة الناس: أتعنف أمام ابنائي (حلقة كاملة)

PLUS

[TOUS LES COMMENTAIRES \(6\)](#)

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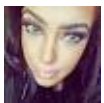
Top des commentaires



[I. Ma \("Sitting Cow"\) il y a 8 mois](#)

This is why the Arab/moslem world would never be successful in anything. As long as the men don't respect the women and the law doesn't punish these kind of criminals. We will never be anything . A man who beats his wife is not a man , and a man who doesn't take care of his kid isn't a man and definitely not a father. Women shouldn't stay with garbage like this. From the beginning , if this happens, get out. never have kids with these kinds of animals. People don't change. Girls should finish their school and work so they won't be dependents on animals like these. Animals are better actually.

Répondre · 1



[m0nr0emisfit il y a 8 mois](#)

katbi3o f bnatkom ou diroha gad wjahkom m9azdrin o ftali tjiw tachkiw ou tabkiw lah
y3tikom rir dal li tayahtoha 3lina

Répondre ·



Nour Ali il y a 8 mois

Lhala loula qahratni ch7al makhasak tsabri rah rajl li kayadrab mn nhar lawal Samhi fih

Répondre ·



Meryam Omari il y a 7 mois

قبل لمره متزوج خصها تختار شريك حياتها وتختارو يكون ولد عائلة تبحشم على عرضو ومتقي الله أنتما كتمشيو
دزوجو برجال لا أناقة ولاجمال يعني لافلوس ولاعلم وفي لآخر تتلوحو أولادكم لنفس الغلط ودجيو تبكيو ديرو
العز الرسكم شوية باش رجل يدربليه ميات حساب قبل ميقيسك واش خفتي الطلقي أتهدر عليك الناس كلام
الناس تبغك تبغك إيضرك كثر ما ينفعك

Répondre ·



Mstafa Fayz il y a 2 mois

+Meryam Omari

Répondre ·



Mus Mus il y a 8 mois

انجاب الاطفال في بداية الزواج هو اكبر خطء ترتكبه الزوجة
علاقتي مع زوجي/ زوجتي دفعتني للإنتحار (حلقة كاملة)



medi1TV

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30 10

Ajoutée le 4 déc. 2014

قصة الناس: علاقتي مع زوجي/ زوجتي دفعتني للإنتحار (حلقة كاملة)

PLUS

TOUS LES COMMENTAIRES (9)

Ajouter un commentaire public...

Top des commentaires



Acroxyz .google il y a 2 mois

<http://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/suicide/basics/causes/con-20033954>

Répondre ·



Sousou Hani il y a 6 mois

meskina hadik lmra allah ykoun m3aha

Répondre ·



Fatiha Laknii il y a 8 mois

الله يكون في عونهم هادشي لي خاص الدولة تشوفو زتدير لناس فاش يخدموا انا مشيت المغرب في العطلة ولا فيه غير الفساد ولي لباس عليه عايشين والفقراء واحلين غير معا البوطة والخبز والزيت وبقو الفلوس لي كايعطوهم لمهرجانات والعراء ديرو خدامي لناس

Répondre ·



yassirii Afkir il y a 9 mois

نتيجة الزواج بغير رضا الوالدين و شوفي فين وصلك سخط الوالدين

Répondre ·



Fafi Zwina il y a 8 mois

تقوا الله تتسبو الناس الفقر هو لي خالهم في هد البراميج لا حولا ولا قوا الا بي الله الله يفرج همكم ان شاء الله امين

Répondre ·



Sam10947 il y a 6 mois

mal 9ahba dmha lmodi3a tatehdar 3la rajel haka w hia ma3rfash jihto

Répondre ·



mindfreedom1 il y a 7 mois

b9at fia hadik lmra mskina, Allah m3aha subhanah

Répondre ·



sara epon il y a 7 mois

si

Répondre ·



شَهَقَه ثَبْض il y a 9 mois

الله يحسن العوان

راجلي كيفرشخني وربية عليه الكبدة



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TOUS LES COMMENTAIRES (77)

Ajouter un commentaire public...

Top des commentaires



D'haene Aicha il y a 2 mois

واتشش هاد الظلم الله يأخذ الحق ياربي مسكينة ياربي ترفع درجاتها وتسهل عليها

Répondre ·



Moustapha Akkad il y a 1 an

gaa rajle li kaydrab mra machi rajle zaaaaml

Répondre · 1



Moustapha Akkad il y a 1 an

had zaml il tah f yadi ghadi nfarchakh taboune mo lhagar wald lhagar

Répondre · 1



hamza sallab il y a 2 ans

Sarha Takole l3sa Tfffo 3lakanse



mogador mogador il y a 2 ans

had rajl 3andha 7agar o7choma ikon rajl rah 3ando khtoo wach ibri chi had idrabhaa
7chooma bzaaaf



souma souma il y a 2 ans

nemera safi



Mounir Areef il y a 2 ans en réponse à fatima zeroual

kaykoun kayfarkhach fiha kaydir POSE (kayn3as m3aha) kaysali kaydir PLAY ykamal
tfarchikh



saber red il y a 2 ans

mskina



Hicham E il y a 1 an

Min 5:56 et 7:38 taydhkou 3liha :/



محمد محمد il y a 1 an

meskina lahye7sen l3awen meskina



bahraouik il y a 2 ans

fucked up mentality...FUCKED UP !!!



miss rouji il y a 2 ans

meskinaaaaaaaaaaaaaa bekat fiyaaa rojala dial akher zeman



شاديه دوسلدورف il y a 2 ans

بحال هاد نوع دلعيالات سنين و هييا كاتا كول تفارشخ راه ولات عاندها بليا يلا ماتدرباتش غي نهار غاتمراد



sakhi soufiane il y a 2 ans

13 3am dyal tfarchikh nari farchkhatni bi da7k hhhhhhh



tamek100 il y a 2 ans

زواج الدل لا ثقافة لا علم لا تفكير ضحايا أنفسهم



Dizzy il y a 2 ans

daba raki chawahtih gheda nal9awk myta ya m9tola hhhhhhhhhhhh



نايف العنزي il y a 2 ans



nour lhouda il y a 2 ans

bkat fiya had lamra bzaaaaaaaaaf lah ihdi rajalha oyhanan kalbo 3la marto



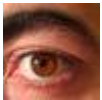
TestMode21 il y a 2 ans en réponse à energycoool

ma3and mak nafss likatahdar 3la nass hakda dabatjarab ou yaw9a3lek ktar manha wtandam 3la tanz wat9oul 9alhali wahad rwijel 3achna wchafna flmaghrib yhoud kayhadrou bdarija bhalek ma3andek nefss wala kabda 3la bnat bladek alisraeli lkalb hna lamgharba kamlin matbaryin manak .



MIRA mare il y a 2 ans

narii mskina hhhh



Radovan Al A3dam il y a 2 ans

wellah hta dyal le3ssa



energycoool il y a 2 ans en réponse à TestMode21

شكون نتا آراس أخصية لي كنتكلم نياية عن المغاربة عرفتي الدنب لي ديتي بتكفيري وقولك اني يهودي ايلا كنت انا مامزيانش نتا فتيني لهيه وسبقتيني الله ياخذ فيك الحق على المعبور لي غيرتيني ايلا سامحك الله انا مسامحك



عبد الله امغار il y a 2 ans

لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله



mustapha troqui il y a 2 ans

herame wellah ila hechouma bna dem baki tayakel el 3essa fi had el 3asser



nouha nuha il y a 2 ans

13 3am dyal tferchi5 _____ tari5 dyal tferchi5



TheSamaritaa il y a 2 ans

ماشى ربات الكبدة المشكللة لكيعانيو منها هاد النوعيه من النساء انهن مكسورات الجناح لا معيل لها ولا سند خايفة الامان بالنسبة لها هو . من المستقبل لانو بالنسبة لها مجهول وكتقول اللهم الحاضر وعارفة ان اولادي في امان اب لا اولادها لكن نسات ان نفسيات ولادها دمرات. المشكله ان كرامتها هي اللي خلاتها تنذمر و خوفها خلاها تبقا وتتعذب.مجتمع لا يرحم ,دولة لا تعيل المطلقات او المعنفات, و اهل كيرميو بناتهم كانهم تخلصو من عبئ



Chqoubi Houda il y a 2 ans

yeeeeekh man rjal ila kano kayfakro haka o yt3amlo haka la rojola la chakhsiya ra
bowdina hada yekh tfo manhom



Maria laft il y a 2 ans

13 3am dial tfarchikh :D



marocpiercing il y a 2 ans

hhhhhhhhhhh ka7altiha daba rak taychofek



Manouh Psyko il y a 2 ans en réponse à Dizzy

awdiii a khouya hadchi makida7akch ; lah yesster o safi :/

Salah mouatassim il y a 2 ans

National Geographic maroc !!!!! ybi3o l9ard wi da7ko 3la Mnchrah



lionel abdo il y a 2 ans

wlh hta b9at fiya :(



azer almalih il y a 2 ans

meskina ,had rajel hegar w ahlo mayswawech kayt3adaw 3la bent nas



Soukaina Khalfaoui il y a 2 ans

Nari nari où va le monde --'



el rhazal jamal il y a 2 ans

les marocains c est des sauvages, pays de merde,race de merde,vie de merde,



azama ronaldo il y a 2 ans

BarNamaj KiDiiR LFiTNa KIS7ABO I7AYDO MASHAKIL Ou GhiiiR KiZiiDo
LMaShaKiiL



عبد الرزاق ال غنام il y a 2 ans

BB:267CB601



Murad MAK il y a 2 ans

بنادم ما عادش كايخاف الله. يوم القيامة هاذ خينة وعائلته الى كانوا كايديروا ليها هاد شي اللي قالت. راه يا ربي السلامة



Thedolle2011 il y a 2 ans

wao I still cant get how people will live like that !!



hammouda atti k-saoui il y a 2 ans

مشألكيبيبييل والله !!! باقين هاد لماركات ديال ررجال للي كا يضربو العيالات !! "رفقا بالقواربيبير" صدق رسول الله



RACHID ABDERAHMANE il y a 2 ans

الا ماتزوجتوش راكم بايرات مقموعات و الى تزوجتوا كتفضحوا الرجل ا كترضوه مجرم ان ه من كيديكن ان كيديكن عظيم



Sy Abdou HAMZAOU I il y a 2 ans

13 l 3aaam dial tfarchééékx !!



coeur blanc il y a 2 ans

و بنادم غير داوي حاوي السيدة غير كتشير مسكينة



Amina Abid il y a 2 ans en réponse à obama amabo

hhh lsa9 3lia machi ...



Mido Ronaldo il y a 2 ans en réponse à nouha nuha

Hhhhh Lkebda Plzzzz le3sa Orabat Lkebda Kidayra hadi :/ --' ??!



Siham B. Tinhinan il y a 2 ans

hadshi rah ma tid77ksh ... lmra shofa mskeena kif daera ... c'est le stockholm syndrone.
 mashi hee hakak, 7na andna mujtama3 li feeh al walideen taydkhlu been les couples
 li mzwjeen. men sghur dyl tiftl al maghribi wa tiftla o huma tayaklo l3sa, o tayt3aayro
 o taytsebbo o yethaano men taraf walidihum ... 7ta welaw titwq3oha 7ta fl kbr
 dylhum. n7awlu nlqaw blasa f qlaabna bash nfhmu o n7eso bnas au lieux bash
 n7kmu 3lihum. lmra 3wdat lina 3la lweel, o 7na 7kmna hee 3la kilmat rbeet al kbda
 ...

younessmmmous il y a 2 ans en réponse à lamis beren

هناك مثل مصري يقول : مين رماك ع المر ؛ اللي امر منو . و كانكم عايشين في مغرب اخر، لو طلقت : ليس لها
 بيت + لا عمل + لا اسرة ميسورة + نفقة حتى اذا كانت ضعيفة + لا كفالة اجتماعية من الدولة ؛ هي تعيش
 الواقع و انتم تعيشون النيت



Othman Ek il y a 2 ans

Bnadem wllaat 3ziiza 3lih chouhaa ! -_-



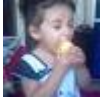
YOW YOWA il y a 2 ans

MEDLOULA REBITI 3LIH L KEBDA YA WJEH DA9 TFOOO JEBTO DELL



hamza ha il y a 2 ans

ذنبك يا اختى وهو زوجك بو ودينة



hanane el haddaoui il y a 2 ans

sm7iliya a khti walkin khss t3rfti tt3amli m3a rajlek.mli yji mhdoud mn lkhdma
mat3awdich lih mok daret khtek daret.rak sabra walakin ma3rftich tsayri 7yatek
wtt3amli m3a 3douztek..w makanch khss tb9ay twldi wnti chayfa rassek m9houra.ra
assass lmochkil howa nti.bagha tb9ay m3ah wkaydarbek katlbdi 7dah.mafhamtkch.
lah ydirlk tawil dlkhir



شاديه دوسلدورف il y a 2 ans

maskina



TestMode21 il y a 2 ans

ma3azatch 3likom wa3lik almaghribi ma3and mak nafss likatahdar 3la nass hakda
dabatjarab ou yaw9a3lek ktar manha wtandam 3la tanz wat9oul 9alhali wahad rwijel
3achna wchafna filmaghrib yhoud kayhadrou bdarija bhalek ma3andek nefss wala
kabda 3la bnat bladek alisraeli lkalb hna lamgharba kamlin matbaryin manak .



energycoool il y a 2 ans en réponse à nouha nuha

ربات الكبدة عليه حيتاش ربما غادي يكون كيفرشخها مزيان حتا في الفراش ولكن هذا ماشي سبب باش تصبر على
العصا هههههههه



soufiane Laasri il y a 2 ans

diri 7al bla matji tchewhi rassek !



Channel Com il y a 2 ans

rebbate lkebda 3la l7ankalich machi 3lih houwa



دكالة بلاد الرجال il y a 2 ans

walfat 3la zob, mat9darch tfar9o. 8ado 8ma rjal dyal doukkala

قصة الناس : راجلي تسطى من ليلة العرس



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Top des commentaires



Hanae Canada il y a 2 jours (modifié)

دكور المغرب زباله قلبهم كحل و ماديين دخلي الفلوس مرحبا بيك مادخليش برا قطاعه و تهون عليهم العشرة
فيساع مايناسبوهم غير بنات الزنقة و الشيوخات الحمدالله الي راجلي ماشي مغربي الله يخليهم من رجال

Répondre ·



khalil Rifeño il y a 1 mois

Katban bant nas lah yakhad lha9

Répondre · 1



AHMED MHAMDI il y a 1 mois

0

Répondre ·



yassine amir il y a 7 mois

les filles doivent etudier et travailler pour etre autonome et ne pas etre a la mercie de leur epoux

Répondre · 9

Afficher les 13 réponses



naughtyxgirl il y a 1 mois

Ils sont tous comme ça, ils suivent les paroles de Dieu, lol.

Répondre ·



Tazi Said il y a 1 mois

Yassine amir tu as raison

Répondre ·



amina amani il y a 9 mois

destiny 108 , chkon nti bache tah9mi 3la nas o tgoli ma9t3rfche tahdar o 3robiya . 3la 3sas nti 9at3rfi kat3rfi thadri o nti jabda fnas , llah yahdina o safi

Répondre · 1



il y a 5 jours صلاح صلاح صلاح

bayna fhad Imrra bant nas. odrayfa za3ma walah tmnit ila9ni lah bchi wahda bhalaha
sbara alah yasar amrk akhty. ot3icho mjmo3in. amin

Répondre ·



il y a 4 mois 3aziz be3lam (“be”)

Répondre ·



il y a 3 mois Unem Abdo

Répondre ·



il y a 5 jours صلاح صلاح صلاح

bayna fhad Imrra bant nas. odrayfa za3ma walah tmnit ila9ni lah bchi wahda bhalaha
sbara alah yasar amrk akhty. ot3icho mjmo3in. amin

Répondre ·



il y a 1 an morad zahri

ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا أحد اللهم إني أسألك بأني أشهد إنك أنت الله الذي لا إله إلا أنت.. الأحـد الصمد الذي لم يلد
وإجعل (لي) رفيقا صالحا كي نسبحك كثيرا ونذكرك كثيراإقضي حاجتي .. وإنس وحدتي .. وفرجك كربتي
.. فأنت بي بصير ..

Répondre · 3



il y a 1 mois Reduan Ahmed hamete

Buskokada

Répondre ·



batol elassri il y a 3 semaines

xfo akhti amina rak nti li3robiya ok 3iwd tgoli lay 3awnha mskina zaydaaaha fhaxyan
lhdra jmi rasak ila bghiti lay kon f3wnk akhtito

Répondre ·



Kamal Ett il y a 2 mois

ntmna l9a b7al had okht machlah bayna fiha darwicha o bent nass

Répondre ·



Fatima Fatima il y a 2 jours

وقيلة الله يحفض وقيلة هو هبيل

Répondre ·



Afkir Ahmed il y a 8 mois



simo marchi il y a 1 an

ALLAH EHDINA YA RAB EL 3ALAMINE

Répondre ·



CasaBayda Adarblanca il y a 1 an

maskina b9at fiya allah issaweb lik akhti

Répondre · 2



AHMED MHAMDI il y a 1 mois

The

Répondre ·



sarrah01011 il y a 1 an

wa nass wa 3ibad llah li ma3ndouch w maf7alouch 3lach lbzzane diyal lwlad rah nass li labas 3lihom w mssak llah 3lihom makayzidouch 3la bnte whda wlla wald wahd... 7ite lfa9r m3a groupe diyal lbasket wlla football diyal drari makaytjm3och.

Répondre · 4



asmaesnina asmae il y a 3 mois

سمحلي اخني فلك لا تقارني غني بي فقير لا تقارني مسلمين بي بلد تاني اصلا لولاد كيزدو Sarah 100 11 ببرزق الله وشكر

Répondre ·



camelia136 il y a 1 an

kifaach kat9blo l3onf bhad lbassata !

Répondre · 1



tibri zeroual il y a 1 an

allah yjib lina chi mra bhal hadi maskina

Répondre · 11

Afficher les 3 réponses



Salma Dokali il y a 1 an

+hassan ouissar baraka matdnan akhay lmra bayna fwjha tbar Allah mzyana

Répondre · 4



Romeo Dalcci il y a 1 an

+hassan ouissar nti sure khet rajalha ! Loussa soussa

Répondre ·



Best Best il y a 1 an

Répondre ·



arbi el il y a 1 an

اتمنى من الله ان يرزقني امرأة بحال هد سيدة قولو امين

MEDI 1 GHIZLANE

MM MM

لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله ،كل الرجال في حياة غزلان هم أكثر من وحوش آدمية استغلو طفولتها،حتى الحيوان لا يعذب ضحيته،فهو إن جاع يزهد رو حها ليأكلها،وإن لم يجع تركها،وهو من دون عقل .الذنب في حالة غزلان،المرأة الضعيفة،المستغلة هم القوانين الغائبة،التي وإن وجدت،لا تغني و لا تسمن من جوع. إستمري .أخت نهاد،عسى أن يسمع منك المسؤولون النيام.كم هي معقدة ومريرة حياة المرأة في هكذا مجتمع أصم ومناقق


[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [Jan 8, 2014 8:54am](#)



[Latifa Amchaq](#) ·

[Tiznit](#)

lah ikalikom 3tiwni n de contacte dyal lamra li hamla brit nahdar m3aha .ana msta3da n tkafal b son bebe mali tawlad.hit sma3tha galt brat ta3tih l chi wahad .ana brit nrabih ou nthala fih bhal ila walidi ou ktar .ana kantsana ljawab dyalkoum .merci bcp

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) ·  · [Dec 12, 2013 3:42am](#)



[Amaani Amani](#) ·

Works at [AIDE COMPTABLE](#)

wach l9iti numero bach twassli m3a med1 tv ola mazala??? ila ba9i mal9itiha dit moi ok

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [Dec 13, 2013 10:59am](#)



[Imn Ach](#) ·

[Victoria, British Columbia](#)

Besoin du numero de la jeune maman svp smile emoticon

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) ·  · [Dec 11, 2013 5:00pm](#)



[Sophia Sophia](#) ·

[Casablanca, Morocco](#)

elle est plus jeune j pns grin emoticon

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [Dec 11, 2013 5:06pm](#)



Imn Ach ·

Victoria, British Columbia

Soph Cha Oui la pauve elle galère :s

Like · Reply · Dec 11, 2013 5:08pm



Mouna Amzil Benbihi ·

Lycée Imam Malik

le numero de telephone de la jeune maman stvp

Like · Reply · 2 · Dec 11, 2013 10:02am



Imane Ben ·

Financial Advisor at Base (mobile telephony provider)

svp un numero de telephone pour pouvoir aider cette femme

Like · Reply · 1 · Dec 11, 2013 6:47am

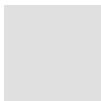


Hajar Omar ·

Brooklyn, New York

arjou mnkom an ta3twni telephone dyal hadik sayida moul twam hada email dyali
hibahajaromar@gmail.com wchoukran

Like · Reply · 1 · Dec 10, 2013 12:14am



salwa afife

como se puede conectar con la programa para ayudar a un en vetada

Like · Reply · Dec 9, 2013 6:06pm

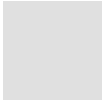


مراد أبو عبد الله ·

Université Chouaib Doukkali

Libgha yt3awn m3a had siydda ach idir? Wch kain chi 3onwan ola chi telephon

Like · Reply · Dec 9, 2013 5:29pm



salwa afife

ela kan momkin ela 7salti 3ala kayfiyat al etisal lil mosa3ada ta3lamni oyad 3la yad tsafak chokran. sara1249@hotmail,fr

Like · Reply · Dec 9, 2013 6:11pm



Hicham Hicham Hicham ·

Université Ibn-Tofail

فاتنتي

Like · Reply · Dec 9, 2013 2:31pm



Hicham Hicham Hicham ·

Université Ibn-Tofail

پليبييرز

rami younas il y a 2 ans

ربي معاك أختي



stupide

أغسطس، 2014 08:32 صباحاً 17 . رد .



قصة الناس

قصة الناس، برنامج حوارى اجتماعى جديد على قناة "مدي 1 تي في"، تقدمه نهاد بنعكيدة، ينقلكم لتعيشوا قصص رجال ونساء مليئة بدروس وتجارب الحياة .
<https://www.facebook.com/9assat.Nass> تابعونا عبر صفحة الفايسبوك

مايو، 2014 05:21 مساءً 13 . رد . أعجبنى



Ra Chid .

BLF يعمل لدى

lah ikon f 3wanha

مايو، 2014 11:03 صباحاً 2 . رد . أعجبنى



Naima Kvd .

Flers-de-l'Orne

mssikina ; sghira w aandha hame danya mais ana kanssaheha mataatich wladha hitt
homa li aynafaaoha enchallah ; allah issahal aaliha mssikina ; howa el ha9i9a khash
el mohssinine iaawnoha wlla tchof maa jam3iyatt chana w mathawal tfakar f el
intihar hitt machy hada howa el hale ila kantt katabghy wladha kif ma katgole ; allah
maa el jamiaa

مايو، 2014 10:49 صباحاً 2 . رد . أعجبنى



Reda Hicham .

الرباط يعمل لدى

rbi m3ak akhti howa ly ghadi i3awnk .

مايو، 2014 03:30 صباحاً 2 . رد . أعجبنى



Mounia Mounia Mounia ·

يعمل لدى Facebook

انا كنصحتها متمحش فيهم ولا في هد الي غدي يتزاد امتشفوش في بندم كيقول ليك الي تشف يتبل

مايو، 02:01 2014 صباحاً 2 · رد · أعجبي



Mounia Mounia Mounia ·

يعمل لدى Facebook

اش هد المنكر خص يتعقب الاب على هد الاعدام الى دار البننوا حتى هد سميتو الاعدام

مايو، 01:59 2014 صباحاً 2 · رد · أعجبي



Abdou Endo ·

يعمل لدى Je ne travaille pas j'ai des parents <3

Had chi li daret rah 7ram a c azzeddine

مايو، 07:14 2014 مساءً 1 · رد · أعجبي



Hayat Hayat Sara ·

B&B FIRA في B&B FIRA

DNOBKI 3LA TV MEDITV 2M KOLHOM Y3TIO L MOGHANN MLAIN
OIMAISA3DOKCHI NTIA LI MHTAZA LAH YKHOD FIHOM LHA9

مايو، 04:25 2014 مساءً 1 · رد · أعجبي



Hayat Hayat Sara ·

B&B FIRA في B&B FIRA

RBI M3AHA MSKINA RBI KBIR OM DIMA OM MATSMHICH FIHOM

رد · أعجبتني · 2 · مساءً 04:22 2014 مايو،



Loubna Chatta Tala ·

Kiné-Concept

C que j ai pas compris et svp explique moi wash hadi 3andha 16 ans mani walda 3la 13 ans o l Wlad 3andhom 3 ans don c3andha 16 ans

رد · أعجبتني · 5 · مساءً 04:07 2014 مايو،



3 Om/Er Lattak ·

Faculté Polydisciplinaire de TAROUDANT

machi b darora ikono ghir tzawjo o daro lwlad.!!

رد · أعجبتني · 1 · مساءً 04:54 2014 مايو،



Yasin Fuengirola ·

14J في Alibaba

matsamhich fawladak abant anas dahi a3lihom khadmi talbi machi 3ib hadok awlad howa mosta9bal adyalak mady3ehomchi alah akber arza9 adyalhom iji anchlah alah esbakar

رد · أعجبتني · 1 · مساءً 03:06 2014 مايو،



Hansali Mourad ·

عمر بن الخطاب | Omar Ibn El Khattab

قحاب

رد · أعجبتني · 1 · مساءً 02:57 2014 مايو،



Hansali Mourad ·

Omar Ibn El Khattab | عمر بن الخطاب

قحاب

مايو، 02:57 2014 مساءً 1 · رد · أعجبنى



Get It First

hadshi bash sekhak allah! nta ghir commentaire wma9aditish tgol klma fiha lfayda! rah lib7alk fhad mojtama3 liwessloha lhadshi!

مايو، 05:11 2014 مساءً 1 · 4 · رد · أعجبنى



Samir Lazap ·

Lycée molay rachid

ou nta mn wlad 97ab

مايو، 06:43 2014 مساءً 1 · رد · أعجبنى



Nezha Naziha ·

جامعة القاضي عياض

hadchi bzaf

مايو، 02:39 2014 مساءً 1 · رد · أعجبنى



Youssef Dakhla ·

(جامعة الحسن الثاني) (الدار البيضاء)

lah liradi ujazuk walah maradu ikhaybak

مايو، 02:23 2014 مساءً 1 . رد . أعجبنى



Youssef Dakhla ·


(جامعة الحسن الثاني (الدار البيضاء

lah yakhad fuh lha9 hadak lbo na3alah lah owhadok rjal lahmir

مايو، 02:19 2014 مساءً 1 . 1 . رد . أعجبنى



Abdou Endo ·

Je ne travaille pas j'ai des pare  <3 يعمل لدى

100% katakdeb

مايو، 02:11 2014 مساءً 1 . 2 . رد . أعجبنى



Azzeddine Edderraz

chkoun li gal lik katkdb?? allah a3lam bina o biha

مايو، 02:30 2014 مساءً 1 . رد . أعجبنى



Mohamed El Sami ·

توبتك يا الله يعمل لدى

Stupide Yarebi Fehad Nehar Yekherej Fik Dakechi Li We9e3 Liha Amine

أغسطس، 08:45 2014 صباحاً 17 . رد . أعجبنى



Mouhssine Wafaoui ·

Gossip Girl في عارضة أزياء

17ma9 hada

لعام ديال التفريشوخ ومازال بغي راجلي: قصة الناس 13 9.04.2013

DONEYA HAM il y a 3 mois

ya rebe oltof bi 3ibadik

Répondre ·



Mustapha Saw il y a 2 mois

Répondre ·



coucou farawla il y a 3 mois

mskina chftni hta dik lmra lwla :(

Répondre ·



Naya Khaled il y a 5 mois

Si les hommes été aussi forts et patients comme nous les femmes Arabes et Marocaines on aurai déjà liberé le sahara depuis longtemps

Répondre ·



Esmâ Berouan il y a 7 mois

Rjal diel zbel...50 sur 100 ti yakhdo l3ssa fi lmaghrib ou baki ma kaien hel ra c est trop trop grave!ou hadik lowla weldha makatchufoch men chal ou ta wahd ma baghi y dir chi haja, ana malkit mangul! Allah y 3awn had l3ialat.

Répondre ·



dima rokma il y a 7 mois

7hchouma dreb ziiiine p7hal hada

Répondre ·



Mustapha Saw il y a 2 mois

Ana marribiya 3omri 20 3am yalah tjawajt okan3ani man l3onf aslan walidiya mta9in o mama kanat kat3ani baba dwaz 3liha l3adab wahad soal 3lach rajal kaybda yafrad l3adalat 3la l3ins latif wach lokan lamra 3andha laflos rajal kaykon dayr bahsabha wkhayf yakhsarha 3lach had dolm wach kishab lihom l3yalat kay9ablo yatjawjo bihom hit jaybhom 3andhom jo3 bsifa lamra ma7gora hit ralba 3liha l3atifa hadi wajhat nadari

Répondre ·



Sidi Moha il y a 1 an

احمد : «هذه المرأة مسكينة غادي . احمد و عبد الحكيم جالسين في القهوة. دازت امرأة دايرة فاصمة على عين عبد الحكيم : «كيفاش؟! بغيتي تقول: قلقته إذن خصتها تاكل » . يكون رجلها عطاها قتلة العصا. يمكن لا قلقته عبد الحكيم : «نقولوا قاه قلقته، إيوه، » ... احمد : «ماشي بالضبط، بغيت نقول غير إلى يمكن قلقته و «العصا؟ خصها تضرب؟ واش التكرفة على الزوجة من التزامات الزواج ديال الزوج؟ واش هذا قانون من عبد الحكيم : «واش هذه المرأة اللي دازت إنسان ولا خنشة » ... احمد : «لا غير بغيت نقول «القوانين؟ الدقيق؟ العبارة : "المرأة شركة الرجل في الحياة" (ولا بالعكس) إذن غير كلام خاوي. واش يمكن لك تضرب شريك العمل ديالك؟ الحياة الزوجية اللي فيها العنف، كيف نسموها : علاقة سيدي مع عبده؟ وخی الرسول عبد ... احمد : «كايين بزافة الناس اللي كيضربوا امراتهم » . (ص) كيوصي على معاملة العبد بإحسان الحكيم : «صافي، غير الرجل حس العنف طلع و قال "شكون اللي غادي نخرجه فيه، معلوم، شريكة حياتي" حيث ما غاديش تدافع على نفسها لأنها كتفكر في ولادها اللي يمكن يتشردوا إلى دافعت على راسها. الاولاد صبحوا رهينة غالية في يد الرجل، و هذه الرهينة خلت الرجل يدير اللي بغى : يضرب، يعير، يهرس، يغيب بلا عبد الحكيم : «إلى بغى يخرج العنف اللي فيه يدخل قاعة الرياضة : » . احمد : «ذاك الشي اللي كايين »شوار ، يضرب راسه مع الحيط . عطاء quant à moi يهز الحديد، يلعب الملائمة، ولا يلعب ماتش ديال الكرة ولا، احمد : «زعم حن الرجال بغينا » . الله في بخرج سمّه، و خلي امراته بكرامتها و محتفظه على احترام ذاتها عبد الحكيم : «حن الرجال بغينا نسيطروا، كنعلبوا على شي إنسان، نقولوا الضحية، اللي ما «نعرفوا هذا الشي؟ كنعلموش، اللي كتوكل علينا، اللي ما عندها فين تمشي إلى طلقناها. بغينا تكون كلمتنا قانون، ما كنتحملوش احمد : «حن بحال » . الملاحظات و التعليقات من فم امراتنا حيث "صباح رجلينا طوال" ديماء معرضين للوطئ

عبد الحكيم : «و اكثر. حن بعينا نكونوا ملك في الدار، كلامنا مقدس ما فيه نفاش، «! هكذا حتى لهذه الدرجة؟ إرادتنا هي الوحيدة في الدار، امراتنا ملزوم عليها تتبنى إرادتنا، حياة امراتنا بكل معانيها بعينا تكون ملكنا، احمد : «ولكن كابين عيالات اللي رجالهم «. نتصرفوا بها و فيها كيفما بعينا، بخاصة : "نحيي و نميت عبد الحكيم : «أنا كنتكلم غير على العيالات نقولوا «! كيتكرفصوا عليهم و مع ذلك كيقولوا بأنهم كيبغوهم العاديات. أما هذك العيالات اللي كنتكلم عليهم انت باقي فيهم الأمل و الحلم ديال "قيس و ليلى"، و لا خايفين يخرجوا من الدار و يواجهوا مجتمع اللي "ما كيرحمش"، هذا علاش كيكذبوا على ريوهم : "أنا باقي كنبغيه"، و في الحقيقة هذه العبارة خصها تترجم ب: "خصني نبغيه"، بحال إلى قلت لشي حد : "كون تلقائي". و كابين عبد الحكيم : «كل الأسباب، كيفما كان نوعها، ما كتبررش العنف. المرأة «. احمد : «مساكن «. اسباب اخرى ماشي طاروة الزبل الى كتلوح فيه خنزك، و ماشي رزمة الملاكمة (اللحم) اللي كتمرن عليه وقتما بعيت و كيفما بعيت. لهذ العيالات اللي "باقيين كيبغوا" رجالهم العنيفين كابين جمعيات اللي كتحاول تساعدهم يخرجوا عبد «. احمد : «بيديرها الكاس آ عباس «. من هذك الجوّ ديال الخوف و الكذب على نفوسهم و الأفكار المهذمة الحكيم : «أه، حن الرجال لقينا مبرر للعنف ديالنا ضد عيالاتنا. معلوم، المذنب الكبير هو الخمر، حيث حن "طبيعتنا ظريفة". الخمر مسكين ما يمكن لهش يدافع على نفسه. نسينا ذاك الشي اللي كتب الشاعر أبو نواس ملي دافع على الخمر و تكلم بلسانه : "ما تعطينش للغافر ولا للجاهل ولا للمجنون" و حن نكملوا كلامه : "ولا للعنيف". المسألة كتعلق بالضمير و بالصواب و بالمسؤولية، ماشي بالخمر ولا ب : "قلقته امراته"، هذا حماق عبد الحكيم : «ممم، ما تبدل حتى مجهود، تسنى حتى يهديك «. احمد : «الله يهدينا وكان «. و هضرة خاوية «! الله»

Moins

Répondre · 1



abla marwan ariouach il y a 1 an

Hhhhhhh lamra talta d3ifa bzaffff pfffff la darbakkk 3awdihh

Répondre ·



Sara Haji il y a 1 an=

مقدرش نحكم لازم نسمعو من الطرفين ،، تاهي بخبيزتها هههههههه وتزوج بيها مات باه وماتت ختو ههههههه

Répondre ·



aze reda il y a 1 an

المركانيات يعشن عيشة الرفاهية رغم عدم احترامهن لازواجهن و على الرجل ان يقتسم كل شغل المنزل وعليها ان تفعل ما تريد اما المسلمات فيعشن عيشة الذل مع الأزواج اللذين ينكرون النعم اللتي انعم الله عليهم لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله

Répondre ·



salma minaj il y a 1 an

lmra mahya ila insana d3ifa 9dam rajl 3tiha l9lil t3tik lktir dmha 7dak odirk taj fo9
frasha 7na bnam ya3ni khsna ndwiw on7lo machakilna bl39l bach n7afdo 3la l7ayat
likhtarinaha on7afdo 3la linsan likhtarinah f7yatna mahma lghalat liykon makhsnach
n7loh bl3sa ol3onf omakhsnach nbyno 9wtna 3la lmra ana kandn bli rajl hwa hadya
dyal lmra bach i7miha machi bach hwa liy3nfha

Répondre ·



merooab donga il y a 1 an

wabazzzzzzzz wlah hadik lowla hi dyal l3samabratch tgol sabab 3arfa ach dayra
hhhhhh

Répondre ·



Elbarki Nisrine il y a 10 mois

Wnta dial thrass lwjeh .tefik dial lweel bnamem mrid

Répondre · 1



achraf agrirane il y a 1 an

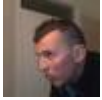
slak f blad lhalak o laya3fo 3la li talfo had nas wallah hta 3alam o marsom b 9alam o ya
salam 3ala l kalam

Répondre · 1



Kamal aQebli il y a 2 ans

مغرب الأمية



zekri chico il y a 2 ans en réponse à khadija Ztn

za3ma toma nsa mafikomchi f3ayel hh



Touria Harb il y a 2 ans

un gros chapeau pr cette emission. enfin on devoile les vrais problemes.j'ai eu les larmes aux yeux pr le prob de la 1ere histoire. vs vs rendez compte elle a frappé les portes des ministeres et du president mais aucune solution.c'est grave. il faut passer à la tele pr avoir nos droits?



Ismael ruiz il y a 2 ans en réponse à Ismael ruiz

w aad yaslkhhom w yabkaw mahom .ww mal akhti aala kalat rajala ...ylasko w rajal yaslakhfihom alah yjib man yafhamnaa ana walah mani fahma ..malna hna fi el aahd el hajarii



Touria Harb il y a 2 ans

ana mafhamtch hadouk lbrahech f le plateau kaydahkou.



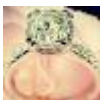
TheMagribiya il y a 2 ans

العنف ضد المرأة في يد المرأة



Assia Layla il y a 2 ans en réponse à khadija Ztn

kayfekro yjem3o bihom zroua



Fati Maroc il y a 2 ans

Dik lemra talta fihomm, hiya kathdar , meskinaaa bghat tfaji 3laa qalbhaaa ol jomhoor kaydhak, Gliha marka!



Amina chakroune il y a 2 ans

il faut vivre tout ça pour comprendre ces femmes, je l'ai vécu pendant 19 ans et 4 enfants quand j'ai divorcé j'étais montré du doigt, et aucun soutien familiale, je comprends toutes ces femmes allah yakoun ma3akom.



Fati Maroc il y a 2 ans

Hada moslim hada?, Lahawla Wa la quwata ila Bi Allah



NamiKaze Reeda il y a 2 ans

hada rah machi rajel ba3da. ghair mo3taraf bih



khadija Ztn il y a 2 ans

mais pourquoi tu as fais 4 enfants, les femmes marocaines sont stupides, elles font les enfants en pleine pauvreté

younessmmmous il y a 2 ans en réponse à khadija Ztn

juste: comme disait le proverbe arabe : qui te pousse au mauvais, le pire; en arabe : mine ramak li morr, li amari mino



bouchra alidi il y a 2 ans

wa tfarshkho nit hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh



younes kazzouh il y a 2 ans

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله.. سلسلة ابتسامه مع زبليقووو أول تجربة لي على اليوتيوب في ميدان الكوميديا شو جمعت بين الواقع والخيال أبتغي من خلالها تطوير مهاراتي في الالقاء الفكاهي.ان كنتم ترغبون في مشاهدة الحلقات ما فان اعجبتم الحلقات لا تنسونا zabali9o عليكم سوى الدخول الى قناتي والبحث عن ابتسامه مع زبليقووو احبائي من تعاليقكم والاشترك لتصلكم الحلقات القادمة .وشكرا



Ismael ruiz il y a 2 ans en réponse à TheMagribiya

hada khataa dial dawlaa limakataawanch laayalat mnin tkon andhom machakil..w rajal liyadrab lamra khaso el habs fi nafs nhar kon machaftch mantekchh ...



Hicham El Mouadane il y a 2 ans

أخت طوسي الحلول ديالك في اوروبه أما انت راگ في المغرب الأمية +الجهل _ البنية التحتية= هذه النتيجة



khadija Ztn il y a 2 ans

le probleme que la femme marocaine supporte bcp l'homme, car on est pauvre et la societe ne pardonne pas c'est pour ca qu'on laisse l'homme faire ce qu'il veut



sara dahbi il y a 2 ans

msaken b9aw fiya surtout habibaaa :(lah yakhod likom 7a9koum



Touria Harb il y a 2 ans

j'ai peur pr le 2eme cas.!!!!ca se voit qu 'elle est treeees fatigue. elle peut risquer la mort sous les mains de son mari. je pleure et je rigole en meme quand elle parle. c'est grave

قصة الناس: أنا صكعة و راجلي كيفرشخني وربيت عليه الكبة

قصة الناس: أنا صكعة و راجلي كيفرشخني وربيت عليه الكبة



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قصة الناس: أنا صكعة و راجلي كيفرشخني وربيت عليه الكبة

PLUS

TOUS LES COMMENTAIRES (60)

Safae Zine El Abidine il y a 3 mois

hhhhhhhhh yarbi tsmah lia. ...met bdahk fach galt 13 3am dyal tfarchekh lia

Répondre · 1



Mbarka El il y a 6 jours

moi aussi yarbi ysma7 lina -_-

Répondre ·



younes ahtahty il y a 3 semaines

Rasek mfarche5 owalda m3ah 4 lhob olewlad ojou3 hhhh

Répondre ·



Lina mziwna il y a 1 an

Imoskhaaat homa likaydahko

Répondre · 6



AL MAYADEEN TUBE il y a 1 an

wllah makdabti

Répondre ·



aziz Olivéra il y a 7 mois

قصتنااس

Répondre ·



Anas Younes il y a 2 mois

.اش.من.كيدة..عايشة.محكورة.اللعن.الزنقة.ولا.كمارتو



Dounia El Fraiegui il y a 4 mois

maskina olh b9iti fiya

Répondre ·



elias alias il y a 7 mois

hada li mzawja b l3arbiya ta3rabt oueld l9ahba

Répondre ·



Shirley Cc il y a 2 mois

لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم

Répondre ·



khalil Rifeño il y a 5 mois

Khashom lhabsss lah yakhad fihom lha9 raaa mat wachh hyaa 3azrayan ra wsal
nharooooo o mat inchalah emoto kamlin bachh ekhliwaha trankil maskinn b9at fyaaa

Répondre ·



radouan zraidi il y a 4 mois

.....حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل فهد

Répondre ·



coucou farawla il y a 7 mois

tfoo ala dok bnat ligalsin kydhkooooo!!

Répondre ·



iman vidia il y a 11 mois

had 17mar li mjwja biiiiih 7maaar men darajat 9ayd tfooooooooo r3awint trjaal lay3fo
3lina mn b7al hadoo keelb

Répondre · 3

Afficher les 5 réponses



taha GOUNAYA il y a 2 mois

قولي "الله يعفو" و إن اضطررت إلى الكتابة بالحروف "lay" السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته ..متقوليش
"ALLAH y3fo" اللاتينية فاكتبي

Répondre · 1



iman vidia il y a 1 mois

شكرا

Répondre ·



Basma D il y a 2 mois

lah ihdih wi hdi rjal onsa kamlin

Répondre ·



Azar Lahssan il y a 7 mois

Répondre ·



rosa rosa il y a 3 mois

وك ايش بحكو هذول 😊 يخرب بيت الهندي

Répondre ·



alah alah il y a 10 mois

amakan i téférchikh teferchiikh teferchikh

Répondre ·



Bassam Baltaji il y a 7 mois

Meskina had lemra rebbat 3lih lkebda osebrat ki7sabha ghadi iji youm oytbeddel sa3a laaa7ayata liman tonadi ... meskina ma3arfa waaalo feddenya ghir galsa te7mel oteweled 7tta wellaw 3endha 4 fin ghatemchi otkhelli wladha... allah ysebberha oydir tawil lkhir

Répondre ·



coucou farawla il y a 7 mois

+Bassam Baltaji oi mskina wakha daba tbghi tkhrj m3ndha fin tmchi hta darhom my9bloch wladha!!

Répondre ·



Dani Rale il y a 6 mois

Hhh waba3 2 hondat wamato 2 hhhhhh lwakn zati i chwiya tsali m3ahom darbiha b warta

Répondre ·



fouad Zakraoui il y a 3 mois

dok wlad l9habe li fl blato kaydhko lay n3al zamnbohom

c grave

Répondre ·



belle rebelle il y a 2 ans

masochiste

Répondre · 1



meriem wazza il y a 1 an

takhallof l ab mat llah irehmo ohiya malha messkina ozaydoun wahed men nhar lewel
kifercheck fik gima golti ash dak tweldi m3ah 4 dial nfousss waw tti hna fin
3aycchhine

Répondre ·



Fatiha Bakhti il y a 3 mois

جيتي اتكحلها اعميتها. ملي جيتي تحكي مشكيتك أمام كل المغاربة. اكيد راجلك شافك. يعني مشكيتك زادت
بالتفرشيخ لأن لحمك تعود أعلى لعصى. راكي صقعة امرونة. هاهاهاهاها

Répondre ·



Lati Lati il y a 4 mois

maskina bkate fia rabi iwkafe m3ake 🙌

Répondre ·



Fatiha Bakhti il y a 3 mois

راك ظحككتيني كاتقولي راجلك كيخليك جيعانة اعطشانة. هاهاهاهاهاه. واش كيقفل اعليك آلة الماء. ألي زاد في الطين بلا كاتقولي ملي كتبغي ادخلي للمنزل كتلقاي الباب قفلوه اعليك. السحر مجرد خرافات. المشكلة فيك انت ماعرفتيش كيفاش أتعامليه راجلك. باين اعليك كتطحي الباطل

Répondre ·



Karim Laf il y a 10 mois

Tlatachr3aaam dyall tfaarchikh 😊😊😊

Répondre ·



Houssine Jobs il y a 1 an

Hadou li kayde7kou sirou 9elboulkoum 3la haja smitha 9elb. Ntouma mazal fdenia madmentou walou mat3erfou mouste9balkoum ykoun mkhebi kfess men hadchi, d3iw liha oulrasskoum galssin de7kou 3la m7ayen ghirkoum. Allah y3awenha.

Répondre · 2



Jaafar Raji il y a 1 an

testahli a benti ana men 3endi ghayzidek

Répondre ·



جوهره نادرة الوجود il y a 1 an

الزواج ماشي هو لولاد البنات صبرو على راسكم شوفو حياتكم كيف دايرة وتفاهمو عاد ولدو لولاد الله يهديكم

Répondre · 1



Qo was il y a 2 ans

!!!! الكبدة كا ناكلوها.....ماشي كا نربيوها

Répondre · 3



loubna ben il y a 1 an

wlaaaaaach katwldi laaachhhh? wa bhal hado khshom, isti2saal rahim merde

Répondre · 2



OMissFadwa il y a 1 an

Mfhmtch 3lach td7ko _' mskina mkrfsa b9at fi wntoma kd7ko purééé 3la bnadm kif dayr!

Répondre · 1



jihan farhate il y a 1 an

awili hhhhhhhhhh

Répondre · 1



zizou khalil il y a 2 ans

nari meskina madhkouch 3liha hite makynine fnfsse maw9ife deyalha meskina b9ate fya bezaffff rahe rjala behl hadouk deyal dbiha

Répondre ·



mohamed morad il y a 1 an

ysoub lahe

Répondre ·



Wiam warda il y a 1 an

Hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh

Répondre ·

