

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICIES IN MOROCCO: WHAT IS THE PLACE OF GENDER STRATEGY?

Jamila AYEGOU

*Laboratoire de Recherche sur la Nouvelle Economie et Développement (LARNED)
Université Hassan II Casablanca – Maroc
jamila.ayegou@gmail.com*

Abstract - *The world and national reports provide a set of statistical data that reflect discriminatory situations against women around the world and in Morocco. Hence, the objective of this paper is to examine the public policies pursued to achieve gender equality within the framework of human development policies in Morocco, with an emphasis on the gender approach as a strategy for the development of societies. The combination of these three elements (public policies, human development and gender strategy) gives our research a certain originality.*

Keywords - *human development, gender approach, gender strategy, public policies, discriminatory situations, gender equality, women's empowerment.*

I. INTRODUCTION

In the world, poverty has a female face: 70% of people living below the poverty line in the world are women; they are paid 25% less on average in the world compared to men; 65% of the billion illiterate people in the world are women, etc. Ref.[1].

According to Ref[2], our country is ranked 123rd/188 and according to the World Economic Forum- 2017, it is ranked 136th/144 in terms of the gender gap, slightly increasing from 0.583 ten years ago to 0.598.

In the report "*Femmes et Hommes en chiffres 2016* ", we note that at the level of leadership positions, women represent only 24.2% (in 2012); of the marital status, divorce is 3.4% for women against 0.9% for men (2014)...etc. Ref.[3]. Similarly, the latest report by 38 Moroccan associations and NGOs shows that 62.8% of Moroccan women are victims of violence, 55% of them in the marital context...Ref.[4].

These bitter realities (inequality, poverty, illiteracy, discrimination, violence, etc.) challenge us to question the role of public policies (PP) in human development (DH) by studying the place of the gender approach (GA) as a global strategy for the development of societies.

Such a problem will be approached according to a qualitative approach with an inductive method using the theory and practice in terms of HD (I); PP (II) and GA (III).

II. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The long-standing debate on development gaps between countries has recently given rise to the concept of human development (A), with measurements that have continuously evolved (B) in the perspective of achieving the well-being of populations that determines the economic and social development of the countries (C).

A. Human development: a recent history

The notion of HD appeared in 1990 under the impetus of economists Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen. Development is defined as "*the process of expanding the real freedoms enjoyed by individuals*". Ref.[5], (p.15). More precisely, HD is a *process of "expanding people's choices, emphasizing the freedom to enjoy a good health, to be educated and to benefit from a decent standard of living "*. Such dimensions will then be translated into development measurements, including the Human Development Index (HDI) which, according to Ref.[6], (p. 4), will contribute to the "*popularization*" of the term.

B. Human development: measurements in perpetual change

Facing the imperfections of the traditional growth indicators (GDP, GNP), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has implemented the HDI according to a synthetic approach by combining the satisfaction of the basic needs of individuals (GNI/head; Education level & Life expectancy).

In 2010, the calculation will be modified by developing a composite indicator where *HD and*

well-being encompass a broader range of capacities or capabilities including political freedoms, human rights. (p.25, [5])

This humanistic dimension leads UNDP to explore new indexes, in addition to social and environmental indicators. Since then, well-being has become multidimensional, taking into consideration material living conditions (income, consumption and wealth); health; education; personal activities; participation in political life and governance; social links and relationships; the environment and insecurity, both economic and physical.

Then, with the existence of other inequalities, other qualitative criteria will be introduced by developing complementary indicators of the HDI, including, among others, the following:

- ✓ The gender indicator of HD (GDI) and the indicator of women's participation (GEM) in 1995;
- ✓ The Human Poverty Index (HPI) in 1997;
- ✓ The synthetic index of economic and sustainable well-being;
- ✓ The Capacity Shortage Indicator (CPI)...etc.

On the basis of this series of new indicators that allow measuring and comparing levels of development, it seems that the HD can only take place by achieving democracy and the rule of law far from any type of discrimination. It then determines any economic and social development of a country.

C. Human development: a condition for economic and social development

Ref[7], (p.2) states that the new Pnudian approach has the merit of "*emphasizing human well-being as the ultimate goal of any economic and social development process*". The perspective of the development of societies does not only focus on material progress but also and above all on the well-being of individuals. This is what constitutes a rehabilitation of an old political economy issue.

Moreover, a country whose economy is developed without taking into account the human dimension, its level of development would be threatened, even contributing to slowing down its level of development.

In order to achieve human development, the State is expected to take measures and adopt policies to improve the living conditions of the population and meet their growing needs.

III. THE PUBLIC POLICIES AND STATE EVOLUTION

The improvement of the population's living conditions is the prerogative of the State through the PP (A). Gender equality is treated differently between countries depending on the level of state intervention in this area (B). Hence, the study of the evolution of the PP in parallel with the evolution of the State in Morocco (C).

A. The PP in the service of improving the living conditions in society

The concept of PP was born in the 1920s in the United States, emerging in the 1950s. Ref.[8]. It means "*a set of coordinated actions, implemented with the objective of obtaining a modification or evolution of a given situation*". It is "*a strategy led by public institutions and administrations with a set of means (human, financial and material) in order to act on a specific structural or conjunctural situation (infrastructure, health, family, accommodation, employment, professional training, research, public service, crisis, deficit...*". Ref.[9].

In other words, it is about implementing, according to predefined objectives, economic, social, cultural, spatial, cultural and environmental changes by providing solutions to society's growing needs. Hence the need for their evaluation, which is a new public decision-making tool that appeared in the United States in the 1960s. Ref.[10].

A PP generally follows a cycle composed of several phases from the emergence and identification of the problem, the formulation and perception of private and public problems, the setting of the agenda, the adoption of a programme, the implementation of action plans, the evaluation of effects, and, depending on the case, the end of the policy. Ref.[11]. Each stage must provide an opportunity for civil society to participate as one of the actors (State and local authorities). Such a public strategy aims at achieving economic and social well-being, justice, equality... etc.

B. A typology of PP in favor of gender equality

The PP generally depend on the political color of governments, their ideologies and cultural specificities. Thus, Ref.[12] has identified three categories of PP that ensure equality in a significant number of countries and that we summarize in the following table:

TABLE I : THE TYPES OF PP ENSURING EQUALITY

Types	Content	Advantages	Country examples
Hard laws	An obligation to achieve results:	Fast, concrete results and	Norway, Finland,

	Impose quotas for the integration of women in managerial positions under penalty of sanctions.	influence mentalities.	Spain, Malaysia.
Soft laws	A process obligation: -No quotas; -Ensure equity in the integration, remuneration and promotion processes.	-Ensure the non-discrimination; -Enable companies to find a balance in their operations without government intervention.	USA, England, Canada.
Family laws	-Protection of privacy; -Maternity protection (leave up to 3 years); -Daycare and maternal assistance under the responsibility of the State.	Even in times of crisis, the female labor force participation rate does not decline (under the constraint of declining fertility rates) and the impact on the economies of these countries is positive.	Eastern Europe

Source: Our elaboration based on Doha Sahraoui Bentaleb, 2017.

Apparently, Morocco does not fall into these three categories. The use of quotas has become mandatory, but only within the political parties. Thus, with the consecration of a 30% quota for women, Morocco has taken a step forward in terms of its emancipation in the political area. The gender perspective remains an objective to be achieved in addition to strengthening women's leadership as a lever for gender equality.

C. Evolution of PP in Morocco in parallel with the evolution of the State

Historically, the evolution of the state had an impact on the nature of the public policies. If we take the case of France, for example, there are six types of state that have been in place throughout history: the regalian state, the nation state, the welfare state, the producer state, the regulator state and the outdated state. Ref.[13]. At each stage, the State develops policies in accordance with its status.

We read in Ref.[14] that a PP "is a specific social and political phenomenon, empirically founded and analytically constructed". It is "a governmental programme in a sector of society or a geographical area". It is still "the science of the State in action" whose analysis opens up to the multiple dimensions of State action. Ref.[15]. The latter is improved by using the evaluation of PP made "on the basis of the quality and opportunity of the public intervention". The production of PP follows a complex process depending on the evolution of the role of the State and its level of intervention.

The new context that Morocco experienced during the 1980s and 1990s, had an impact on the role of the State and, ultimately, on the PP. Indeed, this period was a theatre of economic and social crises with interfering causes: First, it was the

experience of a decade of Structural Adjustment Plans (1983-1993) that cannot be praised, despite its economic advantages, due to its disastrous effects and its repercussions on the social tissue (unemployment, poverty, etc.). Secondly, the impact of privatisation and the deterioration of the public sector. And finally, the disengagement of the State which explicitly puts the country on a liberal path.

As part of the process of deconcentration and decentralisation, the Region will be set up as a local authority from 1992 onwards. This will generate profound economic, societal and political transformations, mainly reflected in the co-production of PP by the State and its partners and in a new development philosophy within the framework of a second experience of regionalization, starting with the adoption of sixteen regions in 1997 to replace the seven economic regions adopted since 1971.

One of the findings is that the fight against poverty and exclusion has become a national cause. Indeed, in 1999, the creation of the Mohamed VI Foundation for Solidarity, *which devotes its action to the poor, the needy and the disabled persons*. Ref.[16].

In 2005, the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH) was set up on May 18, *an initiative to fight poverty, precarity and social exclusion*.

Then, from 2005 onwards, sectoral strategies will be adopted. They coincide with the "advanced" regionalization, implemented since 2015, which insists, among others, on *gender equity* for a regionalization of the *democratic essence*.

In order to achieve this objective, we ask ourselves about the role of the gender approach?

IV. THE GENDER APPROACH: AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

In most societies, gender relations are governed by a relationship of power and domination exercised collectively and individually, in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. Ref.[17], (p. 475), states that "*almost all historical societies have imposed male power over women, [...]*".

The use of the term "gender" is part of social science studies. It aims to distinguish between the term "sex" describing biological characteristics and gender-related cultural specificities.

Facing the problem of the societies' development, initially, the analyses targeted women and then turned towards gender

relations (A). Equality appears as a fundamental pillar of development (B). For this reason, the GA is a human development strategy with various characteristics (C). This leads us to study its implementation in Morocco (D).

A. From the "integration of women in development" approach to the "gender and development approach": a shift of analysis towards social relations

In general, *"the status of women in the West has evolved without reaching the desirable achievement..., but it is a problem throughout the planet, and life reform must therefore include the reform of the status of women"*. (p.478. [17]). Such an observation has been one of the concerns of States throughout the world for a long time. Interest is then given to the women's cause by focusing, since the seventies, on trying to integrate women into the development process. Several programmes have been set up to improve the conditions by meeting their immediate needs. However, this approach, by restricting women to the status of beneficiaries of projects related in particular to health, early childhood education and nutrition, ended in failure since the objectives set out were not achieved according to the United Nations mid-term evaluations (the 1975-1985 decade). Ref.[18].

It was only at the end of the 1980s that gender equality became an explicit new objective in 1995. The following table summarizes the main stages of actions in favor of equality:

TABLE II: MAIN STEPS OF ACTIONS IN FAVOR OF EQUALITY

Year	Event	Observations
December 10th, 1948	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights - The United Nations General Assembly in Paris.	It insists on equal rights between the genders.
Since the 1970s	The consideration of the issue of women's integration in economic development in the discourse and policies of international institutions.	Several approaches without achieving the expected results. The emphasis is on women's development.
End of the 1980s	Another objective: gender equality.	The focus is on gender relations.
1995	The United Nations will explicitly integrate the objective of gender equality into all development policies and programmes.	Dissemination of the gender concept and shift of women's analyses and strategies towards the gender social relations.

Source: Our elaboration

These steps described in this table reflect the change in the development strategies from *"women and development"* to *"gender and development"* on

the basis that women are not the problem. It resides in the social relations that are discriminatory, in their structure, for women.

This change is mainly due to the growing inequalities that have accompanied the development generated by the economic globalization since the 1980s and the trade liberalization in the 1990s. They have led to questions about the nature of development and its aims.

The emergence of the concept of sustainable development will strengthen this approach by reconciling economic, social, environmental and ethical components and emphasizing the equality of women and men and their participation in development.

The adoption of the social relations approach stems from the fact that a society cannot guarantee the development of women without both women and men being ready and mobilized for such an equality-based change and thus without reviewing gender relations in the service of balanced and sustainable human development.

B. The equality of women and men: a pillar of development

A reality to remember is that social relationships are historically determined by rules and laws that establish a hierarchy in societies through the inequitable distribution of social roles on the basis of gender. Thus, three major gender roles can be mentioned.

First, the production role, which is mainly reserved for men, visible, remunerated and socially valued. Examples: trade, services, wage and agricultural work, etc.

Secondly, the reproductive/domestic role, where a distinction is made between the natural and the social role. The first, includes reproduction, childbirth, breastfeeding... etc. As for the second, it is intrinsic to women, invisible, unaccounted and socially unvalued. Examples: sick / elderly care, housekeeping, supplies, cooking...etc.

And thirdly, the community/political role, which is prestigious for men and secondary for women. It is a social duty. Examples: political party, solidarity, trade union, association...etc.

For the GA supporters, the solution resides, among others, in:

- Equality between women and men in terms of rights, resources and responsibilities as well as in the transformation of social relations based on patriarchy;
- The deconstruction of stereotypes related to the female and male through public and private policies;
- Empowerment of women in order to be able to increase their internal strength; To have the right to make choices in life and to have the ability to acquire control over material and non-material resources.

As a result, the GA is a societal utility to build equality. The diversity of its characteristics is proof of its importance.

C. The gender approach: various characteristics

Several are the characteristics of the GA. It is a transversal, participatory and universal approach. It targets both individuals and institutions around the world by encouraging them to build democratic relationships in the different dimensions of life (family, economic, social, cultural and political). It is based on the fact that gender relations are dynamic, i.e. they are likely to change and evolve in order to achieve a social change that guarantees equality by ensuring that women and men have access to the same economic, political, social, cultural and other opportunities and rights... etc. However, this does not deny the existence of differences between the "gender systems" described according to the classical currents of feminist thinking (liberal, Marxist and radical) and their analyses of gender inequalities. Ref.[19]. (Chap.4).

Considering its importance, the GA is placed among UNESCO's global priorities, which considers that "all forms of discrimination based on gender are violations of human rights, as well as a major obstacle to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Programme by 2030 and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals". Ref.[20].

The GA therefore has the perspective of achieving equitable and sustainable human development. This is what generates our curiosity to know its level of application in Morocco.

C. The gender approach in Morocco: where are we?

The context of the adoption of the GA in Morocco has changed since 1957. It is mainly marked by international and national data with the continuous increase in the demands of women's associations against discrimination experienced by women.

TABLE III: EVOLUTION OF ACTIONS IN THE CHANGE OF SOCIAL RELATIONS IN MOROCCO

Year	Actions
Since 1957	The regulation of gender relations by the Personal Status Code (La Moudawana)
1990	UNDP ranking: Morocco is in 124th position according to the Human Development Report.
1993	Morocco's accession, under reservation, to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
2002	Launching the gender budgeting process in parallel with budget reform.
2003	At the Johannesburg conference, the official declaration of policies to be implemented for the achievement of sustainable development...
2004	The family code based on new gender relations within the family (criticism of shortcomings and deficiencies in its application and a request for the revision of certain provisions deemed obsolete - articles 16, 20, 40, 236).
2003-2014	The Integration of the GA into economic and social development policies in Morocco, supported by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).
10 octobre 2010	The creation of an Inter-ministerial Consultation Network (ICN) on gender equality in the civil service (all ministerial departments) and its extension to the countries of the MENA region.
-	Creation of the Public Service Gender Observatory. (website)
-	The implementation of the "Institutionalization Strategy for Gender Equality in the Civil Service" and its implementation plan.
March 2011	The Equality Agenda 2011-2015, developed in collaboration with 25 ministerial departments.
July 2011	The new Moroccan constitution
2012-2016	The Governmental Plan for Equality (GPE) with the support of international partner organisations, in particular the European Union. (Without mentioning the previous Agenda).
2013-2014	The activities of the Interministerial Delegation for Human Rights (IDHR) aimed at integrating human rights dimensions into public policies.
2015	"The National Observatory of the Image of Women in the Media": a tripartite mechanism composed of governmental sectors, civil society and research centres.
The 2015 Finance Bill	The Gender Budget Report accompanying the 2015 Finance Bill. (Summary of the 2015 Gender Report with UN Women www.finances.gov.ma)
December 2015	The Paris Agreement on Climate Change and the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (COP 21) ratified by Morocco in 2016. It incorporates M-F equality.

Source : Our elaboration

Similarly, at the legal level, several laws encourage equality. Thus, in the 2011 Moroccan Constitution, we read Morocco's declared commitment to human rights, the international conventions and covenants "ratified by Morocco and this in accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution, the constants of the Kingdom and its laws". (Article 19). In its terms, the principle of equal rights between genders is confirmed through:

- ✓ Article 19: Equality of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights and freedoms;
- ✓ Article 22: the right to physical and moral integrity of individuals (human dignity);
- ✓ Article 30: The law contains regulations to promote equal access by F and M to elective functions;

- ✓ Article 34: Address and prevent the vulnerability of certain categories of women and mothers, children and the elderly...
- ✓ Articles 19 and 164: the principle of parity through the creation of the “Parity Authority and the fight against all forms of discrimination”.
- ✓ Article 169: the Advisory Council on the Family and Children (monitoring the situation of the family, giving its opinion on the relevant national plans, leading the debate on family policy, etc.).

In addition to the Constitution, article 26 of Organic Act 29-11 on political parties emphasizes the expansion and generalization of the participation of women and youth in the country's political development (1/3 in order to achieve parity in a progressive manner).

Similarly, in the Organic Finance Act, Articles 39 and 48, there is the institutionalization of gender budgeting and the systematic integration of the gender dimension into programming and planning practices.

In July 2015, the "advanced" Regionalization Law is based on the promotion of women's participation in the management of local affairs.

Finally, the "law" on combating violence against women, published in February 2018. However, it is considered as a revision of the penal code and not a law.

Notwithstanding these different legal clauses, gender equality and parity are far from being achieved compared with the countries of the world considering Morocco's ranking by the World Economic Forum - 2017, 136th out of 144 countries. As a result, it recorded a decline compared to 2014 when it was ranked 133rd after Tunisia (123rd place), Algeria (126th place) and Egypt (129th place).

This is explained, according to the report, by the fact that Morocco is poorly rated in terms of women's representativeness in politics (0.117) and their economic participation (0.391): the average salary per year (a woman earns about 30,000 DH while a man earns about 118,000 DH).

The "glass ceiling" is not yet broken (20.5% of women against 79.5% of men sit in Parliament; 13% against 87% in ministerial posts; no women have been heads of government...).

According to the report, it will take another century to close the global gender gap worldwide. And in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, it will be necessary to wait... 157 years!

In fact, discrimination and violations of women's rights still persist in legislation and practice. There is a delay in harmonizing these laws with Morocco's constitutional provisions and commitments. "The road to parity is still long" since, according to the report, the gender gap is still wide.

This is supported by some indicators published by the HCP. Ref.[21]. (See table below):

TABLE IV: SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS FOR COMPARISON BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN IN MOROCCO

Indicators	% of women
Urban population	50,6
Rural population	49,4
Activity rate (15 years and over)	23.6 compared to 70.8 for men

Activity rate (urban environment)	16.6 compared to 66.3 for men
Activity rate (rural areas)	34.9 compared to 77.9 for men
Unemployment rate (15 years and over)	10.9 versus 8.9 M
Unemployment rate (urban)	22,1 versus 11,7 M
Unemployment rate (rural)	2,4 versus 5 M
Illiteracy (in 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Urban: 30.4 F versus 13.7 M ✓ Rural: 60.4 F versus 35.2 M ✓ Total: 41.9 F versus 22.1 M
Public teaching staff :	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary school • College Secondary • Secondary qualifying • University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48 • 41 • 40 • 26,3

Source: Based on HCP, 2018. Le Maroc en chiffres. 7th March.

In the same way, in 2009, a study on the rate of feminization of decision-making positions, by hierarchy, showed that women represent only 15.5% in total, specifying their proportion in different positions. Examples: General Secretary, 7.41%; General Director, 0.00%; General Inspector, 9.52%; Ambassador, 12.00%; Consul and General Consul, 5.77%; Regional and Provincial Director, 1.68%...etc. Ref.[12].

The table IV and this study clearly show that the gap between women and men is still wide in terms of several socio-economic indicators, including access to decision-making positions. This highlights the persistent and growing inequalities within our country.

V. CONCLUSION

At the end of this reflection, we can see that laws are changing, but they essentially affect the women's status in society and within the family, while those targeting the economic sphere are rare. Efforts are focused on women in precarious situations in the context of the HD project.

The implementation of the GA does not reach the stage of adopting it as a global strategy of a real HD which is a condition for economic and social development.

The State is called upon to establish strict anti-discrimination laws, to conduct PP that should first enable women to be protected from precarity, by promoting their economic empowerment.

It is recommended to put in place courageous policies ensuring effective equality between men and women to improve the level of HD in our country. The declared need for a "new development model" must take into consideration this dimension of consolidating an equitable, egalitarian and sustainable HD.

REFERENCES

- [1] <http://www.genreenaction.net/Feminisation-de-la-pauvrete.html>
- [2] Le rapport sur le développement humain du PNUD 2016.
- [3] Le rapport «*Femmes et Hommes en chiffres 2016*», du Haut Commissariat au Plan (HCP), Maroc.
- [4] LEFEBURE Anais, 2015. «*Maroc : Des associations féminines épinglent la lenteur des réformes en matière de droit des femmes*». In. https://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2015/03/01/droit-des-femmes-maroc-associations-feministes-reformes_n_6777878.html .

- [5] SEN Amartya, 1999. *Un nouveau modèle économique : développement, justice, liberté*. Edition Odile Jacob.
- [6] BOIDIN Bruno, 2004, « Développement humain, développement durable et « pays en développement » : comment articuler et mesurer les différentes dimensions ? », *Développement durable et territoires* [Online], Dossier 3 | 2004, Online since 01 February 2004, connection on 12 November 2018. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/developpementdurable/1120> ; DOI : 10.4000/developpementdurable.1120
- [7] FONGANG Siméon, 1999. « Le développement humain: problématiques et fondements d'une politique économique ». Gestion des Transformations sociales (MOST) Documents de travail - No. 20. ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'EDUCATION, LA SCIENCE ET LA CULTURE.
- [8] <https://portail-ie.fr>
- [9] <http://dictionnaire.sensagent.leparisien.fr>
- [10] <https://www.modernisation.gouv.fr>
- [11] Baripedia, Plateforme collaborative de contenu académique en Sciences Sociales. « Analyse des Politiques Publiques : définition et cycle d'une politique publique ». In <https://baripedia.org>
- [12] Doha Sahraoui Bentaleb, « Fonctionnaires des départements ministériels en chiffres au titre de 2009- Ministère de la Modernisation des Secteurs publics-). Résultats de l'Etude « femmes cadres et politiques publiques : l'ombre d'une présence ».
- [13] P. Rosanvallon, 1990. *L'État en France de 1789 à nos jours*. Edition Le Seuil, 370 pages.
- [14] Laurie Boussaguet, Sophie Jacquot, Pauline Ravinet, 2014, Dictionnaire des politiques publiques. Presses de Sciences Po, 4^{ème} édition. Collection Références. 776 pages.
- [15] Jobert (Bruno), Muller (Pierre) - L'Etat en action. Politiques publiques et corporatismes. [compte-rendu]. Rouban Luc. Revue française de science politique Année 1988 38-3 pp. 433-435.
In <https://www.persee.fr>
- [16] Le Discours Royal du Trône, 30 juillet 1999.
- [17] MORIN Edgar, 2011. *La Voie pour l'avenir de l'humanité*. Edition Pluriel. 520 pages.
- [18] Site de l'Association Adéquations, Fiche 2 : De l'approche "femmes dans le développement" à "genre et développement". Date de mise en ligne : novembre 2009. <http://www.adequations.org>
- [19] Lorena Parini, 2006. *Le système de genre : introduction aux concepts et théories*. Zurich, Seismo, 129 p.
- [20] <https://fr.unesco.org/genderequality> « Egalité de genre ». (consulté le 29-10-2018).
- [21] HCP, 2018. *Le Maroc en chiffres*, 07 mars.