

THE 2011 CONSTITUTION: THE MOROCCAN AMAZIGH WOMAN'S EMPOWERMENT

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Abstract

The new millennium has signaled a new phase for Moroccan women's legal triumph. The 2004 Family Code and the 2011 Constitution are until now the main achievements of Moroccan women's feminist movement. In addition to granting women's rights, these new Laws have brought a special aspect to women's cause in Morocco, that of uniting women from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Deriving from a moderate Islamic tradition and recognizing Morocco's multicultural and multilingual context, such legal resources have paved the way for a particular Moroccan feminism. The latter joins Moroccan women's diverse cultures and opinions altogether and attempts to construct a collective female identity beyond time and space. More importantly, the institutionalization of the Amazigh language is an official recognition of the cultural specificity of nearly half of the Moroccan population. Building on such unprecedented event, the Amazigh monolingual woman has gained political recognition. Such recognition has brought Amazigh women from the margin to the center and has made their contribution to the rise of feminist consciousness in Morocco more visible than before. This event has revitalized Amazigh women's oral heroic stories and highlighted their significant role in Moroccan history. As offshoots of this indigenous language revival, Amazigh women's cultural identity and female political subjectivity have become reinforced and asserted. In the light of these new political and legal vicissitudes, this paper seeks to elucidate the extent to which the institutionalization of the Amazigh language has empowered Moroccan Amazigh women and granted them political and social statuses. Still, the implementation of these new legal triumphs unveils deficiency and ambivalence.

Parole chiave

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The emergence of feminist consciousness is the inevitable corollary of women's historical struggle for freedom and equality. From the pre-colonial period to the postcolonial one, Moroccan women, be they Amazigh, Sahrawi or Arabs, have come together to assert their own collective identity and female political agency. The 2004 Family Code and the new constitution are until now the main achievements of Moroccan women's feminist movement in the new Millennium. In addition to granting women's rights, these new Laws have brought a special aspect to women's cause in Morocco, that of uniting women from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Deriving from a moderate Islamic tradition and recognizing Morocco's multicultural and multilingual context, such legal resources have paved the way for a particular Moroccan feminism. The latter joins Moroccan women's diverse cultures and opinions altogether and attempts to construct a collective female identity beyond time and space. In His annual speech on 30 July 2001, King Mohammed VI affirms that «national Moroccan identity is based on a pluralistic ethnic cultural and

linguistic reality».¹ For instance, the official recognition of the Amazigh language in the new constitution has brought the Amazigh population into Moroccan history and among them Amazigh women. Fatima Sadiqi argues «the fate of women has been closely tied to the fate of the Berber population throughout Morocco’s history. Since the mid-1980s, activists have been increasingly demanding both the legal recognition of Berber as an official language and the legal rights of women».² In fact, no body can deny the significant role that Berber women have played in Moroccan history since the pre-colonial era. History still holds indelible traces of many Moroccan Amazigh women who governed tribes and territories, led armies, participated in the armed resistance against the colonizer, and astonished the public with their oral literary and poetic creativity.³ Nowadays, Moroccan Amazigh women assert themselves in many political and social statuses. They are also contributing to raising the Berber women’s consciousness about their rights, especially those who are illiterate and monolingual, living in rural areas. The Berber women’s cause has been relatively part and parcel of the feminist agenda – Latifa Jbabdi, the well known feminist militant, was born in Tiznit and thus her Berber origins can not be ignored though she hasn’t mentioned the Amazigh question in her magazine before – though she is viewed by many Amazigh activists that she is victimized twice because of her ethnicity and gender.⁴ Now, thanks to the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture,⁵ the problem of language is starting to be overcome as the Berber language becomes incorporated in the educational programmes, mass media, and TV channels. Within this framework and In the light of these new political and legal vicissitudes, this paper seeks to elucidate the extent to which the institutionalization of the Amazigh language has empowered Moroccan Amazigh women and grant them political and social statuses. Still, the implementation of these new legal triumphs unveils deficiency and ambivalence.

The Kingdom of Morocco intends to preserve, in its plentitude and its diversity, its one and indivisible national identity. Its unity, is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber [*amazighe*] and Saharan-Hassanic [*saharo-hassanie*] components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebraic and Mediterranean influences... Tamazight [Berber/amazighe] constitutes an official language of the state, being common patrimony of all Moroccans.⁶

The institutionalization of the Amazigh language is an official recognition of nearly half of the Moroccan population. Building on such unprecedented event, the Amazigh monolingual woman has gained recognition. Such recognition has brought the Berber women from the margin to the center and has made their contribution to the rise of feminist consciousness in Morocco more visible than before. This event has revitalized the Berber women’s oral heroic stories and highlighted their significant role in Moroccan history. As offshoots of this indigenous language revival, the Amazigh women’s cultural identity and female subjectivity have become reinforced and asserted. Though often not being educated, Moroccan Amazigh women, all through out history, have managed to play primary roles either within their tribes or within Moroccan society as a whole. Many scholars consider them as a source of power, fertility, and religious spirituality.⁷

“Tamghrat”, woman in the Amazigh language signifies “the leader” while Man is called “Argaz”. “Tamghrat” derives from the masculine noun “Amghar”, which indicates the leader of tribe or the king sometimes. This linguistic reference bears in its fold the extent to which such a woman holds a very significant position among her people. According to Mohamed Arjdal, the Amazigh family is originally matriarchal, for the woman holds a leading position among the member of her family as well as her tribe. For instance, the word “Gma” which means my brother signifies “I belong to my mother”, the same thing for “Oultma” which means my sister or “ayt ma” “ist ma” which denotes ladies and gentlemen.⁸ Within this framework, it seems that at least the Amazigh language defines the woman beyond what Jacque Lacan calls

¹ See the King’s speech of July 30, 2001.

² F. SADIQI, *Gender at Heart of the New Moroccan Constitution*, <http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?id=30326>, accessed on July 14, 2014.

³ T. YASSINE, *Women, their Space, and Creativity in Berber Society*, Race, Gender, and Class, vol.8, number3, 2001, pp.102-113, JSTOR, Web.

⁴ Ahmed AAssid’s view is mentioned in Hesperess. <http://www.hesperess.com/tamazight/74079.html>.

⁵ It is established by the King Mohammed VI in 2001 to promote the Amazigh culture as being part and parcel of the Moroccan National heritage. Often called IRCAM.

⁶ See *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Morocco*, (2011), trans. Jefri. J. Ruchti, p. 3.

⁷ M. ARJDAL, *The Amazigh Woman through History*, <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=98662>, accessed on July 15, 2014.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

“the phallogocentric structure” and the patriarchal language. In such a context, Sadiqi postulates that Tamazight is a feminized language. As she explains:

the context in which Berber is used indicates that this language is undergoing a conscious process of feminization on the part of mainstream language ideology. In other words, the situations in which Berber is used are more and more women-linked than men-linked. The constant reference of mainstream views in the political parties and the media to Berber as ‘indigenous’, ‘private’, and ‘traditional’ reinforce its feminization.⁹

The feminine aspect of such language proves the extent to which the Amazigh woman all through history holds a powerful position within the system of matriarchy that enables her to control and dominate language. Ancient history proved such an ascendancy.

A. Amazigh Women in Ancient History.

Because ancient history is not well documented and is written from a male point view, the position of Amazigh women is intertwined with legends and mythology in which the system of matriarchy is very palpable. In his third book, the Greek historian Diodore de Sicile mentions some legends that depict Amazigh women as warriors. The myth of the Amazons, for example, recounts that there were tribes governed by Berber women in Northwest Africa or what Amazigh people call “Tamazgha”.¹⁰ This means that the Amazigh nations that include Morocco, Algeria, Lybia, Tunisa, Egypt and other regions are governed by women warriors (Amazons) (in the Greek language, meaning women without breasts). As de Sicile narrates, «vers les extrémités de la terre et à l’occident de l’Afrique habite une nation gouvernée par des femmes, dont la manière de vivre est toute différente de la nôtre, car la coutume est là que les femmes aillent à la guerre, et elles doivent servir un certain espace de temps en conservant leur virginité». ¹¹ These female warriors were living in a space that was free from masculine authority; rather it was ruled by feminine power and structured by female culture and values. For instance, when an Amazon finished her war mission, she would mix with men in order to get pregnant; this was only for the preservation of their female lineage. In this regard, men spent their lives performing domestic work such as caring for the home and bringing up children. As de Sicile reports, «les hommes passent toute leur vie dans la maison, comme font ici nos femmes et ils ne travaillent qu’aux affaires domestiques, car on a soin de les éloigner de toutes les fonctions qui pourraient relever leur courage». ¹² Such women contributed themselves to wars and military missions. Their queen Myrine was very powerful; she led many successful battles against her neighbor nations the “Gorgones”¹³ and against the Arabs. She governed her empire “Tamazgha” until Egypt. Whether it is a fantasy or truth, such a legend, among many others, elucidates that the Amazigh women held crucial political and military roles. In fact, what is immanent in this legend is not very far from the real Amazigh traditions which are the emblem of the system of matriarchy par excellence.

Beyond these legendary figures, Amazigh women’s political leadership marked Moroccan history with heroic battles and rebel armies; many female leaders are still engraved on Moroccan memory. The queen of the Berbers El Kahena, for instance, played a significant role in defending her Kingdom and resisting the Arab invasion. According to the Arab Historian Ibn Khaldun, El kahena was born in the early Seventh century in the Aures Mountains and was one of the most powerful army leaders on the Djeraoua tribe. As Ibn Khaldun claims, «parmi leurs chefs les plus puissants, on remarqua surtout la Kahena, reine du Mont-Auras et dont le vrai nom était Dihya fille de Tabeta, fils de Tifan. Sa famille faisait partie des Djeraoua, tribue qui fournissait des rois et des chefs à tous les Berbères descendus d’El-Abter». ¹⁴ Because of her self-perseverance and strong-arm tactics, she was nicknamed El Kahena, a prophetess or a sorceress. She devoted herself to fight the Arab Muslims and disempower their invasion to North Africa during five years. As Ibn

⁹ SADIQI, *Women, Gender, and Language in Morocco*, Brill, Leiden and Boston 2003, p.225.

¹⁰ *The Amazigh Woman*, see Wikipedia.

¹¹ DIODORE DE SICILE, *Histoire Universelle: Troisième Livre*, trans. L’abbé Terrasson, <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/historiens/diodore/livre3.htm>, accessed on July 18, 2014.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ The Gorgones was another matriarchal nation held by women in Northwest Africa, their queen was named Medusa.

¹⁴ ABD RAHMANE IBN KHALDUN, *Histoire des Berbères et des Dynasties Musulmanes de l’Afrique*, trans, M. Le Baron de Slane, imprimerie du gouvernement, Alger 1852, p. 213.

Khaldun explains, «la Kahena ne perdit pas un instant à poursuivre les Arabes, et les ayants expulsés du territoire de Cabe».¹⁵ Her victory over Hassan Ibn Nouamane¹⁶ proved the extent to which she resisted male invasion and hegemony. Fatima Sadiqi describes El Kahena as «a war-leader who could rally everybody during this tense period, and proved amazingly successful at leading the tribes to join together against their invaders».¹⁷ It seems that this queen held a developed female consciousness and a political agency; her fervent commitment was to unite her tribe and to keep women in the center of both political and military decisions. She is the emblem of liberation and freedom, especially among Berbers. As Marnia Lazreg asserts, «Berbers see her symbol of the free woman in opposition to the stereotypical image of the ‘secluded’ Arab woman»¹⁸, thus she is «idealized by contemporary Berbers, she is the epitome of the appropriate woman whose constructed memory sustains struggles and politics that impact negatively on concrete women.»¹⁹ The queen El Kahena proves that women’s leadership is something indigenous to Amazigh culture; the Amazigh matriarchal system reinforces and recognizes woman’s individual power and ascendancy. Thus, at the level of politics and army leadership, the Berber woman, all through Moroccan history, has gained significant positions. In addition to KENZA Awrajiya, who governed Morocco during the Idrissid Dynasty and Zaynab Tanfawit who ruled Morocco during the Elmoravid era, there were many paramount figures who participated in the armed resistance against the French colonizer and contributed to build their independent nation as detailed in chapter 3 above.

B. Amazigh Women as Saints.

In addition to their crucial military roles, the Amazigh women-like many Arab women saints such as Rabia Al’adawiya in Egypt enjoyed a highly venerable position. They are still recognized as saints and even their tombs are regularly visited by women as well as men. In his seminal book, Al Maassoul (1963), Mohammed Al Mokhtar Soussi cites the names of many Amazigh women who belong to Souss region²⁰ and who played paramount spiritual roles among the members of their tribes during the seventeenth century. Al Mokhtar Soussi finds out that these Soussi women were adopting sufism and teaching it to other people be they men or women.²¹ According to Mbarak Ayt AAddi, the Amazigh woman is one of the most factors that contributed to the development of Islamic sufism in Morocco and to the dissemination of its principles via their engagement in Zawayas such as Nasiriya, Darkawiya, and Tijaniya.²² Though history has marginalized such women and hasn’t offered them much recognition, there are still many concrete traces that elucidate their roles.²³ Al Mokhtar Soussi has highlighted the mystic role these women played by giving them space within the folders of his *Al Maassoul*. For instance, Tiaza Bent Mohamed Tasamlalt was a saint woman in the seventeenth century in the Souss region, Al Mokhtar Soussi describes her as being «Rabia Aadawiya of her time, for she reveals many generousities and powerful spiritualities».²⁴ The Amazigh people still glorify her and even visit her tomb on special occasions. She died in 1640. More importantly, a school and a mosque were named after her.²⁵ Likewise, Tiaza Bent Soulayman Takaramt, was born in Taddart near the city of Ighigh in the East of Morocco. She used to fast the whole year and she was teaching men the premises of Islamic sufism and religion.²⁶ According to Al Mokhtar Soussi, her powerful spirituality holiness is materialized in seeing the prophet (peace be upon Him) three times a year. Within the same spiritual context, there is also Rokaya Bent Mohammed Ben El Arabi Adoziya who is the mother of Al Moukhtar Soussi. She

¹⁵ Ivi., p. 214.

¹⁶ Hassan Ibno Nouamane is a military leader of the Ommayad Khalifa AbdelMalek Ibn Marwane.

¹⁷ SADIQI, *Women, Islam, and Political Agency in Morocco, Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Agents of Change*, ed. F. Sadiqi and M. Ennaji, Routledge, Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon and Oxon 2011.

¹⁸ M. LAZREG, *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question*, Routledge, London 2014, p.20.

¹⁹ Ivi., p. 21.

²⁰ Mohammed Al Mokhtar Soussi, *Al Maassoul*, chap. 2, (Matbaat Annajah Aljadida, 1963), p. 54.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² Ivi, pp. 361-362

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ Ivi, p.363. (my own translation)

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ Ivi, p. 364.

was an intellectual woman, poet and writer in the eighteenth century. She devoted herself to learning and acquiring religious knowledge in addition to Arabic linguistics. She died in 1924.²⁷

These women, among many others, played active roles in preaching and spreading the principles of sufism. They sought refuge in religion to assert their female agency. These sacred women proved that women's access to education and learning was available during the seventh century, though it is observed that such women who had such privileges were either daughters or wives of highly ranked men. In the same context, Gerda Lerner argues that in the Middle ages, some women's religious expressions and mystic life were due to their belonging to the privileged classes. As she claims, «daughters of the elites, such as princesses and noble women who might have to serve as stand-ins for sons and husbands, were as carefully tutored and trained as their brothers».²⁸ Likewise, some women that are mentioned in Al Moukhtar Soussi's book fit in this characterization. For instance, Tiaza Bent Soulayman Takaramt happened to be the wife of the scholar Ibrahim Ben Mohamed Ben Abedallah, and thus she belonged to a high class family. Rokaya Bent Mohamed Adoziya was the daughter of the Moroccan Amazigh scholar Mohamed Adozi in addition to being Al Moukhtar Soussi' mother. Nevertheless, regardless of their family affiliation, these women managed to assert their female identity through religion and spiritual performances.

C. Amazigh Women's Artworks.

The Amazigh female agency and identity are manifested not only in military campaigns and sufist rituals, but in artistic production as well. Amazigh population considers the Amazigh women as keepers and propagators of the Amazigh cultural identity and values via their indigenous artwork. The Amazigh women proclaim their feminine subjectivity and womanhood through their talented craftsmanship and oral literature. These women's feminine existence and gender awareness, for instance, are well expressed in the colorful carpets they weave, the pottery they handmake, the tattoos they paint on their bodies, and in the jewelry they wear. Cynthia Becker describes this dimension of Amazigh women as follows:

Berber women are artists. They weave bright colored carpets, and they adorn their faces, hands, and ankles with tattoos, dye their hands and feet with henna, and paint their faces with saffron.... Women both create and wear the artistic symbols of Berber identity, making the decorated female body itself a symbol of that identity.²⁹

These artworks make the Amazigh women distinctive and typical, for they are fraught with symbols and motifs that reflect women's identity and gender awareness. The textile craft reveals, via varying images and configurations, the extent to which the Amazigh women's consciousness of their body and sexuality has evolved. The carpet they hand make, as Bruno Barbatti elucidates, traces the woman's body development and stages. As he maintains, «the carpet may then appear as a mirror of femininity and of the phases in the life of a woman. In some cases with a little imagination one can clearly recognize childhood and virginity, bridal state, union, pregnancy, birth pains, birth, and the new born child».³⁰ The pictures and the colours that adorn the Amazigh carpet are not done arbitrarily; rather they represent the Amazigh women's pre-dominant position. As Vandebroek points out, «the textile art of Berber women is one of the last pieces of evidence for a former matricentric society. In the historical period and up to today, matrixial art has been completely replaced by (patriarchal) mastery and Phallic art. Feminine art has survived in Berber carpets».³¹ The Amazigh matriarchal society resonates also within the Amazigh feminine tapestry. While performing such a talented work, the Amazigh women unite themselves in a circle where they can discuss and share their life experiences and daily activities. Moreover, The Amazigh women's feminine identity is viewed in the tattoos and the multi-colored dresses that embellish their body. As Cynthia Becker maintains,

²⁷ Ivi. p. 365.

²⁸ G. LERNER, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy*, Oxford University press, Oxford 1993, p. 23.

²⁹ C. BECKER, *Amazigh Textiles and Dress in Morocco Metaphors of Motherhood*, in «African Arts», Vol. 39, n. 3 (autumn, 2006), pp. 42-55: 96. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20447780>.

³⁰ B. BARBATTI, *Berber Carpets of Morocco: The Symbols, Origins, and Meanings*, trans, Alan J. Bridgman, ACR Edition International, Paris 2008, p. 24.

³¹ Quoted in BARBATTI, cit., p. 24.

Women also convey their gender identity through dress, which includes body paintings, tattooing, jewelry, and hair-styles, and headgear, both in the way it is worn and in its design. It is through the objects and materials that adorn the body that gender is first inscribed; thus, the process of dressing the body further illustrates the gendered discourse around Amazigh identity.³²

Such insights elucidate the Amazigh women's control over their bodies; they are free to titivate them on their whim beyond any patriarchal domination. In addition, these body ornaments speak out the feminine Amazigh identity. They preserve it for the coming generations as an authentic symbol of the Amazigh feminine heritage.

D. The 2011 Constitution: The Moroccan Amazigh Woman's Empowerment.

Nowadays, the new generations of the Amazigh women have incorporated the Amazigh women's strengths and triumphs of the past into the new Amazigh women's movement. With the revival of the Amazigh language, many intellectual Amazigh women have started to take the initiative of empowering their sisters to whom the Amazigh cultural heritage owes its preservation over centuries. Such empowerment is manifested deeply in the Amazigh women's engagement in civil society and political activism. For instance, Fatima Tabaamrant, a committed artist and an Amazigh woman, is well known to the Moroccan public for her songs advocating both the Amazigh women and culture. As she sings,

True, I will never sell myself for money
Nor relinquish my Berber heritage
I will work restlessly
For the promotion of my identity
The Tifinagh alphabet
Is deep rooted in my heart
Glory and grandeur for our culture.³³

Tabaamrant celebrates in these lyrical verses the Amazigh language and its "Tifinagh" alphabet and sings her pride of belonging to such glorified heritage that she will work hard to promote. As Yacine Tassadit claims, «Tabaamrant also sings her dominated and oppressed tashelhit (Berber) culture. The Berber language should be recognized... because it has its own alphabets».³⁴ With the official recognition of the Amazigh language in the new constitution, Tabaamrant has decided to enter politics so that she can defend the rights of the Amazigh woman. As she advances, «as a committed artist, I could not remain indifferent to the events experienced by Morocco this year, starting with the innovative constitution that enshrines the Amazigh as an official language».³⁵ Thus, because she «sees no contradiction between politics and art in its noble sense»,³⁶ she has decided to participate in the legislative elections of November 25, 2011. Placed as a second candidate in the women's national list of the National Rally of Independent party (NRI), Tabaamrant managed to win a seat in the parliament where she started her mission of defending the Amazigh women, language and culture. In April 2012, Tabaamrant astonished the Moroccan public as well as the deputies inside the parliament by voicing a question to the minister of education Mohamed El Ouafa in Amazigh. For the first time in the history of the Moroccan parliament, Amazigh was used in its open session. As Fatima Sadiqi claims, «this was the first time that this language had been used in the Moroccan parliament».³⁷ It thus raised a heated debate among its members about the legitimate use of the Berber language inside the parliament. While the opposition praised this initiative and urged the government to include Amazigh as work language in the parliament, the PJD rejected such a suggestion and claimed that many members could not understand such a language, and thus it would handicap the work of the

³² See BECKER, cit., p. 42.

³³ Quoted in Y. TASSADIT, *Women, their Space and Creativity in Berber Culture*, in «Race, Gender, and Class», Vol. 8, n. 3, pp.102-113. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674985>. Accessed on July 25, 2014.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ F. TABAAMRANT, *A Committed Artist Enters Electoral Arena*, Interview by News Agency Map. www.map.ma/en/dossier/tabamrant-fatima-committed-artist-enters-electoral-arena. Accessed on July 25, 2014.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ See *Women and knowledge in the Mediterranean*, p. 122.

parliament.³⁸ However, Tabaamrant considers her question in her native language a credible one that doesn't contradict Moroccan law; rather it reveals the extent to which Morocco is a democratic country that welcomes cultural and linguistic differences. As an Amazigh woman, Tabaamrant has defended her native language and asked the government to generalize the teaching of Amazigh in all Moroccan schools, and to propagate its use in all Moroccan institutions as prescribed by the new constitution. In this regard, Tabaamrant's question has raised many Amazigh women's consciousness about their right to speak and express their needs in their native language. The revival of this language means the demise of the Amazigh women's marginalization in Morocco and the rise of their political, social and economic rights.³⁹

Following Tabaamrant, many Amazigh associations emerged and committed themselves to revive the Amazigh women's voice. For instance, the Voice of the Amazigh Woman is a pioneer organization that aims at raising the Amazigh women's consciousness about their rights to education and social justice, especially after the revival of the Amazigh language. As its founders explain,

we are the first organization to specifically target the vindication of the rights of women who are Amazigh. We are founded by Amazigh women from across Morocco and we are run exclusively by Amazigh women. We seek to educate Amazigh women of their rights as they may participate fully in society as equals to men and to non-Amazigh Moroccans. Our main strategies are education, awareness, activism and outreach.⁴⁰

This association plays a fundamental role in disseminating gender awareness among rural as well as urban Amazigh women and ensuring their equality to men as well as all Arab Moroccans. For this reason, such organization seeks to remove «linguistic barriers»⁴¹ and pave the way for the Amazigh women to access «medical services, legal services, and education».⁴² It organizes many civil activities such as conferences, cultural days that aim at integrating the Amazigh woman into social development and granting their right to full citizenship.

Thus, Amazigh women have had a powerful position among the members of their tribes though as Moroccan citizens, they were marginalized and endured seclusion and ignorance because of their linguistic identity. Nonetheless, the establishment of the IRCAM and the new constitution attempt to end Amazigh women's linguistic marginalization and to grant them rights as Moroccan Muslim women whose rights are embedded in the Islamic sources regardless of their language, ethnic or cultural background.

³⁸ M. JAABOUK, *Inedit: Une Députée Pose une Question en Langue Amazighe au Parlement*, <http://www.yabiladi.com/articles/details/10330/inedit-deputee-pose-question-langue.html>. Accessed on July 27, 2014.

³⁹ See *Hespress*, <http://www.hespress.com/tamazight/74079.html>.

⁴⁰ See the Voice of the Amazigh Woman website, <http://thevoiceoftheamazighewoman.weebly.com>.

⁴¹ The Voice of the Amazigh Woman Website.

⁴² *Ibidem*.