

Preserving and implementing the aims and objectives of the Constitution

Executive Summary

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- 1. Human rights and freedoms are enshrined in the Moroccan Constitution as "immutable constants" of the nation (art. 175). Taking into account the profound social changes that Morocco has experienced, the Moroccan supreme law, adopted by referendum in 2011, actually imposes substantial challenges to all stakeholders, who shall bear the responsibility for translating its advanced standards and provisions into legislative and public policy measures.
- 2. Disparities between men and women, which also generate poverty and exclusion, cut across all age categories and environments (geographical and social). They have real negative impacts on the enjoyment by women of their recognized human rights and on society as a whole.
- **3.** In fulfilment of its mission and prerogatives, the National Human Rights Council (CNDH) has drawn up this first thematic report on the state of gender equality and parity in Morocco driven by its firm belief in the vital importance of this issue in the country. The report is intended to provide an analysis of the state of gender equality and parity ten years after reforming the Family Code, four years after the Constitution and 20 years after the Beijing Platform for Action.

I. TREATY PRACTICE AND LEGAL DICHOTOMY

1. Post-constitution legislative reform

- **4.** Morocco withdrew its reservations on paragraph 2 of Article 9 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), allowing mothers to pass their nationality to their children, and on article 16 on marriage and family life. This places Morocco in a very advanced position compared to other countries in the region. However, Morocco has maintained its interpretative declaration on Article 2 (condemn discrimination against women in all its forms and commitment of States to eliminating discrimination by all appropriate means and without delay), despite the fact that this article is considered by the CEDAW Committee as essential to the purpose and objectives of the Convention. Morocco has also maintained its interpretative declaration on paragraph 4, Article 15 (according to men and woman the same rights with regard to the law to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile).
- **5.** The Moroccan Constitution entered into force four years now, but it has not yet been fully implemented. Actually the constitutional promises have gradually evaporated:
- Delays in establishing the Authority for Parity and Fight against All Forms of Discrimination (APALD) and the Advisory Council for Family and Childhood;
- Paragraph 4 of Article I of the draft Organic Law No. 66-I3 on the Constitutional Court which expressly provides for respect for women's representation when appointing and electing the members of the Court was rejected by the Constitutional Council¹ as being unconstitutional;

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■ Organic Law No. 02.12 (2012) governing appointment in high offices does not include any specific provisions aiming at achieving parity between men and women. Moreover, the implementing decree of this law fails to refer to parity or any other incentive mechanism in the appointment criteria to promote representation of women.

2. Mainstreaming non-discrimination, equality and parity into national legal arsenal

- **6.** Child marriage has almost doubled in just one decade, moving from 7% in 2004 to nearly 12% in 2013. These marriages mostly concerned girls with nearly 99.4%² of the total applications submitted to get the permit required for these marriages. Polygamy has had similar trends, although to a lesser degree. In 2010, nearly 43.41% of applications for polygamy authorization were accepted by the judges. Furthermore, despite the fraudulent use of the provisions on the transitional period, during which the recognition of noncontracted marriage can be admissible by the court (Art. 16 of the Family Code), which are used to circumvent the law that requires a special permit to authorize polygamy or child marriage, the government persists in trying to make a new extension of that transitional period.
- 7. Mothers can have the legal Wilaya (guardianship) over their minor children only under very restrictive conditions. The Family Code stipulates that in case of partial or total physical incapacity of the father, the mother, when she is "well-off", has an obligation to cater for the family's household needs (art. 199). This material responsibility, however, does not entitle her to the right to the legal Wilaya over her children³.
- **8.** Divorce for irreconcilable differences (Shiqaq) is a procedure that was meant to facilitate women's access to divorce without the obligation to prove harm, but in practice the procedure is almost serving other objectives. On the one hand, cases where men petition for divorce for irreconcilable differences increased from 22% in 2006 to 44% in 2013, and on the other hand, Shiqaq is often misinterpreted by many Judges who consider it as a divorce for harm. Finally, the Public Prosecutor's intervention to return the evicted spouse to the marital home has not proved very useful.
- **9.** The unequal inheritance legislation contributes to increasing women's vulnerability to poverty. Moreover, the practice of Habous and the rules governing collective land have helped dispossess women of their rights to land or inheritance.
- **10.** Amended in 2007, the Nationality Code grants women the right to pass their nationality to their children (art. 6). However, the Code recognizes to men the right to pass their nationality to their foreign spouses (acquiring nationality through marriage) and denies the same right to women.

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11. The successive revisions of the criminal legislation have partially strengthened the protection of women against violence. This legislation remains, however, patriarchal and infringing on individual freedoms, in its philosophy and provisions. Its provisions introduce a kind of hierarchy among rape victims, for example, (married, unmarried, virgin, non-virgin). It does not criminalize marital rape and criminalizes extramarital sexual relations between consenting adults. In addition to being a violation of women's freedom, restricting abortion rights puts women in a situation of social inequality. Women from wealthy families can abort under good conditions. Women from disadvantaged families, on the other hand, generally resort to practices that are hazardous to their health to abort. Abortion is criminalized and paternity of a child born outside of marriage is not acknowledged by law. So in cases of unwanted pregnancy, young single women find themselves in a real hopeless situation.

3. Women's access to justice

- **12.** The law is effective only when it is fairly and equitably implemented, especially for the most vulnerable social groups who need it most. The right to access to justice is thus a right that guarantees all other rights. But women, especially poor women, face difficulties in accessing justice (proving harm, complex procedures and associated costs).
- 13. The establishment of family departments and special units for women and children in the courts of first instance, appointing social workers to these units, training legal professionals, and establishing a family support fund to support needy divorced mothers and their children have contributed to improving access of individuals, especially women, to justice.
- **14.** But this recent progress cannot hide the realities that have been revealed, in part, in a satisfaction survey conducted by the Ministry of Justice and Liberties. Nearly the third of people interviewed believe that the court procedures are long or very long. Similarly, the exclusive use of Arabic in the family court is a problem for litigants who do not speak the language. The same survey revealed that more than 50% of women entitled to maintenance and alimony do not regularly receive it; about a quarter said they have never received it at all. In addition, legal aid, which concerns criminal cases, virtually offers no services in civil cases.

4. Impunity and legitimacy: gender-based violence and stereotypes

15. Public authorities have launched positive initiatives to fight gender-based violence. These initiatives were further consolidated and expanded by the Constitution, under which "the physical and moral integrity of anyone shall not be undermined by any person whatsoever, private or public, under any circumstances. No one shall inflict upon another, under any pretext whatsoever, any cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment which undermines their dignity" (art. 22).

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- **16.** However, the high prevalence of violence (62.8%) against 6.2 million women, who have been victim, at one time or another in their lives, of an act of violence is largely linked to the social acceptance of gender-based violence and the impunity for the aggressors. According to the National Survey on the Prevalence of Violence against Women (ENPVF, HCP 2009), the acts of violence that are punishable by law are only rarely reported to the competent authorities. Furthermore, the current legal framework is still characterized by many shortcomings: lack of specific legislation on domestic violence, non-criminalization of marital rape, the law is silent on some forms of violence, and finally some forms of violence, as described in the law, do not take into account the realities and the different aspects of gender-based violence.
- 17. School curricula and the media are among the factors that directly or implicitly help produce and reproduce gender stereotypes. These stereotypes justify and cause more gender-based discrimination and violence. These gender stereotypes have even more negative impacts when they are held by the entities that are supposed to protect and promote women's human rights, including the legislator, judges and security officials. Yet these same entities are in fact less feminized and often tend to favour moral and patriarchal values at the expense of the strict and fair implementation of the law.

18. Recommendations

- Withdraw the interpretative declarations to CEDAW, ensure wide dissemination of its provisions, particularly among judges, lawyers and law enforcement officers, and encourage them to consider its standards and provisions;
- Enact, in accordance with the Constitution and the relevant international conventions, a law defining and punishing discrimination with legally binding, proportionate and deterrent sanctions:
- Establish (i) the Authority for Parity and Fight against All Forms of Discrimination, giving the Authority a protection, prevention and promotion mandate and powers to guide, monitor and assess the implementation of all relevant laws and public policies, and (ii) the Advisory Council for Family and Children, with a mandate that would help protect the individual rights of all family members;
- Amend the Family Code in order to give women equal rights in marriage, divorce, relationships with children and inheritance, in accordance with Article 19 of the Constitution and Article 16 of CEDAW; strictly enforce the provisions of the Family Code relating to maintenance and alimony; extend the services of family solidarity fund to reach children born out of wedlock and adopt a plan of measures to raise awareness of, educate and empower all justice sector stakeholders.
- Give women the equal right to pass their nationality to their foreign spouses; enact a specific law on violence against women in accordance with the international standards, and ratify the Council of Europe's Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention);
- Implement the Judicial Reform Charter, take measures that are likely to promote women's

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access to justice (legal assistance for poor litigants, information, reception and orientation in the family justice divisions) and provide for sworn interpreters in courts when one or both litigants do not speak Arabic.

II. EQUALITY AND PARITY IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

19. There are several factors that make the effectiveness of the rights recognized to women that are at the heart of constitutional provisions (Articles 6 and 31) a major concern in Morocco. Indeed, compared to men, Moroccan women are less served by the country's efforts in education/training, health, employment, access to resources and decision-making. These disparities place the issues of equality and gender equity at the heart of the social, economic and political challenges in Morocco.

1. The right to reproductive health

- **20.** In recent decades, women have enjoyed greater access to health services. The contraceptive prevalence rate (67.4%) is higher compared to similar countries⁵. Maternal mortality has declined (112 per 100,000 live births in 2009-2010, decreasing by 50.7% compared to 2003-2004)⁶. Delivery is free of charge in public hospitals and health coverage is now expanded thanks to RAMED, the Moroccan Medical Assistance Plan. These factors have contributed to the recent progress, even though performance is better in countries with comparable economic level.
- **21.** Indeed, the rate of births attended by skilled health personnel did not exceed 63% in 2004 (against 74% in countries with a comparable level of development). The maternal mortality rate in Morocco is one of the highest rates in the Middle East and North Africa. Besides, access to care services is largely determined by social origin. Only nearly half of the 20% of the poorest households have access to antenatal care against nearly 100% of the 20% richest households.

2. Equal and equitable right to education throughout life

- **22.** In addition to being a human right, education for women has a direct and significant impact on life conception, marriage, family, participation in the formal labour market, and, more generally, citizenship. However, the right to education is so far determined by gender and household income.
- 23. According to the National Illiteracy Survey (Ministry of Education, 2012), the illiteracy rate is estimated at 28% (19% in urban and 42% in rural areas). Women are more affected by illiteracy (37% against 25% for men) and even more so in rural areas (55% against 31% for men)⁸. The High Commission for Planning (HCP) estimated the illiteracy rate in 2012 at 36.5% (25.3% of men and 47.6% of women).

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- **24.** Primary education is universal and almost effective in Morocco (97% in 2012), but this is not the case in preschool education (60% in 2012-2013), secondary education (54%) and high school education (29%). In preschool, school enrolment rates in rural areas is estimated at 45% for boys (mostly in Msid and Kuttab) and 25% for girls. The highest and most egalitarian enrolment rate for children aged 7-13 is observed in the richest households (100% for both sexes). However, the gender gap widens for children aged 7-13 from the poorest households (86% for boys and 72% for girls).
- **25.** The number of female students (48% in the public system and 43% private) substantially decreases in postgraduate education (35.9%) and PhD studies (22.37%). Furthermore, female students are overrepresented in some degree programs (dentistry, business and management)¹⁰ and not very present in mathematics, technology, engineering and sciences. The choice of the education field contributes significantly to the segmentation of the labour market and the reproduction of stereotyped roles.
- **26.** In 2010, women accounted for 41% students in vocational training. In rural areas, girls represented only 22% of the total rural trainees and 1% of trainees at the national level¹¹. In 2011-2012, girls were more present in low training levels (31% in the "qualification" level and 39% in the «specialization» level) than in the "technician" and "specialized technician" levels. They are also strongly present in sectors that prepare students (or trainees) to jobs that are labelled as women's.

3. The right to decent paid labour

- **27.** There are several reasons that make women's access to paid employment a challenge that Morocco must win: helping achieve economic independence, fight against school dropout and child poverty, access to social protection and finally justice that supposes that men and women have equal access to the freedoms that a job can offer and face the same job constraints. However, despite progress in women's schooling rates, their low participation in the labour market is a major concern for Morocco.
- **28.** At the national level, men's activity rate is almost three times higher than women's (4 times in urban areas and 2.2 times in rural areas). It is even more disturbing that women's activity has continuously declined (28.1% in 2000 and 25.1% in 2013¹²). Women's employment rate at the national level has also declined over the last decade (from 25% in 2000 to 22.6% in 2014). The female unemployment rate in urban areas reached 21.9% against 12.8% for men¹³. Long-term unemployment which mainly concerns young people along with post-graduate women's unemployment (26.8% against 14.8% for men in 2013)¹⁴ revealed a structural mismatch between the obtained education and degrees and the needs of the labour market, in addition to the insufficient job creation. On the other hand, nearly one in two active women worked an unpaid work in 2012 (70% in rural areas) and almost 50% of active women in rural areas are underemployed (ENE 2012).

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- **29.** The social security schemes, based on a male formal employment model and the assumption that all women have husbands to maintain them, contributes to the exclusion of the majority of female workers from the social protection services. Trade unions do not give a lot of attention to gender and related constraints and female workers do not know their rights. This is actually why gender discrimination in the workplace in considered as a "social normality".
- **30.** In Morocco there are ambivalent attitudes towards paid work for women which is socially conceived as a "necessary evil" accepted or tolerated only when the husband is not able to cater for the family's household needs or when he has insufficient income. This is further aggravated by the lack of public policies that can help balance work and family, women' priority assignment to domestic duties and care and by a discourse that calls on women to abandon work and stay at home.

4. Parity and political/public participation

- **31.** Despite recent progress, Morocco lags behind many countries in the region and the world average in terms of representation of women in elected office. The new constitutional norm on parity and the continued growth of the public administration feminization rate (38.6% in 2012 against 34.4% in 2002), did not help push for the appointment of women in high positions and regulated senior positions.
- **32.** Women's opting out of politics is not related to the scarcity of female expertise¹⁵ but rather to their inability to understand and own public space due to the de-legitimization of their presence in this space and their low inclusion by political parties within their governing bodies. Therefore, the promotion of parity implies, of course, the adoption of binding institutional arrangements but also, and above all, a comprehensive review of the paradigms and guiding principles on which public policies are based.

5. Recommendations

- Develop and implement action plans for the promotion of women's reproductive health in accordance with CEDAW, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD 1994) and General Recommendation No. 24 of the CEDAW Committee (1999) on "Women and Health":
- Prioritize reforms that aim at strengthening the structural transformation of the economy, encouraging investment and stimulating growth to facilitate women's access to decent jobs in innovative and high-productivity sectors, and remove barriers that discourage both employers and women wishing to work;
- Adopt a cross-cutting approach to the integration of gender, taking into account the economic and social challenges as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the situation of women in the labour market:

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- Address constraints such as limited access to financing and other incentives to encourage the creation by women of their own businesses and adopt a women's empowerment approach in the informal sector, in particular female family caregivers and poor self-employers, and ensure their access to property.
- Extend legal protection to women workers by developing decentralized and community-based protection systems, ban domestic work before the age of 18 years, and fight discrimination against women workers, particularly due to maternity, combat the phenomenon of "glass ceiling", and sensitize and feminize the labour inspectorate to ensure better enforcement of labour laws;
- Promote legislative and regulatory measures for the accountability of fathers, provide financial incentives and/or tax benefits for families with two working parents, and develop care services for early childhood and preschool education.
- Promote equal participation at all levels and establish sanctions against all stakeholders who do not respect the principle of parity.

III. PUBLIC POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON WOMEN MOST VULNERABLE TO THE VIOLATION OF THEIR RIGHTS

33. The current limits of public policy concern all areas, particularly in terms of values, paradigms and approaches. These shortcomings have a heavy impact on the social groups that are most vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion.

1. Public action paradigms and governance

- **34.** By producing a specific discourse on how gendered identities are or should be, public policies contribute to strengthening and maintaining these identities or -on the contrary-changing practices and social values. For example, security policies tend to make women responsible for their own safety in public space, and the right of woman to paid labour is relativized in relation to the family. But the paradox is that despite ideological overvaluation of the family, Morocco does not have a real family policy, particularly with regard to the poorest households.
- **35.** In addition to these limits, other shortcomings relate to the governance of public policies. The institutionalization of the cross-cutting integration of gender, a vital lever for achieving real equality, remains not only uncertain but also far to achieve. Furthermore, the departments responsible for the "advancement of women" remain characterized by great institutional instability, a marginal position within the executive, strong centralization and lack of expertise and human and financial resources.
- **36.** At the territorial level, the unavailability of gender-sensitive data, the poor control of result-oriented programming approaches and the paucity of human resources, skills and financial resources are the main characteristics of territorial policies, especially in

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small communities where the need is greatest. Combined with political and bureaucratic resistance and the low presence of women in the decision-making bodies, those limits contribute to the loss of acquired benefits and prevent women from taking advantage from the progress made at national level.

37. Recommendations

- Establish the institutionalization of equality and parity in public policy in accordance with the Constitution and the relevant international conventions, and adapt the priorities of social and economic policies to the rights enshrined therein.
- Integrate the gender approach systematically in the development, implementation, monitoring/evaluation of national and local policies and strategies, by giving priority to the most vulnerable women.
- Implement Article 39 of the Organic Law of Finance (taking account of the gender aspect in setting objectives and indicators), make effective the institutional mechanisms in charge of gender equality in all government departments and at local level, provide them with the necessary powers, mandate and resources, and improve the statistical system and ensure wide dissemination of information to decision makers and public opinion.

2. The "subordinates": women and girls most vulnerable to the violation of their rights

38. Four factors interact strongly on the particular vulnerability of women and girls to discrimination: poverty, age, disability and social exclusion. Combined, these factors make certain categories of women forgotten from public policies or subordinates¹⁶. Indeed, during the past decade, the overall improvement in living standards has significantly reduced poverty in Morocco. However, poverty is not only monetary but strongly depends on how laws and institutions function and interact with the citizens.

Poor elderly women

- **39.** Both men and women suffer age-based discrimination, but women are more likely to live longer periods of poverty. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of elderly widowed women reported having been widows for 10 years and over (67% as against 26.4% of men)¹⁷. Slightly more than 8 out of 10 older women are illiterate, 94% do not receive a retirement pension, 83.7% receive no health cover and, finally, 62.8% have no access to healthcare, due to limited resources (55.1% of men)¹⁸.
- **40.** Sex-based discrimination in employment has cumulative effects over time. According to the National Employment Survey (2012), the participation rate of older women stands at 13.2% (40.2% of men). Only 34.2% of women have carried out an economic activity (96% of men). Older women find themselves with lower income and pensions compared to men, or even without pension at all (97% of women as against 69.6% of men).

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- **41.** Social isolation affects older women in particular (8.4% of elderly urban women live alone). While men get older being married even at an advanced age (90% among the age group 70-74 years and 83.3% among those aged 75 years and over are still married), older women are in most cases widows (60.3% among the age group 70-74 years and 81.6% among those aged 75 and over).
- **42.** Public policies delegate the care for the elderly to families under the pretext of safeguarding family solidarity. The number of shelters for the elderly without means of support (Law 14.05, 2006) is 44 only, receiving 3,504 seniors, of whom more than half are women (2011). However, almost six out of ten people among those without families or the poor believe that the State should set up specialized institutions to accommodate them.

Women with disabilities

- **43.** Morocco, a State party to the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and its Optional Protocol since 2009, and having enshrined the prohibition of disability-based discrimination as a constitutional principle, has been always unable to incorporate such commitments into both its legal framework and its sector-oriented policies.
- **44.** According to the National Disability Survey (Secretariat for the Family, Children and People with Disabilities, 2004), the disability prevalence rate in Morocco would stand at 5.12%. According to the General Census of Population and Housing of 2004, it stood at 2.3% nationally without significant difference based on environment and gender. For both sexes, this rate has been positively correlated with age.
- **45.** The school enrolment rate among children with disabilities aged 6 to 11 years is 34.7% nationally (80.9% among the non-disabled population of the same age group and 22.8% among rural persons with disabilities). In addition, these children are mainly enrolled in institutions not working under the formal education system, which constitutes an impediment to pursuing their schooling after basic education.
- **46.** A tiny minority of women with disabilities aged over 15 years are members of the workforce (5% as against 19.3% of men)¹⁹. The unemployment rate is nearly five times higher among the population with disabilities compared to the population as a whole. This exclusion from the labour market is even stronger among women than men.
- **47.** In 2004, women with disabilities are less in a marriage situation (27.8%) than those who are not (53.5%) and men with disabilities (54.1%). The combination of the increase in the average age at first marriage and a strong celibacy rate indicate situations of high inequalities in the right to found a family, facing persons with disabilities in general, and women with disabilities in particular.

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48. Thus, discrimination on grounds of disability and social background is exacerbated directly by sexual identity and indirectly against the mothers and relatives who substitute for the State in providing care for children and relatives with disabilities. This creates for themselves and their children situations that reinforce the vicious circle of discrimination and poverty.

Single mothers

- **49.** According to Insaf Association²⁰, 210,343 young women had children out of wedlock over the period 2003-2009. Once they are pregnant, 90% of them are excluded from their family and social environment and are thus exposed along with their children to exploitation and violence leading them sometimes to commit suicide, abandon their child or commit infanticide.
- **50.** The exclusion of children of single mothers from maintenance, provided by the 'Fonds d'entraide familiale' (Family Assistance Fund), is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution (Art.32). In addition, these children have no right to the name of their father, even if he is known, and can be registered in the civil status booklet under the family name of their mother, only if the father/brother of the latter authorizes it, but under a name beginning with "Abd".

Domestic girls and women

51. Domestic work of minors, a common practice affecting little girls from rural and peri-urban areas, is "one of the worst forms of child labour". These girls are emotionally isolated, deprived of education, often subject to physical, psychological and sexual abuse and are poorly paid or not paid at all²¹. According to estimates by the *'Collectif petites bonnes'* (an NGO defending little girls working as housemaids), the number of domestic girls aged under 15 in 2010 would be between 60,000 and 80,000, including almost one third who have never been to school and half of them in a situation of school dropout.

Women prisoners

- **52.** According to the prison administration, the number of women prisoners totalled 1,849 (2.5% of the total prison population) and are mostly poorly educated and mostly single. The bulk of this number is held in pre-trial detention (21%) and is sentenced to less than six months (20.53%). Convictions for crimes/offenses or misdemeanours against persons ranked first (24.7%), followed by those against property (21.7%) and finally, against the family and morality (17.2%).
- **53.** The UN Bangkok Rules²² acknowledge that the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners apply to all persons without discriminations. However, these rules, adopted over 50 years ago, do not pay enough attention to the specific needs of women.

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54. The study of the Casablanca-Settat CNDH Regional Commission²³ shows that the rights of detainees are less respected, when it comes to women. Health facilities are generally located in men's pavilions²⁴. Pregnant women and women with their children are in the most critical situations, due to the absence of minimum conditions for decent life. Vocational training and social reintegration opportunities are almost non-existent or limited to professions traditionally perceived as women-oriented (sewing and hairdressing, etc.). Finally, on the grounds of their sex, degrading treatment of women detainees is a common practice, including by medical staff.

55. Recommendations

- Adopt a legislative framework in compliance with CRPD, CEDAW and General Recommendation No. 27 made in 2010 by the CEDAW on "older women and protection of their human rights".
- Implement, in an effective manner, the legal arsenal on accessibility and reinforce the application of all legal texts and decrees relating to equal treatment of prisoners, non-discrimination and non-use of violent and humiliating acts, in accordance with the Bangkok Rules. Expand the partnership with associations and facilitate their access to prisons, in such a way as to ensure their role in monitoring and awareness raising.
- Improve knowledge on the situation of elderly women with disabilities and women prisoners through the collection, analysis and dissemination of standard, timely and gendersensitive data and statistics.
- Adopt a crosscutting approach in all sector-oriented policies, especially in education, health and employment, and fight against violence and stereotypes through public awareness campaigns, training for educational and health professionals, economic and social partners, media professionals, security forces and prison administration staff.

End notes:

- 1. Constitutional Council, Decision No. 943.14 of 25 July 2014.
- 2. Ministry of Justice and Freedoms, Civil Affairs Department, Family Justice: Realities and Prospects, 10 Years of the Family Law Implementation, 2014
- 3. Nouzha Guessouss, "Economia", April 2014
- **4.** National Survey on the Prevalence of Violence against Women (High Commission for Planning, 2009)
- 5. Ministry of Health, ENPSF (a national survey of the population and family health), 2009
- 6. ENDPR (a national demographic survey), 2009-2010
- 7. ENPSF, 2011
- 8. Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training, National Survey on Illiteracy, 2012
- 9. Ministry of National Education, 2006-2007
- 10. Gender Report, 2014
- 11. Vocational Training Department, "Girls in the Vocational Training System", October 2009
- 12. HCP, "Activity, Employment and Unemployment", Year 2014
- 13. HCP, "National Employment Survey", 2013
- 14. HCP, "Activity, Employment and Unemployment", Year 2014
- **15.** According to the Interior Ministry, 71% of local elected women are educated to secondary education or above (as against 52% of men).
- 16. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 2009.
- 17. HCP: National Elderly Survey, 2006.
- **18.** Idem.
- 19. General Census of Population and Housing, 2004.
- **20.** Morocco's single mothers.
- **21.** Insaf: "Pour l'éradication du travail des « petites bonnes » au Maroc : Eléments de plaidoyer" (To eradicate the work of "little housemaids" in Morocco: advocacy insights), lune 15, 2014.
- **22.** UN Rules for the Treatment of Female Prisoners and Non-Custodial Measures for Women Offenders (Rules A/C.3/65/L.5); October 6, 2010.
- **23.** These centres are located in Mohamedia, Benslimane, Ain Sebaa, Berrechid, Ali Moumen, Settat, El Jadida and Benahmed. (draft study)
- 24. With the exception of the detention centre of Ain Sebaa.

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