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Hannah Elizabeth Farda

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Societies at War, the Sexes at Peace

An examination of revolutionary conflict and its impact on gender roles in the MENA region

By
Hannah E. Farda

Submitted in partial fulfillment of Honors Requirements for the Department of Sociology

Professor Amy Steinbugler, Supervisor
Professor Eric Love, Reader
Assistant Provost Shalom Staub, Reader

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“Hajj Ali, Faqih, Rahal, his wife, and so many others. Safia, Roukia, Walter. I met them on the long trek to independence and grew to love them all. What a time that was! A time that will never come again. They all disappeared with the end of colonization. No, that’s not entirely true. I saw Hajj Ali; Faqih and Roukia visited me in Rabat, saw how badly my husband behaved, and never returned. Now no one asks after me. How could they know? And even if they did know, would they come to see me in this abyss now that they are caids\(^1\) and pashas\(^2\)?”

Excerpt from Leila Abouzeid’s *Year of the Elephant*

“The language of the film makes clear that her journey is not only real but highly symbolic, from what Western anthropologists of the Maghrib\(^3\) would call the secretive, cloistered, domestic, female world to its binary opposite, the male and public exterior domain.”

(Slyomovics 1995, 8).

**INTRODUCTION**

In Morocco and Algeria, just as in many countries throughout the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region there has traditionally been a strict division between the private and public sphere. The private sphere is the female sphere, the space within the home that is associated with all things domestic. Men rule the public sphere, a space from which women have traditionally been excluded. This strict division between private and public space also shapes the interactions between men and women, or perhaps more accurately the lack

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\(^1\) Leader

\(^2\) Governor of a province

\(^3\) Geographical North Africa
thereof. This divide between private and public recreates and perpetuates the idea that men and women who are not related or married should not have any social interaction (Mernissi 1987). Knowing that there is such a strict separation between male and female, between public and private, lends significance and importance to women’s participation in colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria. With this traditional emphasis on a split between public and private, and women’s exclusion from the public sphere, how can one explain their participation in colonial resistance? A participation that, as exemplified by the Susan Slyomovics quote prior to this section, was characterized by a transgression from traditional conceptions of public and private and of the appropriate forms of social interactions between men and women.

This exclusion of women from the public sphere in the MENA region is widely discussed. It is no secret that these societies are highly gendered, with clearly and strictly defined roles for men and women. Another word often linked to the MENA region is conflict, as many countries that comprise this part of the world have a shared conflict-ridden history. A definition of conflict provided by Marc Howard-Ross, a leading conflict theorist posits,

Conflict occurs when parties disagree about the distribution of material or symbolic resources and because of the incompatibility of goals or a perceived divergence of interests...not all conflict is violent, but physical violence is one form political conflict takes (Ross 1993, 16).

At times, this conflict has taken the form of colonial resistance, the basis of which is in line with Ross’s definition of conflict. Colonizers monopolize countries’ resources in both a material and symbolic sense. The material monopolization of resources occurs in terms of land and manpower. The symbolic monopolization of resources occurs when
colonizers impose cultural ideals upon the people they have colonized. This is particularly important when examining conflict in the MENA region, as colonizers often attempted to stir social tensions through “liberating” the women of the country which they colonized. This is interpreted in the eyes of men in colonized nations as colonizers claiming native women as their own. Colonial resistance is a challenge to this cooptation of resources, and an attempt to return control of the distribution of these resources to the nation in which they are contained. Although violence is not always a qualification of conflict, the colonial resistance strategies discussed in this thesis are characterized by violence employed to meet political and nationalistic interests.

In times of conflict, and more specifically in times of colonial resistance in the countries of the MENA region, gender lines may blur. Women, who have traditionally been relegated to the private sphere and have been largely excluded from participation in public and political life, temporarily engage in an activity traditionally considered reserved for men: militant resistance. The engagement of women in militant activities is studied through the examples of colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria.

The choice of Morocco and Algeria as case studies results from my experience living in Morocco. In my time there, I witnessed the constraints placed upon women as a result of the strict gender binary. While there I had the opportunity to read a portion of Alison Baker’s *Voices of Resistance*, a collection of oral histories and analyses describing the experience of Moroccan female resistance fighters in colonial resistance. This fostered curiosity and a drive to further understand this temporary lift during resistance of the strict division separating women and men and why it did not lead to lasting societal change after liberation. Algeria was chosen as the second case study because although Algeria and Morocco had the same colonizer
and a similar culture, the Algerian instances of colonization and resistance were in some ways different. Most notably these differences were in the extensiveness of French occupation, the level of violence in the Algerian resistance, and the way in which the female Algerian militant was constructed at the national level. Therefore the choice of these two case studies serves a dual-purpose. First the two different case studies allow one to examine the different dynamics of women’s participation in colonial resistance. Secondly, they allow insights to emerge in terms of the pervasive force of patriarchy. This understanding surfaces through the observation that despite nuances in the scope and constructed understanding of women’s participation in colonial resistance, women were pushed back into traditional roles in both countries post-liberation.

The importance of understanding and analyzing women’s participation in colonial resistance is the way in which it violates social norms, as it permits a traversal of traditional gender roles, and the insight this provides into understanding gender relations. The experience of female militants is also important because it illustrates the general distinction between the experiences of women who comprise the upper, educated elite and the women who are part of the more representative uneducated, impoverished masses. It is important to understand the impact of class status and education on women’s social mobility. The few women who are members of higher social classes and are well educated often have more freedom and social mobility. This freedom and social mobility is exemplified by their attainment of high-level positions in public service and political organizations in the postrevolutionary context. On the other hand, it is often poor, uneducated women who face the most social constraints and are predominately confined to the private sphere. It is these women that participated in the militant aspect of colonial resistance. This militant role, in
light of the close relationship between these women's experiences and that of present day Algerian and Moroccan women and the increasing severity of social constraints placed upon them, is why women's participation in colonial resistance is the focus of this analysis.

Through an examination of women's participation in colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria, this thesis seeks to understand what the conditions are that facilitate this seemingly contradictory yet widespread phenomenon. What is unique about times of conflict that makes it permissible for women's emergence into the realm of men and militant resistance? Why in the postrevolutionary period is there a swift and sudden return to the status quo? By using both conflict and revolution theory to analyze Moroccan and Algerian women's role in colonial resistance, I explore how a greater comprehension of women's role in conflict can help forge an understanding of the connection between conflict and societal gender roles.

Chapter One - Literature Review

Conflict and revolution have long been the means of bringing about political and societal transitions in the MENA region. Earlier scholars that studied these periods often examined the impact and outcomes of these transitions at the levels of the state and of revolutionary participation amongst political elites and the masses. Richard Lachmann argues that a successful revolution must incorporate the cooperation of both the elite and a mobilization of the masses (Lachmann 1997). Jack Goldstone's work is also concerned with elite and mass participation and he focuses specifically on the capability of urban masses and youth to influence revolutionary outcomes (Goldstone 1997).

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4 postrevolutionary, rather than post-revolutionary, is the form the Julie Shayne used in her book The Revolution Question. Since I am employing her concepts I have also adapted her terminology.
However, these scholars fail to examine women’s unique role in these transitional periods and the capability of their roles to both shape and be affected by revolutionary processes. These scholars do not consider how seemingly positive political changes may be accompanied by negative impacts on women’s status in society. To address this research void, in the 1990’s feminist researchers began to turn their eye to examining the role of women in times of political transitions in the MENA region and the effect that these transitions have on women’s rights and societal positions (Brand 1998). Furthermore, scholars of revolutionary theory have begun to examine the implications of women’s role in revolutionary transitional periods in order to both give credit to women’s impact on these societal transitions and to better understand the factors that lead to women’s vulnerable positions in the post-conflict period (Foran 1997). These scholars include Laurie Brand, who employs examples of revolution and societal transformation from Eastern Europe and China to begin to explain the unique effect that revolutionary transitions have on women’s status in the MENA region (Brand 1998). Sheila Rowbotham’s work emphasizes the importance of women’s liberation for the liberation of societies as a whole and explores how women negotiate revolutionary frameworks that have been defined by men (Rowbotham 1972). Valentine Moghadam explains the impact of revolution on women’s status in the post-conflict episode by outlining two distinct models of revolution. The first places women’s liberation at the center of its aspirations, and the second places women in a patriarchal social and cultural context (Moghadam 1995). Finally, Julie Shayne, whom I will address in much more detail later, has produced a framework for the realization of a revolutionary feminism amongst female revolutionary militants (Shayne 2004).
In their work, these individuals have sought to answer the questions of what women offer to revolution and how revolution impacts the development of feminism (Shayne 2004, 9). In order to begin to understand these questions in the context of women’s roles in colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria, the remainder of this literature review first explains the performance and assignment of gender roles in each of these nations. This chapter then discusses the theorists whose work on conflict and revolution explains 1) why women are brought into resistance efforts, 2) the context of their participation, and 3) the necessary conditions that must be achieved for these women to work towards their own liberation in the post-conflict period.

*Construction of Gender Roles in Morocco and Algeria*

Examining traditional gender roles in Morocco and Algeria permits an understanding of the distinct position of men and women during the colonial period in each of these nations. As Fatima Mernissi explains, the strictly defined gender roles in these nations are rooted in the Muslim construction of sexuality and its strict division of spatial boundaries (Mernissi 1987, 137). This spatial division has produced two effects within Muslim societies. First, as a result of this spatial division there is a strict separation of men and women and therefore there is no condoned instance for men and women who are unrelated and are not husband and wife to interact. Any interaction between them would be considered illicit. Secondly, Muslim society, and therefore Moroccan and Algerian society, is divided into two distinct spheres. The first is the sphere of the *umma*, or community. This is the public sphere and is reserved for men. The second sphere is the domestic space, the home. This space is reserved for women, and is the universe of family and sexuality (ibid).
The division of these spheres creates a physical separation between men and women that serves to maintain strictly defined gender roles. This emphasis on strictly defined gender roles creates two unique worlds for men and women in which the only licit relations are homosocial. This fosters a fear of the opposite sex and hyper-sexualizes any interactions between members of the opposite sex. Within a traditional Muslim context, the only acceptable cooperation between men and women is for the purposes of procreation, and this cooperation can only occur between husband and wife (ibid, 137-9).

*The Social Function of Conflict and the Distinctiveness of Societal Level Conflict*

I draw upon two theorists in order to provide an explanation for the relaxation of these strictly defined gender roles and gendered spaces during conflict periods. The first, sociologist Lewis Coser, is responsible for pioneering work on the function of social conflict and group identity formation. His analysis highlights how the existence of the in-group is relational to the existence of the adverse opposition. The second, conflict theorist Marc Howard Ross, explains the way that societal level conflict operates to produce both positive and negative outcomes. In Ross’s specific consideration of the social, cultural and political factors that unite members of an in-group his analysis expands Coser’s ideas of in-group formation.

*In-group Identity Formation*

Furthering George Simmel’s social conflict theory, sociologist Lewis Coser provides an explanation of the social function of conflict in modern society. According to Coser, an in-group is established by conflict with an outside entity. The in-group only exists in relationship to the out-group with which it is in conflict. The existence of this out-group increases the cohesion of the in-group (Coser 1964, 87-8). This increased cohesion derives
from the ability of social conflict to increase participation and mobilization of group members and to make group members more aware of the bonds that unite them. This is because the out-group, which in the case of Morocco and Algeria would be the colonial power, is a negative reference group. As a negative reference group, this opposition represents all values and motivations that are antithetical to those of the in-group. This out-group, or negative reference group, provides a focus for the release of in-group tensions, thus lessening the emphasis on the in-group’s internal differences (ibid, 90).

The formation of this in-group at the societal level, i.e. the mobilization of the whole of Morocco and Algeria, also serves to increase internal cooperation. Formation of a unified in-group at the societal level equates to a large group size. Large group size results in a diminishing of the ability of internal disputes to derail in-group efforts to challenge out-group opposition. Small disputes increase internal cooperation because they cause a reassertion of group identity in relation to the in-group belief that their values and motivations are entirely disparate from those of the oppositional out-group (ibid, 98-9).

Essentially, the basis of in-group identity formation is the presence of the out-group. The out-group provides a means of releasing existing internal social tensions on an external entity. In societies such as Morocco and Algeria that are characterized by social tensions between genders, the presence of an oppositional out-group allows for the relaxing of internal tensions and increased in-group cohesion. The emphasis on the differences between men and women then becomes less important. Rather than a society that is divided between what is male and what is female, there exists only one society composed of Moroccans or Algerians respectively, united in the interest of opposing the existing out-group. This highlights an important argument in Coser’s work that since in-group cohesion results from the existence
of an out-group, the elimination of the out-group ends the existence of the in-group. When there is not an out-group that provides the focus of the in-group’s aggression the in-group can no longer maintain internal cohesion because there is no larger goal to replace the focus on tensions between its members (ibid, 104). In the case of colonial resistance, the vanquishing of the out-group, in this case the colonizer, removes the common factor around which the entire in-group is united, thus bringing the complete cooperation and mobilization of in-group members to an end.

**Societal Level Conflict and the Formation of Group Identity and Interests**

In *The Management of Conflict*, Marc Howard Ross delineates between societal level and dispute level conflicts. This delineation highlights the distinctiveness of societal level conflicts. At the dispute level, disagreements stem from two parties contesting the meaning of a particular issue or event. These disputes are often the manifestation of a societal level conflict which stems from existing social cleavages. A societal level conflict surfaces because of the underlying differences between parties and the parties’ understanding that these differences are irreparable (Ross 1993, 74). Additionally, within societal-level conflicts there is potential for negative and positive impacts. Determining whether conflict is having a positive or negative impact requires an assessment of the context in which the conflict is occurring (ibid, 76-77).

In the case of colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria, individuals were striving to establish independence in their nations. In order to do so, individuals united into groups that shared a common goal of eradicating a common threat, the colonizer. Ross describes all of these as positive aspects of conflict in that individuals are committing to strategies, uniting to achieve them, and working to limit or eliminate the authority of an unwanted leader. When
conflict causes this positive impact, it can serve as an impetus for social and political change (ibid).

The impact of societal level conflict on social relations is that it provides a way for disadvantaged groups to challenge a more powerful group. This facilitates a number of changes in the organization of communities and in the distribution of resources (ibid). As it stands, this theory only considers social changes occurring in the shift of power between two opposing parties. It is also important to consider social changes that occur within one-in-group as a result of societal level conflict, that is to say, how the roles of women in Morocco and Algeria changed within their in-group of colonial resistors united in the common goal of eradicating colonialism. The distinctiveness of a societal level conflict is important because it produces the formation of a common goal that unites the members of a particular in-group.

Just as conflict is characterized by two or more parties with conflicting goals, it is also characterized by the unification of goals within opposing parties. Often conflicts occur between pre-existing groups; however the disputes and divergence of goals that form the basis of conflicts also cause the formation of new groups. Individuals have a strong sense of group identity. This group identity can develop across cultures and age groups, but more importantly here, across sexes (ibid, 75). Identification with a group and unity in a common goal permits social cohesion and cooperation, and so in times of conflict, individuals who wouldn’t usually cooperate and share the same space will do so as a result of their shared in-group identity (ibid, 76). In periods of conflict, the most important cultural values are superceded by larger in-group goals and ideals (ibid, 77). Therefore, within colonial resistance nationalistic interests such as obtaining autonomy and status as an independent nation-state, have the ability to contribute to the formation of an in-group identity. This in-
Group identity trumps cultural values of traditional gender roles that are defined by no interaction between members of the opposite sex and a sexualized division of labor and spaces. Group identity and interests contribute to shaping individuals', and more importantly women's, roles in resistance and revolution.

Ross and Coser's theories on in-group identity formation and high order goals can be used to provide a theoretical basis for women's participation in revolution. Coser's explanation of the connection between the in-group and out-group also explains why women's participation in the public sphere may come to an abrupt end after the resistance period. Both explore conflict and its influence in creating social change in a similar way, but neither explicitly examines gender roles as a variable affected by conflict.

*Gender, Revolution, and Women's Liberation*

Valentine Moghadam, a feminist scholar whose work concentrates on revolution, attempts to fill the void of scholarship on revolution that fails to discuss gender's role. Studies of revolution note that gender relations traverse all facets of revolutionary societies including culture, ideologies, and political ideals. Revolution, like conflict, induces the involvement of the whole of society in achieving these ideals, and because of this, for the same reasons that colonial resistance can be considered a form of conflict, it can also be seen as revolutionary. In *Gender and Revolutions*, Moghadam defines revolution as:

Attempts to rapidly and profoundly change political and social structures; they involve mass participation; they usually, but not always, entail violence or the use of force; they include notions of the "ideal," society; [and] have some cultural reference points (Moghadam 1997, 139).

This concept of an ideal society involves the formation of a nationalist identity amongst revolutionaries that concerns ideas of ethnicity, religion, class, and gender. Nations in a state of revolution spend a considerable amount of time addressing family law, the position of
women in society, and men’s interests. Since a society’s idea of gender also shapes its idea of
the ideal society, gender roles are affected by revolutionary processes which are times of
social change (ibid, 137-138).

Gender impacts the path and results of revolutions and is an integral part of the social
structure. Moghadam is in dialogue with other scholars on revolution that highlight the
necessity of investigating how situations within revolutions, and the results of revolutions,
are related to gender roles in a society. The next step in this process is an examination of how
the state of gender within a society prior to revolution, the nature of groups formed in times
of a revolution and the objectives of a revolution all factor into whether a revolution results
in a society with patriarchal structures, or a movement towards modernization (ibid, 139).
This approach provides a framework for an examination of gender roles prior to colonial
resistance, the aims of colonial resistance, and what goals united the groups opposing
colonial occupation.

Another important aspect of Moghadam’s analysis is the consideration of how
participation in a revolution is liberating in and of itself for women (ibid, 141). This
imagined liberation can be detrimental to women, as it may prevent them from realizing the
necessity of continuing to work for their own liberation in the postrevolutionary period. Julie
Shayne explains this further by examining whether women’s participation in revolution
provides an adequate catalyst in and of itself for a lasting change in women’s traditional
societal roles. Shayne posits that in order for a lasting change in women’s roles to occur,
female resistance fighters must employ a revolutionary feminism in the postrevolutionary
context. There are two important aspects of this revolutionary feminism. First of all, the
proponents of the movement, the women who participated in the revolution for national
emancipation, must gain their organizational skills and political awareness through their experience in the revolutionary period. The second factor results from the first: this movement must challenge the existing political structures that are perceived as being rooted in patriarchy, and are therefore the cause of the oppression of women (Shayne 2004, 60). The realization of this revolutionary feminism is predicated upon five factors. The general lack of these five factors within the experience of female Moroccan and Algerian militants may help to explain why the participation of women in the public sphere during resistance did not continue into the postrevolutionary period.

These five factors are 1) that women revolutionaries must challenge socially demanded roles and 2) receive activism training; 3) that a sociopolitical cleavage must occur in the postrevolutionary period and 4) that female militants must feel that their revolution did not finish with national liberation, which leads to the last component, 5) the manifestation of a collective feminist consciousness (ibid, 10).

Ross and Coser’s theories provide a space for examining women’s participation in colonial resistance. Moghadam specifically examines the impact of revolution on gender and highlights the potential of patriarchy to affect the outcome of women’s roles in a postrevolutionary society. Moghadam creates an overarching link between Ross and Coser’s theories and Shayne’s theory on the necessity of the political consciousness, because she establishes the connection between patriarchy and women’s pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, and postrevolutionary roles in society. Shayne’s 5 points allow for a close examination of the context of women’s participation in the revolutionary and postrevolutionary period. Shayne’s work focuses on women in El Salvador, Chile and Cuba. Since her work is looking at a different socio-historical context than my own, I am able to apply this same framework
through a different cultural lens to provide a new analysis. In this thesis I focus on women’s participation in colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria. This is in order to better understand the scope and implications of the participation of women in the public sphere during times of conflict and why this participation may end in the post-conflict period.

**Chapter Two - Methods**

In this project I analyze two countries from the MENA region, Morocco and Algeria, because despite their overarching similarities a number of key differences exist between the two countries. Their overarching similarities include similar cultures, a predominantly Muslim population, and a similar emphasis on a strict gender binary. Their variances include their different colonial heritage, variations in the levels of violence during their resistance periods, and unique reasons for the formation of nationalism in each country. Highlighting both the convergences and divergences of each nation’s pre-colonial, colonial, and revolutionary period enriches the analysis by providing a wider base for understanding the impact of all of these periods on the role of women in postrevolutionary Moroccan and Algerian society.

Government entities and organizations in both nations have archival records of the periods of colonial resistance and ideally I would like to have examined these primary documents. However, once again I am constrained by time, location and language. Even with my proficient French translating these texts would have proven difficult, and in-depth interviews with surviving female militants in my conversational Arabic would have been impossible. Therefore, in the tradition of the female resistance fighters whose experiences are examined within this work, I was resourceful.
I first sought to corroborate my knowledge of the pre-colonial and colonial period in Morocco and Algeria, knowing that this would provide necessary contextual information for the reader. Imperative to an understanding of the pre-colonial and colonial period is an understanding of women's role and position within these periods in Morocco and Algeria. To garner this information, I turned to research by regional specialists, some of whom were North African themselves, and so not only had a personal investment in their subject matter, but were writing about a period through which they had lived.

The next important part of my research was to read analyses and oral histories discussing the participation of women in the colonial resistance period. This is the focus of my project and so it played a significant role in providing me with an increased understanding of these roles and a background to accurately convey the scope of women’s participation in the resistance movement. The works that analyzed women’s participation were useful because they provided leads as to what factors I should focus on in order to understand the significance and context of women’s participation in colonial resistance, and also what made that period so exceptional.

Oral histories were important in my data analysis for a number of reasons. On a personal level, I wanted to make sure that I was hearing the voices of women that have largely been silenced since the period of colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria. In addition, what is known of oral histories also helped me better understand the attitudes that women had towards their participation in the colonial resistance period. Alison Baker, one oral historian whose work I turned to, explains the significance of the oral history mode. Oral histories are not related in a way that is linear and concrete. Nor are they entirely rooted in
fact and events. Baker goes on to explain that it is oral history's lacking of these qualities that lends to it significance.

The embellishments and euphemisms that women make in describing this period provide an insight into what women's participation in this period meant to them and how they understood and framed their role in colonial resistance (Baker: 1995, 47). These embellishments do not diminish the accuracy of these women's stories, rather they demonstrate to the oral historian what the subject considers to be the most influential and significant period of her life. For the women who participated in colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria this period is the time when they were engaged in the effort against colonialism and had their courage and wits called upon daily as they participated in the resistance (Baker 1998, 6).

I feel that my sources are reliable because there were recurring themes across them. For example, nationalism was discussed in the sources I used to provide context, sources on analyses of women's roles, and sources that included oral histories. This made me acutely aware that nationalism was something that I should be examining in order to better understand women's role in colonial resistance, but also reassured me that the overlap in my sources meant that none of them were talking about an exceptional instance or pattern. I used this overlap to begin to draw patterns between the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial period. In doing so, what became apparent to me was the centrality of the ways in which women's participation in colonial resistance was framed at the national and political level.

Since I am doing this work retrospectively, naturally I knew the outcome of women's participation in colonial resistance. However, I wanted to endeavor to answer two questions: first of all, why women were able to play this role in colonial resistance and secondly, why
did post-episodic society so abruptly return to gender roles that were characteristic of the pre-revolutionary state. To answer these questions I first turned to conflict theory and a sociological explanation of group formation during times of conflict. I then realized that not only must one analyze the context of women’s participation in colonial resistance but also the specific way in which their participation was constructed. For this purpose I readapted a framework for the formation of a revolutionary feminist consciousness. This study, while historically focused, is primarily a study of gender dynamics and could lead to further explanation of current gender roles in the MENA region.

Chapter Three - Morocco and Algeria: Colonialism and Resistance

Morocco and Algeria are two nations united by a number of commonalities. Both are principally Muslim and are comprised of two predominating ethnic groups, Berbers\(^5\) and Arabs, and both were subject to colonial rule. The story of each nation’s colonization is where their differences become more apparent. Until 1912 when Morocco became a protectorate of both the Spanish and the French, it had remained autonomous. There were previous attempts by the Spanish, English, Portuguese and Ottoman empires to establish settlements but Moroccan forces had repeatedly deterred these potential colonizers (Woolman 1968, 2). When the French invaded Algeria, the story was much different. Algeria had been dominated by the Ottoman Empire since 1525 (Abun-Nasr 1963, 166). Although colonization by the French in 1830 was simply a change of leadership, it was a dramatic one. Whereas Ottoman’s had permitted local Algerian rulers to remain in power and allowed Islam to flourish, France proceeded to do away with the local ruling elite, and spent the next 11 years deciding whether or not to make Algeria a territory or simply colonize its shores for

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\(^5\) The Berbers were the original inhabitants of both countries, inhabit mountainous regions, and operate within a tribal kinship system that is still maintained to this day.
French exploit (Hannoum 2010, 19). Although Algeria was intended to be an extension of the French empire, Morocco was only a protectorate of Spain and France. This protectorate status meant that colonizers were not concerned with making Morocco an extension of France, but that their primary interest was in the country’s natural resources and potential for industrialization (Woolman 1968). This translated to Morocco maintaining many of its cultural aspects, although each major city had a “Nouvelle Ville,” home to the French colons and complete with European architecture and broad avenues (Holden 2008).

Just as colonization varied in Algeria and Morocco, so did colonial resistance. Moroccan resistors organized into secret cells, whereas Algerians formed the National Liberation Army (A.L.N.). Resistors in both nations perpetuated violent acts to disrupt and eradicate the mantle of colonialism. Just as colonization was far more extreme and strict in Algeria than in Morocco, so was the level of violence during the Algerian Revolution.

The intent of this section is to provide the reader with a contextual background for understanding the characteristics of pre-colonial and colonial Morocco and Algeria and the forms that colonial resistance took in both nations. This includes general information such as: the length of colonization and colonial resistance, the levels of violence, and the forms which that resistance took. This general introduction to colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria will be followed by a more specific focus on how colonial resistance activity was and was not gendered and in what specific ways women participated in colonial resistance.

Colonization in Algeria

In 1841, after eleven years of occupation, the French resolved to make Algeria a territory. At this time military leaders also established the Arab Bureau, an institution of young French officers trained in the humanities (Hannoum 2010, 19). The purpose of this
institution was to increase French control and knowledge of Algeria and to establish order through the study of the native population and the country (ibid, 54). By 1871, the French had exponentially increased their knowledge of Algeria, but would never achieve a true understanding of this colony (ibid, 95).

Algerian resistance to colonization was strong and began at the inception of French occupation, led by Amir ‘Abdul-Qadir who was recognized as the leader of the Kabyl tribes. Abdul-Qadir’s authority continued until 1840, at the time of a change in French leadership and just before a total occupation was initiated by France. Abdul-Qadir was defeated by the French military regime and at this point two characteristics of French occupation of Algeria were solidified. The first was the beginning of conflict over land between colonizers and the local Algerian population, and the second was a demand by French settlers for the implementation of a completely French political and administrative system (Abun-Nasr: 1963, 240-5).

By 1870 French administration of Algeria began to shift from military to civilian control. From this point forward until the time of the First World War all political and economic structures in Algeria were geared towards benefiting the colons. The Arab-Muslim identity was stifled and all things French were imposed upon the Algerian people. Algerians were referred to by one homogenous term, “Muslim,” which was associated with backwardness and a lack of civility, and were subjected to a number of legal restrictions within their own country (ibid, 313). The nationalist movement in Algeria solidified from 1930-1939, just when the French were celebrating full cultural assimilation. Unsuccessful, but sometimes very violent uprisings took place from the outset of colonization, but colonial resistance reached its final phase with the onset of World War II.

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6 Berbers in Algeria
and France’s defeat at the hands of Germany. Farhat Abbas became the spokesman of the nationalist movement at this time. Up until this point French colonization of Algeria was marked by fierce repression of the local population, both legally and culturally. Algerians responded to this oppression by attacking French citizens at random (ibid, 320-6). Algerians saw violent resistance as their only avenue to freedom from colonial rule. With the establishment of a nationalist movement, which was focused on the reassertion of Algerians’ Muslim and Arab heritage and the reclamation of Algerian women, the Algerian Revolution was born. The conception of this movement ended random and sporadic uprisings; Algerians were now organizing and reestablishing the legitimacy of their Arab and Muslim heritage and demanding a return to their traditional values and cultural heritage.

In 1954, plans for the Algerian Revolution began to be drawn up by resistance group leaders; in a later meeting the date was set and the name “National Liberation Front” (F.L.N.) was chosen for the organization. The F.L.N. established the National Liberation Army (A.L.N.) and shortly before 1955, the French knew that Algeria was on the cusp of a revolution. (ibid, 328-9). It is within the context of the Algerian Revolution, lasting from 1955 until Algerian independence in 1962 and characterized by extreme acts of violence carried out by both sides, that the role of women resistance fighters will be examined.

**Women and Colonial Resistance in Algeria**

In Algeria the French had attempted to dismantle Islam, Algerians were facing residential segregation, unemployment, and men were resorting to migrating in order to support their families. The response to this was an even stronger return to Islam, and the Muslim family being seen as an oasis from colonialism. In this environment the patriarchal
family gained importance and the F.L.N. and A.L.N. did not make any provisions for the participation of women in the resistance effort (Moghadam 1997, 146-8).

In 1955 the F.L.N. made the decision to involve women in the revolutionary effort out of a sense of urgency and dire need. Women had previously helped guerrilla fighters in the mountains, but had not themselves been militants. The involvement of women as militants in the Algerian Revolution happened in phases. First organizers turned to the wives of militants, and then women whose husbands had died in the effort and divorced women, then finally young girls demanded that they be allowed to participate in the revolutionary effort. At this point, the F.L.N. conceded to taking the support of any woman. For a young woman, involvement in the Algerian Revolution caused a striking change in her life. Normally veiled, and confined to the limits of the Kasbah⁷, young revolutionaries removed their veils and dressed like French women to become inconspicuous and to move freely between the Algerian old city and the French Nouvelle Ville. These women stood watch outside of meetings at first, and by the second year of women’s military involvement were being used to carry revolvers, grenades and bombs. These women had to redefine themselves in a different way. Algerian women recreated themselves as French women, wearing their clothes, and even carrying alternate I.D. cards, to pass without question (Rowbotham 1972, 238-9).

Upwards of 10,000 women participated in the Algerian revolution in a number of different capacities. The overwhelming majority of them served as nurses, cooks or laundresses (Moghadam 1997, 147). There were also a great number of women that served as couriers and bomb carriers (ibid), because initially Algerian women were rarely searched by

⁷ The Kasbah is a traditional fortress structure in North African architecture; it is basically a small enclosed city, built on the coast to ward off attacks.
the French. Later, when unveiled women became subject to searches by authorities, Algerian women once again adopted the veil, as a conscious political step. The veil was once the marker that separated a married woman from a concubine, and now was transformed into an instrument and symbol of the Algerian revolution (Rowbotham 1972, 239). Algerian women joined in the resistance effort independently, but relied on other women for camaraderie.

A female Algerian resistance fighter’s own identity changed as she put her life in peril, risking death or imprisonment. Her relationship with her family changed as well, with many women experiencing more freedom from their families as they gained more confidence through their revolutionary experiences. Normally an Algerian daughter or wife would not travel from home on her own; however the time of Algerian revolution was one of political urgency. Fathers and husbands permitted their daughters and wives to partake in the Algerian Revolution without shame, knowing that other compatriots were making this exception for the greater cause of liberating Algeria from the grasp of colonialism (ibid). However, there was a down side. The French were far crueler in Algeria than they were in Morocco. Algerian female revolutionaries faced humiliation and embarrassment at the hands of French police officers, and were raped and abused by French officers in Algerian refugee camps (ibid, 240).

Spanish and French Occupation of Morocco

Whereas the French resident generals in Algeria instituted a policy of total assimilation and eradication of culture, resident general Lyautey (1912-25) was not inclined to interfere with Morocco’s traditions. This and the previously mentioned fact that unlike Algeria, Morocco was autonomous until 1912 are two important differences between the forms that colonization took in these two countries. The Berbers are the original inhabitants
of Morocco, with some Rifian tribes having roots that trace back to the end of the 8th century. When Morocco became a protectorate of France in 1912, the country consisted of two distinct parts, Blad al Makzhen and Blad al Siba, a division which Lyautey chose to maintain in order to prevent a unified uprising (Abun-Nasr 1963, 355). The former was the area under control of the Sultanate which was comprised of land lying between the cities of Fez, Rabat, Casablanca, Tangier, Essaouira, and Marrakesh (Woolman 1968, 4). This land was of particular interest to the French, as it was considered "Le Maroc Utile," and thus received a modernizing infrastructure, including an extensive rail system, in order to facilitate the French export industry (Abun-Nasr 1963, 355). The latter was the land controlled by Berber tribes and constituted about 80% of Morocco at that time (Woolman 1968, 4). In the early days of Spanish and French colonization it was in areas that were Berber speaking that resistance to colonization was the strongest. Berber resistance to colonization began in 1913 and lasted until 1933. It is notable that Lyautey’s administration also successfully co-opted some Berber leaders in the South. This was again in an attempt to maintain social divisions in order to prevent the formation of nationalism and a unified resistance effort that would interfere with the initial conquest of Morocco (Abun-Nasr 1963, 357). With the submission of the Ait Atta, Ait Murghad and Ait Hadiddu tribes in 1933, any significant Berber resistance to colonization ended (Hart ASR, 21-22).

Whereas Algeria was a French territory, Morocco was simply a protectorate and France’s primary interest in Morocco was the exploitation of its natural resources, such as minerals and its rich land (Abun-Nasr 1963, 360). One positive aspect of this primarily

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8 Spain colonized a small portion of Northern Morocco, including Tangier, Chefchouen, and Tetouan, but Morocco was never officially a Spanish protectorate.
9 Governed Territory
10 Land of no authority
11 Useful Morocco
economic interest was the development of a strong economic infrastructure including power and rail lines, and a paved highway system that served the nation well in its post-colonial development. It was also this infrastructure development that contributed to some of the early stirrings of nationalism in Morocco. Moroccans saw this infrastructure for what it was, a function of colonization meant to benefit the Europeans, yet it was built with Moroccans’ tax dollars (ibid, 362).

By 1930 Morocco had a modern economic sector and had experienced monumental population growth, resulting in the birth of a Moroccan proletariat class. At the same time, a group of Moroccan elites, educated in the lycées\(^\text{12}\) of the French protectorate, were beginning a nationalist movement focused on social and economic grievances. This group did not initially include the proletariat in its movement, but in 1936 when Moroccan workers were excluded from newly formed trade unions they reached the consciousness that liberation was necessary. At this point members of the elite religious class, the Zawiya, began recruiting members of this working class into resistance cells (ibid, 370-1).

After an evolution of political parties united around a nationalistic agenda, the National party was formed in 1937, finally becoming the Istiqlal\(^\text{13}\) party in 1943. While still under the name of the National party, the leaders organized resistance cells and orchestrated a number of demonstrations throughout the country. In 1944 the Istiqlal issued an official manifesto for independence, and in 1947 the sultan and Istiqlal were working hand in hand to regain independence. Seen as a threat to French control of Morocco, the sultan Mohammed V was exiled to Madagascar in 1953, thus marking the turning point of colonial resistance in Morocco. The Istiqlal organizers were determined to return Sultan Mohammed V, both the

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\(^{12}\) High Schools

\(^{13}\) Arabic word for independence
nation's spiritual and political leader, to the throne, and Moroccans were prepared to fight for this end. Finally in 1956, through a combination of violent resistance cells and political action, Morocco achieved independence. A new government was formed, with Mohammed V as king, and the Istiqlal the dominant political party (ibid, 372-7).

Moroccan Women’s participation - from mountains, to sea, to city

As colonial resistance in Morocco began in the rural regions during the 1920's, so it makes sense to begin with a discussion of rural women’s participation in this resistance effort. The division of labor in the rural mountains of Morocco was, and still is, a gendered one. Women were responsible for domestic duties, such as cooking, cleaning, and fetching water. Agricultural tasks such as grinding grain, reaping hay, and caring for livestock such as chickens and cattle also fell to women. This gendered division of labor also extended to the marketplace, with the existence of markets solely for men and solely for women (Pennell 1987, 108-9).

At times of social upheaval when much strain is placed upon the social structure, this division does not last (ibid, 109). Colonial resistance in rural areas was one of these times as it required the mobilization of entire rural regions, including women (ibid). This large scale mobilization was accompanied by a great need for manpower, requiring women to perform roles normally reserved for men. On the home front, these new roles were simply an expansion of their traditional roles. Rather than only being involved in limited aspects of the agricultural process, women were now the sole cultivators of land, as all of the men were fighting. Rural women’s roles as cooks extended to their employment in government bakeries, making bread for the troops (ibid, 112). Besides these supportive, auxiliary roles, women also played key roles in the military effort. Women were relied upon for their skills
as spies and smugglers. Women spies gathered information by moving between markets on both the Moroccan and Spanish side. It is important to note that what made them so appropriate for these seemingly ground-breaking roles were in fact traditional ideas surrounding women. It was believed by Moroccan revolutionaries that women would not be suspected of espionage or smuggling simply because they were women.

Interestingly, women performed these seemingly groundbreaking activities in a feminized way; not only was information gathered from market to market, but smuggling was also done between markets, with women taking from 20-30 cartridges with them on each trip, earning 50 Spanish cents for every 100 cartridges. Since these markets were traditionally women-only spaces and smuggling was done within this network, one can see that despite the traversal of traditional gender roles, women’s participation in resistance was still framed within a context of traditional conceptions of women and of women’s roles. The misconception that women were harmless and incapable of performing roles necessitated by warfare is what benefited them as spies and smugglers (ibid, 113).

During colonial resistance, women in rural regions also played a pivotal role on the battlefield. This was both within traditional capacities, such as caring for the wounded and providing support as message couriers and ammunition loaders. These auxiliary roles were once again largely an extension of traditional roles; however women were also at the front lines of the fighting. Reports from this era of resistance note that women took the place of their fallen husbands in the line of fire and also formed part of the guard groups along with men (ibid, 115).

Similar to women’s participation in the rural region, participation in colonial resistance by women in urban areas was comprised by an extension of their traditional roles
and also new roles that were usually reserved only for men. Colonial resistance in Morocco’s urban cities reached its zenith with the exile of the current monarch at the time, King Mohammed V in 1953. This event marked the final period of colonial resistance in Morocco which is referred to as the “Resistance.” This period of colonial resistance was largely concentrated in urban areas and lasted until 1956, when Morocco achieved independence (Baker: 1995, 29-30). Women’s experience in this period of resistance will be the focus of this analysis.

Moroccan women’s experiences and roles in colonial resistance in urban areas can be broken down into two distinct realms. One is the realm of the then minority elite, comprised of educated women who in conjunction with women’s organizations and political parties such as the Istiqlal, participated in political movements for independence. These women are still widely recognized for their roles, and today they hold prominent positions in the public service and education sectors (ibid, 30). While these women played an important role in the shaping of the Morocco of that time, and still continue to make an important contribution to the Morocco of today, their role and experience is not representative of the average Moroccan woman.

The average Moroccan woman’s experience in resistance comprises the second, more typical realm of women’s participation in this period. The average Moroccan woman is not well-off or highly literate, but she has an indomitable will and strong sense of determination; two qualities that served female revolutionaries well during colonial resistance. The women who participated in colonial resistance in urban areas were often working in support of their husband’s or another male relative’s resistance cell. Frequently, the scope of women’s participation was relative to how traditional their husband’s religious values were, and
whether or not they were confined to the home. A woman that was confined to the home would perform duties that were an extension of her usual work, such as washing clothes and cooking food for prisoners. In addition, she would keep watch at meetings and always be in the home to receive messages or weapons for her husband, were someone to come during a time when he was not at home. In this way, a woman could have played an important role in the resistance effort without ever leaving her home (Baker 1995, 32).

As noted before, very few wealthy, highly educated women participated in armed resistance. Rather, it was women living in poor shanty towns, whose parents had moved to the city from the countryside that took part in armed resistance in the final phases of the colonial occupation of Morocco. These women did not just provide aid to resistance cells, but had the honor of being full members of them. Women were permitted to have this level of participation because it was decided that they were indispensable for the transportation of arms and messages (ibid, 33). Much like women resistors in rural areas, women in urban areas were considered well suited for these tasks because women did not cause as much suspicion as men and were not searched as thoroughly. In fact, the traditional garment worn by women at this time, called a Haik, was quite roomy and made it easy for women to conceal arms under their clothing (ibid, 31).

Despite this entrance into what was previously a sphere reserved solely for men, women were still very much controlled by men in these new roles. Women’s participation in this armed resistance was permitted because it was a time of extreme circumstances, and men determined how and when women would participate in the resistance effort (ibid, 33). This period truly was extraordinary because it was a period where individual women were working directly with men, and were not able to talk with other women about what they were
doing. This was especially exceptional in a society where the community of womanhood is so important, and women only spaces are characterized by the revelation of all secrets and personal information. This direct cooperation with men provided for a relaxation of tensions between genders. Women who participated in resistance movements described having better, more egalitarian relationships with men at this time, but equally tumultuous relationships post-independence. In fact, there was a large trend of men repudiating their wives after independence was achieved (ibid, 34-5).

*Algeria and Morocco: Colonization and Colonial Resistance Side by Side*

Preexisting conditions and colonizers’ differing interests in Morocco and Algeria led to colonial and revolutionary legacies that were similar and yet quite different. Algeria was under the control of the Ottoman’s for centuries, and so rule by an outside power was not novel when the French came into power. On the contrary Morocco had fought off invading rulers for centuries and French and Spanish conquest in the early 20th century represented an entirely new phase in Morocco’s previously autonomous history. In both countries, the first resistors to colonization were Berber tribes. In Algeria the Kabyl Berbers led by Abdul-Qadir put up the greatest resistance, with Berber resistance in Morocco extending across many tribal regions from the north to the south of the country. Along with the early resistance came an early, but hard-fought quelling of Berber resistance by colonizers in both nations.

The next important phase of colonial resistance is the later one began by the inception of nationalist movements in both nations. Nationalism permitted the development of organized, large-scale resistance movements, but took different forms. In Algeria the nationalist movement was led by the F.L.N., and was based on the societal goal of reassertion

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14 an Islamic form of divorce in which the husband states, “I divorce you three times,” after this if a three month waiting period passes in which the husband can change his mind, the marriage is considered annulled
of Algerians’ Muslim-Arab identity, and the reinstatement of traditional Algerian-Islamic family values. Nationalism in Morocco began with the National party, which later became the Istiqlal party. Nationalism in Morocco was based upon societal and economic interests, and Moroccan’s benefiting from the colonial structures which their taxes were paying for but from which they had previously been excluded. The second element of Moroccan nationalism, and a catalyst for the strongest phase of the resistance movement was the exile of Sultan Mohammed V, and the subsequent push to reinstate him as the country’s political and religious head of state. Typical of nationalism, this was at first a movement of the upper-class elite in both nations but then became wide-spread when the working class was included and liberation through the eradication of colonization became a societal goal.

Along with the evolution of nationalist movements in Morocco and Algeria came the most significant phase of women’s participation in colonial resistance. In both nations women were brought into the effort because colonial resistance was a time of social upheaval characterized by extreme circumstances and dire need. Female resistors in each country participated in the resistance movements in both similar and different ways. Moroccan female resistors and Algerian moudjahidates\textsuperscript{15} participated in ways that were extensions of typical women’s work but also performed roles that were previously reserved for men. In Morocco, women were typically brought into the same resistance cells as their brothers or fathers and used their traditional loose clothing to conceal and transport weapons. Contrarily, Algerian women adopted European dress and passports to pass as French women and perform their militant duties. They often served in cells with men to whom they had no prior connection and were considered part of the A.L.N. The differences and similarities between Algeria and Morocco’s colonial legacy and colonial resistance are important in

\textsuperscript{15} Feminine form of the Arabic word for combatant
understanding the ways in which the roles of women in resistance were framed and reconciled within each country respectively.

Chapter Four - Data Analysis

The knowledge that conflict in the form of revolution and colonial resistance provides a space for women in the MENA region to participate in aspects of public society from which they are usually excluded is intriguing. Upon initial realization of this fact, it seems that within conflict lies a possible insight into beginning to challenge centuries of gender subordination and patriarchal domination in this region. However, this anomalous phenomenon of temporarily heightened gender equality is followed by a swift return to the status quo that is predicated by the realization of revolutionary goals. In Morocco and Algeria this goal was liberation from colonial powers.

The key to understanding Algerian and Moroccan women’s temporary rise in stature during times of social upheaval and subsequent return to their traditional social status is a multi-part examination. In the first part, one must come to understand the very characteristics of colonial resistance and its societal implications. This serves to elucidate under what conditions women were allowed to participate in colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria. The second part of this analysis is concerned with an understanding of post-conflict Morocco and Algeria, and understanding why not much changed for the average woman in either nation. This portion employs a revolutionary framework that posits the necessary conditions for the attainment of what Julie Shayne calls “revolutionary feminism” (Shayne 2004). This is the realization on the part of Moroccan and Algerian women that their struggle for liberation did not end with the eradication of colonial powers, but had to continue beyond. Shayne provides five necessary conditions for the realization of this “revolutionary
feminism," which I discussed in my literature review. This framework provides grounds for examining women’s role in revolutionary struggles and its relationship to the emergence of revolutionary feminism.

The final part of this analysis examines the way in which patriarchy was embedded in Moroccan and Algerian women’s roles as colonial resisters. In doing so, this section explores the impact of pre-existing societal conditions and the societal goals of colonial resistance on women’s status in post-conflict society. This segment applies Moghadam’s concept that revolution has a tangible effect on gender in society and that pre-existing conceptualizations of appropriate gender roles are causally related to these outcomes (Moghadam 1997).

Part One: In-group Identity and Societal Level Conflict- Grounds for Blurring Gender Roles

Colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria can be understood as a societal level conflict, rather than a dispute. Whereas a dispute arises out of differing interpretations of one particular incident, a societal level conflict is based upon the idea that the two opposing groups have divergent goals, values, and interests (Ross 1993). This distinction is significant because an important characteristic of societal level conflicts is the formation of group identity. This group identity places an unusually strong emphasis on the factors that link group members, and of particular concern to this study, selectively ignores divergences from normative behavior (Ross 1993, 26).

The idea of group identity explains under which conditions women would be allowed to perform roles or behave in ways normally reserved for men. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Algerian women were allowed to go off separately from their families and change their identities and behavior for the sake of participating in resistance cells. Additionally, during the peak period of Moroccan colonial resistance female Moroccan resisters were sent
out alone to transport arms and worked directly with men in the resistance effort.

Characteristic of group identity formation, women were not ostracized for performing these roles during the conflict period.

In-group identity is characterized by common interests, including political rights, housing, jobs and land. When this in-group identity is formed, there is less emphasis on the individual, and subsequently, on individual differences. During periods of in-group formation individuals identities emerge through their participation in the in-group (ibid, 76). Thus during the resistance period, Moroccan and Algerian women’s identity as women became less important than their identity within the in-group of Algerians and Moroccans opposing colonial occupation. This in-group identity facilitates a relaxation of social tensions and an increase in social cohesion and cooperation within in-groups (ibid). This is reflected in the sentiment shared by Moroccan and Algerian female resisters that during the struggle for liberation, there was a notable lessening of tension between genders, and a far greater amount of social cohesion and sense of a common interest (Bouatta 1994, Moghadam 1997, Baker 1995). As one Algerian moudjahidat noted:

There was total respect between us, it was not like today, we were really united, never a word out of place. The women were really respected. In the *djebel*\(^{16}\), we were all equals; the *djounouds*\(^{17}\) did their washing, they used to cook; I used to carry weapons like them. – Houria (Bouatta 1994, 28)

A Moroccan female resistance fighter expressed a similar sentiment when she described working directly with men during the Resistance:

But my status as a woman didn’t present any obstacle in my work with them. They considered me as their sister…I used to visit them and receive them at my place whether my husband was present or not. They didn’t look on me as a woman, and I didn’t look on them as men, but rather as brothers in the full sense of the word, because nationalism had linked us together. – Malika El Fassi (Baker 1998, 69).

\(^{16}\) Mountains

\(^{17}\) Soldiers
This in-group identity and unity during a time of social upheaval such as colonial resistance also stems from the feelings of uncertainty about the future. Where there is high group disquiet about the outcome of the future there is more in-group search for common interpretations of the meaning of events and a heightened seeking of support and consensus among in-groups (Ross 1993, 17-8). This feeling of uncertainty about the future was expressed by both Moroccan and Algerian female revolutionaries. Here Houria, an Algerian mouldjahidat states, “We talked about getting the French out, that is all. We talked jokingly about the future but we did not always believe in it” (Bouatta 1994, 29). Despite feelings of uncertainty at times, the overall goal, and the perceived solution to all societal issues during that period remained the removal of the French presence from Morocco and Algeria (ibid).

**Part Two: Revolutionary Feminisms and Formation of a Feminist Consciousness**

The formation of an in-group identity provided a space in which women could enter into the realm of men within the context of colonial resistance. The overall goal of ending colonization largely superceded traditional concepts of acceptable performance of femininity within the Moroccan and Algerian context. With this understanding, it then becomes important to examine why this temporarily decreased emphasis on strict performance of traditional gender roles did not then continue into the post-resistance period. How is it that in two societies where men and women were united in a common goal, women could then return to being subjugated and having limited participation in the public sphere? This question can begin to be examined through an analysis of the 5 interrelated factors provided by Julie Shayne that explain the connections between women’s role in revolution and their arrival to a revolutionary feminism that permits lasting social change that extends beyond the
initial conflict period. For each of these five factors I will examine women's participation in colonial resistance and then analyze why or why not each factor was realized.

1) Gender-Bending

According to Shayne, the first necessary factor for the emergence of a revolutionary feminism is that women participating in revolution challenge socially acceptable roles for women within the scope of their participation. Women's participation in colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria was inherently a challenge to the tenets of proscribed gender roles as it involved women leaving their homes, traveling on their own, and working directly with men. However, it is not just women's participation in revolutionary struggles that is significant to the realization of this first factor, but also in what capacity they were involved, and the ways in which their involvement was framed by their male compatriots and fellow countrymen in general.

In Algeria, women's participation was very much different from women's traditional roles. This was both in terms of their performance and actions, and also in their change of appearance. Algerian women adopted European styles of dress, removed their veils, and carried different passports, in order to pass as French women and therefore go unnoticed. In addition to this drastic change in their appearance they often left their families to join resistance cells and lived alone amongst groups of male fighters, traveling with them through the mountains and from city to city (Rowbotham 1972). In this way, Algerian women's role was very gender-bending within an Algerian cultural context. For an unmarried young girl to operate independently from her father and family was unheard of in a country where girls rarely left the confines of the Kasbah (ibid).
Since Algerian female fighters were referred to as *moudjahidates* they were viewed with the same respect as their male counterparts, the *moudjahidine*, and received national recognition for their role. Despite this national recognition and the fact that their participation in the revolutionary effort was very gender-bending, certain reactions to Algerian women's participation served to frame their participation within a very feminized context. Although the term *moudjahidat* was associated with a national idea of the celebrated female Algerian fighter, who came to be known as the symbol of the model Algerian woman, many other patriarchal features were simultaneously at work. Because women were traveling alone, far from their families, there was a national push during resistance to have female militants get married. Also, despite Algerian women's indispensable contribution to the resistance effort and national recognition of their participation as militants, successes of the Algerian Revolution are still largely considered male exploits (Moghadam 1997, 147-8). On days of broadcast to celebrate special dates of the war, it is men's accounts that are shown on Algerian television to commemorate these events (Bouatta 1994, 32).

Female militants in Morocco participated in the same forms as their Algerian counterparts, but under a different pretext. Where many Algerian women shed their traditional style of dress and left their families while participating in the resistance, Moroccan women largely operated within their traditional networks. They were brought into the same resistance cells as their brothers or husbands. What is gender bending about this aspect of their participation is that they were forbidden from discussing their participation in the resistance with other women (Baker 1995, 34). Within a traditional Moroccan context of gender roles this was unheard of because women shared everything with each other. All female spaces were, and still are, where women bare all, and yet within this exceptional time,
they were forbidden from doing so. This leads to another gender-bending aspect of Moroccan women’s participation in colonial resistance, that being their direct cooperation with other men (Baker 1998, 179). This is gender-bending within the context of Moroccan society, where social interaction between members of the opposite sex who were not a related or married was seen as improper behavior (Mernissi 1987). Female militants in Morocco performed militant acts, such as carrying out missions of arson, spying, and arms transportation but did so in their traditional style of dress. They concealed weapons under their Haik because it was loose-fitting and spacious (Baker 1995, 31).

After liberation from France, Moroccan women could only prove that they had participated in colonial resistance and receive their Carte de Resistant, if they could show their connection to a resistance cell through the involvement of a male relative in the same cell (ibid, 40-2). So once again, despite the gender-bending aspects of women’s participation in colonial resistance, just as with the moudjahidates in Algeria this participation still occurred within a context of patriarchal overtones.

This leads to two important conditions of women’s participation in colonial resistance in both Morocco and Algeria. First, women were brought into the resistance because it was considered an extraordinary time, one that demanded the mobilization of the entire population in each country. This again relates back to the in-group identity formation that is characteristic of times of social upheaval which was discussed earlier. Secondly, women were seen as appropriate for roles not typical of women, such as spying, carrying arms, and military operations because they were women. This means that because they were women, it was believed that they could pass without suspicion and that they would simply feign ignorance if questioned (ibid, 32). This belief in and of itself is reflective of patriarchal
conceptions of womanhood and women’s intellect and explains how despite some gender bending aspects of women’s participation male counterparts still managed to relate it to and justify it through traditional ideas of femininity.

2) Activist Training for Women Revolutionaries

The goal of colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria was the removal of colonial powers. As is characteristic of the struggle for liberation, both countries required the engagement of the entirety of society (Cherifati-Merabtine 1994, 40). Women were therefore indispensable to Moroccan and Algerian societies during the period of colonial resistance. However, liberation of women themselves goes beyond the struggle for national emancipation. Women’s liberation is contingent upon their being the recipients of training during the revolution that lends itself to the establishment of a strategic and political consciousness. Shayne argues that this permits the creation of a social movement that emerges post-episode that would have the focus of advancing women’s concerns with political and social participation (Shayne 2004, 10).

This did not occur at a wide-spread level amongst female revolutionaries in either Morocco or Algeria. In Algeria when women did become involved with political parties it was only the women who were a part of the educated elite. Also, the context of their involvement was associated with their participation in the revolutionary movement. The few Algerian women who participated in political movements during the revolutionary period did so in the capacity of developing solidarity with political prisoners and a concern with the independence issue (Cherifati-Merabtine 1994, 46). Thus any political associations Algerian women had were in the context of their participation in the Algerian Revolution and a concern for liberation of the nation, not their own. A specifically women-focused project was
entirely absent from the national struggle. Although their strong support and participation was necessary, this mobilization of women did not cause women on a large scale to make any assertions about their status in society. When F.L.N. leaders discussed postrevolutionary societal needs, there was no mention of committing to improving the condition of women (ibid, 50).

Since women's issues were not a part of the revolutionary discourse in Algeria, naturally there was no associated training which would aid in the birth of a women-driven political movement post-episode. The motivation for Algerian women's participation in the war was to get the French out, and they involved themselves in the movement for different reasons, such as to escape from an oppressive home life, or because they were surrounded by others participating in the revolutionary effort, and so involvement was only natural. Women did not mobilize around their own political ideology; rather their only concern was eradicating the French (Bouatta 1994, 34-5).

In Morocco, the catalysts for women's participation in political action and in the resistance movement were the Salafiya reform movement and the nationalist movement. The Salafiya movement was responsible for encouraging the education of upper class women. The nationalist movement called for mobilizing all women and involving them in political action. The inception of the Moroccan women's movement occurred within this Salafiya-Nationalist context, sending a contradictory message to Moroccan women (Baker 1998, 11). Education was emphasized by the nationalist movement and the Moroccan King. For the first time this education was encouraged for all classes of girls not just the elite, and girls were encouraged to attend school beyond puberty. In addition, nationalist women formed their own political parties, and even held their own meetings to plan and discuss nationalist
politics with female proletariat resistance fighters (ibid, 9). This push for education, and cooperation between classes was revolutionary. However for two reasons it did not facilitate the formation of a political consciousness in women that would lead them to begin a widespread post-liberation feminist movement.

First of all, despite dramatic changes in women’s roles, and their new occupation of what were traditionally considered “men’s spaces,” their roles in political organization during the Resistance (and in militant operations) were seen as complementary to men’s roles. This was a viewpoint held by both Moroccan men and women. This played out in female nationalist political organizers forming their own political groups and engaging in separate political activities than those of men. None of which, despite attempting to promulgate the concepts of Moroccan nationalism and education to all women, had a specific focus on women’s emancipation within a feminist context (ibid).

This is due to the second reason, which is that this movement for education and women’s participation was rooted in the nationalist movement and the Salafiya religious movement. Both of these movements agreed that women should be educated, but that they should still operate within a traditional Islamic context, and therefore not deviate from the proscribed roles of that religious context. So despite this new emphasis on education, which is often considered a means of women’s liberation, women’s subordinate role within the family and society was still reiterated. The effect of this on the development or lack thereof, of a feminist consciousness amongst Moroccan women who participated in the Resistance is evident in that many of them share the same conservative views as their male revolutionary counterparts. This undying commitment to traditional Islamic values can be traced back to the centrality of the Sultan, now King, to the Moroccan nationalist movement as the religious
and political leader. So for female revolutionaries, any questioning of women's status under Moroccan law would be a question of religious authority (ibid, 11).

Women's political participation was not entirely absent from the Algerian or Moroccan revolution. Indeed, a number of women played significant roles in nationalist politics to aid the interests of colonial resistance in both countries. However, this political participation did not facilitate a training that would encourage the greater part of female revolutionaries in either country to begin a feminist women's liberation movement after the emancipation of the nation. This is because the context of women's political participation did not provide a space for the discussion of women's demands, and was in fact rooted in the traditional patriarchal and societal values of Morocco and Algeria.

3) A Sociopolitical Cleavage in the Postrevolutionary Period

Revolution necessitates mobilization of the population, and in the same vein mobilization is also a key to women's realization of feminist consciousness post-liberation. This mobilization derives from Shayne's third condition for the realization of a revolutionary feminism- a sociopolitical cleavage in the postrevolutionary period. This facilitates the mobilization of women in an ideological and organizational space (Shayne 2004, 10). In sociology this is referred to as a political opportunity structure (Shayne 2004; Tarrow 1998). Within the political opportunity structure there are challengers and those they face. Each side forms an interpretation of what is happening and perceives threats from the other side. In order to mobilize and meet its goals, the challengers, in this case feminist revolutionaries, coopt or form organizations, institutions, and allies in order to show they are a threat to their opposition (Tarrow 1994, 189).
In order to relate the idea of the political opportunity structure to this discussion, one must frame it within the Moroccan and Algerian context. In this case, the challengers would be women revolutionaries, those they face would be Moroccan and Algerian institutions, organizations, and political parties that serve to maintain a social order that sanctions the repression of women. Mobilization in the postrevolutionary period would require Moroccan and Algerian women to form their own institutions and organizations that challenge the repressive nature of their current societies. Finally gaining a following that was strong enough to induce a feeling of threat amongst the current ruling power, or those they face.

Present day and postrevolutionary Morocco and Algeria do not provide strong models of political pluralism. Independence was achieved in Algeria in 1962, and by the 29th of November that same year the F.L.N., the party that spearheaded the anti-colonial nationalist movement, had eliminated all competition from other political parties (Stora 2001, 189). Morocco is similar but has a better façade, in that there has been a constant presence and recognition of opposition parties. The Moroccan King is at the center of all political activity, and from the time of independence one party has held a position of dominance in politics. Post-liberation this was the Istiqlal party, and although there was some political opposition, as the pro-regime party the Istiqlal dominated (Brand 1998, 31). The single-party system characteristic of both countries’ postrevolutionary state formation is important because naturally this limited the formation of other movements, particularly the mobilization of women into organized parties that could effectively pose a threat to the ruling minority.

As illucidated in the previous section, Moroccan and Algerian women received no political training that would permit the development of a women-centered political consciousness. Here a connection can be drawn between the previous and current section. If
women receive no political training during the revolutionary period that produces a specifically women focused agenda, how then can they be expected to take advantage of the opportunity to impose themselves in the postrevolutionary period in the processes of state development? Further, within Tarrow’s conceptualization of a political opportunity structure, how can they begin to mobilize in order to demand that women’s issues take on a central and progressive focus in the newly formed government. This is especially difficult since this would require the mobilization of a population, in this case Algerian and Moroccan female militants, that for the large part had no political ideology during the revolutionary period. With this understanding, it is not surprising that despite female militants’ large-scale and vital contribution to the military effort in both Moroccan and Algeria; they fell into obscurity in the postrevolutionary period and for the most part returned to the traditional domain of women, the private sphere (Bouatta 1994; Brand 1998).

4) Women’s View that their Revolution Remains Incomplete

In this second part of analysis, this chapter has worked through three necessary conditions for the formation of a revolutionary feminism in postrevolutionary Moroccan and Algerian society. The analysis has moved from the resistance period to the post-resistance period. The fourth necessary factor for the development of a revolutionary feminism must occur within this post-resistance period. For Shayne, this factor is the view amongst female revolutionaries that their work is not complete. This vision of incompleteness is brought upon by the feeling that their practical needs are unmet or that they feel wronged by the sexism they faced during the time of the revolution (Shayne 2004, 10).

In order to understand this outcome, one must examine women resistance fighter’s perceptions of men and women’s relationships during the revolutionary period. Algerian and
Moroccan female militants both remarked a change in these relationships. Two Algerian interviewees, Houria and Farida, refer to their male compatriots as “brother,” and relate a feeling of having a fraternal relationship with male revolutionaries during this period. Female and male militants during colonial resistance shared a mutual like and trust for each other (Bouatta 1994, 26-7). Indeed for some women, this interpersonal bond and mutual respect between them and their male counterparts even continued into the postrevolutionary period. Houria described how men who had been *moudjahidine* helped her to find work and obtain documents after liberation (ibid, 31). Female Algerian militants reflect back on this period as a utopian time, despite all of the hardships and struggle that are associated with revolution. This is due to women resistant fighters’ idealization of the fraternity and cooperation that existed between female and male militants during the revolutionary period. The war is viewed as a good period by female Algerian militants because of the exceptional quality of the time, exemplified by the temporary transformation of interpersonal relationships between men and women (ibid, 34-5).

Moroccan female resistance fighters view the revolutionary period in much the same way as their Algerian counterparts. Moroccan female militants were forbidden from discussing their participation in colonial resistance with each other. This isolated Moroccan female resistance fighters from each other and in the postrevolutionary era they identified with male resistance fighters rather than feeling solidarity with other women who participated in the revolutionary effort (Baker 1995, 34). Many women in the resistance movement were stepping out of the home for the first time, and in working in direct cooperation with men, experienced more egalitarian relationships with men than they had in previous times. One female Moroccan militant described how she would receive men into her
home even when her husband was not there, and was regarded by them as a sister, daughter or mother (ibid, 34-5). Moroccan women share a sentiment similar to that of the Algerian moudjahidates that during the revolution, men and women were on far more equal planes, had fraternal relationships, and interacted directly. So as a result, female resistance fighters in Morocco also idealize the resistance period, seeing it as the most significant and important period in their life. This is because during this period women were united with men; sharing equal responsibilities and engaging in a national struggle to eradicate a colonial power.

Knowing that Algerian and Moroccan female militants idealize the resistance period, noting much better and egalitarian relationships with men, it becomes clear why they would feel that their struggle for revolution was complete. As mentioned, this feeling of a revolutionary goal left unfinished is brought upon by sexism experienced during the resistance period. While this limited female militants from continuing their revolution on the basis of discrimination during the resistance period, it did set up their critique of the post-war period. That is to say that although women were unaware of the immediate reality that their participation in resistance and egalitarian relationships with men were not markers of the newly independent nation-states in whose creations they had participated, this idealized perception of the resistance period would later call them to question why nothing changed for them in society.

One can also understand the absence of a postrevolutionary realization that women's liberation had not been achieved as a result of the lack of political training women received during the resistance period. In order for women to understand their position during and after the war, a certain level of political consciousness is required (Boutta 34, 1994). Had female militants understood the political motivations of the nationalist movements that led to the
seedlings of organized militant movements in both Morocco and Algeria, they may have also recognized the patriarchal milieu in which their resistance participation was framed. Perhaps this would have permitted a more critical analysis of what female militants presumed to be a lasting increase in egalitarian relationships between men and women, but was in fact just a marker of the resistance period. Unfortunately this false sense that gender relations were changing made for a shocking transition to the postrevolutionary period for most female militants. After having experienced the most autonomous and gratifying periods in their lives, female militants in Morocco and Algeria were thrust back into societies that were not ready to make way for changing women’s roles, and were in fact quite repressive (Baker 1998, 10; Slyomovics 1995).

5) The Development of a Collective Feminist Consciousness

Female militants’ realization that their struggle for liberation does not end with national emancipation is necessary for the realization of the fifth and final factor in the process of formulating a revolutionary feminism. This final factor is the formation of a collective feminist consciousness. According to Shayne there are three necessary components of this consciousness. First, the movement must have political autonomy. Secondly the movement must have enough momentum to affect a substantial sociopolitical change. Finally, the structure of the movement must be pluralistic (Shayne 2004, 10). From the postrevolutionary period until the present, neither Morocco nor Algeria has seen the advent of this collective feminist consciousness. In the postrevolutionary period, each nation saw the formation of a women’s union with specifically women driven goals. Unfortunately, both of these unions were short-lived and did not command the membership of a majority of female
militants. Neither of these unions was autonomous or pluralistic as each was associated with the single dominant political party in each country respectively.

In Algeria this union was the National Union of Algerian Women (UNFA). This organization was formed in an optimistic time for women, but by 1979 the UNFA had just become a side arm to the F.L.N. Lacking any real feminist agenda, by this time the UNFA was just a façade of political inclusion (Moghadam 1997, 148). Morocco had a similar experience with a lone women's organization overcoming the post-independence slump of women's mobilization, but faltering not long thereafter. This was the Union of Progressive Moroccan Women (UPFM), and it was a product of the Moroccan Labor Union (UMT). Admirably, the UPFM not only concerned itself with overhauling women's role in labor, but also all facets of women's issues. In 1961 it peaked, comprising 20 regionalized congresses around the country, and even bureaus at both the national and local levels. It declined due to political disunity, a lack of female leadership in high level positions, and repression by managers (Brand 1998, 47).

In today's Morocco and Algeria feminist movements have emerged. In fact, some feminist movements in Algeria see themselves as the daughters of the moudjahidates (Slyomovies 1995). However, feminist movements in both Morocco and Algeria face a challenge because they are not unified across organizations. There are a number of separate movements working independently of each other for women's rights.

There are two distinct groups of feminists in Algeria, the modernist movement and the Islamist, or traditionalist movement. The Islamist feminist movement is a proponent of veiling for all women and the exclusion of women from the public sphere. It is a movement linked with the FIS, the Islamist opposition party in Algeria. On the other hand the modernist
movement, which looks to *moudjahidates* as their inspiration, calls for the total removal of religious influence in dictating the role of women in society, this includes a push for women to remove the veil and their total participation in the public sphere. Unfortunately, this struggle is linked with the interminable political confrontation between the F.L.N. and the F.I.S. The F.L.N. has encouraged the presence of women in education and processes of industrialization since the time of independence and the F.I.S. vehemently opposes the presence of women in the public sphere. This has led to the divergent feminist movements women have formed, and places all women at risk, veiled or unveiled, when they venture into public spaces. Since the late 80’s women have been killed at random in the streets. The situation has escalated to the point that an act of violence by one faction is reciprocated by another brutal act of violence on the part of the opposing faction (ibid, 8-12).

Morocco has a similar division amongst its feminist movements but with less violent ends. There are three specific movements in Morocco; the first two are the secular and Islamist movements, just as in Algeria. There is also a third, called the Islamic feminist movement. This movement does not deny the place of Islam within feminism, nor does it claim Islamic teaching as the sole determinant of women’s roles in societies. Rather, it calls for a reinterpretation of texts within a modern context. The Islamic feminist movement acknowledges that the context of the time when Islam developed and the context in which it is practiced today are fundamentally different.

It is notable that the Islamic feminist movement is far more moderate than its counterparts, not isolating religious or secular women from having a role. This is a large issue with feminist movements in Morocco and Algeria; because they have different ideas of women’s roles, they also understand their goals to be entirely different. In doing so, these
movement are polarized and in some ways counterproductive, because they fail to engage in a dialogue that could encourage an effort towards remedying the issues that all women face in Moroccan and Algerian society. In Algeria, this presumed divergence in interests is rooted in feminist movements’ associations with corresponding political movements (ibid). The presumption by feminist movements in Morocco and Algeria of mutually exclusive interests further constrains women because it forces them to choose. Each instructs them that they can have one identity or another. Islamist feminist groups say that to be a true Algerian or Moroccan women, one must live within the constraints of Islam (ibid). It is important to note that these Islamist movements’ interpretation of the text is a strict one. On the other hand, the secular feminists force a woman to choose between being a Muslim and being a feminist, as they see no place for Islam within the movement for women’s rights. In fact, for them it is Islam which has prevented the advancement of women in society. Without realizing it, these women are participating in the same system that constrains them; the patriarchal idea that women can only occupy a certain space within society if they want to relate to a certain identity. If a woman transgresses these spatial divisions, she can no longer identify with one or the other group. It perpetuates the traditional conception that a woman who participates in the public sphere is uncouth, and a woman who confines herself to the private sphere is the cultural ideal. In this sense the spatial division is between Islamist and secular feminisms, and the transgression is a reinterpretation of religious and national identity within a feminist context.

Part 3: Participation and Embedded Patriarchal Overtones

The fact that female revolutionaries did not arrive to a collective feminist consciousness does not negate the significance of their role in colonial resistance. In fact, I
would argue that this period offers a model for the benefits of moving towards better, more egalitarian relationships between men and women in Morocco and Algeria. Women’s participation in colonial resistance in each country occurred in a period characterized by a reassertion and reclamation of traditional values. In a sense what is thus far the era of greatest mobilization for Moroccan and Algerian women occurred within a very traditional context. At the same time, it demonstrated the potential outcome of allowing members of the other 50 percent of society to participate in working towards its overall betterment. This potential was evidenced in the outcome of colonial resistance being independence for each nation, something neither country had successfully gained before each nation’s respective inclusion of women in the revolutionary movement. So this raises the question of: from where does the failure to recognize and acknowledge the significant implications of women’s participation in colonial resistance stem?

I believe that examining the patriarchal overtures embedded within the context of women’s participation in colonial resistance can begin to provide an explanation of the failure on the part of many men to acknowledge the scope of women’s participation in colonial resistance. The failure to realize the significance of this participation also explains the failure to see this period as an example for the potential of Algerian and Moroccan societies that are far more inclusive of women than they are now. To explore these ideas, this section offers an examination of some of the instances in which patriarchy was evidenced in reactions toward and interpretations of women’s participation in resistance.

The first example is found in the Moroccan “Carte de Resistant.” This Carte de Resistant was awarded to individuals who participated in the resistance effort. It is essentially a veteran’s card and provided individuals with economic and medical benefits (Baker 1995, 52).

\(^{18}\) Resistor Card
This card was very helpful for female Moroccan militants. It is important to remember that many of these women were illiterate, and had never ventured outside of the home prior to the resistance period (ibid). In addition, many of them lost their husbands during the resistance or were divorced afterwards. For this reason they were often left desolate after the resistance period. Therefore, the benefits of receiving this card not only represented a state-sponsored acknowledgement of their important contribution to the resistance, but also provided very real and necessary financial resources (ibid, 45).

In Morocco there was no award or official recognition that was uniquely created to commemorate the contribution of Moroccan female militants. In most cases, the absence of a gender distinction is a positive thing, as it does not attempt to distinguish between men and women, and argue that they are inherently different. However in this case, I feel that the failure to create a Carte de Resistante\textsuperscript{19} demonstrates a lack of recognition of the unique role that women played in the resistance movement. It does not highlight the important work that women did; it simply places them in an umbrella category with men. I support this argument by turning to the Algerian treatment of moudjahidates at the national level. First an explanation of the word moudjahidat is necessary. Moudjahidat is the feminine form of the Arabic word moudjahid, meaning combatant. Algeria assigned a specific word to describe the female Algerian militant, a word that became associated with the construction of this female Algerian militant’s role in resistance. Immediately post-revolution, this image became a historical one. As the contribution of the moudjahidates was largely forgotten in the face of increasing political conflicts, this image seemed more mythical than factual (Bouatta 1994, 34).

\textsuperscript{19} Resistor Card, but resistor is in the feminine case here
Female militants in Morocco were never accorded this status as they were never associated with a national image of a model Moroccan woman during the revolutionary period. The word resistant is the masculine form of the French word for resistor. There was never a particular Carte de Resisteante created for female veterans of the Resistance in Morocco. This is a socio-linguistic example of the pervasiveness of patriarchy during colonial resistance. Even at a time when women were traversing gender boundaries in Morocco, this reflects an attempt at the national level to devalue the significance of their participation through the failure to assign a particularly female image to the resistance fighter. This is further supported through the challenges women faced in proving their participation in resistance. They had to demonstrate their link to a male resistance cell member, and provide a number of witness affidavits corroborating their participation (Baker 1995).

Another example of the far-reaching, yet somewhat underhanded presence of patriarchy in women’s participation in colonial resistance is the context of their participation. As mentioned earlier, women in Morocco and Algeria were seen as appropriate for roles as couriers, arms transporters, and spies because they were women. Therefore it was assumed they would go unsuspected because the French would not think them capable of militant acts. This is rooted in a patriarchal idea of the inferiority of women. The second aspect of this is the failure in Morocco to recognize women’s participation in resistance that was considered women’s work, as in the work that is expected of women (Sen and Grown 1987, 23). Women who made food, provided clothes, and hosted meetings of resistance cells members did not qualify to receive a Carte de Resistant. This is related to the idea that women’s work is devalued because it is not paid labor (ibid). In the context of Morocco, which had a division
of labor that was rooted in patriarchy; this work was simply expected of women (PenneJJ

Ostensibly the thought process on the part of men is that since women cooked,
cleaned, took care of the home, and made clothing in an everyday context, why then should
their doing so in a time of revolution be acknowledged as significant when it is simply an
expected behavior? It is important to note that although women who served in Algeria’s
National Liberation Army as nurses, laundresses, and cooks were still recognized for their
participation in revolution; it is not certain that they were regarded with the same status as
moudjahidates. Initially it seems contradictory that Algeria, which is presently a society that
can be considered more patriarchal than Morocco would recognize a wider berth of women’s
participation. However, if related to the previously discussed condition of revolution that it
encompasses a mobilization of the whole of society, there is a possible explanation. This
explanation is that the Algerian Revolution was far more violent than Moroccan colonial
resistance, thus meriting a far greater mobilization of women. In addition, Algerian women
participated in a more formal context if they were a part of the National Liberation Army, as
this was a national organization, rather than an individual resistance cell.

Understanding the patriarchal overtures of women’s participation in colonial
resistance in Morocco and Algeria is important to understanding the particular impact of
revolution on gender roles. In the case of Morocco and Algeria, a seemingly groundbreaking
emergence of women into the public sphere resulted in relatively little change in women’s
role in society. Valentine Moghadam’s “women-in-the-family” model of revolution explains
why this occurred. When revolution follows the women-in-the-family model the desired
outcome is not egalitarianism. Rather, within this model gender differences between women and men are stressed (Moghadam 1997, 137).

The first two sections of this analysis explained why women were called upon to participate in this effort and why this participation did not result in a movement for women's rights in the postrevolutionary period respectively. This idea of a revolution with patriarchal intentions provides a link between the first two sections of this analysis and further explains why women's participation did not result in large changes in their status in the post-conflict period. Most importantly it gives an insight into how men viewed women's participation in colonial resistance. Men's view of women's participation in colonial resistance is important because models of revolution are most frequently created by men based upon the values that they deem important and their image of the ideal society (Rowbotham 1972; Moghadam 1997). As stated in the section that provides a general introduction into colonialism and resistance in Morocco and Algeria it was after the formation of a strong nationalist agenda that women's most significant period of participation in colonial resistance began. The nationalist movement in Algeria centered on the reassertion of Algerians' Muslim and Arab heritage and the reclamation of Algerian women for Algerian men. In Morocco the nationalist movement was based upon economic and social grievances. More importantly this movement included an emphasis on the reassertion of cultural and religious autonomy in that a primary focus was the reinstatement of Sultan Mohammed V as the spiritual and political leader of Morocco. Recalling that the motivations of each of these nationalist movements centered on a reassertion of traditional cultural values and reclamation of each nation for its inhabitants, it becomes clear that the fight for independence was not a fight for women's emancipation.
Inadvertently, because the models of revolution in each country follow the women-in-family pattern, Moroccan and Algerian women were fighting in a revolution that had a goal of returning to preexisting societal conditions. These were the same preexisting conditions that constrained and limited women’s participation in the public sphere in Morocco and Algeria. With this understanding it is not surprising that women’s participation in colonial resistance in and of itself did not suffice to create lasting change in gender relations and women’s status in Morocco and Algerian society.

**Conclusion and Discussion**

After a review of each of the three sections of the data analysis, a clear theme can be drawn from women’s participation in colonial resistance: a lack of women’s agency. Post-independence, female resistance fighters in both Morocco and Algeria were greeted with the shocking realization that women’s position in their respective societies had changed very little. In Morocco, women who had participated in the revolutionary effort were left destitute and marginalized if they were divorced or lost their husbands. Women who remained married once again found themselves relegated to the private sphere (Baker 1998, 10). In Algeria, the celebrated *moudjahidates* drifted into obscurity and their presence and memory became entirely absent from the public sphere (Cherifati-Merabetine 1994, 41). In both Morocco and Algeria women expressed disappointment that the women who comprised the educated elite did not take more initiative in working for women’s rights in the postrevolutionary period. This demonstrates the lack of a unified effort for women’s liberation that comprised both the educated elite and poor uneducated women. This also highlights the distinction between experiences of women in the educated elite and the poor, uneducated women who were

An explanation of this swift return to the pre-conflict status quo lies in a consideration of the context of women’s participation in colonial resistance. First, one must examine the reason that women were initially brought into the colonial resistance effort. A previously stated condition of both conflict and revolution is the mobilization of an entire society. This mobilization occurs in an effort to achieve political goals. In both Morocco and Algeria this goal was liberation. The ideals of these respective movements for liberation were influenced by the reassertion of traditional values, which shaped the formation of nationalism in each country. The leaders and organizers of these nationalist movements were men. When a need was noticed, it was these nationalist movements that first condoned women’s inclusion in the resistance effort. Indeed many women forced themselves into resistance cells in Morocco and young women left their families to join the A.L.N. in Algeria. However, arguably this would not have been possible if there was not already some male support of women’s participation. Therefore, even women’s initial entrance into the resistance movement in both Morocco and Algeria was decided by men and was not a result of a women’s movement to participate in resistance.

Not only did men determine when women joined the resistance effort, they also determined the extent to which women participated. This was explored in the analysis of Shayne’s five factors. This section demonstrated that women’s participation was rooted in ideas of femininity and did not have any political intentions of its own directed towards women’s liberation. The feminization of women’s roles can be seen in the context of both Moroccan and Algerian colonial resistance. In Algeria, moudjahidates were encouraged to
marry in order to protect their sanctity as women when they were traveling alone with men. In the Moroccan case, women used their traditional dress to conceal weapons, thus participating in militant resistance, but in a traditional context.

The final section of the data analysis examined the patriarchal overtones of women’s participation and illustrates that in the post-conflict period it was men who decided and interpreted the significance of women’s participation in the resistance effort. This was supported by Valentine Moghadam’s idea that it is men who create models of revolution. Within the women-in-the-family model of revolution that characterized the Moroccan and Algerian struggle for colonial emancipation, women were tied to the family and patriarchal goals were at the core of revolutionary initiatives. With this understanding it is not surprising that very little changed for women in Morocco and Algeria in the post-conflict period despite their ground breaking participation in colonial resistance. The question remains however, of what conflict and revolution in the MENA region, and women’s participation and contribution to these processes teaches us.

This paper examined historical events that occurred in two countries from the MENA region to examine the impact of conflict and revolution on gender roles. However, the ideas discussed in this paper are highly relevant today. This can be seen in Egypt and Yemen which are both currently engaged in revolutionary periods of political transition. Although neither of these revolutionary situations has reach a level of violence comparable to that of colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria, both have involved the mobilization of men and women in order to enact political change in society.

Recently Egyptian men and women united in an 18 day popular effort to oust President Hosni Mubarak. At the peak of this cooperative effort to remove a totalitarian ruler
from power men, and women who were both veiled and unveiled, fought, slept, and chanted slogans side by side. Egyptian women noted that during this period they were not harassed by men for being out in public. Just as in the context of Moroccan and Algerian colonial resistance, this example demonstrates that the emphasis placed on higher order goals as a result of in-group identity formation lessened tensions between genders. However, soon after Mubarak ceded from his position, women reported being grabbed by men and harassment resumed (Ottermann 2011). This mirrors the pattern of women’s experience about a half-century ago in Morocco and Algeria of a return to normative gender relations in the postrevolutionary period.

In Yemen, on Saturday, April 18, 2011 another unprecedented event occurred when upwards of 10,000 women demonstrated at Sanaa University in protest of remarks made by president Saleh that female protestors of his regime were un-Islamic. This monumental demonstration was supported by men, as they formed a protective barrier around the protestors, keeping a watchful eye on their loved ones. The irony of this protection is that its intention was not only to keep the women from harm, but also to keep men from mingling with the female protestors (Finn 2011). Here again one sees a similar pattern to that of women’s experience during colonial resistance in Morocco and Algeria, in that patriarchal values are embedded in the context of Yemeni women’s participation in protest. This human barrier formed by men is representative of the idea that women need to be guarded by men and also that men and women cannot occupy the same space. This does not devalue the significance of the fact that this was an emergence of women orchestrated an organized by women. Women were outraged at president Saleh’s statement and through a series of chain
text messages urging women to defend their honor, they gathered in Sanaa that day (Finn, 2011).

It is this independent and autonomous decision of women to demonstrate on their own behalf that I believe encompasses the heart of the future of women’s liberation movements in the MENA region. The goal of these movements does not need to require an abandonment of all traditional and cultural values; rather its focus should be an assertion of women’s agency and women’s unity to meet this end. Women should not have to choose between their identity as a Muslim, a feminist, or in terms of this study as a Moroccan or Algerian respectively, as current divisions between women’s movements demand them to do. Rather, they should be permitted the autonomy to determine for themselves how to negotiate these identities. The ability to create and navigate one’s identity on one’s own terms, without having this identity defined by others is in fact liberation.

The focus of these women’s movements should be addressing basic needs of women, and should break away from associations with larger political movements. This separation from pre-existing political movements relates back to Shayne’s principle that the formation of a feminist consciousness must be characterized by autonomy. If women’s movements in Morocco and Algeria, and throughout the MENA region continuously associate themselves with existing political movements they are hindered by the same men-driven initiatives that constrain them initially. This is because as seen before, these larger political movements were created by men and center on men’s interests.

In Morocco and Algeria specifically a focus on basic needs and human rights must be central to these initiatives. In Algeria women’s right to be in the public sphere has become such a contentious and polarized issue that women have been killed in the streets. This is the
case for both women who are veiled and unveiled, secular and Islamist (Slyomovics). At this point women's organizations must discontinue their associations with the F.L.N. if they are secular and the F.I.S. if they are Islamist and reassess what issues they hold most important. It is understandable in this context that differing religious beliefs would be a factor that causes group divisions, but by no means does this justify the murder of both Islamist and secular women for occupying public space.

In Morocco, the effectiveness of a large scale women's movement was demonstrated when through a one million signature campaign sponsored by the Feminine Action Union (UAF) the plans to revise Morocco's family code were set into action (Anderson, 2009). The current family code, called the Moudawana, was released in 2004, and although not perfect, still guarantees women far more rights than previously. However, because 60% of women in Morocco are still illiterate, most women are not aware of their new rights (ibid). While in Morocco, I observed that each of the women's organizations I visited whether Islamic, Secular, or Islamist was indeed concerned with addressing the basic issue of illiteracy amongst Moroccan women. However, they were distracted from addressing this concern because they focused on addressing it within their chosen religious context and emphasized dissociating themselves from their counterparts' movements. However these basic needs to do not vary among individuals and are not determined by their religious beliefs. It is observable throughout the second part of this analysis that it was preexisting conditions of poverty and illiteracy that prevented female militants in both Morocco and Algeria from attaining a number of the five conditions Shayne provides for the development of a feminist consciousness. Understandably since these challenges remain the same for women in
Moroccan, they would, in the same way as they did within the resistance period, prevent them from forming a unified movement for women’s liberation.

Most importantly, in both Morocco and Algeria, and throughout the MENA region one must learn from the failure of women’s participation in conflict to foster a movement for women’s liberation. What can be learned from this is that a successful women’s movement cannot just engage the upper class educated elite and must bring women together despite differing beliefs about the place of Islam within society. This calls for the formation of a women’s liberation movement within a cultural and religious context that is continually up for debate. This movement must be determined by a women focused agenda, not one that is imposed upon women by male-interest driven political entities.
References


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