GBV& GENDER RESILIENCE OUTLINE: USAID/MOROCCO GENDER ANALYSIS FINAL REPORT – ANNEX E

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This GBV and Gender Resilience Outline is Annex E to the USAID/Morocco Gender Analysis Final Report 2020, produced for the United States Agency for International Development, USAID Contract Number 72060820P00006. It was prepared by TALM in collaboration with MRA Mobilising for Rights Associates.

ANNEX E: GBV AND GENDER RESILIENCE OUTLINE

External Triggers and Drivers of Violence Against Women in Morocco

Objectives: As per the SOW, the goal of this annex is to provide a framework that identifies triggers and/or drivers of GBV in Morocco, including context indictors that could allow a monitoring system to be put into place for early detection and subsequent monitoring of increases of violence against women.

Methodology: This annex was researched and prepared by MRAMobilising for Rights Associates, and is based on an initial literature review and online FGD with 19 representatives of 14 women's groups from 11 diverse urban cities, towns and rural villages across Morocco. In preparation for the consultation, the MRA team developed an Arabic and French language "External Trigger and Drivers of Violence against Women in Morocco" worksheet with reflection questions and a matrix for participants to work on within their respective NGOs in advance.[1] Several also submitted contributions in writing. Participants were asked to share only information that was based on their direct, on-the-ground work with women experiencing violence in Morocco.[2]

Examining GBV through a resilience lens to identify external triggers and drivers of GBV is a new and innovative approach in the Moroccan context. An initial literature review indicates a quasi-absence of any information on the topic or use of this approach to examine GBV in Morocco. The good majority of literature to date, whether produced by the government, local NGOs or academics, tends to focus on general prevalence rates, types of violence, and/or the socio-economic characteristics of women experiencing violence. Any discussion of triggers or drivers at all tends to conflate them with causes[3], focus on the individuals involved,[4] overemphasize public morality concerns[5], and/or be limited to vague discussions of "culture." As such, there is a significant information gap on broader triggers and drivers of GBV, which this initial grassroots level consultation hopes to begin to fill.

Given that this is an innovative approach and new conceptual framework in the Moroccan context, the FGD and preparatory work went beyond a mere research activity to also be a valuable capacity-building exercise for the participating local NGOs. All of the participants were very enthusiastic about the learning and the new way of reflecting about GBV in their communities, actively engaging in the conversations for over three hours - much longer than the originally scheduled two hours.

Definitions: In order to promote conceptual clarity and a shared understanding among participants, the research used the following definitions:

Gender-based violenceincludes any and all acts of violence directed against women, and causing or likely to cause physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering, including the threat of such acts, coercion or

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[1] The original bilingual worksheet may be found in Data Collection Tools (Annex G).
[2] Rather than something they had read about, heard of, or imagined would be the case.
[3] For example, GOM and NGO reports alike often indicate that the majority of women seeking assistance for violence at their services were poor, and then draw the inappropriate conclusion that poverty causes violence.
[4] For example, the woman lacks self-confidence or the abuser has poor communication skills.
[5] For example, watching pornographic movies causes GBV.

arbitrary deprivation of liberty. It includes violence committed in public or private spaces - homes, streets, schools, workplaces, etc. -- by any person. Gender-based violence is a means and a tool of control to reinforce and maintain unequal and gender-based norms, practices, roles, and power relations between the sexes.

Triggers or drivers: Certain events, situations or contexts can challenge existing and unequal gender norms, practices, roles, or relationships. Such events, situations or contexts may create conflicts over control of or access to power, privileges, and resources. Gender-based violence may be used as a way to suppress resistance during these conflicts.

These drivers or triggers should not be considered as a direct cause of violence against women, but rather events, situations or contexts that trigger or are associated with a reinforcement of, challenging of or threats to current gendered relationships between the sexes based on dominance, control and privilege.

The goal is to identify external triggers and drivers for which we can identify trends at the level of groups of people, populations or communities in Morocco, and not individual factors among women, abusers or couples.

Research Questions:
1. What are the external triggers and drivers that create a risk of increased gender-based violence in Morocco? In other words, what are the events, situations or contexts that lead or could lead to an increase in violence against women?

2. What systems are currently in place to monitor these triggers and drivers and ensure early detection, prevention and response?

3. What kind of systems can we put in place to monitor these triggers and drivers in order to be more proactive and responsive to violence against women?

Initial Findings and Recommendations:
The matrix below details external drivers and triggers of GBV in Morocco as identified by participants in the consultations, with associated contributing factors for each. The drivers and triggers are grouped into broader categories. Associated contributing factors may repeat themselves across different triggers or drivers, and generally fall under one of two categories: (1) factors that increase women's vulnerability to, risk of or exposure to GBV, or (2) factors that facilitate or encourage men's violent behavior against women.

The below matrix offers a comprehensive qualitative description of triggers and drivers of GBV in Morocco, and does not pretend at this stage to draw any conclusions about the quantitative prevalence of any of them.

Consultations confirm that, given the novelty of the approach,no systems currently exist to monitor triggers or drivers of GBV for early detection, prevention and response. Women's groups and public services[6] alike are at the stage of trying to set up adequate services to receive women experiencing violence, but do not yet have the proactive systems in place for detection or prevention.

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[6] Law enforcement, the justice system, and the health care sector.

Women's groups and public services generally limit their GBV monitoring work to following up on what stage of the process an individual case they are assisting is in, rather than monitoring a set of cases on a specific issue, or any other collective variable.

In terms of tools, local NGOs and public services alike maintain general ledgers and files on individual cases, at times handwritten, primarily to be able to file official paperwork and refer back to the archives for information on that specific case if need be. As used now, forms and registers primarily serve as an administrative archiving tool, and are not designed or used as a tool for systematic data collection. The content of the information collected and recorded tends to be mainly personal data on the individual woman, rather than information on the larger circumstances or context in which the violence occurred. In the absence of such tools, discussions of GBV among public and NGO actors alike tend to rely heavily on individual case anecdotes rather than collective analysis of statistics or patterns that could be used for detection, prevention, and more effective responses to GBV.

Potential opportunities for future systems to monitor these triggers and drivers in order to be more proactive and adaptive to violence against women could include working with the National Observatory on Violence against Women, the units for support of women victims of violence, and the newly created Committees on violence against women.

These entities – as well as local women's groups - could fruitfully be encouraged to develop and integrate questions related to indicators of triggers and drivers of GBV into their data collection tools and client intake forms in order to gather such information more systematically and include in their diverse reports.
In order to ensure the most comprehensive and accurate information, the national institutions - the Observatory, units and Committees – should take measures enabling local women's groups to play a larger, more formal role within these fora.

Such systems would highlight the need for improvements in the protection measures currently available for women experiencing violence in Morocco. As detailed in the main Gender Analysis Report, women may only request protective measures against abusers once a criminal prosecution has been initiated or a conviction issued. A better understanding of external drivers and triggers, as well as their associated factors, illustrate the need for and would justify civil protection or temporary restraining orders or other civil measures that could be available earlier than the prosecution phase or without even involving the criminal justice system.

Categories	External Triggers and Drivers: Events, Contexts or Situations	Associated Contributing Factors
Health Crises	• COVID-19	• Unemployment, layoffs, and threats of layoffs, and loss of income by women contributes to economic dependence on others and vulnerability to harassment, threats and extortion, by intimate partners, family members and employers. • Unemployment, lay-offs and threats of layoffs, and loss of income by men causes financial stress, as well as loss of status and privileges, that can contribute to violent male behavior against women. • Confinement at home in limited spaces • Reduced or no access to public services for women to report or seek assistance for violence • Women's isolation from friends and family support networks • Increased time online and on phones increases the risk of technology-facilitated violence • Reduction in the number of people present in the workplace due to lockdown increases vulnerability to abuse • Deserted public spaces during lockdown increases vulnerability to abuse • School closures resulted in female students being sent back home, where they were at risk of abuse in the family, and of being forced to abandon studies, not engage in distance learning, and assume domestic responsibilities. • The system of allocating COVID-19 public assistance allowances primarily to men contributes to women's economic dependence on others, including abusers. • At the same time, in the limited cases where women were able to obtain COVID-19 public assistance allowances directly themselves, this created vulnerability to abuse and violence by male family members seeking to appropriate the funds for themselves.
Environmental Issues	• Drought • Floods • Earthquakes • Reduced or no crop yields • Diseases or pests affecting crops or animals	• Shortage of crops or poor harvest can increase pressure on female family members to compensate for lost revenue, including girls dropping out of school or women turning to sex work. • Water shortages - whether for irrigation, grazing or drinking – mean that women may need to travel further to find water, potentially increasing their risk of violence along the way. • Resulting male migration to the city can result in women being left behind alone and more vulnerable to violence. • Resulting female migration to the city can contribute to vulnerability to ending up in sex work. • Resulting female migration to the city can contribute to women living in precarious and unsafe housing condtions or homelessness

		• Resulting female migration to the city and subsequent difficulties obtaining employment can contribute to pressures to accept informal sector, risky, low paid and/or unsafe jobs, and/or abuse and violence at the workplace.
Access to Natural Resources	• Access to Water	• Women may need to seek water from deserted, distant and remote areas • When water supplies are limited or difficult to access, additional burdens may be placed on women and girls to assume responsibility for seeking water. This may involve female students dropping out of school and returning home to assume these tasks, increasing vulnerability to family and community violence. • Conflicts over ownership of lands that access water sources may contribute to violence against women between competing communities.
	• Access to Fish	• In communities where fishing is an occupation traditionally reserved for men, women working in fishing – whether fishing themselves or selling fish in ports - can be vulnerable to harassment and violence. • Unregulated labor conditions in fishing can render women vulnerable to harassment and violence. • When fish supplies are low, competition in the fishing industry can also contribute to increased violence against women working in the sector.
	• Access to Forests	• Women may need to gather firewood from deserted, distant and remote forests • Where cutting down wood from trees is forbidden and the forests closely guarded by authorities, women can be vulnerable to harassment, violence, blackmail and/or extortion, in exchange for an authorization to gather wood and/or for having firewood in her possession, and/or to escape a wrongful accusation of stealing wood.
	• Animal Husbandry	• In regions that are economically dependent on traditional animal husbandry, taking livestock out to graze and guarding them is assigned to women and girls. This may take them to deserted, distant and remote areas. • Loss of livestock in a herd can lead to violence against the women and girls charged with guarding them.
	• Extractive Industries	• In communities where extractive professions such as mining are considered occupations traditionally reserved for men, women working in mining can be vulnerable to harassment and violence. • The arrival of transient male workers in communities with extractive industries can contribute to violence against local women, such as harassment and sexual abuse. • When an extractive industry is unstable or closes in an area, to compensate for lost revenue women may seek work in a nearby town or city, potentially exposing them to violence on the commute, or migrate to a large city, with all of the previously described risks and vulnerabilities that entails. • Men working in extractive industries are at high risk of workplace accidents with no compensation. This may push women to migrate to a city for work, or push the

		husband to migrate elsewhere for other work, contributing to increased vulnerability of women to violence.
Access to Land	● Access to Land Ownership and Use	● "Soulaliyate" women have been particularlyvulnerable to violence and abuse. Conflicts over collective tribal land rights have contributed to violence used to force women to sell their shares of land, not participate in meetings where decisions are made about the land, and renounce their share of compensation from the sale of the land.
	● Nomadic Populations	● Conflicts over water and grazing lands between local populations and nomadic groups place women from both populations at risk of violence from the other.
	● Real Estate Development Projects	● Real estate development projects often involve renovation of or relocation o residents in slum neighborhoods. Implementation of compensation schemes for the loss of housing in these projects can place women residents at risk of violence, as male residents attempt to prevent women from benefiting from these compensation schemes. Examples include the use of violence to force women to register their residency in the slum in the name of a male relative, or men taking more than one wife in order to benefit from multiple housing compensations.
Population Movements	● Arrival of seasonal agricultural workers, men or women ● Migration to cities for work, men or women ● Migration of female rural students to cities for studies ● Daily commutes by rural women to nearby cities for work in factories or private homes ● Arrival of undocumented persons from other countries, men and women ● Seasonal migration of female agricultural workers to European countries ● Arrival of nomadic groups	● Perceived competition with the local workforc generates violence against women migrant workers ● Women in host communities can be at risk of harassment and violence from transient men, particularly for sexual abuse and in sex work ● Culture shock among men migrating from rural areas to cities around gender roles can contribute to harassment and other violent male behaviors ● Women migrants with limited economic means may live in unsafe neighborhoods, or neighborhoods at a distance from their studies or work ● Insufficient public transportation drives women to use illegal and clandestine private transportation services. ● Large groups of single male seasonal workers settling in a neighborhood can create a risk of harassment and violence against local women. ● Unregistered and unrecognized "marriages" between male seasonal workers and local women can lead to groups of women with no legal rights, vulnerable to ostracism and community and family violence, for being unwed mothers and/or for having sexual relations outside of legal marriage. ● Difficulties identifying seasonal workers due to their frequent travel leads to lack of prosecution and impunity for violence against women crimes. ● Seasonal female workers often lack safe and secure housing. ● Illegal working conditions and low wages contribute to vulnerability to violence. ● The seasonal and unstable nature of marriages and subsequent divorces

		accompanying population arrivals and departures contribute to domestic conflicts and family violence.
	• Clandestine Immigration Abroad	• Women are often pressured through violence tocover the expenses of clandestine immigration by male family members. • Women left behind when male family members immigrate can be abandoned with debts to pay the travel, placing them at risk of violence from creditors. • Women clandestine immigrants are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse because of their undocumented status. • Women clandestine immigrants who are unsuccessful in the destination country and return home may face significant debts, placing them in a situation of vulnerability and dependence on male family members.
Political Events	• Elections • Political Conflicts • Strikes and Protests	• Political parties rarely provide protection or support for women candidates • "List women" in Arabic refers to women elected under the list of seats specifically reserved for women candidates. They are frequently treated with contempt, violence, denegation or harassment by men elected to office through the traditional party lists. • Male candidates reportedly may use violence to force female family members and domestic workers to campaign on their behalf during elections. • Women municipal councilors can be subjected to pressure and violence to either not attend council meetings, or to cast a vote in a certain way. • Women candidates report being subject to blackmail, defamation, harassment, and pressure to renounce their candidacy or to change their political opinion. • Political and electoral conflicts can take on a gendered tone, with the use of arms, defamation, and insults to honor directed against women in respective families. • Existence of political movements and parties that instigate and legitimize violence against women. • Presence of corruption and use of money in elections encourages extortion, harassment and violence against women.
Economic Events	• Economic Crises	• As during the COVID-19 pandemic described above, factors associated with economic crises are associated with an increased risk of violence against women, including poverty, unemployment, vulnerability to lay-offs, low salaries, lack of stable income, and labor conditions in the informal sector. • Women's limited access to independent social assistance schemes, such as the RAMED system, increases the potential of dependence on men. • Women may face increased responsibilities and pressures to cover not only family expenses, but male family members' expenses such as cigarettes, drugs and alcohol.

		• Men use violent force to appropriate women's income • Increases in family debts can lead to conflicts over responsibilities and resources. • Women may be forced to accept any job they may find, including those in unsafe working conditions.
	• Economic Opportunities	• With financial schemes and loans available to women only, such as microcredit programs, women may be subjected to violence by male family members seeking to appropriate the funds for themselves. • Similarly, the traditional Moroccan system of "Daret" in Arabic is an informal lending circle or rotation of money among women members; male family members may use violence to appropriate the loans for themselves. • Family businesses and cooperatives are often characterized by male domination of the financial management a female labor force who do not share in the profits. • A prevailing culture of corruption, cronyism and favoritism makes women vulnerable to extortion and violence to obtain a job. • Geographic disparities in economic opportunities force women to migrate to other cities where opportunities are concentrated, with all of the unfavorable conditions of living in a city far from family and social networks that this implies.
Cultural, Religious, and Sporting Events	• Sporting matches, such as soccer • Month of Ramadan • Music Festivals • Eid al-Adha (Feast of the Sacrifice holiday) • Back to school time • Summer holidays • Moussems (traditional celebrations/gathering held annually locally)	• Large gatherings of people without any security measures • Late-night nature of many of these events • Many of these events are held in remote and distant locations • Mass arrivals of people from outside the community who come temporarily to attend events, be with family • Creation of festive occasions attended by men who return home late at night and force themselves sexually on their wives • Families may incur debts and take out loans to meet expenses, creating conflicts and the risk of violence. • Increased expenditures lead to increased demands, criticisms and control of women over management of household resources. • Periods of increased gendered distribution of labor create a climate of increased demands on women and resorting to violence to enforce these, for example women assuming all responsibilities for cooking and other household chores while men participate in the public events and celebrations.
Criminal Activities	• Contraband and smuggling of goods • Forced labor • Street vendors ("NisaaElferachate") • Drug trafficking	• The prevalence of corruption at border crossings makes women couriers vulnerable to gendered pressure, extortion, blackmail and harassment for a percentage of contraband goods or in exchange of safe passage. • Sex workers can be forced to participate in drug sales in exchange for authorization to work in a certain neighborhood controlled by a drug dealer. • Women working in illegal or unauthorized activities – i.e. without a permit – are vulnerable to gendered threats of arrest, harassment and violence.

Working Conditions, in time or in space	• Night work • Domestic work • Agricultural work • Work in cafes and nightclubs • Presence of private companies that serve as intermediaries to employ cleaning workers or domestic workers as subcontractors or independents • Call centers • Unregulated professions and businesses	• Gendered conflicts between male unionized workers and women no-unionized workers • Women often lack social security coverage or employment contracts, or are forced to sign contracts without reading the content, creating vulnerability to abuse. • Low wages for women contribute to precarious and unsafe living conditions • Significant distances and long commutes between homes and workplaces • Lack of transportation, especially at night • Lack of public lighting in streets • Deserted streets at night • Women agricultural workers are often obliged to leave their daughters alone at home, at times for several months, without supervision or protection, making the girls vulnerable to violence. • Women out on the streets at night risk being harassed, subjected to extortion, or arrested and accused of prostitution. • The lack of regulation and inspections of certain religious activities and their personnel – such as the al-Ruqyah al-Sharia, Koranic homes in marginalized quarters or villages – means that such activities can be either a source of or instigator of others to commit violence against women.
Militarized Contexts	• Presence of a military base in a community	• Unregistered and unrecognized "marrages" between transient military personnel and local women can lead to groups of women with no legal rights, vulnerable to ostracism and community and family violence, for being unwed mothers and/or for having sexual relations outside of legal marriage. • The presence of military bases or barracks is frequently associated with sex worker neighborhoods or brothels, and the resulting high rates of violence against the women working there and higher rates of sexual assaults and rapes against all women generally. • The frequent and seasonal arrivals and departures of military trainees – in transit and often difficult to ascertain their identity, as well as their military status which requires women who have suffered violence to go through a difficult military court process, leads to a culture of impunity. • The return home to their wives of military personnel after long periods of absence is characterized by increased domestic violence.
Recurring Seasonal Activities	• Agricultural Harvests	• Arrival in communities of transient seasonal labor, male and/or female • Agricultural fields are often located in remote and distant areas. • Women may need to travel to the fields very early in the morning before the sun rises to arrive in time for work. • Women may need to spend the night alone in the fields to guard the crops or continue working. • During harvests, a good majority of the adult population in villages is out in the fields, frequently leaving girls and women alone in homes

	• Wedding Parties	• Wedding parties are most often held at night, with a substantial lack of public lighting • Wedding parties are often held in distant areas, without public lighting or transportation. • Alcohol and drug use among men can be very common at wedding parties
Life Cycles or Events	• Inheritance and Division of Estates	• Customs and traditions denying women any rights to inheritance may be enforced by violence, with women pressured to renounce their rights or threatened to be evicted from the home. • Widows may be forced – through threats to deprive her of her children or property - to remarry an heir of the deceased husband in order to preserve the family property. • Following her husband's death, women may be dispossessed of all of her property by her in-laws, and evicted from the home with her children. • If the widow does not have a son, unknown distant relatives may arrive as heirs and use threats and violence to evict her from the home.
	• Filing of Lawsuits for Financial Support: spousal maintenance or child support	• Men may resort to violence or increased violence to pressure wives and ex-wives to renounce lawsuits for spousal maintenance or child support. • Non-payment of financial support by violent husbands increases women's financial dependence and forces women to return to the abusive marital home
	• Widowhood	• Widowed women are often evicted from the home after the death of her husband • Widowed women may end up residing with their in-laws, increasing the risk of conflict, harassment and violence from them. • Social restrictions places on widowed women may be enforced through violence by the deceased's family.
	• Divorce	• Social ostracism of divorced women can lead to their families placing restrictions on their behavior and enforcing them through violence. • Divorced women risk being considered an economic burden and evicted by their own families, especially if there are children requiring financial support. Women thus abandoned are vulnerable to homelessness, precarious housing, and unsafe working conditions. • Marital conflict can create an occasion for violent interference by in-laws in the spouses' relationship and affairs.
	• Polygamy	• Polygamous marriages and the resulting potential competition and conflict between the co-wives can increase pressure on the women to engage in nonconsensual sexual relations with the husband. • Polygamy reinforces both the idea - and the legal mechanism to achieve it - that men have carte blanche in intimate relationships and have the right to obtain whatever they want, even if by force. • Polygamous marriages and the resulting increased family size can contribute to and amplify domestic economic stresses and conflicts.

		• The prevalence of unregistered polygamous marriages can lead to groups of women with no legal rights, vulnerable to ostracism and community and family violence, for being unwed mothers and/or for having sexual relations outside of legal marriage.
	• Birth of a Child	• The lack of hospitals in villages, lack of transportation to hospitals, and financial stresses of childbirth can lead to men and families using violence to force women to stay at home to give birth, renounce requests to travel to a hospital, take a break from domestic work for maternity leave, and renounce requests for health care