



Masculinity in Morocco

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The social and hierarchical relationship between the sexes in Morocco is now in crisis because of the increase in the number of women in the education and employment fields, the decrease in fecundity, and the de-institutionalization of sexuality. These three unfinished processes are the main factors that define the unequal traditional relationship between sexes. Additionally, these processes redefine masculinity, which has been considered for a long time as a source of privilege and power.

I-Issue

Men are not participating enough in the different programs related to reproductive health despite the infiltration of Moroccan women into the domains of education, work, reproduction and sexuality. The Moroccan man refuses to renounce (totally and for good) his privileges, and considers that he has the right to oppose, in the name of the Islamic sexual ethic, the woman's emancipation. This emancipation is considered a sexual liberation, which means a "danger". Sexual liberation is considered, in the name of a patriarchal Islam, as debauchery, prostitution and license.

In the same logic, the socio-economic crisis pushes the Moroccan man to become attached to, even to regress to

the traditional religious forms of masculine domination. Consequently, the principle of the equality of the sexes finds itself the primary victim of the economic crisis. Tradition becomes a shelter against the difficulties that development programs, especially in matters related to reproductive health, encounter. Chauvinism manifests itself through religious texts and fundamentalist Islam. According to traditionalists, matters relating to reproductive and sexual health must be treated in conformity with two unchangeable and pre-established Shari'a principles: the inequality of sexes in matters relating to personal status and the subordination of sexuality to marriage. Consequently, the Moroccan man finds himself lost between two calls: the egalitarian call of reproductive health programs and the discriminatory call of religious traditions.

In *Sexual identity and reproductive health in Morocco*¹, we analyzed this indecisiveness through 10 large variables:

- The psychosocial profile of masculinity
- The sexual orientation of masculinity
- The judicial profile of masculinity
- The self-determination of feminine sexuality
- The (pragmatic) protection of sexuality

- Masculinity, between fertility, impotence and contraception
- The masculine obstetrical conscience

II. Methodology

The questions that this section tries to answer include those related to the inquiry's population, the concerned administrations, the inquiry's sites, and the obtained samples.

II.1 Population of the Inquiry

The inquiry has decided to target the "ordinary" man only. Since he does not have an advanced academic education, the "ordinary" man does not have the intellectual means to conceive the principle of equality of sexes as a rational and democratic principle. Unlike the intellectual man, who not only conceives the principle of feminism and fights for it in some cases, the ordinary man considers masculine domination as a natural and sacred religious fact. It is in such a man that we might find a deep-rooted masculine identity that resists egalitarian calls.

It seems to us that the minor civil servant best illustrates the ordinary man. A minor civil servant is a man who works in public administration and whose annual salary does not exceed 25 000 dirhams (\$2500). Working in the office and occupying subordinate positions encourage this man to manifest traditional masculine qualities such as virility, courage, and the ability to support his wife. It is within this man "without special qualities" that a crisis in masculine identity is bound to be the most acute. The crisis of economic power drives the ordinary man towards a defensive and compensatory reaction. This reaction includes stronger attachment to preconceived notions of masculine identity which is defined as unconditional power and privileges "based" on a sexist and a-historic "understanding" of Islamic texts.

II.2 Administrations

Since we did not have sufficient means to cover all administrations, we chose the ones accountable to the following ministerial departments: Interior, Agriculture, Equipment, Health and Education. This choice was made because of the importance of these departments. In fact the number of personnel that these five ministries employ is 322 925 out of a total of 423 664 (76,2%), all ministries combined.

Another reason for choosing these departments is because the ministries of education, health and agriculture are involved, as institutions, in the reproductive health programs. Therefore it would be useful to see to what measure their minor civil servants are imbued with the reproductive health's egalitarian sexual ideology. As far as the Ministry of Interior is concerned, it represents

authority and power, an excellent field where masculine identity might be applied. The Ministry of Equipment, on the other hand, is associated with technical power still perceived as belonging to man.

II.3 Sites of the Investigation

Initially, we have chosen to carry out the investigation in three different sites: the Oriental-Rif (*Oujda*), the Middle-Atlas (*Khénifra*), and the city of Rabat. Why such a choice?

The Oriental-Rif, is considered in Morocco as the center of masculinity in its extreme brutality. The natural constraints and economic precariousness of the Oriental-Rif are compensated for by an increase of masculine values centered around honor. The Middle-Atlas (*Khénifra*) is the opposite of the Rif in that it is perceived as the place where a "primitive" sexual liberty for women is accepted and tolerated. Finally Rabat, which is the administrative and intellectual capital, represents both the domain of minor civil servants par excellence and the location of feminine/ feminist associations.

When the Direction of Population at the Ministry of Health, supported by the USAID, took a look at our project, it suggested that we enlarge our sample to include three other cities that particularly interests the Ministry, especially for phase V of its "Family Planning Project and Maternal and Infantile Health in Morocco" (1994-2000). These cities are Agadir, Tanger and Tétouan. Thus, the investigation was enlarged to include minor civil servants of these three cities.

II.4 Obtained Samples

The data collection started on March 19, 2000 and finished on May 19, 2000. The team, which includes 4 researchers under my supervision, accomplished a one-week stay in each of the six chosen sites.

Despite many objections and death threats expressed by fundamentalists against the director of research (mainly in Khénifra and Oujda), 524 minor civil servants filled out a questionnaire (table 1) and 43 were interviewed (table 2).

The size and the nonrepresentational aspect (in the strict sense) of the two samples imply that the results of this investigation should be considered as indicative and informative.

III. Results

Throughout this article, we will present the results related to aspects of masculinity and the role of sexual orientation, virility and fecundity in the masculine reconstruction of masculinity.

III.1 Psychosocial Profile

In Agadir, masculinity is defined as "practicality", self-

Table 1: The Repartition of Questionnaires According to Sites and Administrations

Administration Site	Agriculture	Education	Equipment	Interior	Health	Total
Agadir	28	17	33	19	26	123
Khénifra	17	12	23	30	10	92
Oujda	21	17	15	0	21	74
Rabat	15	13	23	35	20	106
Tanger	15	9	14	8	13	59
Tétouan	16	13	13	14	14	70
Total	112	81	121	106	104	524

Table 2 : The Repartition of Interviews According to Sites and Administrations

Administration Site	Agriculture	Education	Equipment	Interior	Health	Total
Agadir	2	1	2		2	7
Khénifra	2	2	2	2	2	10
Oujda	2	2	2		2	8
Rabat	2	1	2	2	2	9
Tanger	1	1	1		1	4
Tétouan	1	1	1	1	1	5
Total	10	8	10	5	10	43

control, ability to keep promises, seriousness, responsibility, decision-making, honesty, sexual temperance, and loyalty to the country.

In Khénifra, being a man is synonymous with being intelligent, intellectual, and reasonable. Man should be moderate, rather than aggressive, hypocritical, or traitorous, and despotic. Man should keep his word, should behave well, take the right decision, and not be afraid. Man should be in charge of expenses. A health civil servant elaborates this "quality" by asserting that "if a man does not have money, he cannot be a man...the entire concept of masculinity means that one should have money". Man should be the protector of the family, and its shelter. He is the woman's soldier, and her bodyguard. All in all man should inspire respect and fear to his entourage.

In Oujda, to be a man signifies heroism and courage. Man represents reason, a sense of responsibility, honor and dignity. He is the one who has an opinion and states it. Man, as already mentioned, is the one who keeps his word. Man is as well *qawwam*, which means the one who supports his wife and children because of the money he provides: "Perhaps man's main characteristic is work ... a lazy man is not a man".

In Rabat, to be a man, is to have self-control and authority over wife and children. Man supports his family. He is the one who will work anywhere, and the one who has a job, and money. He has a strong character and is rea-

sonable; he also keeps his word, faces difficulties, does not reveal secrets, and does not run away from problems.

In Tanger, to be a man, is to know how to dominate a family and inspire children with respect. Man should keep his word, especially when dealing with money. He should use his reason, and be able to see beyond the limits of the present. Man must be stable and possess a strong personality, principles, and the ability to support his family.

Finally in Tétouan, being a man is being responsible for the house, having a strong personality, authority, irrevocable decisions, and presence at home. Being a man means to be reasonable, delicate, wise, and always moving forward. To be a man is to take initiative, and be a leader. A man is the one who knows how to handle problems, who works hard, is tough and capable of handling hard tasks. Man should not be harsh rather than tender. He must be punctual and must keep his word. All in all, masculinity is about decision-making.

The characteristics associated with sexual behavior can be regrouped into four categories: psychological, moral, social, and political.

III.1.1. Psychological Characteristics of Masculinity

The category of psychological characteristics (table 3) includes 16 characteristics that define manhood. These

Table 3: Category of Psychological Traits of Masculinity

Cities Psychological traits	Agadir	Khénifra	Oujda	Rabat	Tanger	Tétouan	Total
Reason		x	x	x		x	4
Courage		x	x	x			3
Fear / respect		x			x	x	3
Authority				x	x	x	3
Personality				x	x	x	3
Self Control	x			x			2
Equilibrium /Measure		x			x		2
Decision-making	x					x	2
Practical	x					x	2
Intelligence		x					1
Handling difficulties				x			1
Precaution					x		1
Sensitivity						x	1
Roughness						x	1
Toughness						x	1
Taking initiative						x	1
Total	3	5	2	6	5	10	31

characteristics were mentioned 31 times. Reason comes first, mentioned in four sites, followed by courage, awe, authority and personality, all mentioned in three sites. No single characteristic was mentioned in the six sites. Tétouan is the city that refers to psychological characteristics the most, followed by Rabat. Among the psychological characteristics mentioned during interviews, are authority and toughness.

Those who define man as “commander”, represent only 24% of the total sample. On the sites’ level, we mainly find them mostly in Rabat, where they constitute 32% as opposed to 13% in Tétouan. We mainly find them in

the equipment (31%) and lastly in health (17%). The age variable does not lead to pertinent results. All the age categories have a percentage of accepting the proposition that varies between 23,7% and 25%. As for the ones who agree with the proposition “to be a man, is to be tough”, they only represent 10%. On the sites’ level, they reach their highest point in Khénifra with 15% and are almost absent in Tétouan (1%). On the administrations’ level, health comes first with 12%, whereas education comes last with 8%. The age variable links toughness with manhood in men over 45 years old.

III.1.2. The Moral Qualities of Masculinity

The moral qualities category (table 4) includes 10 qualities that have been cited 17 times. To keep his word is the moral quality that was cited unanimously. Responsibility comes in second position with 3 citations. Oujda is the city that cites the most moral qualities. Tétouan is the one that cites them the least.

III.1.3. The Social Indicators of Masculinity

The social indicators category (table 5) includes 4 elements that have been cited 11 times. Man as the supporter of the family is the quality that heads the poll. This quality was cited by five cities with the exception of

Table 4: Category of Moral Qualities of Masculinity

City Moral quality	Agadir	Khénifra	Oujda	Rabat	Tanger	Tétouan	Total
Keep his word	x	x	x	x	x	x	6
Responsible	x		x		x		3
Honest	x						1
Non-fornicator	x						1
Non hypocrite		x					1
Non traitor		x					1
Chivalrous			x				1
Honorable			x				1
Worthy			x				1
Keep a secret				x			1
Total	4	3	5	2	2	1	17

Table 5: Category of Social Indicators of Masculinity

City Social indicators	Agadir	Khénifra	Oujda	Rabat	Tanger	Tétouan	Total
Home supporter		x	x	x	x	x	5
Hard-working			x	x		x	3
Has money		x		x			2
Protecting the family		x					1
Total	0	3	2	3	1	2	11

Table 6: Category of Political Qualities of Masculinity

City Political Qualities	Agadir	Khénifra	Oujda	Rabat	Tanger	Tétouan	Total
Loyal to the country	x						1
Not despotic		x					1
Has an opinion			x				1
Takes position						x	1
Total	1	1	1			1	4

Agadir. Unlike Khénifra and Rabat, Agadir does not cite a single social quality that defines manhood,.

III.1.4. The Political Qualities of Masculinity

The political qualities category (table 6) includes four traits (loyalty to the country, having an opinion...) that were cited four times. Each quality was cited on one occasion. None of the cities cited two traits. Rabat and Tanger did not cite any.

The distinction between the four traits that define man generate the following conclusions: As far as number and frequency are concerned, psychological traits head the poll of notions that define manhood, followed by moral and social traits. Political traits come in fourth position. Of the psychological traits, reason (it is a psychological trait, because it implies moderation, equilibrium and precaution), keeping one's word (moral quality), supporting the family (social quality) come first among notions that define manhood. Tétouan is the city that uses the psychological perspective the most in order to define manhood, while Oujda adopts the moral perspective. Khénifra and Rabat adopt the social perspective.

This notional approach in defining man reveals a certain continuation of the

patriarchal definition of masculine identity. This patriarchal continuation expresses itself through the affirmation of the intellectual, physical, social and religious superiority of man. Opposition between reason and emotion is always defined as opposition between men and women. The same applies to the opposition between physical force and weakness. Man is considered more suited to accomplishing hard work. In Oujda, some assert that physical force allows man to "correct" his wife, which does not stand in the way of seducing her. Socially, man symbolizes the protection of home; he is the defender of

the house, meaning the women living inside it. Finally, from a religious point of view, "the woman is inferior because she cannot lead in prayer".

But the definition of man as being superior is a definition that is far from appealing to everyone. In fact, only 21% of interviewees (against a majority of 66%) are favorable to the proposition "being a man signifies being better than the woman" (table 7).

In all cities, the feminist attitude implying that the man is not better (than the woman) won the polls by a high majority. The city of Oujda realized the highest feminist percentage (86,5%). On the administrations' level, education comes in the forefront of feminist attitude with 79%, whereas health comes last with 61%. All the administrative sectors reject the masculine superiority with an absolute majority.

Table 7: Chauvinism of Man According to Cities

Attitudes Cities	Man is better	Intermediary	Man is not better	No answer	Total
Agadir	26,02%	15,45%	58,54%	0,00%	100%
Khénifra	27,17%	11,96%	60,87%	0,00%	100%
Oujda	8,11%	4,05%	86,49%	1,35%	100%
Rabat	23,58%	9,43%	64,15%	2,83%	100%
Tanger	20,34%	6,78%	66,10%	6,78%	100%
Tétouan	15,71%	11,43%	68,57%	4,29%	100%
Total	21,18%	10,50%	66,22%	2,10%	100%

Man should manage house matters without violence and through dialogue. In Rabat, the woman is identified as a better manager of domestic economy, and she is seen more and more as an equal partner. Even in Oujda, the city that realized the lowest feminist score, masculine authority has been softened. Man's commandment cannot be blind, unconditional, and dictatorial. To command is to direct while taking the woman's opinion into consideration. Therefore, there is a redefinition of authority, which is more and more considered as reasonable commandment. In the same way, physical force is not a "privilege": "muscles, even the elephant has some", some say with irony. Consequently, man is not defined as physical force (according to 46%) which should mean toughness, violence or despotic commandment.

III.2 Sexual Orientation

Despite not being spontaneously cited in the interviews, the sexual profile is central in the Moroccan social construction of masculine identity. This profile is largely determined by the necessity of heterosexuality. "Being a man, is being heterosexual": this recurrent phrase signifies the rejection of homosexuality because it is considered as an anomaly that undermines masculinity.

III.2.1. Bisexuality, a Subject of Doubt

Regarding bisexuality, opinion is divided: 44% of interviewees agree with the following point "in every human being, there is both femininity and masculinity", where as 41% reject it. The city of Oujda (54%) and the health administration (48%) adopt in the strongest way the patriarchal response (non-recognition of bisexuality), whereas the city of Agadir (51%) and the agriculture administration (51%) adopt mostly the feminist response. If the Oujda patriarchal opinion was expected, the health opinion was, on the contrary, unexpected. In fact, the health civil servants are theoretically the most suited to say that every human being possesses masculine and feminine hormones. Only one health civil servant mentioned this biological foundation to explain the presence of masculinity and femininity inside the human being.

It is recognized in Agadir that masculinity and femininity can coexist in the same person and that bisexuality does not undermine the masculine identity. Generally speaking, the bisexual hypothesis defense did not provide a rich and diversified plea. Because of the dominant patriarchal perspective, mono-sexuality is stated as evidence. In Oujda, it was asked, "does man become pregnant?" This question was used as the irrefutable argument-the argument par excellence-of non-bisexuality. It is said that man should be man and woman should be woman. The femininity of man is inconceivable, and to treat man, as a woman is to question his masculinity, and to humiliate

him. In Tétouan, a normal man cannot be masculine and feminine at the same time. In case bisexuality exists, it can only be a sickness, a deviance and a devaluation of man. To accuse a man of bisexuality, is to feminize him; it is to degrade him to an inferior ranking. In fact, according to 79%, to treat man as woman is to insult him.

III.2.2. Homosexuality, an Anomaly

The most tolerant social attitude explains homosexuality as a surplus of feminine hormones, but still considers it as an anomaly. Implicitly, this "scientific" explanation reduces homosexuality to the so-called passive homosexuality. It is only the penetrated homosexual that is considered as homosexual. He is abnormal because he suffers from an excess of feminine hormones, which is interpreted as sickness.

In Khénifra, the homosexual is called *chadd*, which means pervert, and the notion of *choudoud* (perversion) signifies, in the everyday language, the "passive" homosexuality only. The hormonal surplus explanation does not excuse the passive homosexual. In Rabat, it is thought that the over-presence of feminine hormones does not justify a man's receptive homosexual behavior.

In Oujda, the hormonal explanation leads to the hypothesis of sexual impotence: the receptive homosexual is a sexually impotent male because he has a surplus of feminine hormones. Because he is impotent, he lets himself be penetrated, like a woman. Nevertheless, "active" and "passive" homosexuals are both considered sick, vicious, perverse, and especially non-religious. Homosexuality is deviant and religiously illicit (*haram*). In Oujda and Tanger, the judicial Islamic sentence that states that homosexuals should be killed to purify society, is adopted once more. In Oujda, it goes as far as requesting that they be burned to death.

In Agadir, an unprecedented attitude has been noted and it consists in explaining homosexuality as sexual work. Here homosexuality is recognized as prostitution, as a trade of bodies, as a trade-alternative, since unemployment is affecting boys and girls. A young Moroccan is ready to play active and passive roles, depending on the client's will. In Agadir, the questions regarding morality with respect to homosexuality are declining, so are the "etiological" reasons in explaining homosexuality (hormones, impotence...).

III.2.3. The Homosexual: A Male? A man? sexless?

Does homosexuality weaken masculine identity? The empirical answers to such a question can be regrouped into five rubrics: 1) man stays a man because he is still a male, 2) only the receptive homosexual is not considered a man, 3) Whether being receptive or performing an

intromission, the homosexual is not considered a man, 4) homosexuals are neither men nor women, 5) homosexuals are not considered human beings. Let us examine these responses one by one.

a. Being a Male, is Being a Man

In Khénifra and everywhere else, it is stated, “the first thing we look for when a birth takes place, is the penis”. If it is found, the baby will always be a man, even if he later on becomes a receptive homosexual. To have a penis is enough to define masculine identity, regardless of sexual practices and orientations. Consequently, even the receptive homosexual stays a man because he has a penis. Therefore, homosexuality does not undermine masculinity.

The same reasoning applies to a male who practices homosexuality to make money. In this case, pleasure is not the purpose of the homosexual act. For example, it is concluded in Agadir that the homosexual prostitute is more a prostitute than a homosexual and does not deserve to be called homosexual. There is a distinction between homosexual practice and homosexual identity: to perform the act for money does not signify that one is a homosexual. In Khénifra, it is stated, “The penetrator and the penetrated both remain men” simply because they have a penis.

b. “Demasculinization” of the Receptive Homosexual

It is inconceivable to be a (sound) man and a receptive homosexual (especially for pleasure) at the same time. Consequently, the homosexual identity applies to the ones who practice receptive homosexuality, based on a bio-psychological need. For 61%, a man who was submitted to sodomy by another man is no longer a man (table 8).

As a result, active homosexuality is implicitly more accepted because its actor respects the masculine paradigm of penetration. The penetrator has more value. He

is called a man because he practiced sex with someone else. In fact, for 38% of interviewees (against 54%), to be a man does not only signify being heterosexual. A man practicing sex with another man is not only defined as man, but also as a non-homosexual. For 61% of interviewees, a man who was submitted to sodomy by another man is no longer a man. 67% of interior civil servants think so. The city of Rabat expresses this attitude the most (with 75%), followed by Oujda (68%). It is only in the city of Tanger where the sodomized is still considered as man by a relative majority of 42% (against 40%). On the national level, 24% think that sodomy does not undermine the sodomized masculinity, mainly because of the presence of the penis.

These results are in conformity with the paradigm of patriarchal sexuality: to have sex with the penis, is to penetrate the other, to be active, to be masculine, to be virile, to be valorized. On the other hand, to have sex with the anus, implies being penetrated, implies being passive, being feminine, being depreciated. Masculinity is socially thought of as sexual penetration. It is said in Oujda that the penetrated man is only a male not a man. Hence to be a male is not enough to be a man. For certain interviewees, especially in Khénifra, active homosexuality symbolizes a “victory” of social class where the “poor” takes his revenge.

c. “Demasculinization” of All Homosexual Actors

This third attitude undermines the masculinity of all homosexual actors. To be homosexual because of a psycho-hormonal or a financial need, to be penetrated or to penetrate, is not considered manly.

The religious aspect is not foreign to this depreciation of all homosexual actors. It is stated that neither the penetrator nor the penetrated have a value: “Our religion forbids us from considering them as men”. Both should be condemned to death, because they go against religion. The ideal Islamic city is perceived here as free from homosexuality.

Table 8: Sodomy and Masculinity According to Cities

Attitudes Cities	Sodomized, man is no longer man	Intermediary	Sodomized, man stays a man	No answer	Total
Agadir	55.28%	5.69%	31.71%	7.32%	100%
Khenifra	60.87%	18.48%	20.65%	0.00%	100%
Oujda	67.57%	4.05%	20.27%	8.11%	100%
Rabat	74.53%	4.72%	15.09%	5.66%	100%
Tanger	40.68%	5.08%	42.37%	11.86%	100%
Tétouan	64.29%	8.57%	18.57%	8.57%	100%
Total	61.45%	7.82%	24.24%	6.49%	100%

d. “Desexualization” of Homosexuals

Homosexuals are neither considered men nor women. The sodomite should not be considered a woman out of respect for her. This respect for women is shown in several places. In Khénifra, it is estimated that treating the penetrated homosexual as a woman is degrading to her. To reduce her to a sex object is to despise her for “Sexually speaking the woman is a partner”. In Oujda, it is specified that the receptive homosexual is socially more degraded, not because he resembles a woman, but because he has renounced his biological sex, his manhood. In Rabat too, the one who has been sodomized should not be compared to women: “A gay person does not deserve to be treated as a woman”.

e. Dehumanization of Homosexuals

Homosexuality as transgression of law, transforms the human being into an animal. Man becomes animal when he stops being religious, and stops being religious when he becomes homosexual. Heterosexuality is considered as an Islamic principle that defines the human being.

III.3 Sterility and Virility

Does man recognize masculine sterility? To what extent does he recognize the difference between sterility and sexual impotence? To what measure does man stay a man without having to be virile or fertile?

III.3.1. Dissociation Between Sterility and Impotence

A majority of men acknowledge masculine sterility (table 9). In fact, 76% think that masculine sterility is an incontestable fact (against 15%). The woman cannot always be accused of being responsible for the couple’s infertility: “the husband can also be the cause”. But against all expectations, 16% of health civil servants think that man can never be responsible for the couple’s infertility. 19% of equipment civil servant and 9% of education civil servant have the same attitude. Another paradox concerns one of the most feminine cities, Agadir, where the patriarchal attitude is the strongest in regard to this

item: 20% of gadiri think that man is never infertile.

The recognition of masculine infertility does not lead to confusion between infertility and impotence. It is said that “The sterile man can make love with force, can be virile, but it is his sperm that is bad”.

Table 10 shows that 79% of interviewees (against 16%) make the difference between masculine infertility and sexual impotence. It is the interior civil servants that differentiate the least: 37% of them think that a sterile man is sexually impotent.

The dissociation between masculine sterility and sexual impotence has an effect on the definition of fertility. To be virile or sexually active does not mean being fertile. Fertility is no longer the visible sign and material proof of virility. The latter means only the aptitude to make love.

III.3.2. De-responsibility of the Impotent and Sterile Man

Facing sterility and impotence, the social explanation combines morality and science on the one hand, and magic and religion on the other. Science and morality tend to accuse man and make him responsible for his sterility since he carries microbes and performs debauchery. On the contrary, the magic-religious tradition was made to relieve responsibility from the sterile and/or impotent man and ensure his masculinity.

Such an explanation shows to what degree the layman is

Table 9: Acknowledgment of Masculine Sterility According to Administrations

Attitudes Administrations	Man cannot be sterile	Intermediary	Man can be sterile	No Answer	Total
Agriculture	13,39%	6,25%	79,46%	0,89%	100%
Education	8,64%	4,94%	81,48%	4,94%	100%
Equipment	19,01%	9,92%	68,60%	2,48%	100%
Interior	14,15%	3,77%	80,19%	1,89%	100%
Health	16,35%	8,65%	74,04%	0,96%	100%
Total	14,69%	6,87%	76,34%	2,10%	100%

Table 10: Sterility and Sexual Impotence According to Administrations

Attitudes Administration	Infertility means sexual impotence	Intermediary	Infertility does not mean sexual impotence	No answer	Total
Agriculture	21,43%	3,57%	74,11%	0,89%	100%
Education	1,23%	3,70%	93,83%	1,23%	100%
Equipment	9,09%	2,48%	84,30%	4,13%	100%
Interior	36,79%	6,60%	56,60%	0,00%	100%
Health	6,73%	3,85%	89,42%	0,00%	100%
Total	15,65%	4,01%	79,01%	1,34%	100%

familiar with biomedical knowledge and shows that etiology is largely impregnated by culture. Hence, magical belief in spells can stop a man being man, meaning powerful and fertile. So, "we go see a clairvoyant in order to heal him". In fact, the patriarchal logic still dominates the unconscious of the tribal man, creating a feeling of inferiority inside the sterile man: the sterile man cannot but "feel inferior", says an education civil servant.

In case therapy (magical or biomedical) fails, a divine causality is invoked as a last attempt to reconcile the sterile man with himself. Most civil servants said that fertility and sterility, virility and impotence, are questions that depend on God. The ability to fertilize is independent of human will. Consequently, "man should not fight against his destiny. Sterility does not weaken the masculinity of a man that believes in God: it is when man ignores God that he doubts his masculinity." Furthermore, it is said that even if man is sexually impotent, he stays a man as long as he does not become a homosexual. The ethnocentric explanation of sexual impotence was expressed once in Agadir. Health civil servants said that, compared to the Berber man, the "Arab is sexually deficient". Being a Berber himself, this civil servant takes his revenge, since the Arabs are (ideologically) dominating.

III.3.3. A Critic of Sexual and Reproductive Health

The patriarchal tradition is rejected when it defines masculine identity as virility, progeny or a large progeny.

Tradition is rejected when it defines man as being virile. Of course, excluding virility from the definition of masculinity is not accepted unanimously. It is believed that masculinity is sexual power, which implies sexual satisfaction of the wife. According to an interior civil servant, when a man does not have sexual libido, he does not have what really defines man. According to some civil servants, nowadays women demand more sex, openly express their need for sex and have no problem showing it. It is recognized that the "woman is sexually more powerful". Hence, it is normal that virility is now explained more and more in terms of orgasmic power. It is also nor-

mal that sexual fear inspired by the "new woman" pushes man towards more sexual failures. An education civil servant says that "the woman can have an orgasm four times, whereas the man has less, I am not sure if it is due to food, climate, nature, but man has to handle this...he has to heal himself, to eat vegetables...". In addition, impotence can lead to adultery and divorce. Also, an individual who does not satisfy his wife sexually is not a man. 38% of civil servants in Rabat and 29% in Agadir believe that an impotent man is not a man. Moreover, 24% think the same throughout Morocco.

For an absolute majority of 62% (see table 11), sexual impotence does not indicate non-masculinity. The danger of identifying masculinity with virility is clearly apparent, mainly in Oujda and Tanger. The modern civil servant refuses to define man based on sexual activity: "man is not only sex". Defining man according to his sexual activity is degrading and incorrect because "virility is found in animals, especially animals" (Tanger). Hence the impotent man stays a man because "he also takes decisions", and because of this, he has what really defines man (Tétouan).

Tradition is rejected when it pushes man to have male descendants to be considered as a man. It is in Khénifra where people tend to associate the most between masculinity and masculine progeny (21%). But for 87% of interviewees (table 12), masculinity does not consist in having boys: "To have a boy or a girl is a pure hazard, it has nothing to do with masculinity...it is God who decides". A national education civil servant demystifies the masculinity/progeny association by stating that men who prefer to have boys think less about their virility than the perpetuation of their name (lineage).

Thus to have daughters only does not weaken man's masculinity: "Our prophet had daughters only, and he was a man...". In Oujda, it was "wisely" said that babies' sex depends on God's will. It was stated that "we are no longer in the jahiliya² period", and we need to show that girls are actually welcome. Furthermore, we can feel a slight prefer-

Table 11: Sexual Impotence and Masculinity According to Cities

Attitudes Cities	An impotent man is not a man	Intermediary	An impotent man is a man	No answer	Total
Agadir	29,27%	9,76%	57,72%	3,25%	100%
Khenifra	23,91%	13,04%	63,04%	0,00%	100%
Oujda	4,05%	13,51%	79,73%	2,70%	100%
Rabat	37,74%	13,21%	46,23%	2,83%	100%
Tanger	16,95%	6,78%	72,88%	3,39%	100%
Tétouan	18,57%	15,71%	62,86%	2,86%	100%
Total	23,66%	12,02%	61,83%	2,48%	100%

Tableau 12: Masculinity and Masculine Progeny According to Cities

Attitudes Cities	Masculinity signifies masculine progeny	Intermediary	Masculinity does not signify masculine progeny	No answer	Total
Agadir	4,88%	3,25%	86,99%	4,88%	100%
Khenifra	20,65%	7,61%	71,74%	0,00%	100%
Oujda	4,05%	0,00%	93,24%	2,70%	100%
Rabat	2,83%	0,94%	93,40%	2,83%	100%
Tanger	5,08%	0,00%	93,22%	1,69%	100%
Tétouan	2,86%	4,29%	88,57%	4,29%	100%
Total	6,87%	2,86%	87,40%	2,86%	100%

ence for girls. There is a reason behind this preference: girls are more tender, even when they are married; they continue to take care of their parents, unlike boys. It is also recognized that they can be strong and responsible. Tradition is finally rejected when it forces man to have a large progeny to be considered a man. As stated in table 13, 77,8% dissociate masculinity from large progeny.

Traditionally, virility meant a large progeny because people used to refer to the animal model, which used to dominate the agrarian society. The large family model is itself conceived through the large herd model: number creates force. For the older generations, the one who does not have a lot of children is not a man. Hence, the male animal that succeeds in impregnating several females is always called "*fahl*", which means virile. Man's virility "*fouhoula*" was modeled on the animal model. But this social construction of the male based on the animal model is no longer dominant. People are now conscious that they cannot procreate without limits simply because they are virile. Financial considerations are starting to play a role in rejecting the definition of reproductive virility: "Knowing my salary, I cannot afford to have four or five children. It is not a question of virility." An equipment civil servant admits that: "Nowadays, it is a

good thing to limit births...times are tough... we should not make seven or eight children sleep in the same room, like sardines...a boy needs his own room at a very young age, and the girl as well..."

A man who has a lot of children is clearly accused of being the first cause of the economical decadence of society. In Tétouan, people who see a similarity between virility and large progeny are perceived as illiterates.

Synthesis

The analysis of man's psychosocial profile leads to the distinction amongst four categories of traits and definitional qualities of masculinity. Because of their number and their frequency, the psychological traits come in the foremost position of definitional notions of man, followed by moral and social qualities. Political traits (loyalty to the country, personal opinion) come in fourth position. Reason (psychological trait), keeping one's word (moral quality), supporting the family (social quality) come in first positions of man's definitional notions.

The risks that masculinity is facing because of social evolution are felt and expressed. Financial difficulties are designated as responsible for the de-masculinization of

Table 13: Masculinity and large Progeny According to Cities

Attitudes Cities	Masculinity signifies Large Progeny	Intermediary	Masculinity does not signify Large Progeny	No answer	Total
Agadir	12,20%	8,13%	74,80%	4,88%	100%
Khenifra	17,39%	7,61%	75,00%	0,00%	100%
Oujda	8,11%	5,41%	83,78%	2,70%	100%
Rabat	14,15%	4,72%	81,13%	0,00%	100%
Tanger	10,17%	6,78%	81,36%	1,69%	100%
Tétouan	17,14%	4,29%	72,86%	5,71%	100%
Total	13,36%	6,30%	77,86%	2,48%	100%

young people, which means the loss of patriarchal “qualities” of masculine identity. This de-masculinization, which is anti-traditionalist, constitutes the starting point of a new masculine identity. Hence, it is said that the sentimental man should not be considered a woman. It goes the same for the one who helps his wife performing domestic works. Tenderness and friendliness are from now on compatible with masculine qualities. We can conclude that man is not a sacred identity, an unchangeable soul: he is susceptible to change and evolution. To reject everything that is feminine is no longer essential to demonstrate masculinity in Morocco. Man no longer dominates the relationship between men and women. This evolution is less visible on the sexual orientation level. Bisexuality still means sickness and deviance, and is mainly degrading for man. In fact, to call a man a bisexual, is to feminize him, to degrade him to an inferior patriarchal ranking, it is to insult him. For a large majority, to be a man, and to be heterosexual, not homosexual.

To identify homosexuality as masculinity is probably the only way to make it acceptable. Homosexuals are men living a dominated masculinity, but are still considered men. The social contempt towards the passive homosexual does not automatically imply treating him as a woman. This indicates an undeniable feminine aspect within the ordinary masculine thought.

Sexual impotence no longer deprives man of masculinity. Because of his penis, a man stays a man. Today, the ordinary man refuses to be defined as a sexually active and functional male only. Virility goes beyond the ability to have orgasm and is redefined as education, nobility of the soul, and reason. Ordinary men are starting to recognize publicly that a woman is sexually more “potent” than a man.

In the same way, the masculine and/or large progeny is no longer a necessary condition of masculinity. It is rather the capacity of supporting children that is becoming synonymous with masculinity. A successful sexual activity is not the one that leads to a masculine and/or large progeny, but to a profound conjugal understanding within a more or less democratized nuclear family. To have fewer children is becoming a choice, a necessity. Consequently, to have fewer children is no longer synonymous with non-virility and non-masculinity. Also, to have only daughters is no longer considered as a defect or a handicap. To go even further, the infertile man is considered a man despite his infertility. To summarize the situation, the ordinary Moroccan man is successfully undergoing sexual transition.

Translated by Josiane Maalouf

END NOTES

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2. It is worth noting that during the Jahiliya (pre-Islamic era), newly born girls used to be buried alive, to avoid dishonor to their families.