Women's Transformative leadership

Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia

Sihem Najar

With the contribution of Arbi Dridi
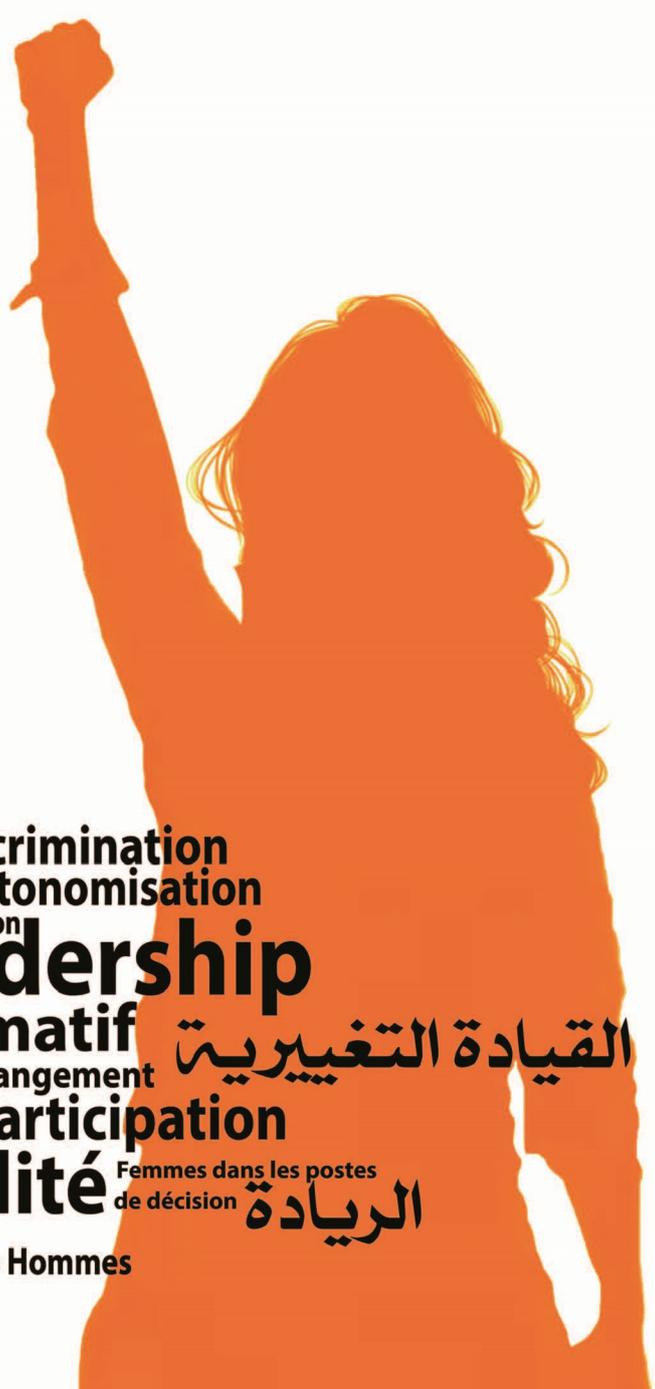
non discrimination
Autonomisation
égalité المساواة
Amélioration
Leadership
Transformatif القيادة التغييرية
Changement
التمكين
Participation
التغيير
égalité Femmes dans les postes
de décision الريادة
Femmes = Hommes

Women's Transformative Leadership

Trajectories over time of influential women (in the inland areas of Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia)

Regional Study

Women's Transformative Leadership
Trajectories over time of influential women
(in the inland areas of Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia)

Center for Arab Women Training and Research

CAWTAR

TEAMWORK

Executive Director: Dr. Soukeina BOURAOUI

Project Coordinator: Meriem JERBI

Research Team

Regional Study Coordinator

- Sihem   NAJAR

Research Team:

Tunisia

- Lilya OTHMEN CHALLOUGUI
- Arbi DRIDI
- Hamida TRABELSI BACHA
- Rim YAAKOUBI
- Hamida JRIDI
- Salima TOUMI
- Anis BELGACEM
- Noujeil EL HENI

Jordan

- Maysoun AL ATOUM
- Amal AL KHAROUF
- Ola GHAZI BADR
- Wassan MOHAMED AL MAJALI
- Ahmed ALI TARAWNA
- Olfa GHAZI MUSTAPHA BADR
- Chahd AKRAM ALI
- Marina POLOS YOUSSEF CHOUNA

Morocco

- Sihem NAJAR
- Arbi DRIDI
- Lilya OTHMEN CHALLOUGUI

Table of contents

non discrimination
Autonomisation
Amélioration
égalité
المساواة
Leadership
Transformatif
Changement
التمكين
Participation
égalité
التغيير
Femmes dans les postes de décision
Femmes = Hommes

non discrimination
Autonomisation
Amélioration
égalité
المساواة
Leadership
Transformatif
القيادة التغييرية
Changement
التمكين
Participation
التغيير
égalité
Femmes dans les postes de décision
الريادة

Acknowledgements

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all of the designated women who consented to take part in our survey as well as to everyone who attended the focus groups held at the various survey locations. It is thanks to them that this research was possible.

FOREWORD

Women's empowerment has been one of the Center for Arab Women Training and Research's (CAWTAR) primary areas of focus in its research, studies,[1] and training programs since its founding in 1993. As stated in all legal documents pertaining to women's rights, empowering women entails first and foremost ensuring their access to and increased control over resources and services. The Beijing Women's Conference followed the Mexico Conference in introducing empowerment. Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals has given women's empowerment a renewed focus as it aligns with the idea of gender equality.

The term "gender" has been added to the definition of "women's empowerment," which has helped people realize how diverse gender relationships and societal structural dichotomies affect women's status. This addition also shows how closely gender is related to the issue of dominating male power and exclusive privileges.

The work of feminist studies and women's rights organizations has inspired nations to make attempts for a more institutionalized approach to women's rights, establishing particular programs and mechanisms, such as quotas, reserved seats, and other affirmative action instruments. These changes opened the door for more women to occupy leadership roles at the center of a "power" that is now to be shared.

Although helpful, these approaches show a relatively mechanistic understanding of government. There is no correlation between holding a decision-making position and having decision-making power, according to field surveys and research, including that done by CAWTAR.

The subject of whether women's leadership differs from that of men, or alternatively, the value of being a "leader," is a response to such disparities. The initiatives of OXFAM and Global Affairs Canada in working on the transformation parameter, and more specifically on transformative leadership for the advancement of women's causes and for sustainable development are also important. These initiatives have nourished reflection on the transformation process and on the results of change, opening new horizons for the advancement of women. This novel and creative approach includes the regional study that CAWTAR and its

---

[1] See the reminder of the main studies and research on the subject 2 by Sihem Najar in the introduction to the Regional Report below.

partners are conducting to gain a better understanding of women's transformative leadership.

In order to grasp the essence of this leadership, we had to act by elimination, removing from our scope of research the elements which may have confounding impact on our investigation. As a result, we excluded women whose positions of leadership are defined as being "attributed or deserved," as well as those who are extremely vulnerable to male dominance and who, as a result, exclude themselves from all aspects of public and/or political life. This change was made because leadership is intrinsically a political concept.

The title of our research project, which aims to interview women acknowledged as leaders within their communities, establishes the scope of our investigation. These female leaders have always existed in all places and times, and they are frequently acknowledged as having leadership roles at the local or national levels. Our goal this time, though, was to draw attention to women who are still unacknowledged and out of the reach of institutional recognition tools and processes. These are women who operate outside of the established structure. Their ability to make choices and exert influence comes from the persona they built by using their initiative and productivity to benefit their own entourage.

We have opted to work on three countries from quite diverse geographical areas while remaining culturally close. In the same vein, we wanted the temporal exploration to embrace very broad historical ranges. This ambition, we believe, is justified because it seems to us that over the course of time, there is a solid core, a kind of residue ensuring a continuity between the basic features of the different influential women.

The collective memory seems to stick to an ideal of a powerful woman on whom it condenses its preferences and expectations by projecting itself into the past, whether recent or remote. This historical immersion is significant to us because it illuminates the common elements, unique to each nation, that support the rise of a woman leader. Finally, we think that by looking at both the past and the present, we can predict the future and imagine what it might bring about.

To bring this endeavor to fruition, we hired a team of researchers to whom we are thankful. The entire team deserves credit for adopting the appropriate methodology that made us transcend time and space. This methodology brought us to the essence of the "power of influence" that would be the quintessence of transformative leadership made of generosity and selflessness.

These female leaders have transformed themselves and their communities. They are in a way trailblazers, the "influencers of yesterday"—who are using the means of communication and information of the time. Some of them or their daughters

continue today, through the internet and social networks, to influence and give us lessons of life and solidarity. Their experiences will guide CAWTAR's transformative leadership training courses.

We thank the Forum of Federations for allowing us to accomplish this duty of remembrance. This debt of gratitude we owe is also a new means for women's accomplishments to be perceived in a larger perspective. This perception allows us to reach the glory of the narrative in accordance with the wishes of Michelle Perrot[2]: "Women have always been present in the plot of the story, but not necessarily in the broader narrative."

Dr. Soukaina BOURAOUI
Executive Director

---

[2] Quoted by Sihem Najar at the end of chapter IV: Transformative leadership: What social recognition; transformative leadership regional report (Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia).

PREFACE

Forum of Federations
The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Govern

Historical patriarchal ideologies based on gender inequality have affected traditional notions of leadership. Nevertheless, the modernization and liberalization movements inside nation-states have aided in the development of a more inclusive and gender-sensitive understanding of what characterizes a leader.

The activities of the Forum of Federations over the past 20 years on all continents have confirmed that building a sustainable multi-level democracy is only possible when women are part of public institutions at all levels of government and society. The more women there are in leadership positions at all levels of society, in the cabinet, in the legislature, the more gender-sensitive policies and laws will have direct impacts. These impacts will increase women's access to education, health services, and financial autonomy, and can even prevent violence against women and girls.

All of these problems take on considerably greater importance in the midst of the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic. For this reason, the Forum and CAWTAR conducted this regional study in order to better understand some of the characteristics and methods of effective leadership in Tunisia, Morocco, and Jordan. This will allow them to incorporate these findings into upcoming initiatives and serve as a guide for female leaders in the future.

We also sought to better understand the journeys of the less well-known female leaders who are transforming their communities and demonstrating great leadership at many levels of society, many who do not even realize that they are leaders and are bringing about positive change.

As a result of the Forum's experiences in Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia, it was made clear how crucial it is for women to hold leadership positions at all levels of government in order to effectively incorporate local requirements and realities into governance frameworks and to support effective policy implementation on the ground. Additionally, there are significant complementing initiatives taking place in local communities that are independent of governance and policy. A number of these initiatives, many of which are led by women, promote community cohesion, enhance local values, and uphold cultural norms through instilling concepts of rights and equality as well as creating a spirit of cooperation and collaboration.

It is in this context that the Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR) has conducted this study and prepared this report with the aim of

highlighting the often-undervalued importance of transformational leadership as practiced by women. The study traces the evolution of perceptions of gender roles over time in the three target countries: Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia. Much of the input was collected through focus groups and interviews conducted with beneficiaries within the framework of the Forum's Mena Program: Empowering Women for Leadership roles in the Middle East and North Africa Region (Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia).

By identifying the obstacles women experience and intervening factors, this report helps provide the much-needed space for discussion and action to promote women's political and economic growth. Through the women's testimonials, the report highlights the important policy issues that scholars, legislators, and all those committed to building a more equitable and inclusive society must address.

The report specifically calls attention to the problem of regional inequalities, such as the persisting gaps between rural and urban areas and their impact on the provision of essential services to local communities, making rural areas economically vulnerable and aggravating inequalities among women. As a result, the research reveals the similarities that have influenced the lives of women from different backgrounds and life circumstances and highlights how these similarities have helped these women become recognized as transformative leaders. The leadership attained by these women has been shaped by their adversity of their experiences, which have forged their resilience and unwavering commitment to improving living conditions in their communities.

The Forum hopes that all of the findings of this study will be embraced by all of us and that the lessons learned will be incorporated into future work on women's leadership. It is my personal hope that this study will serve as a benchmark and that the stories of the influential women featuring in the study will inspire young women and girls to become future leaders.

I would like to thank the Executive Director of CAWTAR, Dr. Soukeina Bouraoui, and the research team, especially Meriem Jerbi, the Project Coordinator. Special thanks are also extended to Sihem Najar, Regional Research Coordinator, for coordinating the work of the research teams and drafting the regional report. A special appreciation is due to all the participants in the workshops held in Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia for their participation in the group discussions and for sharing valuable insights of their countries. I would also like to thank the members of the review committee (Asma Nouira, Ruba Al Akash, and Naima Chikhaoui) who examined the findings in the report. My appreciation is extended to the Women's Leadership Project staff, including Senior Director Sheela Embounou, Regional Director Leila Haouaoui, Country Directors Hayat Lahbaili for Morocco

Rupak Chattopadhyay
CEO and President
Forum of Federations, Ottawa, Canada

INTRODUCTION

This research launched by the Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR), with the support of the Forum of Federations,[3] addresses a classic and yet a currently topical issue that refers to the power of influence of women in an environment broadly marked by male domination. The research focuses on two main areas. The first area uses a comparative approach that focuses on female figures who have used their power of influence in various contexts. The second area uses a diachronic perspective that seeks to identify profiles of women from various generations and historical periods whose pathways have allowed them to influence their entourage and whose profile traits remain etched in the collective memory (in Tunisia, Jordan and Morocco). Such an approach tends to join the interplay of individual and collective memories, social relations and social morphology that constitute the background of Women's transformative leadership. It is also a locus of local - global, contextual - universal articulation. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the present work is premised on a bias in favor of those "unrecognized," even invisible and underestimated female leaders who have transformed their environment in the interior regions of the countries under examination.

Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that the subject of leadership is handled from a variety of perspectives, including authority, decision-making, the capacity to act, the capacity to uphold group cohesion, direction, and influence, among others. Given that this research frequently focuses on **transformative leadership**, the emphasis will be on **women power of influence**. Far from minimizing the weight of other components of leadership, influence serves as an initial parameter that will allow us to investigate the extent to which women are able to act in their entourage by exerting influence on the people (and institutions) around them.
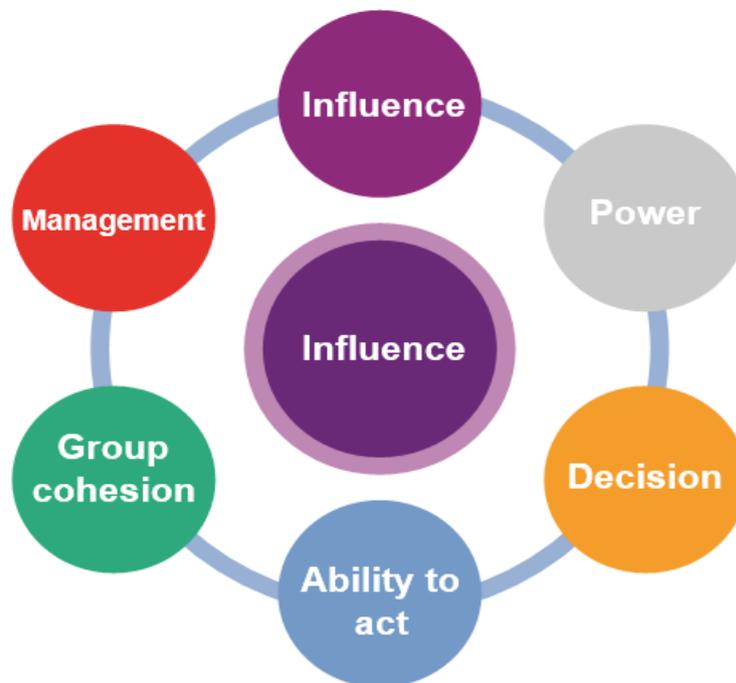
What is influence?[4]

The word "Influence" refers to the capacity of a person (in this case, a woman seen as a "leader" by her entourage) to exercise authority over that same group. This power of influence is not based on force; rather, it is based on the ability to convince and persuade, as well as to mobilize others (the influenced individuals), and to win their compliance and consent.

Therefore, based on a conceptual triangulation, we have chosen to take an inductive approach to women's transformative leadership. It entails comprehending transformational leadership by overlapping it with the person in question's power of influence (this person is defined by others and self-defines as a "leader") and with social recognition, which is a necessary but not sufficient condition of the exercise (and consequently of the legitimacy) of the power of influence. This is how transformative leadership is determined in relation to the other factors on which it depends.

---

[4] For the definition of the notion of influence, we have referred to several works in the field of sociology, political science and social psychology. We can cite as examples:
- Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXVII, n°1, Spring 1963;
- François Chazel: "Réflexions sur la conception parsonienne du pouvoir et de l'influence", *Revue Française de sociologie,* V, 1964, pp. 387-401;
- Robert K. Merton, *Eléments de théorie et de méthode*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1965;
- Robert Alan Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis*, Engelwood Cliffs, N. J, Prentice-Hall, 1963.

This triangulation could be presented as follows:
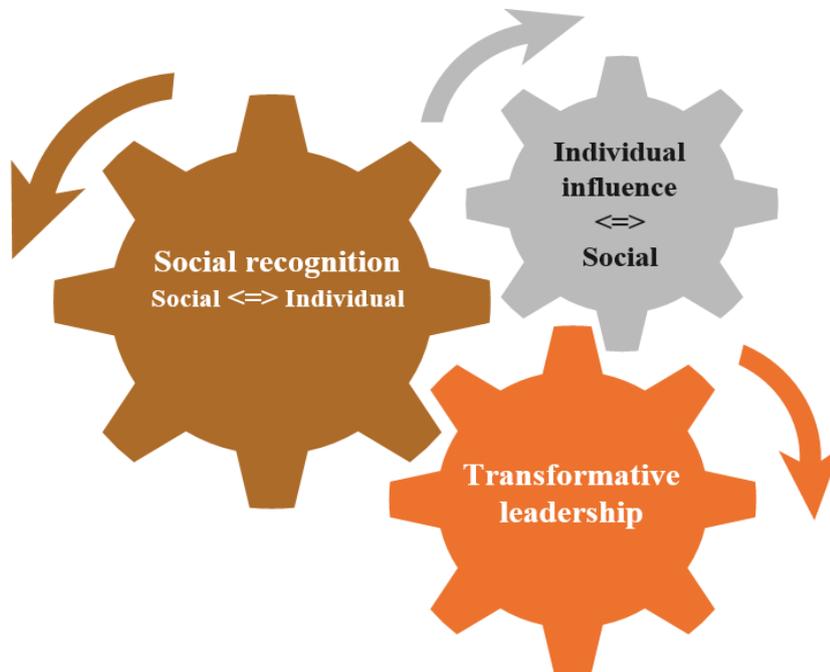
How is the issue of transformative leadership for women still relevant and viable?

Transformative leadership for women is a matter of primary interest, involving key issues of communal life. The distinction between what constitutes the definitions of "female" and "male," based on a "sexualized dualism,"[5] that is, on a binary vision and "a predominating archaic paradigm,"[6] where the boundaries between these two realms are strict, is brought back into focus by this question in more detail. According to this vision, "the feminine half of society is excluded," which is thought to be or is even pejoratively called "the dangerous half."[7] In this perspective, women's access to positions of leadership and influence is seen as a grave breach of the boundaries separating the identities, statuses, and social roles of men and women.

---

[5] Georges Balandier, *Anthropo-logiques*, Paris, Le livre de poche, biblio/essais, 1985, p. 31.

[6] Françoise Héritier (ed.), *Hommes, femmes. La construction de la différence*, Paris, Ed. Le Pommier-Cité des Sciences et de l'Industrie, 2005, pp. 35-36

[7] Georges Balandier, "Communautés chaudes et communautés froides", in *Solitude et communication, XXVème Rencontres Internationales de Genève*, Boudry-Neuchâtel (Switzerland), Les Editions de La Braconnière, 1975, pp. 11-19.

Leadership has always been viewed as a male-dominated domain, but when exercised by women, the link to concerns and principles is thrown off balance. As a result, it is typically seen as a transgression that needs to be discussed and justified, to varied degrees. Therefore, it is still often viewed as a "violation of standards connected to female gender role" when women use effective influence.[8] Sexualized dualism indicates the weight of rigid historical systems that are resistant to change, despite the societal changes brought about by social movements and the effort of many actors to assert gender equality. Given that "everything is played out, expressed, and informed as of when societies started to emerge," Georges Balandier[9] has convincingly demonstrated that "the masculine-feminine dualism" is socially produced and creates injustices that must be exposed, examined, and denounced.

In contemporary societies, female leadership cannot be recognized as such if it is not perceived as a violation of established definitions and binary categories: "female" / "male", just / unjust, legitimate / punishable, big / small, strong / weak, dominating / dominated... These categories help to frame how people perceive difference and legitimize what is now called the "gender hierarchy," which gives men the exclusive rights to symbolic and practical power while assigning women more subordinate gender roles. Gilbert Durand, who makes a distinction between diurnal and nocturnal regimes or polarities in opposition to one another, had laid the groundwork for this mental and imaginative structure. Durand said that "the Nocturnal Regime would be that of the feminine representation, whereas the Diurnal Regime would be the present paradigm of the representation of the male conscience."[10]

In the same vein, Françoise Héritier stated that "human thought has been organized on the basis of this observation: the identical and the different. All the things are then going to be analyzed and classified within these two categories (...). Humans generally think in this way, and we haven't come across a civilization that doesn't follow it. Binary categories, words with opposing meanings, such as hot and cold, dry and wet, hard and soft, high and low, active and passive, healthy and unhealthy, exist in all languages."[11] According to Françoise Héritier, this framework is the root of the "differential valence of the sexes," which stems from the assignment of places

---

[8] Alice H. Eagly, Steven J. Karau et Mona G. Makhijani, "Gender and the effectiveness of leaders : a meta-analysis", in *Psychological Bulletin*, 117 (1), 1995, p. 125-145, p. 126.

[9] Georges Balandier, Le *détour. Pouvoir et modernité*, Paris, Fayard, 1985, p. 54.

[10] Gilbert Durand, *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire*, Paris, Dunod, 1993

[11] Françoise Héritier, "A l'aube de l'humanité", in Françoise Héritier, Michelle Perrot, Sylviane Agacinski, Nicole Bacharan, *La plus belle histoire des femmes*, Seuil, 2011, pp. 25-26.

and roles on a "table of values and promotes the domination of the masculine over the feminine principle."[12]

Leadership has long been rooted in the realm of masculinity and is a category that is heavily over-represented. A certain historical precedence reduces leadership essentially to the domain of men (the norms of acting, the recognized valorizing abilities, etc.), which adversely affects to varying degrees the emergence of women leaders.

It will be possible to observe how the conflicts resulting from the representations of the feminine and the masculine can be seen in the open by studying female leadership. The theory of social roles put forth by A. Eagly since 1987 provides us with a significant insight into how people perceive the "natural" roles that men and women play in society. Women adopt a sexual identity since they are confined to the procreative, caring, domestic, etc. roles that are perpetuated by the differential socialization. We will examine how men and women are portrayed as individuals who are under intense pressure to fit into predetermined social roles. These roles define what is expected of them in society and what they should ideally be doing.

The collapse of sexualized dualism and unequal gender valence, which is defined as women's appropriation of values viewed as "universally male," makes it crucial to comprehend women's access to leadership and power of influence.

What is transformative leadership for women?

In this work, we believe that ***transformative leadership*** refers to a woman's (leader's) capacities and her capacity to inspire, influence, direct, and guide the members of the group to which she belongs. This transformative leadership leads the members, on the one hand, to adhere to the group's norms, values, and ideals, and, on the other hand, to achieve objectives oriented to the achievement of shared interests. The importance of these virtues in a woman leader comes from how well they are accepted by the group as a whole, giving her the legitimacy, she needs to exercise her influence and change the environment in which she operates.

Women's Transformative Leadership blurs the conventional thinking, which is concentrated on the gendered bi-categorization of values, thanks to the liberating attributes and virtues that this category instills in women. It gives them the resources and skills to influence their environment and personal lives.

---

[12] Françoise Héritier, *Masculin / féminin II. Dissoudre la hiérarchie*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2002, p. 127. It is important to distinguish between male domination, which refers to gender in its "relational dimension" as a power relationship between the sexes, and male dominance, which refers to gender in its "symbolic dimension" as a "hierarchical conceptual relationship".

Despite popular belief, being a woman leader is not a luxury reserved for "the inheritors," as Bourdieu and Passeron[13] refer to people who believe they have been bestowed with a capital of influence that decides the course of their careers. Undoubtedly, a young girl's life ambitions are influenced by her family's wealth, her parents' decision-making positions of authority, and other factors. It is not uncommon to encounter, whether today or in the past, in the anonymity of large cities or the impoverished rural areas, "unrecognized women" who have succeeded in influencing their environment and earning the title of leader. What areas of action, assets, and capacities do these "invisible" women possess that enable them to subvert "sexualized dualism" and impose new kinds of legitimacy?

"Unknown" women and power of influence

This work focuses on the experiences of "unknown" women leaders, "molded by the ordeals of life"[14] and having exercised a certain influence. As a result, we have made the decision to remove from our sample any women who have achieved prominence in the fields of science, politics, the media, or other institutionalized forms of (official) authority. This is a choice that CAWTAR and its partners made on purpose, aimed at highlighting the experiences and pathways of ordinary influential women, with a view to bringing to light and highlighting their skills, the scope of their action, and the exemplary nature of their initiative in relation to (cultural, social, etc.) norms of their environment.

This study takes a stance that challenges the use of authority to exert influence "from the bottom up." The research involves examining and analyzing the uncommon and frequently unexplored paths that an individual experience takes, one that is distinguished by hardships and culminates with success. This idea is the source of a significant bulk of human sciences research, much like the classic tales examined by Vladimir Propp,[15] where the ordeal is a formative experience that gives the hero his identity. Trials are hence, in the words of Danilo Martuccelli, "socially constructed, inequitably distributed historical problems" that people must face.[16] By overcoming these challenges and establishing the societal acknowledgement required to justify this status, women are able to identify themselves and create an identity as transformative leaders through a process of singularization. "If individualism is created from a mistrust of society, singularism is only confirmed from the awareness of the common," according to Martuccelli. "Thus, singularism is not a pure privatization, as it was in certain ways the case with the earlier individualism, such

---

13 Pierre Bourdieur et Jean-Claude Passeron, *Les héritiers. Les étudiants et la culture*, Paris, Minuit, 1964

14 Danilo Martuccelli, *Forgé par l'épreuve. L'individu dans la France contemporaine*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2006

15 Vladimir Propp, *Morphologie du conte*, Paris, Eds. Seuil, coll points, 2015

16 Danilo Martuccelli, *ibid*.

as a withdrawal from the political sphere, a disaffection of the common life, or an exclusive valorization of the private life. Instead, it is driven by a different calling: it presupposes that people will be deeply involved in society from the start, if only because they have a great need to have their uniqueness acknowledged."[17]

We can propose the following operative hypothesis in line with Martuccelli's analysis: transformative female leadership would result through a process of singularization by virtue of which "ordinary" women would transcend all of the barriers they socially encounter.

Driven by this hypothesis, we will try to understand how, through the strategies implemented, certain women, despite being subject to the same constraints, facing the same obstacles that weigh on the group to which they belong, manage to distinguish themselves, make choices and exercise a power of influence that is forbidden or inaccessible to others in the same situation. To put it another way, by what combination of factors, by what "social alchemy", by what combination of circumstances do people manage to distinguish themselves from the original social group and to impose themselves on the constraining conditions of their environment?

> What method would be the most appropriate in the present study to comprehend women's leadership in terms of its geographical and temporal anchoring?

By describing individual trajectories and the circumstances in which they are entrenched, and which contribute to their organization, this research aims to explain transformative leadership in women. More specifically, the objective is to discover relevant contexts that direct biographical routes from a complete and operational analytical standpoint. This contextualization of individual trajectories[18] places us right away in a constructivist viewpoint that transcends the individual/collective dichotomy to take into consideration the various contexts that influence individual experiences and trajectories.

The relevance of this research lies in its innovative nature, and this is true in two different ways:

---

[17] Danilo Martuccelli, "Grand résumé de La Société singulariste," Paris, Éditions Armand Colin, coll. individu et société, 2010", SociologieS, Grand résumés, La Société singulariste [online], posted 27 December 2010, accessed 20 September 2019.: http://journals.openedition.org/sociologies/3344 .

[18] Didier Demazière and Olivia Samuel, "Inscrire les parcours individuels dans leurs contextes", Temporalités {Online], 11 | 2010, posted on July 5, 2010, accessed on March 25, 2018. URL: http://journals.openedition.org/temporalites/1167

- At the level of approach, this work concentrates on transformative (or transformational) leadership, which brings us in an issue centered on the ability to influence. Actually, such an approach views leadership as a process that affects the environment and brings about changes because of the leader's ability to convince and because of the type of relationship he or she upholds with his or her followers by appealing to ideals and values like freedom, justice, equality, and equity, among others.[19]

- In terms of methodology, it is a cutting-edge and unique approach that transcends the typical study design. It is a component of what Jack Katz refers to as "analytic induction,"[20] which combines attention to interactions, biographical experience, and historical processes.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the available means and resources for women to exercise the power to influence others and to have an impact on their entourage?

2. What role can third parties play in the exercise of influence by women leaders?

3. How is a change in social reality made possible by the "influence transaction?"[21]

---

[19] MacGregor and Burns, *Leadership*, N. Y, Harper and Row, 1978.

[20] Jack Katz, "Du comment au pourquoi. Description lumineuse et inférence causale en ethnographie", in D. Cefaï et al. (Ed.), *L'engagement ethnographique*, Paris, EHESS, 2010, pp. 43-105. See also J. Katz, "Analytic Induction", in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Smelser and Baltes, eds. 2001.

[21] Elihu Katz and Paul L. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2008, p. 132.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

General Objective:

Empowering women with a view to promoting female transformative leadership.

Specific Objectives:

1. Identify the (individual) resources and (social) conditions that foster women's leadership skills (the capital of influence).

2. Identify the obstacles to the development of women's power of influence (and leadership).

3. To act on the stereotypes, mentalities and beliefs that are at the root of the gender-based injustices that women still suffer.

I- LEADERSHIP: A RESEARCH SUBJECT IN HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Although the term "leadership" is widely used in humanities and social sciences, it lacks definition and is prone to misunderstanding and amalgamation. We can distinguish several definitions of leadership presented from different perspectives. In fact, the focus has occasionally been on how someone succeeds in being a leader (personalist methods), which is to say, to become influential (thus the interest in the concept of social influence). At other times, it has been on the kind of leadership (situational). There are a number of preferred techniques to approaching leadership; this presentation is a chosen interpretation of the wealth of available literature on the subject and is by no means exhaustive or synthetic. Only those components are highlighted below that will be developed in relation to the research problem:

- **The trait approach:** By uncovering the determining factors that explain leaders' trajectories, the trait approach focuses on the personality qualities that define leaders. In order to identify potential leaders, this method, which is based on a historical perspective, focuses on the traits of "great men" who change society. This

method is used by certain scholars[22] (such as Carlyle,[23] Marseille and Pavy), who believe that inheritance is genetically determined and inherited and depends on the historical setting: "Great men appear in times of crisis to give direction and guidance to people." Key characteristics of a leader include ambition, enthusiasm, a desire to lead, honesty, confidence, intelligence, and competence, according to other studies (Geier, Kirkpatrick and Locke, Bolden, Rae, Champy, *etc.*);

• **The leadership style approach:** Using a typology of leaders in order to distinguish between them, this approach draws attention to their motivation interests and limitations. The components utilized to create the typology focus more on the unique characteristics of each style of leadership than they do on the behavior of the leader or those who follow him/her. Max Weber, for instance, makes a distinction between the three kinds of power: conventional, legal, and charismatic. Kurt Lewin examines the three types of leadership—authoritarian, participative, and laissez-faire (in collaboration with Lippitt and White). The typology of social influence developed by Edgar Morin[24] includes normalization, conformity, obedience, and innovation.

• **The contingency approach:** Proposed by Fred Fielder,[25] Paul Hersey, and Ken H. Blanchard,[26] this approach entails determining the factors that influence leaders' trajectories. This typology then pairs these factors with personality characteristics. (The factors include major professional events, political support, professional networks, biographical bifurcation, etc.).

• **Situational approach:**[27] This theory states that a group's ability to lead depends less on an individual's traits or style of leadership (although both may be important), and more on the environment in which it operates. In this view, a competent leader is one who is adept at understanding the implications of context and circumstances. This approach was developed by Alexander Haslam, Stephen D. Reicher, and

---

[22] Cited by: Stéphane Jacquet, *Le leadership: un état personnel, des capacités ou une réelle intelligence situationnelle?* Présentation des grands courants d'explication du leadership, https://creg.acversailles.fr/IMG/pdf/leardership.pdf .

[23] Carlyle T., *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*. Fredrick A. Stokes & Brother, 1988.

[24] Edgar Morin, *Les Psychologies au travail*, Montréal, Gaétan Morin éditeur, 1996.

[25] Fred Fielder, "The Effects of Leadership Training and Experience: A Contingency Model Interpretation", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol 17, n°4, Dec., pp453-470.

[26] Paul Hersey, Ken H. Blanchard, W. E. Natemeyer, "Situational leadership and power, " In: J. T. McMahon et W. E. Natemeyer, dir., "Classics of Organizational Behavior" Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 3rd ed., pp321-329.

[27] Dominique Desjeux, "Les échelles du leadership, entre la légitimité politique, le style de commandement et la gestion des réseaux," http://www. argonautes.fr/2011-06-d-desjeux-les-echelles-du-leadership-entre-la-legitimite-politique-le-style-de-commandement-et-la-gestion-des-reseaux-2/ .

Michael Platow.[28] They demonstrate that rather than beginning with the question of the psychological traits of the leader, we must ask ourselves what causes a group to function and what causes group members to be compliant or non-compliant to a leader. They draw the conclusion that members will follow a leader if the leader takes into account the identities of the group members. As a result, the group's leader is seen as the "identity entrepreneur" who transforms the group's members from "I" to "us". He must be able to highlight the traits that make up the group's overall identity. The values created by the group, the values of the "we" and not the "I," must be embodied by him from the within.

Dominique Desjeux[29] explains that the concept of leadership "refers to the psychology of the leader, to the behavioral style, to the sociology of organizations and to the interactions between leaders and subordinates, to the political science of the state and to monarchical, democratic, or despotic regimes, or to management and at the same time to the cultural dimension of management or leadership." The questions that run across the subject of leadership, frequently without clear solutions, are: "What makes a good leader? Who is an effective leader? Or are there different styles of leadership?"

François Bourricaud[30] examined the studies conducted on leadership in small groups (produced within the framework of American sociology) in order to identify the most important theses that could be generalized and applied to the study of political phenomena. This analysis resulted in a text that was published in 1953 under the title: "The sociology of 'leadership' and its application to political theory." However, he pointed out that the term "leadership" is "quite neutral" among American sociologists. It is a general phenomenon in all forms of observable social organizations and is far from being a feature of political groupings.[31] According to Bourricaud, a leader's responsibility is "to get those over whom his influence is exercised to work together on common tasks."[32]

---

[28] Alexander Haslam, Stephen D. Reicher et Michael Platow, *The New Psychology of Leadership : Identity, Influence and Power*, NY : Psychology Press, 2011.

[29] Ibid

[30] François Bourricaud, "La sociologie du "leadership" et son application à la théorie politique", In: *Revue française de science politique*, 3e année, n°3, 1953. pp. 445-470, p. 446; http://www.persee.fr/doc/rfsp_0035-2950_1953_num_3_3_452717 .

[31] Ibid., p. 447.

[32] Ibid., p. 459.

But what distinguishes these various works is that they are "androcentric," to use a term coined by S. Jacquet,[33] in that they speak exclusively of men and are anchored in and described in terms of masculinity (Eagly and Carli, 2003; 2007; Kark, 2004; Powell, 2011[34]) and fails to be gender sensitive.

> What does the literature review on the leadership of women in the human and social sciences consist of?

Several researchers who have addressed the phenomenon of leadership in general and female leadership in particular have emphasized the fact that leadership is the prerogative of men and refers to masculine values and the power to act.[35] Noémie Allard-Gaudreau shows that since leadership is associated with masculinity, the social representations of the leader affect women more strongly and negatively than male leaders.[36]

The key conclusions of the various studies on female leadership show that:

☞ Women leaders are typically portrayed in gendered terms; they are seen as transformational rather than transactional leaders, people-oriented rather than task-oriented (Eagly and Carli, 2003; Eagly 2007, Powell, 2011); and democratic rather than autocratic leaders (Eagly and Johnson, 1990[37]; Grant 1988[38]). They are also thought to be more interested in interpersonal

---

[33] S. Jacquet, "Le leadership: un état personnel, des capacités ou une réelle intelligence situationnelle?" Présentation des grands courants d'explication du leadership, op. cit.

[34] Please refer to the following references:

- Eagly, A. H. et Carli, L. L. (2003). "The female leadership advantage: An evaluation of the evidence. "The *Leadership Quarterly*, 14, 807–834; •
- Eagly, A. H. et Carli, L. L. (2007) *Through the labyrinth: the truth about how women become leaders* (Center for Public Leadership). Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press.
- Kark, R. (2004). "The transformational leader: who is (s)he? A feminist perspective." *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 17(2), 160-176.
- Powell, G. N. (2011). "The gender and leadership wars". *Organizational Dynamics*, 40(1), 1-9.
- Noémie Allard-Gaudreau, "Représentations sociales: emme leader, leader idéal et leadership personnel, une approche biographique du leadership". Master's thesis, The University of Quebec a trois-Rivières, December 2016.

[35] Cf. for example:

- Powell, G. N. et Butterfield, D. A., The "good manager "». Masculine or androgynous*? Academy of Management Journal*, 22(2), 1979, pp.
- 395-403.
- Powell, G. N. "The gender and leadership wars". *Organizational Dynamics*, 40 (1), pp. 1-9, 2011.
- Schnurr, S., *Leadership discourse at work: interactions of humor, gender and workplace culture*. Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2008.

[36] Noémie Allard-Gaudreau, op. cit., p. 17.

[37] Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). "Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. " *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(2), pp. 233–256.

[38] Jan Grant, "Women managers: What they can offer to organizations", *Organizational Dynamics*, 16(3), 1988, pp. 56-63.

relationships and family matters than their male counterparts (Blanc and Cuerrier, 2007).

☞ Women leaders demonstrate a concern for others that allows them to gain greater respect, particularly in a team-based environment (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996.[39]).

☞ The male leadership model was modified by female leaders to become a hybrid one. Women were idealistic and more concerned with mobilizing people and human resources, whereas men were more strategic in their interventions and developed an authoritative leadership style. Women have honed their strategic skills over time, whereas men have become more focused on human resources, among other things.[40].

☞ Women leaders "are constantly bargaining, even going against the grain of social representations. They believe that they are always being evaluated in more demanding ways."[41]

☞ Women in positions of leadership are frequently forced to adhere to male behavioral norms to complete their missions successfully (Fortier, 2008).[42].

☞ Subordinates' expectations of the leader continue to be largely skewed. Frédérique Pigeyre and Philippe Vernazobres,[43] conducted a critical analysis of discourses on female management. From this analysis, they stressed the normalization of male/female differences and the confirmation of the development of a new style of management specifically for women. Even while they offer a chance to advance diversity and the development of

[39] Bass, B. M, . B. J. Avolio et L. E. Atwater (1996). "The transformational and transactional leadership of men and women", *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 45(1), pp. 5-34, p. 27

[40] A testimonial from a woman leader, reported by Isabelle Fortier, L'exercice du leadership au féminin, https://chairelacapitale.enap.ca/capital/docs/workshops/leadership_féminin_final.pdf

[41] Noëlle Harmand. "Le management au féminin : les femmes et le leadership. " *Gestion et management*, 2013, p. 38 ffdumas-00914558.

[42] Isabelle Fortier, "Les femmes et le leadership," Gestion, Revue internationale de gestion, special issue on leadership, 33(3), 2008, pp. 61-67.

[43] Frédérique Pigeyre et Philippe Vernazobres, "Le management au féminin: Entre stéréotypes et ambigüités," in *Management International*, Volume 17, numéro 4, été 2013, pp. 194-209.

new managerial techniques, these discourses run the risk of undermining female management.

☞ Noémie Allard-Gaudreau (2016) found that whether a workplace is typically male or female, it affects how women develop their own leadership styles.

☞ Identification with a specific generation shapes the way women exert influence and construct their representations of their leadership.[44]

> How has CAWTAR addressed the problem of women in transformative leadership?

CAWTAR'S WORK ON FEMALE LEADERSHIP

This study is a continuation of the work done by CAWTAR on women's participation in the exercise of power. Some of these works, which touch on a variety of populations and issues in various Arab countries, address the issue of leadership straightforwardly. The works touched upon include these terms: women's participation in decision-making; women and participatory leadership; women's political participation at the local level and other issues. Another section of these works addresses it rather indirectly: teenage girls in the Arab world; women and decentralization; youth in the post-revolutionary context, among other terms.

The Arab Woman Speaks, a book by CAWTAR that collects portraits of women whose successful journeys perfectly demonstrate the concept of "empowerment," was published in the late 1990s. These portraits are of women who have been able to influence their surroundings and support societal change by mobilizing skills and capacities that have a multiplicity of effects. The recommendations that came out of this work are remarkably similar to those that were put forth in the 2020 projects, which may show how slowly practices in these areas evolve and advance.

There is also the mapping idea put forth by Boutheina Gribâa within the framework of the project "Strengthening women's leadership and participation in political life and decision-making in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia."[45] This mapping idea

---

[44] Katz Elihu et Lazarsfeld Paul L. (1955/2008), *Influence personnelle. Ce que les gens font des médias*, Paris, Armand Colin/Institut national de l'audiovisuel.

[45] "Renforcement du leadership féminin et de la participation des femmes à la vie politique et au processus de prise des décisions en Algérie, au Maroc et en Tunisie». Etat de la situation (Boutheina Gribaa), " Tunis, CAWTAR INSTRAW, 2008-2009.

highlights the political, legal, and sociocultural elements where women's participation takes its shape and content while keeping an eye out for gaps and highlighting obstacles.

Following this mapping, Mohamed Kerrou and Sihem Najar carried out an action research project entitled "Women's Political Participation at the Local Level in Tunisia" (*La participation politique des femmes au niveau local en Tunisie*)[46]. Twenty participants (men and women) from three different parts of the nation—Greater Tunis, Zaghouan, and Kairouan—participated in the survey. It became clear that both a person's ambition for self-assertion and social determinants, that facilitate the access of the individual to the political sphere and positions of authority through family, social, and political networks, influence political trajectories.

CAWTAR began a significant qualitative study entitled "Profile of women leaders in France, Italy, Lebanon, and Tunisia" (*Profil des femmes leaders en France, Italie, Liban et Tunisie*) with a shared interest in social change. The value of this research was that it concentrated on the various aspects that influence how some women make important decisions and take action based on their socioeconomic situation. This study appears to cast a certain category of women leaders in the background because they are less visible, do not hold positions of direct influence, or live-in settings where they are less likely to be observed. Instead, it focuses on the career paths of women who have held recognized decision-making positions (head of department, head of companies, etc.).

"The decision on stage, a sociological perspective on the decision-making power of Tunisian women" (*La décision sur scène, un regard sociologique sur le pouvoir décisionnel des femmes tunisiennes*) by Sihem Najar and Mohamed Kerrou[47], "Profile of women leaders in France, Italy, Lebanon, and Tunisia" (*Profil des femmes leaders en France, Italie, Liban et Tunisie*), published in 2010, as well as the study "Women in political and civil life, obstacles and ways to overcome" (*Les femmes dans la vie politique et civile, les obstacles et les moyens de dépassement*), published in 2016 are among the works that address the socialization process of a number of individuals from various perspectives. The study by Sihem Najar and Mohamed Kerrou has the advantage of going back to this social and familial upstream where the met women's profiles have gained their initial drafts. The personal and family narratives of women from Tunis, Zaghouan, and Kairouan demonstrate the capital and resources (studies,

---

[46] "La participation politique des femmes au niveau local en Tunisie," Mohamed Kerrou & Sihem Najar, Tunis, UN-INSTRAW & CAWTAR, Septembre 2009, https://www. yumpu.com/fr/document/read/21456318/la-participation-politique-des-femmes-au-niveau-local-en-tunisie.

[47] La décision sur scène. Un regard sociologique sur le pouvoir décisionnel des femmes tunisiennes, Beyrouth, Tunis, Entreprise Universitaire d'Etudes et de Publication (MAJD) – Centre Arabe de la Femme pour la Formation et la Recherche (CAWTAR), 2007 (Sihem Najar & Mohamed Kerrou).

social and regional origin, relationships, political alliances, etc.) that provide the social actor the depth of his decision-making capacity.

Ahmed Khouaja and Fathia Hizem's interest in women's participation and influence has led to a monographic study entitled "The political participation of Tunisian women, focusing on the governorates of Sousse and Monastir" ("La participation politique de la femme tunisienne, portant sur les gouvernorats de Sousse et de Monastir"). They followed the participation of women in this region, during the previous decades, especially in the regional and municipal councils and in the institutions of the civil society. Still working in the same region, the study of Rabah Nabli and Zouhair Ben Jannet, "Political participation and electoral behavior of women in Jemmel" ("*La participation politique et le comportement électoral de la femme à Jemmel*"), is part of the same theme and offers a valuable scientific contribution on the participation of women in elections.

An investigation entitled "Politics and young vulnerable women in Tunisia," that was published in 2013 focused on the barriers that impede women in underprivileged rural areas from engaging in communal life. It demonstrates how factors such as self-exclusion, poverty, and reliance on male authority directly influence how rural women behave in relation to political, economic, social, and other spheres of life.[48]

As part of a collaborative effort between CAWTAR and OXFAM, a landmark study was conducted to identify and analyze the challenges and opportunities faced by women in the MENA region (specifically Morocco, Tunisia, Palestine, and Yemen) in terms of social and political participation.[49] The corpus of this study is very rich, and the essential questions raised revolve around two key concepts: change and influence.

A regional study on "Decision-making power in economic participation" (*Le pouvoir décisionnel à la participation économique*) was undertaken by CAWTAR in association with the International Finance Corporation (IFC). In a comparative approach, it is about following the journey of a number of women entrepreneurs belonging to the MENA group, which participated in this regional study (Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Lebanon and Tunisia). Here, we observe a group of women whose independence is unfolding its momentum and capabilities in an

---

[48] "Politique et jeunes femmes vulnérables en Tunisie. Etude qualitative Gafsa, Kasserine, Tozeur" (Maryam Ben Salem & Soumaya Ben Cheikh), Tunis, CAWTAR / UNESCO, 2013.

[49] "Les femmes dans la vie politique et civique. Obstacles et défis pour les surmonter (au Maroc, en Tunisie, dans les territoires palestiniens occupés et au Yemen), " (Coordinated by Soumaya Abdellatif Slama), Tunis, CAWTAR / OXFAM, 2016.

economic environment largely dominated by "anonymous", "blind" forces and interest- and gain-driven forces.

What are the conscious and unconscious conditions essential to participate in public life? This was the focus of CAWTAR's[50] latest study on vulnerable young women in southern and central Tunisia (Gafsa, Kasserine, and Tozeur). It explores the interaction between politics and young women who are exposed to risk. This study intends to investigate the circumstances of political vulnerability and the effects of social and economic instability as well as poor educational capital on the potential for political investment from a comprehensive political sociology perspective. The emphasis is on how the relationship to politics differs in a post-revolutionary society.

We considered previous studies done by CAWTAR in our analysis. These studies have covered a wide range of topics, including decision-making, political involvement, and participation in public life. Here, we adopt an alternative viewpoint, one that excludes the women who have earned from visibility. We aim for a separate, unidentified populace that occasionally operates in the margins left open by the major players in social and economic activity. Our study found leaders operating in the background, out of the spotlight, and working in communities across a variety of sectors, including the economics, health, crafts, civil society, etc.

---

[50] "Politique et jeunes femmes vulnérables en Tunisie. Etude qualitative Gafsa, Kasserine, Tozeur (Maryam Ben Salem & Soumaya Ben Cheikh)," Tunis, CAWTAR / UNESCO, 2013.

II - METHODOLOGY

This journey through space and time surrounding women's leadership urges us to adopt a strategy based on a multi-site approach that explores the field. This approach goes beyond a spatial and temporal circumscription and that tends to reconsider the timescales and territorialities of the study.[51]

As a result, leadership is a very complicated idea. Although listing the attributes a person must possess in order to be a leader is simple, we have discovered that identifying a leader is a very challenging undertaking. Any unanimity is unachievable due to recognition, ignorance, and the opaque, conflictual setting, so we chose a methodological approach based on designation. This method we propose to use is based on "designation," *i.e.*, we start by asking people (the designators) about the existence of influential persons (the designated) in their immediate vicinity. This methodology is inspired by the work of Elihu Katz and Paul L. Lazarsfeld.[52] The group approach, the person approach, and the event approach served as the foundation for this approach.

1. THE STEPS OF THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodological approach was designed to gather data on the definition of leadership, leaders in general, and women leaders in particular (including representations of women leaders). It was also designed to identify women leaders who are "unknown" outside of their circle of friends in order to honor them, bring attention to their virtues, and demonstrate the impact they have had on their environment. This strategy comprises two stages:

Phase 1: the "Designation" survey

The "designation" involved asking people, "designators" (of both sexes, from various socioeconomic, cultural, and geographic backgrounds, representing various generations), to name women, the "designated," who have influenced their environment (in the past, present, and those who, in their eyes, represent future leaders), who have been successful in changing their environment, and who have left their marks on their regions' histories.

---

[51] Julien Debonneville, "La "sortie de terrain" à l'épreuve de l'ethnographie multi-site. Rethinking the territoriality and temporality of inquiry with regard to ethnographic disengagement," in *Sociologies*, November 2017, "La recherche en actes, L'enquête ethnographique en mouvement : circulation et combinaison des sites de recherche, " File prepared by Michaël Meyer, Adeline Perrot and Isabelle Zinn, https://journals. openedition.org/sociologies/6432.

[52] Elihu Katz et Paul L. Lazarsfeld (1955/2008), "Influence personnelle. Ce que les gens font des médias, " Paris, Armand Colin/Institut national de l'audiovisuel, pp. 132-133.

To do this, a survey was conducted in the different research areas with the objective of identifying influential women and their virtues in terms of influence. It was based on:

- **Focus Groups held at various locations (such as youth centers, cultural centers, associations, universities, *etc.*)**. We created an interview manual with inquiries beginning with the description of a leader: "What is a leader for you, and is it possible for a woman to be a leader? Why? "if there is a difference in leadership styles between men and women. We also asked Focus Group respondents to talk women who have made history at the local and national levels, as well as whether these women leaders are genuine or myths. Participants were then asked to talk about the historical imprints of prominent women (including buildings, writings, and bodies of knowledge), to identify tribes, groups, or cities that were founded by women, and to evoke stories about these individuals. Finally, they were asked to identify powerful women who are now residing in their communities, emphasizing what makes them unique (on a personal level or in terms of social interactions) and their achievements (impact, changes, problems in connection to reality, etc.)

- **Group interviews with resource persons.** Numerous individuals (including members of civil society, historians, media figures, etc.) who were familiar with the observation sites were interviewed using the same interview guide.
- **Monographs in neighborhoods, villages, and different institutions (associations, political parties, *zaouia*, etc.).** Direct observation, supplementary interviews, and " "follow-up"[53] interviews with persons who had interacted with the targeted women or were a part of their immediate group of friends served as the foundation for this ethnographic study. Following the links of networks (and chains) of influence from their places of origin within the sample is the goal of these "follow-up interviews" and the supplementary interviews.[54]

- **Social and digital network observations (facebook, youtube).** This task involves listening to interviews with certain designated influential women (women entrepreneurs, activists, artists, civil society activists, etc.) and/or reading comments posted by internet users who react to photos or videos shared on youtube or facebook pages about the activities carried out by certain influential women (scenes in the workplace, meetings with local actors, humanitarian actions, political mobilization, *etc.*).

---

[53] Elihu Katz et Paul L. Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 132 et p. 134.

[54] Ibid., p. 134.

Phase 2: Case studies

Following the designation survey, a study was conducted using in-depth interviews and the biographical approach with designated influential women (focus groups, observation, group interviews, informal interviews).

2. OBSERVATION AREAS AND EMPIRICAL DATA COLLECTED BY COUNTRY

A survey that was carried out in Tunisia, Morocco, and Jordan served as the foundation for this study. The observation took place in various areas in each country, which were selected for their socio-cultural, socio-demographic, economic, political, and historical attributes.

The survey areas are as follows:

The study was carried out in Tunisia's four regions, three of which are coastal and one in the interior (South-East), observing the geographical division into north, center and south and the historical and socio-demographic specificity of each area. We chose peripheral communes in each region in addition to the main metropolitan cities. The survey areas were these:

- Bizerte (Bizerte, Menzel Bourguiba, Mateur et Ras Jbel);
- Le Sahel (Mahdia, Sousse, Jammel, Moknine, Chebba, Hebira, Ksour Essef, Touza, Monastir, Zeramdine, Sayyeda);
- Sfax (Sfax, Jebeniana, les îles Kerkennah, Sekiet Ezzit, Hazeg, Ellouza);
- Gafsa (Gafsa, Gsar, Metlaoui, Moularès, Redeyef, El Guetar).

The survey was carried out in Essaouira, Smimou, Telmest, and Hidra[55] in Morocco, as well as Marrakech, Tahannaout, and Ben Guerir.[56] These areas were chosen while taking into account a variety of factors, including urban/rural, industrial/artistic/cultural regions, Amazigh/Arab, etc.

---

[55] Lilia Othman Challougui and Sihem Najar conducted the survey in Essaouira with the assistance of the Forum of Federations - Morocco, for which we are grateful to Ms. Hayet Lahbaili, Mr. Khalid Sirhane, and Mr. Younes Elallaoui.

[56] Lilia Othman Challougui and Sihem Najar conducted the survey in Marrakech with the assistance of Mr. Raji Moulay Lhoucine, President of the Ennakhil Association for Women and Children. He has our sincere gratitude. We also thank Rachid, our source. 9854

The survey was conducted in the Jordanian provinces of Al-Karak, Jerash, and Madaba.[57] Additionally, a Focus Group was held in Amman at the Jordan Better Workplace Association's facilities. The selection of these areas was based on their diversity in terms of demography (Jordanians, refugees), geography (Bedouins/peasants and city dwellers), and religion (Muslims/Christians).

Several focus groups, group interviews, casual interviews, in-depth interviews, and biographies were also undertaken, according to the following distribution:

In Tunisia:

In each region several focus groups, group interviews, exploratory interviews, in-depth interviews were conducted, and biographies were collected. They are distributed as follows:

Observation sites	Focus Groups (mixed)	Group Interviews	Exploratory interviews	Designated women	Interviews	Interviews
Bizerte	3	2	3		3	1
Le Sahel	3	4	30	83	14	5
Gafsa	5		4	73	7	
Sfax	5		8	38	13	
Tunis	1			6		1
TOTAL	17	6	49	235	37	7

In Tunisia, we can distinguish areas marked by a culture of political activism and trade unionism (Jbeniana, the mining basin, Sfax) and those marked by the national movement (Bizerte, the Sahel). There are certain places that have an entrepreneurial culture (Sfax, the Sahel). The designated women's profiles, which vary from region to region, reflect this variation.

Analysis was done on the whole corpus gathered from the focus groups, group interviews, and exploratory interviews. The list of designated women was made feasible by this work, but more importantly, it defined the concept of female transformative leadership and the representations of influential women by their entourage (village, neighborhood, community, city, etc.).

---

[57] The Focus Groups and one-on-one interviews with people in Karak and Jerash were conducted by Maysoon el Atoum and her team. Those in Madaba were conducted by Ms. Amal Al-Kharouf and her team.

In Morocco:

Two survey sites were chosen, taking into account the practical opportunities provided for data collection as well as the demographic, geographic, socioeconomic, and cultural specificities of the relevant regions.

The survey in Essaouira:

Three **focus groups** were held in Essaouira, Smimou, and Telmest at various associations and cultural centers.

Focus group participants who knew some of the shortlisted women participated in **exploratory interviews** with resource people.

Interviews with all the designated women took place (based on the biographical interviews). A total of 16 interviews with influential women with various backgrounds and roles in culture, politics, civil society, and other areas were undertaken.

The survey in Marrakech:

Three focus groups were held in Marrakech, Tahannaout, and Ben Guerir as part of the survey. In addition, two field trips were planned: one to a cooperative in Tessaouet owned by a Tahannaout Focus Group participant, and the other to the Chourouk center for the integration of women in difficult conditions (run by one of the women who participated in the Ben Guerir FG). Ten interviews with women working in various sectors were performed in total.

Survey sites	Focus Groups (mixed)	Designated women	Interviews	Biographies
Essouria	3	32	16	1
Marrakech	3	26	10	1
Total	6	58	26	2

In Morocco, there are regions with a comparatively rich diversity of culture and art (Essaouira, Marrakech), and others that are marked by the dynamism of civil society and quick socioeconomic transformations (Ben Guerir, Marrakech, *etc*.), that provide a favorable environment for the advancement of women. However, it is important to draw attention to the existence of some areas that strengthen the yoke of tradition and current economic and social situations. As a result, there are relatively few women appointed in Smimou, where the unemployment rate is rising (88% for women and 12% for men) and the illiteracy rate among women is

very high (91%, compared to 50% among men). This is also the case of Telmest, which does not offer women the opportunity to enter the job market and confine them to the domestic sphere.

In Jordan:

In Jordan, fieldwork was carried out at the three selected sites: Jerash, Al-Karak, and Madaba (Madaba, Madaba camp and Al-Fayha).

The designation phase was carried out in all three sites (3 Focus Groups in Madaba, 4 Focus Groups in Al-Karak and 4 Focus Groups in Jerash). Amman, the capital of Jordan, also hosted a focus group.

A total of 16 interviews with the designated women were conducted: 8 in Al-Karak; 8 in Jarash and 8 in Madaba.

Survey sites	Focus Groups (mixed)	Designated women	Interviews	Biographies
Al-Karak	4	45	8	1
Jarash	4	38	8	
Madaba	3	21	8	
Amman	1			
Total	12	104	24	1

The final point that has to be made is a methodological one. During the course of our inquiry, we discovered two designation methods that merit explanation and interpretation, particularly in light of their impact on the methodology. There are certain female leaders that self-identify, or better yet, self-proclaim. This designation comes as a bit of a surprise, especially given the predicament we've found ourselves in due to our lack of knowledge regarding the individual and her entourage. In such a scenario, the researcher must exercise caution to avoid two traps: having a skewed sample and being extremely "suspicious" of the actor by unwittingly prejudging "her intentions." We decided to "play the game" and "go all the way." The interviews with the self-proclaimed leaders went well; they successfully introduced us to influential women who are just as interesting as those who were designated for us by the group.

III - CONDITIONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF WOMEN'S TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP IN TUNISIA, MOROCCO AND JORDAN: CONTEXTUAL ELEMENTS

The topic of women's transformative leadership can be understood from the relation to the time and the context that gave rise to it by using a processual and integrative approach to trajectories and contexts. As we have already shown, the impact that women leaders possess makes sense only when we consider how it is anchored in social place and time. Assimilating the context to the "environment of spatio-temporal connotations that surrounds social events"[58] has highlighted the "degrees of contextuality"[59] in this regard, according to Andrew Abbott.

Consequently, differing historical eras and different geographical regions of the three countries do not provide women with the same material and symbolic resources, skills, opportunities, individual freedoms and social justice. It is appropriate to show how that happens because these factors have an impact on women's ability to exercise influence. Examining the sociological, historical, and economic literature enables us to establish a framework to clarify the key findings of the profiles that came up as a result of the survey.

In providing the historical, social, political, and economic contexts that can be used to understand the framework on which women leaders develop, establish themselves, and confront obstacles, three primary factors will direct our approach:

- Social structure/framework (tribal structure, rural/urban, multiculturalism: Muslims/Christians, Arabs/Berbers, population mobility).
- Legal and political reforms.
- Emancipation and empowerment institutions (school, associations, work).

---

[58] . Daniel Cefaï, "Andrew Abbott, un certain héritage de Chicago", in Didier Demazière, Morgan Jouvenet (eds), *Andrew Abbott et l'héritage de l'école de Chicago*, Volume 1, Paris, Editions de l'EHESS, 2016, pp. 69-94.

[59] Andrew Abbott, «Of Time and Space: "The Contemporary Relevance of the Chicago School," *Social Forces*, 1997, 75, 4, p. 1149-1182, p. 1154, https://pdfs. semanticscholar. org/2835/2766f96abaf6de15e32dad62733edd49a704. pdf?_ga=2. 72248987. 928633121. 16083945422105669701. 1602254503

1. Social Environment:

Here, the effects of time and place (rural, urban) on group organization collide, and the ingrained tribe or communal culture imposes restrictions and suggests course of action. In Morocco, Jordan, and to a lesser extent or indirectly in Tunisia, the tribe has great influence through the structuring of ties between people and groups, loyalty, and the value system. From the colonial era, sociologists and anthropologists conducted studies that traced the history of this institution, which they described as an "elementary division of society."[60] These scholars then examined the variables that contribute to its vigor and virulence.[61] Many of the people we encountered, including Sada Faridi (Douar Sidi Daoud, Morocco), Fatiha Idmoulid (Smimou, Morocco), and participants in focus groups (Redayef, Tunisia), invoked their memories. They then shared their decisions, and hesitations as well as the codes, moral restraints, and the weight of a tribal tradition that is still very much present in their thoughts.

For instance, in Redayef, where the Sidi Abid clan dominates positions and duties, the young Nessima Hammami (identified as influential) comments in her tale on the tyranny of the dominant patriarchal mentality, which dramatically excludes women from the public arena. It was startling to witness a few exceptional female voices seeking the right to voice their opinions. Nessima, a member of the

---

[60] Fatma Oussedik, "Présence du XIXe siècle. La «tribu» en Algérie: héritage colonial / invention de soi," *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* [Online], 47 | 2013, accessed 31 December 2016, accessed 30 April 2019. URL: http://journals. openedition. org/rh19/4535; DOI: 10. 4000/ rh19. 4535.

[61] As examples, we can cite the following references:
- Jacques Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une tribu nord-Africaine?" in *Éventail de l'histoire vivante, Hommage à Lucien Febvre*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1954, pp. 261-271.
- Jacques Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas*, Paris, PUF, 1955.
- Joseph Chelhod, "Ethnologie du monde arabe et islamologie," in: *L'Homme*, 1969, tome 9 n°4. pp. 24-40; https://www. persee. fr/doc/ hom_0439-4216_1969_num_9_4_367074.
- Robert Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)*, Paris, Alcan, 1930; *La Vie sociale et politique des Berbères*, Paris, 1931.
  Several socio-anthropological works on the tribes are rich. We can quote as examples:
- Mustapha Saha, "Structures tribales et formation de l'État dans le Maghreb médiéval," in: *L'Homme et la société*, N. 39-40, 1976., pp. 275-280. http://www. persee. fr/doc/homso_0018-4306_1976_num_39_1_1641.
- Abdallah Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb, un essai de synthèse*, Paris, Maspero, 1970.
- Ricardo Bocco & Tariq Tell, "Frontières, tribus et Etat(s) en Jordanie orientale à l'époque du Mandat", in R. Bocco and C. Velud (eds.), Monde Arabe, Maghreb Marchrek "Tribus, tribalismes et Etats au Moyen-Orient", n° 147, January-March 1995, pp. 26-47.
- Pierre Bonte, "Tribus, hiérarchies et pouvoirs dans le nord de l'Afrique", in Dawod, H. (eds), Tribus et pouvoirs en terre d'Islam, Paris, Editions Armand Colin, 2004, pp. 81-112.
- Yazid Ben Hounet, "De quelques approches des rapports tribus / pouvoirs politiques au Maghreb", Insaniyat / إنسانيات [Online], 39-40 | 2008, online 30 June 2012, accessed 21 March 2019. URL: http://journals. openedition. org/insaniyat/2023.

municipal council, once spoke out during a meeting at the municipality. She stood up to another member whose position she contested, and she was informed bluntly: "You don't have to discuss a man's opinion!" A young woman from the nearby mining town of Moularès stated during the focus group that when a woman in her area wishes to run for office, she is told straight up: "Then why you? In the city, there are no longer any men?"

In Morocco, this conflict in the clan is demonstrated in the rebellious aspect of a development exposed to the contrast between the urban setting. The cities are open to change and to the values of modernity, while the rural world is where poverty, unemployment and illiteracy are rampant. The tribe is a part of a different configuration in Jordan, one that is founded on identification. The tribes are a significant population group on which the government depends and through which it receives some legitimacy.[62] Despite the tribe's sedentary lifestyle and adoption of modern practices, it nevertheless exerts its influence on people's minds thanks to its strong conservative heritage.

The tribal structure of Tunisia, for instance in the region of Gafsa, is founded on an economic factor (phosphate mines) that gives the area its distinctiveness. Tribal ties have persisted in the south, around the palm groves next to the mining basin. These ties have persisted despite efforts made by the nation state after independence to restrict tribal dominance. The economy and the population of four towns—Métlaoui, Redayef, Moularès, and Mdhilla—grew because of the phosphate deposits that the Protectorate discovered at the end of the 19th century. The social and economic structure of the Basin is shaped mostly by tribe and the mines. The dominance of the tribe and the mines was a reality that the state had to contend with under former President Habib Bourguiba and the man who succeeded him through a *coup d'état*, President Zine El Abdine Ben Ali. Sensitive political and administrative positions such as regional leaders of the unique governing party, members of parliament, and the local council were distributed in such a way as to reflect the tribal balance. This balance still dictates its weight today in competitions organized by the Phosphate Company (CGP), as the sole business opportunity. Founded in 1897, CGP is in charge of the various aspects of social

---

[62] See, for example:
- Géraldine Chatelard, "Les chrétiens en Jordanie, dynamiques identitaires et gestion du pluralisme," in *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, 2009/1 N° 93 | pp. 41-56, https://www. cairn. info/revue-les-cahiers-de-l-orient-2009-1-page-41. htm.
- Delphine Froment, "Identités et structures tribales à l'épreuve de la construction jordanienne", in *Les clés du Moyen-Orient*, published on 18/02/2013, https://www. lesclesdumoyenorient. com/Identites-et-structures-tribales-a-l-epreuve-de-la-construction-jordanienne. html.
- Ferhat Amiri, "Amman: Le roi et ses bédouins, la fin d'une alliance?", in *Outre-terre*, 2006/1 no 14 | pp. 67-72, https://www. cairn. info/ revue-outre-terre1-2006-1-page-67. htm.
- Luis Melián Rodríguez, "Jordan: Constant, but Fragile Stability", 2019. IEMed: European Institute of the M, Miditerranean. https://www.iemed.org/publication/jordan-constant-but-fragile-stability/

life, such as economy, and sports. Tribal disputes are frequent and resorting to physical violence is not uncommon.[63]

Urban settings and large urban areas provide prospects for experiences that are freer from the burden of tradition and the community. Women from rural areas who move to the city to pursue studies or for training then gain new skills in areas such as communication, independence, resource management that will eventually influence their actions in their home region. These experiences are illustrated by a few specific cases. One woman, Ahlem Slim from El Guettar in Gafsa, Tunisia, moved to Monastir to attend university. She created a social network in her hometown while continuing to pursue her studies, investing the skills and information she had learned in other contexts like Tunis and Monastir. A second woman, Fatiha Essakna from Essaouira, Morocco, moved from Hidra to Monastir for to pursue her studies in university. She subsequently moved to Rabat for training. In so doing, Fatiha Essakna provides us with yet another illustration of the geographic mobility that served as the foundation for both individual and social construction of leadership status and influence capital. She relocated to Rabat to pursue a coaching degree, stating:

> *"I would leave my girls at my mother's house on Thursday evening and travel to Rabat to attend classes over the weekend. I would return early on Monday morning to take my daughters to school. I took three-month, eight-hour-per-day, accelerated courses, and after I graduated, I made the decision to found an organization called El Amen El Oussari (the Association Family Security for Development and Security). The name and the goal are related to my background. In my family or in my marital relationship, I have not found security, support, hope, or serenity. I have only encountered hurdles and have had to fight alone."*

This also applies to Fedhia Ma'ayaa, a 50-year-old woman from Al Fayha village in Madaba, Jordan, who pursued her education there before returning to her home community to bring changes through associated work. She began her testimonial by saying:

> *"I was born in the village and used to perform voluntary work. I returned to my hometown of Al-Fayhaa after*

---

[63] See Françoise Auvray and Francis Auvray, "Les gisements des phosphates de Gafsa, Tunisie", in *Saga Information*, n° 325, March 2013, pp. 8-16 and Guillaume Henri, "Mutations agro-pastorales, ruralité et développement dans le Sud-Est tunisien", in Pierre Bonte, Mohamed Elloumi, Henri Guillaume and Mohamed Mahdi (Eds.), Développement rural, environnement et enjeux territoriaux: regards croisés Oriental marocain et Sud-Est tunisien. Tunis, Cérès Editions, 2009, pp. 19-43.

completing my education in Madaba. At that time, girls were not allowed to study beyond the sixth grade, so I first went to meet the fathers, but they were unsupportive. So I gathered the mothers and spent six years teaching them the Quran as well as reading and writing. Then, I recommended to a friend of mine that we create an organization to support the women of Madaba, and in 2011, we did so."

The life of the young Nessima Hammami of Redayef embodies this dual experience of two settings, that of her region of origin and of the capital, where she further pursued studies in cultural tutoring for children. Her stay in the Capital provided her with a multifaceted education, trade-union experience (within the framework of the National Union of Tunisian Students), and cultural training through the street performance of theatrical troupes for youngsters.

She also picked up a political and social culture that would later be incorporated into her region. She became a leader in a community where structured female participation in political parties, associations, and unions) is very poor. She is now a highly prominent figure. Recently, she has become a member of the municipal council in Redayef.

Multiculturalism, which has ethical, linguistic, and theological roots, exhibits the impact of the environment as well. The effects of this social identity are intermingled in the professional careers of some influential women leaders. Through the early establishment of schools for the children of Muslim and Christian families, Jordan's Christian community's autonomy has left its mark on the history of education. All of our female leaders had, in the background of their journeys and recollections, vestiges of this dual cultural contribution leaving no room for discrimination or hate. The Karak Focus Group participants mentioned one Christian woman who helped several women learn to read and write. This woman was Qamra al-Qassous, who founded her own school in 1930 and was the first female teacher. The Jarash Focus Group participants also named two Christian women as influential. They are Kawkab Haddad and Afef Haddad, two Jarash school principals who had a great influence on generations of women in that city.

In other Moroccan venues, there is some social polarization in Morocco. The rural-urban poles, amplified at the cultural level by the tradition-modernity dichotomy, do have an impact.

All of the studies[64] highlight a significant shortcoming that primarily affects rural areas. Infrastructure, services, and poverty are rare or do not exist in much of the country. Rural women continue to be this population's Achilles' heel because they have a poverty rate of 73%, according to statistics.[65] In such a setting, it is mostly women who use their expertise to support their communities in order to make up for the absence or disengagement of the state and its institutions. Amid the changes in the rural environment, presidents of associations and cooperatives are now actively contributing to the transformation of their environment. Initially, midwives and healers established themselves as influential women. Lella Chérifa, a healer from the Moroccan community of Hidra (30 km from Essaouira), is one example. She finds inspiration in the dominant popular culture, which offers her care and services a strong foundation. Women believe they will find remedies for other more serious problems in addition to the medicinal plants she offers as a treatment for a variety of ailments. Maternity after marriage) is the primary pillar of female social identity in tribal culture. Without children, no recognition of value will be accorded to a married woman. Therefore, the absence of pregnancy for the married woman and the absence of a marriage suitor for the young girl are seen as two "curses" that would irreparably weaken the standing of the rural woman. Her effect is broader due to other facets of her character, such as her generosity and hospitality. A relative of Lella Chérifa had this to say:

> *"Every last week of Ramadan, there is a museum around the marabout, the old patients come to revisit the hajja and arrive accompanied by new patients, everyone loves her.*

---

[64] See for examples:

- Ministry of National Land Use Planning, Urban Planning, Housing and Urban Policy Department of National Land Use Planning and Urban Planning General Secretariat Directorate of Land Use Planning, Elaboration of the report "dynamiques et disparités territoriales", Contract No. 28/2014, An analysis of the spatio-temporal dynamics of development in Morocco (1999-2014) Synthesis Report - Phase 3 - Final Version, CREADH, January 2018, 55 pages.
- Rahma Bourqia, La stratification sociale. Note de synthèse, Bourqia Rahma, "La stratification sociale. Note de synthèse," in *50 ans de développement humain et perspectives 2025*, p. 30, URL: http://www. rdh50. ma/en/gt02. asp.
- Ministry of Economic Forecasting and UNDP, Pauvreté au Maroc: diagnostic, stratégie et plan d'action, December 1998.
- Touhami Abdelkhalek. "La pauvreté au Maroc: une approche basée sur la satisfaction des besoins de base,, in INSEA. Rapport d'étude. Pauvreté, satisfaction des besoins essentiels et variables démographiques au Maroc. Draft version, November 1998, p. 65.
- World Bank, Kingdom of Morocco. Pauvreté, ajustement et croissance. 2 volumes, 1994.

[65] Ministry of National Land Use Planning, Urban Development, Housing and Urban Policy Department of National Land Use Planning and Urban Development General Secretariat Directorate of Land Use Planning, Elaboration of the report " Dynamiques et disparités territoriales", Contract No. 28/2014, Une analyse des dynamiques spatio-temporelles du développement au Maroc (1999-2014) Rapport de synthèse - Phase 3 - Version Définitive, CREADH, January 2018, 55 pages, p. 15.

> *Like a mother, she assists new births, newborns, she is consulted for each illness, prescribes herbs, and imposes a course of action... People appreciate her because she is patient, helpful, visits everyone around her without distinction, she is very tolerant, and she knocks on the doors. ... She frequently provides hospitality in her little residence, explaining that the couple keeps her company, to newlyweds who are unable to pay rent."*

Sada Faridi, a 45-year-old woman from Sidi Daoud (Iklim Ait Ourir, 45 kilometers from Marrakech and 55 kilometers from Tahannaout), presents herself as an influential woman who has managed to establish a position of leadership via her dedication to associations. She founded and served as president of the organization called Nour that helps in the rehabilitation of rural women. She also teaches Arabic. She completed her basic education in a rural area during the 1980s, and after graduating, she enrolled in the university of Marrakech to study Arabic literature. From her small village of Sidi Daoud, she was the only one who had attended classes. Thanks to the literacy classes provided as part of the initiatives run by her association, she has had a big impact on the everyday lives of several women in her area. This is how she describes her experience:

> *"The women who attend literacy classes express their gratitude for everything I do. When you see a woman of 40, 45, or 50 years old arrive and say to you that she doesn't know how to write her name or read the number of the bus or the name of a town on a sign, then she comes back later, able to read, thanks to the teaching she has received! Oh yes, they meet me and embrace me with open arms! that's touching. I met a woman in front of the hospital, she said to me, 'I am indebted to you, it is thanks to you that I am able to read my number on the board of the hospital waiting room and I know that it is the 6, and that there are five patients before me! In the past, I used to wait without understanding anything.' The woman is 52 years old. It is the first Ramadan that I can hold the Koran between my hands and read, another person said to me. You see! This motivates me to do everything in my power to assist them, and ever since then, the battle against illiteracy has taken precedence in my life."*

We might also discuss the case study of a rural Jordanian woman from Madaba who had few resources. At one of the Focus Groups held in Madaba, attendees recognized her as an influential woman. The Madaba Women's Charity

Association was founded by Fedhia Ma'ayaa. One person in Madaba explained what Fedhia had done for local women.:

> *"Mrs. Fedhia altered many things in our area; she focused on literacy, and as a result, many women are now able to manage, read and write, identify the bus they must board to return to Madaba without asking for help, and read the Koran."*

These profiles show that young women leaders frequently use methods and strategies that prioritize consensus-building and negotiation, being careful not to appear as a rebel and avoiding taking positions that appear too radical. As we have seen, the role of the tribe, the family, and certain values provide little room for the individual to break free from the control of some authorities that are only now starting to crumble.

After gaining its independence, Morocco's society inherited a storehouse of traditional values that govern interactions between people and the community. The primary sources of values, the real reservoirs of moral norms that direct respect for the person, social interactions, and communal ties, are religion, tradition, customary law, and customs. These values all share the trait of favoring continuity over rupture, turning toward the past, the community, and unanimity instead of moving away from them: *Baraka* (divine gift), *Maktoub* (fatality), Divine order, *Kalma* (word of honor), *Haq* (right), *Maakoul* (righteousness), *Niya* (trust), Social, Community Order, Rda (blessing), Ta'a (obedience), *Hachma* (decency), Family Order, *Kheir* (goodness, generosity), *Qana'a* (contentment), *Sbaja'a* (courage).[66]

This history has undoubtedly been updated to meet the needs of development, the advancement of society, and the acceptance of new values. Rahma Bourqia demonstrates how it still functions to mute the stakes of the present. The reservoir of traditional values and that of modernity could be used by individuals according to the situations in which they find themselves. Each situation dictates the use of a type of value without it seeming contradictory. In the face of disappointment, one would turn to fatality (maktoub) to console oneself, and in the face of disappointment, one would also turn to fatality (*maktoub*) to comfort oneself.[67]

In response to pressure from the great powers of the day, Jordan became a nation in the 1920s. Since then, the Bedouins have played a significant socio-

---

[66] This is the "traditional order of values" presented by Rahma Bourqia in her work entitled: "Société, famille, femmes et jeunesse, " p. 36. See Rahma Bourqia (Rapporteur), *Société, famille, femmes et jeunesse, Cinquantenaire de l'Indépendance du Royaume du Maroc*, 2005.

[67] Rahma Bourqia ibidem, p. 38.

demographic role, and their allegiance to King Hussein (1952–1999) and his son Abdullah proved crucial. King Hussein strengthened his links with the Transjordanians, who currently make up 30% of the population and are made up of the Bedouin, in response to the arrival of the Palestinians after 1948. The political project of the King was infused with the demographic map: "The king himself does not hesitate to underline, on the one hand, the compatibility of tribal identity and modernity and, on the other hand, the advantages of the partnership between the Crown and the desert."[68]

The dichotomy between highly urbanized regions (Amman, Zarqa) and others that are predominately rural and tribal (Karak, Mafrak) characterizes the nation. The modernization of the state, including the military, civil service, education, and other institutions, has not had the same impact on society. Election outcomes reveal that values and political allegiance are influenced by a population's demographic makeup and tribal affiliation.

The state has however been successful in developing a structure that effectively integrates the various communities into society by "channeling" political expression into other places and providing the Christian minority's access to citizenship and social, cultural, and economic resources.[69] Christians form 4% of the population, and with the exception of the Armenian community, they all consider themselves to be Arabs like the rest of the population. They have always been a part of non-confessional national referents. It is acknowledged that Christians played a significant influence in the expansion of modern values, particularly through education.

In this setting, women's impact varies from community to community. As a result, a number of female leaders have received recognition as influential women for their work on behalf of refugees. One such woman was Raghda Zawaida, who was nominated by both the male and female participants in one of the Focus Groups held in Madaba (Madaba Camp). This woman, who passed away in April 2019, was actively involved in scouting, sports, and education. As a result, she had a significant impact on many children and teenagers living in refugee camps.

Another woman was acknowledged as an influential figure who was active in numerous camps for refugees. Sihem Taamari, a Palestinian activist, established a Madaba organization to assist those with disabilities.

---

[68] Ferhat Amiri, "Amman : Le roi et ses bédouins, la fin d'une alliance?" in *Outre-terre*, 2006/1 no 14 | pp. 67-72, pp. 67-68, https://www.cairn.info/revue-outre-terre1-2006-1-page-67.html

[69] Géraldine Chatelard, "Les chrétiens en Jordanie, dynamiques identitaires et gestion du pluralisme," in *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, 2009, pp. 41-56, p. 1, <hal-00338481>.

Regarding women's roles in Jordanian society, it is crucial to emphasize that "Bedouin women have always had greater freedom of movement than those living in sedentary populations: they are not necessarily confined to a private sphere and have every right, for example, to stay with the men when the family is hosting a guest and to participate in discussions."[70] In our survey, we discovered that the Focus Groups held in the two cities of Bedouin provenance (el-Karak and Madaba) identified a sizable number of female leaders who were seen as influential women by the members of the groups in question. Contrary to popular belief, this was not the true in the settled populations (Jarash), where the information obtained by the Focus Group was not very comprehensive in terms of influential female leaders.

The Tunisian context lends each region a certain uniqueness, whether in coastal or interior cities. As a result, certain women leaders in Tunisia build upon the successes that their region has always achieved in terms of economic development. Three of our women leaders of the region, Saida Hamdi,[71] Sofia Znati, and Mariam Chakroun,[72] were driven by a new energy. They have reinvested remnants of a cultural tradition after the revolution: the craft of the island of Kerkenah, the industry of Sfax, the traces of colonial heritage of Bizerte, and Menzel Bourguiba, where we find small nuclei (room and film club). In light of this, the young Mariam proudly exclaims:

> *"I recall at the club, we planned the days of the film of the working condition, it was great; we invited Radhia Nasraoui and Sami Tahri Hammami; a journalist from the newspaper Al Maçar was there and she talked about me and my sister; she stated that we were 'the dynamo of the festival;' this touched me a lot. […] I'm pleased to talk about the problems we encountered, pretty difficult experiences that no one talks about! I struggle against the prevailing perception of Menzel Bourguiba as a city ruled by Salafists, filled with drugs and crime—actually, no! People in my city work for the spread of culture; my goal is to make this city the capital of culture.*

---

[70] Delphine Froment, "Les femmes en Jordanie au tournant du XXIe siècle", in *Les clés du Moyen-Orient*, published on 29/04/2013, updated on 22/04/2020, https://www. lesclesdumoyenorient.com/Les-femmes-en-Jordanie-au-tournant-du-XXIe-siecle.html

[71] She is a woman of culture and social activity, and her generosity complies with unshakeable moral obligations. She acted behind the scenes for many years, disregarding praise and spotlights.

[72] A 29-year-old woman who holds a master's degree in computer science works as a manager for Tunisie numérique, an electronic newspaper and an active figure in Menzel Bourguiba's civil society. She was identified as a young influential woman by the Focus Group based in Menzel Bourguiba and Bizerte.

One such organization is the cinema club, which attracts a devoted audience."

2. Political and social reforms

Without reforms, which constitutes the second axis, the trajectories of the influential women we met might have taken on a pretty surprising appearance. We can understand the impact of the reforms that took place in Jordan after the death of King Hussein, and Morocco after the passing and King Hassan II via the words of these women. From 1961 until his death in 1999, King Hassan II's rule (1961-1999) spanned the time when the nation-state was being built. Particularly during the "Years of Lead" (more accurately, "Years of Bullets"), the Monarch was driven to repression by political unrest in order to better control society and the army (1960-1970). Reforms as a result were slow and sluggish. The aftermath of the earthquake that shook the Middle East after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 had to be endured by King Hussein of Jordan (1952-1999). For decades, the stability of his state depended on the treatment of the Palestinians, the periodic conflicts with Israel, and the influx of refugees. King Mohamed VI of Morocco and King Abdullah of Jordan, their young successors, implemented plans for a number of structural reforms that affected several levels. The allusions in the interviews were quite covert, but it was nevertheless obvious that the reigns of the prior monarchs evoke memories in contrast to the present. We met women who had profited from the political and economic opening brought about by diverse circumstances in both countries. The young monarchs Mohamed VI and Abdullah are conscious of the significance of the legacies left by their respective fathers' dynasties.

They needed to give society a fresh spirit that would open doors for new aspirations. Observers agree that although King Hussein's successor focused all of his attention on the internal challenges of the society, King Hussein's reign was totally devoted to the geopolitical issues imposed by the volatile context of the region. Some political and economic reforms had results quite rapidly, and the women in our study benefited in varied degrees. We can use the story of one of the influential women in the city of Jarash as an illustration of how King Abdullah's changes over the past 20 years have benefited the advancement of women in Jordan. Afef Taha Rashid An-Nidhami, a woman now a retired educator who was also previously a teacher, a civil servant, and a city and local council member, says:

> *"I did not run as a tribal candidate; instead, I was chosen on the basis of the entire community. I had many groups with me, including a youth group. I am currently the director of the Rawabi Jerash Center for Special Education Groups for Simple and Medium Disabilities as well as the president of*

the Nashmiyeh Association for the Development of Women and Children. I took up the torch as the sole influential woman in the governorate of Jerash, a position granted to me by the Royal Court. His Majesty will continue the lead. "

Hassen II left behind a significant legacy. The new monarch's inaugural proclamation reawakened long-suppressed ambitions. It was important to admit political crimes from the past and make amends to the victims. It was also important to establish political plurality, be open to the opposition, fight against poverty and illiteracy in rural areas, and support the formation of associations, particularly those involved in development. The interviews with Moroccan women leaders show the impact of this openness and the implementation of this initiative. These people, who make up a large portion of our study and are under 45 years old, owe their aspiration and emancipation to this economic and social opening. They are able to establish an association, a cooperative, and act for the good of those around them thanks to the infrastructure, laws, and resources supplied by the state. In addition to the Family Code's contribution and the status of women, the new Constitution of 2011 and the political reforms[73] it has sparked also form a background that is consistently felt throughout our survey. The women we met are conscious of the dynamic economic, legal, and political context in which they operate, which is unquestionably conducive to individual initiative. They assert that going forward, mentalities, customs, and tradition will be the main barrier. Sada Faridi showed us illustrations of the resistance displayed by society, which she learned about through associative work.

The profiles we encountered during the survey change in the socio-political environment of post-reform Morocco under the leadership of King Mohamed VI, too focused only on the measures that followed the Arab Spring uprisings. The traces and echoes of a society that underwent reforms are visible in the background. These reforms gave rise to institutions and speeches that were distinctly different from those of the earlier, so-called "Years of Lead" era (lasting from the 1960s to the 1980s).[74] The innovations that followed this period are now universally referred to as networks, groupings, coalitions, and forums.

---

[73] Human rights are now enshrined in the constitution; the head of state is no longer chosen by the king but rather by the leading party in the elections; and the government is largely independent of the monarch https://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-droit-constitutionnel2012-3-page-511.htm .

[74] We cite the following works:

- Zakaria Rhani, Assia Boutaleb, Jean-Noël Ferrié and Baudouin Dupret, "Introduction: Le Maroc au présent, " in Baudouin Dupret, Zakaria Rhani, Assia Boutaleb, and Jean-Noël Ferrier (Eds.), *Le Maroc au présent. D'une époque à l'autre, une société en mutation*, Rabat, Centre Jacques Berque, 2015, pp. 13-27.

There are several different interpretations of how the central power has influenced Morocco's successive changes. Some believe that the monarch's long-term responsibilities include anticipating and resolving conflicts. With Hassan II, the rule of customary law was pronounced "extensible" for all time. "The Moroccan monarchy does, however, appear to have evolved into a completely constitutional institution today. Up until that point, all of its powers were essentially customary and endlessly extendable, encased in a sort of meta-constitution that was viewed as authoritarian in its essence."[75] With Mohamed VI and the reform of the Constitution, which significantly reduced the King's prerogatives and the Family Code, there is a feeling that the main actors in Moroccan society are entering a more legal and perhaps less traditional era, i.e. one that is less subject to uncertainties and customs.

There have been new achievements for women with the new Family Code and the new Constitution, particularly the parity enshrined in the new Constitution (Articles 19 and 30). The Arab Spring atmosphere and the effervescence of pluralist elections, which greatly increased party independence from royal authority,[76] have transformed the image of Moroccan feminism. Engagement in this scene is no longer the monopoly of classical feminists, who are now considered "liberal and elite."[77] Due to the ideology of the two Islamist political parties (Justice and Development Party, Ad'l, and Ihssen) acting as a mobilizing force, what is known as "Islamist feminism" has thus come into the open. The "Islamic feminists" undoubtedly advocate for employment, health care, and education, but they are anchored in the traditional religious paradigm and "stress the complementarity of the gender roles and the importance of the family." Their ideological stance, according to Mariem Yafout, is far from criticizing the religious corpus,[78] despite the fact that they garnish their discourse with "feminist slogans

---

- Mouhammed Mouaqit, "Droit et changement politique et social au Maroc," in Baudouin Dupret, Zakaria Rhani, Assia Boutaleb, and Jean-Noël Ferrier (Eds.), *Le Maroc au présent. D'une époque à l'autre, une société en mutation*, Rabat, Centre Jacques Berque, 2015, pp. 815-840

[75] Abdallh Saaf, *Changement et continuité dans le système politique marocain*, https://books.openedition.org/cjb/1084?lang=fr

[76] The appointment of the head of the Government from the political party that won the legislative elections is also a significant reform. Another crucial component is a clearer separation between the king's and the government's authority; the former is in charge of "strategic" prerogatives, while the latter is in charge of managing public policy by observing the principle of universal suffrage. *Ibid*.

[77] Aïcha Barkaoui and Leila Bouasria, "Les paradoxes de l'indigène. La voix d'une femme est une révolution," in *Revue des femmes philosophes*, 2/3 (Ce que les femmes philosophes pensent du [nouveau] monde arabe), 2013, pp. 123-147, p. 144.

[78] Maryam Yafout, quoted by Hourai Alimi M'chichi, ibid.

attacking the prevailing sexism."[79] By attempting an impossibly perfect synthesis between modernity and tradition, they therefore perpetuate the dead ends of the Islamist rhetoric.

The role of religion, or rather of a certain version of Muslim culture, has always been very important. This culture is based on the sacredness of the first founders, the Alawite dynasty, which goes back to Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. It is inscribed in the genealogy of royal authority, in customary law and values. The role of the King at this level has remained ambivalent, any modernization remains partial, sporadic, often slow, not being able to invest entire areas of social, legal or political life.[80]

The study of the Tunisian context refers to the development of a society that has been overly influenced by the history of the post-colonial nation state. After gaining independence, an elite with contemporary values seized control of the political machinery, with Bourguiba serving as its head and leader. Force was used to impose the modernist project on the conservatives, who were represented by the Zeitounian institution and the Youssfists (followers of Salah Ben Youssef).

With the implementation of a modernist society project targeted at the delicate regions of traditional society, the end of the 1950s was characterized by an armed fight for control. In order to prepare the nation's young people, both boys and girls, for the demands of development and the establishment of the new state, a modern education system was established under Mahmoud Messadi's supervision. The adoption of the Personal Status Code in 1956 marked a significant turning point for the Tunisian family, putting them on the pathway to modernity by granting women the status and resources they needed to be independent and play full roles in the nation's development.[81]

Young people who were inspired by the ideologies and values that stirred up conflict in Europe in the 1960s saw the horizon dim early on as a result of the great economic and political crises that the country experienced during the two decades (1958–1988), subjected to the iron fist of the one-party system and the Supreme Leader (May 68, left-wing movements of all tendencies). Nevertheless, a new

---

[79] Marzouki Ilhem (2002) "La modernité, pour ou contre les femmes? " In Ephésia (ed*). La place des femmes. Les enjeux de l'identité et de l'égalité au regard des sciences sociales* (pp84-99), Paris: La Découverte. Quoted by Houria Alimi M'Chichi, "Les féministes marocains contemporains. Pluralité et nouveaux défis" https://www. cairn. info/revue-nouvelles-questions-feministes-2014-2-page-65.html

[80] Abdallah Saaf, Changement et continuité dans le système politique marocain. https://books.openedition.org/cjb/1084

[81] Kamel Chenoufi et Gilles Gallo, *La Tunisie en décolonisation (1957-1972) Genèse des structures de développement et des structures de la République*, Le Pradet, éd Du Lau, 2004.

society was established, and in the cities—and to a much lesser extent in the villages—a new landscape was finally created, spurred by education, health, family planning, culture, and other factors.

An independent feminist movement then appeared opposed to the policies pursued, the lack of liberties, the cult of the Supreme Guide, and other restrictions. The emergence of this new independent feminism could not be prevented by state feminism of the time, coordinated by the National Union of Tunisian Women, an official body working in synergy with the one party in power.

The first stammering of civil society was during the 1970s, with the birth of the League of Human Rights, around an elite of educated men and women disappointed by the nation state and opting for the opposition.[82]

The two citadels where the young and not so young sought safety to express their rage against the political and economic failure were the General Union of Tunisian Workers and the University. As a result, we saw the rise of a fierce opposition motivated by Marxist and Arab nationalist ideologies, and later, starting in the 1980s, by Islamist ideologies.[83]

New ideals have been fed into Tunisian society through employment, education, emigration, tourism, etc. The traditional society was replaced in the metropolis by a significantly contrasting configuration as a result of the rural flight, albeit persisting in the interior regions that are still the left ones today due to an unequal development.

Ben Ali's rise to power in 1987 brought about a period of relative openness before followed by several years of a hardened grip. Corruption and authoritarianism threw the regime into a protracted crisis from which it had no way out. Inequality among young people and youth unemployment ultimately defeated Ben Ali and his party. The first flame of the "Arab Spring" was ignited as he ran away.

Numerous socio-cultural changes have affected Tunisian society over the past thirty years, including the emergence of a significant middle class, the exposure of young people and women to various lifestyles and customs, easy access to modern

---

[82] See Sana Ben Achour, "Société civile en Tunisie: les associations entre captation autoritaire et construction de la citoyenneté", in Anna Bozzo, Pierre Jean Luizard (Ed.), *Les sociétés civiles dans le monde musulman, Paris*, Edition la Découverte, 2011; and Soukaina Bouraoui, "Ordre masculin et fait féminin", in Michel Camau (Ed.), *Tunisie au présent. Une modernité au-dessus de tout soupçon*, Aix-en-Provence, IREMAM, Eds. Du CNRS, 2013, pp. 343-371.

[83] See Abdelkader Zghal, "L'Islam, les janissaires et le Destour", in Michel Camau (ed.), *Tunisie au présent. Une modernité au-dessus de tout soupçon,* Aix-en-Provence, IREMAM, eds. 2013, pp. 375-402.

communication tools, the trivialization of consumption, and the delayed impact of some international events (such as the Gulf Wars and the September 11 attacks). All of these elements have given rise to the general contours of a society that is in flux, agitated, and divided by divergent trends.

Civil society was very watchful during the 2012–2013 constitution-drafting process. Given the challenging political and security environment, it was essential that democracy, pluralism, gender equality, and liberties be firmly incorporated in the Constitution.

It is crucial to stress that in Tunisia, the context is what determines how women's trajectories evolve. These paths were heavily influenced by the upheavals brought on by the revolution. Due to the revolution and the socio-political unrest that stirred the nation for five or six years, for instance, Besma Omezzine first devoted herself to political action before switching to associative work:

> *"The revolution was a turning point when we began to have significant worries about the nation and the Tunisian social model. The revolution was the turning moment, when we saw strangers invading the street and the media. Under Ben Ali, I was prohibited from engaging in political activities, but I was aware that I could not join the ruling party. I was not worried about the social model at the time. Since then, I've been let loose; my bookshop was frequently closed, I always carried the Tunisian flag on my shoulders, and if there was a protest or rally, I was the first to arrive and speak up."*

Ten years later, women have discovered a more open and dynamic environment, free from the weight of the repression exercised by the single party in power during the dictatorship. This environment continues, even though the economic and administrative reality still appears to be subject to the actors and behaviors of the former regime. As evidenced by the initiatives and decisions made by our interviewees, the freedoms attained have offered them opportunities for action that are incomparable to those of the past.

The assistance of the vast majority of the women we met comes from the thousands of associations and foreign NGOs that are dispersed around the nation and active in all regions. There are plenty of instances. Influential women in Kerkenah's modest circles, like Aida Ghram, who saw her activities in the Majarra organization, which she and other women had founded, flourish in other areas.

These areas are as diverse as embroidery and writing folk tales for children, thanks to collaboration with German and Italian NGOs. Here is an example of this woman's prowess in cooperation with a German organization:

> *"After the German organization Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), which focuses on water protection, arrived, we started doing educational work for children and even adults. The best way to convey the value of water to them is through the use of stories that we have written. The storytellers of Majarra is a core that we, a group of five women and one woman from the Kef, have established within the Majarra Association. I am merely the founder, and while the GIZ's primary issue is water, we have expanded it to cover a variety of other topics (...). We went across the island to gather tales from the elderly people in order to develop our association with them. However, I have a group of children for whom I write stories, sketches, and poetry centered on subjects like the sea, water, and boats. In this regard, we received assistance from the GIZ, which connected us with storytelling experts, including the worldwide expert Abderahman Ayoub. It was he who inspired me to pursue the subject of storytelling through GIZ. We visited Sweden, Morocco, and Algeria multiple times."*

Others, like Chahira Ben Rjeb or Nassima Hammami from Gafsa, found that joining associations in their home communities was the only way to concretize and channel their desire to help others.

Without unrestricted access to information and exchange networks on the internet, political and legislative reforms would never have produced the desired effects for our interviewees in any of the three countries. In fact, the governments of all three countries have made it clear that they want to embrace digital technologies in the fields of communication, education, health, as well as economy. In cities or villages, almost all of our interviewees are a part of a network from which they get knowledge, appreciation, and visibility.

Without unrestricted access to information and exchange networks on the Internet, political and legislative reforms would never have produced the desired effects for our interviewees in any of the three countries. In fact, the governments of all three countries have made it clear that they want to embrace digital technologies in the fields of communication, education, health, as well as economy. In cities or villages, almost all of our interviewees are a part of a network from which they get knowledge, appreciation, and visibility. From the youngest to the oldest, whether they reside in a city or a rural area, whether they have a basic education or a university degree, whether they are educated women or housewives, they have one

thing in common. That is that they all or nearly all have chosen to use Facebook to interact, spread, discover, and make themselves known. We cannot cite all the examples. Facebook, which gained popularity following the events of the revolution, appears to be the most widely used fundamental instrument nowadays that ensures the crucial visibility within any field of endeavor. Besma Omezzine owes her reputation to Facebook, which has a reach that is unavailable through other channels. Aida Grahm utilizes it to advertise the goods she sells at fairs that are produced by the women in her association. Listen to Besma Omezzine as she discusses how Facebook has helped her expand her influence.

> *"I have an English teacher who claims that she even reads the comments and my responses in order to understand certain contentious topics, for instance during the case on equality in inheritance, I took summaries to share them because I discovered that there were people who did not understand what it was about. And this has a positive effect because people like to see the brief summaries in order to have an idea, they tell me that they do not have time to see more, they prefer simple things in Arabic dialect. I occasionally have to head to my friend list and start the purge since there are some people there that I never interact with. They immediately ask me not to unfriend their profiles when I do so since they closely follow everything I post, you see! This is one way how I can exercise influence by being here."*

3. Emancipating and empowering institutions

Emancipating and empowering institutions are those that are acknowledged by female leaders as the initiation of a significant step in their path. From the three observation sites, the institutions of emancipation and empowerment that stand out are the family, the association, and the school.

For some people, the family provides a legacy, the resources, and the points of reference without which youngsters would not have had the guts to envision a project. This emancipation-related information could be derived from a parent, mother, or family's legacy (craft activity, politics, union, and others). However, it might also be the recollection of a grandmother who, through her bravery and charisma, made an impression on a conservative society. The importance that certain families place on education and schooling can have an impact on a young girl's future. The sacrifices made by the mother and/or father at this level were particularly emphasized. Bchira Halwani (Sfax, Tunisia) owes her father a debt of

gratitude for inspiring her love of learning, modernist concepts, and selfless service. She recalls his patriotism and his devotion through the sacrifices he made to his region:

> *"Due to his eye issue, my father was unable to attend school, but since he was inspired by the ideas of the educated Destour party members, he constructed a school for girls. Because my grandfather sold his property, the olive groves, and kept an oil mill, this school was once an oil mill. He tore up his party card after independence because his mission was complete in his eyes. My maternal aunt, who served in the Union of Women during this time with Halima Chaabouni and is currently afflicted with Alzheimer's, did not receive the honors due her. She was enrolled at this institution by my father, who also made her promise not to cover her face with the black burka that Tunisian women wear. The girls in this school did not cover themselves with the burka, which is known as al khama."*

Sofia Znati's life is influenced by the role of her father (Menzel Bourguiba - Tunisia). He was a pioneering colonial-era activist who was skilled at instilling moral rigor in the adherence to a cause. Here is how his daughter describes his moral character:

> *"My dad put in a lot of time! He used to tell us: 'Everything and anything except "a trade,' and he never stopped boasting: 'I completed every task, but I never polished shoes! It's not up to you to do it right now (both literally and symbolically!)' He never consented to our attempts! You move! You take on your duties; you don't need to come here and whine! Moreover, you would receive double the punishment if you begged for his pardon. Even later, when my brothers and I had begun to engage in politics as adults, he was very clear, 'I won't ever step in on your behalf! I'll get you a lawyer if you need one! Everyone has chosen their own path.'"*

She now understands that giving up oneself for others is a selfless gift because of what she learned from her father. After the country gained independence, her father stopped being active in politics because, in his eyes, the fight was won, he had done his part, and he had no desire for recompense.

Not all of the women we spoke to have the same experience with the school. They owe different amounts to this institution. Due to their boarding school or university campus experiences, several of them owe a rich initiation to communal life and autonomy. In high school, Khadija (teacher, Essaouira, Morocco) attended a boarding school where she learned what it meant to defy unfair commands. These years spent away from the family served as a sort of rite of passage before being welcomed into society. Leaving her family and moving to the city (Agadir) to pursue her studies was a formative experience for Fatiha Imoulid as well. She gained autonomy, social inclusion, and activity planning skills. She tutored young children privately while still a student to support her uncle and help him with the rent. Associative work, independence, and exposure to money are thus socialization experiences for Fatiha that are woven into and around the school.

Others eventually notice how a teacher's presence on their route had an indirect influence on their decision. For a certain group of female leaders who are also instructors, school, university, and the workplace serve as the incubator for the development of their personalities, political and artistic interests, and values. A prominent persona has been developed by Chahira Ben Rjeb, an Arabic teacher in Jammel, Tunisia. Everything in Chahira revolves on her job—the pupils, both in and out of the classroom, the school as a physical location and a place of daily living. She calls her own children to come and help her on Sundays with cleaning and beautifying duties in the hallways or corridors in order to distract the pupils from the dangers of Salafism (Islamic conservatism) that infiltrate the classrooms and the streets.

In other words, the function that the school played in the women's courses varied greatly depending on the ages of the women interviewed, the profiles, and the generations; for some, like Fatiha, it was directed towards the environment, for others, like Khadija, toward human connections (literacy, social reintegration), and for others, like Chahira, it is all-inclusive (environment, knowledge, human relations)

Thus, in Morocco, we have heard what some studies have emphasized: that the present era is a sort of crossroads where various generations meet and live, with varying degrees of tension, misunderstandings, and harmony. Those who attended school during the dark era were shaped by their attachment to the past, who strive for greater independence. A young person's awakening to public life began with the Arab Spring was a youngster raised in the digital age.

Latifa Boumzough, 66, of Essaouira, Morocco, comes from a wealthy family and credits her husband's privileges enjoyed during the reign of Hassan II and his entourage for her financial and cultural success. On the other hand, Fatiha, 24, a daughter of economic and political openness, owes no one anything and yet manages to carve out a successful career. Through these two profiles, we are able

to observe the progress made by Moroccan society over the course of two decades. As in other nations, the political opening that was started 20 years ago does not appear to be able to handle the disintegration of mobilizing ideologies and political decline. The failure of political parties to put up worthwhile projects, particularly for young people, has been addressed by the growth of civil society. The Hirak of the Rif in Hoceima in 2016 brought to light the long-term marginalization of the Amazigh people. The Hirak demonstrated that only civil society has displayed the capacity to formulate and address the major issues that have been affecting Moroccan society for decades. These issues, such as human rights, the linguistic and cultural question, women's rights, political memory, have taken acute forms since 2003.[84]

Some of the elements that have affected the conventional axiological order include the following[85]:

- The national movement that hesitantly embraced progressive ideals in the realms of democracy, women's emancipation (Allal Fassi, Hassan Alwazzani), and education.
- After independence, the majority of young people have steadily benefited from the widespread education of the masses. In addition to the family, a new form of socializing was introduced. Additionally, it brought new educational material and a new figure of authority, the schoolmaster or teacher.
- Compared to Moroccan society after independence, wage-earning and employment have helped to raise the population's level of living. With the emergence of new goals and values, the established order has been upended. The civil service, for instance, is valued because it provides security. Internal movement between rural and urban areas has gradually decreased the value of the countryside and increased the value of the city, dividing the two areas.
- Policies like family planning and contraception were implemented, and their effectiveness helped alter the status of women and the role of women in the household.
- New values, such as those relating to human rights, women's rights, children's rights, indigenous cultures, etc., have been introduced by international development organizations. Without entirely eradicating the current order, all these causes have led to the creation of new registers of values. These registers of values are sometimes created by social change, from which populations

---

[84] Abdallah Saaf, " Changement et continuité dans le système politique marocain ", in Baudoin Dupret, Zakaria Rhani et al (Eds.), *Le Maroc au présent. Changement et continuité dans le système politique marocain*, Casablanca, Centre Jacques-Berque, King Abdul-Aziz Al Saoud Foundation for Islamic Studies and the Humanities, 2015, pp. 535-568.

[85] Ibid.

experience economic and social impacts, and other times they are established by universal values.

It is uncommon to find a woman who has not joined an organization, a club, or a structured group at some point in her career. These groups include artisanal, charity, industrial, and cultural endeavors such as films or music. All the women we met found a place for induction, training, production, or dissemination in the associations, depending on their profiles, ages, and requirements. We are increasingly confronted with female leaders who behave very differently from their elders from prior generations in terms of spontaneous frameworks. The emancipation that the family and the school may suggest is still arbitrary and dependent on a number of variables. Despite this limitation, we see that this trend toward encouraging activity and relationships within one's own project plus others within the framework of an association indicates a recognition of the significance of these civic institutions.

These contextual factors have enabled us to discuss both the key traits that are "generators of change"[86] and the particular traits that are contributing to the emergence of a transformative leadership of women with multiple faces. These two groups of traits are marked by conflicts and crises because their origins are rooted in various socio-cultural, political, and economic contexts. As we have demonstrated, there is a similar foundation: a traditionalist or even conservative social organization that is subject to modernization processes like political and legal reforms and socioeconomic inequalities. However, due to the unique characteristics of each of the three countries and the relevant regions, influential women are subjected to a variety of challenges that go beyond their experiences as female leaders.

IV - TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP FOR WOMEN. WHAT SOCIAL RECOGNITION?

The relationship between the individual and the group is put to the test by the question of leadership. Individual leaders upset the established order of values and positions; they occasionally impose norms or use those that are already in place; and their advancement depends on representations and practices. Each group's representations, via which the leaders are captured, are binding on them.

We'll explore how successful it is to use representations as a starting point for the study of female leadership. In fact, here more than anywhere else, we will observe that the stronger the representations are, the more stable they are. Strong action

---

[86] Georges Balandier, *Sens et Puissance, les dynamiques sociales*, Paris, PUF, 1986, pp. 99-110

efficiency and persistence have a profound impact on how practices and positions are oriented and justified for decisions, life choices, attitudes, and other choices.

The leader is a very complex character. Although it is simple to list the qualities that a person must possess in order to be recognized as a leader, we have discovered that the work of actually identifying the latter is really challenging. Consensus is unattainable due to recognition, misunderstanding, and forgetting. Therefore, we chose a methodical approach based on designation.

The designation phase relied heavily on focus groups and group interviews, as well as supplementary interviews (exploratory and informal). The exchanges with the interlocutors occur within a framework that gives each informant equal standing. Each participant is called upon during the group exchange, which encourages an absorption in the collective memory. As a result, each testimonial is like a fragment that can only be understood in the context of all the others. All the testimonials, comments, and story fragments are put together, followed, in opposition to, and corrected by one another, giving rise to figures, names, and episodes that have a certain amount of consensus.

The primary goals of this phase were to identify influential women and to comprehend how social actors—of both sexes, representing various generations and socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds—define leadership (and the leader) in general, as well as how they incorporate female leadership into these mental models.[87] At the level of the mobilization of the schemas, a number of variables come into play, including gender, sociocultural environment, socioeconomic affiliation, life cycle, and others.

Discursive rhetoric plays a significant role in this stage of study and, consequently, in the analysis of transformative feminine leadership and the impact of women. Our goal is to begin from the actors' perspectives on influential women in order to identify the characteristics that separate and unite them. To do so, we highlight their representations, attitudes, judgments, statements of values, and opinions in this area, and pinpoint the subtle differences between their perspectives as well as the causes of any conflicts. The dynamics of the group play a crucial role in identifying the underlying registers of argumentation and cognitive patterns. These arguments and patterns shape the gendered definition of transformative leadership by allowing opposing viewpoints to emerge. In other words, knowing the

---

[87] Jean Piaget said that "A representation (picture, experience, or concept) and an action combine to form a schema (mental operations, motor actions). Thought patterns emerge through environmental experimentation, particularly with natural reactions (present in babies). They are arranged in networks that contain sub-schemes ". https://lapsychologie.weebly.com/les-schegravemes-de-penseacutes.html

conditions of its acknowledgment "from the bottom" is necessary to make women's transformative leadership intelligible.

More specifically, participants in the focus groups and group interviews in the various observation sites were asked to describe what they meant by "leader," the possibility for a woman to be a leader, the distinction between a male and a female leader, and the presence or absence of influential women in their area such as neighborhood, community, or region. By asking them to describe the trajectories of these women leaders still ingrained in the collective memory, they were also questioned about the existence of female characters who have left an indelible mark on their nation's history. Finally, we asked them to identify some influential women at the present time and demonstrate how others view them and the impact they have on people around them.

The first step was to draw attention to the factors that enable us to define leadership generally and female leadership in particular. The next step was to determine the registers through which the players defend or deny the legitimacy of women's influence, and the last step was to move toward the acknowledgement and visibility of influential women by the actors themselves. These empirical data were gathered on site, and they helped us understand the sociocultural context of women's power of influence as well as the contexts in which women can use their power of influence to change their environment.

We have found it helpful to employ the methodology developed by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot to interpret what social actors have to say about leadership.[88] This is the theory of justification and economics of worth. How does this approach relate to the study of how social actors define leadership and the leader?

This method focuses on understanding how social actors use their capacities for justification and develop their arguments in situations when they are required to support their assertions rather than on explaining the social factors that influence their behaviors and attitudes.[89]

This method states that the actor will move on to categorizing based on a "setting in equivalence," or giving each person "what he/she deserves," in reference to a scale of value based on a shared superior concept. Therefore, a person's positioning

---

[88] Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, *De la justification. Les économies de la grandeur*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991.

[89] Marc Jacquemain, *Les cités et les mondes: le modèle de la justification chez Boltanski et Thévenot*, December 2001,
https://orbi.uliege.be/bitstream/2268/90443/1/Les%20cit%C3%A9s%20et%20les%20mondes%20de%20Luc%20Boltanski.pdf

in regard to principles determines their worthiness. In this sense, the determination of a distributive equivalence is a form of worthiness distribution. There are people who have "great" or "little" status according to a predetermined principle. The individual who best represents the group's values is considered worthy in a hierarchy of values.

This section, which is concerned with designation, is organized around two key ideas. The first focuses on the presentation of leadership traits based on social actor discourse, while the second discusses the traits of female leaders and how they place themselves in the economics of worth depending on settings.

In the actors' eyes, who exactly is a leader?

It is crucial to stress that different socio-cultural contexts have different definitions of what constitutes a leader, which enables us to create a kaleidoscopic representation of what the group considers to be a leader. This recognition is based on social representations of the leader that serve as " "reference points for reasoning"[90] and that "make it conceivable a posteriori to justify views and behaviors.""" [91] A central core and auxiliary components make up social representations.

"The central core is the shared and agreed-upon foundation of the collective memory and the set of standards that a group refers to (Abric, 2001). Its meaning (generative function) and the relationships between its constituent parts are determined by a relatively small number of elements (organizing function). The peripheral system has significantly greater adaptability. It enables integration of daily experiences and distinction based on experience (Abric, 1994). By allowing some content heterogeneity within the representation and allowing for context-dependent adaptation, it helps to protect the primary core.[92] According to this perspective, a leader's ability to alter the social environment serves as the core competency, with other peripheral skills. Thus, the ability to alter the social environment serves as the core competency of a leader, to which are added

---

[90] Grégory Lo Monaco, Florent Lheureux. "Représentations sociales: théorie du noyau central et méthodes d'étude," in *Revue Electronique de Psychologie Sociale*, APSU, 2007, pp. 55-64, https://hal. archives-ouvertes. fr/hal-01736607, p. 58.

[91] Claude Dubar, *La socialisation. Construction des identités sociales et professionnelles*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1996, p. 17.

[92] Lionel Dany and Thémis Apostolidis, "Approche structurale de la représentation sociale de la drogue: interrogations autour de la technique de mise en cause", in Les Cahiers Internationaux de Psychologie Sociale, 2007, N°73, pp. 11-26, https://www.cairn.info/revue-les-cahiers-internationaux-de-psychologie-sociale-2007-1-page-11.html

periphery aspects that enable us to understand the true foundation of the leader *(Caïd)*'s influence.

These ancillary component[93] are succinctly described as follows: A leader (*Caïd*) needs to possess traits that others lack[94] and are unique to him. In one group of traits are personal skills (intuition, social intelligence, situation awareness to face challenges, performance, resolve, vision for the future, charisma, aura (*waqâr*), etc.). In another group of leadership traits are relational skills, in terms of the expectations that he sets in the group's members (availability, altruism, supervision, being at the service of others, being able to listen to the others. When it comes to the leader's area of expertise, the question of whether he or she should possess a foundational skill that would establish him as a credible authority figure arises. Or do we have to deal with the enduring image of the conventional *Caïd*, who is the repository of some "spontaneous powers" that his entourage acknowledges?

The group dynamics show an emphasis on "excellent moral conduct of the *Caïd*, to be able to succeed," which seems to be an echo of the conventional *Caïd* figure. Here, a detour through the vocabulary is crucial because it can shed light on the representations that come to light via the focus group participants' reactions.

Although it comes from classical Arabic and is rarely used in dialectal Arabic, we have chosen to utilize the word *Caïd*. It is challenging to get rid of the military associations that have been grafted onto the term's usage. Because the authoritarian Arab leaders of the 20th century exploited them, these associations are deeply ingrained in people's thoughts. We detected the echo of this lexical memory in a few focus groups. One of the participants makes reference to Che Guevara, saying

---

[93] "The auxiliary components serve their intended purposes. Because "they constitute in fact the interface between the central core and the particular circumstance in which the representation is created or functions," they concretize, regulate, and protect the central meanings in accordance with the diversity of contexts and individualities (Abric, 1994, p. 25). Since they are the tangible representation of the fundamental concepts, they concretize them (for instance, attending classes to acquire knowledge, revising material, visiting libraries, etc.)," Grégory Lo Monaco and Florent Lheureux, "Représentations sociales: théorie du noyau central et méthodes d'étude," in *Revue Electronique de Psychologie Sociale*, APSU, 2007, pp. 1–55, p. 59, available at: https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01736607/document

[94] This refers to the definition given by Boltanski and Thévenot to the notion of worthiness, which "finally appears as the result of a of the actors on themselves and on the world of objects endowing them with capacities and characteristics that others do not have, which allow them to do what others cannot accomplish (wealth, imagination, reputation, position of representative, etc.). In this way, a hierarchy that is legitimate and just in the eyes of the people and therefore valid in all generality, based on the negotiation of the actors and on the taking into account of their respective merits by means of tests", Philippe Juhem, "Un nouveau paradigme sociologique? À propos du modèle des Économies de la grandeur de Luc Boltanski et Laurent Thévenot," in *Scalpel, Cahiers de sociologie politique de Nanterre*, vol.
1, 1994, A propos de la justification, http://boltanski.chez-alice.fr/texte/textejuhem.pdf , pp. 82-110.

that "he was a *Caïd* of the working class, of the marginalized without being the one who delivered orders" while keeping in mind the military connotation. Continuing in this effort to identify the leader, later figures from the same age parade with titles that lack much coherence: "Che Guevara, Saddam Hussein, Béji Caïd Essebsi..." despite the differences that set them apart. However, the *Caïd* should not limit diversity. Indeed, the image of the conventional *Caïd* still lingers in people's thoughts as someone who commands respect from others. However, a contemporary definition of the *Caïd* is emerging, which boils down to abilities, knowledge, and the capacity to win over hearts and minds. It turns out that we are dealing with a dualistic view of the leader that is based on a traditional model where influence is justified by things like morality and a developing concept of the *Caïd* based on a project, abilities, and knowledge.

This is made clear by the input of one of the young participants in the focus group in Smimou, Morocco, who insisted on the "excellent moral conduct of the *Caïd*, to be able to prosper." This trait of the *Caïd*'s personality appears to illustrate the challenges some individuals face in coming up with a "secular" definition of the *Caïd* that simply considers what is relational, efficient, and active in his image. An essential aspect of how this figure is perceived appears to be how closely their personal behavior complies with the social norm that establishes what is acceptable and what is unacceptable.

What about the representations of female leaders?

According to the actors, what exactly constitutes a woman leader?

The participants in the focus groups and group interviews were far from united in their acceptance of the idea of women leaders and transformative leadership. It is crucial to note, however, that the actors' discourse demonstrates that a woman's ability to attain the status of "leader" (of the "worthy") is contingent upon a variety of variables and considerations related to the group's values, the socio-historical context, the established social order, the spheres of exercise of power, and so on. Thus, it would seem that, up to a certain point, women's leadership and influence are accepted, if not recognized. To put it another way, in the view of the relevant social players, is the woman qualified to hold this social position given the traits of the leader? What standards of qualification do women use to determine where they fit into the "economies of worth" in line with the ideals of the "justification

cities"[95]? What logic does the woman use to justify her exclusion from the hierarchy (states) of worth?

The words of social actors are used to support forms of recognition and denial of recognition (or what Christian Lazzeri and Alain Caillé refer to as "a recognition by a negative connotation"[96]). These normative principles relate to transformative leadership and the power of influence of women. The first, which advocates for acknowledgment, is founded on egalitarian values, while the second uses an essentialist discourse to defend the rejection of recognizing women's leadership qualities. Thus, some continue to be burdened by the belief that the leader is the result of a divine coincidence. Listen to what this young person in the focus group in Smimou, Morocco, has to say: Women are naturally inclined to take on leadership roles, but this requires a support system that values them enough to see this. Another participant used a different term from the Koranic language to describe this characteristic. She considers her *qiyadâ* (leadership) to be a gift "*bilfitra,* which is something we receive and do not choose (it is the Koranic name of the innate manipulated by God). The *Caïd* has strong intelligence, the leadership (*alqiyad*a) forces itself, and *alqiyada* is the one which is looking for you rather than the opposite."

The gift, the inspired *Caïd*, who operates by exceptional natural forces or from a power outside of him, is the echo of the representation that enlarges the personal component since it is impossible to understand how the individual interacts with the group and the circumstances that gave rise to him. This portrayal is obviously founded on a certain understanding of the natural, according to another member in the same focus group, "for the masculine sex, leadership (*qiyadâ*) is a natural necessity."

This representation would only allow for the expression of this "natural male yearning" in the context of society and through common obligations. But when one equates the woman "with nature," the *qiyadâ* assumes a different form and is consigned to the domestic world. In an effort to mystify the role of women in the

---

[95] Six polities (or worlds) of justification are identified by Boltanski and Thévenot: domestic (tradition, family, hierarchy), industrial (efficiency, knowledge, know-how), civic (representativeness, collective, democracy), commercial (interest, egoism, rivalry), inspired (creativity, authenticity, imagination), commercial (interest, egoism, rivalry), and of the opinion (fame, glory, notoriety), to which Luc Boltanski (Activity, projects, extension of the network, proliferation of links). A "worthy" leader who embodies the universal superior principle resides in each city (respectively: the father, the elder, the professional, the expert; the delegate, the elected official; the businessman, the challenger; the poet, the artist, the child; the star, the mediatized; the coach, the mediator, the project manager).

[96] Lazzeri Christian and Caillé Alain, "La reconnaissance aujourd'hui. Enjeux théoriques, éthiques et politiques du concept", *Revue du MAUSS*, n° 23, 2004, pp. 88-115, p. 104.

Redayef focus group, a young man says, "a woman is a *Caïda* by nature because she gives birth to a child, cared for it when it was born, and then works to survive in poverty."

Essentialism, which condenses femininity and masculinity to a purportedly "natural" long standing definition, struggles to break free from the weight of representations that link sensitivity, finesse," and devotion to women, or to the mother, but instead rationality, harshness, to the father.

;"I take the example of my mother, who is always willing to serve her eight children, works hard to please us, and loves us despite the fact that my father isn't around. Despite the fact that he works a lot, he is missing," said a young girl participating in the focus group in Redayef.

Before analyzing this dichotomous vision of female leadership, it is worth mentioning one remark that shows how women are repeatedly required to justify their actions:

- If the comments about the characteristics of the leader are presented as "taken for granted" and therefore, they did not need any justificatory/argumentative development, nor controversy,

- And if those about female leadership and influential women were rather plethoric, as if the actors were obliged to develop a justificatory rhetoric,

- Then this argument translates, in a way, into an argumentative overbid. It is a matter of the players' justification abilities, as Boltanski and Thévenot have rightly demonstrated, whose discourse "shows [...] severe restrictions in the search for well-founded arguments, supported by good evidence, thus indicating efforts for convergence at the very center of the disagreement."[97] In this perspective, the dynamics of the group are founded on "a test of justification." The "capital of influence" held by women is derived from these "argumentative skills of the actors."

No matter the field of concern, job, or style of action, a woman leader expands the socio-cultural environment in which she operates. Her actions and profile compel a debate whose conclusion is far from certain because it may be the foundation for a radical change in perspective or a serious choice. In varying degrees, the female leader trembles, destabilizes, and draws attention in an unfamiliar or even novel direction.

---

[97] Boltanski et Thévenot, De la justification, p. 26.

1 - The recognition of the power of influence of women (The orders of worth).

The rhetoric that justifies women's political influence is characterized by the fact that it sometimes rests on the idea that human rights are universal (the idea of equality and universality), and other times on the skills of women who have already established their expertise in this area. By citing historical instances of influential women who belonged to the group's immediate/direct context, this discourse frequently draws on the justness of a social order. In this way, the logics and normativity registers (religious, communal, ethnic, genealogical, etc.) that underlie the construction of the justification tests express themselves behind the evoked female characters. The particular characteristics of time and space are thus advanced in each of the several areas of observation in the argumentative discourse of women's power of influence.

It is important to underline that the argumentative discourse of the actors refers to an image of the woman leader - influential different from the others, "out of the ordinary", idealized in a way. This singularity takes several configurations according to both the evoked female figures and the argumentative sources of the actors. From this point of view, influence is "a virtue" that draws its legitimacy from various spheres of action. Thus, we can distinguish five "orders of magnitude" that determine the social recognition of female transformative leadership:

Please note that the actors' arguing speech makes reference to a stereotype of the influential woman leader who stands out from the crowd and is somewhat glorified. According to the actors' argumentative sources as well as the evoked feminine figures, this singularity assumes various shapes. According to this perspective, influence becomes "a virtue" that derives its legitimacy from diverse fields of endeavor. As a result, we may identify five "orders of worth' that affect how socially accepted female transformative leadership.

Here are five orders of worth that affect female transformative leadership:

1. Creative skills (the foundation of cities):
2. Activism (the struggle against colonialists and authoritarian regimes);
3. Access to the male world;
4. Sanctity and "supernatural" power;
5. Civic and political commitment.

First order of worth: Creative skills (the foundation of cities)

Among the attributes that allow women to enjoy social recognition as influential leaders, we can highlight the foundation of cities. This is a virtue that was mentioned in several focus groups.

In Berber circles, the women mentioned as having founded cities are Zeineb Nefzaouia (1039 - 1117, mentioned in the Focus Group of Smimou, Essaouira and Marrakech), founder of the city of Marrakech (around 1070),[98] wife of the historical leader Youssef Ibn Techfine (the third Imam and the first sultan of the Berber Almoravid dynasty. "Her involvement in internal affairs during her husband's reign earned her the moniker *al-qa'ima bi mulkihi* (literally, the one who takes care of her husband's kingdom) [...]. She frequently bargained on her husband's behalf, and because of how persuasive her political knowledge was, she was frequently referred to as the Magician."[99] Ibn Techfine is said to have ordered the construction of Marrakech in accordance with the plans drawn out by his wife in 1062, while he was away at war.

The popular memory of Moroccans still vividly recalls the woman as the city's creator. Kenza al-Awrabya, the mother of Moulay Idriss II and wife of Moulay Idriss I, was mentioned by the members of the Focus Group of Ben Guerir. She had a significant part in the administrative structure of the Moroccan kingdom under the Idrissids and was the daughter of the chief of the Awarba Berber tribe (Ishaq Ibn Abdelhamid). She made sure that the throne of her future son, who was born three months after his father's death in 791, was preserved when her husband was murdered on the orders of the Abbasid caliph Hâroun ar-Rachîd. She was successful in making her son Morocco's Sultan (at the age of 11). She assisted him in establishing Fez as the state's capital.[100]

The name Fatma Fehrya also stands out in the distant past (Focus Group Essaouira). She is proudly credited as the founder of the first religious sciences university, Al Qarawine in Fez (in 859). She is also attributed with having

---

[98] Zaynab Nefzaouia is credited with designing the plans for the city of Marrakech (in 1062). On his return from war, Ben Tashfine had the city built according to the plans his wife had created. J F P Hopkins; Nehemia Levtzion, *Corpus of early Arabic sources for West African history*, Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000, cited in: Zaynab Nefzaouia, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaynab_Nefzaouia .

[99] " Qui était Zaynab Nefzaoui, la reine de Marrakech?", HuffPost Maghreb, March 15, 2016, http://archive. wikiwix. com/cache/index2. php?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.huffpostmaghreb.com%2F2016%2F03%2F15%2Fzaynab-nefzaouia-marrakech_n_9467170.html 100. P. Morizot, "Awerba," Encyclopédie berbère [Online], 8 | 1990, document A332, online 20 April 2011, accessed 25 September 2020. URL: http://journals.openedition.org/encyclopedieberbere/177

[100] Hamida Trabelsi Bacha examined this female figure as a part of the Sahel survey.

architectural skills, since, according to one account, "she insisted on following the stages of development by giving specific orders and imposing her design on the structure."

In Tunisia, a different female Berber was mentioned (the Sahel). Sayada is the one who founded the town that bears her name. Sayada's in-laws in Moknine denied her access to her husband's wealth when she lost her spouse, which is when everything started. She made the decision to flee with her children. She could only feed her children by fishing, and then selling what fish she had left to passersby while hiding out in caves on a hill near the seashore of the modern town of Sayada. Those who visited her to purchase fish referred to her as Sayada (the fisherwoman). "We'll get fish from Sayada" became an expression that was used to refer to the neighborhood where this woman resided. Thus, the narrative portrays the woman as the originator of an initial legitimacy (as in the case of Queen Dido). The city is infused with this feminine anteriority; the feminine name and the story that goes along with it immortalize in people's minds a certain unconscious legitimacy that subverts male dominance.[101]

Additionally, in focus groups with young people held in Sousse, Bizerte, and Menzel Bourguiba, Alyssa's name was only fleetingly mentioned. The few young people who thought of this character as a woman leader emphasized her intelligence, cunning, ingenuity, and malice as what set her apart and allowed her to find the city of Carthage (the new capital of the Phoenicians) by slicing an ox skin into extremely thin strips, as opposed to restricting herself to the area that had been sold to her (which is equivalent to the size of an ox skin).

The Focus Group participants in Jarash mentioned Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, who oversaw not only the building of the city's monuments but also its conflicts. As one of the most effective war leaders and rulers, Shajarat ed-Dorr, the Egyptian queen and Salaheddine el-(Saladin) Ayyoubi's wife, was also named. Balkis, the Queen of Saba, is described as another female leader. These many leaders described in this focus group are typically connected with political authority and come from an Arab-Muslim origin, which contrasts with the masculine protagonists in the narratives (Saladin, King Solomon...). They are discussed more for their symbolic meaning than for their historical significance, which is all too frequently obscured by mythology.

---

[101] This female figure was studied by Hamida Trabelsi Bacha as part of the survey conducted in the Sahel.

Second order of worth: Activism - The struggle against colonialists and authoritarian regimes

In this regard, a number of women are depicted as part of the invaders' resistance: "Some hid firearms, others helped supply needy families during times of hunger."

All of the Focus Group in Morocco referenced the name Acha Kandicha, which was derived from the Portuguese word *condessa*, which means "countess." She is a representative figure of the resistance to the occupation. The narrative centers on a woman who, during the colonial era, charmed and captivated Portuguese troops before assassinating them with the aid of the Moroccan resistance.

We also mention the name of a well-known Sheikha Kharboucha (Focus Group Ben Guerir, Marrakech, Essaouira) who, during the colonial era, exposed "a notable and great leader allied to the colonial authorities (the *Caïd* Assa Ben Omar) and who was known for great corruption. She denounced him on stage and by the words of a song, and then he murdered her on the spot. Because of this "scenic detour," which used the song to further the cause of patriotism and expose the traitors, she is a woman who has endured in the public consciousness. She had gained the honor of being one of the sacrificial figures who had avoided oblivion thanks to her brutal death.

It should be noted that the Focus Group participants made a rather agitated effort and used a lot of energy to complete this immersion in memory in quest of women's figures deserving of being saved from oblivion. The nature of the impromptu attempt to remember highlights the depth of the silence—or rather, the oblivion—in which so many faces and voices have vanished. Nejib (Focus Group Marrakech), who references the modern era, regrets that "few are the names of these activists, that the records have kept, and furthermore among the people listed on the declaration claiming independence, there is only one woman named, despite the role they have performed." He makes reference to the 66 Moroccans' Manifesto of Independence, delivered to Sultan Mohamed V on January 11, 1944 (including only one woman: Malika Belmehdi el-Fassi). To seek the emancipation of Morocco, these nationalist activists took the risk of signing this open manifesto.

A young woman who participated in the green march and took care to hide her pregnancy behind layers of clothes. However, in the middle of the march she gave birth to a newborn and left the incident in her memory. Furthermore, the massive green march[102] that the participants sparked (unfortunately without naming any

---

[102] King Hassan II ordered 350,000 Moroccan volunteers to march on Western Sahara, which had been controlled by Spain since 1884, on November 6, 1975, sparking the start of the Green March. It was a matter of Morocco regaining territory that, in his opinion, had traditionally belonged to him.

female leaders) is still remembered as a profoundly emotional occasion where women's patriotism for the thorny cause of the Sahara was displayed in all its brilliance.

In a similar spirit, Therese Halsa (also known as Om Salman) (1954–2020) was highly regarded in Jordan (Focus Group Karak). She was a member of the Black September group and hailed from a family of Arab Christians (Isaac, a Jordanian father from Karak, and Nadia Hanna, a mother from al-Ramah in Akka). She rose to fame as a result of her involvement in the May 1972 hijacking of Israeli airliner Sabena 571, from Brussels via Vienna to Lod airport. In the course of Operation Lod, Halsa and her team—which also included Rima Tannous, Ali Taha Abu Snina, and Abed al-Aziz Atrash—detained 100 passengers. In return, they sought the release of captives from Jordan and Palestine. Sayeret Matkal, an Israeli special forces squad who infiltrated as International Red Cross agents, detained her and Rima Tannous. The group's other two members were taken to safety after being evacuated. Both current Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak sustained injuries during the action that followed the hijacking while serving as special operations soldiers.

Halsa was apprehended and sentenced to a 220-year prison term by an Israeli court but was released after 12 years as part of a prisoner swap deal.[103] She oversaw the production of the 2015 documentary "Sabena Hijacking - My Version," which featured interviews with both Palestinians and Israelis.[104] Halsa committed her entire life to helping the injured and inmates after being released from prisons under occupation.

The Focus Group participants said that Halsa had an impact on the generation of the 1970s and 1980s. They believe her tale has been marginalized for political reasons and that it is more widely acknowledged by Christians than by Muslims. One of the participants stated that Halsa's marginalization is a result of her alleged support for Palestine Liberation Organizations, which were established in Jordan and widely regarded as operating outside the jurisdiction of the State and at odds with the Jordanian national movement.

Another Jordanian activist was mentioned in the Karak Focus Group. This is Alia Dhammour, who after Ibrahim Pasha's invasion of Karak (in 1832) threatened to burn her and her husband, the Sheikh of Karak at the time, or else hand over Karak. Alia Dhammour sacrificed her two boys, Sayyed and Ali, to protect the honor of

---

[103] Palestinians Mourn Theresa Halsa, Hijacker of 1972 Flight to Tel Aviv, Asharq Al-Awsat, March 22, 2020, https://english.aawsat.com//home/article/2205516/palestinians-mourn-theresa-halsa-hijacker-1972-flight-tel-aviv .

[104] Therese Halsa, "Historica," https://historica.fandom.com/wiki/Therese_Halsa .

Karak and Jordan. Chaikha Alia responded resolutely after consulting with her husband Sheikh Ibrahim: "All of Karak's children are our children! Tell him that if he runs out of wood, we will bring him some from Karak! El maniya wa laddanya: Death is worse than humiliation!" And she watched as her sons were burned in front of her.[105]

During the national movement, a number of women in Tunisia were cited as iconic personalities in the country's history. Mariem Dridi's name stands out from the group interview in Ras Jebel as a result of her bravery and fortitude. Mohamed Salah Dridi, a member of the Drid tribe,[106] is her son (who lives in the mountains). Meriem is a rare first name in Ras Jebel, which is classified as a Bedouin region (*Bedoui/Orbane*). She was an activist who was crucial to the resistance (1944). In 1943, her son Mohamed Salah Dridi was recruited as one of the young colonial soldiers and began training in the engineering unit at Menzel Bourguiba School. He and some pals decided to desert after meeting Italian soldiers. The group was captured by French forces and local officials in the area (Ras Jebel, Rafraf), but the two Dridi brothers managed to escape because they were somewhere else. He was assassinated in 1952, and his name is listed among the martyrs. Mariem was the lone strong and brave woman; she traveled across the mountains and forests to see her son and bring him food. To defend her son, she disobeyed the local and French authorities. Mariem proudly let out cries of youyous in the middle of an alleyway after her son was killed.

Mahbouba el Falli, the militant woman known in the battle of Teboulba, Majida Boulila, Bchira Ben Mrad, and others were also well-known and influential during the national struggle in the regions of Sfax and the Sahel. She was originally from Kasserine (Jebal Selloum), where she was known by the nickname "za'ima" for leading the Fallegas (guerilla fighters). She identified the locations where colonial officers were hiding to apprehend resistance fighters and informed Fallegas of their whereabouts. She is a figure of the first ranks and exposed herself to a great deal of risk throughout the episodes of the armed conflict.

The designation process provided a chance to revive historical female figures who left an impression on their communities but are now forgotten. As an illustration, we can mention: Fafani Ksiaa El Jerbi of Jammel was an extremely active woman both during and after independence. From 1965 to 1980, she served as the chair of the National Union of Tunisian Women (UNFT) in the city of Jammel. One of the Focus Group participants stated:

---

[105] https://jfranews.com.jo/article/160674

[106] The Dridi tribe, makhzania: working with the beys - intermediary between the latter and the revolting tribes, the villagers...

> *"She is truly a leader! She encouraged the girls to participate in cultural activities (such as drawing, animation, dancing, Scouting, etc.); she initially contributed her own money to pay for the events at her home. While her husband consistently supported her, our parents were convinced of what she was doing while the other parents were adamantly against."*

Another woman gives her testimonial:

> *"She is truly a leader! She encouraged the girls to participate in cultural activities (such as drawing, animation, dancing, Scouting, etc.); she initially contributed her own money to pay for the events at her home. While her husband consistently supported her, our parents were convinced of what she was doing while the other parents were adamantly against. In order to secure the space for this facility, Fafani used her own funds and cleared out her home. Being from Sousse, where people are more open-minded, her husband—a cloth merchant—supported her throughout all of her trips. [...] Fafani was a powerful, brave woman who disregarded people who objected to her appearance in public. Parents found it challenging at first, but they gradually warmed to the idea. After offering free lessons in her home, Fafani "dared" to plan outings for the Jammel girls; they went to Korbos, the Bardo, Carthage, and Nabeul."*

Participants in the Focus Group claimed that in addition to Manoubia Bint Changuel and Tijania Ben Hmed (a very close friend of Fafani), Fafani also had additional women supporting her work. Zohra Askri Bel khirya, the wife of Mohamed Zrelli, worked at the sewing workshop. She invited other women to teach the girls needlework, sewing, and other skills. A machine sewing workshop was initially set up in her home, and later she hired a larger room and another embroidery center from Manoubia Bint Changuel, the daughter of Abdeslam Changuel. She was strong and open-minded. Fafani and Zohra were emancipated, they did the work and went out without Sefseri, while remaining discreet. Tijania and Mannoubia, are more discreet; they did not challenge the community norms. In the end, she received "recognition" from people in Jammel while she was president of the National Union of Tunisian Women and when she was close ally to Carthage/Bourguiba.

During the time of the fight against colonialism, another woman was acknowledged as having significant influence. This is Chadlia Bou Zgarrou from Monastir, a key figure in raising funds for the resistance fighters and a niece of Bourguiba. Aicha Ben Khedher, Mami Ben Khedder's sister, and others in this

situation have both joined El Falagua in the struggle. According to our informants, she "dressed as a man (*kachabia*) and carried a rifle." All of these women, along with numerous more, were seen as strong and rebellious women.

Members of the Focus Group of Jebeniana discussed Jazia Halwania, whose name alludes to the period of independence. She joined the Tunisian Women's Union. This was before the Destour party took control of this organization, "she had a son who became a member of the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, she attended the meetings at that time and traveled wearing the local traditional attire, her husband was from the communist party, he assisted and supported her. [...] She was the first to let women speak in public and attend meetings, and she had a daughter who practiced music and sang in a choir, which, by the standards of the day, was a rather daring act!"

Names of women who fought with the political regimes of the day in post-independence era have been mentioned in certain Focus Groups. The majority of the names in Tunisia's Gafsa region—known for its hostility to the political regime—appear against the backdrop of recent events, namely the 2011 Revolution and the 2008 Mining Basin Revolt. We refer to Jomâa, the wife of MP Adanan Hajji, who defended her husband during his detention in 2008. She went on a rampage despite having kidney failure (she has since died) to protest and rally women in the neighborhood against security forces surrounding the city at the time. We also recall Leila Labidi, who, despite having her son detained during the same events, persisted in organizing other women to resist the police onslaught on them.

Tijanya Ben Ali's name is mentioned in relation to the events of 1984 in earlier decades. She reportedly had a strong knack for inspiring women, and she attended every protest. We also cite a member of the Bouyahia clan who helped young people flee at night to mountain hideouts during the 2008 events so they could avoid the police who stormed the communities before dawn. We also recall Nessima Oum Tarak, who after Tarak was detained after organizing a protest against the police and the detentions with her daughter Oumayma, who is currently a member of the Popular Front.

These names, which are only sometimes mentioned as we can see, stand out against a background of political and social protests. Of course, it was the crisis situation that brought out their rebellious side, or the *Caïd* in them. This political imprint, which the Popular Front, the first party in the area, has managed to reclaim, has ended up marrying the traditional pattern; activists from this party or the Chaab party are named, such as the pharmacist Jazya Dinari, a member of the municipal council who is well-known for her charitable work for the poor.

Therefore, in a way, the effervescence of the years 2000–2013 that would have sparked these spontaneous *Caïdas* has been extinguished today because even young people are no longer motivated by political activism or demonstrations. According to one of the young people in attendance at the Focus Group of Gafsa, not even the Popular Front can inspire fervor today. Currently, it appears that a select group of activists from traditional political parties are present on the scene. It turns out that the political and social imprint provides some profiles of women *Caïdas*, in the mining basin, the circumstances surrounding their emergence and extinction.

In the same way, those who took part in the Focus Group of Ben Guerir (Morocco) mentioned the names of women who were members of the groups opposed to the King's policies. The participants gave a brief history of the area before mentioning the Rahmanya tribe, some of whose dignitaries had relations to the royal family in the past. Conflicts with the Palace cost the region a long period of marginalization at one point. One opponent of the King's policies was Kamla Abdellatif. She was active in the battle against corruption despite coming from a left-leaning family with relatives who were imprisoned during the reign of King Hassan II.

Khadija Tanin is an artist who is a human rights activist. She was also highlighted as a woman leader. According to a member of the Focus Group, "She is brave and doesn't hesitate to propose ideas and commit to implementing them." Meanwhile, Mahjouba Tridi was deemed an influential woman since she was the first female local delegate of the Islamist Party for Justice and Development (PJD) to be chosen to lead the Bourrous community in the Rehamna province. Despite the fact that she represents an Islamist party, the Focus Group participants claimed that she is not wearing a veil.

After years of dictatorship and repression, there has been a relative opening up along with political reforms, which has boosted the significance of women politicians' profiles. The conquests of women in this nation are still modest, and the smallest female figure to defy convention and emerge is immediately admired by her support group.

Aside from these exceptional instances, the feminine influence comes from organizations associated with specific professions, whose significance has long been acknowledged. Because of their line of work, midwives "had access to the homes of the rich and the poor, allowing them to have very rich and open contacts, they took advantage of it to supply services, to serve as intermediaries."

From previous eras, we also mentioned the cooks (*tabakha*), who were hired for festivals and important ceremonies (*zarda)*, such as weddings and funerals). They have access to everything that affects the lives of individuals having a state of

worthiness and dignitaries because they choose to stay in the major times of collective history. We recall instances from the colonial era when these women assisted the fighters out of sight of the colonial officers.

The healers were mentioned frequently by participants in the Focus Groups in Morocco, Jordan, and Tunisia. They are social figures who gain influence because of the value of the support they provide in a rural setting where modern hospitals and other social institutions have not yet been sufficiently developed. The members of the Focus Group are aware that the state's health care system falls well short of providing for the needs of all socioeconomic classes, especially the poorest, and that this contributes to the authority that women healers have gained.

One of the Focus Group of Ben Guerir members, Khadija al-Idrissi, cites the example of her grandmother, who heals youngsters with medicinal herbs. This role gradually spread to other areas: "She provides the children with clothing, welcomes them into her home, and provides them with food, but she is consulted when there are disputes among tribesmen."

Khadija's grandmother is not the only example; others have also been active. The common theme is to see healer roles grafted onto them, giving these women clear influence in areas where state structures are weak or nonexistent for resolving disputes, mediating in couples' conflicts, or offering opinions in tribal affairs. This takes place because the women provide their healing services free of charge. This also applies to Hajja Chérifa, whom the Focus Group of Essaouira has identified as a woman of influence.

Meysar Abou Rajouh (Om Nadhmi), who "treats with *roqyacharia*, *i.e.,* using the virtues of Qur'an," was suggested by Jordan's Madaba Focus Group participants because she recommends unique recipes to treat fractures and pediatric and female pathologies. These practices were passed down to her from her father. One of the female attendees at the Focus Group gives her account with admiration:

> "I've seen her tend to fractures! She looks after them better than the physicians do. We have complete faith in her, and she receives visitors from all across Madaba. [...] When my child ate, her stomach would empty swiftly, and despite thorough examinations at the hospital, nothing was found! I brought her to Om Nadhmi, who by the grace of God was able to heal her. She never has an empty house and hosts more visitors than a hospital!"

There are also "the sheikhates," lyricists and singers. They were symbols of joy and celebration, and because of the freedom that came with their job, they grew to hold a lot of power. One well-known is Sheikha Kharboucha.

The women weavers who traveled to the markets to sell their goods at this time of national resistance against colonization were crucial as intermediaries between the insurgents. The residents of the Focus Group of Jebeniana recall the fabled character of Essit Nefissa, a woman who is credited with bringing weaving to the area after arriving from Egypt years ago. She is invoked with reverence now since women owe her a trade that enables them to support themselves. Her name is associated with holiness. Some modern-day weavers have the belief that her spirit helps them when they are sleeping at night by providing them with a reminder of the *ragma* (the stitch or *knot*) they neglected the day before, enabling them to continue weaving and complete their work.

Third order of worth: Access to the male world

We can tell which of the influential women mentioned practice "masculine" professions and hence make a strong impression in a society "ruled" by males. Two influential women who have influenced the male world were named at Essaouira. The first of these is the tobacco shop's salesperson (Ms. Hadda). She socialized with both Jews and Christians, and she utilized the money she made to help some needy families and orphans. The second of these is a female fisher named Kabrana. in the harbor of Essaouira.

Additionally, the matrilineal structure of society in Berber villages lends legitimacy to women's influence. Grandmothers are given special treatment in the Amazigh culture of Morocco, where some of them are able to "possess a certain power, they order and control, and they are most frequently accompanied by a grandson or daughter-in-law" (Focus Group Smimou). Some villages "are primarily managed by women," due to the distribution of labor between men and women. The majority of people who sell and buy at the markets in the south are also women.

Lilia Lahmar, who was engaged in the fishing industry, founded a fishers' association. Her story was told by members of the Tunisia (Focus Group Sousse).

Fourth order of worth: Sanctity and "supernatural" power

As in the other Maghreb nations, Morocco is home to a large population of *marabouts*, women revered for their holiness. Lella Rouqia[107] and Lella el-Bahria are known for their ability to cure sterile women. , to Several extraordinary miracles are attributed to Lella Awicha, who succeeded in having several disciples.[108] The Focus Group, however, had , no further information about these actual or alleged deeds. We have noticed, however, from participant discourse in the Focus Group that these characters receive social acknowledgment as influential women who have left their impact on their surroundings by their supernatural virtues.

Several saints have left their imprint on Tunisia's collective memory. We can include Lella El Marakchia, Lella Halima Bent Abide, Lella Kaboura, Lella Saida, Lella elBahria, Om Ezzine Lehlalia, as instances of women who have made significant contributions to society in the areas of religion, politics, economics, and society. One example is Lella Ajoula, who has been portrayed as the community protector in the Ras Jebel (Tunisia) group interview. Visitors to Lella Ajoula come from all over the country and from many Bizerte areas.

In Jordan, these figures are lacking.[109] Sanctity is not at all a source of women's influential power. In such a situation, the "authority of the saint," which is described as a "modality of social influence"[110] continues to be the prerogative of "male order of worth."[111]

But how does female sanctity serve as a source of influence?

To provide some elements of an answer to this question, we rely on the analysis developed by Nelly Amri in her book *Croire au Maghreb médiéval. La sainteté en*

---

[107] Died in 1676 in Fez. See Mohamed Qadiri, Nachr al-Mathani, *Archives marocaines XXIV* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1913-1917), pp. 247-248.

[108] It is about Lella Aïcha al-Adawiya, who died in 1669 in Meknes, Ibid. pp. 202-203.

[109] See Norig Neveu, "Saintetés féminines, hagiographies contrastées et topographie sacrée marginale dans le sud de la Jordanie," Figures de la sainteté féminine, musulmane et chrétienne, en Afrique du nord et au Proche-Orient, Beirut, Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph, pp. 155-178, https://www.academia.edu/42294391/Saintetés_féminines_hagiographies_contrastées_et_topographie_sacr ée_marginale_dans_le_sud_de_la_Jordanie

[110] Soukaina Bouraoui, "Ordre masculin et fait féminin", in Michel Camau (ed.), *Tunisie au présent. Une modernité au-dessus de tout soupçon*, Aix-en-Provence, IREMAM, eds. of CNRS, 2013, pp. 343-371

[111] Mohamed Kerrou (ed.), *L'autorité des saints: Perspectives historiques et socio-anthropologiques en Méditerranée occidentale*, Paris, Édition recherche sur les Civilisations, 1998, p. 14.

question (XIVe-XVe siècle).[112] Nelly Amri outlined four crucial components that help us understand why people believe in God's friends, the saints: moral freedom, a feeling of justice, the saints' exteriority in respect to the rest of the world, and the generosity of their dedication.

- Fifth order of worth: Civic and political commitment

Many women have been deemed influential as a result of their political and civic (civil society) participation, as was mentioned in the section on the context for the emergence of women's transformative leadership. The few women in the visited regions who have achieved some level of influence rely on modern institutions like associations, political parties, and enterprises.

Even if these women's actual involvement in public life could be proven, opinions on their influence are divided.

What about the skeptics who fail to acknowledge these women's impact and power?

2 - The denial of recognition or "negative recognition"

It is true that the majority of Focus Group participants have shown support for the above powerful women. Nevertheless, a few of them voiced their disagreement with or even opposition to the majority's choice.

Boltanski and Thévenot refer to actors who confine women to their traditional place inside the domestic sphere and who do not recognize their qualities as influential women as "the rise to generality." They do not limit themselves to explaining their particular cases; instead, they support it with a general argument that makes reference to some sort of common good. As a result, they use a specific instance to illustrate a "generic scenario". Every time the actors are unable to come to an understanding on a principle, which forces them to "go back" to a higher principle they share, "the rise to generality."[113]

It is frequently the case that the justification for not recognizing women's ability of influence is founded on a "religious" argument, as a higher value, to confine women's influence to the family and domestic sphere. One of the Karak Focus Group participants expressed this in the following words:

---

[112] Nelly Amri, *Croire au Maghreb médiéval. La sainteté en question (XIVe-XVe siècle)*, Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2019, p. 200.

[113] Marc Jacquemain, *op. cit.*

> "My wife runs the household and is the head manager, even though I'm a doctor and she doesn't have a high school diploma. But I also know a lot of men who have failed. However, I do not believe in gender equality because I think that Islam has a purpose and wisdom about gender inequality. Also keep in mind that in Islam the man is the guardian because he alone is in charge of managing the household and paying the bills."

Another member of the Jarash Focus Group believes that women are more capable than men at running their homes. Let's take up his position:

> The man could be able to manage a school or an organization with 5,000 employees, but perhaps not a tiny house. When it comes to managing the household, women are more successful."

Here, the non-recognition takes a deviation (falsely naïve or sincere?) by suspending the hierarchy of the universes, in this example, the domestic and the public, to create the illusion that the historically undervalued domain requires "performances" that are out of men's reach. Here, the rise in generality is achieved by pretending that the domains are neutral during the discussion. The hierarchy of values that has ruled both domains and imposed them on men and women for centuries is a subject of practical challenges and mastery in the management of the household and/or of businesses and factories. Inferentially, the young man's reasoning gives the domestic sphere a "complexity" and "hidden" virtues that would be taken away from it in the business world, where the man reigns as master—the proof being that only women achieve brilliantly there! It seemed as though he was about to say: "Do not undervalue the realm in which a woman governs, which a man is unable to manage. It is not unimportant, as evidenced by this inability.!"

The speaker thus brings to mind another argument that frequently arises in focus groups in the three nations and which, as a result of a "generalization" with a moral or even mysterious base, inverts the order of values. To do this, proponents glorify women in the "splendor of the hackneyed generalities" of worth, of the miracle of procreation, of the innate power of the feminine body capable of giving feelings without limits. This glorification gives women innate *Caïdan* capacities, mystifying the role of the mother after having stripped it of the traditional ancestral heritage for the time of the argument. Based on these two arguments, the true hierarchy and, consequently, the order imposed by the ancestral tradition, would be destroyed if the domestic realm were to be given the attributes of "hidden complexity" or of maternity of mysteries and unprecedented worth. If this were

admitted, the order of real facts would cease to be what it is, unfair and degrading, as a result of the "linguistic discovery" of motherhood's worth and the unprecedented significance of family management.

Behind this appreciation of women's domestic skills comes a devaluation of women's ability to run organizations outside the household. Christian Lazzeri and Alain Caillé affirm this: "The failure to recognize the agent's possession of a capability that is the subject of recognition may constitute the depreciation. The agent himself, who in the perspective of others does not possess it or does not possess it to the required standard, is what is in question here rather than the skill."[114]

This is not the case for the other participants, who use pseudo-scientific generalizations as a higher principle to defend inequality. These participants eternalize or even "naturalize" positions in order to support the denial of women's ability to wield authority. A woman from Karak claims:

> "If I were to contrast my husband with me, I could claim that while he can do various duties, like command, I can procreate and become pregnant. I believe that a woman should maintain her femininity and take pride in the privileges that come with being a mother."

Another young participant in the Madaba Focus Group also made the following claim:

> *"When I deal with a woman in a leadership position, I am frustrated because she won't accept just one viewpoint. Women are sensitive, and their moods fluctuate according to the situation... How am I supposed to handle her varied hormones and irrational emotions as a man?"*

The group's young men, who believe that a woman may be a leader at home above everything else, share this viewpoint. A doctor present in the Focus Group attested to this, "naturalizing" the earlier claims and even lending them scientific "legitimacy" by saying:

> *"If we want to compare, it would be unjust because men and women have physiologically distinct makeups. They are only able to manage straightforward institutions like a school or a nonprofit. Women are not equipped for positions in*

---

[114] Lazzeri Christian and Caillé Alain, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

> *powerful institutions that involve making political and economic decisions or serving as judges. The leader must always be a guy, he continues. He is set apart from women by the role that God has given him."*

Thus, the "scientific" argument that the two sexes vary biologically serves as the foundation for a deterministic societal perception of the sexes that we assume to be born "by nature" as a result of the unchallengeable proof of science. The final argument is based on religion, which gives this vision a moral foundation that cannot be disregarded. "There are some domains that are exclusively for men, while there are also those that are exclusively for women."

Some informants claimed that only women without caring obligations might have influence in other areas (outside the family and domestic sphere). As if motherhood and marriage were the only roles that carried power of influence. This is the reason why one of the Karak Focus Group participants says:

> *"A woman could be a leader if she is childless, has no marital responsibilities, or if her children are adults. The young mother of children and married could hardly be a leader."*

Women are only recognized in their "natural environment," or the domestic sphere, in some regions within the three countries. The Focus Groups in Gafsa demonstrated how, although having primary responsibility for family matters, women are predominantly recognized for their roles as mothers of families since they are excluded from the public arena. Because of this, Moularès Focus Group is nothing more than a reflection of how women are treated in this commune. The men in attendance explained why there were no women in the Focus Group by stating that "women of Moualrès do not claim the public space and that their role as mothers and wives does not require their presence outside; in addition, attending a focus group is not a necessity for them, as they have more important things to do at home." With the exception of a few historical women like Jazia Lehlalia, this group has no designated female leaders. The other women are activists who supported men in the mountains during difficult times during the uprisings against the regimes of Bourguiba and Ben Ali (Chahla, Aanes Touati, Fatma Mansour, and Chakhma), or Fatima, the local midwife. "These women's roles are consistent with the values of the commune and the division of roles between the sexes."

This also applies to the Madaba FG, which brought together men, and women who were all wearing veils, and who all displayed behavior that was clearly influenced by religious rigor. This was evident in the way they naturally shared the space, with the men sitting on one side and the women on the other, just like in a mosque.

Since all of the women in this Focus Group adhere to the same moral norms, their designation of influential women was almost foreseeable. The names selected represent women who act and have an impact while adhering to the moral standards and value grid and moral expectations of the group that designates them (by profession, achievements, and others). These names demonstrate a congruence between demand and influence (social expectation). Samar Temimi, an "instructor who teaches the Quran to the younger generation," is a good example of this. She has been able to accomplish her goals within the confines of Islamic society because she is convinced that everything that is done to women is not a violation of Islamic law but rather results from our misinterpretation of religion and imposed male interpretations. Nawel el-Faouri is a woman who "defends women's rights and has defied tribal society. Because she is convinced that all that is done to women is not in violation of Islamic law but rather results from our misinterpretation of the religion and imposed male interpretations, she has been able to accomplish her aims while adhering to the laws of Islamic society.

The perpetual dichotomy of rationality and sentimentality is one of the traits that appears in the various Focus Groups of the three countries. Many of the participants believe that women's "emotional nature," which often overwhelms them, is one of the barriers to them establishing themselves as *Caïda*. These "gender assignments"[115] are to blame for the denial of recognition.

This is why the idea of a "city" is crucial to both the growth of the city and its citizens as well as the growth of the city itself. For the growth of the city and its residents, this is why the city is so crucial. One of the Madaba Focus Group participants stated the following point emphatically:

> "*The culture of shame ('ib), which denies women their independence, is the only issue, he claims. For instance, some men object to the way a woman instructs them if she stands for parliament and wins. Some clans even go so far as to mock the clan's representation by a woman in parliament, which has become a sign of inferiority. I have even personally heard it. You belong to the clan "led" by a woman, young men have told me.*"

It is also significant to notice that the mother was consistently mentioned as an influential woman in all focus groups held in the three countries. As an illustration, one of the Jarash Focus Group participants said:

---

[115] Yannick Ripa, *Femmes d'exception. Les raisons de l'oubli*, Paris, Editions Le cavalier Bleu, 2018.

"Motherhood is the most significant form of leadership, in my opinion. When a woman raises her children and is able to mold them into successful adults, she plays the role of Caida *in her home and family and is the most powerful leader."*

The arguments put forth by the various Focus Group participants to support their reservations about the influence and authority of women are based on a mobilization of the "moral sense"[116] to support their beliefs, attitudes, and evaluations regarding the legitimacy of female leadership.

After examining the designation phase data, we can identify the Focus Groups where a large number of participants did not express recognition of influential women. These are the Focus Groups of Moularès and Mateur (Tunisia), Madaba and Jarash (Jordan), and Smimou and Talmest (Morocco). Here we noticed a lack of response, or rather silence, that displays a vague posture. Is there a backlash against the idea of influential women in general? Would it be difficult for their perception of the facts to break free from the burden of the "generalities" that divide actions into two categories: "natural roles" that result in "normal" acts and influential but "deviant" behaviors that are not in line with morals and norms and are thus unworthy of being recognized for any influence?

In conclusion, it's critical to stress that the distinctiveness of some contextual factors affects how influential women are classified. Thus, there are variations between regions within each of the three countries. In Jordan, Karak Focus Group participants (who are of Bedouin descent) were more generous in naming influential female figures throughout history in a variety of fields of endeavor: three women leaders from the distant past, more than 24 female leaders from the present era, and more than 15 people who are the seeds of future female leaders.

The Jarash Focus Group participants scarcely mentioned any female leaders from the past and only provided a few names of individuals who might be "influential women" in the future. They made reference to people who accept societal norms and beliefs and perpetuate the patriarchal system that is characterized by male dominance as of the present. But in Madaba, we discovered a somewhat ambivalent discourse that reflects the coexisting modernist and conservative attitudes in the area. This situation is explained by the fact that Karak is a multicultural city characterized by ethnic diversity due to the presence of Christians who represent more than a third of the population, which generates a tolerant and accommodating culture. Also, girls' education has a long history in

---

[116] Mohamed Nachi, *Introduction à la sociologie pragmatique. Vers un nouveau style sociologique ?* Paris, Éditions Armand Colin, 2006

this city; Qamra al-Qassous opened the first girls' school in 1930. In Jarash, the conformism that was evident in the responses can be explained by the existence of Islamists as represented by their political party, the Islamic Action Front. We have witnessed a leveling of reactions that naturally bestow the label of leader upon women who exemplify the conventional paradigm, with the most accomplished representation of this being embodied by the image of the mother, teacher, or president of a charitable association.

The discussions in the three Focus Groups held in Madaba (convened, respectively, in the Palestinian refugee camp, the headquarters of the charitable association el-Aqsa jamiyet al aqsa el khayria, and in Fayha) made obvious tendencies of viewpoints firmly rooted in religious conservatism. Refugees from Palestine, Syria, and Iraq make up a sizable portion of the population in addition to Jordanians, Muslims, and Christians. "A Bedouin identity, a customary law that is thought to be thousands of years old, and largely shared values and morals are the foundations of the social link between Muslims and Christians [...]. The contrasts with the Muslim Bedouins are doctrinal, but religion also imparts values, a worldview, and patterns of thought. For instance, there is more mobility among Christians when it comes to the separation of male and female places. It is said of this city that it is "a location of Christian memory."[117] Christians' proportion of population has steadily decreased from 87% in 1919 to 20% in 2015.[118] Despite this syncretism, it is claimed that the informants' conservatism can be explained by the Muslim community's need to affirm its identity and set itself apart from the Christians.

Contrarily, we have encountered women who live quiet lives of reclusion, despite the fact that their entourage readily recognizes them as leaders. The examples given here are of left-leaning women activists who have given their lives to establish customs in a variety of disciplines, including culture, education, and other areas.

We have profiles that are supported by work in both the first and second cases. It is not our purpose to link their individual decisions to intangible character flaws (vanity, self-love, fake humility, etc.) or psychological variables. We are merely attempting to comprehend what permits the first case to reasonably

---

[117] André Sleiman, "Géraldine Chatelard, Briser la mosaïque. Les tribus chrétiennes de Madaba, Jordanie, XIXe-XXe siècles," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 148 | October-December 2009, document 148-33, online 19 May 2009, Accessed September 21, 2020. http://journals.openedition.org/assr/21105 ; 148. https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.21105 .

[118] The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan - Ministry of tourism and antiquities / The World Bank, Third tourism development project, Secondary cities revitalization study, Madaba – Social assessment, http://www.mota.gov.jo/documents/madaba/social_assessment1.pdf

demonstrate leadership qualities, while the second hides behind humility and discretion that seem to us to be at least enigmatic, if not excessive.

The same ardour that propels a certain person to influence and increase the prominence of his activity may be present in the first situation. It's possible that the need for visibility is a self-defense mechanism against ignorance, oblivion, or even hostility that aims to demote a talented actor to unjustified marginalization rather than an indication of hypertrophied self-esteem.

The second type might be an indication of a kind heart, modesty, or exceptional humility. However, it might be the outcome of unhappiness with the discrepancy between one's ideal of oneself (reflected in one's ethical and political principles) and the accomplished work. They are individuals who are "captured" by an ideal of life for others, which places them very early in an unreachable horizon, and who afterwards live their lives feeling dissatisfied with themselves. That decision does not come without consequences.

From this research, it is not without significance to point out that this designation phase—which makes visible female characters who have affected their surroundings—retraces, in other, more direct, and discursive ways, "the social test of the recognition"[119] of influential women. The discussions with the different informants compel them to engage in reflexivity that lacks certain components in their normal thought and behavior patterns. It became apparent to us that the paths taken by influential women are only accessible to us through the effort of following the diversions, watching the allusions, the unsaid, and the implicit. They only allow for fragmentary, hazy, stealthy silhouettes of themselves to be perceived and grasped. Prior to legitimizing recognition, it is important to understand recognition as an act of identification that places influential women in a context and gives them a certain specificity. Searching, recognizing, and reconstructing the journey inevitably results in the recognition that justly accords the glory of the narrative its due. The historian Michelle Perrot's statement, "women have always been present in the plot of the story, but not necessarily in the broader narrative," leads to the same conclusion.[120]

Doesn't this prompt us to consider the responsibility we bear regarding oblivion when we contest memory, assert the right to quote, and demand recognition?

---

[119] Guillaume le Blanc, "L'épreuve sociale de la reconnaissance », dans L'invisibilité sociale (Chapitre IV)," pp. 95-118, Paris, PUF, 2009.

[120] Michelle Perrot, "L'entrée des femmes sur la scène sociale. Histoire des femmes et féminisme", in Journal français de psychiatrie, n° 40, 2011/1, pp. 6-9, p. 6.

Regarding oblivion

There is a great deal of writings on memory and forgetting in the experiences of societies. There are some parallels between collective memory and individual memory. It is both active and passive, open to the never-ending flow of events, yet depending on the situation, it becomes memory-resistant or even rebellious. Some memories fade away quickly, while others don't stir the living in any way. Still other memories are exaggerated by the impact of commemorations and celebrations. Therefore, there are numerous ways to remember something or to forget it. Memory is not simple: as Maurice Halbwachs has demonstrated, it is "an essential receptacle for the past. It sheds light on the process of forgetting by illustrating how a memory can recreate the past using cognitive categories related to the current state of social relations."[121] The feminine figures submit themselves as much as any social being to forgetfulness–whether "voluntary" or "involuntary"–and to memory that manipulates, conceals, disguises, reinvents, or transforms – due to their inscription in the memories and exposure to the effects of time.

As a result, forgetfulness also occurs along with a denial of recognition. We will attempt to define the modes of forgetting in light of Jocelyne Dakhlia's research on "collective memory to the test of the lineage in the Tunisian Jérid."[122] "Is it a question of 'production' of forgetting, of an active forgetting, or of an undergone forgetting?"

Since time memorial, the word has always had power in every city; it organizes the present and brings the past back to life. A story that gives the dead a face and the events of history a plot is essential to every culture. The narrative, which is on the side of the power, of the hero, or, to put it another way, of the male, assures transmission and organizes memory. Men are the ones who remember and recount stories because they possess the "legitimate language."[123]

The history of influential women has contributed to this "voluntary oblivion" that commits minorities (ethnic, religious, social, and others) to marginalization for a long time by being excluded from the crucial positions of power. These minorities are confined to the backstage, to the harems, and to the shadows. The history that we tell reflects our unconscious, the narrator's set of values, and the person who remembers does so in a way that reproduces inequalities, injustices, the likes and

---

[121] Paul Sabourin, "Perspective sur la mémoire sociale de Maurice Halbwachs", *Sociologie et sociétés*, 29 (2), 139–161, 1997, https://doi.org/10.7202/001661ar

[122] Jocelyne Dakhlia, *L'oubli de la cité. La mémoire collective à l'épreuve du lignage dans le Jérid tunisien*, Paris, Editions La Découverte, 1990, p. 5.

[123] Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques*, Paris, Fayard, 1982.

dislikes. When it comes to the history of influential women, setting them aside from the narrative, forgetting about them, and making them invisible are all similar acts.

The influential women of the past who are represented in our corpus mainly experience this fate:

- They are recognized but muzzled by a husband or a domineering father in the shadows.
- Because they experience the damnation of their pre-Islamic era, known as the Jahiliya, they are mentioned but conceptually doomed to "oblivion" (literally worthy of being ignored). Alyssa, El-Kahena, and other prominent female figures who have shaped the histories of the concerned countries were, in fact, either not mentioned at all or just sometimes by the informants. Far from being an omission, it appears to us that it is an issue of rejecting the "age of ignorance," or Jahiliyya (the pre- Islamic ignorance, the ignorance of the true faith), which affects the entire Maghreb and the Arab-Muslim world, as Jocelyne Dakhlia has interpreted, not without cause. Because it forces people to link their own history to that of paganism and error, the ante-Islamic period "must be denied."[124] Thus, depending on the circumstances, forgetting can both be active and painful.
- They are just described as a vague, wandering memory, lacking any narrative framework that would give her character depth to fit into the male narrative (such as certain national struggle icons who were left out by the official narrative's overabundance of heroic men).
- Their names do not exist in any (political, aristocratic, religious...) genealogy; the genealogies only preserve the lineages and gestures of men. They are mentioned but reduced to a few facts (Sayada), most of which are legendary, which prevents them from being part of a plot.

The refusal of gender equality, in Yannick Ripa's words, "remains unquestionably the first reason of this memorial oblivion."[125] This invisibility (or, more accurately, invisibilization[126]) is a result of the devaluation of women's virtues outlined above. Michelle Perrot believes it is appropriate because "It's more an issue of how you think about the historical story than a matter of forgetting. This one is primarily

---

[124] Jocelyne Dakhlia, *op. cit*., pp. 43-44.

[125] Yannick Ripa, *op. cit.*

[126] Collectif Georgette Sand, *Ni vues, ni connues. Panthéon, Histoire, Mémoire: où sont les femmes?* Paris, Pocket, 2019.

focused on the conflicts, reigns, governments, and events that take place in the public sphere, in which men are the most prominent actors."[127]

We were able to define the primary discourses that discuss the ranking, assessment, and hierarchization of influential women who currently reside in or have previously resided in certain regions of the three countries thanks to this reflection on transformative leadership. The goal was to negotiate how women should be positioned in regard to the "status of worth" established by society. The various forms of transformational leadership for women that are influenced by a "social location of leadership concentrations" will be the main topic of the following section.[128]

V - THE TYPOLOGY OF TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP IN WOMEN

Before developing a typology of transformative leadership for women, it would be appropriate to highlight the guiding principles for the typological analysis within the context of the study. In contrast to juxtaposed groupings with rigid boundaries and hierarchical structures, types are characterized as abstract configurations created by the researcher for heuristic reasons with the goal of expressing the complexity of social reality. In this regard, it is not without interest to make a distinction between the typologies developed by the researcher to take into account the complexity of social reality and the classifications that fall under the category of common sense.[129] Such typologies are not intended to replicate empirical reality as it is experienced and understood by the social actors (concerned); rather, they are a representation "purified of contingent variations,"[130] condensed to what the researcher deems to be crucial for the analysis and comprehension of the underlying (subsequent) logics of a given set of practices and behaviors. According

---

[127] Michelle Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[128] Elihu Katz et Paul L. Lazarsfeld, Influence personnelle, Paris, Armand Colin, 2008, pp. 269-270

[129] As for the distinction between the typology proper to common sense and the typology produced by the researcher, we refer to the works of Alfred Schütz, Le chercheur et le quotidien. Phénoménologie dessciences sociales, Paris, Méridiens Klincksieck, 1987, and Michel Maffesoli, La connaissance ordinaire. Précisde sociologie compréhensive, Paris, Librairie des Méridiens, 1985 ; by Clifford Geertz, Savoir local, savoirglobal. Les lieux du savoir, Paris, PUF, 2002 and "La description dense. Vers une théorie interprétative de la culture", in Daniel Cefaï, L'enquête de terrain, Paris, La Découverte, 2003, pp. 208-233 and Dominique Schnapper, op. cit, p. 135. See also Sihem Najar, "Penser "le sens commun" en anthropologie", in Mohamed Kerrou (ed.), D'Islam et d'ailleurs. Hommage à Clifford Geertz, Tunis, Cérès éditions, 2008, pp. 93-113

[130] Guy Rocher, "Type idéal", in André-Jean Arnaud, Jacques Commaille et al (eds.), *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de théorie et de sociologie du droit*, Paris, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1993, pp. 628-630, p. 629.

to this viewpoint, every type constructed must be viewed as a configuration that "would be in compliance with the empirically observable reality if the actions and interactions in question obeyed a pure logic that would not be impacted by any factor external to this logic."[131] Typological analysis, in essence, is a process for comprehending and making sense of social reality that entails "reading" and interpreting empirical data from an abstract framework that the researcher has created using tools that are particular to his or her field of study in terms of epistemology, conceptualization, and method. It is an "interpretive reconstruction of reality," as Jean-Claude Passeron has demonstrated.[132] In other words, the typology "corresponds" to the empirical distribution of the observed units by reducing the space of previously established attributes.

In order to better understand the concrete practices and situations and to give social relationships a new intelligibility, we adopt a typological analysis. This analysis does not involve categorizing individuals or groups. Instead, we try to identify the specific logic of abstract relationships.

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF WOMEN'S TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP

We were able to identify seven different varieties of female transformative leadership through the analysis of the input from the Focus Groups and the interviews. These leadership styles may be divided into two configurations, each of which is motivated by a different logic. The first is idiographic in nature and concentrates on the woman leader's persona; the second is nomothetic in nature and is focused on the community (the group). It's crucial to note that despite the differences between each style of transformative leadership, many characteristics are common, such as the ability to act and the abilities seen to be necessary or desirable to motivate, sway, or direct people.

As we have already mentioned, the profiles observed are far from being reduced to strict interpretive frameworks by this option, which is mostly methodological. We chose it so that we could identify regions of coherence among the intricate collection of data.

---

[131] Jacques Coenen-Huther, "Le type idéal comme instrument de la recherche sociologique", in *Revue française de sociologie*, 44-3, 2003, pp. 531-547, p. 533.

[132] Jean-Claude Passeron, *Le raisonnement sociologique. L'espace non-poppérien du raisonnement naturel*, Paris, Nathan, 1991, p. 32.

1. Women's transformative leadership with an idiographic character

This first idiographic logic is focused on particular personality features that the members of the groups in question present as determinant in the trajectory allowing the female leader to stand out from others and influence her environment. Our notion of idiographic leadership, however, differs greatly from the analysis created within the framework of personalist methods, which contend that some people would naturally possess leadership qualities irrespective of the context. Also, these methods are coming under more and more scrutiny.

Thus, we can distinguish four types of transformative leadership for women: charismatic leadership, bold leadership, legendary (imaginary) leadership and controversial leadership.

1.1 Charismatic leadership

Before highlighting the traits and distinguishing qualities of the influential women who are regarded as charismatic, it is crucial to highlight an important aspect that arose through reviewing the corpus. Charismatic leadership depends on the cumulative nature of accomplishments. In fact, it is over time that the characteristics of a charismatic leader are developed. Charismatic leadership contributes to the long life of a community because it is based on the gradual building of trust between the leader and the member of his group. This type is in contrast to other types of leadership that concern transient social organizations structured around the accomplishment of specific tasks with interchangeable people.

The structure and power of charisma, in Weber's words, "are predicated on a person apparently 'selected,'" a relational phenomenon. He demonstrates how a group of followers is formed around the charismatic person who creates an emotional community within which "the charismatic person would operate with the assistance of his close followers and by virtue of a 'divine gift' or 'exceptional power.' Such a power is not available to everyone. Only when charisma is understood do we experience the relationship phenomenon. This appreciation is uncompensated and is the result of 'love, devotion to a revelation, idolization, and trust in the leader.'"[133]

---

[133] Ouedraogo Jean-Martin. "La Réception de la sociologie du charisme de Max Weber." https://www.jstor.org/stable/30129729

We were sensitive to the unique personality traits that some women possess that enable them to act, make decisions, impose themselves, and make choices about their lives that are obviously at odds with the norms and predispositions of their socio-cultural environment. This is the type of charismatic leadership. They are the ones who exhibit a strong capacity to sway the opinions and actions of those around them. Additionally, they exhibit awareness of their surroundings and the requirements of their inhabitants. We believe that another, equally significant quality plays a crucial role in identifying charismatic leadership. This quality is the ability to predict and, as a result, organize the resources needed to fulfill her goals in order to build a better future for her community is the visionary virtue of the woman leader.

Among the designated women, three charismatic leaders could be identified: Fatma Znati (alMestiria) (Menzel Bourguiba - Tunisia); Khatma Taraouna[134] (Karak - Jordan) and Fatima Ali (Tiznit - Morocco).

Fatma Znati was a woman who was born at the turn of the twentieth century. Originally from Monastir, in the center-east, she had the audacity to move and raise her three children in Menzel Bourguiba, in the northeast, leaving her husband to look after his land and possessions. She had three children—two boys and a girl—and worked as a midwife, which gave her access to a variety of social circles, including colonial ones. She was the first to purchase a car in the 1920s after winning the trust of the colonial authorities, and she was escorted by a guard and driver during her business visits to the households. Prudently, she made use of these opportunities to instill a sense of patriotism among Tunisian households. She introduced her younger son to politics and the national cause; he was later detained and tortured.

She was present in Menzel Bourguiba, together with her son Fradj, for the founding of the first cell of the Destour party. By doing so, she was able to evade the attention of the colonial authorities and arrange for the leader Habib Bourguiba to travel to the area. After creating the illusion of a phony circumcision ceremony in the city, where Bourguiba would be greeted by the locals and deliver a speech, she drove out to meet him on a ring road.

She was a charismatic woman in the sense that she made decisions in her personal life that went against the grain of what was reasonable at the time. She was successful in delivering to her offspring a set of ideals that had a collective and patriotic component but that could have cost her dearly. She was a strong, fearless woman who acted with determination in promoting her political beliefs. After

---

[134] https://www.khaberni.com/news/-210813 ختمة-الطراونة

independence, neither she nor her son hurried to demand benefits for their involvement in the national struggle.

Khatma Taraouna (Karak, Jordan) is a charismatic woman who shares the virtues of the leader and the saint. She gave her life to everybody she encountered, including her own family, relatives, and friends. Having no children of her own, she looked after her husband's numerous children from a second marriage. Their mother had died at an early age, she sacrificed her life for them, she became the mother and a little later the grandmother of their children. Despite coming from a distinguished family, she had no significant inheritance, she was able to provide for her husband's children's education, and these children have now gone on to hold key positions in government and the private sector. She successfully manages relationships, the family's modest business, and the relationships of her entourage through a spontaneous generosity. She influences others with skill, art, and strength, her words and her spirit.

She is illiterate, but in her sixties, she compensated by enrolling in classes for illiterate adults. She spreads happiness and gives everyone around her reason to be hopeful and upbeat. Everyone owes her something—a helping hand, an intervention, a nice interchange, some advice, a gift—because she is a well-known public person who is beloved by both youngsters and adults. She has developed a reputation for speaking with eloquence and using a variety of registers, including religious, popular, and patriotic. She actually knows by memory patriotic songs and poems.

Nobody can resist the allure of her intervention because she is respected for her effectiveness and good judgment. Her aid naturally spreads from the sons to the grandchildren of her husband. She becomes involved in all of their activities, including studies, marriage, money, and work.

Her profile displays a feminine leadership charisma that is complicated due to the artful blending of a number of aspects, including those of the person and those of the entourage. She can win over someone with complacency and convinces others without malice. She is greeted with open arms everywhere—in government buildings, famous people's mansions, or private residences—serving the underprivileged and pleading with authorities to assist the helpless. We listen to her without becoming complacent because we are aware of the relevance of her views and the audacity of her beliefs. She speaks everywhere—on buses, in political gatherings, and during election campaigns. There is a remarkable appreciation of her, especially for a person who moves so frequently between the public and private spheres and whose problems are frequently seen as contradictory. She is held in high esteem by everyone, including the local mosque's imam, the city's mayor, the party's leader, and local teachers. She is an

example of charismatic leadership in that she is able to turn her actions into a spontaneous "project of influence" that transcends boundaries, commands respect and even admiration, and affects behaviors.

Fatima Ali, who is from the Souss tribes and is an independent woman, traveled to Senegal and other African nations with her father, a prominent trader, to bring back salt, wool, and other necessities. In Tiznit, she owned a sizable home that was shared by a number of residents, who frequently hosted guests.

When she relocated to Agadir, she purchased a plot of land and constructed a large house on it. In one of the rooms, there was a tiny workshop where many women were learning to weave (in the 1980s). Rahma Rekik, her granddaughter, who has also been recognized as an influential woman in the Ben Guerir district, says:

> *"My grandma had a powerful ability to sway the other ladies in her life. She used to advise them that instead of in front of the doors of their houses, it would be more beneficial to visit her home to pick up weaving skills. They chatted while they worked; some talked about their husbands, others about their mothers-in-law, etc. She built a traditional oven not far from this room, and she first gave them flour to make bread. Then the women who were weaving took turns making the bread so that it could be given to their children as a snack."*

Fatma was skilled at haggling with merchants, customers, and the rest of the entourage. She also had a network of connections that gave her a certain aura in the eyes of others. She assisted others, especially women, with their difficulties and was charismatic because she had the courage to speak up for herself in a society that was generally conservative. She was the first to take a young single mother of the tribe under her wing after her family had sent her away, and she shielded her.

These influential female leaders worked in a traditional environment that forbade women from holding positions of leadership outside the home. Each of the three women has displayed charismatic traits. Only after a drawn-out process of cultivating a leadership image and giving credibility to their standing were they able to be recognized as influential women by their entourage.

1. 2. Bold leadership (women who dare)

Women who dare, go for it, and take risks are examples of bold leadership. It refers to unconventional and off-the-beaten-path behaviors and experiences. It also

involves resisting social pressures and barriers of a cultural, economic, legal, etc. character.

Here are some examples of women who have demonstrated their ability to persevere in the face of adversity, despite the fact that nothing about them—such as the fact that they lack formal education and come from a low socioeconomic status—predisposes them to engage in adventures and endeavors where everything suggests that they would fail. To demonstrate their ability to meet the task, they needed to face barriers.

We can use the case of Imen Awebda (Madaba, Jordan), who ventured to invest public space in a conservative setting, as an illustration. Her son declares:

> *"My mother is my inspiration in life since she overcame adversity, defied expectations, and helped us achieve where we are now. My mum began by preparing jam from the farm's grapes. She then started the Ma'in Association and taught courses to women. She then enrolled in classes to learn the mosaic technique in order to diversify the association's activities. She then shared her knowledge with the association's female members."*

This also applies to Fatiha Sakana, who comes from a modest family and was compelled by her father to stop her studies at the age of 15 in the village of Hidra (Hidra - Essaouira). She had the bravery to enroll in evening programs and work all day in order to change the trajectory of her life. She trained in the fields of hairdressing and haute couture. She enrolled in a coaching program in Rabat when her marriage fell apart, and it helped her transform her life. She got interested in community work by founding an organization to protect women's rights and guarantee the safety and stability of families.

Jamila Saad, a member of civil society in el-Guetar (Gafsa, Tunisia), is one of the bold leaders who have changed their own lives as well as those of their communities. She is also the president of the Tunisian Association of Women, which she established to transform the fate of housewives. Jamila, who got married at age 16, transformed herself from a submissive and oppressed young girl to an influential woman in her family and circle of friends. She was able to move her ability to act and influence from the private sphere to the public space because of her perseverance. She made the decision to establish an "atypical" organization that devoted mostly to housewives in order to carry out this "emancipatory" initiative. In this organization, she takes a bottom-up approach; she welcomes the voiceless women, shows attention in their concerns, and keeps up with the routine of their lives. She has been able to assemble a strong human capital around her as

a result of her perseverance. This achievement has given her the support she needs to deal with the resistance of a society that is neither very liberal nor even conservative. Jamila serves as an example of a bold person who, despite having limited resources, dared to set very lofty ambitions. And she was successful!

Another influential woman fits the description of a bold leader. This is Khadija Ghanmi (Menzel Bourguiba - Bizerte), the president of the association of women artisans. Khadija was able to elevate herself to a position of influence despite being from an influential neighborhood in the Bizerte governorate (Joumine) by improving her own life as well as the lives of her family and neighbors. She says this about her endeavors:

> *"I am always available to help those around me; I prepare the cakes and the spices, and I assist the neighbors with minor repairs. As long as I have the strength, I work. By doing so, I make myself useful to those around me, fill my time, and obey God. I also work because I am interested in the association. I am not the sort to talk to women while I am sitting down. One of my neighbors is completely illiterate, and despite my best efforts, she refused to learn to read or pick up a skill when there was an adult literacy program. I tried my best to get her enrolled with some of my neighbors."*

These distinct profiles are distinguished by their determination. These women possess an uncommon will that drives them to take on tasks that initially appear to be well above their means, yet they persist and overcome the challenge. These women are impressive in that the researcher must inquire about the actor's personal attributes in order to examine them. The word "to dare" has meaning when there is a distance between the point of departure (the means used) and the point of arrival (the outcomes). This distance allows the person to project herself far into the social sphere.

1.3 Legendary leadership

This style of leadership, which is rooted in a more or less distant past, places legendary characters in our path who have been imprinted on our collective memory. It is difficult to distinguish between historical truths and fictitious creations since these female figures are constructed from a fundamental historical core around which the popular imagination has spun tales and adventures. They are significant because they challenge the contemporary male-dominated system by imposing themselves as defiant figures in a violent past that imprisons women to silence. Sayyada (Focus Group Sahel - Tunisia), Jamila Doujani (Focus Group Jarash - Jordan), and Aisha Kandicha are three female role models that come to

mind (all Focus Groups in Morocco). Participants at the Madaba Focus Group mentioned another renowned female figure. This is Zarquaa el Yamama. She has blue eyes and great intuition, which enables her to foresee events before they occur.

Sayyada is portrayed as the founder of the city bearing her name (in the Tunisian Sahel). Jamila Doujani is described as a woman of extraordinary strength; she would have had weapons on her and would have slain any hyenas she came across on her own. She is credited with having the audacity to travel by herself without fear. Given how much she differed from the typical perception of women at the time, she was referred to as "sister of men," another way of adapting her personality to the male paradigm.

Aisha Kandicha is a mythical character. She resembles both a mythological fairy and an ogress. She haunts deserted places in search of wandering men. "She is characterized as a ghost that appears to be female or inhabits the bodies of some women. The myth has the particularity to vary according to the regions of Morocco. In the south, Aïsha Kandisha takes on the appearance of a goat with long udders and pretty female legs to seduce men and drive them crazy. She assumes the look of a stunning woman with camel legs in the north. Untold numbers of musicians have been influenced by this mythology."[135]

Independent of their historical accuracy, these legendary figures have the unique ability to trace the contours of a feminine ideal, which, thanks to the narrative, preserves what the men of the past would have preferred to view as a feminine ideal. To transgress, to impress, to frighten... it is to dream to see the woman displace the definitions (of the strong, the weak, the beautiful, the ugly, the possible and the impossible) that the men imposed.

1.4 Controversial leadership

This kind of leadership concerns women who are "formally" recognized as leaders (parliamentarians, board members, entrepreneurs, association presidents, and others), but whose power of influence is not acknowledged, or even deemed illegitimate, by people around them. In all three countries, names of controversial women leaders were identified. These women are denied recognition because, in the opinion of their critics, they are acting selfishly, abusing their status, failing to serve their community, and wielding undisclosed sources of power (patronage, favoritism, etc.). Three women were named in Tunisia: the first in the economic field, the second in the economic-political field, and the third in the political field. A female leader in the associative field has generated controversy in Jordan. A few

---

[135] https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/A%C3%AFsha_Kandisha#L%C3%A9gende

female healers and a woman in a decision-making role who represented local officials in one of the observation sites in Morocco have drawn criticism.

They are in fact women who, pragmatically speaking, complete their tasks and succeed in their purpose, but who fall short of obtaining the consensus that would allow them to be recognized as influential women in their community.

The latter's reputation is de-mystified by this style of leadership. In a sense, the leader is devoid of the traits that draw the group to him. This kind of leadership is on the individual and their accomplishments without the allure that attracts others. Being successful is a prerequisite for leadership, but it is not sufficient.

To keep the group's perception of the leader intact, there must be three things: that a leader possesses while being at the group's service: having an influence project that the group wants, being attentive while showing concern, and carrying out a unifying role. Regardless of its worth, a responsibility, project, or activity that has no bearing on the group may inspire admiration or envy, but its originator has not shared the group's development. The leader must, whether intentionally or unintentionally, have an influence project. To do this, he must be attentive to those around him and show concern for them because they are the ones who will identify him as a leader. Finally, the leader needs to play a unifying role because every group is diverse, including competing parties, with diverse impulses, and sometimes even conflicts. He is the one who acts justly to give weight to all the parties since, in order to be seen as a leader, he must rise above the strife and put an end to the disputes.

The group's interests are jeopardized by unpopular leadership. He is the one who adopts a stance, supports some people at the expense of others, and aligns himself politically, rendering his legitimacy tainted. Here, the idea of leadership is called into question. Similar to a hero, a leader requires recognition in the mirror of otherness. In this type of leadership, we can see the conflict between models of success and norms of legitimacy and recognition.

2. Women's transformative leadership with a nomothetic character

Other forms of female leadership, including opinion (persuasive) leadership, altruistic leadership, and symbolic leadership, are discussed in the second logic, which is based on the nomothetic component.

2. 1. Opinion (persuasive) leadership

Influential women, or opinion leaders, are people who are able to shift views and mentalities in a variety of contexts, including politics, religion, and education. There are various profiles of female opinion leaders that vary according to the context. Hanaya Nahhas (Madaba, Jordan), who has founded a number of associations in the field of women's empowerment and development, is one example. According to one of the Focus Group participants:

> *"I was never persuaded that a woman could do anything helpful outside of the kitchen at home! But after I signed up with Mrs. Hanaya Nahhas, she was able to persuade us through her lectures about the significance of women's roles, so we established the network "You are Change" and women's committees in all of Madaba's villages. I now wish that women would be successful in obtaining leadership positions."*

In Karak (Jordan), Taqwa Baccouch, a journalist and media manager, was also put forward. She also conducts interviews expertly and intelligently.

Hoda Al-Atoum is a female Islamic activist and preacher. She has an impact on those in her entourage (Jarash).

Several influential women in Morocco have been recognized as opinion leaders. We can use Latifa Boumzough (Essaouira), president of the association of plastic artists for more than ten years, and the president of the Sufi musical heritage as examples; Khadija al Idrissi (Ben Guerir), a woman activist in the field of human rights and president of the association Echourouk; and Aicha Choqrmani (Marrakech), educator and director of a preschool education institution, president of an association that works on the development of basic education and the cell of women victims of violence.

Many of the opinion leaders in Tunisia are women from the many places that have been visited. One such person is Sihem Ghodhban (Ras Jebel - Bizerte), a very active member of civil society who serves as vice president of the Koranic Association (a branch of the National League of the Holy Koran), a member of Ras Jebel's regional development committee, and a member of the National League of the Holy Koran. She mentioned one of the actions she undertook to resolve an economic issue in her city by serving as a mediator:

> *"The company was on the verge of closing because of a major crisis! The workers wanted pay raises, but the negotiations broke*

down, and 1500 people might be left without resources. It was a very severe issue that was going to spark riots in the city. I don't know why the delegate thought of me, but I think he knew that my word is listened to and that I didn't pretend to have money or a status or anything! The negotiations were between the UGTT, the civil society, and the boss. The delegate called me to attend the negotiations in the hopes that I would be the way to the solution. He is aware of my influence since, ever since I took part in the protest (during the revolution), I have been well-known. Thanks to God, both the businessman and the workers were able to regain their rights and resume work. I value the calm, dialog-based attitude that has always distinguished Ras Jebel."

Opinion leaders from Menzel Bourguiba (Bizerte) include two more women. The first is Sada Hamdi, a French teacher who has left her mark on a number of students at the mixed high school by her personal traits, her moral convictions, and her involvement in local issues. She is involved in civil society and helped bring back the cinema club, which is crucial to the intellectual and cultural development of city residents, particularly youth. The second is Sofia Znati, a member of the municipal council, a women activist, and a university professor of French literature and civilization. She has a power of influence in her different spheres of action. She describes her experience in the associative field as follows:

"The Association of the reconstitution of the culture of citizenship is an association founded with Ms. Hamdi and other Menzel Bourguiba actors. This association was established after the revolution because, curiously, we discovered that everything was burned during the revolution's events, including the municipality, police stations, the delegation, etc. We questioned ourselves, 'Why,' as nothing was spared and merely because no Menzli citizen was involved. We spent a lot of time working on the regulations, the law, citizenship, etc. with the citizens in Menzel Bourguiba. We realized that many of our young people were unaware of the country, so I took it upon myself to organize monthly tours for a group of young people to an archaeological site in Tunisia, where they saw practically all of the country's sites. I also brought a specialist and historian to the site, and it was there that they first learned that Tunisia had Romans, Carthaginians, and other people, there were not only Arabs and Muslims."

Regarding academia, she says:

"For instance, to discuss the headscarf, I take Montesquieu's work on 'fashion,' then I pose the ostensibly innocent question, "Do you believe that the headscarf is a fashion or that it responds to a religious commandment,' and there you have it! I listened to what they had to say before jumping in to moderate the conversations and direct them because I had already planned my lesson; I gave them this verse, that counterargument, etc. Despite their skepticism, some girls choose to wear the veil because their entire family does so. However, one such girl betrayed her entire family by removing the veil; as a result, her brother came to the university to beat her. It was the girls who stood up for her in this touching tale, and they even offered to take her in. They said to her: 'you take responsibility, you made your choice, your family kicked you out, you're welcome!' She endured suffering despite being in her first year of a master's degree this year and having her cell phone and computer broken by her father, but the girls were very supportive of her."

We might also cite another influential figure from Sfax. Basma Omezzine, an influential woman, describes her journey by saying:

"I have a master's in management, a bookstore, I've resumed my studies at the university, I'm in my third year of law school, and I'm active in civil society. A little before the revolution and after, whether nationally or locally, I ran for election as head of the list of the party Union for Tunisia. But the degradation of the political atmosphere has led me to abandon (my election campaign), as I no longer evolve, and I resumed the associative work within the faculty of law where the elite of future is born. When I arrived at the faculty, I was stunned by seeing the state of mind of the young people who are marginalized and disinterested in public affairs, so I resumed the activity. I decided to act I estimate that I realized 80% of what I wanted to do, I created a club, the Club of the 7 Arts. The issue is that I discovered young people fighting over ideologies and refusing to greet women. The issue was that I encountered ideological disputes, young people who refused to shake the hands of women, tensions, and intolerance. I eventually managed to include 63 young people in the club for all the theater, music, etc. activities. I am a role model for them, and they have begun to follow me in civil society activities. I think I was successful in bringing the civil society into the university because

it is important to maintain continuity between generations because, regrettably, those who were active in the civil society ended up as prisoners of their own closed universes. We participate in our own activities behind closed doors. When I occasionally chat to them about certain occasions, like the Bardo sit-in, they are clueless and frequently enquire about their whereabouts. I made an effort to engage them to some events. We organized activities that I am particularly proud of, such as those on the Palestinian cause on the Day of Peace to demonstrate to them that the conflict is not between Muslims and non-Muslims but has other dimensions. We also organized an activity to invite those who had attended the Faculty of Law for 30 years, which we called Lemet'na (our reunion), which included senior officials, judges, lawyers, and other professionals of various generations from across the nation and different walks of life. The message is to affirm our ability to stay united! The second message is to point out that there are people in the room with degrees and jobs who can challenge those who spread hopelessness and disillusionment. The third activity, dubbed Mouja (Wave), focuses on mothers and children and promotes social peace. We've addressed issues like stigmatization and terrorism through plays and the screening of a movie on a single mother, and we've had high school children as guests."

These influential women have influenced generations of both men and women, and they have the ability to influence those around them through the skills of argumentation and persuasion.

2. 2. Altruistic leadership

Typically, the actions of an altruistic leader are motivated by principles like care, generosity, and compassion. The followers are thought to be at the leader's disposal, and the leader is seen as serving the followers, not as a means to an end. This notion is contested by proponents of "psychological egoism," who believe that serving others is always motivated by serving oneself. Disinterested altruism still has supporters, nevertheless. For them, there are always individuals who live a life of steadfast self-giving and find fulfillment in helping others. The actors participating in altruistic leadership, in our opinion, have "ultimate aspirations towards others as well as towards themselves" and are driven by a variety of motivations. According to this viewpoint, "the pursuit of some form of personal happiness or reward is not incompatible with the desire for the welfare of others. Many of the women who were shortlisted in the three countries are suitable for this kind of leadership. These many female figures share a number of traits.

First of all, the majority of them are adamant that they are closer to males than to women and that they must act "like men" in order to assert themselves in a society that is hostile to the existence of women. The statements made by a few of the women interviewed support this:

"'Most of my schoolmates are boys [...].' Due to the fact that I have always preferred bloody, violent, and war-themed video games, I am startled to find the others playing with leaves and ribbons (laughs) I enjoy playing video games for guys with my siblings, and I was one of the first to own a Playstation, my mother tells me: here is the fifth Azri! (Nessima Hammami[136] (works with autistic children, Redeyef - Tunisia)."

"Women here in these places have all the same preoccupations and concerns, however with men it is different. Although I may have more relationships with guys, I appreciate the contrast and the diversity I discover more with men. (Morocco: Sada Faridi, Sidi Daoud, Tahennaouet)."[137]

"I had to act like 'a man' in my relationships with men since my line of work requires that I behave like men, and my strong personality and character define me as a man. I have to act like a male in order to interact with men because society views women as little twisted ribs." (Sihem Taamiri, Jordan's Madaba)[138]

These women are involved in associative work in various fields: the disabled (Sihem Taamiri, Nessima Hammami, Saida Faridi), people with special needs (Sana Daamsa), children in difficulty (Rahma Rekik), women victims of violence, income-generating activities (Khadija Ghanmi, Fedhia Mayaa), and illiterate women among other things.

Several women are involved with the scouts (Fafani Ksiaa Jerbi, Nessima Hammami, Raghda Zawaida...), which has developed in them a sense of responsibility,

---

[136] Nassima Hammami is a mental health educator who also works with autistic children. She is also the secretary general of the international organization of young guides, a Tunisian scout guide, a member of the city council and the chair of the committee on social affairs. She is also a member of the Association Achbal Alghad in Rdayf.

[137] Saida Faridi, a 45-year-old teacher and president of the association for the rehabilitation of rural women, completed her primary education in a rural area in the 1980s. After earning her baccalaureate degree, she attended the university in Marrakech where she studied Arabic literature for two years. She was the only person to attend school in her douar, Sidi Daoud

[138] Sihem Taamairi is the president of an association dedicated to autistic people (bacha'ir ennour), she has been active in the Palestinian Women's Union, in charge of the Center for Women's Programs in the Madaba camp and works with the Association of Churches for Refugee Aid, in addition to the Injaz Association.

commitment, self-sacrifice. They are also characterized by a great generosity within their families. They have the ability to mobilize their personal networks to bring help to others.

They stand up for a number of principles, including trust, listening, patience, determination, curiosity, activism, credibility, challenge, sharing, and sociability.

The emergence of altruistic women leaders has been influenced by a number of variables, but the most frequent of these is a family experience that gave rise to their desire to serve and give themselves to others. Examples of such experiences include having a disabled child, losing a spouse, or experiencing financial or material hardships. A family member who they view as a leader has also influenced a several women. The question is: What sets these female leaders apart from other members of the family?

Here is the question Rahma Rekik asks in response.

> *"Is the impact of your mother and grandmother apparent on your sisters and brothers as well?*
>
> *"They are all, indeed! With the exception of the fact that I pursued it as a career or professional vocation, they regularly take part in activities and events, are accessible to others, but they do not have a permanent activity; instead, they have their own lives and concerns, which is different from my case."*

It turns out that the influential woman needs to make her devotion a "career" and make it last in order to have her status as a leader recognized by the people in the community. It is in this that she would be able to escape the mundane.

2.3 Symbol / religious leadership

This kind of leadership is consistent with the characteristics of women who have accumulated symbolic capital, which, according to Pierre Bourdieu, "refers to the accumulation of prestige and honors." It is a status that is appropriate for female heroes, including activists, saints, and political rivals.

Thus, Thérèse Halsa, Alia Dhammour, and Machkhas Majeli were proudly designated this way in Jordan. Names like Zeineb Nefzaouia, Kenza al-Awrabya, and Aicha Bahria were frequently cited in the Focus Group in connection to Morocco. Women like Meriem Dridi, Aziza Othmana, Om Ezzine Ejjamalia, and Saïda Ajoula, and others were listed as women religious leaders in Tunisia.

These are women who, in addition to having a remarkable talent for initiative and action, have developed a capital of belief in others around them that sets them apart from "conventional leadership." It is not very difficult to grasp the selflessness of their actions, as they are oriented towards giving, with little concern for the recipient and even less for counter-giving. People close to them have a tendency to interpret their lives and their route via lenses other than the ones used by opinion leaders or other people. Their image is infused with a certain sanctity that isn't necessarily religious in nature. Whether or not the character maintains this aura, it is frequently reinforced by those around them as though it met some inexplicable need. Perhaps it is a human urge to avoid disenchantment and to demystify the unconventional, unique, and inimitable.

non discrimination
Autonomisation
Amélioration
Leadership
Transformatif
Changement
Participation
égalité
Femmes dans les postes de décision
Femmes = Hommes
égalité

المساواة
التغييرية
التمكين
التغيير
الريادة
القيادة التغييرية

non discrimination
Autonomisation
Amélioration
Leadership
Transformatif
Changement
Participation
égalité
Femmes dans les postes de décision

المساواة
التمكين
التغيير
الريادة

Portraits of influential women

In this part, we present four portraits of influential women (based on interviews with the women concerned who were designated by their entourage). They were selected taking into account the diversity in terms of country of origin and generations. Thus, we have Khetma Taraouna, a Jordanian woman who passed away in March 2019 at the age of 90; Fatiha Idmoulid, a young Moroccan woman of 24 from a disadvantaged area: Basma Omezzine, a Tunisian woman in her forties from the region of Sfax; and Sofia Znati, a 61-year-old woman from the region of Menzel Bourguiba.

Fatiha Idmoulid (Smimou – Essaouira - Morocco)

Fatiha is the fourth of seven children, four girls and three boys, who come from a somewhat low-income household. A few miles away from Smimou lies her village of origin. Her father hardly had enough money to meet their basic needs. Despite the fact that she went to school, none of her siblings were successful in their academic endeavors. She was the only one who managed to complete the basic and secondary education systems and pursue her academic studies in Agadir.

She claims that lack of motivation, particularly a lack of aspirations, seems to be another factor that contributes to early school dropout among youngsters in the village. She alludes to this unknown glimmer of ambition that broadened her horizons beyond the confines of her small community. She exclaims with pride that she has the desire to succeed in her studies from a young age. She was the first to undertake such an achievement, and she was driven by the desire to leave the village and succeed academically like the other girls in the metropolis. She had to go to Smimou for secondary education, which would not have been feasible without the kindness of her maternal uncle, married and father of three boys. She was welcomed into his Smimou home and treated as his daughter. She was able to rely on her mother's psychological support and her elder brother's financial support throughout high school and college, which helped her father, who, according to her, merely wanted to be relieved of the financial burden, to adopt a more positive attitude. Later, he grew proud of his daughter as he saw her flourish and advance at university.

She developed a love for organizations, associations, and teamwork at the age of 15. She participated in theater, environmental clubs, and an organization whose president was her own instructor while she was in high school. She joined out of enthusiasm, not as a stopover for a fleeting activity. Her capacity to supervise youngsters, oversee the planning of events, and manage preparations draws the attention of everyone around her.

She studied English language and literature at the university and founded an association there, which was difficult because associative work was often done by men. Female students needed to be encouraged to engage. She had to work as a private teacher for young pupils at the same time to assist her uncle in paying the rent. She was able to mentor these young children and expose them to club activities in their neighborhood. She claimed that whether she was speaking to the professors or these young students, she concentrated on the girls and urged them to push beyond their boundaries, have self-confidence, and take the initiative in the future. They get the chance to temporarily escape the social confines of their retinue and live in a group thanks to the numerous arranged outings. Their eyes were opened to new possibilities as they learn about the nation's diverse areas.

She is aware that the primary barrier is the overarching attitude of rural communities in resisting change. Interactions and relationships between men and women are greatly influenced by a long-standing custom. Fatiha opted against using a frontal approach at this point. It was crucial to gain confidence and raise her spirits. She was reliant on her own success as her only resource. A specific image—that of a young girl from a rural background getting on the path to success—has established herself as a role model in Smimou as adults, parents, girls, and boys became aware of Fatiha's academic achievement and the positive resonance of her activities generating in other places. Gender equality, emancipation and personal initiative is the horizon of Fatiha's action, let's listen to her words:

> *"By spreading our ideas!!! I want to see the largest possible number of girls emancipate themselves and reach decision-making positions! Why not, because there is a difference between a woman who could stand on her own merits on the way to success and those who rely on nepotism, the first one will be more capable of influencing, which is not guaranteed for the second one."*

As a result of the young Fatiha's involvement in associative work, a dynamic has emerged since she began to propagate the novel concepts that she holds dear. She has, for instance, been successful in focusing young people's attention on a fresh issue that encourages them to mobilize for their own community by contrasting it with what is unfolding elsewhere:

> *"When the girls saw me engaged elsewhere and the parents saw my endeavors,"* she says, *"girls and boys grew more outspoken telling me to act for our region, they told me they want to know and be known beyond the region in which they live. I reassured the parents so they wouldn't worry about their daughters. I talk to them about the need for action, I give them ideas, I mobilize them on Facebook, I opened the way for other girls to leave the region and pursue their studies, I particularly helped the youngest among them who have done so, and I'm happy about that."*

According to Fatiha, parents in particular should play some sort of role in the effort to emancipate young girls. She so voiced her desire to see associative work in this age group. The chosen technique is far from "aggressive," as it is based on a particular pedagogy that specifically addresses the young girls' entourage, including their parents and siblings. There are many challenges, and illiteracy simply makes things worse.

"I had to communicate with them in a way that reflected their attitude, in addition to serving as a role model who gave them moral, social, and career assurance so that the girls would take me as a role model."

She uses an incident to illustrate the significance of her stature among adults and the necessity of upholding her reputation. Once, while she was in Agadir, the local association planned a trip. Against all odds, men made up the majority of the participants who registered. When the parents refused to register their daughters, the organizers called her to find out why. As soon as she got back to her area, she inquired with the families to find out exactly what caused this resistance, and the answer was that as long as Fatiha did not take part, no parent would feel comfortable letting their daughter go on a trip. When she informed them that she intended to go, there were more girls than boys on the trip's registration list.

She is of the opinion that deeper improvements can be visible over time because of community work, the dissemination of fresh ideas in the area via Facebook: Girls who marry at a young age are becoming less common as more girls are excelling at school and pursuing their studies at high school or even at the university. When they get married, they are typically 20 years old or perhaps a little older. Many girls now openly and without any excessive embarrassment express their desire to put off marriage for a few more years in order to give priority to their education and careers.

Since Fatiha is aware of the positive reputation of her work, local and regional administration officials are not unwilling to provide her assistance when necessary. She is also alert to the development of her activity and follows Facebook comments from people. Fatiha has no doubts about the effectiveness of her efforts, which will eventually win the approval of both adults and children. She frequently uses her father as an example, who transformed from complete apathy while she was a student to passion and delight in his daughter's accomplishments. This choice has precedent in Fatiha's family; her paternal grandmother serves as an illustration. She had worked incredibly hard as a young woman to raise her children after her husband passed away. She would ride a donkey out at night in men's clothing to sell products and provide for her family. To ensure that her children received their fair portion of their late father's estate, she confronted her in-law brothers. Despite not being literate, she was the one who persuaded Fatiha to leave the village and continue her education.

Of course, the young Fatiha has goals and plans. She has attended conferences and seminars in Agadir, Casablanca, Marrakech, and other Moroccan cities, and she is keen to learn about the experiences of Maghreb and Arab women.

She intends to start a private school as a personal endeavor, with the curriculum being focused on utilizing the area's natural resources, primarily the argan, a medicinal plant that thrives there. She wants to provide the knowledge necessary for women and girls who haven't had the chance to finish their education to train in this field and land a job that that would allow them to earn a living.

Although Fatiha is still only 24 years old, her personal journey, resources, influence, and objectives enable us to recognize that she is, in the words of one of her high school philosophy teachers, "a project that will succeed!"

Besma Omezzine (Sfax – Tunisia)

Besma Omezzine is almost fifty years old, the wife of a university professor, and the mother of two young students. After the revolution, she became active in political and civic engagement by mobilizing quite personal values and resources.

Nothing in her immediate environment—coming from a Sahel family—predisposed her to an interest in politics. She attended management school in Sfax after receiving her high school diploma in 1991. She spent a year working in an industrial company in Tunis after graduating.

She was introduced to the topics of commitment by the young left-wing teacher who was the spouse of her sister. For years, she followed him to see films by committed authors in clubs and at the university. Hence, she was introduced to the commitment culture and to public affairs. At the time, Ben Ali's regime banned all free expression, particularly on college campuses. The main characteristics of her personality as a devoted woman were already established when she married her husband, a leftist scholar who was a member of the Tunisian League of Human Rights.

She leans toward the left-wing ideologies that were articulated in the political and cultural circles of the Tunisian elite in earlier decades because she was raised with secular and modernist principles. She has always refrained from partisan involvement, choosing to become politically active only when the subject involves the model of society, secular principles, despite the fact that her husband's entourage has a marked tendency towards political action. Following the revolution, she rallied all the modernist forces to combat the powerful Salafist movements that posed a severe threat to the political, social, and other balancing foundations of the nation. She concurred with the others in feeling that the Tunisian social structure, which had been long-time protected from any risk, was now in grave jeopardy. Then came the terrorist attacks and political assassinations, which caused the country to become unstable. At this point, Besma withdrew from her entourage's political activity after the first elections' unfavorable results for left-wing parties.

She was able to develop a certain reputation for commitment throughout these years, 2011–2013, by attending every demonstration. She stood up against people who pose a danger to her beliefs in Tunis, where important events draw large crowds, and in Sfax. Despite being convinced of its value, she felt somewhat disenchanted with politics. She had placed her bet on the unification of modernist forces, but when she saw that they were split up because each faction wanted to lead a coalition, she became dismayed and focused her attention farther afield.

Her return to the university to enroll in law school was a significant turning point. Spending time with students opened her eyes to a reality that was unlike anything she could have imagined when she was a student in the early1990s. She was surrounded by students who were oblivious of the unrest raging throughout the nation at the time. She expressed shock at the cultural wasteland and had little interest in associative or other cultural work. She then made the decision to start the Club des 7 Arts, an association within the university that involved cinema, dance, theater, and other arts. Her unique status as an older student who, by qualification, belonged to the elder generation made it simpler for her to be among the young people who opened the university's doors to civil society. She served as a bridge between students and professors since there is a gap between them and the older generation, who are stuck in the norms of their former classmates, is unable to find ways to interact with the younger generation outside of the classroom setting.

There was a dynamic produced around her by the club, the arts, the movies, the plays, and other activities. Girls and boys alike flocked to it, the number increased, and the clubs took part in regional, national, and worldwide competitions.

Embarking on such a journey at university, civil society is not always welcomed. Young boys and girls affected by the Salafist ideology resist her and exhibit reactions from a different era to the shows she organizes with the clubs as the negative phenomena brought on by the post-revolutionary climate burst around her at the faculty. She stands her ground and rallies the youth in her area not to succumb to the "obscurantist movement."

Her role in all of these activities is discreetly measured; it is to organize, assist, set up the initial steps, and ensure the dissemination; in other words, she never stifles young people's enthusiasm.

This is not only a community college activity. She plans events that invite NGOs, associations, and other organizations to create connections between young people and civic engagement. Her actions, which have been shared on social media, allowed her to haphazardly win the respect and appreciation of many people, both young and elderly, at the university and in the associative circles, as well as in other locations where her activities were observed from a distance. She was therefore taken aback when she later found that her neighborhood's customers at the bookstore, she manages were attentively monitoring her actions.

She gained notoriety in Sfax during the post-revolutionary years due to the picture of a cheerful woman carrying the Tunisian flag on her shoulders. Her active participation in the demonstrations gave her a high level of visibility.

In Sfax as well as Tunis, the media have invited her to talk on hot-button topics such as political assassinations, Salafism, equality in inheritance between men and women, and violence against women. ... Conquered by her charm and the sincerity of her speech, some journalists, who have professed their appreciation, expressed their admiration. She has frequently been informed in all the communities where she participates that her dedication and her speech, set her apart from the cardboard-cutout media figures who are viewed with boredom, indifference, and even rejection. She gets feedback complimenting her communication style and her Facebook case-by-case explanations.

> *"I have an English teacher who claims that she even reads the comments and my responses in order to understand certain contentious topics, for instance during the case on equality in inheritance, I took summaries to share them because I discovered that there were people who did not understand what it was about. And this has a positive effect because people like to see the brief summaries in order to have an idea, they tell me that they do not have time to see more, they prefer simple things in Arabic dialect."*

She keeps up with everything that occurs in Sfax and is mindful of all of the comments. She occasionally notices the silent presence of thousands of individuals who follow her remarks on Facebook, which she refers to as a "echo chamber."

> *"I occasionally come across people who engage me in conversation about the things I share; just now, a woman who lives nearby the bookstore informed me that she knew me well and had read what I had shared. It touched me. There are women who meet me, and one of them tells me that it was because of what I previously said that she had the courage to join an organization. Another asks for my opinion on a different organization. Additionally, I believe that my influence is evident in what I share. When the mood is generally depressing, I do not hesitate to say things that inspire hope."*

Besma is an influential figure in that she has developed a reputation off the beaten track and away from stereotypical speeches. She has attended political gatherings, but she quickly realized that they would lead nowhere, so she cut ties with them in order to advocate for the issues of the day from a different platform and in a different speech. She has strong beliefs and convictions that she protects while being open to people who oppose violence and obscurantism. Her earnestness is apparent, yet she does not display naivety or simplism as she defends modernity's principles without resorting to violence or ideological antagonism. She has a solid knowledge base from her legal education, which she uses to develop her discourse.

Her daughter was not unaffected by this description; from an early age, she inherited her mother's traits. Her love of the English language made it much easier for her to attend NGOs-related organizations. She is her mother's friend, and the two of them talk about everything and exchange information about various activities. This demonstrates Besma's achievement in her capacity as a generational bridge. It is crucial for her to complete this task successfully in order for us to refer to her as a leader.

Photos posted on the Facebook page of our interviewer.

https://www.facebook.com/besma.omezine

https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1945137782220966&set=pob.100001742897605

https://www.facebookcom/photo?fbid=1945137782220966&set=pob.100001742897605t=pob.100001742897605

https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1945137782220966&set=pob.100001742897605

118

Hajja Khetma Taraouna (Karak - Jordan)

The memory of Hajja Khetma, a lady who is now deceased, is one that permeates not only Karak but also several other regions. Although she was well-known in the public eye, she was also very much present in other people's personal lives. This is the main factor in the importance of Karak to its inhabitants. She never had children and was twice widowed. She persuaded her second husband to take a second wife (Jordan allows polygamy). This woman, who gave birth to five children, passed away while giving birth to her last child. Khetma had a huge responsibility as an adoptive mother, especially in light of her husband's sudden passing. She devoted herself for decades to feeding them, raising them, watching over them, and supporting them in their professional and personal life choices. Her children claim now that they never had a mother other than her. They are currently in good standing in the government and living fulfilling lives. Hajja Khetma was left with seven children to care for when one of "her" sons and his wife died in a fire. Today's young men and women who are the grandchildren appreciate the priceless debt that their "grandmother" owed them for the years that they spent growing up, studying, and working.

Because of this, Khetma's parents were notables from a different neighborhood, which explains why Karak officials respected her. She chose to take care of her husband's children, who were young and destitute, instead of moving back to her parents' house after her husband's passing. She eventually purchased land for "her" children as their sole family asset with the small inheritance she inherited from her father. To feed them, she had to labor arduously in the fields. They all recall the years when mother struggled to provide for children, knocking on the doors of teachers to offer them private lessons while bartering with them for valuables like eggs and chicks because she didn't have any money. One of "her" sons brings up with emotion the memories of a cold winter night when she gave him her part of the blanket to give him extra warmth.

The character traits of the person are consistent across the testimonies. Intelligent, with awakened senses, she is skilled at both negotiating current affairs and managing everyday concerns. She is strong-willed and inspires respect rather than fear. She was illiterate when she was younger, but she made up for it by taking adult literacy lessons and learning to read and write. This hasn't stopped her from learning about how business and government operate, from keeping up with political news, or from participating in elections and conversations. She can sing and recite by heart melodies and poems that support the Palestinian cause. She was a member of the original Occupation generation, and therefore she still had a strong sense of patriotism. She was respected by those who knew her for her moral character and her willingness to speak up for what she believed to be true and right. She has natural communication skills thanks to her extensive public life

experience. Men and women listen to her because they appreciate and admire the relevance of what she says when she speaks with ease on the bus or in meetings.

She is a friend, a mother, and a "grandmother," and she has a lot of energy, so she can commit herself to all of her family members. She rushes to support the young man who fails an exam and to encourage him so that he can better prepare himself for the next success; everyone admired her support to one of the wives of "her" grandsons who had no children after years of marriage; she helped her by selling her own jewels, to pay for her university studies. She also rushes to support young mothers, wives of "her" children and "her" grandchildren who give birth and takes care of them during the first weeks. Khetma promised to get the young woman a job when she graduated. She is also aware of the grades, promotions, and job market competitions. She kept a close eye on how "her" children's careers developed.

All of her entourage has come to trust her because of her know-how and keen sense of justice, which has no regard for gender or age. Young single people in children's or later "her grandchildren's" lives tolerate and even trust her with handling their paychecks. She was setting money down so they could pay for their wedding.

Some witnesses provide more heartfelt examples. When she was traveling to the capital, one of her relatives informed her that he had left one of "her" grandsons crying because he wanted to travel with them to see Amman, which he had never seen. She had to travel 60 kilometers back to collect the young child so she could take him with her since she could no longer endure his frustration.

The witnesses make useless attempts to convey the allure, the strength, and the mild control that she wields over them, to the point when they submit to her willfully and without the slightest discomfort. Although she surmises that she did not accept them returning home late at night when they lived with her, and they never dare to smoke in her presence.

The police chief, the mosque's imam, the mayor, the school administrators, and the instructors all know her and heed her counsel out of respect for her well-considered opinions and not out of a desire to appease her. Everyone was aware that the candidate she backed would undoubtedly win the local election.

Her friends, neighbors, own family, and relatives all comment on the effort she puts forth to check in on them despite her advanced age. She exudes excitement when she is invited to someone's home and immediately learns about their health, the academic performance of their children, etc. Everyone feels under her control and charm as she lends her assistance, consoles, and inspires them.

No one is unaffected by her reputation as a woman who has a tremendous ability to connect with children, adults, relatives, and leaders in order to gain their confidence and respect. She has been able to avoid the conflicts and tensions that permeate the various relationships in her life because of her genuineness, lack of interest in accolades and money, and commitment to serving others. She could have moved in with her famous and honored siblings and parents, but she decided to live in poverty, helping orphans and sacrificing herself to the point that she was unable to stand their misery.

One of "her" grandsons lost his battle with cancer and passed away. She had helped him through his illness for several months, traveled with him to Amman for his chemotherapy treatments, cared for him day and night till his passing, and wept for him even though she was rarely seen crying.

One member of her family who was raised in a traditional culture and was accustomed to declining the "masculine" positive traits like generosity and rigor and spontaneity had an interesting description of Khetma. This relative compared her to a man because of this mysterious synthesis of human strength and weakness, generosity and rigor, organization, and spontaneity. She was an influential figure who challenged the conventional definitions and social portraits. She readily mixed in with male social circles without losing sight of the intimacy of families and the minor concerns of women's and children's everyday lives. She conquered the streets and the homes.

Interviews with her family members revealed that her funeral was attended by 6,000 people. This created unanimity that honors the journey of a woman who excelled in everything and made the decision to lay down her life for others.

https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=10157209290400979&id=301561125978&p=60

Sofia Znati (Menzel Bourguiba - Tunisia)

"When I am in a flooded region, I'm not going to think about their identities; they are all citizens."

It takes several attributes to portray this woman whose name is associated with the city of Menzel Bourguiba. Since the 1970s, her work has spanned the whole history of the city. She is currently a professor of French at the University of Humanities and Social Sciences of Tunis, and she continues to put her energy and talents to use in her hometown of Menzel Bourguiba in a variety of artistic and cultural endeavors.

Speaking of Sofia would be impossible without mentioning her family, particularly her father and her paternal grandmother. She owes them a lot, almost everything that predisposed her to become what she is today. Sofia's family heritage, which dates back to the first half of the last century and a long history of self-sacrifice and service to others, is undoubtedly one reason she is such an influential woman today.

Her grandmother was raised in Menzel Bourguiba, which was then known as Ferry-ville, after leaving her husband—an unusual audacity in the context of 1920s culture—to tend to his olive grove in Monastir, where she was born at the end of the nineteenth century. She had three children, the youngest of whom was Sofia Fradj's father who was born around 1907. Sofia's grandmother worked as a midwife while donning the *sefsari* and driving around in a vehicle, a favor granted to her by colonial authorities. She had a strong sense of patriotism and used her relationships with families to make them aware of the national   cause.

"She (my grandmother) received her training as a midwife from the French, who also gave her seal. Although they treated her with due respect, they kept an eye on her since she spread political propaganda inside households while performing her work. She therefore had a persona outside, but as soon as she enters the homes of the families, she adopts a new one. I once met a woman who claimed, 'It was your grandma who taught me what a flag was and what Tunisia was!'"

Sofia's grandmother later invited Bourguiba, who was a family acquaintance at the time, to establish the initial nucleus of the Destour party in the area along with her son Fradj. She gave herself extraordinary liberties, endangering both her life and Fradj's.

"Well, Bourguiba came to Menzel Bourguiba. Bourguiba's house is next to my grandfather's, so when Bourguiba came here, he met him, they are almost the same age, a few years apart, my grandmother introduced him to the Monasterians, and that's how they formed a political group and created the first cell of the Party and started to gather supporters. The first speech Bourguiba addressed was almost at home! The colonial gendarmes knew exactly where our hammam (bathhouse) was located! Bourguiba traveled by the way of Mateur rather than the Tunis route, and since my grandmother knew he was going to be detained, they pretended the political gathering was a circumcision ceremony by having ladies letting out 'youyou' cries and perform the darbouka (drumming) around a baby that was purportedly being circumcised. Everyone in Menzel Bourguiba remembers it, and when the gendarmes arrived, my father had a brief conversation with them, letting them know that the rumor about Bourguiba's visit was untrue. He explained to them that he had offered the neighbor's family the space to celebrate the circumcision. By the way, my grandmother was the first woman in the city to buy a car. She was a midwife with a stamp (holding a licence), as she said, so she took the car and drove outside the city with two guards to retrieve Bourguiba. She then gave him a sefsari and brought him back in the car in disguise."

She invited Bourguiba, who was a family acquaintance at the time, to establish the initial nucleus of the Destour party in the area along with her son Fradj. She gave herself extraordinary liberties, endangering both her life and Fradj's.

"He was married in 1938. He was one of the few Arabs permitted to cross the railroad since, in reality, he was a double agent. The colonial authorities found out about him and imprisoned him. This all occurred before the 1950s. He was imprisoned in Korbous, then in Zaarour, and I believe he was alongside Bourguiba in the Galite after they captured him one night wearing only a pair of shorts. My mother used to tell me that she only had time to put a burnous over his shoulders."

https://www.facebook.com/femmerevoltee

Sofia was one of Fradj's six boys and four girls who were born in the late 1950s. He was a diligent and moral man who taught his children morals through his everyday decisions and actions. Despite being illiterate, he worships education and helping others, much like all Sahelians do. Despite his friendship with Bourguiba prior to independence, he later withdrew from the 1960s' ambitions and voracious thirst for power.

"He is the most accomplished militant in Menzel Bourguiba, and he made no claims. He refused when we attempted to honor him with a tribute at the governorate because, in his opinion, he just served his country and nothing else: 'We chased the aggressor out of the country after much harm was done, and now it is up to us to continue our life!'"

Additionally, the majority of his children made the decision to uphold principles and ideologies that were opposed to Bourguiba, who is called the Father of the

Nation. As long as their actions were driven by conviction and a will that accepted responsibility for them, he had no objections to any of their choices.

Father instilled in his children a love of work and the benefits of independence very early on. Despite coming from a relatively comfortable household, the children had to work to pay for their school-related fees, whether it was in the father's modest business or the hammam.

Her mother played a significant role in creating this heritage of a devoted family as well. She unintentionally carried values (such as good management, reverence for knowledge, devotion, etc.) that would later prove crucial to Sofia's career.

.

> *"My mother gave him proof that she was one of the best ladies he could know in his life. My father did not know my mother when he married her; it was an arranged marriage, between relatives. She gave him 70 millimes the day after their wedding to start working on his project, and later, he purchased her a lot of jewelry in the Sahelian style. When he was ready to start building the* hammam *(bathhouse), she sold the jewelry he offered her. She sold the possessions she had in order to provide us with study materials; she was not demanding, she was obedient, she listened to what he said even if she didn't comply. When I asked my father for something, he would respond, 'Go ask your mother, do what she tells you!' I had always assumed that my mother was the one who ran the household. My father thought she was capable of handling the household, the family, and our schooling! He didn't question her about her time or finances when my brothers were away at school in Tunis; instead, she would make the meal in the morning, travel to Tunis, and then return immediately to take care of the* hammam. *So twisted Tliba, 'I want 200 DT for next week,' he would tease her when he spoke to her. She gave the money to him without asking him what he planned to do with it since she knew he trusted her, and she did too."*

The example of life that Sofia's parents provide for their children shows the influence of many different factors, including past political commitment, adherence to traditional values (such as solidarity, neighborliness, and others), and receptivity to "modern" practices (like going to the cinema, or to concerts).

> *"They went to the movies together, danced on Saturday nights, and he took her to an Oum Kalthoum concert. Because he never asked her for small change, she constantly improved. Except for France, my father traveled to several nations. Instead of France, he traveled to Italy! He*

would claim, with laughter, 'I did not chase them out of my nation just so that I could go and see them at home!'"

Sofia was able to produce the synthesis that enables us to classify her as an influential woman by inheriting this intangible family heritage and investing in various environments and activities.

"My father was influenced by his mother; he was always upright and correct. He worked constantly, doing three or four jobs a day, and no job made him feel afraid or repulsed. We don't let anything deter us either, so when the house needs to be painted again, we just have to do it—we can't say no! I am a teacher, so what! I've always had the mental picture of a father and mother that put in a lot of effort! That's the image I always keep in mind. When I was a student, I used to wake up to find my warm clothes ironed, which meant she had to get up an hour earlier to do it. I also used to find milk and bread on the little table because children ate on the smaller table while adults ate at the larger one. Perhaps we weren't aware of it at the time, but it's crucial to have a father who is always there to care for us before we head off to school and to be at the table when we return at 11 a.m. to eat our hot lunch. Your father won't eat until you're full."

At the *kutab*, the Koranic school, the sisters', and eventually the public elementary school, she stands out as a child for having a rebellious personality that does not put up with injustice. She imposes what she perceives to be common sense on the grownups around her.

"The Meddeb *told us to leave our shoes outside at the door still, but I refused because I was frightened (that) I might have lost them. I insisted on putting my shoes inside since I thought he couldn't see me, but I told him, and he hit me once. Twice! I then responded. When I first left the* kutab*, I hit him with rocks. Yes, he beat me. I was forced to respond, so I left for home."*

Later, this rebellious personality becomes apparent in elementary school.

"There was one treatment that I steadfastly refused to undergo: the anti-lice treatment! What was the point of applying it systematically, we had a hammam*, and I bathed myself every day? Since then, Si Houcine (the director) and I have become friends, so I ran in the courtyard to stop them from applying it to me. I shouted loudly, and he ordered that I be released (laughs). There was one more thing, though, that I never experienced: being nailed to a stake at the back of the room. I may receive a penalty*

and still maintain my seat! 'I'm not a dog to stand at the back of the room!'
I would shout. And I still don't accept these sanctions; why keep someone
separate from others? Is that person a plague? I now understand that I
should have accepted it at the time but I didn't."

She enjoyed physical sports and discovered that the educational and public sectors provided the perfect settings for her to let her limitless energy out and showcase her abilities as a group leader. The creative fields of language, singing, drama, and film also drew her attention. Her training years equipped her with the necessary knowledge and abilities to later act and influence her environment.

Her family has a political dedication legacy that was passed down from father to son. The grandsons' memories of their grandmother, who was a "feminist" before this concept existed, are ingrained, influencing their thoughts and attitudes.

"She was very well-known, walked out alone in the street wearing a sefsari
and a burka, was the first to purchase a car and a home, owned properties
in the 1920s and 1930s, performed the hajj by herself, sat in cafes and
chatted with everyone, and was well accommodated in every home."

Sofia's brother was a member of the Gafsa group, an insurgency against the oppressive Bourguiba regime, and he fled to exile in early 1964. The leftist ideologies of the 1970s helped to define the political, cultural, and other values that will, to varied degrees, influence her later conduct. She was detained in 1980 and tried for her political involvement on campus.

https://www.facebook.com/femmerevoltee

"He came to the hearing with a lawyer that he hired for me; as we were leaving the court, he grabbed me by the head and asked, 'You are confident of what you made?' to which I replied, 'Yes!' then he said, 'Bravo! Let's go home.' I asked him about the purpose of his question when we got home, and he told me, 'I promise, if you had said you weren't convinced, I would have put you back where I had come to take you out!' I received a three-month suspended sentence and a $1,100 fine; he was the one who paid it, and it cost a fortune! My first job paid me 164 dinars, and he helped me get my Bulletin No. 3 (police clearance certificate) to be able to work as a teacher; My father agreed with our pledges as long as we were persuaded! All of my brothers who were active in politics were leftists."

This dedication, which was traditional for the time, is just one aspect of Sofia's character. Her social milieu is where she invests her energy, giving her skills a vibrantly human depth. Since she did not lead a married life, she decided to preserve her parents' legacy by caring for their home and *hammam*. She warmly invites brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces to her father's home. A united family, in its ramifications, it reflects the current society.

"When we see each other, we are brothers and sisters; we laugh and have fun. Of course, we never allow the nieces and nephews to get in the way between us! The proof is that our family includes people from the left, the right, the one who has made the pilgrimage twice, the one who drinks every day, and those who are not interested in anything! The young people are together, and we, brothers and sisters, find that when we get together, our differences vanish, even between the sisters-in-law—the one who successfully defended a PhD thesis and the one who failed her baccalaureate (high school exam)—but once we were all together, they grew accustomed to being a part of the group and realized that while we can all get along despite having our differences, we also each have our limitations and things to share with each other."

She observes the emergence and expression of the tastes and professions of the new Znati family generations in her own family.

https://www.facebook.com/femmerevoltee

She displays her ambition to preserve a place of family memory and the institution that served as the basis of her social upbringing by imposing herself as the heir to the *hammam*.

> *"I learned a lot there. I learned to listen without reacting, which is very important. I learned to analyze people's suffering because it is a place that is very revealing of each person's social standing. And I learned to tell the difference between deserving and humble people and boastful people who have nothing, i.e., like an empty barrel. The* hammam *is an ideal social setting to study women, much as the café is for men because in the hammam one is among women, and one is free! I gained knowledge about work, manual labor, scrubbing moisture off the walls at 8:00 p.m. yesterday, among other things. I would never be content since my sister would have charged someone else, and I would constantly feel like I had failed the duty."*

Early in high school, in clubs and on the handball team, the characteristics of a leader were demonstrated. Although Sofia's pals were largely guys and she felt particularly connected to the boys, she would not allow anyone to touch her teammates in her role as team captain.

> *"When a boy makes fun of one of my players, I turn into a tigress, and when the boys play and one of the girls makes fun of a player, the captain's reaction is likewise aggressive; this is where the girl-boy split is visible, according to the captain of the team I was on."*

Throughout her life, she has a natural sense of sharing that she got from her family and only breaths when part of a group. Along with discipline, her forceful nature enables her to establish group solidarity, which stifles the violent impacts of inequality.

> *"We had a cohesive team that included a millionaire's daughter, a doctor, and a daily worker. The team lacked funds, so when a player had trouble affording an outfit, the other players chipped in to help. When we play on the field, we are one team; outside, when we host a boom, we invite everyone because there was handball, the film club, and the boom on Saturday."*

The movie club has been a hub of influence for many years. Sofia believes in the power of art to influence people's minds, the audience that frequents it, and the prevailing atmosphere. The cinema club continues to function as a vital part of life that gently irrigates the brains of both young and old, despite shifts in societal norms.

> *"Friday afternoon is for projection and discussion; we first heard about the contradictions between capitalism and communism when we watched movies like Z. Philosophy professors, including si Hbib Chbil, came to talk to us about these topics; the movie was just a cover for a much deeper ideological issue with regard to social problems, etc. Today's Cineclub is different; we try to work in the same way as before, but it is ineffective. In the past, we worked on techniques, scenarios, political and social topics, etc. Today, young people come to watch films and then go home, they are no longer ready to invest themselves in a debate because there is no longer any culture. We are looking for another motivation! Everything needs to be changed! We were a united team in which you find the daughter of a millionaire, the doctor, and the daily worker. When a player had trouble purchasing an outfit, the other players chipped in to help. When we are on the field, we are one team. Outside, when we organize a boom, we invite everyone. We used to have handball, the film club, and the boom on Saturday."*

Sofia was one of the first people to mobilize after the revolution to help her city. She has a reputation as a steadfast left-wing leader who stays clear of the ideological and political squabbles that have tainted the air over the past ten years. She is admired for her prominence. She is motivated by humanistic and social principles that place a high importance on civic engagement and helping others. She now makes her imprint on civil society through her efforts without looking for conflict or intimidation.

"I struggle more with misunderstandings than I do with interactions; some persons are easier to come to an agreement with than others. How would you approach a salafist, for example, whose goal is to make you vanish? I get along well with someone from the Nahdha regional office, and I might tell him things like: 'How can you explain culture to this young girl who understands nothing of this!' Then, because he believes in me, he talks to the Municipal Mayor, and they may even end up getting along! He occasionally says to me in joke or perhaps he thinks it: 'You are going to encourage them to convert to leftism!' When I ask him what he has against it, he replies, 'I have nothing at all as long as you are there!' Because there are individuals who can distinguish between an idea and a person's character, and they do. I won't consider their identity when I'm in a flooded area because they are all citizens and during disasters, we are all one. I'm giving you the chance to see the movie I'm showing you so you can defend yourself! As in the municipality, there are people with whom I typically converse, but others their role is to raise their hand, and there I provoke them: This gentleman understood it; he studied with me; he was Mrs. Hamdi's pupil; he attends the cineclub; he comes with his wife and daughter 'We're going to vote, kids! All of you will concur!' And so it goes in life!"

https://www.facebook.com/femmerevoltee

Sofia created with others an association to face the loss of a sense of citizenship among the inhabitants of the city.

"The Association of the reconstitution of the culture of citizenship is an association founded with Ms. Hamdi and other Menzel Bourguiba actors. This association was established after the revolution because, curiously, we discovered that everything was burned during the revolution's events, including the municipality, the police stations, the official buildings. We asked ourselves, 'Why,' as nothing was spared and merely because no Menzli citizen was involved."

There are many different events going on, but they all have the goal of enlightening the minds of the young and old, especially the women, on customs and discoveries that are vital to civic culture.

We spent a lot of time working on the regulations, the law, citizenship, and more, with the citizens in Menzel Bourguiba. We realized that many of our young people were unaware of the country, so I took it upon myself to organize monthly tours for a group of young people to an archaeological site in Tunisia, where they saw practically all of the country's sites. I also brought a specialist and historian to the site, and it was there that they first learned that Tunisia had Romans, Carthaginians, and other people, there were not only Arabs and Muslims."

The characteristics of an influential woman are likewise infused into the image of the teacher. She does not simply regurgitate a course without considering her practice, the students, or even the knowledge being taught. Before continuing her education at the university, she spent several years practicing didactics in the field in Bizerte's rural areas. This discipline, which at the university simply stirs indifference, mobilizes Sofia, who wants to imprint its impact on her surroundings. A quality of any influential person is the ability to take stock of one's actions.

"Before didactics and before anything else, I think, I tell myself, 'There will be this and I have to foresee such and such a result,' and I am ready for it. I consider what I am doing and the repercussions of what I am going to do. We started engaging in clandestine political action when we were 16 years old, which put us in constant danger of being arrested. As a result, we constantly had to prepare ourselves for what to do and for all potential outcomes."

She is approachable with her students and attentive to their worries as well as those of their age. She is conscious of the disparity between contemporary *student life and that of the 1970s and 1980s.*

> *"I have a talent for listening, and my students adore me. When they have a problem or are upset, I notice it and I ask them what's up. 'So you don't have a place in the dorm anymore? And you, etc.; the guys are always in debt, while the females have issues with their parents,' ('My father is bugging me, he is after me, and so on'); the boys spend their money on things like cigarettes, coffee, and designer clothes, and the parents can no longer afford to provide for their children on this level!"*

She thinks that a teacher can still have an impact on people outside of the classroom without succumbing to the negativity that is pervasive and deters goodwill.

> *"I also oversee a writing group, and I plan excursions when a bus is available. I'm currently learning a language in a lab with historians and geographers. Although I do things, I wish they were more intense and of higher caliber! And more sustained work! I am fortunate to have a department head who was also my high school student, I have a close friendship with Dean Jamil Chaker, with whom I have previously worked, and whenever I see hesitation on the part of my colleagues, I let them down by acting alone; however, I believe that in the faculty we can do much better; look at Inçaf Machta, who has been running the film club for a long time and is always with four or five students! I have 8 pupils in my writing club, so please hang on."*

https://www.facebook.com/femmerevoltee

It offers a computer and a trip as incentives to encourage the young participants.

Sofia is skilled at decompartmentalizing activities; her association is open to her profession; Kairoun students visit her home to take part in cultural activities. This seeming mobility between many spheres, between public and private life, has roots in Sofia's professional life. She studied under the renowned Ms. Saida Hamdi, a French instructor celebrated for her discretion, if you'll allow the oxymoron, and who had left-leaning social values. She operates on two levels, that of the gift and that of giving the gift, much like Sofia, who realizes what she owes her. Their passions are—cinema, culture, literature, and the work that surrounds these things. By drawing on the past cultural legacy, both have been able to understand the uniqueness of their city, Menzel Bourguiba (Ferry-City), which could help to support the advancements of modernity in people's attitudes, actions, and morals.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The data gathered for this study reveals a general propensity to regard women in leadership roles as typical figures in the social milieu. The interviewees don't feel ashamed to refer to this or that person as a leader, whether they are in the cities or the countryside, in conservative or open situations. The social acceptance that leadership is a category where the consistency of a role, of an influential female persona, is crystallized, doesn't seem to be hindered by anything. This appears to be the result of legislation, education, and a long-term cultural change in customs. This finding does not preclude us from observing the influence of a social expectation that the representations of the traditional culture weigh on the definition of the female leader and the various traits that are bestowed upon her.

The designated figures share the same trait: they operate in spheres of influence (socio-cultural, educational, economic, symbolic, and so on) where the rules governing relationships and professional advancement are still influenced to varying degrees by the stereotypes of "natural" masculinity and femininity. In other words, the designated figures do not blatantly undermine the current game's rules. In the declarations, we can observe the prejudices that were carried over from the traditional connotations that essentialize women. According to some, the female leader is "more predisposed," as well as being a good listener, more sensitive, more humanitarian, and so on. It is no accident that the speakers keep mentioning the reference figure of mother, whose influence is built on selflessness and sacrifice, when mentioning these qualities. This contrasts with qualities that are viewed as "virile," such as confrontation, tenacity, firmness, and so on.

We have also seen that, at the individual level, the singularization of a path and an identity of an influential woman contributes to the management of a particular heritage, most frequently familial. The woman leader most frequently mobilizes real resources (family memory, more or less specialized education, an influential female figure in the family, heritage, and so on.), which predisposed her to conquer relational networks or facilitated her success (in school, in her career, or in her social life), as well as the exploitation of specific relational networks of useful relationships. The notion of the single leader, who is the "single creator" of his or her own route because of "innate gifts" that owe nothing to people around them, is disproved by these data, which lend themselves to sociological analysis.

When memory is evoked, the historical (characters who participated in the national uprising against colonialism, women who played significant roles during the rule of such and such a dynasty) or popular (legendary figures without historical

consistency) past is punctuated by the figures from the past that appear. Other influential individuals, usually from rural areas, combine multiple roles into one identity (healers, midwives, saints), or they use their influence to spontaneously open up on their surroundings by deeds of charity (hospitality, taking care of orphans, single mothers). The landscape of the contemporary social fabric, which is governed by institutions, shapes how today's designated leaders evolve (associations, clubs, cooperatives, political parties, NGOs).

Thus, it appears to us that this inquiry has exposed influential women in numerous industries through pre-existing or improvised relational networks. They are women who act away from the spotlight and are driven by goals other than fame or politics; they have discovered themselves in the group and they evolve through the group.

However, some distinctions between the three countries should not be concealed by their similarities. These are intricately linked to the socio-historical settings of every nation and the nature of the powers that liberation voices, in this case those of influential women, are contending with.

The local population has a specific distinctiveness that cannot be found elsewhere due to Jordanian factors. Although affiliations, allegiances, and political concerns are determined by a tribal structure, this society is still relatively open to change; the conservatism that predominates is neither resistant to change nor opposed to it. Here, a fairly important component enters the picture. The very significant presence of the Christian community, which has held a prominent position in Jordan throughout contemporary history, as the first vector of practices, ideas, and values capable of upending the culturally dominant resistance movements and continuously inspiring individual initiatives, particularly those of women, to express themselves and take action. The voices of emancipation in this nation develop in a different setting than those of the neighboring countries in the region, where the tensions between modernity and tradition either result in the dead ends of murderous identities[139] (Syria, Iraq), or in a veneer of modernity that covers up a troubling lethargy (Gulf countries). It might be vital to draw attention to a characteristic of some Jordanian women leaders, namely the importance of religious culture in their decisions and motivations. This

---

[139] This is the title of the essay by Lebanese novelist Amine Maalouf.

aspect is present in the leaders of the other two countries, too, but it is more prominent here because of the more obvious forms of religiosity, which naturally penetrates the scale of values incorporated.

Morocco offers a different picture. A few paradoxes have been revealed by our research. Influential women must contend with the weight of a society that sets rigid game rules and boundaries on where they can act, although appearing to be mostly autonomous of the central power. It is obvious that, irrespective of whether here or elsewhere, the recognition and success of powerful women are inextricably related to the makeup of the forces that work to counter their progress. In Morocco, the central power blends proximity and distance; it is the present-absent, it occasionally intervenes with force, while leaving to the society very independent areas of action (for the better and occasionally for the worst). Women and other social actors will be able to impose and draw the lines of change in these areas.[140] We discovered that the rural/urban dichotomy has a significant impact on the lives of the influential women we encountered. As a result, it is clear how crucial spatial mobility is to the process of individualizing women leaders. Local anchoring actually depends heavily on an exit, a departure to other fundamentally urban spaces for life-long learning and battery recharging.

Regarding the Tunisian context, it is unnecessary to emphasize the magnitude of the change that the 2011 Tunisian revolution sparked. The ten years' worth of political and legal advances represent a new bargain. Prior decades' tight control by the authoritarian state have been replaced by a new system that is currently taking shape. One thing is for sure: women leaders will now likely face more diffuse forces whose actions follow according to more or less justified techniques, the relief of cultural, social, and economic realms, in a less direct manner than before. We have witnessed the growth of new values that are more centered on personal initiative, autonomy, and independence in terms of the motives for action, possibly as a result of the changes of the last decade.

---

[140] Béatrice Hibou et Mohamed Tozy, Tisser le temps politique au Maroc. Imaginaire de l'État à l'âge néolibéral, Karthala, Sept. 2020

CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP

Transformative leadership for women appears to be a social construction that includes individual traits, social determinants, contextual and situational elements, according to the analysis of the data collected in the three countries (focus groups and interviews).

The following characteristics were shared by all of the women interviewed who were regarded as leaders and prominent women by their peers:

1. They have strong ties to their home countries and are proud of their ancestry and place of origin. Territorial rootedness turns out to be a prerequisite for revolutionary leadership. The social recognition that women leaders enjoy is the result of their rootedness, which crystallizes in a commitment to the community, and it reinforces their power of influence.

2. They are "pluri-engaged" and multi-active, exerting influence across a range of activity areas (family, associations, political parties, businesses, and more). This "multi-commitment" allows a better understanding of the "flow of influence" in terms of sociability and proximity.

3. They differ in that they place a great importance on work; various testimonies demonstrate that powerful women do so in their daily lives. An attitude that merits gaining "praise" and "respect" is one that believes in the "worth of labor;"

4. They show a feeling of responsibility by being interested in local issues and adaptable to their environment.

5. They are aware of the issues in their immediate environment and are keen to find solutions.

6. They are altruistic, viewing everything they do as a duty to help others.

These different characteristics show that influential women's ability for change originates from a strong conviction to bring about change and transform their environment by mobilizing the necessary resources.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To provide ideas and specific suggestions that are likely to be implemented in advocacy campaigning to support female transformative leadership, we can identify a variety of pathways to investigate using our major findings. Four intervention areas can be identified in this regard:

1. **Increase the visibility of "unknown" strong women**: **Information and awareness campaigns may be started with the help of media professionals, multimedia specialists, and actors from the education and culture ministries.** As a result, various forms of media could be developed and produced for dissemination, such as reports (testimonies of powerful women and the people who surrounded them), radio and television programs, sections in school textbooks (in history, literature, civic education, *etc.*), articles in the press, and academic work in various disciplines on women's transformative leadership. Find out how to portray these research-targeted women as appealing in this situation by the media. This could reduce the detrimental effects of the long-standing practice that reduces the mediatization of research findings to incomprehensible "pedagogical contents," coupled by a moralizing language that is unappealing. It's time to view the mediatization of scientific discoveries as a distinct phase with distinct autonomy, constraints, and needs. It is not an impulsively abandoned spontaneous extension. We have observed that the research material contains all the necessary components to be effective in a wide range of applications. Here, it is crucial in our opinion to consider how the media can present these research subjects as appealing. It is time to see the mediatization of research findings as a separate stage with its own autonomy, limitations, and requirements. that the research material contains all the necessary components to be effective in a wide range of applications.

2. **Use the trajectory of the targeted women, identifying the spheres of influence to suggest specific actions aimed at enhancing and developing the best of those spheres for the exercise of women's power of influence. Then provide those spheres with more resources and capacities to act (associative work, entrepreneurship, and community involvement).**

3. **Present a set of good practices in order to inspire "ordinary" women to emulate influential women.** Here, it is important to consider the positive transmission that has made it possible for these women leaders to forge paths that are transferable, repeatable, and sizeable outside of the particular contexts in which they were born. Another way to express it is that "ordinary" women who come across these leaders learn that, while each journey involves some degree of improvisation due to the convergence of a number of quite unique situations, these experiences have elements that can be captured and replicated.

4. **Give powerful women the ability to serve as multipliers by supporting other women in their community who have the power to change their environment**.

5. **Create a specific training cycle for influential women to read, orient themselves, and comprehend the supply and demand map in their field. It would be very helpful to introduce them to the mastery of their field of action (as a group of actors and as an associative, institutional, commercial network).** We could envision a specific training cycle that would provide these women, particularly those who work in rural areas far from cities, with the fundamental skills they need to establish themselves in relation to their field of activity, see its ramifications and extensions, solicit for the appropriate address, know where to look for ideas and stimulation when the available resources are exhausted, know where to look for new connections when others dry up, in other words, to incorporate a certain level of representation.

6. **Create an organization with a network of strong connections to structure the various activities and provide women with a visibility would be beneficial in working within the context of the national debate on decentralization**. We observed some regional variation in the actions of influential women. Despite being close by, random events make it possible for some people to benefit from a network of strong connections while others are doomed to improvisation and even

vulnerability. To address these issues, it would be beneficial to consider a specific organizational framework that would provide a minimum level of network coherence that would be extremely beneficial for each person's professional and personal development. Without such an organization, vulnerable women who lack reliable resources will continue to act alone and expose themselves to vulnerability."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, Andrew. "Of Time and Space: The Contemporary Relevance of the Chicago School." *Social Forces* 75, no. 4 (1997): 1149-1182, 115. https://pdfs. semanticscholar. org/2835/2766f96ab af6de15e32dad62733edd49a704. pdf?_ga=2. 72248987. 928633121. 1608394542-2105669701. 1602254503.

Abdelkhalek, Touhami. "La pauvreté au Maroc: une approche basée sur la satisfaction des besoins de base." In INSEA, *Rapport d'étude: Pauvreté, satisfaction des besoins essentiels et variables démographiques au Maroc*. Version provisoire (November 1998): 65.

Abdellatif, Slama Soumaya (coordinated by). "Les femmes dans la vie politique et civique. Obstacles et défis pour les surmonter." In *Morocco, Tunisia, the Occupied Territories of Palestine and Yemen*. Tunis: CAWTAR / OXFAM, 2016.

Alami, M'chichi Houria. "Les féminismes marocains contemporains. pluralité et nouveaux défis." *Nouvelles questions féministes*, éditions Antipodes 33 no. 2 (2014): 65-79, 72. https:// www. cairn. info/revue-nouvelles-questions-feministes-2014-2-page-65. htm.

Allard-Gaudreau, Noémie. "Représentations sociales: « femme leader, leader idéal et leadership personnel »: une approche biographique du leadership." Master's thesis, Université du Québec à trois-Rivières, 2016.

Allouani, Zakia, D. Martucelli. "Forgé par l'épreuve. L'individu dans la France contemporaine." *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, 36, no. 2 (2007). Posted online on December 8, 2009. Accessed on septembre 21 2020. http://journals. openedition. org/osp/1425. DOI: https://doi. org/10. 4000/osp. 1425.

Amiri, Ferhat. "Amman: Le roi et ses bédouins, la fin d'une alliance? " *Outre-terre* 1, no. 14 (2006): 67-72. https://www. cairn. info/revue-outre-terre1-2006-1-page-67. htm.

Auvray, Françoise and Francis Auvray. "Les gisements des phosphates de Gafsa, Tunisie." *Saga Information,* no. 325 (March 2013): 8-16.

Balandier, Georges. "Communautés chaudes et communautés froides." *Solitude et communication*, XXVème Rencontres Internationales de Genève, Boudry-Neuchâtel, 11-19. Chêne-Bourg, Switzerland: Les Editions de La Braconnière, 1975.

Balandier, Georges. *Anthropo-logiques*: biblio/essais. Paris: Le livre de poche, 1985.

Balandier, Georges. *Le détour. Pouvoir et modernité,* 99-110. Paris: Fayard, 1985.

Balandier, Georges. *Sens et Puissance, les dynamiques sociales.* Paris: PUF, 1986.

Banque Mondiale, Royaume du Maroc. *Pauvreté, ajustement et croissance*. 2 volumes, 1994.

Barkaoui. Aïcha and Leila Bouasria. "Les paradoxes de l'indigène. La voix d'une femme est une révolution (Ce que les femmes philosophes pensent du [nouveau] monde arabe)." *Revue des femmes philosophes*, 2/3 (2013): 123-147.

Ben Achour, Sana. "Société civile en Tunisie: les associations entre captation autoritaire et construction de la citoyenneté." In *Les sociétés civiles dans le monde musulman*, edited by Anna Bozzo and Pierre Jean Luizard. Paris: Edition la Découverte, 2011.

Ben Salem, Maryam and Soumaya Ben Cheikh. "*Politique et jeunes femmes vulnérables en Tunisie*". *Etude qualitative Gafsa, Kasserine, Tozeur.* Tunis: CAWTAR / UNESCO, 2013.

Ben Hounet, Yazid. "De quelques approches des rapports tribus / pouvoirs politiques au Maghreb." *Insaniyat* / إنسانيات (2008): 39-40. Posted online June 30, 2012. Accessed on March 21, 2019. http://journals. openedition. org/insaniyat/2023.

Berque, Jacques. "Qu'est-ce qu'une tribu nord-Africaine? " In *Éventail de l'histoire vivante, Hommage à Lucien Febvre* 261-271. Paris: Armand Colin, 1954.

Berque, Jacques. *Structures sociales du Haut- Atlas*, Paris, PUF, 1955.

Bocco Ricardo and Tell Tariq. In R. Bocco et C. Velud, eds., *Monde Arabe, Maghreb Marchrek* "Tribus, tribalismes et Etats au Moyen-Orient," no. 147 (January-March 1995): 26-47.

Bocco, Riccardo. "L'État producteur d'identités locales: lois électorales et tribus bédouines en Jordanie." In *Le nomade, l'oasis et la ville, Tours, Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (Urbanisation du monde arabe)*, edited by J. Bisson, Fascicule de recherche no. 20 (1989): 271-283.

Boltanski, Luc and Laurent Thévenot. *De la justification. Les économies de la grandeur.* Paris: Gallimard, 1991.

Botanski, Luc. "A propos de la justification." http://boltanski. chez-alice. fr/texte/textejuhem. pdf

Bonte, Pierre. "Tribus, hiérarchies et pouvoirs dans le nord de l'Afrique." In *Tribus et pouvoirs en terre d'Islam,* edited b*y* H. Dawod, 81-112. Paris: Editions Armand Colin, 2004.

Bouraoui ,Soukaina. "Ordre masculin et fait féminin." In *Tunisie au présent. Une modernité au-dessus de tout soupçon*, edited by Michel Camau, 343-371. Aix-en-Provence: IREMAM, 2013.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques.* Paris: Fayard, 1982.

Bourdieur, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Les héritiers. Les étudiants et la culture*. Paris: Minuit, 1964.

Bourqia, Rahma. *Société, famille, femmes et jeunesse*, p. 36. Cinquantenaire de l'Indépendance du Royaume du Maroc, 2005.

Bourqia, Rahma. "La stratification sociale. Note de synthèse." In *50 ans de développement humain et perspectives 2025*, 30. http://www. rdh50. ma/fr/gt02. asp.

Bourricaud, François. "La sociologie du «leadership» et son application à la théorie politique. *Revue française de science politique*, 3 no. 3 (1953): 445-470, 446. http://www.persee. fr/doc/rfsp_0035-2950_1953_num_3_3_452717.

Burns, James MacGregor. *Leadership*, N. Y: Harper and Row, 1978.

Cefaï, Daniel. "Andrew Abbott, un certain héritage de Chicago." In *Andrew Abbott et l'héritage de l'école de Chicago* Volume 1, edited by Didier Demazière and Morgan Jouvenet (2016): 69-94. Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 2016.

Chatelard Géraldine. "Les chrétiens en Jordanie, dynamiques identitaires et gestion du pluralisme." *Les Cahiers de l'Orient* 1 no. 93 (2009): 41-56. https://www. cairn. info/revue-les-cahiers-del-orient-2009-1-page-41. htm.

Chelhod, Joseph. "Ethnologie du monde arabe et islamologie." *L'Homme*, 9 no. 4 (1969). 24-40. https://www. persee. fr/doc/hom_0439-4216_1969_num_9_4_367074.

Chenoufi, Kamel and Gallo Gilles. *La Tunisie en décolonisation* (1957-1972) *Genèse des structures de développement et des structures de la République*, Le Pradet: éditions Du Lau, 2004.

Coenen-Huther, Jacques. "Le type idéal comme instrument de la recherche sociologique." *Revue française de sociologie*, 44, no. 3 (2003): 531-547.

Collectif Georgette Sand. *Ni vues, ni connues. Panthéon, Histoire, Mémoire: où sont les femmes*? Paris: Pocket, 2019.

Dakhlia, Jocelyne. *L'oubli de la cité. La mémoire collective à l'épreuve du lignage dans le Jérid tunisien.* Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1990.

Dany, Lionel and Thémis Apostolidis. "Approche structurale de la représentation sociale de la drogue: interrogations autour de la technique de mise en cause." *Les Cahiers Internationaux de Psychologie Sociale* 73 *(*2007): 11-26, 11. https://www. cairn. info/revue-les-cahiersinternationaux-de-psychologie-sociale-2007-1-page-11. htm.

Demazière, Didier and Samuel Olivia. "Inscrire les parcours individuels dans leurs contextes." *Temporalités* 11 (2010). Posted online on July 5, 2010. Accessed on March 25, 2018. http://journals. openedition. org/temporalites/1167

Desjeux, Dominique. "Les échelles du leadership." In *Culture et management*, coordinated by Yang Xaiomin and Zheng Lihua, 8 pages. Paris: Harmattan, 2013. https://www.editions-harmattan.fr/index.asp?navig=catalogue&obj=article&no=27534

Dubar, Claude. La socialisation. *Construction des identités sociales et professionnelles.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1996.

Durand, Gilbert. *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire*. Paris: Dunod, 1993.

Eagly,A. H. and Carli, L. L. The female leadership advantage: An evaluation of the evidence. *The Leadership Quarterly* 14 (2003): 807–834.

Eagly ,A. H. and Carli, L. L. *Through the labyrinth: the truth about how women become leaders (Center for - Public Leadership)*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press, 2007.

Eagly, Alice H., Steven J. Karau Mona G.Makhijani., "Gender and the effectiveness of leaders: a meta-analysis." *Psychological Bulletin* 117 no.1 (1995): 125-145.

Froment, Delphine. "Identités et structures tribales à l'épreuve de la construction jordanienne." *Les clés du Moyen-Orient.* February 18, 2013. Revised April 22, 2020. https://www. lesclesdumoyenorient. com/Identités-et-structures-tribales-a-l-epreuve-de-la-construction-jordanienne. html

Geertz, Clifford. "La description dense. Vers une théorie interprétative de la culture." In Daniel Cefaï editor, *L'enquête de terrain* (208-233). Paris: La Découverte, 2003.

Geertz, Clifford. *Savoir local, savoir global. Les lieux du savoir.* Paris: PUF, 2002.

Hebert, Donald. "Jacques Attali: L'altruisme est une forme intelligente d'égoïsme." *le Nouvel Observateur*. Septembre 23, 2013. OBS8074/jacquesattali-l-altruisme-est-uneforme-intelligente-d-egoisme. html

Henri, Guillaume. "Mutations agro-pastorales, ruralité et développement dans le Sud-Est tunisien." In *Développement rural, environnement et enjeux territoriaux: regards croisés Oriental marocain et Sud-Est tunisien*, edited by Pierre Bonte, Mohamed Elloumi, Henri Guillaume and Mohamed Mahdi, 19-43. Tunis: Cérès Editions, 2009.

Héritier, Françoise, éd. *Hommes, femmes. La construction de la différence*, 35-36. Paris: Éditions le Pommier, 2005.

Héritier, Françoise. "A l'aube de l'humanité." In Françoise Héritier, Michelle Perrot, Sylviane Agacinski, Nicole Bacharan, *La plus belle histoire des femmes*, 25-26. Paris: Ed. Seuil, 2011.

Héritier, Françoise. *Masculin / féminin II. Dissoudre la hiérarchie*. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2002.

Jacquemain, Marc. "Les cités et les mondes: le modèle de la justification chez Boltanski et Thévenot." Liège: Département de sciences sociales, Université de Liege, December 2001. https://orbi. uliege. be/bitstream/2268/90443/1/Les%20cit%C3%A9s%20et%20 les%20mondes%20de%20Luc%20Boltanski. pdf

Jacquet, Stéphane. "Le leadership: un état personnel, des capacités ou une réelle intelligence situationnelle? " Présentation des grands courants d'explication du leadership. https://creg. acversailles. fr/IMG/pdf/leardership. pdf.

Juhem, Philippe. "Un nouveau paradigme sociologique? À propos du modèle des Économies de la grandeur de Luc Boltanski et Laurent Thévenot." In *Scalpel, Cahiers de sociologie politique de Nanterre,* vol. 1, (1994) 82-110.

Kark, R. "The transformational leader: who is (s)he? A feminist perspective." *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 17 no. 2 (April 2004): 160-176.

Katz, Elihu and Paul L. Lazarsfeld. *Influence personnelle. Ce que les gens font des médias.* Paris: Armand Colin/Institut national de l'audiovisuel, 1955/2008.

Katz Jack. "Analytic Induction." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Smelser and Baltes, eds. Amsterdam: Elsevier 2001.

Katz Jack. "Du comment au pourquoi. Description lumineuse et inférence causale en ethnographie." In D. Cefaï et al. eds., *L'engagement ethnographique* 43-105. Paris: EHESS, 2010.

Kerrou, Mohamed and Sihem Najar. "La participation politique des femmes au niveau local en Tunisie." Tunis: UN-INSTRAW & CAWTAR, September 2009. https://www. yumpu. com/fr/ document/read/21456318/la-participation-politique-des-femmes-au-niveau-local-en-tunisie

Laroui, Abdallah. *L'histoire du Maghreb, un essai de synthèse*. Paris: Maspero, 1970.

Lazzeri, Christian and Alain Caillé. "La reconnaissance aujourd'hui: Enjeux théoriques, éthiques et politiques du concept." *Revue du MAUSS*, no. 23 (2004): 88-115, 104.

Le Blanc, Guillaume. "L'épreuve sociale de la reconnaissance. " In *L'invisibilité sociale* (Chapter IV): 95-118. Paris: PUF: 2009.

Lo Monaco Grégory, Lheureux Florent. "Représentations sociales: théorie du noyau central et méthodes d'étude." *Revue Electronique de Psychologie Sociale* 55-64. APSU, 2007. https:// hal. archives-ouvertes. fr/hal-01736607

Maffesoli, Michel. La connaissance ordinaire. *Précis de sociologie compréhensive*. Paris: Librairie des Méridiens, 1985.

Martuccelli, Danilo. "Grand résumé de *La Société singulariste*." Paris: Éditions Armand Colin, coll. individu et société, 2010. Posted online December 27, 2010. Accessed on September 20, 2019. http://journals.openedition.org/ sociologies/3344

Martuccelli, Danilo. *Forgé par l'épreuve: L'individu dans la France contemporaine.* Paris: Armand Colin, 2006.

MEE and agencies. "Les femmes et les Frères musulmans progressent aux élections en Jordanie." *Middle East Eye,* Edition française. https://www.middleeasteye. net/fr/reportages/les-femmes-et-les-freres-musulmans-progressent-aux-elections-en-jordanie. Published September 23, 2016.

Ministère de la Prévision Économique and PNUD. <u>*Pauvreté au Maroc: diagnostic, stratégie et plan d'action*</u>. December 1998.

Monfleur, Laura. "Les réfugiés syriens en Jordanie (1/2)." In *Les clés du Moyen-Orient*. Posted January 29, 2018. Revised February 27, 2020. https://www. lesclesdumoyenorient. com/Les-refugies-syriensen-Jordanie-1-2. html

"Monfleur, Laura. Les réfugiés syriens en Jordanie (2/2): La camp de Zaatari", In *Les clés du Moyen-Orient*. Posted February 15, 2018. Revised May 7, 2020. https://www. lesclesdumoyenorient. com/Les-refugies-syriens-en-Jordanie-2-2-le-camp-de-Zaatari. html

Montagne, Robert. *La Vie sociale et politique des Berbères.* Paris: Alcan, 1931.

Montagne, Robert. *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh).* Paris: Alcan, 1930.

Morin, Edgar. *Les Psychologies au travail*. Montréal: Gaétan Morin éditeur, 1996.

Mouaqit, Mouhammed. "Droit et changement politique et social au Maroc." In *Le Maroc au présent. D'une époque à l'autre, une société en mutation*, edited by Baudouin Dupret, Zakaria Rhani, Assia Boutaleb et Jean-Noël Ferrier, 815-840. Rabat: Centre Jacques Berque, 2015.

Nachi, Mohamed. *Introduction à la sociologie pragmatique. Vers un nouveau style sociologique?* Paris: Éditions Armand Colin, 2006.

Najar, Sihem and Mohamed Kerrou. *La décision sur scène. Un regard sociologique sur le pouvoir décisionnel des femmes tunisiennes.* Beirut, Tunis: Entreprise Universitaire d'Etudes et de Publication (MAJD) – Centre de la Femme Arabe pour la Formation et la Recherche (CAWTAR), 2007.

Najar, Sihem. "Penser ''le sens commun''' en anthropologie." In *D'Islam et d'ailleurs. Hommage à Clifford Geertz*, edited by Mohamed Kerrou, 93-113. Tunis: Cérès éditions, 2008.

Ouedraogo, Jean-Martin. "La Réception de la sociologie du charisme de Max Weber / The Acceptance of Max Weber's Sociology of Charisma." *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, no. 83 (1993): 141-157,142-143. https://doi. org/10. 3406/assr. 1993. 1490 https://www. persee. fr/doc/assr_0335-5985_1993_num_83_1_1490

Oussedik, Fatma. "Présence du XIXe siècle. La «tribu» en Algérie: héritage colonial / invention de soi." *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle*, 47 (2013): Posted online December 31, 2016. Accessed on April 30, 2019. http://journals. openedition. org/rh19/4535; DOI: 10. 4000/rh19. 4535

Passeron, Jean-Claude. *Le raisonnement sociologique. L'espace non-poppérien du raisonnement naturel,* 32. Paris: Nathan, 1991.

Perrot, Michelle. "Histoire des femmes et féminisme." In *Journal français de psychiatrie* 40 no. 1 (2011): 6-9, 6.

Powell, G. N. "The gender and leadership wars." *Organizational Dynamics* 40 no. 1 (2011): 1-9.

Powell, G. N. and Butterfield, D. A. "The 'good manager: Masculine ou androgynous? " *Academy of Management Journal* 22 no. 2 (1979): 395-403.

Powell, G. N. The gender and leadership wars. *Organizational Dynamics* 1, 40 (2011): 1-9.

Propp, Vladimir. *Morphologie du conte*, Paris: Paris: Éditions du Seuil, coll points, 2015.

Rhani, Zakaria, Assia Boutaleb, Noël Ferrié Jean- and Baudouin Dupret. "Introduction: Le Maroc au présent." In *Le Maroc au présent. D'une époque à l'autre, une société en mutation,* edited by Baudouin Dupret, Zakaria Rhani, Assia Boutaleb and Jean-Noël Ferrier, 13-27. Rabat: Centre Jacques Berque, 2015.

Ricard, Matthieu. *Plaidoyer pour l'altruisme. La force de la bienveillance,* Paris: Nil éditions, 2013, 30.

Ripa, Yannick. *Femmes d'exception. Les raisons de l'oubli*. Paris: Editions Le cavalier Bleu, 2018.

Rocher, Guy. "Type idéal." In *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de théorie et de sociologie du droit,* éditeurs:André-Jean Arnaud, Jacques Commaille et al., 628-630. Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1993.

Rodríguez, Luis Melián. "Jordanie: une stabilité constante, mais fragile." In *Annuaire IEMed. de la Méditerrannée*, 225-228.

Saaf, Abdallah. "Changement et continuité dans le système politique marocain."», In Baudoin Dupret, Zakaria Rhani et al. (eds.) *Le Maroc au présent. Changement et continuité dans le système politique marocain* 535-568. Casablanca: Centre Jacques-Berque, Fondation du Roi Abdul-Aziz Al Saoud pour les Études Islamiques et les Sciences Humaines, 2015.

Sabourin, Paul. "Perspective sur la mémoire sociale de Maurice Halbwachs." *Sociologie et sociétés* 29 no. 2 (1997): 139–161. https://doi. org/10. 7202/001661ar

Saha, Mustapha. "Structures tribales et formation de l'État dans le Maghreb médiéval." In: *L'Homme et la société*, no. 39-40 (1976). Tiers-Monde économie politique et culture 275-280. http://www. persee. fr/doc/homso_0018-4306_1976_num_39_1_1641

Schnurr, S. *Leadership discourse at work: interactions of humour, gender and workplace culture*. Bangstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2008.

Schütz, Alfred. *Le chercheur et le quotidien*. Phénoménologie des sciences sociales, Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1987.

Shields, Carolyn Muriel. *Good intentions are not enough. Transformative leadership for communities of difference*. Lanham, M. D: Scarecrow Press, 2003.

Shields, Carolyn Muriel. "Transformative leadership: Working for equity in diverse contexts." *Educational Administration Quarterly* 46 no. 4, (2010): 558-589.

Sleiman, André. "Géraldine Chatelard, Briser la mosaïque. Les tribus chrétiennes de Madaba, Jordanie, XIXe-XXe siècles." *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 148 (October Decembre 2009): document 148-33. Posted on May 19 , 2009. Accessed on September 21, 2020. http:// journals. openedition. org/assr/21105; https://doi. org/10. 4000/assr.21105

Sober,Elliot and David Sloan Wilson. *Unto Others, The Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Stéphane, Jacquet. "Le leadership: un état personnel, des capacités ou une réelle intelligence situationnelle?" Présentation des grands courants d'explication du leadership. https://creg. acversailles. fr/IMG/pdf/leardership. pdf

Terestchenko, Michel. "Egoïsme ou altruisme? Laquelle de ces deux hypothèses rend-elle le mieux compte des conduites humaines?" *Revue du MAUSS*, 1 no. 23 (2004) : 312-333 316. https://www. cairn. info/revue-du-mauss-2004-1-page-312. html

Third Tourism Development Project. The hashemite kingdom of Jordan - Ministry of tourism and antiquities/The World Bank, Third Tourism *development project, Secondary cities revitalization study, Madaba – Social* assessment. http://www. mota. gov.jo/documents/madaba/social_assessment1. pdf

Zghal, Abdelkader. "L'Islam, les janissaires et le Destour." In *Tunisie au présent. Une modernité au-dessus de tout soupçon*, edited by Michel Camau, 375-402. Aix-en-Provence: IREMAM, 2013.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE AND EMPIRICAL DATA
COLLECTED BY COUNTRY

In Tunisia:

In Tunisia, the survey was conducted in four regions: Bizerte, Gafsa, the Sahel and Sfax. In each region several focus groups, group interviews, exploratory interviews, in-depth interviews and biographies were conducted. They are distributed as follows:
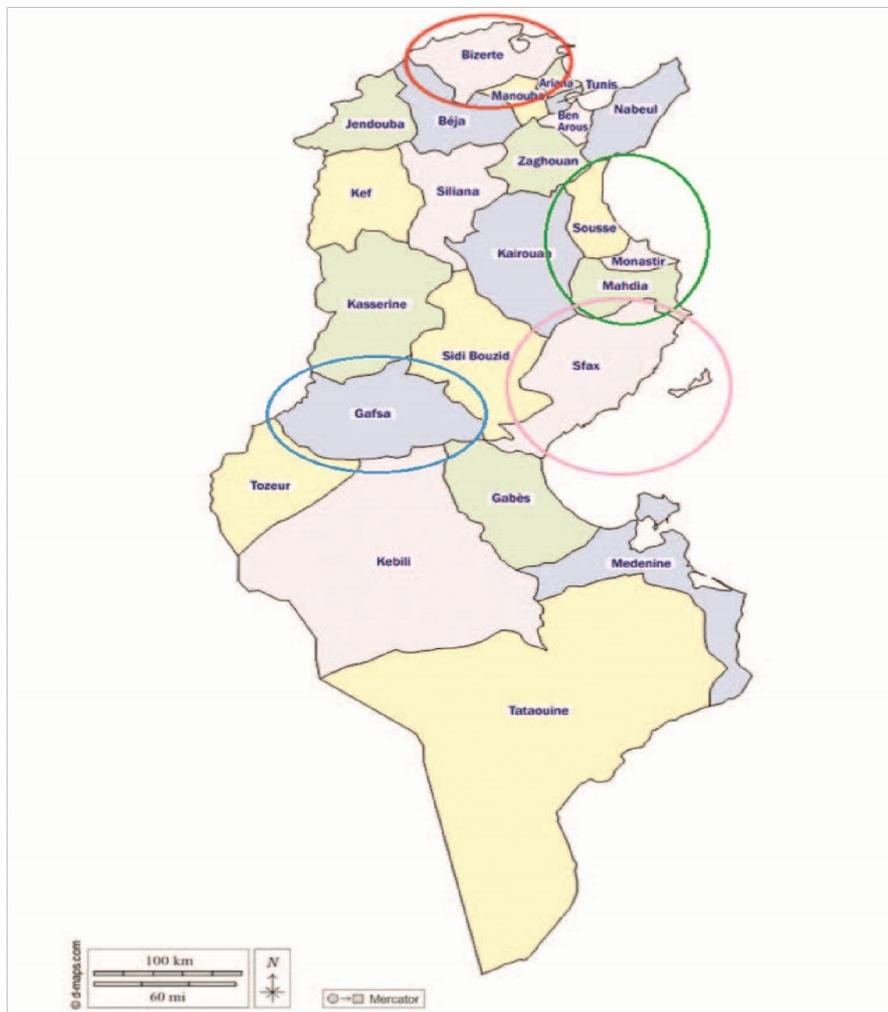
Source: https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=36683&lang=fr (with modifications)

Women's Transformative Leadership
## Trajectories over time of influential women (in the inland areas of Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia)

Observation sites	Focus Groups (mixed)	Group Interviews	Exploratory interviews	Interviews	Interviews
Bizerte Region	3	2	7	3	1
Bizerte	2				
Mateur	1				
Menzel Bourguiba		1		3	1
Ras Jebal		1	7		
Soussa Region	3	4	30	14	5
Mahdia		1	11		1
Sousse	1	1	1		1
Jammel	1		10		1
Moknine	1		2		1
Chebba		1	3	1	
Hebira				1	
Ksour Essef			2		
Touza			1		
Monastir				2	
Zramdine		1			
Sayeda				10	1
Gafsa Region	5		4	7	
Gafsa	1				1
Gsar	1				
Metlaoui				1	
Moularès	1				
Redeyef	1			2	
El Guetar	1		2	3	
Sfax Region	5		8	13	
Sfax	1			4	
Jebeniana	1			2	
Kerkenna Islands	1		8	4	
Sekiet Ezzit	2				
Hazeg				2	
Ellouza				1	
Tunis	1				1
TOTAL	17	6	49	37	7

In Morocco:

Two observation sites were identified, taking into account the practical possibilities offered for data collection. These two sites are: Essaouira and Marrakech.

Source: Royaume du Maroc, Ministère de l'intérieur, Direction générale des collectivités locales, La région de Marrakech – Safi, Monographie générale, 2015, p. 4.

The survey in Essaouira:

The survey was conducted from April 14 to 18, 2019, in Essaouira, Smimou, Telmest, and Hidra.

Three **focus groups** were conducted in Essaouira, Smimou and Telmest, in different locations: cultural houses and associations.

Exploratory interviews with resource persons were conducted with focus group participants who knew some of the designated women.

All of the designated women were interviewed (based on the biographical interviews). In sum, 16 interviews were conducted with influential women who

have different profiles and who act in fields as diverse as culture, politics, civil society, etc.
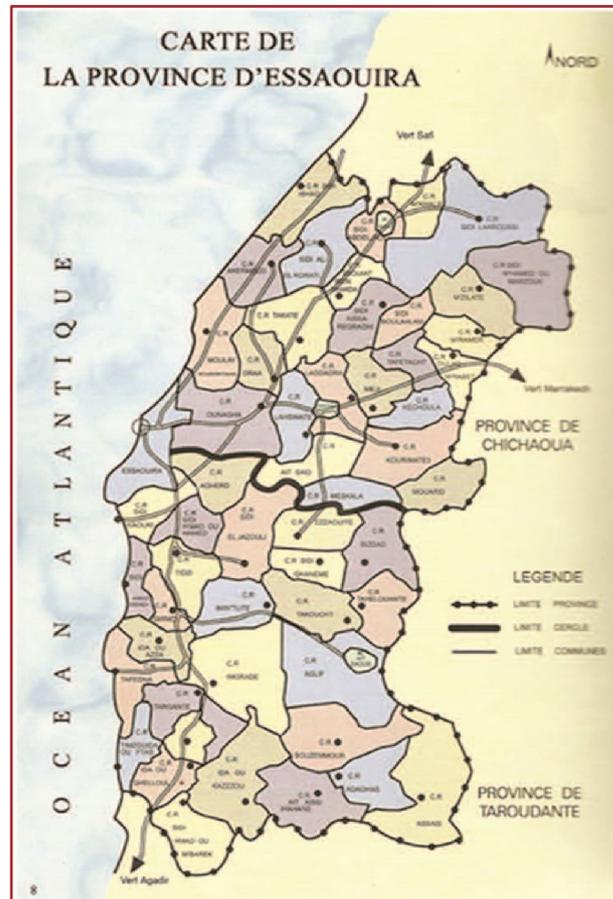
Source: www. equipement. gov. ma/Carte-Region/RegionMarrakech/Presentation-de-la-region/Monographie/Pages/Monographie-Essaouira. aspx.

The survey in Marrakech:

The implementation of this survey in the Marrakech area took place from February 2 to 5, 2020. Three focus groups were organized in Marrakech, Tahannaout and Ben Guerir. In addition, two field visits were organized, the first to a cooperative in Tessaouet (owned by one of the women who participated in the Tahannaout FG); the second to the Chourouk center for the integration of women in difficult situations (managed by one of the women who participated in the Ben Guerir FG).

In sum, 10 interviews were conducted with women active in several fields.

In Jordan:

As for Jordan, the fieldwork was conducted in the three identified sites: al-Karak, Jerash and Madaba (Madaba, Madaba camp and Al-Fayha).

The designation phase was conducted in all three sites (3 focus groups in Madaba, 4 Focus Groups in Karak and 4 Focus Groups in Jerash). In addition, one Focus Group was organized in Amman at the premises of: Jordan Better Workplace Association.

The distribution of interviews by area is as follows: 8 in al-Karak; 8 in Jarash and 8 in Madaba
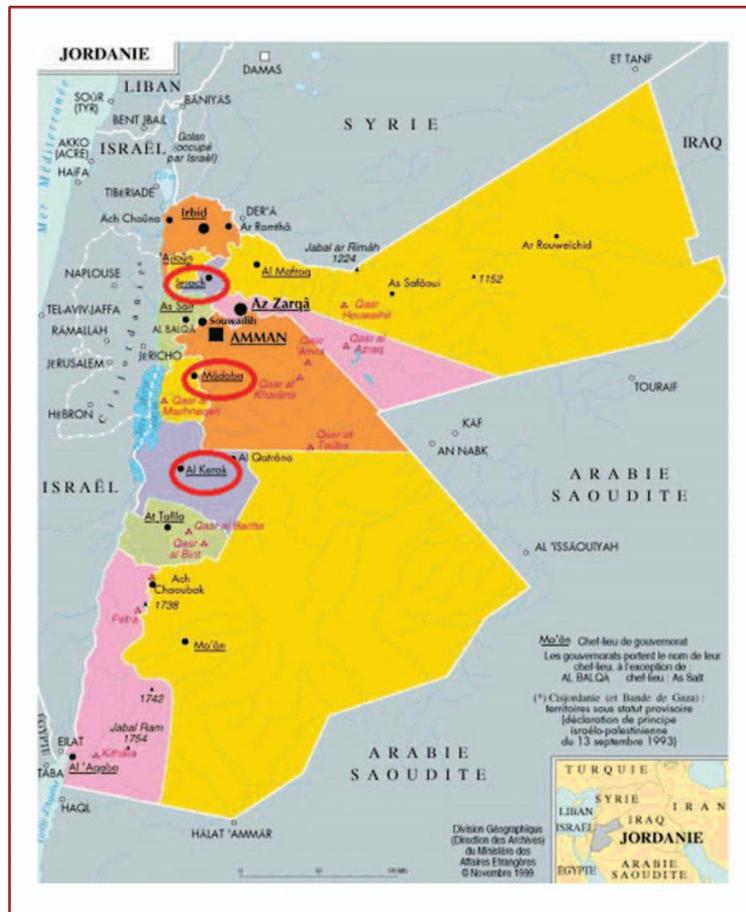
Source: www.jordanie.com/images/carte-jordanie-gf.gif   (With modifications)

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Women's Transformative Leadership
Trajectories over time of influential women (in the inland areas of
Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia)

Interview Guide (Focus Group)

1-identification (Female Leadership)

- What is a leader for you?

- Can a leader be a woman? Why or why not?

- Is there a difference between a male and a female leader?

- Can you tell us about women who have marked the history of your region? Of Tunisia?

- Are these women part of reality or myth (different eras)?

2-Women in history

- What traces have they left throughout history? (Constructions, writings, knowledge...)

- Are there tribes, communities or cities founded by women?

- What stories do you remember about these women?

- How did you learn about these stories?

3-Contemporary women

- In your region or environment, can you tell us about influential women today?

- What distinguishes them (on a personal level/on a social interaction level)

- What are their achievements (influence, transformations, challenges in relation to reality)?

- How are they being talked about? Who is talking about them?

- What do you think about them?

Women's Transformative Leadership
Trajectories over time of influential women (in the inland areas of Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia)