

THE EFFECT OF MEDIA AND ECONOMICS ON THE CHANGE OF DIVORCE RATE IN MOROCCO

El Fethouni Yasmina & Dr. Nicolas Hamelin
Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane

ABSTRACT

Morocco is experiencing many social and technological advances since the King Mohammed VI stepped up to the throne in 1999 (Transforming Lives and Communities, 2013). Statistics show that Morocco is experiencing an intense decrease in poverty reaching 9% in 2012. It is also witnessing an increase in GDP, education and internet usage in the last ten years (World Bank, 2012). The technological and economic growth have played a role in shaping the Moroccan culture during the past decades. One of the major changes that the Moroccan society is witnessing today is the increase in divorce rate, reaching 13% in 2010 (Shikhani, 2010). Using secondary type of data collected by the HCP (Haut Commissariat au Plan), Euromonitor, and World Bank, some major factors affecting the change in the divorce rate in Morocco were identified. These factors affecting divorce rate were studied for both males and females in two separate regression models. Both models suggest that the divorce rate is related to the different levels of education, average age at marriage, annual income, media exposure, fertility rate, and the Moudawana family code. The results show that in the model regarding male, the significant variables are fertility, Moudawana family code, primary school, and media usage. However, in the model regarding female, the significant variables are Moudawana family code, secondary school, female higher education, and media usage.

INTRODUCTION

The stability of the family plays a crucial role in the balance of the economic and social systems (Hughes, Weston, 1999). In their research Weston and Hughes state that divorce might have an impact on the stability of both the economy and society (Hughes, Weston, 1999), and it is linked to alcohol consumption, drug use, and crimes (House, 2013). Recently, the divorce rate in Morocco has increased to 13%, of which 40% of the divorces are in mutual agreement between spouses (Shikhani, 2010). This increase are thought to be related to economic changes, technological development, and social alterations, (World Bank, 2012). Media has also played a role in influencing the Moroccan society for the past decade. Media has not only played a role in shaping cultures but also drove societies into a united globalized culture (Bouziane, Ibahraïne, 2011). These increases in media outreach, education, and annual income have led to the emergence of a modern Moroccan society (Gawel, 2009). In addition, the introduction to the new family code in 2004 might also have had an impact on the change in divorce rate in Morocco (Global Rights, 2005). However, this social and economic changes that Morocco is going through might also have an impact on the cultural and social changes of the country (Sadiqi, 2003). This study will help identify which of these factors – education, media, and family law - might be linked to the increase of divorce rate in Morocco.

All technological advancements that our societies are witnessing today are either directly or indirectly responsible for unintended consequences that influence the stability of our lives (Gawel, 2009). Accordingly, previous research explained that the change in media usage, education, annual income, age at marriage, and other factors are related to the change of

divorce rate in different countries in the world (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011). This research will be focusing on identifying the main factors influencing the change in the divorce rate in Morocco.

The literature review indicates that the change in the annual income, education, media, family code, the average age at marriage, and fertility rate are some of the factors related to the change of the divorce rate. Therefore, the aim of this research is to identify some of the factors that might be related to the change of the divorce rate in Morocco.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Moudawana Family Code: The Moudawana is a new family code that was introduced in Morocco in 2004 to balance between the religious standards and the human rights values. Moudawana family code is inspired from both the Islamic guidelines and the universal human rights standards (Mekkaoui, 2011). It is considered as the Code of Personal Status and Successions (Mekkaoui, 2011). Moudawna is defined as the symbol of resolution between sacred religious texts and constraints of our time (Mekkaoui, 2011). It also helped on the facilitation of the divorce process, which can be one of the reasons leading to the increase of the divorce rate in Morocco (Mdidech, 2010). It gave Moroccan women many rights that have been neglected before, such as the right to ask for divorce (Malchiodi, 2008). After its modification, the new family code Moudawana was accepted by the Moroccan parliament in February 2004 (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, 2012). The Moudawana new family law is a revolutionary change of the position of Moroccan women giving them equal status as men in regard to marriage and children custody (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, 2012).

Female and male income factors: Previous research has shown that the change in the average income rate can have an influence on the change of the divorce rate. According to previous research, the causes of divorce are divided into two categories. The first category implies that the aspect affecting the breakdown of the family is the economic change, which implies the increase of female income (Aguirre, 2001). The second category suggests that sociological aspects guide the divorce rate, as people become less active in their religious and spiritual lives, and more detached from their social obligations (Aguirre, 2001).

After the examination of the effects of household income instability on the divorce behavior of American families with both low and high income, the findings designate that the growth of family's income leads to the increase of the probability of divorce for men (Nunley, 2007). However, the effect of women's income on the divorce behavior is not constant (Nunley, 2007).

Female and Male education Factors: Previous research found that the change on education levels can have an influence on the change in divorce rate in Norway (Torkild, 2004). Spouses' education level in Norway is negatively related to the divorce rate (Torkid, 2004). This means that the more educated the spouses are, the less likely to end up divorcing (Torkild, 2004).

Additionally, the economic theory of the family suggests that the higher educational level of females might raise the possibility of divorce (Becker, 1977). Hence, women are more educated they have better socioeconomic opportunities which makes them more independent

and able to support themselves in case they are no comfortable in the relationship (Rootalu, 2010).

Another study was conducted in Estonia to examine the impact of education on divorce behavior. It was found that the education levels of the wife and husband has an influence on the divorce rate in Estonia (Rootalu, 2010). Hence, spouses with higher education levels tend to divorce less than those with lower education levels (Rootalu, 2010). Thus, the increase of education level decreases the risk of divorce rate in Estonia (Rootalu, 2010).

Female and male age at marriage Factors: Previous researchers have found that the age at marriage is related to the change in the divorce rate. The age when males and females get married is one of the factors affecting the divorce rate in the USA (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011). The spouses' age at marriage has extensively been increasing in the last years, and it has been influencing the divorce rate (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011). The increase of the age at marriage is mainly caused by the increase of women education and employment (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011). The research findings show that the increase of the age at marriage is negatively related to the divorce rate in the USA. Consequently, the older the age of the spouses at marriage, the less is the chance to end up divorced (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011).

Another research has been conducted to examine the relationship between women's age at marriage and divorce rates in England and Wales (Lampard, 2013). The change of the age at marriage was also observed, taking into consideration its effect on the breakdown of the family (Lampard, 2013). An OLS regression analysis was used to study the effect of the age at marriage on the change of the divorce rate in England and Wales using data from 1974 to 1994 (Lampard, 2013). The results of the study shows that the change in the age at marriage seems to have influenced the growth of the divorce rate in England and Wales (Lampard, 2013). Hence, the increase of the age at marriage is related to the decrease of the divorce rate in the area examined (Lampard, 2013). The research concludes that maturity and adulthood are necessary for the continuity of marriage (Lampard, 2013).

Media usage: One of the main social phenomena that the Irish media triggers is the divorce phenomena in the UK (Breen, 2010). A research suggests that the Irish media has been playing a role in increasing the divorce behavior in the UK. Hence, the more people are exposed to divorce scenarios in media, the more they believe that it is a normal act (Breen, 2010).

Additionally, in his article, Singh suggests that people started seeing divorce everywhere today, from TV to radio, to books, and internet (2012). Singh suggests that media is portraying divorce in normalizing effect. Stories and movies seen on TV every day shows that when reconciliation between spouses doesn't work, the first thing that should be considered is contacting the divorce court (Singh, 2012).

A study was conducted to investigate the link between divorce rate and television usage in Brazil. The research studies the effect of the arrival of a new network that had a virtual monopoly of audiovisual media in Brazil (Chong, Ferrara, 2010). The research demonstrates that Brazil knew a dramatic increase in TV ownership between the year of 1970 and 1991 that changed from %7.7 to %82 (Chong, Ferrara, 2010). The findings of the research explain that the exposure of women in Brazil to modern TV programs lead to the distortion of

traditional social values, which encourages the increase of the divorce rate (Chong, Ferrara, 2010).

Fertility rate factor: In their research, Kanoy and Miller investigate the influence of the number of children on the divorce rate (1980). The conclusion and implication of the research indicate that children can create stress and anxiety between spouses, which might increase the chances of divorce (Korrel, Brent, 1980). The research also explains that some inconveniences caused by disabled children, might also be one of the major reasons of stress and problems between married couples, which sometimes lead to the breakdown of many families (Korrel, Brent, 1980).

Another research suggests that childbirth and divorce behavior are related to each other in Norway (Kravdal, 1988). It was found that women in Norway who tend to get pregnant just before marriage have more probability to experience a divorce compared to other cases (Kravdal, 1988). However, Norway women who give birth after the marriage tend to experience less family breakdowns than those who give birth before marriage (Kravdal, 1988).

Jena, Goldman, and Joyce examined the association between parental divorce and twin births in the United States (2011). Their study suggests that mothers of multiple births face a greater probability of depression, which might be the source of family breakdown (Jena, Goldman, Joyce, 2011). The research results suggest that parents with twins at first birth have higher risk to experience a family breakdown than parents with singular childbirth (Jena, Goldman, Joyce, 2011).

Reasons for men's divorce differ from the women's one: Separation of the two models:

The motives and drivers of divorce vary from person to person, and from gender to another (Amato, Previti, 2003). A research has been conducted to determine whether the two genders consider themselves as responsible of family breakdown (Walzer, Oles, 2003). The research takes into consideration the cultural aspect and its influence on the perception of gender divorce motives (Walzer, Oles, 2003). The research used interview as a qualitative type of research method. The findings of the research suggests that men and women's motives differ depending on both their gender and the social influence on each gender (Walzer, Oles, 2003). Accordingly, the most common motive for families' breakdown in the western societies is the enhancement of the socioeconomic status of women that started in the 20th century (Hewitt, 2008). It has been suggested that women today have better socioeconomic position than before, which enable them to have a better and an independent life in case of divorce (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995; Blau 1964; Cherlin 1992; Hewitt 2008). Hence, it is suggested that one of the main motive for Australian women's divorce is their financial independence which permits them to live a comfortable life outside of their marriage (Hewitt, 2008). However, Australian men's motive of divorce are sometimes different from those of women (Hewitt, 2008). It has been argued that men's lack of financial resources, or women's excess of economic resources compared to her husband increases the motives of divorce for men (Hewitt, 2008). Contrarily to Australian women with high financial resources who tend to divorce more, Australian men with higher financial resources tend to have more stable marriages (Hewitt, 2008).

Research question

In their research Jena, Goldman, and Joyce answered the question of how fertility and level of education can affect the divorce rate variation in the United States (2011). Hsing investigated the level of education, fertility, and annual income influence on the divorce behavior in Taiwan (2003). Scott, Berger, Bruce and Weinberg also conducted a research where they investigate the effect of the age at marriage, the level of education, and the fertility on the divorce rate in the USA (2011). In addition, Been investigated the relationship between mass media and the change of the divorce rate in the UK (2010). It was also suggested that Moudawana new family law helped on the facilitation of the divorce process, which led to the change of the divorce rate in Morocco (Mdidech, 2010).

On the other hand, Amato and Previti, (2003), Walzer and Oles (2003), and Hewitt (2008) all stated that the divorce motives of men differ from those of women. For this reason, in this research we will be identifying the factors that influence the divorce rate for both Moroccan males and females. Hence, this research attempts to examine the effect of Moudawana new family code, age at marriage, media, the different levels of education (primary school, secondary school, high school, and higher education), annual income, and fertility rate on the change of divorce rate in Morocco for both males and females.

Theoretical Framework

Socioeconomic theory is defined as the tangible and intangible social and economic motivators that lead individuals to behave in a certain way (Sutinen, 1999). The socioeconomic theory suggests that the economic system has an effect on the stability of the society, and vice versa. It further indicates the change in economic factors that can influence the behavior of people, and society can influence the constancy of economic factors. North explained that American people with higher incomes are the least divorcing citizens not only because they are the ones with higher socioeconomic status, but also because they are the ones that can afford the most stable lives (2010). North suggested that economic factors influence the stability of people, which makes the economic and social factors related to each other.

In his research, Hsing (2003) used the socioeconomic theory to measure the effect of economic factors on social behavior. The research examined the effect of women's higher education, men unemployment, men income, women income, fertility, and family code on the divorce rate variation in Taiwan (Hsing, 2003). Hsing suggests that economics have an effect on the fluctuation of human social behavior (2003). The findings suggest that the divorce rate in Taiwan will increase if the fertility rate or males' income decrease, and if female education, male unemployment rate or females' income increase. The results also indicated that the new Taiwan family code gives more right to women in term of child custody and financial support, which also indicates a positive relationship of family code with the divorce rate (Hsing, 2003).

Hence, the models of this research will be based on the socioeconomic theory suggesting that social and economic factors affect each other.

METHODOLOGY

Ordinary least square regression with First Difference

In his study, Kalmijn (2007) used an OLS regression analysis in order to investigate the factors affecting the divorce rate in 31 European countries. Zhi, Wei, and Hayong also used an ordinary least square regression to examine the effect of household production and asset prices on the divorce rate variation in the USA (2012). Hope Scott, Paul Berger, Bruce and Weinberg conducted a study to examine the main factors influencing the divorce rate in the USA (2011). The research used the OLS regression analysis to determine that the USA change in divorce rate is mainly influenced by age at marriage, the level of education, and the children before marriage in different regions of the country (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011). Similar to the previous studies, this research will be using an ordinary least square regression analysis to determine the effect of the new family code, age at marriage, media, the different levels of education, annual income, and fertility rate on the change of divorce rate in Morocco for both males and females.

Bailey and Eicher claimed that societies today are experiencing a simultaneous economic, technological, educational, and social growth (2000). In this research, we used technological, social, and economic time series data that is also experiencing simultaneous growth. In order to eliminate the effect of this synchronized data growth through the years, the first difference will be used (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). The model selection using first difference is used if the linear trend model offers a perfect fit to a time series (Winner, 2003). Hence, since this research is using a time series data, it will be using the first difference method in order to eliminate the effect of time (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). In order to use the OLS regression with first difference, the normality and linearity assumptions should be respected (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012).

The Models

The findings of Scott, Berger, and Weinberg research showed that the increase of the age at marriage and the fertility rate per family are negatively related to the divorce rate, while the education level is positively related (2011). In his study, Been examined the relationship between mass media and the change of the divorce rate in the UK (2010). It was found that the increase of mass media consumption in the last decade is related to the increase in the divorce rate in the UK (Been, 2010). It was also suggested that Moudawana new family law helped on the facilitation of the divorce process, which lead to the increase of the divorce rate in Morocco (Mdidech, 2010).

Amato and Previti, (2003), Walzer and Oles (2003), and Hewitt (2008) all suggested that the divorce motives of men differ from those of women. Hence, the two models of this research were inspired from the factors influencing the divorce behavior in UK, USA, and Taiwan. Accordingly, the two models answer the question of how Moudawana new family code, age at marriage, media, the different levels of education (primary school, secondary school, high school, and higher education), annual income, and fertility rate can influence the change of divorce rate in Morocco for both males and females. In order to study the effect of those factors in the change of the divorce rate in Morocco, two gender related OLS regression models should be constructed to examine the relationship of each independent variable with the change of divorce rate (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). Since the data is yearly collected, an OLS regression analysis based on first difference will be conducted using

a first difference in order to eliminate the effect of time on the data collected (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012).

Regression model regarding females

Div = F(Moudawana, Female primary school, Female secondary school, Female high school, Female higher education, Female annual income, Female age at marriage, Media, Fertility)

Regression model regarding males

Div = F(Moudawana, male primary school, male secondary school, male high school, male higher education, male annual income, male age at marriage, Media, Fertility). In order to test the validity of the models, a first difference OLS regression analysis will be used (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). To test the significance of the overall model, the adjusted coefficient of determination and the F test will be identified (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). In addition, to test the significant relationship between each independent variable and the change in the divorce rate, a T and p value tests for each independent variable will be conducted (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). Additionally, a residual analysis will be conducted to test the error of the models (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). An influence analysis will also be conducted in order to check the outliers of the data (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012). A correlation analysis will also be used to identify the relationship between the independent variables (Berenson, Levine, Timothy, Krehbiel, 2012).

DISCUSSION

In the model regarding female, the significant variables are the Moudawana, secondary school, female higher education, and media. The insignificant variables are female annual income, fertility, female age at marriage, female primary school, and female high school. Aguirre suggests that female annual income is related to the increase of the family breakdown (2011). The result of our research shows that both male and female income are not related to the divorce rate in Morocco. Aguirre suggests that this breakdown can be explained by the female financial independence, and their ability to support their own life in case they don't feel stable in a marital relationship (2001). The increase of female income create more independence for Moroccan women and give them the chance to support their own life without relying on a male financial guardian (Sadiqi, 2005).

In addition, Moroccan husbands with higher incomes tend to afford comfortable lives to their families which tend to reduce the chances of divorce. The Moroccan society has considered the husband as the first financial provider to the family. The Moroccan family code states that the husband is responsible of fulfilling the financial needs of his family in both the case of marriage or divorce (Bulletin Officiel n° 5358, 2005). Hence, when the Moroccan husband fails to fulfill these social and legal obligations, instability occurs in the relationship, which leads to the family breakdown.

Unexpectedly, the fertility rate is also positively related to the divorce rate in both models. Thus, the more the fertility, the more is the divorce rate. However, the fertility rate is insignificant in the model regarding female, and significantly related to the divorce in the model regarding male. We were expecting the increase in childbirth to decrease the divorce rate, as children could be a source of family stability and parents' commitment. It was

suggested that the increase of the fertility rate is related to the decrease of the divorce rate in Taiwan, since children are considered as a source of parents' commitment (Hsing, 2003). However, this positive relationship can be explained by the fact that children might be a source of tension between the couple or just added expenses, which leads to the increase of divorces. Hence, the increase in childbirths can create stress and anxiety between the spouses, which might lead to divorce (Korrel, Brent, 1980). Children can, in many cases, be considered as a source of problems between spouses, which create instability in the family.

The old age at marriage has been found negatively related to the divorce rate in England and Wales (Lampard, 2013). Concerning the age at marriage in Morocco, the findings of our research suggest that the older is the female age at marriage, the more chance she will end up in divorce. While the older the male age at marriage the less chance he will end up in divorce. Hence, the female age at marriage is also positively related to the divorce rate. The older unmarried women get, the more chances they have to end up divorced once they get married. However, both variables were found insignificantly related to the divorce rate. It was found that the increase of the age at marriage tends to increase the chances of divorce in Canada (Ambert, 2009). This can be explained by the fact that the more years an adult female spends being single, the more she gets used to the individual lifestyle (Ambert, 2009). Therefore, this results on the inability of females to share their independence with their new partner, which leads to the growth of the divorce rate.

However, the increase of the age at marriage is negatively related to the divorce rate in the USA. Consequently, the older the age of the spouses at marriage, the less is the chance to end up divorced (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011). Similar to the case of the USA, our results suggest that the male age at marriage in Morocco is negatively related to the divorce rate. The older the males get married, the more chance they have in succeeding in their marriage. When people postpone the age of marriage, they give themselves more chance to learn about life, experience more, and acquire wisdom (Scott, Berger, Weinberg, 2011). Hence, getting married as an adult gives people the chance to learn more from their mistakes and accept the differences of others.

Moudawana family code was found negatively related to the divorce rate in both models. Therefore, the implementation of the Moudawana code leads to a decrease in the divorce rate in Morocco. The Moudawana family code gives more rights to females and makes it harder for males to escape their financial and legal obligations toward their wives and families (Mekkaoui, 2011). This new regulation can be a factor discouraging spouses from breaking up their relationship in order to escape marital complications.

Most females' levels of education are positively related to the divorce rate. Thus, the more Moroccan females are educated, the more likely to eventually get divorced. Education gives the chance to females to know more about their obligations and rights (Fogle et al, 2008). If women feel that they are not respected in the relationship, education helps them to enhance their critical thinking and be able to stand up for their rights. The male's education however was found unrelated to the divorce rate in almost all educational levels. The economic theory of the family suggests that the higher educational level might raise the possibility of divorce (Becker, 1977). When spouses are more educated they have better socioeconomic opportunities which makes them more independent and able to support themselves (Rootalu, 2010). Hence, contrarily to the highly educated couples in Estonia who tend to divorce less (Rootalu, 2010), the models explain that Moroccan couples with higher education tend to divorce more.

As expected, the media effect is positively related to the divorce rate in both female and male models. Accordingly, the increase in the media usage leads to the increase in the divorce rate. This influence can be explained by a number of reasons, and the main one is the body image portrayed by the media. The enhanced photos of male and female models presented on TV, magazines, and street banners distort the reality. The media's presentation of body image raises the bar very high for every individual, and people put those expectations on their partners. This factor can also lead to the increase of expectations and also infidelity, which is a major player in the increase of the divorce rate (Amato, Previti, 2003). Media has been considered as a major player in the increase of divorce rate in many countries such as the UK (Breen, 2010), and Brazil (Chong, Ferrara, 2010). Media vehicles made it very easy for partners to cheat today, which is a major cause for the increase of the divorce rate in the USA (Elizabeth, 2012). Morocco is also another example of the societies that have been contaminated by the effects of media, which is explained by the results of this research.

The tables bellow summarizes the kind of relationship between each factor and the divorce rate in Morocco. It also shows the effect of the increase of each variable by one unit on the variation of the divorce behavior.

Factor	Type of relationship with the first difference of divorce rate	Type of change of the first difference of divorce rate	Significance of the relationship between factor and divorce
Moudawana (Female model)	Negative relationship	Decreases the divorce rate first difference by 6.57%	Significant
Female primary school	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Female secondary school	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference by 0.0088%	Significant
Female high school	Negative relationship	Decreases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Female higher education	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference by 0.15%	Significant
Female annual income	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Female age at marriage	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Media (Female model)	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference by 0.0034%	Significant
Fertility (Female model)	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Factor	Type of relationship with the first difference of divorce rate	Type of change of the first difference of divorce rate	Significance of the relationship between factor and divorce
Moudawana (Male model)	Negative relationship	Decreases the divorce rate first difference by 5.13%	Significant
Male primary school	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference by 0.006%	Significant
Male secondary school	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant

Male high school	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Male higher education	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Male annual income	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Male age at marriage	Negative relationship	Decreases the divorce rate first difference	Insignificant
Media (Male model)	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference by 0.003%	Significant
Fertility (Male model)	Positive relationship	Increases the divorce rate first difference by 22.86%	Significant

REFERENCES

- Aguirre, M. (n.d.). Family, economics, and the information society: How are they affecting each other. (2001). *International Journal of Social Economics*, 28(3), 225-245.
- Ambert, A. M. (2009). *divorce : faits, causes et conséquences*. Retrieved from <http://thefamilywatch.org/doc/doc-0074-es.pdf>
- Bouziane, Z. , Ibrahaine, M (n.d.). Mapping digital media: Morocco . (2011). Open Society Institute.
- Breen, M. (2010). *The influence of mass media on divorce referenda in ireland* . Retrieved from <https://mellenpress.com/mellenpress.cfm?bookid=8018&pc=9>
- Bailey, T. (n.d.). *education, technological change, and economic growth*. Retrieved from <http://faculty.washington.edu/te/papers/eicherbailey.htm>
- Chong, A., Ferrara, E., (n.d.). Television and divorce: Evidence from brazilian novelas. (2010).
- Dahir n° 1-04-22 du 12 hija 1424 (3 fevrier 2004) portant promulgation de la loi n° 70-03 portant code de la famille. (2005, october 06). Retrieved from <http://www.cie.ugent.be/documenten/Codefamille.pdf>
- Elizabeth, K. (2013, April 15). Cell phones and divorce. Retrieved from <http://blogkick.com/cell-phones-and-divorce/>
- Joyce, J., Goldman, D., & Goldman, D. (2012, April 1). Association between the birth of twins and parental divorce. Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3069855/>
- Hewitt, B. (2008). Marriage breakdown in australia: social correlates, gender and initiator status. Retrieved from http://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/05_2012/sprp35.pdf
- House, A. (2013). The impact of divorce on our society. Retrieved from <http://thealexanderhouse.org/the-impact-of-divorce-on-our-society/>
- Hsing, Y. (n.d.). Impact of institutional and socioeconomic changes on marital relationship the case of taiwan. (2003). *International Journal of Social Economics*, 30(5), 614-618.
- Gawel, A. (2009, September). Morocco embraces modernization without shrugging off traditions. Retrieved from http://washdiplomat.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6158:morocco-embraces-modernization-without-shrugging-off-traditions-&catid=981:september-2009&Itemid=252
- Korrel, K., (n.d.). Children's impact on the parental decision to divorce. (1980). *Family Relations*, 309-315. doi: JSTOR
- Kalmijn, M., 2007. Explaining cross-national differences in marriage, cohabitation, and

- divorce in Europe, 1990–2000. *Population Studies* 61, 243–258.
- Lampard, R. (2013, July). Age at marriage and the risk of divorce in England and Wales. Retrieved from <http://www.demographic-research.org/volumes/vol29/7/>
- Malchiodi, B. (2008). Assessing the impact of the 2004 moudawana on women's rights in Morocco. Fulbright - Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Morocco: The Delicate Balance Between Traditional Identity and Modernity, Retrieved from http://www.outreachworld.org/Files/u_texas/Women_and_family_law_Morocco_curriculum.pdf
- Mdidech, J. (2010, December 06). Cher, trop cher le divorce pour ces messieurs, avec la nouvelle moudawana. Retrieved from <http://www.lavieeco.com/news/societe/cher-trop-cher-le-divorce-pour-ces-messieurs-avec-la-nouvelle-moudawana-18175.html>
- North, A. (2010, May 17). Low-income couples more likely to divorce, but why?. Retrieved from <http://jezebel.com/5540922/low-income-couples-more-likely-to-divorce-but-why>
- Nunley, J. (2007, September). The effects of household income volatility on divorce. Retrieved from <http://ideas.repec.org/p/mts/wpaper/200718.html>
- Paul, A. (2003). People's reasons for divorcing. The Pennsylvania State University, Retrieved from [http://www2.psychology.uiowa.edu/faculty/harvey/People's Reasons for Divorcing.pdf](http://www2.psychology.uiowa.edu/faculty/harvey/People's%20Reasons%20for%20Divorcing.pdf)
- Rootalu, K. (2010). The effect of education on divorce risk in Estonia. Retrieved from http://www.kirj.ee/public/trames_pdf/2010/issue_1/trames-2010-1-21-33.pdf
- Scott, H., Berger, P., Weinberg, B., (n.d.). Determinants of the U.S. divorce rate: The impact of geography and demography. (2011). *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(19), 1-16.
- Singh, M. (2012). Divorce and the media. Retrieved from http://www.divorcemag.com/articles/News_and_VIEWS/divorceandmedia.html
- Shikhani, A. (2010, October 12). Divorce rates in Morocco plunge 46%. Retrieved from <http://www.english.globalarabnetwork.com/201010127616/Culture/divorce-rates-in-morocco-plunge-46.html>
- Sadiqi, F. (n.d.). Gender perception in Moroccan culture. Retrieved from http://www.cmiesi.ma/acmiesi/file/notes/fatima-sadiqi_2.pdf
- The Moroccan family code "moudawana". (2012, October 10). Retrieved from <http://www.euromedrights.org/eng/2012/10/10/the-moroccan-family-code-moudawana/>
- Torkild, L. (2004). The impact of parents' and spouses' education on divorce rates in Norway. *Demography Research*, Retrieved from <http://www.demographic-research.org/volumes/vol10/5/>
- Weston, R., Hughes, J. (n.d.). Family forms family wellbeing. (1999). *Family Matters*, 53, Retrieved from <http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/fm/fm53rw.pdf>
- World Bank Morocco. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/country/morocco>
- Walzer, S. (2003). Accounting for divorce: Gender and uncoupling narratives. Retrieved from <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:1024066209821>
- Winner, L. (2003). Advanced statistical techniques – simple linear regression. Retrieved from <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&cad=rja&ed=0CDgQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.stat.ufl.edu%2F~winner%2Fmar5621%2Fmar5621.doc&ei=Ma69UvzrD82O7QbwvYDgDQ&usq=AFQjCNHe2SyhwxE5pciUD8MMHyHUWZnBw&sig2=ECDHM3p-f2txTV1NI7dXa>
- Yang, W., & Da, Z. (2012). Household production and asset prices.