

Vol. 5, No. 2, 2023

# IIUM JOURNAL OF HUMAN SCIENCES

A Peer-reviewed Journal  
ISSN 2682-8731 (Online)

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| A Phenomenological Study on the Lives of Low-Income Working Mothers During the COVID-19 Pandemic<br><i>Noor Najwa Baharuddin, Ruhaya Hussin, Nor Azlin Tajuddin</i> | 1-15    |
| Religion in the Age of Superheroes: Consecration and Exemplarity in Hollywood<br><i>Noor Pitafi</i>   | 16-30   |
| Coping Strategies in Response to Riverine Floods During Pandemic Time: A Household Study in Kurigram, Bangladesh<br><i>Sohela Mustari and Md. Shamim Hossain</i>    | 31-44   |
| Work-Family Interface in Malaysia: Perceptions of and Perspectives by Muslim Women<br><i>Zulqernain Haider Subhani, Bouhedda Ghalia, Rohaiza Rokis</i>              | 45-61   |
| Urbanisation, Land Resources and Social Change in Tinghir<br><i>Odghiri Moulay Abdallah</i>   | 62-78   |
| An Examination of Salafiyah Scholars' Discourse on Kneeling and Bending as Manners of Greeting in Islam<br><i>Yusuph, Dauda Gambari, Oniye, Olayinka Ibrahim</i>    | 79-93   |
| Necmettin Erbakan's Views on Turkey's Modernisation Process<br><i>Esra Polat Onbaşı</i>   | 94-104  |
| Dakwah on Instagram and the Potential Application of ELM and Relevance Theory<br><i>Muhammad Arie Wiranegara and Aida Mokhtar</i>                                   | 105-116 |
| Social Awareness Toward Marital Rape Among Married Women: A Case of Gombak<br><i>Nuradlina Izzati Ahmad and Rohaiza Rokis</i>                                       | 117-132 |

IIUM JOURNAL OF HUMAN SCIENCES

IJOHS

# IIUM Journal of Human Sciences

**Editor-in-Chief** Prof. Dr. Shukran Abdul Rahman, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Psychology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email:

**Editor** Assoc. Prof. Dr. Rohaiza Rokis, *Malaysia* Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM, rohaiza@iium.edu.my

**Section Editor** Dr. Ramzi Bendebka, *Algeria*, Dept. of Political Science AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: ramzib@iium.edu.my

**Section Editor** Dr. Syarifah Fatimah Alzahrah Al-Attas, *Malaysia, Malaysia* Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: fatimahalattas@iium.edu.my

**Section Editor** Assoc. Prof Dr. Zeti Azreen Ahmad, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Communication, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM Email: azreen@iium.edu.my

## Associate Editors

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Che Mahzan, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Communication, KIRKHS, AHAS IIUM  
Email: chemahzan@iium.edu.my

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aini Maznina Abdul Manaf, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Communication, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: maznina@iium.edu.my

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mariam Adawiah Dzulkifli, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Psychology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: m.adawiah@iium.edu.my

Dr. Mardiana Mohamed, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Psychology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: mardiana@iium.edu.my

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nor Diana Mohd. Mahudin, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Psychology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: nordianamm@iium.edu.my

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Noor Azlan Mohd Noor, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM Email: noorazlan@iium.edu.my

Dr. Norasikin Basir, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: norasikin@iium.edu.my

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nadwah Hj. Daud, *Malaysia*, Dept. of Arabic Language and Literature, AHAS KIRKHS, IIUM Email: nadwah@iium.edu.my

Dr. Elmira Akhmetova, *Malaysia*, Dept. of History and Civilization, KIRKHS, IIUM  
Email: elmira@iium.edu.my

Dr. Fachruddin Mangunjaya, *Indonesia*, Centre of Islamic Studies, Universitas Nasional

Prof. Dr. Fazal Rahim Khan, *Pakistan*, Dept. of Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan

Dr. Nada Ibrahim, *Australia*, Centre of Islamic Thought and Education, University of South Australia

Dr. Hassan Al Kurd, *Maldives*, Dept. of Sociology (Islam and Shariah), University of Maldives

Prof. Dr. Abdrabo Moghazy Abdulraof Soliman, *Qatar*, *Psychology* Program Coordinator  
Applied Cognitive Psychology, College of Arts and Social Sciences, Qatar University  
Email: Soliman@qu.edu.qa

© 2023 by International Islamic University Malaysia

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher.*

## Urbanisation, Land Resources and Social Change in Tinghir

Odghiri Moulay Abdallah

*Ibn Zohr University, Agadir, Morocco*

### ABSTRACT

*From its initial tribal environment, the city of Tinghir underwent intense and rapid socio-spatial changes during the second half of the 20th century that facilitated the spread of an urban way of life among its inhabitants. The transformation of social relations and their diversification, the evolution of social institutions, and the upheaval of the old spatial logics that had reigned in the Todgha valley for centuries have all accompanied the transformation of the ksour of the valley into the polynuclear pre-Saharan city that we know today. By adopting the historical approach, the study highlights the tension between the different elements composing the urban landscape of Tinghir: those imported, following globalisation, and the substrates of a very ancient local culture.*

Keywords: *Tinghir, ethnicity, oasis, city, urbanisation.*

### INTRODUCTION

Tinghir is a centre of ancient sedentary oasis people fed by populations of neighbouring nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentary tribes. As its main urban centre, Tinghir is home to more than half of the population of the Todgha Valley. For this rural environment in which it is well inserted, this medium-sized city—the capital of the province—constitutes a vital point of supply and distribution. Its weak economic infrastructure, scarce resources, and belonging to a more or less geographically landlocked region limit its influence at the borders of its region, Draa-Tafilalet. It is a centre with local influence that, in its process of urban sprawl, attracts only the populations of the tribes of its immediate environment. Shared by ethnic groups and very specific tribal confederations, the urban space of Tinghir is the result of the conurbation of the ksar of Ait Lhaj Ali, also called ‘Ksar of Tinghir,’ with other Ksour like Taourirt, Ait Boujjane, Tikoutar, Tagoumast, Afanour, etc. *Ksar* (in the plural, ksour) is a fortified Saharan or pre-Saharan agglomeration with a relatively rural tendency, often located in oases along the wadis. The latter have become city districts in their own right and have been part of the urban system of Tinghir since the agglomeration’s 1992 status change from rural to urban.

This city has the particularity of being the result of a lack of urban planning. It grew without a clear territorial policy, with no overall plan, coordination between urban operations and the deployment of infrastructures, or collective reflection, but following the constraints of a system of tribal land distribution and individual initiatives. Thus, collective facilities are scattered and poorly distributed, and the city still needs coherence and connection between its neighbourhoods and two shores. Our present article is part of a broader study entitled “Socio-spatial changes in pre-Saharan Morocco between tribal identity and globalisation”, which was based on the analysis of data collected during a qualitative survey conducted in Tinghir and its surroundings between 2018 and 2019 using several methodological tools, including semi-structured interviews, documentary research and observation. Dealing with this city's urban dynamics and socio-spatial changes required a transversal and

multidisciplinary approach, associating town planning and architecture with the human sciences of sociology and anthropology, closely linked to geography.

The historical approach is used because it allows us to understand the singularity of this pre-Saharan city and the unique composition of its urban fabrics with the most relevance. These fabrics correspond to a precise historical period (Figure 2). Roger Dion said: "Every humanised landscape is the reflection of a story."

### ***The Populations of the Todgha Valley***

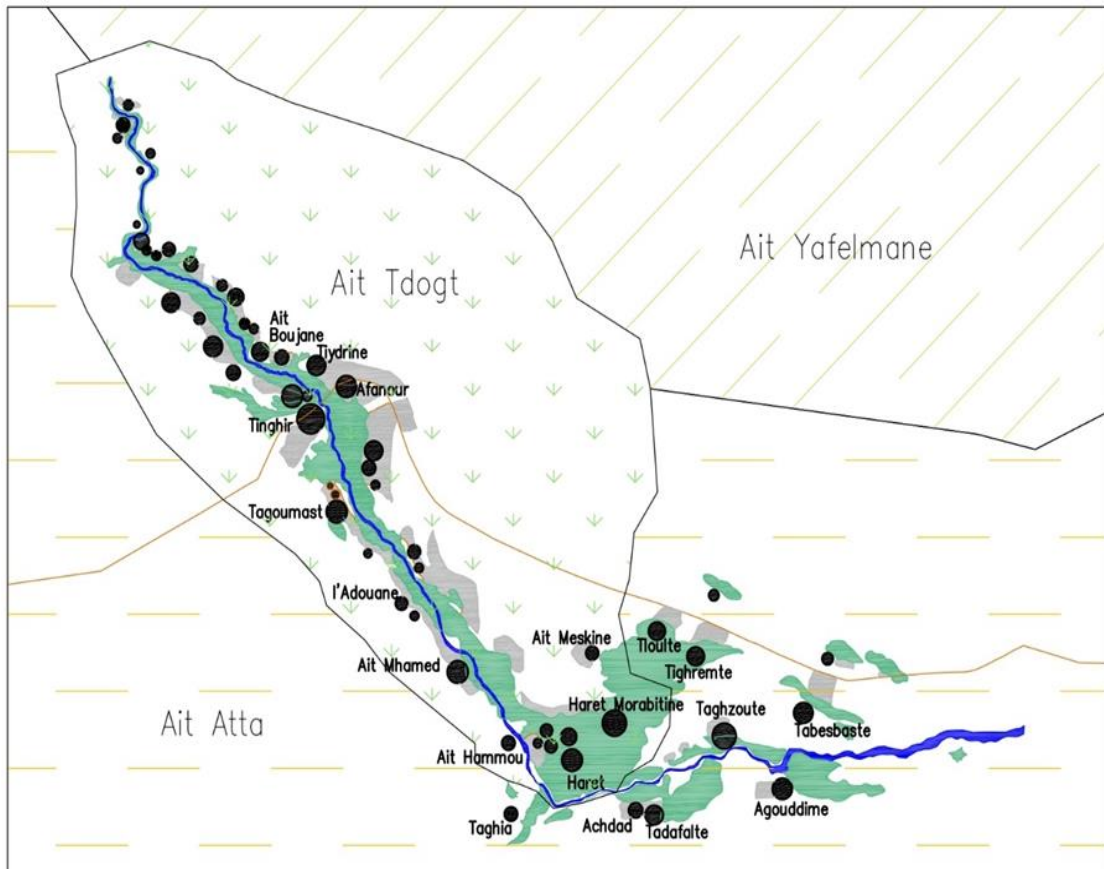
At the beginning of the 20th century, the oasis of Todgha was the most populated of the oases of North Africa, with a concentration of 1647 inhabitants per square kilometre (Büchner, 1986). Its population increased from 30,000 in 1971 to 68,500 in 2004 and 77,536 in 2014 (Haut-commissariat-au-plan, 2014).

The city of Tinghir, which is also the capital of the province bearing the same name, Tinghir, experienced spectacular expansion after Morocco's independence in 1956, especially in recent decades: from 14,500 in 1971 to 36,400 in 2004 and 42,044 in 2014 (HCP, 2014). The rapid extension of its habitat has followed a southwest orientation along the Tinghir-Ouarzazate axis. An increased concentration of activities in the construction, services, and trade sectors has accompanied the dynamism of its urbanisation.

The inhabitants of Todgha are Berber speakers known as Ait Tdoght (which means 'inhabitants of Toudgha') and are not a tribe in a sense (Bocco, 1995); they do not claim their ancestry from a common ancestor according to a unilinear descent rule. It is often mythical that a common ancestor is a fundamental principle forming a common identity of the tribe. This is not the case with Ait Tdoght, whose name refers to the whole geographical location, Todgha, as de Haas and El Ghanjou pointed out in 2000. The territory of Ait Tdoght (including the Iqabline of El Hart) coincides with the land irrigated by the surface waters of the Todgha in winter.

These are different races and ethnic groups that have organised themselves into communities in agglomerations to defend themselves better (Ubach and Rackow, 1923), including the Imazighne and the Iqabliyne (or in the plural of 'Aqbliye,' equivalent of 'Hartani' in Arabic), which Henri Terrasse (1938) considers a 'race apart'. It should not be confused with the possible descendants of enslaved Black people, to which are added the minorities of the chords (descendants of Prophet Mohamed), the Mourabitine (descendants of the saints/Marabouts) and the Jews (who left the valley entirely after independence). The Ait Tdoght are spread over three municipalities: the municipality of Tinghir itself, which is the subject of our article, and two towns located upstream and downstream of Tinghir, Toudgha El Oulia and Toudgha Essoufla. Many villages in the valley's lower part, Bas-Todgha, are populated by the Ait Atta, a Berber tribal confederation of former nomads and semi-nomads belonging to the large Sanhaja family.

The local ethnic group, the Ait Tdoght, share the current urban space of Tinghir with the newcomers from the two main neighbouring tribal confederations: around the Todgha valley is indeed the basin of immigration which feeds the growth of the city of Tinghir. (Figure 1).



**Figure 1:** Situation of the Todgha Valley between the two tribes, Ait Atta and Ait Yafelmane (Odghiri, 2017).

Unlike the Ait Tdoght, these two neighbouring confederations each form tribal units with homogeneous ethnic origins, and each has a typical representative, the supreme head of the confederation and of inter-saurian affairs, who are elected each year and is called ‘Amghar nulla.’ Tensions can still be intense between communities, and the division of undocumented common lands and the right of access to water from the Todgha wadi and to land are often a source of intense inter-tribal conflict. These historically rival tribal confederations have come to take advantage of the various urban and administrative services that the city of Tinghir offers them. Here, the province's main administrative and commercial functions are practical. In addition, Tinghir has the largest municipal markets and the largest of the 17 souks spread over the territories of the province.

### *The Colonial Shock and the Upheaval of Old Socio-Spatial Logics*

The urban commune of Tinghir, which extends on both banks of the Todgha wadi with an area of 120 km<sup>2</sup>, is located 160 kilometres east of Ouarzazate and at a comparable distance from Errachidia. It results from a conurbation of more than 20 ksour, the most important of which is the Ksar of Ait Lhadj Ali (the plural of ‘Aqbliye,’ equivalent of ‘Hartani’ in Arabic), which Henri Terrasse (1938) considers a ‘race apart,’ which should in no way be confused with the possible descendants of enslaved Black people.

These Ksour, their natural extensions, have become integrated neighbourhoods in the city and are distributed as follows: on the left bank are Ait Oujana, Ichmarine, Taourirt n'Imzilne, Ait Ourjadal, Tinghir, Ait Boulmane, Azrou, Tagoummaste, Ait Lahcen Ou-Ali, Ait Lkadi, Iaadouane, and Ait Yahya n'Iadouane; on the right bank are Asfalou, Ait Zilal, Tagounsa, Ait Bouajjane, Tikoutar, Tydrine, Afanour, Ilgane, Halloul, Tamasinte, and Ifri (Spillmann and Beaupere, 1931).

The management of the political and socio-economic affairs of the region before the colonial era was the exclusive responsibility of the tribes and tribal confederations. Each Ksar is then directed by an Ajmûu lineage committee (Jmeâa) and a kind of proximity president, 'Amghar' (it also means 'old' or 'elderly person' in Berber, the equivalent of 'sheikh' in Arabic, head of the Assembly of notables, responsible for enforcing the decisions taken by the assembly. It is a title of respect used to designate different dignitaries). If we observe the organisation of space in Todgha before the colonial era, a striking detail is that it is almost identical to most rural Maghreb societies. Marc Côte makes an apparent description of it in his book *L'Algérie ou l'espace retourné: 'The two millennia that preceded colonisation built a society with a Berber background and an Arab-Islamic culture, which presented a characterised socio-spatial logic: an organised rural society and a hierarchy of interlocking enclosures, of the house turning back to the street, to the political space with its back to the sea; a society with close ties to space, in which social solidarity was based on spatial complementarities. This organisation did not guarantee a better or worse life than other societies. Still, it included a great coherence between all its component elements, allowing it to endure through a bumpy history'* (Côte, 1988).

The Ait Tdought lived close together in their Ksour, fortified settlements. These Ksour were perfectly adapted to their site and reflected society's cohesive and compact image. They resulted from social, climatic, and geographical data, a spatial projection of the complex relationships between the components of the social fabrics and ethnic mosaics that make up this society. This original system of habitat and agglomeration was born from the combination of two movements: long-distance journeys, made by caravans, between the major urban centres in the north and sub-Saharan Africa in the south and short-distance travel by nomads between rangelands. The rangelands are distinguished from pasture lands because they grow primarily native vegetation rather than plants established by humans. They designate the territories travelled by the nomads. The surpluses and wealth that these movements produced, as well as the security balance and the control of territories that they ensured, were fundamental for the continuity of this sedentary way of life in all the oases on the borders of the Sahara.

'French pacification' is a term from the military and colonial vocabulary whose use dates back to the Roman Empire. After the conquest of a territory or the declaration of this conquest, the resistance can question the order of the conqueror. They require armed intervention to ensure order and control of the uprising. French pacification reduced inter-agglomeration conflicts to nothing (Gaiser 1968), as it reduced the need for tight, communal living in a small, secure space and made the fortified structure of agglomerations insignificant. Territorial control by the central state and its administration today has replaced the balance of nomadic-sedentary couples and the relay function of the trans-Saharan caravan trade in the structuring of space. The sources of greater Todgha have begun to open up to the outside, and the Ait Tdought have come into contact with a new model of living and inhabiting.

Profound spatial changes and other social and agricultural practices appeared with the arrival of Europeans, so the ksour began to lose their social, commercial, and religious centralities in favour of the new modern centre. Therefore, a process of profound change has been triggered in the city of Tinghir and the valley in general and has left its imprint on this city's singular spatial morphology.

The latter presents an accumulation of urban fabrics from different periods: the Ksar and the fortified compact structure founded before the arrival of the colonial age, the spontaneous neighbourhoods that followed the decline of the Ksour, and the subdivisions and planned urbanisation zones built after the 1980s (Figure 2).

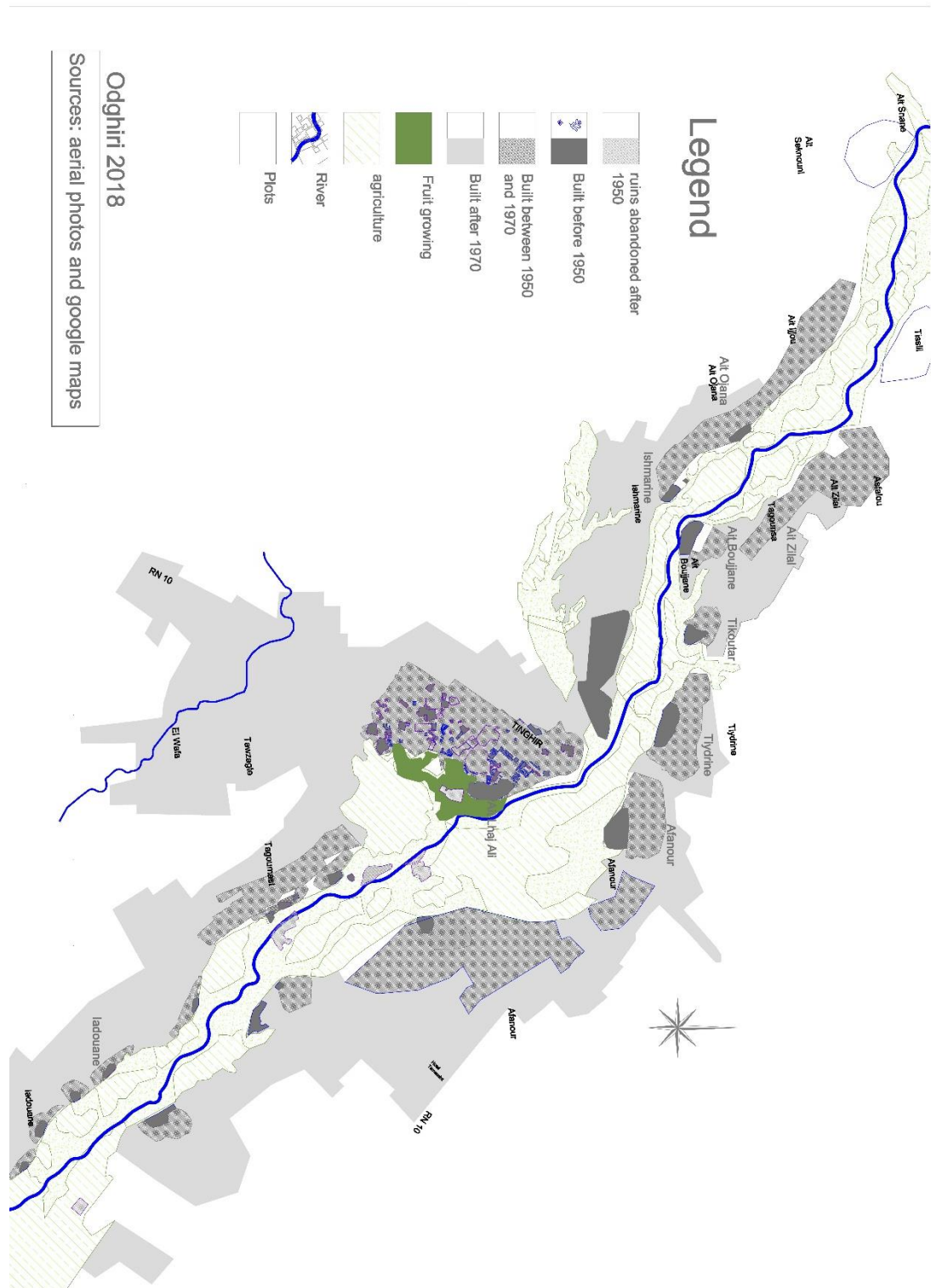


Figure 2: Illustration of the urban dynamics of Tinghir

The new dynamics accompanying the colonial arrival changed the rules of local commercial activity, building modern communication routes and spreading new means of transport, trucks. The

construction of Atlantic ports and the control of cross-border movements with Algeria at the national level ended the trans-Saharan trade that had greatly benefited Tinghir. The control of rangelands reduced pastoralism activity and led to the disappearance of many herds. A new economic and spatial structuring was implemented oriented around the division of labour and increased production on the market. Such a hierarchically ordered supply organisation superimposes the periodic market system and diminishes its importance as a point of exchange for rural goods. At the same time, these goods lose the interest of the inhabitants, who quickly change their consumption habits. The growing number of immigrants in Europe has accelerated this new culture of consumption among the valley's inhabitants and has led to an unprecedented process of derealisation.

### ***The Monday Souk: Evolution of a Social and Economic Institution***

Trade has been one of the sources of wealth and power in the Ksourian city of Tinghir since the 9th century. Its souk was the most important in the region, even at the time of *Siba*. *It was* a term used in Moroccan political jargon that means 'anarchy,' designating the political and social protest that opposes the Moroccan central state. It was neutral ground where all the tribes came to get supplies or distribute their goods (Ubach and Rackow, 1923). Tinghir benefited from certain attractive features, including its advantage as a key geographical location in the heart of a Saharan depression, which has always made it an essential passage.

The city was a stopover valley for the old caravan route that linked Marrakech to Tafalilet. The Ait Todgha's security independence and the souks' neutrality also strengthened Tinghir's position in pre-Saharan trade. The Monday Souk has undeniably allowed Tinghir to establish itself as the essential trading centre of Todgha, and it is also attractive to the two neighbouring oases, Tafilalet and Draa. This souk resumed its significant commercial role in the region under new circumstances after French pacification and the colonial authorities' direct administration of the Todgha Valley in 1931. The latter adopted measures that left marks in the socio-spatial structures of the valley still seen today.

With the construction of modern roads modelled on the existing caravan routes, Tinghir regained its vitality and its role as a relay station. It has become a compulsory station for the new bus lines, which daily link Er-rachidian to Marrakech, allowing people to move to and from major Kingdom centres and goods from the Alhaouz plateaus to find their way to Tinghir. In addition, the city has many public buildings, partly installed by the protectorate, including the former office of Indigenous Affairs, which became Pachlik, as well as other services, such as the hospital and the court, just next to the Ksar Ait Lhaj Ali. We are witnessing the constitution of the first urban references of the new modern city of the valley.

The broad outlines of the new order desired by the French authorities can be seen in their first decisions regarding urban expansion. They let a new modern neighbourhood be built, with a synagogue, for the Jews who emancipate themselves by separating once and for all from their status as protected from the great families of Ait Lhaj Ali. The benefits of this ascent for the Jewish community were clear: they went from a cramped neighbourhood wedged between the Ait Lhaj Ali and the Iqabline to a modern neighbourhood outside the ksour enclosures and directly connected to the central alley of the whole new modern city. The protectorate advanced another group in this new social order: Imazighen notables, including their caïds, and the new carefully chosen sheikhs were authorised to build their Casabah outside the walls of the ksour alongside the new service buildings. Through this apparent spatial projection, the new authorities wanted to highlight the sociopolitical status of these two groups (Büchner 1986).



The new masters of the valley also reinforced Tinghir's commercial advantages. They ordered the construction of a new, more modern souk (Figure 3).



**Figure 3:** Illustration of urban development around the Tinghir souk (Odghiri, 2019).

It is near the old one, surrounded by permanent shops, permanent points of sale, and Kissaria. Urban markets were generally located in the medina (Morocco) and used for individual and collective

transactions. Shops sprang up on the main street alongside the new Mellah (Jewish quarter of Moroccan cities). Newly resettled Jewish community traders opened them. These merchants even opened the first hotel restaurant in the valley (Büchner, 1986).

The transition to the postcolonial era was very discreet, and the takeover by the authorities of the independent national state did not affect either the politico-administrative position of Tinghir or its commercial role. The new urban centre of Tinghir, the local influence of which was limited to its outskirts and neighbouring territories, brought together the functions of any small town in the national urban fabric at the time: it has a souk/market offering all kinds of fresh produce as well as livestock since it had a slaughterhouse. There was plenty of meat in the stalls of its businesses. This souk is a place of exchange par excellence and is visited by merchants from afar (outside the region) but also by consumers and small traders from the neighbouring ksour. All service establishments, including civil status, gendarmerie, money transfer services, postal services, and hospital services, would run at total capacity on Monday market day. The growing commercial activity of the city of Tinghir eventually prompted the Moroccan authorities to build a new, larger souk in 1976.

This is how the new business centre of Tinghir was born around the souk, newly reinstalled by the protectorate and following the footsteps of the ancient souk. The transfer of money from immigrants and the flow of tourists facilitated the installation of services in Tinghir, which exceeded large pre-Saharan cities such as Er-Rachidia or Ouarzazate regarding the volume of trade and the diversity of products and services.

Immigration and tourism are two major driving sectors of the valley's economy, allowing for the injection of large monetary masses into the regional economy and, therefore, promoting other activities directly or indirectly. In 1976, Tinghir also succeeded in attracting one of the first five banking subsidiaries installed in the two provinces of the south-east of the Kingdom, which was built on one of the plots of the former wheat threshing floor of the ksar Ait Lhaj Ali.

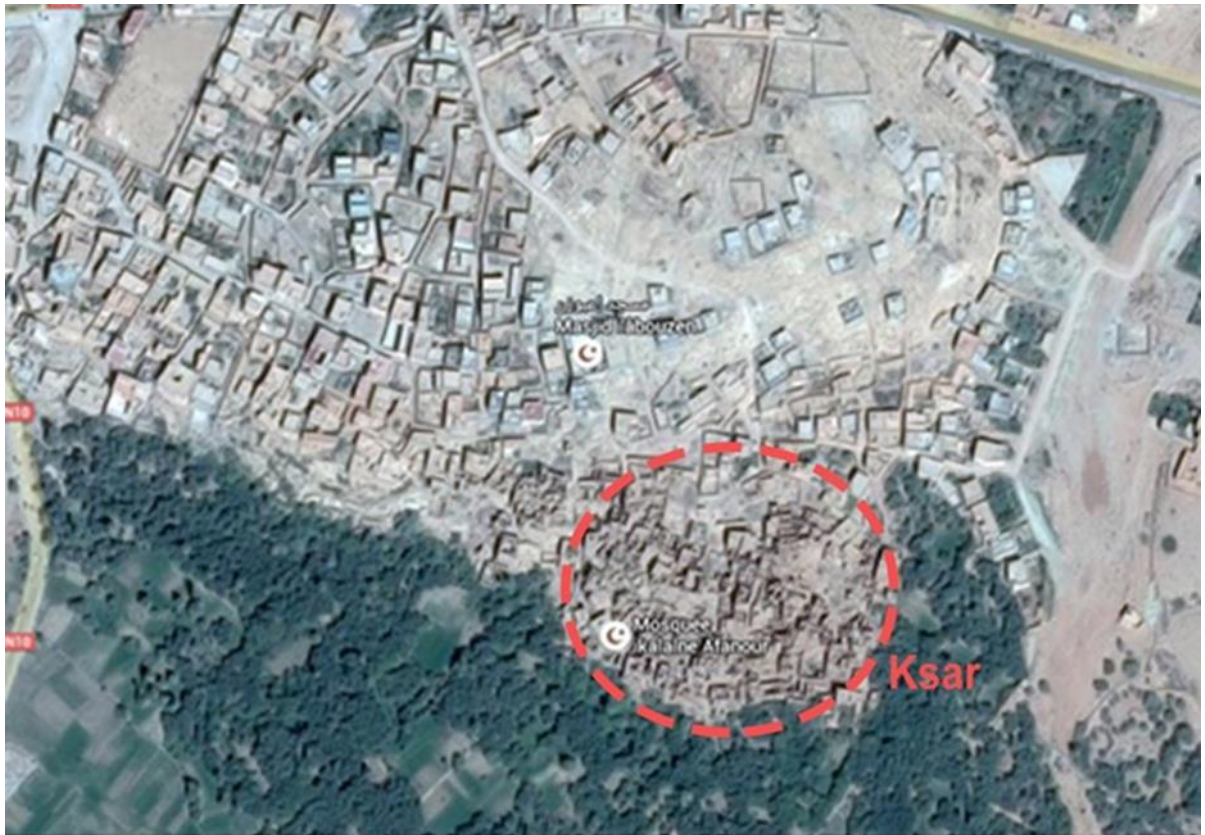
The commercial activity around the souk and its dynamics helped lead to the emergence of the Tinghir 'Loop' (the name of the historic centre and business centre of Chicago) around which the current city has developed. It has become an urban centre of gravity, attracting populations outside the Todgha Valley towards the town. This centre remains the main engine of urban dynamics and ethnic diversity in Tinghir. Agriculture, for its part, still participates in the stimulation of the urban economy and remains a vocation for many Tinghir families and one of the identity pillars of the valley. Despite its decreasing weight in the local economy and losing its dominant place in the valley's activities, it still supplies the city's markets. It provides the materials necessary for the development of regional crafts. The agricultural sector and the peasant presence in the centre of Tinghir influence its urban landscape and give it originality. By participating fully in daily urban life, maintaining their social practices, and appropriating the urban space in their way, the peasant-citizens leave their visible mark on the urban space of Tinghir. In addition to the imposing geographical landscapes and the oasis agriculture which dominates its spaces, the city of Tinghir is therefore structured by, among other things, agricultural activities and by the peasant society.

### ***Post-saurian Villages and the Logic of Customary Law***

The arrival of the protectorate and the following structural changes triggered the abandonment process of the ksar in Todgha. This process was in full swing at the end of the 1950s and continued until the 1970s. By 1975, more than a third of the population of Todgha lived outside the ksour enclosures. The Investigation of Caïdat Tinghir was conducted at the end of the 1970s. New buildings were



constructed on non-agricultural land on the perimeter of each ksar in areas depending on the collective property of the ksourian community—the multiplication of buildings spread in all directions (Figure 4).



**Figure 4:** Aerial photo of Afanour, illustrating the unplanned extension of Ksar Afanour

*Source:* Google Maps

We are witnessing a complete framing of the two banks of the Wadi. The acquisition of construction land follows the traditional legal order of the Ait Tdought communities and is done according to local customary laws. Amghar and Jemaâ, or the governing body of a Ksar or tribe that settles disputes between members of the tribe, organises legislation and diplomacy, and handles defence efforts, etc. The members of a jemaâ serve until their death (or their impotence). The jemaâ only have to respect the width of the tracks, with the sole aim of ensuring the passage of trucks on the main roads of these new construction areas. The authorities were discreet in these property division transactions. Their intervention was reserved for complicated disputes that the local Jemaâ could not resolve independently.

The total absence of control by a town planning department and the administration of the authorities was apparent, with the architectural choices left to the building owners and their builders (e.g., height, volume, distance from property boundaries, number, size, and shape of openings; materials and their textures; etc.). For those with the financial means, using expensive materials and spectacular architectural volumes represents an excellent opportunity to indicate their social status. This process has done much harm to the architectural and urban heritage of the region despite the authorities and civil society taking a greater interest in preserving the valley's unique urban and architectural landscape in recent years. The only factors that mattered were the financial means of each individual and, above all, access to land and building land.

Access to land ownership depends on the assets of one's community. Private ownership is uncommon here; the vast majority of land is owned by ethnic groups and managed by the Ksar community. When the size of the collective lands of a ksar is small, and the possibilities of extending the building zones are minimal, there is a prior division of the totality of the lands between the rightful claimants. The result is reflected on the newly built space by a regular parcel checkerboard, as in Ait Bouajjane (Fig 5). This type of land distribution also implies preserving the stratified scheme of ksar society in these new spaces. Indeed, in this previous distribution, the Jemaa and the Amghar had supervised the equitable sharing of all the land between the three lineages of the ksar: Ait Isfane, Ait Hammou Ouali, and Ait Qeddi. Each line had shared its lot among its large families, and then each large family shared its share among the constituent nuclear families. The members of the same large family remain neighbours, with the prominent families of the same lineage grouped in the same lot.

The accelerated urbanisation of the old agglomerations that gave birth to the city of Tinghir in its current image through the consistent destruction of a unique landscape decorated by the ksour that dominated the valley, jostled the glaring social differences and sclerotic ethnic compartmentalisations, without the make disappear.

These urban dynamics have also highlighted the logic of the linear city of Arturo Soria to the Tinghirois territory, and the national road n°10, which links Ouarzazate to Er-Rchidia, has become the central point around which the urban space is organised and structured from the city. Spanish town planner Arturo Soria imagined the linear city at the end of the 19th century, which Soviet architect Nikolai Milioutin then developed. It is a form of town planning constituted by a city extending in length around a central axis.

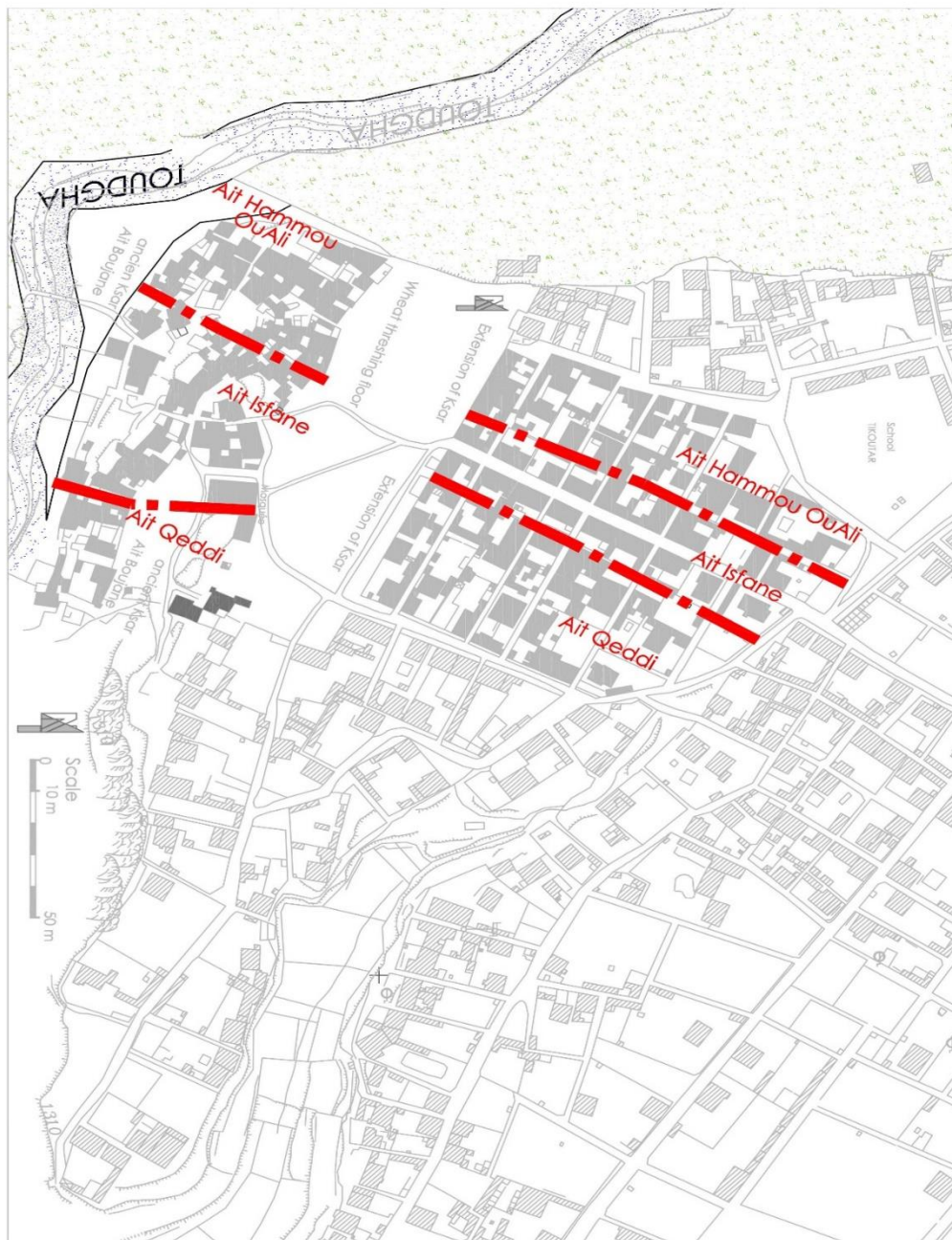
The influence of new communication routes and modern means of transport on all human activities have oriented the spread of the city around this central road axis. Linear urbanism is the law, not only in the centre of Tinghir but also in the outskirts. Strips of new construction, the layout of which is modelled on the roads, dominate the urban and peri-urban spaces and link the nearby villages to each other. This is the case for many of the villages, including the communes of Todgha Essofla and Taghzout n'Ait Atta, which are almost linked to Tinghir. The advantages of proximity and access to urban infrastructures are guaranteed to the inhabitants of these villages and make it possible to strengthen their attachment to the Tinghirois urban fabric and live in rhythm with its dynamics.

### ***The Polynuclear Conurbation of the Ksour and the Territorialisation of The Ethnic Group in the City***

As previously mentioned, the first nucleus of the urban centre developed next to the ksar of Ait Lhadj Ali, where the French colonial authorities had established their administrative buildings. The construction of residential houses outside the enclosure of the ksar and near the administrative buildings was intense. The other ksour in the valley went through the same process, though at a lesser intensity, to give birth to the current municipality as a veritable conurbation absorbing the neighbouring ksour.

The simple spatial reading of the map of Tinghir makes it possible to identify the sources and their spread in their territories. The common ethnic lands, at the perimeters of each of these sources, were divided between the beneficiaries according to local customary law. Each urban district around a ksar is, therefore, almost entirely mono-ethnic and corresponds to a specific geographical location in the urban space of Tinghir. Thus, there is a territoriality of ethnicity in the city.

The current city centre, or the mixed central zone composed of habitats, administrations, and various services, was formed in an area of a natural extension of the ksar Ait Lhadj Ali. Spread over the western regions of the city, these neighbourhoods represent a natural sociological diversity. At the same time, the south, east, and north remain quasi-uniform ethnic blocks monopolised by the descendants of the lineages of the ancient ksour. The new settlements in these post-saurian neighbourhoods have kept their ethnic homogeneity but have completely lost the old logic regarding the structuring and distribution of spaces within the old agglomerations based on partitioning and lineage-based segregation. The old logic of space occupation has thus almost been erased, except in the case of Ait Boujane (Figure 5).

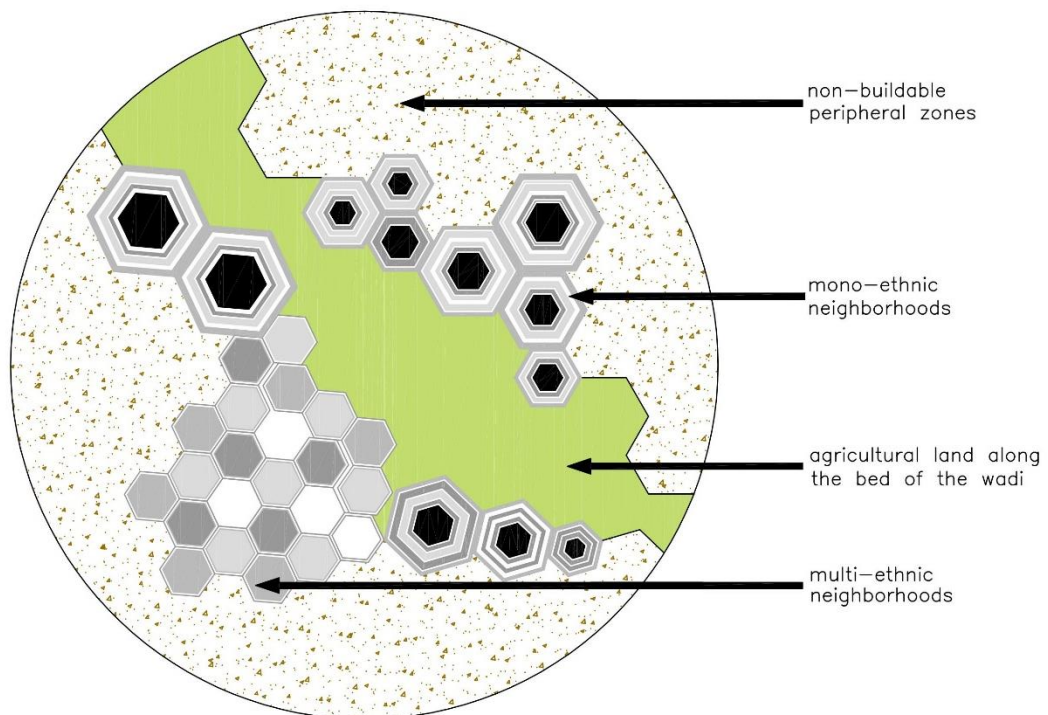


**Figure 5:** Plan illustrating the extension of the ksar Ait Boujane (Odghiri, 2019).

Except for Ksar Ait Lhaj Ali, geographical constraints have positioned the Ksour on the perimeter of Tinghir between the mountains and the fertile green shores of Todgha, where construction is



impossible or prohibited. Only the western part, the historic site of Tinghir and its Souk, opens onto the flat land along the limits of the Attaoui commune of Ouaklim. The new subdivisions are located in this area, and the urban sprawl has followed the western axis on both sides of the “route nationale 10” in the direction of Ouarzazate. The appearance of these first subdivisions paved the way for the acquisition of building plots in the city for the populations not originating in the valley, majorly comprised of Ait Atta. Tinghir was almost reserved for Ait Tdought until the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, which saw the arrival of the first waves of former nomads in Tinghir and the districts of Bougafer, Tichka, Khamsiyn-Dar, Tawzagt, etc. The era of subdivisions has brought extra-Todghawi residents back to the urban centre of Tinghir and created a diversity that is beginning to reinforce a culture of pluralism and enrich the city's cultural landscape. The further we move away from the southwestern districts, the more the settlements form mono-ethnic spaces. The mix is generally more significant along the national road, given the market value of land near the traffic lanes (Figure 6). The Ksourian districts, originally independent of each other, each have their basic infrastructure, including a cemetery and a place for threshing wheat, often occupied by grounds for sports activities.



**Figure 6:** Tinghir City polynuclear conurbation illustration (Odghiri, 2018).

Traditional ethnic and tribal solidarity networks and groups are still alive in Tinghir, and the old social structures are still more or less maintained. The new subdivisions established in the city's western areas obey the laws of the land market and facilitate access to land-building in the town for communities other than the Ait Tdought. Our investigation has confirmed that these plots are mainly in the hands of the Ait Atta, and, in our opinion, this is due to the proximity of the towns of Imider, Timadrouine, Ouaklim (Ait Atta), and Amane squares (Chorfa), which are now almost overtaken by the urban sprawl of Tinghir. The proximity of these housing estates to workshops linked to the silver mines of Imiter Tawzagt reinforces the sociological diversity of these new districts. Tawzagt is also the constituency

that elects non-Todghaouis and often Ait Atta or Ait Yafelman from the list of left-wing parties and Tawzzagt unions.

The Ait Atta have always marked their presence in Tinghir's commercial activity since its independence. In its nuanced way, Tinghir had always been the hinge around which all the commercial exchanges of the valley and the neighbouring territories are organised, and its status as the main supply point for the Ait Atta of the region explains the presence of these traders, not originally from the valley since the second half of the last century.

The construction of the new urban centre of Tinghir, covering an area of 180 hectares primarily on the Attaoui collective land belonging to the municipality of Ouaklim, has intensified the presence of elements foreign to the Todgha Valley in its urban space. The first manifestation of this new extra-Todraoui presence is the creation of a housing estate exclusively reserved for the beneficiaries of the Attaoui community of Ouaklim, which will be managed by the real estate cooperative bearing the same name 'Ouklim.' The subdivision was the counterpart of providing the land necessary for realising the urban pole.

Since establishing town planning rules, particularly in the PA, the mono-ethnic Ksourian neighbourhoods have also begun to welcome extra-Todghaoui populations. The Plan d'Aménagement (development plan) in Morocco is the regulatory urban planning document defining the right to use the land within the territories it applies to.

This ended the traditional system of subdividing and spontaneous construction on collective land. As soon as the need for building land is felt, the ethnic community must create a housing estate, often managed by a cooperative. In partnership with the urban municipality, the cooperative prepares a request for land acquisition from the Direction des Affaires Rurales (DAR). It shares the lots when the DAR covers the acquisition and town planning services and authorises the subdivision permit. A large part of these lots is put up for sale, which will allow an extra-community presence in these districts. Currently, there are 14 subdivisions in preparation in the Ksourian districts within the urban perimeter of Tinghir.

The Ait Atta have always been under-represented in politics despite their presence in the city. They have represented up to two of the 29 elected members on the municipal council of the town of Tinghir. Only in the 2021 elections did this group have seven of the 30 municipal council seats, corresponding to their accurate ethnic weight in the city. Their previous under-representation in the political landscape can be explained by their strong ties with their villages of origin. In these former villages and communities, they continue to invest themselves socially and politically by registering in the majority in the electoral lists. The new generations, however, are more involved in urban politico-social life; they want to own the city and improve their presence in the spheres of influence and management of city affairs.

The last category of Tinghirois is of foreign origin. These inhabitants are often civil servants, liberals, teachers, college and high school teachers, and executives employed in the silver mines of Imider. They live in rental accommodations and are not landlords. They represent 16.3% of all households, according to the 2014 population census. The inhabitants belonging to this last category are often transient and have yet to plan to settle in the city. It is, therefore, neither a homogeneous nor sustainable community, and it has little weight in Tinghir society.

### *Phases of Propagation of the Urban Way of Life and the Dialectic Society Space*

Tinghir has undergone profound changes following its political changes through the decades: from Tinghir, the flagship city for nomadic and sedentary tribes, to Tinghir, the cosmopolitan city of today, passing in particular by the colonised city. These transformations, seen in the urbanisation and the city's architecture, have profoundly impacted the people of Tinghir and their relationship with their space. The continuous evolution of modern means of communication and telecommunication continues to affect the perception and image that the people of Tinghir have of their space, an effect similar to that of the monetisation of the economy in the postcolonial era and the spread of capitalism in the Kingdom. Indeed, the cultural impacts of the introduction of capitalism on pre-Saharan society resulted in the spread of individualism, the dismantling of the solidarity structures of the oasis society, the social division of labour and the strict distinction between the space of work and housing. These are the main features of contemporary urbanisation and its globalised and unified profile.

Our survey confirms that the urbanisation process in Tinghir comprises three particular phases. Most of our oldest interviewees, who witnessed the significant changes in Tinghir, agreed on these three major stages in the spread of the urban way of life among the inhabitants of Tinghir. Below, we outline these three stages:

1. From the protectorate to the 1970s, there was significant urban sprawl after the decline of the ksour, accompanied by the establishment of new communication routes and new modern means of transport. The effects of these means of transport have left a significant imprint on the daily life of the inhabitants and their consumption habits.
2. From the 1970s until the end of the 1990s, the introduction of Western ideals in the valley and the city (by the diaspora, satellite channels, and tourists) accelerated the dislocation of the structures of social stratification. The trend is towards atomising families, accompanied by a growing individualism in society.
3. From the end of the 1990s to the present day, social stratification in its old forms has disappeared, with a new, striking diversity in terms of the origins of the population of the urban centre. In addition, the introduction of new means of telecommunication has firmly connected Tinghir to the networks of the globalised world.

Each of these three major identified phases of urban development can be connected sequentially to one of the following three morphological configurations to describe their growth, taking into account the layout of streets, the design of buildings, and the type of plots:

*1. Construction on anarchic plots after the bursting of the ksour*

These constructions are often close to the sites of the ancient Ksour, recognisable by their irregular organic shape and their private gardens enclosed by walls. These spaces emerged with the bursting of the ksour, followed by their conurbation to form the current urban centre—allotments organised in uniform parcels.

*2. Subdivisions are organised into uniform plots.*

It is a development that has seen the spread of Moroccan houses and the types of housing estates found in all Moroccan cities. This is a phase during which spreading has intensified. The average density in this configuration is more than eight people per house and almost one dwelling per 100 m<sup>2</sup>.



### 3. *New urban centres ('pôles urbains')*

Currently under construction and of a very low density, these urban areas are likely to be extended and densified shortly. These are large areas with well-made main roads, but the secondary road network must be more rigorous.

The combination of diverse soils and different ethnic groups produces original landscapes of residential areas, which are sometimes very concentrated and sometimes sparsely built, with interstitial spaces between ethnic groups and the heart of the urban area. These numerous urban wastelands show the persistence of significant disruptions in the urban centre of Tinghir.

The process of urbanisation in Tinghir, described and summarised by its inhabitants into these three phases, shows us the evolution of this dialectical relationship between the spatial and the social over time.

## CONCLUSION

The urbanisation process goes hand-in-hand with gradually introducing new habits and a new so-called urban way of life for the inhabitants and ethnic groups. Based on the above observation, it is easy for us to separate the situations and compare the behaviour of city dwellers from one phase to another. This urbanisation process has led to a remarkable and progressive growth of secondary relations to the detriment of primary relations. In recent years, we have witnessed the multiplication of extra-tribal ties between the new generations of inhabitants of Tinghir, like relationships between trade unionists, militants of associations and even commercial relations that go beyond ethnic divisions.

In sociology, primary relationships, which are close family/direct, are contrasted with secondary relationships, which are less close and more of a practical nature. Berber cultural associations bring together the Aitta, Ait Merghad, and Ait Tdoght. There are also commercial, craft, and public works companies with partners of different ethnic origins, often Attaouis and Todghaouis. These changes in the social environment of various Tinghirian groups and communities and the evolution of the characteristics of this environment obey the same basic principles that Karimiez Sowa uses in his study of the urbanisation process. Indeed, Sowa defines urbanisation as a progressive reduction of the primary relations of the individual and the enlargement of his secondary ties. He considers that primary relations are of rural origin and perpetuate stability and rigidity, while secondary ties are synonymous with openness and the development of city life. For him, the gathering of groups is linked to the structure of the primary social environment of people. Still, the individual needs to broaden the horizons of his secondary environment to accumulate knowledge and information. If the oasis city wants to position itself as a dense centre of people and information, it should, therefore, combine the primary and secondary relations of its inhabitants and keep the balance between these two poles, as is currently the case in Tinghir and almost everywhere else in the new urban centres of the region.

The landscape of the city of Tinghir, the result of such recent and rapid urbanisation, reflects a certain tension between the imported elements following globalisation and the substrates of an ancient local culture. Except for the south-west districts, which experience an ethnic mix, the ethnic distribution is more or less territorialised in the urban space of the municipality. Today's tribe or clan organisation has become a moving social space with an informal existence. Its members mainly recognise themselves as Tinghirois, yet ethnic/tribal affiliation remains an essential factor that must be considered to understand local political issues and the dynamics of social and spatial change. Tribal aspects persist among the city dwellers of Tinghir (Delon, 2018) and remain an essential vector of the new urban

identity.

## REFERENCES

- Amadi L. and Agena J. (2015). Globalisation, Culture mutation and new identity: Implications for the Igbo cultural heritage. *African Journal of History and Culture*, 7, 1, pp. 16-27.
- Belguidoum S. (2002). Urbanisation et urbanité au Sahara. In *Méditerranée*, tome 99, 3-4. *Le Sahara, cette « autre Méditerranée »* (Fernand Braudel) pp. 53-64.
- Bocco R. (1995). Steppes d'Arabies, *Institut universitaire d'études du développement*.
- Büchner H.J. (1986). Die Temporäre Arbeitskräftewanderung nach Westeuropa als bestimmender Faktor für den gegenwärtigen Strukturwandel der Todra-Oase.
- Büchner H.J. (1989). Le village post-Ksourien des Ait Atta de Bas Todgha (Maroc Présaharien) et l'impact du droit coutumier, in « *le nomade, l'oasis et la ville* », *ouvrage collective d'une table ronde, cahier d'URBAMA, n°365, Université de Tours*.
- Carroué L. (2019). Géographie de la mondialisation, Crises et basculements du monde: *clés géoéconomiques et géopolitiques*. DOI: 10.3917/arco.carro.2019.01
- Cherouit A. (1987). L'éclatement du qsar dans la Vallée du Ziz et la plaine du Tafilalet, province d'Errachidia, *Mémoire de 3ème cycle (INAU)*
- Chaubet F. (2018). Faire l'histoire culturelle de la mondialisation, *Presses universitaires de Paris-Nanterre*.
- Côte, M. (1988). L'Algérie ou l'espace retourné, *Editions Flammarion, Paris*.
- Delon, Erwan, 2018. Tinghir, des Berbères du Maroc, Editions l'Harmattan, Paris.
- El Idrissi M. A., 2018. Todgha, histoire et symboles, l'histoire de la vallée de l'arrivée de l'Islam jusqu'à la période coloniale. *Dar Al Kotob Al Ilmiyah*, 336 pages. (in the Arabic language)
- Gaiser W. (1968). Berbersiedlung in Südmarokko. *Tübinger Geographische Studien, Heft 26, herausgegeben von Herbert Wilhelmy und Hartmut Leser*.
- Haas de H. et El Ghanjou H. (2000). General Introduction to the Todgha Valley, Population, Migration, Agricultural Development. *IMAROM Working Paper Series no. 5, Université Mohamed V et Université d'Amsterdam*.
- Hammoudi A. (1970). L'évolution de l'habitat dans la vallée du Draâ. *R.G.M., Rabat*.
- Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2014. Recensement général de la population et de l'habitat.
- Jarir M. (1986). Quelques aspects de révolution de l'habitat rural traditionnel dans le moyen et bas Ziz. *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Meknès n° 1, 63-70 (en arabe)*
- Monographie de la province de Tinghir, 2010 and 2013

- Mont de Savas R. (1951). Le régime foncier chez les Ait Atta du Sahara, *Centre des hautes études sur l'Afrique et l'Asie modernes*, n° 1/815.
- Revel J. (1995). L'institution et le social, in B. Lepetit éditions, Les formes de l'expérience. *Une autre histoire sociale*, Paris, Albin Michel, 63-84.
- Sowa Kazimierz (1975). L'environnement social et le processus d'urbanisation. *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*.
- Spillmann G. and Beaupere. (1931). Villes et tribus du Maroc, *Documents et renseignements de la direction générale des affaires indigènes Section sociologique*.
- Tardif J. and Farchy J. (2011). Les enjeux de la mondialisation culturelle, Lormont, Éditions Le Bord de l'eau.
- Terrasse H. (1938). Kasbas berbères de l'Atlas et des Oasis. *Edition des Horizons de France*, Paris
- Verdugo C. (1982). L'aménagement de la vallée du ZIZ, Thèse de 3ème cycle, *Université de Paris I Panthéon, Sorbonne*, 2 tomes.