

Vol. 6, No. 1, 2024

IIUM JOURNAL OF HUMAN SCIENCES

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

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Globalisation and Resilience of Pre-Saharan Society in Morocco

Moulay Abdallah Odghiri & M'hamed Mahdane

ERSS laboratory, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Ibn Zohr University, Agadir, Morocco

ABSTRACT

The irreversible march of pre-Saharan Morocco towards globalisation is in full swing, and the tribal factor remains a key element in understanding this region's culture and urban dynamics. This study aims to show how pre-Saharan populations, which are always structured by kinship ties, are caught in an oscillation between attachment to their roots and their tribal culture on the one hand and the influence of other ways of life from outside on the other hand. Preceded by a first pre-survey, which made it possible to map the ethnic distribution in the city and to understand the demographic weight of each group, as well as their community space in the city; our contribution is based on a qualitative survey carried out between 2018 and 2019 in Tinghir and its surroundings, which relied on several data collection techniques, including semi-structured interviews, documentary research and observation.

Keywords: *Globalisation, resilience, pre-Saharan, Urbanism, urbanity, tribe*

INTRODUCTION

The physical sciences first used the notion of resilience before being borrowed and widely used in the human sciences. It represents the degree of resistance of a material and its ability to recover its initial state following an impact or continuous pressure. The notion of resilience in human science has always been a corollary to the notion of vulnerability. It represents the capacity of an individual or a group of individuals to recover from a trauma, a shock, to bounce back to find an initial equilibrium state or another form of equilibrium.

The city of Tinghir, long punctuated by a temporality specific to oases and brutally integrated into global society after colonisation, is a perfect case for reflecting on the changes that pre-Saharan societies are undergoing and their capacity for resilience. In just a few decades, it has experienced profound changes in its spatial organisation, relationship to the environment, social structures, and cultural heritage.

Tinghir is the largest agglomeration in the Toudgha Valley. It is one of the most populated oases in northern Africa, with a concentration of 1,647 inhabitants per square kilometre at the beginning of the 20th century (Büchner, 1986). This pre-Saharan city, which is currently well connected to the rest of the world and is therefore linked to more or less significant globalisation movements, has been known for diversifying its population since the dawn of time. After the "French pacification" in 1919, this city underwent, in record time, intense and overwhelming socio-spatial changes that forever modified the structure of its territory. 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. It is part of an important network of medium-sized cities in Morocco. It actively participates in urbanisation and the diffusion of the urban and globalisation culture in the rural world (Odghiri, 2023).

Advanced information and communication technologies and the recording and book industries have facilitated the rapid dissemination of cultural products such as books, films, etc. All this is accompanied by the diffusion of cultural values, such as beliefs and ideological norms, that influence the behaviour and attitudes of individuals in this area. As a result of Western hegemony, cultural globalisation has allowed the American-Western cultural system to extend its influence worldwide by qualifying other cultural systems as local. However, in Tinghir, the persistence of tribal factors as important and visible identity referents challenges us at first glance as soon as we take our first steps in the city. The question of the role of this factor in the composition of the local urban fabrics, as well as the place and exact role of the tribe in the social and political organisation and the urban dynamics of the city, is unavoidable.

By focusing on tribal affiliation as one of the agents responsible for the socio-spatial evolution of this region, we highlight the social substance of the city. We, therefore, support the hypothesis that the tribal approach or “tribal” entry, as Vincent Bisson (Bisson 2006) has already clarified in his case study on the town of Douz in Tunisia, remains the main key to understanding the organisation and the urban dynamics that animate the city of Tinghir.

The spatial organisation and the progressive structuring of the territories of the Toudgha Valley undeniably depend on the Moroccan State's policies. Still, the geographical, historical and social factors are very important and remain the main drivers of the territorial dynamics experienced by the agglomerations of the Toudgha Valley and, more particularly, the city of Tinghir. Taking an interest in urban dynamics and urbanisation in the region means we must appeal to urbanism, a multidisciplinary science. The analysis must occur in more than just a single discipline's narrow room. We must, therefore, study urban dynamics and the evolution of urban practices in this city by calling on the physical, human and spatial factors that influence them. Our multidisciplinary approach will combine urban planning with the human sciences – sociology, anthropology and geography.

Our present research is based on a qualitative survey conducted between 2018 and 2019 in Tinghir and its surroundings. It relied on several data collection techniques, including semi-structured interviews, documentary research and observation. The first pre-survey that carried out this work allowed us to map the ethnic distribution in the city and understand each group's demographic weight and their community space in the city if there is a specific one.

1. Mapping the territoriality of ethnicity in the city

1.1. The Original case of Tinghir

By believing in the relevance of the case of Tinghir, our ambition is to associate our research with the scientific results that have broadened and still broaden the knowledge of Moroccan cities of all categories. By studying this case, we better understand the variety and multitude of urban cases in Morocco to help overcome the obstacles to theorising the average Moroccan city.

Our present study is a continuation of many other geographical and sociological studies that have preceded us and defended the thesis, showing urban space in arid environments as a projection of lineage structures but also a projection of social relations and policies. We particularly cite the work of Françoise and Jean Métral (1989), who emphasised the spatial projection of lineage structures in Sokhné, Syria. They concluded that the city's law is subject to the tribal order and can only be obtained by integration or assimilation into the tribal order. Jean Bisson (1986) confirms that in Elbiodh Sidi Cheikh in Algeria, the layout of the city's neighbourhoods is modelled on the organisation of the nomadic space. Riccardo Bocco (1986), in his work on the Bedouin village of Al-Mwaqqar in Jordan, which became a

town in the suburbs of Amann, shows us that this town did not escape the rule of the territorialisation of ethnicity in space since each human group of the three ethnic groups making up the community – Kraysha, Abid and Tiyahah – has its neighbourhood in the city. Vincent Bisson (2006), in his study of the Mauritanian city of Tijkja, speaks in turn of “tribal entry as a key to understanding spatial dynamics”.

However, our approach of highlighting tribal belonging to the detriment of any other socio-political organisation aims to isolate this element and study its weight and influence on the dynamics and urban identity in Tinghir. It will not want to ensure in advance the fundamental and undeniable positioning of this factor in analysing urban facts.

1.2. Cartographic result of the survey

The cartography of the tribe is, for us, a tool for scientifically testing the thesis of spatial projection of ethnic groups in the urban fabric. To produce this map, we started with the following identification criteria: the tribal affiliation of a household is modelled on that of the father of the family, even if the head of the family with children is a widowed or divorced woman since the logic of patri -lineages of the region want children to be automatically attached to the ethnic group of their father.

The inhabitants of dwellings, owners, or tenants will be presented on the map even if tenants are rare. The effectiveness of this map (Figure 2) is explained by the result obtained.

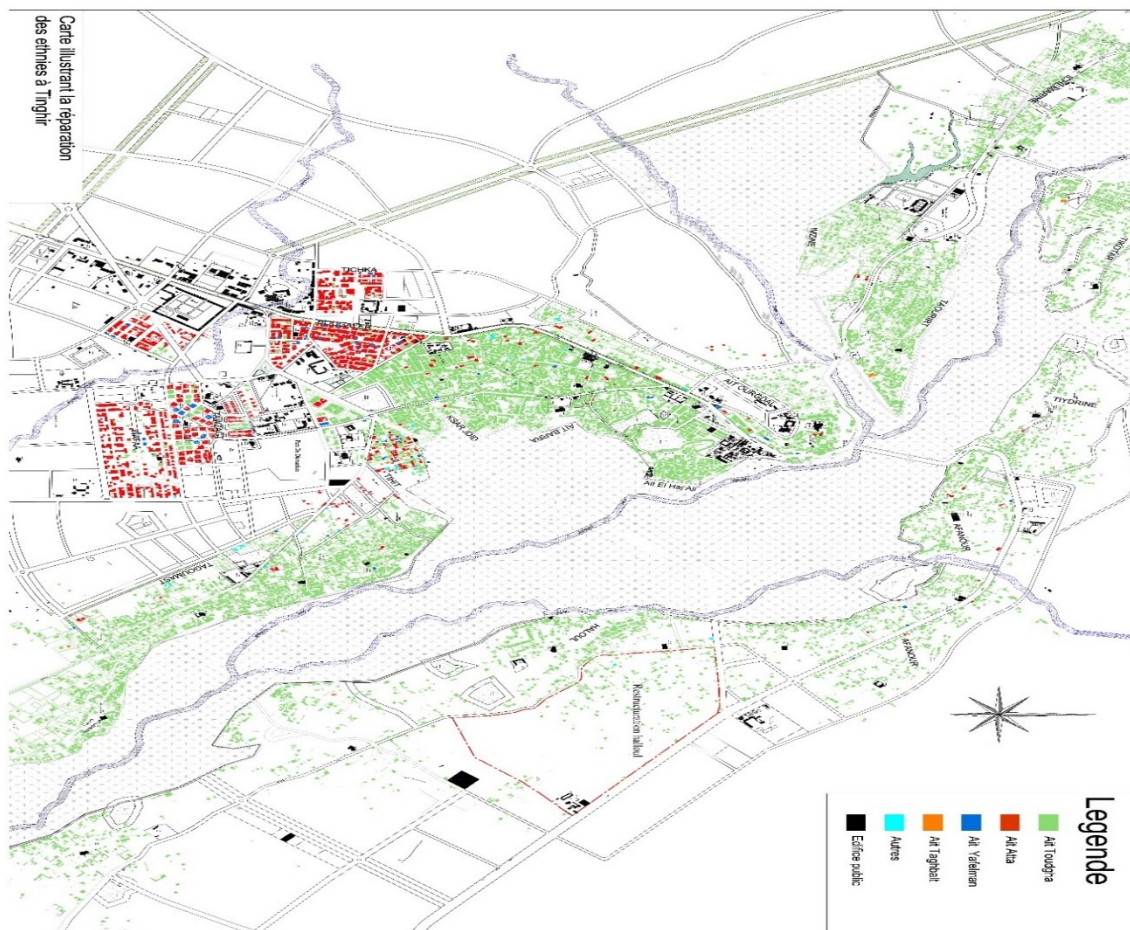


Figure 2: Map illustrating the distribution of ethnic groups in the city center of Tinghir ©Odghiri 2018

We finally succeeded in clarifying the real demographic and political weight of each tribal component in the urban space of Tinghir. This space is currently shared between the “natives” and three new ethnic groups that have recently taken over urban space. The “natives” Ahl Toudgha people represent the largest ethnic group and are former sedentary inhabitants of the Toudgha valley; therefore, they are the main beneficiaries of the valley lands and waters of the wadi. The new arrivals are mainly descended from the two main neighbouring tribal confederations, the Ait Atta and the Ait Yafelmane, in addition to the Ait Taghbalt:

- Ait Atta is the large Berber tribal confederation of southeastern Morocco, estimated at around 330,000 inhabitants in 1960. It is divided into “five-fifths” (khams khmas), all said to be descendants of the forty sons of their common ancestor, Dadda Atta.
- Ait Yaferlman is also a large Berber tribal confederation in the eastern High Atlas of Morocco, with its capital at Imilchil. It comprises four tribes: Ait Morghad, Ait Haddidou, Ait Izdeg, and Ait Yahia. These tribes created the alliance in the 17th century to counter the expansion of their Ait Atta neighbours.
- The Ait Taghbalt arrived in Tinghir after leaving their village of Taghbalt in search of the minimum means to survive during the famines of the 1980s following a severe drought. They finally settled in the old Jewish quarter of Ksar Ait Ourejdal, which is in an advanced state of degradation.

The land access conditions between the latest arrivals and the Ahl Toudgha are unequalled and incomparable. Non-Toudgha ethnic groups do not have the same ease of access to land as Toudgha people. The non-Toudghaouis cannot access the almost mono-ethnic Ksourian districts, which explains their installation in some urban spaces but not others. This impermeability of Ksourian neighbourhoods to non-Toudghaouis is seeing its last days with the new regulations in force and the upcoming liberalisation of the urban land market. The current city centre, or mixed central zone, comes from Ait Lhadj Ali, the historic ksar shared between the Imazighen who are notable there with the Ait Abdallah, the Jews and the Iqabline and still houses today two religious buildings called Zaouias: Bouhllalia and Naciria. Composed of housing, administrations and various services, its rapid widening followed the road axis of National Road 10 from east to west. Therefore, the city's west side houses the business centre, administration, and all the main urban activities.

Several factors facilitate access to the city for non-Tudgha populations in the province of Tinghir. They can encourage them to invest in the west of the city more than in any other district: the attraction of a weekly open-air rural market called "souk-Tnine" and the workshops of the Tawzagt Silver Mines, which are linked to the silver mines of Imeder, and the continuous supply of marketable building lots.

This is particularly the case in the new housing estates in the area, which facilitate access to urban land and building land in the city for communities outside Toudgha. These neighbourhoods, therefore, have great potential for sociological diversity. However, the Ksourian neighbourhoods to the south, east and north will remain quasi-uniform mono-ethnic blocks, and the further one moves away from the southwest neighbourhoods, the more the settlements form mono-ethnic spaces.

The choice of extending the city to the west was linked to geographical constraints. The rest of the ksours of Tinghir are wedged between the mountains and the fertile green banks of Toudgha, where construction is not profitable and/or impossible, even prohibited. Only the western part, the location of historic Tinghir, opens onto flat land at the limits of the municipality of Taghzoute n'Ait Atta and Imeder. The urban centre and the brand-new housing estates are logically located in this area.

Tinghir is on its way to spreading towards the west the Attaouis agglomerations of Imider,

Timadrouine, Ouaklim (Ait Atta), and Amane Niqudares (chorfa or a plural of Sherif, a traditional Arabic title meaning "noble" or "highborn," generally used for descendants of Prophet Mohammad) and their collective lands.

Today, almost overtaken by Tinghir's urban sprawl, these municipalities and their land reserves are the authorities' only recourse to solve the problems related to urban land and the extension of the city of Tinghir.

The city's sprawl was done practically on the collective land of the various communities of the urban area. Collective land is owned by ethnic communities with the right to use or enjoy it. These lands have been placed under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, which exercises its supervisory power through the Department of Rural Affairs (DAR), the prefectures, or the provinces. The multiplication of buildings in all directions witnesses 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 the rules of the art, as local customary laws require.

The changes have also affected the composition of the population of Tinghir, which continues to diversify more culturally and ethnically. However, the two large fractions which share the territory of the valley are still: the Ait Tdought, sedentary of old date and various origins, present everywhere in the valley, and the Ait Atta, who claim to be ascendants of a single and unique ancestor, Dadda Atta, whose presence was restricted to the bottom of Todgha only. The arrival of the Ait Atta in the valley is recent. Still, their presence is visible in all areas. In the city's economic sector, in associative work and politics. Tinghir is a city in the hands of Todghaoui; however, the name Ait Atta is eternally linked to the city, and one cannot speak of Tinghir without thinking of Ait Atta and vice versa. However, their positioning still needs to be improved in the valley and the city.

Their military power, coherent social institutions, and remarkable solidarity did not serve them more in occupying a priority place in the valley of Todgha, as is the case for them in Tafilalet and Draa. They never managed to enter the "club of water rights holders of the Todgha wadi". Tafilalet is the southernmost of several oases in the Moroccan Sahara, crossed by the Ziz Wadi. With 1380 km², 300 villages, and up to 150,000 inhabitants, this group of oases is the largest in the world. Oasis is located south of the Atlas chain, in the lover of the Wadi of Draâ, which extends over a length of about 1,200 km. The bed of the wadi, formed by a string of ksour and successive palm groves, less than 5 km wide (Mezguita, Tinzouline, Ternata, Fezouata, Ktaoua and M'hamid), constitutes the space where humans and dwellings concentrate the activities.

The singular ethnic composition of Tinghir that our cartography illustrates invites us to take an advanced interest in the behaviour of new city dwellers and their spatial practices. The urbanity and the urban practices of the Tinghir people and their urban identity will also be the next stage of our study. The spotlight will be oriented on the manifestations of these identities among the populations of Toudgha by observing their appropriation of the city and the urban space.

2. The tribe in the city and the challenges of a plural urbanity

The polynuclear structure of the city is identified from the first glance on the map we have produced, and the spreading was done similarly around each of the old ksour until the current status of the conurbation. The ethnic lands, common to the perimeters of each ksour, were divided according to local customary law between its inhabitants as recommended by the 1919 Dahir. In 1919, Dahir recognised the collective ownership of land by ethnic groups and left them the right to enjoy it according to their local customary law.

Each urban district around a ksar is mono-ethnic in its quasi-totality. It corresponds to a very precise geographical location in the urban space of Tinghir, a sort of territoriality of ethnicity in the city: the tribe in the city (Figure 2). The map produced puts this neo-tribalism or this re-tribalization, to use Friedman's (2004) terms, in the spotlight and shows its role in the socio-spatial changes underway for decades. Socio-spatial changes in Tinghir have kept pace with transforming tribal territories in the urban environment.

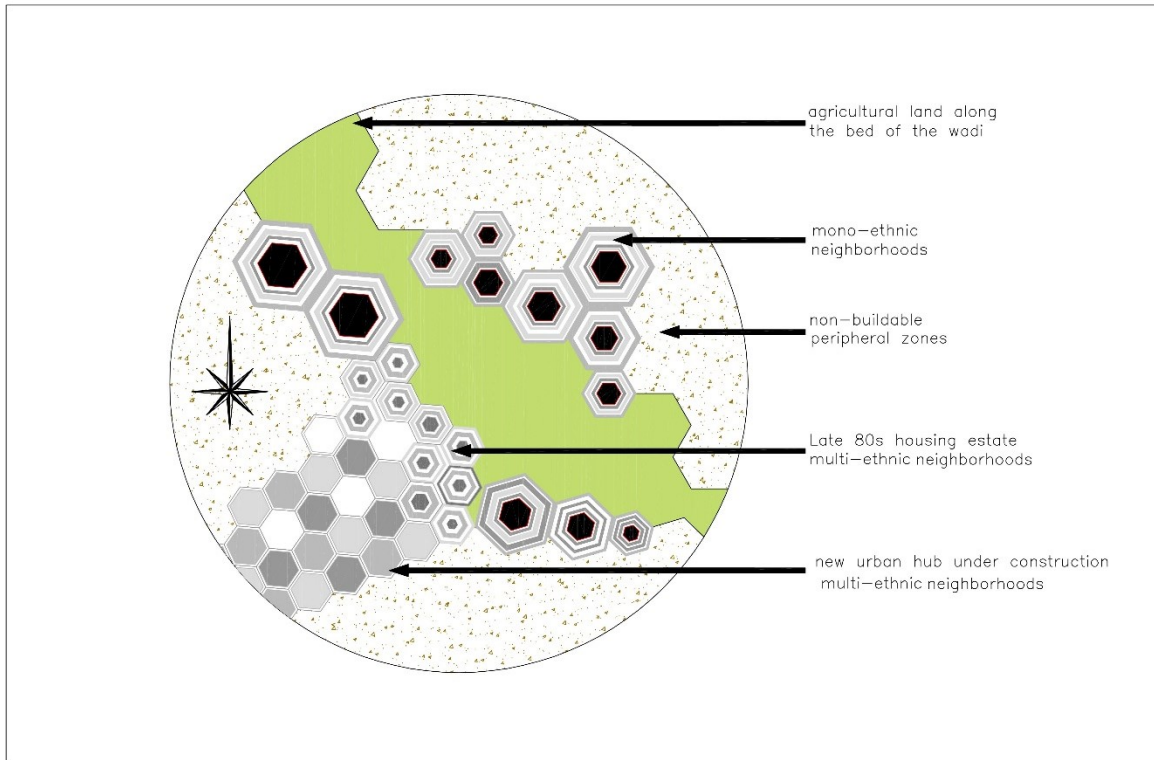


Figure 3: Tinghir city polynuclear conurbation illustration ©Odghiri 2018

Even if the tribal structures are dislocated, people continue to define themselves according to their tribal affiliation, and ethnic ties are still referenced in representations and social practices everywhere in all the agglomerations of the Toudgha Valley, despite the changes that have accompanied urbanisation in the region and despite the resulting ethnic mix. This ethnic mix is brand new; thus, the urban centre has remained almost inaccessible to non-Toudgha people since it is in the middle of the collective Lands of Toudgha people.

Customary law, recognised by the State, ensured the exclusivity of these lands to the rights holders and, consequently, their control over the city, which lasted until the end of the 20th century. Only with the emergence of the large housing estates created by state operators at the end of the 1980s was the path opened up to former nomads to settle in the urban centre of Tinghir, previously exclusively for the ethnic groups of Toudgha.

The distribution of the inhabitants according to their tribal affiliation in their respective neighbourhoods and following limits modelled on those of the lands specific to each ethnic community reinforces the opposition between neighbourhoods and territories in the middle of the city; it is “a way of occupying space, which reflects both the bonds of solidarity and the interlocking of the tribal structure” (Bisson, 2006, p. 86).

3. Cultural globalisation introduced the change of pre-Saharan way of life

3.1. *Social practices and uses of urban space adapted to tourist expectations*

The Monday Souk is the core around which the urban centre is organised; it is a good broadcaster of globalisation and new consumption habits. The variety of products found there from all over the world – food products, textiles, household appliances, electronics or cosmetics – reflects the changes and transformations that society has undergone. By ensuring the circulation of goods and the diffusion of the urban, Tinghir fulfils its vocation of structuring its large territory. The manifestations of the internationalisation of society are constantly growing, and young people are beginning to broaden their horizons of territorial identification, sometimes even feeling like citizens of the world.

Local culture is also closely involved in exchange relations, as are the economy and technology, and sophisticated contemporary means of telecommunication ensure the permanent remote connection of local populations with the rest of the world. According to Moroccan agency ANRT in its press release dated July 15, 2019, 80 to 88% of Moroccans residing in urban and rural areas, aged 5 to 39, are equipped with smartphones, including 94.9% who use the Internet regularly. ANRT in French, « Agence Nationale de Réglementation des Télécommunications », literally means National Telecommunications Regulatory Agency.

The diffusion of the market economy system in the world space brings back the universal. It puts it in interaction with the local specific in the inhabitants' daily life. Laurent Carroué defines globalisation as a diffusion process of the market economy system in the global space.

Pizzerias and burger restaurants are everywhere in the city, alongside restaurants serving traditional local dishes. The city's roofs are peppered with parabolas that receive foreign satellite channels, and the Western dress code is present in the streets. Tinghir is now part of "McWorld" and does not escape localisation nor the invasion of American culture. Finally, the flourishing of cultural hybridity and the production of common references to all humans, even in the most remote corners of the world, promote the dissemination of a global culture and the emergence of a world society in Tinghir.

At the rate of spatial dynamics, urban identity is reinvented and recomposed, and the perception of the city, its urban spaces, and the perception of tourist flows that invest it each year evolves and varies according to the individual. These tourists arrive conditioned and shaped by a precise image of the territories disseminated by the marketing machine to influence the locals. Mechanisms of reciprocal influence are at play between inhabitants and territories on the one hand and tourists on the other: "Tourists are not passive consumers since they are the ones who stimulate awareness of a cultural heritage and of an identity" (Cauvin-Vernier, 2007, p. 20).

The people of Tinghir invest in developing the major emblematic sites of their neighbourhoods, such as the ksar Ait Lhaj Ali, the Todgha gorges, the Jewish cemetery, etc. They want to highlight them all or put them in the image of what they wish to give from these sites and monuments as soon as the budgetary conditions allow it. They try to make them as authentic as possible to increase their power of seduction on the tourist masses searching for a model of oasis dwellings, a local and "authentic" way of life from which present-day pre-Saharan societies have moved away.

The success of Ouarzazate, the neighbouring oasis town, in using its local heritage as a backdrop for internationally acclaimed films and its reputation in the film industry encourages residents and authorities to realise the value of their cultural heritage. The same observation is made by Paul Claval in France in an article published in 2007: "To guard against uniformity, fashion today is to preserve heritage. As in the 19th century, it is no longer about historical heritage linked to governments, the Church

and the aristocracy. What we are trying to save today is the basis of the popular culture of yesteryear. We speak, in this area, of the duty of memory”.

Everyone wants to preserve and highlight the quality of the natural landscapes and the region's rich living environment. The diversity of the dress codes of the inhabitants of Tinghir, reflecting the diversity of the ethnic origins of its population, which has a great power to seduce tourists, is regularly supported by the authorities and maintained by locals and civil society. We often see women wearing the “rdi”, the traditional dress of the women of Todgha. Still, we also often meet women wearing “tahrouyt n'Ait Atta” (traditional dress of Ait Atta women), usually on Monday, the day of the weekly souk. Some employees in the tourism sector even exaggerate by sometimes adopting clothing habits that are foreign to the city. Guides, tourist drivers, or any person whose activity is related to or in contact with tourists can dress as Tuaregs, for example, or invent another behaviour and converge with the image of the tourists of the territory.

The presence of the diaspora during the holiday season makes the show livelier, and tourists rejoice. The festivities include weddings and circumcision celebrations. Tinghir becomes an open-air exhibition of traditional clothes and dances of various ethnic groups that comprise the city's population. You can even meet women with their hair in “qazaou” (hairstyle of the Berber women of Ait Atta) or “ikherbane” (hairstyle of the Berber women of Ait Merghad, a fraction of the confederation of Ait Yafelman), see scenes of “ahidous n'Ait Atta” (a kind of ballet mixing music and songs, specific to the Berber populations), the “ahidous” is danced by a circle of performers (alternately men and women), “ahidous n'Lafoual” of Toudgha (performed only by the Ait Toudgha). Paul Claval underlined in 2007 the same return to origins among the Bretons: “Faced with standardisation, reactions are taking shape. We observe them from the 19th century when the diversification of local cultures increased (...). For example, the types of Breton headdresses multiply; their number increases from 10 to 100”. These products are prepared and presented for tourist consumption. Still, the demand is also local: they come from civil society, city dwellers who seek authenticity and their cultural roots, and local politicians who try to identify with places. In the programme, we have folk prototypes of dances, clothes, and even nomadic tents set up for collective weddings every summer in August in many villages and emerging centres, such as Alnif. Agglomeration inhabited by the Ait Atta, about 5,000 inhabitants and capital of a rural community of about 25,000 inhabitants in the south-east of Morocco in the province of Tinghir in the region of Drâa-Tafilalet

The "heritagisation" of culture and tradition, through festivals and group weddings, perpetuates them in an identity base, which can be a marketing element. We sometimes even exaggerate by adopting clothing habits foreign to the city to please tourists, as do guides, tourist drivers or any person whose activity is in contact with tourists, who dress in tourags for example, to meet the expectations of those who imagine that the Sahara, the pre-Sahara are the lands of men dressed in blue (Tuareg).

Tradition is a source of identity, a means of connection with ancestors and origins, and a means of returning to the mythical times of yesteryear to rejuvenate from a very rich ancestral culture. The articulation between the image that the tourist has of the region, which is easy for foreigners to consume, and the choice of the image that the locals wish to give to others of their identity also produce new behaviours and new forms of use of space.

Finally, it should be remembered that tourism has nevertheless made it possible, among other things, to take care of and reproduce the local identity centres in Tinghir. Indeed, the importance of the tourism sector for the local economy has aroused the interest of public authorities who have adopted strategies to encourage this sector by launching programs to renovate the historical heritage of the city and by encouraging cultural events, such as moussems, the old traditional annual festivals, which have resumed in recent years in cooperation with local associations.

We are now discovering, among other things, local dress codes and traditions dating back several thousand years, such as the “rdi” which carries with it a lot of codes: it is a transparent white veil worn over clothing which communicates information on the family situation of the woman; if she ties it on the left shoulder, she is single, the right shoulder is for divorcees and widows, and both shoulders for any woman in a marriage relationship. Similarly, the pronounced taste for local folk dances is also an effect of the flow of tourists who invest in the region, as well as the learning of foreign languages and the growing knowledge of world geography among the inhabitants of Toudgha, whose most can locate many countries of the globe.

3.2. *The regular return of migrants to Tinghir: urban practices and social marking of spaces*

Tinghir is no exception. Migration and the world of work are at the heart of its exchanges with the rest of the world, and Tinghirois' mobility has reached a record level previously unknown during the last quarter of the 20th century. According to our on-site survey, 67% of Tinghirian immigrants in Europe and elsewhere interviewed say they return to Tinghir every year, and 18% every two years.

The first waves of immigration were markedly different from what we see daily in the news today. Migrants were forced to leave their native villages for longer periods and were torn from their environment. Driven by social, economic, and political reasons, this migratory movement, which tore many young men from their native country, was initially experienced by families as a destiny with a bitter taste they would have to swallow. It was broadcast in a documentary by France 2 on July 29, 1999, and confirmed by our survey done in 2018. It is also very clear from the poetry that women are forced to let their husbands go to France.

Félix Mora, a former officer of Indigenous Affairs in Morocco converted into a foreign labour recruitment agent for Nord-Pas-de-Calais, recruited more than 78,000 minors in southern Morocco in the mid-1960s, a very good part of which came from the Toudgha valley and its surroundings. This man will forever mark the collective memory of the inhabitants of these regions, in particular by his inhuman selection methods.

The presence of a representative of the Moroccan government in these transfer operations, which took place on the premises of the local authorities, was intended to give an official character to these recruitments. The agents of authority also ensured, if necessary, the arrival of the number of young people desired by the agents of Felix Mora. With modalities reminiscent of human trafficking, candidates were supervised shirtless, health and physical appearance being the main criteria for recruitment. “Recruits must be between 20 and 30 years old, weigh at least 50 kg, and have correct visual acuity (...). An endurance test is also on the selection menu. Recruits are often left for 3 hours in the scorching sun to experiment with their ability to withstand the heat of the mine”.

The heritage of local oral literature is rich in melancholy poems by young women from the Toudgha Valley, who witnessed the massive departure of young people from their villages. Their “timnadines” (a poem in Barber language) expressed their distress and the repulsion inspired by the mining sites in northern France, now considered “husband thieves”. Below are three examples with the English translation of each poem:

*A mad yan imdey our as-toumiz,
Iaerraten Mogha, izrit our ten-yousiy.*

How many men watched the departure
And Mora had undressed them and left them.

*Istey Mughā igiman koullou
Our d-iqqimi ghas ttaleb donna gur illi wul.*

Mora only selected buds
Only the imam and the weakest remain.

*Idda Chabab dda folkinin
Iqqimd ouzerdix, ittelagh aḍou.*

The most beautiful are gone
Ugly people make life difficult for us.

*Ati gimt llebā a tirbatin
Iddad Mogha allig agh ifdeh youghoul.*

O daughters, put on the veil of mourning
Mora humiliated us before leaving.

*A tafouyt ata our da ttaghd oul-inou
Asmun izreb, akw ur nemsafad*

O sun, you no longer light up my heart
My lover left without even saying "goodbye" to me

The regular return of these migrants to their homes, accompanied by goods and consumption habits foreign to the local culture, were effective conduits for initiating the cultural openness of Tinghir to the rest of the world. Since then, three generations of migrants have been formed, with three different logics and three different types of socio-spatial relations. The first generation is rooted in Tinghir, and its links with the members of the large family who remained at home are strong; its space links are infallible. These first-generation men always lived with the hope of one day returning home. They had invested heavily in real estate, the tertiary sector and the maintenance of oasis agriculture, betting all their savings on Tinghir (Odghiri 2023) (Ait khandouch 2017).

The second generation, or the transnational generation, whose individuals are between their thirties and forties, are detached from ethnic ties and the duties of allegiance to the local community. It succeeded in creating a collective development dynamic in cooperation with local neighbourhood associations. Mobility and double anchoring make it easy for them. Thomas Lacroix described the investment of these young transnationals in the development of the regions from which their parents originate: "They emphasise the legal formalism of associative functioning and the search for partners in the host country (...) Generally speaking, the involvement of young people stems more from an acquired modern normativity" (Lacroix, 2005, p. 96). The commitment of these young people alongside village and neighbourhood associations in Tinghir has demonstrated its effectiveness and has left its mark on urban spaces and city dwellers. These visible actors and their specific spatial practices reinforce identity diversity in Tinghir and participate in its announced opening, which becomes irreversible. Thomas Lacroix continues: "The recognition of the spatial identity of transmigrants is an ongoing process, even if, composite, it remains too complex to be fully grasped by sedentary societies based on the uniqueness of belonging" (idem).

And then comes the last generation: young people and teenagers in their twenties; they are mostly uprooted and have little connection to local places and culture. This generation has a big effect on the locals of their age. This young generation invests massively in the urban environment during the holiday period. Its practices, mostly imported from the host countries, are beginning to become the tradition and the habit that some locals try to imitate with great shyness. The swimming pools of hotels, hostels and guesthouses are full in the summer, and the spectacle of boys in bathing suits and young girls in bikinis, mostly from the diaspora in Europe, attracts many locals. The clothing practices of holidaymakers could be more discreet too: we see young people in designer clothes in the Toudgha gorges or the evening in the squares of the city's districts. Music is not to be outdone in this upheaval of traditions. We hear popular North African singers of the new generation everywhere, like Reda Taliani, an artist named Reda Tamni. He is an Algerian raï singer and musician. He lived for a long time in Aubagne, France. His music mixes chaabi, raï and traditional Maghreb musical styles, and many of his songs describe the realities and aspirations of Maghreb youth. "Va bene ya Khoutti", which mixes Arabic and Italian.

Superettes are beginning to appear in Tinghir, such as "Chez Michel," opened by a French woman married to a local. Here, you can find shelves full of products that are unknown locally but sought

after by residents in Europe and tourists. These include pasta of all kinds, as found in supermarkets in Europe and large Moroccan cities, jars of Nutella, cereals, cheeses, and all fast-food accessories such as ketchup, mayonnaise, canned food, etc.

4. Urban identity between global logics and local dynamics

4.1. Globalisation and persistence of local culture

The regular frequentation of foreign cities by some and of their native villages by others, to which is added the possibility of moving anywhere and at any time, is decisive for the inhabitants since it allows a great diversity of urban and rural experiences of individuals and the reinforcement of the cultural capital of the city. The irreversible march of the valley towards globalisation is triggered, and the inhabitants of Tinghir participate voluntarily and intensely in cultural and material exchanges with the rest of the world. Satellite dishes show how real their desire to belong to this contemporary world is.

Admittedly, having access to many television channels makes it possible to touch the entertainment world. Still, it goes beyond that: changing consumption behaviour to align with new standards is a question. This growing diffusion of Western consumer goods and cultural models has given rise to a reflex: the increased return to local cultural traditions, leading to their rediscovery. The local begins to appreciate and emphasise the particularities of his own culture concerning others. The search for cultural identity in local, regional and national references has become the other side of cultural globalisation. As an expression of cultural traditions whose vocation is to transmit a feeling of unity, the local culture has become the station of rehabilitation and orientation for all Tinghir people.

The new globalisation underlines the differences and encourages local identity reflexes in all the world's communities by allowing them to know each other without uprooting themselves. Roland Robertson's term "glocalisation" or "glocal" (Robertson, 1996), widely taken up and used by other authors, summarises this dialectic between the local and the global by treating the close link between globalisation and the persistence of local. Roland Robertson sees the world as a whole, transcending conventional distinctions between the global and the local and between the universal and the particular. In this context, the local is not only a constitutive part of the global but partly arises only with it.

The shift in the link between the local and the global implies a diversification into global products and a shift in the understanding of locality and tradition. As in the economic field, culture has also undergone a process of "relocation" followed by a "relocation" or renewal of connection. Local cultures free themselves from their geographical birthplaces to become global without completely breaking the connection. They become an integral part of global cultural offerings: this is the case in the field of music with raï in the Maghreb or Gnawa in Morocco.

4.2. Maintaining tribal institutions through customary land law

At the heart of the persistence of local culture and maintaining close links with tradition is the principle of collective land tenure, guaranteed by the jemaâ (the consultative assembly or the council) of the Ksar and by the use of customary law in property management. Indeed, the collective land regime has always been the main axis of the tribal system, a sign of solidarity and community strength. These collective lands represent more than 90% of the total land base in the province of Tinghir, and the jemaâ remains the only authority in managing these collective assets: the sharing of land between collective rights holders is done in all the cases following customary group law. Commons are not inherited, but membership in the ethnic group is by blood and descent, which gives each descendant the right to "share" in all the collective goods of the community. It is the Dahir²⁸ of April 27, 1919, prepared by Marshal

Lyautey, the first resident general of the French protectorate in Morocco, which allowed the protection of the status of collective lands, and it is still in force with small amendments that it underwent several times before and after independence.

The “jemaâ” community authorities are still present and dynamic thanks to the collective heritage. Each ethnic group has its property, which must be managed according to customary law. The jemaâ has, of course, lost many of its tasks if we compare it to what it was before the colonial intervention, but maintaining this authority and customary law means maintaining bridges with the collective wisdom of the group and the assurance that the know-how of the ancestors is passed on to the younger generation. Access to education for all has enabled local young people to learn about the glorious past of their city and the place their region occupied in the history of Morocco. More than two hundred identity associations in this pre-Saharan city, all ethnicities included, aim to maintain and preserve the region's cultural treasures.

The activists of these associations concentrate their efforts on the perpetuation of local traditions and on integrating indigenous knowledge and know-how in managing their daily lives at every possible level. The effective synergy of local oasis knowledge in construction and the agricultural field, with current scientific knowledge, is the basis of the brand image that makes the success of some cooperatives in Tinghir. This positive evolution of some local economic actors in coherence with their ancestral values is also a source of pride that reinforces the local culture's resilience without conflict with the fact that they consider themselves citizens of the world. The Tinghir people continue their walk on the path of universal citizens in a rapidly changing world while regularly resourcing themselves in their cultural specificity and maintaining the fundamental aspects of this culture.

CONCLUSION

Tinghir's identity was mainly ethnic before the protectorate and associated with tribal borders. The colonial shock restructured inter-ethnic relations and led to a new dialectic between these ethnic groups. Under permanent reconstruction, the spatial framework then interacts with the inhabitants' lifestyles and behaviours, which are constantly evolving and reinventing themselves. The feeling of belonging to the same city, Tinghir, then emerges, constituting the common reference of all the ethnic groups that compose it. However, the populations still recognise and identify with their lineage origin; they are still attached to their ethnic groups, around which their lives have been organised for entire generations.

The urbanisation of Tinghir and the process of its urban sprawl have profoundly affected all the tools that kept traditional society united: they have brought the individual back to the centre of the functioning of society and put him in competition with the group. Difference and individuality are encouraged against the unity that reigned within the group, and the fight for equality ended the principles and hierarchical logic that was the cement holding the whole together. However, lineage and cross-lineage solidarities continue to exist in the urban space of Tinghir. The new urban space has become so varied and so rich that tribal affinities rub shoulders with professional, cultural, ideological and geographical affinities and, quite simply, the complicity of shared interests. Some individuals or groups can be involved in several fragmented solidarity networks with temporary links. These individuals are often in constant search of change in their situation; the deepening of the private sphere and the broadening of the scope of individual freedoms are only achieved by the dissolution of one or more temporary relationships.

However, two identity poles remain common to all the ethnic groups of the city: “belonging to

Tinghir” and “being Berber” unifiers; these essential identity centres play the role of cement between city dwellers. These identity poles continue to spread a culture and a way of life that continue to unite the people of Tinghir around the same values and symbols. This way of life is recognisable and identifiable by its link with this city and territory. It is the product of the practices of the urban space: it is urbanity, a cultural identity fact, and a common factor between Tinghir people of all origins. In permanent metamorphosis, this urbanity begins to weaken the reference to the lineage system in social relations in Tinghir, and to bring out individual trans-tribal and trans-lineage relations in the daily life of the Tinghir inhabitants. It can be concluded that the interconnection of this city with the rest of the world continues to grow so that the acceptance of diversity and openness to differences are gradually penetrating all Tinghirian homes without exception.

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