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Трансформация сельского общества в Марокко

А. Марзук, А. Эль-Атри, С. Садики Амари, Б. Брахим

Аннотация. Сегодня невозможно отрицать необходимость изучения социальных, культурных и пространственных преобразований в сельском обществе Марокко. Эта страна познала колониальный феномен, а также участвовала в технической и организационной модернизации, интегрировалась в глобальный экономический рынок и систему глобализации с ее проблемами. В настоящей статье предпринята попытка проанализировать наиболее важные преобразования, которые пережила община сельских оазисов в Марокко.

Ключевые слова: сельское общество, Марокко, трансформации, динамика, оазисы.

Abstract. It has become impossible to deny the necessity of studying the social, cultural and spatial transformations in Morocco rural society. Morocco has known the colonial phenomenon, has also engaged in technical and organizational modernity, as well as integrated into the global economic market, and the globalization system with its various challenges. This article attempts to identify the most important transformations that the rural oasis community has experienced in Morocco.

Key words: rural society, Morocco, transformations, dynamics, oasis.

Throughout history, the rural man has been able to adapt to the environment despite the harsh natural conditions. This man worked to provide the appropriate conditions for this adaptation, by constructing castles, palaces, and canes using clay, bricks, stones, water, straw, and local products made of tree wood.

In addition, a water system has been created that relies on traditional sources such as wells, “Khattara” (an underground channel with a length between 1 km and 20 km, to bring water from the upper at a depth of 20 meters

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or more to the lower on the surface continuously to fill the water shortages in oases and dry areas) and fallow lands forms. This is to build a tight production system, to control the movement of water, soil and plant wealth to ensure its stability and continuity.

This interaction with the desert environment in the fields of natural, cultural and social life highlights the critical importance of this environment as a system and intellectual production that carries perceptions, beliefs, methods and means of the rural man in thinking and working, whether it is individuals or groups.

In this sense, architecture and the social, cultural, economic and political organization of rural and oasis areas are considered an entry point for understanding social life in its various dimensions, identifying the transformations that have occurred in it, and the various internal and external influences that contribute to this dynamic change in the lifestyle. This change is caused in part by the repercussions of the colonial policy in these areas.

These repercussions worked to destroy traditional structures based on migration, movement, mechanical solidarity, and rebuild new structures that respond to the cultural and economic requirements that have become a requirement of the modern life ¹.

Thus, the rural community faces a set of challenges and constraints such as stability, adaptation to its requirements, urbanization and the strength of its encroachment. These challenges will be reflected on the behavior of individuals and the natural environment, especially in the face of water scarcity centered on most social, value and cultural relations, which will inevitably be reflected on the farming and agricultural sector, which is the key to economic activities and daily living in rural oases.

In addition, the demographic increase in the rural community against the lack of economic resources, and the fragility of the old housing in the absence of restoration will push some to emigrate internally and externally. This prompts us to ask a set of questions, such as: What is the village community? What are the most important structures and institutions that constitute it in Morocco? How do they react? What is the source of power, is it a "Jmaa" or a tribe or a "Makhzen"? What are the forms of solidarity and rural contracts in Morocco? What kind of social hierarchy is this society formed in? What is fixed and what is transformed in it? What are the forms of transformation? What are its implications on the social and cultural life of the village?

The village community. The village or village community has multiple and sometimes different definitions, and each is determined by different determinants, to the point where it is difficult to find a comprehensive definition that can be accepted. The village community is defined as a completely undetermined model or class. Raymond Firth stated that the term peasant society applies to every society consisting of a number of small producers for the purpose of private consumption ².

According to this view, the village community includes only the people who own the land they cultivate, as they produce for consumption only. However, there are villagers who cultivate for the sake of consumption, and others combine consumption and sale in the markets. In addition, the villagers who work for wages in the lands and owners do not own the land or own some of it are included.

Referring to the etymological origin of the word villager, we find that the word Rural is taken from the Latin origin Rus, which corresponds to the word Urbs meaning “city”. This is the difference between the city and village in its activities and spatial and institutional organization³. The clear difference between the village and the city is considered a major determinant between them, because the village has a special style and style of living, the way of dress, the type of housing, production and consumption. Some villagers do other jobs and the issue of stability in both is not guaranteed, as the history of the American social heritage confirms those dichotomies between rural and urban, and that the characteristics that explain these differences are also mutable characteristics, so that it can be said that there is no purely rural or purely urban society.

The rural man is characterized by a kind of relations and interactions, and he lives a kind of compulsion, and he also enjoys a kind of privileges, within the environment in which he lives, according to the nature of the climate, and the way of living. He coexists with various variables, and it can be said that the rural community is the image of the bond between people and their institutions in a local area where they live on agriculture and in a village that is usually the focus of their collective activities⁴. In this sense, the village community presents a societal model that can be understood through the relations between the population and the vital institutions in the village environment, and agriculture is the predominant activity common to all the population. Also, there are laws and rules governing these relations and interactions, based on the type of authority that directs the services of the institutions active in this community.

Among the first who are paid attention to the rural/village society is Ibn Khaldun who deals with the countryside / village from the perspective of the economic, social interactions, and conditions or the quality of other ties that bind the population. The economy for Ibn Khaldun represents the real issue of the population groups. It is the type of production, that is, the type of economic activity that determines the nature of social and behavioral relations, the conception of group life in the place, and the consequent building of kinship, power, defense, and other consumer matters, prices and organization. Determining the rural community, according to Ibn Khaldun, is based on the characteristics imposed by the peculiarities of the rural geographical community, the relations that prevail in it, and the quality of the various structural systems, which ultimately constitute the entire life of the rural community. Yet, the economic factor remains for him a fundamental place in understanding the village level, which made it the prominent variable, which was compatible with the environment and not contradict it.

In the light of this vision, the villagers can be considered those who are interested in farming as a material activity, as they are characterized by simplicity, solidarity and cooperation over the difficulties of life, and they are united by common values that frame their relations. Contentment cooperation appears among them, and their dependence on the earth for the good things comes to them due to the rains, and their laziness is due to these factors, as this monotony made them not make great effort in obtaining a livelihood perhaps a long with the weakness of the spirit of initiative and the aspiration for the best and political participation in countries⁵. According to this view, villagers live in a state of permanent stability, and they plow and cultivate the land, raise bees and livestock, and live on the productive capacity of the land and the availabil-

ity of water, which made them settle permanently in the place, and do not live a nomadic lifestyle as is the case with the Bedouins.

The society, in its general concept, expresses a social group or a group of individuals who have their own characteristics and specifications in terms of the type of relationships and interactions, defined by a valuable cultural background, including morals, rituals, customs, traditions, laws, religion and certain field determinants. When the village is attributed to a society, it can express a village society with the peculiarities of the human beings and the rural area, which depends on agriculture and farming, and forms of solidarity and contract, governed by Sharia, custom and law, just as this society is not devoid of authority and social “arrangements” and a way of traditional life, as well as a lifestyle based on subsistence. It also has architectural features, and a pattern of priorities and needs.

Rural society, then, is a group of people who have a feeling of belonging to a specific area in which they live, and they are linked by a set of different and varied relations based on the characteristics of an association.

The agricultural activity is not the only one, and it may be the most prominent, because there are villagers who do not own land and may not work in paid agricultural estates. Also, defining the village community is difficult to trace back to geographic or demographic determinants, or to an agricultural activity without another. It is a world characterized by a special culture and qualitative ties that contrast completely with the urban ones. Yet, there may be an overlap between the rural and the urban places due to a set of economic political, cultural and social factors. These factors resulted from the phenomenon of globalization became with him talk about the absence of a purely rural society or a purely urban society.

Makhzen and notables. The Makhzen is a political institution that exists in itself. It has its mechanisms, structures, means and laws used when the Makhzen operate in its dealings with any organization, person or a specific group. It always seeks to embody its presence in all times and places by virtue of authority and control. In addition to referring to the place where the money is kept, it refers to all the workers entrusted with storage and preservation, and thus the Makhzen has exceeded the place of storage in its definition to its workers who work in its department, and by virtue of the authority that possesses the money, and in view of the oppressive conditions under which this money is collected, The Makhzen family has become a special authority that is strengthened and rooted in the societal scene, and thus the word no longer has a purely financial and economic dimension, but rather refers directly to the field of power ⁶.

The concept of the Makhzen has not been stable, as it develops according to social variables, political transformations, and the degree of social maturity. In his current concept, it refers to the state with its authority and prestige, so defining it procedurally leads to considering it just as the village community considers it, that it represents, in addition to Makhzen men of the local authority, the sheikhs and the Mkadems, the security forces, the gendarmerie, the Makhzen’s men, the army, the auxiliary forces, education, health and agricultural employees and the agricultural loan and the post ⁷. In this sense, the Makhzen includes everyone who enters the administrations of state institutions, as the peasants often find them calling all state employees the storeroom,

for example, as if they say “you count on the Makhzen” or “you work with the Makhzen”.

The Makhzen officials are not chosen by chance or in vain, but they are among those who rooted themselves in power before, during or after colonialism, and their families had relations with the storehouse or the colonizer, material, moral or otherwise on the inhabitants of the deserts. Sometimes these families refer to society and the state in the social and political conditions that prevailed before colonialism. Other times, it is related to “new notables” produced by the dynamism of colonial times, or by that decisive phase that witnessed the end of colonialism and the consolidation of the state after the colonial period ⁸.

In choosing or reproducing the elements of local leadership, the authority of the center requires personalities who are able to work and act in their favour, being awake up to a significant number of the population, and in control of a certain fields with an ideological framework capable of competition and persuasion ⁹. So, choosing local leaders in relation to the store presupposes the condition of being open to all the structures of the village community, and the condition of power and control over a specific area, in addition to the ability to possess the means and mechanisms of persuasion associated with special popularity, as the leader is part of the formations of the tribe’s domain, and that he is fully aware of phenomena and mysteries.

In this regard, we can define the elite of power according to the means of force, just as it is for those who occupy positions of command ¹⁰. It is an authority that is based on a specific hierarchy according to integrated functions, all in order to achieve the extension of the Makhzen within the village community, and to preserve its various interests, and thus directly or indirectly controls the movement or static decision-making within this world.

So, a Mkadem is appointed by the Caid on every three or four Douars. Also, three Mkadems are headed by the sheikh, then the caliph, who acts as the deputy of the Caid. All of these people, with the exception of Caid, who is considered a foreigner to the region, belong to the same place, and have relations with the residents ¹¹.

The roles of the Makhzen within the village community have changed and expanded greatly, and this change depends on the changes in the roles and functions of the notables within the tribe. general. A sheikh or a group member is required to have leadership and courage, and has the power to confront opponents, defends the interest of the population, and be generous and able to sacrifice his money and time for the public interest. However, the temptations and privileges that the Makhzen provided to the notables, at the level of authority, money, real estate and land made this group work largely in favor of the Makhzen’s authority, but rather to defend the interests of the population, as the establishment of institutional structures within the tribe is done by the store, which determines, controls and limits its conditions and authority. The sheikh and the Mkadems today have become state employees, receiving a fee for their services, and a means of transportation to facilitate their work.

The notables, whether direct or indirect, are constantly present in all times and places, and in all areas and local, regional and regional institutions, and their presence is embodied by power, which highlights the actual presence of the storehouse authority.

Jmaa institution. “Jmaa” constitutes one of the basic structures of the tribe, and it emerges from the population in order to defend their interests, and to regulate the relations between them and the neighboring tribes, and thus it assumes major roles and functions in all areas of the minor tribe. It is a group of representatives of the families and the fractions in the palace “Lags-sar” managing its affairs as a social and political entity ¹², and thus, it can be considered a social and political institution, as a “community” body organizes the relationship between the members of the tribe internally, and between the tribes in their relationship with other tribes and with the Makhzen ¹³.

They are also “a mainstay of collective solidarity, and these forms of organizations serve to contribute to helping the needy and people in difficult situations” ¹⁴. The community has its own laws and customs that regulate people’s relationships and their daily living. There are customs that regulate every calamity, so every violation of these norms requires “Nssaf” or a penalty so doing an abnormal action, even if it is in the form of not attending the meeting, and without a convincing excuse, makes the one who does it is required to pay a fine ¹⁵. It is an integrated value system, which is a structural and functional system, as it is meaningless to build without a job, and there is no job without a basic building that consists of existing and active structures that embody the presence of the human being, the field, the solidarity and interactive relationship, and the influence and influence, according to the transformations of time and place.

The Dades region (Draa oasis, Errachidia province, Draa-Tafilalet region), is distinguished by a special feature, because the tribe is formed at a higher level than the “Aghs” (sub-fraction of the tribe). The tribe consisted of groups of Igramman divided in a specific geographical area, belonging to one known or presumed ancestor. In Dades, the tribe has several “fractions” made up of a group of “Igramman”, united by social, economic and political ties within a geographical framework within which they develop and defend. These tribes and fractions form a major tribal federation.

In Dades, since in the Middle Ages at least large confederations settled such as the Sanhaja of the tribe, the Haskoura of the tribe, and Ait Sidrat (Zanata), and Ait Atta in the modern era. “Igram” has remained the mainstay in the social, economic and political organization not only in the Dades region, but in all Moroccan oases, because of its multiple dimensions, in which the geographical framework, stability, belonging and homogeneity between the individual and his group were embodied, which is the beating heart of the distant social, economic and political organization.

They are solid organizational forms, expressing the strength and influence of a strong community, through which the affairs of the common within the tribe are managed, but these old organizations no longer exist. The tribes in which each member is a representative of a “part of the tribe” or “fraction” managing the issues of disputes, the division of lands, the termination of disputes, and the development of strategic visions ¹⁶ disappeared and only ruins remained. Often these organizations are resorted to and try to revive them in the memory and imagination of the villagers when needed, and the need here is in the logic of exploitation and moving on the population’s gains. It is the chances of elections and disputes over dynastic lands, without taking into account the affiliations or indigenous groups.

If we change the direction towards the rural community “The Hilali” at the “Sons of The Hilal” in Ahwaz in the Moroccan city of Salé, as a society linked by neighborhood relations, collaborations and interaction with neighboring rural and urban communities. It also includes various influences from within it, as The Hilali community has undergone profound transformations, among which is the exodus of the sacred. From the field of symbolic management of a Jmaa to the level of international supervision and guidance, the small mosque adjacent to Alhaleb Cooperation, which was built by the group was used for semi-daily meeting of its members after the evening prayer, is no longer in its ownership.

It has become a dependent institutionally and organizationally, and by the power of things, to the endowments and affairs ¹⁷. The Jmaa, as a social and political organization, is meant to be move from its basic functions, by effecting influences related to the interest of the Makhzen, through notables who do not delay providing services to their masters in all state administrations, because the authority of the notable is assured by influence. So, it is sufficient for the notable to be a party in the conflict.

In order for a Jmaa to rule for its favour, or at least within the framework of the process of redressing the mind and preserving the credibility of the Jmaa, it resorts to ask for pardon “Mzawga” as a mechanism to implement the logic of compromise and not come out with any decision that condemns one party to the exclusion of others. According to the “local moral duty”, standing in the face of someone who has great regard for the Makhzen, and who feeds the Caid and the doctor, rather the prefect, the minister, the parliamentarian, and the party leader ¹⁸.

Today, the transformation is contingent on creating a great representation of the villager, in virtue of what notables make of the merits, regarding aspects of the false privileges of the Makhzen that he gives to the residents of the village, out of the interest of the residents, such as paved roads, the drinking water network, the electricity network, and some gratuities as support of Ramadan, and employment in recovery.

These are fragile attempts that have nothing to do with true development, but for the villager it is a great thing because they help with the daily life. In the context of this paradox, the public interest is absent, and the basic constants of village society are lost. Therefore, the powers of the group were not a complete embodiment of the collective will, nor a comprehensive expression of the components of the tribal entity, and therefore, despite their egalitarian tinge, they did not escape the pressures of the powerful and the rich, in order to direct their decisions towards responding in their favor.

It was also not without fierce rivalries and disputes among them over who would have the greatest share of the fruits and benefits of governance. In this sense, the “Jmaa” institution, its features, roles and functions have changed, and this transformation was established through a historical path before, during and after colonialism, due to profound changes in the human being, the field and values. The person who used to eat from the crops of his land, and wear what he made of his hand, has now become dependent on imports from the city and the markets that embrace everything new.

The members of the Jmaa themselves, who were preoccupied with the interests and concerns of the population, have entered into brutal collusion

today. As for the “Zawia” that was incubating and supervising the sacred, it became a space for political mobilization, and opened its doors to everyone who paid more. The Moroccan tribe has been exposed in modern and contemporary history to changes and radical transformations that affected its size. And its function through successive stages.

The different ecological determinants, the varying degrees of interaction with foreign intruders, the multiplicity of production patterns and forms of relationship with space, led to the different common characteristics of the Moroccan groups. The tribes, with the holistic framework in which they were organized, were not equal in terms of fusion and fusion ¹⁹.

The miserable situation of the village community did not come randomly, but rather due to a group of influences intertwined and overlapped in it, foremost of which was the authority and extension of the Makhzen within the Jmaa due to its controlling structures, authority, and their jobs became merely advisory jobs ²⁰. Modernization, the world of globalization the desire to control, and to follow the path of global developments and transformations eliminated the traditional structures of the tribe. Formally, it was the system of village and municipal groups... a substitute for the traditional and spontaneous management of the communal joint ²¹.

They are transformations at the level of tasks and jobs. The tribe’s sheikh became closely linked to the Makhzen instead of being linked to the interests of the people. The authorities worked to create other jobs and new services, which eventually appeared as a simple fragmentation of their authority ²².

The same is true of the “Jmaa” as a political institution within the tribe, which is no longer concerned with the common interests of the people, defending their issues and resolving their disputes, but has become only a facade, in order to participate in the celebrations, or attend the “feasts”, or in the restoration of the palace, or cleaning the watering channel, or the underground channel, for the “Jmaa” retained secondary functions, and relinquished the essential tasks for which they were created.

With time, a feeling is generated in the villager that the state has the authority to embrace all major issues and problems and find solutions to them, and the state has become a great power compared to the tribe and the rural society as a whole, and in light of this, ideas and representations were born among the villagers and peasants, such as “The state is able to manage its affairs”, and all thanks to the local elites and notables who took root thanks to the industry of a strong front within the village. Oversight, the management were transformed into the tasks and functions of the state instead of the tribe and a “Jmaa”.

The Jmaa has become an empty prestige of content, and the tribe is incubating some partial privileges, that the Sheikh has become one of the servants of the Makhzen instead of defending the interest of the villagers, and preserving their privileges, and the same is true of the Sheikh of the “Zawia” and a member of the Jmaa.

Solidarity and contract. Social solidarity is one of the basic foundations in Moroccan rural societies, where individuals help each other to face the hardships of life, so they form one family, the rich help the poor, the strong help the weak, the elderly take care of their young, and everyone shares in joys and sorrows. The villager is known for generosity and standing up to difficult and

sensitive adversities. Organizing solidarity relations within the Moroccan rural world is based on laws and regulations that guarantee the normal functioning of this society, and facilitate the fulfillment of duties and benefit from the rights guaranteed by “Jmaa” to all within the tribe.

However, this society is not without control, power and social hierarchy, as it is a society that stores the features of power and conflict, characterized by neighborly relations, and it is also one of the ambitions of internal and external parties. In an area governed by neighborhoods that do not always tolerate peace, and in a field acquired by force first, the way to fortify the field is not possible except by entering into customary contracts and solidarity with these neighborhoods²³. They are contracts with religious origins and references first, legitimized by the Zawia’s Saints people that consider themselves responsible for the values and principles of the tribal society in the name of Sharia and religion.

The community of the Rhamna tribe is a rural area in which all the characteristics of the rural world are embodied, especially the solidarity and contractual forms. This means the vitality of the Rahmani domain and the rise in the threat factors surrounding it will force the Rhamna to enter into an alliance with the tribes of al-Saragneh, Zamran and Ahmer, Abda and Doukkala, as for the Gish tribes, from the Oudiaa and Wlad Dulaim and Harbeel. The alliance with them was often subject to political changes related to the transition of power and the difficulty of succession. While the alliance with other tribes, albeit political at times, remains mostly social and economic, linked to grazing and grazing strategies²⁴.

The emphasis here is on the importance of contracting by the tribe with a tribe or with other neighboring tribes, in order to maintain security, agricultural lands, and sovereignty over the territorial influence under its control. Most of the solidarity that was built on contracts between tribes sought to create a kind of vitality and continuity of life within society, based on the provisions of Sharia that were supervised by the Zawaya, the Saints, and the rules of custom established by man in his relations with the environment to adapt to natural, cultural and social conditions changes.

This solidarity is mostly a defensive security origin, but there is another trend based on cooperation and interdependence in the activities of rural human beings, whether in agriculture, agriculture, water, construction and other needs.

The solidarity within the Rahmani society, with regard to the way this society deals with the newcomer from outside the tribe, and its attempt to integrate it so that it becomes within the system of merciful brotherhood is embodied in a kind of explicit behavior and contracts, because “entering the Tata means honoring the other in case they prefer paying visits, and not cause harm”. In any wrong way, the Tata is also called the “be brothers”, which forces individuals, who have become brothers, to abide by the same obligations as required by true family ties²⁵.

From this point of view, it is clear that the Rahmani village community welcomes immigrants, on the condition that they enter into kinship relations that give them the right to belong, even if this kinship is artificial, and thus they become members of the tribe and among its children. They have the right to act like them, and they enjoy the same rights and duties that apply to everyone.

This form of contract seeks to integrate the newcomer into the tribe through breastfeeding (sharing milk), in order to establish brotherly relations that prevent betrayal and impose cooperation and true affiliation. Often reconciliation processes between tribes are based on this type of contract, because the mixing of races through milk dictates fulfillment and avoidance of betrayal.

The solidarity of “The Tata” has existed and is rooted in Moroccan rural societies since ancient times, and it carries the same connotation and meaning, even if the pronunciation and writing are different regarding it, or the form of foundation for this agreement.

For the Berber tribes in the oases of Ghrisse in the province of Errachidia it is called “Tada”, which is a peace treaty between two tribes says “Tada” implies an artificial brotherhood through a symbolic kinship that gives the full meaning of the institution concerned by it.

As for “George Marcy”, through his study on the Inner Maghreb, he sees that “Tada” is an alliance between two tribes through the use of the symbolic practice of brotherhood which obliges everyone to abide by it as a law and morals above all ²⁶. It is a form of solidarity through the contract to achieve the principle of estrangement, with its meanings and connotations of cooperation and mutual social solidarity between two tribes.

Among the examples of the contract of brotherhood between tribes as well, which transcended the neighboring tribes into two tribes from two different oases in Tafilalet, one of the most important charters of brotherhood was made between “Ait Khabash” and Bani Muhammad (an Arab tribe of Risani), which occurred before the Battle of Timimoun, in which forty men were killed at “Ait Khabash” in Algeria.

However, the sons of orphans became brothers to Ait Bani Muhammad ²⁷. Despite the great differences and disagreements that existed between the Arabs and the Berbers in Tafilalet, “Ait Bani Muhammad” was of Arab origin from the oases of Ziz, and was included under the banner of the “Ait Khabash” alliance from the oases of Grace because it was suffering from marginalization and exclusion, and lived in constant war and conflict with neighboring tribes. This is the character and morals of the Filali human being in the face of discrimination and achieving interdependence and solidarity. In this context, Spelman confirms that Bani Muhammad, who are in the Risani area, belong to the Arabs of Al-Maqal, and they are the sons of the “Arabs of Al-Sabah”, “Arabs of the Morning” ²⁸.

The same is true of the Dades region (Draa oases), which is characterized by a group of solidarity forms within the framework of treaties and agreements. We find the “Taissa” treaty, which is a kind of interdependence between people, families or between tribes is derived from “yesi” (take) and “exa” (“care”) ²⁹. This means the protection which the tribes impose on the trade routes, as well as the protection of all who appeal to the tribe. According to the Atawi custom, every person who committed a crime of murder outside the borders of the tribe, and asked for help, the Jmaa holds an exceptional session, and sets a specific deadline for him, and if there is no one asking for blood money, then the person seeking help enters under protection, free like all members of the tribe ³⁰.

The “Tafarkant” treaty takes place in a milk ceremony supervised by the group, as the nursing women from the two tribes concerned meet in a specific

place, in the presence of the two elders of the two tribes. Also, they exchange children between them, and all the children of the tribe are breast-fed by the women of the second tribe, after which each woman gets her son back. Thus, the two tribes have signed the “Taimat” brotherhood treaty, and intermarriage between them is also prohibited, and they are called after this custom “Ait Agho” meaning brothers through breastfeeding.

In another narration, David Hard says regarding “Tafarkant”, that it is done also in the following way: the milk of two nursing women, one from each tribe chosen by the “community”, is collected in a bowl. All the leaders of these two tribes take a symbolic drink of this milk, and after them the men present, especially the “Ijamaan”, and in the end the bowl is buried in the place of the treaty, according to the oral narration ³¹.

This is what the “Jmaa” ratified in the “Tafarkant” treaty between Ait Harun and Ait Sargin, which is still sticking in our minds, as intermarriage between them is prohibited so far ³².

With regard to other forms of solidarity in the Rahmani society, Dr. Abd al-Rahim believes that twiza, an ancient and rooted form of solidarity in history, has turned into a forced labor force on the population, as: if the twiza in the Rahmani sphere has deviated from its original content, by turning it into a compulsory twiza, or Sokhara, especially with the Caid Elayadi, it remains one of the most prominent forms of solidarity and local alliance that reveals a history of social interactions between man and the field ³³.

This form of solidarity has shifted from voluntary to obligatory due to the intervention of the Makhzen authority, to become in the form of forced labor in favor of the Caid or members of the Makhzen of all kinds. Its presence strengthens the solidarity waists of the villagers.

The ritual of “Twiza” has historical roots in all Moroccan rural societies in particular. It is a cooperative form par excellence, in which the entire population participates in order to accomplish an activity aimed at the public interest, either related to water works, digging the waterwheel, building or other joint works. This can be demonstrated is the case of oases’ Grace in Tafilalet, especially in Ferkala area in Tenjedad, where the tribe is keen to preserve the underground channel after the decline of the “Hafsaim” (which means “The fasting limit” as a joint work within the tribe, related to preparing and cleaning streams, and collective agricultural work, in which every adult and capable of fasting contributes) system as a form of twiza through the way in which water is sold publically in front of the mosque.

The underground channel, which is common to all the inhabitants of the tribe, is because it is the water-wheel or the outlet for the water in which the agricultural lands are irrigated by adopting a specific organization that is subject to collective arrangements based on laws and rules that are watched over by the Amgar Nawaman who is the Sheikh of underground channel. This Sheikh is primarily responsible for implementing the laws and rules agreed upon by the group.

He is the head of the thinker and the main reference for resolving disputes that arise between farmers within the boundaries of the underground channel that he leads, whether it is related to disputes over water or the collection of waste that may impede the normal course of the waters. The customs of the Farakala oasis are imposed on any individual who did not attend the fasting

or the works in some palaces, especially when it comes to cleaning the underground channel or the water-wheel from waste or sand, by buying "lands" or giving the rest of the five members of the palace.

All of these values and morals were destroyed by financial influences, conflicts over land, and the race for modern life. Today "one tent includes three cars or more. However, these transportations are not invested in bridging relationships, even with close cousins"³⁴. The villager was overwhelmed by a set of material and economic preoccupations, and the distances of cooperation, cooperation, and solidarity shrunk, as the villager became thinking like the urban, hearing only his voice and thinking only of the material and himself, and thus the participant in the tribe became on the sidelines.

Social hierarchy. The reality of social hierarchy is strongly evident in rural society through different patterns and forms, where social decline determines the strength of the role and function. It is dominant over the dynamism of this society, especially the possession of threads and mechanisms of change according to the requirements, needs and interests of those who are ranked at the top of the social ladder.

The collective interest in the tribal society conflicted with the individual interest, since the regulating relationship of this society is a collective relationship, the basis of which is collective ownership of the most important means of production (agricultural land, water resources, pastoral field)³⁵. In the context of the economy, the family dependence on subsistence, the production of social hierarchies in a village community are often governed by land and water share or power and social status.

The way in which the lands were divided and distributed in the village, and the type of privileges enjoyed by a certain category of families are due to its influence and rooted relations with the Makhzen. In addition to the type of authority exercised within this village, the position occupied by each group within it in relation to the type of job are also influential for example the Haratine occupies the lowest rank in the social ladder and its connection to wage labor in the fields and farms, and the honorable people enjoy a distinguished position for their dynastic honor and possession of blessing and righteousness, and other groups such as the Almoravids who constitute the middle position. It was necessary for a kind of conflict to arise between the groups of the village community, on the basis of economic inequality and social status. However, the symbiotic and integrative nature of the society maintained types of solidarity, those that fall within the common in the tribe, even after a change in its social structure, although this solidarity was subject to the exploitation of the notables of the members of the tribe, as well as the level of discrimination between members of the same social status.

This appeared in the case of farmers who had lost their livelihood on the land, and had only the land of others in front of them, either by seasonal work in return for a low cash or in-kind wage, or by means of rent, or through unfair agricultural "company" contracts, such as the "Khamasse" and the "Rabae", i. e. partnership with one-fifth or one-fourth and others.

Thus, the possession of land in one way or another, the method of agricultural exploitation, and the form of ownership of the means of production, contributed to determining the social hierarchy within the village community, between a group that controlled a large proportion of the land, and another

group that was exploited to serve this land. Yet, the mitigation of the hierarchy was purified in the solidarity mechanism, which tried to reduce the gap of inequality, albeit relatively.

It is interesting to note that some factors prevented the accumulation of land ownership in the hands of a minority, including the factor of inheritance, and the apparently weak cash circulation. This hierarchy was not only based on land ownership, as there are other indicators that constitute a resource for production, the availability of numbers of sheep, cows and calves.

Especially those that belong to reproductive strains and are able to grow and live for a longer period, which would constitute an economic resource for the family in the village community, in addition to other indicators that indicate the existence of this hierarchy in this society, resulting from the operations of invasion and looting that were carried out by the tribes from time to time.

These operations constituted a favorable opportunity for some members of the tribe, which allowed them to demonstrate their courage and strength, raised their social status, and consequently established the hierarchy of tribal society ³⁶.

They gained a set of privileges rewarding them for their efforts, as they obtained in return a number of herds of livestock, and thus their ownership increased with the passage of time, and therefore they would hire someone to help them nurture, care and serve it, and if the wars allowed the tribal sheikh and his entourage of fighters to deduct a portion Important part of the spoils, they did not hesitate to double the military operations that allowed them to accumulate wealth.

Without forgetting, the profits that they reaped from the traffic tax raised on the owners of caravans, which the merchants paid in return for their moving through the tribe, and the gifts. These gifts raise the level of wealth of the sheikh of the tribe and his aides, which helped them to take the first ranks in the social hierarchy within the tribe, thus opening the way in front of them to get closer to the notables' status. This also helped these notables to expand the scope of their possessions within the tribe and raise the level of wealth and enhance the degree of power and the status that the notables of the tribe obtained from the central government to enabled them to consolidate their wealth, and thus their social status.

The laws may amount to the acquisition of land and a large share of water or the right to word and power. In fact, there are many conflicts between the saints, and between them and the tribesmen. Also, some of them do not hesitate to use their belonging to revered dynasties in order to acquire land and property and to "trade" in influence ³⁷. The role of the "guardian" emerged clearly when the authority's concern was imposing taxes and conscripting for war in the event of the arbitrariness of the authority.

The "reforms" sought as much as possible to alleviate these burdens, to the extent that many of the dignity of the righteous were linked to the rule. The righteous were paying the grievances of their beggars against the arbitrariness of the authority. Given the sanctity of the reforms and their place in the desert society, travelers and merchants who penetrated the tribal sphere sought refuge with them from the tampering of the Bedouin tribes and the people of Hiraba, so they preserved the balance between the tribes and the members of the tribe itself and those who crossed its domain.

So, they played an active role in pacifying the trade routes that were penetrating the tribal domain ³⁸. Thus, saint of Al-Zawiya played pioneering roles through mediation, achieving peace, securing trade routes, and conducting arbitration in case of disputes, thus forming a special authority and control over the field.

In this context, regarding the Rhamna's society, Abd al-Rahim al-Atri states the management of the sacred and the names of the person in charge of this task are numerous in the Rhamna area. It includes "the poor", the "worshiper", the "Mchart", the "Taleb", and the "Faqih". Certain, based on a contract between him and the "community" that guarantees the rights and duties of each party ³⁹.

The sacred of the Rhamna tribe overlaps in its management of various structures, including the direct, which is the Fakih or the worshiper, and the indirect is represented by the institution of the Jmaa, based on specific agreed rules and controls. Although all the direct supervisors of the religious field fall within one meaning, there is a kind of hierarchy between them in terms of the function entrusted to each one, so the residents of the Rhamna tribe put a dividing line between Sharif (the honorable) or the righteous and this "Mchart".

The first is important and is associated with a symbolic capitalist and righteousness, while the second has a modest capital that requires negotiation with him in the level of contract that binds them to it. The Sharif does not discuss things. His advice and instructions are acted upon, and his arbitration is always accepted, while the "Mchart" are not allowed sometimes to interfere in the affairs of a Jmaae, as he works for it, and he has no right to transcend the requirements of social hierarchy, even if he has religious legitimacy that qualifies him to manage the sacred ⁴⁰.

In light of this hierarchy, a series of conflicts emerged between the righteous and in their relationship with the people of the tribe, and the motive is always for the sake of power, or ownership of land, or about water shares, or in binding decisions that each party often tries to be in its favor, not against it.

In the context of transformation, we give an example of the Tzkegin area in Ferkala (the oases of Grace, Draa-Tafilalet region, Morocco). The part that monitors the religious and ethical framing of the "gssar" no longer exists as it was in the past, the structure of the religious field, the schooling of children, and demographic growth. Also, the part to keep pace with the developments of the world and the Zawiya is unable to continue with the same glow, because the sons of the sheikhs and the Mkadems were the others who engaged in immigration and agricultural and commercial works and no longer had any interest in the religious field, and the emergence of religious movements that surrounded the role of the part through their interest in heresies and superstitions ⁴¹.

Despite the state of hierarchy in the village community, the village does not live in a state of conflict between classes, or separation and estrangement in the social sense, despite the presence of multiple races such as the Haratine, the Shorafa and the Amazigh. Yet, there is a continuous interaction through productive relations governed by the productive aims for coexistence. If there is a difference, it should be limited to roles and functions only, as each category has certain roles that must be fulfilled in order to meet common functions that ensure the continuity of the village community.

The oases of Grace later witnessed a kind of transformation at the level of this hierarchy of jobs, where the Haratines moved from wage work to owning private agricultural lands as a result of providing financial liquidity from the proceeds of their work or due to the work of their children. However, this transformation did not change the symbolic situation within the tribe, where it remained limited to its original framework. Also, the social hierarchy based on ethnicity has vanished, as despite the presence of Haratines in the oases, they no longer work as Khamassa after turning all activities and businesses into paid jobs. It mimics the urbane ⁴².

Factionalism within the tribe is rooted and subject to mostly elitist considerations. Therefore, it is difficult to change and requires great maturity and time. Despite the improvement in the financial and living situation and the advancement in the ranks of the people, the Haratine group continued to view it with the same view. In addition, its roles and functions within the tribe became framed by the sense of belonging. Roles and functions may differ from one category to another, but for one who enters into a conflict or war with the other, everyone works according to what is specified and provided for him for the continuity and development of the joint.

Accommodation: from traditional to modern. The palace (Lagssar) is the residence chosen by the villagers to protect against the harsh cold in winter, and to alleviate the heat in the summer. It is also a means of protection from external danger as a result of wars and the greed of the neighborhood. Thus, the palace was adopted as a safe defensive unit. The word palace in Arabic includes rich, synonymous connotations, sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory, and the contradiction is explained by rich sociological connotations. It is wanted and wished but followed by subconscious fear ⁴³.

The Gasar bears multiple connotations and meanings with the multiplicity of the angle of view. Therefore, Gssar could mean qasar the dress, means cleaning it. In addition, and the Gasring the woman means locking her as the Almighty's said Maidens restrained ⁵⁵ ⁴⁴. Gasar the camel means restraining it. Gasr the house means build fences around it. The Gasara is making plaster. It also removed the color from the fabric fibers and softened it and could mean a palace ⁴⁵.

The Lagssar is mostly residential gatherings, neighborhoods, shops, or lanes that are interconnected and cohesive among themselves, inhabited by a group of individuals or a group of families mostly, who are distinguished by agricultural and farming activities in their daily living. Also, they are groups that often belong to one ethnic origin and common social classes, and they may be different, these conglomerates are surrounded by a wall supported by corner towers.

The Gssar constitutes a village community, which includes Zawiya or Zawayya overlooking the sacred, protected by a kind of solidarity and contracts to organize the relations between them. The Gssar often includes a large door that gathers all the inhabitants, which opens on ordinary days, and closes during wartime. Palaces were not built as a result of personal desires, and the villagers did not live in the palace for entertainment or a desire for solitude. Therefore, the palaces were established by the nomadic tribes that depended on regular transportation routes between the depth of the desert and the coastal cities, which in turn contributed to the prosperity and development of the desert cities.

For the opposite departure to the north after good grazing of livestock at the beginning of summer, this movement required the presence of rest and financing stations, stations for trade exchange as well, and this was the explanation for the prosperity of desert palaces ⁴⁶.

There are deep and fundamental transformations regarding the palace system, as the repair and restoration of the palace or the detour to clean or repair the waterwheel or the underground channel or other interests, rarely take place for the sake of which the village officials meet. In return, we find the Sheikh's repeatedly pay visits to the Caid, and his presence with him at banquets and celebrations meeting with the members of the tribe to inform them of the new laws and regulations that he was entrusted to inform personally from the Caid. This happened either inside or outside the palace through the construction of a residential model inspired primarily by the urban model, claiming that the oasis man has changed his means of communication ⁴⁷.

A visitor from the oases of Grace, on the Draa-Tafilalet region in Morocco, and in comparison with the palaces adjacent to "Tenjdad", will notice the transformation in the upper and lower Farkala palaces due to the great neglect of the old palace and the disappearance of some of its buildings, and the deterioration of its urban forms, and in return the emergence of modern urban structures nearby. For example, the palaces of Tzkihgin wa Taghfrat, al-Khirbat and al-Nimru, are the most neglected in the lower and upper Ferkala town.

The features of the palace were changed spatially, as the old palace was completely abandoned, and some houses were demolished to build new ones, and this is related to those close to the palace, and no repair was recorded in the depth of the old palace ⁴⁸.

Likewise, the "Timtik" palace in the Draa oasis, like other palaces in the oases, whether in the oases of Ziz, Grace, Draa or Keer, has undergone transformations at the level of housing and architecture. And the Kasbah, as there is intense competition between the Timtik families to join the hilly land and build independent houses on areas of up to 400 m ².

There is another keenness to transfer and integrate city life instead of the palace culture in the hilly land. After the palace was a defensive territorial unit managed in a common way homes have become mere animal sheds, storehouses for produce, or simply ruins that families have been reluctant to restore ⁴⁹.

This shift in the structure of housing will be accompanied by a change in the values of solidarity and interdependence within the tribe. After a group was responsible for the overall management and management of the population, there would be an escape from this pattern towards individualism and the individual management of the family, and this distinction opened the way for the state to intervene and tighten complete control over the oasis tribes.

The residents shifted from the palace to the outside, and they had multiple gates to exit and enter instead of the one palace door, so the Rahba no longer enjoyed the presence of everyone and the "llama" no longer had any meaning in examining news and reassurance about the situation and conditions. It was no longer a place for group meetings to set plans and programs. Thus, the common is no longer a collective concern. Everyone has been influenced by the values and temptations of the city, and urbanization has become manifest in

the village as soon as one enters it, in housing, equipment, clothing, and food, even in the means of plowing and harvesting the product.

The village community has witnessed many transformations that affected its structures, forms, and even manifestations. This community is no longer what it was before, whether it is related to the human being or the field. The ethics of cooperation, synergy and solidarity that were strengthening social relations in all its forms became a forest, and with it the villagers who eat from the plows of their hand. Also, many factors contributed to dispelling the dream of the villagers. Man used to live in the bosom of the extended family under the protection of grandfather, grandmother and uncles, imbued with their morals and values such as tolerance and solidarity and help in facing the difficulties of life.

In villages concern, in farming, agriculture, cleaning the waterwheel were shared in weddings and parties, within the framework of the "Jmaa" institution that adopts rules and regulations governing all interactive relations in all the village magazines. The tribe was supervising the normal functioning of all residents and their activities, and the protection of their properties. Individual and collective people had a great role in relationship with the Zawiya, which is the primary responsible for the sacred, in order to manage religious affairs and control its general framework, because religion for the villagers is a value system that should not be deviated from. It thus increases the cohesion, bond and positive interaction between everyone. The reality of the situation today in the village community highlights the unsanctity of the sacred from its origin, and the loyalty of the tribe's members to the Makhzen, due to the existence of mutual interests, and thus the neglect of the common and the less circumvention around it.

The scarcity of resources due to water rarity, high population numbers, and the high cost of living have contributed to the emergence of internal and external migration in order to ensure the continuity of life in the village, and thus the development of the economic situation result in a certain social situation that requires modern housing instead of the palace. Also, it requires the construction of a house outside the village in the center near the village.

This resulted in another way of living according to the requirements of urban life, such as the shape of the house, its furnishing, the type of clothing, the way of eating, and the type of food. The stove and clay furnace were substituted the Iron furnace or traditional bread with different specifications. As for the "yeast" used bread, and which was prepared at night to be used in the morning, it became available in the shop in a modern fashion with unknown elements and ingredients. The same applies to all aspects of the social life of the villager, as he has come to live in a small village with urban characteristics.

The Moroccan village society today, as before, is an integral part of the general society. Rather, it can be considered a fundamental lever for development, given its resources and bounties, in addition to its authentic values and morals that embody the ancient Moroccan society with its collective conscience. What is the secret behind the delay in the development of the rural world, which has been constantly postponed? Is it possible to consider the modest outputs of the political and economic as a solution to raise the value and effectiveness of the village community? Where is the solution, then?

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