

A century of hands: work, communities, and identities among the Ayt Khebbash fossil artisans in a Moroccan Oasis

Tanabe, M.

Citation

Tanabe, M. (2015, June 17). A century of hands: work, communities, and identities among the Ayt Khebbash fossil artisans in a Moroccan Oasis. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/33291

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/33291

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/33291 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Tanabe, Mayuka

Title: A century of hands: work, communities, and identities among the Ayt Khebbash

fossil artisans in a Moroccan Oasis

Issue Date: 2015-06-17

A Century of Hands

Work, Communities, and Identities among the Ayt Khebbash Fossil Artisans in a Moroccan Oasis

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof. Mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker, volgens besluit van het College van Promoties te verdedigen op woensdag 17 juni 2015 klokke 10.00 uur

door

Mayuka Tanabe

geboren te Kyoto in 1974

Promotores:

Prof. Dr. L.P.H.M. Buskens

Prof. Dr. H.J. Stroomer

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. Dr. H.W. van den Doel (Decaan Faculteit Geesteswetenschappen, Universiteit Leiden, voorzitter)

Prof. Dr. F.N. Pieke (Universiteit Leiden, secretaris)

Prof. Dr. B. Dupret (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France)

Prof. Dr. G.A. Persoon (Universiteit Leiden)

J'ai horreur de tous les métiers. Maîtres et ouvriers, tous paysans, ignobles. La main à plume vaut la main à charrue.

Quel siècle à mains ! — Je n'aurai jamais ma main. Après, la domesticité mène trop loin. L'honnêteté de la mendicité me navre. Les criminels dégoûtent comme des châtrés : moi, je suis intact, et ça m'est égal.

Une saison en enfer, Arthur Rimbaud (1873)



Contents

AcknowledgementsXIII
List of illustrations
Note on transcription, transliteration and the use of pseudonyms XVIII
Chapter l – Introduction
1.1 Aim and scope of dissertation
1.2 Relevant literature and theoretical framework 6
1.3 Conceptual tools
1.3.1 Work, agencies and identities
1.3.2 Discourse practice – traditionalisation
1.3.3 Articulation of communities, local politics and development organi-
sations
1.4 Fieldwork
1.5 Thesis overview
Chapter 2 – Orientation to the Tafilalet: Geographical and historical background 25
2.1 Introduction
2.1 Demographic and economic profile
2.3 The inhabitants of the Tafilalet
2.3.1 Languages
2.3.2 Shorfa and Murabițin
2.3.3 Ayt Atta and Ayt Khebbash
2.3.4 The 'African' ethnic category
2.3.5 Ḥaratin
2.3.6 Ismkhan
2.3.7 Jews
2.3.8 Social hierarchy
2.4 Historical background of the tribal identity
2.52011 Parliamentary election and the Rissani fossil artisans
2.6 Conclusion
Chapter 3 – Imagining tamazirt
3.1 Introduction 63

3.2 Tafraoute since the 1960s: Original settlement and its history 6
3.3 The formation of the village: From myth to Algerian prison \ldots
3.4 Political system
3.5 Relationship between the clans and external links
3.5.1 Marriage in Tafraoute
3.5.2 Labour migration
3.6 Work, village and the development project
3.7 The cold war: election and the invented conflict $\dots \dots \dots$
3.8 Conclusion
Chapter 4 – Sculpting the town
4.1 Introduction
4.2 Rissani: Historical and physical context
4.2.1 Crossing the desert river
4.2.2 Going down to the <i>suq</i>
4.3 Moving out of the village: Les pierres noires
4.3.1 The development of fossil extraction work
4.3.2 Tools and techniques
4.3.3 From raw material to craft
4.4 Coming to the town: Apprenticeship in fossil sculpting
4.4.1 Nomadic learning
4.4.2 Apprenticeship in the Moqaouama Quarter
4.4.3 Acquisition and transmission of skills
4.5 The quest for a new 'tradition': The commercial side of the fossil domain
13.
4.5.1 The art of payment delay
4.5.2 Cooperative activities and state policy
4.6 Social identities in the claim for property rights
4.6.1 The 'Shishan' land dispute
4.6.2 Local views of 'legitimacy'
4.6.3 Becoming an 'Ayt Khebbash artisan'
4.7 Conclusion
Chapter 5 – Exploring <i>reḥla</i> 18
5.1 Introduction: The communities of power relations
5.2 On the road to home: Ayt Khebbash artisans and their life cycle \ldots .18
5.3 Migrating and returning: Seasonal work in the Riffian cities

5.4 Moving on to stay on: The return to m adin
5.5 Amazigh activism and local identity
5.5.1 <i>Sati l-shluḥ Salash waqef</i> (Give to the Berber what he is standing on) .
199
5.5.2 I, you, workers and the unemployed intellectuals
5.6 Conclusion: Work, communities and identities 207
Chapter 6 – Conclusions
Appendices
Bibliography
Abstract
Samenvatting
Curriculum Vitae

Acknowledgements

My Ph.D. project was made possible through affiliation with the Moroccan Centre for Social Sciences (CM2S) at Université Hassan II in Casablanca, the Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS), and funding from the Juynboll Foundation in Leiden.

Grateful acknowledgement is first and foremost due to my supervisors, Professor Léon Buskens and Professor Harry Stroomer, for their consistent support and invaluable advice on my manuscript. I am greatly indebted to Professor Abderrahmane Lakhsassi at the Moroccan Centre for Social Sciences, who kindly provided me with important feedback and help during all stages of my fieldwork. The initial idea of this project turned into reality by the encouragement of Professor Frank Pieke, I have only insufficient words to express my gratitude to him, for giving me his unchanging and unconditional trust during long and difficult years. In the post-fieldwork stage I particularly owe thanks to Professor Baudouin Dupret, who accepted me as a fellow at the Centre Jacques Berque and helped me publish my articles. Furthermore, I wish to thank Professor Hassan Rachik for his constructive criticism and for giving me the opportunity to join his research team. I would like to extend my appreciation to the staff of the Leiden Institute for Area Studies, especially José Brittijn. Her considerate arrangements made my work in the Netherlands less stressful. Back in 2009 it was Professor Abdelhamid Lotfi who generously offered me the first occasion to discover Morocco. I thank Professor Aissa Derhem for his early introduction to my subject area. And my very personal acknowledgement goes to Mutsuko Tanabe, a courageous individual who never fails to stand by her principle.

In Rissani I am indebted to Dr. Benchad El Alaoui, for his encouragement, understanding and appreciation of my project. I am grateful to Youssef Hasnaoui, for his assistance and several transcriptions of Tamazight texts. My fieldwork was supported by the sublimely kind-hearted family who took care of me and lightened up my life with a great sense of humour. I cannot forget the important insights into local culture given by the two wonderful intellectuals, whom I revere and consider as my confidants. With best memories I thank my artisan friends at the associations and cooperatives, who shared lunch, laughter and apprenticeship with me.

There are many more individuals in Rissani, Tafraoute, Erfoud and Ar-Rachidia who, out of generosity, offered me valuable information and hospitality. For the reason of privacy, I cannot name them but I wish to acknowledge all the people of Morocco who helped me realise this project.

March 2015, Leiden

List of Illustrations

Мар 1-1: Могоссо

Map 2-1: Ar-Rachidia Province

Map 2-2: Location of Atta land in Morocco

Map 2-3: Atta land and neighbour tribal lands

Map 2-4: Desert and oasis of Ar-Rachidia region

Map 3-1: Tafraoute

Map 3-2: Sidi Ali Commune

Map 4-1: Moulay Ali Cherif (Rissani) Municipality

Map 4-2: Kudyet Draoua and the municipal suq project

Map 4-3: The Tafilalet in the middle of the nineteenth century ($Le\ Tafilalet\ au\ milieu$

de dix-neuvième siècle)

Table 2-1: The Main agricultural activities in the three areas in Ar-Rachidia Province

Table 2-2: Number of people employed in artisanal sector in Ar-Rachidia Province

Table 2-3: Population of Ar-Rachidia Province

Table 2-4: The 2011 election results in Ar-Rachidia Province

Table 3-1: The home villages of the brides in Tafraoute (2012)

Table 3-2: External connections established by marriage

Table 3-3: Household account book of Youssef Taghlaoui family in Tafraoute

Table 3-4: The expense in barite mining of Youssef Taghlaoui family (per month)

Table 4-1: Areas of origin of Kudyet Draoua inhabitants

Table 4-2: The convention of 1293

Table 5-1: Evolution of mineral production in Ar-Rachidia 2003-2011

Table 5-2: Mining authorisations issued between 2003-2011

Figure 3-1: House in Tafraoute tagdimt

Appendix 1: Year of migration of the inhabitants of Moulay Hafid and Moulay Slimane

Quarters

Appendix 2: The convention of 1293 (French translation of table 4-2)

Appendix 3: Kudyet Draoua chronology of events

Photograph 2-1: Rissani town centre

Photograph 2-2: Rissani suq

Photograph 3-1: Tafraoute tiwjdidt

Photograph 3-2: A house in Tafraoute tagdimt

Photograph 3-3: A salon in a house in Tafraoute tagdimt

Photograph 3-4: Field in Tafraoute

Photograph 3-5: Irrigation

Photograph 3-6: A Tafraoute inhabitant in his field

Photograph 3-7: A tent in Tafraoute tiwididt

Photograph 3-8: Dressing a bride

Photograph 3-9: A bride in the collective marriage in Tafraoute (2012)

Photograph 3-10: Finished trilobites

Photograph 3-11: Fossil association in Tafraoute

Photograph 4-1: Rissani suq outside the southern gate

Photograph 4-2: Sales of garments in Rissani centre

Photograph 4-3: Moulay Slimane Quarter in Rissani

Photograph 4-4: Fossil extraction site Amal

Photograph 4-5: Carrying raw ammonites

Photograph 4-6: Unloading the raw materials

Photograph 4-7: Masetta (top) and chicago (middle and bottom)

Photograph 4-8: A fossil artisan working with *ziyar*

Photograph 4-9: Dynamo 38ov

Photograph 4-10: Disk diamante

Photograph 4-11: Rock cutter in a large scale atelier in Erfoud

Photograph 4-12: Bosch

Photograph 4-13: Fossil artisan street in Moqaouama Quarter

Photograph 4-14: Sculpting a 'Fatima's hand'

Photograph 4-15: Trilobite sculpting using chicago

Photograph 4-16: Cutting a rock

Photograph 4-17: Sculpting an ashtray using masetta

Photograph 4-18: Working on a fossil plaque using bosch

Photograph 4-19: Pasting orthocerus

Photograph 4-20: Polishing orthocerus

Photograph 4-21: Finished orthoceruses

Photograph 4-22: Polished ammonites

Photograph 4-23: Ashtrays

Photograph 4-24: Decorative objects 1

Photograph 4-25: Decorative objects 2

Photograph 4-26: Mirrors and washbasins

Photograph 4-27: A decorative table

Photograph 4-28: A fountain

Photograph 4-29: Trilobites

Photograph 4-30: Commerce of fossil objects

Photograph 4-31: A fossil shop in Moqaouama

Photograph 4-32: The Shishan demonstration on 10 April 2012

Photograph 4-33: Signing a petition

Photograph 4-34: Kudyet Draoua inhabitant in front of her house

Photograph 4-35: The demonstration on 23 May 2012 in Ar-Rachidia 1

Photograph 4-36: The demonstration on 23 May 2012 in Ar-Rachidia 2

Photograph 5-1: Ar-Rachidia men in Nador

Photograph 5-2: Construction work in Nador

Photograph 5-3: Job-seekers at a mawqaf

Photograph 5-4: Barite mines of Tijaght

Photograph 5-5: Ayt Khebbach miners in Tijaght

Photograph 5-6: Barite

Photograph 5-7: Extraction of barite in Tijaght

Note on transcription, transliteration and the use of pseudonyms

Instances of Berber and Arabic in this thesis are transcribed and transliterated in the following way:

- All proper nouns (names of places, persons, tribes, etc.) are transliterated according to their official spelling, to their spelling on the Michelin map, if present, or to the spelling provided to me by my informants. If the official spelling is uncertain, the proper noun is treated as a normal noun and transcribed as outlined below;
- All Moroccan Berber and Arabic terminology is transcribed from its spoken form to Latin script, making use of diacritical marks and IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols where necessary. In these cases, $|\dot{q}|/|\dot{s}|/|\dot{t}|$ are pharyngealised equivalents of d, s and t; $|\dot{h}|$ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative (the Arabic phoneme $|\dot{h}\bar{a}|^2$); $|\dot{f}|$ is a glottal stop (the Arabic phoneme $|\dot{h}a|^2$); and $|\dot{f}|$ is a voiced pharyngeal fricative (the Arabic phoneme $|\dot{f}|$);
- All instances of Standard Arabic are transliterated according to the standard international system of transliteration of Arabic, combined with the symbols outlined above.
- Unless otherwise stated, all interviews in this dissertation were conducted in the Tamazight language.
- To guard the privacy of my informants, pseudonyms are used for all locals that appear in this thesis.