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

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### 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>

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**Issue Date:** 2015-06-17

## Appendices

### Appendixi:

#### Year of migration of the inhabitants of Moulay Hafid and Moulay Slimane Quarters

1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
6	11	15	15	3

Total number of households: 50

#### Moulay Hafid Quarter

Year of migration	Age	Occupation	Village/Ksar of origin	Ethnic Background
1978	62	retired military	Taouz (reḥla)	Irjdaln
1987	64	retired military	Tiharyine, Taouz	Irjdaln
1982	63	retired civil servant	Gueuama	Shorfa
2006	50	merchant	Tiaarimt	Reggi/Imlwan*
1987	62	retired civil servant	El Ghorfa	Aḥrar
1992	65	none (handicapped)	Oulad Rehou	Aḥrar
1989	58	driver	Tbaht El Khir	Irjdaln
1997	53	seasonal worker	Ighef n Ighir	Ayt Taghla
2007	50	seasonal worker	reḥla	Murabiṭin (Hassani)
2000	32	none	reḥla	Aarib (Hassani)
1989	48	retired military	Tazegzout	Izulayn
1985	62	retired	Rich	Shorfa
1990	58	seasonal worker	Zagora	Ayt Alwan
1987	52	sculptor	Tanamoust	Ayt Taghla
2012	45	military	Ouarazazate	Ayt Hdiddou
2010	58	retired mechanic	Qṣar Greenfod	Shorfa
1999	58	retired military	Taouz	Ayt Amar
2003	50	seasonal worker	Remlia	Ayt Taghla
1992	50	seasonal worker	Hassi Labied	Irjdaln
1999	68	retired	Qṣar Lemtahra	Abid (Ismkhan)
1978	78	retired	Tiharyine	Ilhyān
2011	56	retired military	Qṣar Sosso, Laay-oune	Ḥaratin
1978	78	retired	reḥla	Aarib (Hassani)

1979	60	retired	Taouz (rehla)	Rguibat (Saḥrawi)
2009	28	construction worker	Qṣar Gaouz	Shorfa

#### Moulay Slimane Quarter

2001	42	seasonal worker	Taouz	Ayt Bourk
2009	63	retired butcher	Abu Am	Ḥaratin
1992	62	retired military	Zawiya Mellaykhaf	Shorfa
1985	42	seasonal worker	Tabaht Lkhir	Izulayn
1999	38	unemployed	Tazoulaït	Izulayn
1996	56	sculptor/trader	Tafraoute	Ayt Tagħla
1984	61	sculptor/trader	Remlia	Ayt Tagħla
2008	37	unemployed	Tafraoute	Ayt Amar
1985	52	retired	Taouz (rehla)	Iħadħuchin
1999	67	merchant	Qṣar Houara	Ḥaratin
1982	74	retired military	Tafraoute	Irjdaln
2002	56	barite	Tafraoute	Ayt Tagħla
1972	72	merchant	Qṣar Menuga	Aħrar
1978	41	guardian/seasonal	Qṣar Leqsabi	Shorfa
1998	48	mediator of taxi	Tafraoute	Irjdaln
2005	50	sculptor	Lahfira	Ayt Amar
1998	67	vegetable seller	Tiaarimt	Ismkhan
1994	56	company	Qṣar Bni Mimoun	Aħrar
2005	60	woodworker	Rabat	Arab
1999	45	woodworker	Qṣar Tabassamt	Aħrar
2009	33	tailor	Qṣar Oulad El Mouden	Aħrar
1992	52	mobile merchant	Zawiya Sidi Ali	Aħrar
2006	56	Imam	Qṣar El Mati	Ḥaratin
2002	55	retired military	Tafraoute	Kentoui (Saḥrawi)
2008	60	vegetable seller	Melhaj	Ayt Tagħla

Age and occupation: Head of the households

Population of two quarters: 14,000<sup>65</sup>

\* *Reggi* (Arabic)/*Imlwan* (Tamazight): Ḥaratin group who speak Tamazight (the black popula-

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65 Estimated by the Moulay Ali Cherif Municipality in 2013.

tion of the Tafilalet with lighter skin than Ismkhan).

Data collected from 8 and 10 September 2012 surveys, 50 households out of approximately 200 within Moulay Hafid and Moulay Slimane Quarters (previously Bouhamid Quarter together). I noted *rehla* for the people who specifically mentioned it as their place of origin. However, many more families in the list are of nomadic origin.



**Table 4-2** The convention of 1293

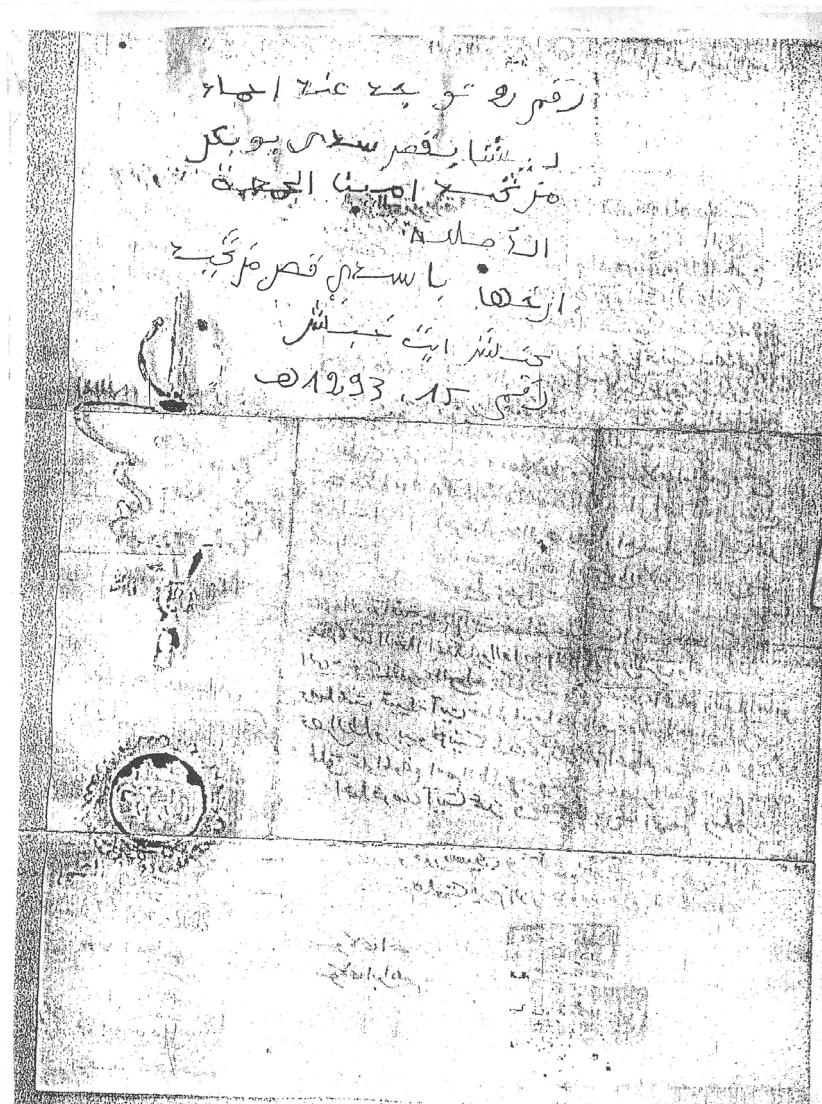


Table 4-2 The convention of 1293

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

Au nom de Dieu miséricordieux

Louange à Dieu seul et que la prière et salut soient sur le Prophète, sa famille et ses compagnons.

N° du document 30 au lieu de 29

N°1 Taouz

2 -Sidi Boubker

3- *qṣar* Boudnib

Vendredi de l'an 1293 de l'hégire, les Shorfa de *qṣar* Boudnib qui sont : Moulay Ahmed, Moulay Ali, Moulay Lahcen et Tayeb ; ils ont demandé de se réunir avec Ayt Khebbash une première fois à Mich Ali Ou Moussa El Maïder en 1293 H, la seconde à *qṣar* Taouz. La convention a été signée à *qṣar* Sidi Boubker ou Amer à Mezguida en 1293 H.

Ces Shorfa ont demandé de Ayt Khebbash d'assurer le gardiennage de Boudnib avec 120 hommes. De Ilhyan vingt hommes, vingt de Irjdaln, vingt de Ayt Amar, vingt de Izulayn, vingt de Ayt Taghla et vingt de Ayt Bourk. Ils ont ajouté cinq hommes pour les services de *jmaṣa*.

Cette convention a lieu en présence de deux Shorfa de Tamslouhte qui sont : 1- Moulay Ahmed ; 2- Moulay Brahim, et le *shaykh* de Ayt Atṭa de la fraction Izulayn Lahcen Ou Hsaine en plus des représentant des fraction de Ayt Khebbash : Bouyqbane Hsayne de Irjdaln, Lahcen ou Moh de Ayt Amar, Said ou Hsayne de Ilhyan, Mohammed ben Ali de Izulayn, *shaykh* Ali de Ayt Taghla et Yechou Ou Hsayne de Ayt Bourk. Conformément à cette convention, les Ayt Khebbash ont obtenu le un tiers (1/3) des terres de Boudnib délimité au nord par al Mangar et la foret verte, et de l'est Oued Bouaanane au sud al-Karb à Oued Tazgart et le mausolée de Sidi Hmad et au nord Assamre.

La tribu de Ayt Khebbash a contribué là où ils se trouvent par 400 Réal Hassani pour les gardiens de *qṣar* Taouz de Boudnib pour une durée de trois ans. En 1293 le lieu a pris le nom de Taouz à Boudnib en présence de *shaykh* Addi ben Hmad de Ayt Amar.

Fait à Sidi Boubker ou Amar à Mezguida en présence

des Chorfa de Tamslouhte le mercredi en 1293 H.

Signature : Moulay Ahmed Ben Ali

Signature : Moulay Brahim Ben M'barek

(Translated from original Arabic into French by Youssef Hasnaoui)

### Appendix 3: Kudyet Draoua chronology of events

- 1937/38** In the middle of Ziz River a landmark was established to set the territorial boundary in between Ayt Khebbash and Arab Sbbah (Ayt Khebbash to the east bank, Arab Sbbah to the west).
- 1970** The Arab Sbbah entered into the east bank, the field cultivated by Ayt Khebbash, to claim their territorial rights. The case went to the court, and the final judgement assured the rights of Ayt Khebbash tribe and the Rissani Rural Commune.
- 1990s** The number of Ayt Khebbash immigrants in Kudyet Draoua started to increase in this period. Some commune members (such as the former parliamentary members, former president of Rissani Rural Commune) encouraged and helped them to settle there for electoral reasons.
- 2001** The Caidat Arab Sbbah started to destroy the houses in Kudyet Draoua with tractors. The inhabitants protested by physical intervention. After this event, the Ayt Khebbash representative confirmed that the territory east of the Ziz River belongs to Ayt Khebbash tribal land.
- 2005** The Procès Verbal of the sale of the twenty hectare's territory was established.
- 2008** On 17 January, two associations in Kudyet Draoua wrote a letter to a parliamentary member and president of the Erfoud Municipality, to request their administrative attachment to Erfoud. The parliamentary member addressed a letter of solicitation to the governor to include Kudyet Draoua in Erfoud urban territory. Since then, the Rissani Rural Commune demanded Erfoud to return the water and electricity cost they had paid for Kudyet Draoua before (Rissani paid three periods, Erfoud paid the rest of the two periods instead of returning the money).
- 2009** Kudyet Draoua was attached to the Erfoud Municipality.
- 2012** **April 10:** Ayt Khebbash people demonstrated at Kudyet Draoua, in protest against the sales deal of twenty hectares of land between Arab Sbbah and the Erfoud Municipality.
- April 18:** The Ayt Khebbash people gathered again at Kudyet Draoua, in order to sign a petition to distribute the collective land to all the head of the

households belonging to the Ayt Khebbash tribe.

**May 16:** Kudyet Draoua inhabitants demonstrated in front of the Erfoud Municipality demanding water and electricity. On the way home, the demonstrators blocked the route to Merzouga to attract the attention of the responsible authority to their situation. The police demanded to clear the road, and nine (including three women) were detained. Three women and a man were freed later, on conditional release.

**May 23:** Kudyet Draoua inhabitants demonstrated in front of the provincial government of Ar-Rachidia, in protest against the injury and detention of a female demonstrator on 16 May. They demanded immediate release of the remaining detainees (the response was promised a week later, yet delayed further). Three people were sentenced to four years in prison.

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## A Century of Hands: Work, Communities, and Identities among the Ayt Khebbash Fossil Artisans in a Moroccan Oasis

### Abstract

This study analyses the everyday practices and the multiplicitous identification processes in Amazigh mineral and fossil artisan communities, focusing on the Ayt Khebbash group in Rissani and Tafraoute. I address the following questions: how do the Ayt Khebbash artisans identify themselves and others through everyday work and participation in different communities? What is their relation to the space that surrounds them? How do they deal with the discourse power of the state and the penetrating influences of capitalism? I argue that in the context of the Tafilalet, the collective Amazigh ethnic identity promoted by the activists holds little importance compared to a tribal sense of belonging based on agnatic ties. Also, I find that the local Ayt Khebbash artisans see themselves contextually through social interactions in everyday work and in relation to external power structures.

This dissertation consists of an introduction, four main chapters, and a conclusion. The division of the main content of this study into four chapters is in accordance with the geography of the region: Tafilalet (Ar-Rachidia Province), the village Tafraoute, the town Rissani, and *reḥla* ('open space'). I examine the development of fossil extraction and sculpting work in Tafraoute and Rissani in the context of environmental factors and the local history of French colonial rule, so as to situate the practice of Ayt Khebbash men in the historical process of herding, agriculture and mining work. Then I analyse the apprenticeship of fossil artisans as a process of participation in social practice, by using the notion of 'legitimate peripheral participation' within the 'communities of practice' developed by Lave and Wenger (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). This is to demonstrate that work is a social practice wherein acting agents acquire new knowledge, techniques, and lifestyles, in the multiple processes of confrontations and contradictions. Furthermore, through an analysis of the Ayt Khebbash artisans' work experiences in Nador and barite mining, I argue that their identification processes also involve 'marginality', 'dis-identification', and 'non-participation' (Hodges 1998). Contrary to Lave and Wenger's model (1991; 1998), 'participation' was an experience in constant conflict with their historically situated self within the new socio-economic frameworks, which in the case of the Ayt Khebbash artisans induced sympathy for their own tribal identities, rather than assimilation to the structural

conditions of the capitalist labour market. I conclude that the Ayt Khebbash artisans counteract the effect of globalisation in their own terms with their own initiatives, by constantly imagining, reinventing and reconstructing their spatial and tribal senses of belonging.