Plural Morocco
Multiculturalism and Identity

Edited by
Samir El Azhar

Publication
Ben M’sik Community Museum Journal Issue 3
Faculty of Letters &amp; Humanities Ben M’sik, Casablanca, University Hassan II of Casablanca - Kingdom of Morocco
2020
Plural Morocco
Multiculturalism and Identity

Edited by
Samir El Azhar

The views expressed in this issue are the authors’ own and do not necessarily reflect those of Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, University Hassan II of Casablanca
Contents

Word of the Dean ................................................................................................................................. 6
Preface ..................................................................................................................................................... 7

In English
Adina Jocelyn Langer
Public History Across Distances: Sustaining a Partnership ................................................................. 9

Khalid Lahlou
The Role of Diversity in Strengthening National Unity in Morocco .................................................... 21

Abdelkader Sabil
The Possibility and Impossibility of Cultural Diversity ........................................................................ 31

Abdelmajid Bouziane
Linguistic Diversity in the Moroccan Education System: (un)equal Opportunities .................................. 39

Fatine Ouahita
E-business Culture in Morocco
Practices and Perspectives .................................................................................................................. 55

Students’ Articles

Ghizlane Barakat
Moroccan Jewish Community .................................................................................................................. 63

Ismail Aitkadi
Sub-Saharan Influence in Morocco ........................................................................................................ 75

Amy Young
Slavery in the Field of Digital History ..................................................................................................... 85

Tim McGaha
Legacies of Slavery .................................................................................................................................. 91

Lesley LePlatte
Interpreting Slavery .................................................................................................................................. 93
In French
Abdelkader Gonei
Pour la valorisation du patrimoine culturel oral marocain ................................................................. 95

Nadia Ouachene
L’ogre dans le patrimoine culturel marocain:
Cas du conte populaire marocain ............................................................................................................. 105

Kawtar Harrar
Trouvailles archéologiques et diversité culturelle :
Cas du musée de Rabat ............................................................................................................................... 121

Zineb Noui
La diversité culturelle au sein de l’entreprise au Maroc ........................................................................... 129

In Arabic:
Samir El Azhar
Ben M’sik Community Museum: Preserving the Local Cultural Heritage
of the District and the City ............................................................................................................................... 7

Rachida Fouad
Economic, Cultural and Religious Peaceful Coexistence
between Muslims and Jews in Morocco ..................................................................................................... 27

Kacem Marghata
Arab Narration ........................................................................................................................................... 41
Word of the Dean

This publication traces the continuity of the international cooperation and partnership project in place since 2008 between our Faculty of Letters and Humanities Ben M’sik, Hassan II University of Casablanca, Kingdom of Morocco and Kennesaw State University, Georgia, the United States of America.

Several projects have been achieved thanks to the partnership between our respective institutions in a period of more than ten years. These projects ranged from the pedagogical support to our BA, Master and PhD programs in Moroccan American studies, the academic exchange of professors and the publication of several books, the creation of the Moroccan American Studies Association to the Ben M’sik Community Museum, the organization of exhibitions and the participation in cultural events and festivals. Other future projects are planned in the coming years on themes of common interest such as “Women Leaders in Morocco” and “Transatlantic Slavery” as well as exchange of professors and students.

These rich and varied projects have provided a solid foundation for an exemplary partnership that was crowned by the organization of the year of Morocco in Kennesaw in 2018-2019 and the distinction of the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Ben M’sik, Hassan II University of Casablanca-Morocco as “Distinguished International Community Partner of KSU 2019”.

As part of the exchange and the constant interactivity between the different members of both parties, we have encouraged professors and students to contribute to this publication on different aspects of Moroccan culture. We believe that it is important to continue the contact and deepen the dialogue between the two societies, Moroccan and American, by offering more information and data that testify to the depth of Moroccan culture. It is a strategic investment that offers an opportunity for readers to discover the diverse, complex and unique nature of Moroccan cultural heritage. The themes discussed in this book shed light on Moroccan culture, its openness, its diversity, its identity with its rich and varied regional, linguistic, ethnic and artistic specificities.

This intercultural exchange has led to complicity between the members of both institutions and has developed a friendship and a human relationship that have guaranteed its continuity and sustainability, within the framework of mutual respect and strategic internationalization linking the two sides of the Atlantic.

Abdelkader Gonegai,
Dean of Faculty of Letters and Humanities,
Ben M’sik.
University Hassan II of Casablanca
Kingdom of Morocco
Preface

The Ben M’sik Community Museum (BMCM) team is very pleased to publish the third issue of its journal. This publication, which focuses on the projects that the museum has recently been engaged in, is the outcome of an effective collaboration, over the last three years, between Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, (FLHBM) Hassan II University of Casablanca, Morocco, and Kennesaw State University (KSU), Georgia, the United States of America.

Since 2008, the FLHBM and KSU have been engaged in a constructive partnership. Despite clear cultural, historical, temporal and geographical differences, these two universities have succeeded in sustaining and strengthening their partnership. They have been able to achieve academic projects of common interests successfully and produced exhibits and programs that have benefited a diverse set of communities across the Atlantic.

Building on the success of their previous projects, the two institutions have embarked in the last three years upon the following projects: (1) building a joint traveling exhibit about World War II, (2) working on the challenging topic of slavery in both Morocco and the United States of America and (3) investigating cultural diversity in Morocco.

This issue comprises articles written by Moroccan and American professors and students who participated in the aforementioned projects. It should be noted that some students’ articles are published in this issue not essentially because they are academically outstanding. Rather, this is our modest way to show our appreciation and recognition of these students’ efforts in these joint projects. Students have played a crucial role in the different stages of planning, elaborating and finalizing these projects.

This publication discusses two major themes elaborated by the American and Moroccan partners. First, the American team worked on a digital exhibit “Faces of slavery in the US and Morocco”. The American students examined the nuances of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and the Trans-Saharan slave trade as well as modes of slavery indigenous to Africa and to the Mediterranean. They discussed both Christian and Islamic justifications for slavery and arguments for its abolition. They also reviewed the special relationship between the United States and the Kingdom of Morocco that began with the 1786 Moroccan-American Treaty of Friendship, a document negotiated between two slave-holding nations that has remained unbroken for more than 232 years.

Second, the Moroccan team focused on “cultural diversity in Morocco”. Students attended a series of seminars to acquaint them with the concept of cultural diversity. They then discussed its relevance to the Moroccan context. They reviewed the cultural and linguistic
dimensions of cultural diversity in Morocco with a particular emphasis on Arab, Amazigh, Sub-Saharan, Hassani and Jewish cultural heritage.

The articles in this issue are written in three different languages: English, French and Arabic. They also adopt an interdisciplinary approach. In this respect, cultural diversity is discussed from a broad array of approaches ranging from cultural, historical, literary, linguistic, educational to anthropological perspectives.

The articles written in English deal with the traveling exhibit “Morocco and the US in World War II” and the challenges both teams encountered while making this exhibition. They also tackle the challenging topic of slavery and feature the possibility or impossibility of cultural diversity. The articles written in French focus on the preservation of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Those written in Arabic examine the role of the BMCM in preserving the local cultural heritage in the Ben M’sik district in particular and that of the city of Casablanca in general. This third set includes articles dealing with the peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Jews in Morocco and cultural identity from a literary standpoint.

I would like to seize this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Abdelkader Gonegai, Dean of Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Casablanca, for his unfailing support of this museum project. I would also like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my colleagues in the Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Casablanca, and in Kennesaw State University, Georgia, USA, for their conscientious contribution and effective collaboration in these projects. None of these projects could have been possible without the active participation and commitment of both Moroccan and American students who volunteered to work in these joint programs and projects.

Samir El Azhar,
Director
Ben M’sik Community Museum
Cultural anthropologists define “culture” as the full-range of learned human behavior patterns and products including language, customs, social norms, and preferred tools used to undertake common tasks, from communication, to commercial transactions, to consumption of meals. History, as a discipline, took a “cultural turn” in the 1970s as historians across multiple subfields abandoned assumptions about hierarchy and the “progress of civilizations” in favor of a more contextual and egalitarian approach to historical study. The 1970s also witnessed the rise of public history as a self-defined approach to “putting history to work in the world.” Yet, for public historians engaged in large-scale, long-term partnerships, it is worth consulting the management scholarship literature to better understand the nuances of relationships between established institutions. According to the Wiley Encyclopedia of Management, “Cultural distance is a measure of the similarity or difference between two cultural groups or nations. It has usually been measured by computing the overall difference between the scores obtained for nations by Hofstede G. (1980) Culture’s Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values.” This parallel field launched in 1980 emphasizes the idea of “distance” in business relationships and studies how cultural distance influences the efficacy of mergers, acquisitions, and business partnerships. Similar to businesses, universities and museums have distinctive institutional cultures: rhythms of productivity; classes and hierarchies of administrators, faculty, staff, and students; mission

2 - Adina Jocelyn Langer, Curator Museum of History and Holocaust Education Kennesaw State University.
statements and implicit values; situational context within regional and national systems. All of these distinctive cultural characteristics have continued to play an important role in a long-standing partnership between two university museums separated by an ocean.

Beyond the mere physical distance, the Ben M’sik Community Museum (BMCM) at Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University in Casablanca, Morocco, and the Museum of History and Holocaust Education (MHHE) at Kennesaw State University (KSU) in Kennesaw, Georgia, are separated by differences in primary language, religious and secular holiday observances, semester systems, and expectations for students, faculty, staff, and administrators. The BMCM is located in the diverse Ben M’sik neighborhood of Casablanca. According to the museum’s description on the partnership’s Identities website,

The decision to create the Ben M’sik Community Museum, the first of its kind in Morocco, is an indication of its commitment to establish deeper contacts with the community it serves. The BMCM’s mission “to preserve memory by interpreting, exhibiting, and promoting the stories of the diverse populations of the neighborhood and its region” supports the University’s own mission of increasing the number of interactions with partners belonging to its socio-economic environment.

Of the less than 20 museums in Morocco, the BMCM is one of two located in Casablanca. The BMCM is unique in its focus as a center of community engagement. Unlike traditional museums that primarily collect and display antiquities and great works of art, the BMCM specifically seeks to document the day-to-day lives of local residents.⁶

The MHHE, on the other hand, is located in Cobb County, Georgia, an affluent suburb of Atlanta. Cobb County’s population has increased in racial and ethnic diversity in recent years, but it is relatively socio-economically homogeneous.⁷ Founded in 2003, the MHHE has its roots as a regional Holocaust education center serving over 80,000 visitors a year. The MHHE presents its mission thus: “The MHHE presents public events, exhibits, and educational resources focused on World War II and the Holocaust in an effort to promote education and dialogue about the past and its significance today.”⁸ In recent years, this has meant broader thematic explorations rooted in the experience of World War II and the Holocaust, both in the U.S. and abroad. The MHHE also envisions itself as a laboratory for learning, closely linked with the mission of the public history program at Kennesaw State University. The museum also takes a unique approach among Holocaust museums by focusing more on individual

---

stories and less on sweeping historical narratives. This approach encourages visitors to “meet history face to face,” a phrase used frequently in MHHE marketing materials and distance learning initiatives. However, the MHHE’s mission is neither as locally-oriented nor as broadly culturally defined as the Ben M’sik Community Museum.

Yet, despite clear differences, these two institutions share a common goal of sustaining a partnership to produce exhibits and programs that benefit a diverse set of intersecting communities. Distance—physical, temporal, and cultural—may lead to tensions in this long-standing relationship, but the parties remain committed to working together to create lasting products of a shared culture of inquiry and civic engagement.

* * *

For over a decade, Kennesaw State University in Georgia and Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University in Casablanca, Morocco, have participated in a public history partnership. The relationship between the two universities began in 2005 under the initiative of faculty in American Studies and foreign languages. It then progressed with the 2007 involvement of Dr. Catherine Lewis, the director of the MHHE, in the establishment of the BMCM under the leadership of Dr. Samir El Azhar of Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II. Inspired by a 2007 visit by Hassan II’s president Rahma Bourquia to the MHHE, where she witnessed the museum’s story-centered approach to historical exhibition, leadership at Kennesaw and Hassan II anticipated the museum with excitement. In an April 2008 press release, KSU’s College of Humanities and Social Sciences announced that:

Seeds for the Muslim world’s first community museum—coming soon to Morocco’s legendary city of Casablanca—were planted in February when a delegation from Kennesaw State University joined officials and university representatives there in laying the groundwork. Unlike traditional museums that primarily preserve and display antiquities and great works of art, the yet-to-be-named community museum will document the day-to-day lives of local people—their customs, traditions, language, transportation, cuisine, dress, art and stories—as well as the community’s architecture, migration and personalities. It will be the first of its kind among Morocco’s 14 public museums, none of which are located in Casablanca.10

Between 2008 and 2012, the MHHE and BMCM participated in two Museums Connect grants funded by the U.S. State Department and administered by the American Alliance of Museums (AAM). The grants resulted in an extensive community oral history project, the

---


The Museums Connect grants came with some lofty goals and relatively strict guidelines. According to the grant Website, “The Museums Connect program strengthens connections and cultural understanding between people in the United States and abroad through innovative projects facilitated by museums and executed by their communities.”12 In a 2009 KSU press release, Dr. Samir El Azhar said:

We firmly believe that this project of gathering oral histories in Morocco and the U.S. will certainly promote global peace, mutual respect and understanding between both countries. . . . The exchange of information and histories will dispel stereotypes and misunderstanding and will promote values of trust and dialogue.13

In a 2011 roundtable in The Public Historian, participants in the two grant projects reflected on their involvement. Educators and students alike spoke in positive terms about their experiences.14 However, in a 2015 essay in the Public History Review, museum educator and former project participant Richard Harker took a more critical view. He argued that the trans-national partnership between the MHHE/Kennesaw and BMCM/Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University, involved unavoidable power imbalances that favored the American partner. Dr. Lewis and Kennesaw’s Public History Program director Dr. Jennifer Dickey transmitted Public history and exhibition development expertise in the American paradigm to their Moroccan counterparts. This power imbalance led some faculty and staff at Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University, to accuse the project participants of “intellectual colonialism.”15 Dr. Dickey, in turn, defended the specific ways in which the partnership functioned while reflecting that the Museums Connect grant can be viewed as “an inherently imperialistic undertaking in a way because of the nature of the way that it’s structured: the source of the money and the source of the expertise.”16

Responses to the partnership in the United States also illustrate distances between project goals and local realities. Following the press release for the Identities project by the MHHE in 2011, a letter to the editor in the Marietta Daily Journal reflected the sharp uptick in xenophobia and anti-Muslim sentiment that followed the tenth anniversary of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. According to the Identities project website:

In a letter to the editor of the Marietta Daily Journal entitled, “KSU’s Islamic Outreach Grant Nauseating,” a resident of Marietta wrote that, “By viewing the network news, by reading a newspaper or simply by viewing the many Muslims among us, we are able to verify that they are intolerant of us, they seek to dominate, and they seek to install archaic laws of the Dark Ages.” The writer also expressed concern that taxpayer dollars were being spent on a project about Muslim communities.

Many readers commented on the initial letter on the Marietta Daily Journal’s website, including some that supported the viewpoint of the writer with comments such as, “Everything I needed to know about Islam, I learned on 09/11/01.” In contrast to these opinions others urged restraint against the demonization of Muslims in the United States, including “Embarrassed,” who wrote, “You all make me ashamed to call Marietta home. Let’s not stereotype one group, because of the actions of a few. . . . Show some tolerance.”

The breadth of feeling generated by this letter to the editor illustrates that a range of misconceptions, negative stereotyping, and intolerance of Muslims persists within our community in northwest Georgia.17

Whether or not these controversies run counter to the lofty goals outlined by Dr. El Azhar in 2009 is debatable. Nevertheless, the partnership has been viewed as largely positive by the participating institutions and their individual representatives. The endurance of the partnership has been a testament to the values of trust and dialogue embraced by its founders.

My involvement with the partnership began when I became the curator of the MHHE in 2015. Earlier that summer the directors of the two museums had already commenced a conversation about the possibility of creating a bilingual traveling exhibit about the relationship between Morocco and the United States during World War II. Like the previous projects, this prospective partnership would involve public history and American Studies students at Kennesaw and Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University, only this time there would be no grant funding. With the experience gained by our Moroccan partners

Public History Across Distances: Sustaining a Partnership

during the first decade of our relationship, and without the grant parameters dictating the nature of our partnership, I was hopeful that we might be able to promote and maintain parity as we embarked on our newest endeavors. Yet, challenges have continued to manifest in our work together even as we have produced a successful joint exhibit about World War II and are in the process of starting another joint project, tackling the challenging topic of slavery and its Moroccan and American legacies.

This paper extends the reflective work of Harker’s analysis and the practical conversations started in Lewis et al’s roundtable. In it, I will discuss physical, temporal, cultural, and interpretive challenges in our international public history partnership and describe ways in which we have attempted to mitigate against them. I will also argue that digital methods employed in this process have aided immensely in the success of our projects but have also illuminated new potential pitfalls for promoting and maintaining quality collaboration across great distances.

* * *

Casablanca lies due east of Kennesaw across the Atlantic Ocean, 4,311 miles apart as the crow flies. For some perspective, this is a little less than twice the distance between Kennesaw and Los Angeles. Temporally, Casablanca is in the Western European Time Zone, five hours later than Kennesaw. Kennesaw operates on a semester system, with terms running from August through December, January through May, and June through July. Hassan II University begins its spring term in early March and runs through the summer, with breaks for Ramadan and much of August. Students then begin again in September. Anticipating these challenges for our World War II exhibit project, we assembled a small American team consisting entirely of interns. The four students that made up this team began during the fall semester and continued on a volunteer basis during the spring and early summer. The team met weekly on Tuesday evenings with occasional sessions scheduled during the day, attempting to coincide with Moroccan availability for joint sessions held via Skype. The Moroccan team was much larger, consisting of groups of two to three students assigned to each of the ten different exhibit topics. This size differential in and of itself created a mismatched collaborative dynamic.

These physical and temporal challenges led to practical communications challenges that we attempted to allay through digital means. However, although we initially envisioned our project to create the World War II exhibit coinciding completely, we quickly realized that this level of collaboration would not be possible. Beyond our problems overlapping temporally due to our mismatched semesters, the Moroccan government banned Skype and related video conferencing solutions for all of 2016 and much of 2017. Meanwhile, KSU had installed a new telephone system that mysteriously precluded calls to certain international locations, including Morocco. Our attempts to gain approval for Moroccan calling were slow to take effect and failed to last between call attempts.
Given these communications issues, we were forced to move our collaboration entirely online, relying on Basecamp, Facebook, and traditional email exchanges. This effectively distanced our students from each other, despite our attempts to create working groups through these online platforms. Collaboration became essentially turn-based instead of dynamic. And instructional sessions for students aimed at preparing them to craft exhibit text moved entirely into the American context. Ultimately, American students and Moroccan students each contributed research papers and image suggestions to an effort ultimately realized in exhibit form entirely by the project coordinators.

In addition to the sense of imbalance caused by the larger Moroccan contingent and the smaller American contingent for the World War II project, we also faced a language disparity. Our American students were fluent only in English while their Moroccan counterparts spoke French, Arabic and Amazigh in addition to English (as they were all enrolled in the English or American Studies program at Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University). I can boast intermediate French at best, and my Arabic is non-existent.

Americans are notorious for their lack of foreign language proficiency. According to a 2015 article in the *Atlantic*, less than one percent of American adults are proficient in a foreign language. Over a century of English-dominated world hegemony combined with decades of spending cuts has left an educational system where foreign language is consistently deprioritized. In addition, Americans are never sure which languages to learn. According to the *Atlantic*,

Americans learn certain languages when, for example, emergencies hit. Slavic languages during the Cold War. Middle Eastern ones during the “War on Terror.” The Modern Language Association has tracked data over seven decades showing the influence of international and domestic developments on language education. But these pop-up programs may be misguided: Learning a language in a non-immersive classroom setting takes years. So if schools are offering the “language du jour” today, it’s bound to be the “language d’hier” tomorrow.\(^\text{18}\)

Morocco’s colonial history and contemporary cultural identity has led to a clear set of languages in which all students are proficient. In addition, many choose to learn English because of its prevalence around the world.

For a collaborative historical project aimed at forging cross-cultural understanding, this discrepancy leads to some real disadvantages. American students are limited to consulting English-language sources. Moroccan students and faculty are put in the position of translating

---

texts from Arabic or French if they hope to add these key perspectives to the collaborative interpretation.

Even though we produced our final exhibit in English and Arabic, the text did not grow organically in both languages. Instead, word counts were dictated by the layout of the MHHE’s lead designer, and text was translated from English to Arabic by Dr. El Azhar after being drafted by myself, synthesized from our student essays and supplemental sources mostly in English and occasionally in French. Given American deficiencies in foreign languages, especially at the undergraduate level, this situation likely represents a common barrier to parity in international projects.

A second cultural challenge stemmed from differing priorities in the area of intellectual property law between the American and Moroccan contexts. In the U.S., we take copyright very seriously (perhaps too seriously). In Morocco, the culture around reuse and reproduction of available material is somewhat looser. According to the AAM manual on Rights and Reproductions, “although a given situation may implicate multiple countries, for most questions and events arising in each country, one would ordinarily apply the law of that country.” When producing an exhibit in the U.S., I spend a considerable amount of time securing licenses to include and reproduce desired images. License fees may vary depending upon whether the exhibit is to be permanent or temporary, stationary or traveling. To introduce these skills to my students on the Morocco project, I set up a rights tracking spreadsheet and assigned them to read key chapters from Rights and Reproductions. At the same time, through conversations with Dr. El Azhar and with my colleagues who had worked with Morocco in the past, it became clear that tracking down intellectual property provenance and attaining copyright licenses was not a high priority for student and faculty working on our joint project. Although Morocco has been part of the international Berne Copyright Convention since 1917, most people there feel reasonably comfortable re-using any imagery that is readily available on the internet or collected through newspapers and books. Tracking down high resolution images also seemed to be a challenge and/or a low priority for our student researchers in Morocco. Although they were able to locate some beautiful images of Morocco during World War II, finding original sources and getting high-res scans did not figure into the work plan.

Ultimately, our team reconciled this cultural difference by creating an exhibit design that did not make use of large printed images. Instead, a geometric motif inspired by Moroccan mosaic patterns took center stage, and images were secondary. Since the exhibit was to be produced and distributed in Morocco, the American team also felt comfortable relaxing our standards for tracking down ownership and attaining copyright licenses. However, if

we choose to reproduce our exhibit in the U.S., we may have to revisit some of our image choices and make a true “fair use” determination.

The area of interpretation is the part of our partnership that calls, perhaps most completely, for the kind of diplomacy envisioned in those first Museums Connect grants. As sovereign nations, the U.S. and Morocco interpret geographic and cultural histories in different ways. In our project on World War II, this became most apparent in two areas: Morocco’s definition of its contemporary borders, and Morocco’s understanding of the history of its Jewish citizens. Tangentially, deciding on appropriate terminology to discuss different cultural groups also revealed opportunities to bridge gaps in understanding between American and Moroccan students.

Much English-language literature about Moroccan history makes common reference to “Berber” people and civilizations. “Berber” refers to the indigenous people of Morocco with the same callous root as the “bar-bar” of “barbarian” or “barbarism.” The etymology of this terminology is Greek and originates even further back in a Sanskrit word for “stammering.” It is no wonder that people would take offense at the use of a linguistic slur to describe a group of people to which almost every Moroccan citizen is connected through ties of kinship or culture. When myself and my students used this terminology early in the planning process for our World War II exhibit, we were reminded gently but firmly that Moroccans prefer to refer to Amazigh-speaking peoples instead of Berbers.

The second conflicting interpretation involves the story of Morocco’s Jewish community. Since the Museum of History and Holocaust Education focuses much of its programming on the Holocaust and its lasting effect on Jewish life around the world, we are particularly concerned with subtlety in interpretation of the histories of Jewish communities. Jews have lived in Morocco for more than 2,500 years, and many speak Amazigh languages as well as Arabic. When our Moroccan colleagues proposed a panel to talk about Moroccan Jews during World War II, the tone was meant to be wholly positive. Our panel tells the story as follows, beginning with a quote from Edward Gabriel:

“King Mohammed V’s courage in protecting his Jewish subjects during World War II reminds us of Morocco’s long tradition of religious freedom, cultural diversity, and peaceful coexistence between Jews and Muslims unrivaled in the Arab world.” Former US Ambassador to Morocco, Edward M. Gabriel

In 1948, more than 260,000 Jews lived in Morocco, making it the Muslim state in the Middle East with the largest Jewish population. Jews, many of whom speak Amazigh languages, have lived in Morocco for 2,500 years.

During World War II, the Vichy French government revoked Jewish citizenship and deported Jews to concentration camps and killing centers. Sultan Mohammed V rejected the racist laws, refusing to ask his Jewish subjects to wear yellow stars. “There are no Jews in Morocco,” he said, “There are only subjects.”

On December 20, 2015, the Sultan was honored posthumously by the Institute for World Jewish Studies in the U.S.\(^{21}\)

This story is indeed positive, even though it has been difficult to track down the precise moment for the reported quote from Sultan Mohammed V. The result of his actions was clear in that Jews were protected in Morocco. They were neither forced to wear yellow stars nor removed from their communities during the war. In 1948, more than 260,000 Jews lived in Morocco. Our panel begins with this fact. However, the story that we do not tell is the one that began in 1948 and resulted in the current Jewish population of Morocco being about 2,500. When Israel was founded in 1948, Jews across the world, but especially in Europe and the Middle East felt a tremendous “pull” to move to the new nation. However, this “pull” became something of a “push” as well, as pan-Arab nationalism replaced colonialism in many middle eastern states, including Morocco. Jews who may not have initially considered moving to Israel began to experience discrimination and resentment in Morocco. Many had had close ties to the French colonial government. Antisemitic riots broke out in Moroccan cities during the first Arab-Israeli war, killing forty-four Jews.\(^{22}\)

As tensions between Israel and its neighbors ebbed and flowed over the next seventy years, Moroccan Jews felt pressure to emigrate despite restrictions on going to Israel for a time between 1956 and 1961. Propagandists from Israel also stoked fears in Morocco’s Jewish community of the rising Nationalist Movement. Although Israel sought out Jews from Morocco’s poorer southern region in great numbers, seeing them as a valuable source of labor in the 1950s, many Moroccan Jews who settled in Israel have seen comparatively little upward mobility in the country and have experienced discrimination there as well. Better-educated Moroccan Jews have dispersed to France, Canada, and the United States.\(^{23}\)

In all of this time, Moroccan official policy has remained overwhelmingly positive toward Jews. King Hassan II, Mohammed V’s son, declared a “right of return” to Israel’s 600,000 Jews of Moroccan descent, offering them Moroccan passports even if they had served in the Israeli Army.\(^{24}\) This work of openness and understanding has continued with

\(^{21}\) - Ben M’sik Community Museum and Museum of History and Holocaust Education, “Morocco in World War II” (Hassan II University, 2016), Panel 8.
the reign of King Mohammed VI during which synagogues were refurbished and streets in Jewish districts were returned to their historical names.\textsuperscript{25} The Moroccan constitution of 2011 enshrines Morocco’s multicultural identity:

A sovereign Muslim State, attached to its national unity and to its territorial integrity, the Kingdom of Morocco intends to preserve, in its plentitude and its diversity, its one and indivisible national identity. Its unity, is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber [amazighe] and Saharan-Hassanic [saharo-hassanie] components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebraic and Mediterranean influences [affluents]. The preeminence accorded to the Muslim religion in the national reference is consistent with [va de pair] the attachment of the Moroccan people to the values of openness, of moderation, of tolerance and of dialog for mutual understanding between all the cultures and the civilizations of the world.\textsuperscript{26}

Still, continuing tensions with Israel have led to waves of Islamist sentiment causing Moroccan Jews to fear for their safety.\textsuperscript{27} Morocco remains arguably the safest place for Jews in the Middle East outside of Israel, but it is possible for that status to feel precarious.

Obviously, this complex history would be too much for a panel in a historical exhibit restricted to a hundred words in English. However, it is difficult to feel completely comfortable with the implication of a continuous state of harmony made by juxtaposing the 1948 population figure with the fact of 2,500 years of Jewish history in the Moroccan kingdom. At the same time, I am hopeful and encouraged that a more nuanced exploration of this complex cultural history may be possible in a future collaboration.

* * *

The collaboration between Kennesaw/MHHE and Faculty of Letters, Ben M’sik/BMCM of 2016-2017 produced an interesting and well-received traveling exhibit about Morocco and the U.S. during World War II. Although the exhibit was ultimately written primarily by the Moroccan and American project coordinators, the students involved felt a sense of ownership over the product, and their contributions were respected. Perhaps more importantly, I believe that we learned some valuable lessons about digital collaboration through this process that we can apply to future projects.

Shortly after the opening of our World War II exhibit, our Moroccan colleagues suggested that our next collaborative project take on the challenging and complex history of the legacies of slavery in the U.S. and Morocco. Our team suggested that we take this project in stages. First, a class of public history students at Kennesaw would produce a digital exhibit using the Omeka platform that would take a comparative approach to exploring the legacies of slavery in our two multicultural nations. Moroccan students would be invited to peer review the digital exhibit.28 Beginning a little later in the spring, a class of American Studies students at Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University, would undertake an ethnographic study of Morocco’s many distinctive cultural/ethnic groups including those of sub-Saharan African descent. Through that study, our goals and methods would overlap. Ultimately, we will invite students to contribute essays to a book that will explore our shared legacies (World War II and slavery among them) and the collaborative projects we have undertaken to elucidate them.

This approach may seem like a step back from the kind of real-time collaboration we attempted in the previous projects of our partnership. However, this incremental approach may ultimately lead to more parity between our respective institutions, allowing us each to focus on the areas where we can make our strongest contributions. It is also an approach that is well-suited to the pace of change in project leadership and student participation that has characterized the partnership, especially on the American side. Each partner will offer the other valuable resources unearthed during research and products completed through locally-focused protocols. The directors of these respective project phases will continue to share skills and expertise gained through working with their students and their colleagues via digital collaboration platforms including Basecamp and traditional email. Eventually, we may have the opportunity to meet again in person to celebrate our joint achievements, crossing the digital bridges we have built for some old fashioned face-to-face cultural exchange.

28 - As of the printing of this article, the first complete draft of this student exhibit can be viewed here: “Faces of Slavery in the U.S. and Morocco · Digital Histories,” accessed July 31, 2018, http://digitalhistories.kennesaw.edu/exhibits/show/faces_of_slavery_us_morocco.
The Role of Diversity in Strengthening National Unity in Morocco

Khalid Lahlou

Abstract

The present paper sheds light on diversity in Morocco. It aims at bringing into focus the different constituents that make of Morocco a land rich in cultures ranging from cuisine, music, architecture, language and clothing- to name but a few. The paper tries to illuminate the extent to which this very diversity strengthens the national unity and endows it with such a uniqueness that is relatively rare, if non-existent, in similar North African countries.

Key words: diversity-culture- national unity-uniqueness

Introduction

Being located in a strategic position between North Africa and Southern Europe, or better still, a bridge between two continents, Morocco enjoys a blend, and also a variety, of influences ranging from Amazigh, , Phoenician, Arabic, Sub-Saharan African , Jewish and European. This mixture has historically immensely impacted the country and made of it what it is today.

The present article is divided into different sections whose primary objective is to shed more light on diversity in Morocco ranging from the Moroccan identity, via values and attitudes to weddings and other related items.

The term Morocco in Arabic is ‘Al Maghreb’, meaning where the sun sets, as opposed to ‘Al Mashreq’ where the sun rises. It also means the ‘West’ due to its location in the west of the Arabian Peninsula geopolitically known today as the Middle East. As said earlier, Morocco claims a mix of indigenous Amazigh, Arab, African, Jewish and European influences. Situated in North Africa and the MENA region’s only monarchy, the country has

1 - Khalid Lahlou, Professor at Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, University Hassan II of Casablanca, Morocco.
been visibly talented to shape its rich cultural heritage into a universally reputed tolerant
state.

Adopting a somewhat rational and wide-ranging approach to social and economic
progress, Morocco has skilfully managed to avoid the social unrest and instability - namely
what is politically known as the ‘Arab Spring’ - that have taken aback other neighboring
countries in the region in the last few years. More than that, the fact of espousing a succession
of noticeable political and governmental reforms, together with a fast improving business
atmosphere, Morocco has been able to enlarge its influence both in the Mediterranean basin
and more precisely on the African continent.

Moroccan People

Defining a Moroccan is not an easy task to undertake. However, the ensuing features
will try to provide some light on how to approximately outline a Moroccan.

- A Moroccan is perceived as a Muslim and as such, he/she shares a certain vision of
Islam and its practices with other Muslim countries.

- A Moroccan is the one who speaks the Moroccan dialect – a variety of formal
Arabic.

- A Moroccan is an Arab, Mediterranean, North-African, Amazigh, Muslim, Jewish
and secular.

In short, a Moroccan is a bit of all of the above, simply because different ethnicities
have always co-habited, and co-existed, under one single flag, that of Morocco. The 2011
Moroccan Constitution clearly refers to the aforementioned components of the Moroccan
identity:

A sovereign Muslim State, attached to its national unity and to its
territorial integrity, the Kingdom of Morocco intends to preserve, in its
plenitude and its diversity, its one and indivisible national identity. Its unity, is
forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Amazighe and Saharo-hassanie
components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebraic and
Mediterranean influences. The preeminence accorded to the Muslim religion
in the national reference is consistent with [va de pair] the attachment of the
Moroccan people to the values of openness, of moderation, of tolerance and of
dialog for mutual understanding between all the cultures and the civilizations
of the world.²

In this respect, let me briefly cite the experience of a foreigner, Jan Kalserud, who has spent some time in a Moroccan countryside, and who has come up with the following remarks:

You meet a very hospital and generous people who gladly like to help you and invite you to their homes to eat and sleep .... Many, mostly young people like to be your friend to learn more about (your country) and to exchange ideas.³

He really highly appreciates the fact that:

Moroccans share their food with you, are very polite, and greet you with a handshake. An important thing is the Moroccans’ most cherished possession of honor and dignity, which reflects not only on themselves but also on all members of their extended family.⁴

Moroccans, thanks to their sense of solidarity, have aptly managed to convert regional diversity into a coalescing force. Being Moroccan is the mutual foundation that encompasses all Moroccans. Furthermore, cultural differences, regional attachments and specific accents do intersect with the Moroccan national identity. To put it mildly, the citizen is first Moroccan and then Muslim, first Moroccan and then Jewish, and first Moroccan and then Amazigh. Within the same context, the late King Hassan II, the father of the current King Mohamed VI, has summarized this special trait of Morocco by inherently stating that: “Morocco is like a tree whose roots lie in Africa but whose leaves breathe in European air”.⁵

Moroccan Faith, Values and Hospitality

Morocco is a land that is abundant in history, tradition and culture. Most is closely linked to its official religion: Islam, represented in the Moroccan flag with a green star discerning the five pillars upon which the religion is based. The Moroccan constitution clearly indicates that Morocco is a North African country whose religion is Islam. It should be noted, in this respect, that Islam is a monotheist religion guided by a Holy Book known as Qur’an.

The Moroccan people are attached to the notion of unity, love, harmony, peace and togetherness that moderate Islam preaches. As a result, Moroccan families have a strong base in unison, be it the “nuclear” family or the extended one. Children are supposed to take good care of, and look after, their parents when they get older, that is why elderly homes are relatively rare in the country.

³ - Jan Kalserud “What is it like to live in Morocco as a foreigner?” The speaker lived in Morocco for a number of years, during which he met Moroccans and was exposed to their cultural values.
⁴ - Ibid
⁵ - This is an expression that King Hassan II (1929-1999) had made use of in order to metaphorically describe Morocco being both deeply traditional and immensely drawn to the modern world. ... Morocco is a country that is ‘exceptional’ in the Muslim world.
It is admitted by one and by all that the people of Morocco are caring, whole-hearted, and well known around the world for their sense of hospitality. As a testimony to this, a Moroccan, after having just got to know you, will spontaneously invite you to his home for a meal, especially if it is Friday, even if the host is of meager means. Moroccans value building personal relationships and want to help others for the sake of it, not necessarily for their own personal interest.

Family is important to Moroccans. Moroccans will often ask each other about the health and well-being of their own family, even if they have never met them. They have an unaffected interest in concern for other people. Personal honor and respect is most important to Moroccans so trespassing these lines can quickly turn a valuable relationship to a sour one almost straightaway.

Another trait that undeniably characterizes the Moroccans is their clear sense of hospitality. People like to collaborate with each other and revere cordiality. This sense of generosity can easily be noticed in the countryside where rich families regularly invite all the villagers to come over for a meal –Couscous generally- especially after every weekly Friday prayer. Furthermore, when a person, for instance, loses his job or goes bankrupt, villagers would not hesitate, and do their uttermost, to help him meet his needs until he manages to find another source of income. However, these invaluable social values seem to be on the edge of total disappearance mainly in urban neighborhoods where the sense of community is sadly replaced by the notion of individualism!

In short, we can say that, in Morocco, hospitality and cooperation are interrelated, and intertwined, in more than one respect. These two features are, in a sense, compassionate values given the evidence that cooperative people are naturally found to be hospitable and the other way round. It is no coincidence then that Moroccans combine them both!

**Moroccan Weddings**

Unlike the wedding ceremonies taking place in some other countries in this world, Moroccan weddings are very special! It is customary in Morocco, being a moderate Islamic country, that no relationship between couples outside the wedlock is allowed. As such, couples are encouraged to engage in a matrimonial process. For a couple to get married, there are some steps to observe. The groom is invited to give his bride special gifts before the big day such as sugar, an emblem of a happy and sweet life as well as other gifts chosen by his parents. Two days before the wedding ceremony, the custom has it that the bride should go to the traditional Moroccan Hamam (حمام) –a sort of Turkish bath- with her relatives. This is held as an act of purification. Once there, the relatives sing traditional songs together. It should be noted, in this respect, that wedding ceremonies differ from one city to another. It all depends on where a person is from and to which social class they belong. For example, the people up north of Morocco celebrate their wedding in a way that is very different from
All Moroccans, wherever they are, during their wedding festivities, ask the services of a Negafa (نقافة) - a woman who offers make-up services. Her job resides in the fact of taking good care of the bride and how she should appear on that special occasion that takes place only once in a bride’s life time! They also use an Amariya (العامرية) - a traditional ornamental chair- for both the bride and the groom. Once on that decorative chair, guests joyfully throw flowers at the newly married couple. In a word, Moroccans genuinely consider this way of celebration part of their ancestral traditions, and hence an indivisible component of their culture.

**Moroccan Food**

Talking about Morocco inevitably leads one to evoke food since it is regarded as one of the hallmarks of the Moroccan diverse cultures. The Moroccan cuisine includes a wide range of delicious dishes ranging from Pastilla, a sort of a pie that combines sweet and salty flavors, to Tajines, a kind of tender meat with scented vegetables and sauce and Couscous, a dish containing an arrangement of toasted spices and vegetables that is usually served on Friday right after the prayer. These dishes have some special taste due to the ingredients that they contain. The spices most usually used are cumin, salt, pepper, oregano, parsley, coriander, caraway and even mint in addition, of course to ginger, paprika, turmeric and saffron.

Due to its strategic location, being the crossroad of different cultures, the Moroccan cuisine is typically a mix of Mediterranean, Arabic, Andalusian and Amazigh cuisine. It is highly influenced by its interactions, and exchanges, with other cultures. What one should bear in mind is the fact that though it is only one country, one will find each one of the above-mentioned dishes cooked differently in certain cities and in each home. This clearly shows how multicultural Morocco is!

**Moroccan Music**

Moroccan Music is one of the vital features of Morocco’s culture. There is more than one musical style to be noticed in Morocco, each of which has got its own story to tell. The different styles of music depicted in the different parts of the country can broadly be listed as follows:

- Amazigh (أمازيغ) music from the Rif;
- Andalusian (الطرب الأندلسي) music from Rabat, Fes and Oujda;
- Chaabi (الشعبي) from the Atlas;
- Ahidous (أهيدوس) from the Souss;
- Gnawa (كناوة) and Gadra (كدرة) south of Morocco.

This variety of music styles clearly indicates how the notion of diversity is deeply rooted in the Moroccan cultural landscape. The subsequent lines will try to give a brief description of each of the types cited above together with the major instrument(s) accompanying each type.

1- Amazigh music

Conventionally, Amazigh people –referred to as Amazighen- have long kept their music flourishing for thousands of years, as it is considered a fundamental mainstay of Amazigh life, sacred rites and celebrations, like wedding ceremonies, recurrent festivals, agricultural almanacs, and even during bereavement and demise. Amazigh music can well be described in the following terms:

It is... (music) a vital component of Amazigh song; rich in “emotional sonority”, folklore, ancient traditions, comedy, rhythmic patterns, jubilant ululations, and the pounding drums calling the ancestors from the underworld; composed together to produce a new type of entertainment that not only carries the heritage forward but also entertains the soul and makes the mind momentarily happy and free of tense. Amazigh music is essentially social, joyful and spiritually sacred.\(^6\)

The major instruments used in this type of music are drums and flutes.

2- Andalusian Music

As its name clearly indicates, the Andalusian music can be traced back to the presence of the Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula during the 9th century when they took hold of large territories geographically known as Andalusia. This music had been introduced in Morocco during the 12th century when the Muslims were forced to leave Andalusia in South of Spain and moved to settle in such cities as Tetouan, Rabat, Sale, Oujda and Fes in Morocco which have later become the homeland of Andalusian music.

It should be noted, in this respect, that this style of music brings together singers and instrumentalists. The orchestra is composed of a tambourine and a ‘laud’- a sort of four-string mandolin. The singers sing verses in a high form of Arabic commonly known as classical Arabic or Andalusian. Currently, this Moroccan "classical" music, predominantly popular among middle-classes, is still very existent in the traditionalist societies of imperial cities as Rabat, Meknes, etc.

---

3- Chaabi music

Moroccan Chaabi music can be traced back to the turn of the 20th century during the French Protectorate in Morocco. This early form of Chaabi music was overwhelmingly influenced by the social unrest that period of the Moroccan history was undergoing. It is worth noting that at that time, most Chaabi artists had inadequate, or no regular, education as they came from the rural areas. Consequently, the best register they would use in singing was in colloquial Moroccan Arabic, or Darija. Most of their songs was appealing especially to the lower and working classes.

During the 1970’s, thanks to the increasing access to communication and transportation, Chaabi music was allowed to ‘intrude’ urban centers in Morocco. Surprisingly, their songs enjoyed substantial popularity amongst the different Moroccan social classes. It is noticeable that some Chaabi bands have recently skillfully incorporated electric instruments such as the guitar and drums.

4- Ahidous music

Historically considered the first inhabitants of Morocco, the Amazighen living in the Atlas Mountains have brilliantly developed a type of music commonly called Ahidous. This kind of music tries to bring back the memories of the old good days when the indigenous people of Morocco enjoyed a strong attachment, and sense of belonging, to their land and their cultural values that are now dwindling due to the migration of most villagers to big cities in quest of better social and financial conditions.

The words, resonating like poetry, reflect the ritualistic and celebratory aspect sensibly felt in their music. In small groups, they sing with accompaniment on handcrafted instruments including double-sided tambourines (duff الدف) and the one-stringed fiddle (rabab الرباب). Since the overall context is generally celebratory there is always a rich stream of folkloric dance styles accompanying the music, where women of all ages perform a typical dance, shoulder to shoulder, in a large circle around the seated male musicians whose task is to play hand-held frame drums (bendir البندير) and flutes (ney الناي).

5- Gnawa Music

Morocco’s geographic location at the northern verge of Africa, at the western extreme of the Arab world and a few miles from Europe, has always endowed it with a strategic role in trade both with Europe northward and Africa southward. The origin of Gnawa people can be traced back to many centuries ago when sub-Saharan from countries like Guinea, Mali, and Sudan were captured, and brought across the Sahara, to serve the Sultans – an archaic appellation of Kings in Morocco. What it is special about this type of music is that it can be recognized by its call-and-response, blues and jazz-like style and the acrobatic leaps of the vividly colorfully-dressed dancers who form the troupe.
It should be noted, in this respect, that Gnawa music is not just a mere performance. It is more complex than that. Gnawa music, in fact, has a deeply-rooted spiritual and therapeutic energy derived from the combination of Sufi tradition of Islam and earliest sub-Saharan African rituals. By means of illustration, we can indicate that the therapeutic ceremonies, or lilas (ليلات), take place from nightfall until sunrise and are generally led by a woman-priestess- who summons olden African spirits, or djinn (الجinn), and Islamic saints (أولياء الله).

Other types of music that are worth mentioning are Gadra and Rai music. The Gadra music is somewhat meager, rhythmic, and predominantly performed by female singers who play a small stringed harp-lute called an ardin (أردين). As to the Rai music, whose origin is largely attributed to Algeria, is gaining solid ground and becoming increasingly popular, especially among teenagers. The word Rai means “opinion” and Moroccans have managed to come up with their own home-based variability that clearly reflects present-day and debatable views on such social topics as betrayal, heartbreaking and freedom, to name but a few.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, the strength of Morocco largely depends on its diversity: ethnically, religiously, linguistically and culturally. This paper has tried to demonstrate, through a wide range of features- hospitality, weddings, and music, how the geographical location of Morocco has greatly influenced the population and hence shaped their identities. The ultimate result of the variety of the Moroccan cultures is what makes the country unique in terms of food, music, and social relationship. Unlike some other countries where diversity threatens their national unity, in Morocco it is the opposite. Diversity plays an important role in strengthening and consolidating the Moroccan sense of unity. Being Moroccan does not mechanically mean Muslim, Arab, Amazigh or Jewish. Being Moroccan does not unthinkingly mean Mediterranean and African. It is the compilation of all that ‘brassage de cultures’/mixing of cultures. Herein, to my mind, resides the Moroccan multiculturalism.

**References**


“What is it like to live in Morocco as a foreigner?” Jan Kalserud, lived in Morocco (1994-2012)

The Possibility and Impossibility of Cultural Diversity

Abdelkader Sabil

Abstract:

This paper tries to argue that cultural diversity is impossible in a time when cultural uniformity is capitalized. It departs from the stand that cultural uniformity is politically/ideologically and economically informed. It draws on a number of theoreticians to frame the main contention that cultural diversity or rather multiculturalism is a pure figment of imagination. This follows from Parekh’s argument that cultural diversity is impossible and cannot stand to homogeneity. The paper raises issues related to the politics of recognition whereby is meant acceptance of difference. It also offers a reading of Parekh’s critique of multiculturalism.

Introduction:

With reference to the title of the conference “Difference”, I would like make the following point. As Jacques Derrida would put it, titles mark a certain frame, boundary or limit, and I believe we should begin here. Titles are meant to be borders between the supposed ‘outside’ and the ‘inside’ of the text, borders to which we are called, but which we may never actually pass in some sense. This is because, throughout our reading of a text, we have the title- which had served as an entrance point, an official recognition of the beginning of a particular text. The text here is the conference itself and the issue of Difference. Effectively, by opting for the possibility “inside” and impossibility outside of cultural diversity. The distinction between the two is not as clear-cut or discrete as one might believe. The possible and impossible are shown to be connected, a part of “hymnal” flow.

1 - Abdelkader Sabil, Professor of English and Cultural Studies in the English Department. He is Vice-dean in charge of academic affairs in the Faculty of Letters & Humanities, Ben M’Hik, University Hassan II of Casablanca, Morocco.

2 - This paper was delivered in the international conference “The Problematic of Difference” held at the Faculty of Letters & Humanities, Beni Mellal, Morocco, 22-23 April 2019.
Multiculturalism or the politics of recognition:

Subscribing to Parekh’s stand (2000), this paper puts forward the argument that cultural diversity and the politics of recognition of minority groups is impossible as “identities are valued and devalued because of the place of their bearers in the prevailing structure or power, and their revaluation entails corresponding changes in the latter (p.2).” This identity often overshadows the individual and strips him/her of their personal identity, trapping the individual in the impossibility of political recognition. To belong to a society brings about a multiplicity of identity fragments, in complete opposition to “universalism, traditionalism and any idea of ethnic or cultural rootedness” (May, 2008, pp. 38-39). May (2008) contends identity as such “is viewed as being able to subvert categorical oppositions and essentialist ideological movements—particularly ethnicity and nationalism” (pp. 38-39). If multiculturalism is respecting different cultures/subcultures coexisting in a close proximity, then hybridity has no validity since it calls for homogeneity within heterogeneity, focusing on individuals as unique entities. A case in point is the Moroccan culture wherein the Amazigh and Arabs alloy to make a unique hybrid culture. “Hybridity”, following Homi Bhabha, “is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination (1985, p. 154).” It is the means whereby the dominant culture gains in power and control over minorities, amounting to stereotype-construction. Stereotype-construction or “fetishism”, as Bhabha puts it, becomes a fixation of identities and performances of representation, taking place “prior to the perception of difference” informing the Western discourse (Bhabha, 1985, p.157).

Stereotypes are utilized to secure the knowledge of the dominant, repeating and rehashing the knowledge of the dominated as a substitution for ‘proof’ of its truthfulness:

The stereotype... is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillate between what is already ‘in place’, already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated... as if the essential duplicity of the Asiatic or the bestial sexual license of the African that needs no proof, can never be proved (1994, pp. 64-66).

Bhabha marks as “ambivalence” the gulf between the statement and assertion of reality and the knowledge that truth and reality can never be sure beyond a shadow of doubt. “Ambivalence” warrants the stereotype its imperativeness and to be rehashed now and then. Judging the ethical content of the stereotype, Bhabha argues, can only dismiss, but not dislodge it. To do so would simply mean testing its claim to speak. To discredit the power and knowledge of the stereotype necessitates the inquiry into their truth-effect, the truth the minority/stereotype claim to speak of. Such an investigation becomes the “major discursive strategy” of the discourse of domination. This may seem a simplification, describing something that exists in essence, yet, unchanging.
Bhabah’s concerns with hybridity finds echoes in Gayatari Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak? (1994)” For Spivak, representation is the act of speaking for the oppressed in politics and re-presentation in art or philosophy (Spivak, 1994, p. 70). Spivak takes cue from both Marx and Gramsci, and builds on his “They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented.” Minorities have no voice and cannot claim a different identity as it is a re-presentation of a non-existing collective agency, falsely recognized as an expression of that same identity (Spivak, 1994, pp.71-72). To assume that minorities are coherent autonomous agents capable of self-representation requires some sort of subordination to a power-bearing representative and adherence to the same dominant culture.

Minorities become passive and easily manipulated in asymmetrical power-relation that does not address “the micrological texture of power” within the minorities ‘culture. What Spivak proposes, following Gramsci, is highly applicable to minorities/subalterns, to borrow from Spivak. Here one can speak of a certain intentional epistemic manipulation on the basis of division. This is only possible within legal and codification of texts by dominant cultures. Minorities’ visibility is rendered ideologically and it subscribes to a politics of recognition. Minorities endeavor to gain identity/recognition as different. Difference calls for acceptance and equality as such following its own logic. Still, this logic is inscribed within the politics of social in/justice or economic redistribution. Cultural difference, too, is embedded in a shared and inherited system of meaning and significance. Societies develop a specific linguistic system to describe difference and subsume it within that same dominant system. The irony is that difference remains and insists on being accepted as such. Difference is the raison d’être of the minority groups. It is the yardstick whereby their identity is gauged. This cultural difference cannot be understood only through the “metaphysics” of the hegemonic culture. Identities are delimited according to the social position their bearers have. The socio-economic position of the individual determines her/his identity. The socio-economic determinism turns into a plea for recognition as different.

The politics of recognition is in no way a modern coinage. It has taken different shapes as the politics of social justice and economic equity; i.e., equal wealth distribution. This equity is only possible through a reformation of culture and redefinition of the social norms. Karl Marx cannot be eschewed when broaching the economic issue. Marx’s diatribe of capitalism is to create an economically homogeneous culture, warranting a better position for the underprivileged; a culture that allows for cultural difference and that puts members of the same society on equal footing, not undermining their social and economic identity. In this respect, economic oppression becomes corollary to cultural oppression. This is in line with Bhikhu Parekh’s assertion that multiculturalism is “a body of beliefs and practice in terms of which a group of people understands themselves and the world and organizes their individual and collective lives (2000, p. 3).” Multiculturalism underscores cultural diversity or differences that emanate from culture. Multiculturalism and politics of recognition are, then, interchangeable. Either brings to the fore culturally entrenched differences.
Parekh brings to light three forms of cultural diversity/difference. The first form is subcultural diversity. This group of people does not challenge the social foundations of the society it belongs to, but rather it aspires to broaden these social foundations to subsume their distinctive lifestyle that may not follow their society’s norms. People subscribing to this kind of cultural difference are not one. In fact, they are two groups, the first of which may embrace different beliefs and practices in a specific walk of life. As a result, they are socially hyphenated off and can be social pariahs (LGBT: lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender). They create their own community. The second group is somehow tolerated because their way of life does not run counter to the social norms of that society. This group does not represent a threat or presents itself as an alternative culture, but simply seeks to pluralize the existing one. Subcultural diversity is easily assimilated, sometimes generating social discord though (artists, intellectuals etc...).

The second form of cultural diversity/difference is “perspectival”. People belonging to this group question the validity of the dominant culture and try to topple it down and create a new one fashioned in their immediate philosophy; this form includes the feminist movement. This movement seeks change and marks its difference. “Perspectival diversity represents a vision of life the dominant culture either rejects altogether or accepts in theory but ignores in practice (p. 4).” Still this form is impossible to assimilate into the dominant culture simply because its immediate concern is to disrupt and destroy that same culture.

The third and last form of cultural diversity encloses more homogeneous communities. They maintain their own beliefs and practices. Parekh calls this group communal diversity. It includes newly arrived immigrants or well-established communities like religious groups. Communal diversity does aspire for cultural change. They keep true to their cultures of origin. To account for this, Parekh argues that “the two first kinds of diversity are to be found in most societies throughout history, the two first usages are wide as to deprive the term of focus and even renders it useless (p.4)” For him, multicultural societies are the ones that include two or more communities. They are societies that have all the three kinds of diversity. Morocco is a good case in point. Following its constitution, Moroccan culture is Arab, Amazigh, subsaharan and Hebrew. Yet, Morocco cannot be pigeon-holed as a multicultural society. Here, the tendency is more towards monoculturalism. All communities are lumped up into a pseudo-homogenized, but exclusive culture. The Moroccan culture is normative despite its multicultural reality. It is assimilationist. Many would disagree and argue that Moroccan culture is mosaic and strongly cemented. This however would not explain the different social and identity mayhem Morocco witnesses now and then.

Morocco has not budged an inch from its old social system. It can be qualified as both pre-modern and contemporary. To spell this contradiction out, one can join Parekh’s position. In pre-modern societies, minorities were/are confined in closed geographical spaces. The immediate instance from Morocco is the Mellah where the Moroccan Jews lived and had
to some extent limited interaction with the rest of society. Of course Moroccan Jews were artisans and craftsmen; jobs many Muslim Moroccans would not undertake. Contemporary Morocco is no different. With new waves of sub-Saharan immigrants, there are reserved very poor geographical spaces for them. I would not call these spaces ghettos. Some of these immigrants turn into beggars; others do menial jobs. Still, they have bedecked the Moroccan culture with their difference and hope to be part and parcel of this same culture. Resistance to be homogenized is strongly felt in their attitudes, beliefs and practices. This showcases the importance of appertaining to a culture, but maintaining one’s identity. This is in a way characteristic of contemporary societies, which have discovered the importance of multiculturalism.

Economically speaking, these immigrants can be regarded as parasitical as Marx would have qualified them. They can be the direct cause of social upheavals. In Morocco, we have been witnesses of immigrants’ violence, but I cannot concur with this. Economic discrimination and marginalization is the main cause. What happened in Paris banlieues is another case in point. Immigrant descendents are crammed into high buildings (HLM) lacking the basic requirements for a descent life, completely isolated from the rest of Paris. Socio-economically, the immigrants and their descendents are pariahs. Violence is the main currency. Even as a community, they are called on only on elections. Their voices are silenced to give priority to that of the French of European strain. The political recognition they struggle for is colored with violence, the immediate result of marginalization. Can we speak here of a multicultural society? The immigrants/the subalterns become the silent interlocutor vis-à-vis the French dominant society. Their subjectivity is essentially construed in conformity with the standards and terms of the French dominant culture which produces the historiography wherein the historical subaltern/immigrant exists.

Their voices are produced from the margins of that same society and answer to a specific method or epistemic paradigm. It is a process of deconstruction of all the ways of life stemming from marginalized communities and reconstruction following the same pattern the dominant culture imposes. Without a connection to their own culture, minority groups lose an integral part of their lives, resulting in loss of identity. The silencing of the subaltern/immigrant is an after-effect of the French enervation or refusal to listen, “a failure of interpretation and not a failure of articulation (1994, p.195).” This is also applicable to the yellow-vests movement. This movement has become a minority and developed a culture of resistance to the neo-liberal dominant culture. As a minority group, the yellow-vest movement develops its own social system to meet the immediate needs of its components. However, it is not heard. It is even subject to violence to be subjugated. For the French authorities, this movement has become a threat to its institutions and culture. Homogenizing cultural and economic difference is impossible in this respect. The dominant neo-liberal culture adheres to violence to reconstruct and consolidate its own at-stake- identity. Cultural difference here is no more tolerated in a supposed-to-be French multi- multicultural society.
In pre-modern societies, minorities accept their subordinate status and keep confined to the social space they were assigned. This has resulted into some sort of cultural violence practiced through humiliation and oppression with a view to establishing a redefinition of the relationship between politics and culture. This calls to mind epistemic violence or knowledge violence. Contemporary societies are bound by a complex process of economic and cultural globalization which jeopardizes the idea of national culture; these societies stand against cultural homogenization much confused with cultural unity. To this effect, Parekh argues that although contemporary multicultural societies look the same, cultural patterns of interaction with their components are different. This puts in question the cultural rights of the minority groups.

Conclusion:

Multiculturalism or cultural difference is essentially subservient to the dominant cultures’ norms. It is an act of homogenizing societies and keeping any form of difference at bay, for fear of jeopardizing the stability of these societies. So far the argument I have put forward is that cultural diversity is impossible in a time when cultural uniformity is predominant; especially when one thinks globally. Globalization, as a system, aspires for a uniform culture via mass-media and social networks, but this simply leads to more atomization of cultures. Cultures, in general, keep open to change without giving away the essence of their identity that takes many a time different forms be them linguistic or religious. These elements have allowed for a certain ‘holism’ and sense of belonging to one nation, and still maintaining difference. This gives the impression that one appertains to that nation, and is still constantly reminded of one’s origin, immigrant. Societies or cultures develop dynamism with a view of subsuming different sub-cultures into their own dominant culture. Cultural diversity or multiculturalism becomes a maelstrom wherein powerful cultures hold sway. With this trend in mind, multiculturalism dwindles before the hegemonic culture of any country. Morocco can be the exception to the rule. It is also subject to constant change, but hesitantly subscribing to modernity. Accepting difference necessitates a readiness to adhere to the politics of recognition which imposes living via alterity, thus generating identity-violence.
Works cited:


Linguistic Diversity in the Moroccan Education System: (un) equal Opportunities

Abdelmajid Bouziane

Abstract

Following the different reforms and especially the latest one whose slogan is For a school of equity, quality and promotion, this article aims to check whether the teaching of languages in the Moroccan education system results in equal opportunities. It uses a review of literature of previous reports and research studies as secondary data to verify to what extent the language policy goes in line with the stakeholders’ expectations and which factors in schools affect language diversity in Morocco. Results show that the constant language policies and the pedagogies of language teaching not only hinder language diversity but they also abort some students’ study projects. Besides, the findings show that factors outside the school determine effective learning of languages. This implies that the school remains far from offering equal opportunities to Moroccan learners. Implications to boost linguistic diversity are put forward.

Key words: linguistic diversity, attitudes, Morocco, education reforms

Introduction

Morocco has always been a multilingual country. Because of its geographical location, it has been open to different commercial transactions and travelling adventures, and even war operations. Historically, it has been under the protectorate or colonisation of different countries together with the military bases of other countries that have left their languages anchored in the Moroccan society. Specifically, the advent of technology and the means of transportation have made of English an international language par excellence. Many Moroccans migrated to or created business with other countries and thus are operating in English as a lingua franca. Globalisation and internationalisation of many areas, including...
higher education, have boosted the use of English in the Moroccan different areas. However, in the current language provisions, Arabic is given priority on paper, French is brought to the surface in every area and English is relegated a second-class foreign language status.

Morocco has encouraged multilingualism in different domains. It has adopted openness to different foreign languages in its education system starting from early ages. It has authorised foreign schools to operate in their respective languages. It has adopted a non-restricted access to the internet and social media. All these practices have made of Morocco a country that potentially enables its citizens to be at home with different languages. However, limited knowledge of such languages constitutes a tool of social reproduction that reinforces social inequality and thus deprives the poor of grabbing opportunities of social promotion. This article discusses which factors contribute to mastering languages in Moroccan. Such factors, in theory, should be within the education system to boost linguistic diversity in the country. It does so by analysing previous research on these matters with special focus on reports issued by Higher Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research (Higher Council henceforth) and other official or international bodies. It tries to answer the following research questions:

• To what extent does language policy in Morocco boost linguistic diversity?
• Which factors predict language diversity in Morocco?

Languages in the Moroccan education reforms and outcomes

The different reforms of the education system in Morocco have always brought the national and foreign languages to the surface. In addition to Standard Arabic, Moroccan learners are taught at least two different foreign languages before they finish their high school. Because of the recurrent failures of teaching and learning of languages (Bouziane, 2018), they have occurred in all the reforms since the first biggest reform that started in 2000. Within this framework, the National Charter of Education and Training (1999) in its Lever 9 calls for improving the learning of Standard Arabic, the boosting of learning foreign languages and openness to Amazigh. The same calls occurred in the Emergency Plan 2009-2011 (Emergency Plan, 2008) in its Project 20 but this time with timelines and budgets to implement new practices of learning and teaching languages. In the meantime, the Amazigh became an official language, together with Standard Arabic, in the 2011 constitution. This change in its status has brought it as another language to be taught and learned in the education system instead of dealing with it as an additional language. Some years later, the Strategic Vision 2015-2030 (Higher Council, 2015), in its Lever 13, put more focus on languages as a vector of development of the education system and the country at large. Likewise, the latest Framework of law 51.17 (Government of Morocco, 2019), in its Articles 31-32, reiterates the aspirations of the Strategic Vision and which aim to: “ensure that students at the end of high school: master the Arabic language, communicate in the Amazigh language, know at
least two languages.” (Higher Council, 2015, p. 17). Despite these calls, only a few changes have been introduced such as reviewing textbooks in the first three levels of primary school resulting from recommendations coming from research in reading together with the design and implementation of specific programs for Morocco (see reports and programs in the website of Creative Associates International, n.d.). Apart from this, some guidelines about inclusive education have been issued (Ministry of Education, n.d.) and some reports and recommendations have been written and published by the Higher Council (Higher Council, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2019a, 2019b, details of these reports are to appear subsequently) but with very little effect on the classroom practices as the Official Guidelines, the textbooks, teacher-training practices, and especially the assessment standards have remained the same for more than a decade despite the changes triggered by the aforementioned reforms. Some areas like teacher-training curricula and length of training have even worsened recently.

The major orientations in the Strategic Vision 2015-2030 evolve round its moto: for a school of equity, quality and promotion (Higher Council, 2015). In the latter document, the Higher Council overviews the major directions as developed in the 2011 Constitution and other subsequent laws. It clearly states those related to language as follows:

“The recognition of linguistic plurality and the development of a coherent national policy in the field of languages and culture. ... The necessity of granting youth an opportunity to master languages, knowledge and skills fully in line with the requirements of the times and with the national and religious values of the Moroccan society” (Higher Council, 2015, p. 5).

The Higher Council admits that the outcomes of the efforts deployed to improve the Moroccan education system remain far below the aspirations (Higher Council, 2014). Particularly in languages and literacy, its publications report poor achievements (Higher Council, 2009, 2013, 2016, 2019) as many other studies in Morocco do so (Benzahaf, 2017; Bouziane, 2018; Bouziane & Rguibi, 2018 inter alias) and, similarly, international organisations have raised the flaws especially in literacy in which the mastery of language plays an important role (PIRLS, 2016 and PISA, 2018, see their respective websites for results). For example, it is reported that in Morocco and some other countries “even the highest-performing students scored only around the OECD average.” (OECD, 2019a, p. 60) Despite the importance given to the provisions of languages, official or foreign, this article claims that the equity and equal opportunities mandated in the new reform remain a not-travelled road.

**Linguistic diversity in leaners’ and teachers’ preferences and attitudes**

At the outset, it is worth sharing the figures of the language in the censuses of 2004 and 2014 as provided by the Haut Commissariat aux Plans (HCP, n.d.).
The progress of learning languages in Figure 1 shows the increase of other languages and that of English at the detriment of French. Arabic has increased insignificantly by 0.5 points but the speakers of Arabic and French have decreased by almost 8 points; therefore, it is French that has decreased by 8 points. Similarly, the increase of Arabic, French and English by 2.4 points has resulted from the increase of English. Other languages include mainly Turkish, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, German that are learned for the purposes of immigration, studies or commerce. The same organisation (HCP) reports that 26% of the Moroccan population use Amazigh (all three varieties) on daily basis and 90.9% use Darrija (the Moroccan dialect). Other languages are used in Morocco, too, but “All these languages do not have the same status, the same use, the same relation to culture nor especially the same treatment from the State.” (Allaoui, 2005, p. 250). Even worse, the same author reports that the local dialects are being systematically denigrated, or even endangered, at the detriment of Standard Arabic which is exclusively used in media and which has a privileged and sacralised status. “This relegation, to say the least, of the mother tongues in Morocco has negative consequences on education, culture and economic and social development.” (ibid., p. 251, my translation). Quite the same views are held by Ennaji (2005) who describes the roots of the religious connotation granted to Standard Arabic in the legacy of Arab scholars and reports that Amazigh lags behind as it was neglected and as a result it “has the lowest and weakest status of all the languages in use in Morocco” (p. 77).

Many challenges are related to the intricacies of languages in Morocco. Boutieri (2016), based on empirical ethnographic research, analyses the linguistic situation based on the French protectorate policies, postcolonial and neoliberal politics frameworks and the
stakeholders’ views. She blames incoherent implementation of Arabisation, ideologically and politically driven advocates of languages, Islamic education provisions, ideological conflicts among modernists and traditionalists, and failure of policy implementations for the crisis of learning in Morocco. These practices, she claims, result in inequality and unclear vision among the stakeholders. Although this book brings many education issues to the fore, it tends to overlook the different reports and studies produced in Morocco at the time when it was written. In line with this author’s findings, this article focuses on local matters to investigate whether the linguistic provisions in Morocco promote linguistic diversity.

There have been many gaps between what the official discourse about languages claims and reality. While official documents and education reforms call for maintaining Arabic as the official language, learners hold different views as the subsequent studies show. L’Economiste, a daily newspaper in Morocco, ran a survey in 2011. The involved respondents (n= 1,046) were from different regions of Morocco aged 16 to 29 years. Their answer to the mastery of languages confirms that socioeconomic status plays an important role in the mastery of foreign languages. The following table tells its story:

**Table 1: Socioeconomic status and languages among young people in Morocco**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>A = wealthy</th>
<th>B = fairly high</th>
<th>C = middle</th>
<th>D = rather low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from Arabic, the higher the socioeconomic status is, the more the young people are interested in foreign languages. Noticeably, English seems to be one of the most elitist languages with a wide gap between the top and the bottom percentages. However, the wealthier the students are, the less they are interested in Arabic. The Moroccan youth in this survey consider French to be the language of prestige and job opportunities. However, in their informal interactions, they code switch in MA and French or English but they never do so in Standard Arabic (SA). Chakrani and Huang (2014) confirm this inclination towards foreign languages by upper class and towards SA by lower classes. Despite some variations, the respondents in their study show strong support for French, followed by English and then by SA as the following table shows:
Table 2: Language preference in response to the following statement: Language(s) of education from elementary school to the university should be in ....

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Standard Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper-class</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-class</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anderson (2013), who believes that “without understanding the underlying values upon which language decisions are being made, it is impossible to really understand why people use language the way they do” (p. 7), succinctly surveys the literature dealing with the role of each of the used languages in the Moroccan society and the Moroccans’ attitudes towards these languages together with the multiglossic controversies and challenges and the process of Arabisation. She then conducts fieldwork research to investigate the attitudes of 89 university students in Rabat towards Amazigh, MA, SA, French, English, and Spanish. The sample is balanced in terms of gender but less balanced in terms of major, native languages, students’ hometowns and urban/rural area belongings, and school they attended, private or public. Her findings confirm that the Moroccan university students appreciate and use foreign language more than they do for local languages. The two most preferred languages are English and French as they use them more frequently for emails, watching TV, text messages, reading, listening to music, and on Facebook. More specifically, as an answer to a question about which language to use for teaching science, the respondents show the same preference (French: 71.8%; English: 30.59%; Arabic: 27.06%, and Spanish: 1.18%). A rather big proportion of this research study is devoted to the controversy of attitudes towards Amazigh and introducing it in schools and the respondents show high opinion about the Amazigh. Other findings of this controversy are beyond the scope of this article. The respondents also favour western languages in business, employment, and education; whereas they do so for local languages in religion (especially SA), culture and informal communication. The researcher concludes that the attitudes are shifting over time and that “The rise of English is challenging the dichotomy between French as the language of Western culture and Modern Standard Arabic as the language of Islamic identity.” (p. 243). It is probably undermining the privileged status of French as reported some years before by Sadiqi (2003: 37) “In Morocco, French is generally perceived as a superordinate second language that is socially linked to modernity, open-mindedness, and job opportunity (Boukous, 1995; Elbiad 1985; Ennaji, 1991; Hammoud, 1983; Youssi 1995)”.

A combination of qualitative and quantitative research comes to the same results. Loutfi (2017) who observed classes, administered a questionnaire (n= 100) with open-ended questions found a paradox in the students’ handling of their mother tongues. While a high
number of students seem to discard the idea of using mother tongues (*darrija* and Amazigh) in education as they believe this will belittle the value of Arabic which, they think, incarnates their identity, reality shows the opposite as classroom observation confirms the use of *darrija* in most of the instruction.

Ennaji (2002), reported in Ennaji (2005, pp. 190), asks a direct question about whether Arabic is a language of science to teachers (n= 19) and students (n= 112) who teach or study in an institute in which French is used as a medium of instruction. Their answers come as follows:

**Table 3: Teachers’ and students’ perceptions towards Arabic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Arabic isn’t a science language</th>
<th>Arabic is a science language</th>
<th>Science textbooks in Arabic are lacking</th>
<th>Arabic is a language of literature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English is gradually gaining ground on other foreign languages in Morocco. Studies show that Moroccan students have always held positive attitudes towards English. As early as 1976, Guebels (1976) conducted a research study showing that Moroccan learners prefer English compared to other languages: 73% of Fourth Year students (middle school then) confirmed that they would take English as a foreign language in high school. They showed more interest in reading and writing than in speaking. Similar findings were reported by Ezzaki, Belfkih, and Melouk (1985), who in a research-based article, confirmed that different educators in Morocco (inspectors, teachers, and headmasters) had the same preference. Later, Sadiqi (1988) showed that there was a strong connection between education and the spread of English, in the 1980s. At that time, as Sadiqi explains, many new English departments opened in different universities and attracted more students, as did many language centres. She cites forces that affected the spread of English in Morocco:

- the international status of English
- the policy of education that featured agreements with the UK and the USA in the 1960s
- Moroccans’ attitude towards English (which she proved empirically through students’ and laymen’s responses), and tourism.

The same positive attitudes were held by the 120 students who participated in a research study conducted by Sbaihi (2001). All the participants showed very positive attitudes towards English, its teacher, the materials, and the methods used for its teaching. Most importantly, 98% of them believed that English would help them find a job easily. The origin of the positive attitude towards English, in addition to its international status (especially in
business and technology), can be attributed to the fact that, unlike French, it is not associated with colonial rulers (Guebels, 1976; Sadiqi, 1988; Hyde, 1994; Tomaštík, 2010, inter alia). Buckner (2009), who surveys 324 Moroccan English language learners from private and public universities and language centres and 97 who served as a control group comprising students who would not major in English, shows how Moroccan learners value the learning of English even if they want to major in a language other than English. Her figures show the Moroccan learners’ interest in learning both their languages, especially SA, and other foreign languages and that all of them strongly agree or agree that all Moroccans should learn local and foreign languages. In another question about their favourite and the most beautiful language, 41.7% and 41.4% of the students select English as their favourite language and as the most beautiful language, respectively. However, when foreign languages are contrasted, the students tend to prefer English, followed by French and then Spanish; whereas when all the languages are contrasted as to which one is important to learn, the mean of strongly agree and agree ranks the languages in this order: Arabic (44.6%), English (41.15%), French (39.45%), Spanish (22.15%), and finally Amazigh (13%).

However, as Ennaji (2005) rightly puts it: “These attitudes are often ignored by language policy-makers.” (p. xi). Similarly, the learners’ attitudes are not in conformity with the language policies as they are set in official documents (see above). Rather, the preferences of learning languages are informed by other factors such as their instrumental attachment to languages that are useful for social promotion (Loutfi, 2017) or as put by Ennaji (2005):

“For Moroccan individual speakers, language choice is motivated by socio-economic needs and by the desire for social mobility and for improved living conditions. As a result, many Moroccans and North Africans give little importance to their mother tongues (Moroccan Arabic and Berber), which they believe to be useless for employment” (p. 215).

It should be admitted that the inconsistencies between the students’ preferences and the official policies have negative effects on the students’ future. Loutfi (2017) expresses his worries explicitly when he states that “this language policy overlooks the multicultural nature of Morocco. This state of affairs, in my view, may push students to drop out.” (p. 4). These subsequent studies show how limited knowledge about a certain language can hinder pursuing studies. Bouziane and Rguibi (2018) investigated why a big number of students shift from science to literary disciplines to which they are ill-prepared. The university records show that almost 45% of the students enrolled in the three faculties of letters in Hassan II University of Casablanca in the academic year 2017-18 hold science baccalaureates. The major obstacle that hinders their pursuing of science disciplines is their limited knowledge of French. This explains why they choose disciplines in which Arabic or English are used as media of instruction. Ironically, 52% of them are either rather dissatisfied (26%) or extremely dissatisfied with their current choice. The shift of the medium of instruction is perhaps
unique in Morocco. This may reinforce the students’ (mis)representation of the wrong idea that Arabic is not a language of science as held by some students and teachers in Ennajï’s survey (2002, see above). Bouziane (2018), referring to the data coming from the placement tests of French in 2009-2011, reports that high percentages of students had too low levels to pursue their studies in French. The students’ figures of A1 and A2 levels came to 65% and 76%, respectively, in the two consecutive academic years while only few of them had B2 which is the threshold for academic studies. Some of these students might have scored high averages enabling them to have access to restricted-access institutions such as the faculties of medicine and the schools of engineering but their level of French made them abandon their dreams. This goes against the initial objective of the National Charter of Education and Training (1999) as one of its founders, Belfkih (2000), describes it here:

The Charter defines for the school a coherent and constant linguistic policy aiming to ensure the most likely mastery of the Arabic language and foreign languages and a greater harmony across the levels of education and training, while developing the multifaceted communication skills. (p. 82)

Not only this, but there are variations of learning languages depending on the school or background in which the learners have studied. The Higher Council’s competency assessment (2016) lists the factors that make the scores of Arabic and French increase significantly (here, significant means when the difference is more than five points) and others that do not. Here they are:

Table 4: Factors that affect the score of Arabic and French

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors that affect the scores</th>
<th>Gender: girls outperformed boys in both languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who repeated at least one class scored lower those who did not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who benefitted from kindergarten scored higher than those who did not, especially in French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who studied in the private sector scored far better in French than those who went to public school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who were committed scored better than those who were not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who spoke French at home scored better than those who did not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who had libraries at home scored better.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who had PCs and the connection at home scored better only in French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who attended more classes scored better in French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students who missed classes did not score as high as those who did not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students exposed to little violence scored better than those exposed to a lot.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the same report, the differences between the top 10% and the bottom 10% come to +55 points in French and +43 in Arabic. Generally, the differences in Table 4 above are more related to factors beyond school performance. This implies that the school does not offer equal opportunities to those who are underprivileged. However, it is not fair to claim that the school widens those differences. Rather, it just does not fix the injustice existing outside the classes.

Quite the same results are reported by Higher Council (2019c) in a report in which it processed the results of PIRLS (Mullis et al, 2017). The socio-economic factors played a great role in the increase of the scores in reading: the parents’ level of education, the library at home, the parents’ perceptions towards the school, engagement in literacy activities, location of the school, socio-economic status of the school, prerequisites prior to primary school entry (literacy in family or kindergarten), resources at school (library, PCs, and ebooks), discipline issues, safety at school and bullying, and teachers’ profile and training in literacy. Students in private schools outperform their peers in the public ones. Similarly, as reported elsewhere, “...socio-economic disparities in performance were observed at the top of the distribution of the socio-economic index, as most of the link between socio-economic status and performance was related to the fact that advantaged students outperformed students in the three lower quarters of socio-economic status by a wide margin.” (OECD, 2019b, p. 56)

Despite the family constraints, personal initiatives play an important role in language learning. Some learners coming from underserved backgrounds have proved their success in English language learning. Dressman (2019) shows, after analysing interviews with 107 Moroccan university students coming from different backgrounds, that these learners’ learning of English in which they excel in listening and speaking but perform far less competently in literacy has taken place informally through the social media and the internet. He calls these means of learning invisible university (ibid., p.317). Learning informally or incidental learning is a common feature in education these days and, therefore, many such cases in other languages must exist and only further research can clarify their learning routes. Similarly, it is reported in the PISA results that 13%, as opposed to the OECD mean of 11%, of disadvantaged students in Morocco scored in the top quarter of reading performance, resulting that disadvantage can be overcome as it is not a destiny (OECD, 2019b).
As mentioned above the learners in the private schools outperform those in public schools. As a result of distrust in the quality of the provisions in public schools, the number of private schools is increasing in Morocco (an average of 7.9% yearly increase of schools from 2010-11 to 2018-19 according to statistics by the Ministry of Education, 2019). These schools are of different types. Those authorised and recognised by the Ministry of Education should follow the curricula designed and approved of by the Ministry. The exception to this rule is the teaching of foreign languages which starts at early levels and carries on until high school. These schools use internationally designed textbooks for foreign languages in addition to the facilities they offer for their provisions such as interactive white boards and interactive digital versions of textbooks. The outcomes of language learning, apart from Arabic, are promising. The second type does not report to the Ministry. Rather, they are accredited by international accreditation bodies following international standards. Other schools belong to the embassies of the respective countries. In some of these last two types, a foreign language is used as a medium of instruction. The common denominator in nearly all these schools is that very few Moroccans can afford their exorbitant fees. Ironically, even the schools that are open to the diplomats’ children or to the citizens of the respective embassies are highly demanded by the Moroccan parents for their children despite the high fees. These schools widen unequal opportunities among the Moroccans of whom a big number receive education of medium to rather low quality while an elite (around 15%) receives education of better quality and sometimes the one that meets international standards.

As expected, the private schools that report to the Ministry have shifted to French as a medium of instruction in science subjects since the implementation of the International Baccalaureate system in different language options in 2013. The teaching of science subjects in Arabic, or Arabisation as labelled in Morocco, has always been questioned and sometimes even blamed for the learners’ poor performance. At least three options have been put to the fore, namely French, English and Spanish, but the private schools opted only for the French option. Some of those schools are not yet prepared to teach in French as almost 40% of the students do not have the required linguistic competency as reported by the teachers of Science of Life and Earth (SVT) in Lahlou (2015).

To answer the first research question, it should be acknowledged that the language policies adopted over the last two decades are at odd with the learners’ and teachers’ preferences. Many components of these policies are to be reconsidered such as the implementation of Arabisation, the media of instruction and the methods of language teaching. The outcomes are far below the aspirations (see the high number of dropouts at every level of schooling in Higher Council, 2019d). The second research question reveals that factors outside school are the main determinants of language learning. The family, its level of education and its socio-economic status, plays an important role in the learning of languages in Morocco. These two findings imply that the Moroccan school limits equal opportunities as it does not help underprivileged learners to catch up with their lucky peers.
Implications

The above findings imply that changes in many aspects related to language teaching and learning are necessary. It should be admitted that language policy is prescribed from a top-down perspective. Decision makers’ ears seem to be deaf to the bulk of research and reports issued by official institutions such as Higher Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research. It is high time the Ministry of Education had to consider the findings of academic research in its decision making. Also, it is high time that the Ministry had to launch project bids for specific educational issues to universities and other research institutions. Moreover, the narratives of education research should shift from diagnosis and criticism to suggestions and experimentations.

The language policy, which has been constant for years now, should change to account for the characteristics and the needs of the youth in Morocco. For example, learners are more interested in foreign languages because of instrumental and functional purposes but they tend to like to preserve Arabic as a means of constructing identity and cultural legacy. These two views should be taken as good indicators of multilingualism which Morocco has adopted as a choice in its education system. A middle ground to this situation is to improve the provisions of Arabic to meet the youth’s expectations. The change of the attitude towards Arabic can take place if the students learn it and realise its role not only in reinforcing identity but also in job opportunity and country growth.

The linguistic diversity policy in place should have impact on the grounds. To do so, a participative approach to policy making requires all the stakeholders’ involvement. The changes in the policy should be followed with changes in classroom practices, teacher training curricula, textbook design and updates, and approaches to teaching. Such changes should reach all the levels as equity and equal opportunities need to start from kindergarten. As argued above, the factors that make differences happen to be outside schools and schooling. It is high time that the Moroccan school had to reduce the inequalities that already exist in families. By the same token, it will make of the school a place to reduce social reproduction. More importantly, this policy should also be inclusive as disabled people are underserved (Higher Council, 2019e).

The policy to put in place should take in consideration distracting factors such as technology. Moroccan learners need more training in the use of technology which is a double-edged sword. Different research studies report that technologies critically need better policies and implementations to be effective at schools despite the heavy financial investments and the high enthusiasm by decision makers (see Bouziane, 2019 and Bouziane, Ait Kaikai, & Lamtara, in-progress for reviews of literature of these studies). The low level of performance in different subjects, including languages, by the Moroccan youth may be partially attributed to the overuse of ICT. The Moroccan 4th graders’ use (overuse) of technologies differs with reference to gender as “… the index was positive for boys, meaning that they reported
greater frequency of ICT use during their leisure time than the OECD average. By contrast, girls usually reported less-frequent use of digital devices outside of school than the OECD average.” (OECD, 2019b, p. 161). However, whether the disparities in performance between girls and boys can be attributed to this phenomenon requires further research.

An effective policy must have a return on investment in the long run. To boost its foreign exchanges and to make its trade balance positive, Morocco seeks foreign markets outside the traditional ones in Europe. In such a context, Morocco must develop not only foreign language teaching methods to teach foreign languages but also ways to promote intercultural understanding. Aggarwal (2017) explains that “... when employees of international companies learn a foreign language, they will begin to understand that foreign culture and construct a new identity and a more global mindset.” (p. 133). The same author adds that “A review of nearly 500 English-language management texts (Holden 1987) thirty years ago demonstrated that only very few authors considered language, and those who did not consider its complexity.” (ibid., p. 134). The promotion of effective foreign language learning and immunising the local culture (Hyde, 1994) will prepare the Moroccan workforce to operate internationally and thus help the country to penetrate the tough competitive world of business.

A new language policy that is needed should strike a balance across the languages used in Morocco. It should preserve and boost minority group languages. Williams (2005) defines minority language groups as: “... social groups that lack the political, institutional and ideological structures to guarantee the relevance of those languages for the everyday life of their members.” (p. 1). The same author explains that the “prefix 'minority' pertains to power rather than numerism.” (bid.). He calls for such a balance that results in stabilisation.

It should be acknowledged that the phenomenon of linguistic diversity is far from being specific to Morocco. From a cultural perspective, some authors explain that the languages of dominant groups are empowered to remain as such (see mainly Phillipson, 2018 for several references on his concept of linguistic imperialism). From a social class perspective, authors claim that schools serve the interests of those in power in order to maintain social reproduction (Williams, 2005). “Constructing language as an object that has relevance for economic gain maximises the likelihood that the individual will take in charge those situations where the subject place involves the use of that language.” (Williams, 2005, p. 30).

Conclusion

This article shows that the linguistic diversity as set in the language policy in Morocco for years needs to be revisited. It has failed to accommodate the learners’ and teachers’ voices. Also, it has failed to boost local languages and to preserve dialects to create harmony across them, on the one hand, and between them and the foreign languages, on the other. Unless such revisiting takes place, the failure of language policy will trigger little impact on the
learners’ behaviour and future and, therefore, school will lose its role of catering for equal opportunity. By doing, it will lose its credibility as a means of social promotion and equal opportunities when it serves the interests of only some or a few thereof.

References


Guebels, V . (1976) La motivation pour les langues étrangères chez les lycéens de Rabat. Ecole Normale Supérieure, Université Mohamed V.


E-business Culture in Morocco Practices and Perspectives

Fatine Ouahtita

Introduction

In the era of globalization, the world has gone through many transformations and changes in all areas. The advent of the Internet since late 1990s has increased the need for communication and the sharing of information and practices, especially in the business field. In this context, electronic business, often referred to as ‘e-business’, has become an important tool that boosts business and makes trade between sellers and consumers more effective in many countries and Morocco is not an exception.

This article traces the birth and development of electronic business culture in Morocco. It also deals with the diversity of attitudes of Moroccan buyers towards e-commerce. Generally, Moroccan customers maintain good relationships of intimacy and complicity with the seller. To this end, they prefer direct contact and do not feel comfortable when it comes to remote relationship via machines. They prefer a face to face discussion and negotiation. The new generation of young Moroccans is not faithful to traditions and conventional modes of commerce. With the Internet and the new communication technologies, they have embarked on e-commerce spontaneously. The various studies on e-commerce in Morocco show that young people are more attracted to this type of trade than the rest of the population.

Cultural diversity in Morocco towards e-commerce

In Morocco, there is an apparent cultural diversity in terms of how Moroccans buy their needs. Some adhere to a conservative culture that adopts traditional business methods. Others welcome a modern culture open to new technologies that accepts e-commerce with

1 - Fatine Ouahtita, Professor at the National School of Business and Management-Casablanca, University Hassan II of Casablanca, Kingdom of Morocco.
2 - Ouahtita, Fatine (2013).
3 - La Nouvelle Tribune, 16 Avril, 2018.
E-business Culture in Morocco: Practices and Perspectives

open arms. In the old medinas, people go to the market every day. For them, the market/souk is a space of pleasure and relief. For both men and women, shopping in the market is an outing that allows:

- to meet friends,
- to exchange information with them,
- to learn about new events in the neighbourhood, village or city,
- to ask for or offer advice or services.

In other words, the market is a place of therapy where commerce becomes a pretext to break the routine of everyday life and change the rhythm of the hard and overwhelming life.

At the market, people know each other and are considered as an extended family. The close relationship between the seller and the consumer allows them to engage in various discussions and not limit themselves to the commercial act. Very often people prefer to buy directly from a seller in a face-to-face context. They indulge in conversations related to

- the origin and native place of each,
- the health of family members,
- the weather...
- family events: marriage, divorce, deaths...

The context of direct communication often allows to enter into the negotiations of prices, (purchases and ways of payment), guarantees and its duration, exchange...

**E-business in Morocco**

Today, in the age of globalization, the consumer can be served at home by buying any goods or services in an e-shop where different products and prices are displayed and accessible thanks to e-business. This mode of trade enables prices and descriptions of products to be compared, nationally and internationally. Not surprisingly, this type of trade has experienced an increasing worldwide demand.

Given its effectiveness in creating more sales opportunities and increasing the number of consumers, many Moroccan companies have mobilized this niche to develop their e-business activities. The use and familiarization of Moroccans with the Internet has gradually contributed to the development of e-business in Morocco. In the past ten years, Moroccan officials have expressed their intention to increase this type of business in the country. Thus,

6 - According to the National Telecommunications Regulatory Agency (ANRT), in September 2017, Morocco had more than 22.56 million Internet subscribers, with an annual growth rate of 33.34% and a penetration rate of 64.74%.
with the launch of the national e-Morocco program in 2005, Morocco has been committed to the implementation of national policies and strategies aimed at amplifying the digital economy and NTICS in the various sectors.

In this context, the 2020 Digital Morocco Plan has been adopted with the main objective based essentially on the acceleration of digital transformation in Morocco and the implementation of a plan that will make Morocco a real center for regional and African digital excellence.

**Moroccan and e-business**

In the past few years, Morocco has known a remarkable increase in e-business. This growth is noticed in the number of users buying and selling by Internet and users of social media. Moroccans increasingly prefer to buy goods and services via the Internet, without necessarily having to move to look for them in the markets.

This growth is clearly apparent from the statistics announced by the National Telecommunications Regulatory Agency (ANRT), which show that the percentage of Moroccans who bought online during 2017 reached 12.5%. However, the evolution of the volume of electronic business in Morocco has not yet reached the target objectives.

E-business is a new phenomenon in the Moroccan culture. Despite the considerable efforts made to publicize this type of trade, many Moroccans still cannot accept the integration of this new intruder into their buying habits. Moroccans have gotten into the habit of buying the products they need from the local merchant / grocer named “Moul Al-Hanout”, a kind of a convenience store that builds close ties between customers and the grocer, being the center of the neighborhood and who knows everybody and everything happening there. He is an extended family member with whom local inhabitants nurture very close relations.

Generally, the grocer lives alone. He may be single or if married he often leaves his wife in his hometown / village. The majority of traders are people from the Souss region. Traditionally he works, lives and sleeps in the same store.

The proximity of day long and evening services of “Moul Al Hanout” have established several habits, which illustrate a conviviality between this merchant and his customers who are generally the inhabitants of the neighborhood. A credit process is often in practice.

---

7 - In Africa, Morocco occupies the fifth position in 2018 (according to UNCTAD for trade and development). It gained one place compared to 2017.
9 - According to the President of the Federation of Technologies and Communication and Offshoring Salwa Karakri Belizez, electronic business represents only 0.2% of the volume of trade in Morocco, while the rate in countries at the level of Morocco is 10%.
E-business Culture in Morocco Practices and Perspectives

take their needs and pay at the end of the month, once the wages are received. A notebook is available to regularly record purchases. There is a reciprocated trust between the two.

This relationship and this climate of trust and mutual conviviality between the two explain the difficulties for a good number of Moroccans to cut with this traditional practice for the benefit of e-business. There is therefore an apparent reluctance to adopt this new practice.

This reluctance may be explained by the following factors:

• the particularity of the conservative Moroccan society in its practices and habits,
• the lack of trust in the machine,
• the rate of illiteracy in society,
• the fluidity and direct contact between the seller and the buyer,
• the spatial proximity of “Moul Al Hanout” since it is located in the neighborhood,
• the importance of face-to-face and verbal communication in the life of the Moroccans,

• the fear of losing out a repertoire of habits and practices established by the proximity of “Moul Al Hanout”, mainly the values of cooperation, cohabitation, interdependence.... being the major elements for the maintenance of a permanent social peace.

Despite this attitude of the old Moroccan generations towards e-business, and after this reluctance to use the computer tool in purchasing, Moroccan young people have gradually launched into an e-business culture, which have witnessed a considerable increase in number of online sales sites.

Moroccans’ Attitudes towards e-business

Moroccans’ attitudes towards this new business method imposed by technological development and the widespread use of the Internet differ from one person to another. The present research has spotted two contradictory attitudes concerning the use of e-business.

- The first trend considers e-business a great risk for the competitiveness for young traders and traditional local traders called “Moul Al-Hanout”\(^ {11} \). This risk does not differ from the other challenges represented by the big box and street vendor markets.

For those who defend this opinion, it is necessary to set up a strategy and think of mechanisms to:

---

\(^ {11} \) - The Moroccan Minister of Industry, Investment, Trade and the Digital Economy, Moulay Hafid Alami, has classified electronic business in the category of risks and obstacles faced by traditional traders and local resellers, known as “Moul Al-Hanout”.
* protect local merchants in neighborhoods,
* strengthen their competitiveness,
* preserve their practice as a Moroccan cultural heritage, which represents an invaluable tangible and intangible Moroccan heritage.\(^\text{12}\)

- For the second trend, e-business is a promising tool for traders and for young people looking for job opportunities with new specifications. This type of trade allows them to enter the world of the Internet to benefit from the buying and selling opportunities.

**Strengthening e-business in Morocco**

For the success of this mode of business in Morocco, it is necessary to provide electronic platforms at appropriate prices so that traders can promote their goods. This will pave the way for small traders to reach new customers and to promote their goods in a space beyond their workplaces.

In this context, the former president of the General Union of Enterprises in Morocco (CGEM), Salah Eddine Mezouar, defended electronic business. For him, there is no modern trade and traditional trade. There are different business patterns that develop with the development of new markets the new consumers’ needs. For him, the business process can never stop. It follows the development of society and adapts to the needs of consumers and the methods that take into account the specificities of each region and each culture.

Recently and according to the ANRT many young Moroccans have expressed their preference to buy services and products (electronic devices, plane tickets, payment of bills, etc.) via the Internet inside and outside Morocco. This has become possible, since Moroccans are allowed to spend money via the Internet in foreign currency, up to a ceiling of 10,000 dirhams per citizen per year.

**Development of e-business in Morocco**

Many Moroccans have discovered the benefits of e-business and have embarked on this practice at the national and international levels. Trust has been established in the different operations thanks to the different communications and awareness campaigns launched by the different state and private institutions.\(^\text{13}\)

Thus, e-business has experienced an emergence which has been accompanied by several new habits of Moroccans via the electronic tool in all sectors of activity. Thus, Moroccans have embarked on the practices of:

---

\(^{12}\) See https://al3omk.com/412503.html

\(^{13}\) A study by the Federation of Technologies, Communication and Offshoring has shown that the majority of people who prefer e-business are young people aged 23 to 35.
• consultation of online bank accounts,
• buying and selling online,
• payment of taxes, fees, invoices, penalties online,
• filling administrative documents (passport, residence permit, etc.) online,
• Online hotel and tour booking...

Subsequently, competition has taken shape in e-business to position itself in the market. Thus, several trades and workstations are established in all sectors of activity based on remote contact between the seller and the buyer. Thus, several e-business sites for sale are put online to mark the presence on the Internet in order to educate consumers about this new mode of business in Morocco as well as in the entire world...

**E-business challenges in Morocco**

Despite the digital improvement in Morocco, especially in e-business, there are still challenges to be met in order to make online shopping a daily practice for Moroccans. Although Moroccans are starting to get used to paying online, they still very tend to pay in cash.

Over time, Moroccans’ habits to shop online are starting to widen; this new practice has energized the market and created opportunities for the development of the national economy\(^\text{14}\). The figures reported by ANRT show that online sales are progressively evolving in Morocco, in comparison with traditional businesses based on direct contact and communication.

It should be noted, in this respect, that electronic business is not within everyone’s reach, since the creation of an e-business site must meet specific standards and criteria. For this, the competition requires the use of IT experts (developers, graphic designers, etc.) for the creation of sites that guarantee relevance, efficiency, visual and practical accessibility.

The success of e-business with the use of trade experts has been for the following objectives:

- Supporting companies, new generation in e-business, in the arrangement of their e-business projects,
- The creation of their online belly shops,
- The development of their digital strategy.

\(^\text{14}\) - Morocco has experienced a great evolution in e-business. It started with the adoption of online payment by credit card. Moroccan merchant sites, affiliated to the Center Monétique Interbancaires, have seen an increase of nearly 60% in online payments since 2012.
To improve e-business in Morocco and to involve all citizens in this practice, it is necessary to make the buyer and the seller aware of the benefits of this trade and promote the conditions for the installation of a trust in the machine without being limited only to face-to-face contact.

It is time for this trade to be expanded in all sectors to pool efforts, energy and budgets. This does not imply the loss, and rejection of traditional local trade. It is a cultural capital that must be preserved at the national level.

Efforts must be made in order to:

- Train Moroccan merchants to use electronic means of communication, in coordination with chambers of business in the various regions of the Kingdom,

- Establish training and opening schools that allow traders to develop their performance in this field,

- Organize awareness campaigns for small traders concerning the importance and interest of this trade,

- Reduce the prices of the Internet subscription for all Moroccans to encourage the greatest number of business people and customers to enter the world of e-business,

- Encourage small consumers who buy goods in retail to buy online while reassuring them that no risk at stake,

- Authorize the different social and professional classes to have a bank card for online purchases,

- Exempt citizens who use a bank card to buy goods and taxes, which will undoubtedly contribute to the development of e-business.

Conclusion

E-business has become a reality in Moroccan society and an essential imperative especially for young Moroccan people. It must be legalized and accompanied by communication campaigns to make the consumers aware of this new tradition. Also, academic research projects are needed to develop a national strategy that aims at popularizing e-business, while taking into account the particularities of Moroccan culture.

The online sale of goods and services is a very specialized work, which requires professionalism and an expertise, which allows the created shops to be efficient and scalable while being easy in use and interactivity with the different types of target customers.
Morocco has played a central role in the evolution and development of the local digital economy. “The Maroc Numéric 2020 Plan” has been recently adopted with the aim of accelerating the current transformation in the local market culture and allowing the country to play a central economic role with its immediate neighbors in particular and with the North African region in general.

References


Ouahtita, Fatine (2013), « “Interactive Communication - Electronic Advertising via the Internet and mobile phone as a model”» (in Arabic), PHD, Hassan II University of Casablanca.

Ouahtita, Fatine (2017), “Electronic Advertising via Mobile Phone: What it is, its means and systems?”, (in Arabic), to be published in Bassamat, Hassan II University of Casablanca.

Ouahtita, Fatine (2017), “Publicity, its History and Development”, in les cahiers de CED, Faculty of Humanities Ben M’sik, Hassan II University of Casablanca, Volume 6, 77-88.


La Nouvelle Tribune, 2018, « Enquête BuzzEef : Les Marocains sont plus sensibles à la pub sur les sites premiums », 16 Avril.


Moroccan Jewish Community

Ghizlane Barakat

Abstract

The cultural diversity of Morocco is revealed in the ways different sub-cultures peacefully co-exist. This paper highlights how multiculturalism has become a fundamental characteristic of Moroccan society, wherein Jews and Muslims have peacefully cohabited regardless of their religious and cultural differences. It focuses on Moroccan Jewish culture, one of the components of Moroccan heritage, explicitly recognized by the 2011 Constitution. In this respect, it also discusses some Jewish community’s artistic, religious and intellectual contributions to Moroccan cultural identity.

Introduction

Morocco is a multicultural society where people live in a relatively smaller geographical space in comparison with the USA, but are distinguished by their outstanding cultural diversity. In this North African country, there are two major ethnic groups: Amazigh and Arabs. Amazigh, the indigenous inhabitants of Morocco, speak Tamazight, their native language. Arabs settled in Morocco in the second half of the seventh century in the coastal regions of the country. There are also other minor ethnic groups: the Sahrawi, who live in the South of Morocco and who are mostly known by their music, culture and Hassani dialect, a variety of Arabic; the second minor ethnic group is Jewish community, who has settled in Morocco for many centuries and its contribution to the Moroccan cultural identity is undeniable.

1- Moroccan Jews

Historical studies have shown that the presence of the Jewish population in Morocco is very old. Morocco had one of the largest and oldest populations of Jews in the Arab region.

---

1 - Ghizlane Barakat, student at the English Department, Faculty of Letters Ben M’sik, Casablanca, and volunteer in the Ben M’sik Community Museum.
Some historians argue that Jewish existence in Morocco dates back to over two thousand years. Apparently, Moroccan Jews were descendants from those merchants who arrived with the Phoenicians to North Africa and settled in the Amazigh land with the Amazigh people. The second community of Moroccan Jews were first expelled from Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth century and settled in different Moroccan cities: Tetouan, Fez, Sefrou, Tangier, Larache, Azemmour, and Safi. The first evidence of a Jewish presence in Morocco was brought to light in the excavations of Volubilis, a Roman city near Meknes, from a funerary inscription in Hebrew on a stone slab, and a bronze candelabrum (menorah) dating to the 4th and 5th centuries.

Mohammed Kenbib, in his book *Juifs et Musulmans au Maroc*, states that Moroccan Jews formed in the pre-colonial era the only non-Muslim religious minority in the country. They represented the first Jewish community in the Arab region. They did not exceed 3% of the total Moroccan population. Kenbib also argues that

What really matters is to understand more specifically the conditions in which Jewish communities were rooted in Morocco for more than two thousand years. They were reduced in less than thirty years from the late forties and early fifties of the last century to a sort of witness community living mainly in Casablanca and some other big cities.

In the past, Morocco had a significant Jewish population, but unfortunately many migrated to Israel and other countries. At present, the Jewish population dwindled to only a few thousands who still live in the country. They are relatively affluent and westernized.

Moroccan Jews and Muslims have always co-inhabited in the different Mellahs, the Jewish quarters located in old Moroccan cities. History testifies to their living in peace and solidarity. The Jews who refused to convert to Islam had to pay taxes or what is called in Arabic ‘*al Jizya*’. As stated by Aomar Boum in his “*Memories of Absence*”, Jews were called “people of the book” (*Dhimmi*) by Muslims and that the majority of Jews lived under the protection of Moroccan kings. Aomar Boum states that Moroccan Jews were mainly artisans, peddlers, and merchants. Rabbis and rich leaders who enjoyed special ties with Muslim authorities had a responsibility concerning their administration of the social, legal and religious affairs. However, in 1956 after Moroccan Independence, Jews were affected by the new Arab-Islamic government policies that celebrated Arabization programs.

Aomar Boom in his interview with Hajj Najm Lahrash, one of the richest notables in the community, referred to the peaceful co-existence between Muslims and Jews and the positive social, economic and human relationships they used to entertain with each other before they left to Israel. Hajj Najm states that

---

they needed Jews for their economic survival and the Jews depended on Muslims when it came to their personal security. They also had to agree on a fenceless space and legal framework that organized their relationships. The market helped a lot making this interdependence not only possible but also sustainable.3

In his book *Memories of Absence “How Muslims remember Jews in Morocco”*, Aomar Boom relates the experiences of the Jews in Morocco before their mass migration to Israel:

In Morocco, in the distant, recent past, which was “neither hell nor paradise,” Arabs have coexisted in the encounter with a certain respect for their cultures. This coexistence opens the hope of a future of peace, which can only be realized in a mutual recognition. Morocco is the only country still hosting an active and vibrant Jewish community.4

2- The diversity of Jewish communities in Morocco

Although Moroccan Jews were a minority in Morocco, they were famous for their diversity within the Moroccan community. Jewish people were divided into two main groups, the Toshavim and the Megorashim. There exist a lot of multiple beliefs and legends about the first Jewish presence in Morocco. Most of these legends state that this presence was due to two major events. One of them is the “Lost Tribes of Israel” and the Diaspora, which means the presence of the Jewish communities outside Palestine, which was caused by the destruction of the Temple by Nabuchodonor (586 before J.C).

In the absence of sufficient evidence concerning the presence of Jews in Morocco for the first time, so many questions remained without answers. During this period, Moroccan Jews and Amazigh co-inhabited the country. They both fought to get back Mauritanian Tingitane5 from the Byzantines and made resistance to its Romanization. According to Mohammed Kenbib, in his book *Juifs et Musulmans au Maroc*, many Jews established in Ifrane in the Atlas Mountains and enjoyed the freedom of worship as well. Jews and Muslims have peacefully lived for many centuries in Morocco. They were proudly collaborative, unified.

---


5 - Mauretania is the Latin name for a region in the ancient Maghreb. It stretched from central present-day Algeria westwards to the Atlantic, covering northern Morocco, and southward to the Atlas Mountains. Its native inhabitants Amazighs were known to the Romans as Berbers.
a) Toshabim or Megorashim:

Jews were the first non-Amazigh people who inhabited Morocco and continued to live up until today. Other waves of Jews arrived in Morocco to start a new life. According to Mohammed Kenbib, starting from 1492, more than twenty thousand Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal settled in Morocco.  

According to Haim Zafrani in his book, *Mille Ans De Vie Juive Au Maroc*, a serious conflict broke out between the Toshavim and the Megorashim over a problem related to the ritual immolation of cattle and particularly to the examination conditions of the lungs of the slaughtered animal. The conflict ended with the victory of the Megorashim and the adoption of a common regulation for the communities:

Two ethnic groups, distinguished by origin, language, level of culture, differences in rite, and even more social conceptions and mores, live side by side. ... In the texts in our possession, these two groups are thus referred to as qahal qadosh ha-megorashim “the holy community of the evicted” and qahal qadosh ha-toshabim “the holy community of the natives. For this second group, the term baldiyyin “indigenous” (as opposed to rumiyyin “Europeans”) is used in an Arabic-language ordinance, dated 1550.  

However, it should be mentioned that this rivalry between the “Toshavim” and the “Megorashim” have vanished through centuries of co-existence. The Moroccan Jewish community played an important role in making Moroccan economy more prosperous and Moroccan culture and traditions richer. To quote Edmon Amran El Maleh, a Moroccan Jewish writer,

The brilliant and fruitful contribution of Sephardic Judeo-Andalusian culture has not only enriched Moroccan Judaism in its particularity but has contributed to the development of the substantial values of Moroccan culture.  

---

Original text in French : « Deux groupes ethniques, que distinguent l’origine, la langue, le niveau de culture, des différences de rite, et plus encore de conceptions sociales et de mœurs, vivent cote a cote. ... Dans les textes en notre possession, ces deux groupes sont ainsi désignés : qahal qadosh ha-megorashim «la sainte communauté des expulsés» et qahal qadosh ha-toshabim «la sainte communauté des autochtones. Pour ce deuxième groupe, le terme baldiyyin «indigènes» (par opposition a rumiyyin « européens ») est employé dans une ordonnance en langue arabe, datée de 1550.  
8 - Quoted in Samir El Azhar, “Social, Religious and Linguistic Issues in Edmond Amran El Maleh’s fiction” in *Moroccan American Studies*, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Ben M’sik (Casablanca, 2010) p.54. Here is the original text in French: “L’apport brillant et fécond de la culture judéo-andalouse séfarade a non seulement enrichi le judaïsme marocain dans sa particularité mais a contribué à l’essor des valeurs substantielles de la culture marocaine. »
3- Inside and outside the Mellah

a) Moroccan Jews are skilled and Creative

André Goldenberg in his book *Arts and the Jews of Morocco* states that the Moroccan Jewish artistic expression suffers the lack of the systematic research interest. The Jewish population is one of the oldest communities in Morocco and its strong traditions formed the main key tools that helped building the great Jewish civilization.

Goldenberg argues that art is a way in which human beings tried to embody the beauty of their thoughts and intellect through its different types. In addition, being creative helped the Jewish community to improve their living conditions. It was quite important for them to develop professional artistry in order to provide their daily needs, such as religious observance, adornment, clothing and household goods.

According to André Goldenberg, Moroccan Jews worked hard to protect and keep their identity unchangeable. They practiced their business activities, which was open to urban Jews, such as trade and crafts within Mellahs, where they actually lived. Moroccan Jews handled much of the production of jewelry, leatherwork, woodwork, and dyeing of textile fibers. Their works were commercialized in weekly markets, ‘Souks’ in Moroccan Arabic, where they also practiced minor repair works.

Goldenberg asserts that for many Jews who were still in Morocco, religion was very inspiring and influencing, especially Rabbis, the spiritual leaders. Rabbis sometimes practiced manual occupations in order to make their living. Talmudic literature supports the learning of artisanal work as it includes many recommendations concerning learning crafts. These artisans’ creations were intended for religious use, either to celebrate the glory of God, at synagogues, in every single house during weekly Shabbat or on religious festivals.

Haim Zafrani believes that there is a work division that was established long time ago between Jewish and Muslim artisans. There were certain professions that were reserved traditionally for Jews and particularly those in which they used valued elements: gold, silver, precious stones, fine pearls. It appears that Jews brought such amazing work, when they had left Spain. Jewish artisans of Fez used to practice a tradition in which they used to sew suits using gold silk:

Les bijoutiers juifs, qu’ils soient de Fès ou de Mogador, on une réputation d’adresse et de gout qui ne s’est pas démentie depuis des siècles. L’une des figures les plus attachantes du judaïsme marocain du XVIII siècle, Judah Ben Attar, « était un orfèvre de talent, vivait de son métier, refusant d’être rétribué, sur les derniers de la communauté, pour ses fonctions de haut magistrat président du tribunal rabinique de Fès ».⁹

In his book *Parures en or du Maroc, trésor des cites imperials*, Abderahman Slaoui, a wealthy collector of gold jewelry from Fez, states that:

Weddings, baptisms, and circumcisions were for women the sole opportunity to show off their gold rich fabrics and especially the gems of their gold finery... In these holy places of my childhood, I already gazed in wonder at the treasures contained in those chest, tiaras, necklace, bracelets, earrings and pendants whose warm golden light seemed to gained radiance from the sparkling of the diamonds, rubies, emeralds and garnets. I still see those women dressed like idols covered with all those gems created by an appointed jeweler. Like all jewelers from Fez at the time, ours was Jewish and from a line of artisans. His name was Israel Bensimon and he had the privilege of working for the Royal Palace. I remember him coming to the house, even in the absence of my father, which was a sign of great trust.10

André Goldenberg thinks that Jewish Jewelers were assembled in the largest cities, where they had more chance to have a wealthy clientele. It surely was not the place for crucial huge deals, but definitely a place with good atmosphere where citizens enjoyed skills and creativity. Trade of gold jewelry unfortunately was conducted away from common people. Only rich citizens were able to afford such very precious jewelry, which was kept highly safe by the jeweler.

In the Colonial period (1912-1956), some Moroccan Jews adopted French ways of living and left the traditional Jewish neighbourhood “Mellah” for more European quarters. To quote Samir El Azhar11:

To go beyond the walls of the Mellah [was] perceived as an emancipation act. The attempt to leave the Mellah [was] in fact an attempt to get rid of the burden of the past in order to acquire French culture that [was] believed to guarantee social promotion. Mohamed Kenbib, the Moroccan historian, states: “Autant de mesures de banalisation de la condition du Juif marocain. Loin de lui ouvrir les portes de la cite française, son empressé à adopter les signes extérieurs de l’occidentalisation, plus spécialement au niveau linguistique et vestimentaire, et a franciser ses prénoms, n’aboutissait donc qu’à un intolérable statut « indigène ».”12

10 - https://issuu.com/baranes/docs/art_and_the_jews_of_morocco__extract
12 - Translation of Mohammed Kenbib’s statement: “Several measures were taken to trivialize the condition of the Moroccan Jew. Far from opening the doors of the French city, his eagerness to adopt the external signs of Westernization, more particularly at the linguistic and dress level, and to adopt French names, thus resulted in only an intolerable status «indigenous.»
Due to the westernization of society, some social, cultural and demographic changes occurred. Secularization was followed by the collapse of religious practices and various other cultural and social changes, such as the adoption of dress habits, the gradual abandonment of the traditional Jewish or Mellah quarter, the decline in the rate of merchants and craftsmen and, finally, the creation of a still very modest sector of liberal professions. According to Michel Abitbol,

Some official figures collected at random from the results of the 1951 census provide a fairly complete picture of these changes, their extent and their limits: at that time composed of 220,000 to 230,000 people, Moroccan Judaism is experiencing an increase of more than 100% in just over half a century, due to the decline in infant mortality and the rise in the birth rate. It had 15 doctors, 48 dentists, 3 veterinarians, 2 architects, 13 lawyers, 4 bank managers, but 350 pharmacists and as well as 34 industrialists.

4- Moroccan Judaism and the Moroccan Jewish marriage:

According to Haim Zafrani, Moroccan Jewish families used to celebrate arranged marriages. During the marriage’s procedure, the parents of the young fiancé (aged minimum five years old) took charge of all the tasks required. It all started with making the choice of the future married girl (same age of her future fiancé). Both young kids were associated in one single festivity. Right after the celebration, men went to the fiancé’s house. The Rabbi asked for a clean board, in which he drew some Hebraic alphabets using honey and he asked the young fiancé to lick the alphabets while saying the following sentence: ‘So the words of the Torah will be sweet to your palate’.

As stated by Haim Zafrani, marriage proposal or ‘Khotba’ in Moroccan Arabic, is a formal promise in which the fiancé was required to give his future wife different kinds of gifts and precious presents: seven gold bracelets, a ring with precious diamonds and some silk scarves. The engagement tray contained five loaves of sugar, henna, perfumes, candy and dried fruits: almonds, nuts, dates, figs. It was up to the fiancé’s father to make the proposal. He asked for the bride’s hand directly from her father. Even other countries far from Morocco are familiar with such traditions.

Zafrani also states that during the period of engagement, the couple is not allowed to meet or to see each other. The young girl is not allowed to show up in the neighborhood under any circumstances. Families were busy making jam and putting it in jars in order to include them to the list of the presents a bride should carry with her to her new home. It is called in Moroccan Arabic ‘Dhaz’.

13 - Michel Abitbol, « De la tradition à la modernité : les juifs du Maroc » https://journals.openedition.org/diasporas/439#toct01n2
Zafrani considers the Jewish marriage an institution of religious law. Marriage is therefore made by the “seven blessings on wine”, and the consecrated formula: “Here you sanctified for me by this ring according to the law of Moses and Israel”. The marriage ceremony lasted at least eight days in which festivities were glowing. Luxury varied according to the means and pretensions of families. In the Moroccan Jewish marriage, various Moroccan cultures meet each other, without any ethnic distinctions. It does not really matter if it is an Arab-Amazigh, or Judo-Muslim; it all seems a common place for everyone.

Haim Zafrani highlights some Moroccan Jewish traditions that were required during the wedding. For example, it was necessary for the bride to go to ‘hem-am’, Moorish bath. Another tradition consists of breaking an egg upon the head of the bride while her hair is loose. The bride’s maids put her hand in bowel of Henna.

5- Moroccan Jewish ceremonies

a) Hillula

According to Armand Lévy in his book *Il était une fois les juifs Marocains*, the folkloric celebration the Hillula is also a religious event, a pilgrimage performed to the tomb of saints. Moroccan Jews were extremely enamored with such ceremony; it is quite comparable with the Islamic version called Moussem, for example, Moulay Idriss, Moulay Bouchaib, El Hadi Benaissa, etc. It is manifested in remembrance for Jewish saints, typically expressed in a ceremony: Rabbi Amran Ben Dewan or Rabbi Raphael Encaoua. In such days, families are prepared for a huge festivity that lasts for almost eight days. They think about what to wear and what to eat. Children, parents, young and old people go by a private car to the chosen place for Hillula, either in Ouazzane, Sefrou, Rabat, or Salé.

About this Jewish “hillula” experience, Samir El Azhar states:

This mere reference to the “hillula” should be placed in its Jewish context. The veneration of saints in the Jewish tradition, especially in Morocco, is of paramount importance. It reveals cultural, social, historical and folkloric aspects of the collective consciousness of Moroccan Jews. In his study of the Jewish minority in Morocco, Andre Levey states: ‘*Tsaddiqim* are perceived by many as the ultimate cause of attachment to Morocco... Pinto’s successor, for instance, announced at his father’s Hiloulah that ‘anyone who grew up in Morocco, anyone who is attached to Morocco has a love that does not cease.’ He added on another occasion that ‘it is not a mere coincidence that Jews are linked so strongly to Morocco! ... You don’t have *tsaddiqim* in America or in Europe. Only in Morocco.’

Armand Lévy admits that at the site of the burial of the saint, there should be an individual or collective wish that should be pronounced on the occasion of an extraordinary event. Prayers, songs and recitations of the psalms follow one another around the burial place of the saint of the chosen place.

Armand Lévy also points out that Hillula is an occasion in which participants enjoy the readings of biblical stories, outstanding Jewish events, or the community’s daily life. Furthermore, they learn about the visited saint’s life and the miraculous interventions, of which he was the author, just like his prophetic visions and some texts that were sung in Hebrew. According to Samir El Azhar,

In this sense, ‘hillula’ is seen as an aspect of Jewish cultural particularity in Morocco. It refers not only to folkloric festivities but also to the bond between the Moroccan Jew and his native land. Even in Israel, the ‘hillula’ opens a window on the past and reminds the Jew of his origins and his native country.¹⁶

b) Mimouna.

Haim Zafrani in his book Juifs d’Andalousie et du Maghreb states that Mimouna, a Jewish rabbinic tradition, means “Good fortune”; it is also called ‘emunah’ in Hebrew, which means “Faith and Belief”. The essentially religious side of the Mimouna is still perceived in the special celebration of the evening, which closes Passover: the major Jewish spring festival that commemorates the liberation of the Israelites from Egyptian slavery, lasting seven or eight days from the 15th day of Nisan. Every year, Jews celebrate the Feast of Passover to commemorate the liberation of the Children of Israel.

Haim Zafrani considers Mimouna a day in which Jews are happy and united. While celebrating the re-creation of the world, homes are decorated with greenery: green foliage, growing plants. On such occasions, housemaids prepare fish, branch of beans, lettuce, fruits and cakes, milk and milk products, fresh herbs and honey, flowing dishes of wheat flour and vases full of pure oil in which sparkles jewels, gold and silver coins . Most often, the Muslim neighbors provided all this, sacrificing tradition, pledging friendship and exchanging traditional gifts in many positions. Meanwhile, families are busy making unleavened bread; they enjoy Moroccan pancakes with butter and honey for dinner ‘mufleta’, while women are shouting youyous ‘zgharit’.

According to Zafrani, outdoors are characterized by somehow a carnival atmosphere. Groups of young people wander the streets of the Mellahs. Girls are dressed in colorful dresses and boys are in clad in Muslim attire ‘Djelaba’ and yellow or white ‘Belgha’. The festivities continue late at the night and the next day. The Mimouna is the only local Jewish

holiday that the Maghreb community transplanted in its new host countries: France, in Canada, in the South-America.

About the meaning of the word “Mimouna”, Armand Lévy explains that it is derived from Arabic. “Mimoun” in Arabic means luck. On this occasion, houses in the Mellah were open to everyone, parents, friends, even strangers and passersby. Lévy mentions that parents would go to the market and would buy the best fruits and vegetables and the traditional fish ‘Bajou’, in order to put the non-cooked food in a plate at the middle of the table, symbol of the crossing of the Red Sea and its consumption by the Hebrews. Muslim friends and neighbors were also invited to Jewish homes to enjoy such festivities.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to highlight some characteristics of the Moroccan Jewish daily life and to describe the peaceful cohabitation of Muslims and Jews in Morocco. Morocco provides the best example of coexistence between Jews and Muslims. Although they immigrated either to Europe, America or Israel, Moroccan Jews still have a strong bond with their country of origin. The tradition of respect and openness towards the Jews was perpetuated by the late King Hassan II, and by his son King Mohammed VI, who both appointed prominent Jewish personalities to key government positions. The best example is Andre Azoulay, who was appointed adviser to the late King Hassan II and has kept his position with King Mohammed VI. Another example is Serge Berdugo, who was appointed Minister of Tourism in the mid-1990’s, and is now Moroccan Ambassador at-large.17 Moroccan people, regardless of their ethnicity or faith, have always been one community in which everyone is proud of being different. In other words, the differences are what make Moroccan life special. God loves peace and friendship. That is the reason why He so beautifully created this world that is inhabited by people of different colours, languages, ethnicities and religion. In a Qur’anic verse, our Almighty Lord explains that the reason we are created as different nations is so that we can get to know each other. (49/13) Throughout history, the Moroccan Muslims and Moroccan Jews have come to appreciate this beauty and gave a great lesson to the world. Having this great culture of co-existence and mutual respect, they can achieve even more and show to the rest of the world how two communities can love, respect and co-exist peacefully with each other, despite differences.18

Bibliography


Goldenberg, André, «Arts and the Jews of Morocco. » (Fondation Jardin Majorelle).


Moroccan Jewish Community
This paper focuses on some Sub-Saharan influence on Moroccan culture. It starts with a brief historical note on this integral component of Moroccan cultural identity and then highlights the Sub-Saharan struggle, living conditions, and artistic legacy. The neighboring Sub-Saharan countries have a great influence on Moroccan culture. Slavery and caravan trade have greatly contributed to this influence. The historically Sahel trades did not only bring cotton and spices, but also Sub-Saharan slaves who eventually spread all over Morocco. These people had different names; for instance, the “Haratin” earliest Sub-Saharan, “Abid” the slaves, and “Sud” blacks. The emergence of Sub-Saharan slaves brought to Morocco a variety of cultural practices like Gnawa music among other practices. The memory of slavery is still voiced through the songs performed by Gnawa groups: a spiritual order of a traditionally black Muslim people who are direct descendants of enslaved Sub-Saharan. Gnawa have maintained ancestral rituals and beliefs to express themselves. Songs dealing with the Gnawa origins, integration, and cultural syncretism are still performed in many Moroccan cities, mainly Essaouira and Marrakesh.

I- History of Sub-Saharan People in Morocco

1. Origins of “Haratin”

Sub-Saharan Africans have a long history in Morocco. They have existed even before any of the scripts of the region. They had different names such as “Haratin”, “Abid”, or “Sud”, which corresponds to the different stages of their settlement history. “Haratin” are a group of black-African people inhabiting the southern regions of Morocco, Draa, Tafilat, Feguig, Dadess. In his article “Haratin between Slavery and Freedom,” Mohamed Yassir

1- Ismail Aitkadi, student at the English Department, Faculty of Letters Ben M’sik, Casablanca, and volunteer in the Ben M’sik Community Museum.
El Hilali argues that “Haratin” settled in Moroccan southern oases and relied mainly on farming activities. Although it is confirmed that they inhabited these regions prior than the 15th century, El Hilali argues that their origin is very difficult to trace back due to the lack of historical scripts.  

2. Conditions of “Haratin”

Most “Haratin” were of a low social class vacillating between slavery and freedom. They had little political power and they were mainly consulted only on their expertise, farming and some other menial work. However, during the 15th century, many scholars confirm that some of “Haratin” owned land through property contracts and documentations. Also, some of them were peasants in the lands of Amazigh people. Their number was unknown. Nonetheless, in an oasis community, they were usually considered as a majority. In terms of marriages, El Hilali states that although it was disgraceful for Amazigh women to marry “Haratin”, many marriages took place through history. On the other hand, Amazigh men could marry “Haratin” women. Therefore, El Hilali relates these intermarriages between the two ethnicities to be responsible for the light black skin color of “Haratin” and the dark whiteness of Amazigh.

3. The Name of “Haratin”

The name of “Haratin” is a very complex name to define. This name was already in use in the 16th century. It has two different contradicting meanings. The first meaning is “cultivators”, and the second meaning is “free or free again”. This can also resemble their profession and legal state not to be confused with other black Sub-Saharan. However, the “Haratin” considered their name to be offensive.

II- Mawlay Ismail’s Black Army

The first aim of Sultan Mawlay Ismail (1646–1727) was to make all regions of Morocco under the Moroccan authority and to protect the country from any foreign threats. During his reign, especially in 1672, Mawlay Ismail encountered political and social instability in many regions of Morocco. Many Moroccan coastal towns were under the European occupation, such as Laarache and Mogador. There was also an eastern threat from the neighboring Ottoman Empire as it reached Algeria. Therefore, the Sultan was obliged to strengthen the authority of the Makhzan. To achieve his aim, Mawlay Ismail, wanted to move away from the traditional clientele system of ruling which offered political and economic advantages to some regions in order to gain their allegiance to the Sultan. He considered this practice

4 - El Hilali, Mohamed Yassir. “Haratin between Slavery and Freedom”. Zamane, January 2017, p. 68
5 - Ibid
6 - “Makhzan” means Moroccan Central Government or authority.
insufficient to maintain the stability and the unity of Morocco. Mawlay Ismail could not rely on his soldiers as they came from different tribes and had obligations towards their tribes. Therefore, he realized that in order to strengthen his regime and the unity of the country, he had to construct a powerful, loyal and permanent army.

When Mawlay Ismail started organizing his army, he first considered recruiting Arabs. He sought the advice of one of his loyal advisors Muhammad Ibn Al-Ayyashi about which tribes to recruit his Army from. Al-Ayyashi proposed to the Sultan to recruit back slaves who came from West Africa after the Saadian dynasty (a dynasty which ruled Morocco from 1554 to 1636) invasion of Songhay, as they had already served in the Makhzen and still belonged to the state. Mawlay Ismail approved of this suggestion and appointed Al Ayyashi a supreme judge in order to deal with all legal issues related to the construction of this army. The gathering of black African Moroccan army took different stages with different names. The first stage was announcing in cities and countryside markets the invitation for the slaves to join the Sultan’s Army. As a result, five thousand slaves deliberately volunteered to join the army. They were given clothes, horses, weapons, and a salary and were called Slaves of the Street (Abid Zanqa in Arabic). However, their number was not sufficient; hence, other strategies were taken to gather more. The second stage of collecting slaves was very compulsive. The Makhzan officials forced most black people to join the army, including slaves, free blacks, or “Haratin”, married with children or single. Blacks, male or female, who were in someone’s possession, were bought at the price of ten mithqals per person and “Haratin” were forcefully brought to serve for free. He gathered three thousand blacks in a single year. Then, they were sent to Meknes to live in a massive military camp. They were called many different names; but, the most common is Slaves of Al Bukhari.

Although many Moroccan blacks believed to be free Muslims, they were all astonished with the manner they were unfairly brought and treated like slaves by Makhzan officials. Even among slaves, there were those who had established strong bonds with their masters and simply refused to leave them. When black people protested and sought a judge for this matter, they were taken to the supreme judge’s office, knowing very well that their fate had already been decided.

8 - The Moroccan currency at that era.
9 - They were called Slaves of AlBukhari as they swore on the book *Sahih Al Bukhari* to prove loyalty to the Sultan
1. Religious Controversy about Mawlay Ismail’s Army

The main legal schools of Islam sanction the enslavement of non-Muslims, regardless of skin color, race, or ethnicity. Muslims are forbidden to enslave free Muslims or to enslave non-Muslims outside the context of “jihad”. The enslavement of freed black Moroccans and Haratin during the reign of Mawlay Ismail for the purpose of forming an army exclusively loyal to him provoked a heated debate between some of the religious scholars and Mawlay Ismail. This was a sharp violation of the most salient Islamic legal code regarding the institution of slavery, which stated that it was illegal to enslave any adherent to Islam. The discourse and needs of the state advanced by the Sultan as the political authority and the discourse and interpretation of the tenets of Islam as advanced by the religious scholars, collided.11

2. Slavery in Morocco

Slavery is one of the most important and horrific human institutions throughout history. It is an extreme form of domination of human beings over one another that considered a human being to be merchandise. Morocco was not a slave society in the sense that slavery was a crucial instruction for its functioning. Slavery was a relatively minor feature in Moroccan society where most slaves were employed either as soldiers, agriculture serfs, domestic servants or concubines.12 However, the dominant forms of slavery in traditional Morocco were those of domestic service and concubines. Those slaves were either brought by caravan trades or Islamic conquests as captives. Islam did not introduce slavery to North Africa. It already existed there during the Roman occupation. Slave population at that time was a minority, estimated between 8 and 20 percent. Most of them served in mining and agriculture, and the rest were privately owned.13 Furthermore, after the discovery of the New World, the demand of slavery flourished. Morocco, with its strategic location, was an exporter of African slaves. Hence, slaves flooded Moroccan marketplaces and were bought and sold to Moroccans to satisfy their domestic needs. In average year, twenty thousand slaves probably crossed the desert from West to North Africa. This figure indicates that about two million black people arrived in North Africa every hundred years.14 Although the amount of trade kept changing, it did not stop until the end of the nineteenth century. Many observers indicated that slavery trade in Morocco reached its peak during the first half of the nineteenth century.

11 - Ibid
13 - Ibid.
14 - Ibid. , p.4
3. The Treatment of Slaves

The treatment of slaves in Morocco is controversial. Many scholars believe that slaves in Morocco were badly treated in comparison with the slaves in many other countries around the world. Mohamed Ennaji argues that slaves were subject to physical and emotional mistreatment in shape of severe beatings and punishments. He also mentions taking slaves as a breeding stock. This is explained by the practice of impregnating female slaves as frequently as possible for the primary purpose of producing children to be sold on the market.

On the other hand, Razouk Mohammed disagrees with Ennaji and highlights the humane treatment of slaves in Morocco. He argues that the slave blended in with the masters’ family members, and they were well-dressed, well-fed, and almost enjoyed the same social class as their masters. Moreover, Razouk states that slaves were not forced to work more than their capabilities.

4. Enslavement

The rise of slave demand and economic factors led to numerous numbers of enslavements. The need of slaves caused an increase of slave value; therefore, new ways of enslavement of black and white Moroccans occurred in the Moroccan society. “Haratin” populations were subject to kidnapping and violence by slave merchants. However, the severe shortage of foodstuffs following agriculture crises forced large numbers of them to seek protection of influential people, at any cost. This is what many historians described as deliberate enslavement. Other poor Moroccans, despite their color, suffered from the same problem. The very poor people spread through the country, fleeing their land and abandoning their mothers, fathers, and children. Drought and starvation led many of them to sell or exchange their children for some wheat, and some husbands offered their wives for sale or rent.

5. Abolition of Slavery in Morocco

Abolition of Moroccan slavery took many years due to the large number of slaves and the policies undertaken by the French authorities in early twentieth century. Abolition of slavery was first initiated by European abolitionist campaigns, mainly British campaigns; however, little was done by the Moroccan state to put an end to slavery. It is until France colonized Morocco in 1912 that those campaigns started to invade the French colony. In 1923, colonial authorities declared the abolition of slavery and slave trade. They introduced three

official protocols for every colonial official to follow in order to liberate slaves from their masters.\footnote{Ibid., p. 264} The first protocol stated that any colonial official had to assist runaway slaves and promptly free them. The second protocol contained freeing slave children. The last protocol consisted of prohibition and persecution of any slave commerce. However, these procedures did not lead directly to an overnight abolition of slavery as French officials were unable to interfere with households that had slaves. Therefore, the colonial authorities were lenient in the cases of slaves who were only used for domestic purposes, and they only intervened in cases of slave abuse.\footnote{Ibid.} After many years, the French occupation developed a capitalist system in Morocco and a high demand for a new class of wage labor emerged and changed the social structure of the Moroccan population. This new class encouraged the emigration of blacks from southern Morocco to the big cities. Consequently, the number of slaves significantly decreases and the institution of slavery ultimately vanished.\footnote{Ibid., p. 268}

6. Sub-Saharan Heritage: Gnawa Music

According to Paul Bowles “the most important single element of Morocco’s folk culture is its music. The entire history and mythology of the people are clothed in song.”\footnote{EL Hamel, Chouki. \textit{Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam}. New York: Cambridge University, 2013, p. 270. Printed} Gnawa Music is one of the most significant musical genres in Moroccan folklore. It reflects the history and culture for the Sub-Saharan component of the Moroccan historical and cultural identity.

The word Gnawa refers to black slaves descendent from West Africa. Many of these enslaved people are thought to come from Old Ghana, a kingdom north of Mali, in the 11th through the 13th century.\footnote{http://afropop.org/articles/feature-gnawa-music-of-morocco. Accessed May 13th, 2018} This also explains the meaning of Gnawa, as it is \textit{an Arabic pronunciation of the word “Ghana”}.\footnote{EL Hamel, Chouki. \textit{Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam}. New York: Cambridge University, 2013, p. 274. Printed} The word Gnawa is not the only word that refers to blacks in Morocco. There are also other words in Moroccan Arabic, such as “Abid”, “Sud”, and “Haratin”. Albeit these words commonly describe black Moroccan groups, they are historically distinctive groups within the Moroccan society. Gnawa population, however, corresponds to the unique music genre that combines religion, spirituality, and memory of slavery. Gnawa Music has a strong bond with Islam and slavery. The songs and dances represent a religious practice in which they try to get united with God through the praising lyrics. It is also a memory of slavery and salvation; the lyrics describe how they were treated and the suffering they had gone through.
7. Gnawa and Spirituality

The existence of spirits is a fundamental belief in Gnawa music. For them, the world is inhabited by ancestral spirits who can serve either good or evil purposes. Ancestors are believed to act as intermediaries between the living entities and the supreme God. In order to communicate with their ancestors, Gnawa practice prayers and sacrifices that take place in special ceremonies. These ceremonies are often marked by drumming, clapping the hands, the sound of the castanets, and dances, all designed to seek support from ancestral saints to protect human beings from evil spirits and other predicaments, which help people to recover from an illness, or a misfortune.

8. Gnawa and Islam

Even while adopting Islam, Gnawa did not totally abandon their fundamental traditions. They combined Islamic traditions with pre-Islamic African rituals. After their conversion to Islam, the Gnawa adopted Bilal\textsuperscript{24} as their ancestor and saint patron in order to emphasize the nobility of belonging to Bilal, and also an attempt to legitimize their identity in Islamic terms.\textsuperscript{25} This also explains the mentioning of Bilal in many Gnawa songs. For many Gnawa, the belief in possession and trance is crucial to their religious life. Music serves a patterned function in this belief. It is partly linked to the Gnawa religious rituals and to their specific historical and cultural memories. It is their specific historical and cultural memories celebrated and invoked in songs, dances and musical chants that the Gnawa claim to provide access to the spiritual realm.\textsuperscript{26} For the Gnawa, their music is primarily spiritual and is used for healing purposes.


Within the last few decades, Gnawa music has spread and attracted practitioners from both Amazigh and Arab people. Although most current Gnawa musicians speak Arabic and Amazigh, some West African religious words and phrases do still survive even though their meaning is lost. Gnawa music is found mainly where black people live in relatively large numbers, large enough to form a distinctive community like the ones in Marrakech and Essaouira, where slave trade was historically active. Gnawa people have created a distinct space in Moroccan society.

10. Reviving Gnawa Music

In order to survive, Gnawa have turned the mystical aspect of their music into a confirmed art. In the 1970’s, some Moroccan artists started to look into other Moroccan

\textsuperscript{24} - Bilal was the first black to convert to Islam and to become a companion of the Prophet Muhammad.
\textsuperscript{25} - http://afropop.org/articles/feature-gnawa-music-of-morocco Accessed on May 13th, 2018
\textsuperscript{26} - Ibid.
traditions. Some of the best examples are Nass al-Ghiwan\textsuperscript{27}, who were inspired by the Gnawa mystic order to create an original Moroccan pop music. One of the members of the band was Abd er-Rahman Paco, who was himself a Gnawa master musician from Essaouira. Gnawa music has engendered a popular style of pop music for mere entertainment such as Nass al-Ghiwan and Jil-Jilala. These two bands were the most listened to in Morocco in the 70’s and 80’s. In the 90’s, other groups emerged such as Nass Marrakech, who blend traditional music with new songs that connect with contemporary themes and audiences.\textsuperscript{28}

\section*{III- The Current Sub-Saharan Influence in Morocco}

The Moroccan state has made significant efforts to be more involved in the African continent. The kingdom has been carrying out a more active cooperation policy with its sub-Saharan neighbors, reviving and strengthening the bilateral cooperation programs developed since the independence of Morocco in 1956. This has been mainly achieved through the country’s involvement in several organizations such as the Organization of African Unity, the Community of Sahel-Saharan States since 2001, and The Economic Community of West African States since 2005. Furthermore, the kingdom of Morocco has participated in the construction of a road that links Senegal with Morocco that would help increase the circulation of goods and people between West Africa and Morocco. Morocco’s regional integration within West Africa is represented in official national discourse as the result of historical and cultural relations that have linked Morocco with countries to the south for centuries.

While Morocco is attempting to reconnect with West Africa politically and economically, a reintegration from below seems to be taking place simultaneously through the increase in sub-Saharan migration flows, contributing to considerable changes in Morocco’s migration policies. In fact, since 1990s, trans-Saharan movements have been characterized by transit migration, and trade routes formerly taken by caravans have been used by smugglers to transport migrants. Therefore, the kingdom has played an important role and has become an attractive destination area for different types of sub-Saharan migrants from students with a temporary permit to irregular migrants with the aim for either settling in Morocco or crossing to Europe. Moroccan state has enacted a pioneering migration program in the region, which has led to an enormous regularization of undocumented migrants.

To conclude, Moroccan Cultural diversity consists of different sub-cultures and ethnicities, such as Amazigh, Arab, Sahraoui, Jewish and Sub-Saharan. Sub-Saharan influence is deeply rooted in the Moroccan history and heritage. Although Sub-Saharans were subject to mistreatment, enslavement, compulsory service, they have slowly integrated the Moroccan culture and have become an essential ingredient of the Moroccan culture and identity.

\textsuperscript{27} Nass El Ghiwan is a pop musical group established in 1971 in Casablanca, Morocco.
\textsuperscript{28} http://afropop.org/articles/feature-gnawa-music-of-morocco. Accessed on May 14th, 2018
Bibliography:


El Hilali, Mohamed Yassir. “Haratin between Slavery and Freedom”. *Zamane*, January 2017,


Webliography

- http://www.dictionary.com/browse/cultural-diversity accessed on March 24th, 2018

Sub-Saharan Influence in Morocco

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahrawi_people accessed on March 27th, 2018
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gnawa_music accessed on 14th May 2018
- https://www.pinterest.com/pin/492370171732818298/ accessed on the 14th May 2018
Slavery in the Field of Digital History

Amy Young

History portrays all civilizations and cultures and it can be reported in different media. Nonfiction and fiction books alike are written on historical periods. Movies and television shows depict significant historical events. Museums and historic sites provide the public with access to objects that are brief snapshots of periods in history. With the past being so readily accessible to society, it is important that it is given appropriate context and interpretation. This helps to put events and people in perspective within the larger scope of history, and offer audiences the ability to reach deeper understanding of the past. One subject that has received conflicting interpretations in history books is slavery. The institution of slavery is a very complex subject that many people have struggled to understand and know how it fits in their own personal history, making it a biased and often an emotional topic.

In the 2018 spring session of Documentation and Interpretation at Kennesaw State University, our class decided to investigate trans-Atlantic slavery and present the findings in our digital exhibit Faces of Slavery, created in conjunction with Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University in Casablanca, Morocco. Our goal was to provide an objective academic study on slavery that did not stray from reality. We worked on some aspects of such a big topic and used a digital platform to make our findings available to the public. Despite the frustrations we encountered to find relevant documents related to the scope of our study and the challenges we met to cope with the technology we used, our class was able to produce a successful digital exhibit that has the potential to help others better understand historical developments of slavery.

When the New World was discovered in the fifteenth century, Europeans found that the soil and climate of America were fit to grow crops that they were then dependent on as they imported them from the Middle East and from other parts of the world. They thought that not relying on the middlemen in West Asia would lead to a more flourishing economy.
across Europe. However, creating a wealthy economy based on agriculture in the New World required more than just the Englishmen who immigrated across the Atlantic. They would need a cheap labor force that could work as farmers in this hot and humid atmosphere. It was for that reason that Europeans turned to their southern African neighbors. They bought people from Africa, like commodities, and sold them to plantation owners in the British colonies. This was the last link of a three-century cycle of trade in the Atlantic, commonly known as the Columbian Exchange. There were three pillars for this exchange arrangement. First, manufactured goods were produced in Europe and sold in Africa in exchange for slaves. Slaves would then endure the “middle passage” across the Atlantic to the New World, where they were purchased in exchange for raw goods that were produced by the slave labor on plantations and farms. Then, these goods crossed the Atlantic to Europe, where they were used to produce more manufactured goods. This trading circle that lasted over three hundred years created an immensely intertwined network around the Atlantic that would forever shape and tie the cultures and societies from both sides of the ocean.

Over the course of the three centuries during which the Columbian Exchange took place, some twelve to fifteen million people were forcibly removed from Africa to the Americas through the “middle passage.” This was behind the presence of an African diaspora around the globe. Traces of African heritage have become an integral part of culture in the western hemisphere because of this involuntary migration. It was not until 1807 that the trans-Atlantic slave trade was abolished. Although this trade illegally continued for a few years, the forced migration finally ended in 1811. Since then the trans-Atlantic slave trade has had a tremendous, lasting impact on the world up until the present time. Slavery in the southern regions of the United States created a racially divided society that still deals with the repercussions of that division. The events that took place during the three centuries of the slave trade and the degree to which it impacts global culture is the reason behind the need in our society to work on appropriate interpretation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade history again and again.

When discussing slavery in public, the researcher is bound to take into consideration some relevant points. One of these is the sensitivity of slavery for many African Americans living in the United States today. Their ancestors may have been part of the twelve million Africans who were forcibly brought to this country through the slave trade. There is still a bitterness surrounding this subject that has been carried on for generations, and it was only intensified by the continued oppression of African Americans in the United States through the first part of the twentieth century up to the 1960s. The reality of slavery is very hard to swallow for many African Americans. In late nineteenth and early twentieth century, false information about slavery was spread in the south, claiming that it was a good institution preferred by all parties. The reality was exactly the opposite. The abuse that slaves were subjected to was horrible, in addition to the extremely poor conditions they lived in on plantations. This is why historians are invited to raise awareness about the reality of slavery and clarify the
misconceptions related to this topic. New academic research projects will certainly place the facts in the appropriate context. It will also contribute to the intertwining the lives of people on both sides of the ocean. One narrative has the power to connect nations different in history and culture as the United States of America and the Kingdom of Morocco.

Our class approached the interpretation of slavery through a newer method in the history field: digital exhibition. Found primarily online with 24/7 access, digital exhibits are new media that have been practiced for less than twenty years. Despite being a digital platform, these exhibits are fairly similar to physical exhibits that can traditionally be found in a museum. They feature objects and documents, contain interpretive text, and flow through the subject matter thematically. However, it has been discovered that there are several advantages that digital exhibits have over standard museum exhibits. First, digital exhibits can provide their audiences with a much closer and personal look at the target material, such as documents, objects, and images. Museums can only provide a look at an object from the other side of the glass because of their devotion to preserving it in its current condition for future generations, assuming the object is in a convenient condition to be on display. However, with a digital exhibit, there is no threat to the primary source no matter how many times it is looked at. The visitors look at a photograph or digital file that they can examine even in the smallest detail without ever laying a finger on the original object. Even if technology outdated the original file, it can either be recreated or upgraded to retain accessibility.

Another advantage that digital exhibits have over traditional glass-and-plaque displays is the higher degree of accessibility it can provide to archival material. Most museums hesitate to put archival materials on public display because of the fragility of documents. Therefore, they remain housed in the dark and cool environment of the archives. Most of these files in the archives are still accessible to the public; however, this requires the additional step of making an appointment with the archivist who has to locate the file from among dozens to possibly hundreds of boxes, and then the visitor has to make an extra trip to the housing site to see the material. Today museums are working around this process by digitizing their collections and making them available online. Though this practice is increasing accessibility, files in archival databases often lack the structure and the interpretation which is part of what an exhibit provides. When archival material is incorporated into an exhibit, it does a better job to showcase why the source is relevant in the larger context of history and to other items in the collection than the item will ever be able to do on its own.

The biggest advantage that a digital exhibition has is in its influence on wide potential audiences. Exhibits contained within the four walls of a museum can only be accessed by those who come through the front door and mostly likely pay an admission fee. By this reasoning, there are many artifacts in Europe that most Americans will never see because they cannot afford to make an international travel. Digital exhibits are making this problem obsolete. Because they are virtual experiences housed on the World Wide Web, they are accessible
anywhere with internet service. Exhibits online also have no time boundaries as in a normal gallery. Museums are just like any other public institutions: they have limited operational hours set by the employees. The internet, however, does not close at 5 pm or on holidays. It is always open and available for anyone to see at any time of day.

The digital exhibit created by the spring 2018 Documentation and Interpretation class at Kennesaw State University is entitled Faces of Slavery. Our class examined the trans-Atlantic slave trade within the context of the United States and Morocco through four “faces,” or different segments of society that we were able to identify. Our four divisions were as follows: political and thought leaders, religious hierarchy, ordinary citizens, and enslaved individuals. This concept that we created for our digital exhibit was a very solid representation of our research experience for the project. It reflected the many stories of individuals that we encountered in our study of the slave trade during the semester. From the elites to the lowest rank of the social hierarchy, it was clear for us to see the ripple effects of the slave trade between these two countries. Using the idea of the “faces” also helped us to focus our narrative on individual stories that reflected every part of society. Often, exhibits on slavery only look at the slaves or the slave owners; however, it was important to introduce the audience to the way slavery infiltrated every class and every home before its abolition.

The face is the most visible part of a person. It also bears emotions and reactions, making it the most exposed and vulnerable part of the human body. One can often read how a person is feeling just by the expression on his face. Our class harnessed the power of a face to appeal to the emotional side of this project on slavery. Utilizing this power, however, was not an easy task and often burdensome at times. Dealing with the emotions surrounding the slave trade was difficult, as this subject is still sensitive. We struggled to keep an objective academic approach to report the reality of the horrors and the crimes against humanity of this era. Our concept of ‘faces’ was the key to overcoming this obstacle. The audience would be able to see the faces of our people, note within themselves whatever emotion they found there, and connect the life of that individual with the living, breathing human being that lived that story. The class felt that the association of a face and a narrative together would reduce the emotional desensitization that often surrounds the subject of slavery.

One problem our class encountered that was not initially anticipated was the lack of documents on slavery in Morocco available to us. Through many class discussions, it was determined that our class collectively felt that it was important that we incorporated sources from both sides of the ocean and not just US references. If we had included stories from just the United States, we would not have been able to showcase the effect the slave trade had on Morocco. Any sources from America that even mentioned Morocco would have contained a biased opinion. Finding Moroccan sources, however, proved to be very difficult. The few documents available online were written in French or Arabic. It is to our benefit, however, that students at Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University in Casa-
blanca, Morocco, were also working on the same project. They could fill in the gaps of our digital exhibit that we were forced to leave empty. The one good point of experiencing this problem is that it reinforced our belief in the need for more digital exhibits worldwide to make more artifacts and primary sources available to the general public.

I have thoroughly enjoyed working on this digital exhibit project, despite the challenges I encountered. It was difficult and very stressful to sift through everything we talked about in the fifteen weeks of the semester to pull together a final product. However, working in our public history team and produce a digital exhibit was a rewarding experience. It was to our advantage that we got to work on the project in such a large group setting. With such a variety of people on the project with different backgrounds, we had ample opinions and perspectives that guided our path to the end product. Equally dividing the workload was a very simple process. One disadvantage we encountered was the lack of experience with the Omeka software we used on the project. Many members of our team were unfamiliar with the program and had a hard time adapting and making the best use of the technology. We did, nonetheless, collectively agree that this could have been an easy task if we had spent more time using the software in class together as a group to get enough practice.

Another challenge facing this exhibit with such a large class was that there were inconsistencies in our final product. My group, with the ordinary citizens, used a standard introduction format of images and definitions on each page within our subsection of the exhibit. This was not consistent with the more interpretive text-formats the members of the other groups used for their introductory pages. Again, we collectively agreed that this was avoidable by assigning one or two people to adjust the different categories so that there is a consistent format throughout the entire exhibit. Fortunately, we only encountered minor setbacks in our progress and were quickly able to identify solutions. This shows that creating a digital exhibit is possible and attainable in all levels of the field of public history.

When the spring semester first started, I was not enthusiastic about this project and was apprehensive about the class. I found myself overwhelmed by the massive amounts of content background we had to go through in preparation for creating the digital exhibit. By the end, however, I really enjoyed working on the project the cause behind it. Getting to learn how to create a digital exhibit was a skill building experience; I hope I will have the opportunity to use it again in the future. I also found an excellent group dynamic and a positive atmosphere among public history students. We worked well together and excelled in communicating to each other what we wanted our final draft to look like. Our biggest frustration was that we were working at very different paces. Some of us were proofreading their final drafts before others had even finished their artifact selections to be included in the exhibit. Despite these challenges, our class created an outstanding digital exhibit for a great purpose: to introduce our audiences to the real Faces of Slavery.
The creation of a digital exhibit named “Faces of Slavery in the U.S. and Morocco” was a fruitful experience for me this semester. The project was created by my History 4426 class in coordination with Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ben M’sik, Hassan II University in Casablanca, Morocco, in order to introduce our audiences to the individual stories of people involved in the African slave trade. At Kennesaw State University we spent the first half of the semester researching for documents on slavery in the United States and North Africa and reviewed numerous online exhibits to determine features we wanted to include in our own project. The class worked together to select the appropriate topics, and then divided the tasks among four groups to work on the content of the exhibit. My group was in charge of the political leaders involved in this trade and we decided to start with the four regions they controlled: the United States, Morocco, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Europe. I was in charge of Moroccan political leaders and contributed to the presentation of the Political Leaders’ homepage. Working altogether as a team allowed us to provide a lot of material on the topic and helped us to improve our research skills.

My section highlighted the work of the Moroccan leader who encouraged the expansion of slavery, Sultan Moulay Isma’il ibn Sharif. Moulay Isma’il became king of Morocco in 1672 during a time of intense internal conflicts, but he managed to restore order in his kingdom by recruiting a massive army of slaves to fight his enemies and serve as government agents. In a way, he trusted the people he enslaved more than his own family because of his well-founded belief that members of his family were more likely to betray him and attempt to claim his throne. It was important to point out that slaves found ways to express their own loyalty through their relationship with the Sultan despite the fact that he often tortured and killed a number of them. Sultan Moulay Isma’il relied on his army of slaves so much that he could not have ruled Morocco without them. At the same time, he was a strong and often cruel ruler to the point of killing his own sons and wives when they disobeyed him, so it was unlikely that his slaves felt much security under his reign.
There was also more artwork available about Sultan Moulay Isma’il than on other Moroccan rulers in the 17th and 18th centuries. I used multiple annotated images, an engraved portrait of the Sultan, and a sketch of the clothing worn by his enslaved guards. The use of artwork reinforced the fact that the enslaved Africans accompanied Sultan Moulay Isma’il everywhere he went. Most of the pictures were made by French artists, as he had a close relationship with Louis XIV of France. It was not possible to find more Moroccan artworks and resources to balance out the presentation and to present an unbiased interpretation of situation.

I think one of the most valuable lessons this project taught us was that slavery was not extinguished just because the practice was made illegal. I was aware of the political and social problems leftover from slavery in America, but I failed to realize that many countries in Africa did not abolish it until mid-twentieth century. It turned out that European political leaders were willing to allow the practice to persist to be able use slavery in Africa as an excuse for their imperialistic agenda. Even after African nations regained their independence and banned slavery, there was still an ingrained system of discrimination that avoided acknowledging the sacrifices of enslaved people in African societies; their descendants are sometimes treated as if they were second-hand citizens.

Although I enjoyed this project and I learnt a lot from this experience, there are still some aspects that can be improved, especially the coordination among the members of each group to reach a better consistency of the work. I suggest for future projects that member of the research team meet and work together on a detailed outline and assign precise tasks to each of them. This would provide an opportunity for Hassan II University team to give their feedback and contribute to the quality of the final product. It may be helpful to create a team project main webpage before sharing tasks among members. This page will keep everything within the sections connected similar to the purpose statement the class created for the overall exhibit.

I still believe the exhibit was a successful exercise in presenting information on the Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Saharan slave trades in a digital format. I also think our class managed to present a balanced argument while remaining aware of the sensitivity of the subject. However, I think the class schedule could be adjusted to provide clearer milestones for the progress of the exhibit. Deciding on a consistent format to process the target information would greatly improve the quality of the exhibit’s presentation. It was a unique and enriching experience for me to create my own digital exhibit for an international audience.
Interpreting Slavery

Lesley Le Platte

This research project has been a learning experience for me. When discussing the topic of slavery in the classroom some teachers shy away from such a sensitive topic to avoid controversy. However, I believe this project allowed the participants to discuss the topic of slavery in an academic way. Slavery is such a hot issue that it has concerned a good number of people in many parts of the world.

I found this class very interesting because not only did we explore the topic of slavery from the American perspective, a perspective that everyone in this class had some prior knowledge about through their education, but we also explored slavery outside the United States, especially in Morocco, a north African country. Exploring the Moroccan slave trade was really interesting. While learning about the two counties, the United States and Morocco, we were able to see that there were very stark differences between the two and the ways they viewed the role that slavery played in both societies.

Slavery in both Morocco and the United States helped in shaping society and the role of slavery has left a lasting legacy on their cultural identity. Morocco justified slavery through Islamic teachings and the United States justified slavery through Christian teachings. Morocco was part of the Saharan slave trade, and the United States was part of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Slaves were brought to Morocco by means of caravans. Slaves were brought massively to the United States in slaves’ ships. Slaves in the United States were often used for labor and looked at as property. Slaves in Morocco were used as soldiers and artisans and viewed as a commodity.

When working on the digital exhibit exploring the comparison between the United States and the Morocco slave trade, we focused on four classes of people: slave ‘leaders’, enslaved people, political leaders, and ordinary people. We explored the way slavery affected

---

1 - Lesley Le Platte, student at Kennesaw State University, Georgia, the United States of America.
people in many regions, both the enslaved people and the slave owners. Slavery was a driving force in the economy and as such affected everyone in society. My group focused on the role enslaved people played within both American and Morocco societies.

I really enjoyed our group dynamic spirit. In this exhibit project we had to cover several topics within each group. Each group had to discuss the topics of religion, science, economy, gender, demographics, geography, resistance, and justifications or compromises. Our group decided to divide the work among its members focusing on one part of society. Each of the group members was able to focus on his or her passions. One group member explored the role that religion played in the way slaves were perceived. Another member focused on the role of science in shaping history, choosing to examine the role of slavery in the medical field, especially women’s health and midwifery. Another group member focused on slave resistance. I had a strong interest in seeing how geography tied all the pieces together using historical period maps of the United States and Morocco. Our final group member focused on legal frameworks and the ways in which slavery shaped the legislations.

We used Groupme as a method for communication. We utilized Google Drive to help us organize ideas as a group. Even though we met as a group in class several times, our group often met at the student center and at Sweet Hut to exchange ideas on various topics related to slavery and people we would focus on.

We used geography as our overarching theme tying all of our ideas together. We used maps to relate different ideas together. We often compared the United States situation to Moroccan one to identify the similarities and differences. The geography of the two areas determined how slaves were used and people’s conception of slavery.

When working on our exhibit, our group had great difficulty when trying to find resources that dealt with Morocco. It was relatively easier to find documents on the US, especially from the Library of Congress. I found some resources in *Black Morocco*, the Atlas of Slavery, and some of the various resources that were posted on Basecamp. I think in the future it would be more beneficial to interact with students at Hassan II University in Morocco earlier in the semester.

I really enjoyed this class. It was really fun curating and creating a digital exhibit. I feel like I can use the skills I learned in this class in my future career. My dream is to be a curator at a history museum. This class was very useful for me because it taught me that it is not always easy to find resources on research projects. It has strengthened my interest in history and in modern technology. I look forward to doing more research on the topic of slavery in the future.
Pour la valorisation du patrimoine culturel oral marocain

Abdelkader Gonegai

Introduction :

Dans cette communication, je vais discuter de la culture orale au Maroc, de sa place dans la vie des marocains, de sa transmission et sa perception chez la nouvelle génération. Je mettrai l’accent sur les menaces qu’affronte cette culture, si riche et si variée, pour son authenticité et sa continuité. Je finirai par présenter un projet que nous avons initié à la faculté des Lettres et des sciences humaines Ben M’sik, Université Hasan II de Casablanca, pour valoriser la culture locale et sensibiliser la population casablancaise à son importance, en tant que capital matériel et immatériel, qui nécessite le déploiement des efforts pour sa préservation et sa pérennité.

1) Mondialisation et contact des cultures

Dans le monde moderne, la culture devient de plus en plus un objet de discussion dans tous les domaines. Elle a attiré l’attention des chercheurs des différents champs disciplinaires qui s’intéressent à l’Homme (anthropologues, sociologues, linguistes, historiens, spécialistes en communication, psychologues...), à sa vie, à ses interactions avec son entourage et à son évolution dans le temps. Il y a aussi toute une réflexion sur le rôle de la culture comme facteur de développement et un secteur d’investissement économique national et international.

Dans l’ère de la mondialisation, le monde connaît des changements et des mutations dans tous les domaines de la vie des personnes et des groupes. Cela a imposé un brassage et un contact permanent entre les cultures du monde, à travers les différents moyens de communication.

---

1 - Abdelkader Gonegai, Professeur de linguistique et du management culturel, et Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines Ben M’sik, Université Hassan II de Casablanca, Royaume du Maroc.
Dans cette optique, l’étude des différents phénomènes de la culture et de ses facettes multiples, ses formes d’expressions variées, ses structures simples et complexes, individuelles et collectives... devient de plus en plus utile et même capitale et vitale pour toutes les sociétés.

Pour la réussite de cette interaction entre les cultures, spontanément et sans frontières, le besoin de connaître sa propre culture, écrite et orale, est nécessaire, avant d’aller vers les autres cultures.

2) Quelques aspects de la culture au Maroc

La société marocaine, initialement bédouine, en contact permanent avec la terre, la nature, l’agriculture..., caractérisée par la spontanéité et la modestie dans les différentes situations de la vie, que ce soit entre les personnes ou avec le temps et l’espace, avec les choses, les événements, les crises, les moments de bonheur et de malheurs.... Cette spontanéité est reflétée par sa façon de concevoir le monde, d’évaluer les choses et les personnes, de marquer son entourage statique et mobile, de valoriser les situations, d’anticiper l’avenir.....

La culture orale représente une richesse de taille dans le patrimoine culturel marocain. Elle représente les formes les plus anciennes de divertissement et de rire, de sagesse et du conseil, d’éducation et du savoir, dans les maisons en famille ou sur les grandes places publiques des villes ou dans les souks hebdomadaires à la campagne. Dans les salons, ou en plein air, sans rideau, en contact direct entre « émetteur et récepteur », sans préparation, sans maquillage, sans décor, cette culture est transmise entre les générations, dans une fluidité et une spontanéité remarquables.

Cette culture se manifeste sous plusieurs genres : prose, poésie, chant, danse, spectacle, conte, musique, charmeurs de serpents, voyantes... Elles sont toutes des moyens d’expression, dans un grand répertoire vaste et varié, avec un choix large de thèmes abordés, d’amour, d’humour, de revendications sociales et politiques, conseils et morale... de la vie comme de la mort.

Les acteurs de cette culture sont des personnes qui ont un don pour improviser des situations, parler et raconter des histoires de tous genres, fantastiques ou réelle, racontant la vie des vivants et des morts... sagement ou avec beaucoup d’exagération, avec un arrière-plan religieux et bédouin et rarement citadin.

3 - Le besoin de s’ouvrir ses les autres cultures et le besoin de connaître, d’abord, sa propre culture, était une des raisons pour la mise en place d’un musée universitaire de Ben M’Sik, au sein de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines Ben M’sik, université Hassan II de Casablanca depuis 2007. Voir El Azhar 2013.
4 - L’adjectif « populaire » souvent lié « péjorativement » à la culture orale, n’écarte pas son importance et son intérêt dans le répertoire culturel marocain. Il s’agit tout simplement d’une communication verbale entre des personnes, dans un genre d’expression précis (contes, chants....) dans des contextes informels.
Dans toute la vie du marocain, la gestion du quotidien est son souci principal, avec la conviction qu’il ne dispose que d’une petite marge de manoeuvre des événements puisque la force divine, Dieu/Allah, se charge totalement, à la minute près, de son organisation et de ses finalités6. Cette croyance, enracinée dans sa mémoire, est strictement liée à ses convictions religieuses musulmanes. Ainsi, nous observons ces croyances illustrées dans son comportement quotidiens : Croyance à la superstition, l’illusion, la dépendance, la spontanéité, au contentement, à la simplicité, dans la vie et les ambitions...

3) La culture et la société marocaine moderne

Actuellement, les mutations sociales, économiques et culturelles que connaît la société marocaine ont participé activement à l’exclusion et à la marginalisation de la culture, dite « traditionnelle ou populaire », orale ou écrite, au profit de nouvelles formes d’expression, surtout chez les jeunes dans l’espace urbain. Cette attitude envers cette culture traditionnelle est due à l’émergence de plusieurs moyens modernes de transmission des arts et des savoirs (la radio, la télévision, l’internet, les réseaux sociaux...).

Ainsi, les conditions ne sont plus favorables pour la survie de plusieurs expressions artistiques traditionnelles orales comme les contes, généralement racontées par les grand-mères, la Halqa, les charmeurs de serpents, les voyantes, les chanteurs et les danseurs populaires dans les souks hebdomadaires dans les différentes campagnes marocaines. Le public, consommateur permanent de ces arts, est de plus en plus rare, voire en voie de disparition, dans quelques espaces bédouin/citadin7.

Dans ce contexte, beaucoup de facteurs ont favorisé la disparition de cette culture si riche et si ancienne, qui représente un capital immatériel inestimable pour le Maroc et pour toute la région. La nouvelle génération de jeunes, absorbée par l’image dans toutes ses formes et ses supports, s’intéresse beaucoup plus aux nouvelles formes d’expression artistique (les films à la télévision et au cinéma, la danse dans les salles, les spectacles dans les théâtres, les reportages et les vidéo à l’internet...).

Ainsi, le contact direct et spontané entre l’émetteur et le récepteur a disparu, au profit d’un contact virtuel via les différents supports de communication modernes, surtout dans les réseaux sociaux où l’image, le corps et les rythmes ont envahi et perturbé complètement le goût artistique des jeunes. Le mot, l’expression, le geste, le conseil, l’humour..., véhiculés

6 - Cela concerne, bien entendu, la société marocaine traditionnelle qui a connu un grand bouleversement depuis la fin du 20ème siècle. Elle a également connu des changements qui ont touché tous les aspects de la vie, en ville comme à campagne.
7 - Au sein des familles, le conte et les autres formes orales sont concurrencées par la radio, la télévision, etc. Il faut signaler que ce n’est pas le cas général, il est intact dans plusieurs lieux de regroupement : lieux de loisirs comme sur la place Jamaâ El-fna à Marrakech, dans les souks hebdomadaires ou dans des cérémonies et des fêtes.
Pour la valorisation du patrimoine culturel oral marocain

Dans cette culture, ont perdu leur sens, leur chaleur, leur charme, leur impact et leur saveur si appréciée par l’ancienne génération.

4) Valorisation et préservation de la culture orale au Maroc

Dans ce contexte, l’université, lieu de savoir, doit réagir pour la préservation de ce patrimoine oral marocain, dans toutes ses formes, qui témoignent et qui gardent les traces d’une civilisation millénaire qu’il faut protéger précieusement pour les générations futures, tout comme nos ancêtres l’ont fait pour nous. Face à cette situation, l’université doit se mobiliser pour la conservation de ce patrimoine, oral et écrit, en se fixant des objectifs précis et homogènes avec sa vocation, en tant qu’espace de formation, d’éducation, du savoir et de recherche.

5) Musée universitaire de Ben M’sik:

Le musée universitaire de Ben M’sik, domicilié à la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines Ben M’sik, Université Hassan II de Casablanca, est le premier musée de proximité à vocation locale et sociale, mis en place par un établissement universitaire au Maroc. Créé en 2008, il est le premier musée universitaire qui se veut une passerelle entre la faculté et son environnement socio-économique.

Le Musée universitaire de Ben M’sik (the Ben M’sik Community Museum) est différent des musées traditionnels qui sont fondés essentiellement pour préserver des œuvres d’art et montrer des objets d’antiquité. Il a une vocation pédagogique en étant une passerelle entre l’Université et la Communauté locale d’une part et avec la région d’autre part. Il a aussi une mission de préservation du patrimoine culturel local et de promotion de l’histoire et des traditions des populations diverses de la localité de Ben M’Sik.

6) Concept : « Musée de proximité »

L’idée fondatrice derrière la création de ce musée est la mise en place d’un musée de proximité, très proche de la population de son entourage, le concept de base étant tout naturellement le fait que chaque espace (quartier, localité, Douar, village, ville....) a une histoire qui constitue sa mémoire, laquelle englobe les personnes, les espaces, les sites, les marabouts, les événements....

Cette mémoire doit être protégée et transmise de génération en génération car elle reflète l’identité de l’espace et de ses habitants. Pour cela, la préservation et la sauvegarde

8 - En partenariat avec Kennesaw State University, Georgia, the United States of America, la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Ben M’Sik, Université Hassan II de Casablanca, a mis en place ce musée et a profité de l’expérience et le savoir-faire de cette institution Américaine pour réaliser plusieurs projets. Voir El Azhar (2013) et Gonegai (2019).
de cette mémoire est à la charge de la communauté locale. Il n’y aura pas de personnes plus sensibles, plus fidèles et plus engagées, pour cette mission, que les habitants eux- mêmes. C’est un moyen pour enraciner chez la population, surtout les nouvelles générations, le sens d’appartenance et d’appropriation de l’espace, la fierté de son histoire et le maintien des liens avec le passé.

7) Objectifs du Musée :

Le musée est orienté essentiellement vers la connaissance, la compréhension et la collecte de l’histoire et de la culture de la région du Grand Casablanca, et précisément de la localité de Ben M’sik, à travers des objets et des extraits, orales et écrits, authentiques présentés de façon vivante et spontanée.

Le musée évolue continuellement par les documents et les objets recueillis, principalement par des dons des habitants de l’entourage. Sa gestion est confiée à un staff de professeurs de la faculté et des étudiants qui sont, en majorité, du quartier. Les visiteurs, enfants et adultes, bénéficient d’un support qui leur facilite la consultation des objets exposés et la compréhension de leurs histoires et de la culture qu’ils véhiculent.

Il s’agit d’une initiative qui vise la préservation de la mémoire de la région dans toutes ses facettes. Outre la création d’un lieu pour la préservation de la mémoire de la localité, ce projet culturel et social a pour les principales missions suivantes :

- La conciliation de la population avec son histoire et sa culture,
- La conservation et le maintien de la mémoire de la localité et sa transmission aux nouvelles générations,
- La présentation du patrimoine, matériel et immatériel, sauvegardé au fil des années d’une manière cohérente et accessible,
- La création d’un support de valorisation et de transmission des valeurs, des traditions, des coutumes, des habitudes... de la localité,
- La collecte de la mémoire de la localité dans toutes ses formes,
- L’élaboration d’un corpus (banque de données) qui peut être un objet d’études et de recherches interdisciplinaires.

Au niveau pratique, l’objectif est de créer un musée ouvert au public local pour l’inviter à estimer et à consommer sa propre culture. Pour la nouvelle génération de la localité, le but

10 - Ce concept de « musée de proximité » doit être généralisé dans tous les espaces du pays (universités, arrondissements, villages,...). C’est une expérience très réussie aux USA et en Europe.
11 - Nous sommes en train de réaliser une version virtuelle du musée pour le mettre en ligne accessible aux intéressés.
Pour la valorisation du patrimoine culturel oral marocain

est de sensibiliser les jeunes et de les fidéliser aux habitudes d’apprécier la culture locale et de visiter les musées12. Le musée est aussi un moyen pour concilier la population locale avec sa propre histoire, une population qui n’a pas l’habitude de fréquenter ce type de structures.

8) Comment valoriser la culture orale à Casablanca

Nous estimons, par la mise en place de ce musée13, que la préservation de la culture locale en générale et orale en particulier ne peut se faire que par les habitants de la localité eux- mêmes. Ils sont les porteurs de cette culture dans le passé comme dans l’avenir. Pour la réussite de cette opération, l’université peut jouer le rôle d’accompagnateur et d’assistant.

La valorisation de cette culture prend forme par la mise en place d’un dispositif d’actions que nous pouvons lister comme suit :

- la collecte des données qui représentent la localité dans tous les aspects de la vie, dans le but de créer une banque de données variées sur la localité,
- La répartition et le classement de ces données pour être accessible aux intéressés. C’est le moyen de les préserver et garantir leur pérennité et éviter leur disparition,
- L’archivage de ces données, par champs (coutumes, fêtes, cérémonies, repas, danses, couleurs, marabouts, places, personnages, événement, habits, coupes de cheveux, écoles coraniques, saisons, boissons, architecture, toponymie...),
- L’étude de ces données en les soumettant aux étudiants, en tant que corpus, pour des études de mémoires de fin d’études en Licence, en Master et en Doctorat dans le cadre de traitement descriptif et taxinomique.
- La réalisation de recherches sur ces données dans toutes les disciplines qui touchent l’Homme (sociologie, psychologie, linguistique, histoire, géographie....). Des rencontres, séminaires, tables rondes sont organisés pour débattre des données et des phénomènes collectés.
- La communication sur ce patrimoine collecté par la réalisation d’événements, de brochures, de reportages....dans le but de faire connaître la localité et sa culture, dans le cadre d’une opération marketing au profit de la région.
- La présentation de ces données au grand public,
- L’organisation d’expositions thématiques, à partir des données collectées et des recherches réalisées,

12 - Il y a aussi un but stratégique qui vise à impliquer l’université dans l’affaire publique et à favoriser les conditions la rapprocher de son entourage en tant qu’acteur de développement local.
13 - Dans cette optique, la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Ben M’sik, l’Université Hassan II de Casablanca a établi un partenariat avec Kennesaw State University, Georgia, United States of America. Ainsi les deux établissements universitaires ont contribué à la mise en œuvre de plusieurs expositions, de formations et de rencontre à Casablanca et aux USA.
• **L’offre d’un produit touristique** sur la localité et sur Casablanca,

• **La participation au rayonnement** de la localité et de son patrimoine.

9) Actions réalisées

9-1) Interview des habitants :

Nous considérons, dans le comité scientifique du musée, que l’information orale est très importante pour tracer l’histoire et collecter le grand nombre d’informations sur la localité. Pour cela, nous avons entrepris une série d’interviews avec les habitants de tous les âges.

Une grande partie de ces interviews était réservée aux personnes âgées. Le but de cette entreprise est la collecte de l’information historique de la localité : sa création, les premiers habitants et leurs origines, le mode de vie, l’évolution, les contraintes, les coutumes, les valeurs, les cérémonials, les places, les personnalités, les marabouts....etc. Pour ce volet, nous avons plus de trente-six heures d’enregistrement.

Une autre partie des interviews était réservée aux jeunes de la localité, l’objectif était d’avoir une idée sur l’évolution des quartiers. Cette opération était une occasion pour s’informer sur la perception qu’ont ces jeunes sur la localité comparée à celles de leurs parents, génération précédente.

Dans ces interviews, nous avons veillé à ce que ces données soient représentatives aux niveaux genre, âges, régions d’appartenance, langues de communication (darija, amazigh).... Cette action, qui visait la promotion de la tradition orale de la région, a offert une chance aux étudiants, issus en majorité de la localité, encadrés par leur professeurs, de faire de la recherche sur leur environnement socioculturel et de consolider leurs liens avec leur racine aussi bien qu’avec leur université et leur quartier.

9-2) expositions :

Dans le cadre de partenariat avec Kennesaw State University, Georgia, United States of America, et bénéficiant de l’expérience et le savoir-faire de cette institution américaine, nous avons organisé deux grandes expositions thématiques :

a) Exposition «Ben M’sik: Creating Community in Casablanca »: Cette exposition est présentée en dix panneaux (textes et images à l’appui) qui représentent la richesse culturelle et patrimoniale de la localité. Ces panneaux élaborent les thèmes suivants : La langue, l’architecture, la cuisine, les costumes traditionnels, les personnalités locales, etc ...

Afin de partager cette richesse patrimoniale avec le public américain, ces panneaux sont rédigés en langues anglaise et arabe. Cette exposition a été inaugurée le 1er avril
Pour la valorisation du patrimoine culturel oral marocain

2009 à Kennesaw State University, à Atlanta, et a fait le tour de plusieurs établissements universitaires de l’État de Georgia, United States of America. Le 14 décembre 2009 la cérémonie d’ouverture officielle s’est déroulée à la Faculté des lettres et Sciences Humaines Ben M’sik, en présence d’une délégation Américaine14.

b) Exposition « Maroc et USA dans la 2ème guerre mondiale »:

Lors de nos interviews avec les personnes âgées, nous avons constaté qu’un bon nombre des premiers habitants de la localité de Ben M’Sik étaient des soldats qui ont combattu à côté des alliées lors de la 2ème guerre mondiale. Nous avons collecté beaucoup de données et d’informations qui nous ont donné l’idée d’élaborer une deuxième exposition sur ce sujet.

Après des discussions entre les deux parties, cherchant un intérêt commun dans cette exposition, nous nous sommes mis d’accord sur le thème de la participation des soldats marocains et américains à cette guerre. Après des discussions entre les professeurs et les étudiants des deux parties, nous avons axé notre attention sur l’événement «Opération de la torche» ou l’embarquement des américains à Casablanca avant d’accéder au front de la guerre sur le sol européen.

Cette période a connu, la tenue de La conférence de Casablanca (conférence d’Anfa), organisée du 14 au 24 janvier 1943, à l’initiative conjointe des américains et des anglais. Cette conférence, qui a regroupé les alliés à Casablanca, a connu la participation effective de Sa Majesté Le Roi Mohamed V, du Général de Gaulle, du Général Giraud, du Président américain Eisenhower et du Premier Ministre britannique Churchill.

Après plus d’une année, l’équipe chargée du projet a pu sortir la première proposition d’exposition, sur la base d’informations orales collectées des interviewés de la localité, des références et des sources officielles (livres, documents, manuscrits..) consultées. Vu le succès de la première exposition, nous avons décidé de la présenter, elle aussi, sous forme de panneaux illustratifs bilingue arabe/anglais15.

Conclusion

Nous estimons que l’importance de ce musée ne réside pas dans les objets qui y sont exposés mais dans la richesse des actions qui préservent la mémoire collective de la localité, surtout celle portée par les habitants et transmise oralement. Il participe indirectement à la valorisation du patrimoine national et fait revivre la culture orale locale.

14 - La période de la réalisation de cette exposition a duré environ plus d’une année. Deux équipes d’étudiants et professeurs de notre faculté et de Kennesaw University se réunissaient, en séances hebdomadaires de vision conférence, pour débattre et discuter toutes les modalités de cette exposition.
15 - Les deux expositions citées sont exposées au public dans le musée.
Il s’agit réellement d’une mine d’or pour connaître le passé de la localité de Ben M’Sik et du grand Casablanca, pour comprendre le présent de cette ville et pour mieux anticiper et tracer les traits du futur, conformément au proverbe marocain: “Celui qui ne sait pas d’où il vient, ne peut savoir où il va.”

**Bibliographie :**


Pour la valorisation du patrimoine culturel oral marocain
L’ogre dans le patrimoine culturel marocain: Cas du conte populaire marocain

Nadja Ouachene

Le conte, en tant que composante de la littérature orale, illustre un imaginaire riche et varié. Il représente, entre autres, des images pleines de symboles qui puissent leurs archétypes des textes ancestraux ancrés dans l’imaginaire historique universel. De même, ce genre de littérature orale, nous renseigne, d’une manière simple, claire et intelligible, sur la société dont il fait partie et qu’il tient à perpétuer. Chaque pays possède ses propres variétés de croyances en êtres surnaturels et son propre groupe favori de personnages surnaturels qui, par sa fréquence d’apparition, monopolisent le conte. Si l’on restreint les observations aux contes populaires de notre corpus, nous pouvons distinguer une créature qui est la plus courante dans les récits. Il s’agit essentiellement de l’ogre.

En évoquant les contes, nous pensons immédiatement à l’ogre, figure captivante et fascinante du folklore. Depuis l’aube des temps, les contes de l’ogre ont toujours enchanté le public et meubler les soirées des marocains. Ce personnage imaginaire qu’on retrouve d’une manière systématique dans la majorité des contes populaires issus de différentes cultures est devenu tellement ancré dans notre imaginaire qu’il ne nous venait nullement à l’esprit de douter de son existence.

Ainsi, il parait évident que chacun de nous possède sa propre perception de ce personnage dont l’image renvoie généralement à l’énormité, à la méchanceté, à la force physique brutale, à la laideur, à la peur, à l’étrangeté, etc.

Or, cette image constituée à travers les contes, reçoit diverses interprétations qui varient selon les croyances, les cultures et les traditions de chaque société. C’est pourquoi le personnage de l’ogre conserve souvent un aspect énigmatique et reste toujours flou et peu connu. Nous sommes alors conduits à nous demander qui est réellement ce personnage sur qui nous avons beaucoup entendu, au fil des siècles, et que tout le monde redoute?

1 - Nadja Ouachene, professeur au département de langue et littérature française, faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines, Ben M’sik, Université Hassan II de Casablanca, Maroc.
En vue de trouver des réponses convaincantes à cette question, nous allons essayer de dresser un portrait dans la mesure du possible de ce personnage, tel qu’il est conçu dans les contes populaires marocains. Pour ce faire, il serait important de vérifier dans un premier lieu, les traits physiques qui sont attribués à l’ogre d’une manière récurrente, dans notre corpus ainsi que le lexique exploité par le conteur pour brosser son portrait. Dans un second lieu, nous allons nous intéresser à ses gouts : ses moyens de subsistances, ses manifestations spatio-temporelles et ses habitudes.

1. Aspect physique de l’ogre dans les contes

Le portrait de l’ogre est saisi à partir d’un certain nombre de traits définitoires qu’on retrouve systématiquement dans les contes où intervient ce personnage surnaturel. Ces motifs, sur lesquels le narrateur se base pour forger son portrait, sont décrits dans les différents contes où ils octurent, d’une manière quasiment stéréotypée.

En parcourant les contes du corpus, nous constatons que l’ogre est présenté comme étant un personnage terrifiant et démesurément grand. Cette notion de grandeur et d’énormité est exprimée explicitement par le biais d’un certain nombre d’adjectifs que le conteur attribue, d’une manière récurrente, aux différents traits définitoires de l’ogre et par le truchement de ce qu’on appelle des supports prototypes émanant du consensus et du culturel. Ces supports prototypes sont exploités par le conteur en vue de forger des images exagérées de la notion d’énormité. Ce constat pourrait être confirmé en examinant le répertoire ci-dessous où sont classés les différents adjectifs qui qualifient les parties du corps de l’ogre ainsi que l’ensemble des prototypes dont le conteur fait usage pour amplifier le concept d’énormité :

**Tableau 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits définitoires</th>
<th>Adjectifs</th>
<th>supports prototypes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la taille</td>
<td>žwil « grand »</td>
<td>swari « piliers »</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les jambes</td>
<td>žrid « gros », Qubbat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les mains</td>
<td>mdiri « fourches »</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la tête</td>
<td>kbir « grand », l-žemam « coupole »</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qubbat « coupoles bain maure »</td>
<td>ź-źemer « braise »</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la bouche</td>
<td>kbir « grand », gareq « profond »</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les yeux</td>
<td>hemrin « rouge »</td>
<td>ź-źemer « braise »</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les ongles</td>
<td>žwal « long », mbηwiyyin « fourchus »</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mδyin « acérès »</td>
<td>mnašer « scies »</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les dents</td>
<td>mδyin « acérès », žwal « longs »</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le corps</td>
<td>mzeggeb » velu », qerd « singe »</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mšeeer « poilu »</td>
<td>ĺetrus « bouc »</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ce vocabulaire regroupé dans le tableau supra, apparaît d’une manière claire dans les passages suivants extraits de notre corpus :

**ḍūl ẓ-ẓbel « l’ogre de la montagne »**

« [...] meftul d-derɛin, waseɛ l-keffin, ġliḍ l-ẓumžuma, fumm-u kbir w waseɛ, ġend-u ġênin ġemṛin u meʃquqin f wežh-u b t-ṭul, snan-u maḍyin u ṭwal, dat-u mʃeɛɛrə kif l-ɛetrus, režli-h ki s-swari w idi-h ki l-mdari, ḍfaṛ-u maḍyin, ta ixtɛɛ w ta ifżeɛ, ġend-u waḥed l-quwwwa ma ta iqḍeṛ ġli-ha faris f had z-zman [...] ». 

« [...] Il a des bras musclés, de larges paumes, une grosse tête, une immense bouche, des yeux rouges et fissurés, des dents longues et tranchantes. Son corps est couvert de poils comme celui d’un bouc, ses pieds sont gigantesques comme des piliers, ses mains ressemblent à des fourches, ses ongles sont tranchants. Il est terrifiant et tellement fort que les grands cavaliers se trouvent vaincus [...] ».

**sif l-muluk « Sif El Moulouk »**

« [...]šwiya w huma iḍuru ɛli-hum žamaɛa dyal l-ġilan melli šaf-hum sif l-muluk w l-ebid dyal-u fešlu men l-xelɛa w ma qeṛdu ʃ ṭhərrku : ṭwal w ġerad, dat-hum mʃeɡɡba ki l-qerd, snan-hum ṭwal w maḍyin, idi-hum ki l-mdari w režli-hum ki s-swari, ṭyus-hum ki t-ṭenžiṛ wella qubbat l-ḥemmam, ġini-hum ḥemṛin ki ž-ẓmer w fumm-hum kbir w ɡaʁeq [...] ». 

« [...] Soudain, un groupe d’ogres les entourèrent. Quand Sif El Moulouk et ses esclaves les virent, ils s’immobilisèrent par la peur : ces ogres étaient grands de taille, poilus comme des singes, ils avaient des dents longues et tranchantes, des bras tels des madriers, des pieds comme des poutres, des têtes telles des chaudrons, des yeux rouges comme des cendres et de grandes bouches profondes [...] »

**t-tažer āabd ṛ-ṛeḥman w l-ġul « le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre »**

« [...] bda ta iṭwal w ta ikbær wella mʃeɡɡeb, idi-h wellaw ṭwal w xeržu menn-hum ḍ-ḍfaṛ, ʃaṣ-u wella ġliḍ w kbir, snan-u ʃwalu w wellaw bhal l-mnaʃer, ġini-h ḥemṛin w meʃquqin, fumm-u waseɛ w ɡaɾeq, ʃewt-u wella ġliḍ w mežhed [...] ». 

« [...] il se mit à grandir, son corps s’est couvert de poils et ses mains se sont allongées. Il commençait à avoir des ongles longs qui sortaient de ses mains, sa tête est devenue grosse, ses dents longues et acérées comme des scies, ses yeux rouges et fissurés, sa bouche et profonde et sa voix forte et grave [...] »
ḥemdan w l-ġul « Hamdan et l’ogre »

« [...] xrež waḥed l-ġul ṭwil w ĕrid, raš-u ĕrid w kbir, ēini-h ḥemṛin w mešquqin f raš-u b Ŧ-tul kull-u mzeġġeb, snan-u bḥal l-mnašer, fumm-u waseeq w ĝareq, ēnd-u ḍ-ḍefran ṭwal w melwiyyin, ta iṭleq l-ɛafya men fumm-u w režli-h ṭwal [...]. »

« [...] il surgit un ogre de grande taille, il avait une grosse tête, des yeux rouges et fissurés, un corps couvert de poils, des dents pareilles à une scie, une bouche immense et profonde, des ongles longs et crochus, des pieds longs et il crachait du feu[...] »

D’après le tableau, nous remarquons que le conteur établit une ressemblance entre le motif ržel « jambe » et son comparant swari « piliers », tel est le cas dans les passages extraits des contes sif l-muluk « Sif El Moulouk » et ġul ž-žbel « l’ogre de la montagne » Il emploie spécialement ce nom référentiel pour charrier l’idée de l’énormité qui caractérise les jambes de l’ogre. Car il est éminemment connu que les piliers servent essentiellement à soutenir les masses énormes d’un édifice et ils ont comme traits définitoires [+solide] [+énorme] [+massif] [+stable]. D’ailleurs, en langue, le pilier est considéré comme le représentant type de grandeur, de solidité, de stabilité et de force. On y fait très souvent référence pour dénommer toute personne qui se distingue par les différentes propriétés susmentionnées. De là est alors aisé de saisir le rapport entre les pieds et leur comparant : la propriété qui se dégage de l’entité référentielle « pilier » caractérise le trait définitoire « pied ».

Le conteur se sert également de l’entité mdari « fourche » pour décrire les mains de l’ogre. Ce substantif renvoie nécessairement à cet instrument fréquemment employé en agriculture que le petit Robert définit comme suit :

« Instrument à main, formé d’un long manche muni de deux ou plusieurs dents, qui sert en agriculture ».

Partant de cette définition lexicographique de l’entité « fourche », le narrateur vise à démontrer, par cette construction comparative, l’intensité de la propriété d’énormité qui caractérise nettement le trait morphologique de l’ogre. Nous notons que le narrateur fait usage également des entités référentielles Ŧ-ṭenžir et qubbat l-ḥemmam « le chaudron et la coupole du bain maure » pour désigner la tête de l’ogre :

Le chaudron est généralement utilisé, dans la société marocaine, pour faire cuire une grande quantité de nourriture. Il se caractérise par le trait définitoire [+objet grand]. C’est

pour cela qu’il est pris comme référence pour véhiculer la propriété d’énormité qui définit la tête de l’ogre.

La même propriété est assignée au trait définitoire tête à travers l’entité référentielle qubbat l-ḥemمام « la coupole du bain maure ». Si nous observons d’abord, le nom qubba « coupole » nous constatons qu’il s’agit d’un décor typiquement marocain. Il caractérise essentiellement l’architecture de certains lieux, tels que les mosquées, les mausolées, les bains maures, etc. Ces endroits se distinguent généralement par des voûtes sphériques gigantesques et colossales. C’est pourquoi, le narrateur, pour mettre l’accent sur la propriété de l’immensité qui définit la tête de l’ogre, l’assimile particulièrement à la « coupole du bain maure ».

Nous tenons à souligner que la référence à la culture est saillante : les différentes entités utilisées dans le conte pour décrire l’aspect physique de l’ogre ont toutes une portée symbolique qui reflète les coutumes, les rites et la culture de la société marocaine.

Si nous réexaminons attentivement le tableau supra ainsi que les fragments susmentionnés, nous constaterons que le personnage de l’ogre est non seulement défini par la propriété de l’énormité, comme nous venons d’évoquer, mais il se caractérise également par d’autres propriétés :

Le conteur qualifie les yeux de l’ogre par l’adjectif ḥemrin « rouges ». Cette propriété exprimée par ce prédicat adjectival est intensifiée et exagérée à travers l’emploi de l’entité référentielle ž-žmeṛ «la braise ». Cette dernière se caractérise essentiellement par le trait distinctif [+ rouge]. Ainsi, elle est fréquemment utilisée dans la culture populaire marocaine, au même titre que « le sang », « les poumons », « le feu »...pour désigner tout objet qui se distingue par la couleur rouge.

Le corps de l’ogre est déterminé, dans la majorité des fragments suscités, par de longs poils très fournis. Ce trait est actualisé dans les contes par deux adjectifs synonymes mzeġġba « velu » et mšeeṛa « poilu ». En vue d’insister davantage sur cette propriété qui caractérise le corps de l’ogre, le conteur fait référence à deux entités animales qui sont respectivement, l-ɛetrus  « le bouc » et l-qerd « le singe », tel que le montre les fragments extraits des contes sif l-muluk « Sif El Moulouk » et ġul ž-žbel «l’ogre de la montagne». Ces deux animaux partagent le même trait définitoire, à savoir [+poilu]. C’est pourquoi ils sont employés par le narrateur pour intensifier, exagérer et mettre en valeur la propriété de villosité qui distingue le corps de l’ogre. En effet, en langue, pour désigner toute personne qui a des poils très apparents sur les différentes parties de son corps, on fait automatiquement référence à l’une des entités animalières, à savoir le singe ou le bouc.

Pour décrire les dents de l’ogre, le conteur fait référence à un outil tranchant en l’occurrence mnašer « scies ». Cet objet se spécifie par son côté acéré auquel le conteur
assimile les dents de l’ogre. La même propriété est assignée au motif « ongle » par le biais de l’adjectif madýin « acérés » qui apparaît dans le fragment du conte ġul ž-žbel « l’ogre de la montagne » cité ci-dessus.

En vue de broser l’image de ce personnage surnaturel, le narrateur, comme nous venons de voir, multiplie l’emploi des adjectifs qui servent à qualifier les différentes parties du corps de l’ogre. Il renforce sa description par le maniement de ce que nous avons appelé les « supports prototypes ». Ces supports prototypes sont représentés par des entités qui se réfèrent à des notions émanant d’un consensus et d’un compromis partagés par la communauté linguistique. Le sémantisme des différentes entités que nous avons retenues renvoie à diverses notions qui sont le produit de la culture de la société marocaine. C’est-à-dire au sein de cette société, il n’y a pas de plus grand que les piliers, les fourches, le chaudron ou la coupole du bain maure, de plus rouge que la braise, de plus tranchant que la scie, de plus poilu que le singe ou encore le bouc, etc. Ces entités fonctionnent donc, comme des supports prototypes qui supposent la généralisation du symbolique et du culturel.

En vertu de ce qui précède, nous sommes en mesure de dire que le conte marocain présente le personnage de l’ogre sous l’image d’un être terrible, effrayant, laid, très fort et surtout gigantesque. D’ailleurs, ces attributs sont fréquemment associés à l’ogre dans les contes populaires depuis des temps anciens, ce sont des caractéristiques inhérentes et intrinsèques à ce personnage imaginaire. En effet, dans la culture marocaine, l’ogre est le symbole de la laideur, de la force et de l’énormité. Il est très souvent employé, dans le langage quotidien, pour désigner n’importe quelle personne qui se distingue par les différents traits suscités.

Après avoir essayé d’examiner le portrait physique de l’ogre tel qu’il se présente dans les contes, nous allons nous intéresser maintenant au mode de vie de ce personnage imaginaire. À ce propos, plusieurs questions se posent : de quoi se nourrit l’ogre? Où habite-t-il? Quelles sont ses habitudes et ses préférences. Nous tenterons d’apporter des réponses plausibles à ces questions dans ce qui suit.

2. Le mode de vie de l’ogre dans les contes

2.1. Les moyens de subsistance

Le régime alimentaire de l’ogre est déterminé d’une manière explicite, dans la majorité de nos récits. Pour éclaircir nos propos, considérons les exemples suivants :

---

sif l-muluk « Sif El Moulouk »

« [...] sif l-muluk w ṛebɛin men r-ržal dyal-u kemmlu ť-ṭriq dyal-hum f l-bḥer, ḥetta weqfu f ženb waḥed l-žazira [...] gelsu klaw w rtaḥu, šwiya w huma iḍuru eli-hum žamaa dyal l-ɡilan [...] kettfu-hum w ddaw-hum ṛend s-selṭan dyal-hum, dexlu ṛend-u [...] w huwa igul li-hum : « diru li-hum snadeq w šwiw li-ya menn-hum ši waḥed » [...] »

« [...] Sif El Moulouk et ses hommes descendent et rentrent à cette île et la trouvèrent remplie d’eau et d’arbres, ils mangèrent et se reposèrent. Soudain, un groupe d’ogres les entourèrent [...] Ils les attachèrent et les ramenèrent chez leur sultan, il leur dit : « mettez les dans des coffres et grillez moi l’un d’eux ». [...] »

hayna w l-ɡul « Hayna et l’ogre »

« [...] hezzat eini-ha ban li-ha l-ɡul żay, dxel-l-ɛend-ha w gal-li-ha : «šemmit riḥt šemšem f blad-na ya ɛbad-na weld ɛemm-k kan hna !» [...] »


ɡul ẓ-ẓbel « l’ogre de la montagne »

« [...] ta ifṭeṛ b xṛuf mešwi w gerba xmeṛ w f l-ɛšiyya ta iɛawed yakul ežel mešwi u gerba dyal l-xmeṛ ila šerbat menn-ha l-qbila tesker [...] ». 

« [...] Il prenait, au petit déjeuner, un agneau grillé et une cruche de vin, pour le goûter, il mangeait un boeuf grillé et buvait une cruche de vin si la tribu en buvait, ses individus deviendraient ivres [...] ». 

t-tažer ɛabd ṛ-ṛeḥman w l-ɡul « le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre »

« [...] ġadi idexxel-kum l qefz w ɡadi ibda isti kul nhaṛ s-semin fi kum w išwi-h ɛla l-ɛafya, yaklu w îşreb ɛli-h gerba xmeṛ. had l-žaziśa kanet īamḥa b n-nas w kla-hum kamlin [...] ». 

« [...] Il vous enfermera dans une cage et chaque jour il choisira le plus gras d’entre vous, il le grillera puis le dévorera, après quoi il boira une cruche de vin. Pour preuve cette île était bondée d’hommes et les a tous dévorés [...] ». 

l- ɡul ṣaḥeb l-mɛeṣra « l-ogre le meunier »

« [...] ana ṣaḥeb had l-mɛeṣra ɛṭi-ni ši ḥaža ndir-ha w ila salit-ha qbel men l-fžeṛ nakl-k w neṣreb men demm-k [...] »
«[...] Je suis le propriétaire de ce moulin à huile, tu me donneras un travail à faire et si je le termine avant l’aube, je te dévorerai et boirai de ton sang [...] »

**Mohammed l-qraɛ** « Mohammed le chauve »

«[...] iwa melli leḥgatu l-weqt baš imši l ž-žnan ki l-eada, hez l-eud dyal-u w mša l-nefs l-blaša lli ta igles fi-ha, serreh z-zribiyya dyal-u w sar ta ineqqet ma kanet saea dyal l-weqt, ḥetta smee l-ğuwt lli smee di-k n-nhar, ṭleq īini-h ta iban li-h ġul [...] gal li-h : « ana saken f had š-šežra w nta dima ta ṭseḥheṛ-ni ana w ṭla ṭl w lad-i. [...] nhaṛ teržee l had š-šežra nakl-k w neʃreb men demm-k [...] »

«[...] Quand le moment est venu pour partir au champ comme d’habitude, il prit son luth et partit au même endroit où il s’asseyait, il allongea son tapis et commença à jouer. En moins d’une heure, il entendit le même cri que précédemment. Il leva les yeux et aperçut un ogre [...] il lui dit : « j’habite dans cet arbre et toi tu ne laisse pas dormir mes enfants et moi [...] Le jour où tu reviendras ici je te dévorerai et boirai de ton sang ! [...] »

Si nous examinons les fragments supra, nous constatons que l’ogre apparaît friand de la chair humaine. Cette caractéristique constante de l’ogre est démontrée d’une manière systématique dans notre corpus. L’observation attentive des fragments suscités extraits des contes l-ġul ṣaḥeb l-mɛeṣra « l’ogre le meunier » et **Mohammed le chauve**, nous permet de dire que le narrateur insiste sur le désir excessif de l’ogre à la chair humaine à travers l’expression *nakl-k w neʃreb men demm-k* «je te dévorerai et boirai de ton sang ».

Cet aspect anthropophagique de l’ogre apparaît également dans les passages extraits des contes *sif l-muluk* « Sif El Moulouk » et *t-tažer ɛabd ṛ-ṛeḥman w l-ġul* « le commerçant Abdel rahman et l’ogre » où nous constatons que l’ogre n’hésite pas à profiter de toutes les occasions qui se présentent à lui pour se régaler de la chair humaine : dans le conte *sif l-muluk* « Sif El Moulouk », il s’est emparé des quarante personnes pendant leur escale sur une île, il les a emprisonnées dans des cages pour qu’elles ne puissent pas s’échapper et puis il a commencé à les dévorer l’une après l’autre. Le même cas apparaît dans le conte *t-tažer ɛabd ṛ-ṛeḥman w l-ġul* « Le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre ».

Si l’ogre est présenté, dans la plupart des contes, comme une créature anthropophagique qui se gavait et raffolait de la chair humaine, il est décrit pourtant, dans d’autres récits, mangeant de grande quantité de viande de bœuf et buvant du vin en abondance. Les fragments extraits des contes *ġul ž-žbel* « l’ogre de la montagne » et *t-tažer ɛabd ṛ-ṛeḥman w l-ġul* « Le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre » nous renseignent nettement sur ce régime alimentaire de l’ogre. Le conte insiste essentiellement sur la quantité de nourriture absorbée par ce personnage en une seule journée. Ceci est exprimé à travers l’emploi du substantif *gerba* «outre» dont la charge sémantique renvoie implicitement à la notion de quantité. Cette entité
lexicale est évoquée à plusieurs reprises dans nos contes: ta išreb gerba xmer « il boit une outre de vin ».

Il convient de souligner ici qu’il n’est pas évident de comprendre que le conteur fait allusion à la quantité par le biais du vocable gerba « outre », si nous ignorons la portée significative et symbolique de ce terme. C’est un objet très fréquemment utilisé dans la société traditionnelle marocaine, il est fabriqué en peau de chèvre et on s’en sert essentiellement pour transporter une grande quantité d’eau, d’huile, de petit lait, etc.

En plus de la cruche de vin que l’ogre consomme par jour, il a la capacité de manger également un mouton et un bœuf le matin et le soir.

Ainsi, nous pouvons dire que la gourmandise est l’une des qualités pertinente qui est toujours liée à l’ogre dans les contes populaires marocains et dans différents contes occidentaux. Cette qualité est considérée par la culture marocaine et par d’autres cultures comme symbolique. Très souvent, dans le discours quotidien, on recourt au terme « ogre » pour désigner une personne gourmande.


En ce sens, l’ogre réunit dans son code alimentaire le cuit et le cru. Cette caractéristique lui confère un statut médiateur entre l’humain et l’animal.

Nous avons essayé de démontrer d’une part, dans ce qui précède, les différents moyens de subsistance de l’ogre à travers le conte, d’une autre, nous présenterons, dans ce qui suit, le cadre spatio-temporel relatif à ce personnage.

2. Les manifestations spatiales de l’ogre

L’espace occupé par l’ogre est bien déterminé dans l’ensemble des contes où il figure. Nous avons alors regroupé dans le tableau suivant, les différents endroits habités par l’ogre dans nos contes:
Tableau (2) : Lieux habités par l’ogre dans les contes :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lieux habités par l’ogre</th>
<th>Nombres d’occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>żazira “île”</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>żbel “montagne”</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qṣer “palais”</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaba “forêt”</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēṣra “Moulin à huile”</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šeżra “arbre”</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D’après ce tableau, nous constatons que l’ogre réside, le plus souvent, dans des lieux déserts et complètement isolés des êtres humains.

Observons les exemples ci-dessous :

ġul ž-żbel « l’ogre de la montagne »

« [...] had l-meļeun ta iskun f żazira, f had l-żazira kayn waḥed ž-żbel fuq had ž-żbel kayn qṣer ɛali muqanṭaṛ huwwa fin ɛayeš had l-ġul məa bent-k [...] ». 

« [...] Ce maudit habite une île dans laquelle se trouve une grande montagne noire. Au sommet de celle-ci est bâti un énorme château. C’est dans cet endroit où vit l’ogre avec ta fille [...] ».

ḥemdan w l- ġul « Hamdan et l’ogre»

« [...] melli faq, lqa l-ɛawd dyal-u hṛeb, bqa gunakan f l-ḡaba w ban li-h duxxan f s-sema tbeḍ hada-k d-duxxan ḥetta ṣel l waḥed ž-žbel kbir w ɛali tselleq ž-žbel w ban li-h qṣer ɛali muqanṭaṛ bqa ḥemdan ta ixemmem w ta iduṛ f l-qṣer, waḥed š-šwiyya xrež men had l-qṣer ġul [...] »

« [...] soudain il se réveilla, son cheval s’étant enfuit, il se trouva seul, perdu dans cette immense forêt. Au loin, Hamdan perçu de la fumée. Persuadé de pouvoir trouver âme qui vit, il décida d’aller jusqu’à elle. Celle-ci l’emmema jusqu’au pied d’une immense montagne qu’il gravit. A son sommet, il trouva un gigantesque château d’où sortit un ogre [...] »

l-ġul šaḥeb l-mēṣra « l’ogre le meunier »

« [...] melli ṭaḥ l-lil bqa š-ṣiyyaḍ ta ixdem f l-mēṣra w huwwa ismec ġuwta hezzat l-aṛd u xrež li-h ġul [...] ».
« [...] Quand la nuit fut tombée, le chasseur, qui continua de travailler dans son moulin, entendit subitement un cri secouant la terre et l’ogre apparût [...] ».

**l-ḥeṭṭab w l- ġula « le bûcheron et l’ogre»**

« [...] žbed l-fas w ḍreb ɪ-ḍerba l-luwwwela w š-šežra ṭḥerrkat w tšeqqat ɛla žuž w xeržat menn-ha ġula [...] ».

« [...] Il fit sortir sa pioche et frappa le tronc de l’arbre qui se fendit, aussitôt, pour laisser sortir une ogresse [...] »

**moḥammed l-qṛaɛ « Mohammed le chauve »**

« [...] smeɛ ġuwta [...] ta iban li-h ġul [...] gal li-h : « ana saken f had š-šežra w nta dima ta tsehheṛ-ni ana w wlad-i [...] ».

« [...] il entendit le même cri de l’autre fois. Il leva les yeux et aperçut un ogre [...] il lui dit : « j’habite dans cet arbre et toi tu ne nous laisse pas dormir mes enfants et moi [...] »

En parcourant minutieusement les passages susmentionnés, nous apercevons que l’ogre habite dans des châteaux énormes et gigantesques. Cette propriété est rendue par le biais de deux adjectifs synonymes, à savoir ɛali et muqanṭar « haut » qui sont attribués à l’entité qṣeṛ «château» dans les fragments supra extraits des contes ġul ž-žbel « l’ogre de la montagne » et ḥemdan w l-ġul « Hamdan et l’ogre ». Ces châteaux se situent, dans la plupart du temps, sur une île difficile d’accès, au fond de la forêt ou au creux d’une montagne.

Nous pouvons donc constater que ce personnage surnaturel, à l’instar des êtres humains, habite également dans des châteaux. La seule différence réside dans la taille inhabituelle de ce logement, logiquement proportionnelle à sa taille.

Comme nous l’avons noté dans le tableau supra, l’ogre peut vivre aussi dans d’autres endroits, en l’occurrence dans le tronc d’un arbre ou un moulin à huile, tel est le cas dans les passages extraits des contes l-ḥeṭṭab w l-ġula «le bucheron et l’ogresse» et moḥammed l-qṛaɛ « Mohammed le chauve ».

Dans cette perspective, nous pourrions sans doute nous demander pourquoi le conteur a choisi particulièrement, ces lieux comme habitation de l’ogre ? Ces lieux sont souvent présentés comme des demeures de l’ogre dans les contes, tout simplement parce que ce sont des endroits mystérieux, étranges, peu connus, déserts et loin de toute fréquentation humaine, comme le souligne D’astong : «La forêt est fermée, enracinée, silencieuse, [...] ombreuse, nue et multiple»⁴.

---

⁴ - D’ASTONG, B. (1963), Dictionnaire des symboles, Le mythe de la dame à la lionne, Seuil, Paris, p.21
Le même auteur dit aussi à propos des montagnes :

« [...] les montagnes sont pleines de mystère, incompréhensibles à tout profane ; c’est un monde caché rempli de secrets »

Après avoir passé, en revue, les différents endroits consacrés à ce personnage dans les contes, et après avoir dégagé leurs caractéristiques et leurs significations symboliques, il nous reste à vérifier, à travers notre corpus, ses manifestations temporelles.

2. 3. Les manifestations temporelles de l’ogre.

Considérons les occurrences suivantes :

_guess ž-žbel « l’ogre de la montagne »

« [...] ma kan wšel l-fžer ḥetta nzël eend ṣḥab-u w temmu ḥerbanin. walakin ma dazet saɛa dyal l-weq’t ḥetta seme l-ḡwat w ban li-hum l-ḡul […] ». 

« [...] A l’apparition de l’aube, il descendit chez ses amis et s’échappèrent ensemble. Une heure après, ils entendentirent des cris et ils aperçurent l’ogre [...] ».

t-taẓer ɛabd r-reḥman w l-ḡul « le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre »

« [...] melli tnaṣ l-lil žab li-hum l-ḡul l-lben w gal li-hum šurṣbu-h […] »

« [...] A minuit, il leur apporta du lait fermenté en leur demandant de le boire [...] ».

ḥasan l-itîme w l-ḡul « Hassan l’orphelin et l’ogre »

« [...] melli wšel l-ženb waḥed ž-žbel w wšel l-lil tkellem l-ɛažuz w gal li-h « ana ṭraṇi ḡul w mḥuwwel f sibt baṣaḥ […] bgit-k tmberz li-ya waḥed l-kenz […] ila ma bgiti š gadi nakl-k w nešreb men demm-k » [...] ».

« [...] lorsqu’il arriva au pied d’une montagne et la nuit tomba, le vieil homme dit : je suis un ogre métamorphosé en un être humain [...] je veux que tu me cherche un trésor écrit à ton nom [...] si tu refuse je te dévorerai et boirai de ton sang [...] ».

À la lecture des fragments extraits des contes guess ž-žbel « l’ogre de la montagne » et t-taẓer ɛabd r-reḥman w l-ḡul « Le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre » nous constatons que le conteur nous renseigne sur la période ou le moment de l’apparition de l’ogre par l’évocation des marqueurs de temporalité en l’occurrence l-lil et fžer respectivement « la nuit et l’aube ». De là nous pouvons déduire que l’ogre ne se permet de sortir que dans l’obscurité et les ténèbres de la nuit, alors que pendant la journée, il dissimule son aspect physique en se métamorphosant, dans la plupart des cas, en un être humain.
L’ogre se caractérise, également, par certaines propriétés morales relatives à ses goûts et à ses habitudes :

3. La magie

Puisque nous sommes dans le domaine des contes, la magie occupe une place très importante. Elle se manifeste aussi bien chez les personnages humains que les personnages surnaturels tels que l’ogre.

En effet, comme dans la plupart des contes occidentaux, les ogres, dans les contes populaires marocains, sont considérés comme des magiciens, êtres puissants du monde surnaturel. Ils sont très souvent présentés comme experts en sorcellerie et en magie. La majorité des récits du corpus insistent fortement sur la puissance magique des ogres tels que le montre les passages suivants :

**t-tažer eabd ṛ-ṛeḥman w l-ġul « le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre »**

« [...] ila żab li-kum l-ġul ši ḥaža ma taklu-ha š men hna l-saœa ḡadi izib li-kum l-lben w melli ḡadi tšerbu-h ḡadi temwaw men ħini-kum ḥit ḡadi iʃeř fi-h [...] »

« [...] Si l’ogre vous apporte quelque chose ne la mangez pas, d’ici une heure, il vous apportera du lait fermenté, si vous le buvez, vous serez frappés de cécité [...] »

**l-ġul şaḥeb l-meeṣra « l’ogre le meunier »**

« [...] gal li-h l-ġul : « ana ḡadi neud nemši b l-lil w nextar bent ši ṛažel ġaniy ndiř eli-ha s-siḥer dyali w nēwwež-ha w f š-šbaḥ nřežže-ha kif kanet [...] ». 

« [...] L’ogre lui dit : « Chaque nuit, j’irai chercher la fille d’un homme riche en essayant d’exercer sur elle ma sorcellerie pour la déformer [...] »

**ḥemdan w l-ġul « Hamdan et l’ogre »**

« [...] galet li-h l-ʔamira had l-ġul ṛa-h ta iřeřf s-siḥer, ila bġiti z-zbel ma ibqa š iřze l l-kuri ḡadi temši w thez wahed š-șeṭṭaba w tšeṭṭeb b l-œud dyal-ha [...] ».

«[...] La princesse lui dit : « Cet ogre maitrise bien la sorcellerie, si tu veux te débarrasser des déchets de l’écurie, tu prendras un balais et tu balaieras le sol avec son manche » [...] »

Comme nous pouvons le remarquer, l’ogre use de la magie comme moyen pour atteindre son objectif :

Dans le conte **t-tažer eabd ṛ-ṛeḥman w l-ġul « le commerçant Abdel Rahman et l’ogre»** prévoit d’emprisonner les commerçants et de les dévorer par la suite : son plan consiste à les rendre aveugles grâce à ses pouvoirs maléfiques.
Le narrateur dans le conte *l-ġul ṣaḥeb l-meṣra* « l’ogre le meunier » met l’accent sur la capacité évoluée de l’ogre dans le domaine de la sorcellerie : il est capable d’ensorceler une princesse, de la rendre malade, de la guérir ou de la ressusciter grâce à la magie.

En plus de cette propriété, s’ajoute une autre qui est communément associée à ce personnage imaginaire du conte populaire, à savoir le kidnapping des jeunes filles.

### 4. L’enlèvement des jeunes filles

L’enlèvement des jeunes filles est l’une des caractéristiques qu’on attribue le plus souvent à l’ogre aussi bien dans les contes occidentaux que dans les contes marocains.

Cette propriété apparaît, d’une manière récurrente, dans notre corpus, dont voici quelques exemples à titre d’illustration :

**ġul ż-žbel** « l’ogre de la montagne »

« [...] a mulay bent-k ḥayya ṭurẓaq ḳa-h ṣaɾeq-ha waḥed l-ġul ta itsema b ġul l-żabal [...] ».  

« [...] Mon seigneur, ta fille est encore vivante, mais elle est enlevée par un ogre qui se nomme l’ogre de la montagne [...] »

**moḥammed l-qṛaɛ** « Mohammed le chauve »

« [...] ḥna bnat muluk l-aqalim s-sebɛa w had l-ġul xṭef-na ḥna b sebɛa f l-lila dyal ɛers-na ḡab kull weḥda fi-na l-qṣer [...] ».  

« [...] nous sommes les filles des rois des sept provinces et cet ogre là nous a enlevé durant nos nuits de noces et il a placé chacune de nous dans l’un de ces palais [...] »

**sif l-muluk** « Sif El Moulouk »

« [...] bda ta یدع f l-qṣer, banet li-h bent zwina bezzaf w labsa l-ḥhrir w dayṛa l- İzheř w d-dheb. wqef ᵣli-ha w ḥiya tgul li-h : « ṣkun nta ? w mni žiti ? » ḥka li-ha ᵣla l-qişṣa dyal-u w ḥiya tgul li-h : « ana ṭa-ni xeft ᵣli-k !had l-qṣer dyal waḥed l-ġul xaṭef-ni w sad ᵣli-ya ḥna. had l-ġul seḥḥar w ma teqḍer š ᵣli-h » [...] ».  

« [...] il commença à faire le tour du palais, soudain il vit une très belle fille portant de la soie, mettant des perles de culture et de l’or. Il s’arrêta devant elle, puis elle lui demanda « qui es-tu ? D’où est ce que tu viens ? » Il lui raconta son histoire, puis elle lui dit : « j’ai peur pour toi ! Le propriétaire de ce palais est un ogre qui m’a enlevé et m’a enfermé ici. C’est un sorcier et tu ne pourras pas le vaincre » [...] »
A la lecture de ces exemples, nous remarquons que les ogres enlèvent, très souvent, les jeunes filles et les gardent prisonnières dans des châteaux qu’ils possèdent. Malgré la sensibilité affirmée des ogres à l’odeur du sang humain, les jeunes filles enlevées ne sont jamais dévorées, elles restent pourtant «intactes» durant leur longue vie de captives. Ceci traduit le besoin perpétuel de l’ogre d’avoir une compagnie féminine.

Généralement, les jeunes filles s’ennuient seules dans un monde qui n’est pas le leur. Elles ne retrouvent leur personnalité et leur vitalité qu’une fois en présence des héros qui viennent à leur recherche. Ces derniers entrent en combat avec l’ogre et finissent par libérer les jeunes filles. Il est à signaler, dans le même ordre d’idées, que si l’ogre est considéré comme représentant typique du mal comme nous venons de le voir, il est toutefois lié et associé à la naïveté et à la crédulité.

Comme nous venons de voir, le conteur dans sa description de l’ogre allie entre le réel et l’imaginaire. Il attribue à ce personnage d’une part, des traits non ordinaires qui se manifestent essentiellement dans son aspect physique et son mode de vie : sa monstruosité qui relève de son aspect extérieur terrifiant (griffes, yeux de flamme, etc.), sa force brutale, sa capacité de changer d’apparence à volonté, ses lieux d’habitations qui sont des endroits déserts et isolés du reste du monde et son régime alimentaire qui contient une grande quantité de la chair humaine, de la viande du bœuf et du vin. D’une autre part, au niveau des caractères, nous remarquons que le conteur assigne à l’ogre des propriétés comme la magie et l’enlèvement des jeunes filles.

Cette symbolique liée à l’ogre dans la société marocaine n’est pas fortuite, intuitive ou aléatoire, bien au contraire, elle est surtout le fruit de tout un consensus social et culturel qui diffère d’un pays à l’autre et d’une culture à l’autre.

**Références bibliographiques :**


Trouvailles archéologiques et diversité culturelle: Cas du musée de Rabat

Kawtar Harrar

Le Maroc tient sa richesse historique grâce à sa situation géographique qui le situe entre deux grandes façades maritimes, à savoir l’atlantique et la méditerranée. Autres ces qualifications géographiques, ses fleuves, navigables autrefois (oued Loukkos, oued Sebou, oued Beht etc.) et les chemins sahariens, ont jouaient un rôle prépondérant dans l’histoire des échanges au Maroc. En passant par les différents mouvements humains ramifiés entre les mouvements politiques, culturels, économiques etc. il a, toujours, été un carrefour, un point de départ et un point d’installation.

Depuis les époques préhistoriques, le Maroc était sans conteste un territoire fertile de nombreux événements historiques qui ont donné naissance à un héritage archéologique distingué.

Dans cet article, il s’agit d’apporter une petite contribution, aussi modeste et brève soit-elle, à la notion de la diversité culturelle, sous l’angle des objets archéologique, notamment la collection du musée de l’Histoire et des Civilisations de Rabat.

L’histoire du Musée :

Le bâtiment du musée a été construit à l’époque coloniale au début du 20ème siècle pour abriter le nouveau siège du Service des Antiquités transféré du Volubilis à Rabat en 1930.

En 1931-1932, la création du noyau muséal dans les locaux avoisinants à l’administration (Service des Antiquités), destinés à abriter les trouvailles prévenants des sites Banasa et Thamusida.

1 - Kawtar Harrar, doctorante en Sociologie des mutations sociales et développement (Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Mohammedia, Université Hassan II de Casablanca) et aussi conservatrice adjointe au Musée de l’Histoire et des Civilisations de Rabat (ancien Musée Archéologique)
En 1952, Une salle était, nouvellement, construite pour abriter des collections préhistoriques. Or, elle n’était plus utilisée à ce propos, elle a été dédiée aux bronzes romains. En juillet 1955, le bâtiment a reçu le nom de Musée « Louis CHATELAIN »\(^2\). En 1957 on assiste au transfert des collections de Volubilis vers ce musée.

En 1960, on a changé l’appellation du Musée « Louis CHATELAIN » qui a été nommé « Musée des Antiquités Préislamique».

En 1986, sur demande et volonté de Mme Joudia HASSAR BENSILIMANE\(^3\), l’archéologie islamique a pris place dans mezzanine du musée.

A la fin des années 60 et début des années 70, une nouvelle appellation lui a été accordée, celle du Musée d’Archéologie.

Avec l’avènement de la Fondation Nationale des Musées en 2014, le Maroc a vécu une expérience spéciale : Ces musées publics, gérés, autrefois par le Ministère de la Culture, ont fait l’objet d’une passation à la Fondation Nationale des Musées.

En 2017, le musée a reçu un nouveau nom, celui du Musée de l’Histoire et des Civilisations.

Presque un siècle d’existence, le musée archéologique de Rabat permettait une orientation du regard.

La muséographie actuelle se base sur l’ordre chronologique et thématique. Le parcours de la visite commence par les époques pré et proto historiques, l’époque antique et se termine par l’époque islamique. Un hall central, une mezzanine, deux salles un patio et le jardin sont les espaces que le musée occupe. Ces trois axes (l’époque préhistorique, antique et islamique) sont largement abordés par des trouvailles appartenant à différents sites archéologiques et marocains bien évidemment.

L’exposition tente de regrouper un monde large : éléments de la chasse et de la sédentarisation dans la préhistoire, l’armée, les institutions et la vie religieuse pendant l’ère antiques, les sciences et le monnayage islamique etc. Etant présentée dans le musée, l’exposition a pour but d’être un moyen d’éducation et de vulgarisation. Si les objets sont mobilisés dans une perspective archéologique et historique en tant que témoignes et des traces de vécus, la mise en scène permet de reconstituer la relation inhérente entre les objets. Ce musée témoigne sur l’homme et son histoire. Sa mission de sauvegarde et d’étude, doublée d’un engagement de transmission, fait de lui un noyau de recherche.

\(^2\) - 1883-1950, fondateur du service des antiquités au Maroc
\(^3\) - 1973, conservatrice au musée archéologique de Rabat
1975, chef du service de l’archéologie
En somme, les anciens et les nouveaux travaux de réaménagement entamés dans ce musée ont tous eu en commun la volonté tenace d’enrichir la collection, de diversifier l’offre et répondre aux besoins du large public.

**La collection de bronzes antiques :**


**Musée et diversité culturelle :**

Evoquer la diversité culturelle au sein des musées au Maroc nous renvoie à une mobilisation des différents biens qui témoignent de la coexistence de plusieurs cultures. Ces dernières sont mises en valeur via des institutions et des expositions qui évoquent l’homme et racontent son histoire. Le rapport entre le musée et la diversité culturelle vue par l’institution muséale est prépondérant : De nombreuses installations et expositions temporaires ou permanentes, des publications et des prêts ont contribué à montrer les différentes facettes de la diversité culturelle au Maroc. L’histoire du Maroc, fortement enracinée, se trouve représentée matériellement dans les musées.

Dans le contexte des musées archéologiques la notion de la diversité culturelle est très prépondérante et remarquable. Depuis la préhistoire jusqu’au moyen âge, les trouvailles archéologiques témoignent des séries des échanges, d’influences, d’imitation ou de reproduction.

Au sein de cette institution, il est avant tout question de sauvegarde et de promotion de la fouille à l’exposition, tout ce processus ambitionne à reconstituer l’histoire tangible des lieux et des trouvailles. Il s’agit d’un travail d’affirmation d’un patrimoine in-situ et exhumé.

C’est autour de ces points (échanges, influences, imitation ou reproduction) que nous traitons la notion de la diversité culturelle. Vaisselles en céramique ou en bronze, éléments de décoration et d’ameublement, mosaïques, matériels lithiques, monnaies, matériels de travail, objets de parure, etc. sont des éléments qu’on trouve dans nos musées archéologiques. Provenant des sites archéologiques du royaume, ces trouvailles sont soit d’une fabrication locale ou d’importation suites aux échanges.
Le champ expositionnel archéologique continue à susciter la curiosité des professionnels dans le domaine et à fasciner des visiteurs provenant de différents pays du monde. Ces derniers arrivent à connaître chronologiquement l’histoire du Maroc. Le point fort de musée archéologique réside dans sa démarche d’aborder des points singuliers dans des perspectives inattendus.

Illustrations :

Illustrons cette idée de la diversité culturelle par un objet de parure d’origine d’Égypte. Il s’agit d’un « petit scarabée de jadéite, percé à la base pour servir de pendeloque trouvé à Volubilis⁴ ».

Pendeloque : scarabée  
Provenance : Volubilis  
Inventaire : Vol. 99.4.14.677  
Matière : Pierre jadéite  
© Fondation Nationale des Musées

L’existence des objets d’influences égyptiennes en Maurétanie Tingitane peut être argumentée par les rapports entretenus entre la dynastie lagide d’Égypte et le royaume de la Maurétanie⁵ en Afrique du nord notamment l’alliance de Juba II avec Cléopâtre Séléné (Issue de la dynastie des Lagides, qui avait régné sur l’Égypte de 323 à 30 av. J.-C, fille de la reine d’Égypte Cléopâtre VII et de Marc Antoine) et ayant régné sur le Maurétanie tingitane. Nous soulignons dans le même ordre d’idée que les importations phéniciennes un peu avant cette époque étaient aussi d’une grande importance. Divers étaient les objets et les matières qui ont fait l’objet de commerce et d’échanges entre les phéniciens : « Commerçants dans l’âme, ils ont ainsi tissé un réseau de négoce qui les a poussé sur terre comme sur mer.»⁶

Un autre élément de divinité égyptienne qui concerne le dieu Bès a été trouvé au site archéologique de Thamusida. C’est un dieu nain du foyer. Il est exposé dans la section des bronzes à côté des divinités romaines. Il est connu pour son rôle protecteur des foyers et de leurs habitants et aussi comme dieu de la fertilité, du mariage et de la grossesse.

⁵ - Il s’agit de la civilisation de la Maurétanie ayant existé et évolué pendant l’Antiquité preromaine dans l’Extrême Occident de l’Afrique du nord. Les influences méditerranéennes multiples qui ont fait sa richesse se traduisent dans l’appellation même de la contrée. Le mot grecque Mauros signifiant « obscur » est la traduction du mot punique guireb, qui veut dire le couchant. En tant qu’unité géographique et politique, la Maurétanie est délimitée à l’ouest par l’Océan Atlantique et au nord par la Méditerranée. L’étendue de la Maurétanie vers l’est allait jusqu’au fleuve Ampsaga (l’actuel L’oued-el Kébir en Algérie). La limite sud n’a jamais été définie avec clarté mais l’on considère généralement l’Atlas comme limite méridionale. Les premiers agissements de la civilisation maurétanienne nous sont révélés à travers les textes historiques de l’Antiquité tardive et les témoignages archéologiques attestant des échanges commerciaux que le peuple maure entretenait avec le reste de la Méditerranée…  
Vase en dieu Bès
Provenance : Thamusida
Époque romaine
Matière : Bronze
Inventaire : 99.1.2.1157
© Fondation Nationale des Musées

« Les cultes égyptiens du Dieu Faucon Horus, de Ptah et du grotesque Bès se sont introduits très tôt dans les croyances du monde punique. Divulguée par l’intermédiaire des amulettes en pâte de verre, dont des exemplaires ont été retrouvées au Maroc. La représentation de ces dieux se maintiendra jusqu’à l’époque Romaine, comme en témoigne le Bès en bronze de Thamusida ». 

La religion maure est mal connue. Mais des trouvailles archéologiques attestent des influences orientales et hellénistiques. Des temples, l’un dédié à Hercule (Melqart phénicien), à l’estuaire du fleuve Lixus, et l’autre à Poséidon, au Cap Soloeis (l’actuel Cap Beddouza), sont mentionnés par des historiens anciens. À Volubilis en particulier ont été découverts des sanctuaires à caractère gréco-italique et d’autres à caractère punique. Les tombes maurétaniennes, notamment celles de la région de Tanger et de Lixus (Raqqada), reflètent en revanche une identité locale indéniable en dépit de certaines influences méditerranéennes au niveau du mobilier.

En section d’archéologie islamique (toujours dans le même musée) nous démontrons l’idée de la diversité culturelle par une stèle funéraire d’Abou Yacoub Youssouf qui date de 7 doulqâda 707 Hégire/ 13 mai 1307. C’est une dalle quadrangulaire en marbre remployée d’une base romaine qui date de III-IVe. Elle porte un texte latin dédié au gouverneur de la Bétique (ancienne province romaine de l’Espagne méridionale). Tandis que l’autre face comporte un texte, en cursif, commémoratif au sultan, ornée d’un décor végétal et géométrique.

La stèle est exposée actuellement au musée, dans le patio lapidaire, section stèles funéraires islamiques. Elle compte parmi les rares pièces qui jumellent deux époques et deux langues différentes.

Cette démarche de réemploi des matériaux est très courante durant les anciennes époques notamment pour les matériaux nobles.

7 - El Khatib Boujibar N. Le Maroc et Carthage, dans le Mémorial de Maroc, t. 1, 1999, p. 149.
Stèle funéraire d’Abou Yacoub Youssef
Provenance : Chellah
Inventaire : 89.5.2.4
Matière : Marbre
© Fondation Nationale des Musées

Le texte latin⁸:

L’inscription latine dédie la stèle à un gouverneur de la Bétique (ancienne province romaine de l’Espagne méridionale), A. Caecina Tacitus:

... in nomen et iustitiae sin / gularis Aulo Caecinac
Tacito, cos (vi), / praes (idi) prou (inciae) Baet (icae), / VII
uir (i) epulo (ii) um, pr (actorii) Candidato, / (qui) aeterni.

Le monnayage fatimide, au nombre de quatre dinars, est présent au sein de ce musée. Ils sont exposés et juxtaposés à des dinars kharijite de Bani Midrar de Sijilmassa et à des dirhams Idrissides.


---

Dinar fatimide frappé sous le règne d’Al Moiz Lidin Allah

(963/341H-972/361 H)

Inventaire : 2001.7.62.2321

© Fondation Nationale des Musées

Ce monnayage est très caractéristique. Il se caractérise par un style distinct, notamment par le format des cercles centriques. Les formules frappées sur les monnaies fatimides sont la Shahada, le verset 33 de la Sourate Tawba « هو الذي أرسل رسولًا بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الذين كله وله كرّة المشركون » , dates et lieux de frappe, le nom du souverain ou de calife... Mais les formules distinctifs sont ceux référent au dogme et la doctrine Chiite tels « Ali est le meilleur des élus de Dieu », « Ali, aimé de Dieu »...

En somme, Les objets archéologiques sont des objets de recherche en soi. Or ils sont interrogés sous nombreux angles, à savoir la continuité ethnographique, sociale, religieuse, etc.

La question de la diversité culturelle émerge de plus en plus comme une préoccupation intellectuelle. Le musée constitue un des espaces où l’on peut cerner quelques aspects de cette thématique. L’histoire du Maroc étant riche et enracinée ce qui rend les objets du musée forcément variés. Ils jouissent d’une certaine notoriété, due autant à leur particularité qu’à leur originalité. Le public de ces institutions, en lui-même, représente une entité diversifiée: Les locaux, les étrangers et les émigrés. Chacune de ces entités viennent avec des pré-acquis. Elles posent des questionnements ou des axes de réflexion souvent en relation avec les origines et les influences.

Bibliographie:

• Boukos A. الهيمنة و الاختلاف في تدبير التنوع الثقافي، منشورات المعهد الملكي للثقافة الأمازيغية، 2016.
• Collectif, splendeurs de Volubilis, musée des civilisations de l’Europe et de la Méditerranée, Acte Sud, 2014.
• El Khatib Boujibar N. « Le Maroc et Carthage, dans le Mémorial de Maroc », t. 1, 1999, p.140-149
Trouvailles archéologiques et diversité culturelle: Cas du musée de Rabat


- Jallot L, archéologie et diversité culturelle, dans Archéopage ; archéologie et société, 2008, p.84-91.


La diversité culturelle au sein de l’entreprise au Maroc

Zineb Noui

ENSAM - Université Hassan II de Casablanca

Introduction

Le Maroc est un pays qui se caractérise par la présence d’une variété linguistique, social, anthropologique, local, territorial et régional...Cette variété constitue une diversité culturelle qui fait la force du Maroc. Et pour comprendre le thème de la diversité culturelle, il est important de savoir ce qu’est la culture.

Selon Larousse² la culture est «l’ensemble des phénomènes matériels et idéologiques qui caractérisent un groupe ethnique ou une nation, une civilisation, par opposition à un autre groupe ou à une autre nation».

«Dans un groupe social, ensemble de signes caractéristiques du comportement de quelqu’un (langage, gestes, vêtements, etc.) qui le différencient de quelqu’un appartenant à une autre couche sociale que lui : Culture bourgeoise, ouvrière».

La culture est un style de vie inhérent à une personne ou à une communauté, et un ensemble de mœurs, de valeurs, de croyances, de langues, de cultures assimilés par un groupe de personnes.

La diversité culturelle est une forte représentation des cultures sans similitudes entre différentes personnes, et il serait important de créer un écosystème afin de bâtir plusieurs valeurs au sein d’une même entreprise ou au sein d’une même société.

Donc, la diversité culturelle est un puissant levier autant pour l’entreprise que pour les employés selon les capacités des uns et des autres à en tirer profit.

1 - Zineb Noui, professeur à l’Ecole Nationale des Arts et Métiers-Casablanca, Université Hassan II de Casablanca, Maroc
2 - Dictionnaire Larousse
Nous traitons dans cet article, le phénomène de la diversité culturelle au sein de l’entreprise marocaine. Cette structure est le reflet de la société quant à la multitude d’attitudes et de comportements individuels et collectifs. Nous démontrons quelques caractéristiques de cette diversité surtout ceux qui touchent les aspects linguistiques et comportementaux.


1) Les Langues au sein de l’entreprise marocaine


2) L’entreprise marocaine et la variation linguistique

Etant la langue maternelle de la majorité des marocains, l’arabe marocain est la langue qui a un usage très large dans toutes les régions et par conséquent elle est utilisée dans tous les secteurs d’activités. Bien qu’elle n’ait jamais bénéficié d’un statut clair et précis dans les textes officiels, même dans la dernière constitution, elle reste la langue dominante dans la pratique en entreprise et dans la vie quotidienne.

Cette opportunité d’être présente, largement, dans la vie quotidienne des marocains, l’arabe marocain est présente dans plusieurs espaces, de l’école à la mosquée, des médias à l’entreprise, de la culture à la politique…. A travers le temps, nous constatons que cette langue est devenue très visible, elle a dépassé son statut oral et devenue un moyen d’expression écrite dans la presse, la publicité et les réseaux sociaux.

L’arabe marocain a pris de l’ampleur dans les médias traditionnels, principalement dans les émissions radios privées, à la télévision dans le doublage des films dans des séries turques, mexicaines, asiatiques. Ainsi, les marocains ont découvert les capacités d’expression

3 - Nous sommes en train de travailler sur ce sujet. Des questionnaires sont distribués dans les entreprises (fonctionnaires, responsables et agents de services). Nous prévoyons finir cette étude fin 2020.
4 - Notre étude sera également axée sur la question du genre et du leadership féminin au sein de l’entreprise.
5 - La nouvelle Constitution marocaine, (Juillet 2011), reconnaît l’arabe et l’amazigh en tant que langues officielles de l’Etat (extrait de l’article 5).
de leur langue et commencent à la préférer à l’arabe classique ou à l’égyptien et le syrien qui étaient les plus dominantes dans les médias et surtout à la télévision.

Cette particularité de l’arabe marocain a attiré l’attention des acteurs publicitaires. Ainsi, ils ont exploité cet aspect vivant de cette langue pour l’utiliser comme langue de communication dans les spots publicitaires pour commercialiser tous les types de produits ; pour toutes les catégories de cibles, dans les espaces ruraux et citadins.

D’un autre côté, la langue amazigh a connu elle aussi une dynamique, après avoir été délaissée, écartée, rejetée dans les formes d’usage. Au niveau national, elle est restée un sujet utilisé à des fins d’ordre politique et idéologique. A ce titre, elle est restée limitée dans l’espace amazigh marocain en Atlas, à Sous et au Rif6.

Cette langue est utilisée dans la communication dans ses trois formes principales parlées dans différentes régions du Maroc7 :

- Le tarifit, essentiellement parlé au Nord du Maroc, dans les montagnes du Rif qui longent la côte méditerranéenne.
- Le tamazight, parlé dans les montagnes de l’Atlas central,

L’usage de cette langue, au sein de l’entreprise marocaine, est particulièrement limité aux espaces précités. Cette langue a été décisive pour le recrutement de plusieurs de nos lauréats, même dans des entreprises installées à Casablanca où l’arabe marocain est la langue dominante dans le business.

Vu l’espace large où sont parlées les différentes formes de l’amazigh, les agences de publicité l’ont souvent utilisée dans des spots publicitaires de tous les produits et les services vendus ; dans le domaine de l’agriculture, dans les services bancaires, dans l’agroalimentaire, dans le transport, dans le tourisme national et international surtout pour les voyages organisés et pour le pèlerinage9.

---

6 - Avec la mise en place de l’académie royale de la culture Amazigh, elle a pu se développer et dépasser tous les obstacles et les freins qui étaient un blocage à son rayonnement national.
7 - Voir le cas en suisse dans Grin, François, 1999.
8 - L’amazigh est passé par plusieurs étapes avant d’avoir son statut actuel. Historiquement, plusieurs facteurs ont marqué son identité et son évolution : La nouvelle Constitution marocaine, (Juillet 2011), reconnaît l’arabe et l’amazigh en tant que langues officielles de l’Etat (extrait de l’article 5). Son té : l’environnement politique marginalisant cette langue, le statut socioéconomique de ses locuteurs, la pauvreté et la précarité poussant la population amazighophone à l’exode rural, la dimension culturelle et idéologique discriminant cette langue, le retard dans son insertion dans le système scolaire, l’environnement législatif.
L’entreprise marocaine a repéré cette forte capacité communicative de l’arabe marocain et de l’amazigh. Elle a profité de cette situation pour l’exploiter en tant que moyen de communication avec les différentes cibles/consommateurs, dans :

- La publicité audiovisuelle,
- Les campagnes de sensibilisation,
- Les panneaux publicitaires,
- Le contact direct avec les clients (achat, après ventes)
- Dans les centres d’appel,
- etc

Ces actions sont réalisées dans les zones urbaines et rurales durant toute l’année. Nous avons observé cela dans la publicité de tous les produits sans exception. Nous les avons également trouvé dans les campagnes de sensibilisation lancées par les ministères de la santé, de l’équipement et du transport, de l’éducation nationale, des Habous, de l’agriculture.... Et ce pour la prévention contre les maladies contagieuses, contre les accidents de la route, pour la protection de l’eau potable, pour la prévention contre les inondations, pour l’hygiène pendant le mois du ramadan 10...

3) Les langues étrangères au sein de l’entreprise marocaine 11

Le français, l’anglais et l’espagnole ont un statut particulier dans les entreprises marocaines. Les entrepreneurs ou les gestionnaires sont soit des étrangers soit des marocains qui communiquent en langues étrangères dans leur vie quotidienne. Ces langues sont utilisées dans toutes les formes de communication, suivant le marché local et la cible étrangère.

Dans cette optique, la communication formelle et informelle entre la majorité des entreprises est généralement en français, sauf dans les cas où un des partenaires n’est pas francophone. Dans ce cas, c’est l’anglais qui est utilisée avec des entreprises asiatiques, américaines et avec quelques pays européens comme l’Allemagne, la Hollande et avec les pays de l’Europe de l’Est (Roumanie, Russie, Pologne, République Tchèque...) ainsi que la Turquie. Pour les entreprises du moyen orient (Arabie Saoudite, Qatar, Emirat Arabes Unis, Egypte ...), c’est l’arabe classique et l’anglais qui sont utilisées.

Pour les échanges et le business avec les pays parlant l’espagnol ou le portugais en Amérique latine (Mexique, Brésil, Chili, ...), en Espagne et dans quelques pays africains,

10 - Comme les entreprises, tous les Ministères utilisent ces deux langues pour communiquer avec la population : (Ministère de l’intérieur pour appel des citoyens à l’inscription électorale, au renouvellement de documents (carte nationale, passeport, permis de conduire...), Ministère de l’agriculture, Ministère du transport, Ministère de l’Industrie et de la Logistique, Ministères des Habous et des Affaires Islamiques, Ministère de l’Education Nationale...).
11 - Voir Noui 2010.
c’est l’anglais qui est souvent utilisée et partiellement l’espagnole. Cela concerne les communications écrites et orales dans les correspondances par courrier (fax ou Mail) ou par le téléphone et les visioconférences et les réseaux sociaux.

Il est à signaler qu’au sein de l’entreprise marocaine, nous observons que le français, l’anglais et l’espagnole ont un statut spécifique. Elles sont même très privilégiées dans plusieurs pratiques :

• Elles sont exigées dans les annonces d’offres d’emploi,
• Elles sont un facteur déterminant pour le recrutement,
• Elles sont utilisées dans la promotion professionnelle souvent liée à des séances de formation continue et des stages réalisés au Maroc et à l’étranger,
• La maîtrise des langues étrangères détermine le profil du fonctionnaire ou du manager moderne,
• Au sein de l’entreprise, généralement le français et quelques expressions figées anglaises, sont souvent utilisées, à côté de l’arabe marocain, qui se positionne en second rang.

A titre d’exemple, dans le secteur bancaire, le français est la langue dominante dans la rédaction des chèques et de la majorité des documents qui concernent toutes les opérations (demande de crédit, relevé bancaire, réclamations…)

Dans le domaine médical aussi, le français est la langue de communication (rédaction de certificat médical, analyse médicale, rapports médicaux…). Avec les patients, l’arabe marocain est également utilisé à différent degré, suivant l’emplacement de l’hôpital ou de la clinique et suivant le statut privé ou public de ces institutions.

4) Variété comportementale au sein de l’entreprise

Comme signalé auparavant, l’entreprise est le reflet de la société marocaine dans toutes ses formes régionales, ethnique et linguistique. Les données que nous avons collectées dans notre recherche à ce propos nous ont montré un certain nombre de phénomènes très intéressants à étudier et à analyser. Ils touchent plusieurs aspects de la vie des différentes personnes travaillant au sein de l’entreprise.

13 - Les langues, anglais et espagnol, ne sont pas utilisées dans ce que nous avons recueillis comme informations, par questionnaires ou directement en entretiens directs, des clients de plusieurs banques situées au centre-ville où dans les banlieues de Casablanca.
14 - Cette étude s’intéresse également à d’autres phénomènes (genre et leadership féminin au sein de l’entreprise….). Dans ce cadre, nous avons menées avec des étudiants de l’ENSAM-Casablanca, une étude sur les « femmes aux postes de pouvoir ». Les remarques préliminaires nous montrent que la femme ingénieure est spécifique dans ses comportements au sein de l’entreprise. Cela est dû à sa formation pointue et à son expérience à travers les stages et la mobilité à l’étranger.
Nous avons observé que la vie professionnelle au sein de l’entreprise n’a pas impacté les fonctionnaires pour changer des comportements et des habitudes de l’atmosphère de la famille. Nous présentons, juste à titre d’exemple :

- la gestion du temps qui est influencée par des traditions domestiques loin de la pratique professionnelle.
- La gestion de l’espace souvent touchée par des habitudes souvent pratiquées au sein de la vie familiale.
- Le vestimentaire, également, influencé par des coutumes et des traditions locales ou régionales.

Bien que les horaires du travail soient déterminés par la loi ou par des règlements internes spécifiques à chaque structure, nous avons remarqué que plusieurs fonctionnaires gèrent leur temps, entre l’heure de la rentrée et celle de la sortie du travail, d’une façon influencée par leurs habitudes à la maison ou dans leur village/ville quand il s’agit de fonctionnaires qui travaillent dans des villes autres que leurs villes natales. A ce propos, nous avons observé des habitudes du genre :

- Prendre un break, vers 10h30 du matin et vers 16h de l’après-midi, pour commander un thé ou un café et un croissant ou autre.
- Faire la prière de l’après-midi après l’appel à la prière, même en présence des clients.
- Recevoir des vendeurs ambulants qui vendent différents produits suivant les jours et les saisons.
- Echanger des conversations à haute voix au lieu d’utiliser le téléphone ou l’intranet.
- Préférer des bureaux fermés et exprimer une gêne à travailler dans des bureaux ouverts (open-space) pour les fonctionnaires qui n’ont pas de contact permanent avec les clients.
- Porter des vêtements traditionnels (djellaba, foulard…) les vendredis, jour de la prière collective. Cela concerne les hommes et les femmes, dans les entreprises situées dans le centre ou dans les périphéries des villes.

Pour expliquer la nature et la source de cette diversité, nous avons orienté notre attention au volet social des interviewées, relatif au mode de vie familial, tout en prenant en considération les particularités locales et régionales.

Après des discussions informelles avec plusieurs personnes contactées à ce propos et suite à une réflexion personnelle, nous estimons que ces phénomènes sont le résultat de l’influence de plusieurs facteurs qui touchent :

- L’appartenance sociale du fonctionnaire.
• Le mode de vie (langues pratiquées à la maison arabe marocain, amazigh, français…).
• L’espace natal du fonctionnaire (ville, village, montagne, la compagnie…).
• L’emplacement des entreprises au centre-ville ou dans des quartiers populaires ou périphériques.
• La nature du travail, au bureau ou en contact avec les clients, comme dans le cas des banques.
• Le manque de formation et de formation continue dans le domaine du développement personnel et du team building.
• Le besoin en échange et en mobilité interne et externe pour voir et découvrir d’autres cultures et modes de travail.

Ces phénomènes concernent :
• Les hommes et les femmes sans exception.
• Toutes les catégories professionnelles (fonctionnaire, chef de service, chef de département, chargé de mission…).
• Toutes les générations de fonctionnaire (les anciennes et les nouvelles recrues).

Conclusion :

La diversité culturelle au sein de l’entreprise marocaine est un phénomène très intéressant à étudier et à analyser pour collecter des données qui peuvent être décisives pour contribuer au développement de l’entreprise.

Plusieurs facteurs sont déterminants ; ils sont d’ordre personnel, social, psychologique… Beaucoup de questions qui la concernent trouvent leur réponse dans l’éducation en famille, dans la formation dans les différents niveaux de scolarisation, dans le manque de formation spécifique adaptée au monde de l’entreprise.

Notre étude, encore en cours, nous éclairera et nous fournira des éléments de réponses à plusieurs questions relatives aux comportements et aux attitudes des acteurs de l’entreprise dans les différents stades et niveaux de la hiérarchie administrative.

Bibliographie


Grin, François, Sfredo, Claudio et Vaillancourt, François, 2009, « Langues étrangères dans l’activité professionnelle » (« LEAP »).


https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/culture/21072