

**Migration & Metamorphosis -
On the Power of the Insignificant in a Moroccan city**

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology,
University College London

2010

I, Damon Siegfried Dennis, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on fieldwork undertaken in Ifrane, a migrant city in the Middle Atlas Mountains, Morocco. The community has always faced what Simon Harrison has called a ‘scarcity’ of identity in suffering social, cultural, linguistic and economic dislocation. However, a close analysis of everyday life has afforded new insights into the creation of relational stability and migrant well-being through little understood, seemingly insignificant, phenomena. It uncovers an unrecognised relationship between identity and numerical objectification in a Muslim cosmology and, consequently, challenges and overthrows existing assumptions of heterogeneous religiosity. The numeric utilisation of seemingly insignificant objects by migrants is instrumental in the creation of relational nexuses so important for well-being in their new home. In this city migrants find happiness at the intersection of the self, thing and number: a reshaping of identity. It is achieved through the migrants’ complex interactions with the physical world, and relies on their ability to numerically strategise and organise objects. Numeric operations make relationality possible and allow knowledge to be shared across linguistic and cultural boundaries. In all cases well-being in this new environment is found not in the extraordinary or the idiosyncrasy, but rather through normality. By amplifying and introspecting the connectivities that emerge from acts of calculation in the everyday, this thesis contributes at once to a burgeoning study of ethno-mathematics and to the study of well-being in anthropology, drawing attention to the relational nature of actions and their foregrounding in fragile social worlds.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of many individuals and institutions in Morocco. Most important of all are the migrants who through their kindness and their laughter made this research an unforgettable experience. My research assistants deserve special mention for their dedication and perseverance. In addition I would to thank the staff at University Al Akhawayn for their assistance; John Shoup for his kindness; the Ministry of Education for their helpful advice and the *Walida* of Oujda for their permission and help in undertaking research into their markets.

In England, my thanks and praise go to Susanne Kuchler-Fogden for her unflagging belief in this work, her guidance and inspiration; Martin Holbraad and Mike Rowlands for their challenging insights and unstinting support; and all the staff in the UCL Anthropology Department. As well as Kate Brown and Harry Richardson, who proofread this thesis, I would like also to thank my family who provided loving support along the way.

I gratefully acknowledge the studentship awarded to me by the Economic & Social Science Research Council whose funding made this research possible; as well as the award from the UCL Graduate School to undertake Darija language lessons.

All errors are entirely mine.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	9
1. Introduction	
1.1 Introduction	13
1.2 Methodology	29
1.3 The Setting	32
1.4 Language & Education	46
2. Remaking the family: The relational nature of actions	
2.0 Prologue	66
2.1 Introduction	67
2.2 Part One – The Ramadam Meal	74
2.3 Part Two – The Festival of Sacrifice	95
2.4 Conclusion	108
2.5 Reflections	113
3. Religion in Ifrane	
3.0 Prologue	117

3.1	Introduction	117
3.2	Religious Time	120
3.3	The Abstracted Religious Calendar	122
3.4	Paradise on Earth?	125
3.5	Religious Structuring through Prayer	128
3.6	<i>Salah</i> – The Five Daily Prayers	131
3.7	<i>Tsabih</i>	134
3.8	The Ninety-Nine Names of God	140
3.9	<i>Tsabih</i> as Composition	142
3.10	Reflections	143
4.	Crossing Boundaries: the efficacy of objects in making connections	
4.0	Prologue	150
4.1	Introduction	151
4.2	Part One – Relationship building in the Market	154
4.3	Part Two – Relational Integration through the Insignificant	167
4.4	Reflections	191

5. Gambling & Money	
5.0 Prologue	195
5.1 Introduction	196
5.2 Currency	198
5.3 Games of Chance	203
5.4 Playing Games	205
5.5 Ronda	208
5.6 The Rules	210
5.7 Playing a Game	212
5.8 The Number Line	214
5.9 Storing Numerate Objects in the illiterate world	220
5.10 Reflections	225
6. The Marketplace	
6.0 Prologue	230
6.1 Introduction	230
6.2 The Wholesale Market	234
6.3 The Wholesale Market Fruit & Vegetable Sellers	237

6.4	‘The Path of Boxes’	242
6.5	The Reduction of Randomness – numbers on boxes	244
6.6	Wayfarers on the Path of Boxes	246
6.7	The Porter’s Life	249
6.8	The Market	254
6.9	Displays of Value	258
6.10	The Association of Market Sellers	260
6.11	The Fruit and Vegetable Sellers	265
6.12	Reflections	274
7.	Conclusion	
7.1	Summary	277
7.2	The Contribution to existing Knowledge	279
7.3	New Directions	283
8.	Bibliography	286

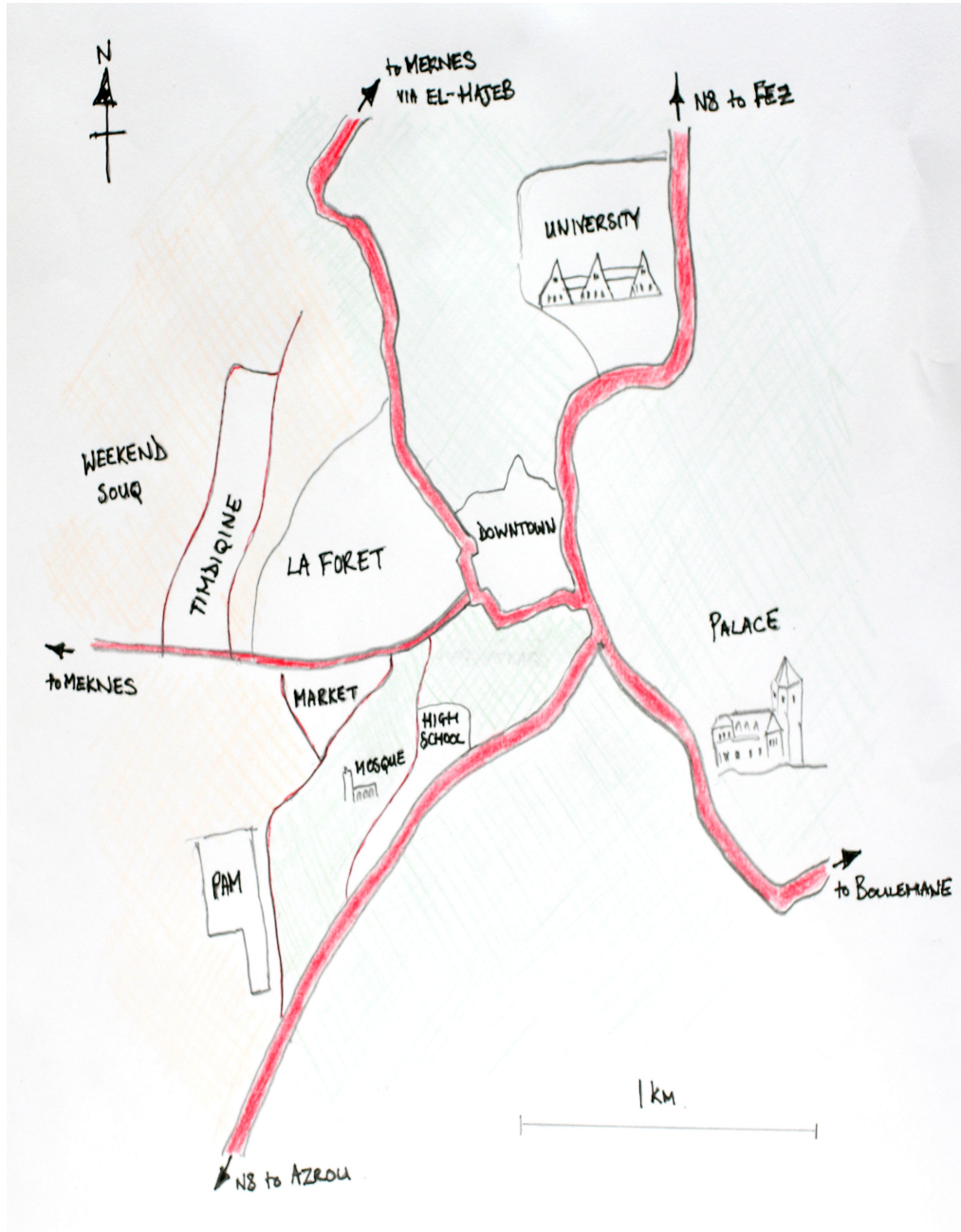
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Map of Morocco
2. Map of Ifrane
3. The Preparation of the Corn
4. Corn laid on carpets to dry
5. Special Bread
6. In Udad's Bakers Shop
7. The *Ramadan* Meal
8. Cookies
9. Breaking the Fast on *Eid l'Sigir*
10. The Room above the Garage
11. The Butcher standing over the Ram
12. Removing the Skin
13. The quantity in Mennad's gift
14. The Ram's head blackening on the fire
15. The Mosque in Timdiqine
16. Mennad Beading
17. A selection from a hashish smokers collection of bottles
18. 'A Little Tree'
19. A multiply penetrated filter
20. The raw ingredients
21. A '*Shashyya*' joint
22. The Prototype Tree
23. 'A Big Tree'
24. Half the 'little tree' suspended from the top of the big tree
25. The Rotating Paper holder
26. The top of the big tree
27. Street Mathematics – The Mathematical Door
28. Table One – A Comparison of Real & Notional Currencies
29. The material Containers of a different conceptual numeric system?
30. *Dharma* boards drawn in grass on the pavement
31. Ronda Cards

32. The materialisation of the number line at the beginning of a game
33. The number line after an 'eating' event
34. Ronda Scoring - A group of six cigarettes and eight filters
35. Basic Ronda scoring notation
36. Two different systems on one page
37. Sunrise
38. Abbad's selling space
39. Fixing a box
40. A box stamp
41. A traditional pair of numbered box stamps
42. A close up of Abbad's selling space
43. Nine plastic boxes balanced on a porter's shoulders
44. The disused municipal market display board
45. A fruit and vegetable seller's price board
46. Fruit & vegetables displayed in the municipal market
47. Boxes on a custom made metal rack
48. The fruit & vegetable market in Oujda
49. Boxes outside the PAM square vegetable shop
50. The weekend souk in Ifrane



1. Map of Morocco – Ifrane lies 17km north of Azrou in the Middle Atlas Mountains



2. Map of Major Routes through and Places within the city of Ifrane

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In the summer of 2000 I had been staying with friends in the sweltering heat of Marrakech with the intent of finding a fieldwork site. They recommended a trip to a place which they described as ‘unusual’ and ‘idyllic’ somewhere in the mountains. I took their advice and it was from the back of a grand taxi as it wove its way up through the cool green forests of the Middle Atlas Mountains that I first set eyes on the city of Ifrane. My initial impression of the undeniable beauty of this tranquil environment was one of joy, not least because it was fifteen degrees cooler. First impressions can be misleading, however, as the inhabitants told tales of fierce storms, of snow deeper than housetops, and of the fragility of life during the long winter months. On closer inspection many other things became apparent which were outside my experience of Morocco. The most striking and obvious was the European architecture but also the remarkably diverse backgrounds of the inhabitants (only a few were actually born in the city) and who confusingly spoke many languages and dialects, often all at once.

It was in this curious place, a migrant community of 12,000 or so, predominantly Amazigh (Berbers), that I chose to settle for a year and a half (2005-2007) and conduct my fieldwork. Initially the ethnography was to focus on the role of writing within a Muslim cosmology where the majority are illiterate. However, it was quickly apparent that communication with families and friends left behind held little significance. Instead what preoccupied people in this sometimes harsh environment was keeping going from day to day. This different dynamic reflects the fact that individuals have to be proactive; they have to develop their own ways of communicating (Harrison 1999) in order to secure their well being. One prominent way of communicating which migrants have developed and which has not yet been adequately researched is through numbers and numeric objects.

Communication is achieved by the distillation of their identities (individual or group) through the materialisation of numbers and quantities and the consequent manipulation of these forms.

In the face of the multilingual and literacy constraints upon communication, day to day encounters often proceed through numbers. Examples include recognising identities on mobile phones by the number rather than the name displayed on the screen and, in the market, wholesalers being identified, not by their names, but instead by the numbers on their boxes. Both are instances of numbers referencing and structuring social relations.

The mathematical patterning of seemingly insignificant everyday objects and processes are essential to the structuring of the migrants' biographical relations. There is both 'intention' and 'invention' in mathematical use (Eglash 1999) and the ethnography provides an insight into the importance of the use of numbers in strategically approaching the future, giving migrants a sense of control in the face of daily uncertainty and deprivation.

This thesis seeks to show how numerical practices are important in creating relationships between migrants from disparate places. The important concern for them is the way in which they create the conditions for achieving happiness and hope. Consequently, the thesis shows how this happens in a variety of contexts such as the home, the marketplace, through the consumption of drugs and alcohol, as well as gambling. These practices have to a certain extent taken the place of Islamic and linguistically based practices as the main catalyst for creating relationships and a sense of well-being.

In this sense the thesis is both a contribution (and antidote) to -

- (a) the existing literature on Islamic societies (which has completely ignored the role of these everyday practices in general, and the role of numeracy in them in particular).

- (b) to the growing field of ethnomathematics, by showing how numerical practices, along with the material practices which make them possible, are an integral part of sociality in general and particularly more specific indigenous concerns with 'happiness' and 'hope'.

Identity

There is nothing more important in a place where there is no common identity than creating new relational bonds. Migrants have to remake their identities to survive. For Durkheim (1997:39) [1893] in 'simple' societies an individual's construction of reality is a product of the 'collective consciousness'. A totality of shared moral and attitudinal beliefs founded in religiosity and transmitted predominantly through a shared language (2008:242) [1912]. This is paralleled in a Moroccan context by Geertz's (1968:97) concept of 'ethos'. Here 'sacred symbols' give form to the world. Conceptions of one's social environment are programmed through 'a set of cultural characteristics that individuals are born into', the most important of which is religion (Geertz 1966:24). In both cases 'identity', whether viewed as a result of a 'collective consciousness' or 'ethos', is the stable product of the society in which one is raised.

Barth's (1969) examination of ethnicity is instrumental in showing that there is no axiomatic relationship between culture and identity. Ethnic boundaries persevere even in situations of interethnic contact and intermingling. In more recent research, Featherstone (1990) too moves away from ideas of cultural homogeneity and integration and instead argues that globalisation is an unbounded process of cultural disintegration. As Lash & Urry (1994) point out we live in 'a world of flows', a bidirectional reflexive system of relationships, where identity is mobile and in constant flux.

Cohen (1969, 1974 see also Rex 1997) opposed Geertz's idea of 'ethos' arguing instead that ethnic identity operates within political contexts (instrumentalism) and is not a primeval survival arrangement (primordialism). These two views stand in stark contrast. In Cohen's approach motivations are intentional and actions rational whereas in

Geertz's scheme motivations have an emotional basis and actions have emotive significance. It was in an attempt to bridge this gap that Bourdieu (1990) [1977] produced the idea of 'habitus'. Identity in this scheme is habitual because it is constructed in our experience of objective constraints during childhood and social structures are reproduced over time by being embedded in social practice.

Following on from Bourdieu's idea of 'distinction' (2007) [1979] more recent studies concentrate on the processes by which groups identify themselves. Here symbolic boundaries are imperative for the construction of identity (Lamont 1992), to reproduce gender (Quadagno & Forbes 1995) and harden status categories (DiMaggio 1982, 1992). The idea that objects can communicate identity has also become important (Appadurai 1986, Harrison 1999) and is shown to be crucial in connecting people and groups during identity change (Strathern 1991, Nippert-Eng 1996, Silver 1996, Trude 2007). Finally, new technologies have also become an important site for the study of identity (Altheide 1995, Alampay 2009).

Here identities are not a stable product of the society in which migrants were born and, therefore, in this thesis I argue against Durkheim's model of 'collective consciousness' and Geertzian 'ethos'. Migrants are of many ethnicities and from diverse educational backgrounds and places, they speak many tongues, and there is no 'axiomatic social bond that must necessarily entail moral cohesion and solidarity', rather, identity is a 'scarce resource' (Harrison 1999:249). It is posited here that although there is a limited truth to the assumption that religiosity forms relational frameworks in the city; here it is the quantities and qualities found in the world of the concrete (as both objects and processes), which allow social identity to be 'self-consciously constructed and expressed' (Harrison 1999:240, Hannerz 1987, 1991, 1992, 1996).

In a place like Ifrane, where many are newcomers, trust is an important factor in building relational frameworks and instituting stability in their lives. Building new identities though is not an easy task, as one can

distinguish between two different types of migrants in Ifrane. On one side there are migrants who have, over the past twenty years or so, established themselves as the dominant group within the city. On the other, there are strangers who are desirous of a part of their dream, their resources and their identity. Here identities are ‘never more than provisional constructions which social actors preserve with effort and difficulty’ (Harrison 1999:240). As we shall see in Chapter Six, for example, this conflict is most obvious when market sellers number their boxes in an attempt to differentiate between identities, but also when the boxes are used as territorial boundary markers. In other instances, for example, in Chapters Two and Four, groups generate identity through the creation and display of substantive memorial objects.

This thesis applies a philistinistic approach to identity (Gell 1998) questioning whether identity is in fact social in nature or whether we need to factor it out in order to understand how it works and what it does. To create an identity in this city, the migrants must manage their relations with the other inhabitants, but this is only possible if they can comprehend what is happening around them and are able to distinguish between different people’s identities. It is proposed here that numbers and gestures (Krout 1939, Wassmann 1994, Knappet 2002) play an important role in these processes (amongst other things) and the thesis seeks to show how this is possible.

Biersack (2001:823) describes the relationship between number and gesture as ‘a sign system whose ultimate referent is informational and communicational’. Migrants ‘link’ with new friends, business partners and acquaintances through an understanding of their own gestures and intentions which are ‘discernible in the conduct of other people’ (Merleau-Ponty 1962:166). It is ‘the relational nature of action’ which creates a ‘shared manifold of intersubjectivity’ (Gallese 2001:34) that allows migrants to understand, be active agents and gain some measure of control over their new social environment. For example, numerical gestures are shown to be particularly important in Chapter Three, where linkages are made through

the postures used in public whilst praying and the actions used by beading. Also in Chapter Five, where numeric gestural acts serve to build relationships whilst playing cards, even in instances of linguistic incomprehension.

On the Insignificant

Many of the migrants in this ethnography are illiterate and for some the potential for misunderstandings is also compounded by being monolingual in a multilingual environment. Yet they have to be able to communicate their needs. This is, in many instances, solved by the use and manipulation of seemingly insignificant objects. Examples include the numeric utilisation of recycled wooden boxes, cigarette butts, bottles and skins in the creation of conceptual objects. The objects discussed in the ethnography are, for the most part, ‘small, seemingly trivial and valueless things’, but a methodological interest in such items from the everyday should not be viewed as ‘comical or trivial’ (Lofgren 1997). Rather their creation, manipulation and recycling should be viewed as an important, if not the most important, site for the creative construction of hope and happiness (Reed 2007). The small and insignificant are often overlooked as anthropologists focus on ‘the spectacular and the symbolic’ but they act as ‘cultural containers’ and ‘symbolic markers’ which are the medium by which we understand the narrative of everyday life (Lofgren 1998).

To understand how people produce and consume these objects to create a feeling of well-being and happiness, one must first acknowledge not only that consumption of objects creates people’s identity (Friedman 1994, Miller 1995) but also creates the identity of things. Recent inquiries into second-hand cultures as an important residual space in practices of consumption are Miller (1987), Gregson & Crewe (1997, 1998) and Gregson et al (2000). These works represent a shift in the argument from the ‘rational and profit-orientated’ model of exchange, expounded in an Amazigh context by Fogg (1940, 1941, 1942) and instead view consumption as ‘a social experience as well as an economic transaction; as exploration as well as exchange’ (1998:41).

The numeric consumption of objects is viewed here as an important practice of self-expression and is most readily seen in Norris' recent work in the second-hand clothing markets of India (2003, 2004). Here the consumption of recycled clothing is a dynamic process and the understanding of this is imperative in comprehending personhood, the creation of value and notions of well-being. Following Küchler (2002) she shows that obliteration of cloth to recycle the precious metal contained within need not necessarily be viewed in a negative sense. Rather it allows for rebirth and self-creation and reveals the 'capacity of material things to absorb and transmit the essence of people and places with which they have come into contact' (Norris 2004:62). This is paralleled in the present thesis where the recycling of objects allows migrants to create relational bonds and express creativity. For example, in Chapter Four, migrants recycle the leftovers from eating and smoking to create models they call 'trees'.

Ethnomathematics

How numerical practices create the conditions for what migrants see as hope and happiness is a central thrust of this thesis. When they arrive, migrants seek to relate to others in this new and alien environment in order to while away the time together, to bond and make use of their freedom. It is argued here that they achieve these conditions through numerical practices and that communication through numbers undercuts and subverts language in many multi-lingual situations. Numbers exist seemingly independent from the sociality of the city and can be used to calculate, navigate and negotiate the hermeneutic experience of living there, quasi from 'a bird's eye view'.

That the cognitive processes embodied in things that manifest number, such as the use of prayer beads and the playing of cards, are an important factor in the creation and maintenance of relationships is often overlooked in studies of 'self-making' (vom Bruck 2005). In reality numbers are fundamental to reciprocal relations. Numeric and mathematical objects as presented here are bearers of social memory and are used to create, as well as to control/manipulate, relationships of hope and happiness as socially active

intermediaries. In effect they act like traps, storing up cognitive connectivity which when tripped can radiate hope and happiness.

The study of ethnomathematics is a young discipline. As Crump pointed out in 1992, the use and understanding of numbers had largely been ignored by anthropology and the study of ethnomathematics ‘treated as no more than marginal, even in cases where numerical factors dominate the day-to-day life of the people being studied’ (1992 vii). In those instances when the subject was not ignored we find that ideas of cultural evolutionism are not only confined to language in the classic sense but are also embedded in ethnographies of mathematics. This is particularly obvious in the work of Levi-Strauss (1966, 1967) and Hallpike (1976, 1979) where indigenous mathematical systems are viewed as underdeveloped and ‘logically primitive’. It is argued here that these views are unfounded and instead, just as Biersack (1982) in her ethnography of Paiela body counting, we examine counting’s communicative capacity. In the Paiela counting system, which is fascinatingly complex and undeniably abstracted, society at large is ordered by the use of dualistic gestural pairings, a system that bears strong cognitive similarities to the present ethnography. It is the connective nature of numbers and quantities and their practical manipulation which allow for self realisation within the social sphere (Urton 1997).

The mathematical and numerical practices described ‘have an organisation surpassing the level of the individual’ (Nunes 1993). It is the use of numerical practices, which support the migrants’ new relational structures. Yet the numerical contextualisation of ideas in the migrant community exists outside and in some instances in opposition to the traditional notions of mathematical education. From the organisation of the home to the organisation of the marketplace numerical and mathematical ideas systematise everyday life to create an artificial self organising community. As Lave (1993) points out, many studies do not generally recognise learning as an ever-present, ongoing activity; a ‘process of participation in communities of practice’. As the migrant seeks to construct an identity in their new mountain-top home they must learn new skills in order to

participate, a fundamentally active engagement in the *practices* of the community (Lave & Wenger 1991). Initially, the migrant learns through ‘peripheral participation’ and when they have successfully acquired the requisite skills (i.e. numerical skills) graduate to ‘full participation’ in the socio-cultural environment, identity acquisition as a constantly evolving relational development.

As this thesis is concerned with the mathematics of the everyday it does not conform to Eurocentric notions of what mathematics is or is not. In most of the instances described the mathematical and numerical understandings people have are not due to school learning simply because in many cases the migrants schooling varies from very little to none at all. Rather they rely on learning in ‘unofficial’ spaces. That there are two spaces in which mathematical learning is achieved has been noted by a number of ethnomathematicians (Ginsburg 1977, Lave 1986, Nunes 1993) but it would be wrong to suggest that the categories of ‘school’ and ‘street’ mathematics are mutually exclusive as many educated migrants also use the mathematics of the street to calculate. Obvious examples are the systems by which both educated and uneducated migrants calculate currency and the manner in which they memorise cards which hold little relation to the mathematics taught in school.

Beyond the ‘Myth of the Pious’ in the Anthropology of Islam

There is a book, written in the 15th century, called *Dalaail u'l Khayraat Wa Shawaariq u'l Anwaar Fee Zikri's Salaat Alan Nabiiyi'l Mukhtaar* (Proofs of Good Deeds and the Brilliant Burst of Sunshine in the Zikr of Blessings on the Chosen Prophet) or, more simply, The Guide to Happiness. This influential book, written by al-Jazuli, a Moroccan Sufi, is a collection of blessings on the Prophet. It begins with two lists; one of the ninety-nine names/attributes of God and the other of the one hundred names of the Prophet, then proceeds with the blessings on the Prophet.

The text is written as sets of rhythmic sequences, which describe such topics as the Prophets miracles and the Day of Judgement. It is a very popular

book even today, particularly amongst Moroccan Sufis. It is common to repeat one or both of the lists whilst using prayer beads. Happiness is possible both through attempts to attain God-consciousness in this world by remembering the names, but also in the life to come in Paradise. On the Day of Judgement those who manage to attain God-consciousness (Qur'an 43:35) will be placed 'upon thrones of happiness' (Qur'an 37:44).

Anthropological enquiry into religion in Morocco is dominated by Geertz's (1966, 1968, 1996) idea of 'ethos', discussed above, where religiosity is the glue that binds society together. Anthropological concern has been concentrated on religion in Amazigh tribal centres and the cult of the Saints (Gellner 1969, Eickelman 1976). Eickelman examines how cults were affected during the Protectorate, as well as, in another Moroccan context, religion as mnemonic textual domination (Eickelman 1992). Gellner (1981) examines religion as a genetic inheritance and suggests that in Islam there is a fluctuation between tribal and urban forms of religiosity, on the one hand ecstatic and on the other scriptural.

In a wider Islamic context, one of the more successful attempts at a more sensitive approach to religion is provided by Abu-Lughod (1987:223) who suggests that more than one 'culturally constituted and sanctioned discourse (is) available to express experiences'. Amongst the Bedouin of Egypt it is based in the ideology of honour and the poetry of love. The role of violence in ritual sacrifice is also a major concern of inquiry (Mauss (1964) [1898]; Girard (1995); Bloch (1992); Harrison (1993); and in a Moroccan context Hammoudi (1993)). Here, terrifying discourses have been uncovered, of murder and martyrdom amongst the Sikh's in India (Mahmood 1996) and, in the same vein, equally harrowing accounts of sacrifice and genocide in Rwanda examining the links between violence and racism (Taylor 1999). Fischer (1980) follows a paradigmatic approach in his discussion of the influence of religious educational institutions such as the madrasa in the Iranian revolution. More wide ranging studies of fundamentalism are found in Fisher et al (1990), Sachedina (1991) and Ahmad (2000).

The classic text in the anthropology of religion, and fundamental to the formation of Anthropology as a whole, is Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912). In this seminal work on religion he suggests that 'religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite, into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them' (Durkheim 1912:62). Religion then is the embodied product of social life and we cannot survive without religious limitations. Another equally influential approach from this period is found in the Weber's (2008) [1904] *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Here, although external forces are important, material reality is structured by individual consciousness and individual agency is possible. A more recent study by Tambiah (1990) suggests that we navigate a middle path between universalism on one hand and relativism on the other.

This thesis puts forward the idea that migrants' conceptions of the world are not necessarily based in religiosity, that more 'naturalistic' conceptions are equally important (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, Barth 1964, Morris 1987), and suggests that we should 'ditch the myth of the pious primitive' (Douglas 1975:81) prevalent in the Moroccan context. In so doing it attempts to resolve the paradox that leads people in a highly religious social context to embrace what appear to be vices. In this work the 'moral orders' of social life are important to an understanding of hope and happiness. But, through the examination of the concrete, a paradox emerges as it is often situations classified as falling outside institutionalised forms of morality (drinking, smoking and gambling) that are fundamental to creating and sustaining hope and happiness.

Hope and Happiness

It is in looking at the everyday practices this ethnography examines, rather than just ideological and discursive practices, that the domain of the more the personal concerns of migrants becomes apparent. Major amongst the concerns expressed by migrants are notions of hope and happiness. Ifrane is a destination for migrants who are endeavouring to improve their

lives and this thesis explores the strategies that migrants put in place to build a new community in adversity.

Migrants achieve hope and happiness through mundane practices in the everyday. For example, in Chapter Two, cooking a family meal based on the recipes 'that Mum used to make' is seen to structure the familial framework and create stability. Another example, in Chapter Four, shows how relational groupings are formed and interact with other groups through the recycling of bottles, cigarette filters and toothpicks.

That material culture is an important site for expressing emotional loss and separation is well theorised (Küchler 1998, Finch and Mason 2000, Drazin & Frohlich 2007, Miller & Parrott 2009) and second hand material cultures as a significant concern for anthropological study has also become established over the past decade (Soiffer & Herrman 1997, Gregson & Crewe 2003). Further, explorations of the material culture and consumptive practice in the home have become increasingly diverse and range in interest from clutter as cosmology (Makovicky 2007) and the social organisation of normality (Shove 2003) to the art of everyday life (Gullestad 1992) and the 'refurbishment of memory' (Miller 2001).

In its widest sense, this study of hope and happiness is an account of the intentionality of consciousness. To Ernst Bloch hope 'permeates everyday consciousness and its articulation in cultural forms, ranging from the fairy tale to the great philosophical and political utopias' (Daniel & Moylan 1997:81). In his 'Principle of Hope' (1986) Ernst Bloch suggests that we as individuals exist in a state of becoming in the world, an unfinished state, 'an element of progressions', which is animated by our complex 'dreams of a better life' (incidentally the book's original title). How migrants preserve the 'prospective perspective', their 'forward-looking orientation' (Miyazaki 2006:11), their hope, is imperative to survival. To find hope Miyazaki concentrates his analytical efforts on the manipulation of ritual language as 'a subject of description' (2006:8). Here hope is not only an object of knowledge but also a 'method of knowing' a 'radical temporal reorientation

of knowledge' (Miyazaki 2006:5). Consequently, he sees hope not 'as a strategic moment in a language game' but as a problem of methodology (2006:9).

In this thesis we move outside the domain of language into the material numeric realm to find how hope and happiness motivate and create relationality. Hage (2003) emphasises how society 'works as a mechanism for the distribution of hope' concentrating his efforts on understanding the correlation between society's 'distributional capacity' and 'the prevalence of either caring or worrying'. Here social structures create 'affective attachment' (2003:3).

This thesis does not treat 'happiness' as an analytical category but rather an ethnographic concern. Migrants go out of their way to pursue activities that are pleasurable and it is for the sake of happiness that they migrate to this city. It is precisely because making a life as a subsistence farmer, 'living from the land', does not satisfy or make them happy that many migrate. Many felt shackled by the suffocating social framework and lack of opportunity in their villages of origin, they were 'unhappy', they 'lacked freedom'. Laidlaw (2002:313) suggests that there was 'no conceptual space' for the idea of freedom in Durkheim's conception of the social because he 'so completely identifies the collective with the good that an independent understanding of ethics appears neither necessary nor possible'. For Laidlaw an anthropology of ethics is impossible without the idea of freedom. Thin (2009:36) rightly believes Laidlaw's position does not go far enough and argues that 'there cannot be an anthropology of ethics or freedom without developing an anthropology of the ultimate goods which we might be free to choose'. Happiness being in his view one of these 'ultimate goods'.

Thin points out that happiness 'in part goes unexamined because normality doesn't in general attract the attention of social science' (Thin 2005:12). Indeed, anthropology has barely scraped the surface of happiness with very few works devoted to well-being (Thin 2005, Izquierdo 2005, Mathews &

Izquierdo et al 2009) and in sociology Veenhoven (2000, 2004). In this thesis hope and happiness are found in the everyday, in the small and the insignificant ways we interact with each other in the material world. From daydreams to ‘doing nothing’, hope and happiness and consequently identity are emotionally founded in ‘the cultural dynamics of the inconspicuous’ (Lofgren 2008).

Beyond Language

To Durkheim culture is fundamentally a sociolinguistic legacy (2008:242) [1912] and, consequently, ideas of individual self-making are impossible as the individual is an artefact of past linguistic interaction. The argument for language as the essence of culture is rightly opposed by amongst others Wiener (1996) and Gell (1996) who believed that it is just one process for gaining access to the social self. Gell, using examples of infants forming social relations prior to becoming ensnared in the ‘meshes of language’, shows that many, just as in Ifrane, due to their social and economic status, never become proficient in ‘advanced discursive forms’. Gell concludes that language is not the instigating factor of culture rather it is ‘a surface crust or shell’ which marks ‘the point where the underlying processes shaping thought, action and behaviour halt and fragment into a cascade of words’ (Gell 1996:163)

If, therefore, the self is a sum of many other types of sensory data, the sum of our experiences of things, then the underlying processes of thought are brought to the foreground in contexts where language is an inefficient medium of communication. Using Bloch (1991), Gell shows that in fact other forms of cognitive input/output, such as music, art and mathematics, utilise different cognitive pathways from those exploited by language. The reason for these processes being different can only be understood in terms of ‘a parallel-processing or network model’ so that ‘language finalises what cognition and sociality have accomplished in advance’ (Gell 1996:164). This research concentrates on one such different cognitive pathway, on mathematical/numerical ideas and the materiality of numbers/quantities and shows how these are formative in the construction of identity in places such

as Ifrane where language is insufficient in providing the texture for emotional attachment and empathy with the place and its people to occur.

Other disciplines concerned with the nature of recursive thought have provided grounds to explore identity formation beyond language. Whorf (1956) is credited with first suggesting that the structure of language influences individuals' cognitive states and more specifically the development of numerical reasoning, a view recently revived by Carey (2004). However, recent research suggests that both cognitive acts of substitution and cognitive acts of counting are implemented by the same neural systems which differ from the neural systems used by language (Piazza et al 2002). Also opposing Whorf's principle of linguistic relativity Gelman & Butterworth (2005:9) persuasively argue that numerical conceptualisation is not derived from language at all. Although language smoothes the progress of numerical concepts it does not endow them with their 'causal underpinning'. An abstract conceptual structure does not have to be based in language. Instead, numerical concepts have 'a neural basis' independent of language (2005:6) but often dependent on the phenomenal world (Saxe 1981, Biersack 1982).

Consequently, this work is an investigation of how relationality and well-being are constituted independent from language. Here I argue that anthropology has exaggerated the role of the language in the creation of well-being. Like Bloch (1991) this thesis does not perceive language as underpinning culture but rather as a just another 'intermediary' (1991:183). Bloch's criticism of the language model is however incomplete as it fails to ask what types of images or actions are relational. Knowledge is not 'language-like' and as Lave (1990) points out 'knowing, thinking and understanding' are produced in practice, in 'situations whose specific characteristics are part of the practice as it unfolds' (1990:19).

Moroccan Ethnography

Set in Morocco, this thesis also contributes to the history of ethnography conducted among its peoples. Its pull for key theoretically

inclined ethnographers began in the 1930s with Westermark's (1930) relativistic study of Moroccan customs and reached its height in the 1970s and 80s in the work of Gellner (1969) and Geertz (1979). These two methodological approaches came to dominate anthropological enquiry in Morocco. On one hand is the view, now largely discredited, propounded by Gellner (1969), Maher (1974), Jamous (1981) and Hart (2000), who believed that the prudent use of the segmentary lineage model (as *ideology* in the case of Jamous) was the essential tool in understanding the structure of relationships in rural Morocco. On the other hand, there are the Interpretivist approaches of Rabinow (1975), Geertz (1979), Rosen (1984), and Eickelman (1985), which are critical of the effectiveness of that model. Here there is a belief that symbolic 'aesthetic' structures of reference override the segmentary system and perception of how Moroccans understand themselves, as active agents, is more relevant.

It is not inconsequential that most of the data collection for the above studies was undertaken in late sixties and the seventies, just after independence and predate the more recent mass migration of rural families to the cities in search of employment. In these new urban communities a single language (i.e. French, Arabic, Darija or some dialect of Tamazight) can not be seen as a unifying social axiom, nor a single historicised cosmology a unifying force. Rather language is an obstacle to be overcome. In this thesis individuals have developed other ways of communicating their needs and desires to institute hope and happiness which often have very little to do with traditional concepts of language and education. We should not be surprised by this. Forty years ago Gellner voiced the belief that 'unless he retains his niche in the village, he [the Berber] is unlikely to transmit his language to subsequent generations' (1969:14). It leads us to re-ask his question 'What is a Berber?' To answer this then a new set methodological tools have to be used to cope with new migratory realities of the Amizigh identity.

1.2 Methodology

The fieldwork was undertaken in Ifrane, a city in the Middle Atlas Mountains, Morocco, over a period of eighteen months between July 2006 and December 2007, specifically in an area of public housing on the southern fringes of the city (known as 'PAM'). The city has a population of around 12,000 inhabitants and the PAM area consists of around four hundred households, representing around a third of the city's static population. Household sizes vary from couples with children to those made up of three generations of one family when as many as a dozen or more can live under one roof. The settlement is arranged on a grid pattern orientated northwest to southeast on the flattest area within the city. In the middle of the grid is a small park area with a police station in the centre, along with a square consisting of a few shops and the hamman. Originally the PAM area included a vegetable souk in the north eastern corner which outgrew its space and has since been redeveloped for apartments.

Most of the housing consists of three storey non-basement semidetached dwellings each backing onto similar dwellings which are arranged in orderly rows and have access to municipal electricity and drainage. Each would have originally consisted of a front yard and a small courtyard to the rear. In recent times, however, many rear courtyards have been enclosed and roofed to serve as an extra room. The average dwelling consists on the ground floor of a garage, the formal front salon, the ablutions, and the kitchen. On the first floor a large room, often used as a secondary salon and a bedroom, with two bedrooms and a toilet each on the mid levels and the second floor.

The majority of families are migrants from the surrounding Middle Atlas Mountain area, but they can come from anywhere in Morocco. Migration to the city, which was only a trickle twenty years ago, has accelerated over the past decade. As described below, the population speak many different languages and dialects. They also come from differing social and economic backgrounds. Much of the first generation to arrive in the city is permanently employed as unskilled labour at the Palace, the University,

hotels or in the market. However, a large proportion of the second generation can find only summer work during the tourist season.

During the study I lived with one of these Amazigh (Berber) families, referred to throughout the text as ‘Mennad’s family’, in a quiet street off the central square. I had met one of the sons some years before and renewed our friendship during the pilot study which took place over three months between May and August 2005. The family consists of the father Mennad in his late seventies, his four sons Udad (38), Z (34), Winaruz (26) and Cicough (19), and daughter Izza (20). In most respects they are representative of most other families who live in this working class district; they all battle with the elements, the lack of employment opportunities and the demands of making ends meet. However, Mennad’s family environment does differ in two important respects firstly, because Mennad is a widower and secondly because he is blind.

I undertook colloquial Arabic (Darija) language lessons in London before leaving for Morocco. Preceding my move to my fieldwork site I also undertook an intensive course of Darija at the Language Institute in Fez during which time I lived with a family in the old medina. Due to the complex nature of language in Ifrane, which is detailed later in this chapter, it became necessary to have a research assistant. I was very fortunate to find a talented linguist, Asheed, who spoke Arabic, Darija, French and English fluently as well as being literate in Arabic, French and English.

Initially, research was concentrated on acts of written communication by illiterate migrants with extended family groups in their villages of origin as well as official communication with the authorities through the use of scribes and their recycled typewriters. However, written/typed communications by informants with the families they left behind held little consequence, rather it was survival in the here and now that held more significance. Accordingly, the methodology evolved to include all communicative acts, both material and verbal, which served to create and stabilise relational bonds.

Enquiry was mainly by participant observation but also included interviews. Living in this community and joining in their everyday activities, from bread making to playing cards, which often earned me admonishments for shoddy workmanship or being too slow, allowed me to experience the doing of things which in most instances turned out to be more important than the saying of things. It also allowed me to meet a large cross section of people. Physical interactions and gestures were focused upon to the same extent as verbal behaviour and resulted in the discovering of unanticipated truths. It was by participation in everyday acts and by paying particular attention to the insignificant and inconsequential that the rhythm of life in this family and the larger community slowly became apparent.

Recorded semi-structured and more informal interviews with many other inhabitants of the city were also carried out. Usually at least one interview per week. Initially these were undertaken within the framework of the family's relational field and then radiating outward to include inhabitants from the wider community. Care was taken to include a good sample of different professions and economic backgrounds. However, it was often difficult to interview women in anything other than public environments and, consequently, answers could be slightly wooden. As a result, even though Izza and her friends were always happy to answer any questions and give a female perspective on a large range of issues, a truly wide-ranging female viewpoint is perhaps lacking.

In a number of cases, where practical, interviewees were re-interviewed with follow-up questions. Attempts were made to translate, transcribe the interviews on the day or at least the same week as they were carried out. A great deal of thanks goes particularly to Asheed, but also Izza, Driss and Saad who, sustained by cigarettes, coffee and a great deal of laughter, laboured and persevered through many nights 'just to be sure' the translations were correct. It is true that often extra help had to be called on (particularly from Asheed's father, who spoke fluently the dialects of Tamazight from the Riff and the Souss) and quite heated exchanges could ensue over the precise

‘meaning’ of this or that. At the end of data collection in excess of 100 interviews had been undertaken and numerous notebooks filled.

It will be noticed that all photographs have been deliberately chosen to disguise the identity of informants. To further maintain confidentiality pseudonyms have also been used for all individuals as well as some businesses. In all instances interviewees were offered recompense for their time.

1.3 The Setting

Land and Administration

The administrative region of Meknes-Tafilalet, one of the sixteen regions that make up Morocco, each governed by a *Wali* (a governor appointed by the king), covers a massive 79,210 square kilometres. Running from the old Imperial city of Meknes in the north over the Middle Atlas Mountains (where Ifrane is located) to the desert and the Algerian border in the south east. This region is itself broken down into six provinces of which Ifrane is the administrative centre (established in 1979) of one. The region has a population in excess of 2 million people. The Province of Ifrane has 127,000 permanent residents and the city itself 12,000 (2004 census). The present town was founded in 1929 by the French as a garden city next to the Tizguit River on land appropriated from the Zaouia Sidi Abdessalam (Old Ifrane) which lies a few kilometres to the north. The colonial town was separated by a small valley from the dwellings of the Moroccan workers (cooks, housemaids and gardeners), an area known as Timdiqine.

The city sits at 1665 metres above sea level in thousands of acres of mixed cedar pine and oak forests which form part of North Africa’s largest intact forest, surrounded by lakes and caves (Ifran is Tamazight and means ‘cave’). Flocks of sheep and goats graze the valleys during the summer months and further down the mountain towards Azrou herds of cattle are kept. Ifrane is the coldest place in Africa with the lowest ever recorded temperature of -

23.9 degrees C or -11 degrees F. With heavy snowfall during the winter months skiing is popular and in the summer the shady forests, clear bubbling streams, lakes and waterfalls draw many from the coastal plains in search of sanctuary from the blazing sun. Consequently, Ifrane is a popular tourist destination for day-trippers and weekenders who hire villas, chalets or apartments for their stay.

The forests around Ifrane are famous for the Barbary macaques (monkeys) who venture near the city at dawn and are a draw for tourists throughout the year. Some troops are quite used to interactions with humans and are fed macadamia nuts by hand. Wild boar and a small number of deer also inhabit the province and are being encouraged to increase in numbers so they can be utilised for game hunting (a deer reserve venture, financed by the Czech government, was opened in Oulmes about fifty kilometres west of Ifrane in 1999).

Seventeen kilometres southwest down the mountain from Ifrane is the far larger Amazigh town of Azrou (population 60,000 2002 census). At 1,200 meters above sea level the town has more clement weather conditions and is surrounded by small farms which supply, in part, meat, fruit and vegetables for the market in Ifrane. It is also the major manufacturing centre in the province for the production of traditional carpets and carvings made of cedar and consequently represents a source of employment opportunities for the people of Ifrane.

Azrou is perceived as a national centre of Amazigh identity, the French regarding it as the capital of the Amazigh nation during the protectorate. At the beginning of the twentieth century Azrou (Azrou is Tamazight and means 'rock') was an unspectacular tribal centre with a population of hundreds. However, during the protectorate it was raised from a rural centre to the capital of its own province (the distinction Ifrane now holds). It is within the history of Ifrane's neighbour that we can most readily ascertain roots of an 'Amazigh culture' and the Amazigh movement as a whole. Lyautey's (the first Resident-General of Morocco ruling from 1912 to 1925)

policy of ruling through Amazigh institutions and discouraging the purchase of land by colons or other Moroccan Arabs was achieved by the recognition in a 1914 decree of tribal land as an inalienable tribal possession. Thus tribes were to be self governing according to their own traditions and practices (Evers et al 2005:187) and allowed the French administration to pacify the mountain tribes by granting them a certain amount of autonomy. Consequently, Azrou was developed as an administrative centre to keep prospectors out and for the thirteen years of Lyautey's administration this was achieved. After Lyautey retired in 1925, however, as Berque (1955:43) so memorably puts it, came 'l'âge d'or pour le courtier et l'avocat' (the golden age for the lawyer and the broker) and the beginning of a French land grab throughout Morocco. By 1953 over two and a half million acres of farmland was under European control (Bidwell 1973:213).

In the Azrou area alone the French authorities had purchased over 2500 acres during this period and by the end of the protectorate held over 8400 acres (Evers et al 2005:189). These lands were purchased as 'lots de colonisation' and sold onto colons (although the colons also bought land independently). By 1928 the land on which the present city of Ifrane lies was appropriated from the Zaouia Sidi Abdessalam by the *Commissaire résident general* Eirik Labonne. Mennad's house sits on the former site of a French colon farm with the original farm house. The buildings can still be observed standing in the area next to the mill.

Before the protectorate the madrasa (the closest being in Fez and Meknes) was the major conduit to bureaucratic power within the Sultanate. It allowed for a symbiotic relationship between Amazigh oral traditions and practices and the Arab text, law and hereditary power (Eickelman 1985:125). The strength of the intellectual elite was reinforced during the colonial period by educational and administrative reforms (Eickelman 1985:137). These policies were subverted by the sharing of official correspondence within the communities. Azrou is home to the Lycee d'Azrou (sometimes known as the College Berbere) a high school which holds an important place in the history of educational reform as the

protectorate's reorganisation of the educational system undermined the place of the madrasa as the most important recruiting ground for bureaucratic employment (Eickelman 1985:161). The College Berbere left out Arabic teaching altogether and instead the curriculum was taught exclusively in French and Tamazight (Wagner 1993:17). After Independence the Lycee's graduates went on to fill some of the highest positions in the government but also the military.

The Settlement

Historically the original Ifrane, the Zaouia Sidi Abdessalam, lay on an ancient trade route through the Middle Atlas Mountains linking Fez to the Sahara. Ten year old Selma, Mennad's granddaughter, describes her impression of Ifrane before the foundation of the town being 'like a big farm with nice grassy spots'. The earliest migrant families to survive in the town from this period are the Nammir and Lahsan Lahri families who arrived in the 1930s. Then Ifrane was known to the Amazigh as Turtiit, the 'garden of the ciads' (a ciad being a local government official), a term still used amongst the locals today. The unusual architecture, remarkable for its steeply pitched roofs, and the large number of rich Moroccan's owning chalets, villas and apartments in the town has earned new Ifrane the nickname of 'Little Switzerland'. These acutely pitched roofs are unique in Morocco and the locals call them 'donkey back' roofs and they allow the snow to slip off rather than build up during the winter.

The town is split in to three parts: the French built town to the north, the area to the north east Timdiqine (the original workers quarter) and the southern part centred around the mosque's park. The northern part of town (known as 'downtown') is home to several hotels and two nightclubs (utilised almost entirely by University students and tourists), expensive restaurants and coffee houses, pharmacies and banks, two small supermarkets, two alcohol shops as well as the original French residential area known as La Foret and the administrative infrastructure for both the town itself as well as the province as a whole. The southern area of town houses the main mosque, market, the towns transportation hub (for buses and grand taxis) as well as

shops, coffee houses, restaurants, cyber cafes, and a hammam. Further, the town has other public amenities which are unusual in a place with such a small population, such as the municipal open air swimming pool and the athletics stadium. The high altitude and a good quality track make Ifrane a popular destination for high altitude training.

Data collection was mainly concentrated on Amazigh households located on the south western limits of the town. Bordered to the east by the large mosque park; the south by the N8 road to Azrou; the north by an area of older settlement including the mill, the abattoir, the old colon farm buildings and cemetery; and to the east by a dried up lake bed that serves as a football pitch for the children where rocks have been gathered up from within the playing area and placed around the edges to form a fairly flat pitch. The PAM (public housing) area lies on the southern fringes of the town, south of the mosque and market, and home to Mennad's family. On this area's eastern border just off the road to Azrou is a small pocket of villas, one of which is home to the family of Sisangh (a good friend of Mennad's three youngest sons).

The PAM settlement was built with international funding during the mid seventies, with the villas coming later. In recent years much of the original workers camp in Timdiqine has been rebuilt and upgraded. It is a reflection of how successful Sisangh's father has been that he could manage to build a villa as usually it is beyond the means of locals to afford. Most are built by rich outsiders as two season holiday homes. Used during the summer months when owners and their families come to Ifrane to escape the oppressive heat of the plains the villas are often rented out during winter months for skiing enthusiasts or stand vacant.

Since the withdrawal of the Protectorate many of the original French chalets in the downtown area are being torn down and replaced with apartment blocks to house tourists. However, a number of these blocks have been built by government organisations as holiday accommodation for their members (army, police etc.). Many villas were either signed over to their guardians or bought outright on independence. Developmentally, the least touched area of

the city is the two lines of sharp angled villas that stand astride the present N8 road running past the town hall. Here the steeply pitched orange roofs rise up each side of a wide tree lined boulevard.

The layout of Ifrane is unusual for a Moroccan city in that it has no old medina area or Jewish district. Until the establishment of Israel, when they left on mass, Morocco was home to a large Jewish population. This population now only numbers in the thousands. Ifrane is sometimes confused with Oufrane in the Anti Atlas which did have a large Jewish community. Such communities lived in segregated walled districts called Mellah which are found in most of the larger towns and cities in the region. These do not exist in Ifrane. However, due to its colonial roots it did have an active Christian community. The derelict church in the centre of town, where many play *pétanque* (boules), and the cemetery on the south western fringes of the city attest to this. However, it would be wrong to think that Christianity is tolerated in Ifrane and the immediate district. In the 1990s the Benedictine monks of the abbey at Toumliline (about 14kms south) were forced to quit the country due to the ambivalence of the local population. Ifrane's Christian cemetery itself has been subject to attack with robbed graves and desecrated tomb stones. Both the cemetery and the church are now in the ownership, and under the protection of, the University.

In most Moroccan cities the differentiation between the sites of French colonial settlement and administration (the new medina) and the original towns or cities (the old medina) are obvious. It was the policy of the occupiers to build their infrastructure completely separate from the indigenous population. Although a separate area for accommodating the servants was planned when Ifrane was established, it was never built. Instead the workers were left to fend for themselves in Timiquine area. The PAM area, on the other hand, is separated from the rest of the city by a strip of apartments which runs the whole length of its eastern border. There is an obvious demarcation between the two poorer areas of the town and the rest.

It is said by many that King Hassan II ordered the strip of apartments built to mask the view of the public housing from the mosque. These apartments, as do most in Ifrane, consist of a hall, a large salon (sometimes a small salon), a kitchen, bathroom, two bedrooms and often a balcony. With idyllic views of the lake, the mosque and its park, the strip of apartments bordering the PAM is a popular place for the university's rich students and tourists to rent. The apartments are surrounded by tall iron railings and the PAM dweller has to navigate around either its northern or southern tip when heading east up to the market or to the high school; a psychological as well as a physical barrier to the rest of the city.

To the east of the PAM area is the far wealthier area of Hay Atlas. There are approximately ninety villas which cover roughly the same area, which show considerable diversity in size, layout and decoration. They show a great deal of individuality in their styles and incorporate Roman, Spanish and ultra-Modern elements, often with colourful exterior tiling. They commonly sit centrally within a garden or paved area and have steeply pitched roofs. Walking the silent winter streets under the brooding sightless windows of the villas of Hay Atlas can be an eerie experience. Many are left empty for long periods by their owners. Then the only residents are the caretakers and their families who live in the back rooms of the garages. The immediate area is marked by its complete lack of amenities such as shops or coffeehouses (though the Shell petrol station just across the N8 road has a restaurant).

Villas, although highly variable in their layout, commonly have a mains gas supply which allows for central heating, a cooker/oven, a number of bathrooms and large open fireplaces. Most are furnished in a highly modern style. It is unlikely that you will find a traditional carpet on the floor. Most carpets and soft furnishings are instead of modern design and manufacture. Furniture too is often individually moveable (such as chairs and sofas) rather than the long benches found in PAM households.

There is a small municipal hospital in Timdiqine, next to the mosque, which runs clinics and deals with minor complaints. Long term and specialist care is provided in the larger hospitals in Azrou and Meknes. There are also a number of pharmacies dotted throughout the city. The most popular two, due to their proximity, are the pharmacy in the north eastern section of the PAM area, near the site of the old fruit and vegetable souk, and the pharmacy on the south western side of the market. Medicine, doctors and hospital fees are expensive, and many cannot afford proper care.

The People & Material Culture

Residents of PAM, as with the city as a whole, are drawn from all over Morocco: from Oujda on the North Eastern border with Algeria to those from the deep south on the border with Mauritania. However, the bulk of the population have roots in the Middle Atlas, especially the villages around Azrou and Khenifra to the south and Boulmane to the east. Diversity is reflected in the wide variety of eye (from hazel to green), skin (from olive to black) and hair (black, brown and auburn) colourations in the general population.

The province is known for the high quality traditional carpets produced both independently and, since 2000, by the Amal Woman's Cooperative at the Azrou Ensemble Artisanal. Other traditional handicrafts include woodworking, mostly from cedar, and small scale metalworking, the results of which are sold to tourists. In Ifrane, although there are shops in the market and the downtown area selling traditional crafts to tourists, there is no demand for these traditional crafts to furnish their own homes.

Homes in PAM are furnished sparingly and the goods on offer at the souk are more in line with the materials found there. Salons have upholstered benches (commonly bright flower designs) around the walls with large oblong matching cushions, handmade tables (often round) at knee height, with framed verses from the Qu'ran hung on white painted walls. Floors are often covered, especially when visitors are expected, with mass produced, chemically coloured carpets. Kitchen paraphernalia, all of which is

available in large quantities in the souk, consist of plastic bowls, stainless steel kettles and cutlery, as well as cheap imported crockery from the Far East. Here easily cleaned white tiled walls reach down to coloured tiles on the floor. Kitchen's often have table top gas rings, served by removable gas bottles, and a small electric oven. Washing machines, although far rarer, are also starting to make an appearance. Large fridges are standard though freezers are rare. Other items common in every house are: at least one good hand axe and chopping block (used both for chopping kindling and for butchering sheep) and a wooden washboard for scrubbing clothes.

The ablutions, usually located on the ground floor, are very simple and consist of a toilet, a square ceramic unit flush to the floor level with a hole in the centre and two raised footprints either side, a tap which reaches to knee height off to the side and a small mirrored wall cabinet. Stored here are also an assortment of plastic bowls and cups of various sizes used to wash both the self (if not attending the hammam), the house or clothes. Again the room is tiled to waist height. Sometimes there might also be second floor shower. What happens upstairs is largely dependent on the size and gender makeup of the family. Parents will have a private bedroom with a double bed. Other women will often share a room and, if the family is large, the men sleep on benches either upstairs or in the salon.

Men's clothing is often of the standard western type: suits, jeans etc. However, the ubiquitous jellaba, a hooded robe, usually in brown or green for everyday wear, and blue and white for best, is easily slipped over the top if going to the market or the mosque. The woollen jellaba is warm during the winter and its hood provides shade from the sun at other times of the year. Women's clothing around the house often consists of jeans (for younger women), skirts and blouses or soft brightly coloured tracksuits. They slip their brightly coloured jellabas on over their home wear when leaving the house. When coupled with a headscarf, the jellaba gives instant respectability when visiting friends or on trips to the market, the mosque or the hammam. Around the house, but less common in public, are the wearing

of the traditional, often yellow baboosh (slippers), the soft warm leather a welcome change from snow soaked boots.

Economic Activity

There are no big companies or factories in Ifrane. The major full time employers within the city are the palace and the university. Both employ domestic staff, maintenance staff and groundsmen with the latter also employing large numbers of academic staff from outside the city and abroad. The rest are employed either in the municipal market, hotels and the other restaurants and coffeehouses around the town or are business owners (such as souk or market sellers). The majority of these workers are unskilled. The World Bank figures for 2004 showed unemployment at the 11% mark with little difference between males and females. However, now unemployment officially stands at 7.7% (CIA 2007), a figure many the town find unbelievable (most estimate the total out of work at between 14% and 20%). The labour force participation figures for women have risen to 25% of the total labour force from 21% in 1980.

Agricultural production in the province is important and is concentrated on the production of barley, wheat, olives, citrus, vegetables, livestock and wine (particularly around Meknes). In the valley below the present city there is a verdant valley with pretty waterfalls, but there is in general small agricultural development in close proximity to the city due to the harsh winters and mountainous terrain. In fact within the old market (site of the permanent meat and vegetable sellers) only the two butchers and the chicken restaurant (and popular takeaway) raise their own livestock, but these farms are located further down the mountain. Many Ifranians, however, own small flocks of sheep and/or goats. The populace of the Zaouia, the town and the Beni Mguild tribesmen graze sheep in the area during the warmer months, mostly selling their produce in Azrou though some come to the weekend souk in Ifrane. The forests surrounding Ifrane are also a major source of wild medicinal plants (thymus, eucalyptus, rosemary, salvia, and absinthe) 25,000 tonnes of which are exported yearly (Kenney 2006:131).

The forests themselves are largely state owned and some areas are managed for logging.

The majority of vegetable producers and sellers make their living by trading at the major weekly souks in the region. Their path follows the two major road routes, the N8 and N13, which radiate out from Azrou. The cycle starts with the two day souk in Ifrane over the weekend. Monday sees a major souk in El Hajeb to the north west, then Azrou itself on Tuesday. Going south from Azrou Wednesday sees a souk in Ain Leuh and then Mrirt and Timahdite on Thursday. There are no souks on a Friday.

The weekly souk held in Azrou on a Tuesday is the highlight of the week and many from Ifrane attend. It is less expensive and it is generally accepted by many Ifranian's that the quality of fruit and vegetables is substantially higher than available at the weekend souk in Ifrane. Also the Azrou market is an outlet for more traditional forms of entertainment such as storytellers and musicians. The town itself has many street sellers and shops offering more fashionable clothing than available in Ifrane, and it is the place that many Ifranians buy sturdy boots and warm clothing for the winter months.

During the week, when there is no souk, the municipal market is the main shopping space for the people of Ifrane. The downtown area, although boasting two small supermarkets stocked with European and American brand names, is outside the budget of the average PAM family. The market is also the main intersection for people travelling to, from and through Ifrane. Ifrane is on the modern N8 road which links two former Imperial capitals of Fez and Marrakech and is also off the N13 which runs from Meknes through Azrou to end in Rissani on the Algerian border. It is possible to meet travellers not only from Morocco, but from all over the world. As well as being the transportation hub for the town, with both buses and grand-taxis coming and going regularly throughout the day, it is also the main entertainment space with coffee houses and restaurants.

There are three major yearly public events in Ifrane: the anniversary of the King's crowning, the summer festival and the *Ramadan* football tournament. The anniversary of the King's crowning and the football tournament are organised solely by the Association of Market Sellers, and the summer festival in conjunction with the municipality. During the first two there is traditional music and dancing and all three events are discussed and looked forward to by the population. Other activities draw people from Ifrane to Azrou, such as the short film festival in July and their summer festival.

Marriage and Bachelorhood

Due to the remoteness of the city from villages of origin, any idea of marriage or descent alliances has little significance. Many second generation Ifranians have never set foot in their families place of origin, nor set eyes on a relative. It is precisely for this reason that many took the chance to escape and settle here in the first place; a new start with new freedoms and opportunities when none existed before. Consequently, even if Gellner's segmentary lineage system did exist in the towns and villages the city dwellers came from, it has not been reproduced here. However, even if the segmentary lineage system is not evident, marriage is still a fundamental institution within Islam; the prophet himself was married to a total of fourteen women. Intentional bachelorhood is frowned upon and marriage encouraged. A man is not whole without a wife, she is seen as 'half of a man's religion' (Ahmad 1988 [1409]).

In 2004 the parliament passed progressive laws designed to address the imbalance in power between men and women in marriage and divorce. The new Moudawana (the Moroccan Family Code) raised the minimum age of marriage to eighteen and makes it impossible for men to have more than one wife at a time. Further, it allows women the right to divorce their husbands, as well as custodial rights to children after divorce. Although the changes to the law caused a great deal of political and social comment, mostly on the grounds of the new code being contrary to Islamic law, the changes met with the approval of many in Ifrane. The minimum age of marriage, though, has been subject to more recent controversy when prominent Moroccan Salafist

Sheikh Mohamed Ben Abderrahman Al Maghraoui issued a fatwa (an edict) last year to declare that girls could be married from the age of nine. In discounting the Moudawana, Al Maghraoui cited the case of the prophet's marriage to nine year old Aisha,

The average marriage age has certainly risen in the last two generations. The majority over the age of forty were married in their teens but now, although there is still an expectation that women as well as men will marry and arranged marriages are still common, in most instances, marriage is not foisted upon unwilling young girls. More leeway is given for women, where economically viable, to finish school or university and to have a large say in the choice of their husband. In many instances discreet limited, usually chaperoned, dating is also permitted.

Religion and Politics

The mosque is, of course, the most important centre for worship but is also the place to socialise. It is also one of most intensely observed, highly regulated and keenly contested spaces in Morocco. The government is especially interested in the activities of the banned Islamic Justice and Charity Organisation (JOC), whose hard line fundamentalist stance runs counter to many of the progressive laws now being passed (i.e. recent laws giving equal rights to women for divorce, subsequent control of children and initiatives to allow women to teach in the mosques) and strikes at the heart of the Kings right to rule. The king, as the 'Commander of the Faithful', promotes a moderate Islam against non-indigenous Islamic doctrine. Unsurprisingly, the JOC is not recognised by the government, given that it actively opposes the spiritual authority of the king and promotes fundamentalist teachings running counter to the moderate sanctioned Islam taught in the mosques.

Consequently, the mosque is a highly charged political space, constantly under the gaze of, and manipulated by, the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments. In the most extreme cases mosques are closed for teaching any versions of Islam which conflict with the state approved doctrine. For

example, in August 2006 the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments permanently closed seventeen mosques throughout Morocco for 'administrative' reasons and frequently closed many mosques immediately after prayers to stop any political gatherings (US Department of State 2007). The ministry also stringently controls the planning and building of mosques. Further, in scene reminiscent of 1984, over the past two years 38,000 satellite televisions have been installed in mosques throughout the country to receive ministry produced re-education programmes.

Historically, the national Amazigh vote has backed the liberal People's Movement party (MP). This is more to do with the fact that the MP champions the plight of rural Moroccans in general, rather than touting a specifically Amazigh agenda. Voter apathy was obvious in the 2007 elections, with a turnout of only 37%, and expresses 'a profound social discontent among the Moroccan population but also dissatisfaction with the political regime and the political parties that support it' (Dubois 2007). Most in Ifrane believe the elections to be rigged and after all 'the King chooses who he wants, then tells them what to do, so why bother?' The MP made big gains in the parliamentary elections, winning 14 extra seats to take their total to 41 seats of the 325 available. They are now the third largest party in Morocco after the conservative monarchist Istiqlal Independence Party (PI) and the Islamic democratic Justice & Development Party (PJD).

These results are mirrored in the Meknes-Tafilalet Region as a whole, where the PI and PJD both gained four seats in parliament and the MP three seats. However, the Province of Ifrane bucked these national and regional trends voting instead for the left wing (former communist) Party of Progress & Socialism (PPS) and the left of centre Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) to fill the two parliamentary seats on offer. Although the USFP have lost twelve seats nationally, both they and the PPS are included in the present Abbas El Fassi led coalition government. The MP declined the opportunity to join the government.

Many in the city believed that the MP had failed to force any real change, and they garnered only 4.9% of Ifrane's provincial vote. This lack of a strong politicised Amazigh voice led to the founding of the Democratic Amazigh Moroccan Party (PDAM) in 2005. In 2007 its conference in Marrakech was broken up by the army and security forces. By 2008 the PDAM was forbidden to register as a recognised political party (and still is at the time of writing) by the Interior Ministry on the grounds that parties based on faith, ethnicity or languages are prohibited under law. The PDAM is unique in one respect, its goal of building constructive relationships with both the West and Israel, the latter leading to universal condemnation from all other parties (especially the PI). The PDAM is unusual in other respects too; it is an overtly secularist party that believes in the severance of Islam from the political sphere; it renounces all foreign influences including Islamist and pan-Arabist doctrine and its primary aim is the protection and promotion of the Tamazight culture, specifically its language.

1.4 Language and Education

Three Examples of Language Management:

(i) Hamid's Story

Mennad's son Winaruz's best friend is Hamid, who works as a waiter at the *milwi* shop in the market. Hamid and his family live a few houses down the road and he and Winaruz grew up together. His parents were born in the village of Kabab, near Khnifra, in the southern middle atlas mountains. His father too was a soldier, and he and his growing family moved steadily north as a result of his postings. From Khnifra to Ain Leuh, the family settled in Ifrane in 1981, at which point they had seven children with another five born after their arrival. They still visit their family in Kabab every year during *Ramadan*. Tamazight and Darija speakers, the oldest three of his six sisters are illiterate, the younger three being either at primary or high school. Of his four elder brothers, one has a degree, two finished high school earning their baccalaureate and his youngest brother is in college. The brothers all

speak Tamazight, Darija and are literate in classical Arabic, the eldest also speaking and writing French fluently.

Hamid, now thirty, did not finish high school, leaving at thirteen. He speaks Tamazight, Darija, reads and writes classical Arabic (although he finds this difficult) and has a small knowledge of spoken French. He left school because he didn't feel he was learning anything useful. He describes his situation thus:

Look at my brother. He has a degree in Geology and now he is just working in the milwi. Two days ago they broadcast a documentary on Al Jazeera about unemployed graduates protesting outside parliament and they showed the military beating the protestors. When you watch you see that the soldiers are less educated than the people they are beating. Isn't it a shame! What can you do with studies? You find people of 40 years old with degrees and unemployed. How do you think they and their families are going to live? And someone who quit high school is more successful than them.

The shop is run by his eldest brother, with his mother and sisters making the milwi. He works in the family milwi shop because he could not find work in the Palace, University or the municipality. His father supplements the family income with a small flock of sheep, which they sell in Azrou. In common with many families in Ifrane, Tamazight is the language of the home, most have seen it written, including Hamid, but do not comprehend it, believing the alphabet is very hard to understand. Within the market and with other Amazigh they often speak and negotiate in Tamazight, as well as in Darija. Numbers are, however, usually expressed in Darija.

His social world is split between the family's home in PAM and the market where he works, meets his friends for a coffee and plays cards. The work day begins at five in the morning in the winter and four thirty in the summer, when Hamid opens the shop and sets out the eight tables and thirty chairs. Then he has milwi for breakfast. The base mixture for Milwi is coarse flour (as well as in this case another flour with a secret recipe) water and salt. This base is then adulterated with other ingredients such as Khlii, cheese and onion, cheese and eggs, agrich, cheese and kachir, and harsha. The ingredients are not bought from the market or the souk, but ordered from wholesalers who deliver by truck once a week.

The shop closes between eleven in the morning and four in the afternoon. In the summer months this is an opportunity to go swimming or play football on the mosque pitch. In the winter it is a chance to play cards or read the football results. The shop is then opened until nine in the evening when they clean up, put the furniture away and go home. During his work day he is immersed in taking orders, dealing with payments, serving and cleaning tables. He is faced with all types of people and languages; the day we spoke he had served people from Spain, Algeria (a Kabyle who spoke another dialect of Tamazight), England, France and many Moroccans. He also signs for deliveries or post if his brother is not around. The highlight of the week, however, is his trip to the Tuesday souk in Azrou. Here he buys vegetables (which are sometimes as little as half the price of those sold in the market) and other goods for the family. The weekend souk in Ifrane has lost a lot of popularity since it moved from just beside the PAM to the Timdiqine, and which now requires a taxi to bring back goods. Whilst in Azrou he also catches up with a couple of his school friends who have since moved there to work.

This short recounting of Hamid's daily life shows how important language management is to life in Ifrane. Bearing in mind that even though Hamid left school early he has developed higher levels of language comprehension than many (particularly women) in the town who speak only Tamazight and Darija, but even he finds his linguistic aerobics confusing at times. Switching between Tamazight, Darija, Arabic and French, which are presented in different accents and with different proficiencies, can be bewildering. His job is further confused by not only expressing payment amounts in Dirham but also in Riyals, Francs and Euros. Along with these usually mental computations he also writes lists of orders and totals.

(ii) Anamar's Story

This is in stark contrast to Anamar, best friend of Mennad's daughter Izza, whose restaurant, serving tagines and kebabs (in the summer), is just around the corner from the milwi shop. Anamar started work at the age of ten and is now twenty five. After working in a kitchen for many years, she

started running the restaurant in the market. She is married to the owner and has two young children. She speaks only Darija and the Tarifit dialect of Tamazight from where she was raised in a small village near the Amazigh city of Chef Chouen in the Riff Mountains to the north. She never attended school as there were none near her village and her whole family, parents, brothers and sisters, are illiterate. Consequently, Anamar is limited in everyday conversation to Darija, although she does understand the middle atlas Tamazight.

She does, however, face an uphill struggle everyday with the management of her restaurant. She cannot write down clients' orders or read the bills so, if her husband is not there, the waiter has to write and read things for her. Consequently, many try to cheat her. Anamar gives credit to customers she trusts, each having a page in the small copy book she keeps for this purpose. The credit is noted again either by her husband or by the waiter, but in many instances by the customer themselves. Debts are meant to be paid monthly but many do not or cannot pay her. Anamar herself has such arrangements in place with the butcher, the vegetable seller and the baker, though she gets the vast majority of her ingredients from the Tuesday market in Azrou.

'I count well, it's my hand which is the problem'. It turns out that she has in fact received some informal tuition (once a week for a couple of months) from a friend in the writing of numbers and letters. Amamar was kitted out with a copybook, pens and reading books, and visited her friend once a week. She began learning to write her letters; "*Alif*", "*Ba*", "*Ta*" etc. but gave up, due to pressure of work and the raising of her young daughter. She wants to study again because she is 'shamed' when her daughter asks her for help with her studies and she cannot assist her, and still has her copybooks which she stores in her wardrobe. Fathers often take a forensic interest in their son's education. This includes the checking of homework before it is submitted, the setting of extra work and, in one instance, the production of a weekly written report on his progress (in the form of a letter) by a son for his father. Anamar admits to being afraid of words and numbers. She is scared

when she signs a paper and has no clue what is written on it. This is especially true of blank bank cheques;

I freak out every time I give someone a cheque. I need to wait until I receive the history of the month from the bank and ask Mohammed to compare the amount that has been withdrawn with the bill amount or the amount I was supposed to give to that person.

Anamar's husband refuses to teach her mathematics or to read even though he is proficient in both. This is no doubt due to the fact that he would lose all control over her and, more importantly perhaps, the money she generates through her restaurant. She in turn is dependent on her husband to act as a barrier against the unwanted attentions of her male customers. Anamar understands the form of the bank check and demonstrated that she knew where date, numbers, words and signature are filled in. She has a signature, which is a close imitation of her husband's mark, but when asked to write her name wrote it backwards.

Another place she comes into contact with storing numbers is her mobile telephone, a very fancy affair, sleek and black, with a camera, blue tooth and email capabilities. She uses it for her business (for takeaway orders, reservations, and suppliers) and to receive personal calls. Her interaction with her phone is completely passive. She neither enters numbers nor names into her phone nor does she (personally) access the names and numbers which are contained within it. Her main reason for purchasing the phone was to regain control over events when she is not at the restaurant.

The numbers and names 'get into' her phone due to people entering them on her behalf. Though, as she points out, it is fairly useless as when someone calls she cannot read the name screen anyway. In fact she admits to recognising only one person on screen when they call. This is her friend Fatima's name which is only recognisable to her from the first letter. Otherwise, if she wishes to make a call Anamar has to ask somebody to lookup the number for her in the menu or enter it manually. It is not unknown for her to ask complete strangers in the street to access names and

numbers for her. She also added, with a wry smile, that she even gained a couple of customers, who eventually became friends, through this process. The phone, therefore, makes connections in a manner probably not envisioned by its designers.

(iii) Sisangh's Story

Where and how people gain, store and manipulate information of the world is crucial to this work. In terms of how language is materialised in the everyday life through writing, we find as much diversity as has been discussed in relation to aural usage. For example, Sisangh tells me that he never reads in Arabic, even though his high school education was undertaken in classical Arabic. Rather he reads in French. In fact his use of French was reinforced within the family whilst he was growing up. Even in small ways, such as a note left by his mother asking him to do this or that, is always in French and he responds in like fashion. He believes that classical Arabic is unwieldy and it is hard to write a well written letter. Sisangh gives an example of such an incident:

My Mum always leaves me notes like; 'It's 5.30, I'm just leaving for the shell station. (She is friends with owners of the restaurant there.) Your dinner is on the cooker. Call me when you get here'. She makes the note into a little pyramid on the table so I can't miss it. If she can make a little pyramid she does but if she can't then..... We have a table in the hallway that you can't miss when you get to my house. She will leave it under the money because she knows that I know that I'm expecting her to leave money. She'll give me the money with the note underneath it, all kinds of things so I don't miss it'.

Even at work, the most common form of communication in white collar business is Darija or French, and written communication is in French. In fact, Sisangh admits to never reading much, even the newspaper is merely a source of football results, but he does get information from Yahoo when he checks his email. Given the slow loading speeds in the internet café he has to wait while the page loads and this period of approximately 20 or 30 seconds he takes the opportunity to scan the headlines. He professes never to read on into the article but has other ways of increasing his knowledge of

the world. His friend at work often sends him articles and links to web pages that are either comic or deal with current events. Sisangh is representative of many literate Moroccans who do not see the written word as being particularly useful in their daily lives.

Further, Sisangh admits that he thinks in French; 'I think in French. That's crazy! What scares me most sometimes is that I'll be saying to myself, inside my brain; 'ok I should call Saad..... I should call the woman to clean the house..... Shit!' Not Darija 'tfoo' (I forgot) in my brain. So it's not funny. I don't mind thinking in French but it doesn't help when I am speaking to people in Darija'. He finds it particularly difficult when he gets emotional or is really serious about what he is saying and can't find the word he is looking for 'it just pops up into my head in French'. As a consequence Sisangh feels somehow linguistically disconnected both within the family space and in public life.

The Social Structure of Language

The most oft told story of the Zaouia's origins starts when a tribe of Amazigh were travelling along the trade route towards the Sahara and were lost in a blizzard. The headman told the people 'when the female mule stops we will camp'. When they stopped they found many caves in which to live and settled. After time they began to rely less on their sheep and more on agriculture. They still rear livestock (cows and sheep which they sell in Azrou) and produce good quality vegetables, the excess they sell at the weekend souk in Ifrane. They are, however, viewed by many of the town locals as being uncivilised and backward. As Mennad's son Udad, an Amazigh himself of course, points out 'They still live in a primitive way, they are a primitive community'. One justification of his judgment of their primitive nature is their language which is not standardised and barely ever written; 'there are other tribes nearby and even accents and speech might be different. The pronunciation of words in Tamazight will be different. In the Atlas we don't have a single dialect of Tamazight, you still find differences between them'. His thirty five year old cousin Ziri, when visiting during *Ramadan*, also agreed; 'there is a lot of difference. Even if we are Amazigh

and there is only 100kms between us, we find it difficult to understand each other. You only understand really if you were born there. I understand Tamazight from the area where my parents were born. The other types of Tamazight I have a lot of problems with. I was born near Marrakech and I only spoke it with my parents and my brother and sisters and on holidays to my grandparents. It is a long way between Marrakech and Ifrane'. Interestingly, Udad also links a difference in language use to a different levels of intellectual sophistication, concluding that the Amazigh 'have taken many different forks' in their development.

A discussion of language is complex one in the Moroccan context. In much of anthropological literature, language is privileged as the only device by which knowledge is managed and communicated. However, this position is untenable in situations where language is fluid and not shared either in an intergenerational manner, nor between male and female siblings within the home.

Take, for example Sisangh's family, whose origins are in Azrou; both sets of grandparents are bilingual Tamazight and Colloquial Arabic (Darija) speakers, with some knowledge of practical Classical Arabic (recognising and writing/signing their names and some generic form filling words/phrases i.e. name, address, date of birth etc.). In the home they speak predominantly Tamazight. Their children, the schoolmaster and his wife, a nurse, are both literate in French, classical Arabic and can speak Colloquial Arabic (Darija) and Tamazight fluently. The schoolmaster also knows the basics of written and spoken English and Spanish. In the home they speak predominantly French. Of their children, their oldest daughter, a schoolteacher, is literate in French, classical Arabic and can speak Colloquial Arabic and Tamazight Berber fluently. Her sister, the youngest daughter, a translator now married and living in France, has the same, but with English as well. However, their son is only literate in French and classical Arabic (although he admits this is poor), and speaks colloquial Arabic.

In the case of the family I lived with things were different. In Mennad's family, originally from a small village 60kms south of Marrakech, both sets of grandparents were illiterate farmers (now long dead, and who never visited Ifrane) spoke Tashelhiyt (the Tamazight of the Souss) and some colloquial Arabic. Their son Mennad, a former soldier, and their daughter-in-law (who passed away ten years ago) the same, but were fluent in colloquial Arabic. Of their five children, the two eldest sons are literate in French and classical Arabic and speak colloquial Arabic, the next son fluent in English and French and speaks colloquial Arabic, and their youngest son speaks colloquial Arabic only (again recognising and able to write his name and other form filling words/phrases but in French). Their daughter, the youngest sibling, however, is fluent in French and classical Arabic and speaks both colloquial Arabic and Tamazight.

This amazing tri-, bi-, quad-linguistic proficiency takes in two dialects of Tamazight, colloquial and classical Arabic, French, English and Spanish! However, in terms of everyday usage, there is an obvious generational/gender split, the oldest generation, speak/spoke Tamazight at home and colloquial Arabic in the market and other situations outside the home or village. This bilingualism was passed down to their children and, in the case of the Sisangh's family, augmented with classical Arabic and French. In both families, however, the ability to speak Tamazight was not passed down the male line but only to the female line in the current generation. It is, therefore, interesting to think that if language is culture as some might suggest, then the Amazigh 'culture' is in effect, in the youngest generation, passed only through the female line in these two families. This is confirmed by Sadiqi (2002) where she believes Arabic indexes maleness and Tamazight femaleness.

That the Tamazight language has been eradicated from the male line and replaced with Darija as the dominant spoken language and French as the dominant written language, even supplanting classical Arabic in the present male generation in both families, cannot be explained only by recent government initiated educational policies. Education for both families

means the opportunity to gain social distinction and economic autonomy. However, only in the case of the Sisangh's family has this also culminated in economic advancement.

Tamazight

Tamazight is one of seven Afro-Asiatic languages (Greenburg 1963) widely spoken across North Africa. In Morocco, Tamazight is broken down into three main dialects: Tarifit (spoken in the Riff), Tashelhiyt (spoken in the Souss), and Central Atlas Tamazight (spoken in central Morocco). Of these Central Atlas Tamazight and Tashelhiyt are the most widely found having 3 million speakers each with Tarifit accounting for a further 1.5 million (Gordon 2005). Thus the population of Tamazight speakers in Morocco is around 30% of the total. Of course this percentage is considerably higher in the poorer areas of the Atlas Mountains and the Souss. Tamazight is often used as a rallying point by the Amazigh Movement.

The Amazighs are strongly attached to their linguistic heritage, more so than to a material one (whatever this latter may be). This is because they are Amazigh thanks to their language, not to their race. They are completely aware of the fact that whoever among them exposes his language to loss is doing the same to his Amazigh existence.

Fourth Request, The Amazigh Manifesto, 2000

The Amazigh Manifesto was written in 2000 as a series of nine requests to the King of Morocco, by Mohammed Chafic on behalf of the Amazigh Movement. The chief amongst these requests were demands to amend the law to allow the teaching of the Tamazight (which was outlawed upon independence in 1956) from preschool to university level. King Mohammed VI passed a *dahir* on October 21st 2001 creating the *Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe* (IRCAM) to preserve the Amazigh culture and language. Theoretically the previous king, Hassan II, had already granted this right in a *dahir* of 1994 but met strong resistance from the pro-Arab establishment.

To many these reforms, which now allow the teaching Tamazight in primary schools, and then only to facilitate the acquisition of Classical Arabic, are

seen as a trick to 'steal' their language and identity. As recently as 2008 ten Amazigh activists were jailed for demonstrating for further government acknowledgment of the Tamazight language.

Given the King's reversal of the prohibition on the teaching of Tamazight in schools, many in Ifrane wonder at the ban on the use of Amazigh first names on birth certificates. This is a particularly sensitive issue as non-indigenous Arab names from the Middle East are allowed. According to government official Idris Bajdi, Amazigh names 'contradict the Moroccan identity' which will result in 'the spread of meaningless names'. Governmentally then 'Moroccan identity' is a pan-Arab cultural ideal and the birth certificate and its derivative, the ubiquitous identity card, no place for empty Amazigh names (Shadid 2009).

Unsurprisingly, the Manifesto resists the idea of the Muslim identity as an exclusively Arab condition. Chafic's argument revolves around Qur'anic Surah Ar-Rûm 22 which reads 'And among his signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variations in your colours. In that are signs for those who know' (Fourth Request Amazigh Manifesto 2000). Muslim knowledge, and consequently identity, is achievable through multiple languages and consequently allows those who speak other tongues to have available to them a Muslim self. Even for Arabs themselves, Imam Ali recommended learning languages to improve intellect and 'the ability to apprehend human characters' as 'each language represents a human being!' (Fourth Request Amazigh Manifesto 2000). Chafic shows therefore that the process of Arabisation rejects large proportions of the Islamic world from a Muslim identity.

Chafic does not suggest however that classical Arabic has no use value to the Amazigh. On the contrary, he goes on to list various Amazigh historical figures who valued the Arabic language. Ziri, Mennad's nephew who lives in Casa, is literate in classical Arabic and attended the mosque school from the age of three where he spent all day copying the Qur'an over and over. He believes that the introduction of writing by the Arabs helped the

Amazigh a great deal and that ‘they are welcome in Morocco because they have given this gift to us. The Amazigh have preserved the Islamic way because they have learnt to read and write’.

Further Chafic sees Arabic as the connective tissue that strengthens the ties between the Maghreb and the Middle East as well as its importance in obtaining a deeper understanding of the Qur’an and its ancillary texts. Indeed it is pointed out that Tamazight was the language spoken by Moroccan sultans, and was used to explain the Qur’an and associated *Hadiths*. This manifesto is not therefore in any way precluding the use of classical Arabic, but rather championing the notion of a multi-linguistic state, a situation which, until the end of the protectorate, had held sway since the first Arab conquests. Even so Tamazight is presented as having ‘linguistic potentials’ and ‘hidden capacities’ which is quite capable of being the language not only of culture, but also of science.

Darija – Moroccan Colloquial Arabic

The identity politics which surround the use and significance of classical Arabic and Tamazight are further complicated by the widespread use of a third distinct language, Darija. Darija is a dialect of Arabic that has developed in the centuries since the Arab conquest and has its own distinctive grammatical structure and vocabulary. In relation to standard classical Arabic there are ‘rather large differences’ (Wagner 1993). To the extent that an Arabic speaker from another country would have little idea of what was being said if spoken to in Darija. Many different types of colloquial Arabic are spoken throughout the Muslim world where ‘the degree of resemblance and mutual intelligibility among varieties decrease with distance’ (Wagner 1993:20). However, due in part to the wide variety of places of origin, and in part to gender, in Ifrane even the use of Darija communicative medium can be met with a scratching of the head and an expression of incomprehension.

Darija (Moroccan colloquial Arabic) is the most widely spoken public language in Ifrane and for most intents and purposes it is the language of the

souk/market, closely followed by Tamazight. As an only recently lexicated oral language (and then in the classical script) its present form is a hybrid of classical Arabic, Tamazight and French with a smattering of Spanish and English. It is a language in continuous flux and as it changes new verbs and nouns come into use whilst other words and phrases are superseded. As well as regional variations, there also exists a pre-protectorate 'classical' form sometimes used in popular traditional musical poetry most famously by Nass el Ghiwane in the 1970s as a form of political resistance. This tradition has interestingly been extended recently in the modern form to hip-hop lyrics, fashionable amongst youth of the town with groups such as H-Kayne, MC4 and Zanka Flow being popular.

In Mennad's family Darija, French (often switching between the two mid sentence) and Tamazight are the language of the home. However, this use can be deliberately used to exclude or include other members. For example, the two eldest sons who find it easier to discuss topics in French often do so at the expense of their youngest brother who does not. This can be very subtle and switches can be made mid sentence from Darija to French. Also Mennad and his daughter often talk in Tamazight, which none of the other siblings can understand. It is interesting to note that even in Darija there are differences in gender in the vocabulary and syntax used. For example, in Sisangh's family he does not speak the same colloquial as his mother or his sisters (who are only five and seven years older). In daily oral interaction they use a different vocabulary and quite different ways of expressing themselves (Sadiqi 2002). This can cause problems in communication. The discrepancy can be explained by differences in education, but also by the very different social spaces in which males and females move in the course of their daily lives. Traditionally modesty has largely excluded females from social spaces outside the home and they are still encouraged not to socialise in public places such as the coffee houses. Men on the other hand are able to travel widely as well as meet a large variety of travellers passing through the town especially in the coffee houses. Consequently, men are more likely to learn new vocabulary and expressions. The meaning of words and phrases are subject to negotiation creating a stockpile of new

vocabulary and phrases which are remembered for use at an opportune moment.

Darija, for all its commonality of use, is seen as a poor relation to classical Arabic. The Islamist Justice and Development Party (PJD) predictably frowns upon any attempt toward the standardisation of a written version for use as a national language (as it is not the language of the Qur'an). However, just as for Tamazight, over the past few years, radio shows, television programmes and movies in Darija have started to become more common and are extremely popular. Further, there are a number of newspapers written in Darija, however, one is required to be essentially literate in classical Arabic to be able to read them.

With so many commonly spoken languages (Tamazight, Arabic, Darija and French) misunderstandings, confusion and incomprehension occur often, not only in public but also inside the home. For new migrants entering this environment, often from monolingual Tamazight speaking homes, this is doubly true and new communicative strategies must be developed to create and maintain relational connections.

Literacy

World Bank figures show a significant rise in literacy between 1990 and 2004 with male literacy rates rising from 52.7% to 65.7% and female literacy rates rising from 24.9% to 39.6% (World Bank 2007). In the most recent figures quoted by the government the base illiteracy rate stands at 39%. However, on closer inspection there are substantial differences between those living in urban areas and those living in the countryside. In urban areas 39.5% of women and 19% of men are classified illiterate. In rural areas 74.5% of women and 46% of men are deemed illiterate (US Department of State 2007).

Historically literacy programmes were male orientated and focused on economic development (Malt 2007:62). Initial attempts within Ifrane to organise literacy classes for women were disastrous including one informal series, organised by the mosque, to which no one came (2007:69). More

recent initiatives by the Museum of the Middle Atlas in Azrou purports to follow Agnaou's (2004:19) call for literacy programmes 'as a means to change social values in society and as a promoter of gender equality'. Here the museum is envisaged not only an exhibition space but also as a market place for women's wares (particularly carpets) and a place for education (el Hassani, H 2002:9). In 2002 the World Bank loan of US\$4.1million was approved for the implementation of adult literacy programmes making 8% of total World Bank loans to Morocco. However, only US\$600,000 had been disbursed in 2005 (World Bank 2005).

Education and Employment

Education is a big industry in Ifrane, with a number of public educational institutions including pre-school kindergartens, four elementary schools, two middle schools, and two high schools. On the private front there are three elementary schools, an American high school and the private University.

The Moroccan high school educational system is split between those (usually private schools) teaching the French baccalaureate and those teaching the Arabic baccalaureate (the state system). Mr Tamandat was headmaster of the Arabic high school to the east of the mosque in the 1990's having been headmaster of the prestigious Lycee d'Azrou for some time before. During his tenure in Ifrane the high schools numbers grew from 1600 to 1800. He sees the development of the educational sector as important, not least because of what the teachers/lecturers themselves bring to the life of the town. This social impact is both economic (i.e. spending money on renting/buying an apartment or at the coffee shops and the souk) but also social in that teachers have roles outside the school walls educating their neighbours about hygiene and culture. The different perspectives they bring to conversations in the coffee houses are always a source of interest and treated with respect.

One of the main problems Mr Tamandat had at the school was in rolling back years of social/institutional neglect in the education of girls. Apart

from the normal problems in getting any child to attend school in this area, such as the remoteness of villages in the Ifrane catchment area, crowded families and poverty, there is resistance amongst families in sending female children to schools. This is particularly evident in conservative families, who are less concerned with education when it means travel over long distances or, more importantly, placing their daughters in mixed gender environments. One unique aspect of educating children in Ifrane is the weather. Children walk up to six kilometres to get to school in the mornings. However, the weather during the winter is often so extreme as to make getting to school impossible. Once at school the eighty classrooms are heated by log stoves, manned by one caretaker, which do not heat the whole of the classroom.

The economic pressures under which many families struggle in this province do not allow for the loss of a potential wage earner, particularly when the benefits are in their view are small. Violently put down protests by the National Association for Unemployed Graduates over the lack of employment opportunities have made the news constantly over the past few years, prompting many fathers to ask why they should pay to send their daughters (and, to a lesser degree, sons) to school when they could be earning, if those with degrees cannot even find work. In fact, if getting children to go to school is hard, keeping them there is also a headache for head teachers. Hamid's story above is common and each year significant numbers of children do not complete secondary education dropping out across all the age groups. Of those who do make it through and attain their baccalaureate, going on to University is not an option on economic grounds. The closest public Universities are Meknes and Fes (1.2 & 1 hour by grand taxi). In fact Wagner (1993:241) estimated that by 2000 only half of the adolescent population would have had any post primary education. And by the estimation of educators in the area little has changed since.

Under labour law the minimum age of employment is 15 (US Department of State 2007) yet one point two million children are not registered at school and 2005 Government figures show 19% of children between seven and

fourteen working for a living. In the areas around Azrou and Ifrane this figure is probably higher as many with nimble fingers are employed in the manufacture of carpets and in Ifrane itself girls work as domestic servants. Many of Mr Tamandat's students went on to work in the Palace and University gardens and grounds. As he puts it 'if you don't have a brain then you'll need your muscles'. Female ex-students, however, whether married or unmarried, gain employment as domestic servants in the villas of the rich (as well as many employed as cleaners and kitchen staff at the University) but also in the manufacture of traditional clothing and carpets in Azrou. Official figures suggest that 22% of women are primary family wage earners a figure which is slowly rising.

The University, which lays a couple of kilometres north of the town as mentioned, is an important source of employment opportunities. It has only been functional for the past ten years and caters to the children of the upper echelons of society: children of the royal family, industrialists, and generals, and those of the new rich. To the normal Ifranian it is, for all intents and purposes, a closed community unless they are fortunate enough to have gained employment there. Further, many of the academic staff live within the town and the students themselves are a massive boost to the economy, spending a great deal of time and money in both downtown and the market. In fact many businesses rely on their custom.

Established to provide business and information technology teaching at both graduate and postgraduate levels, it has the most resources of all North African universities. The initial design of the academic programmes and administrative functions at the University is based on the American system. The development of this design was undertaken between 1992 and 1994 by a group of academics from universities in Texas USA (el Berr 2004:16). Courses are taught in English with most degrees being either business or information technology although there is a small faculty of humanities which concentrates on languages, diplomacy and communication studies. They have an outreach programme for women in Azrou, teaching basic literacy and business skills as well as fostering research and discussion

which focus on local issues and problems such as water, deforestation and HIV.

The high school syllabus undergoes scrutiny each year by a Ministry of Education Commission who weigh the data provided by school inspectors. The commission then decides on any additions or subtractions from each subject's curriculum. The data provided to the commission are the testimonies of teachers as well as the independent findings of the inspectors themselves. Recently, the Ministry of Education has been attempting to guide more students into scientific courses. In fact they have opened many science orientated courses in the major cities and have granted licences to more private schools with scientific programmes.

Mr Tamandat believes that although educational reform has proceeded at a slow pace overall, both the standard of courses and the numbers of children being educated is improving. One particular problem in the sciences was that students were unable to make the translation from Arabic based high school to French based university; 'we think in Arabic in high school but then we have to think in French in University'. In the mid nineties, not in small part because of the above mentioned teacher pressure in the commission's feedback process, translation courses were initiated and have proved successful in enabling a smooth transition between Arabic and French.

The experience of lecturers at the University just outside town mirrors these problems. The student body, the majority of which are women, come from diverse educational backgrounds. They are drawn from both public and private high schools as well as from both science and humanities programmes. Graduates from both systems, where they may have been educated in French or classical Arabic, are often not academically developed enough to flourish in their new environment. As one lecturer pointed out 'many start their education on the back foot'. As Miriam, a student, points out: 'in the Moroccan system it is more about learning things by heart. They don't teach you how to think or read critically. You just have to learn. The

teacher in the Moroccan (Arabic) system, he would just come in and read the course and we would have to write what he wrote. Then we would go and learn it and in the exams we would have the same things. So we just regurgitate it'. The concept of original work has to be installed into new students and consequently plagiarism is initially dealt with less harshly than might normally be the case.

Differences are not only confined to language and access to education as the student body is drawn from diverse economic and social environments. Interpersonal skills, particularly between the sexes, are also often undeveloped. Hence a programme of continual developmental courses has been devised not only to address problems with critical thinking, problem solving, learning methods and language skills but also interpersonal skills and social interaction.

It is fairly obvious that there is a privileging of certain languages (French & Arabic) at the expense of others (Tamazight & Darija) in education. Language is the site of social and political struggle. Education was perceived by many parents as an investment in the future social and economic prosperity of their children, a view since shaken by the lack of graduate opportunities.

Reading

Even amongst highly educated people, reading for pleasure is a rare pastime. Ghiyassedine, (a recent graduate of the university) works in his family haulage business in Casablanca, where, as is common in many companies, he speaks only French and Darija. Additionally, whilst at work he reads and writes only French. A product of the French system his parents are literate in French and Arabic. However, whilst growing up the newspapers and television available to him at home were exclusively in French. Many, not only the rich, have satellite television access and there is much consumption of TPS and many French channels and others such as DZM (which is broadcast predominately in French). He admits that classical Arabic was not promoted within his family but was also not

encouraged at school. True, there were Arabic lessons but they did not require compulsory attendance. Ghiyassedine enjoyed reading when he was young, his favourite book is Paulo Coelho's 'The Alchemist', which he read in French, and believes that the lack of availability of interesting books in Arabic when young also hampered his progress in language acquisition. His lack of Arabic sometimes creates problems at work especially when conducting business with other companies in the Middle East but also when undertaking research for projects where the resources are only available in Arabic.

There are two main barriers to reading: the first is economic - after all, as Mr Tamandat points out, most people here have a fixed budget, a low budget and 'a 20DHs book does not equate to half a kilo of meat'. The other is that reading is seen as antithetical to sociality within the family unit, it is antisocial, and wastes time that could be more productively spent doing something else. That a culture of reading for pleasure has never established itself in Morocco is unsurprising, as to Sisangh and many others it is a socially hostile act, he believes that 'reading is somehow antisocial. We have a spoken culture more than a written one because we always want to share things with people. We don't just want to read because when you are reading you are in a corner on your own, living with your book'.

The reading of the newspaper, however, is an integral part of coffeehouse culture. Papers and magazines are available both in the market and downtown areas in all the main languages, classical Arabic, Darija French, Spanish and English. Usually newspaper reading is undertaken individually, however, on occasion important news is read out and certain unfamiliar words explained (or the meanings negotiated) for non-readers. Mr Tamandat believes that many problems created by the speaking of colloquial and/or Tamazight at home and studying in classical at school might be overcome if reading at home is encouraged by the government. Further he believes that exposure to data other than that offered during high school courses is needed to complete an education and it is a requirement for developing critical thinking.

CHAPTER TWO

Remaking the family: The relational nature of actions

2.0 Prologue

This chapter argues that memorial meals and sacrificial skins stand not only as things, but also as social indexes. Contrary to the idea prevalent in much of the literature on Morocco that objects are passive (Gellner 1969, Geertz 1966, Hammoudi 1993), this chapter argues that it is the intricate intentionality that objects embody which enables them to act as catalysts in the structuring of relationships (Gell 1998). In so doing the idea of *Ramadan* and *Eid l'Kabir* as 'liminal' (Buitelaar 1990) spaces is examined and rejected. Rather, in Mennad's family, these two religious periods function to structure the family more rigidly than ever. It is shown that objects are imperative in the structuring of stable identities for migrant family members within the home, but also in projecting their identity as a happy prospering family unit outwards to the wider community.

2.1 Introduction

When Mennad and Howla first settled in Ifrane they were one of only a very few hardy migrant families. Harsh winters, sometimes necessitating government food drops, obliged each family to work to establish relationships with others simply to survive. Mennad as a career soldier with a guaranteed income held quite a high status amongst the other migrants who scratched a living from what work was available cleaning the ski chalets of the rich, as gardeners in the palace grounds or jobs around what would be at that time a very small city marketplace. As time passed their relationship with their family and village of origin was slowly forgotten, they turned inwards so, little by little, they identified more with familial relationships formed within their new home than with a past they had left behind.

Howla died of cancer over a decade ago and since then the family's fortunes have taken a turn for the worse. Since her death Mennad has gone blind, Uddad can no longer gain full time employment due to back problems, Winaruz is frequently arrested due to his ties with the communist party in Meknes, and the other two sons are frequently unemployed. Some in the city describe them as being merely unlucky, others describe them as being cursed. Winaruz himself believes that even if Allah did exist 'he turned his face from us a long time ago'.

This chapter concentrates on how, through consumptive practice (Harrison 1999), Mennad's household defines itself as a 'family' and how, even under these most extreme circumstances, they can still laugh, have purpose and find hope for the future. Hope and happiness are found in the materialisation of the memory of the family framework as it existed when Howla was alive, during the month of *Ramadan*, but also the memory of the familial form as it existed before Mennad went blind during *Eid l'Kabir*. It is worth pointing out that the individuals within the family itself are not uniform in the religious beliefs they hold. In fact, they represent the whole spectrum from the unshakable belief of Mennad to the non-belief of communist Winaruz. Yet when it comes to these special religious periods they all come together to create continuity and stability. The preparation and consumption of memorial food and objects act to maintain a familiar structure of relationships and show that the consumption of food has effects that extend beyond the initial moment of enjoyment.

When asked what are the most important times of the year each member of the family answered '*Ramadan*' and '*Eid l'Kabir*'. As Izza puts it the month of *Ramadan* and the day of *Eid l'Kabir* are the times when 'we are family'. 'The family' is the basic structural unit of the collective national identity. As Sadiqi (2002) points out, those such as divorcees, widows and independent unmarried women are seen as a threat to this unit. If someone wishes to be identified with the larger group they have to conduct themselves in a way which confirms their position within the larger relational framework. As Hage points out (2003:13) 'the imagined 'we', in

a kind of noblesse oblige, actually becomes causal in influencing the capacity of the person who is trying to be what 'we' all are. Through this magical quality all collective national identities work as a mechanism for the distribution of hope'.

Hope as something constituted exclusively in the familial framework and encouraged by governments the world over (tax breaks for married couples is an obvious example), is also emphasized in Morocco in *Moudawana* (The Family Code) which effectively abolished the patriarchal family (Sonn 2004), by instituting laws which protected women from violence in the home and gave them greater rights in event of divorce. With this law the patrilineal lineage system of Gellner (1969) and Hart (2000), for so long embodied in rhetoric and the laws of the Islamic state, was swept away. In the one year following the *Moudawana* marriage rates went up a couple of points but divorce rates dropped by a massive 40% (Bouzoubaa 2005). Here the perfect spray brushed family units smiling down from bill boards are the building blocks of the utopian community (Anderson 1991). We will see that Mennad's family manipulate this ideological construct (Jamous 1981) to create a position within society during *Ramadan*.

The fact the role of the family is changing throughout the Islamic world has not gone unnoticed by social commentators. Moroccan scholar Sheikha Naima bin Yaish (Elass 2008:4) points out that it is impossible 'for newlyweds today to enter into marriage with the same mentality as their parents' as the foremost task of the family now 'is to give emotional fulfilment to its members, starting with the wife and husband. They must fulfil each other emotionally otherwise the family is threatened with break-up'. The idea of happiness as originating in the familial form is a happiness that every man and woman can aspire. A good life is a family life.

The notion of a complete (whole) family is important conceptually and it will be shown that Mennad's family becomes a 'we' through the creation and manipulation of things. When Winaruz says 'I was fat when my mother was alive' he is not only talking about his waistline, he is saying that

something is missing, somehow he is less whole since his mother passed away. Since her death he describes himself as being a lone wolf hounded by the police. The erratic nature of the family's income, and lack of employment opportunities for the Mennad's son's, means they are as a family, as Udad puts it, 'in a downward spiral'.

It is true that a new wife could have been found for Mennad. Even after his loss of sight he is a relatively prosperous man, with an income (however small) and owning his own house. Although he entertained such thoughts after Howla's death for the sake of the children, he could never bring himself to remarry. He has never let her go. There is no doubt that Howla was and still is a very strong influence on all their lives. It was her belief in education, unusual at the time, which has resulted in both Izza and her elder sister (now married and living in Casablanca) going to university and all of her sons, bar one, holding degrees.

How collective memory is materialised in the family in order to stabilise its present structure is central to understanding the familial framework. It is held that memorial objects the family keep and create stand for the network of relationships around the deceased before they passed away and actively affect the present structure of the family's form. Through the family's desire to preserve their relationship with Howla they strengthen the familial structure which is also an attempt to reduce the impact their diminished status has had on their lives. In effect the preservation of the memories through objects acts as 'the traditional armour of the family' (Halbwachs 1992:59).

The only way in which the family can cheat death and communicate with Howla's memory through time is by re-materialising her memory in the form of food thereby creating the illusion of an unchanging family unit. Throughout this chapter we are asking, just as Pomian (in Ginsburg 2002:70) asks, what is the relationship between the family and objects where physical objects are 'intermediaries between those who can see them and the

invisible world'. In effect just how does memory become shaped within objects and how are those objects used to shape relations around them.

'Memory' has been viewed as the fundamental quality of our knowledge of the world from ancient times with two competing models dominating inquiry. The first is Plato's proposition that knowledge already pre-exists in ones memory and we merely 'recollect' it. Reality is, therefore, the process of 'recalling' all knowledge and events. In opposition, Aristotle understood memory as the active intermediary in the construction of 'experience' where memory is a 'mental picture' stored much like an impression in a wax tablet (Carruthers 1990). So depending on your view knowledge can either be attained from our experience of observable objects (Aristotle) or that knowledge is constant and independent of tangible experience (Plato). Which view is taken obviously affects how we are to understand ourselves, the material nature of objects and consequently how a person becomes a person (Bloch 1998:71-74).

The Platonic view of knowledge is presented in a Moroccan context by Gellner's (1969) description of hereditary saints, the Igurramen, in the High Atlas who through descent from the Prophet are manifested with divine blessings (baraka) and Bloch's use of vom Bruck's (1991) study of the Sadah in Yemen. The Igurramen and the Sadah, as descendents of the Prophet, have a pre-existent biological predilection, an embodied memory, to be holy and in the case of the Sadah to more easily develop holy knowledge.

It would seem unlikely, if we follow this logic, that in a Muslim community materialised memories, other than the Qur'an, can become agents and integrated into familial or other social frameworks. However, vom Bruck's (2005) further analysis of the 'consumer' democracy and elite (re)production in Yemen suggests that consumer objects can represent two differing perceptions of knowledge and correspondingly two different elites: the new middle class (ie merchants and technocrats) and the upper class (the former noble rulers). Here the nobles 'are preoccupied with reconciling the

meaning of material objects with the rulings pronounced by eminent religious scholars and insist that consumption must serve to link a person to the 'other' world rather than 'this' one' (2005:257-9). Whereas, the new middle classes consume in a manner which would be considered before the revolution as 'vain and immoral' as they seek 'personal gratification through material goods' as 'an expression of culturally specific processes of self-making'. What is important though is that in both classes the object consumed becomes 'incorporated into the personal and social identity of the consumer' (vom Bruck 2005:257).

There are many instances where physical objects conceptually 'represent' departed people. The most vivid examples are presented by Ginsburg (2002:63-64) and include the waxen images of Roman emperors, the effigies of English and French sovereigns and the mummies of Incan kings. These objects retain the conceptual power of the dead they represent; the Incas 'would exhibit the carefully preserved mummies of their kings, feasting with them and drinking toasts to them' (2002:67); during the Roman period the rite of *consecratio* where the waxen image stands in space and time as the dead emperor and is itself given a funeral; and the display of departed English and French kings with a figurine. In all cases the object (re)embodies the power of the sovereign, maintaining 'a reciprocal relationship' with their subjects either up to their immolation (i.e. the waxen image) or far beyond in the case of the Incan mummies.

The maintenance of reciprocity between the living and the dead is only possible in these instances because the corpse and its representation occupy different times/spaces thus creating within the representation metonymic status. A status which relies on the objects ability not only to double for a person but also to substitute for the absent in the socio-political milieu. Consequently, memorial objects are presented here as having the ability to induce cognitive effects that allow them to stand for a social relationship and constitute its 'conceptual framework'. By what means the memorial object acquires the properties of the represented and how it acts and is acted upon

within the familial domain and the wider society is the question this chapter seeks to address.

It is the ability of all people to make abductions or inferences from an object's form as to the 'intentions of social others' (Gell 1998:15) which allow the memorial object to stand in place of a person. We must view objects not as 'meaning' something but rather view them as 'doing' something. When people interpret objects (indexes) as representing some other separate entity or idea these interpretations can influence the individuals place in the totality of relationships in which they exist. The example Gell uses is this; a person (the recipient) viewing a portrait can deduce from this object (the index) that the sitter's physical characteristics (the prototype) influenced the artist and caused painting (the index) to take the form it has. He expresses this 'nexus' of relationships; [[Prototype] → Artist] → Index] → Recipient. Put simply, the prototype acts on the artist who acts on the index which acts on the Recipient.

This nexus is obvious in Ginsburg's (2002) descriptions of the Emperor's wax effigy and the Incan mummies but what of objects (indexes) representing a person (prototype) that do not take a form which is consistent with their physical form, just as in the case of the ethnography below where a meal and a sheepskin are the memorial objects discussed. The likely answer in this context is that idolatry is strictly forbidden in Islam, one need only think of the recent destruction of the massive stone Buddha's in Bamyan, Afghanistan, to understand the impossibility of producing idolatrous objects. It is important then that the family choose to recreate Howla's memory in the meal rather than in frequent visits to the cemetery which lies only about a hundred yards from the house. Showing sentiment at the graveside after the day of the funeral is strictly forbidden and visiting graves is discouraged. If one does visit then it should only be to contemplate the next life and not the deceased's memory. It is the case here then that the funerary ritual does not fulfil the complex needs of the bereaved family group. Howla cannot be laid to rest because to do so would be to let go of the relationships that bind the familial form. It is argued here that it is not

the physical appearance of the person that is required to make the object efficacious but rather the presence of the relational framework that deceased person represented which is re-materialised in time and space.

Ramadan is presented by many as a ‘liminal’ (Turner 1977) period, a period where normal social classifications are suspended and social space reorganised. Men spend less time in the coffeehouses and more time in the home and women venture out onto the streets at night. Examples of ‘status reversal’ are found, such as the autonomy gained by children during this month, and socially marginal groups given ritual consideration in the form of food. In this equal unstructured environment practice is presented as fluid, with ritual meanings oscillating, not only between different countries and regions, but also between the sexes and generations (Antoun 1968, Fallers 1974, Zaki Yamani 1987).

The idea of liminality is the core of Buitelaar’s (1990) search for and understanding of ‘meaningful acts’ in *Ramadan*. It concentrates on women’s relationships with ideas of purity (*tahara*), community (*umma*) and religious merit (*ajr*) to illustrate that the normal gender boundaries, obvious at other periods during the year, become vague enabling a ‘communion of free and equal individuals’ (1990:160). In Mennad’s household it will be noticed that quite the opposite is true, that during the month of *Ramadan* the family attempt to make the period more structured, a copy of the past familial framework.

Hope and happiness are consciously pursued by the family and shaped as a consequence of their interactions with the phenomenal world. The gathering together in the seemingly unimportant memorial meal of concrete actions and substances affects the nature of empathy. Memories are anchored in emotions and sensations which allow the family, in spite of its fracturing, to be indissolubly bound together and be given a tangible ‘form’.

2.2 PART ONE - THE *RAMADAN* MEAL

(a) The Purchase of Food Stuffs

The vegetable sellers in the old market on the whole cater for the more wealthy people in Ifrane. Restaurant owners within the market normally buy vegetables from the Tuesday souk in Azrou or at the towns weekend souk. Most of the residents of PAM however go to the weekend souk in Timdiqine or to Azrou on a Tuesday. Many prefer to buy in Azrou because of cheaper prices and the wider choice of fruit and vegetables available. Getting there without a car means having to catch a bus or taxi and Selma always complains that she returns tired. Izza only returns home at the weekends during term time so she frequents the weekend souk more often.

Mennad's family consumes between three and five kilos of potatoes a week (costing 6-7 dirham per kilo). Larger families of ten to a dozen will consume between five and eight kilos. Due to the wide variety of different meals cooked during *Ramadan* having potatoes either as a main ingredient or an accompaniment coupled with visitations from friends and family Mennad's household consumed upwards of seven kilos per week.

Many other *Ramadan* staples such as jams, tea and coffee are also required. Winaruz had promised his father that he would undertake to purchase these extras as his contribution to *Ramadan*. However, a couple of wild nights in Meknes two weeks before and his fifth share in the purchase of a washing machine used up all his savings. To make up this shortfall he borrowed five hundred dirham from his friend Sisangh on the understanding he would return the money the next month. Sisangh was initially sceptical about the loan as in his judgement there was little likelihood of Winaruz being able to service the debt (he had borrowed before). Eventually constant reassurances convinced him.

This led to an ugly confrontation a couple of months later. Winaruz, who had been avoiding Sisangh successfully for some weeks after *Ramadan*, walked straight into him whilst turning a quiet corner in the market one

evening. The normal pleasantries were observed; the mock kiss on each cheek, 'peace be upon you', 'are you well?', 'is your family well?', back and forth. The conversation petered out at this point. A petering out of the conversation at this point often occurs when you meet someone who you barely know, then one simply says goodbye and moves along. Instead, Winaruz tackled the issue of the debt head on saying he could pay up the following week. Sisangh's response; 'fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me.' Humiliated, teeth clenched and on the edge of fury, Winaruz politely said goodbye. Borrowing from another friend he paid the next day.

But that was to happen in the future. Winaruz could have purchased all the *Ramadan* extras in one of the three corner shops dotted around the PAM. Prices are on average a few cents more expensive than at the market and in the market itself prices can differ slightly. For example, you can buy a litre of oil at a corner shop in the PAM for 188 Riyals (9dirham 40cents), 182 Riyals (9dirham 10cents) in the new market and 180 Riyals (9dirham) in the old market. In contrast to many romanticised images of exchange in Morocco the prices for such commodities is fixed, there is no haggling.

The main general stores in the old market are located in the northwest wing and the northeast wing next to the butchers. The one frequented by Winaruz and his mother before him, in the northwest wing, on the right just past the circular food hall, has ceiling height shelving on all three walls, stacked with jars, packages and cartons. Grouped together by type, a price label, written in dirham on white paper, is attached with tape. As the prices are clearly marked in dirham if one has to ask the price of an object the reply is invariably given in riyals then one of the shopkeeper's sons retrieves the items required. With a long hooked pole in his right hand he dislodges the jar or package from its neighbours on the shelf and catches it in his left hand as it falls to the ground. The different qualities of tea range in price from six and half to thirteen dirham, Winaruz chooses the expensive type. A small jar of Nescafe instant coffee (which he particularly likes) costing fourteen and a half dirham is weighed against a large package of Carte Noire

coffee at thirty three and a half. He chooses Carte Noire and he also purchases two large jars of strawberry jam at thirteen dirham each and five large jars of tomatoes at sixteen dirham. In the northeast wing he buys olives, dates and a chicken. He is also buying vegetables, as Izza was away for the weekend at her sisters there was a mix up over who was meant to go to the souk and buy the vegetable supplies for *Ramadan*. Consequently, Winaruz also buys enough potatoes, onions, carrots, beans and fruit to last for the rest of the week.

Winaruz's purchase of vegetables itself is interesting. As he gathers say a kilo of carrots, for example, he passes them, in a stainless steel scoop to the shopkeeper. Then he states how much he requires. The shop owner weighs the amount, subtracting the excess (which there always is!), and placing it to one side. The same procedure is followed for the potatoes, onions, beans etc. Then, when it comes to paying, the shopkeeper will often add a little extra from this excess pile to the bag of purchases. This practice closely follows the one described by Bourdieu (1990) in Kabyle society where the objective is to create surplus honour. A comparison can also be made with Herzfeld's (1988) description of the Glendiots of Crete where he makes the point that shopkeepers always err on the side of the customer in matters of weight. After all, between friends, certainly, no one should insist on accuracy.

b) The Preparation of Corn and Making of Bread

When Izza is away at university no bread is made. Instead bread is bought from the bakery Udad works for and a neighbour prepares Mennad his salt free version everyday. Not being able to afford to employ someone to help with the cooking and the housework worries Winaruz who believes that a family not able to produce its own bread is shameful and an indication of how low their status has become. The smell of freshly baked bread is one of the most oft mentioned experiences of childhood, the warm doughy centre of the family.

The family consumes between five and six hundred kilos of corn for bread making a year. They buy the whole amount all at once from the weekend souk costing up to 2000DH (one hundred kilos are 375DH although prices can be found as low as 300DH). Izza knows the corn is of good quality when 'the grains of corn are healthy and shining like the sand'. After being paid in cash at the souk the vendor delivers the corn to the house. It is possible, however, to buy corn directly from farms near Azrou or the Zouira more cheaply and transport it independently. The price can either be negotiated in riyals or Dirhams as Izza points out 'if the seller is literate you deal with him in Dirhams. If illiterate you deal with him in Riyals'. The grain is delivered to the house in 100kg sacks (at no extra cost) and stored in the bedroom above the garage along with a dozen or so cured sheep skins from past births and *Eid l'Kabir's*.

A twenty five kilo bag of fine corn is also consumed during *Ramadan* mostly due to the higher consumption of milwi then is usually the case, as well as between eight and fourteen kilos of sugar. The cost for the fine corn is 150dh born this year by Cicungh who had been earning money on a building site.



3. The preparation of the corn

The preparation of the corn takes place in the yard. Scrubbed clothes hang to dry in the sun above Izza whilst she washes the corn.

Izza first starts by taking a large plastic bowl into which she decants the corn from the sack and then adds water from a smaller plastic bucket (filled from a hosepipe). The bowl is then rocked in circular motions so the water and corn swirl around dislodging the dirt and small stones. The corn is then removed by means of a colander, the dirty water draining away back into the bowl, and transferred to a weaved basket. The dirty water is poured at the base of the yard trees providing them with nutrients and then the process is repeated until the basket is full. Then a clean carpet is laid in a sunny spot in the yard and the corn spread by hand in circular motions across it to dry. After drying is complete Izza, and whomsoever of her friends she can coerce, pick out the bits of stone and dirt left behind, the cleaned corn being placed in another sack. Izza normally cleans a couple of carpets worth (the

equivalent of a 25kg sack) but at other times such as before *Ramadan* enough is cleaned to last the whole month.



4. Drying the corn

The cleaned corn is laid out on carpets to dry. The area just outside the garage dwellers door is used, they are away. When dry Izza will find help from female friends and/or neighbours to pick out any stones or rubbish left behind.

The sorting of the corn from the pieces of grit and dirt not separated during the washing process is an extremely sociable activity where women discuss many subjects from the commonplace upcoming marriage or the most extraordinary divorce to the state of business or local politics. It is simply untrue that women have no power in the traditionally exclusively male domains of business and politics. Their influence is subtle. Wives often offer important council to their husbands (in private) on diverse subjects and influence many matters. They are also becoming more visible in the running family businesses. Further, as many have jobs of one sort or another and consequently their own independent incomes (although it is common for husbands to appropriate all or part of their wives earnings) so their autonomy and agency grows. Women are also slowly beginning to make inroads into politics becoming more confident in discussing their positions

on diverse subjects. A woman, Nouzha Skalli, is the Minister of Social Development, Family and Solidarity and has been the instigator of much recent legal reform to protect women from domestic violence, for more rights in divorce, rights to children after divorce, and to enable better access to education.



5. Special Bread

Special salt free bread prepared by Izza for Mennad. When she is away at university the kindly neighbours from the souss does the job for her.

The process of making the bread is one of the most common daily tasks in all households, it is consumed in large quantities and is the staple of all Moroccan meals. The bread itself is approximately ten centimetres in depth and round in shape (usually around twenty centimetres across although much bigger ones are made). The bread is eaten for breakfast and spread with jam, honey or, if lucky, good quality Argon oil (the best of which comes from south of the Atlas). For lunch and supper it is used instead of eating utensils.

At the start of the meal a number of the round breads are broken in two or into quarters and distributed around the table. Commonly this chunk is then

split horizontally by the individual to create two halves and further reduced by breaking off a smaller section of approximately three to four centimetres to create a small eating scoop. The scoop should not be any larger, even if a larger size is easier to manipulate, as one becomes full with bread instead of tagine. The scoop has a hard crusty side and a soft doughy side and is used as a carrier of steaming hot meats and vegetables from the communal tagine to the mouth. This is attained by using one's right hand (the left is used for ablutions) and placing (by means of the two forefingers) the small bread scoop (doughy face down) on the piece of meat or vegetable one wants and pinching with the thumb and pulling the meat or vegetable away. The crusty side provides protection from the burning of fingers, the porous side soaking up any potential drippage. The scoop is eaten along with the meat or vegetable it conveys, a new one being torn for the next mouthful. Particularly large or stringy pieces of meat can be broken up using the fingers of the right hand alone.

Basic etiquette requires that whilst mining into the side of the tagine one does not disturb the main body causing it to collapse. Each person limits his or her efforts to the section of the dish directly in front of them and tries not to encroach into their neighbour's territory. Initial forays are restricted to simply mopping up the delicious juices bubbling at the edges of the dish. As the tagine is arranged with the meat hidden in the centre by a layer of vegetables it is the vegetables which are eaten first, then as the vegetables cool one works ones way all the way down into the fleshy interior. Meat and vegetables are often broken up for children and the elderly and placed at the edge of the dish directly in front of them for easy access and to reduce the impact of undisciplined digging activities. Uneaten crusts are placed in a wicker basket in the yard for collection by an old lady who feeds them to her goats.

c) Udad at the Bakers Shop

An excellent student Udad, Mennad's eldest son (39), studied law at university. He used to run the bakery until chronic back pain, the result of a car accident when he was a boy, made it difficult for him to stand for

extended periods and impossible to work full time. Now he just deals with the bakery accounts on a part time basis. He is often found laid out on a bench in the back room trying to ease the pressure on his spine. Sometimes though his back spasms so violently that it arches him off the seat, he can fall to the ground rigid, teeth clenched his face a mask of pain. These episodes, which can last for anything from a couple of minutes to an hour, terrify Izza and when they occur at home the family try to ease his pain. Mennad holds his hand and speaks soothing words and Udad's brothers and Izza call in favours for pain killers. No doctor will come though, they cannot afford one and the nearest public hospital that deals with his problem is in Meknes. Udad's medicine costs around the same amount as his fathers and his part time pay covers this but with little left over.

The white painted, tiled floored shop area of the bakery houses a worn oak serving counter which runs the length of the shop frontage. Behind are the racks for both displaying types of bread for sale and the storage of orders packaged in opaque white plastic bags. When Udad worked there full time he would greet customers whilst standing behind the waist high counter as they arrived. Now Hassane greets people in his stead, taking orders and dispensing the previously prepared bags. Although Hassane can read and write numbers his mathematical skills do not stretch to tackling the accounts. Udad produces these on an upturned box in the corner.

The towns hotels and restaurants as well as many families have standing orders for bread which they collect each day and are billed for monthly otherwise customers are able to just drop in and buy from those on display. These are usually circular flat bread and baguettes which are taken from the rack room and placed in the shop in small quantities throughout the day. For those who have ordered their bread beforehand orders are differentiated by the use of a numbering system.

A door to the rear of the shop opens onto a dark corridor which leads to a large white tiled baking room containing both the oven and a hot room. The mixing room, the rack room for finished breads, the flour storage room and

the showers are arranged in pairs either side of this central area. Orders are prepared by retrieving from the flour storeroom the ingredients required. These are transferred into large shallow baking trays with a piece of card with the customer's number on it. The numbered tray is then taken across the baking room floor to mixing room. Here water is added to the flour and they are mechanically pummelled and stretched by 'dough hook' whisks the length of a man's arm in four foot high stainless steel bowls. These machines are dangerous and unwary bakers can be badly maimed, their hands getting caught in the whisk and mangled. Once the tray of dough mixture is prepared its number is again placed on top and it is then slid into place with others on a movable rack. These are then wheeled into the central area and are ready for the oven.



6. In Udad's Bakershop

In Udad's bakers shop. The baker is in the midst of rearranging trays in the oven which are placed on a board which is supported by the base of a hospital bed. The primary function of the numbered pieces of card which sit on top is to differentiate between one customer and another. However, it is an interesting to note that the baker, as much as he is observing the dough rising, its aroma and the colour it assumes as it cooks, he is also observing the charring and blackening of the numbers themselves.

When the time for baking arrives the order is put on surface which reaches out at a right angle from the oven. This is an old hospital bed whose mattress has been removed and replaced with wooden boards. Acquired from the long closed protectorate sanatorium down near Azrou the bed's anatomy enables it to be wheeled around (when cleaning the floor) and to be raised higher and lower (to reach the upper oven sections). The baker, a young man, wearing an old white t-shirt, plastic sandals and grey jogging bottoms, then flips open the stainless steel door of one of the nine sections of the oven, throwing out a fierce wave of heat. The dough filled tray is then placed in the oven the numbers staying on top even when whilst being baked. When baked the tray is removed by means of a spade, the number charred and blackened on top is still legible. The orders are left to cool and than placed in a bag and taken along the corridor into the shop and placed on the shelves to be collected.

d) *ftor* – Breaking the Fast



7. The Ramadan Meal

In *Ramadan* special food is prepared like milwi ‘barir’, milwi with chahma and harira soup to Howla’s recipes. These are consumed at the time of *ftor*, the breaking the fast. Meals are theoretically eaten after dusk payers but much of the time are eaten as soon as the call to prayer is heard. Going clockwise from the top left where Udad’s medicine sits are boiled eggs with cumin sprinkled on, next to which is Mennad’s granddaughters can of coke, the two types of milwi, meat balls, a pile of bowls for the harira soup (yet to be served), chickpeas in a sauce, a yellow twin biconcave salt and cumin cellar, a plate of dates, chicken salami, a dish of butter, and a pot of tea. Later on the vegetable tagine will be served.

Visitations from friends and family to Mennad's house for *ftor* during *Ramadan* occur frequently, although not as frequently as when Howla was alive. Mennad's eldest daughter and granddaughter who live in Casablanca visit for a couple of weeks although they stay with the second eldest son and his two daughters of a similar age who live in their own house in the mill area. This is a happy time and three little cousins tear around and get spoilt with sweets and cookies. Children of course are exempt from the fasting process as well as people travelling, pregnant women and those having their periods. These days are made up at other times during the year.

The numerous evening visits are accompanied either by a meal or mint tea and cakes depending on when they arrive. Most are pleasurable experiences yet it would be quite wrong to think of all visits as selfless acts. There is a constant weighing of worthiness: some are in favour and some are out. If your actions have been appreciated or your patronage is required, you get invited. It is a microcosm of relationships and alliances made and broken. It is also a time for renewing old bonds of friendship and cementing ties with family farther a field. Throughout the month many travel long distances north, south, east and west back to their original towns and villages. Invitations can represent a measure of the esteem in which one is held and repeated refusals of invitations can make a point. Izza gets invited by many people, even some that she doesn't like, but the men are rarely invited at all. The sourcing and preparation of food are therefore of great importance (Chapter Six examines how the market works, the most important social space outside the mosque and home).

This quantifying of worthiness also applies to the evening prayer. One will usually go to the mosque with a group of friends. Men and women are segregated whilst inside so Izza goes with her friend of a similar age, Selma. Mennad is taken by a kindly neighbour; Udad and Z go only very occasionally; Winaruz and Cicungh do not go at all. Sisangh, a friend of Winaruz's who lives alone in a wealthy neighbourhood, though goes by himself because he has been ostracised by the rest of his friends for his bad behaviour, a bit of opportunistic profiteering over some hashish at the

beginning of the month. None accepted his telephone calls or came to visit. Sisangh professed not to care and went to the mosque by himself a few times but after a while stopped going altogether. After work he would lock himself away in his apartment, smoking, and described it as one of the most retched and lonely periods of his life. After *Ramadan* he was welcomed back into the group, they had made their point, after all everybody deserves a second chance.

The giving of gifts is also an integral part of the month. Sisangh received many gifts from his various relatives many who live abroad. Gifts are usually of a practical nature (new winter gloves and clothes) but can, budgets permitting, extend to new technologies (ipods, playstations etc). No matter what the gift might be it is expected that there will be a gift and many keen to show how well they have prospered will overspend in a bid to impress. Forward looking arrangements for the purchase of much more expensive objects, such as cars and apartments, are also considered at this time. These purchases are impossible for most on a single budget. Loans, which are arranged, not given, loans are often provided by different family members. Sisangh's purchase of a car, for example, was the culmination of a large cash gift from his father, loans from his two sisters and a loan from the bank.

When it is not *Ramadan* the seating arrangement around the table is on a first come first served bases. Mennad though invariably sits close to Izza so she can help him with his food. During *Ramadan* the positioning of the family around the table changes and Izza takes what was Howla's position closest to the door with easy access to the kitchen. Otherwise Mennad sits on the opposite side, his two eldest sons either side and Winaruz and Cicough on the ends just as they did when Howla was alive. If visitors come, including relatives such as Ziri, Mennad's nephew, or the two married children, this structure does not change, they are placed as they arrive either side of the table after Mennad and his sons. Children are, however, placed with easy escape route from the table or, due to space restrictions, on a separate table altogether.

There are three main meals during the night. The first, *ftor*, is illustrated above and usually commences with eating of a date. The second is the main meal, usually a tagine served a couple of hours later, the final meal takes place before morning prayers and usually consists of bread, jams and cheese. Piles of bread scooped torn by furtive fingers already sit on the table in front of the diners before the tagine appears. Empty stomachs are often further tormented by Izzas cheerful ‘nearly ready’ and accompanying aromas wafting in from the kitchen. Cicungh, who being the youngest sits next to the draughty door opening often helps her with the carrying. He places the tagine in the centre of the table and lifts its red glazed biconcave lid setting free a cloud of mouth watering steam, beneath is a cone of vegetables sitting in bubbling and spluttering juices. In fact the precaution of a strategically placed napkin is needed when eating the tagine made of minced meat and egg alone as it bubbles so fiercely it spits juices all over the laps of the incautious.

The meal, which in other months is held against the background of constant chitter-chatter, is now accompanied only by the bibble-babble of Mennad’s granddaughter and the asking for and passing of accompaniments, as the edge is taken off hunger. After a while conversations breakout between the family the normal content of which is fairly formulaic and conventional and consists mainly of the latest gossip from the market, the café, the hamman and the barbershop. When Ziri was visiting much of the talk instead revolved around news of family and friends in the village where he and his uncle grew up. On each occasion, Ziri repeats certain familial relational descriptions. As Tannen points out (1989:52) these verbal repetitions are ‘a verbal analogue of the pleasure associated with the familiar surroundings’.

Ziri and Mennad’s knowledge of the village has a generational gap (Mennad and Howla left the village over a decade before Ziri was born) and consequently a great deal of negotiation took place as to who this or that person is or was, how they are related and what they get up to, especially as only one of Mennad’s children, Udad when a baby, has ever been to the

village and the only relation they have met is Ziri. The conversation was conducted in Darija as none bar Mennad and Ziri speak Tashelhiyt. The children are curious about their origins and always make notional plans to visit on the rare occasions Ziri appears but never quite seem get there. The collective forgetting of the extended familial framework of the village of origin is a type of ‘structural amnesia’ (Barnes 1947:52-53) which occurs because such memories have no useful relation to the present. They are neither a site for hope nor for happiness.

e) *Eid l’Sigir*



8. Cookies

Just removed from the oven, heart shaped and almond shaped cookies sitting on kitchen floor tiles. There was a whole tray of hearts but half mysteriously disappeared, to the sound of giggling!

Eid l’Sigir (the ‘little’ *Eid*) takes place the day after *Ramadan* finishes on the first day of Shawwal. It is a day of festive celebration, many visit family and friends, and lavish breakfasts are prepared for consumption after the dawn prayer. At Mennad’s three guests have been invited (two elderly friends of Mennads and the boy’s friend Bukus) to a special breakfast prepared and served in the formal salon at the front of the house. Izza

worked hard the final day of *Ramadan* to prepare a meal consisting of mint tea, milwi, cookies and chocolate cake.



9. Breaking the fast

Breaking the fast on *Eid l'Sigir*. The formal salon used for receiving guests has been cleaned, a carpet, a little too large for the space between the upholstered benches that line the four walls, has been tucked under the benches. The cookies have been painted on one side with chocolate and the heart shaped ones topped with a piece of walnut, the almond shaped ones sprinkled with grated walnut. A chocolate cake, milwi, more cookies and a pot of mint tea make up the rest. According to Izza it is exactly the same, even down to the arrangement on the table, as the meal produced by Howla.

The preparations for weddings are remarkably different. Unlike the Souss where all comers are welcome, the weddings here they are by invitation (usually verbal) only. The wedding guests are usually either neighbours or family members and are contacted in advance so an accurate count is taken. There is always more than enough to meet any extra demand from unexpected celebrants. At most weddings courses of chicken, meat and

couscous are prepared and it is acknowledge quite openly that the food provided reflects the social status of the family.

Normally the first course is chicken followed by meat then a fruit dish all of which are accompanied by fizzy drinks or mint tea. Depending on the financial circumstances of the families involved the feast can be prepared by servants or, in the majority of houses in PAM, there is a communal effort. Often, however, one older woman is placed in charge of the cooking and although other kin women help her in the preparation of the chicken and meat, the cleaning of the mint or the washing of the dishes she alone is responsible for cooking the food and displaying it on the dishes. Chicken is usually garnished with nuts and meat with eggs or olives. More exotic dishes such as 'bastila' (chicken or pigeon in a pastry crust), common at more affluent weddings, are missing here not the least because of the excessive monetary cost but also the cost in time, it takes two days to prepare.

Conclusion

Freud (1917) suggests that there are two responses the family may have had in response to Holwa's death; mourning and melancholy. In both instances the bereaved begin with a refusal to recognise their loss. In the instance of mourning the bereaved eventually let go of this loss and get on with their lives, however, in the case of melancholy they cannot let go which according to Freud results in a damage to the ego and sadness. In the instance under discussion at first glance it may seem that the family are mired in melancholy, they will not allow Howla's memory to escape, but this assumption would be wrong. Instead here materialised memory is used as a positive relational intermediary.

It is through an understanding of how the prototype acts through the index that we can properly understand the familial framework as it works during *Ramadan*. The relationships between people and things, and things and people (the nexus) that make up this framework is rationalised as relationship of agency between four categories: the prototype (Howla),

makers (the family), the index (the meal) and the recipients (people, either family or outsiders, who abduct from the index) (Gell 1998:27).

[[Prototype A → Maker (Howla)] → Index Aa (the meal)] → Recipients (the family)

↓

[[Prototype Aa → Maker (the family)] → Index Ab (the meal)] → Recipients (the family)

Fig 1

In fig 1, on the first stage, Howla's identity, coupled with generations of female culinary dexterity (Prototype A), are abducted from Index (Aa), their *Ramadan* meal, by the recipients, the family. This is the memory of past happiness. In the second stage the family in turn attempt to recreate the meal in the present as prepared by Howla before she died (Prototype Aa). Index Ab integrates the memory of this meal and how it was prepared by the family. The recipients who are also the makers then abduct from the Index the idea of Prototype Aa in a self reproducing act of remembrance.

It is a fact of life that our memories of departed family members fade over time. It is not simply time that weakens our memory of them, rather memory fades because the unique system of familial relationships which constituted memory disintegrates (Halbwachs 1992:73). Yet it is evident in this case that through the creation and maintenance of objects with memory the familial relationships centred on Howla have not broken down. Here practical quantification is important. When Izza recreates the recipes her mother cooked it is not to suggest that she is working from a written recipe listing the correct weights and quantities, rather she is following a practical process. She might prefer a little more spice, be constrained by what is available at the souq or what the family can afford. The measure for the right amount of this or that is a sum of the senses, the right colour, smell, texture, taste as well as the verbal and gestural judgements pronounced on it by the people eating it.

The family, in seeking to retrieve Howla's memory from simply being a name and a faded picture on her old identity card, by recreating the recipes she cooked and recreating the same environment to consume them, in the seating positions and the arrangement of the food on the table, manage to bind her memory to the present. The food created, displayed and consumed is the same and represents a conscious desire to recreate the sensations Howla's cooking triggered, the smells, tastes and textures. In effect the memorial meal has become the 'mysterious symbol for the common ground from which family members acquire their distinctive traits its nature and its qualities and weaknesses' (Halbwachs 1992:59). An act of preserving the whole so that each individual family member's idea of what it is to be a happy family intersects in the meal.

Yet the meal does not represent only sensations but also the social relationships which surrounded Howla within the family group before she died (Halbwachs 1992; Strathern 1988; Gell 1998). The prototype may therefore be seen as not Howla herself being reborn in a meal but a still active memory describing a significant part of the family's relational form being recreated.

How the family remembers Howla is an operation of the social framework in which the family exists. When a family member asks other members if they can remember when their mother did this or that they draw exclusively on the social framework of domestic memory as it exists in the present (it does not include memories of the other children for example). Therefore, the memory cannot hope to stay unchanged if the group loses some members or gains new members. Normally, families' environments change, members get married and move away new members are born etc., here it is important that the framework stays the same. This problem has not become an issue as although two siblings have married and moved out of the family home they both did so before Howla passed away. The collective memory infused in the memorial meal has become an end in itself, the agent and patent, a

requirement in stabilising the familial framework in relation to itself and to other structures.

Through the creation and consumption of meals during *Ramadan* the family re-establish a connection with Howla from which they draw the thing they desire most, a stable family framework with fit and vibrant mother, 'the way we were' is consequently 'the way we are'. As a result, they concentrate their attention on the recreation of food as an act of 'familial commemoration' that, although it corresponds to the celebration of *Ramadan* in a wider religious context, should not be confused with that context (Halbwachs 1992:65).

2.3 PART TWO - The Festival of Sacrifice



10. The Room above the Garage

In the room above the garage two framed and mounted photographs of the sheep market before *Eid l'Kabir* sit. They belong to Mennad and hung downstairs until a couple of years ago. The white and grey mounts are showing water marks due to being lent against a damp wall. Water coming through the roof and running down the wall during winter is a cause of dispute between Mennad and the garage dwellers. In front, a couple of stereos, only the radios work. On the opposite side of the room a heap of fifteen sheep skins sit and the store of corn. Piles of cured sheep skins are found in homes all over Morocco although usually only one or two are displayed at any one time. If one were merely to butcher a sheep for food, the skin would not be saved. Only those sheep skins which are the product of ritual sacrifice are kept, an accounting of many a birth and Eid kabir.

Introduction

In the first section we witnessed the private preservation of the family framework by the remembering of a deceased wife and mother. In this section the memorial object is used to maintain public as well as private illusions of the familial framework through the public reaffirmation of Mennad as the dominant male balancing the masculine and feminine in the familial framework.

According to Halbwachs (1992) a person through their life passes through a succession of status allocations which form the structure of the family of relationships, a natural progression in which we pass through different states; from son or daughter, to son-in-law or daughter-in-law, to father or mother, to grandfather or grandmother. This familial life procession has been fractured by the passing away of Howla, and Mennad's blindness. Although in effect Izza has taken up the practical role her mother held, Mennad's position within the family framework has been compromised. He still provides the majority of the income of the family and owns the house, but as Izza says 'I look after him as if he was a child'. It is also noticeable that all Mennad's children living at home, even though they range in age from their late thirties to early twenties, remain in the son or daughter category as they did when their mother was alive.

The Amazigh have an ambiguous and ambivalent relationship with the festival of sacrifice. Just as during *Ramadan*, normal social classifications are suspended and social space reorganised and again normal oppositions are reversed. Amongst Amazigh of the High Atlas another ritual occurs alongside the sacrifice of the ram, the masquerade. In Hammoudi's (1993) account the sacrifice represents the traditions of a divine patriarchal Muslim community and the masquerade, its antithesis, a reversal of the normal oppositions of purity/profanity in relation to women and dominance/submission in relation to fathers and sons. This is achieved in the masquerade by a man donning of the head and skins of a sacrificed sheep and capering around the town insulting and feigning copulation with both

sexes, even entering the inner sanctum of the home uninvited, a complete reversal of normal behaviour.

No masquerade was performed in Ifrane. The importance of the sacrifice and the resulting cured skin are that they create the illusion, both in public and in private, of Mennad being the dominant feature in the nexus of relationships which constitute the family's framework. A reversal of the helpless status he holds normally. The traditional hierarchical dominance of a father over his sons and women folk and elder sons over younger male siblings and sisters is highlighted and is fundamental in creating equilibrium within the family. Just as the memorial meal, represented the feminine missing in the family's structure so the sacrifice and the cured skin represents the absent masculine. When we view both memorial objects together we see that what is being attempted is an audacious plan not only to stop time, by repeating each year for each day of one month the memorial meal, but to reverse time, by again seeing Mennad as the vigorous sighted provider.

a) Purchasing the Ram

Celebrating God's pardon of Abraham for attempting to sacrifice his son Ishmael, *Eid l'Kabir* takes place two months and ten days after Eid sigir. It is a much anticipated event within the family and there is a festive atmosphere in the community at large. This is the month when many who can afford it travel to Mecca for the hijj and it is a public holiday. Although this festival is known in Morocco as *Eid l'Kabir* (the 'big' or 'bigger' Eid) in much of the rest of the Muslim world it is known as *Eid al-Adha*, the Festival of Sacrifice.

The price of sheep goes up considerably in the days before Eid kabir and large flocks are taken to Morocco's cities and towns to meet the huge demand. An average sized, good quality sheep at any other time would cost in region of six to nine hundred Dirham but on the days proceeding *Eid l'Kabir* prices can reach as high as one thousand two hundred Dirham. By

this time the finances in Mennad's household have recovered sufficiently from buying a washing machine to be able to purchase a ram for the festival.

When Mennad first arrived in Ifrane he purchased a few sheep which were kept and grazed with a neighbour's large flock. The neighbour died and his family (wife and young children) moved onto a village near Fez to live with his brother. So for a time the sheep were kept with another flock but due to the poor care given to Mennad's animals this arrangement ended quickly. Instead he auctioned them in Azrou, and started purchasing sheep for sacrifice during *Ramadan*, *Eid l'Kabir* and to celebrate his grandchildren's births from his friend Fouad, a farmer. Fouad and Mennad met at a coffeehouse next to the sheep market in Azrou and they have been friends for over thirty years. It is possible for Fouad to have a suitable animal (or a selection of suitable animals from which to choose) delivered to the house but Udad usually takes this opportunity to visit his school friend Ferid, Fouad's son.

Fouad's farm is midway between Ifrane and Azrou and is a little larger than most in the area at eighteen acres; the average size is around twelve acres. Hitching a ride down the mountain Udad usually arrives there late morning, where he first takes mint tea with Fouad, his wife Afaq and Ferid and they discuss topics from health and wealth to girlfriends and grandchildren. For many years the journey to the farm was undertaken by both Udad and Mennad and there was heartfelt distress when they heard of Mennad's rapidly failing health. The transportation of the soon to be acquired sheep to Ifrane was also discussed and it was decided that the sheep could be transported with a bull Ferid was taking to the abattoir later that afternoon.

At lunchtime the whole family gathered with Udad in the main salon on benches around a large, low wooden table; Fouad, his wife, his mother-in-law, the six children, two daughter-in-laws, and five grandchildren. Eating chicken tagine and hearing each others news the meal was conducted with much merriment and bursts of raucous laughter. After lunch, whilst the family attended to their afternoon household and farming chores, Ferid and

Udad chose the ram. The sheep are kept in a barn of stone rubble and cement construction, about a hundred yards to the north of the farm residence, with an outside space (approx. one fifth of an acre) enclosed by chicken wire stretched between cedar fence posts. Inside there are five rusty metal feeding troughs sitting on a thick bed of straw with the flock milling around in the darkness. When Ferid throws open the barn doors a woolly mass of bodies surges into the sunlight.

The flock is of *Timahdit* stock, a hybrid of the Amazigh mountain sheep and the much larger colonial imports found on the plains. It is a sheep of small stature due to the high altitude and it is known for its brown face, backswept curved horns and long soft drooping ears. The breed is prized both for the quantity and quality of the wool produced as well as the meat it yields. It is general practice in the Atlas to let the tails go undocked (not only to adhere to the religious aesthetic but also to enable the sheep to store fat for the winter months), and the breed is known for its hardy nature. Standing in the centre of the flock the two men discussed the various merits of the rams and their prices. According to the Qur'an when choosing Udad has two major criteria to guide him to his decision; the sheep must be in excess of a year in age; and show no signs of disease or imperfections (missing eyes, torn ears, docked tails etc.). The value of the ram is assessed visually but also tactilely by holding the sheep by a horn with one hand and grasping with the other the musculature of the hind quarters between the loin and the rump and calculating how the back broadens to the thighs. After Udad makes his decision the ram, which has an orange ear tag with '223' inscribed in black, is led away from the flock to be transported.

The bull Fouad had decided to send to the abattoir is also retrieved from the cowshed next to the house, a windowless one hundred square foot box. The walls are thick to protect the livestock from the winter snow and a generator supplies electricity for the lighting. The dozen or so animals are arranged in four rows and individually chained to their places at concrete troughs. The bull in question had become lame because of lacerations on its back hooves which were affecting its posture and causing it discomfort. Remedies had

been tried (medicine and the trimming of the hooves) but to no avail and now it was important to achieve the most they could from the animal before it lost its conditioning.

Transportation of the two animals from Fouad's farm was to be by pickup truck. The loading of the prickly bull onto the small flat bed took four men twenty minutes. Three men at the rear pushing, cajoling and one at the front lent backwards pulling on a rope tied to the bull's makeshift twine head collar. With the addition of the ram which sheltered at the front, next to the cabs rear window, the pickup wended its way up the mountain road. Upon reaching Ifrane the bull was unloaded at the abattoir, an unremarkable whitewashed building with a large enclosed courtyard next to the old colon farm, and the sheep delivered to Mennad's house where it was tied to the metal window grill. Upon delivery Mennad was led out to give his opinion on Udad's purchase. By touch and with practiced ease he assesses the hind quarters, and declares his approval of the sheep. The sheep is left tied until the next morning.

Both Buitelaar (1993) and Combs-Schilling (1989) point out that the Ram's weight and the size of its genitalia are significant status markers that position the family in the wider community. Indeed in Ifrane as in the above ethnographies there is much discussion of the relative merits of each family's Ram. In fact many are purchased earlier than might be expected in order that the Ram might be displayed in the period leading up to *Eid l'Kabir*.

b) The Sacrifice

On the evening of *Eid l'Kabir* the whole household are dressed in their finery. Z and Winaruz went together to be shaved and have their hair cut by Bukkus at his barbershop the day before. Wearing their best clothes, trousers and well pressed shirts, they pull on their *jlabas* when they go to visit their friends or to the mosque for prayers. Izza, eyes thick with kool, had been at the *hammam* with Selma and a few friends for an hour or so in the afternoon.



11. The Butcher standing over the Ram

The butcher stands over the ram, blade flicking back and forth over the steel, observing, quantifying the act. Alone and no doubt sensing danger the ram backs into the corner, the unmistakable smell of urine filling the air. The butcher arrived with a set of knives in a blue plastic bag. Inside is a steel for sharpening the blades; a machete the length of a man's forearm, a kitchen carving knife, and a smaller flat ground knife used for the shallow slicing strokes utilised whilst skinning.

The sacrificing of a sheep can take place any time after morning prayers. It was Mennad's intention to undertake the ritual immediately after returning from the mosque but he was unwell so the event was postponed until the

evening. Several men within the city work as butchers for just this one day, moving from one house to another offering their sacrificial services. Normally the sheep is sacrificed as close to the kitchen as possible whilst still being outside. However, Izza insisted that the ritual should be undertaken on the piece of land between the house and the empty lake to reduce the mess of blood and the accompanying neighbourhood cats. Mennad's family, a round dozen, along with the neighbours from the houses either side on the terrace as well as the garage dwellers gather around in a semicircle. After telling off Cicungh for teasing Izza for giving the sheep a drink of water earlier that afternoon Mennad performs the ritual saying 'bismillah, allah akbar' over the sheep, dedicating it to God.

When the dedication is finished Cicungh holds the struggling sheep on its side, four hooves held together in one hand, with his other hand and knee he pins the sheep down. The butcher crouches turning the head to the correct angle, exposing the carotid arteries for the killing blow. It usually takes a sheep a minute or so to die after its throat is sliced. It takes ram 223 two and a half minutes, thrashing around, blood spurting out into a dark puddle on dry soil.

When the twitching and kicking has stopped the wound area is washed with tap water. The head is completely removed, placed to one side and the carcass carried by its feet into the yard. A small nick is made in the skin at the hock and fingers slipped in, expanding a little the pocket between skin and flesh. Cicungh then makes an airtight seal by curling his fingers around the pocket and blowing into the hole. The sheep's whole body expands like a balloon. Then in a series of small quick cutting actions the skin is peeled back from the hind legs by the butcher and the hind feet removed at the hock. Extra care is taken around the testicles and in the tail area. After passing these delicate areas the sheep is hung by its hind legs from the metal window grill with some old green package tape. Hands are inserted into the space between the skin and the flesh and in a series of fisting motions, the hide is peeled back to the foreflanks. It is finally separated from the carcass by pulling it off the front legs.



12. Removing the Skin

After the skin is fully removed it is kept in a cool place, draped over a broken grey plastic box, formally used for the carriage of glass soda bottles, under the yard trees, until a man Mennad knows from Timdiqine takes it to be cleaned, scraped, tanned, dried and worked. Returning to the carcass, the butcher now makes a careful incision, slicing the belly open. The membrane which the innards rest is carefully pulled out and cautiously removed, leaving the innards to dangle down, and placed over the back of a bowl in the kitchen to dry. The rest of the guts are removed with the intestines put to one side for their contents to be squeezed out. The final organs to be removed are the heart and lungs before the isolated tail and rectum section are removed.

The heart, lungs, liver, kidneys etc. are checked for disease and any lumps removed. These are taken to the kitchen. Izza washes the carcass and leaves it outside to hang along with the head and hooves. Cats, initially attracted by the smell of blood and kept at bay by the celebrants, now swarm around

licking and nibbling. Normally, the head and hooves would be taken to a group of boys, who for this day only prepare them above hot coals on open makeshift fires located on the street corners. Given the lateness of the hour the head, legs (in bucket on the stairs) and the carcass are left until the next day for further processing. In the kitchen, however, Izza scrapes and cleans the internal organs boiling the stomach sack, windpipe and one lung, purifying them. The heart, kidneys and liver are kept intact and cooked on the open fire for dinner with the rest being finely chopped.

For Mennad's family vegetarianism has, over the past few years, become an economic necessity and the majority of meat they consume is the result of sacrifice both their own and their friends and neighbours. The opportunity to eat meat is then an opportunity to be relished. Three dishes are feted as being particularly delicious; the testicles chopped and fried up with a few pinches of fresh coriander; the succulent meat prised from the jawbone; and kebabs made from wrapping a cube of meat, usually from the shoulder, in the dried stomach membrane. Bread is eaten with all these dishes. It is rapped around the cubes of meat when detaching them from skewers made hot from the burning coals of the open fire; it is used to mop up the spongy fluid of the fried testicles; and as a simple accompaniment to tender jaw meat.

The next morning, after being left to hang over night, the carcass is taken down by Driss and Izza. A low square, white gloss painted, wooden table is taken from the back salon to act as a chopping surface. The testicles and tail are the first to be removed with a sharp knife and placed on a stainless steel tray. The two then hold the carcass up, one hind leg each and a rusty, metal handled, hatchet is used to split the carcass down the middle, between the hind legs, along the spine. Each chopping action is accompanied by a thudding crack as steel meets bone, the pair pulling the legs apart a little more after each strike, until the carcass finally splits in two. Using Izzas supply of six kitchen knives each half is further reduced on a wooden chopping block (usually utilised to chop kindling) into the fore and hind legs, loins, ribs (in groups of three) and shoulders. These are taken to the

kitchen and in due course may be broken down further depending on what a particular recipe requires.



13. The quantity in Mennad's gift

The quantity in Mennad's gift of sacrifice is only realised in communal effort. The sheep parts before distribution. A third to the poor, a third to friends and family, a third kept.

According to the Quaran none of the slaughtered animal, including the skin and horns, can be sold or exchanged. Instead one gives one third to the poor, one third to ones friends and the final third for ones own family. In this instance one third is split between the garage dwellers and a very poor family Mennad has known for years from the Timdiqine and one third split equally between his two neighbours which they reciprocate with meat from their sacrifices.

In this instance then it is not the patrilineal lineage system of origin that underlies identity but rather identity's construction requires a different 'specificity of connections between persons' (Strathern 1992:180). It is in the exchange of materialised perspectives between migrants that 'an analogy

is created between the kind of regard that two parties have for each other' each judgment being weighed against the other to create a relational 'totalising moment' (1992:181).

c) Preparing the Head

In the afternoon, on the piece of scrubland between the house and the lake, Winaruz prepares a fire. He gathers some large sooty rocks from a previous fire pit a few yards away, and setting them in a circle adds hand shredded cardboard packaging for kindling. Some dry brush wood is placed on top and the whole set aflame by means of a disposable plastic cigarette lighter. When the brush catches a couple of small logs are carefully placed on top and the embers constantly fanned until the wood also ignites. Returning to the house Winaruz retrieves the head and legs and on his way back runs into a neighbour, the dark skinned Sadida. Sadida and Winaruz were in the same year at school and she had been present with her parents at the sacrifice the evening before. Her family came to Ifrane from the deep south in the mid nineties, her father finding employment in the palace gardens. A glance at the contents of the white plastic bucket Winaruz is carrying is all she needs to know about his reason for lighting the fire and she offers to give him a hand. After good naturedly telling him off for making such a pathetic attempt Winaruz is sent back to the house to retrieve more fuel. The two expand the stone circle add the extra logs and start placing the head and feet on top.



14. The Rams head blackening on the fire

The rams head blackening on the fire. Removal of the hair has already begun under the eye and along the nose ridge.

First, small black plastic handled kitchen knives scrape off the blackened hairs which cover the legs. Strokes are quick and measured, downwards along the length of the cannon (between the hoof and the hock) being especially careful not to burn fingers. At this point the horny hoof sheath covering the end of the toe is prized off with the tip of the knife and discarded. Next the head, which up till this point had been singeing on top of the fire, is given the same treatment. Scratching off the thick brown hair on the forehead is particularly time consuming. Thick hair does not burn easily, and when it does splutter into flame it burns yellow, the smoke

produced a pungent mix of sulphur and burnt cedar wood. The whole procedure finishes with the horns being hacked off at their base with a wooden shafted hand axe. The head is further reduced, cut in half at the top where the horns fuse together.

Whilst they burn, scrape and talk, Sadida's mother comes to her gate and looks concerned, not doubt at the fact her daughter is fraternising with Winaruz, an unmarried, unemployed, unrelated male. However, when she sees her daughter is preparing the head of the sheep sacrificed in her presence she bobs back into the house. It is certain that if she had not been undertaking this task Sadida would have been immediately called back into the house and soundly told off. *Eid l'Kabir* is over and proprieties have to be kept. It is an opportunity Winaruz and Sadida relish and it takes considerably longer than usual to accomplish the process.

d) The Skins

After curing the sacrificial skins are displayed in the home, and are often found on the floor in front of the fire. Many use them as prayer rugs, as does Mennad, and most families have a number of them stored away. On the surface the skins represent an anonymous series, to Mennad's children they all look the same and are interchangeable, even if Mennad says he can feel the difference, but they do represent a distinct family chronology. There should be one each for each child born in Ifrane and one each celebrating the *Eid l'Kabir* making a total of thirty plus but there are not, rather there are fifteen. Before Howla's death they were kept only spasmodically, their significance not so important. Since her death and the loss of Mennad's sight they have been kept unfailingly.

2.4 Conclusion

In the Sacrificial Nexus there are two competing Prototypes; Abraham's sacrifice of his son and Mennad's sacrifice of the Ram. The hoped for result to the familial form of Mennad's household is that both abductions take place. It is the family's intention that the illusion of its complete form stay intact both in public and private.

a) Abraham's sacrifice of his son .

[[Prototype A → Patron A] → Index A (the ram sacrifice)] → Recipients

↓

[[Prototype A → Processors (the family)] → Index Aa → Recipients (the family, friends, the poor)

Fig 2

In fig 2 abduction occurs in two stages. The Recipients (family and friends) in the first stage abduct from Index A (the sacrifice) both Abraham's sacrifice of his son (Prototype A), as well as Mennad's patronage (patron A) as the provider and the one who blesses. In the second stage the prototype (how the ram should be butchered and distributed) and the agency of the processors (both in the organisation of the processing and materialised in cuts used) are abducted by all the Recipients; the third which the family keeps themselves, the third that goes to their friends (the neighbours), and the third which is given to the less well off, garners them social capital.

This is the way the process is meant to work. If, however, we look at Winaruz's motivation (as well as the other sons to a lesser extent) we get a different orientation to the nexus. Winaruz because of his lack of belief in Prototype A (the sacrifice by Abraham) changes the underlying structure of the nexus shifting the position of Prototype A in the nexus resulting in;

b) Mennad's sacrifice of the Ram

[[Patron A (Mennad) → Prototype P] → Index A] → Recipient (Winaruz)

↓

[[Processors A (the family) → Prototype P] → Index Aa] → Recipients

Fig 3

In this nexus (fig 3) Winaruz due to his lack of belief in Allah abducts from the Index A (the sacrifice) and Aa (the processing) the hierarchical primacy of Mennad's patronage and the family itself (as processors) rather than Prototype A's. This is important because this recognition of the sacrifice reaffirms Mennad as the dominant male within the group.

After *Eid l'Kabir* the memorial skin becomes the most important part of the composition of the structures which delineate Mennad family's unique form, maintaining equilibrium and cementing Mennad's place at the head of the household. As an access route to the familial framework of better times the series of skins serve to reproduce its form and to preserve it in the present. As a public action the efficacy of the skins is not as obvious. There are not as many family invitations as there used to be for *iftor* in *Ramadan*. As they fail to communicate with the unique structures of other families they are becoming more and more cut off from them but they do so in the knowledge that they themselves are still the same.

The Production nexus;

[[Prototype A → Processors P] → Index A] → Recipients

Fig 4

In Fig 4 the Recipients abduct from the cured skin (Index A) the ideal prototype A (the sacrifice) which influences the actions of the processor (the family removing it and the man who cures the skin) from the finished Index A. The recipients in this nexus, however, are not the family but rather spectators from the outside world who abduct the family based ritual sacrifice as well as the consequent distribution of the meat and as a result, the idea of Mennad's household as a good Muslim family from the displayed cured skin. Although Mennad is scrupulous in distributing the thirds, most others I witnessed kept and ate the sacrificial meat themselves.

To the family itself however the nexus is slightly different:

[[[Prototype A (pile of skins) → Mennad P] → Processors A] → Index Aa
(the new skin)] → Prototype/Recipient P

Fig 5

In fig 5 we notice that the prototype occurs twice. First as the cured skins from past familial sacrificial acts (prototype A), as an agent, and then as a result of the new skin Index Aa being added to the old pile as patient. The pile of skins reproducing and increasing their density each *Eid l'Kabir* which re-establishes each year within the familial framework Mennad as the head of the family in both public and private.

When Ziri was in town before *Ramadan* he bought a sheep which was slaughtered by the same process above but without the dedication. It was purchased simply as a present and had no religious significance. Still the killing of this sheep was meant to serve as a potent act strengthening ties between two parts of one family who have been drifting away from one another due to distance, poverty and apathy. To illustrate the fact it had no religious significance, part of the carcass, a hind leg, was sold to the garage dwellers and the skin was not kept. The act of sacrifice and the consequent distribution of the meat is of course designed to make connections, alliances of equals and subordinates. The meat from a whole carcass, minus the leg, lasted for a week. This was a time of plenty for a family who for the majority of the year survive on a diet of vegetables.

In the context of the rupture in relationships between Mennad's family and their village of origin caused by their migration to Ifrane, Ziri's visit is not necessarily an event to be welcomed, after all, as Cicaugh points out 'where were they when our mother was ill or after she died?' The reestablishment of ties with the original family unit would place an intolerable stress on the present familial infrastructure, in effect the way it presents itself to itself. It

is precisely because of this that Ziri's visits are not reciprocated with a trip back to the village of origin even though a number of Mennad's children have had the opportunity over the years.

Mennad prays on a sheep skin from a past *Eid l'Kabir*. The skin is a soft warm place on cold winter days, cushioning his knees during his long periods of devotion. As an Index, it is a place where he is both connected with God, his wife and his family. One substitutes for all. Consequently, the creation and maintenance of the skin as a memorial object, although undertaken during religious periods and fulfilling its expected role in this respect, by garnering divine blessings and cementing ties between families, also serves to act as a active agent in the family unit itself and assures the stability of the family's form.

The killing of the ram instead of Ishmael may seem to stand in symbolic opposition to the happy relational vitality cultivated in the preparation and consumption of the *Ramadan* meal. As Bloch (1992:27) points out the substitution of the ram for the child carries with it the implication that, without the intervention of God, Ishmael would have met a violent end and consequently through the act of sacrifice 'a terrifying closeness to death on the part of the living is evoked'. As the death of a child is analogous with the 'killing of human vitality at its most intense and forward looking' the child's violent death would serve to kill hope. But it is Bloch's point that God is appeased with 'the insubstantial aspect of the animal'.

The following consumption of the ram's meat allows the family to replace their lost vitality with the 'conquered' and 'plundered' vitality of the ram 'to such an extent that they can turn their strength outwards', an act of aggression. The creation of the illusion of Mennad as the dominant male with the ability to maintain the autonomy of the household even to the extent of violence in defence of their honour (Jamous 1981) is then of the utmost importance in the creation of relational stability.

The subsequent distribution of the meat serves to create and reinforce their alliances with their friends and is an important gestural act as the sacrificial meat carries with it 'reference to its origins in the acts of others and thus to relationships that lie beyond the immediate transaction' (Strathern 1992:185). The structure of the sacrifice by the family creates an insoluble bond and serves to organise their relations with the wider community. It is therefore not only an act of aggression but also an act of relational control which serves to create stability

2.5 Reflections

Understanding how metaphor and memory 'index aspects of social relations and personal mood' (Shore 1996:279) is important. Food acts as 'a tangible site for memory' as Sutton (2001a:122) points out for migrants 'food is essential to counter tendencies toward fragmentation of experience'. The processes in the production and consumption of food create 'a sense of the known, the habitable, through a labouring over the familiar' (Sutton 2001b:114). Familiarity is a pleasure, a time and space where this migrant family can relax and be off guard, laugh and tease.

As Hage (2003:12) points out it is important to bear in mind that hope enables individuals 'to invest themselves in social reality'. It is posited here that 'no collective memory can exist without reference to a socially specific spatial framework' (Connerton 1989:37). The 'mental equilibrium' of the members of the family is dependent on the fact that objects 'with which we are in daily contact change little or not at all, so providing us with an image of permanence and stability' (Connerton 1989:37). During *Ramadan* the family obviously 'look forward' to eating at dusk but during the rest of the year it is similarly so. When food is shared it institutes an underlying bodily rhythm to the day and through religious periods of feasting and fasting also serves to modulate the year. Memorial objects are important in creating a feeling of being happy, of being in control. As the family 'look forward' to eating they are also 'looking backward' to the meals they shared with Howla, a type of 'prospective remembering' (Sutton 2001b:16).

It is true that both Index A (the *Ramadan* meal) and Index B (the Sacrifice) can be understood in isolation but they only attain their true significance when observed together as an indexical complex. The two indexes act to reproduce the family form in both private and public. The *Ramadan* meals recreating the missing feminine and the ram sacrifice the missing masculine. In public Index A and B are viewed separately as individual acts, in private, however, they are seen as a whole. They are acts of ritualised self-reflection whose cohesion lies in the modulation of the dialectics of masculine/feminine and mother/father. They synchronise abduction;

The Public Nexus

[Prototype (*Ramadan*) → Index A (the meal)] → Recipient (others invited to *ftor*)

[Prototype (Sacrifice) → Index B (the sacrifice)] → Index (the sheepskin) → Recipient (guests at the sacrifice and subsequent viewers of the sheepskin)

Fig 6

The Private Nexus

[[Prototype F → Prototype M] → Indexes A & B] → Recipients (the family)

Fig 7

In the public nexus the Indexes (the meal and the sacrifice) are viewed as separate entities in time and encourage their recipients to abduct notions, from each Index, of the perfect Muslim family who fast, give alms and observe ritual sacrifice. It addresses the imbalance in the family unit created by a dead mother and a blind father for Izza and her brothers. In the private nexus it is the culmination of the abductive qualities of each index, the meal and the sheepskin, from which they abduct the male/female dialectic (prototype F (female) and prototype M (masculine)) which constitutes the framework of the family. It is in the creation/consumption/display of these

indexes that allows the family to reconstitute itself each year and recover the 'we' in each 'me'.

In Bourdieu's approach, the moulding of each individual by his or her environment, the 'class of conditions of existence' which are 'structuring structures' is known as *habitus*. Here there is 'no conscious aiming at ends or express mastery' in achieving outcomes and individuals are never 'the product of the organising action of a conductor' (Bourdieu 1990). The privileging of the *habitus*, the series of environments ('fields') with which one interacts, the producer of the individuals embodied experience, is a view which discounts to a large extent the agency of people and things.

This chapter illustrates that the rituals (*Ramadan* and *Eid l'Kabir*) performed by the family when viewed from the outside define the family's place within wider society, the accumulation of 'economic capital', 'cultural capital' and 'social capital' (Bourdieu 1984:114). However, even though this is true and the purpose of the family seems on the surface to correspond with expected status-increasing acts, it is only through an understanding of the relationship engendered by objects that we can understand that there exists as Halbwachs (1992:63) points out 'a difference in nature between kinship on the one hand and religion, profession, wealth, etc., on the other.... If events that seem at first glance to be related to ideas of another order occur within the family that is because in a certain respect they can be considered as family events'. The family has its own memory of its own unique kinship relations, relations reborn in and through the objects they create, consume and display, which allows the family framework to be viewed as a distinct forward looking self structuring entity.

CHAPTER THREE

Religion in Ifrane



15. The Mosque in Timdiqine

The Mosque in Timdiqine, next to the souk. There are two other mosques in the city: the main Mosque, next to the market, and the University Mosque. In the background is the Royal Palace which sits on a promontory on the other side of the city.

3.0 Prologue

Contra to Eickelman's (1978) notion of textual Qur'anic domination this chapter argues instead for a much more embodied notion of religious practice amongst the migrants. The chapter begins by introducing some of the crucial concepts of time, mathematics and prayer within Moroccan Sunni Islam and then relates them to observations of embodied religious practice in Ifrane. Concentrating particularly on religious practices observed among certain key informants (Mennad, Udad and Izza) the data suggests, firstly, that religious practice is socially efficacious because we connect with others by observing their actions and subsequently tally these observations with our own experience of the same or similar acts. Secondly, that through the manipulation of objects, prayer beads in this instance, religious practice should not necessarily be seen as prescriptive but in many instances as an act of experimentation and composition.

The implication of these points is that religious memory is not transmitted diachronically from one generation to another through passive internalisation, as Eickelman's religious temporal structure proposes. Nor is it transmitted as a biological predilection, as proposed by Gellner (1969). Rather, a different temporal structure is suggested where knowledge is shared synchronically through the use of notional gestures. Here connective bonds are built by including both physical and notional objects in the communicative structure.

3.1 Introduction - Paradise & God-consciousness

For many who visit from the plains during the summer. Ifrane and its surroundings are 'like a dream'. With its clear mountain air, lush green forests rustling in the westerly breezes and babbling brooks it was perhaps an unsurprising choice for the site of an expatriate colony during the Protectorate. It fulfilled all the archetypical European romantic images of the perfect landscape (lakes, waterfalls, forests and Swiss style mountain

chalets) endlessly reproduced in literature, paintings and prints during the 19th century, as paradise on earth.

Paradise in Islam is portrayed in a remarkably similar way. On the day of retribution the righteous will be able to enjoy the gardens and springs of paradise (Qur'an 44:51-55). Water of course takes up a significant part of this description as in the environment in which Mohammed lived, water was a scarce commodity and power was control over its supply. In fact the paradise presented in the Qur'an is an exceptionally material place, a place where carnal longings will be satisfied by marriage to 'fair ones with wide, lovely eyes'. One will recline on couches and be served pure water from silver goblets by youths dressed in 'silk with gold embroidery' and wearing silver bracelets (Qur'an 76:11-22). It is a place to luxuriate, a place of sensation. It thus seems natural when thinking about religion in Ifrane to think of paradise and for Mennad, Udad and Izza trying to secure a place there employs a significant amount of their daily lives.

There is a paradox for the Ifranians though. A lived paradise is not what it seems to the day-trippers from the parched cities on the plains. The reality of mundane life, extreme winter weather and lack of employment opportunities, sits alongside this religiously constituted dreamscape. We might wonder how Ifranians deal with this paradox and ask what is the ambient feeling, the environmental rhythm, of this paradise on earth?

Religiosity in Ifrane shapes the daily rhythm of life. It weaves the lived world together through the ritualised sequencing of time, which the search for paradise entails; it is the tempo of the inhabitant's reason. Sequential religious experience also makes certain sets of relational frameworks possible. But that is not all. Prayer and other devotional acts of remembrance are an emotional concern, they extend to the individual a chance, in a life where opportunity is a scarce commodity, to actively influence their own time and space in the present so as to secure a future in the afterlife. Happiness though is not only something that is deferred for the future as time spent praying in the present also engenders positive emotions. This

chapter seeks to show that the role of remembering, as a devout state of mind, is key to the emotional state reached through prayer (*Salah*) and devotional acts of remembrance (*Dhikr*).

The pursuit of *Taqwa* (God-consciousness) also has the benefit of garnering social capital. The relationship between religious knowledge and power, the dependence of the illiterate on the literate, has been long recognised in the Muslim world generally and Morocco in particular (Gellner 1981, Munson 1993) where social status and reality itself are defined by relational possibilities offered by knowledge acquisition (Rosen 1984). In effect the pursuit of Paradise both defines where you might be going as well as socially where you are.

The religious experiences as presented here are diverse even within the familial unit. As Geertz (1968:56) observes of Islam ‘how comes it that an institution inherently dedicated to what is fixed in life has been such a splendid example of all that is changeful in it? Nothing, apparently, alters like the unalterable’. *Taqwa* acquisition through *dhikr* allows for a departure from proscriptive structures of religious practice such as the *Salah*. Whereas in *Salah* the movements and words spoken are precise and unchanging in *dhikr* creativity is possible.

When a new migrant arrives in the city initially things seem slightly out of sync. Gestures, dress and the way people go about their daily business are new, as if the established inhabitants were living their lives in a different rhythm. One of the most important sites for the re-establishment of a temporal rhythm is ritual performance. This chapter offers a detailed description and analyses of the organisation of the two most common ritual temporal systems; *salah*, the normal prayer undertaken five times per day often at the mosque and the use of *tsbah* (a mnemonic device) in spaces outside the mosque.

3.2 Religious Time

One aspect of religiosity in Ifrane is that it composes the temporal structure. The religious calendar is fundamental in dividing the year, the month, the day, the minute, the second into sequential entities. From time immemorial, religiosity partitions and divides time, compressing and compacting it into ever smaller quantities. Similarly, for Durkheim (2008) [1912] social time is religiously structured. The religious calendar is, both an ‘expression of the rhythm of collective activity’ and the cause of this rhythm. The religious rites which make up the calendar function ‘to create, maintain and to re-establish certain mental states within these groups’ (2008:10). How the religious calendar coordinates and establishes ritual mental states is critical for understanding how time functions in this cosmology.

We have already touched upon, in the previous chapter, the idea that it is possible to somehow stop time. Geertz (1973) would call this approach ‘detemporalisation’. The process of detemporalisation is no more evident than in his work in Bali where it is understood that a person is reborn every other generation and each individual day has its own precise nature. Consequently, as Gell (1998:14) points out, in Geertz’s Bali ‘time is read qualitatively and non-progressively rather than quantitatively and progressively’. Progressive calendrical time under this ‘interpretive’ approach is obsolete as time is repeated bi-generationally

In the approach followed by Bourdieu (1977) temporal experience is an unequal relationship between two oppositions: firstly a temporal experience where time is abstracted and represented by a calendar of ritual and seasonal events and the second ‘lived time’ where un-abstracted time flows in two different directions, here the past and the future exist in the present, a place where it ‘is as if one were immersed in an evolving present, rather than passing from period to period according to an abstract scheme’ (Gell 1998:17). In Kaybele society it is instinctive un-abstracted ‘lived’ time which is dominant with rational calendrical time taking a back seat. The

calendar is merely a way of synchronizing people's performances. Gell opposes privileging the instinctive over the rational approaches anthropologists think people have of time. Even in peasant communities, time is subject to both quantitative (calendars) and qualitative (lived experience) judgements. The interrelation of 'lived' and 'abstracted' time is of critical importance in understanding the creation of ritual frameworks. The 'instinctive time' Bourdieu privileges couples with 'the calculative detached, intellectualising side of temporal awareness' (Gell 1998:22)

When the external environment changes, memory often suffers, we often become 'disorientated' when we start new lives in new spaces. The new Ifranian is desperate to re-establish the 'environmental rhythms' (Gell 1998:9) underpinning the framework of their social memory. They can achieve this by situating themselves through prayer and devotional acts of remembrance within a ritual calendar.

As Ahmed (1981) points out, Orientalists have for the most part ignored the relevance of the diverse indigenous practices within Islam and have instead concentrated purely on textual understandings. This is obvious in a Moroccan context in the work of Geertz (1968), Rosen (1989), and Eickelman (1985). In this chapter we show how it is not the words uttered in prayer, but the acts of counting and calculation involved in achieving harmony with a devout emotional state, that is of pivotal importance in this mountain community.

3.3 The Abstracted Religious Calendar

Time in the Moroccan year is punctuated by a series of religious celebrations;

Month 1	Muharram	-	10 th	Ashrura
Month 2	Safar	-		
Month 3	Rabi' al awwal	-	12 th	Mulud
Month 4	Rabi' al thani	-		
Month 5	Jumada al awwal	-		
Month 6	Jumada al thani	-		
Month 7	Rajab	-		
Month 8	Sha'ban	-		
Month 9	<i>Ramadan</i>	-	All	<i>Ramadan</i>
Month 10	Shawwal	-		
Month 11	Dhu al-Qi'dah	-		
Month 12	Dhu al-Hijjah	-	10 th	<i>Eid l'Kabir</i>

Ashrura is a day of (voluntary) fasting and occurs in the Holy month of Muharram (also known in Morocco as asur) ten days after the Muslim New Year. Of the household only Mennad fasts on this day. Mulud, held on the 12th day of the first month of spring (Rabi' al awwal also known in Morocco as l'mulud)), is the Prophets birthday, and is known throughout Morocco as a day to give alms (zakat), and is usually marked by the giving of plates of couscous at the mosque (Buitelaar 1993:139), although no alms were given by either Mennad's or Seddan's family.

The month of *Ramadan* is one of the Five Pillars of Islam in the Sunni faith. It is marked by the undertaking of Sawm by all Muslims, ritual abstinence from sex, drinking and eating. The others are Shahadah (the daily affirmation of Allah as god and Mohamed as his prophet), Salah (the five daily prayers), Zakat (the giving of alms), and Hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca each Muslim should ideally undertake at least once in their lifetime). Many

also abstain from alcohol the week preceding *Ramadan* and fast for another week after the Festival of breaking the fast (*Eid l'Sigir* – Little Eid) at the end of *Ramadan*.

The final important date in the yearly series of religious celebrations, two months and ten days after the end of *Ramadan*, is *Eid l'Kabir*, the Big Eid (also known as *Eid al-Adha*, the Festival of Sacrifice). This ritual is a re-enactment of Ibrahim's sacrifice of his son and, other than *Ramadan*, it is the most important religious celebration in the calendar although it is not one of the Five Pillars of Islam. It is considered by most to be an extension of the *Ramadan* period; 'you can't have one without the other'. In Chapter Two the idea that *Ramadan* and *Eid l'Kabir* are linked as a whole is fundamental to an understanding of the collective familial framework.

The start date of the Muslim calendar is reckoned from the year Mohammed moved from Mecca to Medina (622AD). Running for twenty nine or thirty days *Ramadan* is the ninth month in the Muslim year. The actual length depends on the utilisation of the shorter lunar calendar (the Gregorian solar calendar year having eleven or twelve more days). Consequently, *Ramadan* inches, little by little, backwards through spring, winter, autumn, summer. In 2006 *Ramadan* began at the end of August and ran till the end of September and in 2007 the month began in mid-August and ended in mid-September. A man or woman in their sixties will have witnessed two full cycles of the seasons in reverse. Most people have fond memories of being children during *Ramadan*. Children up to the age of twelve do not fast and the whole period is remembered by many as a 'magical experience'. Visits to and from relatives and friends, warm hugs, fuss and presents, children seem always to be the centre of attention. They also get away with all manner of naughtiness which at other times would be harshly punished.

Alongside the ritual Muslim calendar stands the Gregorian calendar initially established during the Protectorate. This calendar marks the passage of non religious time, the seasons and events such as the film festival in Azrou and the football season. In effect there are two different types of time, a

difference in temporality between ritual time and 'profane' time. Amongst the farmers outside the city the lunar Muslim calendar cannot, due to agrarian time moving through the solar year, be tied to any seasonal agrarian activities, only religious ones. Consequently, different activities exist in different time frames. This is obvious when one notices that everyday profane existence for the vast majority of Ifrane's population runs on the Gregorian calendar, and time is organised in relation to that calendar. Profane and religious calendrical repetition serves to create two quite distinct temporalities. Religious calendrical repetition of festivals and fasting are structured then to 'appear and to be experienced as qualitatively identical' so as to be 'indefinitely repeatable' (Connerton 1989:66).

Dates on coinage and banknotes are an interesting by-product of counting time by lunar units. Two different systems (Muslim and Gregorian) are both used to display the year a particular coin was struck or banknote printed. The years of the Muslim calendar chasing and slowly catching their Gregorian equivalent at the rate of one year every thirty two or thirty three solar years. The difference now is five hundred and seventy nine years; 2008 (Gregorian) or 1429 (Muslim), whereas in 1976 (1396) when the Muslim calendar last gained a year the difference was five hundred and eighty years. So by the time the Gregorian calendar reaches 21000AD the Muslim calendar will have caught up with and surpassed it in date. The lunar calendar is, however, seldom used or referred to, and Gregorian years are used, whether at home, the coffeehouse, the market or in businesses generally. The Muslim New Year is not celebrated or even commented on although many have parties on the Gregorian New Year. Most people have only a rough idea of the exact Muslim year; many have no idea at all. Months though are an exception. Annamar, for example, uses and refers to the lunar months (Muharram, Safar, etc.) as well as their Gregorian equivalent. As we shall see, days are subdivided in relation to the sun's movement across the sky.

3.4 Paradise on Earth?

In order to gain a better understanding of religiosity we must understand how it impacts on the everyday life of the family. As a blind man who ventures only rarely from his home one might imagine Mennad's world to be an insular one, a place of hard edges and disembodied voices, a place cut off from paradise. In reality this cannot be further from the truth. In fact Mennad's relational framework with the outside world is as complex as any other family member. A relational framework that is maintained, almost exclusively, by his quest for *Taqwa* (God-consciousness).

When Mennad his wife Howla and their young children arrived in 1970 the city was a village, a small isolated place. All that existed were the houses of the French, the Royal Palace and the burgeoning service quarter of their servants in Timdiqine. Initially they lived near the bakery located on the old colon farm. Soon after they arrived, however, the government subsidised land and the building of houses for hardy families willing to live in this inhospitable place. During the winter the roads to Ifrane were cut off for weeks on end and it was not unusual for the military to have to make food aid drops from aeroplanes. During winter, it was far from being a paradise on earth. Winaruz even now describes winter in Ifrane as 'a frozen hell'.

Living in a sub-zero winter environment of leaking roofs, frozen pipes and the clinging smell of damp wood smouldering in the stove, nothing new to do, nothing new to say, can be disheartening experience and many suffer from depression. Adjusting to these surroundings is not a given, to survive one must 'fit in' with the wider community. Friendships are built up through reciprocity and are not simply given to the new migrant who, after all, may abscond after the first few feet of snow falls. Until recently Mennad would receive one tonne of wood at a subsidised price every year. The four tonnes required to last the winter are ordered in Azrou in the summer and delivered in the autumn. Theft of wood is common during particularly harsh winters so the load is carried up the three flights of stairs and stacked on the roof accompanied by the grumbling of whichever sons managed to be

there when it arrived. The carrying and stacking of the wood is meant to be a communal effort but Winaruz has managed to be absent for the last two years culminating in a disapproving dressing down from his father and a blazing argument with older brother Udad whose exertions had aggravated his damaged back.

The house on the ground floor consists of two reception rooms, one formal and one informal (where the stove is located) and the kitchen and toilet/washroom. Upstairs, there is one bedroom over the garage, another salon (used for sleeping during the summer) looking south over the lake (now dry) and one level up a toilet and another bedroom. The garage space has been sold a soldier who is stationed in the town. His wife, her widowed mother and three young children live there. There is little interaction between the families.

Mennad describes his house as his refuge, his own small world. He never ventures upstairs anymore. The majority of his day when cold is spent in the front room sitting reciting *Tesbih*, praying or reclining listening to one of his second hand radios. He listens to many channels, turning the knob backwards and forwards, until he finds something interesting to engage with. He sits in the dark on an *afaloon beldi* (bench) under the window because it is next to a power socket. When he first went blind the children left the light switched on for him. Now they leave it off to save money. During the winter evenings the family all sit and sleep around the stove in the back room. Huddled under thick soft colourful blankets they watch television or play cards, periods of familial time punctuated, five times a day, by prayer.

Mennad served twenty five years in the military and his army pension is 950DH per month (c. £80). The army gives him a free health check-up every six months in the military hospital in Meknes. The medicines he has been prescribed alone should cost him 500DH per month. He used to receive a small amount of money towards his prescription from the military but these payments stopped over year before and now he receives no relief from the government toward the cost of their purchase. Running the house along

with his three sons and daughter costs an average of 200 to 300DH per week. The biggest influence on his outgoings, other than his medicine and the winter wood, is the price of vegetables. Times for the whole family are hard, the numbers simply do not add up.

Mennad takes medicine three times a day for his arthritis and kidney problems and due to his kidney complaint does not eat salt. Consequently, Izza makes him special salt free bread. During *Ramadan* he shoulders a burden he keeps from the children. He cannot afford to purchase his medicine and purchase everything for the house as well, so instead of taking his pills during the night as is normal during *Ramadan* he goes without. It affects his health and he sometimes suffers severe pain. Prayer, however, offers him solace and allows him an escape 'to another place'.

He moves gently through the house, his wooden cane in one hand and the finger tips of the other lightly brushing the cool gloss and matt painted surfaces. He likes to sit in the front yard on summer afternoons in his large wooden chair under the gently rustling boughs of trees. People see him sheltering there and come and take refuge in his shady place. All are welcome and if they see him in *Tesbih* they either wait for him to finish or come back later. On Fridays his sons take it in turns to escort him to the mosque, however, during *Ramadan* a kindly neighbour comes and takes him for the five prayers. As a consequence, even though he doesn't go by himself further than the edge of the concrete kerbstone just outside the yard, he is remarkably well-informed of the latest news and gossip. Socially, Mennad is situated within the wider community through the common shared practices of remembering (*salah*) and memorising (*Tsabih*).

3.5 Religious Structuring through Prayer

‘When I am kneeling on my carpet I feel a connection with God’ Udad

To Mennad the five prayers and the use of tsbah are the ‘heart beat’ of his life. Here abstracted time and lived time combine to articulate his experience of the present. The gestures used during prayer and beading are both extremely rhythmic. Waugh (2005:6) in her study of the relationship between memory and religion amongst the Sufis similarly believes that habitual rhythmic performances are an important factor in shaping communal memory. To Sufis remembrance (*dhikr*) is ‘a category of ontological significance’ crucial for communicating with God. Mennad likes the music the Sufi’s play and listens to it on his radio. The rhythm used for *dhikr* is far less complex than that used in this type of meditational music and has a strong ‘African’ beat (Waugh 2005:145).

The temporal rhythm of the religious structure is most obvious during *Ramadan*. The family wakes before dawn, have breakfast, and then if inclined undertake to pray for the first (*fajr*) of five times during the day (only Izza and Mennad undertake this prayer), this prayer consists of two *rahkaat*. A *rahkah* is a unit of prayer, equivalent to approximately one six hundredth of the Qur’an. The other four daily prayers are: *dhur*, the midday prayer and *asr*, the afternoon prayer, both of which require four *rahkaat* to be recited; *Maghrib*, the prayer at dusk, where three *rahkaat* are recited; and evening prayer, where again four *rahkaat* are recited.

In addition to the five daily prayers normally undertaken by any Muslim, during *Ramadan* a Sunni Muslim is expected to undertake the reading of the Qur’an from start to finish. Known as *Tarawi* it is not a compulsory activity but rather *Sunnah*. If one cannot read it is sufficient to recount any verses known. Alternatively, each evening during *Ramadan* one thirtieth of the Qur’an (one *juz*), is read by the Imam at the mosque. Interestingly, one *juz* is achieved by reciting ten pairs of *rahkaat*, each cycle accompanied by the

usual standing, bowing, prostration, and sitting. One *juz* takes approximately one and a half hours. Many who can read also follow this formula reading a little each day.

The month is marked most obviously by the quietness of the streets in the daytime and one can sit in the yard and only be disturbed by the woodpecker's distant tapping or the song of a mistle thrush. Obviously eating, or not eating, is what occupies most people's minds during *Ramadan*. This righteous hunger is punctuated by prayer, a rhythmic casting out of the sensuality of all things that lead one away from God.

The PAM area is situated in close proximity to the mosque enabling Mennad to hear the call to prayer from the house. When there is no mosque nearby and no chance of actually hearing the call to prayer other methods are employed to ascertain the time of the midday and afternoon prayers and the direction of Mecca. The way of finding time of the midday (*zuhr*) prayer is established by measuring the length of one's shadow cast by the sun and if it the same as your height this prayer can begin. The time of the afternoon (*asr*) prayer is also determined by measuring the shadow one casts and when it is twice the length of your height this prayer can begin (Imam Malik 2001:8).

Udad, although utilising the same principle, had a different method which he believes is more commonly used when out of earshot of the mosque. He admitted only to have ever undertaken this on rare occasions when he had been in the forest. Using the same schematic structure as applied to his height he translates this metaphor to objects. First, he finds a straight stick, finds a flat place where it will cast a shadow, then measures one length off by anchoring one end with one hand and sweeping the other end around in a curve where he estimates the sun will fall at midday, then plants the stick straight up in the ground at the point where the stick was anchored. When the shadow from the sun hits the outer edge of the semicircle it will be the same length as the stick and it is time for the midday prayer. The afternoon prayer is simply found by doubling the length of the semicircle and waiting

until the sun hits the new outer edge. Of course, as the sun at midday is in the south the sticks shadow at midday will be pointing north which allows Udad to know where to orientate himself in relation to Mecca to the east. A similar method is used by people with other objects. To pray in Mennad's house one faces the wall which separates them from the garage dwellers.

Socially the efficacy of the ritual is not bound up with an understanding of the words but instead with their correct transmission 'their efficacy is in their uttered repetition' (Connerton 1989:67). The five prayers are not simply verbally communicated though, they require gestural stimuli; the correct mannerisms, the correct manipulations of objects (the prayer carpet), the correct motions, the correct prostrations. Consequently, the direct diachronic link through the generations back to Mohammed is not only textual it is also gestural (Henkel 2005:297).

Before undertaking one of the five daily prayers the supplicant must purify his body (*taharah*) and perform ablutions. When it is warm Mennad washes whilst sitting on the south facing doorstep using the yard water tap so as to feel the sun on his face. He washes his face first followed by his hands and forearms, and then his feet. The others usually wash under the kitchen tap.

Prayer carpets are found in every home in Morocco. There are a couple in Mennad's home. One belongs to Izza and one to Udad. Mennad uses one of the sheepskin's from past Eids. Udad and Mennad use theirs everyday, Izza uses hers most days but not everyday. Z and Cicough never use these carpets but do, on the rare occasions they attend, use the ones available in the mosque. Winaruz of course does not pray at all. It is not unusual to find Mennad, Udad and Izza undertaking the salah in row in the large salon. Mennad on his sheepskin with the bench next to him to orientate him to the east, Udad and Izza lined up to his left in order of arrival. There is no segregation of the sexes as is the case when prayer is undertaken at the mosque.

The design of the rectangular prayer carpet (sajjada) is an important factor in situating those undertaking prayer (salah) in a different space and time. The dimensions of the carpet accommodate the whole body. Izza's carpet is a little under five feet in length and a little under three feet in width; Udad's carpet is larger in size. Standing, kneeling, sitting and other abasements are confined to this area exclusively. Both carpets are factory produced though in other homes hand weaved prayer carpets are often found. The carpets have certain general design features in common. A large border of approximately six inches runs around the edge decorated with stylised flowers and foliage which frames a central panel. This panel is a stylised representation of a mosque interior, usually columns which support an arch. This arch symbolizes the mihrab, the alcove in the mosque which designates the direction of Mecca. Often the mihrab design will have one or more lamps suspended from it.

Colours are commonly deep reds, blues and yellows. All the motifs are highly stylised with none, of course, showing human imagery. Other design motifs on prayer carpets include representations of hair combs and water jugs. One such carpet was purchased by Sisangh's mother for her niece when she undertook the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca (one of the five pillars of Islam) in the early nineties so her niece would remember to purify herself before praying.

3.6 *Salah* – The Five Daily Prayers

At the beginning of prayer Udad stands, bare footed, his hands by his sides at the base of the carpet which is orientated towards the east wall of the salon. Udad then expresses his intention to undertake a specific prayer (one of the five daily prayers). Raising his hands, palms facing outwards, to his ears he says '*Allah Akbar*' (God is great). Folding his hands over his belly he recites the first surah from the Qur'an. Next he bows with his hands on his knees reciting three times 'praise to the magnificent lord'. Then rising up, hands again at his sides, saying 'Allah listens to those who pray to him'.

Next Udad kneels toes flush, ankles bent, the palms of the hands and forehead on the carpet facing the *Qibla* (the direction of Mecca). Here he recites three times '*Subhanna rabbiyal Allah*' (praise be to the supreme Lord). Rising to a sitting position, buttocks on heels, hands on knees, Udad says '*Allah akbar*' and then prostrates himself again reciting three times '*Subhanna rabbiyal Allah*'. The first *rakat* is completed when Udad rises again to the seated position. How many *rakats* are undertaken and what they are depends on which of the daily prayers one is undertaking. Udad concludes his prayer, after reciting the last *rakat*, by sitting up and reciting the *Tashahhud* and by looking right over his shoulder (representing his good deeds) and left over his shoulder (representing his bad deeds) and say '*as salamu alakum wa rahmatulaah*' (peace and blessings of Allah be upon you).

To Udad the carpet 'pulls me away from the world' and 'I don't know how to say it.... I go through the carpet'. Izza similarly believes as she kneels on the carpet it somehow 'opens a pathway' to God. It is a 'doorway' to the Masjid al-Haram (the grand mosque in Mecca), a place she has never visited but knows from the television. In both cases there is a sense that one passes from this time and space to another.

Connerton (1989:72-73) in his groundbreaking work on 'how societies remember' shows that body memory breaks up the habit-memory in two practices which are 'sedimented' in the body. The 'incorporating' practices which transmit memory in the present and 'inscribing' practices designed to 'trap' memory. Both bodily practices are obvious in religious memory; the remembering of ritual postures are as important to acceptance as a memory fixed in the text. In Bourdieu's notions of bodily hexis and habitus, which closely parallel Connerton's 'habit-memory', the very small, seemingly insignificant, details of clothing, comportment and gesture are fundamental to understanding. The reason for this is that 'in treating the body as a memory, they entrust to it in abbreviated and practical, i.e. mnemonic, form the fundamental principles of the arbitrary content of culture'. These embodiments are a type of 'practical mastery' (Bourdieu 1977:94).

Memorising the Qur'an or the ninety nine names of God might in theory have the effect of 'freeing memory from its dependence on external context' allowing us 'to retain the memory regardless of changes in the external environment' (Fentress & Wickham 1992:73). If we follow this logic placing something in an internalised narrative memory removes it from the social world. The external world is not so easily discarded though, gestures are a crucial factor in the creation and retrieval of memory. For Mennad recalling the words and deeds of the prophet is the most important part of his life and illustrates how religious memory, in the form of the abstracted calendar time and through personal 'profane' gestural systems, control and creates a lived temporal rhythm.

3.7 *Tsabih*

'Truly it is not the eyes that grow blind but it is the hearts which are in the chests that grow blind' (Qur'an 22:46)



16. Mennad Beading

Mennad in the front yard sitting on a chair salvaged from the old Michiflin Hotel and reciting verses from the Qu'ran. One bead represents either one name of God or one hundred repetitions of a verse from the Qu'ran and each is pulled by the thumb over the pad of the forefinger toward the body. In this picture you can see he is getting close to the hundredth bead. On his left knee is one of his second hand radios.

Beading and praying gestures form the essential connective tissue of a pan Mahgrebi collective memory enabling the individual to experience emotions through empathic as well as textual means. Gallese, the neuroscientist who discovered the existence of mirror neurons, gives us a rich description of how these neurons work, which underscores the importance of actions in relation to the formation of social memory; ‘Although we do not overtly reproduce the observed action, nevertheless our motor system becomes active *as if* we were executing that very same action that we are observing. To spell it out in different words, action observation implies *action simulation*’ (2001:37). The composition of the meaningful, because it is prefigured and re-remembered in actions, creates a ‘shared manifold of inter-subjectivity’ which manifests itself when the beads are used and is made active on a deeply phenomenological or emphatic level, by seeing his father (or anybody else) beading Udad can share in that emotion, they have a shared experience. Empathy is created then by stimulation of cognitive functions through the action of beading and empathy, and is a major factor in building relational frameworks.

Mennad leans slightly forward in his chair, rocking gently backwards and forwards, his lips moving silently, the *Tsabih* moving through the fingers of his right hand, as he recites God’s attributes. *Tesbih* is the act of using a string of beads (*Tsabih*) to count the number of times one recites the name of God whilst praying. Each string consists of ninety nine beads of similar size, colour and shape, two markers (which can be different shaped or coloured with tassels or without) and one other known as the ‘one hundredth bead’ (which is usually of a turned oblong shape). Initially a new set of beads are stiff being bound tightly together on the string. The user has to dig in with his or her thumb to prise the beads apart. With use the string on which the beads are suspended stretches and the movement becomes smooth. The beads can be made of any material but most usually are either plastic or wooden and can be quite gaudy or quite plain. Usually they

represent the ninety nine names of God plus one. In line with Sufi thought this one hundredth bead has great significance, it is the secret name of God.

Mennad gave Udad his beautiful wooden string of beads, a string he had been given by his father as a boy, when Udad was suffering through a particularly bad period of back pain some years before. The beads are a deep rich auburn colour and seemingly uniform, but closer inspection reveals many beads with nicks and scratches. These small notches have been worn smooth by the many years of being passed between the fingers and thumbs of Mennad and his son. So much so that whilst beading they cannot only distinguish between the three separated sections of thirty-three beads but also, by tactile engagement, between many of the beads themselves. Consequently, each bead that passes under the thumb does not give an identical tactile experience. Rather, as the thumb moves from bead to bead it softly traces the topography of small undulations and fissures that act as a trigger to the somatic senses.

The one hundredth bead, as well as being a handy way of securing the two ends of the string, is the sign of God's transcendent being and many search their whole lives to know it. *Tesbih* is the conscious search for the mind of God through the repetition of his names. The names of God are all those mentioned in the text of the Qur'an, each representing a different aspect of his being such as 'the creator', 'the forgiving', 'the wise', 'the loving' etc. The beads are slipped between finger and thumb, one by one, the words spoken internally or externally. It is not necessary to know how to count to one hundred to use the beads you merely move your finger from one to the next. Keeping track of how many times you have recited the name of God is made easier by the two markers which stand next to the thirty third bead and the sixty sixth bead. These two markers are not counted and no name of God recited, but the hundredth bead of course having the significance described above. The beads can be utilised by going either way from the bead next to one hundredth bead. One can also purchase smaller strings of thirty three beads which are repeated three times to achieve the requisite total.

Mennad first saw the beads being used by his father when he was growing up believing that this experience revealed to him a path to God. His father taught him the list of names when he was a young boy but he gave up *Tesbih* upon reaching adulthood and did not take it up again until he was in his forties. He has now been beading continually for thirty two years. The beads count either verses from the Qur'an or the ninety names of God and their use is the most important task in practicing the *Sunnah*. Mennad believes they give him a positive link with God and that all that have faith use the beads, to him it is the most important way of directing ones mind towards the acquisition of God-consciousness.

Mennad's use of the *Tsabih* is extreme and is without doubt due to the double trauma of losing his wife and his sight. He finds solace in the act. Winaruz thinks such use is 'excessive' and acts as a form of 'anaesthetic'. Initially he used the beads before and after each of the five times a day he prayed. Since he went blind, however, this rate has increased dramatically to using the beads in excess of twenty five times per day. It has become an important, perhaps the most important, practice in his life and whenever he has time on his hands he reaches for the beads. The beads allow him to keep a perfect reckoning of how many times he has repeated the name of God. A run through the whole cord takes between four to five minutes and in doing so he repeats the names of God two thousand five hundred times spending all told around two hours on the task per day. This is the minimum often Mennad's time spend utilising the beads increases considerably. Instead of repeating the name of God he repeats verses from the Qur'an; 'I repeat a small verse one hundred times in each bead'. One hundred verses one hundred times.

Mennad went blind late in life and when he contemplates the names of God he does so visually. In his dreams he also experiences visual imagery. Once clear, recently these images have begun to 'fade' and instead he often sees 'colour explosions' and 'patches of colour'. This is not to say his imagination has become more abstract rather it is his other somatic senses

that inform his memory. Where once he marked his movement around the house visually he now uses his somatic senses (smell, touch, hearing and balance as well as variations in temperature and air flow) both to orientate himself within his environment and increasingly to inform a more holistic imagination.

The *Tsabih* are meant to function as ‘memorial clues and aids’ (Carruthers1990), however, one day, in rumbling agitation, Z expressed his opinion that people are wholly mistaken when they believe that the beads have some essence of the divine and treat them as in some way as containing God in the same manner as the Qur’an. He sees it as a type of fetishism. But to many the beads preserve a linkage with God even when they are not being used. To some a trace of memory is left behind.

Mennad becomes closer to God when he uses his *Tsabih*, they link them together. They ‘refresh’ his memory and help him to concentrate. He never loses his place as ‘it is the task of the beads to remember the times you have repeated the words of God’. As each bead is drawn by the thumb across the pad of the index finger and then drops Mennad takes one step closer to God-consciousness. The beads remember the long periods he has been reciting names and verses; ‘God knows you have been remembering him and he realises that you love him. He will want you to be near him’. One can simply achieve this by the five daily prayers and others of the Five Pillars but using the beads is another important way of getting closer to God; ‘if you count two thousand beads per day it will enhance your chances of getting close to God’. It is a reciprocal relationship between Mennad, the beads and God, the beads tie them together physically and conceptually.

Concentration is imperative to creating the correct environment for understanding the verses or names of God recited. Daily trials and tribulations must be expelled from the mind before one can enter this concentrated state. The beads themselves act to still the minds wanderings as whilst ‘focusing’ attention on them the user can ‘block out’ and ‘ignore’ the world. Using the beads creates a different time and space for Udad. His

attention is so focused on the rhythm of the beads that his perception of sound becomes dulled, he goes ‘to a different place’ when he beads.

Many use the beads during busy schedules, they are omnipresent, hung around gear sticks and on nails sticking out of walls, in coat pockets as well as being held by those using them. Udad admits that he does not know how people can concentrate well enough to use the beads when sitting in traffic jams or just for a few minutes during lunchtime. He usually goes upstairs to bead and be quiet.

The Prophet’s memory of the verses of the Qur’an was not perfect (87:6) with a number of *Hadith*’s reporting that the prophet needed to be reminded of Qur’anic verses he had forgotten (Abu Dawud 2000 3:1015 and Bukhari 1993, 8:394). A collective religious memory created and maintained through Mohammed’s communicative interactions with other individuals. There is no doubt that the use of the beads act as a ‘gestural stimulus’ to the memory (Carruthers 1990:204). Many are dependent on the beads as physical devices to aid remembering and some believe they cannot recite the ninety nine names without them. The recall of the word is dependent on the manipulation of the bead. The use of the bead to aid recall should be viewed as a gesture which excites the memory. When he recites the ninety-nine names Mennad cannot separate the properties of the beads, from the saying of the names, they articulate memory, time and space. Mennad, Udad and Izza’s use of the beads is an incorporating action, they are reliant on the beads to remember.

3.8 The Ninety-Nine Names of God – *asma'allah al-husna*

'Allah! There is no God save him. His are the most beautiful names'
(Qur'an 20:8)

'Verily, there are ninety-nine names for Allah, a hundred excepting one. He who enumerates them would get into Paradise. Truly, he (Allah) is odd (he is one) and he loves odd numbers'

(Sahih Muslim, *Hadith* 6476)

As mentioned in the introduction a 15th Century book, known as *The Guide to Happiness*, lists the one version of the ninety nine names of God. It is through the enumeration (ahsaha) of God's names and more importantly their committal to memory (Brown & Palmer 1990:9) that the Muslim can gain entrance to Paradise. The names of God are his attributes which are found throughout the Qur'an. In fact there are considerably more than ninety nine separate attributes mentioned in the text and the *Hadith* itself does not mention which names are the ones to be enumerated.

On the surface it seems that it would be easy to remember the ninety nine names, there is a list in *The Guide to Happiness* and printed versions are often found inside the front covers of Qur'ans. Further calligraphic representations are often found displayed on walls in homes. However, in practice the likelihood of hitting upon the right series is improbable at best and impossible at worst. This is because, depending on which scholar you chose to believe, there are between one hundred (Ibn Saalih al'Uthaymeen 2003) and two hundred (Molla-Djafari 2002) names/attributes of God. Consequently, there are many differing lists of God's ninety-nine names created by Muslim scholars, no one list being acceptable by all. All, however, agree on three names, 'Allah' and the two which appear at the beginning of all the chapters of the Qur'an bar one; 'Ar-Rahman' (the beneficent, the compassionate) and 'Ar-Rahim' (the merciful). As the ninety-nine names of God are not fixed Udad describes the act of *Tesbih* as 'a kind of puzzle', a process of composition.

The hundredth name of God is hidden within the Qu'ran, so all Muslims, as they have either read the text or, in the case of Mennad as well as other illiterates, heard its full recital during *Ramadan*, have unknowingly discovered it. Which name is the secret name is not revealed. In Shi'i Islam it is believed that the hundredth name will be revealed by the Mahdi (the twelfth Imam who will redeem Islam on the day of the Resurrection). As the notion of the Mahdi appears neither in the Qu'ran nor the *Hadiths*, in Sunni Islam he holds a much lesser status, he is seen as simply as a religious leader, and the hundredth name of God will instead be revealed, as Udad puts it, 'in the hearts of Muslim's who remember the ninety-nine names of Allah'.

As a young man Udad met an illiterate man who had memorised the whole Qur'an, a feat that initially astonished him explaining that the man went to a school, a special place, where he was taught to memorise the Qur'an 'like a song'. Problematically, though, he had 'no skills of interpretation' of this Qur'anic memory and 'gave advice on subjects he knew nothing about'. The views he did hold though were 'fundamentalist'. Although there seems to be a general fall in the social status attached to remembering the Qur'an off by heart, precisely for this reason, in other areas remembering is imperative (as with prayer or *Tsabih*).

Izza, when she uses the beads, often repeats a few of the attributes of God over and over again. But it is not enough to simply recite the ninety-nine names, as Izza points out as well as enumeration one must also 'contemplate the meaning of each name'. Mennad also believes that enumerating, simply reciting ninety nine names, is not enough and one must instead attempt to incorporate 'my understandings in everyday life'.

The order in which the names are retrieved is not theoretically that important. However, many learnt a specific list from their parents as children. The *Hadith* only states one must know the correct ninety nine. Consequently, specific attributes do not necessarily correspond to a specific number although often some do. Many had perfect recall of the first twenty

or thirty and usually, but not always, recited them in the same order. The rest of the names are recalled, as Izza puts it, ‘as they come to me’. Often individual beads themselves can correspond to specific attributes, these are usually the beads which lay next to the larger sectional markers. This is most obvious in Udad’s approach where his list of attributes undergoes constant adjustment.

3.9 *Tasbih* as Composition

In his attempt to find the correct combination of attributes Udad is not merely reiterating the same list he recalled last week and the week before. He is also, on each contemplative recital and each combination of beads, creating a new ‘composition’ of attributes, a different way of understanding God, of becoming more God-conscious. This closely corresponds with Carruthers’ (1990:190) description of monastic memorial practices in the medieval period where our store of distributed memory ‘is in a continual process of being understood, its plenitude of meaning being “perfected” and “corrected”’.

It was understood during the medieval period that to store memory by reading or simple copying does not lead to secure internalisation. If we see the storage of memory this way we are seeing only half the picture. Memory storage is unfinished without composition, ‘for composing is the ruminative, “digesting” process, the means by which reading is domesticated to ourselves’ (Carruthers 1990:192).

Udad’s use of the *Tsabih*, like medieval ‘compositions’, are mental linkages between actions in accordance with a precise method ‘that has postures, settings, equipment, and products all of its own’ (Carruthers 1990:194-6). In medieval times even after going through the compositional stage the final written text was conceived as never being perfect or finished and was subject to continual correction and just as is the case with Udad they were works of memory in progress. Udad’s puzzling over lists of God’s names is a reflection of this search for understanding through experimentation rather than the repetition and reward model.

Forgetting in this context is as important as remembering. By selecting new names to be remembered Udad at the same time discards the traditional diachronic list passed down from his grandfather to his father to him. Yet there is no loss in relation to the passing of this memory as it forms the first combination he attempted.

The beads are a constituting part of Udads solving mechanism as he tries to tease out the ninety nine names by physical imputation. Each bead is the name of God and each full repetition of ninety-nine a new combination. Just as in the game of Scrabble the internal and external world are co-dependent. The manipulation of the beads on the outside has a cognitively efficacious effect, to metaphorically nudge the memory on the inside (Clark 1997). As Udad puzzles away, trying to find the right combination each day, he intellectualises (Gell 1998:20) the whole process of finding the ninety nine names. By using the beads in this fashion Udad is not merely reciting a list he is making a judgment on the information at his disposal. The process is both 'lived' and 'abstracted' a summation of gesture and text.

3.10 Reflections

What is immediately apparent is the importance of sequential logic as an active form of remembering as opposed to the logic of substitution. As discussed in Chapter Two objects can substitute for people (Gell 1998), a substitutive logic, here sequences of objects act as rhythmic punctuations that weave together the fabric of reality (Ossman 1994). It is not one thing but a whole sequence of actions which enchain migrants, each one to each other. These sequential religious experiences generate a temporal and spatial setting in which Mennad, Udad and Izza can maintain a state of balanced relationality both with each other and the wider community in striving for happiness.

To Durkheim (2008:10) [1912] the properties of things correspond to the 'categories of understanding... the essential ideas which dominate the whole of our intellectual life'. These categories of understanding are inescapable,

when we think of objects, physical or notional, we do so through ideas of ‘time, space, genus, number, cause, matter, personality etc.’, they are ‘the skeleton of the intellect’. Eickelman believes that within the Moroccan context there is a ‘lack of concrete embodiment’ of ‘memorisable and immutable’ religious knowledge (1978:511) and there is a complete ‘absence of devices to facilitate memorization’ (1978:493). He reasons that the lack of development of such mnemonic devices is that ‘their use would associate extraneous images with the original word of God and thus dilute its transmission’. In so doing though he overlooks the relational nature of actions involving the modular mapping of time (Gell 1996) to which this thesis draws attention..

The Qur’an and *Hadiths*, the memories of both God’s and the Prophet’s words and actions, are actively reconstructed within the community. This is most obviously achieved in Mennad, Udad and Izza’s lives by the undertaking of the five daily prayers (the *fard As’salat*) and the use of *Tesbih* (prayer beads) in devotional acts of remembrance (*dhikr*). Enumerative acts of *dhikr* and the *fard As’salat*, are the physical and cognitive fusion of time, gesture, objects and remembering, and serve to connect, through the creation of an abstracted space and time, the supplicant to God as well as to the concrete world.

The interrelation between ‘abstractedly represented time’ and ‘lived time’ in a religious context (Gell 1998:19) challenges the pre-eminence of an exclusively internalised Qur’anic knowledge system as the only way of knowing and communicating religious memory. Instead the conceptual self is realised and collective memory transmitted through the *summation* and ‘enumeration’ (Biersack 1982:821) of both physical and conceptual time and space. In the previous chapters memory has been presented as a social as well as an individual experience. Here this theme has been developed by arguing, as does Assmann (2005), that memory is also culturally constituted through religiosity.

Understanding communication is not subject to linguistic competence alone but also relies on the gestures we use. The ability to use gestures efficiently is fundamental to social discourse (Krout 1939). Our comprehension of others as agents ‘is deeply grounded in the *relational* nature of action’ (italics his) (Gallese 2001:34). Gestures as presented here are not confined to those generated facially or through bodily movement but also to those times we manipulate the material world in the form of ‘mnemonicons’, devices used to help with remembering (Casey 2000:6) to act on our own and other people’s holistic mazeways.

Much enquiry into Morocco (Gellner 1969, Eickelman 1978, Munson 1993) concentrates on textual domination yet overlooks other practices, those usually going unsaid, such as bodily expressions and gestures used during prayer and other devotional acts. A ‘knowledge of detail’ of the bodily adornment, movements and gestures used when attending to prayer can be likened to reading a book (Connerton 1989:11) and serve to form the basis of these socially embodied religious practices. Time and space are realised in the interaction between word and gesture, they are mutually inclusive. It is the combination of both (word and action) that fires thought. Bateson (1979:53) calls this an act of ‘synaptic summation’. In Ifrane, if one is to gain ‘God-consciousness’ it is not enough to simply say or think the words but rather words have to work in synchronous action with gesture, posture etc. However, this is not a simple ‘adding’ of the ‘knowledge of detail’ to words but ‘the formation of a logical product’ which is ‘a process more closely akin to multiplication’. Only a precise combination, synchronically realised, triggers a state where one can find God-consciousness.

To Eickelman (1978) memory in a Moroccan context is dominated by an internalised Qur’anic text where understanding is not as important as remembering. Those descended from the Prophet or other Saints have a predilection for remembering sacred knowledge (Gellner 1969, vom Bruck 1991). The idea that some are more likely, by descent, to have potentialities of remembering beyond the normal follows the Platonic notion that we are born knowing all knowledge with life simply the process of recalling it. As

all knowledge is found in the Qur'an there 'is nothing in the process of learning... which creates anew what was already potentially there' (Bloch 1998:73). Memory in this scheme is internally realised.

In a wider context there is a strong idea that the circumstances of one's birth affect the possibilities one has in the future: 'If your father is *Wali* you will be a *Wali* (a regional Governor). If your father is a gardener (at the palace) you will be a gardener'. Nepotism is rampant and consequently new opportunities rare, the relational framework is a closed system. However, amongst the new migrants there is an idea that Ifrane offers the chance to forget the structuring structure of origin (lineage, economic, honour and status), the attitude is that there are possibilities and opportunities beyond the known. Ifrane is an opportunity for growth as well as change.

This reduction of memory to merely a biological predilection is seeing only one component in the realisation of memory. In the second chapter we witnessed Mennad's family undertaking ritual sacrifice, a traditional remembrance, to manufacture a lived experience as a technique to establish their place in a larger social hierarchy. Here the establishment of lived memory and lived time could only be realised through wider religious traditions, memory as distributed across different 'memory sites' (Assmann 2005).

Acts of religious remembrance have a 'different temporal structure' to that of lived communication. Assmann calls these two memory spaces 'synchronic' and 'diachronic'. In the first instance, the communicative memory space, memory is 'exchanged reciprocally and horizontally' (the *Ramadan* meal, 'the trees') in the second it is not exchanged but is 'transmitted vertically through the generations' (the sacrifice, acts of remembrance) (Assmann 2005:8). In this chapter we have been concerned with understanding how the family interacts with the diachronic religious memory space concentrating particularly on how two sites, salah (prayer) and dikhr (devotional remembrance), allow for an interaction between external and internal memory. The manipulation of a 'system of markers'

(material, gestural and/or gestural/material) act to create a ‘connective bond’ enabling the individual to feel he or she ‘belongs’ to the wider community. They are acts of continual ‘reintegration’ (2005:11)

Mennad’s relationship with time and space is a complex one. As we have seen in the previous chapter during *Ramadan* he tries to manipulate the lived time and space of the present by re-imposing (through the manipulation of objects) the familial structure as it was in the past. By defining himself as ‘a permanent unchanging person in history’ (Bloch 1998:81) Mennad re-establishes the familial structure with himself at its head

The ritual does not simply remind participants of a narrative event from the past, it is the site of ‘re-presentation’. Rituals create a ‘metaphysical present’, a ‘ceremonially embodied form’. Connerton (1989:22) presents us with three types of memory: ‘personal’, ‘cognitive’ and ‘habit’ which form the ‘metaphysical present’. The first two are self explanatory: we have personal memory, referring to memories of a personal past and cognitive memory, referring to our memory of the rules and codes we apply in everyday situations. The performance of these behaviours requires a further memory type, the ‘habit-memory’, the ability to reproduce performances (1989:23), which are essential to social efficacy. When Connerton talks of habit-memory what he is addressing are acts of *incorporation* (1989:77). Reciting the Qur’an or the ninety-nine names of God is not simply repeating words; it requires particular postures, gestures, and acts of object and spatial manipulation, ‘techniques of the body’ (1989:81).

Connerton splits techniques into two categories: ‘referential’ and ‘notional’ gestures. ‘Referential gestures’ work by referring to physical objects or logical objects which in effect includes them in the communicative structure. The individual uses ‘notional gestures’ to compose and stress the content of verbal remembrances, an ‘ideational process’. Techniques of the body are particularly important in language situations where understanding can not be taken for granted but is a process of negotiation.

An understanding of how society remembers itself is imperative in re-establishing an environmental rhythm in the fractured world of the migrant. The everydayness of life, the rhythm, of this fragile society can be found both in the diachronic calendrical framework and by enumerating through gestural things. We keep note, we keep track, we remember and all the while build credit both in the material and immaterial worlds.

On one hand, we have an unchangeable calendrical framework of fasting, feasting and the five daily prayers which order the overall structure of life. Each year and each day is set in a fixed temporal axis. On the other hand, we have another less prescriptive practice which affects the temporal rhythm in a different manner. The use of the *Tsabih* lacks the predicable nature of the *fard As'salat*. It is a stochastic process as the words spoken, while founded in a communal pool of God's names, need not be prescriptive. In effect the process works along the same lines as a combination lock which requires a specific arrangement of God's names in order to obtain the objective, paradise.

If Mennad relies on prayer and beading for 'sense of continuity' Udad relies on the beads as 'markers of temporal change' (Radley 1990:46). Social remembering is not only maintained by beading but also 'shaped' by the properties of the beads. Each use a 'constructive act' which is 'formative of our subjectivity through bringing us into definite relationships' (1990:56). As Mennad, Udad and Izza keep track of the easily forgotten, the tiny and insignificant details, they are remembering the everyday rhythm. Gestural enumeration stimulates not only memory of the immaterial but also intuitively generates a relational social framework. We come to know a place by absorbing these gestural frameworks. Memory then is a model, remembering is something you do, a dynamic relational notion of action.

Time as a structuring element is connected up by gesture. By empathising with the experiences we share in common with others we are creating a 'shared manifold of inter-subjectivity' (Gallese 2001:44) where lived experiences are crucial in allowing us to connect with others. If something

can be experienced and articulated then the memory of this embodiment can be perceived in the actions of others. Acts of enumerative gesturing are essential for Mennad, Udad and Izza in being able to undertake their religious obligations and it is only by through counting in the material world that they might connect not only with each other but also with the immaterial world and gain a place in Paradise. Religion is materialised both in things and gestures, and gestural things, which can be shared through the ability to enumerate.

CHAPTER FOUR

Crossing Boundaries - the efficacy of objects in making connections

4.0 Prologue

In this chapter objects stand for people in a similar way as was described in Chapter Two. There the Ramadan meal and sacrificial sheepskin acted as relational indexes of the family's form. Here, however, objects of a different nature are creatively used in the creation and maintenance of relationships outside the family. In effect, for the migrant, these objects serve as measures for social well-being and happiness. As each object becomes more physically dense it serves as a quantifier for the relational density achieved by its creator or creators.

To form an identity outside the family's relational framework the migrant must be capable of adapting to their new environment. Somehow they must integrate themselves into a new network of relationships, a new time and space populated by new people and things. In this chapter it is argued that migrants are required to form new identities in order to integrate into their new social surroundings, and do so not necessarily through religiosity or the kinship practices discussed in the preceding chapters. In reality migrants create relationships outside the dominant rhythm of religiosity. In this chapter it is argued that in order to establish a harmonious bond with the city's already established relational framework, migrants resourcefully manipulate and rearrange their physical environment to create social connectivity.

I will demonstrate this by showing, in opposition to Eickelman (1978), Geertz (1966) and Gellner (1969) who privilege the internal over the external world, that there is a co-dependency between the internal and external in the creation of new identities. In this chapter migrants recycle old materials and create new structures, and in so doing build new relational bonds. These new relational unions are only made possible by a restructuring of the migrant's mazeway (Wallace 1956), the holistic whole,

through the manipulation of these seemingly insignificant objects. In this scheme migrants' mazes are altered by the transformation of their material environment.

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we observed how Mennad's family found a sense of belonging and hope through the creation of the memorial meal, sacrifice and numeric acts of religiosity. This sense of 'fitting in' and acceptance, which is a feeling of control over their relational field, has its foundations in sensations and emotions triggered by the emphatic interactions with the phenomenal world. But a happy life, however, is not only the sum of our experience of the home environment or religiosity. Just as significant is how identity is fashioned in outside spaces, in the everyday.

In the first part of this chapter processes of integration are discussed as examples of how migrants 'become an Ifranian'. Concentrating on the example of two of the most important public spaces for creating relational bonds, the barbershop and the coffeehouse, it outlines how relationships are established outside the home and in doing so highlights the role of debt in building up working relationality. The second part takes this one step further and discusses the objectification of this newly found identification with the place and its people. In these examples objects figure prominently in the creation and maintenance of relationships.

For the new migrant it is often the case that living out one's dreams is not as easy as it seemed when planning their new lives in their places of origin. It was suggested that the home is a time and place where the migrant feels 'whole', where they feel safe and enjoy the support of their family. However, for new migrants arriving in the city, 'homeyness' (Lofgren 1999) is often what they have left behind. For many it is the first time they have to take personal responsibility for their actions. Now they cannot rely on the relational framework created around them as grew up, they have to make their own choices and alliances. How new migrants integrate themselves

into the larger relational field outside the home is fundamental to their well-being and happiness

Migrating to the city, though, should not be seen as a negative, it is an opportunity to recast their identity, as one put it 'to start again with no history'. In their new environment they have the opportunity to undertake a radical identity transformation, a metamorphosis.

The majority of migrants are Amazigh and come from the towns and villages in the surrounding Middle Atlas Mountains. Others, both Arab and Amazigh, arrive from distant corners of the country, from the deepest south near Dakhla to the farthest north near Tangier and Oujda, from the plains running west until they reach the sea to the desert bordering Algeria to the east. Consequently, they are a jumble of people with different backgrounds (farmers, villagers, townspeople), and dominant languages (Tamazight, Darija, Classical Arabic, French and Spanish), a heterogeneous mixture. There is no shared memory here and this presents the migrants with a unique set of problems when trying to build shared associations which connect one to the other.

Language in many cases is a barrier to be overcome and is a continuing site of anxiety for many new Ifranians. The language used is not uniform, the meanings of words spoken in many different languages are often ambiguous and consequently this type of communicative experience can be indistinct and muddled. Many have great difficulty in understanding the dominant Darija spoken as for a large proportion the principal language used in homes is often Tamazight.

New arrivals to Ifrane approach the city from either the north, along the road from Fez or the south along the road from Meknes via Azrou, by bus, grand taxi or in a private car. The road is steep following the contours of precipitous valleys. On summer days the views of the plains below during the winding journey are stunning, a patchwork quilt of small farms, villages and towns. But in winter the roads become treacherous and impassable,

many lose their lives in the snow and ice, and the city can be cut off for weeks on end.

Not all arrive by these arterial roads though. Meandering their way through the forested valleys is a network of narrow dusty tracks and pathways and this is how many villagers from more remote parts of the mountains reach the city. Bukkas and his father came to Ifrane from their small village further to the east along these ancient routes. He describes intense excitement as they trotted up on their donkey through the shady side of the last hillock. When they stopped, below, 'dazzling' on a warm summer's afternoon was 'the biggest city I ever saw'. Bukkas was scared though and remembers 'hugging my father very tightly'. Although he was going to stay with his aunt, who now and again visited the village during *Ramadan* and gave him presents, he was anxious about going to school for the first time and not knowing anybody. He cried as he waved his father goodbye two mornings later, from the little hillock, they would not meet again for two years. Bukkas was only seven years old.

Bukkas was right to be anxious and afraid, as he stood on this physical barrier, the hillock that serves to bound the city from the forest to the east, he also stood at a crossroads between the axiomatic relational framework of his family and a place where he would have to create his own relational framework. A place where he would experience the myriad of languages and attitudes that struggle with one another to be heard. It is interesting that he remembers this view of the city as the beginning of his new life, and not the boundary to his village of origin, or actually arriving at his aunt's house. To him, looking back, this view marked an ending of his life on the farm with its attendant familial and village relational framework, to a place where he had to be active in creating his own relational connections, to create new possibilities.

This is made possible by the objectification of relational bonds. In Chapter Two Mennad and his family created memorial meals and sacrificial skins to index their social relationships. In creating these objects they were seeking

to re-establish the relationality they had in the past in order to create a stable spatial framework in the present in which hope and happiness could flourish. In contexts outside the home migrants also attempt to create objects to index their relationships. However, because they have no communal memory of the past to draw upon objectified indexification is the sole product of their present interactions with their new social and material environment.

These new indexical objects also differ in other ways from those created in the familial environment. While the objectification of relationality in the home required following prescriptive practices, in this chapter, objects are sites for imaginative inspiration where migrants not only index their relationships but also explore and recycle their material environment, a creative process. Further, whereas the materials used by the family to create indexical objects were perceived to be wholesome and pure, here materials are seen as dirty and immoral. These public objectifications then are clearly the site for relational actions of a different kind.

4.2 PART ONE – Relationship building in the Market

The Barber Shop & Hammam

All the men in Mennad's household go to Bukkas' to have their hair cut and a shave (Izza and Anamar go to Fatima's salon just around the corner). Bukkas and Z met when a school and have been firm friends since. Bukkas lived with his aunt as it was his father's wish that he should study, there was no school in his village. Now nearly thirty years later his great nephews and nieces are following in his footsteps, studying and living with his aunt in PAM. His parents are farmers who raise sheep and grow crops, and since the purchase of a very ancient Peugeot van, financed almost entirely by Bukkas, now travel the twenty kilometres that separates them by car instead of donkey, visiting often. His brother Agwmar, and his three sisters are illiterate Tamazaght speakers, though they do on occasion speak Darija it is not highly developed. Bukkas himself stopped his education in

his first year of high school. Though he must have been able to speak Tamazight when he left for the city, he now professes not to be able speak or understand the language of his home of origin. He now runs one of the eleven barbershops (as well as two ladies hairdressers) in the municipale market.

Being clean, smart and generally well presented is very important in a city where the majority of people are strangers. After all, ‘first impressions count’, not just on a religious level where ritual purification is carried out before prayer five times per day but also on a social level. The hammam, the barbershop and the salon (for the ladies) are important places of socialisation and hotbeds of gossip. Due to the basic washing facilities in Mennad’s home, a knee height cold tap in the washroom (as well as one in the yard) on the exterior wall often freezes in winter, the hammam, the barber and the salon are essential for hygiene as well as rest and relaxation. The hammam is in the PAM square which also sports a vegetable seller, a general store (where Mennad has an account) and a cigarette shop, and is just one hundred yards from the house. During *Ramadan* women spend two to three hours per day in the hammam chattering, relaxing, scrubbing and sluicing. Groups are seen arriving and leaving together in their jlabas carrying towels, mittens, plastic buckets and wash bags filled with needful things. In many ways the hammam serves as a similar social space as the coffeehouse more overtly does for the men.

Outside is a kiosk where one purchases a ticket and any other supplies required (soap, shampoo, mittens, disposable razors etc.). This is also an opportunity to book a massage. Inside there is a disrobing room where clothes are deposited and dressed only in underwear the customers makes their way through a shower and toilet area into a large white tiled room. This room is of moderate hotness and leads to a further dimly lit room which is heated to much more intense temperatures. Each room has chrome taps at regular intervals along the walls and the customer claims a spot in front of one of these and goes and fills a bucket full of hot water at the communal tub. On return the area is cleaned by sloshing water on it, being careful not

to splash the neighbour's area. Then squatting, kneeling, and sitting the body is cleaned by vigorous scrubbing with a soapy mitten and when thoroughly cleansed is sluiced with clean water from the bucket. Men too often go to the hammam together in pairs or groups and frequently spend long periods in the softly lit super hot room quietly chatting. It is polite to sluice the washing area when finished. If they have not already done so, they may go on to the barbershop or the salon to have their hair trimmed and a shave.

Bukkas began working for an old barber in the market when he was twelve. He had been hanging around the shop whilst playing truant from school. In the beginning he helped the barber by brushing up hair from the shop floor and cleaning the combs. But from time to time the barber would allow him to handle the scissors, to play with them in his hands. Then as he grew the barber extended his trust further and from time to time would give him a razor and a piece of fruit to practice his shaving stroke on. It was three years before the barber let him loose on a live customer and because of his diminutive size had to stand on a wooden box to reach. To set up a barbers shop now one needs a diploma from a barber school (which takes two years).

School did not agree with Bukkas, he admits that he spent most of his short education daydreaming about competing in the African Cup with Faras (Morocco's most famous footballer of the 1970s) and playing truant. He did, however, learn the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic. When he decided to give up school he was left with two choices, either to return to the farm or to find employment in the city. The farm held little interest for Bukkas and the skills he learnt there were useless to him in his new environment. Instead, he had to become competent in a new skill to survive as a city man. Skills, acts of everyday work and play, are not only visual performances but acts that require the interaction of all the senses; the touch, the smell, the taste of textures, aromas and flavours. These are the essence, the zest, of everyday experience, the skills necessary in the creation and maintenance of the groups form (Lofgren 1997).

Before starting his own barbershop Bukkas was in partnership with his younger brother, Agwmar, renting a shop in the old market, but this arrangement stopped when his brother quit and returned to work on the family farm. The new shop is just off the market square in the new market and away from the smells that accompany the fast food shops and taxi ranks. He pays 850Dh in rent to the municipality. Although well positioned, it is reputation that counts in gaining custom and the customer base Bukkas built when working with the old barber and later with his brother followed him to the new premises. Many barbers work in partnerships but Bukkas likes the freedom he feels he gains by working for himself and consequently, when times are busy, he hires other barbers to work for him.

The mirrored, wood panelled shop itself comprises two barber's chairs, three waiting chairs and a small desk upon which is a lidded box that serves as the till. Bukkas has also extended upwards and there is a narrow flight of stairs which gives access to the ceiling cavity. The space is used for the storage of supplies but it also serves as a private space that he can enjoy by himself 'where I can de-stress and not have people annoy me' and also with his friends, boasting a sofa and a couple of chairs as well as a kettle. The shop also has a satellite television, the client chooses what he wants to watch, usually AL-Jazeera, football or a music channel. Satellite televisions are common in the market and the equipment can be purchased for three hundred dirham and fifty more to get all the channels decoded.

Supplies are purchased from a specialist company in Fes where Bukkas travels, every three weeks to a month to restock. He purchases whatever he can ahead of time as 'money comes and goes without reliability'. Prices with the supplier are always discussed and billed in dirham. Bukkas, from time to time, forgets to order something in advance (like soap or razor blades) and is forced to run to the closest shop. Here prices are quoted in rials or francs.

The shop is particularly busy from around eleven in the morning till three in the afternoon, otherwise people turn up at random times. If Bukkas wishes to have a coffee he simply locks the door and leaves on the light and the television. If one of his regular customers turns up they will know that Bukkas is around and go look for him at Ben's café.

All the documentation related to the business, bills and rent receipts are kept in a pile in the desk. He is careful to keep them organised as on one occasion his electricity was cut off because the company believed his account to be two months in arrears. Similar tales are told by others in relation to harassment over supposed non-payment of bills, especially to landlords. After the initial shock and anger had worn off it took Bukkas two hours to find the relevant receipts which were in various places both around the shop and at home. Since then he has developed a fear of losing them and now all his bills are kept together in the desk with each new electricity, rent and water bill sitting upon those from the previous month. At home he has a similar arrangement utilising a cupboard in the salon to store them. His marriage certificate, passport and a few old photographs of him as a child on the farm are on one side with the bills piled by month on the other.

In common with other businesses within the market Bukkas is required to display the prices for his services on a board. The names of the procedures he offers are displayed in French and Arabic in the left column the price in the right; 20Dh for a basic haircut (this can rise to 50Dh if treatments are required); 30Dh for a haircut and a shave; 40Dh for a shave, a haircut and a blow dry. The price board is important in instances when a client does not pay attention to the price before he has a cut and then complains it is too expensive. As Bukkas puts it; 'all I need do is show him the price list. It is good to keep good clarity in the way businesses such as ours are run'. This is particularly important when we consider the large amount of customers who cannot read. According to Bukkas these customers accept the terms of contract by sitting and having their hair cut whether or not they know in advance the price.

He extends credit to his friends. Sisangh, Cicungh, Winaruz and Z all owe him money. If someone were to turn up with no money and no real future prospects of earning any Bukkas would cut their hair and give them a shave for free. In fact Bukkas only expects people to pay what they can afford. An optimist he thinks that even though there is faint hope of Cicungh or Winaruz gaining employment during the winter a haircut may improve their chances nonetheless. Otherwise he professes to seek no present or future recompense, either from man or God, it makes him 'happy'.

He has made many acquaintances during his time in Ifrane but counts his 'true friends' on one hand Z and another contemporary during his short schooling are two. Another is Tacfin, the petite taxi driver, who Bukkas met before he started his cab business then Tacfin worked as a dealer in exotic items at the souk. When Bukkas started in the barber trade, given the remoteness of the city, hair products were difficult to come by and so Tacfin would keep his eyes peeled for cheap stock in the big northern markets of Tangier and Tetoun that he could sell onto Bukkas. They became firm friends, living only two doors away from each other, and are often seen going trout fishing together.

Bukkas is seen as a success in his village of origin, as someone who made it in the big city, in comparison to his brother, Agwmar, who 'found it difficult and didn't make many friends'. The problem was language, in the village Agwmar spoke only Tamazight whilst interacting with friends and family and unlike his elder brother never went to school and so speaks neither classical Arabic nor French. Although he does speak Darija according to Bukkas, he never developed it beyond the niceties he uses when taking livestock and crops to market. They also found it difficult to communicate with each other, Agwmar, got frustrated at his brother's inability to communicate with him in Tamazight, Bukkas got irritated by his brother's inability to improve his Darija.

In Bukkas' story we can readily understand the profound dislocation migrants to the 'Garden of the Ciads' can feel. Agwmar could not articulate

his desires and consequently failed to create for himself a network of relationships. He could not survive in the Garden. Bukkas, on the other hand, was more successful but this came at a price, a similar dislocation from the family he left behind.

The Coffeehouse

An icy wind blows from the west bringing a fresh fall of snow, tinted orange under the street lamps. Opening the door of Ben's coffeehouse Z is hit by wall of noise and the smell of damp men. The coffeehouse is in uproar, men out of their seats shouting at the screen, a table in the corner has been tipped over, the cups smashing on the floor. It is the first minute of the Champions league match between local favourites Real Madrid and Bayern. Hasan Salihamidzic of Bayern has scored, drawing the game on aggregate.

Z is a waiter and his most profitable shifts are when Ben puts on the football matches featuring Real Madrid, Barcelona or AC Milan in the European Champion's League. Then Ben's accommodates upwards of ninety customers and is jammed full. The above match which took place in March 2007 was won 2-1 by Bayern who won the tie on away goals. Gambling on the outcome of football matches (and just about anything bored minds can come up with, racing rain drops down window panes is not unusual) is common between men. The Bayern match cost Sisangh 50Dh.

Mennad's third son, Z, began working for Ben as a waiter when Ben owned a coffeehouse in the old market. Ben had inherited the business from his father, who died when Ben was in his teens, just after they migrated to Ifrane. Leaving school a year before completing his Baccaalaureate he took over the management of the business. Because of its location, backing onto the taxis and next to a fast food outlet, the inherited coffeehouse held limited appeal for customers. It is a bustling place were new migrants, often with their lives neatly packed in cardboard boxes and large carrier bags, first set foot in the city. Misunderstandings are frequent, due both to problems with language but also with expectations, and can be a rough place with fights a

commonplace occurrence. Consequently, when the new market opened Ben bid, unsuccessfully, for a couple of the new premises before securing the present coffeehouse located on the southern corner of the site, tucked behind the square. It is in the cafés that those new to the city inquire about opportunities for employment or to make arrangements with the owners to use their places as spaces to work from (electricians, plumbers, carpenters etc.).

The new premises holds a distinction in the market, shared only by its neighbour, of a large south facing garden. In summer it is a pleasant place and the sun dappled tables are popular. Patrons sip tea and coffee under the low canopy of trees enjoying the view of the mosque, its gardens and the forest beyond. To enter the shop itself one goes through the garden passing under a roofed terrace into the main seating area, there is also a back entrance which leads down a covered ally from the market square. Part panelled and painted white, the main indoor area seats between sixty and seventy customers around tables on plastic chairs. One corner is taken up by a large oak counter behind which is a door leading to a small kitchen area and access to the roof space which is used for storage.

The coffeehouse is where men spend the vast majority of their spare time when not working or at home with their families. Most coffeehouses target specific types of customer such as tourists or particular professional groups. For example there are two coffeehouses whose clientele consist of exclusively university staff (Igloo & Saadouk) and others which rely solely on the summer trade and winter weekend tourists (the majority). These spaces are where the new migrant begins the difficult task of making relational connections. Ben's clientele are drawn exclusively from the local community including the Zawiya and it means that his demand stays constant throughout the year. Other coffeehouses, however, aim for a different type of clientele altogether, ones who play cards.

The relationship between the coffeehouse and cards is strong: of the seventeen in the market three are dedicated purely to playing cards

(Winaruz, Cicough and Sisangh are regulars). Of the others, many will allow cards to be played, especially during *Ramadan*. The whole process of gambling which is presented on the surface as secret (the amounts of money won are represented as 'drinks' and are remembered or recorded by the waiter) is in reality obvious to all. The owners most likely to encourage card play are those whose coffeehouses are located in less desirable locations away from the square or close to the taxi ranks. By allowing card games the coffeehouse the owner will insure he receives a minimum daily income (reports suggest anything from 100Dhs upwards). It can be the difference between the success or failure of an enterprise.

Z is one of five waiters working for Ben. As the coffeehouse is one of the busiest in the market he makes good money in tips. He dispenses the strong dark coffee and cigarettes to his customers and how he manages this is up to him. As long as the customer is satisfied, and pays, Ben is willing to allow him to deal with them in any way he wishes. Z scribbles orders in biro on a small lined notepad which when not being written in or scrutinised sits in his back pocket. Waiters throughout Morocco commonly wear a white shirt with black trousers and shoes. Many coffeehouses and restaurants also require the waiter to wear a bowtie and in the case of Ifrane a jumper or even a warm coat is necessary in the winter. Z's clientele can be dressed in western style clothing (from jeans to suits) or in the ubiquitous jalaba.

Orders are taken by Z to the oak counter where either Ben or one of his sons prepares them. Each order of drinks is noted on a ledger, a column for each waiter. The withdrawals from the bar are totalled up at the end of the day and Z pays Ben the amount outstanding. What is left in Z's pockets is his profit. Working as a waiter is viewed as being a good job and the pay, particularly during the summer, can be relatively high.

During the day customers can be found simply sitting in quiet contemplation or reading the paper and some play chess or *Dharma*, boards with mismatched pieces are provided. Ben does not encourage card play as his client base is strong enough that he doesn't need the hassle (brawls and

drunken behaviour seemingly have a strong symbiotic relationship with gambling on cards). However, most commonly customers are found in groups huddled deep in conversation or watching the large widescreen satellite television which is attached to the wall next to the counter. Patrons watch documentaries in the morning and the news from al Jazeera at noon.

Ben's place is also an important space for workers who do not have or do not require premises. Tradesmen such as plumbers and electricians can be found whiling away the hours at Bens waiting for customers to be directed to them but that is not all. Ben's coffeehouse is also known as a place to find people selling cars and even properties.

In the coffeehouse we can discern two types of reciprocity, what Papataxiarchis (1999) in his study of coffeehouses in Greece calls 'interested' and 'disinterested', where patrons seek to build new or strengthen already existing relational frameworks and where they try to escape these frameworks. This reciprocal modulation is replicated in Ben's coffeehouse. Temporal interested reciprocity, where the coffee and tea are gifted in the expectation of a counter-gift in the future, function to create more formal relational frameworks. In effect these gifts serve to connect the time and space of the coffeehouse with outside factors such as kinship or economic ties, such as in the case of Cicough finding employment, what Papataxiarchis calls a 'productive investment'.

However, Cicough also buys coffee and tea in a disinterested manner, he gives to his friends and they give back, nobody is keeping an account, nobody is remembering, they are 'sharing' (Papataxiarchis 1999:162). Through disinterested giving the coffeehouse allows Cicough, to a limited extent, to escape the relational framework of home, by undermining the reciprocal nature of the interested gift. Yet he is never truly free. In a sense when he is in Ben's coffeehouse he has a schizophrenic reciprocal existence, on the one hand interested and on the other disinterested. He never truly knows freedom from the outside world because the mainstream structure never truly disappears (his brother works there and he gains his living from

other patrons), as he puts it when he is in the coffeehouse he is 'always on show' even when he is hanging out with his friends.

Ben has an order of basic items, such as coffee and sugar, delivered each month. These are bulk amounts, he gets through over one hundred litres of milk and sixteen crates of soda per week! His supplier also supplies many of the coffeehouses in the market but also in the downtown area and over the busy summer period he orders extra. He never needs to look at the accounts as he knows he is doing well when he is ordering from the suppliers more than usual.

Ben extends credit to those he trusts and, he readily admits, only to people receiving a monthly wage. Most market shopkeepers who extend credit have a small book, such as at Anamar's restaurant or the shopkeeper at the general store, in which amounts are inscribed. Ben's credit system works in a manner peculiar to him, he issues notes of credit. When a regular is granted credit Ben produces an individual receipt, signed by him, for the amount and each time the regular comes back for more the receipt is amended with the new amount and resigned. The signing of the receipt is undertaken either by Ben or by one of his sons and is kept by the customer until the end of the month then it is paid in full. If one should lose the receipt then Ben will charge an average month's worth of coffee and cigarettes.

There are many prohibitions against usury in the Qur'an (2:275-280, 2:282, 3:130, 4:161, 30:39) any who do charge interest on loans are viewed as being under the devil's influence and will burn in Hell. Although interest is charged on mortgage loans this is cunningly worked out so the bank buys the house and rents it to the mortgagees until the debt is repaid. In everyday life, however, as we have seen with Ben, no interest is paid on personal loans. In theory, under the restrictions of 2:282, if the loan should be for a fixed period it should be recorded by saying out loud the amount and terms, then be committed to in writing by a scribe with two witnesses (two men or one man and two women). However, business transactions performed on

the spot need not be recorded but must be witnessed and given the fact that there are no public scribes in the city (the nearest being in Azrou) this fortunate.

Credit is extended by Ben only to those people he trusts and consequently his system of loans is not anonymous. Instead it describes his personal network of relations. What is occurring is a form of patronage. If you are on good terms with Ben opportunities will be placed in your path, if not, establishing a strong client base may be difficult. His sons, although allowed to add to existing arrangements (the notes of credit), are not allowed to extend credit to those who have not at some point already established this relationship with Ben. Consequently, Ben's system of credit extension is not anonymous and occurs within his own personal relational network (Udry 1990).

Cicough is an exception to this rule as he does not have a regular income. Yet, because Z works for Ben and he sees Cicough as an extended family member he is provided with his own credit slip. It is often the case that he cannot pay at the end of the month so instead Ben gets him to do odd jobs around the place to service his debt. It works out well for both Ben and Cicough. Ben gets labour which often amounts to help with unloading stock and with modifications to the café and Cicough gets a coffee and a place to socialise with friends as well as the opportunity to gain work from other customers.

Conclusion

In Ben's coffeehouse trust and credit are extended to new migrants only in situations where a stable identity has been established (they have a steady income and he knows where to find them) and this is similarly so in businesses throughout the market. In this situation the gaining of credit and the extension of debt are the processes of integration. As a centre of exchange (i.e. those wishing to sell cars etc.) and recruitment (i.e. those wishing to sell their services, plumbers etc.) for new migrants access to Ben's café and others like it are essential to finding and conducting

business. If they cannot pay their debt to Ben then they risk being cut off from this network. Consequently, what might seem a very chancy approach, in letting the creditors keep their own notes of credit, which may serve to destabilise or destroy his business if they do not pay up (Saul 2004:112) is not a problem for Ben. Accordingly, Ben's extension of credit, although allowing access to a network of relationships, cannot be viewed as a gift. The creditor is simply repaying what he owes.

To gain credit one must establish a stable public identity. Many cannot, and just like Agwmar, either move on or return to their places of origin. Creating relational frameworks which bridge the gap between fitting in and not fitting in, creating a place where they 'feel right' is difficult. 'Passing over the border' whether couched in metaphoric or physical terms creates anxiety, as Lofgren (1999:295) points out, 'in this compressed spatial and temporal event basic issues of identity, of belonging and not belonging are raised in the construction of a universe of 'homeyness' and 'abroadness''. To truly know you are home you have to be welcomed home when you leave and return. The above spaces, the *hammam*, Bukkas' barber shop and Ben's café, although essential to survival, can only be viewed as beginnings in the new migrants quest for 'homeyness'. The migrant must also build a network of friendships to belong, a network of people who will welcome them home, which is often achieved through the objectification of identity.

4.3 PART TWO – Relational Integration through the Insignificant

Introduction

Established migrant Ifranians are not easy people to become friends with though. Many are sceptical of new migrants, they have no history, and many new arrivals vanish as quickly as they came. Consequently, newcomers are often subjected to guarded study for a while by established migrants, before being welcomed with open arms. Conversely these migrants have to be open to the curiosity of their potential friends so as not to be seen as being, as one newcomer put it, ‘secretive’ and ‘uncommunicative’. This is, of course, made doubly difficult if the potential friends cannot communicate effectively in a common language.

How to create a new relational structure in this confused language environment in many instances cannot be achieved simply by chatting. Instead the new migrant must institute him or herself by doing, this really is a case where actions speak louder than words. Here ‘homeyness’ and happiness are not found in broad homogenising strokes of language but rather in ‘muted and unobtrusive forms’, the ‘tiny details’ (Lofgren 1999:296). Remembering ones village of origin, as we have seen with Bukkas, holds no particular attraction, it simply reminds the migrant of their lack of relational stability. Living in the here and now, an ideology in opposition to the mainstream, is what occupies many migrants and, consequently, finding and/or creating interactive spaces where the mainstream structure disappears is of paramount importance (Day et al 1999).

Here this is achieved through the recycling and remaking of objects, a dynamic and creative process in which objects both institute and stand for relationships. The objects presented here are viewed by many as ‘dirty’ or inconsequential, and are products of the vices of smoking hashish and drinking alcohol in direct contradiction of Islamic law. Yet they are

instrumental in tying not only individuals together in friendship, but also groups. Here objectification is viewed as a dual act, one in which migrants forget the mainstream structure of home and origin to remember new friendships.

Friendship

Lack of friends means, stranger in one's own country.

(Imam Ali 1996:65)



17. A selection from a hash smoker's collection of bottles and a box filled with cigarette filters

These bottles were collected over the period of fourteen months, the first filter being placed in the bottle of Black Label Whiskey on the morning of New Year 2006. They form part of a series of 10 bottles. The last two bottles in the series to this point being top right in the picture; the bottle of Bailey's being totally black, not revealing its contents, the Whisky box being equally impenetrable when its lid is on [The above picture was arranged by me].

The bottles are filled by an extended group of friends, which regularly consists of a couple of dozen men (including Cicungh and Winaruz) and half a dozen women, aged between twenty and fifty, some of whom grew up in the city but were not born there (about a quarter) and the rest who came to the city more recently as migrants. Between them the individuals in the group number six dominant languages (those languages they speak at home). Many of these migrants find that recalling people and things from their past lives becomes increasingly difficult over time: ‘my old life is vanishing’ and ‘I used to think of my friends in Dakhla everyday but now some days I don’t think of them at all’. It is because the social framework underlying these memories is breaking down, being replaced by new relational structures. It is argued that the utilisation of the reciprocal potentialities objects offer a solution to the difficulties in remaking oneself, through the sequential doing of things, in this new relational environment. It is the small things that count.

The story behind the filling of the first bottle is directly related to the method of keeping score in the card game ‘Ronda’. Sisangh was playing cards with friends on the Gregorian New Years Eve using a set of cords and small things materialised as six cigarettes and eight filters (a scoring system used whilst gambling on cards described in chapter 5). After the bottle of Black Label, a gift, was consumed and the game of Ronda finished he began filling it with filters.

The bottles themselves are gifts from friends, usually expensive Scottish whiskey or other exotic spirits, bought abroad (or at least in the duty free). Each gift has story attached to it. Who gave it, when and where. Initially the containers utilised had transparent glass, the contents on display, but the series has been extended to include an opaque bottle (the bottle of Baileys illustrated above). The very last storage place for the filters however dispenses with the bottle altogether and instead uses a whisky box.

The gifting of bottles of alcohol amongst men is commonplace. The gift is usually for immediate consumption by the group and the bottles represent a

chain of relationality stretching back through time for years. When emptied they are displayed on many drinkers bedroom shelves. There is a hierarchy, with bottles of Blue Label and other rare types, such as Glenmorangie, particularly cherished. Imported bottles usually come in measures of 1ltr as opposed to the normal Moroccan measure of 750ml. Stories are told about where each was bought and how it was consumed. On the most basic level they are of course forms of symbolic capital; they speak of money, liberal attitudes towards alcohol, travel and in many cases a desire to have more freedom from the traditional family unit. They also create a basic chronology, a memory of the group's form.

'Intoxicants' are forbidden in Islam as 'abominations of Satan's handiwork' (Qur'an 5:91) and unsurprisingly there is strictly no praying allowed when drunk ('draw not near prayer when ye are drunken' Qur'an 4:43). It is not permitted to consume alcohol during *Ramadan*. It is a dry month. Both alcohol shops in Ifrane are closed from the first day until after Eid Sagir. It is a curious thing that many, who at other times during the year might be viewed as being on the verge of alcoholism, are pictures of abstinence during *Ramadan*.

However, there is widespread use of hashish during *Ramadan*. Just as with normal cigarettes this substance is not consumed during the fasting daylight hours but during the night. In theory, as it affects the user's state of consciousness, it should be placed in the category of intoxicants. But this is not the case here. In their discussions regarding hashish and prayer during *Ramadan* the consensus of opinion within the group was that after the consumption of this substance one was not allowed to pray until the effects wore off paralleling the admonishment against alcohol above. Otherwise smoking hashish was fine. Outside the group, amongst those who regard themselves as being more spiritually pure, it is widely held that hashish, like alcohol, will negate any prayers offered for forty days after consumption.

Dealers obviously selling hashish on street corners, as occurs in most cities in Morocco, is not a good advertisement for the burgeoning family tourist

industry. Consequently, the substance is not readily available in Ifrane as any dealers are quickly closed down by the police. Procuring hashish is undertaken instead in Azrou and Immouzer (another much smaller Protectorate garden town on the opposite side of the mountain). The quality, however, is poor, more sandy and crumbly than the prized dark oily variety found in Casablanca or the soft brown pollen of the Riff. Another option is to go to the old medinas in Meknes or Fes where good quality can be found.

The problem of quality is not a difficulty in this group as one member migrated to Ifrane from a small village near Ketama in the Riff, the largest hashish producing area in Morocco. Due to these contacts a steady flow of good quality hashish is sent each month or two, paid for on delivery, and distributed amongst the group. The division of the block of hashish which in other situations might be a site for mistrust and bickering, threats and falling outs, in this group is a cheerful event as ‘we all end up smoking each other’s so it doesn’t really matter that much’. A larger than usual delivery of hashish from the Riff is delivered just before *Ramadan* begins.

The bottles take on a different dimension when they begin to fill with filters. They become dense numeric objects and there are underlying notions of: the volume of different shapes, the relationship between volumes and things, a series of sets, zero and infinity, optics and angles. In the translucent Bailey’s bottle the concealment of filters behind a small viewing aperture caused many to look to see how it was filling. One such manipulation created a discussion on the appropriate angle one had to hold it to allow the light to penetrate down to the filters. But most of all they do not represent, or do not only represent, conspicuous consumption or cultural or social capital the bottles; more importantly are containers of relationality which seek to ‘ensnare’ (Gell 1999) the cognitive ‘tendencies’ of the group.

It is no mistake that the bottle, as it fills like an hour glass, acts as a numeric chronicle of time. In this case a bottle takes approximately a month to fill with more extreme consumption going on during *Ramadan*. On one level the bottle

filled with filters act not only as a record of consumption but also a representation of how time is modulated in the object. During *Ramadan* time 'goes slowly' but the object fills quickly. During other periods outside *Ramadan* when time is moving more quickly the object fills more slowly. This is also reflected in the fact that the contents of the bottles have never been counted and apparently people who see them ask 'how long?' not 'how many?' It serves as a nexus modulating time and relationships, with densities being analogous with reciprocity.

The group specifically keeping count of how many joints they smoke, each filter representing one joint smoked (or indeed one set of small things discussed in Chapter Five). The outcome is never the result of counting but rather the result of measurement. The fillers of the bottles are not interested in how many filters there are, an exact number, but rather how much time it took to fill them. Therefore, in the case of the bottles, one quantity (the fullness, wholeness, the group) is compared to another (emptiness, incompleteness, the individual), an approximate metaphoric comparison between two concepts.

On the surface the bottles visually transmit the reciprocal relationship between the individual who gifted the bottle and the consumers but it is not only a matter of filling the gift to discharge a debt, the object holds a deeper significance. The more massive and condensed the inside of the bottle becomes, the more people have been drawn into the relationality that is encoded in its material form. This form constitutes the cognitive framework of the group as it exists in the present. The relational intersections occurring within the bottle are the relational intersections occurring in the group.

The Recycling of a Bottle:

The Gift of a Bottle of Alcohol

↓

Consumption of the Gift

↓

Storage of the Gift's Container/s in a queue

↓

Recycling of the bottle as a gauge of Reciprocity

↓

The display of the full bottle

The Recycling of a filter:

The consumption of a cigarette

(Either by use in the construction of a joint
or initially in the process of making a set of 'cords and small
things')

↓

The immediate placement of the filters in the bottle until full

↓

Display of the full bottle of filters

The parallel reutilisation of these objects is interesting and illustrates their use in computing the relationship between time and reciprocity. That the initial gift is important to the giver is illustrated by the importance placed on choosing the bottles initially. One friend of Sisangh, Omar, a businessman who travels to France a couple of times a year, and who has two bottles represented in the collection, chooses them taking into account size, shape, colour, design of the label, and the rarity of its contents in Morocco. He

usually buys them in the airport duty free and it has become part of his routine. After he checks in and goes through passport control he will spend his time looking for 'a good one' until boarding. He explains that he gets bored waiting for his plane and it gives him something interesting to do to pass the time. It also gives him some sort of self expression as he has 'a long list of things to buy for my family', things unavailable here such as designer clothes, children's toys and books for his nephew.

The full bottle is consumed immediately but its empty shell is stored in a queue of other bottles given for the same purpose. If each bottle takes a month to fill then, with three bottles waiting, it is considerable time before the bottle is recycled. However, if we remember back to the idea, expressed by many, that 'time moves more slowly during *Ramadan*' the storage of empty bottles in a queue gains more significance. During *Ramadan* there are more visits from friends, Ronda is played obsessively, and hashish is consumed in larger quantities, but not alcohol. Although there are many visitations from friends and relatives living abroad alcohol is not a gift that is usually given. This is more than likely due to the simple fact that it cannot be consumed immediately and would have to be stored until the end of *Ramadan* unopened. Thus the queue system works to provide a supply of containers which have the potential to be filled. In each filter dropped into the bottle there is a pulse of relational connectivity. Its purpose need not be linguistically stated, it has communicative capacities of its own which allow others to understand its underlying structural intention.

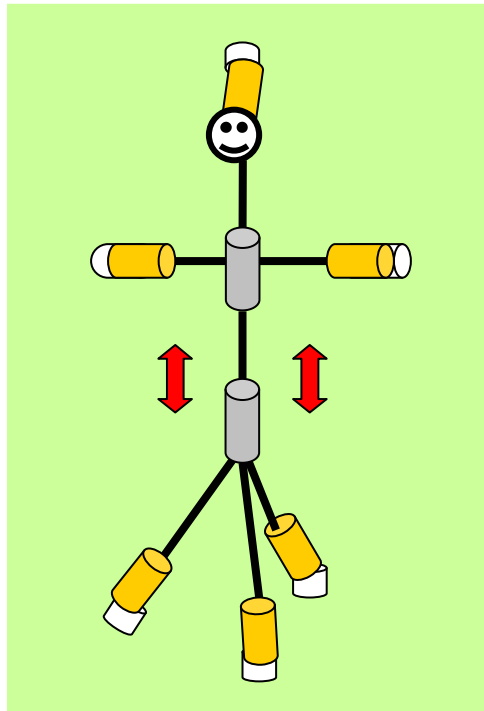
For the new migrant the making of relational structures is of the utmost importance if they are to be successful in their new surroundings. The object offers a solution for the relational emptiness of the migrants' new lives as the effects of the hashish take hold the memories of the past fade yet the bottle fills, the relational tree grows.

The whisky bottle filled with filters functions as a conceptual explanation as well as experiential reality. In the empty bottle there is a lack of cognitively connective tissue and consequently it is the state of each individual before

they were created as members of the group. Even if, on one hand, the cognitive function of the empty bottle is that of a relational void, a lack, an absence, on another hand, it is still a place of potential, a place in which relational frameworks can be constituted.

‘A Little Tree’

The following was observed during a lively evening spent drinking Ballantines whiskey (the cheapest in Ifrane, it is still expensive (over a 100DH more than in Fez) at 230DH and not a contender for the collection), smoking joints, chatter and playing cards at the home of Sisangh of the Bottle & filters collection. Topics of conversation included the French elections and the relative merits of a new rolling paper. There was a core of approximately eight people with others coming and going throughout the evening. Kareem, a businessman in his late twenties, but to this point only an acquaintance of Sisanghs, and a couple of his friends had spent the afternoon in Annamar’s restaurant and arrived in Tacfin’s taxi with what he described as a ‘little tree’.



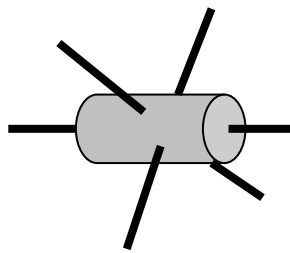
18. 'A Little Tree'

This assemblage, built from eight cigarette filters (6 *Shashyya*, 1 normal & 1 white filter), 5 toothpicks, and a 'head' with a face drawn on (made from a rolling paper and tobacco), was presented to Sisangh by Kareem. It was placed on the table and two unusual looking joints were rolled and draped over each 'arm'. When I asked what the assemblage was Kareem replied simply 'a little tree'.

It was no surprise to me to see this tree, although I had no idea of its true purpose, as I had seen one previously displayed in Annamar's restaurant which I will discuss later. The 'little tree' depicted was created in the upstairs room of Annamar's restaurant during the afternoon, and brought to Sisangh's house. This room, created out of the roof space, is common to all the shops and restaurants in the market. It is usually a private space but Annamar has developed it for hashish smokers and private parties. Although a more private area than the restaurant area one can still be observed from the main restaurant by a mirror placed at an angle over the staircase. The little tree was assembled by Kareem after he and a group of four friends had eaten their tagines and started smoking hash. Kareem

describes his hash smoking experience thus ‘I am generally quiet when I smoke and I reflect. It’s not a drug for me it is a treatment’. Unsurprisingly perhaps, he believes that although it is a ‘drug’ it is one with positive, not negative, effects. Kareem makes the tree by attaching the filters left from rolling joints by means of toothpicks. He has been creating trees of different shapes and sizes for a little over six months, in fact since he arrived in Ifrane.

Basic physical units



19. A multiply penetrated filter

The basic unit for assembling a tree consists of a cigarette filter (both normal and ‘*Shashyya*’) and a toothpick. Normally penetration takes place through the vertical and/or horizontal axis, however, in the tripod bottom of the ‘body’ of the small tree above (or, as we will see later, when recycled in the rotating rolling paper holder) these penetrations take place diagonal to the main axis. The process of connecting these components is very precise in nature.

The other units are two different types of joint rolled for two different purposes; a type commonly rolled throughout Morocco, the excess filters from which are seen in the Bottle & Filters collection; and a type Kareem learnt to roll when working in the Riff, called the *Shashyya* joint.



20. The Raw Ingredients

The raw ingredients for rolling either a normal joint or a *Shashyya* joint are the same. One rolling paper, some hash and a cigarette which is broken into three pieces. The only other requirement is a lighter.

Common Joint

Most commonly a joint is rolled by taking a cigarette, breaking off and discarding the filter and then breaking off a segment of the remaining cigarette (approximately a half an inch) to create 'sticka' (the joint filter). These two segments of tobacco are put to one side whilst the maker burns the hash, making it soft, crumbling it into the palm of his hand. When the desired amount has been crumbled he or she licks the side of the larger segment of the cigarette and opens it letting the tobacco drop into the palm of his hand with the hash. The maker then kneads the tobacco and the hash together until mixed. The mix is gathered together into a small area in the palm of the hand and the rolling paper placed over it, sticky side down. The maker then places his other hand on top of the paper and mix and flips his hands over. When he removes what was his bottom hand the mixture is laying on the paper. The 'sticka' (the smaller part of the cigarette) is then placed at one end and the maker wraps it and the mixture in the paper. When wrapped the maker licks the glue on the paper and, if rolling a Common joint, tears off the glue down to the top of the 'sticka' and discards it, the remaining glue segment fixes the whole in place. The open end is

then twisted together and the filter is discarded (or of course incorporated into the Bottle & Filters collection or indeed a tree).

Shashyya Joint

(Prototype) Kareem learnt the *Shashyya* technique of rolling whilst working in a small village in the Riff. He saw an old man sitting in the street rolling ‘a very different kind of joint’. He asked how the old man made them and the old man taught him. It is quite an ingenious appendage really and serves a number of functions: it creates balance and stops the joint from falling in the ashtray, it shows when the joint is finished (the tail burns through at the top of the ‘sticka’ and the *Shashyya* falls off), it helps the smoker not to burn his fingers, and in two different forms is utilised as a hygiene aid or a decorative appendage.

To make a *Shashyya* joint as they do in the Riff you follow all the steps described above for the common joint, however, after you have licked the glue, rather than tearing it completely off and discarding it, one instead twists the glued paper to create a tail. This tail is then attached to the filter by threading the tail between the outer sheath and the white centre. Apparently, in the Riff when the *Shashyya* burns off the smoker slips the sheath half way down the filter and uses the exposed white centre to clean his teeth! The friction causing the white centre to become splayed.



21. A *Shashyya* Joint secure on the lip of an ashtray

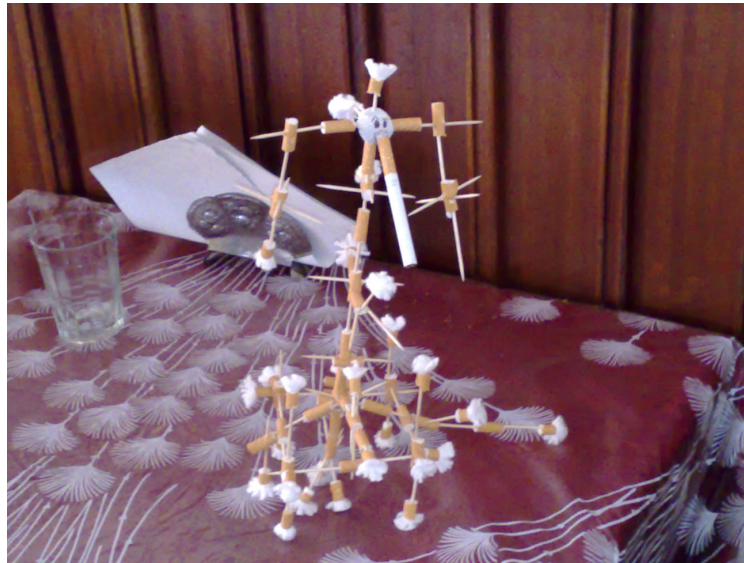
(Kareem's Version) Kareem doesn't use the filter to brush his teeth and neither do his friends so their version of a *Shashyya* joint mimics the old man's end result. This is achieved, after creating the tail, by slipping the sheath half way down the filter, the exposed half of the sheath is then ripped off and discarded. Then the exposed white filter is splayed by hand. It is attached by slipping the tail through the remaining half of the filter sheath which keeps it attached to the joint. This, as well as acting as the counter weight when the joint is suspended, is also decorative, it is 'a flower'. In effect the *Shashyya* system works like a hook, which attaches the flowering 'fruit' to the flowering tree or the joint to the side of the ashtray.

The tree filters are suspended in space/time in a radically different way from that utilised in the Bottle & Filters Collection. Like atoms the fruits and flowers of a tree are in a constant state of agitation, spread out through time and space, they physically, as well as metaphorically, vibrate. In the bottles the filters are trapped, crushed and condensed, still. The trees as their name suggests are organic, they 'feed' their maker and his companions in *Shashyya* joints. The tree is not merely a representation of a group of objects and people coming together and leaving traces of their consumption. Rather the filters each represent a pulse of information which affects the relational system. The toothpicks distribute these acts in space and time. Their role as a connector between separate acts (as represented by the filter) must not be underestimated as they modulate time and memory within the object, the time and memory lost whilst consuming the hashish.

The small tree represents eight joints smoked by five people in one afternoon at Annamar's and its design is defined by that consumption. Kareem estimates before making a tree how many joints will be smoked by each individual and consequently how many building filters he has at his disposal for the creation of a tree. This tree represents the minimum size and consequently minimum number of joints smoked, and people present, during one of these afternoons. Kareem's reason for building these trees is to hang joints on them and consequently the number of joints consumed

maybe considerably higher (although this usually leads to additions to the structure). In practice the *Shashyya* filters which were formally attached to a joint are added to the structure when they drop off the joint and consequently the more reciprocal joint smoking goes on the bigger the tree will grow.

The Prototype Tree



22. The Prototype Tree

In mid April this tree was seen displayed on a shelf, next to some Chinese import bowls, in the seating area of Annamar's restaurant in the market. Although the tree is made from the same materials as the big tree blow the design shows a far less sophisticated knowledge of how they fit together. We notice the signature building units of Kareem's group, Shashyya filters, a circular 'head' (made from a rolling paper and tobacco) with two eyes, eyebrows, a mouth with a cigarette attached, are all present in the prototype. The basic horizontal and vertical penetrative angles are also in evidence but the diagonals are not as refined as in the later little or big trees (photo arranged by me)

The above tree was the first I saw exhibited on a display shelf in Annamar's restaurant next to her stock of low value Chinese Export soup bowls, a

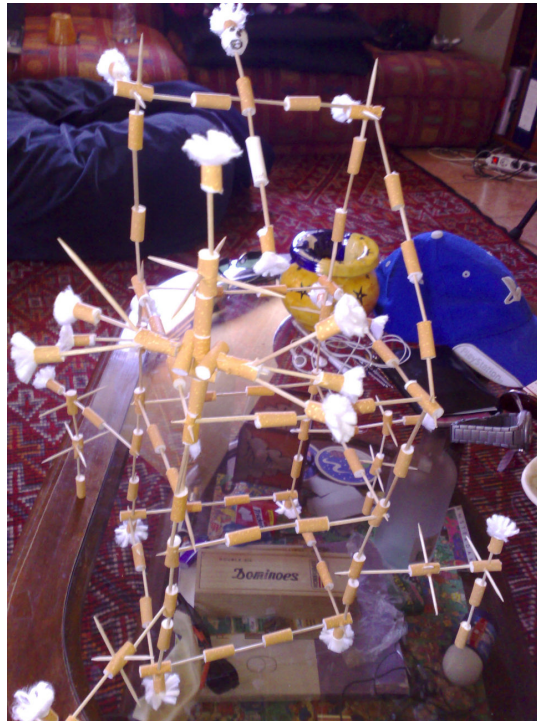
group of stuffed birds and rodents, and a large framed photograph of the previous King, rifle in hand, hunting in the mountains. It is, in fact, the very first tree Kareem and his friends made, the prototype. The simple circumstances of the trees display tell us a great deal about how the consumption of hashish is tolerated in the town as its material nature leaves no doubt as to its origins.

They began without a specific idea of what shape they were going to create and Kareem describes this tree as ‘not very clear’. The structure started out as a square but because the load it was asked to bear, a joint, caused it to topple over, Kareem modified the base to create a triangle. If you look carefully these corrective modifications are still apparent in the structure. The tree by the time I came across it, at the beginning of April, was severely damaged, one of its triangular supports being broken off. By the end of April it had simply vanished (more than likely to be recycled for toothpicks).

A tree, as displayed without Kareem’s colourful metaphorical descriptions of its components (branches, fruit etc.), might simply act as a list of ingredients for an idle hash smoker’s perfect afternoon (food, toothpicks, hash, cigarettes etc.). However, the trees appeal to us because they display ‘complex intentionality’ (Gell 1998) which engages the expectations or intentions of the members of the group. When displayed on a shelf in the restaurant, next to soup bowls and stuffed animals, a subtle change in significance occurs. It is no longer giving nourishment to its creators in the form of joints, rather, it is being viewed, at least as a curiosity, at most as ‘art’ object. Reactions to it range from ‘it’s a funny sculpture’ to ‘it’s a model’. Others, however, are more dubious about its significance, seeing it as a dirty object, as Driss puts it ‘why would I collect my own shit!’ equating its constituent parts with the consumption of sinful intoxicants.

The making of the first tree by Kareem can be seen to some extent as an ‘autistic’ act by which I mean that it was a ‘self-directed gesture’ and not one aimed, at least on the surface, at the outside world (Krout 1939:170). It

is likely that the making of the prototype was due to the stress of moving to a new place, which Kareem admits, and points to ‘mental conflict’. As a material gesture it might easily have become ‘irrelevant’ and stopped at just this one tree but instead it endured to become the constitutive part of an intra-group relational system.



23. A Big Tree

This Big Tree was created in an evening at Sisangh’s home. It is made from toothpicks and cigarette filters taken predominantly from Sisangh’s collection. It stands eight filters and eight toothpicks high and the central base is four filters and three toothpicks wide.

Through smoking hashish the individual gains his chance to reorganize reality. For a few hours each evening (and most of the night during *Ramadan*) the group members can transform their holistic whole and bring to an end to the tyranny of reciprocal time and for new migrants their social isolation. When they arrive at Sisigh’s apartment they are eager to test the limitations of the dominant pattern. They have arrived with all the

necessary supplies (hashish, whisky, soda, crisps, rolling papers and cigarettes) so they will not have to venture out again until morning.

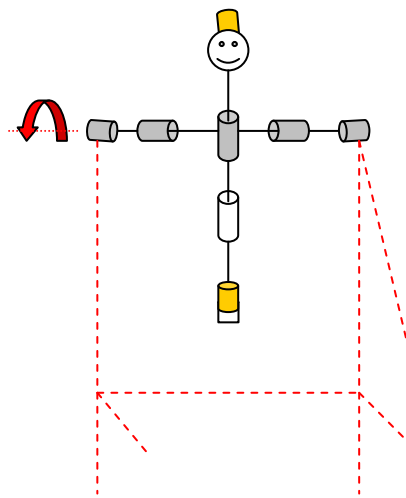
Construction on the Big Tree began about half an hour after Kareem's arrival (8.05pm). The filters themselves were taken from the 'Cellar 13' Glenmorangie box. Kareem and his two friends sat in the middle of the floor drinking whiskey (a cheap bottle) and began by creating a cube three toothpicks and four filters each side. This unit serves as the central base. Then all the uprights of the tree were extended another two toothpicks and three filters in height, the tops of which were joined to create a rectangular space.

Constant visual/tactile adjustments characterise the process of creation. Each filter used in the making of the big tree represents a connection made, a debt repaid, a relationship cemented, a unit in a complex tallying system of reciprocity. As Kareem points out these are distributed in time and space in a way that is 'mathematical' in nature;

I measure the distance between every filter, to create stability, because if I don't it will fall over. When I push the toothpick into the filter I measure the length with my finger. This is because the length of filters can be different, lights are longer than reds. So, when I push the toothpick into it, I place my finger on it and push until I reach the filter. So when I join two I have the same length and it will be stable...

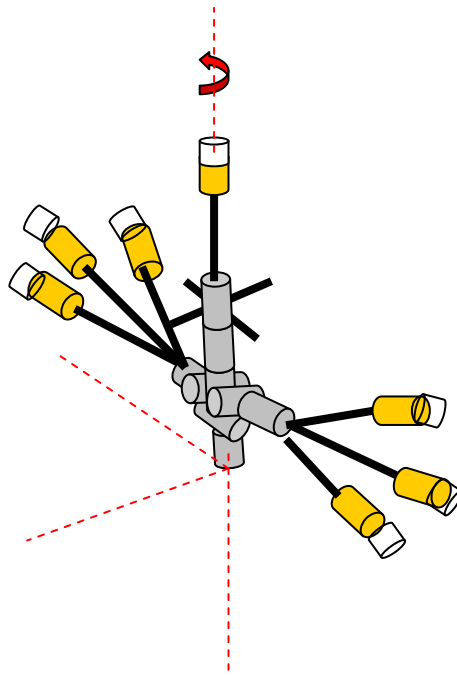
At 9.05pm the gift Kareem's group brought with them, the 'little tree' was broken in two, the tripod base being removed, and the rest being incorporated via two uprights (three toothpicks and four filters high) into the main structure. This enabled the head to move fully 360 degrees. In effect it swings backwards and forwards 'bobbing'. The Big Tree is exceptional in this respect. None of Kareem's other trees have appendages which move. The cradle the bobbing head sits in could not bear the load so was stabilised by attaching it (via a line of four toothpicks and five filters) to the other side of the base unit.

With extreme laxness of limbs, dreamlike expressions, the builders move into another reality altogether. They no longer seek verbal communion with others, interest is focused solely on the job at hand, a tiny adjustment here, the replication of a constituent part there. Focus is limited to compulsive building and arranging. As the bottle fills and the tree grows the air becomes hazy with clouds of smoke, a space where past and future are forgotten, a space outside time, a space where relationships can be formed.



24. Half the 'little tree' suspended at the top of the 'big tree'

Next Kareem replicated the little tree's tripod base and joined the two creating a rolling paper holder. This too was incorporated into the main structure of the Big Tree on the remaining free corner, it too rotates 360 degrees but on a different plane from the bobbing head. This new articulation also created instability and resulted in the incorporation of four supporting legs to main structure. By 10.25pm the Big Tree was finished.



25. The rotating paper holder

Throughout the structure the *Shashyya* flowers mark extremities because they are the result of subsequent smoking after the tree was initially completed. The pointy ends of the toothpicks left exposed enable the burnt off *Shashyya* flowers of later joint consumption to be incorporated into the whole. In effect this is an organic process, the tree keeps flowering and growing. This of course relates later social gatherings directly back to the materiality of the original building event.



26. The Top of the Big Tree

The 'bobbing head', the twin rotating rolling paper holder, and a fruit (hanging from the central horizontal branch) are all visible. The 'bobbing head' usually has a 'common' joint attached to its mouth with a toothpick. The height and breadth of the tree are influenced by the dimensions of the table it was created on and height of the maker when seated on the beanbag. The provision of two spaces in the rotating holder for packs of rolling papers is not insignificant. They relate directly to a discussion which rumbled on throughout the evening as to the relative merits of a new rolling paper which the tobacs had started to stock, amusingly called Zone, in comparison to the type normally used ZigZag.

Not all gifts display this level of potency. On one occasion Sisangh received two bottles of Absolute Vodka filled with filters from Ghassane, a former member of the group. Ghassane had formed a new group of smokers, most of who were new to the city, after the pair had fallen out over a woman. The bottles arrived in a rucksack via a mutual friend. Sisangh didn't like this at all and he immediately disgorged the contents of one bottle into a whisky box. I asked why? The reason given was 'It's not cool, it is just a normal Absolute bottle' and 'it doesn't fit'. But the other un-emptied bottle remained untouched, apart from the collection. It is not about how many filters one can show off then, as the anonymity of the filters form would enable them to be incorporated

without anyone being the wiser. Instead, by removing the filters from the bottle Sisangh was also trying to remove the cognitive container (and possibly the insult implied by their carriage) from the system.

The incorporation into the system could not be tolerated if it was to maintain its current cognitive pattern. The two vodka bottles did not fit the categories established which define the collection; they are neither rare nor expensive, their shape is dull and unimaginative, and most importantly they were neither bought by a current member of the group nor were they consumed by the group. So in no way did they form part of the set and the filters were removed precisely because of that. They were meaningless in the current conceptual system and possibly dangerous to it. The response to Ghassane's collection of bottle's and filters is in marked contrast to the reception Kareem's 'trees' received.

What is occurring here is an exploration of the objects limits for expressing inter-relationality, it is a learning process. Although Ghassane is mimicking the collection of cigarette filters in Sisangh's collection, and the two vodka bottles filled with filters may indeed represent similar relational frameworks, he is in fact innovating by attempting to gift the bottles. This, however, ended in failure because, although on the surface they represent the same visual pattern, they could not exist in harmony in Sisangh's collection because they were formed externally to it and represent a different relational construct.

If the trees grow through acts of relationality they also decay as they are dismantled for their toothpicks. Trees are fragile and easily broken; the Big Tree was already very unstable and losing filters, shedding reciprocity, a few weeks after its creation. In fact, of the four I have seen, only one (the Big Tree) remained intact for any extended period. Kareem does not keep his trees, they are either destroyed or given away. He does not build them to keep them. As containers of reciprocal memory they leak in comparison the more robust nature of the Bottle and Filters Collection. There reciprocity is a quantity that is kept.

But all is not lost for the trees as, when they are eventually broken and dismantled in Sisangh's home the filters are re-recycled back into the Bottle & Filters Collection. This occurred a few months after Kareem's visit when the tree was destroyed by a mistake. Someone slipped and grabbed the tree for support only to find it was no support! One can observe through the glass of one bottle the flayed *Shashyya*'s suspended against a background of common filters.

Conclusion

Group members manage to produce these structures with whatever is readily available in their immediate environment, the leftovers from drinking, eating and smoking. The possibilities of the object's holistic whole means it does not have only one use-state, it is capable of displaying many (Levi-Strauss 1966:17). Each of these objects has a use-state which modulates between 'specialist' (i.e. a cigarette's specialist use-state is to be smoked) and a more generalised use-states (i.e. a cigarette used to provide tobacco for a joint, its filter as a shashiya or a connector and so on). The bottles of whisky are drunk, their specialised use-state, then reutilised as a container for another material, a different use-state. The toothpicks peck at the spaces between teeth, their specialised use-state, then their sharp ends are reutilised for their filter piercing connective abilities, then broken up again to await some new potentiality to be realised through them. As they hop backward and forward in time and space, different use-state to different use-state, their manipulation is a technique of self-fulfilment, hope and happiness.

The constituent parts of the objects, the fact that they are of a uniformly mundane nature (filters, empty bottles, toothpicks) and are viewed by the mainstream as 'dirty', differentiate the group from others. Only in the initial choice of the bottle of whisky is there any idea of 'distinction' (Bourdieu 2007) [1979] to be attached to the object itself otherwise each pulse of disinterested reciprocity, each filter dropped into a bottle or suspended in a tree, is identical and allows for the creation of a relational field where each

member is equal and free from oppressive environments of religiosity, the coffeehouse or home where one is 'never alone'.

The tree does not have agency only because it is loaded with iconic metaphors of rebirth, the blooms and the fruit, it also displays clear iconic potentialities. The head with its drawn face and its tree body are iconic of the builders or more specifically Kareem himself. The tree is both iconic (sympathetic) and indexical (contagious) just as is the case with the marionette's described by Knappett (2002:113) Once the strings that connect the marionette with the puppeteer are cut, the marionette 'dies'. Without people to maintain and to nourish them, the trees are so fragile that that will quickly disintegrate. Yet, just as with the marionette, even when they are taken from the time and space of their creation they do not truly 'die' and still display iconic properties 'hinting at some remaining agency' as when displayed in the restaurant.

Yet the trees and bottles are objects for forgetting as well as constituting and remembering new relationships. Forgetting is of course compounded when the members of the group drink alcohol and smoke hashish. A new migrant Saad smokes because he believes it 'anesthetises' him. Things do not seem so bad when he smokes, he professes to always be 'optimistic', the anxieties of the dominant structure melt away. This mirrors the positive reactions of all the members of the group. Many report being far more sociable and relaxed, to sleep better and feel better. But most of all the action of the THC allows them to 'forget' to enable them to leave behind those from their places of origin and their present circumstances. This is paralleled in Reed (2007:35) description of prison culture where smoking cigarettes is the opportunity to escape, even if for only an instant, from memory, to 'briefly numb' or 'kill' the 'memory sense', the result of which is that the prisoners 'lose thoughts'. The destruction of the memory sense by hashish is obviously more profound and lasts a great deal longer. It is important to recognise that, whereas in Reid's ethnography that the cigarettes disappear as they are consumed, leaving only ash and smoke and in effect 'consume

themselves' (2007:41), here part of the cigarette, the unused filter, is kept. Each filter a forgetting but also a building block of an new relational reality.

4.4 Reflections

From Bourdieu's (1990) point of view, time is inescapable, relentlessly punctuated by gift and counter-gift, we cannot stop reciprocating, because we cannot stop remembering, because we cannot stop time. However, if we observe the quantities of filters in a bottle, time is a vertical dimension, the further our line of sight moves up the bottle, from the bottles base, the beginning of time, to the bottles neck, the end of time, the further we move forward through time. In effect time has changed to become a spatial dimension, and the observation of the stratified levels within the bottle a progress through space instead of over time. In Levi-Strauss' 'science of the concrete' we perceive a 'sensible world in sensible terms' (1962:16). It is a world of internal perceptual instinct and intuition. Here order is found in the sequential ordering of the sensible properties of things based in our experience of our environment. By assuming that there is an external 'structuring structure' Bourdieu fails to engage with the concrete nature and efficacy of things.

Latour (2000) describes a technology that bends lived time and space to its will, a key that allows users to unlock the door which the mechanics of the key force them to lock again whilst in the process of passing through. The key is active in constituting the users relationships. We can no longer presuppose the primacy of the internal over the external world, mind over matter. The interrelationship between the bottles and the trees and the people making them displays a *co-dependency* (Knappett 2002) of thought, action and material, a co-dependency of the internal and the external.

Dependency on a social structure based both inside and outside the home, which compel and manipulate its members in multitude of ways, can create psychological strain, a tension between the underlying structural framework and the individual, which he or she has somehow to overcome or be content to live with. The stress between the individual's personal holistic

‘mazeway’ (Wallace 1956:267) and the dominant framework can be reduced by ‘revitalizing’ the relationship between the two.

Wallace’s ‘mazeway’ is the holistic image an individual holds of him or herself formed in their experience of their environment and contains ‘the maze of physical objects of the environment’ (internal and external, human and nonhuman) (1956:266). An individual’s maze either acts in harmony with the overriding social pattern or is at odds with it. If at odds a stress is created which can only be reduced or eliminated by altering the mazeway or the dominant pattern.

The mazeway as constituted in the village before migration is stable and relatively unchanging, as from day to day physical and mental spaces do not alter to any great extent (Connerton 1989:37). Upon arrival in Ifrane things are the somehow familiar (languages, foods, clothing etc.) but also ‘a little bit different’ where the new migrant exists initially as an ‘outsider’. The period of adjustment for a new migrant to be affective within this new social material environment varies; some such as Agwmar never truly integrate.

It is true that the members of the group suffer to a greater or lesser extent (due to unemployment or familial dislocation) from the psychological strain of trying to conform to the dominant techniques for self-fulfilment, interested gifting for example. There is, however, an alternative. Through the adaptive ‘substitution’ of techniques (Wallace 1956:268) the group can satisfy its needs and escape the dominant structure even to the extent of, for a time, losing contact with the dominant reality entirely.

The substitution of techniques in the mazeway can be wholesale, as in the ‘revivalistic’ substitution of religious traditions most obvious in Morocco’s present and historical fundamentalist movements. But substitution need not be across the board. Small differences in techniques are also of importance, they are fundamental to and ongoing in social life. As the mazeway is a holistic whole then by transforming one or more of the material properties

that constitute it will fundamentally alter the mazeway to create a new entity (Damon 2004) .

Outwardly, the objects discussed are inconsequential and worthless. They are rubbish, a type of personal refuse which is usually ignored by contemporary anthropology (Lofgren 1997, Gregson & Crewe 1997, 1998). Such objects are seen as empty of any potential for relational connectivity or in modifying the individual's mazeway. Transformations of techniques in this instance result in the redefinition of rubbish, a pollutant, becoming 'trees', a nourishing entity, and as a result alters the mazeway in opposition to the dominant pattern.

Although on the surface the bottles and trees may seem ordinary and insignificant in fact they 'work to subtly change larger social structures' (Lofgren 2004:1). They build trust where shared memory is lacking enabling relational structures to develop and grow. It is a process of invention and creativeness, a process where outsiders become insiders. The dislocation and frustration felt by new migrants, who may not be able to communicate their needs or desires because of the barriers of language when attempting to create new relational structures, are solved by communicative acts founded in the everyday. Further, these objects do not only serve to engender changes in the relational field of one group but also offer the opportunity of inter-group connectivity and the reuse of the logic of the object in other relational situations.

We often hold the idea that forgetting has in someway a negative connotation, we loose memory or it is erased, a defeat of our ability to remember, a failure discussed by Connerton (2006:320) when he suggests that there other types of structural amnesia where forgetting is '*constitutive in the formation of new identity*' (italics his). By engaging in the consumption of hashish and alcohol in an effort to forget the group members are at the same time participating in a dynamic procedure of collective memory creation, they are forgetting to remember.

CHAPTER FIVE



27. Street Mathematics – The Mathematical Door

Learning outside the classroom - Two children were observed writing in chalk on a roll-up door one afternoon. One was dressed in a school uniform, the other in street clothes; they were chased away by a woman. I returned later to take this photograph. The inscription reads from top to bottom, left to right; the top line reads 'Lundi 29 Octobre 2006' in an unsteady hand which is repeated on the next line with a bolder hand. The next line starts 'Maths' which has been decoratively embellished, then a repetition of the day and date. Next follows a number line which runs from one to sixty four, in one unit increments, each separated by '-', over two and a half lines followed by some obscured text. The last two lines repeat the day and date and the word 'maths' and two games of noughts and crosses, one of which has been either reused or amended by being rubbing out. Two more smaller versions of noughts and crosses appear under 'maths' and there are some other, more indistinct numbers at the bottom, one which can be read, $20 + 2 = 22$.

Gambling & Money

5.0 Prologue

In this chapter numbers are used socially to create significant relational bonds through the sequencing of numerical patterns, and to demonstrate that patterns of the mind are dependant on the phenomenal world. Here different counting systems are analogous with different public identities, and excellence with numbers is fundamental to creating relational bonds. The use of self-taught complex counting systems by functionally innumerate migrants factors out any advantage gained by more formally educated foes, and consequently empowers those with the least economic, educational and social status.

In this analysis of the processes used whilst manipulating currency and playing cards, identity and well-being through acts of religiosity again take a back seat. In the previous chapter it was argued that when they arrive in the city migrants identities adjust and metamorphosis into new forms, new 'mazeways' (Wallace 1956). Similarly, in this chapter identity is 'a process' not 'a thing', as migrants tunnel their way through phenomenal reality, the content of what they experience is formed by the properties of a phenomenal self-system: an invisible, ever changing, and neural based representation of themselves. 'The self' is the invisible model of 'the self in the act of knowing', a non-stop shifting inner image of the progress of subject object relationships (Metzinger 2003). Here it is argued that the mind and the phenomenal world exist together, and not as separate entities. The illiterate migrant gamers described utilise mathematical systems metaphorically, using abstract systems configured in the concrete world, which are both abstracted and complex without being disembodied.

5.1 Introduction

Reality, time and space, are fluid for the migrant. As entities they exist as sedimentations of sequences in an endless cycle of renewal, of becoming. Chapter Three investigated how the flow of time, which Henri Bergson (2004) [1921] called the 'duree', is experienced in religious devotion as sequenced by the repetitive actions of prayer and beading. This chapter is an exploration of the dissolution of religiosity into repetitive, deeply pleasurable strategies that may at first seem utterly dissimilar, but which on closer introspection show a remarkable likeness to the agents of attention and recollection that were singled out as accompanying prayer and beading.

There is transference of the mathematical thinking used in religious contexts to the realm of a pastime. The intrigue and strategising experienced in gambling is derived from its ability to draw on, and transform everyday material knowledge into a new means of transcendence that in the younger generation is beginning to rival religion.

To Durkheim gambling and religiosity are 'hostile and jealous rivals' (2008:39) [1912] and in Ifrane there is no place for gambling in religious dogma, it is 'radically excluded'. Mennad lives an almost exclusively religious life. But if religiosity directs the organisation of his reality another concern occupies the thoughts of his three youngest sons Z, Winaruz and Cicough. They play cards. Their father worries about their gambling, believing it is contrary to God's teachings. When he found out from a 'concerned friend' at the mosque that Cicough had been seen playing at one of the coffeehouses in the market Mennad told him off saying that gambling was 'against God'. Cicough was suitably apologetic, though did not stop playing, and instead he is simply more circumspect in games he chooses to join. On the surface, gambling and religion can be described as rivals but they also have a great deal in common. Most significant of which is the repetitive manner in which they order time.

When they leave the world of religious devotion, migrants take with them their preoccupation with number. Outside religiosity, gambling or just playing cards for fun is hugely popular and there may be many reasons for this. People in Ifrane love dealing in numbers. Cards allow them an opportunity to satisfy this passion as playing cards enables everyone the opportunity to join in and participate even if normal conversation is impossible due to the absence of shared language or memories. The numeric properties of the cards can be understood across cultural, educational and gender divides. Consequently, they establish a shared basis for understanding of reality.

The sense of the concreteness of numbers is not just experienced through cards, but also through coinage. As soon as migrants arrive in the city they are faced not only with conversational difficulties they are also overwhelmed by numbers as they are presented with several systems of coinage description and calculation. Due to the various European occupations over the past century and the institution of a new 'democratic' constitutional monarchy (1956) the currency system has undergone a number of changes. During the Protectorate, for example, currency denominations existed side by side even being objectified in the same material container (notes inscribed in both Rials and Francs). Although the Franc and the Rial vanished on independence, now, over fifty years later, the conceptual linkages between the material container (notes and coins) and the calculations used to enumerate with them have not faded away from the collective memory.

This conceptualisation by illiterate migrants of numbers as material things has led to unique systems of calculation quite different from the mathematics taught in school. In fact it is through numerical learning in spaces outside the school environment, 'the mathematics of the street' (Nunes 1993), that most migrants attain the ability to reason with numbers. By playing cards new migrants are actively engaging in the shared practices of the community (Lave & Wenger 1991).

Acts of enumeration in the illiterate world are both creative and complex. They are crucial processes for the creation of relationships and the establishment of new identities outside the religious framework and outside the home. In the handling of currency and of cards we notice how the logic of sequence is understood strategically. Players manipulate a number of different phenomenal sequences in one act, an act of enumeration which challenges the security once granted only by religion.

5.2 Currency

I came across the first language based system of expressing monetary amounts at the Hamam one evening. I went to the kiosk, asked for some soap and a mitten, which I had forgotten, and one admission. The total was 1000! I asked again, with a confused expression no doubt, and a different amount 50 was quoted. When I asked why the attendant had asked for 1000 he replied that it was 1000 Rials, apparently a different currency. The next day in the coffee shop I asked Hassan, an illiterate cigarette shop owner, about these two different ways of talking about currency, and he replied 'no, no, we have three currencies, the Dirham, the centime and the Riyal' but, after a little more reflection, Hassan decided that 'there is a forth, Francs'. It is of no consequence to him that the notes and coins represent only two lexicated sets (the Dirham and the centime) and interesting that the centime (and its alter ego the 'alf Franc') is perceived as an autonomous set separate from Dirhams rather than being a derivative.

The official currency is the Dirham (200Dh, 100Dh, 50Dh, 20Dh in notes and 10Dh, 5Dh, 2Dh, 1Dh in coins) which are further broken down into centime (1 Dh = 100 centime, coins of 10centime, 20centime, 50centime and until recent memory a 5centime coin). In the marketplace unofficial methods of describing monetary amounts flourish parallel to the official system and instead of expressing numbers in Dirham and Centime prices are normally verbally quoted in 'Rials' (1Dh equalling 20Rials) or in one case as 'Francs' which equate with centime but notionally extend their limit of normal expression to 1000. The written display of prices remains in Dirhams, however, as Saad the mobile telephone shopkeeper points out the

verbal response is automatic and immediate and in Rials; ‘If someone asks me; ‘how much is this telephone?’ I answer straight away; ‘10,000Rials’ instead of ‘500Dhs’. It would, however, be wrong to think that the only thing happening here is that numbers are being expressed in another denomination. Numbers in Rials and Dirhams are being conceptualised differently, different currencies are capable of generating only limited numbers and therefore limited conceptual constructs.

Dirhams Notes & Coins Available	Centime (also known as the Franc) Coins Available	Rials
	10 (c)	2
	20 (c)	4
	50 (c)	10
1 (c)		20
2 (c)		40
5 (c)		100
10 (c)	‘Alf Franc’	200
20 (n)		400
50 (n)		1000
100 (n)		2000
200 (n)		4000

28. Table One

A Comparison of Real & Notional Currencies (legal material tender is highlighted in bold with (c) coins and (n) notes).

As can be seen in Table One the utilisation of parallel monetary descriptive systems is interesting as the amounts available when objectified in the form of (Dirham) coins and notes creates a sequence of metaphorically

materialised Rial as follows; (2, 4, 10, 20, 40, 100, 200, 400, 1000, 2000, 4000). The normal decimal set of Dirham's going (1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200) with its derivative the centime in unit coins of (.10, .20, .50). Centimes themselves are normally expressed in Rials (i.e. 2, 4 and 10) and both 10 Dh and 200 Rials are expressed by the term 1000 (alf) Franc.



29. The material containers of a different conceptual numeric system?

The Picture depicts some denominations of the Dirham (1Dh = 100centime)
At the top are the 200Dh, 100Dh & 20Dh notes
In the middle from left to right 1Dh, 5Dh & 10Dh coins
At the bottom from left to right 10centime, 20centime & ½ Dh coins

We notice very quickly that by expressing a number in Rials rather than in Dirhams all numbers are even and no decimals (as with the dirham and centime) need be articulated. Which means, of course, no odd numbers or decimals can be expressed physically in Rials as you miss 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 etc. And the same counts for the centime currency system which if fully utilised would follow a base 10 arrangement (thus, no 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12 etc). Therefore, their practical utilisation is far simpler as one need only have the capacity to add whole even numbers or as we shall see add or minus the coins themselves to reach a sum.

I suggested earlier that ways of numerating within each of the language based conceptual systems, real or notional, is linked to a material conceptual container. The relationship between the material nature of the container tender and mathematical concepts that can therefore be expressed is closely related to the material evolution (or perhaps devolution) of the Rial conceptual system. For example, the One Rial coin existed between 1882 and 1921 (equalling 10 Dirham). Parallel currency descriptions flourished during the protectorate with the French between 1910 and 1917 producing bank notes denominated in both Rials and Francs where 1 Rial equalled 5 Francs (notes of 4 Rial (20 Francs) and 20 Rial (100 Francs)). Further, in Spanish Morocco, the Riyal was replaced by the 5 pesetas coin in 1912.

In 1974 the Franc was renamed the centime. Both the 1 and the 5 centime coin though have been phased out since 1987 so in the special (rial) currency the physical coin options only allow for even whole numbers to be produced starting at two. This has fascinating consequences as migrants, whether illiterate or innumerate, male or female, can show remarkable abilities with mental calculations around the operation of 2. These are usually achieved by multiplying by twenty, or the doubling of the number ($\times 2$), or the halving the number ($/2$) and then adding or subtracting a zero when converting to or from Dirhams. Each operation being in many cases conceptualised as a material operation. It is the conceptual 'holes' left in the number line by the missing odd numbers though that interests us in relation to how numerical memory is embodied.

The interaction between numerical concepts, the material nature of their carriers and illiteracy is complex. Even where literacy skills are entirely lacking some form of developed numerate ability has been demonstrated (even if only in Rials). For example, Anamar the illiterate market restaurant owner, when asked 'What is seven plus six?' replied 'Why did you give me a hard one?' and couldn't answer, but when asked what 'Seventy Dhs plus sixty Dhs is?' answered immediately '130 Dhs'. This answer caused a lot of merriment amongst her friends and the comment; 'So what, you only

count Dirhams? If there is no money, you don't count!' Although said in jest this observation is closer to the truth than one might initially think. When I asked Anamar later how she counted she replied that; 'I see the money in my brain'. She admits that some answers such as the last one are automatic and required 'no thinking' and are achieved through years of practical interaction with customers.

It is possible that something quite interesting is occurring here because when I asked Anamar what 560 Dh was in Rials the answer was an instant 11,200 Rials, a fairly complex mental calculation. Anamar says she achieved this by 'adding 500 Dhs which is 10,000 Rials and 60 Dhs which is 1,200 Rials'. We notice that, in theory, certain mathematical operations have to be undertaken to achieve the above result; examples might be $500 \text{ (Dhs)} \times 20 \text{ (Rials)}$ and $60 \text{ (Dhs)} \times 20 \text{ (Rials)}$ then add the two totals together. Or $5000 \text{ (Centime)} \times 2 \text{ (Rials)}$ plus $600 \text{ (Centime)} \times 2 \text{ (Rials)}$. Yet Anamar says she 'just knows' that 500 Dhs is 10,000 Rials, that 60 Dhs is 1,200 Rials and the only operation that she actually concentrating on is the adding of the two totals. She can write and recognise separate Arabic numerals from one to nine as well as zero and seemingly can mentally count to at least 11,200 if we look back to her lightning conversion of Dirhams to Rials. Yet, to return to the above example, her inability to add 7 and 6 contrasts with her ability to do complex calculations i.e. 560 multiplied by 20. Numbers are conceptually empty to Anamar without their material bearers. This is true for many uneducated migrants; numbers have no conceptual mass unless accompanied by their material containers, the coin or banknote.

This type of 'street mathematics' bears little relation to the mathematics learnt in school. Learning for Anamar is an ongoing embodied process (Lave 1993). This is perhaps unsurprising as in Wassmann's (1994) study of New Guinea he shows that the Yupno use body parts to express numbers rather than words. Mathematical reasoning, just as here, is achieved through conceptual processing in the real world. Indeed, for Anamar, cognitive calculation is only possible by through manipulation of the containers of

currency (the coins and notes) and she is ‘imagining things from the point of view of other things’ (Pederson 2007:161).

Pederson (2007) convincingly argues that mental processes do not exist solely inside the biological brain. Rather, objects ‘augment human cognition’ and ‘should not be regarded as decoupled objects requiring detached mental computations, for they are as much part of the cognitive processing system as the naked brain’ (2007:143). This process, known as ‘extended cognition’ (Clark & Chambers 1998), allows objects, in this case currency, to be seen not as inert but rather as dynamic ‘active vehicles’, they are the ‘cognitive scaffolding’ of the mind (Day 2004). In the next section it is posited that these concrete ‘cognitive scaffolds’ are reused in other situations.

5.3 Games Of Chance

They will ask thee about intoxicants and games of chance. Say: "In both there is great evil as well as some benefit for man; but the evil which they cause is greater than the benefit which they bring.

Qur'an, 2:219

O you who believe! Intoxicants, and gambling, and sacrificing to idols, and divining arrows, are an abomination of Satan's handiwork. So avoid them in order that you may be successful. Satan only wants to excite enmity and hatred between you with intoxicants and gambling, and hinder you from the remembrance of God and from prayer. So will you not then abstain?

Qur'an, 5:90-91

As mentioned in previous chapters to Durkheim (2008:9) [1912] our cognitive dispositions are ‘born in and from religion; they are a product of religious thought’. According to Bourdieu (1990) [1980] the most important ways in which society is reproduced, is through the concept of ‘habitus’. In



30. *Dharma* boards drawn in grass on the pavement

Dharma boards drawn in grass on the pavement under a shady tree on the road to Azrou. One often sees these makeshift boards on the sides of roads, abandoned when the travellers are lucky enough to find a ride. We notice that the board is stylised, each diagonally bisected square being analogous with four squares on a normal chess/checkers board. In the foreground we can see the twenty four pieces, twelve for each side, red stones and pale stones. These are left behind for the next traveller to come along.

this scheme the environment (social, historical, religious) in which migrants exist generates dispositions compatible with that environment. As Bourdieu points out our ‘thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions’ are limited by this environment which is ‘remote from [the] creation of unpredictable

novelty' (1990:55). Innovation and novelty are impossible under these schemes.

Gambling is big business in Morocco, and its six casinos are amongst the most profitable in Africa. There is also a successful state lottery with over 2,000 outlets across the country (Rodrigue 2009). One might expect the lottery to be a hangover from the Protectorate but it wasn't founded until 1972. Selling over 36 million tickets for each draw, more than the total population of the country, the lottery requires one to pick six numbers from forty nine possibilities. Many sit around TV's and radios, tickets clutched tightly, fantasizing about what they will do with their winnings, and watch or listen to the draw on a Saturday night.

This has resulted in the unchanging paradigm of religiosity slowly being transformed. It is noticeable that the games played are not Moroccan in origin though many rules have been changed or modified. The major games discussed here, of '6', '71' and Ronda, have been played in Morocco since the beginning of the Protectorate. Gambling and card games in one form or another have existed in the town since it was established and, according to Rosenthal's (1975) study of gambling in Islam, in Morocco as a whole since the 15th century (1975:56). What is new, since the accession of Mohamed VI, is the significant rise in the number of coffeehouses which are now fully dedicated to card play, a fact obvious to and tolerated by the authorities. The coffeehouse owners have advantageously exploited the potential of card games, the games which keep bringing the customers in, by maintaining the charade of normal coffeehouse activity. By providing a special place for game playing they have also provided a time and space for innovation and novelty.

5.4 Playing Games

Understanding and following appropriate patterns of behaviour is the social mechanism which allows one to be treated by others as a full member of the group. Toren describes this as 'working, acting, doing in the manner

of the land' (1999:63) which are, under normal circumstances, established in childhood. The concrete observations, experiences and experimentations that constitute the conceptual framework of a child have to be rejected if they are to enter the dominant behavioural patterning of the adult world, a move 'from concrete to symbolic conceptualisation' (Toren 1999:113).

However, even though the child's empirical knowledge is transformed into that of dominant inter-subjectivity it is understood that this concrete knowledge 'remains an integral (if implicit or even denied) part of the adult's concept' (Toren 1999:113-114). Thus as they begin to undertake prescriptive behaviour children's concrete spatial distinctions become symbolic status distinctions and include 'the placing of material objects and with how one comports oneself' (1999:118). School is an obvious place for the development of numerical thought but development can also be observed in spaces outside the formal educational environment, in the games children play in the home and on the street. Indeed for those who never receive an education this is possibly the most important space for the development of mathematical skills.

Playing games then is an important part of growing up and Moroccan children, like children everywhere, play many different games whilst young. For the most part these are learnt outside the school environment although they might be played there. Most commonly children play cards (especially the games '6', '71' and Ronda) in the evening to the sound of raucous laughter with the rest of the family, as well as *Dharma* (a type of draughts commonly played in Spain, Portugal and other North African countries). Another game which is well-liked amongst girls is a skipping game (which no doubt is French in origin). A piece of string is tied around the ankles of two girls which another girl jumps, trying not to touch it. It involves numbers in that every successful jump is counted, each number an action completed. It is also common to see chess played, the undisputed champion being Sisangh, who works in the old market next to the taxis. All of these games, bar the skipping game, are played throughout their lives by most of

the people of the town. Games create ties between people and are played wherever people meet.

'6' is the ultimate sequential game and it is often one of the first children play. The object of the game is simple, the first to get rid of all their cards wins. The cards in the Ronda deck are dealt to all the players. The player with the 6 of the gold suit goes first. Then, proceeding clockwise around the table, the next player, if able, plays either the 5 or the 7 of gold, or another six. The next player, again if able, continues with one of the sequences until one player has no cards left, winning the game.

When children have learnt '6' they will progress to the far more complex game of '71' (played with two full packs of cards). Here the cards are arranged in the players hand in sequential order just as in '6'. This is most obvious at the beginning of a game when the cards are dealt and the player organises them. In most instances they are ordered from the left, high to low. Consequently the player will observe where an opponent places a card within a hand when he or she picks up. The player of course does not know what card this is. However, by observing where the opponent pulls a card from his or her hand to discard they can often quite accurately predict what they are collecting. The initial sequencing of cards in the hand is not only an act of composition in the present but a gauging of their potential as agents for altering the future.

From a young age it is through phenomenal acts of sequencing that relationality is understood. In the card games '6' or '71' by composing sequences in the concrete world, by moving the cards in the hand we reorganise the sequential possibilities until 'they click together in my mind'. Just as in Radley (1990) by manipulation of the physical world we remake the conceptual world, the mazeway changes. What, at first glance, might seem a random hand of cards are sequentially rearranged by the player so the unsolvable problem becomes solvable, the indecipherable becomes understandable.

5.5 Ronda



31. Ronda Cards

The 10, 11 and 12 of each suit

These cards are still used in Spain & Portugal and in many of their former colonies around the world. Another card game called *Tooti* is played with the same cards in (and some say was invented in) Fez. It is a far more complex game and is utilised particularly for gambling but the principles of memorisation remain the same as in Ronda.

If anyone were to look for a practice, other than religion and the consumption of food, which could be viewed as intrinsic to a pan Moroccan identity then card games are highest on the list. Literate and illiterate, old and young, Amazigh and Arab from the deep Souss to the Riff the card game Ronda is played with passion, and during *Ramadan* as an obsession. As one man put it; “People will ask; ‘Do you play Ronda?’ and if you answer ‘Sorry, I don’t know how to play’ they will comment ‘Shit, you’re not Moroccan!’”. It is true that every Moroccan who plays Ronda expects all other Moroccans to know how to play. The average deck of cards, found at any corner shop or tobacconists, is cheap but more expensive branded versions are given as gifts by many major banks and companies to their customers. Games can take place anywhere, and at any time, from by candlelight on a powerless train or on upturned crates on the corners of streets or the more intimate of personal spaces, the salon and the bedroom.

Males particularly gamble on cards in these spaces but also in the special coffee houses run specifically to gain their custom.

When Ronda does not have a universal appeal it is met with derision. To Driss it is a unintelligent game which is only suitable for the dim-witted. Whilst admitting that it is an important form of socialising he hates playing believing that 71 is a far superior game. It is superior because it is more complicated. Ronda is played for money in many coffee houses all over Morocco, some even having green baize tables. Driss plays during *Ramadan* (but not for money) because he wants to fit in and like many when he concentrates on the cards it is easier to forget the boredom and his empty belly. Cheating, in games when money is not involved, is part of the fun of the game to many, but Driss hates cheating 'it spoils the stupid game'.

In fact gambling is one reason for women being discouraged from socialising in cafés. Hadia, Driss's wife and a friend of Izza's, enjoys playing Ronda and 71 with small stakes for her own entertainment, 'it makes it more interesting'. However, she plays only in private amongst people she knows and trusts because if you are playing in a café it is immediately assumed, probably correctly, that you are gambling. Even though gambling is frowned upon but tolerated in the male world due to the two verses quoted above (Qur'anic verses 2:219 & 5:90-91) for women it is strictly taboo. Many, both men and women, don't like gambling because they see the hardship it can cause. They do not want to risk what little they have to the fall of a card. But as Driss points out, it is hard to resist the pressure from friends who do and he has played for money on a couple of occasions. The first time he lost, the second time, however, he won 400DH. Although he was happy at his good fortune he felt as if the money was somehow tainted, dirty, and proceeded to spend it all on food and alcohol for his fellow players. He never gambled again.

Women often play Ronda (though not for money) during *Ramadan* whilst they wouldn't play at all the rest of the year. Hadia never gambles during *Ramadan*. Most, even the most hardened male gamblers, do not. Further, if

her husband found her gambling in public in *Ramadan* it would bring such shame to the family that she would never be allowed out of the house again. Hadia also holds a very different view of cheating (in non money games) from her husband Driss believing it is all part of the fun. In certain circumstances playing is also an opportunity to meet and break the ice when interacting with males and in her experience is just as fun as playing with women ‘the same stealing of cards, the same laughing’. Ronda connects people in ways that might, under different circumstances, be impossible. To gain mastery in Ronda one has to be able to memorise the cards but also to understand the game itself, the manipulation of the cards, how to play, what to do and what to say.

5.6 The Rules

Ronda is a four player team card game and uses a deck of Spanish cards. There are four suits Gold, Clubs, Swords and Stools (suits are irrelevant in Ronda, there are no trumps, just four strings of numbers). Each suit consisting of 10 cards (each forming the series Ace, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 (Queen), 11 (Knight), 12 (King) and we notice there is no 8 or 9. Ace, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12 being described orally in Spanish, 6 and 7 in Arabic. The players are seated opposite to each other in a circle and each is dealt four cards, which they consult, and, in turn, lay one on the table. The first card is thrown (usually quite literally) by the player immediately to the dealer’s right. The next player has the opportunity to win this card by playing an identical numbered card (i.e. a 3 on a 3, a 4 on a 4, a Queen on Queen etc.). The ‘eaten’ cards are then moved and placed face down to form two piles representing the two teams and wait there until the end of the game. If a player, when his turn arrives, eats and some or all of the other cards on the table make a series which follow on from the eaten card such as 2, 3, 4 or 7, 10, 11 (they don’t have to be in the same suit, as stated suits have no significance) then they can ‘eat’ these as well. The purpose of the game is to ‘eat’ the maximum number of cards possible. The cards played either form a sequence or are left behind, either alone or with others that are not sequential. Each play of sequentiality and difference, different sequences and similar difference take the communicative act beyond language.

After the first four cards dealt are exhausted, a second hand is dealt of three cards each and the process begins again, the only difference being the possibility of cards laid but not 'eaten' remaining on the table.. These uneaten cards are open to play in the second and the last hands. After the second hand is completed the final twelve cards are dealt and processed as above.

The game ends when the dealer plays his last card and the player that ate last takes the remaining uneaten cards. The cards are then counted up (one card = one point) to gain a total amount. If that amount of cards is in excess of 20 every card over that quantity scores one point. The object of the game is to gain forty one points. When the cards are exhausted the next player to the dealer's right shuffles and deals starting the process all over again.

There are five important rules related to scoring and the eating process. Three relate to the dealer and the use of the very last card played in a round of a deck¹ and the others to everybody². The thing to remember however is that all the players are particularly interested in contesting the last hand of the game, as large numbers of points are on offer. As Younes, a tailor, points out the 12 is more important than the others yet; 'It's actually the easiest one to remember because it's the end, it's the closure and you know how many have gone'. However, if he should eat with a 1, or not eat at all with the last card, points are awarded to the other team. It is therefore in the best interest of all the players to know what the final cards in any deck are.

¹ (1) If you are the dealer and you eat with your last card a 1 the other team are awarded five points (2) If you are the dealer and you eat with your last card a 12 your team are awarded five points and finally (3) If the dealer doesn't eat any cards with his last card the other team are awarded five points.

² (1) If, when the cards are dealt, a player has two cards with identical numbers they must exclaim 'Ronda!' and their team gains one point, if both team mates have Ronda then two points are awarded, if three players have Ronda three points are awarded to the highest pair, if four players have Ronda the lowest pair wins four points. In the cases of three and four Rondas the points are scored after play. (2) If a player eats a card that was laid by the preceding player he wins those cards as stated (and one point), however, if the third player in line can also 'hits' that card (i.e. a 6 is laid and eaten by the next player but the third player in line can also eat the 6 five points (plus any cards picked up in a series). If as sometimes occurs the final player in line has the final card of the set all cards are awarded to his team as well as 10 points.

5.7 Playing a Game

Hunched over, deep in concentration and muttering under his breath, Cicough looks up over the top of his cards across the table at his opponent, a small predatory smile turns the corners of his mouth. This is the last round and he and his partner are five points away from victory, his opponents only two away. One of his opponents is bouncing up and down in their chair, thinking the win is his. Yet Cicough is not concerned as, through his manipulation of the number line, he knows exactly which cards are left. As his partner and opponents play their last cards the opposing team inches closer to the finishing line scoring one point. Left on the table is a 12 which Cicough wins with his 12 scoring five points and the game! His opponent stops bouncing. A great comeback and the other players congratulate him. One of his opponents, slumped back in his chair, says 'lucky', he is dejected, his 80 dirham contribution to the pot gone.

Of the twelve or so playing and watching, in the description above, half were illiterate and three only just arrived in the city. It is important to Cicough to be considered good at something in his environment. His brothers and sisters all holding or studying for degrees means he is often teased for being stupid. Cicough is bitter that he did not receive the same educational opportunities as his siblings due to his mother's death and father's blindness, he left school at nine and feels he is doomed to be a heavy labourer all his life. For other new migrants 'We are new here' can easily become 'we don't matter here'; the new migrant does not exist in the communal memory. Existing outside the collective mind is an isolating and alienating experience, any chance to make relational connections an opportunity to be relished. Consequently, gambling is one time and space where Cicough and other migrants can compete on equal terms.

The players and those watching are captivated by the pattern of sequences unfolding in front of them. Many may position themselves behind one or other of the players to see what they have. These watchers both see what is being played but they also transpose their own systems onto the play. Parallel cogitating can lead to quite heated arguments when players and

watchers disagree on a particular play, especially if they have a side bet on the outcome of the game.

Players, as they participate in the creation of a reality through gambling on cards, are aware they do so against dominant paradigm of religiosity. Yet there is no idea that this is a sham space. For many it is 'more real' and they feel 'more alive'. As the game takes over, time and space are rearranged, the game pulls competitors in. The players and watchers orbit around the play, satellites caught in the game's gravitational pull. All attention is focused on the cards and each other, the world outside the circle becomes dim and hazy. The game itself is a competitive dance with each player reacting to the luck and skill of their opponent whilst at the same time trying to impose their own will on the play. But it is not enough simply to think the world. What binds us to a particular reality, a particular communal memory, are our interactions with the concrete.

Gestures are used to express all the emotions, aggression and disgust as well as achievement when an opponent is vanquished. These link together with the generation of the number line to create a complex metacode which connects the players together empathically. It is true that sometimes card play does not offer escape. Despondent, uncaring or erratic play, if in contrast to one's usual style, will draw comment from one's opponents 'are you ok?' Emphatic judgements in this respect can act as a facilitator for making connections and solve problems outside the game itself.

Many leave in the early hours of the morning, casualties of the alcohol, the hashish, or the unfortunate loss of their bankroll. Often though a hardy core group of players become so engrossed by the game they will play all night. Dawn's half light usually rouses them and they stand, stretch, drink coffee and chat at the window that looks out over the forest. The game is over and, one by one or in groups, they leave, some drained of their stake and vowing never to play again, others happy, pockets bulging, but all worn out. But that is not all. During the night loans may have been extended from one

player to another and back again and experiences shared. For the migrant new relationships are formed.

Our senses are stimulated by different environments, and playing at somebody else's house or at a café in the market offers an opportunity to 'escape' the restrictions, the 'sameness', of ones everyday life. Many have little say in their lives at home; cards give them an opportunity to make choices, to be masters of their destiny, even if for a short while, and enjoy this novel pastime. It is a time and space in which all can compete on equal terms.

5.8 The Number Line

How one remembers cards played is intimately related to strategies developed for dealing with currency but also remembering religious texts, Arabic grammar, and elementary jurisprudence where the student 'is taught through texts composed of rhymed couplets which the students commit to memory' (Eickelman, D 1988). Memorisation of the cards can also be seen as intimately related to ways of understanding sums in Rials. The cognitive patterning instituted by migrant's manipulation of currency is also evident in the memorization of cards. If we return to the numerical relationship between the Dirham and Rial we noticed that the phasing out of the 5cent created conceptual 'holes' in the Rial number line, erasing the need for odd numbers and consequently each number is, as Anamar says, 'a pair'.

The number line as utilised by the notional 1 Rial before the removal from circulation of its material container the 5centime coin (1 Rial) allows for all numbers to be expressed. In this instance the number line progresses; 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8.....and so on.

However, this number line changes when the 5centime, the material container of the notional 1 Rial, is removed. So that the notional Rial system after the removal from circulation of its material container the 5centime coin (1 Rial) progresses; 2, gap ,4, gap ,6, gap ,8, gap ,10, gap ,12.....and so on. The gaps representing the missing denominational

containers and resulting in the 10 base system being changed to a 2 base system were all the numbers are even and represent a 'pair' of numbers. That is not to say, of course, that the illiterate migrant has somehow forgotten that there are odd numbers but that because of the change in the available denominations now currency can only be expressed evenly in rials.

Mohammed, Anamar's husband, remembers cards in a manner common to many here. He achieves reliable results by differentiating between odd and even cards. For example he remembers that the first card played is odd, say a 5, and keeps a mental note of the other cards played in the round. After everybody has laid and all the 5s have gone he knows there is 'a gap' between 4 & 6. As he puts it 'I need to know at least the gaps between the cards'. What is immediately noticeable is that the number line utilised in the notional Rial and that of the technique for remembering numbers in this instance are very similar. Mohammed's conceptual 'gaps' mimicking the holes in left in the Rial number line (2, gap, 4, gap, 6, gap, 8, gap, 10). I think Anamar's problems with adding 7 and 6 might also be related to this. The physical containers for conceptualising 13 do not exist in Rials. She cannot, as she said, see the money and therefore has no opportunity to mentally manipulate it, she thinks quantitatively. Anamar is very rare, even amongst illiterate migrants, to have trouble with numbers between one and ten. The possible reason is that she doesn't play, or approve of cards and gambling.

Quantities and numbers are different. The reason for this, as Bateson (1978:44) points out, is that 'numbers are the product of counting' and 'quantities are the product of measurement'. A simple difference, perhaps, but with important implications to how we understand relational cognition in this context. Quantities are a rough calculation, an act of substitution. Numbers are discrete entities allowing them to be used to describe the phenomenal world exactly, and sequence it precisely. Numbers then are 'of the world of pattern' and of '*gestalten*' (ibid).

It must be pointed out that none of the players, literate or illiterate, are actually counting the representations of the pieces of gold, the clubs, swords or stools depicted on the cards. These themselves are 'recognised as patterns with a single glance' (Bateson 1978:45). As Bateson points out, the concept of pattern differs from our concept of 'number' and 'quantity' as 'not all 'numbers' are the product of counting' (ibid). In the context of the Ronda deck we notice that one need in fact only recognise these patterns up to seven (as 8 & 9 do not exist in the deck) with 10, 11, 12 all being picture cards, a different hierarchical pattern. Seeing the cards and manipulating them are two different things. The new player might understand the sequential system, how to place the cards and move them around but it takes a while to comprehend the phenomenally abstracted mindset of the play itself.

Mohammed's technique of remembering only even numbers allows him to partake in conversation at the same time as playing, something he takes pleasure in. The need to minimise mathematical operations to maximize socialising time is taken to its most extreme extent in a system used by a female student at the University. She contended that the only cards one need remember are the 12s and, if dealing, the 1s. Mohammed believes that the more complicated techniques known to him, which enable the player to remember every card played, as described below, are too complicated to play with and talk at the same time. Another, more intense, state of concentration is required altogether, which in its own way is equally a pleasurable but less sociable. Those that can remember all the cards played are perceived as having a numerical otherness about them. As Mohammed points out about a notorious card counter in the market 'his mind is strange to be able to do that'. You see in Mohammed's system he can miss one or two cards whilst talking (the game can be played at terrific speeds) and he claims it will not affect the addition he does at the end or the enjoyment he gets from more interaction with the other players and spectators.

The dizzying pace at which the game can sometimes be played means the application of any card system requires intense concentration. Everybody

has their own way to play, some more intricate than others, and consequently playing cards is a 'complex communication technology' (Damon 125). It is possible to remember all the cards. Cicough, describes his method which also revolves around the pattern created between odd and even numbers when manipulating currency in Rials;

This is the principle to think of, the principle of odd and even. You have four 4s, four 2s, four 3s etc. So if I take 1 and 2 that means I ate two 1s and a 2 so there are three 2s left. So this is an odd number. So this is how I keep scoring even time 1,7; 1,6. 1,2,3,4 I get in my queue 2,3,4 but if it get 3,4 this means that 4 is not odd anymore cause another 4 went. There is just one pair left. That is what I keep remembering the whole game and I keep watching everyone. Every time someone eats I check if he eats an odd number and check it in my memory. If I have it then I cancel it. If I don't have it I add it. I always arrange them in ascending order. So its like 2,3,7,9; 2,3,7,10; 2,3,7,10 [in repetitive voice] then its going to be 2,4,5,10; 2,4,5,10,11 that's how it goes. And at the end all that is left on the table are the odd cards because everyone will eat 1,1,1,1 so I know exactly the cards I should not have for the last hand.

By keeping track of all the cards eaten Cicough is also keeping track of what potential sequences are left to be played. Play can be measured and rhythmic but it can also be chaotic, there can be pauses and interruptions. This is where card systems can break down. It took Cicough time to master this new pattern and make his system work. Initially, he found his concentration lapsed quite quickly and he would be easily bumped out of his rhythm. Once disrupted, the whole pattern unravels; instead one has to play blind, chance to luck. Although conceptually a far more complicated technique than Mohammed's, this technique is interesting in that each of the numbers in the set articulated are expressed as odd or even irrespective of whether they themselves are odd or even. This parallels the use of rials where, for example, even though numbers are expressed in Dirham as odd, in Rials they are always even. So the 'natural' number line looks like this at the onset:



32. The materialisation of the number line at the beginning of a game, each number is a subset four identical numbers, there are four 1s, four 2s, four 3s ect.

However, if, for example, 2, 2, 3, 4, 7, 7 and 10 were eaten the line will change to; 1 (even – there are four 1s left), 2 (even – there are two 2s left), 3 (odd – there are three 3s left), 4 (odd –there are three 4s left), 5 (even), 6 (even), 7 (even), and 10 (odd –there are three 10s left)



33. The Number Line after an eating event & it's conceptualisation odd and even.

Consequently, Cicough has only to remember the odd sets 3, 4, 10 as the rest have either two or four cards remaining and by the last round he will know what the last four cards are. This is important as it is during the last round that largest number of points can be won. This process closely follows conceptual system known as Cantor's Metaphor which states that if one suit (set) mimics the other and has the same number of elements then these numbers are pairable. This mathematical method is proved by the use of only two finite sets. Yet, I think it makes little difference that there are four sets in Ronda as each chain of a particular number is conceived as two separate pairs in the process of memorisation. What is going on here is a series of even, not even, tasks which replicate the modulation of Mohammed's number line and that of the notional Rial in a far more conceptually complex manner.

There is, however, another interesting aspect to Cicough's way of remembering in that he conceives the number line 'in a kind of rhythm'. In other card games which use the same deck, such as the complex Fezi game Touti, you win if you 'sing' the correct cards and it is not to much of a jump to think of the number line in musical terms. Cicough describes the relationship between numbers and his technique of memorisation as 'an ascending scale' and his mind 'runs up it like a xylophone'. Each new card played prompting a fresh pulse of numerical information which articulates the number line and starts a fresh run through the scale. So the memorisation of the cards in this system requires the modification of conceptual number lines and the series of actions related to this manipulation of a notional musical scale and their material bearers.

In the home the cards themselves are not, in contrast to prayer carpets, treated with any special care. Flimsy, sometimes folded and crunched up, stained and dirty, ragged with tears on the corners their material circumstances result in some cards being easy to distinguish from others. The material nature of these well used cards also impacts on the conceptual game model. Cards whose identities are known through the injuries to their form are played in a certain way to gain maximum effect. In some games

they are discarded, in others kept. The secret that is not a secret can under certain circumstances be used as a deterrent or a threat as well as being a handicap. This of course increases the complexity of number line manipulations.

5.9 Storing Numerate Objects in the Illiterate World

We have suggested that numeration in the illiterate cosmos is achieved by the material manipulation of the number line and this is best exemplified in one of two scoring systems used to calculate sums in Ronda. All that is required is two sets of materialised numbers which take the form of six long thin notional containers called ‘cords’ (five points each) and eight small short containers called ‘small things’ (one point each) making a total of fourteen numerical objects which represent thirty eight notional points. Examples include long and short sticks, cigarettes and cigarette butts or whole toothpicks and half toothpicks, drinking straws and cigarette butts but anything will do. These are overseen by a non-player who acts as the bank administering and changing the ‘cords’ and ‘small things’.

The game proceeds as outlined above. When a score is made the overseer pays the player. For example, if team ‘A’ scores five points they are paid by the overseer in either one cord or five small things or if he scores three in three small things. One player from each team keeps the scoring objects in front of him in plain view and needs only the ability to add up the five small things and the four cords to master the system. As we know the purpose of the game is to reach a total number of forty one points, however, the ‘cords’ and ‘small things’ are designed only to reach a total of twenty and twenty one points. When the sum of objects reaches either of these totals they are returned to the overseer who notes this verbally, teams going notionally ‘big’ (having twenty one points in cords and small things) and ‘small’ (having twenty points in cords and small things). Play resumes and the team tries to eat either another twenty or twenty one points more for victory.

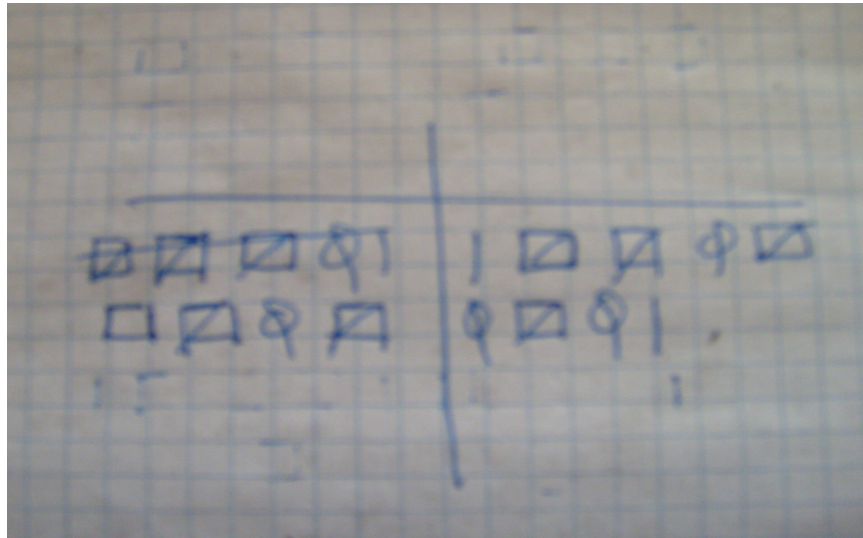


34. Ronda Scoring – a group of six cigarettes & eight filters

A group of six cigarettes and eight filters which represent one example of a material set of containers for the Ronda scoring system. The cigarettes are worth five points and the filters one point.

Inscribed scoring in Ronda also reveals a great deal about the phenomenal nature of numbers. Scores are written down, usually on a piece of scrap paper (old bills, backs of envelopes etc.), but also in notebooks purchased for the task or reused from some other undertaking. Scoring is achieved, not by normal numerical lexication (i.e. Arabic or Latin symbols), but instead by a system of lines, squares and circles.

As mentioned Ronda is played until a team of two players wins with an aggregate score of forty-one. The units of numbers most commonly eaten being one and five, a score of one being inscribed as one line (a stroke of the pen) a score of five being a circle with a line through it. As Nabil, a local policeman, describes the process “every square is 5 points, because you make 1, 2, 3, 4” [drawing a square with his finger] “5!” [a slashing movement from top right to bottom left] “That’s five points. And the round [circle] is when you score five points straight you just get the round”. The number symbols are organised in a line until one reaches twenty one points then a new line is utilised until one team manages to arrive at forty-one points and win the game.

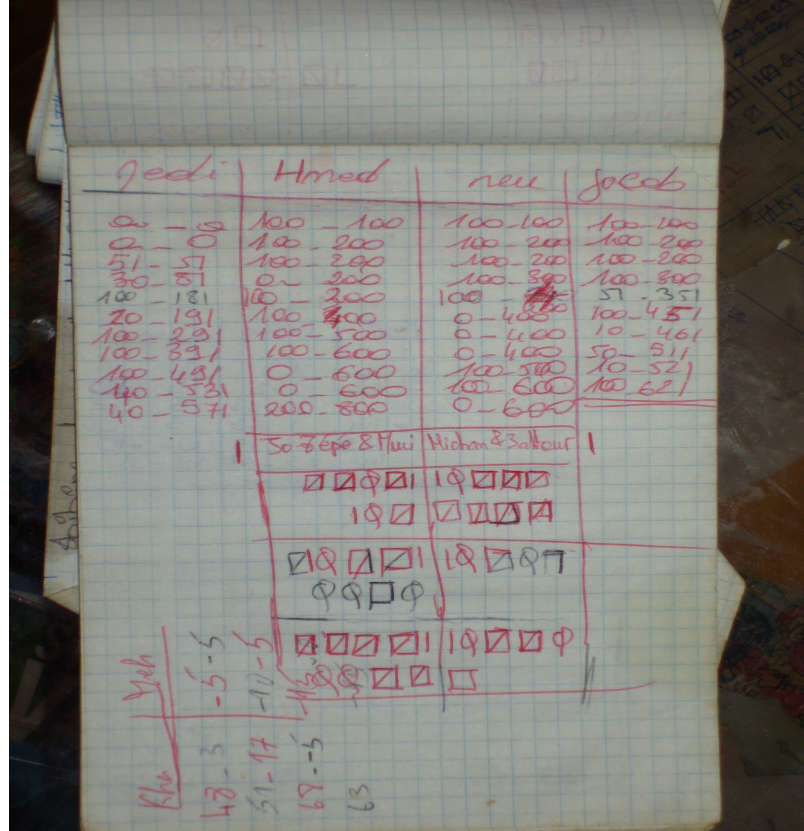


35. Basic Ronda Scoring Notation

There is no way of telling which team won as the score inscribed on the left is 40, the team on the right achieving 37, neither a winning score, with both sides still having the chance to win. It is unusual to find an unpersonalised game noted. The minimum one usually sees is team '1' or '2' but more usually names and/or nicknames in Latin or Arabic script. We also notice that the custom of crossing out the first 21 points is not respected in the right column. Further the circle with slash is highly developed being achieved in one movement rather than as usually observed in two actions, the circle then the diagonal line.

We can observe very quickly that notional system employed in storing numbers in Slash, Round and Square notation is identical to that used in the Cord and Small Thing manipulation. Obviously the counting method described arranges the individual units into a group of five, adding lines, squares and circles (or 'cords' and 'small things') to the number line until reaching 21, when a new number line started until a the team reaches 41. The utilisation of both systems being practical for two reasons; (1) by representing the score in units of five (a base five system) it makes it quicker and easier to add the totals and (2) it allows those who do not know how to inscribe their numbers e.g. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 41 (or

their symbols in Arabic/Berber) a chance to play and score. This counting notation is not only used for Ronda on one occasion it was observed being used in the calculation of prices in shop.



36. Two different Conceptual Systems on one notebook page

At the top the numeration of game of 71, a type of rummy played with two decks of 52 normal cards, and below in the centre a series of three games of Ronda. The right column winning the first game 41 to 32, the next two games won by the left column 41 to 19 and 41 to 26. In the bottom left hand corner of the page is the notation for a game of Simple, another game from the Rummy family.

The notational scoring systems in the notebook also reveals a lot of other information and the notation serves as a set of memorial clues to when a game took place, who was there and where they were sitting in relation to the dealer. But one also hears accounts of why people were there, how they relate to each other socially, what they ate or drank, what happened before,

during or after, and what their nicknames are. Some nicknames can be gruesome. Mohammed flipped through his scorebook one day and asked me; ‘Do you know Yaseen?’, ‘Yes’ I replied, ‘Yaseen has a crazy nickname ‘*Mjinina*’. It means a ‘little crazy’ but it is also the name of this crazy dude that cut off the heads of two people in Meknes. He went to the bar and dropped the heads of the two people next to him in a plastic bag. He started drinking and blood started seeping out of the plastic bags. When the police came they found the two heads’. Apparently the reason for this nickname is that Yaseen does ‘crazy man stuff’ when he is drunk and plays! Scoring notebooks also contain telephone numbers, addresses, shopping lists, notes to other people.

When, however, one is playing cards for money in a café, these notational systems link with human carriers of numerical memory. Numbers are broken down into ‘scores’ and ‘money’; the numbers which are ‘scores’ retained on the notepad next to the players and the numbers which are ‘money’ kept objectified in drinks. You play and score normally, however, the waiter keeps a parallel scoring system but noting the number of notional drinks won. If a player wins, he wins a drink. These are called out to the waiter who, of course, never serves them. For example, at the end of an afternoons play, the looser/s will pay the amount of loosing drinks to the waiter, say fifteen. Then the winner will receive, say thirteen, after tipping the waiter. This way of storing numbers is useful as the waiter ‘makes sure the others pay up’. It also conceals what is happening from the casual observer. An artifice, of course, as everybody knows what is going on.

The use of calculators is widespread in the market (in both restaurants and shops) and their utilisation serve the dual purpose of adding totals and converting from one currency to another. Casual observation of these processes in practice reveals that (1) operations are carried out in a predefined sequence (a number of adding/multiplying and totalising tasks) and (2) if those tasks are interrupted the process is begun again from the beginning (for example when an object is removed and it’s value has to be taken from the total) (3) calculation is often carried out mentally, in Rials,

and then converted to Dirhams on the calculator. Conversion sums are usually achieved by simply multiplying by 20. One shopkeeper, however, multiplies by 2 and then multiplies by 10.

Although the properly utilised calculator is seen as being infallible people often question totals as all processes of computation are not equal. In many cases informants admit to having already mentally assessed the sum accurately after asking for prices of goods if they are not known. Of course, if in doubt, this also establishes the Riyal as the currency of exchange. Prices for perishable goods are usually stable, however, recently there has been a lot of concern in the market over the unseasonably dry weather and how this will effect vegetable and fruit prices. Prices are also linked to location within the market itself. The population explosion of recent years and increased tourism prompted the erection of a new market beside the old one with slightly higher prices. For example, you can buy a litre of oil in the old market for 180 Rials (9 Dhs) whereas in the new market the same brand is for sale at 182 Rials (9.10 Dhs). The hybrid nature of most numerical tasks in the illiterate world being illustrated by the practice, widespread in restaurants, of noting down on scrap paper, in a column, the prices of the food consumed and then doing the sum on a calculator. The result being copied onto the bottom of the paper, the calculation being purely mechanical and requiring no numerical input whatsoever.

5.10 Reflections

Rostenthal (1975:5) states that gambling in Islam ‘never provided a powerful stimulus to the creative imagination’ because it was viewed as ‘childish’ pursuit, something to be laid aside when reaching adulthood. A view paralleled by Hallpike (1976) when he presents numerical thinking as evolving from simple primitive reasoning to more complex abstracted (Western) thought. He proposes that for non-literate people ‘there is no model of the ‘mind’ as mediating experience’ and ‘little awareness that thought and language are distinguishable from the things to which they refer’ (1976:253). Under this scheme the illiterate lacks the capability of ‘representing concrete reality without reference to action or imagery’ they

are 'logically primitive' (Hallpike 1976:256). But the logic he is representing is a Eurocentric 'disembodied' model, prevalent during the 1970s, of what mathematical thought is or is not.

If we follow the proposition put forward by Hallpike and also Piaget & Inhelder (1966) Cicough's development would have stopped with his education. He stopped school at nine years old and would not have made the jump 'from concrete to symbolic conceptualisation'. Consequently, due to his lack of developed 'hypothetico-deductive thought' (Piaget & Inhelder 1966:132) he would have a 'primitive mentality' which is clearly not the case.

The idea of the 'disembodied mind' has been shown, in more recent research, to be erroneous and that mathematical thought 'is not free of biological constraints' (Lakoff & Johnson 1999:3 see also Nunez & Freeman 1999). In this chapter we have observed that mathematical thought is created by illiterate migrants metaphorically. The migrants 'conceptualize abstract concepts in concrete terms' by 'using ideas and modes of reasoning grounded in the sensory-motor system'. This is known as a conceptual metaphor and is 'the mechanism by which the abstract is comprehended in terms of the concrete' (Lakoff & Nunes 2000:5). Amongst migrants in the city conceptual metaphors are used when they 'conceptualize numbers as points on a line' (ibid). As we have seen Cicough's manipulation of the number line is undeniably creative, complex and abstracted. As he learns and innovates, in spaces outside formal education, he creates new relationships with people and things. It is through his numerical manipulation of the concrete that he fashions a new identity.

This identity is in opposition to that which he holds in the hierarchical framework of the home where, by being the youngest, he is on the bottom rung of the social pecking order. Here it is Cicough whose place at dinner is next to the draughty door; it is he who did not receive the education his siblings enjoyed; it is he who has to go out on cold winter nights to chop wood for the fire and it is he who gets covered in blood whilst holding

down the sacrificial ram. In this environment he is 'unlucky' to be the youngest son. Gambling, on the other hand, allows him agency, control of his own fate, a chance to excel, it makes him happy. Just as with Malaby's (1995) study of gambling in Greece it is shown here that illiterate migrants cultivate new skills to cope with 'luck', to control 'luck'. In the case of Greece this requires the refining of performance skills and social attitudes and is obvious here in the learning of card memorisation techniques.

Gambling is a fundamental factor in complex communication amongst (particularly male) migrant population 'the logic of the encompassing process' (Biersack 1982:881). Like Biersack I question the whole notion numerical evolutionism as presented by Piaget & Inhelder (1966) and Hallpike (1976). Ifranian counting behaviour as a whole (currency manipulation, card memorization, and scoring) should be 'conceived as an integrated system, a "science of the concrete"' (Biersack 1982:816). Concrete elements are organised and sequentially related to one another by means of active memory systems.

In asking what the structural characteristics of phenomenal space are, we are theorising about the nature of our conscious experience, 'an empirically-informed philosophy of the mind' (Metzinger 1995:4). It is not only argued here that 'phenomenal states' or states of consciousness are 'a feature of a *process*' a sequential enchainment of subjective temporal events but also that phenomenal states 'are infinitely close to us'. Phenomenal states are not experienced as phenomenal states, we '*look through them*' so that 'from the perspective of experiencing self the field of phenomenal consciousness is *transparent*' (ibid 11 italics his). Consciousness then is our perception of 'infinite closeness' to experience, an 'immediate givenness'.

In the phenomenal configuration of conscious experience, which this chapter explores, we notice that an individual's perspective consciousness is something we create ourselves through the 'experiencing ego', which 'turns conscious experience into *its* experience'. A quality of 'perspectivalness' subjectively experienced in the phenomenal present (Metzinger 1995:13).

As we have seen the phenomenal properties of the cards do not appear in isolation, they are part of a complex pattern, ‘components of integral complexes’. In creating a phenomenal present the migrant is constantly refining his own theories of the relationships between things (1995:28), judgements not based in acts of religiosity. Consequently, new contexts of thought are instituted and actively manipulated in their experience of the phenomenal present.

Cicough’s number line, a complex conceptual model based in the concrete world, is re-modulated on fall of each card, the perception of each gesture. It relies on manipulations in the outside world to work. Of course all games of cards require that there is a slow unveiling, during play, of their distribution around the table. The purpose of gesture and banter is to mislead opponents into believing you have or don’t have a particular card or group of cards in your hand. To be regarded as a good player, and feel in control of ones relational environment, the player not only has to evaluate and navigate the complex maze of number lines but also anticipate other players cogitations, mental and as well as gestural.

As Gallese (2001:35) points out ‘visual representation is not understanding’. In the game, it is not enough to see that seven pieces of gold on a card make the pattern ‘seven’ because it says nothing of the ‘intended, mind-driven behaviour’ of the opponent who plays it. In the previous chapters, it was argued that observing people praying, beading or tree building served to excite our own motor system ‘as if we were executing that very same action that we are observing’ (2001:37), an empathic response of ‘inner imitation’ which is also fundamental to intersubjective interaction whilst playing cards.

As each play is planned in advance by the player he or she ‘can predict its consequences’ and subsequently affect the actions performed by others. It establishes ‘a meaningful link’ between self and other (Gallese 2001:42). It is through the ‘shared manifold of intersubjectivity’ that playing cards becomes an interaction we can share. In this shared manifold we can create ‘models’ of opponents by the use of the ‘simulation routines’ so obvious in

card counting techniques and in so doing create a personal phenomenal reality.

In the case at hand, religiosity is not functioning to bring Mennad's three youngest sons hope and happiness. None of them want to sit around praying and beading all day in the hope that on the Day of Retribution they will find a place in Paradise. They do not want to defer their happiness for some time in the future. They wish to seek their happiness in the here and now and achieve this through playing cards in opposition to religious laws.

CHAPTER SIX

The Marketplace

6.0 Prologue

This final chapter is a detailed examination of how the properties of numbers are utilised by migrant traders to create stable identities within the relational framework of the marketplace. The creation of a public identity is a constant battle; even an established migrant market trader's identity can suffer erosion if not properly maintained. It is through the numerically insignificant that a public identity can be preserved in this largely illiterate environment, and numerical objects serve to lay claim to physical ownership over territory, as well as, to cognitively map space.

I will show this by concentrating on the, at first glance, seemingly insignificant use of numbered carriage boxes. It is only through an understanding of the identities attached to these numbered boxes that marketers manage and porters can navigate their way through their environment. The dispositions of these numeric containers serve to create and control the rhythm of market life.

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we have noted that excellence with numbers was an important factor in the creation of a relational framework in which happiness could be realised. In each instance a person could be identified with the number systems utilised whilst gambling. Playing cards allowed everyone to join in, even in instances where they could not communicate verbally. In this chapter I further examine the capacity of numbers to influence the formation of identity but this time in the markets. Here again language constraints are a factor and numbers are often relied upon to reference and structure social relations. The most obvious example is the recognition of identities through the numbers on boxes rather than by names.

Things which seem on superficial inspection to be inconsequential are in fact the most important factors in knitting the social fabric together (Lofgren 2003). The numbering systems used by wholesale fruit and vegetable sellers show that the material organisation of the back routes of the market orchestrate the market's outer public space. The whole logistics of moving produce around the wholesale markets and across the country is only comprehensible through an understanding of the identities attached to numbers and the relationship between those numbers. Due to the high levels of illiteracy, particularly amongst porters, numbers provide a common system of differentiating between the identities of wholesalers which undercuts language. Identity is fused with the numbers displayed on boxes.

When the fruit and vegetables reach the souks and the smaller markets boxes again exert their presence. Here the numbers on boxes reference the quality of produce but are also utilised for their physical properties. Produce is displayed on them and as they push out from shop fronts into alleyways they are enforcing and expanding territorial claims. Selling spaces are difficult to come by, usually small, and many sellers have to form partnerships in order to prosper.

Building a stable identity in the market, though, is difficult. The market's governance is controlled not only by municipal law but also by a powerful system of Amins (democratically elected 'heads' of each type of good or service offered in the market i.e. the Amin of the butchers, the Amin of the taxi drivers, the Amin of the vegetable and fruit sellers). To be successful within this system is a matter of establishing an identity and building relational frameworks. Of course this leads new migrants into competition and conflict with more established shopkeepers who desire to keep their hard earned identities intact. Identity in this environment is not a given, rather it is 'a provisional construction' (Harrison 1999:240) which sellers must maintain or lose.

It has been argued throughout this thesis that the modality of religiosity is not the only 'method of knowing'. Many move seamlessly between

environments of religiosity and ‘vice’. The man who drinks alcohol every day might become teetotal during *Ramadan*; similarly the man who spends his afternoons gambling at a café in the market might attend prayers at the mosque at dusk. Ifranians have a range of possible relational opportunities available to fulfil their needs and constitute happiness. In the markets underground activities often sustain friendships. Gambling and hashish abuse occur behind the scenes in spaces which are curiously public yet not public (i.e. the winnings of gambling in cafés although won in public are kept secret and represented as drinks).

For the majority of PAM families, who do not make their living from the Palace or the University, income is seasonally variable. Summer, when the tourists abound, is the time when money is be put aside for the long winter months when income often drops to a trickle. A time when for many PAM families the overriding preoccupation is heat and food, ‘as long as we get enough to last the winter we are happy’. Most families cannot afford meat every day so the main diet often comprises vegetable tagines. Consequently, the price of vegetables is an important topic of conversation.

Of Mennad’s sons, three work in the market: Z as a full time waiter, Cicough as an occasional labourer/porter and Winaruz hangs around the bus stop and taxi ranks to find potential lessee’s for properties. Although, combined the work undertaken is the biggest source of familial income, all are seasonally variable. Cicough in the past found only summer work, due to the climate much of the construction stops in the winter, but more recently has found jobs during the winter working as a porter. Z earns his money in tips and Winaruz as a house rental agent so a substantial part of their income vanishes in the autumn along with the tourists. This is typical of many families in the PAM.

As we have witnessed the past holds little that is useful for migrant families. In reality the past is almost irrelevant to their present circumstances. The new migrant as a ‘transitional being’ lacks any relationality with the dominant structure as they ‘have nothing’, ‘no status, property, insignia,

secular clothing, rank, kinship position, nothing to demarcate them structurally from their fellows' (Turner 1967:98). When migrants arrive in the city they leave behind the support structure of family and friends from their places of origin. With the loss of this collective memory they also suffer a loss of identity. This lack of shared identity for some is re-established in religiosity but for many the market is the relational focal point of their lives, a place where new acquaintances can become lifelong friends and dreams realised. Of Mennad's children, all find themselves there for one thing or another nearly everyday. Izza to see her friend Annamar in the restaurant and to buy things to cook, Udad on his way home from the bakery stops at his favourite café on the market square, and the three youngest brothers because this is their place of work.

The market, as well as being a major source of income for PAM families, is also the main source of expenditure. This is the main space for enjoyment, relaxation and shopping, the few shops and cafés in the downtown area being too expensive for the PAM dweller as they are for coach parties and rich students from the University. In asking how the market sustains the people of PAM we are also asking how they themselves administer and control it. A space where migrants can realise the dreams that brought them to the city in the first place. Where they might open new businesses free from harassment and find employment as well as enjoying the restaurants, shops and cafes. For many the market offers a framework in which hopes and happiness can be realised.

6.2 The Wholesale Market

'The gathering here is God`s will. Some have the intention to come here but others are wondering and moving in different directions but suddenly they find themselves in the market at sunrise. No one knows God`s will'.

A Market Trader, Meknes



37. Sunrise

Over forty percent of Morocco's population is involved in crop production of one sort or another (Thomson et al 1997). Due to the extreme differences in topography and climate throughout Morocco the principal crops produced vary not only between regions but also within the regions themselves. The production of wheat dominates production in Fes, Meknes and the rest of the fertile plains west of the Middle Atlas and north of the High Atlas mountains. However, it is barley, a drought resistant crop, that is produced along the eastern border with Algeria and to the south, although, during the past decade drought conditions in many normally prolific areas have meant a fall in grain production. Consequently to meet internal demand over twenty percent of corn consumed in Morocco is imported. Meknes and Fes are also the foremost cultivators of grapes for the

production of the rich full bodied Guerrouane, Beni Sadden and Beni Zerhoune red wines.

Commercial vegetable and citrus production is centred on four areas; in the south around Taroudant, in the centre around Marrakech and Beni Mellal, in the north in Gharb and Larache and to the north east around Berkane and Oujda. Fruit and vegetable production in Morocco stands at around one and a half million tonnes per year of which a third is exported. The Maroc Fruit Board, founded in 2000, is an alliance of seven of the ten largest fruit and vegetable exporters in Morocco and represents seventy percent of the total exports. In 2007 exports amounted to 460,000 tonnes of citrus fruit and 150,000 tonnes of vegetables (courgettes 45,000 tonnes, onions 3,300 tonnes, potatoes 44,000 tonnes, tomatoes 300,000 tonnes) (Benhaddou 2007) of a total of 640,000 tonnes. These are exported on palette units each representing one tonne from the ports of Agadir, Casablanca (on the eastern seaboard) and Nador (north of Oujda on the Mediterranean coast).

Wholesale markets to distribute this bounty ring the country; Oujda in the north east on the Algerian border, Berkane on the Mediterranean coast, Tetoaun in the northern mountains of the Riff, Tangier on the straits of Gibraltar, then down the Atlantic coast in Casablanca and Agadir and on the plains in Marrakech, Fez and Meknes. Fez and Meknes are the major source of fruit and vegetables for the souks of Ifrane and Azrou though many fruit sellers can travel long distances to any of the above mentioned in search of larger profits. If there is a glut of tomatoes in Fez and Meknes one might choose to sell in Casablanca or Oujda. In theory all farm produce should be sold through a wholesale market. In practice many, particularly small farmers, sell their produce directly either on the sides of the road or at the largely unregulated souks, where they achieve more profit.

There are a large number of sellers within the fruit and vegetable wholesale market in Meknes. Sellers are able to sell their produce at any wholesale market and the right to sell at the wholesale market is extended to all as long as the transaction charges are paid and the procedures followed. The spaces

in the wholesale market are rented, the freehold is owned by the municipality, and no new ones are available. Instead, as often happens, if someone wishes to sell they have to sublet off a renter.

How much a wholesale market seller brings from the fields to a particular market depends on the demand from customers. As the fruit and vegetables are purchased from the field overnight a seller uses educated guesswork, usually an average of amounts sold in the past and the state of the market prices. If too much of any item is brought from the fields then there will be a glut and the price will fall and the goods will go unsold and perish, after all they 'sell vegetables, not cement or iron'. As the sellers buy the goods during the night, anticipating what the demand will be the next morning is difficult and, if overly ambitious, the seller might have to sell at a loss or not at all. In these instances he will sell at whatever price he can manage so as to recoup his initial outlay.

Prices are discussed in any way the customer (those who go on to sell the produce at the souks or in the municipal town/city markets) wishes and 'each buyer has his own way of discussing it. The people from the north buy in francs, the people from the Atlas riyals, the people from Casa Dirham'. These are generalisations (the vast majority discussing prices in the wholesale market do so in Dirham) but the way people discuss numbers is, as pointed out, an important indicator of origin, class and education. On the whole there are good relations between sellers and customers, no doubt encouraged by the strong presence of the market police. Credit in the shape of vegetables is given, however, problems with unpaid credit abound 'we give them vegetables and boxes to lift them in but there are some who do not pay them back'. Abbad has 'lost' thousands of boxes and has seen them in markets and shops throughout Morocco. If a buyer does not have his own boxes, or not enough, the seller will allow him to take some of his own for a deposit; 'we buy the boxes for 300 riyals and we take 1000 francs'

6.3 The Wholesale Fruit and Vegetable Sellers

The wholesale market sellers buy produce straight from the farms, purchasing whole fields worth of fruit and vegetables. Price is negotiated per kilo/tonne and the exact weight is assessed at the market. However, the experienced farmer and seller can make an educated guess of the amounts involved by working out the average amounts in each box. When a deal has been struck the Agent's boxes are placed in the field along the lines of produce. The spaces between each box in the row is determined by the size and density of produce itself, consequently, the fruit or vegetable pickers move in a time/space created by the quantities of produce that fit in the boxes. The produce is loaded into the boxes by the farm hands. Occasionally, produce is loaded straight onto the truck without boxes, this is usually when there are not enough boxes or the produce is particularly robust (ie. potatoes, carrots, etc.). In this case the produce is then weighed and redistributed into boxes when they become available. Negotiations with farmers are often undertaken in Tamazight although Darija is the language of the market.

Abbad has been selling from the wholesale market in Meknes for the past thirty-five years. In that time the market has moved, burnt down and been rebuilt. His years as a wholesale seller allowed him to build many strong relationships with producers from all over Morocco. He has his strongest contacts in the immediate Tafilalet region, but also the Souss region around Agadir, and the Oriental region around Oujda. What he buys from producers is up to him, there are no limits imposed by the municipality. Every day is a day of new opportunities arising within the market and Abbad's experience and contacts count for a great deal. He is continually weighing up weather conditions, historical regional ripening times, information from the producers, market prices and the movements of other sellers.

Many wholesale sellers/agents own Lorries or trucks to get the produce from the fields, for others transport is rented. The amount a seller purchases of course is limited by the container capacity of the trucks. The largest can

contain seventeen or eighteen tonnes, the smaller ones two and four tonnes. Abbad does not have to calculate amounts such as 100 or 200 kilos of this or that vegetable as these amounts are ‘already calculated in my mind’s eye’. He can also calculate differences of 20 or 40 kilos. If the quantity is 120 kilos, for example, he will take the large amount, the 100, and visualise the corresponding value in Dirham, and the extra 20 kilos which worked out as a separate total are added mentally. Totals are always added, never subtracted. However, when the quantity is not a derivation of ten, such as 145, 273 or 87 kilos, Abbad finds it difficult and he uses a calculator.



38. Abbad’s selling space

Abbad’s selling space in the wholesale market in Meknes. There are two types of box the normal size on the right and the smaller fruit boxes on the left. Abbad marks all his boxes with the numbers ‘86’ on the short side and ‘1070’ on the long side of the box. Hence the ‘86=1070’

Selling in Oujda is slightly different from selling at the wholesale markets in Meknes or Fes. In Oujda farmers are able to bring their produce into the wholesale market independently. There is only one selling hall in the wholesale market, which is divided into six parts, each part being divided between two Agents. Six of the Agents positions are hereditary and filled by the descendents of six of the Kings supporters during the protectorate. The

agent charges 7% on all transactions, 5% of which is immediately passed onto the municipality, 2% of which is his profit. The unfairness of such an arrangement is apparent to all and resented by many. The Agents themselves are rarely present in the market, instead they employ a number of sellers who work directly for them. Although the space is notionally divided into twelfths, the places the sellers take up each day will be different. This results in different positions for sellers but not for the Agents numbers as these remain constant. There are only small deviations within a twelfth where sellers with their own numbers circulate.

In Meknes and most other wholesale markets small farmers may have to either find a seller for their produce or sell it themselves. In Oujda the produce is weighed and the total calculated at which point the producer can be paid immediately. As in theory the agents are the only ones able to sell produce from farms in the region, one of these twelve agent's sellers, will weigh the produce and pay them cash.

The municipality keeps a close eye on proceedings in the wholesale market. When the produce is delivered to the market it is weighed and each quantity is registered by a municipality official. This results in the municipality being able to work out quite precisely how much each agent is selling just by knowing the weight of the produce brought into the market and there are practical reasons for such close government scrutiny. Agriculture accounts for fifteen percent of the GDP and by knowing what the surpluses of fruit and vegetables are allows the government to know how much to export for foreign currency. The markets fill with and empty of boxes of produce sourced at farms from all over Morocco (Agadir, Casablanca, Meknes, Fes, Berkane, Oujda, El Jadida, Knitra and *Walidiya*). The wholesale markets throughout the regions are symbiotically linked, different areas have both different terrains and climates and as a result different ripening times. An over abundance or lack of a type of produce can be easily remedied by redistribution from one wholesale market to another. Consequently, this network also ensures the widest range of produce is available, even in places

that have not seen rain for the past decade. It also allows for a wide distribution of wholesale seller's boxes.

The Box Makers – Recycling Boxes

Boxes are always present, they are saturated with the sweat and blood, aches and pains of the men who convey them. Many boxes circulate in poor condition, some with rusty nails that not only ruin fruit but also give nasty cuts to those who carry them. Not all wholesalers are diligent in the maintenance of their boxes but those that do employ box makers. The problem of not having boxes to service the demand from produce is a constant one, boxes get damaged or go astray. Most agents and wholesale sellers own in excess of five thousand boxes each. When not in use the sellers either store their empty boxes in their work space or utilise the underground repository created for this purpose by the municipality. Fire is a constant danger due to the large amounts of dry wooden boxes piled everywhere and wholesale markets often burn to the ground. Market Amins wage a constant battle with sellers to force them to remove boxes from the central hall, either outside or to the repository. The repository contains not only boxes in good condition but also broken ones. These broken boxes are collected and delivered to the box makers.

The box makers make a lie of their name as the vast majority of their work is fixing with material salvaged from boxes so damaged they cannot be repaired. It is in fact rare that they will build a box completely from scratch. Boxes last a long time and will pass through the hands of the fixers many times. A box is only unrepairable if the wood is broken into small pieces, then the sound pieces are utilised for the fixing of the broken boxes, or more rarely in the building a new box. Hence each slat on a box over its lifetime may have been part of many other boxes. The wood for the boxes in Oujda comes from Berkane, that for Fez and Meknes from the Atlas forests. Specialist nails, hammers and other box fixing/making tools are brought within the respective cities themselves.



39. Fixing a box

Oqba is illiterate and never attended school. He has been fixing and remaking boxes for fourteen years. In fact he is a third generation box maker and can't remember a time when he didn't know how to make boxes. The box makers work out of an old garage in the grounds of the market. Each box maker works for a seller or agent, larger selling concerns might employ three or four. Oqba works with two others for one of the larger sellers.

The box makers start in the morning at four until midday, then are free until four in the afternoon, and finish work for the day at ten in the evening. On Friday and Sunday the box makers guard their employer's wares all day from four until ten when the market is shut. The numbers of boxes repaired goes up significantly in the spring and summer. Oqba cannot count the number of boxes he has repaired. The box makers are not paid by quantity but are rather paid monthly by the agent or seller who employs him.

Plastic boxes have been in use in the market for over three years. A standard plastic box used in the market costs sixty dirham (it is possible to buy poorer quality plastic boxes for as little as thirty dirham each) and a wooden one between seventeen and twenty dirham. Wholesalers allow their boxes to be taken by customers for a deposit; fifty dirham for each plastic box and between ten and twenty for a wooden one. Plastic boxes are becoming increasingly popular amongst wholesalers as nails in wooden boxes often damage vegetables in transit. Plastic boxes also have a uniform weight, are easier to keep clean and are more solid. The Amin points out ‘we cannot talk of quality if we still use wooden boxes’.

Understandably, Oqba and the other box makers are becoming increasingly worried about the introduction of plastic boxes. They are brittle, and due to their nature cannot be repaired so when broken they are thrown away. Even though plastic boxes are three times more expensive than their wooden counterparts they make up for this by being more solid and more hygienic.

6.4 ‘The Path of Boxes’

Boxes define and contain the market both physically and conceptually, they are the inside and the outside, representing not only the economics of exchange but the topography of embodiment. The path of boxes is the literal pathway through the market whose breadth and direction is determined by how and where the boxes are placed within the outer wall of the market itself. All markets whether wholesale, market or souk, have basic outer limits, usually delineated by walls, within which space is either seemingly chaotically arranged (Meknes wholesale market, Oujda municipal vegetable market, Ifrane souk, itinerate sellers) or where control is seemingly absolute (Oujda wholesale market, Ifrane municipal vegetable market). How, and where, the boxes are placed within these confines describes the changing width and direction of the path the porters, marketers and purchasers take each day. Each morning the topography of the market changes, the path that might one day have branched to the right might now end in a wall of boxes, the alleyway of last week grown into a major thoroughfare. A thoroughfare painted on all sides with numbers. Numbers stamped on, painted on,

sprayed on all sides of the rough wooden boxes, in different colours and different sizes, sometimes accompanying a name or a symbol. Each set of numbered boxes congregates in a group. Reaching up to dizzying heights in neat columns, long rows advancing inwards from the back wall, alone or in square islands, numbered boxes are both the containers of things and people but also the internal architecture market itself.

The Porters

'Anyone who follows the path of boxes, his life will be nothing'

A Market Porter, Meknes

Just next to the back wall of the market there is a small area where the porters come together during quiet periods during the day. A red plastic Coca-Cola box with a hole in one side serves as a table around which men sit or crouch chatting with each other, smoking and playing cards. Hard eyes look down from tired faces on the playing cards. Porters use memorisation techniques as described in the previous chapter and the banter associated with play, although subdued, surfaces now and again. After finishing a game two piles of cards sit on the table, the two piles representing the cards each team won during play. They are counted up and each card a team has won above twenty (half the forty card deck) is awarded a point. The technique also makes it easier to count as dealing one on each pile five times achieves the status quo and anything over earns points. It also mimics the scoring systems, the porters are using whole and half matchsticks, representing fives and ones.

What is interesting though is that this process is not simply an act of counting, it is also an act of reducing predictability. Cards are not simply counted out, one on top of another face down. Rather they are counted by holding the pack face down in the left hand and turning over the cards with the right and dealing them alternatively face up into two piles. The reason this is done relates of course to how the cards are initially captured; in runs, pairs, three of a kind, and four of a kind. This two pile shuffling technique aims to wipe clean the sequential memory held within them by separating

runs and same cards (if two same numbered cards should be dealt one on top of the other in the same pile the top one is placed at the bottom of the pile). Then the cards are collected up, sometimes mixed by hand and face down, four cards each are dealt to begin a new game. Again, randomness is encouraged by random distribution. In most western card games when dealing one deals a card to the first player, one to the second, one to the third, one to the fourth and then starting again dealing one to the first, one to the second, etc. until each player has the amount required. In Ronda any amount of cards can be dealt to any player, in any order, up to the amount needed (four for the first round, three each for the subsequent rounds). This scrambling of combinations of things makes them forget the comprehensible structure of the last game they remember. This shuffling technique is also used when playing the card game '6' using the same forty card deck (where each game concludes with the deck being split into the four sequential suites) and also the '71' a rummy game where two normal decks are used.

6.5 The Reduction of Randomness – numbers on boxes

'I have seen them in other towns and cities; I have seen them in far places'

A Trader in Meknes referring to his boxes

In contrast to the separation of cards whilst gambling, in the market a random distribution of numbers is not the aim as same numbers are meant to appear together. Each box has a number, and in rarer instances also a name or initials, which corresponds to either a seller/agent within the wholesale market or a seller who travels around the regional souks. The system has developed to differentiate the produce of different wholesale market sellers. Each seller has a unique number (the majority), names and/or symbols (more common in Oujda) painted, sprayed or printed on the wooden or plastic boxes within which produce is transported. Numbers are chosen to be instantly recognisable, 'to make them distinctive'. The numbers adopted might be a lucky number or a house number, a birthday or numbers from the seller's identity card, and are often retained by their sons when they die or

retire. All have some personal significance to the seller but no significance in the official administration of the market.



40. A Box Stamp

A Box stamp in Oujda wholesale market. 'RS' in an apple shape. The stamp is inked by the use of a sponge. This is done on site and is not the job of the box makers.

Some of the older wholesalers remember a time, twenty or so years ago, when there were only numbers displayed on one side of boxes usually between 0-99. The numbers on the sides of the boxes became necessary because newcomers began using the same numbers as the more established wholesalers. On the most basic level this theft of identity resulted in all sorts of problems in the market, the wrong boxes being taken or boxes being delivered to the incorrect places as buyers and porters became uncertain of the identities linked to the numbers, an erosion of the original wholesaler's identity (Harrison 1999).



41. Pair of Traditional Box Stamps

A more traditional pair of numbered stamps on a tray of ink. Other popular methods include spray painting numbers on, with or without a stencil, and simply painting them on with a brush.

6.6 Wayfarers on the Path of Boxes

Whilst discussing the very complex manner in which people memorize cards when playing Ronda in the previous chapter, we debunked any idea of ‘primitive’ mathematical processing. Here the market is numerically organised by the use of mental mapping techniques by the mostly illiterate porters.

Sellers do not sell only one type of produce and their numbered boxes can be filled with any type of fruit or vegetables. When the goods arrive by truck at the market, the porter/s will unload the boxes after the driver informs them where to carry them. In fact in most cases nothing need be said as ‘we recognise the boxes by the numbers on them’. Abbad, due to his long years in the market, is known both by his name and his number; ‘if someone is coming from elsewhere, looking, they would just tell them my name or the

number on the boxes'. Samir might be able place a name to the number but most cannot.

When Marzouq got his first job carrying boxes he knew little of where sellers were located. He admits initially he became confused with all the numbers swirling around the market and often had to ask the way. This often didn't help as the directions were also given in relation to the numbers of other sellers he didn't know, but over time and many journeys Marzouq has built 'a map in my mind' of the numbers. He learnt through endless repetition which he describes as 'just like studying'.



42. Abbad's Numbers

'86=1070' Abbad's selling space in Meknes market. It is accompanied on the wall, not by his name but by his telephone number. What is interesting on a fundamental level is that the number '86', for example, is used by some porters as 'eighty six', but by others as 'eight' and 'six'. All that is required is the ability to distinguish and remember numerals from one to nine as well as zero. Just as with beading an understanding of basic ten base mathematics is irrelevant what is relevant is that they can manipulate them to navigate from place to place.

Certain fixed points, such as Abbad's '86=1070', are dotted around the wholesale market and stay in the same place, day after day, year after year, but some appear in one position in the market place and disappear, only to pop up again in a different location. The constant number positions are used as reference points from which the mental maps porters carry in their minds are created. If other numbers, such as new or occasional sets, appear in the morning when Marzouq and Samir begin carrying, they will remember them in relation to these markers. Samir envisages them as two circles, numbers radiating outwards, the exterior ring mainly comprising vegetable sellers, and an interior ring comprising mainly fruit sellers. These are in turn are orientated in relation to the entrance to the lorry park. Marzouq remembers them as separate strings of numbers, four strings for the outside walls and four fairly vague groupings in the fruit hall. This numerical mapping of the market is utilised by other porters as well, only the longest serving will know sellers by their names alone, and even amongst themselves different areas are referred to by their relationship to the numbers on the boxes.

Gell (1985) discusses the relationship between 'mental' cognitive and 'practical' mapping concluding that the use of either entails equivalent 'logical operations'. Neither functions in the unchanging Cartesian space of the artefactual map; instead, the former functions by way of 'mental' cognitively accumulated spatial data and the latter, championed by Bourdieu (1977), of 'mastery of practical space'.

If we follow Bourdieu's notion of map making, numbers may be related to where a porter was beaten or arrested, where he was paid a large tip or where he fell one day. In such a map the numbers, although comparable to other porters' numerical maps in space and time, have individual meanings and consequences. In Ingold's interesting paper (2007) we map when we are confronted with 'sites of activity'. These might occur as a constant process or in fits and starts whilst being transported from place to place. There is a distinction between those who are travellers and those who are wayfarers. Travellers are transported on buses and by taxis and consequently

their 'sites of activity' are where they stop and interact with the outside environment. So to map these sites of activity one does so in a series of concentrated, separated dots of doing. The wayfarer, on the other hand, is different as he maps the constant flow of his perceptions of the world as he walks along, his map is more reflective of the constantly changing knowledge he gleans from world with which he interacts. There are no gaps. In this scheme the porters in the wholesale market should be viewed as wayfarers with the complex shifting numerical maps they create always individualised.

6.7 The Porter's Life

Samir believes following path of boxes 'has nothing to do with a good life, we have nothing to do with the 'pen''. Porters are usually uneducated or only partially educated and in their late teens and early twenties but men can be found that have worked in the market for over thirty years. Samir left school at ten and found employment as an apprentice at a car mechanics. The mechanic, however, closed the garage leaving Samir, at fourteen, without an income and with no qualifications. When he lost his job he lived in the poor Zitoun area which sits next to the city walls. He could find no employment at other garages and for a year lived hand to mouth until eventually he found his way to the market where he scratched a living. The skills he learned during his years at the garage, however, stood him in good stead helping to gain him a permanent position with a vegetable seller where he works not only as a porter but also as someone who can help maintain the truck. He still, however, earns by the box, gaining on average seventy dirham per day. Samir likes the arrangement as it gives him a constant income and cuts out the hours spent roaming the market searching for work under constant harassment from the market police. His mechanical skills also garner him further income from working on other seller's trucks.

There is a stark distinction between those porters who are employed by the market or a particular seller and those who work for themselves. Those working for a particular seller or the market have a guaranteed income flow with no need to search for jobs. They are usually distinguished by coats

with the name of the seller or market stamp on them. For those porters not associated with a seller, life can be bleak. There are many unemployed young men who attempt to carry boxes for money in the market. Welcome during the summer harvest when there is an overabundance of boxes to move, they can become an unwelcome nuisance the rest of the year.

Marzouq's education, like Samir's, was halted early in his case at the end of the second year of secondary school. He was counted amongst the best in his class but the poor financial circumstances of his family meant that he had to find employment. Opportunities, however, were scarce for a boy with no qualifications or experience. Marzouq undertook small tasks such as carrying things from place to place and light labour for subsistence wages. A carrying job brought him one day to the wholesale market and he saw a chance to improve his and his family's financial situation a little.

Marzouq rises in the early hours of the morning to walk the three miles to work and arrive at dawn. He works from dawn till the early afternoon then walks home. He might earn sixty dirham on a good day, the rate is one dirham a box, irrespective of how far the sellers space is from the transport. Disagreements often occur over payment as sellers 'may refuse to pay you and others will run with your money'. Porters are looked upon with suspicion by sellers who suspect them of stealing boxes of fruit. Marzouq hates the way they mistreat and verbally abuse him rather than being polite; 'honestly there is no pity here, all the sellers are rude'. That's why he likes Abbad who is always polite when he engages him to carry and pays him his due, often with a little extra. Complaints from the sellers about porter theft mean Marzouq is, from time to time, arrested by the market police whilst carrying. He takes in his stride the few hours in the cell whilst his story is checked out; 'it is part of the job'.

The police presence in most public places throughout Morocco is strong and manpower is concentrated on public venues which maybe targets for terrorist bombers such as markets and hotels. Porters make easy suspects, as many live in small huts made from hollow concrete bricks with flat

corrugated iron roofs in the shanty towns that exist alongside all the major cities in Morocco. Many believe it was not by chance that the bombers of Casablanca in 2003 and Madrid in 2004 were recruited here. According to general opinion it is the harsh conditions (no water, electricity or sewerage) and little hope that make the poor of the shanty towns in Fes and Meknes more susceptible to the austere salafi fundamentalist doctrine. To Salafis innovations to Muslim practice by way of *Hadiths* (the sayings and practices of Mohammed) were only possible during the first three generations after the prophet's death. There is no latitude given to those mainstream Muslims who wish to modify doctrine to better suit their present global circumstances. Negotiation is not an option for the Salafis and consequently they condemn the vast majority of Morocco's Sunnis to the charge of apostasy (Takfir). In this form Salafi fundamentalism is a passive force subject to the Islamic courts. Over the past decade, however, more politically confrontational and aggressive cells have grown out of the Salafi movement committing acts of violence and bombings. At least this is how it is presented by the government and the international press. These views, however, do not sit easily with the recent imprisonment (July 2008) of two men who bungled a suicide attack on a tourist bus in Meknes in the summer of 2007. These men, and their alleged accomplices, all had well paid positions in the government tax office.

If Marzouq gets ill and cannot work he will go without pay. Illness is not what he fears, however, it is injury that concerns him. Serious injuries to porters' backs happen often and one of the first friends he ever made in the market hurt his back so badly, when he accidentally fell over whilst carrying, he has never worked again. Simply tripping or slipping is not the only way 'men are broken'; many years of carrying too much with bad technique also takes its toll. Samir was lucky that he was taught the right technique by Marzouq when he arrived, taking the weight as much as possible on his legs when lifting and lowering, but still suffers pain in his neck and upper shoulders. When this happens he has to take a few days off. The heaviest loads comprise potatoes at between 40 to 44 kilos per box, carrots at 34 to 37 kilos, tomatoes at 30 to 34. Fruits, far more delicate than

vegetables, are often packed individually in the smaller demi case boxes and are consequently far more comfortable, weighing as little as 3 to 8 kilos per demi case.

In contrast to Meknes where wholesalers pay the porters directly, in Oujda the retained porters are paid by the municipality. The municipality hires the forty six porters which service most of the carrying needs for the whole market. There are also about twenty six other porters not employed directly but working randomly within the market. These extras are drawn upon in times when high volume of goods flow through the market and the municipality recovers the cost from the dealers in their transaction charges. Even though they are retained by the municipality they are still remunerated by numbers of boxes carried, the average is 5000 to 6000 francs per day. Each box pays 60 to 70 francs as Massyl points out; 'we are paid in francs, not by a dirham for each box'. Thirty percent below the one dirham rate Marzouq receives in the Meknes market. Even here there is no insurance against illness, if you don't carry you don't get paid.

Work in the Oujda market is split between two shifts; three thirty in the morning till eight and then after lunch from one until six. The municipal porters are broken down into groups with a leader. Massyl is in charge of his group who he organises and directs. His thirty seven years of experience mean that he knows as soon as a truck arrives in the market to whom the produce belongs. He orders his group as where they must take the boxes. He has a notebook where he counts the number of boxes and to whom they have been delivered. He reclaims the group's money from the municipality office the next day which he then splits between the group.

Massyl supports his wife and three children on his wage from the market 'and all of them eat bread!' They live in poor conditions in a one roomed shack he has rented for the last five years. He is pessimistic about changes in conditions within the market. He believes the plight of the porters is ignored by the authorities 'what do you think can be developed with Arabs. Nothing will change with such people. Those in charge have no pity in their

hearts'. As he talks he removes one of his shoes, and taking off a grimy sock, probes with a calloused finger the blister forming on the sole of his foot caused by walking all day with a hole in his shoe. On his darker days when the road of boxes has worn him down he feels he has no hope; 'I am just waiting for my death, I can hope for nothing'. There is often a feeling of accepting helplessness expressed by porters, it is 'destiny' that placed their feet on the path of boxes. Many older porters curse missed opportunities to learn other ways of earning a living in their youth. Hashish smoking and gambling is rife amongst the porters, it dulls the pain and fatigue and 'it is better to have smoke than to have nothing'



43. Nine Plastic Boxes balanced on a Porter's shoulders

Once the boxes of fruit and vegetables are safely secured in the back of the lorry and the job done, porters may go immediately on to the next job or relax, play cards and smoke. The lorries speed off to markets throughout the region and further a field, often seemingly unaware of other road users.

6.8 The Market

There are one hundred and seventy-one shops in the market which are divided between the old (one hundred) and the new market (seventy-one). The market was extended in the eighties due to severe problems in servicing the requirements of the whole community. For example, the only bakery quickly sold out and customers couldn't find bread for long periods the morning and evening.

Normally the market opens at seven in the morning and closes at ten at night, a time set and strictly enforced by the local authorities. However, during the summer rush an additional hour is permitted for the extra cleaning and setting up needed and the market closes at eleven. Traditionally the busiest period during the year was, and still is, the summer when many tourists flock to Ifrane. But when *Ramadan* falls in the summer and the coffee houses have less custom they make changes to their shops, altering the layout and refitting. On the other hand it is during *Ramadan* that fast food shops (chicken, milwi and kebabs) have the highest demand as many rush to these food outlets at dusk for *ftor* (the breaking of the fast). Clothing shops on the other hand have a particularly slow period during the winter so they travel in order to make alterations to their collections.

Since the accession of Mohammed VI there has been a marked rise in demand for the goods and services offered by the market and consequently a general rise profits. The major reason for this is threefold; the increased ease with which the populace can travel throughout the country, which could be problematic under Hassan II; improvements to road surfaces (and snow clearance in winter) on the roads up the mountain; the demand from the new university staff and wealthy students. As a result the traditional seasonal variations in demand are now less marked. Before, demand during winter weekdays was slow to non-existent, proprietors had to wait until the weekend for skiers. They consequently stocked a narrow range of goods. Now, however, many businesses depend for their survival entirely on the custom of the university students and have adapted their stock lists appropriately.

Women shopkeepers in the market have increased considerably since the new king came to power. Under Hassan II there were only two shops owned by women but now there are thirteen businesses owned or run by women yet still only seven percent of the total. The vast majority sell either new or second hand clothing (5) or food (5) and others sell second hand goods, telephone services and ladies luxury items.

The busiest period during the day is around lunchtime when many buses arrive or leave. The grand taxis ranks (old modified Mercedes saloons) for intercity travel are located on the north western side of the market and the Amin is frequently called to disputes between shop owners whose premises back onto the taxi area. These usually revolve around the noise but also the exhaust fumes. The bus station is on the tip of the northeast wing. The busiest period during *Ramadan* is the evening, many businesses close fully during the day.

The market nestles between the 707 road which leads to Hajib (where it joins the N13 to Meknes) and the road which runs along the north western side of the mosque park. The market consists of; an 'L' shaped section, one wing running northeast and the other northwest; a 'C' shaped section parallel to the northwest wing; and a square section orientated south of the north eastern axis. The 'L' section is the older part of the market and has been in use since the protectorate.

The north eastern wing of the old market building is reserved for butchers, fishmongers, general stores and the vegetable, fruit and chicken sellers. It consists internally of thirty-one shop spaces, arranged fifteen on one side and sixteen on the other side of a central paved corridor. Each shop space does not necessarily equate to a separate business as a number of the butchers and vegetable sellers have absorbed neighbouring units creating double or triple sized premises. For example, the Amin of the vegetable sellers has units 2 and 4 and the butcher on the opposite side of the corridor has a three unit space. There are four entrances to this wing; to the

northeast connecting to the bus station, northwest to the taxi ranks and the rubbish bins, to the southeast to the circular fast-food hall, to the southwest access to the front of the market and parking. Externally, facing southeast are two large general stores and two tele-boutiques.

The north western wing houses, either side of a central concrete corridor, another sixty nine shop spaces which provide space for many different types of business. There are two main thoroughfares one running northwest from the circular food hall along the central corridor and one bisecting this halfway running northeast southwest leading from the taxi ranks to the new market. The businesses range from souvenir shops, general stores and barbers to clothes shops, restaurants and coffeehouses. Externally, is a row of similar shops, which run along the southern wall.

A circular fast food hall joins the two wings together and is filled with the aroma of chickens roasting on spits and kebabs sizzling on grills. As well as fusing both wings of the old market, it also has entrances to the mosque road and the market square. The square is the beating heart of the market and here one can eat at the milwi shop, a restaurant or have a coffee. It is also the site of the butchers shop remarkable for the rent it achieved at auction. Enclosed one side by above mentioned, the circular section of the old market, and on two sides by the new market, the final side is open to the mosque road. The square section of the new market houses exclusively coffeehouses and restaurants, one of which belongs to Ben.

To the northwest of the square market section there lies the 'C' shaped section of the new market. There are two butchers but no sellers of fruit or vegetables. Instead the new market has a similar makeup to the northwestern wing of the old market with barbers, restaurants, coffeehouses, clothes shops, and general stores. However, to meet the burgeoning populations demand there is also a pharmacy, a drycleaners, a bakery, and a small bookshop which sells pens, coloured pencils and notebooks to the schoolchildren. This is where Annamar has her restaurant.

Space, just as identity, within the market is a scarce resource, leading to a struggle for control of even as little as a foot of space at the front or sides of the shop. The market was fully occupied during this study and there were no more shops to rent. The shop space is owned by the municipality and when a lease comes up for sale it is conducted by public auction. To participate on the day of the auction the bidder must have in his possession his identity card number and a tax number (allowing the shopkeeper to do business). Just as in most auctions the highest bidder wins (the person who bids the most rent). The winner pays his/her rent monthly with an initial three months rent in advance and the lease is reviewed every three years. After the initial three year period the municipality reassesses the rental rate, most usually it goes up but it can be decreased (this happened for some businesses in the old market when the new section was opened). Otherwise the municipality has the right to increase the rent 5% after the first three years, 2.5% after the sixth rental year and in the ninth year 1%. If the shopkeeper should not pay his rent three months in a row the local authorities can come at any time and evict him/her.

Rents can vary dramatically. Anamar for example pays 1800Dh per month for her restaurant but many of the smaller shops pay substantially less than 1000Dh although rents at the auction have been rising quickly in recent years. It is normal practice to raise the bids in ten or fifty dirham increments during the auction. However, in the case of the butcher on the square in the new market the initial bid was a straight one thousand dirham, around the highest unit rental value for a butcher in the old market, and after two more bids of five hundred dirham the rental of shop was sold for 2000Dh. The highest rent within the market is for the coffee shop on the southern corner of the square at 8,500Dh. Ben also bid for this space dropping out at the 7,000Dh, he eventually successfully bid for the coffee shop next door.

6.9 Displays of Value



44. The disused municipal market display board

At the entrance to the north eastern wing is a large blackboard. Eight feet wide and three feet tall it is broken down into four sections. Each section consists of four columns and twenty two rows drawn in white. Written in the leftmost box of each row is the name of the fruit, vegetable or meat in French followed by two columns reserved for the price and then in the rightmost box the name rewritten in Arabic. Of course if you read Arabic this will be the other way round starting from the right and going left along the row.

Before the present king relaxed pricing controls the maximum prices for each type of fruit, vegetable, and meat were determined by the municipality, displayed on the board and updated each day, a practice is still adhered to in some markets in Meknes. Now, although the blackboard remains, the number columns are wiped clean. The modified market law requires that the vendor him/herself display the prices of goods on boards visible to the customer and the level they set these prices at is up to the vendors themselves. In the case of the vegetable and fruit sellers these are

determined by the wholesale prices usually in Meknes and Fes (but also further a field in Casablanca or Oujda). They aim to make a profit of around 20%. There is little variation in prices between sellers and where there is, it is a consequence of the variety, quality and size of the fruit or vegetables themselves.

Arabic	French	English	Price 1 (Dhs)	Price 2 (Dhs)
بطاطس	P. de terre	Potato	6.00	7.00
طماطم	Tomate	Tomato	5.00	
فلفل	Poivrotte	Peppers	3.00	5.00
فلفل	Céleri	Celery	3.00	
فلفل	Nénet	Turnip		7.00
فلفل	Haricot vert	Green peppers	5.00	
فلفل	Cucumbre	Cucumber		5.00
فلفل	Bébarane	Beet		
فلفل	Aubergine	Egg-plant	5.00	
فلفل	Courgette	Squash	6.00	
فلفل	Fait pois	Peas		
فلفل	Fève	Bean		
فلفل	Haricot vert	Green bean	10.00	
فلفل	Artichaut	Artichoke		
فلفل	Chou blanc	Cabbage	4.00	
فلفل	Chou fleur	Chouli Flower		
فلفل	Poing	Quince		10.00
فلفل	Citron	Lemon	1.00	
فلفل	Pomme	Apples	28.00	16.00
فلفل	Banane	Banana	16.00	
فلفل	Poire	Pears		16.00
فلفل	Pêche	Peach	18.00	16.00
فلفل	Fruition	Nectarine		
فلفل	Sauvillo	Green Melon		
فلفل	Melon	Yellow Melon	6.00	
فلفل	Pantaque	Water Melon	4.00	
فلفل	Fraise	Straw berries		
فلفل	Cerise	Cherries		
فلفل	Mandarine	Tangerines		
فلفل	Orange	Orange For Juice		
فلفل	Navel	Oranges		
فلفل	Raisin	Grapes	15.00	17.00
فلفل	Paine	P. lam	15.00	
فلفل	Abricot	Apricots		
فلفل	Nefle	Kumquat		
فلفل	Avocal	Avocado		
فلفل	Kivi	Kivi		
فلفل	Manga	Mango		
فلفل	Poireaux	scallion		10.00

45. A fruit and vegetable sellers price board

A fruit and vegetable sellers price board hung on the exterior of the unit/s. Some categories have two prices, these relate to different varieties. Rather than updating this board daily, as was the case with old municipality board, it is updated whenever the shopkeeper returns from a trip for stock and relates back to the prices at the wholesale markets. The prices are per kilo.

Although displaying prices in much the same way as the original market price board the vendor's price boards show important differences. Names of goods, formerly only written in French and Arabic are now also written in

English (due to the impact of the English language University and tourism). Although in form many vendor boards display prices in a similar way to the market board (Arabic names of goods to the right, price in the middle and French on the left) many boards are now written only from left to right. The columns written in Arabic, then in French, then in English, then the price, a Latin orientation rather than an Arabic one.

Prices are therefore fixed and none negotiable. At the shop of the Amin of the vegetable and fruit sellers the customer will ask for half a kilo or a kilo of this or that and is served that amount. Alternatively, and more commonly, the customer will pick whatever he/she requires and place it in a tray provided. These are then handed over to the vendor (sometimes with a comment on the amount required if not obvious) who weighs them. Invariably the goods just exceed the stated amount as customers are expert in assessing weights. The vendor removes the excess, an apple here a potato there, placing them on the side and puts the purchase in a plastic bag. If the customer is buying several different types and amounts of fruits and vegetables the price for each quantity is written down on scrap paper in a column to be added at the end, usually with a calculator. The prices are stated in dirham or riyals. It is common, at the end of this process, for the vendor to add a piece or two extra from the pile of excess fruit.

6.10 The Association of Market Sellers

All the sellers within the market belong to the Association of Market Sellers. The Association serves as the most important link between the sellers and the municipality and governs its own practices. Elections for President, vice-President, Amin and secretary of the Association occur once a year. All the sellers within the market can vote (if they have paid their membership) and once the committee is selected the membership agrees the calendar of periodical meetings (usually quarterly) and events (e.g. the *Ramadan* football tournament and the festival) for the following year and the date of the next election (usually held at the beginning of the Gregorian year). However, if the officials of the association are deemed not to have

fulfilled their duties an extraordinary assembly can be called where the membership are able to force a new election.

The Amin's duties are to oversee the general safety of the market and act as a mediator between sellers and between sellers and the municipality. In the case of a dispute the sellers will approach the Amin before they turn to the local authorities. If, however, there is no settlement the Amin will also represent the interests of the sellers concerned to the Municipal council and the governor. The maintenance of the infrastructure of the market is undertaken by the municipality to whom the Amin requests any work to be done (i.e plumbers, roofing, guttering, rubbish removal). The municipality have a manager they appoint (who is known as the 'market Amin' as opposed to the 'Amin of the sellers'). He is an import link between the municipality and the market. He is also the foremost gossip and provider of information. Most problems when reported are solved by him within two working days.

The most influential voices within the Association belong to the vegetable sellers and the coffeehouse owners. The vegetable sellers form a large block of the Association membership and have their own association of vegetable sellers under an Amin who represents their interests in the Sellers Association. The coffeehouse owners always have a say in decision making because they give the most to the associations activities. Those with the least power in the association are those who run low income generating businesses such as the barbers but also those in the old market whose shops back onto the taxi ranks.

Every seller gives a few dirham each month to the Association the amount is reassessed each year. This is banked and the account controlled by the President and the Amin the presence of one or the other is mandatory for any transactions. The money is used for the paperwork of the association (i.e. correspondence and making membership cards) and to cover the expenses of the activities sponsored by the association (like the *Ramadan* football tournament). The Amin stores all the official documents for the association

in a box in his shop. Most of the documents relate to the minutes of the quarterly meetings or to problems needing to be solved officially. They are in date order.

All communication with the local authorities and the association is undertaken by written letters. The Amin receives many related to different disputes between sellers as a stop gap before the authorities get involved. All communication between the Sellers Association and other parties is undertaken by letter as well as communication between the members and officials of the Association itself.

Illiterate market shop owners are also catered for by the Association. They have only to present themselves to the secretary and he will write a suitable application, response or complaint if necessary they will also read a reply. Otherwise illiterate shopkeepers have to find someone else to read and write their letters. In a larger town or city this would be possible by going to a scribe and there are a couple in Azrou. Instead, if a trip there is not possible or desirable, one either asks a friend or goes to Daya the daughter of one of the coffeehouse owners. She will write any request, any letter, any written document they need for free. Knowledge in this situation is seen as a gift freely available to all that ask. However, the problem with this arrangement is that these communications are never secret.

Planning Restrictions

Possibly the biggest headache for the Amin is the repeated flouting of planning law. Each shop is obliged to register the type of business which will be conducted on the premises with municipality. The municipality, in theory, has a plan in which a particular number of each type of shop are permitted thus creating diversity and choice for both the inhabitants of Ifrane but also visitors. Consequently the proprietors are required to gain permission to undertake particular types of business on the premises. However, the regulation of the change of use of premises has not been strictly enforced by the municipality in recent years culminating in many shops unofficially changing use in order to generate more profit. For

example, in the original plan the number of coffeehouses was set at three and now there are seventeen. Shop owners who started out being cobblers or hosiers are now selling fast food and barbers have become bakeries. Any modifications to the shop interior/exterior infrastructure are also regulated. Many for example have extended upwards utilising the loft area for extra seating or storage space. The permission required being ratified by both the Association and the municipality by written request.

When a premises is sold it will come with a particular use already granted (i.e. as a coffee shop or a barber). In cases where there is no anticipated change of use the purchaser must gain authorisation to open the business from the municipality, local police, fire department, and the association of sellers. A representative from each will visit to inspect the premises and once approved by the above the new proprietors will receive a further visit from the tax officer (who is usually seen peddling around town on his blue bicycle) who gives them a permit number. The new owner will then be able to open his premises for business. To change the use of a shop unit one must fill in a request to the local authorities who check whether or not the premises fulfils the criteria for the particular type business (i.e. hygiene for premises which sell food). Once this change has been approved it is entered in a charge-book and the owners can undertake the new business. This change of use does depend on the owner being able to convince the authorities that it is necessary. So, for example, it is unlikely they would ratify a change of use from a type of business which is essential to the community (i.e. the store where children buy their copy books) to a fast food outlet of which there are many.

The above is how the process is officially meant to work, there are other ways. For example, when Sofiane wanted to gain permission for a change of use from a barbershop to a food outlet rather than following the above procedure he instead presented himself to the Mayor of Ifrane who promptly passed him onto the economic department to process the request. It is debateable as to whether or not this strategy is a good one as Sofiane points out; 'It depends on your face. The more people you know at the local

administration, the easier and faster your request will go through. If they like you all paper work will happen the same day and you will get your new approval'. Otherwise, the administration can simply turn you down or, the more common oral response, allow the shopkeeper to do business but without papers. The later can lead to serious future problems. When the Amin or the municipality are called in to mediate between two shopkeepers, one with the correct paperwork and one without, those who do not have the correct papers will be penalised whether or not their actual claim is in fact just. The penalties can range from returning the shop to its original use or even in the shop being closed altogether.

Market Problems

Border disputes between shopkeepers, which if not defused quickly can escalate into physical confrontation, take up a large amount of the Amin's time. It is perhaps not insignificant that the Amin is a large muscular man, his face a patchwork of scars gained in his youth. His arrival alone will usually stay any threats of violence and if a brawl should already be under way he and the other shopkeepers (who will of course have been watching from the start and not intervened) will be quick to disentangle the combatants. Belying its reputation as the month of solidarity and spiritual enlightenment, it is during *Ramadan* that the most brawls occur. Tempers worn thin by fasting result in many a problem left festering beneath the surface suddenly erupting into open aggression. Another flash point is the taxi ranks, fights often break out here, frayed nerves finally snapping at what customers perceive as outrageous *Ramadan* profiteering by the drivers overcome by the demand from people travelling to visit their families.

Many shopkeepers complain about the smell of fast-food and/or petrol and the noise from the taxis otherwise the majority of complaints the Amin receives are related to the cleaning of the market and theft. One example concerned Siniman, the woman who cleans the market ablutions. Because she finished at seven in the evening and from that time onwards, until she returned the following morning, the toilets were left unattended, the hygiene levels quickly deteriorated. But to compound this the Amin also received

reports that people had been stealing municipality water from the toilet block during the night. The Amin was worried that the municipality would find out and charge Siniman for the water use an extra financial burden she, as the principle earner in her family, could not bear. Further and related to the problem of dirty toilets are problems of men urinating in the market, ‘as soon as the market is closed drunk people passing by will piss everywhere!’

6.11 The Fruit and Vegetable Sellers

Badri, the Amin of the fruit and vegetable sellers, presides over a well ordered wing of the market which extends to ten shops and is one of a number of Amins representing market subgroups (i.e. taxi drivers, barbers etc.) in Ifrane. They serve as an important link between their memberships and the Association of Market Sellers as well as seeing to it that all the transactions undertaken by their membership are clear and honest. Badri owns the first two vegetable units as you enter the northeast wing and is the biggest vegetable seller in the market so he has a great deal of influence in the Association of Market Sellers. The shops sit in a line opposite the meat sellers. There is a good natured rivalry between the two groups but often arguments rise up over the lack of hygiene of the meat and chicken sellers who in turn accuse the vegetables of encroaching into the walkway with their boxes.

In theory all the produce from farms should pass through the wholesale market and then onto the municipal markets. In practice large amounts of farm produce never arrive at the wholesale market. Instead small farmers sell their produce in the streets from the backs of their donkey drawn carts and this is becoming a problem. Illegal fruit and vegetable sellers who source their produce directly from farms have opened small roadside shops within the PAM area. Badri sees this as the beginning of the end, he worries the ‘free market’ will put them all out business eventually. He cites his friend the Amin of a fruit and vegetable market in Oujda as an example of a well run market becoming a ‘random place’.

Like Badri, the Amin of Oujda has been in his position for nine years (elections are held in the municipal offices every three years). The municipal fruit and vegetable market in Oujda, at the Bab Sidi Abd Alwahab, has been on its present site for more than seventy years. Consisting of ninety shops (considerably larger than its counterpart in Ifrane) it is one of the two important markets in Oujda, the other being the slightly smaller covered Imhla Sidi Ali market. In the past, the market infrastructure was maintained to a high standard by the authorities, selling was confined to the above mentioned two permanent markets and several weekly souks (the largest of these are the souks at Sidi Yahya and Tobba) and selling practices were organised. Now the Amin points to the increasing phenomenon of vegetable sellers springing up on corners throughout the city 'now anyone can bring boxes and sell whatever, wherever, he likes', rubbish is mounting up in and around the market, 'the track ways are narrowing'.

The Amin of the Bab Sidi Abd Alwahab market believes 'the structure of the market is breaking down'. The blame for which he lays at the doors of the municipality and town council; 'our representatives in the municipality are fleeing their responsibilities and the municipality's running away from its duties as well'. Corruption within the municipality and on the town council creates problems for the sellers. It is often grumbled that officials help certain sellers to buy their produce straight from the farms, enabling them to purchase good quality vegetables at lower prices, undercutting the prices quoted in the market.



46. Fruit & vegetables displayed in the municipal market

Fruit and Vegetables displayed at the market in Ifrane. Notice the neat line the boxes of fruit and vegetable follow and the use of the cardboard 'Arbor' boxes to display fruit. These boxes denote the best quality for export and itinerant sellers purchase these boxes to display their wares. The cardboard 'Arbor' boxes are an obvious example of identity theft. The fruit inside these boxes is never from the suppliers of the Arbor brand. The sellers simply refill the box when it s empty from their wooden boxes.



47. Boxes on a custom made metal rack

Boxes on a custom made metal rack. Usually the base is made by other boxes but given the wet conditions in Ifrane boxes can rot and be unredeemable when returned to the wholesaler. The limit of the rack marks the theoretical boundary of the shop space. The two boxes below have encroached into the market alleyway. Also we notice that three of the five box numbers that can be seen display the number '86'.



48. The fruit & vegetable market in Oujda

The fruit and vegetable market Oujda. Here we see clearly two new rows of boxes either side of the alleyway pressing in. A market on the verge of chaos?

Idir and Rami run shops next door to each other and are good friends. They laughingly point out that this is fact for which they are grateful as they have spent more time together over the past thirty years than with their wives! Idir sells in the market everyday and takes only three days a year holiday, he describes himself as ‘machine-like’. His greatest dream is to own a farm of at least to two hectares then he says he might find time to have some rest! Likewise Rami has but two days holiday per year; the big and little Eids.

In rare instances, even for the illiterate porters, opportunities can arise in the market for the quick witted and persistent. Idir, for example, never attended school and due to his lack of education (he speaks only Darija and Tamazight) ended up working as a porter in the souk in 1957, where he helped people to carry their vegetables to their homes, ‘one might give me a franc, another two’. Then he started as a porter in the municipality market. This job required him to travel to the regional wholesale markets themselves

and in a short time he made useful contacts. By 1962 he had his own shop space and is now a well respected municipal fruit seller himself.

Rami likewise had little education, leaving school at the age of eleven, he speaks only Darija though he knows the basics of classical Arabic and has been a vegetable seller since 1969. Leaving school then enabled his two brothers to finish their baccalaureates and since then his children to follow them. Although he has been selling vegetables for over thirty years he is still not the leaseholder of the shop rather he is in partnership with the leaseholder and one other. Keeping record of credit in a small brown notebook Rami also provides produce to the various administrative centres within the town, as well as the hotels. Some pay weekly, some monthly, some every three months and all pay in cash. It is important to him that accounts are updated daily, he takes note of everything taken. He uses a calculator but also says he counts 'by my own hands'. Credit is also given to individuals accounts for which are settled, just as at Ben's coffeehouse, at the beginning of each month. Although Rami writes all these individual debts down, Idir believes that they are a matter of honour. He does not write down the credit he gives to individuals, he remembers how much has been taken in his head.

How much of one sort of fruit or vegetable a shopkeeper buys is of course dependent on the price and availability of that produce in the wholesale market. In the Oujda market, due to the proximity of the wholesale market new stock can be bought daily. In Ifrane, however, the closest wholesale markets of Fes and Meknes are an hour or more away and coupled with the road often being shut in heavy snow it means acquiring stock can be an unpredictable. However, small concerns like Idir's will buy to keep a stock level of around thirteen kilos of each kind of fruit. They have to be sure of selling before the produce spoils.

Idir and Rami buy between two and three thousand dirham of fruit and vegetables each per day from the wholesale market where they negotiates in either francs or dirham. During the summer of 2007 the price per kilo for

apples was between twelve and fourteen dirham, bananas between twelve and fifteen dirham and oranges hovered at between the seven and eight dirham mark. In contrast the price of vegetables per kilo was substantially lower than fruit; potatoes at five dirham per kilo, onions at three dirham and mint one dirham per bunch. The levels Idir and Rami set their prices are very similar and when they do differ they do so only by a dirham or two per kilo. The increase on the wholesale price is usually between twenty and thirty percent.

Idir says 'Trade nowadays is a mess. Not only here but everywhere people are no longer organised'. Rami agrees, saying; 'They sell randomly, in the streets and near the markets'. More importantly, these itinerant sellers can often undercut the municipal seller's prices by buying straight from the farmers themselves and missing out the commission and transport charges at the wholesale market. Originally prices were the same both within the municipality market and amongst the roadside sellers because all bought their produce from the wholesale market. Now many smaller farmers are also recognising the advantages of missing out the wholesale process and make more profits selling their own produce from the carts on the roadside. This can make a big difference as prices are around ten to fifteen percent per kilo cheaper outside the market.

This disregard for the rules of trade and consequent lack of intervention by the authorities has resulted in the shopkeepers in many municipal markets selling outside their spaces and quietly sourcing produce from small farmers themselves. As Idir points out 'I myself am breaking the law because, as you see, I am selling outside my authorised space. But what can I do? They are selling everywhere'. Idir believes the only reason the itinerant sellers haven't put him out of business yet is the fact that he has, through the wholesale market, access to more exotic fruits from the further reaches of Morocco. As a consequence of the increased competition Rami sometimes only sells only half of his stock and the rest spoils. Things can get bad 'when the boxes stop moving'.

New stock is displayed as soon as they return from the wholesalers usually about seven in the morning. This is the time for rearranging displays and looking over the existing stock to check for damage and spoiled fruit. The boxes Idir and Rami use for the carriage and display of their goods do not belong to them, they are just rented from the wholesale provider. The boxes do, however, cause both Idir and Rami some anxiety as if the boxes break they cannot reclaim their money. So they change their boxes at every opportunity. The numbered boxes preserve the bonds created between the wholesaler and the market trader (Wilk 2007) as they are transferred first one way and then back again. Furthermore, because of the box numbers market fruit and vegetable sellers can tell which wholesalers their competitors are buying their stock from.



49. Boxes outside the PAM square vegetable shop

Boxes outside the PAM square vegetable shop in Ifrane. These neatly stacked hired boxes represent a large investment on behalf of the sellers (260 dirhams in wooden boxes and 150 dirham in plastic boxes).

The Ifrane souk takes place on a Saturday and Sunday each week. The site has been changed several times over the years and now lies in the Timdiqine

where it moved from the PAM area. In its present state it is an informal arrangement occupying the ridge next to the small Timdiqine mosque and sloping down to the main Meknes road. On the high ground, shops selling domestic electronic machinery, clothes, jewellery, cooking tagines, plastic containers, bowls and second hand goods every size and colour jostle for space. Down the slope are the pitches of the fruit and vegetable sellers. In the winter going to the souk can be a retched affair, either slogging through mud or slipping on ice and consequently a new concrete market is being built which, when finished, will be used as the permanent site. From what has been completed so far it will be the size of a football pitch with roofed units facing inwards around the parameter and orderly raised rows down the centre, the whole surrounded by a wall.



50. The weekend souk in Ifrane

The weekend souk, Ifrane. Boxes are emptied and turned over to display fruit and also serve as the boundary of the space.

Sellers can come from all over Morocco. Many small time producers though come from the immediate area on donkey back with fruit and vegetables to sell. Others bring small lorries full of fruit and vegetables from the farms or

wholesale markets. These brightly painted vehicles are often modified to include detachable sides which serve as display surfaces. Here too individual selling spaces are delineated by the use of boxes supporting a wide array of numbers. Numbers are also painted on the large metal plates used by customers to collect produce, differentiating between sellers.

Many of the fruit and vegetable sellers from the market also sell here. The parallel utilisation of the municipal market and the souk has become an economic necessity. The prices in the souk are between 10% and 15% lower than in their shops as they are often competing with the producers themselves. However, because of the lower prices considerably more people from the surrounding area shop in the souk and consequently turnover is as much as 50% more each day.

In the souk, as well as in the other markets mentioned, boxes and numbers serve not only to establish the identity of people but also shape the territory they control and the pathways they follow. The numbers on boxes are fundamental to the creating of structure in the market but also allow their owners control over their relational field and to be active in constructing and maintaining their identity.

6.12 Reflections

It is the insignificant, the trivial and the 'not worth mentioning', which seem, on the surface, to be random events and things, that are the most essential agents in maintaining the social rhythm of the market. On the most basic level numbers in the market are quantitative, they measure. But they are also qualitative, they institute the patterning of market life and control its planning and organisational functions. Here it is through the inconspicuous, the numbered boxes, that control of the market is produced, the glue that holds it together.

The creation of identity within the market is difficult with established sellers attempting to preserve their identity whilst newcomers attempt to reproduce and erode it and consequently identity here should be understood as being a

‘scarce resource’ (Harrison 1999). In many circumstances conflict can erupt as individuals or groups contest the same identities. In this arena symbolic practices and objects are used to create identity and happiness where none exist and we have suggested that paradoxically they function both within dominant religiosity but also in opposition to it.

As Harrison (1999:243) points out, identity relies on ‘maintaining an exclusive association with a distinctive set of symbolic objects’ and ‘symbolic practices’. This follows Weiner’s observation (1992:33) that what makes an object ‘inalienable’ is its ‘exclusive and cumulative identity with a particular series of owners through time’. This observation allows us to view exchange not simply as a morally obligated reciprocal debt. Reciprocity is not motivated by the gift itself but instead by ‘the authority vested in keeping’ the inalienable possession and is obvious in the circulation of boxes. The boxes are inalienable possessions and need to be cosseted and kept close because they define identity.

Durkheim (1912) argued that religion and morality are the bonds that bind society together. Society was prone to collapse if the diachronic generational transmission of religious values was interrupted. In the market the inverse is true. It is not morality or religion that holds the market community together but rather it is an artificial logic that carved this time and space, a manmade numerical control.

We have seen that Mennad, through prayer and beading, secures his future happiness by securing a place in paradise, a sequential search for insight into the nature of God. We have also witnessed his attempts to recreate a familial framework of happiness during *Ramadan*, the substitutive sacrifice of the Ram and the meals ‘just as my wife made them’. In this, the dominant paradigm, religiosity is happiness. However, we have also witnessed hedonistic practices in opposition to religiosity, the substitutive consumption of hashish in back rooms and sequential gaming in the cafés, allowing for the creation of new times and spaces of happiness.

The moral paradigm is undermined by objects. The collective imagination is formed not only through diachronic religiosity but also through ‘horizontal comradeship’ (Anderson 1991:6). The marketplace is a more liminal, a more ambiguous space, than the realm of religiosity. We have discussed how notions of liminal states occur during *Ramadan* (Buitelaar 1990). However, the rest of the year, as the denizens of the PAM move from home spaces, usually rampant with religiosity, into the market reality changes, religiosity takes a back seat and one moves into an arena of ambiguity, a ‘liminal’ space. The structure of religiosity gives way to ‘a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise’ (Turner [1967] 1970:97).

Identities in this respect can be viewed as ‘never more than provisional constructions’ which people ‘preserve with effort and difficulty’ (Harrison 1999:245). This is most obvious when the market vegetable sellers and the itinerant sellers come into conflict. The itinerants’ borrowing of practices, such as selling in close proximity to the market from wholesale market boxes, allow them to claim on the identity of the market based sellers, a process of identity erosion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Throughout this exploration of migrant life we have observed that sociality is made possible by the connectivity inherent to the seemingly small and insignificant. From commerce to kinship and religion, the temporal rhythm of life is provided by interactions with the concrete world. The actions, which these seemingly inconsequential things elicit, provide the structure for relationships in Ifrane, whose fragility and shallowness defines the social life of the migrant.

7.1 Summary

The thesis presented the idea that migrants well-being relied on their ability to create both group and individual identities in a place where they had no history. However, in this quest for relational stability there are perils. The most important of these are the endless opportunities in this multi-linguistic environment, where migrants have differing or no abilities in this or that language, for misunderstanding. In situations of conversational confusion the concepts and actions associated with number serve to generate an underlying communicative unity.

In the context of the family, concern for creating an identifiable relational framework was evident in the creation, manipulation and display of seemingly insignificant numeric memorial objects. Here objects act as intermediaries in the creation of social bonds. Through the processes of their creation, objects are both crucial in creating stability within the family itself but also for projecting their collective identity outwards into the wider community.

Creating and projecting identity, through the not-worth-mentioning, can also be achieved in acts of religiosity. In this context collective memory is shown to be founded in repetitive religious remembering. Processes of

enumeration that, although they are usually prescriptive, can also be creative. Here gesture acts in concert with objects to numerically punctuate the underlying rhythm of daily acts of religious remembrance.

However, this religious rhythm was shown to be undermined in the creation of quite different indexical structures. Through the creation of objects from the recycled leftovers of vice, a markedly different group identity was generated. Objects such as empty bottles, cigarette filters and toothpicks substantiated indexical structures beyond the confines of the religious ontology, which are based on concepts of number and actions of counting. In the multi-lingual environment of Ifrane, the ontology of number is shown to have become the social glue par excellence, which binds together the second and third generation inhabitants of the town.

The creation of identities outside the religious ontology is also apparent in another important pastime, gambling. Here the mathematical thinking of religiosity is transferred and reutilised in the fashioning of a peculiarly Ifranian identity. The numerical patterning of objects, so essential for creating individual identity and relational bonds whilst playing cards, demonstrates how abstract computations are realised in the concrete world.

The numerical patterning of objects is also shown to bring order to chaos in the marketplace. Identities in this situation are open to constant attack and, if not maintained, erosion from competitors. In this instance numbered boxes create the identities of traders and the spaces they control, as well as referencing and structuring their wider relational field.

From the card playing to boxes in the market this thesis has investigated how people institute happiness by traversing diverse social and material domains and uncovers the significance of the operational qualities of discrete number systems, the translation from one to the other forming a shared knowledge-based practice, which bind the inhabitants of the town together as effectively as participation in daily rituals.

7.3 The Contribution to Existing Knowledge

This thesis is an original contribution to four areas of knowledge; identity, ethno-mathematics, the insignificant, and well-being. It uncovers an unrecognised relationship between identity and numerical objectification in a Muslim cosmology. Consequently, it challenges and overthrows existing assumptions of heterogeneous religiosity. The thesis also affords new insights into the creation of relational stability and migrant well-being through little understood, seemingly insignificant, phenomena. As a result, it challenges the existing assumptions of much Moroccan ethnography which privileges interiorised religious knowledge as the chief way of knowing, and instead presents a radically different interpretation of what it is to be Amazigh.

Overlooked in past Moroccan ethnographies here the seemingly insignificant has been presented as having a pivotal role in self-making, and is essential in the re-fashioning of identity. The narrative medium in situations of linguistic incomprehension is often the seemingly insignificant and cognitive connectivity through the manipulation of objects such as beads, cards or numbered boxes allows migrants to self-consciously build new and stable mazeways. The properties and propensities of these objects have enabled them to become the major medium by which to communicate relational understandings.

It is made clear throughout this thesis that migrants form social relationships with and through seemingly insignificant objects. From the memorial meal in the first ethnographic chapter to the numbered boxes in the final chapter, each chapter illustrates that objects are agents in the creation and maintenance of each individual's or group's relational framework. Migrants both create and navigate their way in their new social environment by being able to abduct from objects the intentionality of their makers (for example, Howla from the memorial meal or Mennad from the sacrificial sheep skin). Objects then have power in that they have the capacity to re-synthesise a migrant's personal/cognitive self-system, their 'mazeway' (Wallace 1972) or holistic whole, in relation to other individuals. These relational structures

are made possible predominately through the relationally active object, and are instrumental in the creation of friendships so important for well-being in a new place. Groups of socially related objects, ‘the bottle and filter collection’ and ‘the trees’, both physically and metaphorically merge to become new relational structures, new mazeways. Consequently, the manipulation of insignificant objects has repercussions on the holistic whole.

Here insignificant objects ‘do something’ to the social fabric (Gell 1998), they are active; they serve as intermediaries and brokers of the totality of relationships in which migrants exist. The memorial meals and ‘trees’ gain their abductive potency not only through the processes of preparation or creation, but also in the sensations experienced during their consumption.

This work goes a long way to show that even in Muslim cosmologies there are different discourses available to migrants. The daily rhythm of life is not only maintained through the moral cohesion provided by acts of religiosity. If religious remembering has traditionally been seen as internalising unchanging knowledge (Eickelman 1985, Bloch 1998) and some instances a biological predilection (Gellner 1969, vom Bruck 1991) the data presented here suggests that the opposite is true, and instead religious collective memorisation relies heavily on the external environment, specifically numerical objects. Counting gestures in this formula are relational actions, a fusion of the physical and cognitive world through emphatic sharing which serves to create inter-subjective spatial and temporal sites. Consequently, I argue for a different communicative structure. Rather than a system where knowledge is transmitted unchanging through the generations, here knowledge is transmitted through practices of numerical exchange.

This thesis makes a unique contribution to the study of ethno-mathematics in an Islamic setting by highlighting the importance of the use of numerical practices to support migrants’ new relational structures. Not only on the level of the individual, but also in the systemisation and organisation of the marketplace. Migrants build identities through numerical practices which

enable them to fully participate in the socio-cultural environment, and are essential in sustaining migrant well-being.

The ability to manipulate numbers is of the utmost importance as sociality is dependent on the numerical to work, and migrants cultivate new numerical skills outside formal education to fit their new circumstances. The thesis has highlighted different types of pragmatic numerical use; the use of numerals on boxes for example and the use of seemingly insignificant numeric objects such as the filter and bottle collection or prayer beads. In all instances, however, abstract numerical thought is shown to be inextricably tied to the concrete world (Lakoff & Nunes 2000). It is through the creation and manipulation of numerical objects that migrants bend lived reality to their will.

It is suggested here that the communicative structure which is usually represented as being purely linguistic is instead underpinned by ‘referential gestures’ (Connerton 1989). Referential gestures serve to include both physical and notional objects in the communicative structure. Examples here include enumeration through prayer beads and counting systems when playing and scoring Ronda. The creation of logical products through the gestural use of the quantitative properties of objects enables migrants to affect social arrangements as acts of relational incorporation, allowing them to build connective bonds. The interrelation of numeric objects and the migrants making or manipulating them, described in each chapter, demonstrates that there is a co-dependency of thought, action and material (Knappett 2002), and that we can share in what others are doing and link with them by understanding what they are doing from our own experience, an ‘inner imitation’ (Gallese 2001).

For many new migrants, the overriding goal is to establish an identity which will allow for relational structures to be established. An identity based in numerosity which is radically different from that based in religiosity. The religious paradigm is challenged and weakened by numeric objects as migrants create harmony in their new environment by creating a common

method of numerically systemising their world, and numerical identities are created through a shared understanding of the quantities and qualities of things. However, the thesis has shown that because migrants claim the same numerical identities there can be conflict (for example, numbers on boxes or the competing collection of bottles and filters). In this situation it is insignificant objects that orchestrate conflicts over identity.

Religiosity within the city is only one way in which well-being can be created and maintained. The pursuit of *Taqwa* (God-consciousness) through prayer (*Salah*), and devotional acts of remembrance (*Dhikr*) created by remembering and repeating the lists from the Guide to Happiness, are important tools for the construction of well-being. The temporal structure of religiosity in part forms the basis of the collective rhythm of daily activity, and presents us with one reproductive enumerative pattern of migrant well-being. Further, this pattern/rhythm based in religiosity is often reutilised in other contexts such as the memorisation of cards.

The anthropology of the activities and processes intrinsic to and surrounding loss and separation is well theorised, however, how activities of hope and happiness are important has gone unaddressed in a Moroccan context. Much literature on Islam (Eickelman 1985, Geertz 1966, Gellner 1969, vom Bruck 1991) presents well-being as a thing founded in religiosity, and this might be true if well-being was simply a case of a reward in the afterlife. In so doing they overlook well-being as created and maintained in the present. In this city migrants find well-being at the intersection of the self, thing and number: a reshaping of identity. It is achieved through Ifranians complex interactions with numerical objects, and relies on their ability to numerically strategise and organise objects. Consequently, happiness is the result of the relationality gained through a shared understanding of material numerical gestures. It has been argued here that happiness can be achieved not only by enumerative diachronic religious remembering, most obvious in Mennad's use of prayer beads, but also in the shared experience of forgetting in order to remember as with the 'bottles and filters' and 'trees', a synchronic friendship.

Leisure activities such as gaming, drinking alcohol and smoking hashish go beyond individual feelings of pleasure and fun, and in many instances are central to the creation of new relational frameworks for the migrant. Ifranians share through the use of enumerative patterning, and to a certain extent the numerical objects presented (the ‘trees’ and bottle and filter collections, for example) can be perceived as measures of happiness (Colby 2009) as well as concrete relational solving mechanisms. Further, notions of well-being also extend out into the market place where economic well-being relies on the creation and maintenance of a stable identity. Here it is suggested that numerical objects work to structure the market both conceptually and physically, achieving this by providing an egalitarian framework in which goods and services can be can be garnered and redistributed more effectively.

7.4 New Directions For Future Research

The evidence presented in this thesis of the power of numerical objects and processes to shape lived experience suggests that materialised numerical practices are fundamental in creating sociality and will be of significant interest to numeracy research. It supplies examples of the factors effecting the teaching and learning of adult numeracy currently being undertaken by institutions such as UNESCO in Morocco and highlights the problems of defining what counts as mathematical knowledge. Indeed, a recent numeracy campaign in rural Morocco, aimed at adult farmers, concluded that the campaign was a failure because of its ‘irrelevant content’ which did not take into account the farmer’s needs and used a ‘top down approach’ (Dardour 2000). If there is an improved understanding of how numeracy works on the ground, in the street and the home, then better, more appropriate teaching methods might be formulated. For example, in Chapter Five, we witnessed examples of migrants, who under the present categorisations would be classified as functionally innumerate, having strong mathematical abilities around the number 2. Perhaps a teaching method could be devised that worked from the bottom up rather than the top down. Many know how to add, subtract, multiply and divide by 2 when manipulating currency, why

not start there? It is hoped that this study will open a way to more research into the material nature of these mathematical ‘street’ practices.

‘Hope’ and ‘happiness’ are the primary motivations for migration to the city and their realisation is only possible through collective collaboration. Through an analysis of the impact of both religious and everyday practices and processes we have witnessed the positive force they have on the holistic whole. Well-being in this instance was unexpectedly achieved through processes of numerical patterning and the stability of the migrant community resides in the ability of its members to perform acts of numeration. But can anthropology alter to include happiness as an analytical category (Thin 2009). This research forces us to rethink the analytical categories of ‘religion’ and the ‘kinship’ which dominate Moroccan ethnography. Creating ‘happiness’ is not only dependent on how migrants conceive the relationships between themselves and religion or the lineage system, but also on its relationship with other acts of everyday numeric concretion which often contravene Islamic law.

Historically the analytical category of happiness has been inextricably linked to psychological questions and not to anthropology. Happiness, at present, is not recognised as an anthropological category (Thin 2005) such as ‘religion’, ‘sociality’ or ‘hierarchy’. To ask: ‘How do migrants become happy?’ is not accepted as an analytical concern worth questioning, mainly because the existing academic literature on happiness, with the exception of Thin (2005), Izquierdo (2005), Mathews & Izquierdo (2009), is primarily psychological. ‘Happiness’ in this study has been presented as an ethnographic category, yet it warrants an approach from which a theoretical foundation for the study of happiness can be discerned.

It is not suggest that the analytical categories of ‘happiness’ and ‘religion’ are separate numeric categories. Because, as we have seen with processes of enumeration when praying and memorising cards, although they may seem on the surface as separate, in their structure and the enumerative processes they utilise, they are inextricably bound together. Further research might

entail an examination of the material connections made between the analytical category of happiness and other categories.

That seemingly insignificant objects are crucial to our understanding of culture has so far been under-theorised or ignored and raises important issues relating to consumption, identity and well being. This has not been the usual study of religious practices and kinship in Morocco. It signals a change in direction from methodological practices which marginalise the material in Islam and instead suggests that it is in the real world, in the grit and grime of everyday living, that we can more fully understand how social relations are formed. Material culture in Morocco is not just about the meaning of carpet designs; it goes much deeper, to the very patterning of social relations through numerical practices. The social world might be a big place but it is built on the shoulders of small things.

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