

Introduction

Anthropological Debates on Maghribi Societies: Past and Present

Rahma Bourqia (Mohammed V University of Rabat)
Aomar Boum (University of California Los Angeles)

In this special issue of *Hespéris-Tamuda*, we revisit anthropological debates on North African societies from colonial to post-colonial periods. We showcase and highlight the contributions of Indigenous and Western anthropologists who have chosen societies of the Maghrib as ethnographic field sites from the first decade of the post-colonial period until today. We bring together cohorts of anthropologists who have contributed to the anthropological knowledge of the Maghrib and devoted their research careers to fieldwork, elaborating theories, producing peer-reviewed journal articles and edited books about the region. Our ultimate objective is to engage with this scholarly anthropological knowledge and highlight the major trends of anthropology engagements with the Maghrib.¹

We find it meaningful to publish the works of these scholars in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, a pre-eminent North African academic platform.² While the journal began in 1921 as a colonial publication where French ethnologists, historians, folklorists, military officers, and linguists among others, published accounts of communities throughout Morocco and the Maghrib, today it has become one of the most important academic publications that carried on from the colonial era; *Hespéris-Tamuda* is well-integrated into an independent post-colonial Maghribi university. By including generations of anthropologists and sociologists whose works engage with colonial and post-colonial methods, theories and themes, we hope to acknowledge their body of work

1. Robert A. Fernea and James M. Malarkey, "Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa: A Critical Assessment," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4 (1975): 183-206.

2. Dorra Mahfoudh, "Bibliographie de sociologie, ethnologie et anthropologie de la Tunisie de l'époque coloniale," *Hespéris-Tamuda* 26-27 (1988): 265-76; Jane E. Goodman and Paul A. Silverstein, eds. *Bourdieu in Algeria: Colonial Politics, Ethnographic Practices, Theoretical developments* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009); Abdelmajid Hannoum, "Colonialism and Knowledge in Algeria: The Archives of the Arab Bureau," *History and Anthropology* 12, 4 (2001): 343-79; Imed Melliti et Dorra Mahfoudh, "Les sciences sociales en Tunisie. Histoire et enjeux actuels," *Sociologie pratiques* 2, 19 (2009): 125-40.

while inviting a new generation of Maghribi students to interact with this multifarious anthropological legacy.

In the last three decades, the Maghrib has experienced dramatic sociopolitical, cultural, and demographic transformations. Strong sociological dynamics in the region have continued to captivate the interests of native and foreign anthropologists from around the world. By devoting an entire special issue of *Hespéris-Tamuda*, one of the oldest academic journals in North Africa, to the anthropology of North African societies, we aim to chart trends in ethnography of three generations of anthropologists from the Maghrib, Europe and the United States of America. This special issue highlights thematic and theoretical works on the anthropology of the Maghrib through the contributions of anthropologists who have worked on Maghribi societies, going as far back as the colonial period in Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Mauritania and Morocco. To evaluate anthropology in and of the Maghrib, contributions by North African ethnographers to understand their own societies and the development of the discipline as a whole, a group of authors in this volume either return to question the heritage of colonial anthropology, or identify changes or ruptures between colonial and postcolonial anthropology in the Maghrib.

Our approach connects colonial and post-colonial works by discussing traditional subjects and highlighting new themes related to minority politics,³ nationalism,⁴ mobility, diaspora, religion, tradition, gender, cultural production, festivals, arts, tribal dress,⁵ rituals, education, migration, politics, infrastructure, political economy, development and online media. Our volume gathers a representative, active anthropological community. The articles in this issue echo major themes and theoretical trends that have emerged in the anthropology of/in the Maghrib. To highlight these subjects, we have grouped them according to major thematic contributions.

1. Colonial and post-Colonial Writing: Re-visited

A central theme of this volume relates to contributions of authors who reflect on colonial anthropology.⁶ In rethinking colonial anthropology,

3. See, Myriam Achour, "Bahā'īs en Tunisie: Un avant et un après 2011? Critique de l'hypopolitisation et de l'hyper-politisation en anthropologie."

4. See, Fadma Aït Mous, "Étudier les nationalismes au/du Maghreb: Perspectives historiques et anthropologiques."

5. See Claire Nicholas, "Enmeshed: The Colonial and Post-Colonial Anthropology of Moroccan Textiles and Dress."

6. See, Hassam Rachik, "Understanding Colonial anthropology: On the ethnographic situation approach;" Nicco A. La Mattina, "Writing Ottoman and Italian Colonial Libya: Intelligence Gathering and the Production of Colonial Knowledge," Léon Buskens, "Dutch Anthropologists in Morocco: From Exoticism to Islam at Home."

researchers tend to evaluate the role it has played during the colonial period and its contribution to knowledge of Maghrib societies and to the progress of anthropology as a whole.

Prior to French, Italian, and Spanish colonial rule over the region, travelers and adventurers, sometimes building on Arab and other geographers, emerged as key players in the age of exploration of Maghribi societies.⁷ During the precolonial era of North Africa, French ethnologists working alongside military and missionary institutions led studies whose findings influenced colonial policies and guaranteed military subjugation of Indigenous Maghribi populations.⁸

In fact, from the start, ethnographic information served to shape colonial policy. Although Maghribi societies were ruled by different colonial powers, collecting information and encouraging production of ethnographic studies was an important informative tool used and shared by French, Spanish and Italian powers in their administrative rule of these countries.⁹ Their anthropological construction of North Africa was grounded in a colonial gaze devoid of ethical responsibility towards Indigenous subjects and communities.¹⁰ Ethnographic works served as powerful tools to shape and influence colonial policy. Colonial administrators, philologists, doctors, travelers, military officers supervised and published ethnological and descriptive studies about North African social structures, customs, rituals, political organizations and religious institutions.¹¹ In addition to these forms

7. Auguste Mouliéras, *Le Maroc Inconnu: 22 ans d'explorations dans cette contrée mystérieuse, de 1872 à 1893* (Paris: Joseph André, 1895); Charles de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc* (Paris: Librairie coloniale, 1888); Edmond Doutté, *Marrakech* (Paris: Comité du Maroc, 1905); Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954); Aomar Boum, "Southern Moroccan Jewry between the Colonial Manufacture of Knowledge and the Postcolonial Historiographical Silence." In *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, eds. Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter, 73-92 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011).

8. Talal Asad, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca, 1973). On the anthropology of North Africa, see Hassan Rachik, *Le proche et le lointain. Un siècle D'anthropologie au Maroc* (Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses/ Aix-en-Provence: Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme, 2012); Abdelmajid Hannoum, "Colonialism and Knowledge in Algeria: The Archives of the Arab Bureau," *History and Anthropology* 12, 4 (2001): 343-79.

9. George R. Trumbull, *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also, Nicco A. La Mattina, "Writing Ottoman and Italian Colonial Libya: Intelligence Gathering and the Production of Colonial Knowledge."

10. Patricia M. E. Lorcin, "Imperialism, Colonial Identity, and Race in Algeria 1830-1870: the Role of the French Medical Corps," *Journal of the History of Science Society* 90, 4 (1999): 653-79.

11. Edmund Burke III, "The Creation of the Moroccan Colonial Archive, 1880-1930," *History and Anthropology* 18, 1 (2007): 1-9; Abdelmajid Hannoum, "De l'historiographie coloniale à l'historicisme national où comment le Maghreb fut inventé," *Hespéris-Tamuda* 48 (2013): 59-79. Also colonial photographs and the construction of indigenous North African Jews, see Aomar Boum, "Rural Moroccan Jews and the Colonial Postcard: A Critique."

of writings, colonial postcards, photographs and posters were central to the colonial production of North Africa.¹² Despite this “flawed” history, a large number of anthropological studies and writings remain an important part of the foundational legacy of colonial and sometimes post-colonial knowledge of Maghribi societies. Through these works, we see how ideology and social sciences work hand in hand to elaborate theories on Maghribi societies.¹³

Some eminent figures in colonial anthropology have constructed theories based on their experience as officers-cum – “military ethnologists,” having produced detailed ethnographic observations of tribes, rituals, beliefs, and political organization. Robert Montagne could be taken as an example of these “military ethnologists.”¹⁴ In his conceptual framing of the binary categories of *makhzan* and *siba* to underline the autonomy of the Berber (Amazigh) tribes vis-à-vis the state, Montagne legitimized colonial rule and implicitly the idea of the unifying effect of colonialism on Moroccan society, to become a major ideologist of colonial rule. Colonial policies of division in establishing a separation between Berbers and Muslim Arabs have been mentioned in many studies. However, it appears, as it is shown in the case analyzed in this volume, that colonial officers handled linguistic pluralism in Moroccan Berber/Amazigh customary courts to encourage and promulgate Berber customs and traditions over Islamic law.¹⁵ Other anthropologists brought to the forefront the varied dimensions of tribes and territories of Maghribi societies, such as Jacques Berque and his work on the Seksawa tribes in the High Atlas.¹⁶ Some scholars turned their ethnographic attention to Tunisia and Algeria¹⁷ contributing extensively to the general framework of the colonial setting of North Africa’s anthropological knowledge.

Maghribi societies have also attracted anthropologists working outside the colonial paradigm, motivated by their interest in discovering new cultures. Edward Westermarck¹⁸ was an eminent Finnish anthropologist. He came

12. Also colonial photographs and the construction of indigenous North African Jews, see Aomar Boum, “Rural Moroccan Jews and the Colonial Postcard: A Critique.”

13. Rachik, *Le proche et le lointain*; Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

14. Robert Montagne, *Les Berbères et le makhzen* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

15. Katherine E. Hoffman, “Archival Ethnography in the Customary Courts: Legal and Linguistic Pluralism under French Protectorate.”

16. Jacques Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas* (Paris: PUF, 1978).

17. On anthropology during the colonial rule in Algeria See, Philippe Lucas et Jean Claude Vatin, *L’Algérie des anthropologues* (Paris: Mapéro, 1982).

18. Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: MacMillan, 1926); Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Curzon Press, 1914). See also Rahma Bourqia and Mokhtar El Harras, *Westermarck et la société marocaine* (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1993); Edward Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco: A Study of Native Proverbs* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1931).

to Morocco in the beginning of the 20th century to spend ten years doing fieldwork and produced a prolific anthropological body of knowledge on ritual, beliefs, and marriage ceremonies. The works of Westermarck inspired many anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski, his student, who became a foundational figure of cultural anthropology.

This colonial legacy is part of the anthropological history of the Maghrib. As we re-evaluate, we must integrate reactions or criticisms generated in the postcolonial period. By the end of the nineteen-sixties and early seventies, liberation movements from the colonial past started to find echoes within the framework of Marxist approaches. Philippe Lucas and Jean Claude Vatin noted that “the social sciences in the countries previously colonized ought necessarily to liquidate the litigation of the colonial past.”¹⁹ This trend calls for a rupture with the past by decolonizing anthropological knowledge and deconstructing its ideological foundations. If this approach gained legitimacy during the postcolonial era, a crucial question remains: how to divest the field from oppressive trappings of a tremendous amount of colonial ethnographic work, without missing the substantive material for writing histories of societies during the colonial period and (re)using the anthropological material accumulated? In fact, the ethnographic heritage of the colonial era is in itself an important archival trove of Maghribi societies and a central record for rethinking and writing the history of anthropological knowledge of the Maghrib. Colonial anthropology generated a tremendous amount of ethnographic works, becoming a major vector of knowledge to be used for analyzing societies of the Maghrib during the colonial rule.²⁰

Articles in this volume stress the importance and urgency to evaluate critically colonial anthropology’s legacies in order to question the ways in which the works of colonial ethnographers shaped the craft of conducting North African anthropology, while identifying and also acknowledging ethnographic data as a source of information on the Maghrib for those times.

In this volume, articles show that colonial anthropology still represents a legacy to be worked on and with. It constitutes a source for studying, for example, the way women are presented in colonial discourse. One of the articles in this volume analyses how Algerian women political prisoners were registered by colonial powers through distortions of given names, sometimes by replacing them with pseudonyms, hence dismissing the very core of their identities. In the absence of identity, women were excluded from the status

19. Lucas et Vatin, *L’Algérie des anthropologues*, 278.

20. Jean Claude Vatin, *Connaissance du Maghreb: Sciences sociales et colonisation* (Paris: Centre de Recherche et d’Études sur les Sociétés Méditerranéennes, 1984).

of resistance fighters (*mujahid*), and acknowledgment of their part in crucial moments of Algerian history.²¹ The article raises the issue of colonial archives and data on colonial incarcerations and calls North African anthropologists' attention to omitted voices and silenced narratives in colonial documents.

The early nationalists rejected the colonial heritage. Later on, many native anthropologists in the Maghrib, trained in the French anthropological tradition, revisited the colonial legacy on the Maghrib.²² Colonial anthropology has generated a tremendous amount of work, becoming a major body of knowledge critical for analyzing societies of the Maghrib during the colonial rule. Descriptive narratives and ethnographic data drawn from the work of travelers or ethnologists during this time period continue to be crucial sources for historians, anthropologists, and sociologists involved in the sociology of anthropological knowledge. Their critiques target the ways in which cognitive and ideological dimensions are interrelated.

2. English and French Language Anthropologies and the Maghrib

During the nineteen-sixties and seventies, Maghribi societies, specifically Morocco was the preferred ethnographic site for many European and American anthropologists. The rich anthropological knowledge production on the Maghrib shows the extent to which Morocco appealed to many American anthropologists, thereby becoming a place of preference for ethnographic studies for both emerging and established anthropologists. The country and the region influenced their professional decision to turn to the study of the Maghrib, as some left their initial assignments with the US Peace Corps to become anthropologists. In this volume, some anthropologists describe their field site experience in Morocco and introduction to a new culture. Others relate their experiences in Algeria or Tunisia.

By the early nineteen-sixties, with the arrival of a generation of British, American, and French anthropologists, the Maghrib began to see Western anthropologists who had chosen North Africa, and Morocco in particular, as a site to develop their anthropological theories. Inspired and influenced by prior anthropological knowledge and theories, anthropologists who came to study communities and subjects in the Maghrib at that time were trained in departments of anthropology or sociology in universities in Europe, England, and the United States. Two prominent figures were Ernest Gellner and Clifford

21. Marc André and Susan Slyomovics, "L'exil carcéral de femmes sans noms: Regards anthropologiques et historiques sur les prisonnières algériennes dans les guerres de colonisation et de décolonisation (1830-1962)."

22. Rachik, "Understanding Colonial Anthropology: On The Ethnographic Situation Approach."

Geertz.²³ In *Saints of the Atlas*, Gellner applied segmentary theory to his study of the tribe of Ait-Atta of the Atlas Mountains in Morocco.²⁴ After undertaking a comparative work on *Islam Observed* in Morocco and Indonesia,²⁵ Geertz led a team of ethnographers who worked on the bazaar economy of Sefrou.²⁶ Anthropologists included Paul Rabinow, Thomas Dichter, Lawrence Rosen, and Hildred Geertz in Sefrou on a first American ethnographic project in post-colonial Morocco.²⁷ Their works have largely influenced generations of future anthropologists in/of the Maghrib and elsewhere. Other Americans, such as Kenneth Brown, drew attention to urban history and anthropology by interacting with the “*People of Salé*,”²⁸ listening to their narratives and extensively researching archives. David Hart produced wide-ranging work among the Aith Waryaghar in the Rif region of Morocco. Dale Eickelman undertook his work on a religious brotherhood in Bujaad, while Kevin Dwyer and Daisy Dwyer went to southern Morocco. French anthropologists of Algeria such as Pierre Bourdieu established a school of research based on the fieldwork material gathered there, while Fanny Colonna, a pied-noir, studied saints and traditional education.²⁹ Others carried out research in Tunisia and Mauritania.³⁰ Meanwhile, a new generation of researchers would later join these scholars to study different issues and themes in rural and urban communities of the Maghrib.

23. Ernest Gellner, “Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Morocco: Tribes as Minorities,” *European Journal of Sociology* 3, 2 (1962): 297-311; Ernest Gellner, “Independence in the Central High Atlas,” *Middle East Journal* 11, 3 (1957): 237-52; Ernest Gellner, “The Great Patron: A Reinterpretation of Tribal Rebellions,” *European Journal of Sociology* 10, 1 (1969): 61-69.

24. Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1969); Abdellah Hammoudi, “Segmentary, Social Stratification, Political Power and Sainthood: Reflections on Gellner’s Theses,” *Economy and Society* 9, 3 (1980): 279-303; Henry Munson, Jr. “Rethinking Gellner’s Segmentary Analysis of Morocco’s Ait ‘Atta,” *Man* 28, 2 (1993): 267-80.

25. Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed. Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

26. Clifford Geertz, “The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant marketing,” *The American Economic Review* 68, 2 (1978): 28-32; Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz and Lawrence Rosen, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society: Three Essays in Cultural Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Clifford Geertz, *After the Fact: Two Countries four Decades One Anthropology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 1995). Also see, Susan Slyomovics, *Clifford Geertz in Morocco* (London: Routledge, 2010).

27. See, Dale Eickelman, “Anthropology in Morocco since the 1960s: A Personal Odyssey.”

28. Kenneth Brown, *People of Salé. Tradition and Change in a Morocco City 1830-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976). Also see, Kenneth Brown, “Urban Anthropology: Context, Ethnography and Interpretations.”

29. Fanny Colonna, *Aurès/Algérie 1935-1936: Photographies de Thérèse Rivière* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1987); Fanny Colonna, “Saints furieux et saints studieux ou, dans l’Aurès, comment la religion vient aux tribus,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 35, 3-4 (1980): 642-62.

30. Yazid Ben Hounet, “Pierre Bonte (1942-2013),” *L’Homme* 211, 3 (2014): 7-15.

The Maghrib has inspired many anthropologists as a multi-field site to create a space for ethnographic research and data-collection. The Maghrib is a field where theories are experimented with and concepts conceived, tested and elaborated. This was the case for English-speaking anthropologists as well as French anthropologists. It is in the High Atlas Mountains where Ernest Gellner tested the segmentary theory, and in Sefrou that Clifford Geertz elaborated his interpretive approach. Paul Pascon devoted his passion and skill for fieldwork in the Haouz of Marrakech and the use of historical archives to elaborate the concept of composite society.³¹ It is in the Kabyle region in Algeria that the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu conceived and refined his concepts of symbolic capital and the political economy of symbols.³² Therefore, societies of the Maghrib occupy an important space in the mapping of anthropological theories and approaches.

3. Indigenization of Anthropology: Re-evaluated

It goes without saying that during the first decade of the postcolonial period of Maghrib societies, the nascent educated Maghrib elite had not yet generated a cohort of native anthropologists working on their own society and undertaking fieldwork. Gradually, by the 1970s, native anthropologists, trained in universities of the Maghrib or abroad in Europe or the United States, started studying and doing research on their own societies, initiating a dialogue with the larger community of researchers working on the Maghrib.

Despite the continuing lack of a dedicated anthropology department in any Moroccan university, and the existence of growing ones in other Maghribi universities, a significant group of native anthropologists emerged. As graduate students trained in disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, they produced key fieldwork-based studies on a variety of topics like rituals, values, religious practices, cultural forms, political systems, gender and identity. Others combined history and anthropology, using archives and data gathered during fieldwork.³³ They opened the way for a new North

31. Paul Pascon, *Le Haouz de Marrakech*, 2 vols., (Rabat-Tanger: Éditions marocaines internationales, 1977); Paul Pascon, *Capitalisme and Agriculture in the Haouz of Marrakesh* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); Paul Pascon, "La formation de la société marocaine," *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc* 120-21, janvier-juin, (1871): 1-28.

32. Pierre Bourdieu, *Le Sens pratique* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1980); Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociologie de l'Algérie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006); Pierre Bourdieu, *The Algerians* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1977); Also see Abdellah Hammoudi, "Phénoménologie et ethnographie: à propos de l'habitus kabyle chez Pierre Bourdieu," *L'Homme* 184 (2007): 47-83.

33. On the use of historical archives in anthropology, see Rahma Bourqia, "Vol, pillage et banditisme au XIXe siècle," *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXIX, 2 (1991): 191-226; Rahma Bourqia, "Don et théâtralité: Réflexion sur le rituel du do (*hadiya*) offert au sultan au XIXe siècle," *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 31, (1993): 61-75.

African native anthropology. The distinctive feature of their anthropological work is its localism. These scholars undertook anthropological work in their own societies, in some cases, in the villages, towns or tribes where they were raised. Indigenous anthropology has rarely adopted a comparative approach on phenomena across Maghrib societies.³⁴ By working in their own communities, this generation of Maghrib anthropologists were in dialogue with French and English-language anthropology.

While engaged with broader scholarly anthropological knowledge, anthropologists of the Maghrib localize anthropology in the context of societies witnessing major changes compared to the post-colonial era. However, for native Maghribi anthropologists, undertaking anthropology in their own societies raised issues around how to implement a participatory approach and how to establish methodological distance. How might one study communities going through major changes while preserving some tradition? How can one be an anthropologist “at home?” They confronted nationalists, who were not necessarily anthropologists, who advocated in the postcolonial era for the rejection of colonial knowledge. Moreover, university discourses about the Maghrib claim an authentic knowledge which values the identity and the cultural heritage of Muslim societies. They argue for a rupture with Western knowledge to look at the Maghrib through the lens of the idea of local versus foreign culture. This trend remains, however, outside the scope of debates about the discipline of anthropology.

The issue of the Indigenization of anthropology is framed by debates in the social sciences on hegemonic and non-hegemonic knowledge.³⁵ Indigenization stands against hegemonic anthropology.³⁶ Here knowledge is perceived as a hierarchical realm between an anthropology produced in the North and another produced in the South. This assumption may be justified by the prejudices and cultural bias that were displayed by some Western anthropologists. An article in this volume shows, with evidence based on a corpus of letters and ethnographic material inherited from the legacy of David Hart, how the fabric of anthropology is made. It also shows to what extent this legacy demonstrates that otherness is defined by anthropologists on the basis of Euro-American constructs.³⁷ Adopting a non-hegemonic anthropology

34. Boum, *Memories of Absence*.

35. Imed Melliti, “Une anthropologie “indigène” est-elle possible? Réflexions sur le statut de l’anthropologie en Tunisie,” *Arabica* LIII, 2 (2006): 171.

36. Francine Saillant, Mondher Kilani, et Bideau Florence Graezer, *Manifeste de Lausanne. Pour une anthropologie non hégémonique* (Montréal: Liber, 2011).

37. Jessie Stoolman, “The “Ethnographic Letter”: David Hart’s North African Ethnography Revisited.”

is to view the world not centered on the West, but to integrate the culture and the empirical points of views and perceptions of non-Western societies and cultures.³⁸ Anthropologists in the Maghrib do not perceive themselves as subordinated to a set of canonical works, but rather in dialogue with anthropological knowledge and with a critical outlook.

Without claiming a “methodological nationalism,” anthropologists of the Maghrib call for a methodological framework of scientific universalism. This does not exclude different schools of thought in anthropology nor a diversity of approaches. We cannot draw a line between Western and native anthropologies in/of the Maghrib, because we stand on the ground of anthropology as a human inquiry. Despite diversities of themes and approaches, the boundaries of anthropology are traced by its history, the contributions of all anthropological traditions, and the evolution of its methods. The native anthropologist, studying a specific theme in the context of the Maghrib, may bring into the practice of fieldwork some methodological adjustments.³⁹

Anthropology in essence is studying otherness. It draws its subject from the tribe, kinship, beliefs, or religion of “others.” However, for anthropologists from the Maghrib, “the other” is not in a different place. In fact, for the native anthropologist, “the other” is very close and at the same time far away.⁴⁰ The practice of anthropology and its methodological tools have to deal with this context in reflexive ways.

This volume gathers articles from two Maghribi generations trained in France, the UK, the US and in Moroccan universities. It demonstrates that Maghrib anthropology by Maghribi anthropologists has broadened the epistemological framework for new empirical methods and concepts in dialogue with English and French-language anthropology. Marcel Mauss, Levi-Strauss, Pierre Bourdieu, the Annales school in history and more are aligned with Gellner, Geertz and many others in critiques, debates of ideas, or theoretical experimentations.

4. Anthropology of the Maghrib: Transformative Process

It is obvious that Maghribi societies are going through rapid changes occurring at all levels of society and culture. How does anthropology capture these processes? In dealing with phenomena related to cultural traditions, contributions in this volume provide multiple readings of the way Maghribi societies experience,

38. Stéphane Dufoix and Éric Macé, “Les enjeux d’une sociologie mondiale non-hégémonique,” *Zilsel* 1, 5 (2019): 88-121.

39. Boum, *Memories of Absence*.

40. Rachik. *Le proche et le lointain*.

imagine and re-invent their traditions. Traditional institutions, rituals, beliefs, tribes, saints, pilgrimage and the political system – the focus of colonial and postcolonial anthropology – are nowadays transformed. Many contributions to this volume demonstrate the extent of re-inventions through social, economic, and political changes that have transformed Maghribi societies and institutions. In studying religious minorities, rituals of the saints, pilgrimages in the Maghrib,⁴¹ blood money (*dya*) in Algeria,⁴² or change in the Moroccan political system,⁴³ anthropologists deal with Maghribi societies as dynamic communities experiencing rapid social change. They capture transformative process and grasp new social meanings and functions introduced by interlocutors.

Many contributions challenge the assumption that modernity makes traditional institutions and rituals disappear; instead, transformative processes reinvent to play new roles and fulfil new social needs. In investigating transformations from pilgrimage to saints' rituals in present day Morocco, new functions play a role in the identity of tribes and their territory. Along similar lines, while studying the traditional blood money (*dya*) within the new framework of reconciliation in Algeria, we are dealing with a new phenomenon. Rituals such as the *ḥadra* of the *Gnawa* are part of the traditions found in the Maghrib. The *Gnawa* phenomenon and its performance (*hadra*) bypass the national context to the international.⁴⁴

In Algeria, in an Amazigh context, a contribution in this volume shows the renewal of the pedagogical role played by the traditional *ḥalqa*, the foundation of modern theater in the Maghrib.⁴⁵ In Morocco the practice of “*ruqia as-shar‘iya*,” a kind of “Islamic healing” to cure the body from maleficent forces, is re-invented in a new political context with the rise of political Islamism in the Maghrib.⁴⁶ Through the rising trend of social “Islamization,” traditional beliefs are transformed and upgraded to meet a new referential framework of

41. Rahal Boubrik, “Le pèlerinage tribal: de la “*ziyāra*” des ancêtres à la “*zāwiya*” inventée.” Also see Joëlle Bahloul, “Le retour des pèlerins: la fragile renaissance post-coloniale d’un rituel judéo-maghrébin;” Samuel Sami Everett, “On Double-Diasporicity: Notes from a Pilgrimage-Ethnography to the Grave of Amran Ben Diwan.”

42. Yazid Ben Hounet, “Compenser au Maghreb: Réflexion sur l’évolution et les significations du prix du sang (*diya*).”

43. Emilio Spadola and Alice Catanzaro, “Sufism and Moroccan Political Culture: From the Theatrics of Domination to Neoliberal Development.”

44. Deborah Kapchan, “The Fetish of Trance: Performing the Festive Sacred at the Essaouira Gnawa Festival of World Music.”

45. Jane Goodman, “Playing with Pedagogy: Theater as Apprenticeship at the Numidya Association in Oran, Algeria.”

46. Younes Loukili, “Ar-ruqya, mawḍu‘an anṭhrupulūjiyyan: al-taṭbib ad-dīnī wa širā‘ ’anmā at-tadāyyun fī al-Maghrib.”

Islamism. At the level of the political system, the theory of master-disciple,⁴⁷ in relation to the Moroccan state has witnessed a transformation to become a “rebranded Sufism” within a new configuration of spiritual security and religious reform in Morocco.⁴⁸ Societies of the Maghrib are not static nor are they confined to a binary model of tradition versus modernity. They are involved in a dynamic of re-inventing tradition and transforming modernity to fulfil new functions. Many articles in this volume highlight social as well as religious mutations.

Changing dynamics in Maghribi societies are enhanced by demands coming from social groups of women, youth, and cultural and civic associations. The emerging notions of individual and group consciousness regarding rights and the evolving roles of women and youth in society have been catalysts for change in the social structure of the family and individual member roles. Alongside this dynamic in the social structure of the family, there is increasing demand for human rights coming from civil society and associations advocating for social, economic and cultural rights, and individual freedom.

The family was, in the recent past, the foundational to the organization of traditional society in the Maghrib. The patriarchal system used to go hand in hand with authoritarian power. Under economic pressure, families are also undergoing major changes as tensions between members, children and parents increase. Many women are enrolled in the labor force outside the domestic space as workers or breadwinners, providing resources for their families. In analyzing recent work on gender issues and the institution of the family, we can see major transformations and the actors who played a role in these changes.⁴⁹

47. Abdellah Hammoudi. *Master and Disciple: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism* (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1997); Mohamed Tozy, *Monarchie et Islam politique au Maroc* (Paris: Presses des Sciences Po. 1999); Rahma Bourqia and Susan. G. Miller, eds. *In the Shadow of the Sultan. Culture, Power and Politics in Morocco* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Elaine Combs-Schilling, *Sacred Performances. Islam, Sexuality and Sacrifice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

48. See Spadola and Catanzaro, “Sufism and Moroccan Political Culture.”

49. See Laila Bouasria, “Des grilles d’analyse socio-anthropologiques dans l’air du temps: Vers une nouvelle ère de famille?;” Zakia Salime, “Moroccan Family Studies: A Historical Review.” In this volume, many articles deal with the issue of family and gender: Katherine Ann Wiley, “Women’s Work and Anthropology: Altering Social Hierarchy in Mauritania and the Ethics of Research;” David Crawford, “Ethnography and Demography: Moroccan Households and Cultural Change;” John Shoup, “Protective Manuscript Covers in *Balad al-Tarāb*;” Susan Schaefer Davis, “Taboo Topics? Women, Adolescents and Artisans;” Mériam Cheikh, “The intimate life of the disenfranchised and criminalised Moroccan working-class youth;” Tara Deubel, “Gift-giving as Social capital: Changing Customs of Sahrawi Women’s Gift Exchange in Laayoune;” Hayat Zirari, “Entre alimentation (*makla*) et nutrition (*taghdia*): arbitrages et réinvention au quotidien des pratiques alimentaires en contexte urbain;” and Farid El Asri, “Le face-à-face des femmes maghrébines avec les violences de l’extrémisme religieux.”

Mixed marriages and sub-Saharan migration in Maghrib societies are emerging subjects for anthropological investigation.⁵⁰ Within the framework of the anthropology of gender, many articles in this volume highlight the status of women in different contexts and social groups in changing societies. These social and cultural changes do not occur without generating tensions. Women have gained some rights in different societies in the Maghrib through the advocacy of a vibrant civil society and women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Women have certainly gained access to public space in economic and political spheres. Nonetheless, the move to consolidate these rights is hampered by traditional forces of resistance operating in the name of culture, tradition or religion.⁵¹

One of the emerging issues in changing gender relations is the process of making food. Cooking has traditionally been constructed to differentiate women's obligations from men's work. Nowadays, the practice of cooking is going through a process of transformation, where many urban women's practices free them from what was considered a traditional obligation. In this new context, food preparation is an area reflecting major changes in gender relations.⁵²

Transgressive behavior offers topics for an anthropology of transgression. In looking at the individual trajectories of women engaged in terrorism we find that they are important actors who convey religious extremism, transgressive ideology and actions.⁵³ In the same analytic framework, we find that youth culture goes beyond social norms and reveals changing dynamics.

This volume also presents studies dealing with anthropology of development, modernization, and cultural heritage.⁵⁴ In evaluating the growing demands of North African populations in relation to state policies of development, unemployment, education, health, and modernization, we create a space for an anthropology of development and modernization.⁵⁵

Within the dynamics of change of Maghrib societies, the scope of the notion of culture has broadened. In classical anthropology, culture was framed by

50. Catherine Therrien, "It's More Complex than "Black" and "White: Symbolic Boundaries of Mixedness in the Moroccan Context."

51. Rachel Newcomb, "Gender, Globalization, and the Urban-Rural Divide: Examining the Effects of Legal and Social Change Throughout Morocco."

52. Hayat Zirari, "Entre alimentation (*makla*) et nutrition (*taghdia*): arbitrages et réinvention au quotidien des pratiques alimentaires en contexte urbain."

53. Farid El Asri, "Le face-à-face des femmes maghrébines avec les violences de l'extrémisme religieux."

54. Zakaria Kadiri, "Imprévisible et bricolée: La modernisation rurale et agricole au Maroc."

55. Thomas Dichter, "One Step Forward, two Steps Back: Education in Morocco in the Late 1960s and Today."

tradition; nowadays, there is a demand coming from civil society and researchers appealing for restoring culture and giving value to intangible cultural heritage, patrimony,⁵⁶ memory, performative and visual arts,⁵⁷ rehabilitating the traditional architecture of *iggudār*, and reorganizing urban space.⁵⁸ These claims are investigated by anthropological studies.

The selection of articles in this volume, whether they deal with family, gender, rights, development, modernization, culture or arts, reflect an encounter between the transformative process of societies of the Maghrib and an anthropology combined with sociology to capture emerging issues, thereby updating the scientific agenda of anthropology in the region.⁵⁹

5. Anthropology of the Maghrib: New Issues and Methods

If some contributions deal with phenomena in which traditions are going through a transformative process, others explore areas of study bringing new orientations in terms of methodologies and approaches.

Within the classical framework of Euro-Americans studying non Euro-American people, anthropological practice used to be defined as a study of people in a given place: community, town or tribe. The increasing mobility and global networks of individuals and communities have made them belong to more than one place or be connected to many places at once.⁶⁰ The life of Maghribi people in Spain or France or in the borders, the experiences of sub-Saharanans living in Morocco are reshaped by the transformation of their sense of belonging and their cultural or physical borders. Therefore, the anthropology of mobility has to embrace transnational cultures, cross cultural phenomena, communities in the borders, and mobile identities.⁶¹ Many contributions in this volume study these very issues.⁶²

56. See, Jonathan Glasser, "Patrimony as Inalienability in Nineteenth Century Algeria: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Destroying and the Promise of Comparison."

57. See, John Shaefer, "American Freedom and Intersectional Citizenship in Wartime Arab Paris."

58. Salima Naji, "*Igdars et Zawyas: Les entrepôts de la baraka, réseaux du sacré et patrimonialisation des sociétés amazighes de l'Atlas et du Maroc présaharien*," Michel Piraldi, "Marrakech, une catastrophe urbaine."

59. Ahmed Skounti, "Du Maroc à l'UNESCO: dynamiques et enjeux du patrimoine culturel immatériel. Un essai d'auto-ethnographie;" Courtney Hughes Rinker, "Problematizing Neoliberalism and Development: Creating Citizens (and Future Citizens) through Reproduction and Childrearing in Morocco;" and Charis Boutieri, "Bastardy and Irreverence: The Injuries of Kinship in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia."

60. Hsain Ilahiane, "Mobile Phones and the Making and Unmaking of Gender and Place on the Fly in Morocco."

61. Hassan Rachik, *Eloge des identités molles* (Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016).

62. Mehdi Alouia, "Africains subsahariens au Maroc, de la clandestinité à la reconnaissance ou le renouveau du cosmopolitisme;" Maisa Taha, "Self-Other Encounters and Ordeals of Aspiration among Young Moroccan Immigrants in Spain;" David McMurray, "Nador-Melilla Border: Theory and Ethnography;" Catherine Therrien, "It's More Complex Than 'Black' and 'White:' Symbolic Boundaries of Mixedness in the Moroccan Context."

The theme of frontiers is becoming the subject of anthropological studies in the context of intensive mobility and connectivity of people. Some contributions analyze tensions related to space of frontiers. On both sides of the borders of the cities of Melilla and Ceuta, populations have a different status. Moroccan Muslim women cross the border on a daily basis to work in Ceuta.⁶³

Anthropology in the Maghrib explores new ethnographic areas. Mobile phone usage has transformed the dynamic of communication, place, and mobility in Morocco, providing another emerging anthropological phenomenon. Developments in connectivity have changed social relations.⁶⁴ In this volume, classical anthropology expands its inquiry to cyberspace. Connectivity has created new realms and social realities that put anthropology under pressure to renew its methods. Some new phenomena need to be questioned in light of the major changes of the last two decades with the development of new forms of sociality and social relations in the domain of social media. The traditional concepts such as the notion of shame (*ḥchouma*), which has different meanings in different social and semantic contexts, is migrating to digital social networks, challenging established anthropological approaches and methods.⁶⁵

Social media have moved social reality from its usual physical realm to displace it onto the digital world, where people act, interact, and construct their identities. The freedom offered to the individual through anonymity on social media allows for the opportunity to claim what is considered forbidden by social control and norms. It is very difficult to observe non-religious groups in a Muslim society while in the digital realm they form communities.⁶⁶ Cyberspace is becoming a social microcosm which raises new ethnographic issues for participant observation, ethnographic methods and calls for an anthropology of the reality of the digital social environment. It is an area where ethnographic methods are at the experimental stage. Many social issues in the region require new anthropological approaches to investigate and collect ethnographic data.

63. Ángeles Ramírez, "Femmes sans frontières: Service domestique transfrontalier à Sebta."

64. Vincent Berry, "Ethnographie sur Internet: Rendre compte du virtuel," *Les sciences de l'éducation pour l'ère nouvelle* 45, 4 (2012): 35- 58.

65. Rahma Bourqia, "Les méandres sémantiques de la pudeur: Réflexion sur la notion de la *ḥchouma* et le changement social dans la société marocaine."

66. Mahjouba Kaoukaou, "Al-huwiyya al-lādiniyya ar-raqmiyya wamafhūm al-'āila al-iliktrūniyya: Naḥwa moqārabatin neṭ ithnūghrāfiyya li-rābiṭi al-lādini al-iftirādi."

6. Anthropology of the Maghrib: Reflexive Perspectives

The Maghrib has attracted the interest of many anthropologists to become a field of anthropological studies where different theoretical approaches and schools of thoughts have appeared within the framework of English- and French-language anthropology. Some anthropological works of the Maghrib are considered today as classic references in anthropology. One dimension for the evaluation of anthropological knowledge is reflexivity.

Reflexivity implies an epistemological approach to deconstruct themes, fieldwork methods, relations with the informant, and the way the anthropologist integrates the native point of view in anthropological discourse. Reflexive anthropology is an engagement to think about the anthropologist's own practices. Anthropological studies of societies in and of Maghrib are not merely subjects of study, but also a commitment to reflection on the way we approach societies and construct analysis. Reflexive anthropology is not only a sociology of knowledge, but also an approach to look at the epistemological foundation of anthropological work.⁶⁷

Some contributions in this volume relate their own experience in doing anthropology. It should be noted, as mentioned above, in the postcolonial Morocco, a group of American anthropologists, during the sixties, seventies and eighties, undertook fieldwork in Morocco, published articles and books, and have kept ties with the country. In their contributions in this issue, they have undertaken a "return" on their experience either to take their work as a matter of reflection, or to extend the analysis by using new materials.⁶⁸

An anthropologist is always linked to her fieldwork.⁶⁹ It becomes part of the history of scholarly work and a subject of her anthropological career. The field site of Sefrou, has been linked to the name Clifford Geertz. The group of anthropologists who worked in Sefrou have put Sefrou on the map of anthropological work. Even when an anthropologist publishes books and articles, she does not exhaust all that could be studied in her field. Based on the data collected in Sefrou during the 1960s, one of the contributions in this volume provides a detailed anthropological reflection based on primary data collected on Christian missionary encounters with Morocco. The presence of

67. Marie-Madeleine Bertucci, "Place de la réflexivité dans les sciences humaines et sociales: quelques jalons," *Cahiers de sociologie linguistique* 1, 14 (2009): 43-55.

68. Susan Schaefer Davis, "Taboo Topics? Women, Adolescents and Artisans;" Kevin Dwyer, "An Anthropologist in dialogue: Living with Villagers, Discussing Human Rights, and Looking beyond Casablanca;" and Lawrence Rosen, "Missionary Encounters: Moroccan Engagement with the Western Other."

69. For a reflection on the anthropological practice, see George E. Marcus, *Ethnography through Thick and Thin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

missionaries in the heart of the country and their knowledge of the population raises questions about their role in a Muslim society.⁷⁰

What characterizes some articles, whatever the areas they study, be it a village in south of Morocco,⁷¹ a specific ritual,⁷² or fieldwork with an experience of insecurity in a foreign/native country,⁷³ anthropologists provide narratives on their own experience as anthropologists doing anthropology in Maghribi societies and the ways they have encountered otherness in the context of familiar and unfamiliar cultures. Some experiences have led anthropologists to appeal for a dialogical approach in anthropology.⁷⁴ This shows that encounters with the field site is in itself a historical moment of anthropological reflexivity on the Maghrib in the post-colonial era. It provides an opportunity to rethink the ethnographer's relation to fieldwork by re-visiting methods used in collecting anthropological material.

In evaluating some of the anthropological works by American anthropologists during the last two decades, we have noticed a change in ethnographic research of the Maghrib. Despite that, some young anthropologists are still holding to romantic view of the "other," while the "other," as shown by our many contributions, is going through a dynamic process of change. A contribution in this volume relies on the concept of pluriverse to build a diverse cultural indigenous constructed world.⁷⁵

In this reflexive evaluation, it is important to look at the relationship between the anthropologist and the way data is gathered through/or by translation. There is no fieldwork done by foreign anthropologists without the use of an intermediary informant. Behind every anthropologist's work, there is an informant. The informant assumes the role of collaborator and translator. She is usually involved in the anthropological work and holds the function of mediator between the anthropologist and native people. She makes intelligibly facts, institutions and words easily understood by the anthropologist who does not possess the codes to understand the meaning of symbols and the linguistic nuances to get into the realm of a different culture.

Some anthropologists in this volume are revisiting their experience in anthropology. It is interesting to bring into the picture the narrative of a

70. Lawrence Rosen, "Missionary Encounters: Moroccan Engagement with the Western Other."

71. See Kevin Dwyer, "An Anthropologist in dialogue: Living with Villagers, Discussing Human Rights, and Looking beyond Casablanca."

72. Vincent Crapanzano, "Morocco 1967-1968: Memories, Reflections, and Nostalgia."

73. André Levy, "Fieldwork Insecurities: An (Israeli) Anthropologist in Morocco."

74. Kevin Dwyer, "An Anthropologist in Dialogue: Living with Villagers, Discussing Human Rights, and Looking beyond Casablanca."

75. Thomas K. Park, "Rip Van Winkle and the Pluriverse."

Moroccan anthropologist,⁷⁶ relying on his memory when he was child on the experience of the encounter of his father and American anthropologists such as Carlton Coon, David Hart, Clifford and Hildred Geertz. He shows how in this encounter arises a mixture of friendship, curiosity and interest of the foreign anthropologist to know from the informant about the culture and people.

The reflections of young native anthropologists in this volume allow for documenting, in a reflexive way, the experience in being initiated into the anthropological discipline, and the encounter of the father of one of the contributors, an eminent sociologist in Morocco, with American anthropologists.⁷⁷ Mohamed Gessous was visited regularly by many anthropologists involved in studies in Morocco; they sought his views and analysis on anthropological matters. Behind these encounters one could notice how some foreign anthropologists, in seeking information in the field, have shifted from relying on an indigenous “layperson” informant, working as a translator, towards the well-established native anthropologists and professional sociologists to provide them with their own reflections and analysis on matters they were studying. This raises the problematic issue of the “authoritative voice” in the discourse of anthropological knowledge. The native anthropologist or sociologist holds a different intellectual status than the traditional informant. His information could not be considered as a mere piece of data. This highlights Michel Foucault’s question: “how do we define the author?”⁷⁸

Initially, anthropology deals with difference and otherness when the anthropologist travels to a society distinct from his own, to study its beliefs, rituals, social organization and cultural practices. Anthropology of the Maghrib in the post-colonial era emerged to construct analytical theories on the Maghrib impacting the practices of anthropology. The last three decades have witnessed many native anthropologists joining Western anthropologists to study their own society. The “other” becomes part of the “self,” implying reflexivity, the deconstruction of distance, and constant self-criticism.⁷⁹

For the native anthropologist, studying her own society and being familiar with the site or the subject of study, does not make her work easier than

76. Mohamed Chtatou, “Encounters with American Anthropologists in Morocco.”

77. Nadia Guessous, “Postcolonial Attunements: Decolonizing the Anthropology of Morocco.”

78. Dinah Ribard, 1969: *Michel Foucault et la question de l’auteur: ‘Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur’: texte, présentation, et commentaire* (Paris: Éditions Honoré Champion, 2019).

79. See Abdellah Hammoudi, “The Social Sciences between Importation and Reappropriation: Anthropology and other Disciplines.”

that of the foreign anthropologist. Despite the fact that she enjoys a certain degree of familiarity with the society to which she belongs, this situation does not always work as an advantage facilitating access and acceptance by the community. By virtue of her educational training and the fact of belonging to a different region, the native anthropologist always remains an outsider to the community under study.

The dynamic of changes occurring in societies of the Maghrib have created a need to use a mix of approaches and methods derived from anthropology, history and sociology to understand these new changes in the region and the convoluted process of development. Many authors in this volume combine methods in a multidisciplinary approach between sociology and anthropology. Issues of modernization, development, globalization, religion and neoliberalism, imply using combined methods of anthropology and sociology in approaching change.⁸⁰

Without claiming an exceptional specificity, Maghribi societies possess layers of historical legacy. Many anthropologists from the Maghrib recall history in their analysis, whether they are studying rituals, the state and political power, gender issues, or nationalism. Moreover, in many works emerges an encounter of analysis between anthropology, sociology and history.⁸¹ Knowledge of communities and their nuances, ambiguities and complexities imply mobilizing different disciplines within the social sciences and reflexive approaches.

Maghribi societies hold layers of temporalities implying an archeological analysis to unpack complexities of the functioning of ritual, institutions, practices, political systems, and the meaning of interrelated temporalities. This needs, as Edgar Morin puts it, an approach for studying complexities,⁸² ambiguities, and nuances of social reality in context. Such approach does not dismiss what other disciplines have to give to understand complex issues where the present is loaded with the past. On the relation between the anthropologist and historian, E. E. Evans-Pritchard wrote some decades ago that “historians write history, as it were, forwards and we would tend to write it backwards.”⁸³ The accumulation and combination of different schools

80. See Zakaria Kadiri, “Imprévisible et bricolée: La modernisation rurale et agricole au Maroc;” Cortney Hughes Rinker, “Problematizing Neoliberalism and Development: Creating Citizens (and Future Citizens) through Reproduction and Childrearing in Morocco.”

81. Paul Silverstein, “Rethinking Moroccan Social Hierarchy and Ritual: From Colonial Ethnology to the Postcolonial Historical Anthropology of Abdellah Hammoudi.”

82. Edgar Morin, *Introduction à la pensée complexe* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2005).

83. Evans E. Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology and History: A Lecture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), 16.

of anthropological thought, either its cultural, social, interpretative, or an anthropology of complexity, insures a discipline that is diverse and dynamic. Anthropology will continue to study and interpret culture, language and symbols and make complexities of societies of Maghrib intelligible.

Conclusions

The main objective of this issue is to engage in debates around anthropology of/in the Maghrib and to introduce North African students through a North African publication to the development of anthropological studies, themes and theories from works by anthropologists who have been at the center of generations of ethnographic research. We aim to allow for a reflection on the evolution of anthropology in regard to changes in societies which were the subject of anthropological works. This issue offers a substantial amount of anthropological studies and reveals larger and interconnected trends in works written about the Maghrib, reflecting the changes occurring in societies as fieldwork studies. The most important contribution of the volume centers around its collection of articles on anthropology of the Maghrib, reflecting the work of American, European and Maghribi anthropologists, belonging to different traditions in anthropology and trends of schools of thought.

This volume cannot cover all the anthropological works produced on Maghrib societies. However, it has managed to gather contributors from different generations of anthropologists, reflecting different schools of social sciences and methodologies, aiming to give at least a schematic image of the Maghrib according to anthropological knowledge produced by natives and non-Maghrib anthropologists.

All the anthropological work achieved on the dynamic of change of the Maghrib, analyzed by many articles in this volume, reveals that anthropology itself is going through major changes in the way it deals with otherness, approaches to the field site, collects data, and defines the status of native and foreign anthropologists.

The scope of the anthropology of the Maghrib is not limited to work on Indigenous static societies, but extends to development, to multiple modernities, nationalism, global and transnational issues such as Islamism, neoliberalism, international migration, borders, environment,⁸⁴ disability,⁸⁵

84. See, Jamila Bargach, "Fog in Seven Movements: Connecting Anti-Atlas Villages to Fog Water;" Becky Schulthies, "Spirits, Souls, and the Mediation of Plants in Moroccan Ethnography;" Gwyneth Talley, "Human-Horse Relationships in Morocco: What Equids Can Tell Us about Society."

85. Molly Bloom, "Toward a Disability Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa."

social media and the digital realm.⁸⁶ This implies a renewal in methodologies and opens the way for the intellectual process of re-inventing anthropology.

Bibliography

- Asad, Talal. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca, 1973.
- Berque, Jacques. *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas*. Paris: PUF, 1978.
- Berry, Vincent. "Ethnographie sur Internet: Rendre compte du virtuel." *Les sciences de l'éducation pour l'ère nouvelle* 45, 4 (2012): 35-58.
- Bertucci, Marie-Madeleine. "Place de la réflexivité dans les sciences humaines et sociales: quelques jalons." *Cahiers de sociologie linguistique* 1, 14 (2009): 43-55.
- Ben Hounet, Yazid. "Pierre Bonte (1942-2013)." *L'Homme* 211, 3 (2014): 7-15.
- Boum, Aomar. *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.
- _____. "Southern Moroccan Jewry between the Colonial Manufacture of Knowledge and the Postcolonial Historiographical Silence." In *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, eds. Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter, 73-92. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Algerians*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.
- _____. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1977.
- _____. *Le Sens pratique*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1980.
- _____. *Sociologie de l'Algérie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006.
- Bourqia, Rahma. "Don et théâtralité: réflexion sur le rituel du do (*hadiya*) offert au sultan au XIXe siècle." *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 31, (1993): 61-75.
- _____. "Vol, pillage et banditisme au XIXe siècle." *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXIX, 2 (1991): 191-226.
- Bourqia, Rahma and Susan. G. Miller, eds. *In the Shadow of the Sultan. Culture, Power and Politics in Morocco*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Bourqia, Rahma & Mokhtar El Harras. *Westermarck et la société marocaine*. Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1993.
- Brown, Kenneth. *People of Salé. Tradition and Change in a Morocco city 1830-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1976.
- Burke, Edmund, III. "The Creation of the Moroccan Colonial Archive, 1880-1930." *History and Anthropology* 18, 1 (2007): 1-9.
- Colonna, Fanny. *Aurès/Algérie 1935-1936: Photographies de Thérèse Rivière*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1987.
- _____. "Saints furieux et saints studieux ou, dans l'Aurès, comment la religion vient aux tribus." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 35, 3-4 (1980): 642-62.
- Combs-Schilling, Elaine. *Sacred Performances. Islam, Sexuality and Sacrifice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Doutté, Edmond. *Marrakech*. Paris: Comité du Maroc, 1905.
- Dufoix, Stéphane and Éric Macé. "Les enjeux d'une sociologie Mondiale non-hégémonique." *Zilsel* 1, 5 (2019): 88-121.

86. See, Mahjouba Kaoukaou, "Al-huwiyya al-lādiniyya ar-raqmīyya Wamafhūm al-‘āila al-iliktrūniyya: Naḥwa moqārabatin neṭ itnūghrāfiyya li-rābiṭi al-lādini al-iftirādi."

- Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan. *Anthropology and History: A Lecture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961.
- _____. *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Fernea, Robert A. and James M. Malarkey. "Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa: A Critical Assessment." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4 (1975): 183-206.
- de Foucauld, Charles. *Reconnaissance au Maroc*. Paris: Librairie coloniale, 1888.
- Geertz, Clifford. *After the Fact: Two Countries four Decades One Anthropology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 1995.
- _____. "The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant marketing." *The American Economic Review* 68, 2 (1978): 28-32.
- _____. *Islam Observed. Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- _____. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- Geertz, Clifford, Hildred Geertz and Lawrence Rosen. *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society: Three Essays in Cultural Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Gellner, Ernest. "The Great Patron: A Reinterpretation of Tribal Rebellions." *European Journal of Sociology* 10, 1 (1969): 61-69.
- _____. "Independence in the Central High Atlas." *Middle East Journal* 11, 3 (1957): 237-52.
- _____. "Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Morocco: Tribes as Minorities." *European Journal of Sociology* 3, 2 (1962): 297-311.
- _____. *Saints of the Atlas*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1969.
- Goodman, Jane E. and Paul A. Silverstein, eds. *Bourdieu in Algeria: Colonial Politics, Ethnographic Practices, Theoretical developments*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009.
- Hammoudi, Abdellah. *Master and Disciple: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism*. Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1997.
- _____. "Phénoménologie et ethnographie: à propos de l'habitus kabyle chez Pierre Bourdieu." *L'Homme* 184 (2007): 47-83.
- _____. "Segmentary, Social Stratification, Political Power and Sainthood: Reflections on Gellner's Theses." *Economy and Society* 9, 3 (1980): 279-303.
- Hannoum, Abdelmajid. "Colonialism and Knowledge in Algeria: The Archives of the Arab Bureau." *History and Anthropology* 12, 4 (2001): 343-79.
- _____. "De l'historiographie colonial à l'historicisme national où comment le Maghreb fut inventé." *Hespéris-Tamuda* 48 (2013): 59-79.
- Lorcin, Patricia M. E. "Imperialism, Colonial Identity, and Race in Algeria 1830-1870: the Role of the French Medical Corps." *Journal of the History of Science Society* 90, 4 (1999): 653-79.
- Lucas, Philippe & Jean Claude Vatin, *L'Algérie des anthropologues*. Paris: Mapéro, 1982.
- Mahfoudh, Dorra. "Bibliographie de sociologie, ethnologie et anthropologie de la Tunisie de l'époque coloniale." *Hespéris-Tamuda* 26-27, (1988): 265-76.
- Marcus, George E. *Ethnography through Thick and Thin*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Munson, Jr. Henry. "Rethinking Gellner's Segmentary Analysis of Morocco's Ait 'Atta.'" *Man* 28, 2 (1993): 267-80.

- Melliti, Imed. "Une anthropologie "indigène" est-elle possible? Réflexions sur le statut de l'anthropologie en Tunisie." *Arabica* LIII, 2 (2006): 163-76.
- Melliti, Imed & Dorra Mahfoudh. "Les sciences sociales en Tunisie. Histoire et enjeux actuels." *Sociologie pratiques* 2, 19 (2009): 125-40.
- Montagne, Robert. *Les berbères et le Makhzen*. Paris: Larose, 1930.
- Morin, Edgar. *Introduction à la pensée complexe*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2005.
- Mouliéras, Auguste. *Le Maroc inconnu: 22 ans d'explorations dans cette contrée mystérieuse, de 1872 à 1893*. Paris: Joseph André, 1895.
- Pascon, Paul. *Capitalisme and Agriculture in the Haouz of Marrakesh*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.
- _____. "La formation de la société marocaine." *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc* 120-121, janvier-juin, (1871): 1-28.
- _____. *Le Haouz de Marrakech*, 2 vols. Rabat-Tanger: Éditions marocaines internationales, 1977.
- Rachik, Hassan. *Eloge des identités molles*. Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016.
- _____. *Le proche et le lointain. Un siècle d'anthropologie au Maroc*. Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses/Aix-en-Provence: Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme, 2012.
- Ribard, Dinah. *1969: Michel Foucault et la question de l'auteur. 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur': texte, présentation, et commentaire*. Paris: Éditions Honoré Champion, 2019.
- Saillant, Francine, Mondher Kilani, et Bideau Florence Graezer. *Manifeste de Lausanne. Pour une anthropologie non hégémonique*. Montréal: Liber, 2011.
- Slyomovics, Susan. *Clifford Geertz In Morocco*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Tozy, Mohamed. *Monarchy et Islam politique au Maroc*. Paris: Presses des Sciences Po. 1999.
- Trumbull, George R. *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria, 1870-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Vatin, Jean Claude. *Connaissance du Maghreb: Sciences sociales et colonisation*. Paris: Centre de Recherche et d'Études sur les Sociétés Méditerranéennes, 1984
- Westermarck, Edward. *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*. London: Curzon Press, 1914.
- _____. *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*. London: MacMillan, 1926.
- _____. *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco: A Study of Native Proverbs*. New York: Horace Liveright, 1931.