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L'afrique Est-Elle Mûre Pour La Démocratie?

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Résumé

L'objectif de cette étude est d'analyser la démocratie en Afrique à travers ses forces et ses déboires. Pour y arriver, nous nous sommes intéressé à plusieurs pays : le Burkina Faso, la Côte d'Ivoire, la République Démocratique du Congo et l'Algérie, à cause des tentatives d'enracinement de la démocratie et des crises liées aux élections. Le travail à la fois qualitatif et quantitatif repose sur des techniques et des outils de collecte des données (guide d'entretien, questionnaire, documentation). L'étude présente les résultats du terrain. Elle explique les progrès démocratiques réalisés dans les pays africains (intégration des femmes à des postes de responsabilités, dialogue entre opposants et dirigeants). Elle analyse aussi le déficit démocratique à travers la corruption, le despotisme, les maladies, bref la mal gouvernance. L'existence des situations d'inconfort montre la nécessité d'une déconstruction de la gestion démocratique dans nos Etats africains.

Mots-clés: Démocratie, gouvernance, déficit démocratique, déconstruction, Afrique.

Is Africa Ripe for Democracry?

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Abstract

This study analyzes democracy in Africa through its strengths and its setbacks. To achieve this, we have been interested in several countries: Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Algeria, because of attempts to root out democracy and elections-related crises. This work, both qualitative and quantitative is based on data collection techniques and tools (interview guide, questionnaire, documentation). The study presents the results of the field. It explains the democratic progress made in African countries (integration of women in positions of responsibility, dialogue between opponents and leaders). It also analyzes the democratic deficit through corruption, despotism, diseases, in short, poor governance. The existence of situations of discomfort shows the need for a deconstruction of democratic management in African states.

Keywords: Democracy, governance, democratic deficit, deconstruction, Africa.

Introduction

Cet article qui relève de la thématique «*Ethnie, ethnicité et ethnicisation des rapports politiques*» s'intéresse à la gestion démocratique des cités en Afrique. La question liée à l'administration des pays est un épineux problème, qui préoccupe et des autorités politiques et administratives et des chercheurs. Ceux-ci ont essayé de la comprendre et l'expliquer au travers de différentes approches théoriques (sociologique, économique, politique..). Avant l'indépendance politique, la démocratie n'était pas en exil en Afrique. Ainsi, dans les sociétés traditionnelles africaines à classes d'âge, la gestion de la cité est collégiale. L'exemple du sacre des gouvernants (Êb-eb) chez les odjukru dans la basse Côte d'Ivoire (F.H. Memel, 1980) est une illustration. Au lendemain des indépendances, les populations fraîchement sorties du joug colonial ont manifesté leur joie. Malheureusement, cet enthousiasme s'est transformé en cauchemar, à cause car des répressions, du tripatouillage des constitutions (parangon), du tribalisme, responsables de conflits. Ainsi, M. Lundborg (1998) se demande

si l'hégémonie du parti au pouvoir, qui dispose, au lendemain des élections du 11 mai 1997, de cent-un (101) sièges à l'assemblée nationale, face à une opposition représentée par trois partis totalisant dix (10) sièges, ne constitue pas un frein à l'épanouissement de la démocratie. G. Carbone (2006) abonde dans le même sens. Selon l'auteur, le pluralisme partisan est apparu en Afrique à la fin des années 1950 et au début des années 1960, puis à la fin de l'époque coloniale. Les partis sont supposés jouer un rôle important dans l'organisation et la régulation des systèmes démocratiques modernes. Les vies politiques africaines sont généralement considérées comme marquées par la violence, le désordre, la personnalisation du pouvoir et la faiblesse des règles constitutionnelles. Les partis, organisations d'origine occidentale, semblent avoir eu du mal à s'enraciner dans les vies politiques africaines. B. Guèye (2009) et B. Sakpane (2011) se posent des questions sur le caractère démocratique des pays africains, car nombreux sont les dirigeants, qui sont épinglés par la communauté internationale pour pratiques anti-démocratiques (rapports étroits entre ethnies et parties politiques, répressions…).

Le Burkina Faso, la Côte d'Ivoire, la République Démocratique du Congo, l'Algérie, qui vivent au rythme des pays indépendants (modernes) sont confrontés à la même situation. Ces localités intéressent l'étude pour plusieurs raisons :

-des tentatives d'enracinement de la démocratie dans des pays africains. Au Burkina Faso, des élections transparentes sont organisées après la chute du régime de Blaise Compaoré en novembre 2015. Aux Seychelles, l'Etat promeut la légalité du genre en Mars 2019. En Algérie Aldelaziz Bouteflika renonce sous la pression du peuple à briguer un cinquième mandat présidentiel en Mars 2019. Dans les sociétés traditionnelles africaines (chez les odjukru de Côte d'Ivoire), la démocratie n'est pas en exil, car la transmission du pouvoir est pacifique.

-l'existence d'un déficit démocratique. Les crises à répétitions, les guerres ethniques, la confiscation du pouvoir, les emprisonnements arbitraires, la corruption, les problèmes sanitaires indiquent que la démocratie s'enracine difficilement en Afrique.

De ces constats découle une série de questions dont la principale est: «*Comment la démocratie peut-elle définitivement s'enraciner en Afrique*» ? À cette question sont rattachées celles qui sont secondaires : «*Quelles sont les avancées démocratiques en Afrique*» ? «*Comment le déficit démocratique se manifeste-il dans les pays africains*»? L'objectif de cette étude est d'analyser la démocratie en Afrique, en vue de comprendre ses forces et ses implications sociales. La thèse soutenue est la suivante : «*La démocratie n'est pas en exil en Afrique. Elle connait des avancées. Toutefois, il existe un déficit démocratique dans la gestion des cités*».

Matériel et méthodes

Notre site d'enquête comprend le Burkina Faso, la Côte d'Ivoire, la République Démocratique du Congo et l'Algérie. Le choix de ces localités est lié aux tentatives d'enracinement de la démocratie dans ces pays, comme susmentionnées. Il est également justifié par l'instabilité politique (coups d'États à répétitions, répressions des manifestations, famines, maladies liées à la mal gouvernance…). Les enquêtés sont retenus selon des critères dont la disponibilité, la connaissance de la démocratie, ses forces et ses faiblesses. Nous avons procédé à un choix raisonné, puisqu'il est question de cibler les personnes ressources à même de nous instruire davantage. Au total, 100 enquêtés, hommes et femmes sont concernés par l'étude. L'analyse documentaire, le guide d'entretien et le questionnaire sont mobilisés pour recueillir les informations. L'approfondissement des résultats a nécessité les théories du capital social et capital humain pour justifier le déficit démocratique en Afrique. La théorie des parties prenantes explique la bonne gouvernance. L'étude comporte deux parties. La première analyse les forces de la démocratie en Afrique. La seconde explique les implications sociales dans lesdits pays.

Resultat

1. Avancées démocratiques en Afrique

Les données collectées auprès des personnes ressources, au travers du guide d'entretien et du questionnaire ont été regroupées, ce que nous présentons. Pour y parvenir, nous avons demandé aux enquêtés : «Peut-on parler de progrès démocratiques en Afrique»?
Voici quelques-unes des réponses obtenues :

«C'est vrai qu'en Europe la démocratie est devenue une réalité. La population s'exprime librement, les élections sont bien organisées. Il n'existe pas de technologie électorale, comme chez nous en Afrique. Mais dans certains pays comme le Ghana, le Burkina-Faso, on peut parler d'avancées démocratiques» (A.L, 28 ans, Etudiant).

«Déjà, dans nos sociétés précoloniales, la démocratie existait. Le choix des rois des chefs était inscrit dans les textes tambourinés. Ne devient chef que les personnes appartenant à la lignée des chefs, au sang royal. Les Blancs nous ont envoyé une sorte de démocratie, qui ne fait que diviser les populations» (F. K, 69 ans, Fonctionnaire à la retraite).

Les réponses obtenues sont exposées dans le tableau suivant :

Tableau 1 : Avancées démocratiques

Effectifs Réponses	Nombre de personnes	Pourcentage (%)
Oui	20	20
Non	80	80
Total	100	100

Source : Notre enquête, 2019

Sur 100 personnes interrogées, seulement 20 environ 20%, soutiennent qu'il existe des avancées démocratiques en Afrique.

Commentaire des verbatim:

Ces enquêtés sont constitués de personnes ayant vécu dans les sociétés traditionnelles. Dans celles-ci, l'accès au trône, au pouvoir est réglementé par des textes généralement tambourinés. Chaque membre, connaissant son statut ou sa position sociale agit en conséquence. Ce sont aussi des personnes qui suivent l'actualité politique quotidienne. Elles estiment, qu'au regard de certaines réalités, par comparaison des progrès démocratiques sont enregistrés dans des pays africains. S'il existe une tentative d'enracinement, la gestion des cités pose ausi problème.

2. Déficit démocratique

Sur cette épineuse question, voici les réponses des enquêtés :

«Vous avez dit démocratie en Afrique ? C'est plutôt un leurre, qu'une lueur. Prenez la majeure partie des pays, ce sont des dictatures. Regardez ce qui se passe au Soudan, en Libye, au Congo, en Côte d'Ivoire. Il existe encore des pratiques du Moyen-âge, qui ont libre cours dans nos pays indépendants. Corruption, élections truquées, tripatouillages, voire banalisation des constitutions, boussoles des nations, népotisme, détournements des deniers publics, font partie du vécu quotidien des populations» (D.M, 35 ans, Enseignant ; G.L, 53 ans Fonctionnaire).

«La mauvaise gestion ou la mal gouvernance ont occasionné de nombreuses situations d'inconfort. Les morts se comptent par centaines ou par milliers. Des enfants sont enrôlés dans les guerres. Les civils sont victimes de violences sexuelles. Des épidémies, des maladies émergentes sont récurrentes, à cause de la pauvreté du fait des conflits» (Y.T, 44 ans, Enseignant).

A contrario la majorité, soit 83% des personnes interrogées soutient l'existence d'un déficit démocratique.

Commentaire des verbatim :

Pour cette catégorie sociale, considérer nos pays africains comme démocratiques, au regard du vécu quotidien est une erreur, voire une aberration. Ces personnes sont déçues par la gestion approximative (corruption, clientélisme) et dictatoriale (non respect des constitutions, coups d'Etat) des cités. Nombreux sont les enquêtés, ayant vécu l'amère expérience. Ils ont, pour la plupart été victimes d'atrocités, d'injustices, d'emprisonnement. La mort de proches parents dans les conflits intercommunautaires, interreligieux, la paupérisation des populations, devenues des «cancéreux économiques» sont autant de facteurs justifiant leur position.

Discussion
1. Tentatives d'enracinement de la démocratie

Les données susmentionnées montrent l'existence d'efforts démocratiques dans les pays africains. L'observation de la réalité et l'évolution de la vie politique dans certains Etats, indiquent que des avancées démocratiques sont enregistrées en Afrique. En effet, après la chute de Blaise Compaoré, des élections libres sont organisées au Burkina Faso. La gestion transparente du scrutin a permis au pays d'éviter les protestations et un bain de sang.

La télévision, France 24 (2015) atteste à cet effet, que Roch Marc Kaboré a remporté la présidentielle burkinabè dès le premier tour. Bien qu'ancien Premier ministre de Blaise Compaoré, il a su apparaître comme le candidat du changement dans un pays en crise depuis plus d'un an. Avec 53,5 % des voix, Roch Marc Kaboré a remporté l'élection présidentielle au Burkina Faso dès le premier tour, a annoncé, mardi 1er décembre, la commission électorale. Son plus sérieux rival, Zephirin Diabré, a obtenu 21,65 % des voix. Il avait reconnu sa défaite quelques minutes avant l'annonce des résultats provisoires par la Commission électorale indépendante. Alors que depuis l'indépendance du pays en 1960, les dirigeants burkinabè étaient presque toujours arrivés au pouvoir par la force, cette victoire revêt un caractère exceptionnel. Elle doit, avec les élections législatives organisées en parallèle, parachever la transition, parfois chaotique, ouverte avec la chute de Blaise Compaoré en octobre 2014 après 27 années au pouvoir et menée par Michel Kafando. Cette élection s'est déroulée dans le calme et la sérénité, ce qui prouve la maturité du peuple du Burkina Faso", a souligné Barthélémy Kéré, président de la Ceni, au cours d'une conférence de presse. Un calme dû en partie au "couvre-feu qui est toujours en vigueur", explique Pauline Simonet, envoyée spéciale de France 24 à Ouagadougou, et qui a d'ailleurs écourté la fête au quartier général de Roch Marc Kaboré. Mais aussi au fait que "tous les candidats ont accepté les

résultats et le verdict des urnes". Quelques instants après l'annonce officielle des résultats, Roch Marc Kaboré a confié à France 24 sa joie que le parti de son rival n'ait pas contesté les résultats de l'élection. "En retour j'ai dit que, concernant le pouvoir [...], je souhaiterais associer l'ensemble des Burkinabè à la gestion de ce pays", invitant ainsi indirectement Zephirin Diabré à jouer un rôle dans le prochain gouvernement (France 24, 2015).

L' ɛb-eb (sacre du gouvernant) chez les odjukru de Côte d'Ivoire, permet de soutenir l'existence de démocratie en Afrique. Selon A. S. Meless (2005), le terme *ɛb-eb* provient de *ɛb* (village, cité) et *eb* (prendre soin, s'occuper de), qui signifie littéralement accepter la société. Il s'agit d'une action de reconnaissance à la cité qui a vu naître l'individu, et qui lui a tout donné. En clair, il s'agit de la gestion du pouvoir. Le *Lodjukru* fait une autre lecture de la transmission du pouvoir. Deux classes d'âge sont impliquées dans le système politique. La première détient le pouvoir. La seconde classe (cadette) est celle qui reçoit les insignes du pouvoir. C'est après huit années de gestion de la cité, que la classe d'âge en fin de mandat, détentrice de l'autorité remet le pouvoir à la classe qui lui succède pendant la cérémonie de l'*ɛb-eb*. Aucune élection n'est organisée à cet effet. Certes, des textes écrits relatifs à la transmission du pouvoir n'existent pas en pays *odjukru*, à l'instar des sociétés traditionnelles africaines. Cependant, ils sont consignés dans les tambours (brem) et les mémoires collectives. De ce fait, des jeunes aux vieux, chaque catégorie sociale est éduquée et formée sur la question de la gouvernance. La transmission est donc descendante (ainés aux cadets) et se fait essentiellement au travers des classes d'âge.

Contrairement à la démocratie moderne, le pouvoir se transmet sans disputes. La classe d'âge en fin de mandat est consciente qu'elle ne dispose plus de l'autorité politique. De ce fait, elle est tenue de rendre le pouvoir à la classe qui lui succède, sans effusion de sang. La passation se fait dans une ambiance festive, cordiale, fraternelle, car l'objectif principal à atteindre est la prospérité et la stabilité de la cité. En pays *odjukru*, le pouvoir ne se dispute pas, il se transmet de façon pacifique. Les coups d'Etat, les tentatives d'usurpation sont prohibés, parce que les populations, toutes catégories confondues ont une culture démocratique. Les classes d'âge savent qu'elles seront nécessairement au pouvoir. Par conséquent, la lutte pour le pouvoir apparait comme un non sens, une précipitation, voire un désordre social. Elle désagrège la société. Au travers de cette attitude, la société enseigne à l'individu certaines valeurs dont le respect des textes fondamentaux (la constitution), la patience, le don de soi, des valeurs foulées aux pieds dans les démocraties modernes africaines. À l'instar des grandes démocraties, il existe une séparation du pouvoir. C'est un garant juridique. A l'instar de C. Montesquieu (1748), les *odjukru* savent que *l'esprit d'inégalité mène la démocratie à l'aristocratie ou au gouvernement d'un*

seul; et l'esprit d'égalité extrême la conduit au despotisme d'un seul, comme le despotisme d'un seul finit par la conquête. Pour éviter la confusion des pouvoirs et choisir les représentants de la classe d'âge, diverses vertus dont la bonne moralité, le don de soi, la double vision sont exigées par les sages, détenteurs du pouvoir gérontocratique. Ainsi, le *milɔwl*[1] assure l'exécutif ; le *mbwa*[2] représente le législatif, quand l'*aɲâ*[3] exerce le rôle du judiciaire. La répartition des responsabilités vise à empêcher les acteurs promus de se corrompre en mettant en œuvre des lois qui leur sont favorables. Certes, des personnes sont choisies pour agir au nom de la classe d'âge. Toutefois, aucune décision n'est prise sans consentement des membres du groupe. En clair, la gestion du pouvoir est collégiale. L'administration cyclique du pouvoir peut inspirer les sociétés modernes confrontées à un déficit démocratique, ce qui est justifié dans le premier chapitre de l'étude. Comme les Etats Unis, où deux partis (républicains et démocrates) occupent et animent la scène politique, la multitude enregistrée en Afrique peut se regrouper en deux grandes entités, pour exercer un mandat de cinq renouvelables une seule fois, de façon cyclique. Cette disposition empêchera les coups d'Etats et préviendra les tentatives de confiscation du pouvoir. Le non respect des principes démocratiques entraine des situations d'inconfort.

2. Mal gouvernance et ses implications sociales

Au travers des informations susmentionnées, la démocratie en Afrique est un leurre. Pour la majorité des enquêtés, il existe un déficit démocratique. Les principes de la bonne gouvernance ne sont pas appliqués. Cette assertion est justifiée par les pratiques anti-démocratiques, qui ont libres cours dans différents pays d'Afrique. Dans nos zones d'enquête, l'observation du vécu quotidien des populations et la revue de littérature ont amené des auteurs à soutenir cette thèse.

JED (2012)[4] s'interroge sur la question. Faut-il rappeler que la liberté de la presse, c'est le thermomètre à travers lequel on jauge le degré de démocratie dans un pays ? Faut-il rappeler également que le respect des droits de l'Homme est un aspect essentiel de la bonne gouvernance, et que ce dernier est désormais le critère fondamental par lequel tous les gouvernements du monde sont jugés ? Comment se voiler la face sur la situation particulièrement dramatique des médias et des journalistes pendant la législature passée, et ne pas rappeler qu'au cours de cinq dernières années, au moins huit journalistes ont été assassinés ; que des centaines d'autres ont

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1 C'est le président de la classe d'âge
2 Le concept désigne le hérault
3 Il lève les séances
4 Journalistes En Danger

été arrêtés et jetés derrière les barreaux, et que plusieurs autres subissent chaque jour des menaces et des agressions physiques à cause de leur travail ?

En général, les élections en Afrique sont émaillées d'incidents graves (des blessés, des morts, des destructions d'édifices publics). Les parties prenantes à l'élection présidentielle, devenues ennemis plutôt qu'adversaires se disputent âprement le pouvoir. La politique perçue comme l'art de gouverner s'est muée en champ de bataille. Les structures chargées de l'organisation des élections sont partiales, accusées de bourrages d'urnes et de truquage de résultats. Toutes choses qui concourent à la destruction de la cohésion sociale.

P. Ardan (2007) abonde dans le même sens. Selon l'auteur, les contestations électorales confirment le déficit démocratique dans lesdits pays. Inséparable de la démocratie, l'élection est devenue un rite démocratique. Les conséquences du déficit démocratique sont partagées par plusieurs pays d'Afrique de l'ouest. Tel est le cas de la Côte d'Ivoire. En effet, la crise sociopolitique du 19 septembre 2002 au 11 Avril 2011, liée à la quête effrénée du pouvoir a fait plus de 3000 morts, sans compter les destructions de biens publics et privés, les violences sexuelles sur les femmes et les filles. La nourriture, l'eau, le gaz, les décès liés à la pénurie en médicaments, les maladies comme la typhoïde, le choléra faisaient partie des désastres occasionnés par le déficit démocratique. Les malades de pathologies métaboliques (hypertension artérielle, obésité, accidents vasculaires et cardiaques, diabètes) ont payé un lourd tribut, fautes de soins adéquats. En effet, un embargo de l'union européenne a asphyxié le pays. Le système sanitaire s'est retrouvé privé de médicaments indispensables aux soins des malades. Face à cette difficulté, les urgences saturées sont débordées de patients. Nombreuses sont les familles, dont des proches parents ont succombé des suites de leur maladie. Cet enquêté confirme :

> «Pendant la crise qui a secoué notre pays, après l'élection présidentielle de 2010, nous avons vu beaucoup de choses décevantes. Les occidentaux ont occasionné la mort de plusieurs malades de diabète, hypertension, accident cardiaque pour rien. Comment on peut être insensé, au point d'être insensible à la souffrance de personnes innocentes ? Un embargo sur les médicaments, c'est du jamais vu. Des malades sont décédés par la faute de politiciens mal éclairés» (G.K, ivoirien, 53 ans, Employé).

Face à cette situation d'inconfort, une relecture de la gestion démocratique des cités en Afrique s'impose. Parce que la responsabilité internationale est engagée, parce que la mal gouvernance a des effets collatéraux (violences sexuelles, privations de liberté, népotisme, récurrence des maladies), une déconstruction de la gestion des Etats est à envisager.

Pour y arriver, l'occident doit cesser d'influencer les choix des dirigeants en Afrique. En vue de défendre leurs pré-carrés, depuis le partage de l'Afrique, à la conférence de Berlin (26 février 1885), et pour protéger les intérêts de leurs multinationales, les occidentaux ont toujours imposé directement ou indirectement des dirigeants à leur solde. Ceux qui échappent aux mailles des filets sont renversés, au travers de guerre, qu'ils alimentent, au mépris de la dignité humaine. Ainsi, les ventes d'armes de guerres, les soutiens extérieurs aux rebellions, les coups d'Etat, sont autant de pratique, qui détruisent la cohésion sociale, et exposent les pays aux pillages des ressources des pays par ceux, qui dans l'ombre tirent les ficelles ; au chaos et à la désolation (tueries, famine, pauvreté, maladies). Les cas de la Libye, de la Côte d'Ivoire, du Libéria, de la Sierra Leone, du Biafra (Nigéria) sont éloquents. En soutenant implicitement les régimes dictatoriaux, anti démocratiques pour préserver leurs intérêts (acquis économiques), les occidentaux mettent à mal la démocratie, qu'ils ont délibérément imposée aux sociétés, autres que les leurs. De ce fait, ils sont comptables du déficit démocratique en Afrique ; d'où la nécessité d'une déconstruction de la gestion de nos Etats. Cette disposition passe obligatoirement par la relecture des rapports entre pays colonisateurs et pays colonisés.

Conclusion

L'Afrique est-elle mûre pour la démocratie ? Au travers des données du terrain, deux types de réponses sont à distinguer. La première, celle issue d'une minorité d'enquêtés soutient, que l'existence d'avancées ou de progrès démocratiques en Afrique. Tels sont les cas du Burkina Faso, où l'élection de 2015 s'est déroulée dans la transparence. Il est également question de l'Algérie. Sous la pression de la rue, le Président Aziz Bouteflika a renoncé de briquer un cinquième mandat sans bain de sang. Au Ghana, les élections se sont également déroulées sans heurts, ce qui indique la maturité politique de ces pays. L' *εb-eb* chez les odjukru montre, que la démocratie n'est pas en exil en Afrique. Si ce tableau est somptueux, la situation n'est pas aussi reluisante dans plusieurs nations.

En effet, des dirigeants tripatouillent les constitutions à souhait, pour se maintenir ou se perpétuer au pouvoir. Les manifestations relatives aux privations de liberté, aux mauvaises conditions de vie et de travail font partie du vécu quotidien des populations. Des répressions, le plus souvent sanglantes, des coups de force sont enregistrés (République Démocratique du Congo, Togo, Benin, Soudan, Côte d'Ivoire…). Á cela s'ajoutent des élections contestées dues aux mauvaises conditions d'organisation (bourrages d'urnes, truquages de résultats), les ingérences extérieures (occidentales) dans les affaires intérieures des pays africains, occasionnant ainsi la mal gouvernance, et une gestion autocratique des cités. Cette

situation d'inconfort montre l'inadaptation de la démocratie, calquée sur le modèle occidental. Sa déconstruction s'impose.

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The Reviving of the Oriental Woman's Images of Literary Narratives in Visuals: Normalizing Exoticism and Eroticism

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Abstract

Following literary narratives, many western visual representations introduce the oriental female, particularly the Moroccan woman, through a vessel of a voyeuristic gaze, mostly projected as a harem girl, a servant, or a sexual deviant. She has been imbued with erotic and exotic nuances through social and political crises in a sexual language and rhetoric. Many scholars, such as Doris Gray, Fatima Mernissi, Alison Blunt, have advanced critics about the female images in many narratives. In Western cinema, likewise, portraits about the female draw an orientalist design of a discursive discourse, introducing extreme exoticness of both pleasures and destruction. As a Muslim female, she is being allegedly imprisoned physically and mentally as subject of male oppression within ideological interests that are hidden under the disguise of liberation and the right of women. In an attempt to define various portraits of the oriental woman's cultural identity, this paper discusses the circulation of such cinematic images, explaining why they exist, offering some solutions, as well as offering an analysis as to their possible impact on the viewers. Given damaging misperceptions that exist as a result of their circulation and consumption, this paper fills a much needed-research gap by asking the following research questions. How does cinema reinvent the literary tradition to depict the female character in the orientalist discourse? How does the circulation of these images reproduce issues of femininity and otherness? This paper embarks on these issues by positing on cultural studies approach, relying mainly on qualitative content analysis to rethink alternative possibilities of other perceptions.

Keywords: Exoticism, female, narratives, orientalist, representation.

1. Projecting Gendered Orient through Eroticism

In Western Orientalist discourse, the representation of the Oriental female has been central to the European and American thinking about the Orient. As her literary and cinematic portraits have often been imbued with

erotic and exotic shades, she has been used as a reflection of Western constructs of various Oriental elements. The space, the Other, sometimes, the male are elements that have long been feminized and projected as "female" through social and political crises in an orientalist discourse that yields into issues of sexuality and otherness. As the projection of the Other and the Orient as female has long been institutionalized in the mainstream Western culture, the Oriental female has often been found in the Western imagination through various arts. Susan Rubin Suleiman argues that Oriental female images have prevailed poetry and story, mythology and religious doctrine, visual arts, and scientific treatises: "It has inspired both attraction and fear, been perceived as beautiful and unclean, alluring and dangerous, a source of pleasure and nurturing but also a source of evil and destruction."[5] The Oriental female has been used to project issues of powerlessness, objecthood, objectification, etc. She has been depicted through a shifting set of identifications that are central to the Orientalist discourse that sets a store to deal with ethnic, Orientalist and gender allegiances.[6] By the same gesture, the Western projection of the Oriental Muslim woman has altogether been put within the same layout. Such a reductionist representation of Arab and Muslim womanhood is meant to serve Euro-American ideological interests that are hidden under the disguise of liberation and the right of women.

1.1. Normalizing the Erotic female

The Western cinematic portrayal of the Orient has incorporated various negative images of the Oriental woman as both inferior and a sexualized object. These images were part and parcel of the colonial and missionary enterprise. Her depiction as such did not exist in a vacuum; rather, it had various layers of significance depending on the contexts wherein they were used. By context, I mean the socio-political and cultural milieu in which these images were re-produced. The relationships of power and authority had a general impact on the choice of the image. Oriental women have been represented in European literature as well as in American popular culture primarily as belly-dancers, harems and oppressed veiled women. These images de-contextualize the Oriental woman from her factual and actual historical and cultural settings and reflect the "masculine" Orientalist, imperialist as well as racial fantasies of the Western discourse. Such representations are called "cultural mythologies"[7] because of the assumption

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5 Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives,* Overview http://search.barnesandnoble.com/Female-Body-in-Western-Culture/Susan-Rubin-Suleiman/e/9780674298712 accessed on May 10, 2018.
6 Doris H. Gray, *Muslim Women on the Move: Moroccan Women and French Women of Moroccan Origin Speak Out* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008), p. 144.
7 Jocelyn Chng, "Imagining Arab Womanhood: The Cultural Mythology of Veils, Harems,

that they are no more than artifacts which are shaped to suit the interests of the Euro-American context wherein they circulate.[8] In this vein, paintings, photography, travel narratives and captivity accounts have altogether had a great deal of influence on the filming apparatus while reporting issues about oriental female.

The Moroccan sociologist, Fatima Mernissi, has dealt with the discourse of rethinking the role of women in Islamic society. Mernissi has been concerned with the Muslim woman but within a base of comparison with the Western female, especially when it comes to the issue of inferiority: "In Islam there is no such belief in female inferiority. On the contrary, the whole system is based on the assumption that women are powerful and dangerous things. All institutions (polygamy, repudiation, sexual segregation, etc.) can be perceived as a strategy for containing their power."[9] Mernissi credits the discourse about religion as a major factor in the initial development of Islam.[10] In *Muslim Women on the Move*, Doris H. Gray argues that Mernissi explores the earliest phases of the religion as a period during which the new faith was perceived as a "religion of reasoning."[11] She, Gray asserts, demands that this quality of reasoning should form the basis of modern understandings of the faith particularly with regard to the role of women.[12] Mernissi's voice is not, in fact, a post-colonial voice that strikes back at the Orientalist mappings of the Oriental woman; rather, she explores the theme of woman in Islam. In this vein, Gray asserts that Mernissi seems just to trace the origins of assigning women an inferior role to some misogynist sayings in the *hadith* and Qur'an.[13] The deconstruction of the Orientalist presence of the Oriental female in the Western discourse goes beyond Mernissi's exploring of the themes of the Muslim female in Islam.

In the Orientalist framework, the female is pictured as a subject of desire and is often submissive to men. The Moroccan female, in particular, is portrayed within the same frame as somebody who serves to sexually please the male. As she is seen muted in a harem labyrinth, she is reported to possess enough appeal to fit the male lustful desire. Scenes of sex and pleasure are centered on the prominence of her appealing body, turned out into a vessel of fantasy and pleasure.

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and Belly Dancers in the US," *Theatre Journal* 63. 3 (October 2011), pp. 472-473.
8 Ibid**.**
9 Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 19.
10 Doris H. Gray, *Muslim Women on the Move*, p. 39.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.

In the Orientalist tradition, the Oriental female symbolizes the poorly cultivated Eastern land that urges the conquering of the Western savior. As the European civilizing mission falls fit to the Oriental terra firma, a sympathetic mission is needed to civilize and liberate the Oriental female from the primitive labyrinth of the East. If, according to Doreen Massey, the barren Oriental space is a Western "social construct" that turns fertile by means of Western cultivation, the Oriental female, perceived as an erotic vessel, is an akin construct that crops up to suit the Western gaze, and his sexual lust. By the same gesture, she has often been portrayed as a captive of Islamic restrictions, since Islam, to the West, is framed as an institution or, rather, a system that serves to tame its subjects- Muslims. Hence, the female, here, falls a submissive subject whose power is disabled due to the massive upsurge of "Islamic illogic". Thus, the Oriental female appears captive and needs the Western liberation. The Westerner, consequently, is deemed to fight the religion to free her from a complex system. Picturing the female as wild barren, sometimes, a captive of religious restrictions, is a strong excuse for Western power to interfere. Thus, her negative situation strongly legitimizes an immediate intrusion of colonial power in the whole East.

1.2. Framing the Female Other

The representation of women in Western narratives has been the corner stone of the Orientalist depiction of the female Other. John Mc Leod argues that "women are subject to [peculiar] representation in colonial discourse."[14] This Orientalist act tends to frame her being as the signifier of incomplete colonialist realities.[15] The female has been depicted as an object which fails to depict her through true images. Leela Gandhi asserts that the colonial discourse silences the female and does not guarantee her a voice.[16] Her depiction in such discourse involves her society. For example, the negative depiction of the Algerian woman, Frantz Fanon argues, is a result of the colonial project which misinterprets her society. He contends that the French believed that "if we want to destroy the structure of Algerian society, its capacity for resistance, we must first of all conquer the women; we must go and find them behind the veil where they hide themselves and in the houses where the men keep them out of sight."[17] Representing the female is a way to frame the identity of the society under colonial rule.

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14 John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 175.
15 Ibid.
16 Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1998), p. 89.
17 Frantz Fanon quoted in Ibid., p. 94.

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Western cinematic representation of the female, thus, introduces a passive body, sometimes, designed for sexual pleasure. Teresa De Lauretis argues that women's presence in narratives entices the construction of sexuality.[18] Moreover, her body is seen at the centre of events through various physical descriptions. De Lauretis asserts that the woman in general is seen as an object whose value is founded in nature as bearers of children, and as food gatherers.[19] As a mother, Alex Hughes assets, the female is seen as archaic because of her belonging to a mythical society characterized by Pygmalion, masculinity, and androgyny.[20] As a "passive recipient,"[21] she is depicted as a "conspicuous commodity" that is caught in a timeless self-indulgence.[22] These imageries are found in many narratives and quickly extend to motion picture.

Today, the female is found in film as in literature. Her cinematic portraits have been an Orientalist act that introduces negative parameters about women. De Lauretis, in this regard, asserts that the female in cinematic discourse is meant to be absent.[23] She is hardly visible. In some Hollywood films, she is almost encased in amber,[24] silenced and muted, which, by an Orientalist act, allows another one to speak on her behalf.

The Oriental woman is seen within fragmented pictures. She is seen inferior either because she is set to be compared to Western women or because she is seen in a lower status. In a comparison with the Western female in Western narratives, the Oriental female appears inferior as it is the case in David Salvin's story of Fatma. The latter is seen in distortion just as much attention is given to her Western counterpart, Marry.[25] Fatma, here, fits the Orientalist vision in visual settings that transform the Oriental woman into a "bad cop" in comparison to heroic pictures of the white woman.[26] By the same gesture, the Western visual subjugates the Oriental female to lower positions. The western film, Yahya Kamalipour maintains, tends to focus on her passivity and hardly showing her as an active individual.[27] Her appearance in

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18 Teresa De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984), p. 14.
19 Ibid., p. 19
20 Alex Hughes, and Williams James eds., *Gender and French Cinema* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 157.
21 Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997),p. 87.
22 Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient* (London: Pandora, 1994), p. 19.
23 Teresa De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't*, p.14
24 David H. Slavin, *Colonial Cinema and Imperial France, 1919/1939: White Blind Spots, Male Fantasies, Settlers Myths (*Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 21.
25 Ibid., p. 93.
26 Alison Blunt, and Gillian Rose, eds., *Writing Women Gender: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994),p. 39.
27 Yahya R. Kamalipour, *The US Media and Middle East* (London: Praeger, 1997), p. 57.

the film appears innocuous and, thus, shows destructions of her social image. In this regard, as Molly Haskell explains, the image of the Oriental female in Western movies is a reflection of an absence, with fragmented schizophrenic, but oddly hopeful presence.[28]

Many films continue to introduce the Oriental female as a most stereotypical character. In spite of her big achievements outside the film, the female is hardly seen as such in woman's scenes. Haskell argues that the female's presence in film introduces a tension of stereotypes[29] just as an Orientalist film is a rich field for the miming of female stereotypes.[30] Depicted within negative constructs, the Oriental female's role is put at stake; she is only highlighted within secondary roles in her society.

In *My Life Story,* Ed Ksara argues that the woman in Morocco remains a second class citizen in a patriarchal society and a victim of physical abuse.[31] She seems very silent and helpless object acting passively and prone to be very submissive. By the same token, in Hollywood, Ali Bouanani argues, the Moroccan females "are even more helpless."[32] And by picturing her hopeless within a context of relegated images, the female, drawing the example of the Moroccan woman, is hardly recognized in her society. As Edith Wharton writes: "Women in Morocco have no other use or occupation than to wait to be seen one day by a fat vizier or his pale young master [and] are acquired for a handsome sum and transferred to the painted sepulchure of the harem."[33] The female in Morocco is also pictured as a sign of shame to society. In her survey about the Moroccan female, Donna Debowen argues that, in Morocco, having a daughter "may be less desirable because the female offspring are considered a threat to the family honor. Debowen's idea about the Moroccan female confirms the Orientalist design in depicting her as passive, hopeless, and a slave in a harem. By the same token, she is always associated with the house role and her role is reduced to bearing and raising children.[34] The depiction of the Moroccan female in both literature and visuals, thus, serves the Orientalist projection of the gender issue in Muslim lands. She is seen timeless, passive, and relegated to inferior positions; and her silence is often understood as being ready to be submissive to man's desire.

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28 Molly Haskell, *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 30.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ed Ksara, "My Life Story," *The Ethnic Life Stories 2002*. p. 18.
32 Ali Bouanani, "The Kasbah in the American Imaginary: A Study of the Representation of Morocco in American Travel Narratives, Fiction and Film," PhD Diss. The University of Toledo (1996), p. 34.
33 Edith Wharton quoted in Ibid., 99.
34 Donna Bowen and Evelyn A. Early, eds., *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002.), p. 93.

2. Introducing New Sexualities

In the discussion of sexuality and the Oriental female in Western culture, the female body is used to draw various erotic portraits. The locus of importance for the voyeur is significantly set when she is nude. By picturing her nude, Susan Rubin argues, the Orientalist is meant to introduce her within a sense of "objecthood."[35] If this might appear as an emblem of resistance, Rubin Suleiman asserts, the Oriental body is both a sign of a fetishised erotic beauty and a deceptive element for what it visually features: The body is either fetishised as an object of beauty or de-emphasized as totally non-revelatory, even deceptive -- this logic of "appearances can be deceiving."[36] By picturing her as such, the voyeur is meant to objectify her body by the act of the gaze. In this regard, Suleiman asserts that the Oriental female body exhausts its signification entirely in its status as an object of male vision.[37] Through the icon of the object, the Oriental female body becomes a spectacle in visuals. When it is projected within mainstream classical cinema as spectacle, as the object of an erotic gaze, "signification is spread out over a surface-- a surface which refers only to itself and does not simultaneously conceal and reveal an interior."[38] Such a fetishization of the surface, Rubin argues, is the very limit of the logic of this spectacular system, a limit which is rarely attained since it implies that there is no attribution of an interiority whatsoever and hence no "characterization."[39]

In western cinema, the Oriental woman appears erotic. Her body is seen and used as a source of pleasure. In this regard, Mc Leod argues that the "exoticized Oriental female, often depicted nude or partially-clothed in hundreds of Western works of art during the colonial period, was presented as an immodest, active creature of sexual pleasure who held the key to myriad of mysterious erotic delights."[40] Her presence in Western narratives, Laura Mulvey contends, has often been a key factor to draw voyeurism and erotic pleasures. "Women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for looked-at-ness".[41] The female's presence tends to respond to the male look and sexual gaze, by means of freezing the flow of

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35 Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives* (Tel Aviv University: Israel Science, 1986), p. 223.
36 Ibid., p., 157.
37 Ibid., p.154.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, p. 45.
41 Laura Mulvey quoted in Gill Branston, *Cinema and Cultural Modernity* (Buckingham: Open UP, 2000), p. 139.

action in moments of contemplation.[42] In both literature and film, the female is looked at and described as a subject of eroticism by being set as an icon to entice the male lustfulness.

The picturing of Oriental women in films implies a discussion about the issue of sexuality. The latter has been used to indicate her sexual interactions especially with men. Sexuality, thus, implies the Western male's lustfulness and, at the same time, the Oriental female subjugation as being eroticized. "Exoticizing and eroticizing the third world allowed for the imperial imaginary to play out its own fantasies of sexual domination."[43] Maria Giovanna, in *Celebrations of the Body,* asserts that the sexual division corresponds to different conceptions of the moral values of the woman.[44] The various conceptions of sexuality about the Oriental female tend to enslave her within the man's lustful labyrinth, which Gaylyn Studlar describes as an ironic act.[45] The male sexual desire serves to depict her with sexual mythical traits. She is turned into an imperial imaginary sexual icon.[46] Thus, sexuality in such texts tends to occupy enough space in the discussion of mythical issues of the female in the East in the sense that the act of sex extends over geographies. Paul Baepler argues that "[t]his safe sexual fantasy, which crosses racial borders without explicit sex is nested within a larger imperialist fantasy."[47] Many Orientalists have talked about this sexual freedom in the Orient in a very striking manner. Among these, and perhaps the best known, "was the novelist Gustave Flaubert, who visited Egypt and Palestine with the photographer Maxime du Camp in 1848- 1849 seeking an escape from his own disturbed sexual and emotional life."[48] The relationship between Flaubert and Kuchuk Hanem is one of the best examples to mention here; she represents the "physical embodiment of oriental womanhood." He wrote to his mistress Louise Colet advising her not to be jealous of his sexual adventures: "As for Kuchuk Hanem, ah! Set your mind at rest, and at the same time correct your views about the Orient. Be convinced that she felt nothing at all: emotionally, I guarantee; and even physically, I strongly suspect … The oriental woman is no more than a machine: she makes no distinction between one man and another

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42 Ibid.

43 Ella Shohat, "Gender in Hollywood's Orient," *Middle East Research and Information Project*, 142, (Jan.-Feb. 1990), p. 47

44 Maria Messina Giovanna, *Celebrations of the Body: Female Spirituality and Corporality in Muslim Morocco.* PhD. Diss. (New York: State University of Stony Brook, 1991), p. 102.

45 Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar, *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film (*New York: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 41.

46 Ibid., p. 47.

47 Paul Baepler, ed., *White Slaves. African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 51.

48 Sarah Graham Brown, *Images of Women,* Brown*: The portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. p. 9

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man."[49] Here, we can see how sexual and passive the "Hanemian" model is, so is the Oriental woman as represented mostly by the Orientalist machine. Perceived as a disposable capricious body, while surviving deadly monotony, the Oriental woman is meant to indulge in oblivious pastimes by depriving her of human emotions and feelings. Given almost no role in her society, she undergoes the male's routine of abusing, and exploiting her body without letting her sense live out a natural womanhood by means of totally objectifying her being.

The preoccupation with the Oriental woman as a sexual site is also echoed in the Orientalist painting. The fantasies of the Oriental woman as the embodiment of sexual license, Graham Brown argues, reach their visual heights in the work of the French Orientalist painters.[50] Scenes of sexuality and nudity have been frequently repeated again and again. "The Odalisque, symbol of sexuality, the exotic and sensual scenes of the harem and the naked beauties in the hamam … appear in paintings hung in galleries and museums for all to see -- sexual danger and excitement at a safe distance."[51] Hence, the different painted icons of the female tend to focus on sexuality by introducing her to the consumption of the male gaze through erotic scenes.

The reeling of the female in sexual scenes has incorporated significant points to introduce the erotic encounters between the Western male and Oriental female. The female tends to entrap the male through displaying sexual traits, while the male tends to victimize her through erotic behaviors. "Nor was their sexuality thought of as cunning and destructive, in manner of certain forties' heroines; rather, it was unabashedly front and centre, and if man allowed himself to be victimized by a woman's sex, it was probably through some long-standing misapprehension, of his own nature."[52] By picturing the Oriental female in sexual portraits, the filmmaker tends to fantasize her through the creation of mythical conceptions about her and thus negating and depriving her of her existence as a social active member. "Although she is a creature of myth -- and not, in any sociological sense, a 'real woman'-- she is also demystifying."[53] "Sexploitation" of the oriental female shows the degree of humiliation from which the portrait of the female is designed. Various film genres, including woman films, introduce the Oriental female's involvement in sexuality through the development of sexual iconography. The normalizing of female sexual scenes in Western films, Molly Haskell argues, tends to introduce an accepted type of behavior which

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49 Ibid., p. 9.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid., p. 10.
52 Molly Haskell, *From Reverence to Rape,* p. 33.
53 Ibid.

the spectator continues to receive as an ambiguous act of sexual freedom.[54] The spectator, thus, would encounter more sexual scenes as the locus of desire and attention. The Oriental woman, hereby, is set at the focal point of attention. She is seen "at the centre of the universe,"[55] in which her body forms the viewer's entire sexual aspiration. But, this universe is a fallen one; it is the desert, the hell, and the barren which is not an ideal universe.

In the projection of Oriental female sexuality, the woman's body is a major element in the process of eroticization. The body of the female is the centre around which the capture, look or gaze is constituted, which is differently approached from one genre to another. If women, in Islamic culture, seem to possess the spirit and the soul that guarantee their recognition and respect, their picturing in Western visuals does not imply any of these Islamic loads. Thus, the framing of the female body in visuals does not imply enough significance of the Islamic culture. The filming of her body involves a voyeuristic gaze that implies sexual implications. In his analysis of the Algerian woman in the French postcards, Malek Alloula explains how the photographer's gaze transcends the female bodies through voyeuristic acts: "These bodies may be out of reach, but their very remoteness reveals the voyeurism of the camera operator. This supplemental connotation allows us to consider the colonial postcard, in its 'eroticized' form, as the mise-en-scene by the photographer of his own voyeurism."[56] The filming of the female body is, in many cases, meant to introduce sexual pleasures to the male gaze. Her body often appears at the centre of voyeurism. Likewise, Teresa De Lauretis argues that it has often been objected that "feminizing" the body does not alter the polarity by which the body is desired, can be seen, only as female.[57] She asserts that the objection comes from the terms in which phallic desire is constructed, its requirements of disavowal, hence, for cinema, voyeurism and fetishism.[58] The woman's body appears as a fetish that shapes the viewer's sexual gaze. The Oriental female body, as the Oriental land which undergoes massive and harsh Western exploitation and abuse under the umbrella of cultivating and civilizing it, falls easy flat and prone to "castration" and "look-at-ness" of males.

The filming of the female body involves a full description of her seducing body parts. In the Orientalist description, the Oriental female offers sexual poses which provoke the Western male's desire: By picturing the female body, Alloula argues, various poses identify the female sexual appeal.

54 Alex Hughes, and James Williams, eds., *Gender and French Cinema*, p. 232.
55 Molly Haskell, *From Reverence to Rape,* p. 33
56 Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*. Trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 25.
57 Teresa De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't,* p. 82.
58 Ibid.

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"All the 'erotic' repertory … can be summed up as follows: a hasty pose, embellished with breasts that are raised by uplifted arms."[59] The exploitation of the Oriental female body through pictures has led to her eroticization in the public imagination. Her body is presented as a sexual commodity. It involves social and cultural implications. Through the emphasis on her body, she seems to occupy a central position in visuals.

Maria Giovanna, in her analysis of the Moroccan female body, notes that an integral aspect of the cultural complex relation to women's sexuality is the way the body is used as a non-verbal means of expressing social and cultural values.[60] She argues that the body in Moroccan culture is used to communicate the particularities of the country's social values. "Additional central concepts such as 'female' and 'male'", she contends, "are viewed as symbolic categories, as manipulable as 'private' and 'public' to be used in particular context."[61] The exposure of the female body in many films is meant to please the male gaze and create certain erotic perspective for the viewer. Talking about the Moroccan Islamic culture, Giovanna, who seems to embody an Orientalist tincture about religion in Morocco, asserts that the body implies a complete distortion of the Country's principles and a mere failure to show respect.[62] She argues that in Moroccan culture privacy, genitalia, nudity and sexual intercourse are used to imply the concept "awrah" (taboo);[63] a term defined by Lisān al-Arab, talking about woman's awrah, as covering all her body except the face and hands to the elbows, (which is a duty), and turns shameful if she appears uncovered.64 It is, Wikipedia defines, an Islamic term which refers to many parts of man and woman's body that shouldn't be uncovered.[65] Therefore, the woman's awrah in the Orientalist depiction does not fit this framework as it allows more parts of her body to appear.

In the process of picturing the Oriental female, the Orientalist filmmaker seems to frame a particular identity for her through the camera lenses. The positioning of the female involves much politics and ideologies which reshape particular portraits of the female with the idea to form a peculiar repetitive image about the Oriental woman. "The woman," De Lauretis argues, "is framed by the look of the camera as the icon, or the object of the gaze: an image made to be looked at by the spectator, whose look is relied on the look of the male character(s)"[66] The films featuring the female

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59 Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, p. 98.
60 Maria Messina Giovanna, *Celebrations of the Body*, p. 6.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid., p. 12.
63 Ibid.
64 "Definition of Awrah," http://shiaonlinelibrary.com, accessed on Jan., 6, 2014.
65 "Definition of Awrah," http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki, accessed on Jan., 6, 2014.
66 Teresa De Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't,* p. 139.

tend to reach a large audience with the idea to create mythical portraits of her being as an object of mere sexual Oriental satisfaction. Along with this, Alloula asserts, women have been photographed on such a large scale to be delivered to the public view to create a mythical visual documentation about the issue of sexuality in the Orient.[67] The picturing of the female tends to show an act of objectification which turns the female into an object of pleasure with no reference to her social and cultural presence. In films, the male centeredness produces pleasurable differences in the process of female looked-at-ness,[68] wherein multifarious Orientalist pictures about the Oriental female has been demystified in society.

Various films demystify the portraits of the Oriental Moroccan female through the depiction of her encounters with Westerners, just as she appears submissive and hardly looks an active person who is mostly used to serve the Westerners' "savage" sexual satisfaction. She barely appears a part of the love relationship; rather, she is a part of the Westerner's journey to a sexual adventure. Once again, the Flaubertian model of Kuchuk Hanem gets repeated over through many visuals. Many kuchuk "Hanems" are found there waiting to please the Westerner. Jack Shaheen's analysis of the Oriental female screen images shows such an explicit demystification: "When those dark-complexioned femmes fatales move to woo the American/ British hero, [they] are often rebuffed and disappointed."[69] In *Outpost in Morocco*, for example, the Moroccan female is pictured in an embarrassing situation of love with the Western hero. The film featuring her encounters with the Westerners often implies her readiness to sexually welcome the Westerner, where her major role has been to please Westerners, especially foreign legionnaires.

The Moroccan female in Hollywood, for example, is seen as a whore or a belly dancer who is meant to be looked at offering, thus, special erotic entertainment to Western audiences. In *the Desert Song,* where, "Nasty Moroccans" contest Westerners in colonial Morocco, three Western protagonists fall in love with harem maidens who are caught dancing.[70] In *Morocco,* a handful of Moroccan women are seen surrounding Legionnaire Tom in the Western camp. They are seen hugging and kissing him by the same way, in the smoky cabaret, a provocatively dressed Moroccan girl appears seducing and charming Tom. He accesses sexuality through many females even in his journey to the front line. By the same token, *The Sheltering Sky* depicts Port's sexual journey in Morocco through his lust behind Moroccan

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67 Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, p. 5.
68 Gill Branston, *Cinema and Cultural Modernity,* pp. 168-169.
69 Jack Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*. New York: Olive Branch Press, 2001. p. 23.
70 Ibid., p. 167.

women. As he arrives in Tangier, Port is seen with a Moroccan boy in search of sexual adventures.

It is important to note that the depiction of the Moroccan female in films reflects the so-called sexual prominence which Western narratives often represent as the presence of the prostitute. This significance shows close-ups of the body with provocative off-shoulder wearing or as naked (sometimes half-naked), which is meant to stir the viewer's gaze. She is depicted in social spatiality where she is objectified and commodified by the prevailing Western male lustfulness. The erotic images of her body, here, show a history of prostitution in the Moroccan colonial social space.

Captured as posing to the Westerner's gaze and desire, the Moroccan female is portrayed as passive, timeless, and submissive. And, by objectifying her as such, she is regarded as a laminate for the male to quench his sexual desire, which significantly allows her body to circulate in films and, thus, is normalized as a sexual perversion. As the abundance of such erotic pictures cover up most erotic scenes in films, new terms of gender, sexuality, and harem crop up to the forefront of the Orientalist design.

2.1. Re-inventing the Oriental Harem

Among the many other traits that are glued to the Oriental woman is the image of the "harem." Although it is, etymologically, no more than a French invention, the term has become one of the most prevailing concepts in the description of the Oriental woman in films. In the *Free Dictionary*, the term refers to the "sphere of women in what are usually a polygamous household and their enclosed quarters which are forbidden to men."[71] In the Orientalist discourse, "harem" refers to submissive females who seem to encounter the Western sexual acts. Reina Lewis argues that "harem" refers to the discussion of the Westerner's intrigue along the Oriental space/female in the Orientalist discourse: "The harem is a space with an overburdened signification in several clashing discourses, often in implicit or explicit contestation with each other. Like other spaces, harem spaces can be experienced as differently socialising by the various bodies that encounter them -- or that are positioned by them."[72] As gender has been an essential part of the Orientalist discourse, the Orientalist design is invested with ideas of sensuality submissiveness of females which connote the harem.[73] The female harem in the Orientalist realm implies the encounters of sexuality with

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71 "Definition of Harem," http://www.thefreedictionary.com/harem, accessed on Sep., 19, 2012.
72 Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), p. 179.
73 Lina Khatib. *Filming the Modern Middle East: Politics in the Cinema of Hollywood and the Arab World* (New York: I. B. Tauris. W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), p.63.

Western travelers. It also refers to the voyeuristic fantasy of the Westerner within the Oriental harem. In Orientalism, Lisa Lowe argues, the female harem, forbidden to male spectators and travelers, is invented as the site of limitless possibilities for sexual practices among women.[74] She asserts that the harem is not merely an Orientalist voyeur's fantasy of imagined female sexuality.[75] It is the possibility of an erotic universe in which there are no men, except the voyeur, a site of social and sexual practices that are organized around the phallus or a central male authority.[76] The Oriental harem occupies enough space in the colonial discourse, particularly in films, as a phenomenon through which the female appears erotic.[77] The harem issue has often been a major point of departure to speak about the Oriental female in western films where various definitions have been set to define this issue in significant moving pictures.

The harem holds various Orientalist traits through which the real converges with fantasy. The construction of the harem, in Orientalist accounts, holds more cultural structures and sensual layers. The harem, after all, Brian Edwards asserts, "is not an architectural construction. Rather, harems are cultural structures marked by invisible and internalized boundaries."[78] The Orientalist connotation of harem has often implied the attachment with the Muslim society. In analyzing the Moroccan harem, Edwards argues that this is seen in cultural and religious differences. "The harem of Orientalist fantasy is quite different from the Moroccan harem of the twentieth century practice."[79] The Orientalist fantasy of the sensual harem, Edwards argues, is a throwback to the harems of the Muslim imperial dynasties.[80]

The portrayal of "harems" in western cinematic production is politicized by naturalizing erotic portraits of Oriental females. In so doing, popular images of slave girls and "harems" circulate at large.[81] "Harem," thus, implies exoticism and mystic fantasy. For Malek Alloula, the female harem is associated with mythical imagination about the Oriental space. "The harem has become a brothel: it is the last avatar but also the *historical truth* of an Orientalism the presuppositions of which are no longer masked by the postcard."[82] The imagining of the harem in the Orientalist discourse has often

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74 Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalism* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994), p. 48.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
77 Gaylyn Studlar, and Matthew Bernstein, eds., *Visions of the East*, p. 50.
78 Edwards, Brian T. "Yankee Pashas and Buried Women: Containing Abundance in 1950's Hollywood Orientalism." *Film & History,* 31: 2 (2001), p. 19.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, p. xv.
82 Ibid., p., 122.

been a way to imagine erotic stories about the oriental female together with her society.

In many Hollywood films, picturing the harem is meant to introduce numerous women constituting groups through which stories are created out of imagination and fantasy. David Salvin argues that "fantasy was more pronounced in the film, where the harem is a seraglio of a dozen women, than in the play, where the Emir quotes Qur'anic proscription on the number of wives and admonishments to equal treatment."[83] The role of a harem woman in the film presents scenes of sexual abundance. Although these films understood the Orient as a timeless and placeless setting within which to fantasize about abundance, Edwards contends, "the fact that familiar American actresses played the roles of harem women made it impossible to ignore the perceived 'problems' of female sexuality at home."[84] The projection of harem in such films instills the question of the incomplete representation of the Oriental female in American popular culture. Hollywood's fascination with the harem raised troubling questions about the female sexuality: "The desire to present images of female sexual abundance was thus countered by the image of the female bondage or containment."[85] In many films, harem refers to both female individuals and groups of females. In both cases, the sexual stream is set as the focal element to speak about her. Sexual scenes which incubate female gathering are often translated as harem in many films. Also, the picturing of her sexual perversion seems to deprive her of her femininity. Her objectification enslaves her in the male's shadow. She is captive, muted, and inactive. She is, according to the Orientalist gesture, enclosed in the male's labyrinth, symbolizing a whole culture marked by historical stasis and stagnation.

2.2. Picturing the Veiled Woman

In Western discourse, the veil has been given many attributes which go beyond the Islamic meanings of *hijab*. In such discourse, the veil is translated as a scarf, or a piece of cloth that connotes anti-Islamic meanings. As a term, it is reduced to a demeaning object and as a complex concept that poses some cultural problems to the West. If hijab, Mernissi argues, introduced a breach in space that can be understood to be a separation of the public from the private, or indeed the profane from the sacred, but which was to turn into a segregation of these exes,[86] the Orientalist discourse demeans it to negative lights. Reducing or assimilating this concept to a scrap of cloth that men have

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83 David Salvin, *Colonial Cinema and Imperial France, 1919/1939*, p. 95.
84 Brian Edwards, "Yankee Pashas and Buried Women," p. 22.
85 Ibid.
86 Fatima Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam* (Cambridge: Perseus Books, 1991), p. 101.

imposed on women to veil them when they go into the street, Mernissi explains, "is truly to impoverish this term, not to say to drain it of its meaning, especially when one knows that the *hijab,* according to the Koranic verse and al-Tabari's explanation, 'descended' from Heaven to separate the space between two men."[87] Yet, in the Orientalist discourse, the veil symbolizes the inferiority of the female. The veil or the head-cover appears to be the greatest symbol of women's oppression and servitude.[88] The veiled woman in the Orientalist discourse is designed as a threat. In Western thinking, Reina Lewis argues, the Oriental female from behind the veil is simultaneously a possible threat and a possible augmentation.[89] Lewis further argues that the veiled female poses as a threat and a pleasurable fantasy which is deeply caught up in an alternatively fantasized knowledge about Oriental women that is intrinsically nostalgic in its emphasis on the unchanging nature of Oriental female life: "With the veiled harem woman figured as key trope, the East appears to the West petrified in a pre-modern 'primitive' time, operating as a location for pleasurable fantasies of sexuality and excess perceived as increasingly unavailable in the spaces of Western modernity."[90]

Within the same stream, the veiled woman could not escape the Orientalized description of the Western discourse. In most instances, neither the pen nor the camera has been able to be fair when dealing with the veil issue. Historically, the veiled Muslim woman has frequently undergone shocking discursive picturing. The Westerner was not able to see who is behind the veil in all its forms which pushed him to create an imagined picture of the veiled women. The bet was and still is to uncover her, and uncovering her means getting her within reach, whereas her veil means resisting the Western colonial and imperialist project. Uncovering the veiled woman meant controlling her, which is, by implication, controlling the land. Ella Shohat explains:

The inaccessibility of the veiled woman, mirroring the mystery of the Orient itself, requires a process of Western unveiling for comprehension. Veiled women in Orientalist paintings, photographs and films expose flesh, ironically, more than they conceal it. It is this process of exposing the female Other, of literally denuding her, which comes to allegorize the Western masculinist power of

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87 Ibid., p. 95.
88 Sherif Abdel Azeem, "Women in Islam Versus Women in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition,"
The Myth and The Reality, http://www.islamicity.com/mosque/w_islam/veil.htm accessed on Jun. 19, 2012.
89 Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*, p. 9.
90 Ibid., p. 253.

possession, that she, as a metaphor for her land, becomes available for Western penetration and knowledge.[91]

Metaphorically enough, the possession of the veiled woman means the possession of the land as a whole.

The case of the Algerian women is worth mentioning here. The colonial authorities' strategy was clear enough towards the issue of the veiled woman. For them, the Oriental woman is the key to destroy the structure of the society by means of controlling her capacity for resistance; they are there behind the veil and within the amber of men, and reaching her is achieved by means of conquering.[92] Telling as it is, this dictum shows that unveiling the woman and getting her outside was a "must". That is why all cultural, political and even economic weapons have been utilized to reach this "mission civilisatrice".

The second layer of meaning of the veil as a barrier is promoted to restrict the Oriental woman herself. The veil is perceived as a curtain between the Oriental woman and civilization/knowledge. Veiling the head, according to the Orientalist discourse, is veiling the brain. Accordingly, the Oriental woman cannot think "properly" and "rationally" unless she throws away her veil. That is why, unveiling her, has been considered a "civilizational duty"; and by unveiling her, the land is symbolically possessed in its totality.

The depiction of the Moroccan female in films often involves the description of the female body together with the veil which communicates enough significance in Orientalist project. The veiled woman in Western descriptions shows the mystery of the female body, space and culture. In this vein, "Hollywood always tries to make the invisible visible, as in the transparent veils that actresses so often wear in harem scenes, veils that exhibit just what it is that they are supposed to conceal."[93] It also intends to show the scenes of the harem which still symbolizes the Oriental exploitation of the Oriental female. "Hollywood's fascination with the Oriental harem finally reveals the limits of its cold war message of American abundance when the villain (the national Other) has been imagined as 'fluid' and 'incontinent.'"[94] In Western culture, where the veil is meant to restrict the freedom of the female, the Muslim Moroccan woman is associated with the veil and its absence turns to be resistance. Along with this, David Salvin explains that freeing the female from the veil symbolizes destroying resistance in the Muslim society.[95] The veil is looked at as depriving the female of her freedom and as restrictive of her moves. Western films picture the female as

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91 Gaylyn Studlar, and Matthew Bernstein, eds., *Visions of the East,* pp. 32-33.
92 Quoted in Sarah Graham Brown, *Images of Women,* p.18.
93 Brian Edwards, "Yankee Pashas and Buried Women," p. 20.
94 Ibid.
95 David Salvin, *Colonial Cinema and Imperial France,* p. 95.

imprisoned and unable to have access to the outside world in the same way the Western viewer fails to access the interior of the woman because of the veil. Alloula argues that if women are inaccessible to sight (that is, veiled) it is because they are imprisoned.[96] He contends that this "dramatized equivalence between the veiling and the imprisonment is necessary for the construction of an imaginary scenario that results in the dissolution of the actual society, the one that causes the frustration, in favour of a phantasm: that of the harem."[97]

The veil in many films is associated with the lack of freedom and is a sign of inferiority. It is meant to restrict the woman and allow her less space of social interactions. The Veil tends to show social and cultural restrictions through which the Oriental woman appears inferior to the Westerner.[98] In the mainstream Western cultural understanding, the veil refers to backwardness in the sense that it shows the backward culture of the people wearing the veil. According to Yahya Kamalipour, "[t]he purpose of the veil is debated within Middle Eastern countries still. Modernization discourages the use of the veil as a sign of 'national backwardness as well as female illiteracy and subjugation'."[99]

The veiled woman lacks various rights. She is exoticized and looks weird and inferior to the female of the West. "The veiled woman can be juxtaposed with this politically prominent woman: the former, as exotic, lacking personal or individual attributes; the latter, as a professional individual, acknowledged for her accomplishments."[100] It tends to show the kind of wearing which Oriental men and women put on in the Eastern hardy space. The man can be referred to concealing himself, and thus shares the veiling traits with the Oriental woman. "Men and women both are masked -- by veils, hooded jellabas and fezzes-walking aimlessly along the alleys, waiting for the prospective Occidental client to buy whatever unimaginable merchandise they are selling, or watching him/her as part of the entertainment the carnival offers";[101] a picture that already existed in the Western conception through the Jedi in *Star Wars,* where the garment covering bodies of Jedi group always tend to refer to power and protection. If, in such mainstream view, Jedi born to keep peace by means of possessing power, the veiled Oriental is "endowed" with such mysticism to fear by means of masquerading a horrific identity. If veiling in Jedi's world symbolizes the light, sword, power, and peace, veiling in the Oriental world resonates anything related to mystery. The veil is much more connoted with the spreading clichés of

96 Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, p. 21.
97 Ibid.
98 Yahya R. Kamalipour, *The US Media and Middle East* (London: Praeger, 1997), p. 58.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid., p. 60.
101 Ali Bouanani, "The Kasbah in the American Imaginary," p. 239.

Western stereotypes about the Oriental female. "The harem, the veil and the Turkish cleaning lady with a headscarf are the clichéd images that the West associates with women and Islam."[102] In the American popular imagination, the veil is a limiting barrier which restricts the freedom of the Oriental female.

The veiled woman in western cinematic production reflects a mystic character who is meant to represent the East and its cultures. The veil implies mythical secrets that are more than what the veil conceals. Ironically, the veil implies ambiguity and complexity of the Oriental culture. In many films, including *Damascus* and *Ishtar*, the Oriental veiled female represents the metaphor of the mystery of the land, "which requires a process of western unveiling for comprehension."[103] The veil is also the signifier the Oriental space that is in need of the Western intervention. As a metaphor for land, the female, here, Ella Shohat argues, becomes available for Western penetration and domination."[104] The picturing of the veil is distorted to suit the Hollywoodian propaganda. For example, in *The Man Who knew too Much,* in an Oriental bus, in Marrakech, when Hank accidently bumps into a veiled Moroccan woman, pulling her veil down, Moroccans get anxious because "a Moslem woman never takes off her veil in public under any circumstances." The French Bernard Louis explains, "The Moslem religion allows for few accidents." Significantly, little Hank represents the Western desire to unveil the Oriental woman. This act is not an innocent cinematic shot; rather, it reads a Western intention to uncover the mystery behind the woman who "really" gazes the viewer, the tourist, and the camera man through her eyes- the exclusive uncovered part of her body.

Throughout various scenes of many films, the veil is set as a sign of restriction and troubles. The veil, here, symbolizes mystery for the outside world. Thus, to the Western conception, the garment put to cover the face is a sign not only for her restriction but also a threat to the surroundings. The veil, or "that garment" is only concealing invisible intentions to hurt the world around. The veiled woman that is set in the film is meant to fit such Orientalist agenda of projecting the female as enslaved within an enclosed circle.

The picturing of the oriental female has been politicized in western films with the idea to project the emotion of fantasy genre. If the American female is reported as victim of a dangerous Oriental hostage, where the scenario is set to introduce Orientals, together with their cultural and social settings, within Orientalist design, the Oriental female is depicted as a subject that has often been objectified. The Moroccan female is found within this portrait. She is silenced and relegated to minor positions and set to offer sex to the Western

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102 Jochen Hipple, and Andrea Lueg, eds., *The Next Threat: Western Perceptions of Islam* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), p. 17.
103 Ella Shohat, "Gender in Hollywood's Orient," p. 40.
104 Ibid.

male. Through various frames, she is normalized to fit different scenes of sexual perversions in a strange land.

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Language Planning or Language Dilemma in Morocco

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Abstract

Studies about language attitudes have become a central part of sociolinguistics. Linguistic varieties are neither objective nor socially neutral linguistic instruments. They are not used in a social vacuum: they are social phenomena par excellence.

This paper is concerned with a qualitative study of attitudes towards the Arabization of scientific subjects in the Moroccan educational system. The study was conducted to show that the implementation of Arabization has been characterised by contradictory reforms. The final reform according to the High Council of Education (2015) would be a return to the use of foreign languages especially French as the medium of scientific instruction at all educational levels.

The issue of language planning is discussed. I consider the relationship between language planning and the field of education, the steps followed in a language planning process and the relationship between language planning and language choice. Then, concepts such as language spread, change, loss and death, besides notions of literacy, standard language and modernisation are elaborated.

To investigate this issue we have interviewed 100 students both at the secondary and university scientific studies option in order to unveil and analyze their attitudes about this partial Arabization policy. The choice of students in our sample emanates from the fact that they are the first to be influenced by the aftermaths of this planning policy. In this research, we hypothesize that Arabization of scientific disciplines is rejected as it was not applied throughout the whole educational system.

Keywords: Attitudes; Language Planning; Arabization.

I.   Language planning
1.1.   Standardisation

While discussing language planning, some key concepts are recurrent such as 'standard language' and 'modernisation'. A 'standard' language is defined as "/.../ a codified form of a language, accepted by and serving as a

model to a larger speech community" Garvin (1973: 25). The author points out that the criteria needed for a standard language cannot be all met in a language situation. These criteria can be either linguistic, such as the structural properties, or non-linguistic such as functions and attitudes.

A standard language has an objective function and three symbolic ones. It should stand as a frame of reference for literary creativity. While in the Moroccan case, the literary activities are not only published in Arabic but also in French. In addition, it symbolises unity, separatism and prestige. It is also an important unifying element within a speech community. It is true that Arabic is playing an important unifying role between different Arab populations. However, this unity is shaken by the growing political and economic tensions to the extent that we are witnessing many Arab-Arab military conflicts. Even within Morocco, Arabic is not playing the unifying role it was supposed to play as the Moroccan elite is advocating foreign languages especially French.

The standard variety is separated from any other language, which may be a related one. The standard language bestows prestige upon the linguistic community that masters it. Yet, mastering only Arabic in the Moroccan context does not guarantee for its speakers prestige as most of Moroccan families, including of course the elite, are encouraging their children to master foreign languages at the expense of the Moroccan national languages. Those functions give birth to attitudes, which are as follows:

/.../ the unifying and separatist functions lead to an attitude of language loyalty, the prestige function arouses an attitude of pride, and the frame of reference function brings about an attitude of awareness of the norm /.../ Garvin (1973: 27)

Since Arabic is not believed to play the unifying role whether inside or outside Morocco, many Moroccans are disloyal to their national languages as foreign language mastery is an absolute prerequisite for employability and social success. Thus, prestige and pride feelings and attitudes are no longer associated with Arabic mastery but rather with foreign language proficiency.

The cornerstone of the discussion of corpus planning is 'Language Standardisation' to the extent that many scholars define 'Language Planning' as language standardisation. The main function of a standard language is to overcome the linguistic variation within varieties. To define a standard language seems a simple task, as it is what a regional variety is not (Williams, 1992).

Standardisation is, then, defined as

/.../ a socio-political process involving the legitimisation and institutionalisation of a language variety as a feature of the sanctioning of that variety as socially preferable /.../ (Williams, 1992: 146)

In contrast with what Williams (Ibid.) presented, though Arabic has undergone the process of standardisation a long time ago, as a consequence of socio-political factors, Arabic does not enjoy an undisputed prestige as it is relegated to a secondary position in many sectors including scientific education.

What is axiomatic among linguists is that there is no reason why any variety of a language should be superior to another in linguistic terms. Determining that the standard will be the variety of the dominant class is in a way a legitimisation of inequality (Williams, ibid.). To contribute to the standardisation process, 'Codification' is necessary. The latter refers to the written rules of a given language. These rules guarantee certain stability to the standard language (Cooper, 1989).

1.2.   Modernisation

Modernisation is the process whereby a language becomes an appropriate medium of modern topics and forms of discourse. This is not confined to developing but to developed countries as well (Cooper, ibid.). Language modernisation is also referred to as 'Elaboration'. New knowledge demands new terms; these need to be elaborated to modernise a language. Language modernisation is further defined as language development of new terms. This process requires a huge amount of work, especially if the researcher considers the great number of new terms coined each day in different subjects. Modernisation includes aspects of language planning that result in the development of special-purpose dictionaries or vocabularies for use in fields such as medicine. Such modernisation aspects of language planning comprise what is referred to as 'Lexical elaboration' (Eastman, 1983). In the case of Morocco and most of the Arab world, though dictionaries of most scientific disciplines are made in Arabic, they are rarely used as Arab scientific researchers generally master foreign languages and neither feel the need nor the importance of using or publishing in Arabic. So Arabs are missing the historical opportunity of making Arabic a language of science and knowledge (Kesbi, 2003; 2012).

It is common that when a language policy is being implemented, the language in question cannot fulfil all its prospective roles. Then, technical or scientific terms, for example, must be expressed in another language for some time. The problem of Arabization of scientific disciplines in Morocco was being partially adopted since 1980. All scientific subjects were arabized up to the secondary level. The biggest mistake was not fulfilling this process at all levels including the university one. Aspiring to arabize the whole educational system was reiterated in the national Charter 1999. However, the last recommendations of the High Council of Education 2015 reconsidered

totally this Arabization planning policy to a comeback to the use of French as the means of scientific instruction at all levels (Kesbi, 2019).

To elaborate new terminology, researchers opt for a term already in use, or coining a new one. To coin a new term, researchers have the choice of either building the new term from indigenous sources or borrowing it from a foreign language. If they opt for the latter, they have to decide how far they will adapt the borrowed term to the host language (Cooper, ibid.).

Fishman (1983) argues that the good corpus tries to keep a balance between traditionalism and rationality. Everyone wants his own adequate scientific terminology, which is not an easy enterprise (cited in Cooper, ibid.).

The language planner needs to realise that lexical elaboration may be linked to other social processes. The outcomes of the elaboration of a language to be used as a tool of scientific instruction, for example, to replace a previously used one are very significant from the social point of view. The population that identifies with the displaced language will witness a decrease in its social power (Fishman, 1974) (cited in Eastman, ibid.). This is may be one of the main reasons why the Moroccan elite resist Arabization. Indeed, this process will endanger its privileges, which are linked with the mastery of French.

Of the three types of corpus planning, modernisation is the most relevant to this paper. Indeed, some interviewees' belief that Arabic is not modernised or elaborated enough leads them to hold a negative attitude towards its use as a means of scientific instruction.

II. University students' attitudes towards Arabization
2.1. Attitudes towards Arabic and French

Histogram (1) Comparison of Classical Arabic with French

Compared to CA, French is
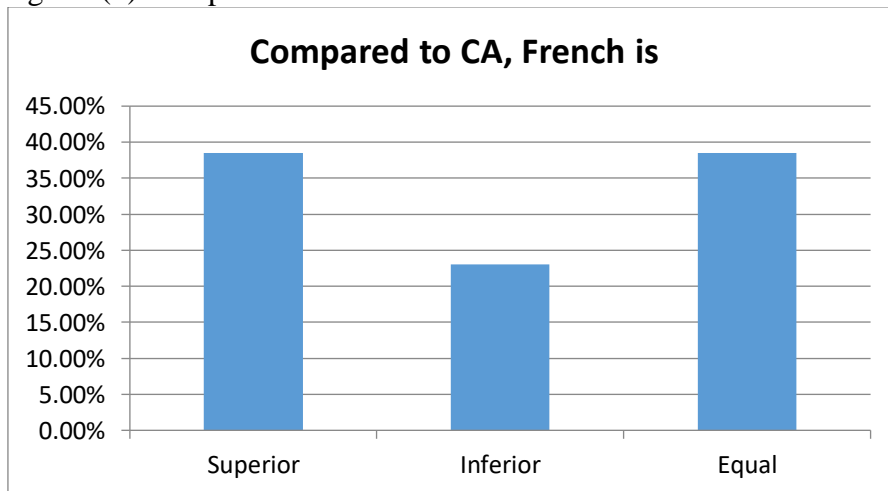
Concerning the attitudes of university students towards Arabic and French, they consider the former as the "religious" language, par excellence. It is the "richest", the most "useful" and "precise" language. Therefore, it can be a means of scientific instruction as their experience in the secondary school has proved it to be. However, they consider French as superior to Arabic. Their attitudes towards French can be discussed in terms of its aesthetic value and usefulness. Indeed, they consider French as the most musical, beautiful and romantic language. Furthermore, they are convinced that it is the most modern, developed, technical and scientific language. Indeed, university students correlate the mastery of French more with an intellectual person occupying an important job. They add that French is necessary for Moroccans because of the economic, historical and shared interests between Morocco and France. Moreover, Moroccans need French to communicate with European countries and face the powerlessness of Arabic-users to make of their language an effective tool of communication.

Facing such a linguistic situation, bilingualism is the norm in the Moroccan context. University students believe that bilingualism is the best linguistic planning option as Arabic and French are complementary as the following table shows.
- Arabic-French bilingualism is the best linguistic planning option for Moroccans.

Table (1)

Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Total	N
61,53 %	30,76 %	7,69 %	99,98 %	52

If Arabic symbolises national unity, French facilitates communication with northern developed countries. They are sure that they gain a lot from bilingualism such as the ease of communication with Arabs and foreigners alike. In addition, the mastery of two languages is equated with the learning of a new skill leading to social prestige. Furthermore, bilingualism makes easier the access to a large number of scientific publications. The bilingual person is more open-minded as s/he can know other cultures and ways of life. The following table shows this:

Table (2) what do you gain by being an Arabic-French bilingual?

Information	A new skill	Studies	Communication	Nothing	No answer	N
7,69 %	15,38 %	23,07 %	30,76 %	7,69 %	15,38 %	52

As for the attitudes of University students towards Arabization, they argue that French is apt to be a tool of scientific instruction as a big number of scientific references are available in this language. To try to unfold and analyse the attitudes of university students towards the Arabization process, they were given this statement in order to express their opinions:
- French is not apt to be a tool of scientific instruction at the university.

Table (3)

Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Total	N
7,69%	69,23	23,07%	99,99%	52

Consequently, university students opt for French to remain a means of instruction at the Faculty of Science because it is the first foreign language they more or less master and it is a language of science.

For university students, the Arabization of the educational system stands more for cultural independence. Arabization was effective only when it was linked to subjects which are culturally related such as history, philosophy. Consequently, Arabization of scientific subjects should not be an urgent matter, as it does not endanger the existence of the Moroccan culture.

University students believe that Arabization will lead more to underdevelopment and archaism. Indeed, Arabization means translation that is neither accurate nor exact; so, scientific knowledge is distorted.

Though they attest that they would understand better if they were taught scientific subjects in Arabic, they prefer the use of French in both secondary and higher studies. Therefore, university students have a negative attitude towards Arabization of scientific subjects in the secondary school. They think that this process is needless and useless because it was not generalised to the whole educational system. Because of this unfulfilled process, they have problems coping with studies in French at the university. The difficulties they face are related mostly to terminology. They are confused with the host of new terms that they have to learn in French and those they knew in Arabic.

Thus, university students argue that Arabization of scientific subjects at the university would be a difficult enterprise since many scientific books need to be translated into Arabic, the latter is not developed enough to be a language of science.

Therefore, they are convinced that French is the easiest and most effective language, as many scientific references are available in French. Besides, most university teachers have graduated using French; hence, they are more proficient in this language. Furthermore, students are familiar with

many scientific terms in French. Moreover, most scientific inventions and discoveries are of Western origins and French is a Western language.

University students add that scientific terms have, most of the time, Latin origins, whose translation in Arabic is difficult. They consider also that the use of Arabic would be a handicap for those who want to pursue their studies abroad. Some university students consider Arabization as a "non-democratic process" whose outcome would be to marginalize the students belonging to poor classes. They remarked also that their level is lower than the preceding generations that studied exclusively in French. Therefore, they argue that the means of instruction should be the same throughout the whole educational system. The shift from Arabic to French at the university has created problems of comprehension. Consequently, university students think that studying scientific subjects in French is necessary because this language is more scientific, developed and accurate than Arabic. Most students think that failure at the Faculty of Science is not mainly due to the use of French as a means of instruction. In sum, University students opt for the exclusive use of French in scientific higher studies.

III.   High school students' attitudes towards Arabization
3.1.   Attitudes towards Arabic and French

Histogram (2) Comparison of Classical Arabic with French.
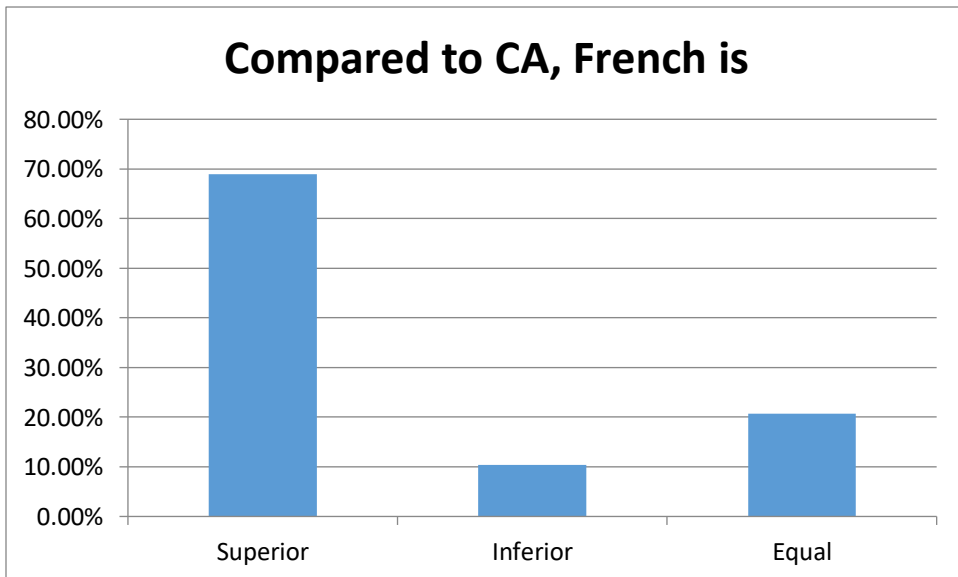
The attitudes of high school students towards Classical Arabic are positive only if they think about its aesthetic value. They consider CA as the most romantic and beautiful language to speak. This is perhaps due to its wide literary heritage, especially poetry. Yet, they presume that French is

superior to Arabic since it is a developed language. They argue that Arabic cannot meet modern requirements. They seem to take for granted that Arabic is a semi-dead language because it is more written than spoken. It is not easy to decipher, as vowels are not explicitly written. Besides, thousands of new scientific terms are coined in foreign languages, whereas a few are coined in Arabic. The latter cannot play the role of a means of scientific instruction yet. Indeed, they argue that most scientific discoveries and articles are published in foreign languages in the west.

The attitudes of high school students towards French are positive. They consider this language as modern, developed, scientific, technical and precise. They seem to believe that it is a useful language for any future career in Morocco. Most of them are convinced that a person who masters French is an intellectual who must occupy an important job. They are almost sure that French is necessary for Moroccans because it facilitates exchange with the West. It is needed if students aim at pursuing their higher studies. It is a language required in most high administrative sectors and universities. The mastery of this language makes easy the access to foreign cultures especially the French.

In this linguistic situation, any educated Moroccan is necessarily bilingual. High school students argue that the best linguistic planning option for Moroccans is Arabic-French bilingualism as the following table shows:
- Arabic-French bilingualism is the best linguistic planning option for Moroccans.

Table (4)

Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Total	N
89,65%	6,89%	3,44%	99,98%	58

Indeed, French and Arabic are complementary. The latter is the language of administration and the symbol of the Moroccan unity, whereas French is the key to other civilisations and cultures. French is needed as an international language and as a tool of scientific references. High school students argue that they gain a lot from being bilingual. French makes the access to new information, via the French media, easier. Besides, the mastery of this language gives students the possibility to pursue their studies abroad. They also correlate French with modernity.

As for the attitudes of high school students towards the Arabization process, a majority of them think that French is apt to be a means of scientific instruction as the following table shows:
- Arabic-French bilingualism is the best linguistic planning option for Moroccans.

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Table (5)

Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Total	N
89,65%	6,89%	3,44%	99,98%	58

Most scientific references are available in French. They are convinced that the use of Arabic will create problems such as the noticed gaps in the Arabic scientific terminology. They think that Arabization means a policy of isolationism that would lead to underdevelopment. They point out the difficulty to arabize some scientific concepts that would make Morocco lag behind developed countries in the fields of science. Besides, no Arab country, using Arabic as a tool of instruction, can claim to be as developed as any modern Western country. High school students are aware of the paradoxical reference of French as being a residue of the French colonisation and a window on the world.

High school students remark that they are facing many problems related to the use of Arabic and learning of terminology. Indeed, they need to memorise a host of terms in Arabic and French, which is an energy and time-consuming task. Therefore, most of them prefer to be taught scientific subjects at the high school and university in French. They would like to be prepared to the shift to French as a medium of instruction at the university, as they are conscious of the supremacy of French, at least compared to Arabic in the fields of science.

A majority of high school students are convinced that their teachers master Arabic enough to deliver an acceptable lesson. Here, the variety referred to of Arabic is certainly not CA, which is more written than spoken. The variety opted for is a mixture of CA and MA.

They consider Arabization in the secondary school as useless and needless because they face difficulties related to arabized scientific concepts and they will be compelled to switch anyway to French at the university.

They remark that they have a poor level in French, which is partially due to Arabization in the secondary school. Indeed, many scientific subjects, which used to be taught in French are taught in Arabic; thus, reducing considerably the use of French.

IV.   Language spread, change, loss and death

Language spread is defined as "/.../ the expansion of a language variety's users and uses /…/" (Cooper, 1979: 23). Stability and permanence in Language is an illusion. Consequently, the increase or decrease of the interlocutors or functions of a given variety are expected.

Comparing the notion of 'language spread' with 'language shift', Cooper (ibid.) states that while the latter is the outcome of language change in the usage patterns of a speech community using more than one variety; 'language spread' is the process that ultimately leads to 'language shift'. In contrast with studies on 'language shift' that concentrate on the variety, which is losing ground, studies in language spread focus on the language which is gaining ground. The main question that comprises the whole language spread research is the investigation of who adopts what, when, why and how?

The diffusion of a language innovation is labelled as language change, which is the outcome of the interlocutors', conscious or unconscious, selection and adoption of a given variety in a given language. In some cases, the innovation may be the result of processes such as borrowing or may occur within the speech of monolinguals. Hence, language planning has an important role to play in either retarding or promoting a language change (Cooper, 1979).

Language loss occurs when a language loses ground in a given linguistic community. This is especially revealed in a linguistic minority where children are most of the time less proficient than their parents in their mother tongue.

The illustration of language loss can be manifested in different ways. First, members of linguistic minorities have most of the time word finding problems, which goes hand in hand with the process of borrowing, that is to say the adoption of words from the dominant language. Second, the morphology of the minority language group tends to be reduced and simplified. Finally, this reduction involves also stylistic variations that result in monostylism. The loss of a given language means the loss of a great symbol of identity (Appel and Muysken, 1987). The ultimate result of language shift and loss is language death, which "/.../ occurs in unstable bilingual or multilingual speech communities as a result of language shift from a regressive minority language to a dominant majority language /…/" (Dressler, 1988: 184). Via the process of language shift, there is a transition from a dominated language to a dominant one, leading to the death of the recessive language. Dressler (ibid.) identifies lexical, morphological, phonological and syntactic phenomena, which accompany the death of a given language: such as massive loans from the majority language with rare reciprocity. This reflects the social, political etc. subordination of the dominated speech community to the dominant one. The borrowed words are used with little or no phonological and morphological integration. This does not enrich the recessive language, as the borrowed words simply replace the indigenous ones. Similarly, the borrowing of morphological suffixes from the dominant language is a sign of language decay.

A sign of language death is that the word formation rules cease to be productive. In other words, speakers cease to create new words from native rules. In addition, the reduction of the phonemic inventory and inflectional morphology stands for structural losses in dying languages. The syntactic example that illustrates language decay is the death of subordinate clauses in the dominated language (Dressler, ibid.).

Another sign of language death is the lack of purist reactions against massive interference from the dominant language. This reflects a change in language attitudes. The recessive language is considered worthless; this contributes in the non-integration of the loan words into the dominated language (Dressler, ibid.).

An early sign of language decay is the cessation of giving proper names in the dominated language. Finally, terminal language death is manifested in monostylism. The recessive language is increasingly used in casual everyday speech. The dominated language becomes inadequate for certain speech situations, especially formal ones (Dressler, ibid.).

In short, the researcher does not witness the process of language shift in the case of Arabic; rather it has gained ground as it is used as the unique means of scientific instruction in primary and secondary school. Yet, the researcher remarks that Arabic is undergoing the process of language change. Indeed, a new variety, namely Md.A is being adopted and promoted by language planners as the most eligible variety for the Arabization process. Besides, none of the cited signs of language loss or decay are noticed as far as Arabic is concerned. It is true that Arabic borrows many terms from French; still many new words are also coined thanks to the continuous work of planning agencies. Consequently, the 'battle' for survival between Arabic and French is still going on with an institutional advantage given to the latter.

Conclusion

The implementation of Arabization of the educational system was one of the Moroccan nationalists' demands after independence. What had been once a dream became a reality as many subjects which were during the protectorate exclusively taught in French are taught in Arabic. Indeed, decision-makers started the Arabization of scientific subjects since the eighties yet Moroccans have never been able to make Arabic walk through the doors of scientific universities. The adoption of this partial Arabization was doomed to failure as is reflected in the negative attitudes of both university and secondary school students. The recent recommendation of the High Council of Education (2015-2030) was a return back to the use of French as a scientific means of instruction at all school levels. This suggests that it took Moroccan decision-makers nearly forty years to realize that they have taken the wrong decision when they have adopted this partial

Arabization of scientific subjects. The political heated debate about Arabization even threatened the disentanglement of the government cohesion of the different political parties. Arabization of education was politicized to make of language planning a language dilemma in Morocco.

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Répartition Sociocommunautaire Du Travail Entre Genres Dans La Gestion Du Foncier: Cas Des Kyaman d'Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire)

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Résumé

Dans la société *Kyaman*, hommes et femmes cohabitent dans un univers socialement scindé. Les hommes occupent une posture de leaders à travers des postes de responsabilités au premier rang dans la régulation du foncier. Quant aux femmes, elles occupent une position de socle dans le rôle socioculturel qui leur ai échu dans ce contexte. Un scénario social apparemment masculin qui accorde en réalité une place de choix à la femme dans tous les aspects significatifs du système foncier. Dans une approche socio-anthropologique, nous appréhendons à travers la théorie de régulation sociale les différentes facettes du rapport homme-femme dans la gestion du système foncier local.

Mots-clés: Répartition sociocommunautaire du travail, genres, gestion du foncier.

Socio-Community Distribution of Gender Work in Land Management: The Case of the Kyaman of Abidjan (Ivory Coast)

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Abstract

In Kyaman society, men and women live together in a socially split world. Men hold a position of leaders through positions of responsibility at the forefront in the regulation of land. As for women, they occupy a basic position in the sociocultural role that has fallen to them in this context. A seemingly masculine social scenario that in fact places a premium on women in all significant aspects of the land system. In a socio-anthropological approach, we apprehend through the theory of social regulation the different facets of the relationship between man and woman in the management of the local land system.

Keywords: Socio-community distribution of work, gender, land management.

Introduction

Dans le contexte africain tout comme en occident, la littérature portant sur le genre peut être scindé en deux périodes. La première aborde l'organisation des sociétés traditionnelles et modernes avec une prépondérance masculine dans les différentes strates de responsabilités (N.C Mathieu, 1971 ; J.Bissiliat 1992 ; F.Sow 1995; Van Allen 1976; Okeyo 1980; Mutemba 1982a). La deuxième, fait état d'une évolution des perceptions socio-culturelles liées au statut de la femme dans les sociétés contemporaines (F.Sarr 1994; Dagenais 1994; F. P Stamp; 1990; Van Allen 1972 ; Sacks 1979). C'est dans ce sillage-ci que s'insert l'organisation socioculturelle de la gestion du terroir des *Kyaman* basée sur une division des tâches sociales entre genres. La société des autochtones d'Abidjan dans ce contexte a subi des mutations du rôle social dévolu à l'homme et à la femme. D'une organisation sociale majoritairement masculine[105],

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105 Depuis l'implantation des Kyaman dans l'actuelle Côte d'Ivoire vers le XVIIIᵉ siècle, la gouvernance et la gestion des institutions communautaires repose essentiellement sur les

aujourd'hui, la structure sociopolitique des *Kyaman* est bipolaire. Bien que ce soit, les hommes qui apparemment font office de sentinelle dans la régulation du foncier. Les femmes quant à elle occupent les mêmes prérogatives dans une posture stratégique[106]. La question du genre abordée sous l'angle des autochtones *Kyaman* s'imbrique à la récente histoire de la migration du peuple Akan[107] sur le territoire de la Côte d'Ivoire. Ce qui nous importe ici, c'est la valeur de la femme[108] dans la création identitaire du groupe ethnique Akan. Bref, dans le grand groupe ethnique Akan le pouvoir est dévolu aux femmes. C'est donc la matrilinéarité qui définit le mode de transmission du pouvoir également chez les *Kyaman.* La femme dans cette société est honorée par une forme de sacralisation[109] de son rôle social. Elle est assimilée à un trésor et ne doit être exposée aux yeux de tous. Par ailleurs, tout laisse à croire que c'est plutôt l'homme qui est le levier de la gestion du foncier chez les *Kyaman.* Dans la mesure où c'est celui-ci qui occupent les postures de dirigeant des sphères politiques et sociales liées au système foncier local. Nous sommes en situation de nous poser les questions suivantes en se basant sur l'état des lieux du rôle de l'homme et de la femme dans le système foncier coutumier.

Comment l'homme et la femme parviennent-ils à réguler le foncier en société Kyaman?

Quel est le rapport réel entre genre dans l'organisation socioculturelle liée au foncier chez les autochtones d'Abidjan? Quelles sont les leçons que pouvons-nous tirer de la question du genre d'un point de vue coutumier?

Pour répondre à ces préoccupations, nous présentons au préalable l'objectif, la thèse et la méthodologie de travail.

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hommes. L'ordre politique et culturel était donc univoque à cette époque.

106 Les femmes jouent occupent des rôles sociaux qui s'apparente à ceux des hommes. Seulement, cela reste voilé dans la mesure où ce qui se laisse voir à première vue, c'est l'organisation des hommes, celle des femmes bien plus discrète. Elle joue un rôle de sommier dans l'organisation socio- culturelle liée au foncier.

107 Le peuple Akan est un peuple frère des Ashanti de l'actuel Ghana, celui-ci quitte son territoire d'origine suite à une guerre de succession qui l'opposa aux autres membres de la grande famille. N'ayant pas remporté la guerre, les Akan ont préférés quitter la patrie de peur d'être exterminé ou réduit en esclave par les Ashanti.

108 Dans la mythologie relative à l'installation du peuple Akan sur le territoire Ivoirien, c'est une femme « Abla Pokou » en sa qualité de reine qui dirige cette expédition. Elle a non seulement permis a ce peuple d'éviter l'extermination et dans un élan sacrificiel, offre son fils au fleuve N'zi pour le salut de son peuple.

109 La femme dans la société *Kyaman* est perçue comme la mère du peuple tout comme la reine Abla Pokou. De ce fait, elle est comme un trésor et ne saurait être exposé aux yeux du premier venu. Elle a un pouvoir celui de sortir la communauté des difficultés en cas de grave crise.

L'objectif de cet article est de poser un diagnostic ciblé sur la question du genre dans la régulation du foncier coutumier chez les *Kyaman* d'Abidjan.

La thèse soutenue par cet article est la suivante : la gestion du foncier est menée conjointement par l'homme et la femme dans un procédé typiquement local.

Méthodologie

Pour ce travail, nous nous focalisons sur les trois villages souches des Kyaman d'Abidjan, *Anonkoua Kouté*, *Adjamé Bingerville* et *Locodjro*. Ce choix est tributaire de l'historicité liée à l'ancienneté des localités et la représentativité socioculturelles de ces villages. Dans cette étude, nous avons eu recours à l'entretien semi-directif[110]et au « *focused group* »[111.] Ces techniques de recueil de données nous ont conduit à interroger dix (10) hommes et dix (10) femmes dans chaque zone d'étude. Ces enquêtés[112] sont constitués entièrement par des adultes appartenant à des classes socialement intégrées dont l'âge varie entre 40 à 60 et plus. L'ensemble de ces informations est analysé à travers les théories de régulation sociale (Jean Daniel Reynaud, 1997) dans une perspective socio-anthropologique.

Ainsi dans une première partie, nous étudierons la répartition sexuelle des rôles dans la gestion du foncier coutumier chez les *Kyaman* d'Abidjan. Dans une deuxième partie, nous aborderons le diagnostic des rapports entre hommes et femmes dans la régulation du terroir. Dans une troisième partie, nous allons tirer des leçons de la question du genre dans le système foncier local.

I. La répartition sexuelle des rôles dans la gestion du foncier coutumier chez les Kyaman d'Abidjan.
I.1. Une gestion bipolaire axée sur la promotion des valeurs identitaire liées au genre

Le fonctionnement du système sociocommunautaire *Kyaman* est articulé sur un mécanisme cyclique de régulation du pouvoir. Cette forme de gouvernance, tient lieu de l'organisation sociale en classes d'âge gouvernant

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110L'entretien semi-directif permet de laisser l'interviewé construire son propre discours. Pour conduire ces entretiens, nous nous sommes appuyés sur des guides d'entretiens élaborés à cette fin.

111« *Focused group* » : concept d'origine aglo-saxon, il s'agit d'un entretien focalisé sur les interactions entes les membres d'un groupe de huit (08) à douze (12) personnes dans cette étude. Ce type d'échange, a pour objectif de pousser les enquêtés retissent à la prise de parole à s'exprimer face aux affirmations des plus bavard.

112 Nous les désignerons par des pseudonymes au cours de l'exposé de notre travail. Cela dans un but de confidentialité.

et gouvernées. Cette disposition à valeur démocratique vise l'alternance entre aînés et cadets sociaux. Elle concerne tant l'administration des hommes que celles des femmes. JEAN DANIEL REYANAUD (1997 : 306) fait la synthèse des principes de régulation sociale entre genres en ces termes : « *Ces réglages visent à faire reconnaître l'égalité des droits entre les hommes et les femmes ou à rendre légitime l'exercice de droits civiques, de pratiques religieuses, linguistiques ou politiques* ». Toutefois, chaque modèle de gestion lié au genre revêt quelques spécificités selon l'aire culturelle que nous étudions. En occurrence, celles de la tradition *Kyaman*[113]. La société *Kyaman* est repartie en deux centres de pouvoir de sorte que l'on y trouve la chefferie, les doyens d'âge et les chefs de famille de même chez les hommes que chez les femmes. Monsieur AKOU affirme à juste titre : « *Dans la communauté des Kyaman, il existe deux mondes qui se côtoient. Celui des hommes est plus visible car, selon la tradition, c'est au moins d'âgé d'annoncer les nouvelles. C'est ce qui occasionne la posture au premier rang des hommes dans la régulation du système foncier. Retenons qu'en dépit de tout ce que l'œil du profane peut observer, c'est bel et bien la femme qui est le garant de la vie politique. Elle est consultée en secret dans tous les domaines du système foncier* ». La société *Kyaman* est régit par deux principes cosmogoniques. Le monde est à la fois visible et invisible, matérielle et immatériel, physique et métaphasique. Ce qui ressort des propos de notre enquêté, c'est la primauté de l'un sur l'autre, plutôt le sacré du profane. C'est bien la femme qui incarne la sacralisation du pouvoir dans le système foncier de la communauté *Kyaman* d'Abidjan. Elle est surtout mère créatrice et protectrice des valeurs identitaires[114] du peuple. Dans le système foncier actuel, il existe deux sphères d'autorités. Celle des hommes et celle de la femme possédant les mêmes caractéristiques. Il s'agit d'une régulation démocratique des terres communautaires par alternance entre aînés[115] et cadets sociaux. Pour REYNAUD (1999 : 233) « *l'action sociale est une interaction réglée et finalisée* ». Les aînés gouvernent en établissant une emprise réelle sur le mode de répartition et d'exploitation des terrains villageois. C'est bien un rapport de dominants et dominés qui existe en la matière. Toutefois, cette forme de gestion typique à la société *Kyaman* a une

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113 Dans la tradition Kyaman, les hommes et les femmes sont des êtres égaux. Mais, la femme est sacrée, elle est considérée comme la mère de la civilisation, de la famille et de la société telle qu'elle existe. Sa sacralisation, lui confère un profond respect des autorités coutumière. À juste titre, elle ne doit pas être exposée aux yeux de « l'étranger ». Elle incarne l'honneur du *Kyaman*.

114 Le peuple *Kyaman* à l'image du mythe légitimateur du peuple Akan, incarné par la reine Abla Pokou, reconnaît en la femme le privilège de celle qui a engendré la communauté.

115Les aîné(e)s sont ceux ou celles qui ont subi avec succès le rite initiatique de « l'homme ou de la femme mûr (e) », la cérémonie concernant les hommes dans ce contexte est publique tandis que celle des femmes est cachée.

obédience humaniste. C'est en réalité un rapport de maître et d'élève qui est promus dans le fonctionnement cyclique du système de gestion du foncier. REYNAUD[116] traduit le caractère redondant du système sociopolitique *Kyaman* en termes de : « *processus de régulation conjointe* ». La particularité dans ce type contrat réside en la capacité de chaque groupe social à accepter de jouer le jeu social. Les aînés sociaux de chaque identité sexuelle deviennent les tuteurs et moniteurs des cadets sociaux. De sorte qu'il apparaît dans ce scenario communautaire une relative régularité fonctionnelle.

I.2. Attributions sociocommunautaires des rôles entre hommes et femmes dans la régulation du foncier

Quatre classes d'âge sont assignés à gérer de manière cyclique le terroir chez les *Kyaman* d'Abidjan. Ce sont, les *Gnandô*, *Dougbo*, *Tchagba* et *Blessoué*. Celles-ci sont tous égaux et soumises au principe de l'altérité. Dans le système foncier, La classe d'âge gouvernante est en charge du foncier pour une durée de seize (16) ans. Ensuite, elle transmet le pouvoir à la cadette et cela dans un processus perpétuel. Ce *modus operandi* prend en compte les deux sexes mais, le champ d'action dans le cadre de la gestion des terrains communautaires est divergent. Ainsi, selon GILBERT DE TERSSAC (2013 : 1,16) : « *Toute société fonctionne à coups de réglages entre les différentes dimensions de la vie sociale, de l'économie, de la politique, de la culture, mais aussi de réglages entre l'intégration et l'exclusion, entre la contribution et la rétribution de chacun : c'est au travers de ces réglages que se construisent les notions de justice et d'équité* ». Dans le contexte des hommes, un organigramme de gestion est mis en place. Au sommet de la hiérarchie se trouve les autorités coutumières[117]. Toutefois, « *Le pouvoir n'est pas limité aux détenteurs de l'autorité, mais s'étend aux subordonnés qui exercent le pouvoir à leur manière (...)* »[118]. Les autorités coutumières dans leur mode de gouvernance sont soumises à deux contraintes majeurs. D'abord, elles ont l'obligation de faire respecter la tradition non seulement par les autochtones, mais aussi par les allochtones et allogènes qui vivent dans les différents villages. Ensuite, les autorités coutumières sont en charge de la formation et de la transmission des valeurs du système foncier intacte au générations

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116 JEN DANIEL REYNAUD. *Op.cit.*

117 Les autorités coutumières sont constituées de la chefferie, des chefs de familles, des chefs de terres et des doyens d'âge. Les hommes sont donc en charge de l'ensemble des fonctions clés qui régissent la vie sociale chez les *Kyaman*. Ce sont des rôles apparents qu'ils occupent car, rappelons le la société des autochtones d'Abidjan est dualité. Le visible cotie l'invisible, toutefois, c'est le caché qui est primordial.

118 GILBERT DE TERSSAC. *Id.*

futures119.Quant aux gouvernés, ils font montre de leur apport capital dans les ordres du terroir par l'intériorisation et l'acceptation des normes et valeurs coutumières. Monsieur DJOMAN, un membre de la Chefferie d'Anonkoua Kouté se prononce sur ce sujet en ces termes : « *Dans la tradition Kyaman, les hommes sont perçus comme des guerriers, surtout ils incarnent les sentinelles en charge de l'originalité des traits caractéristiques propres à l'organisation sociocommunautaire du système foncier. À ce titre, ils font office de représentativité dans le paysage culturelle de notre communauté tout entier* ». De ces allégations, il émerge l'idée selon laquelle l'homme est le gardien des percepts *Kyaman.* Il est frappé à juste titre par un double engagement. Celui du conservatisme et de la reproduction sociale des valeurs liés à gestion des terres. Selon MICHELETTI (2002 :190), il existe « *un subtil compromis d'efficience et d'ouverture* » dans le contexte des engagements de la femme dans le processus de régulation du terroir. Celle-ci est concernée par les mêmes dispositions de fonctionnement des différentes classes d'âge. Toujours, deux catégories sociales animent les activités dans ce contexte. Il s'agit des aînés et cadets sociaux mais, cette fois-ci dans un rapport d'égalité[120] et de formation. Le spectre des actions mené par la femme est le renseignement et la consultance. En effet, elles sont les gardiennes des secrets[121] communautaires sur le terroir. Les femmes sont reparties en deux grandes cellules dans leurs champs d'activités. La première est constituée de toutes les doyennes d'âge. Elle est constituée une équipe d'experts consultée hebdomadairement pour instruire la chefferie sur des informations de haute importance dans le cadre de l'extension du territoire et du dénouement de certaines graves crises foncières entre familles du village. La Doyenne d'âge de Locodjro Madame DOGBO, nous informe sur ce fait en ces termes : « *Nous sommes au nombres deux individus centenaires qui assurons l'intégrité de notre système foncier par-là les informations premières main que nous détenons. Nous intervenons à certaines heures avancées de la nuit où nous sommes consultés par nos fils en charge du foncier pour délivrer des informations utiles* ». La seconde cellule est assignée au sein des grandes familles pour la formation des cadets sociaux aux rôle de gardiennes des secrets communautaires et de familles. Dans ce

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119 Il s'agit ici, des cadets sociaux appelés à succédé à la classe d'âge gouvernante actuelle. Par ailleurs, les autorités coutumières sont astreintes à une éthique de bonne gouvernance dans le but de satisfaire les besoins à court, moyens et long terme de leurs citoyens.

120 Actuellement les aînés constitués des membres de la classe d'âge *Dougbo* et *Tchagba* dans le cadre de la dévolution féminine des rôles se logent dans une posture d'intégration et de formation des plus jeunes les *Blessoué*.

121 Nous avons constaté lors de nos enquêtes que les doyennes d'âge, étaient celles qui avaient le plus grand niveau d'informations sur les rites, pratiques et cultures relatives la régulation des terres dans les villages étudiés.

contexte-ci l'accent est mis sur l'appui technique que la femme constitue en situation de crise économique lié à une mauvaise gestion du foncier par les hommes. Elle est de ce fait amenée à fait montre de pratique résiliente telle que la production d'une économie de subsistance[122].

I.3. La dualité sacré et profane affectée aux genres dans le système foncier coutumier

Dans la société *Kyaman*, la vie communautaire est bâtie sur le monde des esprits et des vivants. Aussi, la morphologie sociale prend en compte cette réalité dans la représentativité sociale liée au genre, ce que ERVING GOFFMAN (2002 : 116) qualifie de *« comportement institutionnel de genre »*[123]. La femme est celle qui incarne le lien avec le monde des esprits tandis que l'homme est celui qui représente celui des vivants dans un *« comportement d'alignement »*[124] tributaire de la coutume. Dans le cas typique de la femme, elle est perçue dans la cosmogonie des autochtones[125] d'Abidjan comme la mère la créatrice, celle qui est à la genèse de la société dans ces formes élémentaires les plus pures. Elle est surtout, symbole de fertilité et procréation, mère des esprits et des hommes. Elle est surtout, celle qui a un lien direct avec la terre en qualité de digne représentante. Les propos de madame AKALE, doyenne d'âge d'Anonkoua Kouté, nous situe au mieux « *Nous sommes assimilés dans la gestion du terroir à des entités supranormales. Notre société nous confère, le privilège de mère des hommes et des ancêtres. Surtout, nous sommes les rejetons directs de la terre et l'incarnons. C'est ce qui explique notre rapport privilégié dans le système foncier. Une posture discrète et essentielle pour la pérennité de l'équilibre de notre société* ». La femme dans ce contexte occupe le rôle névralgique de médiatrice entre les esprits et les hommes et de par son existence, elle régule le fonctionnement de la vie sociale. Les hommes sont des exécutants, les gardiens du foncier. Ils sont juste admis à l'administration des terres communautaires par la mise en place d'une équipe de régulation, selon le calendrier cyclique de la démocratie *Kyaman*. À cet effet, ils sont en charge de la chefferie et du comité local de gestion du foncier. C'est ce qui explique le rôle apparent auquel ils sont assignés dans tous les aspects de la société. Ils sont confinés seulement à la régulation du monde des vivants. C'est surtout ce qui explique, qu'ils semblent dominés l'organisation

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122 Dans les villages étudiés ce sont les femmes qui permettent aux différents foyers de tenir lorsque les dividendes tirés de la marchandisation des terres n'arrivent plus à couvrir les besoins primaires des familles. L'activité de base exercée par celle-ci est de type agraire et consiste en la production de semoule de manioc « l'attiéké ».

123 ERVING Goffman, L'arrangement des sexes, trad. de l'anglais par H. Maury.

124 ERVING Goffman. *Id.*

125 Les *Kyaman* sont les autochtones d'Abidjan, ils se sont installés depuis le XVIIe siècle sur le cordon littoral de la lagune Erie.

socioculturelle dans ses aspects les plus visibles. ISABELLE CASSIERS (2002 : 65, 73), pense qu'il s'agit dans ce contexte-ci d'« *une codification de un ou plusieurs rapports sociaux fondamentaux* ». Pour Monsieur KIMOU, la présentation du système foncier *Kyaman* est tributaire de « *la complexité de la société Kyaman qui elle-même obéit à la dualité entre physique et métaphysique, matériel et immatériel. De même, notre construit sociale autour de la terre est la copie conforme de cette règle. Nous, les hommes incarnent l'aspect visuel au sens de la représentativité et les femmes, quant à elle arborent l'aspect caché et invisible de notre organisation socioculturelle* ».

II. Le diagnostic des rapports entre hommes et femmes dans la régulation du terroir
II.1 Dans le contexte socioculturel

L'organisation de la société *Kyaman* repose d'un point de vue symbolique sur la matrilinéarité. C'est la femme qui conditionne le renouvèlement de l'ordre social par l'héritage familial qui se transmet entre neveu et oncle maternel. Le cycle du pouvoir est bien fonctionnel à cause de ce principe qui place la femme au cœur du système foncier et de la régulation de la vie communautaire. Aussi, faut-il comprendre qu'elle est celle qui par la tradition a permis la création d'un ordre nouveau en rupture avec l'orthodoxie de la culture Ashanty[126]. La femme est celle qui sacrifia ce qu'elle a de plus chère pour la naissance de la société *Kyaman*. Elle est dans la quintessence de la culture du peuple *Kyaman*, le fondement de la société dans ses aspects les plus significatifs. En ce sens, pour BRÉCHET et LE VELLY (2011 : 478, 498) « *La régulation désigne les activités qui contribuent à constituer le collectif et à régler les rapports en son sein* ». À cet effet, Madame N'Kayo, l'une des doyennes du village d'Anono renchérit : « Notre *organisation sociale est complexe, bien qu'elle n'arbore pas à l'œil du premier venu, la prépondérance de la femme dans l'organisation socioculturelle autour du foncier. C'est en réalité sur elle que repose le fonctionnement de la société toute entier. Elle conditionne le sens du pouvoir tant au niveau de la famille que de la chefferie* ». Dans le sillage d'une « *régulation autonome* »[127], la femme n'intervient pas directement dans la gestion du foncier dans les différents villages que nous étudions. Elle a un rôle de modérateur dans le système foncier actuelle. Elle est la médiatrice qui produit la documentation de première main. Dans le

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126 Rappelons que le groupe ethnique Akan de l'actuel Côte d'Ivoire, est originaire du Ghana. Les Akan sont issus de la grande fratrie des Ashanti. Ils décident de s'enfuir vers le XVIe siècle à l'issue d'une guerre intestine et installèrent dans le territoire de la Côte d'Ivoire.
127 REYNAUD (1989) par opposition à une régulation de contrôle.

dénouement du litige foncier qui oppose deux individus ou famille qui se réclame propriétaire d'un même terrain, c'est la doyenne d'âge qui est consulté par la chefferie. Celle-ci à travers l'histoire, elle établit la vérité et permet d'éviter ou de résoudre les conflits fonciers. Quant à l'homme, il est assigné à un rôle de veille. Il est chargé de protéger les acquis socioculturels en matière de régulation du pouvoir et du foncier. Sa fonction lui autorise au premier plan à niveler l'ordre social par la gouvernance des classes d'âge[128]. D'un premier ordre, cette configuration est chapotée par la chefferie et le comité local de gestion du foncier. D'un second ordre, cette organisation elle-même est régit par le conseil des enceins et par les mânes des ancêtres. Ces dispositions d'ordre traditionnel se laisse entrevoir par l'harmonie singulière qui se reflète dans l'organisation du système foncier, bien qu'elle soit complexe. La terre est dualité, physique et métaphysique. Alors, sa gestion doit prendre en compte ces deux aspects. Toutefois n'oublions pas que le fonctionnement de la structure sociale est d'ordre dans le sillage du foncier est régler sur un mécanisme cyclique de fonctionnement. De sorte que dans une approche démocratique, aucun groupe social n'est laissé pour compte. Le temps imparti à la régulation du terroir est de seize (16) ans par classe d'âge. Monsieur MOBIO, l'un des notables du village d'Anonkoua Kouté, fait une ébauche de la réalité en ces termes : *« Notre société est apparemment un simple exercice administratif aux mains des hommes mais, bien plus complexe elle qu'elle paraît, c'est en fait deux mondes en activité. L'organisation foncière, elle-même est régit par ce principe. Nous les hommes ne somment que la partie visible de l'iceberg. Pourtant, le sens commun nous attribut toutes les valeurs dont nous ne sommes pas entièrement maîtres ».* L'homme dans le contexte de la culture *Kyaman* est un commis en charge de faire respecter les attentes transcendantales d'un ordre originel où s'imbrique esprits et maternité.

II.2 Dans le contexte de la gestion contemporaine du foncier

La théorie de régulation sociale, nous permet d'explique selon Robert BOYER (2003 : 23), « *La forme des rapport sociaux fondamentaux* ». Ainsi, dans une perspective de bonne gouvernance la société *Kyaman*, décide de ne pas souscrire à la marchandisation des terres communautaires. Cependant, dans les trois villages étudiés, c'est bien les transactions foncières de tous ordres auxquelles nous assistons. Avec l'écoute des enquêtés dans l'approche du genre, deux points de vue meublent nos interviews. D'abord, nous nous sommes intéressé à l'avis de la femme sur l'état actuel de la gestion du

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128 Il faut dire l'organisation en classe d'âge n'est pas l'apanage de l'homme. Chez la femme aussi, il existe un tel ordre seulement. Il est plus actif et visible dans le cadre masculin avec un organigramme d'une régulation effective des terrains.

foncier. Il ressort nos conversations le point de vue féminin est bien plus conservateur. Pour les femmes, la terre est inaliénable et donc ne saurait être vendue. Pour elle est un patrimoine culturel, là où réside les ancêtres. Elle est sacrée et inviolable. Selon, celle-ci, elle n'appartient ni aux générations actuelles ni à leurs progénitures. De ce fait, elle ne peut être un bien à la portée mercantiliste de la classe d'âge *Tchaga* actuellement au pouvoir. En ce sens que l'état actuel de la régulation du foncier est bien pour la gente féminine une perversion qui est déjà lourd de conséquences. Madame AGO, nous explique cette situation en ces mots : « Du *fait que nous avons laissé aux hommes la responsabilité de régir nos terres. Ils n'ont pas su faire preuve d'intégrité et ce sont laissés emporter la leur envi irrésistible de l'argent facile par une marchandisation continue des lots pourtant à l'actifs de la communauté* ». Pour les enquêtées l'homme est le principal accusé devant les transactions foncières récurrentes qui mettent en péril l'espace villageois. Par ailleurs, les hommes s'insurgent contre cette appréciation, qu'ils jugent révolue à juste titre, CORRINE DELPUECH et ALAIN KLARSFELD (2007 : 15) enseignent qu'« *Une règle qui cesse de devenir contraignante finit par disparaître* ». Pour ceux-ci, l'état actuel du contexte foncier dans la ville d'Abidjan, dispose indubitablement sur une approche de marchandisation des terrains communautaires et familiaux. Pour ceux-ci, la politique d'expansion de la capitale économique de la Côte d'Ivoire dispose les différentes chefferies à opter sagement pour la marchandisation des lots coutumiers. Surtout que pour eux, l'État dispose de tous les moyens pour parvenir à la mise en œuvre de sa politique d'urbanisation de la ville d'Abidjan. Ils stipulent que l'approche actuelle de gestion est purement une bonne lecture du contexte foncier actuel. Ils estiment que ne rien faire serait de faire des *Kyaman,* les plus grands perdants des effets induits par l'édification d'Abidjan en pôle de développement de la sous-région. Monsieur AHI s'explique en ces propos : *« Notre gestion du foncier dans le contexte actuel est différent de celui qu'a connu nos pères. Nous sommes contraints de suivre la visée de l'État de faire de notre terroir une métropole dynamique. Cela va sans dire que nous sommes obligées soit de céder nos terres soit d'en tirer un profit financier. Nous sommes des hommes réalistes, dans la mesure où si nous brandissons la carte du conservatisme, nous perdrons non seulement le privilège de la marchandisation et de l'amitié de nos gouvernants* ». Le sentiment d'attachement au terroir n'est pas en crise chez les hommes, ceux-ci sont obligés de se rendre compte de l'évidence des dynamiques qui conditionnent l'urbanisation de la ville d'Abidjan. Il soutient que la marchandisation des terrains coutumiers n'est pas une situation choisit mais, imposée par la décision étatique de faire du bassin littoral de la lagune Ebrié, un pôle attractif de développement. En ce sens que la gestion du

foncier coutumier dans le contexte actuel de la ville d'Abidjan ne peut être que mercantile.

II.3. Dans le contexte de la politique du genre en Côte d'Ivoire

La Côte d'Ivoire depuis ces deux dernières décennies de la parité filles garçon à l'école une priorité. Surtout que « *L'approche de genre vise l'égalité des droits et son application dans les faits eu-égard aux opportunités d'accès et de contrôle des ressources par les femmes et les hommes* »[129]. En ce sens, actuellement en zone urbaine, nous retrouvons autant de filles scolarisées que les garçons, soit un taux[130] de 49,2% pour les filles et 51,8% pour les garçons. Pour l'État la lutte contre l'inégalité entre genre trouve solution dans la forte scolarisation des filles. Surtout dans le but d'effacer les stéréotypes dont celles-ci sont sujets. La portée d'une telle mesure se focalise sur deux indicateurs essentiels, la capacité d'autodétermination et le droit d'expression. Néanmoins, BRÉCHET et LE VELLY (2011 : 478, 492)[131] enseignent dans ce contexte que « *La régulation désigne les activités qui contribuent à constituer le collectif et à régler les rapports en son sein* ». Dans le cadre de notre étude, lorsque nous nous appuyons sur le premier indicateur, l'autodétermination de la femme dans les localités étudiés est constaté à un faible niveau. Celles-ci sont reléguées aux activités mineures de ménages et de production d'une économie de subsistance[132]. Tandis que les hommes disposent de tribunes politiques et économiques pour exprimer leurs ambitions en matière de projets de société. Ils supplantent les femmes dans la distribution des rôles sociaux. Au niveau politique, ils briguent la chefferie, la notabilité et le conseil du village. Au niveau économique, ils constituent l'entièreté de l'équipe du COGES133 du foncier. Dans une perspective étatique de promouvoir l'égalité entre genres, la société *Kyaman* ne saurait faire figure d'école. Même si celle-ci se à travers à l'organisation socioculturelle, fait de la femme une icône au cœur de son existence. Le doyen d'âge du village de Locodjro Monsieur MANDJO, apporte un argumentaire en ces propos : « *les indicateurs pour la promotion du genre en société occidentale et ceux des sociétés traditionnelles en occurrence, celles des Kyaman ne correspondent*

129 In site de l'association adéquation, date de mise en ligne, vendredi 1er janvier 2016, 11 pages.
130 Selon les statistiques des années 2008-2009, produites par la Direction de l'Éducation Nationale (DREN).
131 BRÉCHET et LE VELLY. *Op.cit.*
132 Les femmes dans une bonne part des ménages sont assignées à la production de semoule de manioc « l'attiéké ». Une denrée à consommation directe beaucoup prisée par les ivoiriens. Les ressources financières tirées de la commercialisation permettent d'assurer le quotidien dans les foyers.
133 Comité de Gestion (COGES).

guère. Chez nous, le monde est dualité, le physique et la métaphysique se côtoient dans la dynamique sociale. La primauté est bien plus accordée à l'esprit qu'au corps. Alors que la femme, est non seulement agent du spirituel mais, encore acteur du bien-être social au titre de consultante et d'aide dans le système foncier. Le rôle de l'homme est infime, il est seulement un commis à la tâche sociale ». Les sociétés africaines se sont considérablement modernisée. En ce sens, l'ésotérisme s'est suffisamment dissipé pour faire place à l'objectivation dans les différents aspects de la vie. En ce sens, L'État ivoirien opte pour la promotion du genre non plus dans une perspective culturelle de l'Afrique, mais dans celle de l'occident. Un examen approfondit des deux cultures[134] permet de de mieux appréhender l'avancement de chacune de ces sociétés en matière de la question de la promotion du genre. Surtout, lorsque nous nous appesantissons sur les propos du doyen d'âge, la femme n'est pas une laissée pour compte dans l'organisation socioculturelle *Kyaman*. Selon l'approche cosmogonique de cette société, la femme a une plus grande marge de manœuvre. Elle est actrice des deux monde[135]. Elle est plus nantie que l'homme dans le contexte du symbolisme et du pouvoir.

III. QUELQUES LEÇONS DE LA QUESTION DU GENRE DANS LA GESTION DU FONCIER CHEZ LES *KYAMAN*

III.1 Le genre, une approche explicative du système foncier

Le système foncier *Kyaman* repose sur le principe de la terre mère des êtres vivants et créatrice de biodiversité, À juste titre, FRAZER (2005, 2010) pense qu'« *Il engage des ressources et des valeurs éthiques et affectives48 dans des procédures de rétribution et de reconnaissance sociale* ». La terre est avant tout l'origine de toutes choses, physique et métaphysique. De même, la femme est à son image. Elle incarne les valeurs de celle-ci. Elle donne vie aux esprits et aux hommes. Bien plus, tous ces attributs trouvent leur sens dans le mythe[136] de l'arrivée du groupe ethnique Akan sur les terres de l'actuel Côte d'Ivoire. Dans l'ordre qui régit la structure du système foncier, la terre est le fondement de la société *Kyaman*. C'est d'elle que les premiers *Kyaman*[137] sont issues. De par sa nature généreuse, elle les permit de s'organiser en classe d'âge[138]. Cette disposition est inspirée du calendrier saisonnier de l'année. Une saison de grandes

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[134]Bien attendu, la culture occidentale et celle de la société *Kyaman*.

135 Attendons par cette connotation, le monde physique et métaphysique.

136 Il s'agit ici, de la légende de la reine Abla Pokou.

137 La société des Hommes (hommes et femmes).

138 Dans l'organisation sociopolitique de la société *Kyaman*, on y trouve quatre classes d'âge : *Gnando, Dougbo, Tchaga* et *Bléssoué* appelées a régulé successivement dans un ordre cyclique le système foncier.

pluies, une saison de petite pluie, une grande saison sèche, une petite saison sèche. Tout ceci, dans un cycle perpétuel. C'est cette image qui inspire les *Kyaman* dans l'organisation des classes d'âge. Il y a quatre classes d'âge, réparties en deux groupes sociaux, aîné et cadets de la génération des pères. Aînés et cadets sociaux de la génération des fils. Dans chaque génération, les aînés sont des tuteurs et formateurs des cadets. Les plus âgés qui parviennent au pouvoir ont la lourde charge d'inculquer les valeurs du terroir au plus jeunes. Monsieur MANDJO, un doyen d'âge du village d'Anonkoua, explique le fonctionnement du système foncier en ces termes : « *Dans notre culture la terre et les hommes sont liées par une les saisons de l'année. Dans ce rapport, c'est plutôt nous les hommes qui suivront le rythme de production agraire à travers les quatre saisons. Bref, notre système sociopolitique lui-même est conditionné par ce principe. Surtout puisse que personne n'est laissé pour compte dans la nature. De même, chaque génération est appelée à régir le foncier dans cet ordre* ». Ce même principe est appliqué aux femmes. Elles sont constituées en structures sociales hétérogènes de même nature que celle des hommes. Seulement à leur niveau le principe de gestion du foncier revêt une connotation d'archétype. Elles ont non seulement qualité de consultante et de référent au niveau de la dimension ésotérique de la régulation du terroir. L'organisation féminine en société *Kyaman* est dirigée par la doyenne d'âge, la plus âgée. Celle-ci est assistée par un collège des femmes de même génération ou de celle qui suit. Le rapport entre les membres du comité de gestion est de type latéral. Cette configuration est basée sur une relation égalitaire entre membres. Un seul ordre ascendant les lie aux mânes des ancêtres et à la terre leur mère à tous. Le système foncier est donc scindé en deux entités, d'abord c'est l'ordre des femmes qui est l'incarnation des caractéristiques intrinsèques du système foncier. Elle est symbole de maternité et de fécondité au même titre que la terre. C'est bien de la terre que le *Kyaman*[139] tire tous les fondamentaux qui structurent le fonctionnement du système foncier. Madame AKALE, un membre de la communauté féminine renchérit « *La terre est le noyau central de notre système foncier. Celle-ci à son tour porte son choix sur la femme dans la mesure où il existe un lien indéniable qui les unis. Ainsi, la configuration socioculturelle en est, elle-même tributaire* ». Depuis la structuration socioculturelle féminine jusqu'à celle masculine, tout a trait à la terre. Le foncier est donc au cœur des pratiques sociales liées au genre. Il a un rôle clé dans les valeurs sociétales affectée aux hommes et hommes.

III.2 Le genre, une construction sociale dans la régulation du foncier

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139 *Op.cit.*

L'acte majeur par lequel l'individu acquiert des normes et valeurs de la société à laquelle il appartient en les intériorisant dans une période d'apprentissage et par la suite se les appropriant par des mécanismes de reproduction, n'est rien d'autre que la socialisation. De même, dans la société *Kyaman,* les citoyens sont formés par le biais de cette industrie créatrice de la vie en communauté. Dans cet ordre, il existe une école spécialisée dans reproduction des traits caractéristiques sociaux. Celles-ci se caractérisent par la configuration des étapes d'apprentissage à travers les quatre classes d'âge *Gnandô*, *Dougbô*, *Tchagba* et **Blessoué**. Cette classification prend en compte les hommes et les femmes dans un processus de socialisation binaire lié à la régulation du foncier. Ainsi, FAVEREAU (1989 : 273, 328) admet qu'« *Un mode de régulation ne reproduit jamais à l'identique les rapports sociaux existants* ». L'unité des hommes, est chargé de la prise en charge du néophyte parvenu à l'âge adulte par le rite d'admission au sein d'une classe d'âge. En effet, celui-ci est soumis à l'observation rigoureuse de la tradition[140] dans les thématiques du foncier, du culturel, de la politique et de la vie militaire. Dans le cadre du foncier, le jeune *Kyaman* à l'âge de sa maturité[141] civile est formé à la géographie spatiale[142]. Il apprend ainsi à distinguer le foncier familial du foncier coutumier ou communautaire. À l'issue de sa formation, celui-ci est capable de distinguer l'espace foncier familial de sa tribu en interaction avec celui des autres et de faire la typologie des lots. Dans le cadre du culturel, Le néophyte, est initier au strict respect de la promotion intra-générationnelle[143] et intergénérationnelle[144] dans le processus cyclique de la régulation système foncier. Par ailleurs, l'unité des femmes prend en charge la jeune fille en âge de puberté dans la formation liée au terroir et à la vie

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140 Rappelons que la tradition *Kyaman* stipule que les cadets sociaux doivent se soumettre aux aînés sociaux dans un processus d'apprentissage d'une durée de seize (16 ans). Le but de ce long exercice repose sur deux grands principes, l'humilité dans la richesse et le respect de tout citoyens quelques soit son âge, surtout en vertu de cette maxime *Kyaman.* Les *kyaman* sont égaux à la naissance, dans leurs fonctions et attributs sociaux et même égaux dans leur fin de vie.

141 La maturité civile est estimée à (21) vingt et un an pour l'homme et seize (16) ans pour la femme.

142 La géographie spatiale dans ce contexte est une démarche qui vise à inculquer aux jeunes apprenants les connaissances requises pour la localisation de l'espace foncier familial et les interactions spatiales avec les autres types de terrains existants dans le milieu sociétal.

143 La promotion intragénérationnelle consiste à inculquer au jeune apprenant, la conviction qu'un citoyen n'évolue que par génération. Ainsi, un individu issu d'une classe d'âge sociale, ne pourra s'épanouir et se réaliser que par son intégration complète au système d'appartenance.

144 La promotion intergénérationnelle est relative à la posture de courbure que les cadets sociaux doivent avoir vis-à-vis des aînés sociaux, dans la mesure où leur ascension sociale est strictement liée au principe de gérontocratie.

quotidienne. Au sujet de l'éducation relative à la société, elle est soumise graduellement à la connaissance des lois qui régissent le monde des esprits chtoniens et celles des hommes vivants. Au sujet de la vie courante, elle est formée à la compréhension des rôles sociaux entre genres et surtout, l'importance de sa posture sociale dans la famille et dans la communauté. Madame AKOUN, la doyenne d'âge d'Adjamé Bingerville, s'exprime à propos : « *Le rôle de la femme dans notre société est méthodiquement construit. D'abord elle apprend à connaître et discerner les réalités supranaturelles qui régissent le fondement de notre existence. Ensuite, elle est formée en qualité de bonne actrice de notre système social. De sorte, qu'elle arrive à intériorisée et extériorisée les valeurs socialement souhaitées* ».

III.3 Le genre, un aval pour l'originalité des pratiques foncières

L'homme et la femme représentent les maillons essentiels de la gouvernance en société *Kyaman*. Ils occupent une place primordiale dans la relation tripartite qui les lient à la terre. Pour ISABELLE CASSIERS (2002 : 54, 55)[145], l'intégration sociale des deux sexes est «*Tout ensemble de procédures et de comportement, individuels et collectifs, qui a la propriété de : reproduire les rapports sociaux fondamentaux à travers la conjoncture de formes institutionnelles historiquement déterminées ; soutenir et "piloter" le régime d'accumulation en vigueur ; assurer la compatibilité dynamique d'un ensemble de décisions décentralisées, sans que soit nécessaire l'intériorisation par les acteurs économiques des principes de l'ajustement de l'ensemble du systè*me ».Dans l'imagerie populaire, ils incarnent la dualité dans la création. Monsieur AGO, le premier responsable de la génération *Tchagba* d'Anonkoua Kouté s'exprime à ce sujet : « *Chez nous les Kyaman, l'homme et la femme incarnent les lois de la nature. Puisse que la création elle-même repose sur le principe de dualité à travers les choses les plus évidentes de notre monde, bien et mal, nuit et jour, soleil et pluie. Bref, l'homme et la femme représente ces dualités qui apparemment diffèrent, convergent dans leurs interactions relationnelles à la production d'une harmonie dans la stabilité du système foncier* ». À travers ces propos, il découle que le rôle de l'homme et la femme est de nature consubstantielle dans la gestion du foncier. Ainsi, de par les fonctions sociales de l'un ou de l'autre advient une réplique de la relativité qui régit le fonctionnement régulier de tout système. Rappelons que l'homme est l'incarnation de la dimension empirique et la femme, celle ésotérique dans le système foncier

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145 ISABELLE CASSIERS. *Op.cit.*

local. Cette configuration typique au mode d'administration du « pouvoir foncier »[146] en société *Kyaman* est la clé de la compréhension non seulement du fonctionnement de la vie politique mais aussi, de celle socioculturelle de cette communauté. À cet effet, dans l'organisation des activités sociales, l'homme est mis en avant dans sa posture d'acteur de premier plan, il organise la gestion du foncier autour des quatre classes d'âge **Gnando**, **Dougbo**, **Tchagba** et **Blessoué** et dans le strict respect de l'ordre cyclique de la transmission intergénérationnelle du pouvoir. Cette manœuvre inhérente à la tradition *Kyaman* est en fait une sorte de leurre qui sert de bouclier à l'organisation féminine. À juste titre, évoquons une fois de plus, le rôle secret de la femme dans ce contexte, celle-ci est gardienne des trésors culturels et cultuels du système foncier. Madame AMAGOUA, un cinquantenaire du village de Locodjro, nous explique cette réalité en ces termes : « *Nous incarnons les valeurs socioculturelles héritées de nos parents. Notre rapport premier à la terre n'a pas vraiment changé. De plus, nous nous efforçons malgré les contraintes que nous subissons de la part des hommes et du contexte urbain de conserver nos pratiques foncières intactes. Surtout que nous voudrions respecter la volonté de la terre qui nous a vu naître. Malgré, l'attitude innovante des hommes à vouloir toujours s'adapter au contexte du moment, nos petits efforts permettent d'assurer le bien-être familiale en situation de crise* ». De ce fait, elle est médiatrice entre le pouvoir des hommes et celui des esprits chtoniens. Elle est le vrai garant de la stabilité du système foncier dans un double aspect. D'abord, elle est entièrement dévolue au respect de l'immuabilité de la terre par la promotion de son caractère inaliénable[147]. Ensuite, elle fait la promotion d'une économie de subsistance basée sur la culture et la cuisson du manioc. Cette posture a un objectif didactique et économique. Le premier est celui d'une reproduction sociale des valeurs foncières entre aînés et cadets sociaux. Le second est celui d'assurer l'équilibre du revenu familial en situation de crise. Par ailleurs, c'est à la femme *Kyaman* que revient le privilège de prendre en charge le quotidien dans les ménages.

Conclusion

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[146] « Le pouvoir foncier » est un groupe de mots qui traduit dans nos écrits la relation entre pouvoir politique et foncier coutumier en société *Kyaman*. La terre symbolise dans la tradition des autochtones d'Abidjan le pouvoir. Elle est gage de l'odre sociale et des valeurs qui l'anime. En ce sens, le vocable pouvoir est souvent associé à celui du terroir ou des terres dans l'oralité.

[147] La terre est le lieu où réside les esprits créateurs et protecteurs de la communauté. Elle est la première mère en ce sens, elle donne vie et assistance à la société. Elle ne peut faire objet d'une quelconque marchandisation à cause de ce symbolisme.

En définitive, la question du genre qui passionne les débats actuels d'un point de vue émancipatoire de la femme ne trouve pas la même connotation dans la société *Kyaman* d'Abidjan. L'homme et la femme occupent des rôles socialement construis dans la gestion du foncier coutumier. Il apparaît que dans ce sillage que la perception des *kyaman* sur la posture entre genre est purement tributaire de la tradition. La terre est le catalyseur des ordres sociaux entre hommes et femmes dans le système foncier. En ce sens, la théorie de régulation sociale, nous a permis de comprendre que le sens réel de l'homme et de la femme réside pour une bonne part dans le naturisme. Ainsi, il n'existe pas à priori de gradation dans le positionnement des deux entités dans l'échiquier sociocommunautaire relatif à la régulation du terroir. Bien qu'apparemment complémentaire dans le bon fonctionnement du cadre foncier traditionnel, l'homme et la femme revêtent des valeurs différentes. Dans le contexte administratif, la primauté est accordée à l'homme en qualité d'exécutant. Dans, le contexte culturel, c'est à la femme que reviens la distinction parce qu'elle est l'incarnation de l'originalité des pratiques foncières *Kyaman*. L'appréciation de la posture de l'homme et la femme ne pourrait- elle pas dans ce contexte, nous disposer à affirmer une polysémie culturelle du rapport entre genres.

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The Perception of Pre-Marital Sexuality and Virginity of Highly Educated Women Aged 20 to 25 in Rabat, Morocco

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Abstract

The focus of this study was to understand how well-educated women from a middle or upper-class background living in Rabat, Morocco, generally perceived premarital sexuality, and virginity. Employing a qualitative research method, its other concerns were about the sexual encounters and views of the sample population, as well as how they handle sexual taboos in present-day Morocco. The hypothesis of the research population, as well as their sexual revolution, reveals an alternate insight into the existing body of knowledge based on previous research. Seventy-eight semi-organized closed and personal interviews have been conducted for this paper with women between an age range of 20 and 25. A significant number of the families considered sexuality-related discussions or sex education a taboo. Some respondents have had pre-marriage sexual relations and lost their virginity thereby. Findings have shown that there is a cultural shift in this group of well-educated women in Rabat from holding on until marriage to waiting for the right guy to lose their virginity to. Owing to a low level of awareness and discussions involving sex and sexuality in Morocco, women use the internet for obtaining sex-related information. Whereas, some others chat with and learn from their female friends which they perceived to have been more informed and experienced on sexuality matters. Most women do not hold the idea of virginity in high regard and would not even consider having a hymen reconstruction—at least, not anymore. Several respondents perceived the sexual standards imposed on women to be extremely unjustifiable and misogynistic.

Keywords: premarital sexuality, virginity, educated girls, society.

Introduction

Official Moroccan data reflects that the age of union will be equivalent to the time of sexual debut even though some surveys have

recorded incidences of sexual debut before marriage (Bakass & Ferrand, 2013). Nonetheless, there is proof that a lot of women get involved in more than a few sexual relationships before marriage. A study in Rabat demonstrated that adolescents are increasingly involved in more pre-marital and non-penetrative sex which indicates that the age from the first marriage does not equate with the age from the first intercourse, and this counts for both men and women (Bakass & Ferrand, 2013). The changes revealed in this study might suggest that sexual practices of Moroccan teenage girls are starting to converge with those of developed countries. Kd. (2006), in his study, indicated that 36 percent of women were involved in sexual intercourse before marriage. Nevertheless, it is plausible that the rate is higher than what has been estimated in the study. Also, it varies incredibly among various socioeconomic strata of society. An empirical study of this topic has, however, proved abortive as it is inhibited by the prevalent societal ethics of sex.

A first sexual experience plays a significant role in one's socialization process (Bakass & Ferrand, 2013). However, for plenty of youngsters in Morocco, caution is the main choice about exploring their desire. Young people crave for independence yet do not set out to go past taboos. Marriage can be one legitimate route for young Moroccans to have intercourse without getting disgraced or ostracized. Nevertheless, certain considerations have prompted a deferment of marriages such as financial privation and difficulty for men to get good-paying jobs to support a family life (Spiegel, 2006). More access to education and higher labour market participation, particularly for women, has expanded the marriageable age level. Furthermore, completing education at tertiary levels, plus, auxiliary instruction, and having the freedom of choice to pick one's beloved partner rather than an arranged relationship also contribute to late marriage (Puschmann & Matthijs, 2015). While the deferment of marriage for well-educated men is largely due to joblessness, i.e., indicating lack of required funds to manage the cost of marriage; for their well-educated female counterparts, however, obtaining more education does not only defer marriage but is also a way to invest their time in self-development. Often, for women, life is usually about either getting intellectual satisfaction or settling down in marriage—one at the jeopardy of another. Meaning, the longer they are in school is the longer the marriage is on hold. Besides, having more education than a prospective male partner will be disadvantageous for a lady in an early marital settlement. Thus, she would be perceived in the public as disregarding and confronting men's ego, due to her much education and self-development activity which has made her less vulnerable and naïve. This gives rise to an increase in the financial reliance of educated women in their families (Elliot, 2015).

Through this, I will attempt a probing into how changes in pre-marriage sexuality play a significant role in the present sexual insurgency occurring in Morocco. Some researchers opine that it is probable that youthful grown-ups will in the long run experience a sexual insurgency practically identical to the one in the West during the 1960s (Puschmann & Matthijs, 2015). Others think that it is more probable it will take the form of advancement rather than an insurgency (El Feki, 2014). El Feki (2014) questions there will be huge changes in the sexual experiences of individuals in the Arab World. As indicated by her, sexual convictions and practices are an after-effect of the past, and it will take a long time for another pattern to spread out. In this manner, rather than a sexual rebellion, El Feki accepts there will be a re-evaluation of the sexual experiences of individuals in the Arab World enabling them to communicate with great confidence and creativity. Another third prospect is that young people's sexuality will be significantly regulated by the legislature as in the past—the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979.

This research was carried out to survey how the women concerned perceived sexuality and virginity as well as the sexual behaviour they exhibited, especially regarding their disposition and response to taboos on sex in contemporary Morocco. By way of qualitative method, data has been collected via an interview with highly educated, middle, and upper-class women in Rabat, Morocco. All subjects between ages 20 to 25 are unmarried. To further the interests of this research, themes discussed in this paper centre on the subjects' view of courtship, friendships, and past sexual encounters, plus, their exposure and knowledge on the concept of sexuality.

The decision for middle and upper-class women aged 20 – 25 years is because past research has demonstrated that ladies with the most education acquire sexual experience before marriage. This finding clarifies that school-going to women makes them fearless. Also, it will demand more time from them as they are bound by the need to liberate themselves from the chains of family forbiddances (Guessous, 1990). Guessous' study also demonstrates that most of the unmarried ladies in the research group were persuaded at the time that having some sexual experience before marriage is a need. Since almost certainly, women in this group have had some sexual experience before marriage, it is fascinating to study what their encounters were and how they experienced them. This particular group could either follow up on what is generally expected of them explicitly, or they could intentionally act diversely or even oppose these prospects.

Literature Review
Sexuality in Moroccan Culture and Religion

Sexual convictions in Morocco are moulded by conventional culture and Islam. Notwithstanding, there is a disparity between Islamic convictions that license sexual pleasure and an institutional framework with twofold models for ladies and that firmly benefits men. The Qur'an states that any type of sex is just permitted inside the marriage setting. Both the Qur'an and the Hadith emphatically acclaim sexual delight for the two partners and bolster the view that foreplay is significant for fulfilling sexual desires (Guessous, 1990). An ordinarily referenced Hadith is 'Al Baqara V.187' that suggests that "the man [does] not leave his partner until she is completely fulfilled" (Obermeyer, 2000, p. 250). All across the history Islam, there has been an erotica custom that has offered pragmatic guidance in writing form. Researchers have disputed that these customs have contributed toward a positive sexual disposition wherein ladies do profess their privileges to sexual satisfaction in marriage (Guessous, 1990). Given that it occurs within a legitimate union, Islam encourages carnal recreation based on the following three significant purposes. Firstly, it makes it feasible for Muslims to replicate; also, the Qur'an lauds sexual delight that enriches and amuses Muslims; thirdly, sexual fulfilment is one of the guaranteed satisfactions in heaven (Guessous, 1990).

Notwithstanding, dichotomous sexual orientation in Morocco confine and repudiate these sex inspirational frames of mind by organizing convictions on devotion and disgrace. For instance, calling an unmarried lady *hajjala* (separated or bereaved lady) infers she is certainly not a virgin any longer and this would be disapproved of (Obermeyer, 2000). While men's wants and sexual needs are seen as normal, ladies' bodies are to a more prominent degree judged by their purity and 'appropriate sexual conduct', given the estimation of 'hachouma'. Hachouma freely means humility, disgrace, or timidity. Hachouma is a tolerability code that everyone adjusts to and that both depicts and denies certain practices. Lost regard does concern the blameworthy one as well as their whole family. As an outcome, females are relied upon to remain virgins until they get married and have restricted enthusiasm for sex during marriage. Be that as it may, customary Moroccan sayings supporting the idea of ladies having unquenchable sexual needs demonstrates the inner conflict towards female sexuality (Obermeyer, 2000). On the off chance that these requirements are not controlled, it might even prompt disarray (Mernissi, 1987). Hence, strategies are utilized, for example, pre-marriage solitude, early-arranged engagements, and a wedding custom that requires evidence of female virginity. This delineates the twofold ambiguity where ladies are caught between the divergence of being 'the prudent virgin' and 'the charming seductress' (Obermeyer, 2000).

In Islam, virginity is related with the presence of the hymen. The Qur'an does not refer to a need for blood spillage during the wedding night,

yet both man and wife ought to wed as virgins. Even though there is expansive understanding in logical writing that the capacity to analyze virginity by outside genital assessment is legendry (Bravender et al., 1999), there is as yet incredible confidence that an unblemished hymen demonstrates virginity. The ethical difficulties encompassing hymen reconstructions infers that issues are an aftereffect of sexual orientation disparity (Van Moorst, Van Lunsen, Van Dijken, & Salvatore, 2012). Some authors have contended that there is no medicinal legitimization for hymen reconstructions and ought not to be performed accordingly because they would just add to the confidence in fantasies about the hymen and virginity and keep sexual orientation imbalance unblemished with it (Usta, 2000). Others, even though fact that is concurring with the contentions against such activity, notice the predicament of ladies who may consider reconstruction as their lone method for sidestepping any conceivable brutality if they are not equipped to exhibit blood after the wedding night (O'Connor, 2008).

The restriction of pre-marriage sexuality could in part clarify the caution around sex. Moroccan law considers sex between unmarried partners to be infidelity and these are offenses deserving of law. Article 490 of the Criminal Code states that two people of the opposite sex who are not married to one another indulging in sexual activities can risk a sentence of one month to as long as one year of imprisonment. The period of consent in Morocco is 18 years. Regardless of these social and legal confinements and contraception being promptly accessible, a high level of illicit premature births is another pointer of pre-marriage sexuality. It was highlighted that unmarried ladies are majorly involved in the range of 130.000 and 220.000 abortions carried out every year (Pascal, 2018).

Methodology

The 78 respondents were somewhere in the range of 19 and 27 years of age at the hour of the interview. They were Moroccans, unmarried, exceptionally taught, and they principally originate from families that are profoundly instructed. They are students studying at either a Private or a State-funded college or they have quite recently graduated. All respondents lived in Rabat at the time of the interview and aside from one; the majority of the respondents were all the while living with their parents.

Seventy-eight semi-organized interviews were held. The points and the most significant inquiries were fixed, yet the respondents were as yet urged to portray their reality in their very own words. There was a chance to request more facts when necessary. The decision for this kind of interview was the following: some research has been done regarding this matter yet not on the small scale level. As a result, it was critical to focus on individual experience. Before the interview began, the respondents' consent was

obtained so that the interview can be recorded. The explanation behind recording the interviews was because the sound record was to be analyzed and a conclusion need to be drawn on the information received. During the interview, it was noticed that the interviewees would be unnamed, that there were no wrong answers, and that the respondent could generally ask for an explanation if any inquiries were vague. Since certain topics may be viewed as taboo, the interview began with the 'simpler' or progressively nonpartisan subjects, for example, dating and it ended with the 'more touchy' points like intimacy and sexuality. Also, the aim was to have a consistent, sequential request in the topics.

Findings
Family Background
Most of the respondents judge their families to be very moderate. Only one couple believes their family to be liberal. All women remarked that hard work and considering getting a degree on the college level was emphasized by their parents. Some women stated how their parents sent them to tuition-based schools rather than government-funded schools. Some guardians couldn't effectively bear the cost of private schooling yet they chose it despite the cost. Being educated and getting a decent line of work with decent pay are criteria that would lead their daughters to be financially autonomous. Some guardians need their daughters to have this freedom to be established even before they get married.

Most of the women believe their mothers to be more receptive than their fathers and along these lines, they talk more easily about dating with their mothers than their fathers. Some respondents stated that they are allowed to dress anyhow they like. Some guardians acknowledge their young daughters not to be too religious as long as they don't compromise that in public. Guardians may acknowledge it, yet society does not. Other respondents need to push and battle to have a smidgen of opportunity inside the family unit, and they do such by inciting or by gradually attempting to change the principles in the house. Some had the option to gain the trust of their parents by doing admirably in school. Others go out to see friends stealthily when their parents are not at home or engage in different exercises outside the house and lie about that to their parents. Be that as it may, most respondents going to bistros during the day to meet friends is all right, as long as they are at home by night.

Talking about Dating within the Family
Half of the respondents said they would inform their mothers when they have a sweetheart. They are instructed that having a boyfriend is commendable as long as the dating time frame isn't excessively long. The

relationship ought to be taken seriously and the boyfriend ought to be acquainted with the guardians as fast as conceivable with the aim of the couple getting married. This occasionally brings about women having a relationship stealthily. The respondents guarantee that their mothers are some of the time mindful of their daughter having a boyfriend, yet they, more often than not, do not give much information about the relationship to their mothers except if they believe the relationship to be very genuine. Casual dating is rarely mentioned to the mother. Because the respondents are apprehensive, their mothers would pass judgment on them for it. At the point when casual dating has been referenced, this occasionally results in the mother putting pressure on the daughter to marry them. As a result, they choose not to mention casual dating any longer or they essentially choose to quit discussing it at an eligible age, for instance when they enter college. Just two respondents express that they can talk straightforwardly to their mothers about dating and are allowed to do that without the inclination of any pressure to marry.

Hayat, 24: "Interviewee: I surmise where it counts, [my mother] realizes that I'm going to see somebody. Since it's essentially what is going for every young lady here. And she has her friends and her friends have daughters and they disclose to her anecdotes about their daughters, similar to they're approving of their women going out dating and seeing parents."

In other cases, dating is never mentioned in the family, notwithstanding when the mother doubts that her daughter is dating somebody. Dating in most cases is viewed as illegal, and being friends with a young man is disheartened in most of the cases. Albeit, some are permitted to have male friends and they are now and then even welcomed into the home. Some guardians would just talk about the implication of dating. At long last, women regularly hear that young men are not to be trusted and a greater amount of them need nothing but sex.

Ines, 20: "My mother [says] you need to continue watching your back. Guys simply hurt women, […] they don't care about you. This is the reason why they don't discuss it legitimately, however, I am yet to comprehend what they're attempting to state."

Marriage is something that is not referenced a great deal either in the family unit. One respondent quit mentioning any dating experience she had because her parents would pressurize her to marry the individual she was dating and she believed she was not prepared for that. Inside the family unit, particularly fathers rule out discussing young men or any type of dating. They more often do not think that it is undeniable that their daughters don't date until they get married. These convictions are regularly clarified through suggestions, customs, and other verifiable ways, for example, going to weddings of relatives. A couple of respondents will share with their siblings

when they are seeing someone, for the most part without giving numerous subtleties either.

Discussing Sexuality within the Family

Ibtissam, 21: [Sexuality] was somewhat forbidden inside our home. My parents would not refer to it but rather it was something that you believed you were not permitted to do. If a couple would engage in sexual relations on TV, we would simply zap, and stuff that way. They did not let you know, however, they sort of shamefaced it."

In practically all of the cases, respondents do not speak clearly about sexuality with their parents. Most of the time, it is viewed as a forbidden subject or 'hachouma', frequently additionally among siblings. At the point when respondents are or have been sexually active, this information is commonly never shared with the guardians. At the point when sexuality gets referenced by one of the guardians – which is typically the mother – the daughter is certainly advised to remain a virgin until marriage. Respondents have been raised to conceal their sexuality. They believe mothers avoid discussing sexuality since they are anxious about the possibility that sexuality discussed will be followed up on. Thus, guardians try to maintain a strategic distance from any negative discussion about their daughter from society or the network. Particularly fathers disallow any discussion about sex.

Khadija, 23: "For my dad, it's prohibited to discuss sex or marriage or anything, because there is a resembles of a huge wall between a father and his daughter in Morocco. Like there is major regard, similar to he is a God or something, you should regard him and not discuss all that since we call it hachouma. It's irritating."

At the point when mothers decided to speak or disclose sexuality to their daughters, respondents would state they would know every one of the things that their mothers would attempt to disclose to them. They either found out about it through friends, had their very own sexual encounters, or looked obtain it from the internet. Mothers would regularly underline the significance of being financially free (This was not an issue twenty years back with the plan to outline; this is not a entirely Western thought). At the point when a daughter is financially autonomous, losing virginity would be less of an issue. Thus, she would not need to depend financially on a spouse and consequently is allowed to do anything she desires. This may be a sign that money related freedom is beginning to supersede the security of virginity. In just one case, a mother would not disclose to her daughter to hold up until marriage but rather to hang tight for 'the right one'. This is so that she would not regret her first sexual experience. At the point when that respondent was still in secondary school, her mother would check once in a

while to confirm her sexual status as a virgin when she arrived home, saying that she doesn't need her to do anything sexual since she may regret later.

Amina (22) is the main respondent who talks about sexuality easily to her mother and says she would share with her mother if something sexual would occur before marriage. However, she was not ready for that to occur. When she was around eight years of age, her mother disclosed already the things she ought to and ought not to do. Furthermore, she established that her elder sister would disclose some things to her too. When she doesn't have any answers to an inquiry, her mother would source it for her and explain. Another respondent notices how she views her parents to be very paradoxical because they are open about plenty of issues, aside from marriage and sexuality. She also does not specify anything identified with sexuality to her siblings, not in light of it being a taboo but rather because they are busy with different things in their lives and due to age distinction. The vast majority of the respondents don't have the foggiest idea if their parents converse with their brothers about marriage, yet they opined that if sex is an unthinkable act before marriage for the women, it will likewise be forbidden for the young men. One respondent expresses that her parents don't discuss union with her brothers, yet they do discuss it with her sisters. Though some respondents would refer to a part of their dating experience with their mothers, most won't discuss it with their brothers. One respondent expresses that even though her mother acknowledges her relationship with her boyfriend, her boyfriend won't acknowledge that relationship. She clarifies this is because they are the two women in male-centric culture. While her daughter is seeing someone, the mother expressly advised her not to disclose it to her brothers.

Virginity
Depicting (female) Virginity

There were different ways the respondents portrayed virginity. Most respondents see a virgin as somebody who never had any sexual contact. One respondent had the view that there is a natural and scholarly meaning of the word "virginity". The first being a state where a young lady's hymen is as yet flawless, the subsequent one being a young lady who has not been touched by anybody sexually. She thinks society essentially considers virgins to be women with hymens, yet for her, that is not virginity. Virgins are individuals who never had any physical contact at all. Most respondents pass by this second meaning of virginity and accept that notwithstanding when women have butt-centric sex, they would not think about them virgins. Others trust you lose your virginity when you have sex and lose your hymen. One respondent clarifies that the obliviousness individuals have regarding what it means to be a virgin is a result of an absence of sex education. One respondent says that being a virgin is an approach to others to demonstrate

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you are or have been a decent young lady. Another young lady enhances the portrayal and states that on the off chance that you are not a virgin, you are nothing according to Moroccan men yet, also, accepts that being a virgin gives you esteem as a lady and ought to, along these lines, keep your virginity. Some women believe that likening virginity with having a hymen is dumb or gullible. One poses that there are ladies who were conceived without a hymen yet never had any sexual relations. Another thinks that it is two-faced that women have non-penetrative sexual relations. As a result, their future spouses won't discover and do not think this is virginity. Finally, one respondent accepts that virginity ought to rely upon whatever definition an individual defines it as.

The Significance of Virginity

Six women were still virgins at the period of the interview and eight women were most certainly not. As for the significance of virginity, the individuals who were virgins could be partitioned into two groups. Firstly are the individuals who view virginity as being significant and won't lose their virginity until they get married. Secondly are the individuals who do not see virginity as significant but, however, choose to keep their hymen flawless because their family anticipates it of them or as a method of preserving their future. The individuals who were not virgins any longer either never discovered virginity to be significant or had sooner or later in their life chose it was not significant any longer. In the research group, there was just a single individual who discovered virginity to be important. She held that it gave her worth. Also, she would wholeheartedly only give her virginity to her better half on her wedding night.

In the group of women who will keep their hymen because their family anticipates it of them, for instance, Amina (21) states virginity is imperative to her as it were, and it is increasingly essential to her family. She won't engage in sexual relations before marriage since that is what her family expects of her.

Amina, 21: "[Girls] don't do it, not because they would prefer not to, they don't do it on account of their families. Provided that their parents discover that she's not a virgin any longer, it will be a major issue. So they do any, everything, except of [penetration]. I mean they may have butt-centric sex, yet not [vaginal sex]. Everybody contemplates that little thing, the hymen, that is the main thing they consider. In case you will have sex, you're futile, you have no worth, […] simply because of the hymen. While you could do anything, without doing that [penetration]. No doubt, that [does not] mean you're untouched, I mean some women do everything aside from that and profess to be unadulterated and imagine not knowing any person, you know. I find that ridiculous, more like a wolf in sheep's clothing, [but]

my family] would be baffled if [I would] do different things. In any case, different things, they can't find them [laughs]. You know? Nothing will change if you do different things. Yet, the hymen-part, it's conspicuous that they will find it."

Two women revealed that they realize they need to hold up until marriage because their family places trust in them to keep their hymens intact. They avoid inconvenience and respect their family by doing so. They would disappoint their families if they would lose their virginities before marriage. Therefore, that is the reason they choose to remain virgins. One respondent uncovers that in spite of demonstrating a bloodstained sheet isn't exceptionally normal any longer these days, the wedding night is as yet sacrosanct in her family. There are some kinds of challenges among female cousins regarding who can hold up the longest with having their sexual debuts. Therefore, this demonstrates that if you would not wait, you would not be deserving of marriage. As she grew, she altered her perspective on this and would not hold up until marriage. Thus, she would hold on to have her sexual debut until she discovers somebody who might be genuine and who is committed to the relationship with her. Virginity is a route for her to sift through those guys who are exclusively keen on sex. During her adolescence, her mother would check if her hymen was still intact until she was 'mature enough' to settle on the choice to engage in sexual relations or not. Financial security could likewise be an explanation behind keeping the hymen, even though one respondent is not sure she needs to keep her virginity until marriage. Yet, she keeps it anyway to preserve her future and she would need to marry somebody if her hymen is still intact. Until further notice, she keeps it as long as she isn't sure about her future or financial independence. It isn't something fundamentally critical to her; however, she realizes it is socially significant. She includes:

Siham, 19: "So what if someday this is one of the plans I'm saving, what if someday something happened and I couldn't be independent and I just have to marry someone. That someone should find a virgin, he should find that piece of meat. I'm not talking about mental virginity or general virginity. He should just find that piece of meat in its place, in its normal place, not moving, not changing."

In any case, she keeps the choice open to losing her virginity to somebody she is extremely enamored with. Up until now, that has not occurred at this point. Another respondent who is additionally not certain if she needs to hold up until marriage includes that she needs her first time to be vital. She clarifies that a ton of Moroccan men won't wed their lady friends when they are not virgins, regardless of whether they were the ones who despoiled her or not. In this manner, she may think that it is all right to remain a virgin until marriage. She will also realize that a person is quite

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dedicated to her. In addition, she considers it as an approach to verify that the person won't leave her after they had sex together.

In the non-virgin group, one respondent communicates her conflict with likening virginity with the estimation of the young lady. She expresses that these days, there are a ton of unmarried young ladies in Morocco who are not virgins any longer. Also, they do not think it is something to be thankful for if everyone would think these non-virgin young ladies would not become great. Numerous respondents accept that it ought to be a decision whether young ladies choose to stay as a virgin and that they do not have an issue with any decision that different young ladies make regarding virginity. Different respondents clarify that even though some Moroccan men may be receptive, they would, in any case, need to wed a lady who is yet a virgin. Also, there are not many men who truly don't think that it is risky if their future spouse is not a virgin. Most young ladies dislike this. One respondent expounds on how she never thought much about virginity. However, she would hear a ton of her companions talk gravely about young ladies who were not virgins any longer. She at that point chose to quit conversing with them. She would not like to give her virginity to a person she was dating because she would not like to run the hazard that he would speak seriously about her or debase her after she would have surrendered her virginity to him. After that, she met another person who she was comfortable with and who is a women's activist simply like her. Since she figured that he would not look down on her on the off chance that she was not a virgin any longer, she agreed to engage in sexual relations with him.

The vast majority of the non-virgins said that in spite of not considering virginity as significant, they would not simply like to lose it to an arbitrary individual, yet to somebody who is not kidding about them. Others were spending time with somebody they loved and had eventually chosen who they simply need to have intercourse with. One respondent discussed how some of her companions were offering her guidance regarding how to have intercourse without losing their virginity by "thigh sex", yet she didn't see the purpose of that. For the explicitly dynamic individuals, she sees no contrast between those whose hymens are flawless and those that are most certainly not. She believes that it is fraudulent and chauvinist that the virginities of the young ladies are checked and the virginities of the young men are not, and this is a reasonable case of male predominance in Moroccan culture. Besides, she feels Moroccan culture accepts the fact that a lady has nothing to offer in the event when she loses her virginity, and she emphatically can't help in contradicting that. She accepts young ladies more than simply their virginities and has a lot more significant things to offer than a flawless hymen. A few young ladies talk about how they were explicitly dynamic for quite a while keeping their hymens intact by scouring

the penis of their partner between their thighs. It isn't that they feared how society would regard them after they lost their hymens but because they feared how they would feel about themselves when they lose their hymen.

Hayat, 24: "I'm not the kind of young lady to say: no, despite everything I need to be a virgin so I can [easily] get married, […]. I'm not going to wed somebody who will wed me since I'm a virgin, so I was dating somebody and he was my first, similar to three years prior, […]. After that, I felt like nothing has changed, so I feared nothing, simply leaving my psyche. So essentially it was all right after that."

Another young lady observes virginity to be exaggerated and thinks more significance is given to it than it merits. She says this does not imply that a first sexual encounter isn't significant. This is because she discovers it is, yet it is anything but not a major ordeal when somebody loses their virginity. When she was growing up, her discernment and perspective changed so that she chose not to mind any longer what others think about her when she is no longer a virgin. There is one slight special case in the gathering of non-virgin young ladies. Regardless of losing her virginity, she believed she was excessively youthful at an opportunity to settle on the choice to do as such. She believed she raced into it since she needed her sexual debut to be with the individual she was with at the time. However, looking back, she wished she could have been a little more patient.

Losing Virginity

A large portion of the non-virgin young ladies did not see losing their virginity as an exceptionally huge occasion, albeit some were a bit in stun after they lost it. As expressed previously, a large portion of the non-virgin young ladies needed to hold up with their sexual introduction until they discovered somebody they felt all right with and who was not joking with them. They didn't 'simply need to do it'. One young lady was in a three-year relationship when she chose to engage in sexual relations for the first time with her boyfriend at the time. This was not the person she would inevitably marry. However, at that time, she was persuaded he was the right person to lose her virginity to because they knew each other well and she felt there was a decent association between them. They settled on the choice together to engage in sexual relations with one another. She didn't feel much pleasure for the first few times and thought it was agonizing. In all, she thought of them as an enjoyable experience and they improved after some time. She envisioned her first time to be progressively sentimental, however, it was not. Thereafter, she began crying and she didn't get why. She clarifies that from the outset, she felt like a piece of her was gone. And looking back, she just felt she was being expressive. She essentially needed to become accustomed to the possibility that she was not a virgin any longer.

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Madiha, 27: "I didn't regret [it], it was only a feeling […]. Goodness, I did this, I truly did it, and I felt some portion of me is gone, presently I'm not virgin, all right, and like in a moment, in almost no time, I began to ask myself numerous questions. How I will behave with society, our way of life, we are Moroccan. By what method will I manage this? I was apprehensive for instance to stop with this person and to have like another connection if this new guy will acknowledge, a non-virgin young lady or not. For instance, if I get married, will this new guy acknowledge that his future [wife] is certainly not a virgin young lady and so on? So I began to pose these inquiries, however, a couple of times, at that point after I was [fine]."

Another young lady discusses how virginity was never something essential to her, but yet she additionally said that she would not simply like to lose it to somebody arbitrary. When she was more youthful, she envisioned she needed to be infatuated with the individual with whom she would encounter her sexual presentation and how it would be a sentimental encounter. When changing from youth to adulthood, she says the importance shifts from how you need things to happen to how they occur. She said her first time was a decent encounter since it was with somebody that she preferred.

Khadija, 23: "We were viewing a film. It was hilarious. We went through like two hours laughing hard, at that point we took a gander at one another and we began doing it. What's more, he was expecting that I would stop him, since he knows I was [a] virgin. But I didn't. At that point, I didn't think twice about it, he thought I would be thinking twice about it since he's a usual guy. Since he has an ordinary Moroccan perspective, he expects that all young ladies should remain a virgin. I was youthful at the time. At that point, I didn't have any issues with it. I didn't request anything. It occurred, it was cool and it's done, how about we not discuss it. It's not notwithstanding something we should discuss. It is anything but a major thing to discuss, it occurred and we had a fabulous time and that's it in a nutshell. He didn't generally comprehend how I was thinking. He thought perhaps I was up to something since I didn't discuss it. He was anticipating that I would have issues with it, and [to be angry], and obliging him to remain with me, since he was the one and I couldn't have cared less pretty much all [those] things. I realized that we're simply companions and he was intending to go [abroad], and I will remain here and I couldn't have cared less pretty much all that. I simply had some good times and that is it. He didn't comprehend it at all and he quit conversing with me. Later, because she didn't have an idea of how she could deal with not being a virgin in Moroccan culture, she cried and felt a smidgen in stun. Yet inevitably, she revealed to herself that she is strong and that she can, in any case, have the opportunity to do the things she needs to do.

Khadija, 23: "This is the thing you need to deal with as well, and it gives you more liberty and you can engage in sexual relations as much as you need and it's cool as long as you want to do it. Also, when I told my friend, she was shouting at me and asking me why I did it? I responded that I needed to do it, what are you are shouting at me for? She suggested that I ought to marry him now! I told her, no! What's more, she didn't get me, presently we're not friends any longer […]. I don't like people that behave like that."

Ibtissam, 21: "As I stated, it simply happened as expected. Possibly I was somewhat affected by vodka, yet I think if I weren't drunk I would have still done it since I truly loved the guy. Since I felt like he felt the same about me. He was a very honest and sincere person, so he was not simply attempting to get into my jeans as my father says. Like he needed something increasingly out of me, the sex was only an extravagance. It resembled a reward or something; it was not the most significant part of our relationship."

Hayat, 24: "I went to his place […], and I did not expect anything to happen. We talked about sex and I told him I was a virgin and he was okay with that, I'm going to wait, and I don't want you to do it because I'm pressuring you or something like that. And I said like, you know what? Let's do it. I said, let's do it. I don't want to think about it, I don't want to wait, I don't want anything else. I want to do it. We were [intimate before], [and] I was sexually active but I just kept the hymen. So at that point, I just want to get rid of the damn thing and enjoy it [laughs]. I'm not going to wait for long. And the funny thing is after like two days, I decided to break up with him." Another young lady shares that she observed her first time to be a romantic experience which was with her boyfriend at that time. She never had the idea that she would not hold up until marriage without engaging in sexual relations.

Hiba, 23: "It was at his place and it was very pleasant, he was making a decent attempt to satisfy me. He asked questions like are you feeling all right? Are you feeling okay? Are you sure you need to do this? He was making a decent attempt to make me comfortable with it, which is incredibly pleasant. Also, he was pleasant and gentle and everything, so..." Besides, when some guys discover that a young lady is not a virgin anymore, they become furious. One girl would have sexual contact with her boyfriend at the time, yet without penetration. However, when he finds out she is not a virgin, he threatens to break up with her or even kill her.

Rajaa, 24: "No, I won't [accept him as a boyfriend if he doesn't accept me as a non-virgin]. [My ex and I], we didn't use to have [sex], I was so far a virgin around at that time yet we used to like go to his place and kiss and expose our bodies to each other and stuff, and he once mentioned that his ex was not a virgin. Before he found out, they were involved in anal sex.

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However, when he found out that she was not a virgin, he beat her up and they later broke up. He said, if I find out that the lady I marry is not a virgin, I will completely butcher her. Like, he used the word kill, just because of virginity. With that information, I told myself continuing with the relationship was not worth it, and so I quit. For me, that is very unreasonably."

Moreover, not half of the respondents have felt some strain to lose their virginity to the person they were presently dating. Some ladies saw their boyfriends to be a very dominating person. One girl said that instead of discussing sexuality together, her ex would try to forcefully get what he wants from her without her consent. As a result, she abstained from having any sexual relations with him.

Ibtissam, 21: "There have been a couple of times where I envisioned being involved in sexual relations with him, yet I did not want to because I felt compelled into doing it. Taking everything into account, what's the point? If you are the only one enjoying it and I am not, it would more feel like rape. Since rape isn't about when you fight back, rape is generally when you are forced to have sex whether you show interest in it or not."

Consequently, the rest of the respondents stated that they have not felt strain to lose their virginity or to take an interest in sex. One girl stated that her boyfriend did not put pressure on her since he was seeing other ladies too. Some have had the invitation to take part in sexual relations, and their boyfriend accepted "no" as an answer. One girl demonstrates that a few guys won't force a girl to lose their virginity as it might suggest that he needs to marry her.

Siham, 19: "No, [virginity] was something, a concept they understood I shouldn't and I couldn't do it, and they understood they shouldn't do it for me because once an individual takes a girl's virginity, he would be accountable for it and he would maybe be constrained to marry her. So no one would need to marry a young woman whom he has set down with beforehand and no one would accept the risk of virginity since this is something sanctified and recognized here. So that was something everybody agreed on, that virginity should be there."

Salwa, 24: "I expected to do it with this person. I was sure that I wanted to do it, I don't have the foggiest reason why. Since when we were having like, not sex, we would rest together and I would come and he would come without certified penetration and after that one time I was stimulated and I told him, well you can do it if you need it. Moreover, he looked like no, no, no, this is a noteworthy thing. I need you to verify that you have to do it, not while you're feeling horny. So then I thought of it and I said it's not because I was invigorated, I'm sure I wanted to do it. It was an adventure for me. I was so energetic, I was 18."

Conclusion

Based on the foregoing, many Moroccan women held on to their virginity until marriage, as an attempt to secure their future. However, this norm has seemingly been replaced by the pursuit of a degree and higher labor market participation among the educated female population as a better way of guaranteeing one's financial future. For these ladies, they would rather discuss relationship and marriage with mothers than with fathers and brothers. This is because mothers usually underscored the value of financial freedom. Affected by modern-day viewpoint, most of these educated girls now maintain a rather undesirable outlook on marriage and as such, they give utmost attention to self-development.

Concerning losing one's virgin, three prevailing models have been differentiated. Initially, some girls voluntarily desire to let it go to someone they choose. Hence, they are uninterested in being married or in a serious relationship with the boy. In the second place is a category of girls who will or have waited for the right guy to lose their virginity to—in contrast with losing it in marriage. Though they might consider having a serious relationship with the one they lost it to, yet they do not aspire to be married to him. While it lasts, some in this group engage in non-penetrative sex activities. In a third category are girls who are willing to wait until marriage, although mostly because it is the family expectation, not a personal decision. This third class of girls is exempted from any form of carnal exchange.

For most of the subjects, virginity was not an asset to hold on to. As a result, they would not opt for hymen reconstruction—though fully informed it is possible. Birth control methods have been explored amongst the sexually active group, such as the use of a condom, the withdrawal method, and the morning-after pill. Some girls disclosed, during the interviews, that they involve in masturbation before losing their virginity, whereas others revealed they engaged in self-pleasure after the first sex.

Several respondents strongly differed from the ritualistic presenting of a sheet with blood as a token of a girl's sexual purity—plus, the widely-held response confirmed the rapid decline of this practice mostly in the metropolitan area. Marriage centered on financial security was rejected by the respondents who favored an equalitarian relationship, one built on mutual affection, support, and empathy. These same ladies would rather opt for western men for the perception that Moroccan men are old-school. Various respondents perceive the sexual constrains on them to be discriminating and chauvinistic such as linking one's virginity to their personal worth by male relations. In addition, they complained of having never had insufficient sexuality education in the schools, thus, leading them to seek information on the internet as well as through more female friends. This is an essential

outcome that stood out in the study parallel to Guessous' work in 1990 before the internet age. On the other hand, a notable correspondence between both examinations is that boys still take the first step toward girls—not the other way round. With undesirable customs waning off, girls concede that generational shifts are occurring. Further on similarities, girls are still likely to be private about their sexual relations. Notwithstanding, half of the respondents hold that sons and daughters enjoy equal treatment from their parents.

Based on the statistics presented, it appears Morocco is fast replacing old beliefs regarding sexuality with new ones. Still, it has not been ascertained if and at what rate these new ideas will be transmitted across other social groups. Irrefutably though, this research indicates the following handful of sexual revolution sensitivities existent within the sample population. This is with the emphasis on mutual care in dating and sexuality, pre-marriage sex in a higher rate of recurrence, eminent attention given to the development of women status, and virginity no longer being an acute determinant of their financial security.

Girls can now be involved sexually without pregnancy worries due to increased awareness and access to contraceptive solutions. Regardless, other features seem absent or only negligibly existent, such as the removal of connections to the marriage. Further, notwithstanding the determination and proneness of the girls to mutual affection-centered affairs, it is still from becoming the pattern. Indications suggesting that girls regard their sensual satisfaction of equivalent significance as the males' are absent. Thus, the information on this paper does not imply or denote proximity to companionate marriage becoming the norm in Morocco. In spite of secularism prevailing amongst the younger generation, El Feki (2014) holds that so long as the doctrines of Islam are still adhered to, i.e., with God being the chief father figure, Morocco will still be founded on patriarchal culture.

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Factors Affecting Urban and Peri-Urban Agricultural Development: The Case of Latvia

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Abstract

According to UN statistical data and projections, at present 55% of the world's population live in cities, yet the proportion is expected to increase to 68% by 2050. On the one hand, such an increase makes the problems of ensuring urban sustainability and environmental security more difficult to tackle, yet on the other hand it raises a number of vague questions about the future development and challenges of the agricultural industry in this urbanised environment. Most of the European countries and Latvia are more focused on exploring agricultural production processes and linking them to the principles of a bioeconomy or circular economy, while problems in urban and peri-urban agriculture remain unexplored.

The research aim – to investigate the factors affecting the development of urban and peri-urban agriculture in Latvia. The specific research tasks are set as follows: (1) to identify the factors affecting the development of urban and peri-urban agriculture; (2) to classify the economic and social factors affecting urban and peri-urban agriculture.

The results of the research show that Europe is the third most urbanised region in the world; therefore, economic growth in the regions of European countries is directly linked with the risks of urbanisation. Territorial processes and agricultural intensification could generally serve as a driving force for those who had been employed in agriculture to apply their skills in establishing specialised urban or peri-urban agricultural enterprises. Nowadays, the greatest proportion of any economy is comprised of services rather than goods, therefore enterprises are interested in optimising the use of resources, while customers increasingly focus on the quality of customer service. In a special way, it may be also attributed to state administrative institutions, the customer service of which is directly associated with the state's prestige and the meaningful achievement of the state's strategic goals.

Keywords: Urban agriculture, sustainability, agricultural entrepreneurship.
Introduction

The development and sustainability of areas having been historically considered unurbanised and oriented towards agricultural and other rural economic activities also face new challenges. Globally, of course, it indicates a very rapid and dynamic change in the pressure of the urban environment on the non-urban environment. According to UN statistical data and projections, at present 55% of the world's population live in cities, yet the proportion is expected to increase to 68% by 2050. On the one hand, such an increase makes the problems of ensuring urban sustainability and environmental security more difficult to tackle, yet on the other hand it raises a number of vague questions about the future development and challenges of the agricultural industry in this urbanised environment.

In September 2015 in New York, the UN adopted the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, putting sustainable development as a key prerequisite for global development, with 17 sustainable development goals set to be achieved. The 11th goal of the Agenda 2030 pertains to sustainable cities and communities and is aimed at "making cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable", stressing that the cities are "hubs for ideas, commerce, culture, science, productivity, social development and much more". Cities play a key role in social and global development, yet the intensity of urbanisation prompts the need to find a balance between resource use and urban sustainability. A new approach to agricultural production could be conceptually found in relation to resource efficiency and urban sustainability in particular, with the aim of targeting not only agricultural intensity, productivity and efficiency but also the social dimension and the principles of a circular economy. It is urban sustainability that shapes the concept of sustainable development, as specified in the 1987 UN report "Our Common Future" on sustainable development, which identified three basic dimensions: economic, social and environmental. Although the urbanisation process focuses, to a great extent, on the economic growth dimension, urban sustainability cannot be achieved without equal consideration of the social and environmental aspects. Urban sustainability needs to focus on three aspects of urban development: 1) resource efficient cities – ensuring sustainable resource use, contributing to energy efficiency and developing smart cities; 2) clean cities – reducing pollution and decreasing and managing waste; 3) green and healthy cities – planning land uses to improve the ecosystem in the cities and contributing to socio-economic equality.

The 11th sustainable development goal set by the UN Agenda 2030 determines the need for cities to develop based on four basic principles: inclusion, security, resilience and sustainability. An analysis of city (Azunre G., 2019) sustainability indexes reveals how important it is to balance all the

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three dimensions, as the concept of sustainable city encompasses the balance among urban economic and employment growth, environmental protection and social environment and infrastructure security . Urban and peri-urban agriculture in the urban environment has been in the international spotlight, particularly since the 1990s.

Most of the European countries and Latvia are more focused on exploring agricultural production processes and linking them to the principles of a bioeconomy or circular economy, while problems in urban and peri-urban agriculture remain unexplored, even though in practice such processes have already been observed to emerge, and individual entrepreneurs have targeted economic diversification and adaptation of farming to the urban environment. This urgency is based on the trends observed and assertions that agriculture is expected to become part of the city's lifestyle and diversify an urban landscape in the near future. Of course, the intensity of urban agricultural production is different from that of the conventional one and is influenced by climatic conditions, urban development, soil quality, suitability for agriculture, employment, etc.

Such considerations determined the research aim – to investigate the factors affecting the development of urban and peri-urban agriculture in Latvia. The specific research tasks are set as follows: (1) to identify the factors affecting the development of urban and peri-urban agriculture; (2) to classify the economic and social factors affecting urban and peri-urban agriculture. To do the research and identify the factors, the research used the following methods: monographic, data grouping and statistical analysis.

Territorial change as a cause of changes in the rural environment and agriculture

An increase in the share of urban population worldwide and in Europe has been observed since the beginning of the 21st century, and the formation of a dynamic majority of urban populations, compared with rural populations, is a visible sign of an increasing acceleration in the urbanisation process, which has determined a number of challenges of various intensity that were faced by cities and rural areas around the world. The trends are presented in Figure 1.
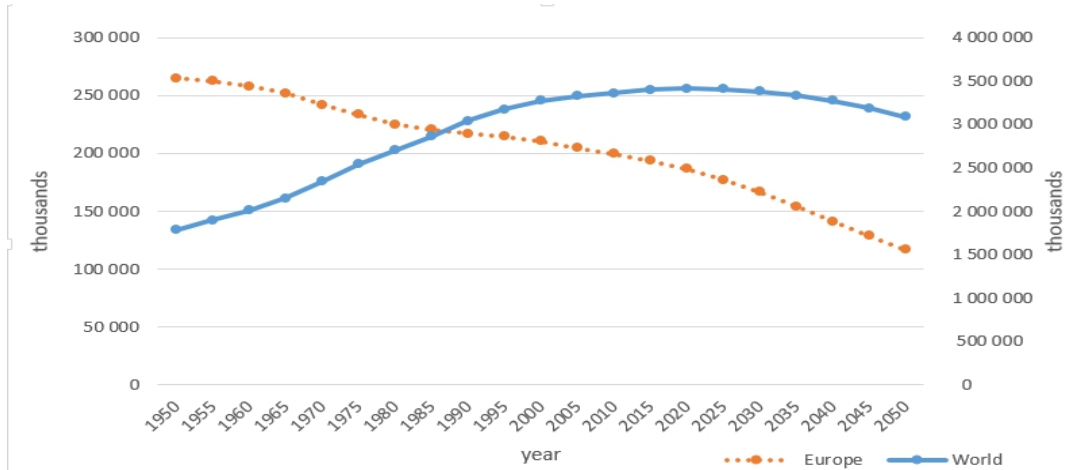
Source: Revision of World Urbanization Prospects, 2018.

Fig.1. **Annual world rural population at mid-year (thousands) in 1950-2050.**

Overall, according to the data, the world's rural population increased in the period 1950-2000, stabilising in the period 2000-2019, while a decrease is expected to begin beyond 2020. Meanwhile, there has been a steady decline in rural population in Europe since 1950. Europe is the third most urbanised region in the world, with 74% of the population living in urban areas, and economic growth in the regions of European countries is directly linked with the risks of urbanisation: regional overpopulation, social and economic stratification, public health problems in urban environments, growing individualisation and lower social community, food insecurity and poorer nutrition, as well as all the risks related to the intensification of agricultural production, the reorientation of agricultural business processes and the concentration of logistical supply chains.

A slightly more detailed analysis of decrease in populations that live in rural areas reveals that the average decrease rate for European countries was 44% in the period 1950-2050. However, in the European countries too, the population change and the decline in rural populations do not occur at equal rates. Examining the European countries in more detail and analysing the statistical data on rural population changes from 1950 to 2050 allows concluding that Eastern Europe is expected to experience the smallest rural population decline – on average, by 40% –, while Northern Europe (which also includes Latvia and the other Baltic States) is expected to observe the largest rural population decrease, on average, by 54%.

In parallel with this process (shrinking rural populations), a dynamic increase in the world's population is observed, as urban areas as well as the population living in urban and suburban areas tend to increase.

The agricultural industry is one of the traditional and historical industries of the economy of Latvia, with a long history of development and great prospects for development. The industry has traditionally represented a wide range of stakeholder interests in the national economy and is a factor contributing to employment in rural areas in Latvia.

One of the indicators showing the overall development of the agricultural industry in Latvia is the share of the industry in total added value.
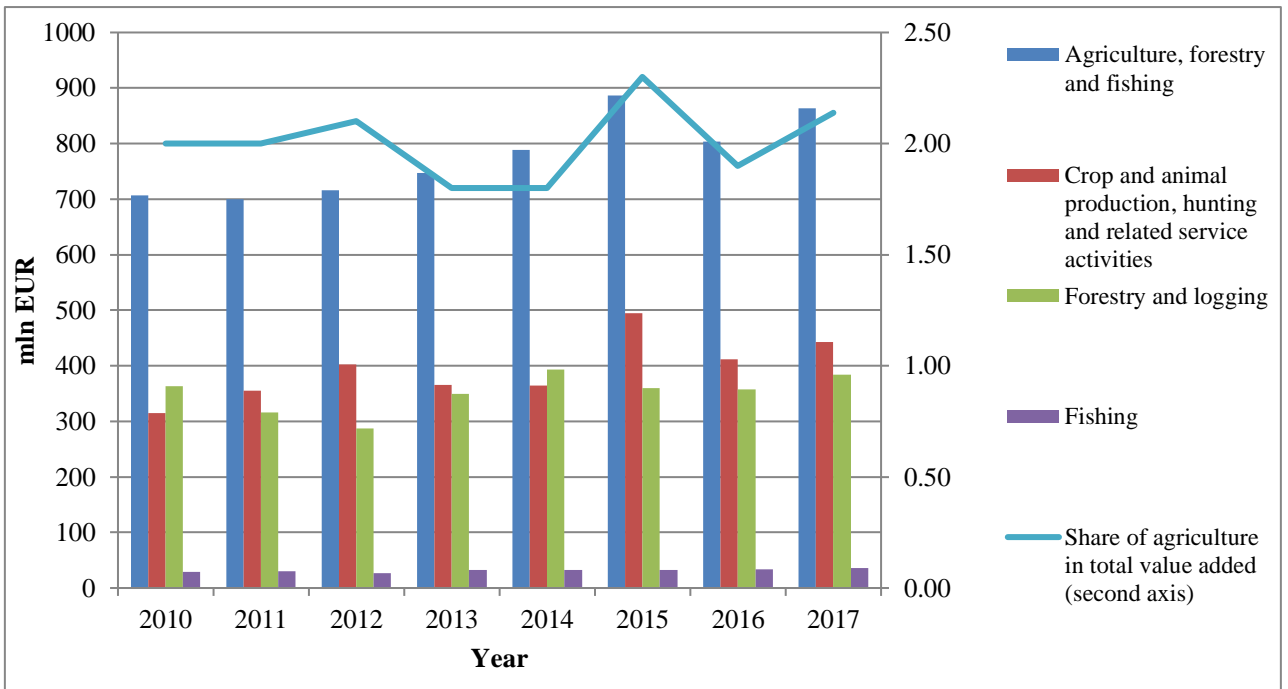
Source: authors' construction based on Central Statistical Bureau (CSB) data

Fig.2. **Changes in the shares of agriculture and other primary industries in Latvia in the period 2010-2017, %**

In the period from 2010 onwards, the agricultural industry's contribution to total value added generated in Latvia remained relatively unchanged (1.8-2.3%), as shown in Figure 2. In absolute terms, however, the value of agricultural products produced in Latvia continued to increase every year, indicating prospects for the agricultural industry in Latvian. The industry continued to grow and modernise, reaching its optimal share rates and holding a stable position in the economy of Latvia. In 2017, the total contribution of the agricultural industry (excluding the related industries) to the economy amounted to 2.14% of the total value added generated in Latvia

in 2017. The total value added of goods in the primary industries (agriculture, forestry, fishing) measured at base prices reached EUR 863 million in 2017 (CSB). However, an analysis of agricultural output revealed that the total value of agricultural products at base prices reached EUR 1277 million in 2017 (Agriculture in Latvia 2018).

However, due to the intensification of production in the agricultural industry, a decrease in the number of individuals employed in the industry was observed. The number of agricultural employees tended to decrease mostly in:

- grain production (-7.0 thou. employees);
- vegetable production (+0.7 thou. employees);
- permanent crop production (-1.3 thou. employees);
- mixed crop production (-3.0 thou. employees);
- dairy production (-5.5 thou. employees);
- grazing livestock production (+3.3 thou. employees);
- pig and poultry production (+4.9 thou. employees);
- mixed livestock production (-0.5 thou. employees);
- mixed livestock and crop production (-2.9 thou. employees).

Overall, a sharp decline in the number of employees was observed in the agricultural industry, including grain and milk production. Introducing new technologies and automated equipment, industrialisation has been explicitly observed in the dairy and grain industries since 2004, which continued to reduce the need for labour in agriculture as well as lower agricultural production costs.
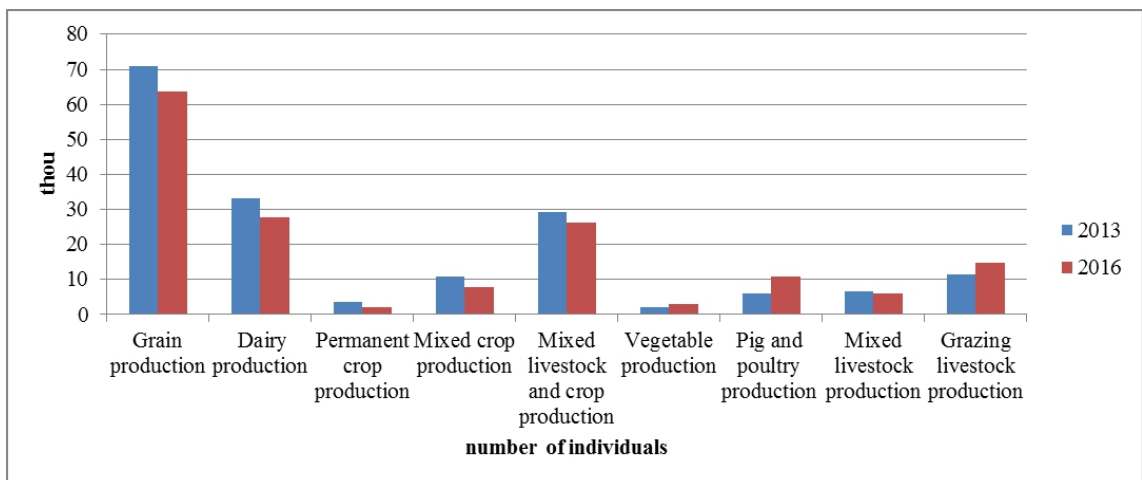
Source: authors' construction based on Farm Structure in Latvia in 2016
Fig.3. **Number of individuals employed by agricultural holdings by kind of agricultural activity in 2013 and 2016, thou.**

A sharp decrease in the number of individuals employed in the agricultural industry could also be explained by the volatility of prices on agricultural commodities, which made less efficient agricultural enterprises leave the market and contributed to rapid specialisation of agricultural enterprises and mechanisation and efficiency of agricultural production.

Territorial processes and agricultural intensification could generally serve as a driving force for those who had been employed in agriculture to apply their skills in establishing specialised urban or peri-urban agricultural enterprises.

Such urban agricultural businesses are based on product diversification and the possibility to operate using circular economy principles, thereby creating competition for large agricultural enterprises through producing niche or custom-made products.

Classification of the factors affecting urban and peri-urban agriculture

One of the main reasons (World Economic Forum, 2015) contributing to urbanisation is population migration from rural to urban areas due to economic motivation in pursuit of higher employment, higher wage levels, social service security, better infrastructure and other urban benefits, which, in this way, contributes to the risks of urbanisation such as infrastructure challenges (growing population increases the demand for housing, public transport, electricity, water and heating), public health challenges (sanitary conditions, healthcare provision, fresh and healthy food supply), climate change (urban populations, infrastructure and production increase environmental and climate change impacts), social instability (social and economic stratification), more crime, social inequality).

Urban agriculture could primarily play an economic role: employment, income generation and less expenditure on food, yet in the areas where urban agriculture is not economically motivated, it could be more focused on environmental aspects and the social dimension. A number of research studies and strategic policy documents highlight the role of urban agriculture not only in theoretical but also in practical terms – in building a community, interest education and popularising "green" lifestyles.

Urban agricultural activity could be differently motivated and have different scope and objectives, yet its territorial dimension is the most important one. Urban agriculture is generally defined (Schram-Bijerk D.,2018) as the cultivation of crops of different kinds in the urban environment. However, it is the territorial aspect that varies across the relevant literature and research studies (Opitz I.,2016; Poulsen N.M.,2015; Ayambire A.R.,2019;) , and the diversification and implementation of urban agriculture is fundamentally dependent not only on whether peri-urban

agriculture is also considered to be urban agriculture but also on its role in sustainable urban development.

Table 1

Classification of the economic and social factors affecting urban and peri-urban agriculture

Urban agriculture	Peri-urban agriculture
Economic factors (E)	
Short food chains: products are used for self-consumption, donated to charity or sold to nearby restaurants or markets	Long food chains: products are marketed in regional, national and global markets
The economic goal is, most often, production for self-consumption. Profits – usually very minimal	The economic goal is income generation. Profits are the basis of business.
Mostly vegetables and herbs with relatively low nutritional values are grown	It provides much greater biodiversity, with the possibility of producing all the necessary food categories
Production is small, depending on the area of land used, crop, environmental conditions	Large quantities are produced
Social factors (S)	
Areas are characterised by high population density	Areas are characterised by low population density
Links and contact with nature are renewed in the urban area; an opportunity to get emancipated from the urban environment	Links and contact with nature are renewed in the urban area; an opportunity to get emancipated from the urban environment is limited because the area is in partial contact with the urban environment
An opportunity for providing the educational function for different audiences: individual residents, a neighbourhood group or the community, educational establishments, care centres, etc. Implementation period – unlimited	The educational function is most frequently implemented within the family, and group training can also be done Implementation – periodic, the implementation period – limited
Economic operators – enthusiasts, most often without any vocational	Economic operators – usually professionals in their own fields with

training and experience in agriculture	relevant education and/or experience
Motivation – very diverse, from hobby to income generation	Motivation – commercial practice, profit making
Very extensive cooperation is possible, within the family and with neighbours, the community and urban residents	Cooperation is usually within the family and with the employees hired
Small land areas are managed, up to 5 ha (on average 0.4 ha).	Large land areas are managed, up to 100 ha
Restoration of degraded urban areas, diversification of the landscape, bringing people closer to nature	Managed areas are located in between the urban and rural environments

An analysis of the factors summarised and shown in Table 1 reveals that urban and peri-urban agriculture could be based on economic and social factors. In addition, an in-depth analysis of the significance of each of the factors in the context of the area under investigation could be carried out in the future. However, one can conclude that the factors examined considerably differ from those specific to conventional agricultural practice and, at the same time, require a new approach to business processes.

Conclusions:
1.   As the population grows and the burden on the urban environment increases, a new approach to agricultural production could conceptually emerge with regard to resource efficiency and urban sustainability, with the social dimension and the principles of a circular economy at the forefront.
2.   Europe is the third most urbanised region in the world; therefore, economic growth in the regions of European countries is directly linked with the risks of urbanisation: regional overpopulation, social and economic stratification, public health problems in urban environments, growing individualisation and lower social community, food insecurity and poorer nutrition, as well as all the risks related to the intensification of agricultural production, the reorientation of agricultural business processes and the concentration of logistical supply chains.
3.   In Latvia, the value added of the agriculture industry tended to considerably increase, yet, at the same time, the number of farms decreased and labour moved to cities, which created a basis for diverse forms of agricultural production to emerge.
4.   Territorial processes and agricultural intensification could generally serve as a driving force for those who had been employed in agriculture to apply their skills in establishing specialised urban or peri-urban agricultural enterprises.

5.   Urban agriculture has the potential to contribute to economic, social and environmental sustainability, yet it has to focus on economic gains only, while urban and peri-urban agriculture should be viewed critically.

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Contribution of The Transport Industry to Economic Growth in Latvia

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Abstract

Latvia is not rich in mineral deposits or other resources, yet Latvia occupies a very favourable geographical position, as it is located near the Baltic Sea and borders on several countries – Lithuania, Estonia, Russia and Belarus –, which enable the country to become an important and efficient transport corridor in the east-west and north-south directions. Businesses producing goods cannot exist without transport, as the goods produced are delivered to final consumers by use of transport. The transport industry is therefore necessary and essential for growth in both business and the national economy. This determines the aim of the present research – *to explore the contribution of the transport industry to economic growth in Latvia*.

The *research employed general analysis methods*, logical construction and quantitative methods: monographic, content analysis for the specific literature and research papers, a specific case study and graphical methods for data analysis and depiction.

Keywords: National economy, transport industry, freight transport.

Introduction

The transport industry is a complex and complicated system that includes not only vehicles as a tool for the transport of goods and passengers but also infrastructure facilities that fully ensure the functioning of the industry. More broadly, transport is a combination of vehicles, roads, various buildings, structures and equipment that ensures the functioning of the transport. Providing an efficient, flexible and secure transport infrastructure is a necessary prerequisite for economic growth, as it promotes productivity as well as ensures the free movement of persons and goods, which is one of the fundamental values of the European Union. Today, the transport system is one of the fundamental elements that helps to create a quality business and life environment. Undoubtedly, the efficiency and quality of the transport system will increase if different modes of transport are combined to achieve

the objective. From the perspective of the population, the provision of a high-quality transport infrastructure contributes to their standard of living and prosperity. The development level of the transport infrastructure also makes a significant effect on the country's competitiveness, as the availability of a high-quality transport infrastructure in the country contributes to the development of existing and new businesses, exports and tourism in the country. Transport is an essential part of any production process, which allows delivering goods or services to the final consumer. This means the transport industry contributes to the development of the country's businesses, thereby contributing to the country's economic and social environment.

The role of transport in the development of the economy and society has also been emphasised by a number of scientists. From the perspective of a market economy, according to a Nobel laureate, F.A. von Hayek, "The availability of quantitative resources necessary for survival and life comfort depends not on the transformation of an asset but on the redeployment of it, which changes the relative importance and value of the asset". In addition, the scientist pointed out that moving a product from one consumer to another could raise the value of the commodity for all the participants of the exchange, thereby satisfying the needs of the individuals (Лапидус Б., Мачерет Д., 2013).

The process of exchange of goods occurs using transport, which determines and raises the level of economic prosperity. It should be noted that scientific research investigations revealed that increases in transport distance was a global trend in the exchange of goods. It provides an opportunity for more efficient interregional specialisation and allows for optimal use of available resources in the marketing of goods and services, thereby increasing economic prosperity.

Transport is a fundamental element in the global chain of economic relations. The dynamic development and efficient functioning of transport are the necessary preconditions for achieving high and sustainable economic growth rates, ensuring economic integrity and national security, as well as raising the standard of living for the population. English philosopher F. Beacon found that three things could make the nation great and prosperous: fertile soil, active industry and easy movement of goods and services.

In analysing the contribution of the transport industry to the national economy, it is necessary to focus not only on relevant economic indicators but also on the development of other economic sectors linked with socio-economic processes in the country (Lingaitis V., Sinkevičius G., 2014).

Results and discussion:

In 2008-2009, the world experienced the largest economic crisis since World War II, which affected all countries around the world. In Latvia, very rapid economic growth following the country's accession to the European Union, which was largely driven by the increase in domestic demand, was replaced by a deep recession when the financial crisis began. Initially, the adjustment process in the national economy was gradual; it accelerated already in 2008, particularly following the outburst of the global financial crisis in the autumn and the ensuing shock to world trade. As a result, Latvia experienced a significant decline in both domestic and foreign demand. In 2009, the economic recession in Latvia reached its peak – the gross domestic product (GDP) at constant prices decreased by 18% (Ministry of Economics of the Republic of Latvia, 2006).

According to the report by the Ministry of Economics, Latvia's economic growth following the economic crisis could be considered to be one of the fastest compared with the other Member States of the European Union, yet in recent years the growth decreased to only 2-3% (Report on the Economic Development of Latvia, 2018).

An assessment of the structural composition of the economy of Latvia reveals that the global crisis affected also individual industries (Table 1). The rapid growth experienced in the previous years, which was mainly based on domestic demand incentives, changed the structural composition in favour of some service industries – their growth was significantly faster than that of the trade industry. In the period 2010-2018, the highest shares in GDP were reported for service industries; the value added of commercial services, compared with 2010, increased by 3.6 %-points. There was also a positive trend in the value added of the construction industry, as the industry's contribution to GDP changed by 1.6 %-points. In the analysis period, the contributions of other industries in terms of value added decreased but were not significant – within a range of 0.2-1.7%-points.

Table 1

Structural composition of the economy of Latvia in terms of value added in 2010-2018, %

Industry	2010	2016	2017	2018	Change 2010/2018, %-points
Agriculture, forestry	4.4	3.7	3.7	4.2	- 0.2
Manufacturing	13.5	11.9	12.2	12.1	- 1.4
Other industry	4.8	4.3	4.3	4.1	- 0.7
Construction	5.0	5.4	6.1	6.6	**+ 1.6**
Trade, accommodation	17.3	16.3	16.4	16.0	- 1.7
Transportation and storage	10.5	9.1	9.5	9.6	- 1.0
Other service activities	28.4	33.1	31.8	32.0	**+ 3.7**

Public services	16.0	16.2	16.0	15.4	- 0.6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**0**

Source: authors' calculations based on the Report on the Economic Development of Latvia, 2018

An analysis of the significance of the transport industry in relation to the structural composition of the economy showed that the value added of the industry gradually decreased between 2010 and 2018, reaching a 9.5% contribution to GDP in 2018, which was 1 %-point less than in 2010. Since the transport industry is strongly linked with international freight and cargo transport, including the freight transported by rail and the cargo received and shipped through seaports, the decrease was affected by the decline in transit transport, mainly due to Russian transport policy and growing competition. Since the late 1990s, Russia has set goals for developing its own transport infrastructure in a way that guarantees independence from transit countries. Despite the decrease in transit transport by rail and through ports, growth in the transport industry in recent years has been driven by an increase in road freight transport, as well as an increase in passenger transport via airports and seaports. In 2017, the growth was the strongest since the global crisis. Passenger transport increased by 11%, storage and transport support activities – by 10%, postal and courier activities – by 14%, freight transport by 2 %. The growth in the transport industry continued in 2018 as well.

The macroeconomic role of transport or the contribution of it to GDP is determined not by the contribution of revenues earned by transport companies to GDP but by the value added generated in the result of the transport of goods, which is always lower than the former. Table 2 shows GDP and the value-added of the transport industry at current prices.

Table 6
GDP and transport industry value added at current prices in Latvia in 2014-2018, bln. EUR

Indicator	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Change 2014/2018, %
GDP	23.6	24.3	25.0	27.0	29.4	24.6
Transport industry value added	2.11	2.04	2.16	2.32	2.40	13.7

Source: authors' calculations based on Transport in Latvia, 2018.

After the economic crisis (2009-2011), the GDP of Latvia started to grow from 2014 and reached EUR 29.4 bln. at current prices in 2018; compared with 2014, the GDP expanded by 24.6%. However, the value added of the transport industry gradually increased from 2016, reaching EUR 2.40 billion in 2018, which was an 11.1% increase from the base year. In the

period under investigation, the lowest value added of the transport industry was reported in 2015 when the volume of freight transport decreased significantly and the value added totalled EUR 2.04 bln. Freight is mainly transported by rail, as the long-distance transport of oversize freight is impossible to carry out by another mode of transport, otherwise transport costs and the probability of transport risks increase. Rail transport competes with road transport. According to statistical data for the transport industry, Latvian rail transport is mainly used for international freight transport, while in domestic freight transport priority is given to road transport. In 2015 compared with 2014, the overall decrease in the volume of freight transported was mainly due to the decrease in domestic road freight transport by 4.2% and international rail freight transport by 3.3%. In 2015, the decrease in freight volume was due to changes in Russia's government policy. Russia intends to divert significant quantities of freight to ports in the Gulf of Finland and, above all, to handle the freight at its own ports – mainly oil and petroleum products –, which represent a significant share of the freight transported through Latvia. It should also be noted that the Russian Railway Development Strategy does not refer to any further increase in freight transit through Latvia. Up to 2015, the transit transport of coal accounted for a significant share in total freight transported in Latvia (on average 35%), yet a significant downturn began in 2015-2016, which points to the common European Union's policy to reduce coal consumption.

As part of the research, the authors carried out a linear correlation analysis to determine whether there was a correlation between freight transport and GDP in Latvia. A correlation analysis shows whether there is a relationship between the variables examined: X (independent variable) was freight transport by rail, while Y (dependent variable) was GDP. The analysis period was 2012-2018. As a result, a correlation equation was obtained:

$y = 84.452x + 2E+07, R^2 = 0.0397$

As shown in the correlation equation, there was a positive linear correlation, yet because the variable values were quite dispersed, the relationship was weak – $R^2 = 0.0397$. Consequently, it could be concluded that 3.9% of GDP was directly dependent on rail freight transport. This conclusion could be confirmed by calculating a Pearson coefficient. The relationship between rail freight transport and GDP could also be established by using the CORREL function of MS Excel. A Pearson coefficient may range from -1 to 1. A Pearson coefficient value of -1 shows that there is a negative linear relationship, 0 indicates that the relationship does not exist, while a value of 1 allows concluding that there is a positive linear relationship. The calculation yielded a value of 0.20, which means that there was a weak correlation between rail freight transport and GDP between 2012

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and 2018. In fact, this means that freight transport by rail in Latvia makes a minimum contribution to the country's GDP.

However, in the authors' opinion, it could not be denied that freight transport by rail makes an effect on the country's GDP growth, given that the transport industry has contributed, on average, 9.6% to GDP over the period under investigation, and that it is the transport industry that ensures the country's exports and imports made by the other sectors of the economy are transported.

The total value added of the transport industry is calculated taking into account the entire range of freight transported. The research also analysed the composition of freight transport by type for the period 2014-2018. It was concluded that in Latvia oil and petroleum products accounted for the most freight transport – on average, 39% of the total. The share of grain and flour products in total freight transport has increased from 2% to 3.3%. The share of timber in total freight transport has also increased – from 1.3 % to 2.7% (Transport and its Classification, 2008; Transport in Latvia, 2018).

The correlation analysis revealed the relationship between total freight transport and GDP. The resulting correlation equation is:

$y = 914.21x - 3E+07, R^2 = 0.9383$

The determination coefficient R^2 showed that 93% of the GDP of Latvia directly depended on total freight transport. The variable values were not dispersed, which allows arguing that there was a strong positive linear relationship (Table 3).

Table 3
Employment in the economy and in the transport industry in Latvia in 2012-2016, thou.

Indicator	Measurement unit	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Change 2012/2016, %
Employment in the economy	thou.	875.6	893.9	884.6	896.1	893.3	2.0
Employment in the transport industry	thou.	75.1	77.3	84.8	85.3	83.3	10.9
	%	8.6	8.6	9.6	9.5	9.3	X

Source: authors' calculations based on Transport in Latvia, 2018.

According to the data shown in Table 3, employment in the labour market of Latvia was volatile between 2012 and 2016, yet the overall trend was positive. The increase in employment was due to the government measures that stimulated economic activity and entrepreneurship, as well as strong growth in the services sector, which employed a high proportion of

the population of Latvia. The number of employees in the transport industry increased every year, yet in 2016 there was a decrease of 2%, mainly due to the decrease in the number of employees in transport companies as well as due to the retirement of the employees.

An analysis of the shares of individuals employed in the transport industry in Latvia between 2012 and 2016 shows that between 2012 and 2014 the share increased, reaching the highest level of 9.6% in 2014. This means that in 2014 in Latvia, almost a tenth of the total employees was engaged in the transport industry. It should be noted that in 2014 total employment decreased, yet this factor did not affect the transport industry. In 2015 in Latvia, both total employment and the number of employees in the transport industry increased, while the share of employees in the transport industry decreased by 0.1%-points. The highest share of occupied jobs in the transport industry was reported for land transport and pipeline transport as well as auxiliary transport activities, where the number of occupied jobs was almost unchanged in recent years. The fastest increase in the number of occupied jobs in recent years was reported for air transport and water transport. The major railway hubs in Riga, Ventspils, Liepaja, Daugavpils, Rezekne and Jelgava made a significant contribution to the country's economic growth and jobs.

Freight transport can affect not only GDP but also employment. In the analysis, X (independent variable) was freight transport, while Y (dependent variable) was the number of employees in Latvia. Using the CORREL function of MS Excel, the research identified a Pearson coefficient, which was 0.46. The Pearson coefficient value showed that there was a medium-strong relationship between freight transport and employment in Latvia, indicating that an increase in the volume of freight transport contributed to employment.

Conclusion

Growth in Latvia's transport industry is one of the most important factors contributing to the country's economic growth because, first, the value added of the transport industry gradually increased from 2016, reaching EUR 2.40 bln. in 2018, which was an 11.1% increase from the base year. Second, the transport industry contributed, on average, 9.6% to GDP over the period under investigation, and it is the transport industry that ensures the country's exports and imports made by the other sectors of the economy are transported. Third, the volume of freight transport for the key modes of transport had a strong correlation with GDP in the period 2012-2018 – the correlation coefficient was 0.92 –, which was close to 1. Fourth,

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the number of employees in the transport industry in Latvia increased every year, and the growth of freight transport contributed to overall employment.

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The Cultural Impact of Satellite Television on Social Identity of Moroccan Youth

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Abstract

Since television's inception in the Morocco in the mid-1960s and in the 1970s, there have always been rising expectations about harnessing the medium to promote Moroccan-Islamic culture. From a theoretical point of view, all Moroccan television charters and bylaws include provisions commending broadcasters with a leading cultural role. Indeed, government-controlled television featured programming on a number of cultural artifacts such as folkloric arts, traditional handicrafts and costumes, architectural designs, religious teachings, historical events and classical and contemporary literary traditions to foster specific awareness of national culture and value systems and identity. This paper examines the cultural impact of Satellite television on the social identity of youth in Morocco. The study is approached from a cultural imperialism paradigm which describes the effects of western mass media on foreign audiences The approach allows for an analysis based on whether the effects is positive or negative. Therefore, the study is directed to answer the following questions: (1) Does satellite television have an empowering effect or a weakening one? (2) Is there any clash between television program content and social identity construction? Hence, the analysis of a questionnaire is adopted to gauge such impact among university students in Morocco. The results of the study are discussed based on the major findings obtained.

Keywords: Satellite television, social identity, cultural imperialism, identity construction.

Introduction

The present paper is an investigation of the impact of satellite television on the social identity of Moroccan adolescents. The study focuses on Moroccan adolescents' perceptions of media messages and the way they influence their cultural values intrinsic to social identity dimensions and indicators. Over the years, research in the field of media effects has underscored the potential power of visual images to exert diverse and multi-

faceted influence on the audience. Different explanations have been put forth to account for how television influences values, attitudes, perceptions, identity and worldviews. So far, debates over media effects have not come to a halt. In this regard, new explanations crop up to unravel the multi-dimensionality of television as a social and cultural construct. The assertion that television plays a central role in our life is not new. Rather, it has managed to reduce the complexity of the problem of identity formation and turns the construction of national and global cultures essentially into a media question.

Cultural Imperialism Paradigm: A Critical Review

According to Salwen (1991), although almost all the issues focusing on global mass media are related to the thesis of cultural imperialism, there is no well-organized body of literature linked to media effects research, which can be referred to as cultural imperialism. Admittedly, the concept emerged mainly from communication literature relating to development and political economy (Salwen, 1991, p. 29). It also implies an intentional attempt to dominate, invade, or threaten the cultural space of others and suggests a degree of coercion in the relationship. Several different terms have been proposed in the literature by White (2001) to refer to this concept as Media Imperialism (Boyd-Barret, 1977); Structural Imperialism (Galtung, 1979); Cultural Synchronization (Hamelink, (1983); Cultural Dependency and Domination (Link, (1984); Communication Imperialism (Sui-Nam Lee, 1988); Ideological Imperialism (Mattleart, 1994 & Mohammadi, (1997).

In an attempt to narrow the focus of this paradigm, the media effects approach as it is conceived of by Salwen (1991) is chosen for its relatedness to the subject under study. In his article *Cultural imperialism: A media effects approach*, Salwen (1991) points out that cultural imperialism *"is an ideologically loaded term frequently invoked to describe the effects of Western mass media on foreign audiences"* (p. 29). Similarly, Beltran (1978b) argues that cultural imperialism *is "a verifiable process of social influence by which a nation imposes on other countries its set of beliefs, values, knowledge and behavioral norms as well as its overall style of life"* (cited in Salwen, p. 29). By doing so, he practically depicts all Western communication systems (media technology) as unacceptable for countries of the Third World. Kunczik (1991) supports this idea defining it as a situation where "the culture of a nation at the center is unilaterally imposed on the peripheral countries at the expense of their cultural integrity" (p. 191). Schiller (1976), sums up the whole ideology stating that

Cultural imperialism proposes that a society is brought into a modern world system when its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping its social

institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system (cited in White, 2000, p. 2).

It has to be admitted that media effects researchers, such as Mohammadi (1997), cultural imperialism has many cultural facets. First, being a subject of ideological debate, it has been used as a framework to describe phenomena in the field of mass communication and culture. Second, it implicates that part of the cultural and ideological patterns in what is transmitted has to be understood in terms of Western values such as individualism, secularism, materialism, and the belief in science.

Following the same line of thought, Croteau & Hoynes (2001) believe that early articulations of this position emphasized the role of television in influencing culture and society. They argue that researchers questioned the early claims of powerful effects, pointing out that the media capacities of other nations quickly allowed them to produce their own programming. This ethnocentric view of cultural arrogance and total ignorance, Kunczik (1991) comments, oriented the research in the 60s. For him, the idea that the Western values, customs, norms, and beliefs as standards for assessing other civilizations, is a sheer fallacy because media audiences in different countries make local interpretations of various media products.

From another perspective, Hamelink (1983) considers global proliferation of television as a helping tool in the standardization of a uniform Western life-style and contributing to an unprecedented cultural homogenization. In his view, cultural synchronization provides a theoretical grounding to study television viewing and culture. More recently, Tomlinson (1991), effectively, unpacks the various discourses about Western cultural impact as incorporating many constructs, namely media, nationality, culture of capitalism and modernity. He conceives of the overall complex and problematic nature of cultural domination as part of the global process of modernization and urban industrialization. This type of cultural imposition, Tomlinson maintains, has a hard-hitting corrosive power destroying constant localities and obliterating the differences between locality-defined cultures that constitute one's cultural identity (p. 269).

The fact that Cultural Imperialism has gained support in the media studies, articulating a sense of cultural power, has considerably less empirical findings with respect to satellite television. Varan (1998) states, however, that research in media systems as vehicles for cultural imperialism still has a particular "continuum of effects resulting from both the existing cultural terrain of a society and the potential erosive agents associated with communication technologies" (p. 59).

Recently, *the Cultural Imperialism thesis* has been discarded to frame various issues with respect to globalization (Mohammadi, 1996, 1997; Golding and Harris, 1998). Mohammadi points out that globalization of culture can be a good alternative to ethnocentrism, nationalism and xenophobia that has been associated with some national media systems. He suggests that cultural imperialism paradigm has been altered, to some extent, with respect to the obsolete conception it had some years ago.

In addition, Zhang & Harwood (2002) focus on the relationship between media imperialism and cultural practices with respect to advertising. They claim that foreign media messages reinforce and propagate existing cultural values that stand against the indigenous cultures. The primary concern for these scholars lies in the way media may operate as a threat to the existing traditional cultural values. In the same vein, Mattelart's work is on the ideological apparatuses of imperialism and concentrates on the multinationals' control of culture (1979). He sees the cultural facets of imperialism as being the main instigator in shaping the worldviews of societies, and also being a carrier of the social practices of modernity in all its manifestations. This means that imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale.

Overall, nearly all the propositions springing from the media imperialism thesis tend to enclose global mass communication as a process of cause and effect. Even if Croteau & Hoynes (2001) contend this argument stipulating that media texts may not generate universal effects, they believe that *"the type of society into which media products were introduced, the forms and volume of media products, and many other variables affected the strength and particular characteristics of the media's impact" (p. 260).* On this basis, it has to be admitted that the question of cultural imperialism assumptions should proceed from the notion that different cultures interpret texts differently because there is a wide-ranging agreement that this transportation model of how media work is not very appropriate outside certain situations of planned communication. Taken as a whole, there is a common agreement among early researchers of media effects studies that people hold strongly to their deep structure of culture. Payne & Peake (1977) deduced from their findings that "the tenacity with which people hold to their culture" is sometimes so strong that it cannot alter their deep structure of culture (cited in Salwen, 1991, p. 33).

Media Effects Research: Questioning the Paradigms

From a realistic perspective, cultural effects studies launched in the 80s sought to explain the extent to which Western media diametrically influenced foreign audiences. As a case in point, Boyd and Najai (1984) examine television-viewing habits among Saudis' adolescents based on

gender differences. They demonstrated that a large proportion of males preferred Western programs, compared to less than a quarter of females. By contrast, females had a preference to local programs and those of other Arab countries. The researchers also reported that females tended to favor high-culture programming and entertainment while males exhibit a strong preference to sports.

A look at a study realized by Kang and Morgan (1988) examine the interrelationship of Korean students' cultural values and their viewing American television programs produced by Armed Forced Korean Network. The study found out that heavy female viewers exhibited more liberal values than light viewers. Oppositely, males demonstrated no clear-cut distinction between heavy and light viewers. Besides, Kang and Morgan concluded that viewing the American program content may have engendered males to resist foreign program as they found themselves in an inconsistent situation both embracing and refusing aspects of Western culture.

A review of the American TV programs in the Philippines accounted in detail that high school students have undergone an inner psychological conflict when they become conscious of taking on foreign values (Tan, Tan & Tan, 1987). The Tans built their research on the assumption that American television programs present a conflicting cultural image in the Philippines which yields to a focalization of non-traditional values of high school students. The researchers conceived their investigation within the framework of media effects perspective, using *Rokeach* (1968; 1979) *value instrument* to gauge students' instrumental values –enduring guiding principles- and terminal values i.e., end goals. In more clear terms, the Tans showed that the students' own values, namely their terminal values, in Rokeach terms, were in stark conflict with the values they observed in American television programs. Put differently, terminal values such as "*pleasure*", "*exciting life*", and "*freedom*" which were underlined in American programs were de-emphasized by Philippino' students in favor of "*world peace*", "*equality*", and "true *friendship*". The Tans concluded their study stating that when audiences think of foreign programs as an integral part of cultural imperialism, the outcome is a vigorous confrontation to Western media in developing societies and latent "boomerang" effect against foreign messages.

A more recent study carried out by Zhang & Harwood (2002) examined television cultivation effects on perceptions of Chinese cultural values, precisely the values of interpersonal harmony and hierarchical relations among Chinese college students. The study investigates the correlation between domestic and imported television viewing and endorsement of traditional Chinese values among group of Chinese college students. The authors draw on ideas from Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1990) who specify that mass communication and television, in particular, played a

fundamental role in establishing the context for development of values and value priorities. (p. 245). They believe that considerable viewing time when it is devoted to programs from different culture have significant and effective repercussions on the importance of adolescents' value types. Hofstede (1980) and Rokeach (1973), emphasized the centrality of values to both cultural integrity and cultural identity development. They deduced from their research that a thorough viewing of foreign programs negatively supported the adoption of interpersonal harmony values while viewing Chinese music and sport programs proved to be a positive precursor of hierarchical relations. It is important to note that Zhang & Harwood's findings are discussed within the framework of cultivation hypothesis and media background in China.

Identity and Social identity: A Tale of two Perspectives
 In social psychology, the theory of the self can attend to both smaller and larger practices. For this purpose, I will present core components of identity theory and social identity theory and discuss that although some differences exist between the two theories, these are fundamentally related to emphasis than to kind. To outline identity in the two theories, I would say that each theory conceptualizes the self differently. So, in both perspectives, the self is reflexive, in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways. This process is called *self-categorization* in social identity theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell 1987); in identity theory it is called *identification* (McCall and Simmons 1978). Through the process of self-categorization or identification, an identity is formed.

 In social identity theory, a social identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group (Hogg and Abrams 1988).

 Social identity, on the other hand, is a person's awareness that he or she belongs to a social category or group (Hogg and Abrams 1988). A socially determined group is a set of individuals who hold a common social identification features or view themselves as members of the same social category. Through a social comparison process, persons who are identical to the self are classified with the self and are labeled the *in-group*; persons who differ from the self are categorized as the *out-group*. In early work, social identity included the emotional, evaluative, and other psychological correlates of in-group classification (Turner et al. 1987, p. 20). The significance of self-identification is an emphasis of the apparent similarities between the self and other in-group members, and an highlighting of the perceived differences between the self and out-group members. Precisely, one's self-image is enhanced by evaluating the in-group and the out-group on dimensions that lead the in-group to be arbitrated positively and the out-

group to be judged negatively. In society, people derive their identity or sense of self largely from the social categories to which they belong.

Research Methodology

The central premise that guides this paper is, first and foremost, based on a large existing body of literature, which gives credence and credibility to the strapping association between satellite television viewing and adolescents' social identity development. This association is largely framed by two main metaphors. One stipulates that media systems act as a vehicle of cultural imperialism. The other explores the manner of which youth read and interpret what they watch or listen. Evidently, a host of both Arab and occidental satellite television channels feature programs that contain alien cultural content that runs counter to the Moroccan indigenous culture. Therefore, I believe that the greater adolescents' involvement with satellite television should be associated with greater change in their social identity indicators and dimensions. Satellite television is believed to have corrosive power that destroys local cultures and identities bringing about similar cultural practices for all societies.

To assess this question, a version the Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale (OCIS) was used and served as a dependent variable. The scale was primarily designed and developed by Oetting and Beauvais (1991) to evaluate an individual's strength of cultural affiliation with the group identity. It was also designed as content-free to allow administration across cultures and consists of both attitudinal and behavioral items written in general terms to be free from any specific cultural content so that they can apply to any culture. Respondents were asked to rate 21 items on 5-point Likert Scale. The first five dimensions were intended to measure the degree of feelings respondents have vis-à-vis their social identity dimensions such as 'How strong sense of belonging do you have with Moroccan identity?' with '1'indicating 'Extremely high' and '5' "Extremely low". The other 16 items were intended to measure their affinity with their social identity subsets with '1' indicating "Not important" and '5' indicating "Highly important". Based on this scale, respondents were asked to circle the item in order of importance to them. Items were offered to be rated about the person's appraisal of his/her national heritage and culture, language, Islamic religious values, cultural ideals, love of ancestors, feeling of being a unique person, identification with the nation, , the degree of which the individual engaged in certain traditions and activities characterized by his or her culture. For this study, cultural identification with Moroccan, Arab, Amazigh, Islamic were measured for it scrutinized the effect of satellite television on Moroccan young adolescents' identity.

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Hence the paper is oriented by the three research question:
(1)   How do Moroccan adolescents use satellite television in terms of the amount of time they spend on viewing and the kinds of programs they watch? Does this use differ demographically?

Table 1   *Primary Variables Used in the Study*

Variable	Description/measurement/Coding	Range
Gender	Respondent's gender. 0=male, 1=female	0-1
Age	Respondent's age.	Open-ended
Economic status	Perceived economic situation of respondent's family. 1= Low, 2= Average, 3= High.	1-3
Ethnicity	Participant's ethnic background. 1=Arab, 2=Berber, 3= Other.	1-3
Region	Respondent's region of origin.	Open-ended
Religiosity	Respondent's religiosity. 1= Yes, 2=No.	1-2
Media activities	Time spent on media activities.	Open-ended.
Non-media activities	Time spent on media activities.	Open-ended.
Identity dimensions	The sense of belonging participants feel about their identity dimensions. 5. Likert scale. 1. Extremely high 2. High 3. Moderate 4. Low 5. Very low	1-5 1-5
Identity indicators.	The strength of affiliation with one's culture. Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale. (OCIS, Oetting & Beauvais, 1991). 5. Likert scale.	Closed-ended

Satellite television viewing rate.	The amount of time spent at watching satellite television per day coded as hours.		Option responses
Satellite television program preference.	Satellite television program type. Five option responses. 1. American 2. European 3. Arab 4. Latin American 5. Other		Closed-ended
Satellite television channel preference.	The channel that respondent prefers watching.		Open ended
Satellite television program genres.	The type of programs genre preferred watching.		Open ended

Analysis of Data and Findings:
Sample characteristics

The study was based on a research project that was carried out on June and July 2010 but revived on April and March 2019. As stated earlier, the sample included 400 informants covering at least some of the main cities and regions in Morocco, with a special focus on the place where the study was conducted Meknes. Only 350 surveys were returned, offering a net response rate of 87.5%. About 12,5% of them were eliminated from the data because of incomplete and haphazard responses.

Figure (1):   Distribution of residency demonstrated on Morocco's geographical region map
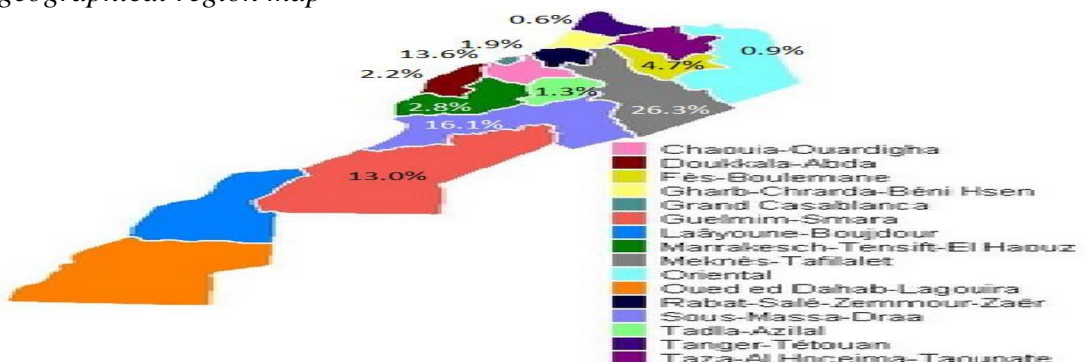
As far as respondents' region is concerned, results demonstrated that 26% (n=83) of the participants were from Meknès, the capital of the Southern center of the region where the study was conducted. The rest was

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distributed in the other regions like Sous-Massa-Deraa (16.1%), 14.9% from Garb-Chrarda-BniYahcin, 13.6% from Great Casablanca region, 13% from Guelimime-Semara in the south of Moroccan Sahara, 4.7% from Marakech-Tansift-Lhaouz, 2.2% from Chaouiya Ouardira, 1.9% from Rabat-Salé, 1.3% from Bni-Mellal-Tadla-Azilal, 0.9% from Eastern Region, 0.6% Doukala-Abda and Tanger-Tetouane. The following figure 2 summarizes the results.

Participants were also asked to indicate their accommodation (housing). Most of them (73.3%) reported that they were staying at home with the family (n=241). Corresponding figures for those staying at dormitory or in private apartment were 14.6% and 9.2% respectively. As to the educational success, it was measured via respondents' self-assessment of their success at school. Accordingly, 43% of the participants reported that they were in the 'Average level', 38% were 'good', and 8.5% were qualified as 'very good'. The rest, about 2.5% and 5.7% the participants, perceived their educational success as very poor and poor respectively. Ownership or regular access to satellite television was something common among participants. The next table displays statistics related to satellite television access. Among the total of 313 respondents, almost 93.7% reported that they possessed satellite television, while only 5.4% didn't.

Table 2 Satellite Television Access

			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		Yes	296	93,7	94,6	94,6
		No	17	5,4	5,4	100,0
		Total	313	99,1	100,0	
Missing		System	3	0.8		
	Total		316	100,0		100

Hence, and as displayed in the table (2) above, respondents, who had access to satellite television represent 94. 6%, so often watched it at home (n=280, 89.7%), while the others said they watch it so frequently at cafés (6.1%). Only a small number of participants (10.3%, 2.2%) view it either at a club or friends home respectively.

Furthermore, participants were also asked to report the number of receivers they possess at home. 6.09% said they have more than three, 14.34% said they possess three sets, 40.71% declares having two sets, while 38.71% admits having only one. The purpose of addressing such a question was to see informants who might have the liberty of watching programs

alone without constraints, a fact that buttressed the possibility or freedom to have access to unethical content without being harassed.

The last result, in the demographics, related to the question concerning respondents' religious duties. Results indicated that just under one-third of informants (27.2%) didn't practice their religious duties; while more than two-thirds reported that that they did perform their religious duties (71.2%), a fact that support the idea of emotional connection respondents have with their religious identity. The following table illustrates the value of religiosity of the respondents across these regions in their duty practicing. It provides us with Eta square[148] value that implies that there is a high level of religiosity as an integral component of their identity construct across the different regions in Morocco.

Table (3)

Measures of Association			R	R Squared	Eta	Eta Squared
Religiosity	*	Respondent's Region	.058	.003	.287	.083

Results of Satellite Television Viewing Activities and programs

This first researcgquestion focuses on a detailed statistical account of the frequency and percentage for items associated with satellite television viewing context and preferences, notably those variables related to time viewing rate and preferences in terms of program genres and channels. The table below displays the results of the respondents in this regard.

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148 Eta square is routinely calculated for t-tests as part of the Evaluate step of the process.

Table (4)   *Frequency and Percentage Statistics of Items Related to Satellite Television   Viewing Rate (in Hours)*

	Viewing rate	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Light viewers	Less than one hour	34	10,8	10,8	
	One an hour and more	74	23,4	23,4	34,2
Moderate Viewers	Two hours and more	92	29,1	29,1	
	Three hours and more	50	15,8	15,8	44,9
Heavy Viewers	Four hours and more Five hours and more	33 16	10,4 5,1	10,4 5,1	
	Six hours and more	12	3,8	3,8	
	More than 7 hours	5	1,6	1,6	20,9
	Total	316	100,0	100,0	100,0

Hence, as noted in the table (4) above, respondents report how much time on a given day they spend watching satellite television. Following Gerbner's (1986) categorization of viewers' types, the results yield three main categorized groups. The first group is 'light viewers'. They represent a proportion of 34.2%, (i.e. the sum total of the group watching sat TV for less than one hour (10.8%) and the group watching TV for one hour and more (23.4%). The second is 'medium viewers' and they represent a proportion of 44.9% (i.e. the sum total of the group watching sat TV for two and three hours and more 29.1% & 15.8%). The last group is heavy viewers and they represent a proportion of 20.9%. (i.e. The sum total of the groups watching sat TV for four hours and more 10.4%, 5.1%, 3.8%, 1.6%).

In addition, the average daily time on a given day spent watching Sat TV is a Mean=2.30 (SD= 1.61)(cf. table (), with a range of 0 and 7 hours.

Table (6) presents a good picture of satellite television viewing rate of the participants. Therefore, it seems evident that the data is skewed towards 'two hours and more' as an average mean time in hours, most respondents spent in viewing, scoring thus a high percentage of 29.1% among the total cases of the study. This is followed by 'one hour and more', which represents a considerable percentage of 23.4%. [cf. the table (6) below]

Table (5)

One-Sample Statistics				
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Satellite Television Viewing rate in hours	316	2,3006	1,61780	,09101

As far as Sat TV program preferences are concerned, viewers of satellite channels were asked to report their TV favorite programs. Respondents were provided with a list of answers and were required to check the choices they felt were the best for them. Relevant responses were independent of each other. The scores indicate that the most important programs participants preferred watching are American ones (44.3%),with an average mean (M= 2.12), followed by Arab programs (40.1%), European programs (8.9%), Latin American programs (3.8%) and finally a small rate mixing other types of programs such as Tamazight, Japanese, Turkish,(2.9%). The following table 7 summarizes the results:

Table 7   Satellite Television Program Preferences

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	American programs	139	44,0	44,3	44,3
	Arab programs	126	39,9	40,1	84,4
	European programs	28	8,9	8,9	93,3
	Latin American programs	12	3,8	3,8	97,1
	Other: Tamazight/Japanese/Turkish: etc.	9	2,8	2,9	100,0
	Total	314	99,4	100,0	
Missing	System	2	,6		
Total		316	100,0		

Furthermore, respondents were asked to report the Satellite Television Channel Preferences, so as to discover their viewing orientations. Results indicated that the most preferred channel for watching was MBC Group incorporating MBC 1, 2, 3, 4, MBC Action, Fox Movies etc., scoring (42.6%) as valid percent, followed by Moroccan channels, including RTM, 2M, Almaghribia, Arriadia, etc., scoring (14.1%) then came Egyptian Channels with an average valid percent of (13.5%). (cf. table (8) for details). The findings reveals a specific viewing tendency, marked as varied and mosaic. It should noted that MBC Group and Moroccan channels followed by Egyptian channels are the most preferred channels in terms of viewing because they offer a wide range of programs that tune with viewers' wants and entertaining motives. This fact alone justifyies hybrid nurturing of adolescents' personal identity.

Table (8):
Satellite Television Channel Preferences

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	MBC Group	133	42.1	42.6	42.6
	Moroccan Channels: RTM, 2M, Almaghribia, Aloula, Arriadia, etc.	44	13.9	14.1	56.7
	Egyptian channels	42	13.3	13.5	70.2
	Aljazeera Group	32	10.1	10.3	80.4
	2 M International	15	4.7	4.8	85.3
	AbuDabi Group: national geographic, etc	12	3.8	3.8	89.1
	Religious channels: Majd, Rissala, etc	12	3.8	3.8	92.9
	French channels: F2,3,4,5,	11	3.5	3.5	96.5
	Saudi channels: Alarabia	7	2.2	2.2	98.7
	Rotanna Group	4	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	312	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	4	1.3		

Total	316	100.0		

(1)   Is there any clash between television program content and social identity construction?

The results for second research questions pertaining to the social identity dimensions involves the degree or the sense of belongings respondents had to their Islamic identity, Arabic identity, Moroccan identity, and ethnic identity (Amazigh or Arabic). This state of affair aimed, principally, at shedding light on the nature of respondents' identities, and whether these would be affected by satellite television viewing habits. The following table illustrates the outcomes:

Table (9)

	Islamic Identity	Arab Identity	Moroccan Identity	Ethnic Identity
Very low	0.9%	13.3%	5.4%	3.2%
High	0.9%	2.5%	1.3%	1.3%
Extremely high	98.1%	84.2%	93.7%	95.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	99.4%

Correlations						
		Islamic Identity	Arab Identity	Moroccan Identity	Ethnic Identity	Cultural Heritage Pride
Satellite Television Viewing Place	Pearson Correlation	-,002	,024	,021	,068	,128[*]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,978	,677	,707	,233	,024
	N	312	312	311	310	310
Satellite Television Viewing time	Pearson Correlation	,020	,104	,007	,019	,017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,728	,066	,902	,737	,759
	N	313	313	312	311	311
Satellite Television Program Preferences	Pearson Correlation	,080	-,059	,022	-,085	,002
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,157	,296	,694	,135	,969
	N	316	316	315	314	314

Satellite Television Channel Preferences	Pearson Correlation	,123*	,014	-,038	-,080	,032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,030	,811	,505	,160	,581
	N	312	312	311	310	310
Satellite Television Program Genres	Pearson Correlation	,099	,101	,011	,057	,016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,081	,076	,850	,321	,779
	N	312	312	311	310	310

Table10   Comparison   of   Satellite   Television   Viewing   with Identity markers

From the above table, it seems clear that almost all the respondents did have a high sense of belonging to the different types of identity, a fact that provides evidence to the emotional connection or identification they have with the already-existing identities in Morocco and gives a good picture of the mosaic, cultural, and identitarian reference participants associate themselves with. Specifically, this survey findings, from across the different regions in Morocco, indicated that young adolescents espouse, first and foremost, religious identity. Statistics has proven that subjects have almost exclusively a very high sense of feeling vis-à-vis their Islamic identity, with an average percent of 98.1%, based on adherence to the holy Qur'an and the Sunna (the traditions and sayings of the prophet Mohamed). The table below demonstrates this.

In addition, 93.7% are proud of their Moroccanness (Moroccan identity), 95.9% have a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic identity, be it Amazigh or Arab, while more than two thirds are also proud of belonging to the Arab world (Arab identity). The cross tabulation indicated that 187 respondents of Arab origin reported that they have an extremely high sense of belonging to their ethnic identity (Arabic). Likewise, Amazigh informants have also expressed the same feeling of belonging towards their ethnic identity (113 respondents). Only a tiny number of respondents classified themselves as having either high sense (1.3%) or very low one (3.2%).

On the other hand, and as shown in the case summary below, with descending order along with confidence interval, the table displays variables related to cultural identity indicators that are considered important to respondents, reflecting a specific affinity with them. Hence, inasmuch as young adolescents endorse Arab-Islamic identities, findings of cultural identity components back up this tendency. Hence, the most important item for them was 'Islamic religious beliefs' (M= 4.66), followed by 'veneration

of religious holidays' (M= 4.54), 'cultural ideals (M= 3.79), norms and values' (M= 3.79).

Hence, it seems clear from the above table (10) that there is no association between Sat. TV context and preferences and cultural identity dimensions, namely Islamic identity, Arab identity, Moroccan identity, and Ethnic identity. This implies that Satellite television viewing context and preferences do not have any influence or impact on respondents' identities in this study. The only exception is shown in the satellite television viewing place and cultural identity pride. This positive correlation proves to be significant with p-value of .02 as indicated in the table (12). Also important is the significance level between satellite television channel preferences and Islamic identity. In fact, this explicitly indicates that respondents' preferences, with respect to the choice of channels influence their Islamic identity.

Conclusion

Thus far, the findings reported in this study suggests that satellite viewing context and preferences have a minimal effect in generating respondents' radical change of their cultural values, ideals, and Islamic beliefs. It should be noted that respondents, almost exclusively, show a strong sense of feeling of belonging towards their religious identity as well as national identity. This is also backed up, along the line, through their valuing of Islamic cultural values. In an Islamic nation such as Morocco, it is not that modern country that has nothing to do with the teachings of Islam. Rather, the North African nation of more than 34 million uses the Koran to advocate for progressive brand of Islam — one that allows women to advise in mosques. This is Morocco, a moderate Islamic nation embracing modernity without shrugging off its valued traditions. It promotes women's equality, human rights, religious tolerance and social liberalization - all while remaining true to its Islamic heritage and culture. That inimitable blending of cultural identity has led several scholars in the West to consider Morocco as a prototype for the Islamic world, although this formula can't necessarily be replicated throughout the Arab World.

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Didactique Et Pédagogie Dans La Mise En Scène des Savoirs Scolaires En Histoire-Géographie

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Résumé

Cette recherche tente de décrire les pratiques pédagogiques et didactiques mises en œuvre par les enseignants dans la conduite des leçons en histoire-géographie. Elle vise à aider les enseignants à comprendre ce qu'ils font, en se servant du triangle pédagogique et du système didactique pour construire des séances d'enseignement et d'apprentissage, d'institutionnaliser des savoirs durables pour les élèves. Notre étude s'est appuyée sur des séances d'observation de cours de professeurs de lycée et collège des lycées 1 et 2 de Bouaflé dans la Direction Régionale de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation Professionnel de la Maraouhé, dans le centre-ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire. Nos entretiens révèlent que dans leur pratique de classe, les enseignants accordent une place importante aux styles relationnels et personnels, aux rappels de cours, aux renforcements du comportement des élèves, à la tenue du cahier de textes, la circulation dans les rangées, aux techniques de prise de notes. Il ressort aussi de nos interviews que pendant la conduite des leçons, les enseignants s'intéressent très peu à la façon dont les élèves s'approprient l'objet d'apprentissage, aux représentations de ces derniers, entre autres à la dimension didactique caractérisée par des modélisations didactiques, aux stratégies, aux traitements de l'erreur. Nos résultats démontrent que toute séquence d'apprentissage fait appel aussi bien à la pédagogie qu'à la didactique en les mettant en constante relation. Ils soulignent également que la pédagogie et la didactique sont certes opposées, mais complémentaires dans la mise en œuvre des savoirs scolaires en histoire-géographie. Eu égard aux difficultés rencontrées par les enseignants pour articuler les méthodes pédagogiques et didactiques pendant la conduite des leçons, notre recherche suggère que la formation des enseignants en histoire-géographie soit fondée sur une démarche de réflexivité sur soi, la méthodologie de la vidéo-formation. Elle envisage aussi la mise en place de dispositifs, du type « Ateliers de formation professionnelle » selon le modèle d'Altet (1993).

Mots-clés: Didactique, pédagogie, pratique enseignante, système didactique, triangle pédagogique.

Dıdactıcs and Pedagogy in The Stagıng of School Knowledge in Hıstory-Geography

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Abstract

This research attempts to describe the pedagogical and didactic practices implemented by teachers in conducting lessons in history and geography. It aims to help teachers understand what they are doing, using the pedagogical triangle and the didactic system to build teaching and learning sessions, to institutionalize lasting knowledge for students. Our study was based on observation sessions of teachers of high school 1 and 2 of Bouaflé in the Regional Board of Education and Professional Training of Maraouhe, in the center-west of Côte d'Ivoire. Our interviews reveal that in their classroom practice, teachers place an emphasis on relational and personal styles, lesson reminders, reinforcing student behavior, keeping the notebook, circulating rows, and notes taking techniques. It also emerges from our interviews that during the course of the lessons, the teachers are very little interested in the way in which the students appropriate the object of learning, in the representations of the latter, among others in the didactic dimension characterized by from didactic modeling, to strategies, to the treatment of error. Our results show that any learning sequence uses both pedagogy and didactics by putting them in constant relationship. They also emphasize that pedagogy and didactics are certainly opposed, but complementary in the implementation of school knowledge in history and geography. Given the difficulties encountered by teachers in articulating pedagogical and didactic methods while conducting lessons, our research suggests that teacher training in history and geography is based on a self-reflective approach, the methodology of video-training . It also envisages the implementation of devices, of the type "Workshops of vocational training" according to the model of Altet (1993).

Keywords: Didactic, pedagogy, teaching practice, didactic system, educational triangle.

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Introduction

Aujourd'hui dans nos lycées et collèges, certains professeurs accèdent à la fonction enseignante sans une formation en didactique et en pédagogie. Ceux qui sont passés par une école de formation, comme l'Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) d'Abidjan en Côte d'Ivoire par exemple, éprouvent aussi souvent des difficultés à articuler la didactique et la pédagogie dans la mise en œuvre des contenus. Or, dans la conduite de la leçon, il ne saurait y avoir apprentissage si l'enseignant n'accorde pas une attention à la fois à l'objet d'apprentissage à faire acquérir et à l'élève à instruire. En d'autres termes, quelle est la part qui reviendrait à la didactique et à la pédagogie durant une situation d'enseignement et d'apprentissage ? Aussi, quels sont les différents liens qui pourraient apparaître entre les deux disciplines.

Deux raisons sont à l'origine du choix de ce sujet. Elles sont d'ordre scientifique et personnel. Pour la première, la recherche scientifique a prouvé que la pédagogie et la didactique sont deux disciplines opposées mais complémentaires (Dieuzeide, 1994, p.17). En effet, la didactique et la pédagogie ont une réalité commune, les phénomènes d'enseignement et d'apprentissage dans la classe, bien que les modes de réflexion adoptés dans l'une et l'autre discipline soient différents. C'est pourquoi, la frontière entre pédagogie et didactique n'est pas aussi étanche comme on pourrait le croire (Tasra, 2017, p.21). La différenciation entre les deux disciplines est une « *différenciation de postures* » plutôt qu'une « *délimitation de territoires* » (Astolfi, 1997, p.67). Comme objet d'étude, les chercheurs connaissent bien les phénomènes d'apprentissage et les relations maître-élèves. Il s'agit d'études pertinentes et dignes d'intérêt. Cependant, les travaux sur les rapports entre la pédagogie et la didactique n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'études approfondies dans les séquences d'enseignement et d'apprentissage en histoire-géographie. C'est pourquoi, cette première raison en appelle une seconde d'ordre personnel. En tant qu'enseignant et formateur des futurs professeurs de lycée et collège, nous avons constaté pendant les visites de classe, que les enseignants éprouvent des difficultés à articuler la pédagogie et la didactique pendant leurs enseignements. Nous nous sommes aperçu que la pratique enseignante est un point important de la manière de faire et d'être en classe, pour assurer l'atteinte des objectifs d'enseignement et d'apprentissage. Elle exige des compétences qui ne peuvent être négligées.

Pour une meilleure compréhension de cette recherche, nous avons organisé ce travail en trois parties. La première partie abordera le cadre théorique. Le second volet présentera la méthodologie de la recherche. Le troisième et dernier axe sera consacré à l'interprétation et la discussion des résultats.

I. Cadre théorique
1. Approche théorique

Nous avons inscrit cette recherche dans la didactique de l'histoire-géographie. Dans la communauté des didacticiens de cette discipline, Moniot (1993) et Audigier peuvent être considérés comme les pionniers. Ils recentrent la didactique sur la question de l'apprentissage, l'enseignement et le traitement des obstacles auxquels sont confrontés les élèves.

Notre étude privilégie le contrat didactique, le pôle enseignant-élève, en vue d'analyser les interactions entre les différents acteurs d'une situation, lesquelles posent la question des régulations qu'elles génèrent. Ces régulations, de même que les effets qu'elles produisent peuvent être examinés en termes de contrats (Reuter, 2013, p.55). En d'autres termes : « *Au cours d'une séance ayant pour objet l'enseignement à un élève d'une connaissance déterminée (situation didactique), l'élève interprète la situation qui lui est présentée, les questions qui lui sont posées, les informations qui lui sont fournies, les contraintes qui lui sont imposées, en fonction de ce que le maître reproduit, consciemment ou non, de façon répétitive dans sa pratique de l'enseignement. Nous nous intéressons plus particulièrement à ce qui, dans ces habitudes, est spécifique des connaissances enseignées ; nous appelons contrat didactique l'ensemble des comportements (spécifiques) du maitre qui sont attendus de l'élève et l'ensemble des comportements de l'élève qui sont attendus du maître* » (Brousseau, 1988, pp.3-4). Ainsi introduit, le contrat didactique apparaît comme ce qui, dans le contrat pédagogique, caractérise la part prise spécifiquement par le contenu de savoir qui est l'enjeu d'apprentissage dans la situation didactique (Colomb, cité par Houssaye, 1996, p.41). Le contrat didactique, lorsqu'il est correctement mis en œuvre, garantit le fonctionnement harmonieux de ce système, en ce sens qu'il tend à minimiser les distances entre les savoirs scolaires, enseignés et des élèves, et assure la compatibilité des épistémologies scolaire, de l'enseignant et de l'élève (Colomb, 1996, p.42).

Toutefois, notre recherche s'inscrit au croisement de la pédagogie et de la didactique, parce qu'il s'agit de la situer au sein des questions que posent ces deux disciplines, à travers l'enseignement, l'apprentissage et le savoir. Dans la Grèce antique : « *Le pédagogue est la personne, le plus souvent l'esclave, qui conduit l'élève aux maîtres (les magisters)* » (Develay, 1996, p.90). Notons encore que « *Le pédagogue n'est pas l'enseignant qui fait la classe, mais l'adulte qui conduit, accompagne l'élève vers le savoir, qui le sert, le guide, qui lui fait apprendre ses leçons* » (Altet, 2003, p.5).Par ailleurs : « *Si le magister instruit, le pédagogue éduque* » (Varon, cité par Develay, 1996, p.90). Dans cette assertion, la pédagogie et le métier

d'enseignant ne sont pas à confondre. En effet, la pédagogie est : « *une réflexion appliquée méthodiquement que possible aux choses de l'éducation* » (Durkheim, 1938, p.10). Pour d'autres chercheurs, la pédagogie « *n'est ni art ni science. Elle ne peut être considérée comme un art, car celui-ci se réduit à des manières de faire ajustées à des fins spéciales, même si on peut y repérer une part de réflexion* » (Plaisance, Vergnaud, 2005, p.9). Nous pouvons aussi définir la pédagogie comme « *la facilitation de l'apprentissage intelligent* » (Houssaye, 1992, p.227). Pour réaliser cette facilitation, le professeur doit concevoir et mettre en œuvre une stratégie permettant à chaque élève de la classe, de construire les apprentissages exigés par la formation qu'il reçoit. Pour concevoir sa stratégie il prendra en considération trois questions : de quelle nature est le savoir que je vise à faire acquérir ?, comment apprennent les élèves et quels sont leurs besoins ?, quelles sont mes ressources et mes moyens ? (Clerc, 1998, p.41). Dans l'univers scolaire, nous entendons par pédagogie, tout ce qui concerne l'art de conduire et de faire la classe (Cornu, Vergnioux, 1992, p.10). La pédagogie correspond ainsi au champ de la relation interpersonnelle, sociale qui intervient dans le traitement de l'information et sa transformation en savoir dans la situation réelle du micro-système de la classe (Altet, 2003, p.11). C'est pourquoi : « *Si l'éducation est l'art d'élever les enfants et de former les hommes, la pédagogie, elle, est la théorie de cet art. Elle propose des règles générales et particulières pour instruire, former et éduquer des hommes sur les plans intellectuels et physique, civique et moral, esthétique et technologique, familial et sexuel* » (Sourabié, 2007, p.15). Selon Develay (1996), la pédagogie au cours de l'histoire, de réflexion sur les valeurs, est devenue réflexion sur les méthodes d'enseignement. En somme, la pédagogie renvoie à l'ensemble des méthodes et moyens d'enseignement et d'éducation de même que toutes les qualités requises qu'utilise un enseignant pour organiser sa classe et transmettre un savoir quelconque aux élèves. Le chantier pédagogique est structuré et se caractérise en un modèle théorique de compréhension du savoir pédagogique, c'est le triangle pédagogique (figure 1). Ce modèle cherche à définir comment fonctionne la situation pédagogique. En effet : « *La situation pédagogique peut être définie comme un triangle composé de trois éléments, le savoir, le professeur et les élèves, dont deux se constituent comme sujets tandis que le troisième doit accepter la place du mort ou, à, défaut, se mettre à faire le fou* » (Houssaye, 2000, p.15). Les côtés du triangle s'appellent « processus ». Pour ce dernier, les processus sont au nombre de trois : « enseigner », qui privilégie l'axe professeur-savoir ; « former », qui privilégie l'axe professeur-élèves ; « apprendre », qui privilégie l'axe élèves-savoir » (Houssaye, 1993, p.16).

Figure 1. Triangle pédagogique
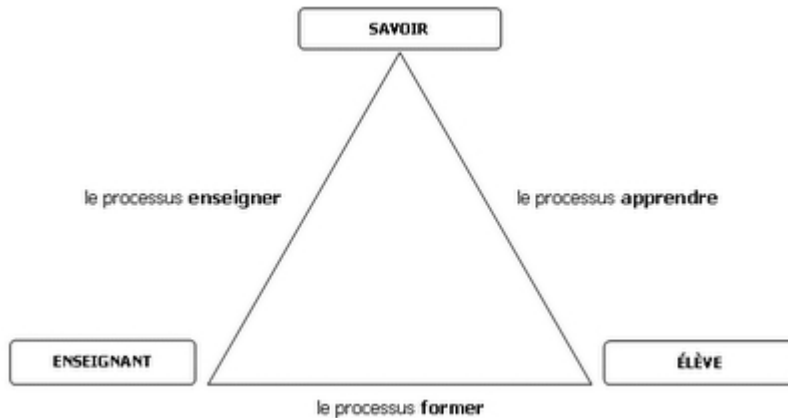
La pédagogie n'a pas su construire une théorie unique de référence pour analyser les situations de classe. C'est pourquoi elle a cédé le pas à la théorisation didactique (Develay, 1996, p.93).

Pour Vergnaud (2005), la didactique est l'étude des processus d'apprentissage et d'enseignement relatifs à un domaine de connaissance particulier : d'une discipline ou d'un métier par exemple. C'est la focalisation sur les contenus et leurs relations à l'enseignement et aux apprentissages qui spécifie la didactique (Reuter, 2013, p.65). Son objet est le système didactique.

Le système didactique : « *est un système de relations qui s'établissent entre trois éléments : le contenu d'enseignement, l'apprenant, l'enseignant* » (Reuter, 2013, p.203). Selon toujours le même auteur, on représente souvent ces relations sous la forme d'un triangle (appelé triangle didactique) dont les trois éléments du système didactique forment les pôles. Il faut signaler que le triangle didactique prend sa source dans le triangle pédagogique de Houssaye (2000). Aussi : « *Ce qui caractérise le système didactique est la présence de trois pôles de ce triangle et les relations qu'ils entretiennent entre eux* » (Reuter, 2013, p.203).

Figure 2. Système didactique
Contrat didactique

E   a

Transposition
Représentation
        didactique

Contenu d'enseignement
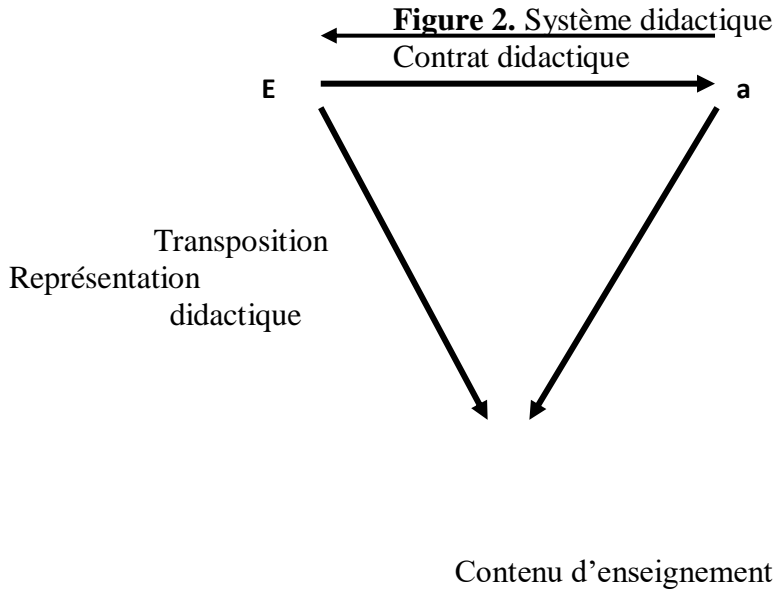
Les enseignants sont les tuteurs des élèves, au sens de Vygotski (2002), c'est-à-dire ceux-là qui les soutiennent et évitent de les laisser chuter malgré les difficultés de l'apprentissage. Il est selon Altet (1993), un élément clé du triangle pédagogique, à la fois membre du processus-enseigner et du processus-former. Il est également un acteur important dans le triangle didactique, à la fois membre de la relation enseignant-contenu d'enseignement (transposition didactique), la relation enseignant-apprenant (contrat didactique). En somme, l'enseignant est un spécialiste de sa discipline qui connaît les processus d'apprentissage et les difficultés que peuvent rencontrer les apprenants et y remédier.

L'apprenant est tout sujet en situation d'apprentissage scolaire. Pour ce faire, il doit apprendre et mémoriser trois types de connaissances : déclaratives, procédurales et conditionnelles.

Les connaissances déclaratives correspondent aux divers types d'informations devant être mémorisées par l'élève (par exemple, énumérer les périodes de l'histoire, citer les formes de relief).

Les connaissances procédurales correspondent aux savoir-faire (par exemple, réaliser une frise chronologique, une coupe topographique). Les connaissances conditionnelles correspondent à la capacité à utiliser le contexte pour déterminer la réponse à apporter ou l'action à accomplir (par exemple, lire de manière expressive un texte).

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Quant au contenu d'enseignement (ou de formation), il peut consister en un savoir, un savoir-faire, un rapport (Reuter, 2013, p.204).

Après avoir examiné le cadre théorique, il convient de présenter le problème et les questions qui sous-tendent cette recherche.

2. Problématique et questions de recherche

Nous avons constaté que lors des visites de classe, les professeurs tiennent correctement les documents pédagogiques de la classe (cahiers de textes, d'appel et registres de notes). Ils utilisent rationnellement le tableau. Ils présentent une motivation et une situation d'apprentissage. Cependant, le lien entre les habiletés pédagogique et didactique ne permet pas de suivre la logique de la leçon. En effet, la mise en œuvre des savoirs scolaires pose des difficultés aux stagiaires lors des examens pédagogiques. Nous avons remarqué que même des professeurs expérimentés éprouvent des difficultés à impliquer leurs élèves à la réalisation des tâches et activités d'apprentissage. En somme, les enseignants se préoccupent peu de ce que leurs élèves font pour apprendre. Beaucoup de stagiaires et de professeurs expérimentés se confrontent à de nombreuses difficultés dans la pratique pédagogique et didactique. Pour déterminer ces difficultés et mieux comprendre leurs origines, nous nous sommes demandé, quelles sont les compétences pédagogiques et didactiques de l'enseignant en histoire-géographie ? Comment articuler la pédagogie et la didactique en vue de faciliter l'appropriation de l'objet d'apprentissage par les élèves ?

En plus des questions de recherche, cette étude comporte des objectifs et hypothèses de recherche.

3. Objectifs et hypothèses de recherche

• Objectif général

Cette recherche vise à comprendre la manière dont le professeur construit une séquence d'enseignement et d'apprentissage en s'appuyant sur l'interaction enseignant-élève pour rendre compte des objets d'apprentissage en histoire-géographie. Cette recherche vise également des objectifs spécifiques

• Objectifs spécifiques

-identifier les compétences pédagogique et didactique d'un professeur dans la mise en œuvre des savoirs scolaires en histoire-géographie ;
-décrire la démarche d'enseignement en histoire-géographie ;
-présenter un modèle pédagogique et didactique dans la conduite d'une leçon en histoire-géographie.

• Hypothèses de recherche

o **Hypothèse 1** : Les tâtonnements constatés au cours des séquences d'enseignement en histoire-géographie résultent de la mauvaise approche pédagogique et didactique chez les enseignants.

o   **Hypothèse 2** : L'apprentissage est un processus complexe qui se réalise grâce à l'articulation de la pédagogie et de la didactique pendant la conduite de la leçon.

Outre les hypothèses de recherche, un autre aspect de cette étude concerne la présentation de notre méthodologie de recherche.

II. Méthodologie de la recherche
1. Instruments de recueil des données
        Cette recherche s'appuie sur la méthode qualitative et quantitative. Nous avons utilisé trois méthodes de la technique qualitative : la documentation, l'observation et l'entrevue semi-dirigée. L'analyse documentaire nous a amené à consulter les ouvrages spécialisés, les ouvrages généraux et les publications sur la question. Nous avons aussi utilisé deux types d'observation : l'observation directe participante et l'observation directe non-participante. L'observation directe et participante nous a permis d'apprécier les pratiques pédagogiques et didactiques des enseignants, analyser les difficultés rencontrées par ces derniers dans la mise en œuvre des savoirs scolaires. Pour analyser ces difficultés, nous avons conduit des enquêtes auprès des stagiaires et des professeurs expérimentés, d'où l'intérêt de l'approche quantitative. Nous avons établi un contrat de recherche avec les enseignants et nous avons obtenu l'autorisation des administrations des établissements concernés pour la participation des élèves. Le second volet de l'approche quantitative a consisté en des entretiens semi-structurés et d'explicitation (Vermersch, 1996), individuels, enregistrés sur un support audio, avant et après chaque cours.

        La collecte des données est réalisée avec un questionnaire, composé de vingt questions orientées dans cinq grands axes :
-les stratégies pédagogiques de mise en scène des leçons ;
-les stratégies didactiques de la construction du sens ;
-le contrat didactique et la construction des savoirs scolaires
-la transposition didactique des savoirs scolaires ;
-le renforcement du comportement des élèves ;
        Outre les instruments de recueil des données, il convient de présenter le site de notre étude.

2. Site de l'étude, population cible et échantillon de recherche
        L'étude a été menée au sein d'une Direction Régionale de l'Éducation Nationale (DREN) dans le centre-ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire. Nous avons choisi deux établissements du même site : Lycée moderne 1 et Lycée moderne 2 de Bouaflé. Nous les avons choisis pour deux raisons essentielles.

Premièrement, l'accès est facile pour les élèves, les enseignants, le personnel administratif et les chercheurs. Deuxièmement, ces établissements sont situés dans notre zone d'encadrement pédagogique des professeurs stagiaires de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) d'Abidjan. Depuis une vingtaine d'années, nous suivons les stagiaires dans cette zone, où nous avons des facilités de recherches grâce aux contacts que nous avons noués avec les professeurs conseillers des stagiaires, les conseillers pédagogiques et les inspecteurs pédagogiques du secondaire. Quant à la population cible de notre recherche, celle-ci est constituée de professeurs d'histoire-géographie ayant reçu une formation en sciences de l'éducation en plus de leur discipline de base.

Le questionnaire a été rempli par trente (30) enseignants du secondaire choisis sur la base de la bonne utilisation de la communication pédagogique en classe et de la maitrise des aides didactiques dans la mise en œuvre des savoirs scolaires. Ils sont répartis en deux catégories : 15 professeurs de lycée (dont 5 stagiaires et 10 professionnels), 15 professeurs de collège (dont 10 stagiaires et 5 professionnels). Cet échantillon a été choisi pour mieux maitriser les variables.

Le questionnaire a été renseigné par les enseignants en présence du chercheur qui a expliqué l'objectif de la recherche et fourni les réponses permettant de mieux remplir le document. Ce choix a l'avantage de réduire les pertes de temps.

Notre corpus est aussi constitué de 30 cours observés (soit un total de 60 heures en raison de deux heures par séances), 40 fiches de leçons.

Avant d'analyser les résultats, signalons que la présente recherche présente quelques insuffisances.

Une partie seulement des professeurs de lycée et collège (50%) de la direction régionale de notre cadre géographique d'étude a participé à l'étude, ce qui ne nous a pas permis de construire des mesures de groupe. A cela, la question de la maitrise des stratégies des situations pédagogiques et didactiques demeure. Il serait intéressant de concevoir de nouveaux items capables d'apprécier les difficultés de mise en œuvre de ces savoirs scolaires en histoire-géographie. En dépit des limites de cette recherche, il convient toutefois de présenter les résultats.

III. Résultats de la recherche
1. Présentation des résultats

A partir de l'analyse des situations d'enseignement et apprentissage et des discussions avec les professeurs, nous avons constaté des confusions chez les enseignants dans la conception des situations d'enseignement et d'apprentissage. Elles concernent : le fonctionnement du triangle pédagogique, les méthodes pédagogiques, le système didactique, la théorie

des situations didactiques, la construction du sens.   Les discussions révèlent que 95% des professeurs ne font pas de différence entre les stratégies pédagogiques et didactiques, à tel point que pour eux, le triangle pédagogique et le système didactique ramènent à la même réalité dans une situation de classe. Cette confusion est encore apparente lorsque ces derniers ne parviennent pas à identifier les relations entre les différents pôles du triangle pédagogique et du système didactique.

Au cours des échanges, les professeurs évoquent le plus souvent les documents pédagogiques de la classe : cahier de textes, registre d'appel, registre de notes, fiche pédagogique ou de leçon, tableau.

Le cahier de textes est pour l'enseignant, un auxiliaire précieux, qui témoigne du sérieux de sa tâche aux yeux de l'administration, des élèves et des parents d'élèves. Il permet de suivre le travail quotidien de l'enseignant dans le cadre des activités d'enseignement. Il peut être consulté et évalué par l'administration de l'établissement et les autres partenaires de l'éducation, notamment, les encadreurs pédagogiques, les encadreurs de la vie scolaire. Il permet de suivre le rythme des progressions, la conformité des intitulés des leçons, le respect du programme éducatif, la qualité des supports didactiques, le rythme des évaluations, le corrigé des évaluations.

Le registre d'appel renseigne sur les présences et les absences. Chaque classe doit posséder un registre d'appel sur lequel sont inscrits les noms des élèves fréquentant la classe, dans l'ordre alphabétique. Avant chaque cours, le professeur doit contrôler les présences en faisant l'appel. Un simple coup d'œil lui permet aussi d'être renseigné sur les absences. Certains règlements intérieurs demandent aux enseignants de ne pas autoriser en classe un élève en retard de plus quinze (15) minutes. L'enseignant peut utiliser divers symboles pour marquer les absences. Il est préférable d'utiliser des signes conventionnels et compris et acceptés de tous. Comme le cahier de textes, il doit être correctement tenu.

Le registre de notes comporte les notes et les moyennes des élèves aux différentes formes d'évaluation : interrogations écrites, devoirs surveillés. Il renseigne sur nature des évaluations et le travail des élèves. Il doit être correctement soigné.

La fiche pédagogique ou fiche de leçon est le tableau de bord de l'enseignant. Il sert de guide, organise de façon méthodique toutes les activités de l'enseignant. Elle favorise une meilleure communication entre l'enseignant et les élèves. Elle comprend tous les moments didactiques de la leçon, permettant ainsi d'éviter l'improvisation. Elle comporte deux parties essentielles : une partie administrative et le corps de la fiche.

Du début à la fin de chaque cours, tout au long de l'année, les élèves ont devant leurs yeux le tableau. Cette simple évidence montre l'extrême importance de cet outil dans l'enseignement.

Ne pas l'utiliser, c'est pour l'enseignant se priver du seul support visuel dont il peut facilement disposer. En revanche, l'utilisation intensive du tableau permet de :

-rendre visibles des informations : réemplois, dessins, schémas, croquis ;

-fixer la mémoire visuelle des élèves des données concrètes ;

-rythmer le déroulement du cours pour en marquer les étapes ;

-former les élèves à la prise de notes.

La liste des outils pédagogiques est longue. Les discussions avec les enseignants et les séances de cours observés montrent que ces outils ne sont pas assez bien utilisés par les enseignants. Outre ces faiblesses constatées, intéressons-nous à l'interprétation et la discussion des résultats.

2. Interpréation et discussion des résultats

Les professeurs évoquent dans ce premier tableau, la liste des documents consultés pour mettre en scène les savoirs scolaires. Ce sont : les programmes éducatifs, les guides pédagogiques, les ouvrages généraux, les manuels.

Tableau 1 .Documents consultés pour la mise en scène des savoirs scolaires

Types de documents	Fréquence (%)
Programmes éducatifs	65
Progressions	10
Images et cartes	5
Textes	15
Total	**100%**

Pour qui s'intéresse à l'analyse du travail, l'enseignement s'apparente à celui de l'ergonome. En effet, une part de cette activité consiste à définir, organiser, réguler un travail : celui des élèves. Les enseignants sont des pourvoyeurs de tâches et les modélisations de l'apprentissage scolaire et de l'instruction, mettent l'accent sur cette notion de travail, opérationnalisée en termes d'engagement dans une tâche.

Pour les besoins de l'analyse, il est important que le professeur utilise des supports didactiques pour faire construire les savoirs. La documentation aide le professeur dans son enseignement. Elle permet de maîtriser le thème de la leçon, d'avoir des connaissances solides sur les objets d'enseignement étudiés, notamment les concepts, les théories, les faits, les principes, de diversifier les exemples. Malheureusement, les professeurs bâtissent leur cours à partir des manuels que des ouvrages généraux, les ouvrages spécialisés et les revues, ce qui donnent des savoirs enseignés très superficiels.

Les explications sont sommaires parce que la recherche de documents n'est pas judicieuse.

Certains manuels consultés par les professeurs ne sont même pas conformes au programme éducatif. On remarque dans l'ensemble que l'improvisation et le tâtonnement sont récurrents.

Comme les enseignants ne maîtrisent pas la démarche de construction du sens, articulant la pédagogie et la didactique, nous avons proposé un moyen d'enseignement caractérisé par deux stratégies. Nous leur avons présenté les situations d'enseignement et d'apprentissage construites autour d'une situation et milieu didactique. Nous avons choisi des exemples de deux leçons, dont une d'histoire en sixième, et une autre de géographie en seconde.

Dans la situation d'enseignement-apprentissage, le professeur construit une situation en fonction d'une situation d'apprentissage, tout en dissimulant l'objet de savoir pour que l'élève ne puisse le repérer que par une adaptation personnelle à la situation.

Le traitement de la situation d'apprentissage de la tâche et la construction du sens qui en résulte dépend de l'intérêt du milieu didactique dans lequel sont alors situés les élèves.

Le milieu didactique est la partie de la situation didactique avec laquelle l'élève est mis en interaction. Dans ce contexte, l'utilisation et l'exploitation des documents didactiques donnent du sens à l'apprentissage.

La conduite d'une leçon ne se limite pas seulement aux points ci-dessus mentionnés. Il y a d'autres étapes importantes qui sont minimisés par les enseignants : la construction d'une situation d'apprentissage, le questionnement, les stratégies pour impliquer les élèves dans la conduite de la leçon, les activités d'apprentissages et les tâches.

L'élaboration de la situation d'apprentissage aide les professeurs à mieux préparer leurs leçons, à se formuler des consignes précises. Elle permet une préparation plus rigoureuse de l'acte éducatif. C'est pourquoi Kayembe (1999) considère qu'elle constitue également un cadre de référence pour la sélection des méthodes, des activités et des matériels éducatifs et pour l'évaluation.

La maïeutique ou méthode socratique était une approche pédagogique axée sur le savoir-faire du maître à faire accoucher les esprits des élèves, à poser des questions pertinentes, inductrices de l'apprentissage.

Le questionnement aide les élèves à apprendre, les motive et les fait réagir. C'est un art qui ne s'improvise part, mais qui se prépare. C'est ce qui fait dire qu' « *Enseigner, c'est savoir poser des questions* ».

Les stratégies d'apprentissage ne s'improvisent pas également durant la conduite de la leçon. Elles sont au centre des pédagogies actives, c'est-à-dire l'élève est acteur de l'apprentissage. Elles permettent aux professeurs de

déterminer les activités et les tâches qui vont amener l'élève à s'impliquer dans les activités d'apprentissage : exercices d'application, élaboration d'une frise chronologique, commentaire de documents (carte, image, données statistiques). Que retenir au terme de cette étude ?

Conclusion

La formation professionnelle des enseignants est structurée autour de deux compétences : pédagogique et didactique. La compétence pédagogique concerne la conduite de la classe, la relation entre l'enseignant et les élèves, la communication, le renforcement des apprentissages, la gestion du tableau Quant à la compétence didactique, elle se propose d'analyser les processus par lesquels les savoirs sont rendus accessibles aux élèves. Les deux forment un tout complémentaire (figure 3). Cette figure nous permet de questionner les dimensions de la pratique enseignante, en s'appuyant sur la pédagogie et la didactique.

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Promotion of Environmental Education in The Moroccan School: A Range of Representations to Expand and Curricular Knowledge to Contextualize

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Abstract

This research aims to clarify some aspects of the reality of environmental education in Moroccan primary schools, as well as to suggest possible methods for its improvement. We undertook a descriptive correlational study involving four schools belonging to different socio-economic contexts. The variables studied were representations, knowledge and activities related to the environment. The results obtained allowed us to identify the principal representations of students on the environment. Then, we founded a proposal to broaden the range of these representations. Furthermore, an environmental knowledge test revealed a significant positive correlation between the test scores and the student's socio-economic background. The study revealed the impact of the living environment, as well as some specific information relating to the local environment, on the quality of environmental education (EE) and the mastery of curricular knowledge. Based on this, we have recommended the contextualization of some of the general environmental concepts included in the school curriculum, such as 'pollution'. This contextualisation of environmental concepts will allow, among other things, improvements in learning, and will give students access to meaningful content relating to the resolution of certain local environmental problems.

Keywords: Environment, Student, Representations, Environmental Knowledge, Environmental Activities.

Introduction

Environmental education (EE) is an essential component of basic education. It relates to the human relationship with the environment; one of the basics of personal and social development (Sauvé, 2012). This research explores EE in a school setting, considering three fundamental aspects; the representations, knowledge, and activities related to the environment.

Social representations are "organized models of beliefs, attitudes, and actions that convey a certain position in a universe—that of common sense" (Moscovici, 2001). Thus, a social representation could be conceptualized as "a structured mental model shared by individuals within a social group, allowing collective elaborations of social objects in their daily lives" (Moscovici, 2001). Many researchers consider that representations are socially constructed during exchange processes and interactions with the reference social group (Doise, Clémence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1992). Other researchers have argued that the collective representations of young people play an important role in decision-making, and are related to the ways in which they may intend to act. Additionally, Shepardson, Wee, Priddy & Harbor (2007) support the idea of a correlation between representations and decision criteria.

In addition to environmental representations, this study has revealed the degree of mastery and use of specific environmental knowledge related to the curriculum of the fourth and fifth year of primary school (subject: scientific activity). Some studies support the existence of a more or less direct and positive relationship between the environmental knowledge of an individual and a positive attitude towards the environment, and a tendency to act in respect of the environment (Boyes, Skamp & Stanisstreet, 2009). Other researchers have proposed a less direct and non-linear link between knowledge and environmental behavior (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). This is because behavior is influenced, according to these authors, by a number of factors other than knowledge. These include social pressures, beliefs, motivation, individual action competence, and other intrinsic and extrinsic factors in complex interaction with each other.

1) What are the representations of primary school students regarding the concept of 'the environment', and what insights can we obtain from these representations towards to promoting relevant environmental education?

2) Is the environmental knowledge acquired at school useful and contextual? Are there significant correlations between student performance and the socio-economic status of their families?

3) What are the different types of environmental education actually offered to primary school students? How can we make significant improvements to the school curriculum (scientific activity)?

Methodology
Research Design

A descriptive correlational design with a comparison of four different socio-economic groups was utilized. One rural public school and three urban schools were included; one belonging to a precarious district, and two belonging to downtown Fez, one of which is a private school. The comparison and correlation concerned several variables, in particular the pupils' representations of 'the environment', the acquired environmental knowledge, the use of this knowledge, and the environmental activities carried out.

Sample

Based on a population of 540 students from four different schools (grade 5), an exhaustive sample of 400 students (100 students per school) was taken. The sample studied included 214 boys and 186 girls. For the three public schools studied, there were about 40 students per class. For the private school that was studied, the number of pupils per class did not exceed 27. The fifth grade was chosen because the fourth and fifth year 'Scientific Activity' program contains the most important content related to environmental education.

Data Collection Tool

The data collection tool was a three-component questionnaire: the students' representations regarding the environment concept (six items), a test of environmental knowledge and their use (six items), and an exploration of the various environmental activities carried out inside and outside the school, along with their frequencies (nine items).

For the first part of the questionnaire concerning representations, we unveiled these representations by referring to Sauvé's typology (Sauvé, 1996, 2002). Indeed, the author distinguishes between several types of representations of the environment; environment as nature, environment as a resource, environment as a problem, environment as a place to live, environment as a system, and environment as the biosphere. Simple definitions for each type of representation were presented, and the student responded by ticking his degree of agreement or disagreement according to a 5-point Likert scale. Zero points represented "no answer", 1 to "disagree", 2 to "indifferent", 3 to "mostly agree", and 4 to "totally agree". The environmental knowledge test was focused on environmental knowledge included in the formal "Scientific Activity" programs of the fourth and fifth year of primary school. We selected themes that may be used in environmental education. The themes are: human-induced risks to water

resources and forests, food chains, and reproduction in animals. Direct and specific questions were asked about each of these program units.

The third part of the questionnaire was an exploration of the different environmental activities carried out during two school years (2016–2017 and 2017–2018).

The reliability index (Cronbach's alpha) applied to each component of the questionnaire yielded values between 0.543 and 0.701, indicating that the internal consistency of the questionnaire is satisfactory.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data was based mainly on descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, and correlations between the different variables studied. This was completed using the IBM SPSS20 statistical software.

Regarding students' representations about the environment, a comparative analysis of the frequencies of the different degrees of agreement or disagreement reported for each type of representation in the four schools was undertaken. Given that the "strongly agree" opinions with certain types of representations were significantly higher than for other opinions (somewhat agree, indifferent or disagree), only the frequencies of opinion " strongly agree " were retained in the results.

For the environmental knowledge test, a comparison was made of the percentages of students who obtained the average (a score greater than or equal to 5/10) in all four institutions. Then, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was completed to extract the significant differences and classify these institutions into separate categories. Afterwards, we looked for correlations between these results and the socio-economic level of the students.

Results and Discussion
The Concept of "the Environment"

By analyzing the opinions of the students who "strongly agree" for each of the six representations of the environment presented, we found a similar order of ranking of the first three most representative conceptions of the environment. In fact, for the four institutions under study, the representation of the environment as a "place to live" always came first, followed by the environment as "nature", and in third place was always the representation of the environment as a "resource" (Figure 1).

By and large, we can say that students in the four schools studied expressed almost the same types of representations about the environment. This is despite the fact that these are students from very different socioeconomic and sociocultural backgrounds. Therefore, we can say that

the socio-cultural environment of the students had no significant influence on their conception of the environment.
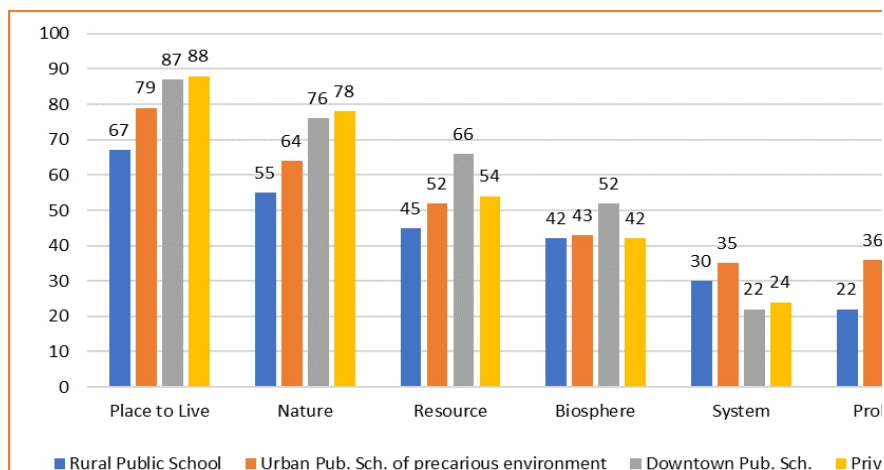
Figure 1. Frequency of the opinion "strongly agree" for each of the six representations of the environment

However, the surprising thing is that these results are in perfect agreement with those found in other studies involving students of/about the same age range (10 to 12 years), from many distant and different countries from the point of view of language, culture, religion, and so forth. In this context, we can cite the study by Marquis (2001), especially the section concerning young people from Niodior (Senegal) and the study by El Kent, Bekhat, Madrane & Jules (2015) (Congo), and particularly the study by Côté and Picard (2003) (Canada). This calls into question the theory of social representations, which considers that representations are socially constructed and that they depend on the exchanges and interactions that each person maintains with his or her social reference group and cultural background (Doise et al., 1992). Admittedly, these results support the possibility of the existence of similar representations in different societies.

In analyzing the different opinions of students about the environment, we noticed that among all the proposed representations, the conception of the environment as a "system" is the most ambiguous among the students. Indeed, for all the institutions studied, the definition of environment as a "system" always received the most "indifferent" opinions (125 students). That is, students probably cannot comprehend its meaning and make a clear decision (agree or disagree). It is important to keep this in mind, given that the environment as a "system" and the systemic approach in environmental education is recommended by several authors, such as Gough (1993), Goffin (1998) and Ragou & Souchon (2000).

To broaden the range of students' representations on the environment, we propose to start teaching the environment as a "system" from the fifth year of primary school, through the systemic analysis of local environmental issues. This will help students to learn to take into account the complexity of the network of relationships between the components of the environment, and to understand the interdependence of living beings with each other and with their environment.

Environmental Knowledge Test

The test results showed striking differences between the four institutions studied. Indeed, we found a noticeable superiority in the private school and a very remarkable deficiency in the rural public school. This is illustrated by the percentage of students who could obtain the average (grade ≥5/10) in each institution; 77% in the private school, 46% in the urban public school of downtown Fez, 35% in the urban public school of the precarious environment, and only 18% of the students of the rural public school were able to achieve the average.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) applied to students' grades (Table 1) allowed us to isolate three distinct groups whose scores differ very significantly. The first group consists of the private school students, the second consists of two public urban school students, and the third and last group consists exclusively of the rural school students.

Table 1. *Analysis of variance (ANOVA) applied to student scores with multiple comparisons between schools.*

ANOVA	Multiple Comparisons (Post Hoc Tests)		
	Schools	Mean Difference	Sig.
Dependent Variable = Knowledge Test Notes Criterion = Schools N = 400 F (3, 396) = 27,248 significance = ,000	Urban Public, Precarious Env. // Public Rural	,39000*	,001
	Public, Downtown // Public Rural	,46000*	,000
	Public, Downtown // Urb. Pub., Precarious Env.	,07000	,530
	Private // Public Rural	1,00000*	,000
	Private // Urban Public, Precarious Environment	,61000*	,000
	Private // Public, Downtown	,54000*	,000

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

There is a very significant positive correlation between student performance and the socio-cultural level of parents, and particularly their

social class and level of schooling (Pearson's correlation coefficient = 0.398 with significance level of 0.01). In the literature, several studies carried out in various countries are in good agreement with these results, in particular the research concerning the impact of the socio-economic status of parents on the educational performance of their children. For example, the works of Sirin (2005) in the United States; Liu and Lu (2008) in China; Marks (2010) in Australia; Tomul and Savasci (2012) in Turkey and Paquette, Japel and Paradis (2016) in Canada. In Morocco, the latest report of the Higher Council of Education, Training and Scientific Research (CSEFRS, 2018, pp. 6–20), entitled "Une École de Justice Sociale" (A School of Social Justice), focused on the impact of social inequalities on school inequalities and their amplification.

Regarding the indicator question of local environmental knowledge, the results were worrying. Indeed, the majority of the students of all the studied institutions do not know the names of wadis which cross their city. This is despite the fact that several of the major ecological problems experienced in the city of Fez and its surroundings (and which still persist) are related to the pollution of its wadis. It seems that the environmental knowledge being taught is largely general and decontextualized from the local environment, and particularly the biophysical environment and its specific problems.

Correlations

There was a significant correlation between gender and school trips (Pearson's correlation coefficient = 0.337 with significance level of 0.01). That is to say, boys do more outings than girls. This can be explained mainly by cultural reasons. Families are generally more concerned about their girls than their boys while on a field trip. Therefore, they give more freedom to their boys rather than their daughters.

A significant positive correlation has been found between local environmental knowledge and knowledge of human activities that post a risk to water resources (Pearson's correlation coefficient = 0.343 with significance level of 0.01). Certainly, there is a logical link between the two types of knowledge. Local knowledge concerns the wadis that cross the city of Fez and its surroundings. These wadis are polluted and overexploited, so, students who know these wadis are more likely to know about the human activities that pose a risk to water resources. Here, local environmental information is well linked to curricular knowledge and promotes its acquisition. Some authors have emphasized the positive impact of local and specific environmental knowledge on the improvement of learning and pro-environmental behavior (El Batri et al., 2019). Therefore, when teaching the units of the program "Scientific Activity, 4th Year Primary", which deal with

risks to water resources, it is strongly recommended to integrate local examples. These examples make scientific knowledge more meaningful and motivating for the student, especially when the local environment is subject to significant risks, as is the case in the Fez region (degradation of the wadis). This contextualization of environmental concepts is strongly recommended for units of the 'Scientific Activity' program for 4th and 5th year primary students, concerning the risks threatening the forest and water resources.

Among the other significant correlations revealed in this study is that existing between conducting environmental research and student performance (Pearson's correlation coefficient = 0.412 with significance level of 0.01). This correlation is found only in the most active institutions in environmental research (the private school and the downtown public school). That is, students who do more environmental research will be more likely to perform well in the 'Scientific Activity' courses than those who do not.

Conclusion

The representations of students from the four schools we studied regarding the concept of 'the environment' are similar, regardless of their socio-cultural and socio-economic context. Indeed, the environment mainly means to most people a "place to live", "nature", and "resources". On the other hand, to grasp the complexity of interactions within the environment, we have proposed expanding the range of representations. This may be achieved by starting teaching of the environment as a "system", as recommended by many researchers, from the fifth primary year through local examples which are concrete and meaningful for the students.

There is a significant positive correlation between student performance and the socio-economic and sociocultural status of families. In fact, a student from a middle-class or affluent family, with a higher level of parental education, is more likely to obtain better results than his or her counterpart from a poor and poorly educated family. This study also found another significant correlation between school trips and gender. A boy in Morocco is more likely to participate in an environmental outing than a girl.

The study revealed a notable lack of some important local environmental knowledge in all the institutions studied. This indicates that the student's local environment is far from being a learning object within Moroccan primary schools. However, knowledge of the local environment is very useful, and can be linked to other knowledge in the school curriculum, thus facilitating the acquisition of such knowledge. In addition, the study found a significant positive correlation between some knowledge of the local environment and curricular environmental knowledge. Admittedly, the environmental problems of the Fez region require the contextualization of

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certain environmental curricular concepts, such as pollution and the overexploitation of resources.

The minority of students who have a good command of environmental curriculum knowledge reported that this knowledge is useless, or rarely used in their daily lives. This means that the student is "laden" with knowledge that is largely decontextualized, insignificant for him, and not transferable in other situations outside of school. This reality must be taken into account in the new school reforms that are being implemented at the level of the Moroccan School Curriculum.

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Competencies of Innovative Leaders

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Abstract

Qualified innovative leaders are a big demand in the innovation sector as well as on the international market. Worldwide, 79 percent of CEOs fear that their company workforce lacks basic skills, thereby threatening their organization's future growth. This was the conclusion of the latest PwC study Talent Trends 2019, for which around 3,200 interviews with CEOs in more than 90 countries were conducted. This paper discusses the competencies of innovative leaders by a theoretical overview of those known for best practices like Steve Jobs and Richard Branson. Furthermore, innovative leadership skills were discussed followed by a competency model for innovative leaders. As a practical input, various expert interviews were also evaluated to combine the best practices with practical usage. Finally, these innovative leaders gave their recommendations and priority ranking on the competency model and some recommendations will be provided through the authors.

Keywords: Competencies, Innovation, Innovative Leadership, Leadership.

Introduction

Qualified innovative leaders are a big demand by innovation companies as well as on the international market.

Worldwide, 79 percent of CEOs fear that their company workforce lacks enough skills, especially basic skills, thus, threatening their organization's future growth. This is the conclusion of the latest PwC study Talent Trends 2019, for which around 3,200 interviews with CEOs in more than 90 countries were conducted.

Therefore, in this article, the competencies of innovative leaders are discussed. Also, a theoretical overview as well as the results of practical expert interviews was reviewed.

Finally, some recommendations will be provided through the authors.

Innovation

For our purposes here, the term "innovation" will be "an innovation relevant to the enterprise."

The term in economics refers to the (complex) innovations associated with technical, social, and economic change.

So far, there is no coherent, universally accepted approach to innovation or a generally accepted definition of innovation. What all definition attempts do have in common are the characteristics:

(1) Uniqueness or (renewal) of an object or social action, at least for the system under consideration, and

(2) Change or change through innovation in and through enterprise, i.e., innovation must be discovered/invented, introduced, used, applied, and institutionalised.

Competencies

Competencies are the ability to do something well:

- Students can prove their competence by performing well in an exam.
- The ideal candidate will have both a design sensibility and competence in the relevant software packages.
- We need objective standards to assess the competency of our workforce.

Characteristics are the underlying attributes of an individual that drive their behaviors. Behaviors are an individual's observable actions that are manifested as a result of the individual's characteristics.

Competence is an area of knowledge or skill that is critical when performing a job function; it includes both knowledge and expertise. Individual competencies are built from underlying characteristics that enable a person to demonstrate the competencies associated within a particular job.

Main Text

In the main area, the connection between innovation and leadership will be described with some examples of best practices worldwide like the company Apple with its leader Steve Jobs as well as the company Virgin with its leader Richard Branson. Furthermore, leadership skills for innovation will be described plus a competency model for innovative leadership.

Innovative Leadership

For a start, an innovative leadership style that already exists in literature, the style of successful entrepreneurs like Richard Branson or Steve

Jobs, can be used. This hardly contains a model. It is mostly based on experiences from their innovative enterprises which concerns high-level personnel. However, these are not produced concerning industrial companies which suggest that they have not yet been literarily edited.

Not Everyone is Eligible to be CEO

A manager needs someone who "brings the best to people," someone who communicates well with others and helps an employee learn from a mistake instead of criticizing them for it. Not everyone does this, and that is okay. The founder may but does not have to be the CEO; if the fit is not right, he or she should know when the role is meant for someone else.

Be a leader, Not a Boss

Branson sees the classic image of the "boss" as an anachronism. "Heroic is not a desirable characteristic in a manager," he says. A boss gives orders, while a leader organizes.

"Perhaps, therefore, it is strange that if there is any one phrase that is guaranteed to get me on the way, it is when someone says to me: 'Okay, fine. You're the boss!'" says Branson. "What annoys me is that in 90 percent of the cases, what this person wants to say is: 'Okay, then, I don't think I agree with you, but I'll roll over and do it because you tell me to. But if it does not work out I will be the first to remind you that it's not my idea.'" Therefore, a good innovative business leader is someone who, not only has to execute his ideas, but also inspires others to come forward with their ideas.

Innovative Leadership at the Company Apple

Steve Jobs left Apple in great shape. His position as CEO left the chairman position vacant but left an innovative leadership legacy that is transformative to maintain. No leader in this day and age is more innovative, has broken more rules, and has invented more things that have changed the world. He described an employee who was part of the team that started the Macintosh computer. He was active in business strategy, strategic planning, and managed global business markets. Also, industries such as medicine were his passion and focus. These were described as exciting times, and he has sparked a revolution in computers, information, and culture.

Each Leader Needs to Think in a Positive Way

A leader's first big vision must be to properly sell his idea or innovation to his employees. If they do not get it, then the customers will not. This seems obvious, but too many leaders today have the right finances

or seniority or even board support, but they do not embody this lesson. Steve invented it.

Days before the Mac, they sent to take pictures of a Swiss army knife, challenging that Mac was something else; not just a computer, but a lifestyle device. Steve asked them to think about the Mac as more than a technology, it was an innovation in culture, lifestyle, and learning.

Think Differently to Differentiate Your Company or Product

Steve was focused on innovative marketing, product features, design, and packaging. He knew thinking differently was the key to Apple's differentiation from other companies.

When they launched the Mac to the media and analysts, they wanted a Mac in every room, without a manual. Other computers, like IBM, came up with huge manuals on how to operate it. When the analysts came into their rooms, they expected to touch the computer. The Mac would turn on and hear them from the computer, saying "hello." Thus, this blew their minds. Steve thought is that the minds of people blew with innovative ideas.

Take Smart Risks, Fast Downtime and Do not Give Up

People forget that Apple tried and failed many things before they succeeded. They learned more from their mistakes than their successes. Edison's light bulb took 40,000 mistakes to make it right. Before the Mac computer, Lisa failed. Apple had a run on one of their early iPad called Newton but it did not work. Therefore, taking risks and persevering is of significant importance.

Enjoy the Journey

Everyone on planet earth is here for a limited time. Therefore, it is important to make it count. Steve would have reminded us all to enjoy the trip. Or would he not? He urged them all to commit to achieving something big, relevant, and meaningful. These lessons are as true today as they were in 1984.

Invest in the Future

This is a great opportunity. Since it is sustainable, this is what life is all about and it also applies to business. To develop new inventions, you must be willing to take risks, make mistakes, and have big ideas most importantly.

Sell your Big Idea

Your innovation is what every leader needs. Steve was a fearless leader who made a lot of inventions: Mac, iPod, iPad, iTunes, Apple TV, the mouse, etc., and a software interface, all invented within 20 years.

Three Innovation Leadership Skills

The leader does not need a crystal ball to see that the world of work is changing. According to an important new study from McKinsey Global Institute, almost half the jobs people currently perform are likely to be automated by currently existing technology. It sort of makes you wonder: what kind of work will be left for humans to do?

The answer is innovation. To thrive in this new world of work will require different skill-sets, mind-sets, and tool-sets. Chief among them is the need to bring people together as a team, the need to demonstrate deeper empathy, and the ability to get new things done.

Innovation in the next economy is about much more than inventing. It is about figuring out how and where you can add unique value. It is about how fast you can unlearn, relearn, and master new skills. In addition, it is about how you engage others at a deeper, more humanistic, and passionate level.

The Leader Continuously Embraces the Opportunity Mode of Thinking

Innovation in the new workplace is not what you do after you get your work done; it is how the leader approaches the work. In its simplest form, innovation is coming up with ideas and bringing them to life to solve problems and create opportunities. Instead of innovation being a department (new product development, research, and development, IT, etc.), it is quickly becoming everybody's business.

In Opportunity Mode, you are passionately alert to the possibility to unmet needs, to the power of imagination, and to the thrill of turning vision into reality. Where others see problems, the innovative leader senses potential. When others stress over details, the innovative leader sees the big picture, the progress being made, the vision of how things can be but are not yet. Additionally, the innovative leader knows progress will happen, if only you keep the mood right and press ahead.

The Innovative Leader Develops Empathy for the End Customer

As an example, an innovative leader transformed the intranet into a two-way communications vehicle. At that company, they began hosting weekly online surveys with store employees and managers. They created online discussion sessions for employees in disparate locations. Finally, they

hosted agenda-less town hall meetings where employees can interact with senior leaders.

Two important factors have built success in those steps: the leader's passion for the end customer i.e., the company's employees. They wanted to do something about the disconnection that exists between management and the field. The first was the innovative leaders making the intranet a two-way communication vehicle to directly get the need of the employees and, finally, those of the customers.

The Innovative Leader Proactively Thinks Ahead of the Curve by Fortifying the Idea Factory

Nowadays things happen fast when people are not paying attention. So many workplaces can blind us to important social, technological, and other external changes. A lot of people, also leaders, miss important trends, disruptions, and technologies. With your 'flashlight' in hand, however, you will find things do not happen quite so suddenly. Furthermore, fortifying the idea factory helps to know how to fuel their work with a constant flow of ideas.

Competency Model for Innovative Leaders

Innovative leaders are critical for success at all levels of the organization and during all phases of the innovation process. Innovative leaders must be able to adapt their leadership styles to match the culture and the type of employee. Innovation is all about people and innovative leaders need to recognize the importance of leading groups and developing individuals. In many cases, innovations are the result of people solving problems. Thus, it is important to know the people you are leading well enough to determine effective leadership strategies and styles to ensure success in problem-solving activities and leading innovation.

Graphic 1. Gliddon's competency model of innovative leaders
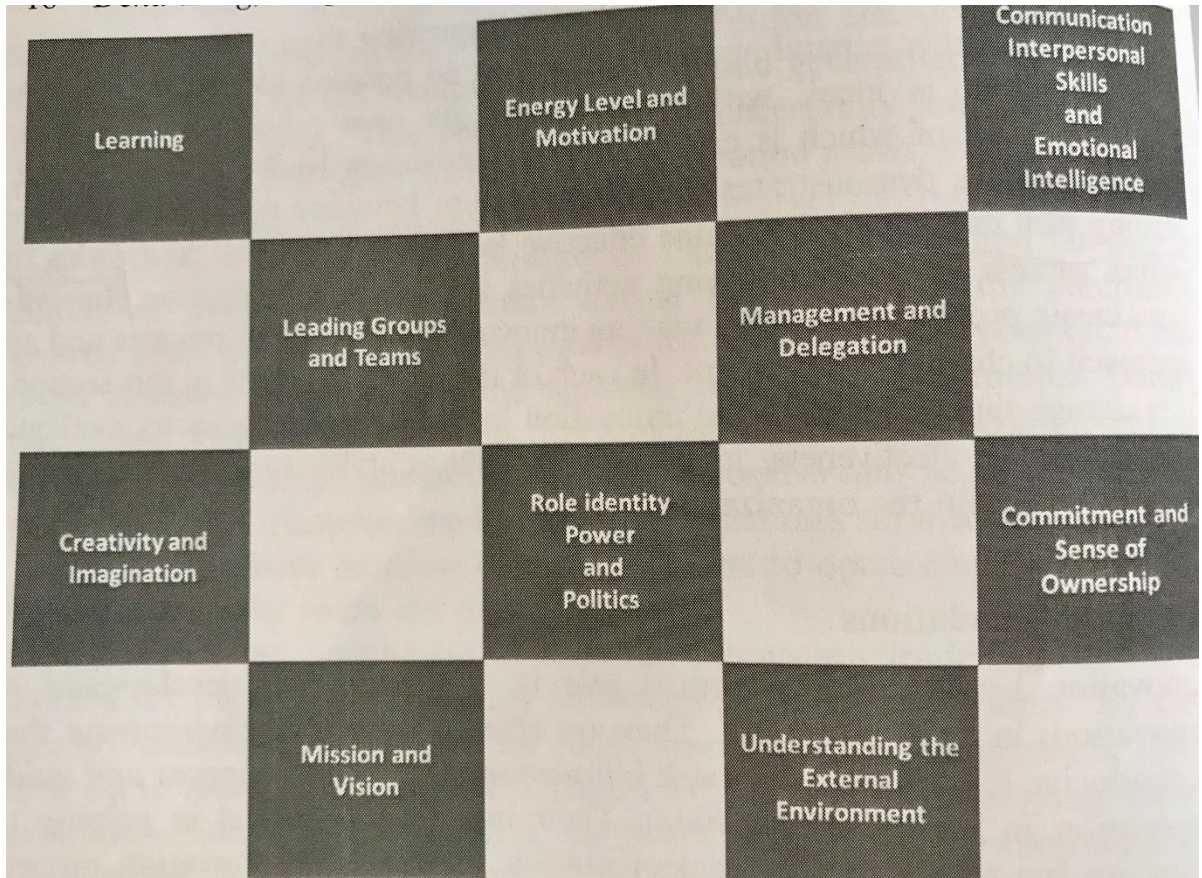
Innovations create progressive change, making innovative leadership a practice and an approach to change management. It is change that encourages the innovative leader to make decisions, evaluate organizational effectiveness, and adapt leadership styles to successfully lead innovation within the organization.

As defined in Section 1.2, the competencies are described as knowledge and expertise.

Furthermore, each group of competencies is described as shown below:

Learning: Individual learning, organizational learning, and knowledge management have all been linked to innovation. Individual learning increases an organization's knowledge base and can increase an innovative leader's effectiveness. Identifying innovations, knowledge transfer, use of technical/professional expertise, and valuing of higher education are some examples to be mentioned.

Leading Groups and Teams: The ability to lead groups and teams is critical during innovation development, implementation, and adoption. Managing expectations and leading by example are the most important competencies mentioned in that group. It is followed by knowing the strengths and weaknesses of the team as well as teamwork, commitment, and empowerment.

Energy Level and Motivation: For the innovative leader to promote an innovation effectively and to lead groups and teams during innovation development, implementation, and adoption, they need to understand their motivations and understand how to motivate others while maintaining the necessary energy level required to become successful. Some examples that are mentioned include a sense of urgency, stress management, motivating others, ambition, and passion-driven.

Communication, Interpersonal Skills, and Emotional Intelligence: Key interpersonal skills are a must as well as well-developed emotional intelligence and the ability to communicate their vision. Furthermore, verbal, non-verbal, and written communication methods are an asset together with an understanding of non-verbal cues, empathy, objectivity, and asking open-ended questions to deeper understand their employees from a psychological point of view.

Commitment and Sense of Ownership: The personal commitment to projects requires innovation. Leaders need to develop a culture of trust and formulate challenging goals that are linked to a meaningful work objective that is connected to the goals of the organization and the needs of the customer. Constantly seeking improvement, self-confidence, sense of pride, and commitment to ethics are some examples to be mentioned.

Creativity and Imagination: Leaders must understand what creative employees value and be able to provide an environment that encourages new idea generation. The need for change often accompanies innovation, and the innovative leader must be a champion for change. Early identification of problems, encouragement of new ideas, the championship of change as well as analytical thinking, and finding connection by using analogues and benchmarks are some examples within the competence group.

Role Identity, Power, and Politics: The change is often necessary to champion, develop, and implement innovation. Therefore, integrity, professionalism, humility, negotiation as well as politically savvy,

salesmanship, and courage connected with diplomacy and conviction are to be mentioned in that part.

Mission and Vision: The successful innovative leader can develop, support, and articulate the organization's mission and vision while aligning innovative efforts with the mission and vision. Following competencies are essential at that group of competencies like visionary leadership, encouragement of system thinking as well as employment of multiple perspectives and organizational citizenship.

Understanding the External Environment: To develop a successful business strategy, the external environment needs to be understood, including organization's competitors and market, relevant governmental politics and regulations.

When using the competency model, the innovative leader may need to adjust his or her leadership style depending on the context in which they are operating. Leaders of innovation teams must be able to overcome unique challenges of creative interdisciplinary teams to promote collaboration using appropriate leadership styles.

Practical Orientation of Industrial Leaders for Innovative Competencies

For the empirical survey, industrial leaders of the coatings industry were examined. This industry was chosen as the survey group because the market is highly dynamic. The market model would not exist without innovations. Selected executives, working in the innovation sector in this segment, were interviewed with the method of an expert interview guide which was evaluated by cross-sectional analysis. Based on the cross-sectional analysis, it was centrally evident that all the industrial companies surveyed recognise a wide range of competencies that are necessary for innovative leaders. All companies want to drive the innovation process but need to have the right type of leaders especially with their willingness to improve and drive the employees in a dynamic organisation.

Based on the empirical surveys as shown below, three main areas were considered as the important ones in summary.

Innovative Leaders' Habits

The following competencies are being advised especially for the habits of innovative leaders. Not only competencies are to be considered, but also factors that are essential for the basis in the organization.

First, Who and then What

This is the critical success factor for innovation. All leaders mentioned that people are the most important factor for innovation. Everybody who wants to involve himself is invited and will take steps

forward, no matter which education level they have. Together with this approach, the leader must ask his experts in the team for solution. None in this survey describes the innovative employees who are developing a solution alone in his labor. If there is a new idea or a challenging client request, a project team is being set-up.

Be a leader, not a boss:

- The boss is complaining about what is not happening: problem-oriented

- A leader is praising that which is working well and is open for improvement ideas: solution-oriented

The Innovative Leader is a "hybrid"

The leader in innovative surroundings is like politics within the company. They need to have competences to convince the management to follow up on the new idea as well as the client. The high degree of creativity is, therefore, necessary and the teams of the innovation areas can do practical research with unstructured creativity. This does not mean that they have time to just do 'nothing', but they have high flexibility in the independent time schedule. In a few areas, pending on the innovation degree and project, leadership by chaos can be the best style to get a defined aim. That means a start and endpoint of the respective project are being clarified. Therefore, within this cloud, innovative leaders and teams put their heads together and have no restricts. Summing up, the empathy degree of the innovative leader is one of the most important competencies to drive their employees and to understand the customer's need.

Furthermore, most of the administrative terms should be outsourced to somebody else. This would make it flexible for innovative leaders and teams to fully focus on developing new ideas and products in comparison to other departments.

Priorities of the Competencies for Innovative Leaders

Based on the competence model for innovative leaders which was briefly described in section 2.3, the model was discussed in the expert interview guide. The innovative leaders were asked which competencies are most important for leaders in innovative areas. Therefore, the following chart has been created to provide an overview of the practical classification of the described competencies.

Figure 1. Priorities matrix ranked by innovative leader experts (self-created figure)

First priority	Energy Level and Motivation	Leading Groups and Teams, Management and Delegation, Communication & Interpersonal Skills, Emotional Intelligence	Learning
Second priority	Commitment & Ownership	Mission & Vision	Understanding the external Environment
Third priority		Role identity Power and Politics	
Can be outsourced			*Creativity and imagination -> employees*

It can be seen in Figure 1 that the most important competencies for innovative leaders are in the areas of energy level and motivation which are essential for the whole team and spirit. Furthermore, leadership skills together with experience in that field in terms of management and delegation are being responded to with high importance. Interpersonal skills with communication and emotional intelligence are significant for the innovative leaders too. The competence in continuous learning is based on a model-function of each leader. This is because employees will follow the habits and living values of each leader in the respective organization.

In the second priority of competences, commitment and personal ownership are being ranked by the expert leaders. Additionally, the mission and vision is being lived day-by-day through the leaders together with the mission statement so that every employee can live their roles and responsibilities according to the company's values. Expert leaders highlighted that innovative leaders need to understand the external environment and define customer's needs based on the empathy factor which is not only internal but also external.

As the third priority, the area of role identity with power and politics was ranked by the experts. This is so that the internal and external sales function of the innovative leader is essential too to gain new ideas and bring it to the market as well.

The competence area of creativity and imagination for creating products and new processes in the innovation field was mentioned. Therefore, this can be outsourced and ideas on that can be provided by the employees through a daily bottom-up process.

Recommendations for Innovative Leaders

Leaders in areas of innovation were asked to define action steps based on the innovative leadership skills discussed in section 2.2. Thus, the following recommendations were given to other innovative leaders.

- Exercise the leader's imagination muscle. To shift perspective at any time during your day, exert yourself to come up with additional solutions to a challenge you are currently facing. The leader should ask him/herself (and the team members): what are five alternative ways to address a problem to find solutions in a brainstorming way? If a leader had a magic stick, which options would you take now to get the solution?

- Consciously challenge personal, professional, and industry assumptions. Asking such questions as "I wonder if we..." or "what would an entirely different way of handling this situation look like?" Additionally, challenge the employees for new input of conferences, stakeholders, and universities from the external environment. Also, try to set up clusters where the leaders can learn from other services and industries.

- Strive to understand the business where the leader is on a deeper level. Develop empathy for the end customer/user, whether the customer is internal or external. Try to walk in their shoes. Seek to understand their pains. Listen actively and deeply to what the customer wants to accomplish, what problems they face, and how the leader and his/her organization might take on the problem. Step outside the bubble of the respective culture. Interact with more people. Wrap your brain gently around what they are trying to express.

- Every innovator has a voracious information diet: books, articles, alerts, reports. Developing the ability to <u>track emerging trends</u> is a skill. It involves projecting out where these trends will go. Connecting the dots. By assessing and interpreting changes as they relate to their world, this helps in transforming them into new opportunities.

- <u>Selling new ideas</u> is about surmounting obstacles, overcoming objections, and gaining commitment to a new way of doing things. Always focus on the benefits of adopting the new way and avoid getting caught up in the features and technical details. Ask for feedback from friends, mentors, and others you trust to sharpen the respective message. If more ambitious, do not bog down with details and show how this enhances the brand. Furthermore, be persistent. Building the buy-in for a change often takes time and patience, not only external but also internal through other colleagues or the upper management.

Consequently, all of the mentioned recommendations can be seen as the behaviour of the innovative leader. This is especially the case if there is an openness to learn within the organization and the individual learning of the leader too.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be emphasized that in practice, there is a lack of orientation of leadership styles in innovative industrial companies. These executives are expected to have high expectations which are not clearly defined. Therefore, the leadership style is unclear. Regardless of internationality or orientation, the personal business partnership is the critical success factor to drive the innovation process. Numerous quantitative key figures and reports play an important function in the innovation process. If the innovation at the end is not economically justifiable, the innovation idea at the beginning has almost no chance to be developed. This is irrespective of the fact that there is a specified need mentioned by the customer, or if the development of the market goes in that direction. Therefore, the buy-in of the CXOs determines which innovation projects will be developed or not. It also shows that the competency mostly on the personal level of the innovative leader is crucial.

The competence mix of innovative leaders is diverse, and each person has his/her strengths and weaknesses. Nevertheless, it is a people matter who will be a good innovative leader or a non-successful one. If the leaders once know his/her own based on that dimension, he/she can start a process to learn and develop the other competencies and skills. It is recommended continuously or even regularly that innovative leaders should get support from an expert, e.g., a couch, as well as to exchange his/her learnings and challenges within an innovative leader's peer group which is

not internal but external. These peer groups will support a cross-dimension-thinking and together with specific training, the innovative leader can, even more, drive the innovation change in his/her organization.

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Islamic Societies and Politics

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Abstract

This paper seeks to explore and deconstruct the Islamic society and politics, as well as to analyze how religion and culture have shaped both Islamic identity and mindset. To attain this objective, the Quran and Hadiths are not the only texts that are constantly referred to both as the cornerstones of Islam, but also as open texts for debate and reinterpretation. The study attempts to revisit some of the most influential and significant Muslim scholars whose works have shaped Islamic thought and society in modern times. These range from the Salafist movement, the Wahhabis, the Muslim Brotherhood, the fundamentalists to the liberal and postmodern Muslim thinkers (mainly progressive ones). Besides, the paper addresses how western modernity and globalization have considerably influenced Islamic society today in vital sectors, such as democracy, human rights, individual freedom and how these external influences have introduced new values (feminism, youth culture, civil society, pluralism and democracy) and also disrupted old structures (patriarchy, absolute rule, religious authority). The ultimate target of this research is to uncover the real and massive dynamics the Islamic world is witnessing and to challenge the readymade conceptions and stereotypes that are applied from outside with, sometimes, a very little knowledge of the complexity and diversity of the Islamic world.

Keywords: Democracy, Islam, Pluralism, Progressive, Salafism.

Introduction

Since the 7th century, a growing proportion of human beings have been followers of Islam. Islam denotes submission for peace, which Muslims receive in submitting to God. One fifth of the world's people identify themselves as Muslims. The Atlantic shore of North and West Africa, through west, central and south Asia to island southern Asia. The teachings of Islam were revealed in the 7th century. Muslims see Islam as the continuation and completion of Judaism and Christianity. They honor patriarchs and prophets as Muhammad's predecessors. Islam makes strict

distinction between the Creator and all parts of his creation. Muhammad did not share God's divinity. He is God's prophet, his messenger and a model for believers, but fully human. Mohammed has given meaning to Muslim lives and shaped the world where they live. Muslims believe they will be judged on the righteousness ok their lives on earth and the good will be rewarded with eternal life in paradise.

The Muslim world has been more reticent and resistant to the inroads of a Western-dominated political and cultural order than any other civilization in the world (Fuller, 2003). In fact, through the world history no culture has witnessed a continuous high civilization for a long period of time and covered a geographically diverse and huge region of the globe. This civilization epitomized the core of the world order for longer than Western civilization. Therefore, several Muslims attribute the past glamorous "achievements and durability of Islamic civilizations to the very message and implementation of Islam itself" (Fuller, 2003, p. 7). To Muslims, it is apparent that Islamic civilization generated a system of creed, governance and social order that resisted the ordeals of over thousand years of history and across a wide variety of regions, cultures and people. Most Muslims believe that Islam´s strength lies in the message of God as revealed to Mohammed, the last of God´s prophets.

Since the beginning of the recorded human history, religion has been a key source to ethical and legal principles. The spiritual inspiration of Islam and its vision of both society and state accounts for its tolerance by several cultures and peoples. Islam has dominated more largely, longer, and over more diverse cultures than any creed. Hence, Islam enjoys an unbelievable cultural power top meet social, ethical and moral needs of divergent societies. For instance, Islam brought a large body of intellectual change to the areas wherein it propagated. Regardless this glamorous past glories, it is of paramount importance to pose the following inquiry, whether Islam can cope with the contemporary challenges of modernity and globalization. In other words, how do Muslim scholars shape Islamic thought to society in modern times? How have Western modernity and globalization impacted Islamic society – individual freedom, feminism and pluralism? This leads to inquire about how diverse and complex is the Islamic society or Muslim societies?

The early caliphate set up the pattern for different institutions within the Islamic state. Islam catered for the main identity and state ideology in quest for unity and solidarity (Esposito, 2010, p. 38). In fact, the caliph´s leadership gains legitimacy from his being the successor of the Prophet at the helm of the community because Mohammed was a template for governance. The successor enjoyed direct political, military, and fiscal control of the Muslim community. He was chosen through a process of consultation,

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nomination and selection by a small group of electors; nevertheless, this process was questioned and caused a lot of frictions among Muslims over the legitimate successor since the outset, right after the Prophet´s death. There are those who claimed that the caliph should be elected, mainly the Sunni, while there are others who advocated succession to someone from Mohammed´s bloodline, the Shi´a.

This is the beginning of divisions among the Islamic community. First, the Kharijites who originated during the caliphs Othman and Ali. They are deemed as the earliest movements of radical disagreement in Islam and the first to offer a different understanding of the community and its leadership. Since the kharijites epitomize both "a rigorous puritanism and religious fundamentalist" (Esposito, 2010, p.41), they still inspire contemporary radical groups nowadays, such as Egypt´s Takfir wal Hijra and Jamaat al-Jihad. The kharijites were extremist; they were very pious believers who interpreted the Quran and Sunna literally and absolutely. Their vocabulary is framed within the binary opposition of good or bad, permitted or forbidden, belief or un-belief, Muslim or non-Muslim, and peace or war. When they broke with Ali, the kharijites, they declared war (Jihad) against their foes (people of evil) because they consider themselves as the instruments of God´s justice.

The conflict between Ali and Muawiyya had a central significance on the course of Islamic theology and political history. During the caliphates, religion was the foundation of political activity, while with the Umayyads, there was less emphasis on following the caliphs, but a shift to the emphasis on political power. The first civil war broke out between Ali and Muawiya, which generated the Kharijites´ secession and the alienation of Ali´s supporters, came again to obsess the Umayyads. During Yazid´s reign, there was a second round of wars started, which lead to a split in the Islamic community into two major parts: Sunni and Shii. These happenings mold the worldview of Shii Islam. The basic disparity between Shii and Sunni Muslims is that the Shii doctrine of the imamate as not similar to the Sunni caliphate. As aforementioned, the caliph was the chosen or elected successor of the Prophet, mainly for the political and military leadership rather than to Mohammed´s religious authority. However, for the Shii, leadership of the Muslim Umma (community) is "vested in the Imam, who, though not a prophet, is the divinely inspired, sinless, infallible, religio-political leader of the community" (Esposito, 2010, p. 43). For Shii, the Imam is not only a political leader but also a religious guide. The rule of the imam over the whole Muslim community was exasperated not only by "usurper" Sunni caliphs, but by dissents within the Shii community over succession. This generated three major fractions: Zaydi, Ismaili and Ashari.

Regardless the plethora of states and cultures (encompassing Umayyads, Abbassids, Fatimids, Seljuqs, Ayyubids, Mukluks, Mongols, Mughal, Safavid, Ottomans, among others), Islamic creed and civilization catered for a fundamental bond, incarnated in a common profession of faith and acceptance of the Sharia, Islamic law. Hence, Islam supplied the essential ideological frame of reference for both political and social life, a source of identity, legitimacy and guidance. However, the social and moral decline of these Muslim empires contributed to a wave of Islamic revivalist movements throughout the Muslim world during the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. These movements have shaped the Islamist discourse. For instance, Islamic politics aim at the implementation of an Islamic polity.

One of the pertinent questions is whether Islamic politics are Islamic or Islamist. In other words, I try to discern between the political and the Islamic since the Islamists claim the authenticity in upholding Islamic teaching (Lahoud, 2004). In his manifesto, Mawdudi argues that the implementation of an Islamic state (dawla islamiyya) is based on a "divinely ordained system of government, a caliphate" (Lahoud, 2004, p.51). In other words, an Islamic state is to be achieved through an ´Islamic transformation´ of the institutions of the society. This encompasses the development of various institutions of governance, which includes models for the management of administrative, intellectual, judicial, economic, financial and social affairs. In the same vein, Qutb draws on Mohammed´s leadership is a model for the conduct of leadership in Islamic politics. In addition, he relates the intellectual foundation of connected of an Islamic state to political activism. He advocates that "Islamic" relates to Islam, while "un-Islamic" refers to (Jahili). In his project, Qutb aims at fighting un-Islamic practice and Islamization of society. He believes that Muslim community has experienced decadence and deterioration in its religious observance. Qutb seeks a healing for the ailment of political unrest and moral decline.

Ibn Taymiyya, as a medieval jurist, is said to impact modern Islamist discourse because he was "the Sunni jurist to justify, on religious ground, Muslims fighting other Muslims if they did not act in accordance with Islamic teachings" (Lahoud, 2004, p. 55). In other words, he entices rulers to abide by Sharia and endeavor to rule in tandem with religion; the ruler´s role is struggle to attain obedience to God and implementation of His Law.

Another assumption made about the meaning of "Islamic" is advanced by George Hourani. He draws attention to the difficulties related to qualifying as "Islamic" anything that we receive through an "Islamic filter". His point stresses a couple of pertinent issues since it serves as a reminder that ideas are seldom original, but they can be borrowed, ingested and annexed, which sometimes generates the dissoluteness of their earlier origin. Besides, it highlights the importance of scrutinizing the source of a given

claim, mainly when the claim´s legitimacy is based on a vividly defined and available source. Thus, when Islamists advocate the assertion of endorsing Islamic authenticity and act accordingly, the scrutiny of the term "Islamic" becomes pertinent (Lahoud, 2004, p. 56).

Hence, Islamic principles should be constantly reinterpreted over time and space to meet social circumstances because Muslim politics involves the competition and contest over the interpretation of symbols and the control of the institutions. All in all, the nature of political authority has been, continue and will always remain the most hazardous and contested issues in Islamic political thought (Lahoud, 2004, p. 68). Islamists utilize its own way of interpretation of the Islamic tradition as its ideological platform. In other words, they adhere to the Islamic foundation of texts to justify their political programs and agendas. Islamism/Political Islam incarnates an intellectually active political stream of Islam (Bouyahya, 2015). Nevertheless, Islamism does not encompass all of the intellectual currents within Islam. Islamists advocate the right to judge what is authentic, ethical and moral in the realms of politics and social demeanor in Islamic communities. However, the Islamic reformists stand for the liberal Islam because of twofold reasons. First, their agenda is to adapt Islam to what they deem as necessary modern challenges. Second, they frame their interpretations through what is essentially a defense of Islam.

Reformists claim to adopt scientific explanations and contemporary reading of religious texts (Abu Zayd, 1992). The Salafiyya movement has greatly influenced the reformists. These latter perceive Islamists as dogmatic meanwhile seek to adapt Islam to modernity. Besides, they emphasize the power of the Quran (the Holy book) and minimize that of Hadith (the Prophet´s sayings) in matters pertaining to politics because they believe that the Quran is divine whereas Hadith and jurisprudence are human. They approach texts with a contextual hermeneutical theory rather than a literal one. Since they acknowledge that "nothing can be found in the Quran which can instruct on how to manage the leadership of Muslims" (Ashmawi, 1987, p. 115). They do not target to bring about an Islamic political system. Reformists advocate that obedience to Mohammed should be in laws about worship (Ibadat), such as prayers and alms giving rather than in rules pertaining to political affairs. There is a confusion between "Ibadat" and "mu´amalat" by "Ulama" has led to the wrong application of laws derived from the texts on the conduct of political affairs. However, the reformists´ discourse is as selective as that of the Islamists. Both currents compete as to which of them stands for a real or authentic Islam.

The imagined Umma takes on a variety of shapes. The most influential are fundamentalists, who place an emphasis on the revealed text and a transnational Muslim unity regardless the national and cultural

diversity. For instance, Wahhabism emerged in the 18th century in the Arabian Peninsula. Its literal interpretations of the Qur´an is deemed as the official doctrine of Saudi Kingdom. They are characterized by its rejection of critical approaches to the Islamic tradition. Besides, they eschew culture, customs and Sufism (Cesari, 2013). They reject Western ideas and concepts; they seek to the Islamization of societies. Their maneuvering stretches from regulating women´s role in society to patriarchal hegemony.

Salafism is another trend that divide the world to Muslims and infidels. The Salaf is the first generations of Muslims and companions of the prophet. They refuse to follow a particular school of jurisprudence. One of its offshoot is Muslim Brotherhood. It claims the return to the revealed texts. Muslim Brotherhood rely on Ijtihad to respond to modernity in order to "reconcile the demands of of Islam and secular life, without their soul in the process" (Cesari, 2013, p. 4). It is a part of the pan- Islamic movement.

Cosmopolitan Islam or global Islam is featured by inclusiveness and hybridization with cultures in different spheres; this perspective is common among the Sufi groups. In other words, cosmopolitanism alludes to a certain prowess to navigate between apparently incongruous cultures. In order to satisfy the criteria of cosmopolitanism, "this individualization must be combined with an acceptance or even an appreciation of religious and cultural pluralism" (Cesari, 2013, p. 5). This factor is a component of the secularization process. In this context, secularization refers to a growing emphasis on individual choice in religious practice.

Right after 9/11, there was a rise to a new trend of Muslims committed to social justice, pluralism and gender equity and willing to endorse "multiple critique" (Safi, 2003). Those are named "progressive Muslims" whose determination is to hold Muslim societies liable for justice and pluralism. Within their interpretation, there is a simple but progressive assumption. Every human life, female or male, Muslim or non-Muslim, wealthy or poor, Northern or Southern, has pretty much the same esteem and worth. According to progressive Muslims, being a Muslim is not merely pondering on Qur´an and the Prophet´s life, but also reflecting human life and the way humans share on the globe. In other words, they assume that a progressive Muslim is the one who is both "mindful and critical of the arrogance of modernity" (Safi, 2003, p. 4). This reflects their critique towards modern Western civilization. In this respect, they seek to build a safe, open and dynamic space, which is governed by global justice and pluralism. In addition, progressive Muslims aim to rethink Islam in the twenty-first century by envisioning a socially and politically active Muslim identity which abides by engaging into ideals of social justice, pluralism and gender justice. They advocate endorsing an active and dynamic challenge to those who circulate exclusivist, violent and misogynist readings.

Their agenda is both progressive and Islamic through gaining its inspiration from the core of the Islamic tradition. For instance, progressive Muslims choose Sufism as the alternative because Sufis have strived to nudge the interpersonal ethics within their communities. These latter believe that pluralism should be gauged by openness in order "to engage sources of compassion and wisdom" (Safi, 2003, p. 14). They seek to installing a pluralistic society wherein individuals celebrate and engage each other through their dissimilarities and commonalities. They were bold enough to raise several unspoken issues in the Muslim societies, such as sexuality, ethics, diversity, gender, equality and pluralism. In addition, they reacted to the widespread demonization of Islam after 9/11. This is one of the most challenging mission the progressive Muslim scholars have ever faced in the West, mainly in the U.S.

Conclusion

In Muslim societies and Islamic recorded history, religious debates are meant to serve pure politics in order to gain power over religious symbols and institutions. The protagonists' deeds, at different eras and spaces, are vested with a religious ideology. This latter, besides being a structured system of ideas and conceptions, is characterized by a form of dogmatism stemming from religious doctrine (Abou Allouz, 2009). Islamists, with all their trends are struggling with social dislocation and crisis, the destruction of traditional values and the need for representative and competent governance (Bouyahya, 2015, p. 11). Hence, political Islam or Islamism is not a fixed and well-defined field of religious practice, but instead an open and ongoing debate over the meaning of Islamic religiosity and its implications for individuals and communities.

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Géosites À Intérêt Pédagogique au Service des Sciences De La Terre. Jebilets Centrales, Maroc

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Résumé

La géologie est une discipline qui comporte plusieurs disciplines permettant d'expliquer le fonctionnement de notre planète, elle est présente aujourd'hui dans l'enseignement secondaire collégial et qualifiant marocain.

L'enseignement et l'apprentissage de la géologie en classes secondaires qualifiantes marocaines présentent plusieurs difficultés. Par ailleurs, la réalisation des sorties de terrain, au cours de laquelle les élèves seront amenés à s'investir dans une démarche d'investigation scientifique, s'avère nécessaire. Pourtant, la majorité des enseignants n'organisent pas les sorties géologiques pour leurs élèves du faite que les sites géologiques à intérêt pédagogiques présents au niveau de leurs régions sont inconnus, ou à cause du manque de connaissances géologiques de certains d'entre eux, notamment ceux ayant eu un cursus universitaire dans les filières biologiques.

A proximité de la ville de Marrakech, les géosites des Jebilets centrales constituent un patrimoine géologique pédagogique très intéressant pour les enseignants de la géologie que pour leurs élèves. Dans cette approche, nous avons inventorié quelques uns de ces géosites, dans le but d'aider les enseignants de géologie au niveau de la région de Marrakech à connaitre ces sites ainsi que de leur faciliter le travail de l'investigation scientifique sur le terrain.

Les géosites inventoriés peuvent bien servir à des fins scientifiques et éducatives au service des sciences de la terre.

Mots-clés: Sciences de la terre, sorties de terrain, patrimoine géologique, classes secondaires marocaines, sciences de la vie et de la terre.

Geosites of Pedagogical Interest for Earth Sciences Education: Central Jebilets, Morocco

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Abstract

At present, Earth Sciences as a subject area that includes several major disciplines to explain the processes related to planet Earth, is incorporated in the Moroccan curricula of Sciences for Middle and Senior Secondary School levels. Teaching and learning Earth Sciences for Middle and Senior Secondary School classes in Morocco faces several difficulties and challenges. Field trips and extracurricular activities are key and

necessary activities in Earth Sciences education as they enable students to carry scientific investigations and sharpen their observation and perception skills. However, most of teachers do not organize field trips for classes. The main reasons are geological sites of educational interest are unknown or do not exist in the area and teachers not well trained in Earth Sciences due to their background focused on Biology.

Not far from Marrakech city, the geosites of Central Jbilet represent an important geological heritage of pedagogical interest for teachers and students. In this regard, we have inventoried some of these geosites to help teachers of Earth Sciences in Marrakech Region discover and choose appropriate ones for field-work and scientific investigation. The inventoried geosites may therefore be used for educational and scientific purposes to promote Earth Sciences education.

Keywords: Earth sciences, Field trips, geosites, geological heritage, Moroccan Secondary School, Life and earth Sciences.

Introduction

Les géosites sont des espaces dotés d'une valeur pour les sciences de la terre. Il s'agit des sites d'origines géologiques qui représentent une importance particulière pour la compréhension de l'histoire géologique de la terre, soit parce qu'ils témoignent d'un géo-environnement et d'un climat passé, soit parce qu'ils permettent l'observation de processus récents ou actuels (Reynard et al., 2009). Cependant, ils permettent d'observer des éléments et des phénomènes géologiques intéressants et jouent un rôle très important dans la compréhension de la géologie.

Problématique et objectifs

La géologie constitue une discipline présente aujourd'hui dans l'enseignement secondaire collégial et qualifiant marocain visant plusieurs objectifs. Son enseignement au secondaire qualifiant est une phase de spécialisation qui donne à l'élève les notions scientifiques et techniques nécessaires lui permettant d'accéder à l'enseignement supérieur **(Tableau 1)**. Elles apparaissent communément comme une discipline plutôt rébarbative et ardue et supporte mal un enseignement purement théorique. Cependant, les rédacteurs des programmes de sciences de la vie et de la terre ont pris en compte cet aspect en préconisant l'organisation d'une classe de terrain au cours de laquelle les élèves seront amenés à s'investir dans une démarche d'investigation scientifique. Néanmoins, la majorité des enseignants n'organisent pas les sorties géologiques pour leurs élèves du faite que les sites géologiques à intérêt pédagogiques présents au niveau de leurs régions

sont inconnus, ou à cause du manque de connaissances géologiques de certains d'entre eux.

A proximité de la ville de Marrakech, les géosites de Jebilets centrales, constituent un patrimoine géologique pédagogique très intéressant pour l'enseignement et la comprehension de la géologie.

L'objectif de notre travail est de faire un inventaire pour identifier, les sites géologiques d'intérêts scientifiques majeurs au niveau du massif des Jebilets centrales dans le but d'aider les enseignants de géologie au niveau de la région de Marrakech à connaitre ces sites ainsi que de leur faciliter le travail de l'investigation scientifique sur le terrain.

Tableau 1 : Les principaux objectifs de l'enseignement de la géologie en classes secondaires qualifiantes marocaines. (d'après les orientations pédagogiques des sciences de la vie et de la terre au secondaire qualifiant, version Juillet 2007).

Niveau scolaire	Unités de géologie	Objectifs visés
Tronc commun lettre et science humaine (TC)	L'eau Source de Vie	-Reconnaitre les sources et l'importance des ressources en eau ; - Etre conscient de la nécessité de la rationalisation de l'utilisation des ressources en eau. - Comprendre les écoulements d'eau souterraine. -Connaitre les différents types d'aquifère et déterminer ses caractéristiques hydrodynamiques : (Les eaux dans les roches karstiques, eaux thermales, Porosité et perméabilité des roches aquifères, bassins hydrauliques au Maroc, nappes souterraines au Maroc
Première année du baccalauréat Sciences expérimentales	Géodynamique externe	-Approfondissement des connaissances en relation avec les phénomènes de la géodynamique externe (le cycle des roches sédimentaires, les milieux sédimentaires, condition de sédimentation des phosphates marocains, la minéralisation, la karstification, Porosité, Pérméabilité…) ; -Maitrise des subdivisions du temps géologique (Unités ithostratigraphiques Unités biostratigraphiques, Unités
Première année du baccalauréat Sciences		

mathématiques		chronostratigraphiques et géochronologiques…). -Réalisation d'une Lecture systématique de la cartographie géologique ; -Savoir faire appel à des outils appropriés pour la reconstitution paléogéographique d'une région donnée : Log. Stratigraphiques, cartes géologiques, coupe géologiques, datation relatif (quelques principes), datation absolue (méthodes et utilité), structures et figures sédimentaires (slumps, figures de charge…), relation entre la forme des sédiments et sa formation…
Deuxième année du baccalauréat Sciences de la Vie et de la terre (SVT)		-Acquérir des connaissances sur les phénomènes géologiques associés à la formation des chaines de montagne (zone de divergence, zone de convergence, zone de décrochement); -Pouvoir se situer dans le temps et dans l'espace ;
Deuxième année du baccalauréat Sciences physique Chimie	Géodynamique interne	- Pouvoir lier la tectonique des plaques à la formation des montagnes : Déformation ductile, déformation cassante, volcanisme, magmatisme (types de magmas, classification des roches magmatiques…), Métamorphisme (type de métamorphisme, classification des roches métamorphiques…)

Présentation du massif des Jebilets
Situation géographique

Le massif des Jebilets ou « petites montagnes » est formé des plaines rocheuses et des collines à relief modéré (400 m à 1000 m d'altitude), situé à environ 8 km au nord de Marrakech suivant une direction atlasique est-ouest (Figure 1). Il est limité au nord par la plaine de Bahira, au sud par la plaine du Haouz et le massif de Guemmasa. Il s'étend sur une longueur d'environ 170 km et une largeur de 20 à 30 km correspondant à une section E-W des structures sub-méridiennes de la croûte supérieure hercynienne (Huvelin, 1977).

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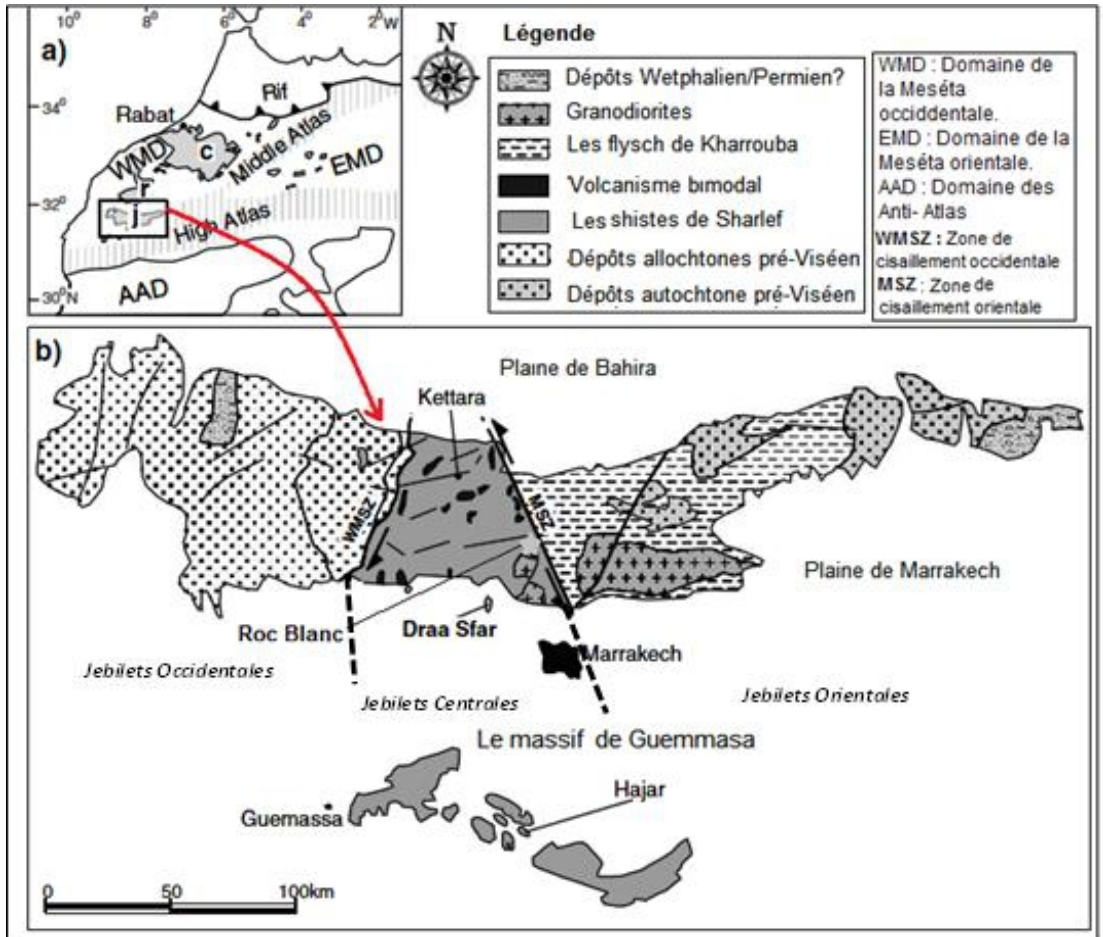
Figure 1 : (a) Localisation du massif des Jebilets en Afrique du nord. (b) Carte géologique générale des affleurements hercyniens des Jebilets (Moreno et al., 2008 d'après Huvelin 1977; modifiée).

Contexte géologique

Le massif des Jebilets fait partie de la Meseta marocaine qui constitue la principale zone orogénique de la chaîne Varisque ou hercynien du Maroc. Il est caractérisé par une déformation hétérogène associée à des évènements tectoniques et dmagmatiques divers dans un climat métamorphique contrasté (Figure 1). la phase majeure de déformation est caractérisée par des plis NS à axes courbés d'amplitude et de longueur d'onde variables, associés à une schistosité cristallophyllienne de flux, subverticale, synchrone d'un métamorphisme régional épizonal. (Huvelin, 1977).

Ce massif est subdivisé en trois grandes unités caractérisées par des traits géologiques et des âges différents.

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➢ **Les Jebilets orientales : (Flyschs de Kharrouba)**

Ils sont caractérisées par la présence d'anciennes roches métamorphisées qui sont les flyschs de Kharrouba (Figure 1) datés de Viséen supérieur et caractérisés par la présence d'olistrostromes et de séries ordovico-dévoniennes (Permingeat, 1954; Huvelin 1977) mises en place par des phénomènes de glissements gravitaires dans le bassin viséen. (Huvelin, 1977; Bamoumen, 1988).

➢ **Les Jebilets centrales : (schistes de Sharlef)**

Les Jebilets centrales appelées aussi « les schistes de Sharlef » d'âge au moins en partie Viséen supérieur (Bordonaro, 1983) (Figure 1). Elles sont constituées par une série sédimentaire formée à la base par des silts et grès métamorphisés dans le faciès des schistes verts (Huvelin, 1977; Bordonaro et al., 1979; Aarab, 1984,1995; Jadid, 1989), surmontée par une formation volcano-sédimentaire caractérisé par une succession de minéraux sédimentaires à dominance pelitique et des niveaux volcaniques et volcanoclastiques caractérisés par des laves et des tufs de compositions intermédiaires et felsiques en plus des coulés de ryholite et dacite.

Au sein de cette série sédimentaires et volcanique s'intercalent des niveaux de sulfures massifs sous forme de nombreux amas sulfurés à Cu ±Pb-Zn témoignant d'une intense activité hydrothermale (Huvelin, 1970 ; Saquaque, 1985; Chemesseddoha, 1986; Hibti, 2001; Benaissi, 2008; Essaifi et Hibti, 2008 ; Lotfi, 2008; Essaifi et al., 2014).

Cet ensemble est recoupé par des intrusifs formés par :

- Les granites syntectoniques, les granodiorites et les granites développant des auréoles de metamorphismes de contact ;
- Les intrusifs basiques et ultrabasiques (gabbro de Kettara, Roc blanc) ;
- Les dykes basiques de composition gabrouique ou doléritique;
- Les dykes acides.

La limite entre l'unité centrale domaine schistosé et fortement métamorphisé et l'unité orientale des Jebilets (Figure 1), domaine peu schistosé et peu métamorphique, est une zone de cisaillement sénestre ductile (Sidi Bou Othmane) présente une largeur de 4 km et le déplacement latéral estimé est de 22 km (la zone de cisaillement de Marrakech), Lagarde et Choukroune, 1982), alors que la limite entre l'unité centrale et l'unité occidentale (Figure 1) est un décro-chevauchement dextre à vergence ouest (Le Corre & Bouloton, 1987).

➢ **Les Jebilets occidentales :**

Cette partie dite mole stable, formée d'une puissante série est la plus ancienne et est caractérisée par une série faiblement déformée (direction sub-méridienne) et peu ou pas métamorphisée, qui date de Cambro-Ordovicien

(Gigout, 1951; Huvelin, 1977). Cette unité se rattache au bloc côtier de la Meseta Occidentale.

L'histoire de l'exhumation du massif est complexe (Saddiqi et al, 2009). On reconnaît une première période d'érosion avant le dépôt du Permien inférieur aux deux extrémités du massif, une autre après la sédimentation du Trias-Lias (le Trias est préservé à la marge sud du massif), et enfin une dernière phase d'exhumation néogène, postérieure à la sédimentation du Crétacé-Eocène. Cette dernière phase d'érosion est à rattacher au jeu de la faille inverse nord-Jebilets.

Stratigraphie et sédimentologie

Malgré les effets de la tectonique hercynienne qui ont affecté parfois intensément les relations entre les différents terrains paléozoïques du massif des Jebilets, la plupart des terrains paléozoïques sont représentés dans ce massif et il est possible de définir une évolution stratigraphique globale. Il convient de distinguer la période anté-Viséen supérieur de la période Viséen supérieur caractérisée par une transgression majeure Est à NE à l'échelle du massif (Huvelin, 1977 ; Beauchamp et al., 1989; Piqué, 1994).

Ainsi la stratigraphie du massif des Jebilets se résume en deux périodes bien distinctes :

➢ **La série anté-Viséen supérieur**

Elle est composée de :

Le Cambrien : il n'est présent que dans les Jebilets occidentales. La sédimentation détritique et marquée par quelques épisodes d'activité volcanique. Le cambrien inférieur (Géorgien) caractérisé par la présence de calcaire. Le cambrien moyen (Acadien) est représenté par des pélites et finit par des grés terminaux. (Beauchamp et al., 1989, Essaifi, 1995; Gigout, 1951; Michard, 1976).

L'ordovicien : il est présenté dans les Jebilets occidentales. Les sédiments ordoviciens sont représentés par des schistes argileux, des sédiments détritiques composés d'argilites à grains de quartz éoliens et de grés conglomératiques mal classés représentent une sédimentation soumise à l'influence d'une calotte glaciaire. (Beauchamp et al., 1989; Michard, 1976; Essaifi, 1995).

Le silurien : n'est connu que dans les Jebilets orientales, ce sont des schistes argileux et des phtanites qui se déposent en concordance sur l'ordovicien et correspondent à la fin de la période glaciaire. (Essaifi, 1995; Michard, 1976).

Le dévonien : il est connu dans les Jebilets orientales. Dans ces derniers la succession normale serait conglomérat rouge-calcaire massif-grés quartzitique. Dans les Jebilets orientales, ce sont des sédiments variables (schistes à banc de calcaire, alternance de grés et de schistes). Le

Tournaisien et le Viséen inférieur sont absents. (Beauchamp et al., 1989; Michard, 1976; Essaifi, 1995).

➤ **La série du Viséen supérieur :**

Il correspond à une transgression majeure, originaire de l'Est ou du NE (Essaifi, 1995; Beauchamp et al., 1989; Beauchamp & Izart, 1987; Huvelin, 1977; Piqué, 1994). Il comprend deux ensembles lithologiques qui sont, le flysch de Kharrouba, dans la moitié orientale des Jebilets et des schistes de Sharlef, dans les Jebilets centrales. Les relations structurales sont encore discutables : selon Huvelin (1977), ces deux ensembles traduisent une évolution verticale, avec à la base, la série de Kharrouba, alors que selon Gaillet (1979) et Bordonaro (1983), elles correspondent à une variation latérale de faciès.

La série de Sharlef est formée de schistes qui correspondent à un dépôt de plate forme anoxique. Cette unité renferme des bancs lenticulaires de calcaires et de grés, et des lentilles d'amas sulfurés à pyrrhotite (Essaifi,1995; Essaifi et al., 2004; Essaifi et Hibti, 2008).

Matériel et méthodes

Le type de démarche employé pour faire la sélection des géosites est une démarche systématique. Elle consiste à dresser l'inventaire pour identifier des sites d'intérêt géologique et géomorphologique (géosites), en faisant appel aux études géologiques ayant été réalisées dans le massif des Jebilets et à une fiche d'inventaire inspirée des travaux de plusieurs chercheurs (Reynard 2005, 2006 et 2007; Cocean, 2011 et Iosif, 2014), et qui comprend 6 critères (Tableau 2).

Tableau 2 : Fiche d'inventaire

Critères	Indicateurs
1- Données générales	Nom, Code, localisation, propriétés, carte, photos….
2- Données descriptives	Les phénomènes minéralogiques, les phénomènes magmatiques, les phénomènes métamorphiques, les phénomènes tectoniques, la reconstitution de l'histoire géologique…
3- Type de géosite	Structurale –paléontologique (fossilifère) – Sédimentologique- Minéralogique (pétrographique, géochimique) - Stratigraphique – géomorphologique - hydrologique et hydrogéologique – spéléologique – géohistorique - géoculturel.
4- Le niveau d'intérêt	Communal – Régional - National – International
5- Evaluation de la valeur scientifique	*Valeur scientifique* : • Intégrité • Représentativité • Rareté • Education • Géohistoire
6- Références bibliographiques	

Nous avons par la suite déterminé des thématiques pour les géosites inventoriés et sélectionnés en faisant appel à la typologie proposée pat Grandgirard (1999) et qui a été reprise par (Reynard, 2004) qui a ajouté deux catégories supplémentaires, portants à 10 le nombre de types de géosite (Tableau 3).

Tableau 3 : Typologie des Géosites. (Reynard, E., 2004)

Types	Brève description
Géosite Structuraux	Surtout des objets géologiques de grande taille tels que plis, anticlinaux, synclinaux, chevauchements, failles, etc. L'érosion a taillé dans ces structures et façonné des sommets en pyramide, des arêtes ou des parois rocheuses.
Géosite paléontologiques	Affleurements rocheux contenant des fossiles et gisements de fossiles dans des terrains meubles, des milieux anaérobies (marais) ou la glace (permafrost). Grande importance pour la reconstitution de l'histoire de la vie : sous forme d'éléments fossilisés (os, squelettes, feuilles, bois lithifiés), de matériel osseux et de troncs et sols piégés dans des dépôts non consolidés, d'empreintes.
Géosite sédimentologiques	Sites dans lesquels sont visibles les conditions typiques d'un milieu de sédimentation (glaciaire,

	fluviatile, lacustre, éolien, etc.). Géotopes actifs, qui permettent d'observer les processus sédimentaires en action (zones alluviales, sandurs, cônes torrentiels), ou passifs (rôle d'archives).
Géosite minéralogiques, pétrographiques Et **Géochimiques Particulier**	Cette catégorie recouvre les gîtes minéralières et métallifères, les localités types de certaines pétrographies de roches et des lieux où ont été mesurés des indices géochimiques particuliers, ainsi que les roches présentant un intérêt particulier.
Géosite stratigraphiques	Affleurements présentant un profil type pour un âge géologique (stratotype), un faciès, une formation (succession stratigraphique) ou une transition paléoenvironnementale (par exemple une transition glaciaire-interglaciaire). Affleurements rocheux ou dans des sédiments meubles quaternaires (formations superficielles).
Géosite géomorphologiques	A la fois des processus d'érosion et de sédimentation (zones alluviales actives, marges proglaciaires, laves torrentielles) et les formes du relief résultant de cette activité (glaciers rocheux, lapiés, cônes d'éboulis). Formations superficielles meubles du Quaternaire (moraines, glaciers rocheux) et formes d'érosion dans la roche (marmites glaciaires, lapiés d'un karst superficiel).
Géosite hydrologiques et hydrogéologiques	Sites dus à l'écoulement particulier des eaux de surface ou souterraines. Se confondent souvent avec les géotopes géomorphologiques (cascades, gorges, méandres, émergences karstiques) ou spéléologiques (cours d'eau souterrains). Nous proposons de n'inclure dans cette catégorie que les sites où l'eau est vraiment l'élément dominant (dynamique, caractéristiques physicochimiques) : sources thermales, minérales et karstiques, pertes, etc.
Géosite spéléologiques	Cavités (grottes et gouffres) et réseaux souterrains présentant une valeur scientifique, écologique ou historique particulière. Par définition, de nombreux géotopes spéléologiques se recoupent ou sont en liaison avec des géotopes géomorphologiques (karst superficiel) ou hydrogéologiques (perte, émergence).

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Géosite géohistoriques	Autant des sites de découvertes clés dans l'histoire des sciences de la Terre que des lieux historiques d'exploitation des ressources géologiques.
Géosite géoculturels	Sites ayant, en raison de leurs caractéristiques naturelles, joué un rôle particulier pour l'Homme au cours de son histoire. Ces géotopes n'ont pas forcément une forte valeur intrinsèque pour les sciences de la Terre. C'est leur utilisation par l'Homme qui leur donne de la valeur.

Résultats

La synthèse bibliographique des travaux réalisés dans le massif des Jebilets, nous a permis d'identifier des géosites se caractérisant par une grande diversité géologique structurale, minéralogique, magmatique, métamorphique et paléontologique, pouvant bien servir à des fins scientifiques et éducatives au service des sciences de la terre.

En faisant appel à la typologie des géosites décrite par Grandgirard (1999) et reprise par Reynard (2004), nous pouvons observer que certains géosites possèdent plus d'une thématique et permettent ainsi une plus grande possibilité d'interprétation. En effet nous avons attribué une thématique à chacun des géosites afin d'illustrer le type dominant de représentation scientifique auquel il appartient.

Ainsi trois typologies de géosites ont été inventoriées :

- Géosites minéralogiques : ancienne mine de pyrrhotite de Kettara (Géosite 01) et Roc Blanc (Géosite 03).
- Géosites pétrographiques magmatiques : Le magmatisme bimodal et l'intrusion stratifiée de Jbel Kettara (Géosite 02) et les granitoïdes des Jebilets centrales (Géosite 04)
- Géosite paléontologique : Jbel Irhoud (Géosite 05).

Les géosites de Kettara :

Le secteur de Kettara se situe à 32 km au nord ouest de Marrakech. Elle s'étend sur une superficie d'environ 12 km² entre Koudiat Kettara à l'Est, Koudiat Hamra au Nord-Ouest et le village de Benslimane au Sud. La topographie du site est irrégulière, elle est dominée par les massifs abrupts(Koudiat Kettara culminant à 751 m) (Figure 2a). Avec son chapeau de fer bien développé (Figure 2b) et sa situation sur la route Marrakech-Safi.
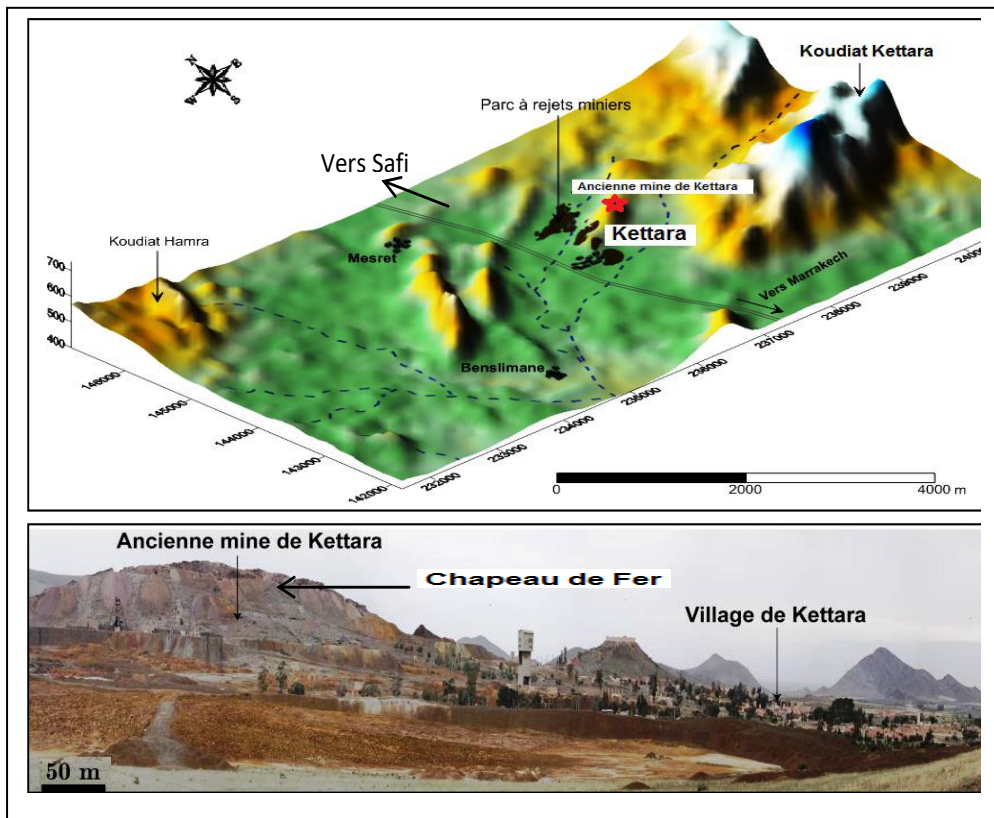
chacun des géosites afin d'illustrer le type dominant de représentation scientifique auquel il appartient.

Deux géosites ont été inventoriés :
-	Géosite 01 : L'ancienne mine de pyrrhotite de Kettara ; géosite minéralogique dominé par une typologie minéralogique ;
-	Géosite 02 : Le magmatisme bimodal et l'intrusion stratifiée de Kettara ; géosite pétrographique dominé par une typologie magmatique ;

Géosite 01 : L'ancienne mine de pyrrhotite de Kettara ; géosite minéralogique dominé par une typologie minéralogique

Le site minier de Kettara est caractérisé par le spectaculaire amas sulfuré de toute la région. L'étude texturale et minéralogique a permis de distinguer quatre types de minerais (Hibti et al., 1999) : minerai béchique essentiellement pyriteux, minerai massif à pyrrhotite dominante, minerai lité pyriteux et minerai rubané à pyrrhotite et chalcopyrite. La paragenèse minérale est dominée par la pyrrhotite (plus de 90 %) à laquelle s'associent la pyrite, la chalcopyrite, la magnétite et le glaucodot. Sur le terrain, en plus du chapeau de fer bien développé, on peut facilement localiser certaines zones altérées généralement caractérisées par la dominance des minéraux

d'altération essentiellement à séricite et chlorite qui jalonnent les filons quartzitiques (Figure 3).

Géosite 02 : Le magmatisme bimodal et l'intrusion stratifiée de Kettara ; géosite pétrographique dominé par une typologie magmatique

Outre les amas sulfurés, le secteur de Kettara se caractérisent en effet par la présence de nombreuses intrusions magmatiques mafiques, felsiques ou mixtes qui définissent une province bimodale (Aarab, 1984, 1995; Bordonaro, 1983; Bordonaro et al., 1979; Essaifi, 1995, Essaifi et al., 2001, 2003, 2004, 2014; Jadid, 1989; Huvelin, 1972, N'diaye et al., 2016); (Figure 4; Figure 5; Figure 6), située à 1 km au sud du gisement de sulfures massifs de Kettara; (Figure 4, Figure 6).

L'intrusion de Kettara est allongée dans une direction N45°E sur une longueur de 3,5 km pour une largeur maximale de 1,5 km et est recoupée par un champ de filons acides et basiques (Michard et al., 2011, Essaifi et al., 2001, 2003, 2014; N'diaye et al., 2016); (Figure 6b-c; Figure 7a). Ainsi, on note la présence de trois principaux types de roches magmatiques. Ils ont été calés dans le temps par rapport au paroxysme de la déformation hercynienne :

✓ Un magmatisme bimodal intrusif et stratifié, représenté par de nombreux corps acides et basiques (Aarab, 1984; Bordonaro, 1983; Essaifi, 1995; Jadid, 1989; N'diaye et al., 2016); (figure 4; Figure 6a). L'intrusion de Kettara est une intrusion stratifiée composée de corps mafiques et ultramafiques recoupant les roches mafique-ultramafiques (Figure 5; Figure 6c, Figure 7b) ainsi que des filons de dolérite qui recoupent l'intrusion (Figure 6d; Figure 7c-d).

✓ Le deuxième magmatisme qualifié de syntectonique, il est marqué par la présence des granites calco-alcalins (Huvelin, 1977);

✓ Un faisceau de filons de micro diorites recoupe les granites. Il ne montre pas de déformation synschisteuse notable. Il s'agit du troisième type tardi-orogénique.

Les roches basiques et ultrabasiques forment Koudiat Kettara (Figure 4a, b; Figure 5; Figure 6, Figure 7a) et les schistes de la série de Sharlef constituent le faciès le plus abondant, auxquelles sont associés des filons de dolérites (Figure 4; Figure 5, Figure 6d ;   Figure 7d). Ces filons sont abondants et légèrement sécants sur la stratification et la schistosité. Leur direction est en général N60° et leurs épaisseur est variables, pouvant atteindre 8 à 10 m.
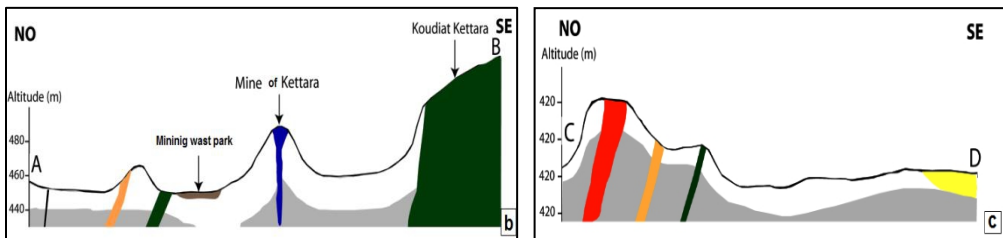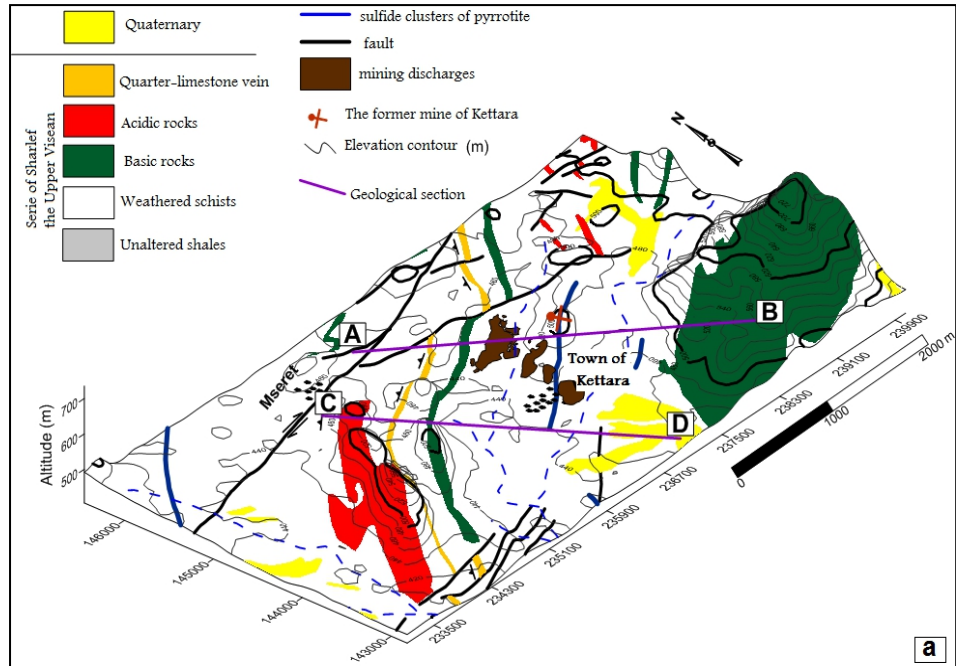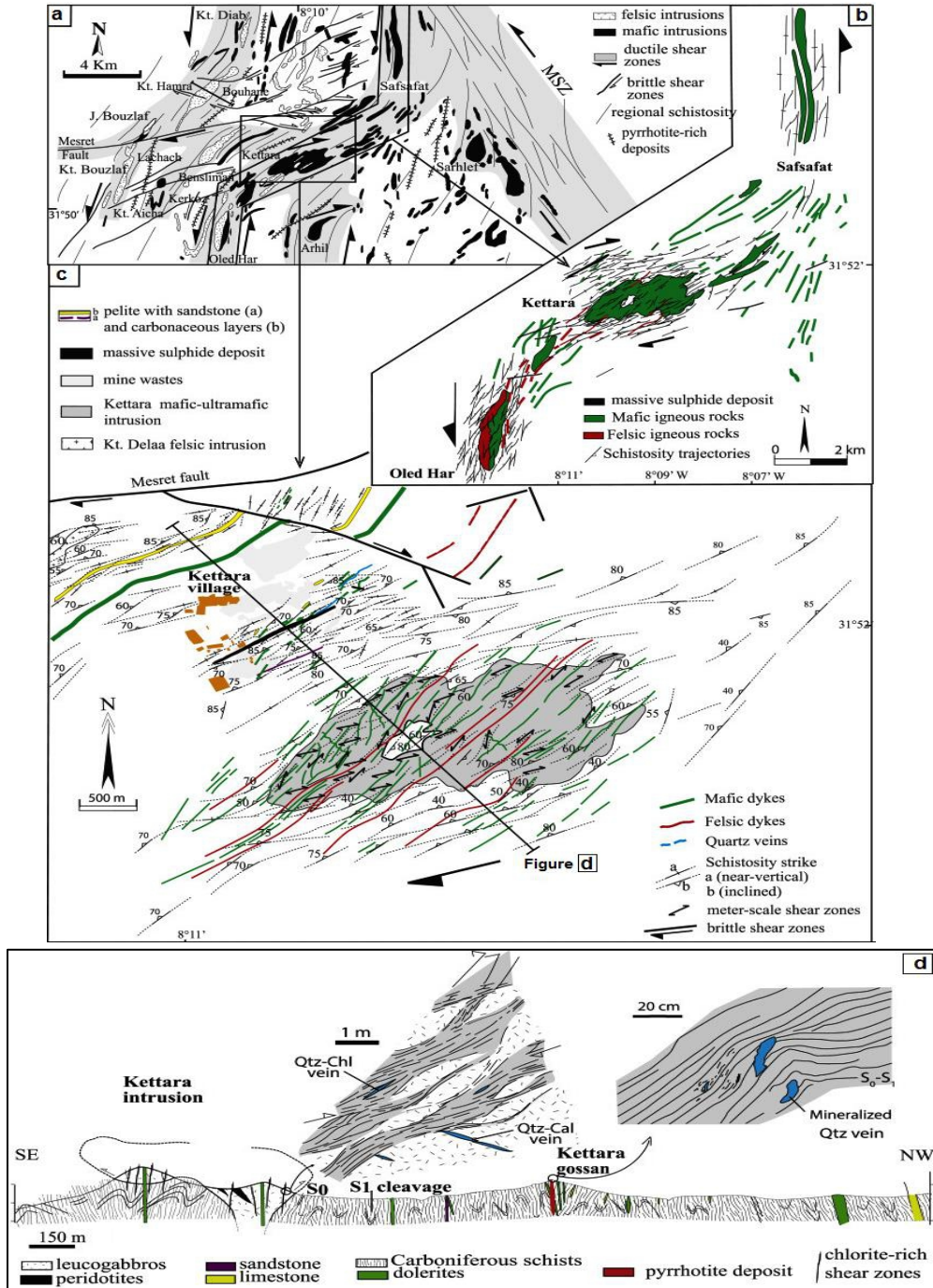
Figure 4 : (a) Carte géologique du secteur de Kettara, (b) et (c) coupes géologiques synthétiques (Lghoul M., 2014).
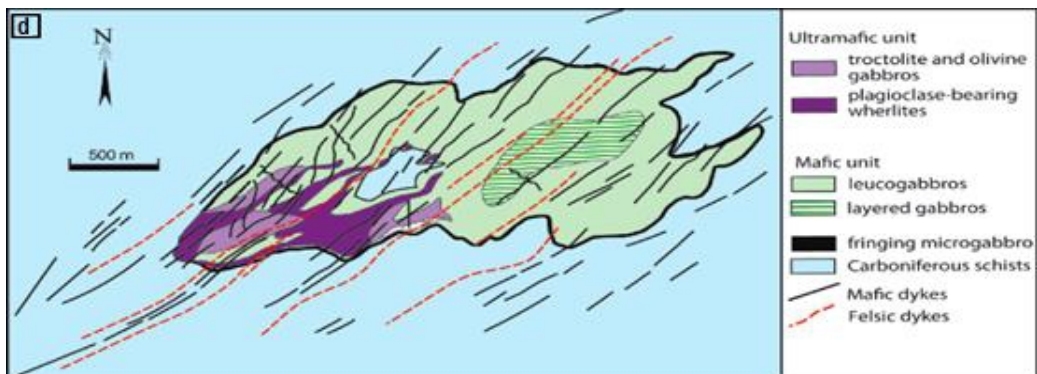

Figure 5. Carte géologique simplifiée de l'intrusion de Kettara montrant les différents faciès pétrographiques et le champ filonien. D'autres petites intrusions ne sont pas représentées (Yahyaoui et Essaifi, 2011 modifiée d'après Essaifi *et al.*, 2004).

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Figure 6 . Cart   e géologique et structural du secteur de Kettara montrant les différents faciès pétrographiques de l'intrusion et le champ filonien (N'diaye et al., 2016 modified after Essaifi and Hibti, 2008): a) le magmatisme bimodal, b) l'intrusion mafique et ultramafique de Koudiat

Kettara et c) le champ filonien dans l'intrusion de Kettara, d) Coupe verticale à travers l'intrusion et l'amas sulfuré.
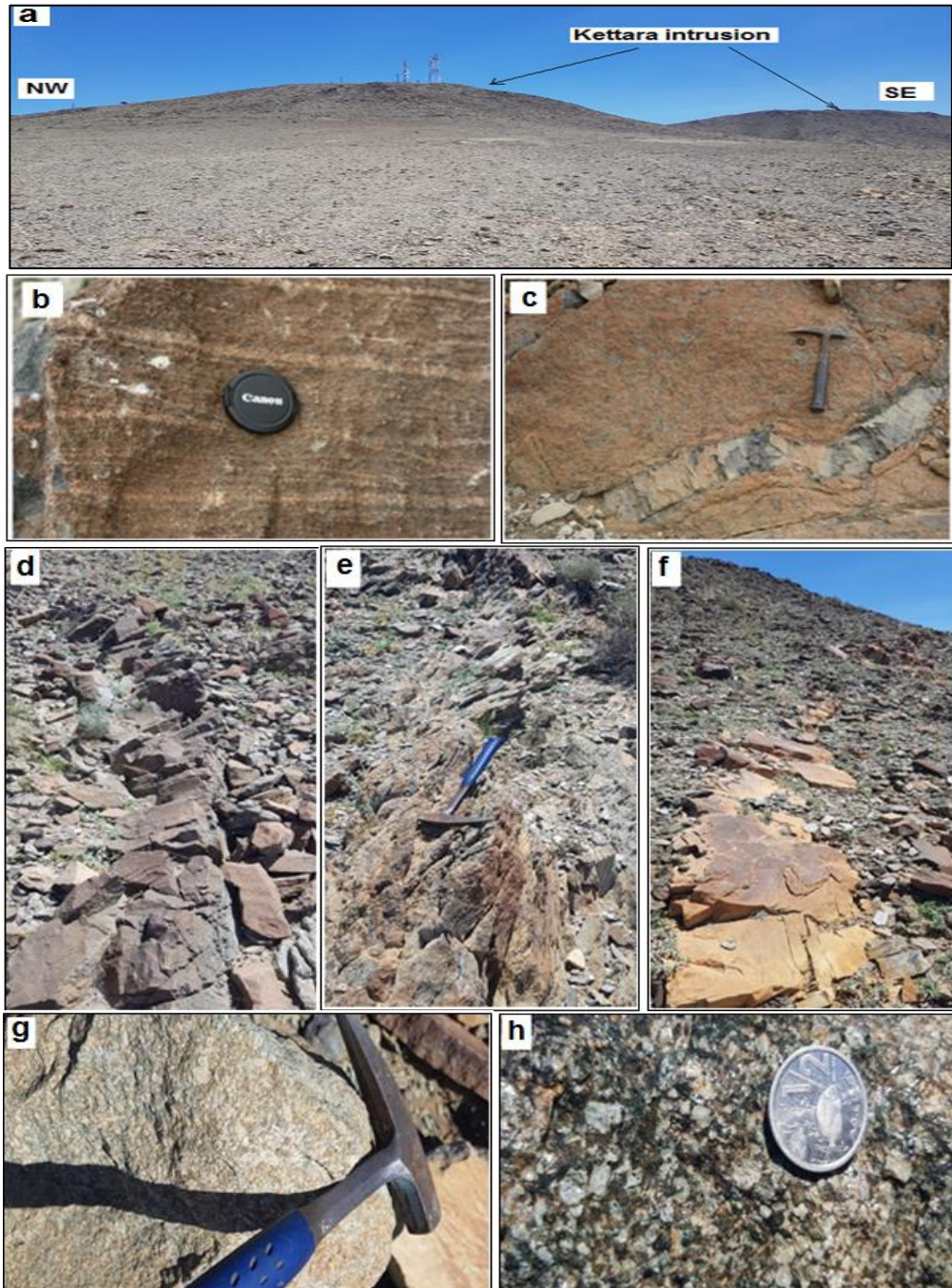
Figure 7. Quelques clichés dans l'intrusion de Kettara : (a) vue panoramique de l'intrusion de Kettara, (b) stratification à l'échelle centimétrique dans les roches ultramafiques (la pièce d'échelle mesure 58

mm de diamètre) (in Essaifi et al. 2014), (c) filon de dolérite recoupant les cumulats ultrabasiques (in Essaifi et al. 2014), (d) filon de doélrite coupant le gabbro, (e) filon basique de gabbro massif cisaillé selon une direction NE, (f) filon acide, (g)-(h) Gabbro grenu lité (alternance de niveau sombre à olivine et pyroxène et nivaux claires à plagioclases).

Roc Blanc : (Géosite 03 : L'ancienne mine argentifère de Roc Blanc)

Le gisement argentifère de Roc Blanc, se situe à 20 km au nord de Marrakech (Figure 1), 2 km à l'ouest de la route principale Marrakech-Casablanca. L'appellation de Roc Blanc (Koudia Al-Baida) vient d'un monticule de quartz blanc voisin de la mine, émergeant d'une plaine au centre des Jebilets. Le BRPM (Bureau de Recherches et de Participations Minières) l'à exploité Roc Blanc (Ag, Cu, Pb…) depuis 1984 jusqu'au début des années 1990, période où l'exploitation s'est arrêtée suite à la chute des cours de l'argent. (Huvelin, 1977).

Les minéralisations argentifères de Roc Blanc sont situées dans le massif hercynien des Jebilets centrales. Elles s'observent sous forme de filons à gangue quartzo-carbonatés recoupant les Schistes du Sharlef. Ces filons argentifères constituent un réseau de direction variant de NNW à NNE, donc sensiblement parallèle aux plis majeurs hercyniens. Leur caisse est souvent peu inclinée sur la schistosité de l'encaissant, avec un pendage entre 40°E et 60°E, localement sub-vertical. Leur étendue ne dépasse pas 1500 m et leur ouverture est le plus souvent infra-métrique (Huvelin et al., 1978). La minéralisation s'y repartit en colonnes (Chouhaidi, 1986) et la structure est rubanée ou béchiques.

Les granitoïde des Jebilets centrales : (Géosite 04)

Les granitoïdes des Jebilets se situent à quelques km au NE de la ville de Marrakech (Figure 1). Ils sont composés principalement d'une roche granitique à biotite et cordiérite de teinte grisâtre à légèrement bleutée et à structure micro grenue à grenue porphyroïde. Ces granites sont localement recoupés par des lames et/ou filonnets de leucogranite à muscovite et tourmaline et présentent des enclaves (xénolites), qui représentent des témoins de nivaux structuraux plus ou moins profonds (Figure 8).

Figure 8 : Photos des enclaves au sein des granitoïdes des JC (Gr).

Jbel Irhoud : (Géosite 05 : Le gisement de Barytine du Jebel Irhoud)

Jbel Irhoud se situe à 120 km par la route à l'ouest-nord-ouest de Marrakech, et 66 km au sud-est de Safi. Le site préhistorique de Jbel Irhoud présente un site fossilifère d'intérêt exceptionnel, il est connu pour les nombreux fossiles humains qu'il a livré dont la plus récente a permis de mieux cerner l'origine de notre propre espèce, Homo sapiens en la datant d'environ 300 Ka BP , et en reposant la question de son enracinement initial.

Figure 9: Crâne Irhoud 1 face

(©Oujaa-INSAP) in BEN NACER A.

et HUBLIN J., (2017).

Figure 10: Assemblage lithique (MSA) (©Mohammed Kamal, INSAP-MPI EVA Leipzig, License CC-BY-SA 2.0) in BEN NACER A. et HUBLIN J., (2017).

Conclusion et perspectives

Par le biais de ce travail et pour faire connaître et partager au public scolaire, didacticiens et passionnés de la géologie, le processus de sélection a permis de donner une liste des sites les plus intéressants en fonction de la représentativité de leur valeur scientifique. Ainsi nous avons pu assembler 05 géosites caractérisés par une diversité géologique, minéralogique, magmatique, pétrographique, métamorphique et paléontologique, pouvant bien servir à des fins scientifiques et éducatives au service des sciences de la terre, notamment réduire les difficultés que rencontre l'enseignement de la géologie en classe secondaires marocaines. (Kaid Rassou K. et al. 2017).

Cette démarche de reconnaissance, d'inventaire, d'étude, et de classification des ces géosites du massif des Jebilets centrales va permettre :
- Le renforcement des connaissances scientifiques sur les géosites de la région des Jebilets pour une meilleure exploitation scientifique et éducative.
- La vulgarisation scientifique des géosites au service des sciences de la terre.
- La création d'un réseau de parcours thématiques liés au patrimoine géologique, à la géodiversité et aux diverses potentialités du paysage.

Et enfin la conservation et la valorisation du patrimoine géologique et culturel de notre territoire d'étude qui doit être réalisé par l'implication du tout les partenaires socioculturelles dans le but d'une bonne gestion des ressources scientifiques et naturelles de la région des Jebilets.

En perspective, et après avoir inventorié, on continuera notre étude par évaluer la valeur scientifique des géosites étudiés pour mieux orienter l'utilisation de biens didactiques de cette géodiversité aux services de l'enseignement et apprentissage des sciences de la terre à l'échelle locale comme nationale.

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Quel est l'Impact de la Logistique sur l'Attractivité et le Développement des Territoires?

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Résumé

L'attractivité des territoires est liée à la performance des activités économiques, et aussi à la base infrastructurelle qu'elles procurent. Les régions en général expriment le besoin solide de l'intervention de la logistique et du transport pour atteindre le développement, car ce développement ne peut être accompli que par la combinaison de ces deux facteurs.. En effet, tous les deux présentent une vraie attractivité, tout en donnant une accessibilité au territoire par le biais du transport (ce qui est des personnes et du fret) et aussi en donnant une croissance économique et sociale par le biais des implantations logistiques (création de la richesse et de l'emploi). Dans le cadre de ce travail la problématique suivante sera traitée: quel est l'impact de la logistique sur l'attractivité et le développement des territoires ? Pour répondre à cette question la méthodologie de recherche suivante a été adoptée : - Identification de la relation réciproque entre l'organisation spatiale et la logistique, Identification de l'importance des investissements logistiques dans l'attractivité économique des territoires.

Mots-clés: Logistique, Attractivité, Développement, Territoires, Économie.

What is the Impact of Logistics on the Attractiveness and Development of Territories?

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Abstract

The attractiveness of territories is linked to the performance of economic activities, and also to the infrastructure base they provide. A lot of regions express the strong need for the intervention of logistics and transport for the purpose of development. This is because development can only be accomplished through the combination of logistics and transport. Both have a real appeal while giving access to the territory through transport (which is people and freight) and also by giving economic and social growth through logistics (creation of wealth and employment). This paper focuses on dealing with the following problem: what is the impact of logistics on the attractiveness and development of territories? To answer this question, we adopted the following research methodology: - Explanation of the reciprocal relationship between space organization and logistics, - Identification of the importance of logistic investments in the economic attractiveness of the territories.

Keywords: Logistics, Attractiveness, Development, Territories, Economics.

Introduction

La logistique en tant que discipline est parmi les points les plus abordés dans les économies cherchant la compétitivité, dépassant son aspect physique pour aller plus loin et affronter de nouvelles approches. Elle se caractérise par deux dimensions, une dimension serviable tandis que l'autre est infrastructurelle, deux dimensions de la logistique qui sont tout naturellement liées à l'organisation spatiale des activités économiques.

L'attractivité des territoires est liée à la performance des activités économiques, et aussi à la base infrastructurelle qu'elles procurent. Les régions expriment le besoin solide de l'intervention de la logistique et du transport pour atteindre le développement. En effet, les deux derniers cités présentent une vrai opportunité d'attractivité, en donnant une accessibilité au

territoire par le billet de transport (ce qui est des personnes et du Fret) et aussi en donnant une croissance économique et sociale par le billet des implantations logistiques (création de la richesse et de l'emploi)…

L'attractivité et le développement d'un territoire peuvent se définir comme sa capacité, pour une période donnée, à attirer diverses activités économiques et facteurs de production mobiles. Dans ce sens, c'est le reflet de la performance d'un territoire durant une période donnée et les déterminants de l'attractivité territoriale sont à rechercher parmi les facteurs de sa compétitivité. Deux éléments expliquent que les collectivités territoriales s'intéressent de plus en plus aux activités logistiques. D'une part, l'externalisation et la professionnalisation de la logistique ont permis de mettre en place des activités à plus forte valeur ajoutée et impliquant des investissements plus lourds, ce qui permet de générer des emplois mais aussi des recettes fiscales conséquentes. D'autre part, les plateformes logistiques peuvent être considérées comme un facteur d'attractivité pour des entreprises qui intègrent à présent dans leurs critères de choix de localisation géographique, l'évaluation de l'environnement logistique à proximité. La logistique va représenter alors un levier de compétitivité et de croissance, car la performance des tissus économiques des régions, en particulier pour les entreprises connectées sur l'économie des échanges (import et export), dépend de l'efficacité du système logistique local et des acteurs qui le composent. Les investissements logistiques et l'économie de transport vont présenter un nœud physique des flux logistiques, permettant d'améliorer la qualité des connexions avec les marchés mondiaux, l'accélération et la réactivité de la gestion des flux et optimisant la compétitivité des coûts logistiques. En d'autres mots, les infrastructures logistiques provoquent un effet de levier permettant d'accroître la compétitivité de l'industrie et de promouvoir le renouvellement économique en favorisant l'accueil des industries nouvelles fondées sur l'accessibilité géographique des marchés.

L'offre que présente la logistique devient un facteur de localisation des entreprises qui en utilisent les services. L'externalisation de la logistique renforce la dépendance de l'entreprise qui externalise à l'égard de son environnement, et en particulier de son environnement proche. Ainsi les activités logistiques sont suscitées par les besoins organisationnels des entreprises industrielles en termes de localisation car la demande logistique est une demande qui peut être qualifiée d'intermédiaire, mais en retour les implantations logistiques les localisations d'activités industrielles et commerciales par des effets d'externalités d'urbanisation. Aujourd'hui, on observe que la logistique accompagne sans doute certaines implantations industrielles ou commerciales.

La logistique a interpellé les politiques d'aménagement des territoires tant au niveau local que national. Il est indispensable pour les collectivités

territoriales de réfléchir sur le devenir des activités évoluant rapidement afin de savoir à quoi dédier des espaces fonciers de qualité qui se font de plus en plus rares et de ne pas lancer des projets de contradiction avec l'offre logistique. Les plateformes logistiques ont de fortes relations avec les logiques du développement des territoires et leurs capacités à répondre aux besoins de traitement logistique requis par leur potentiel économique, entendu au sens des activités de production et de distribution.

Relation entre logistique et territoire

Le territoire est le produit du système de transport autant qu'il le produit (*Le Monde de l'Économie*, 20 novembre 2007). En se plaçant dans une vision dynamique, la demande de transport dictée par les besoins d'accessibilité à un territoire ou entre territoires, exprime le besoin d'infrastructure nouvelle. Une fois réalisée, celle-ci procure en retour sur les territoires des effets multiples et variés, notamment en fonction des échelles temporelles et spatiales considérées (Plassard) Le processus est donc de type circulaire et le mécanisme, cumulatif, met bien en jeu l'interaction infrastructure-territoire, par le truchement des services de transport au sens large, incluant la logistique pour ce qui est du fret. La mesure purement économique de ces effets est délicate et aucune méthode n'offre de solution réellement satisfaisante. Le calcul économique, non contestable dans son champ de pertinence et malgré ses perfectionnements constants (Maurice J., Crozet), n'est ici d'aucun secours du moins tel qu'il est pratiqué en l'état actuel des connaissances. Les modèles de croissance régionalisés peuvent fournir des indications précieuses sur l'évolution de certains agrégats d'une région mais l'insuffisance de données idoines n'autorise généralement pas les lectures à une échelle plus fine ni l'éclairage des mécanismes à l'œuvre dans la relation infrastructure-développement territorial. Elles souffrent par ailleurs d'une conception déterministe dont beaucoup de travaux ont montré les limites.

Une approche systémique s'impose pour expliquer la relation réciproque entre logistique et territoire, qui en d'autres termes touchera à trois variables : système logistique, modèles productifs et territoire. Cette vision va permettre d'identifier la nature complexe de la relation de la logistique et le territoire qui, bien évidemment, font partie du fonctionnement des systèmes produisant de la valeur.
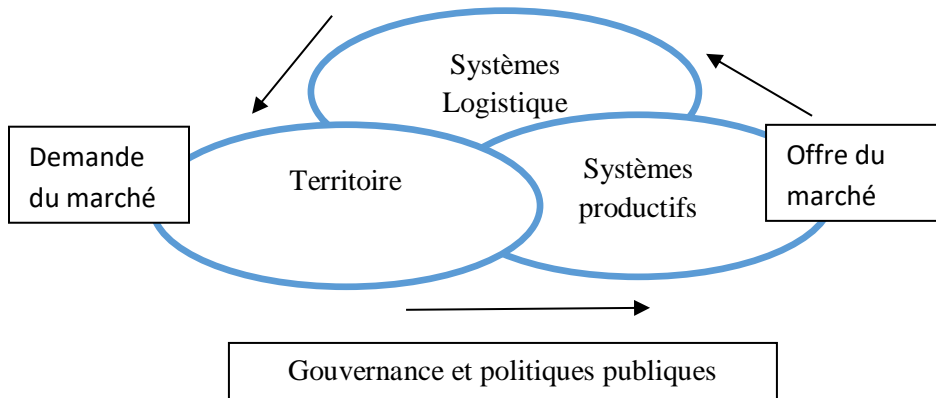
Figure 1. Relation systémique entre logistique et territoire

Cette approche systémique permet de comprendre la relation entre logistique et territoire et de montrer leurs complexités, tout en identifiant les interactions entre tous les éléments qui constituent des sous-systèmes variables dans le temps et l'espace. En effet, la logistique assure la liaison entre la production et la consommation, et c'est de là qu'il est possible de comprendre que la relation entre logistique et territoire est appréhendée systématiquement dans le système productif, qui mène aux stratégies des entreprises, et l'organisation de la production et le travail (Freyssenet et al., 2000).

L'offre et la demande logistique s'inscrivent sur un réseau spatial. L'offre logistique repose, d'une part, sur les infrastructures logistiques et de transport (plates-formes logistiques, ports, ports secs, autoroutes, chemins ferrés, etc.) et, d'autre part, sur les acteurs de la logistique (prestataires logistiques, les entreprises industrielles et de services), tandis que la demande logistique renvoie aux besoins du système productif (flux physique). Donc, le système logistique lie l'offre et la demande, depuis l'amont jusqu'à l'aval de la chaîne de valeur et un système multidimensionnel (Hesse & Rodriques, 2004) et rassemble des flux physiques et des flux informationnels importants (Joignaux, 2008).

La compréhension du système logistique doit également prendre en considération la dimension territoriale. En effet, comme déjà cité, ce système met en œuvre l'interaction d'une offre inscrite dans un espace, et une demande territoriale (allant du local au mondial). La performance des chaînes logistiques est donc tout naturellement liée à l'organisation spatiale du système productif. Les plates-formes logistiques par exemple forment un élément crucial dans l'organisation des chaînes logistiques.

L'importance des investissements logistiques dans l'attractivité économique des territoires

L'attractivité d'un territoire peut se définir comme sa capacité, pour une période donnée, à attirer diverses activités économiques et facteurs de production mobiles. Dans ce sens, c'est le reflet de la performance d'un territoire durant une période donnée et les déterminants de l'attractivité territoriale sont à rechercher parmi les facteurs de sa compétitivité.

Deux éléments expliquent que les collectivités territoriales s'intéressent de plus en plus aux activités logistiques. D'un côté, l'externalisation et la professionnalisation de la logistique ont permis de mettre en place des activités à plus forte valeur ajoutée et utilisant des investissements plus lourds ce qui permet de générer des emplois mais aussi des recettes fiscales conséquentes. D'un autre côté, les investissements logistiques peuvent être considérés comme un facteur d'attractivité pour des entreprises qui intègrent à présent dans leurs critères de choix de localisation géographique, l'évaluation de l'environnement logistique à proximité. Les plateformes logistiques présentent par conséquent un levier de compétitivité et de croissance, car la performance des tissus économique des régions, en particulier pour les entreprises connectées sur l'économie des échanges (import et export), dépend de l'efficacité du système logistique local et des acteurs qui les composent. Les plateformes logistique font partie des projets phares des infrastructures logistiques, vont présenter un nœud physique des flux logistiques, permettant d'améliorer la qualité des connexions avec les marchés mondiaux, l'accélération et la réactivité de la gestion des flux et optimisent la compétitivité des coûts logistiques. Les plateformes provoquent un effet de levier permettant d'accroître la compétitivité de l'industrie et permet le renouvellement économique en favorisant l'accueil des industries nouvelles fondées sur l'accessibilité géographique des marchés. En termes de localisation des activités, la plateforme représente un double enjeu. D'un côté l'enjeu de l'influence de la logistique sur la localisation des autres activités, celles qui utilisent les fonctions logistiques. D'autre côté, l'enjeu de l'implantation des installations de la logistique elle-même.

L'offre logistique que présentent les investissements logistiques devient un facteur de localisation des entreprises qui en utilisent les services. L'externalisation de la logistique renforce la dépendance de l'entreprise qui externalise à l'égard de son environnement, et en particulier de son environnement proche. Ainsi les activités logistiques sont suscitées par les besoins organisationnels des entreprises industrielles en termes de localisation car la demande logistique est une demande qui peut être qualifiée d'intermédiaire, mais en retour les implantations logistiques les localisations d'activités industrielles et commerciales par des effets

d'externalités d'urbanisation. Aujourd'hui, on observe que la logistique accompagne sans doute certaines implantations industrielles ou commerciales, mais devient à son tour facteur d'implantation.
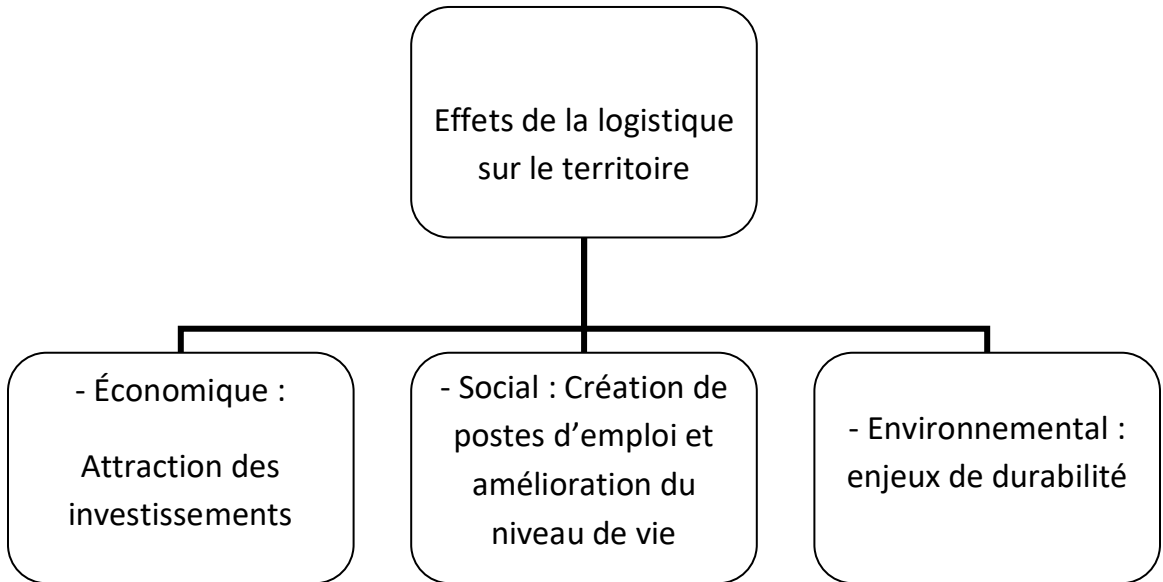

Figure 2. Effets de la logistique sur le territoire

Conclusion

Tenant en compte que la logistique s'inscrit dans le territoire et participe à l'organisation spatiale du tissu économique, ses infrastructures (entrepôts, plates-formes) sont fortement consommatrices d'espace et génèrent des trafics (notamment routiers) et nécessitent des équipements publics. Aussi, l'inscription spatiale de la logistique implique la puissance publique et une démarche d'aménagement du territoire.

La présence d'infrastructures logistiques devient un facteur de localisation pour les entreprises. L'offre logistique peut ainsi être considérée comme un facteur d'attractivité pour les entreprises qui en utilisent les services (Masson & Petiot, 2012). Les implantations logistiques suscitent des localisations d'activités industrielles et commerciales par des effets d'externalités d'urbanisation. La logistique devient ainsi un levier de compétitivité et de croissance. En effet, la performance des tissus économiques et des entreprises dépend de l'efficacité des systèmes logistiques locaux et des stratégies des acteurs qui les composent. Les infrastructures logistiques, comme nœuds physiques des flux logistiques, permettent d'améliorer la qualité des connexions avec les marchés

mondiaux, l'accélération et la réactivité de la gestion des flux. Enfin, elles optimisent la compétitivité des coûts logistiques

En outre, la logistique a des impacts territoriaux très importants sur trois principales dimensions :

- Économique : création de la richesse et attraction des investissements locaux et étrangers et développement de l'image du territoire.
- Sociale : création de nouveaux postes d'emploi et amélioration du niveau de vie.
- Environnementale : par le biais des politiques urbaines et durables.

En guise de conclusion, les efforts des collectivités pour attirer les activités logistiques peuvent se traduire par un essaimage de ces activités, contradictoire avec les objectifs de performance logistique et de développement environnemental durable. Ainsi, il paraît opportun de s'interroger sur la définition d'une gouvernance logistique territoriale. Celle-ci doit arbitrer entre équilibrage des potentialités de développement, cohérence territoriale, performance logistique et développement environnemental durable.

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Considerations Upon the Biblical Tree ff Knowledge Within the Italian Culture and Civilization

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Abstract

As far as the aspects of this research from the perspective of the Italian culture and civilization are concerned, we propose an excursion into the imagination of culture and civilization, to discover the diversity of this theme / allegory - related to the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil that is spoken of in the Holy Scripture.

Keywords: The Biblical tree of knowledge, Italian culture and civilization, Book of Genesis, symbolic value.

Introduction

On the tree of knowledge of good and evil so many opinions have been expressed in time that – should we take them into consideration for all of the world's cultures and civilizations – perhaps a human lifetime would not be enough to corroborate them. Since we do acknowledge the fact that whatever effort issued from the human curiosity aiming to research for and to find out what God did not want to mention should probably lead us towards no result at all we do agree that to study only what is mentioned in the Holy Scriptures would most certainly have been enough for our purpose.

One of the most plausible hypotheses able to explain why the sense of this term is not specifically mentioned does come from the Hebrew tradition according to which the name of this fruit had not been mentioned explicitly on a purpose – precisely because the intention held by the biblical passages which concerned it had been to attract attention not upon the fruit or the plant that have led towards the expulsion from paradise but instead upon the committed sin itself. As in the other languages the references towards it are most probably metaphors, symbols, allegories; yet the Book of Genesis does speak of the tree of knowledge of good and evil situated in Paradise as being a real tree. We have as well ascertained the fact that the passages of the Holy Scriptures that concern it do not mention anywhere

what kind of a tree might it be but instead it is referred to generically as *the tree (albero).*

Insofar the Italian culture and civilization are concerned by the perspective of our research our purpose is to search throughout their respective imaginary dimensions so that we could discover the intrinsic richness of this allegorical theme related to the tree of knowledge of good and evil of which the Holy Scriptures do speak. In the most ancient Christian representations, which had been found upon the territory of the peninsula this tree or its fruits do figure indeed (and what can be seen there is not an apple)[149].

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149 Genesis 2:9 - And the Lord God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground--trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. (*Il Signore Dio fece germogliare dal suolo ogni sorta di alberi graditi alla vista e buoni da mangiare, e l'albero della vita in mezzo al giardino e l'albero della conoscenza del bene e del male).*

Genesis 2:16 – And the Lord God commanded the man, "You are free to eat from any tree in the garden; but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when you eat of it you will certainly die." (*Il Signore Dio diede questo comando all'uomo: «Tu potrai mangiare di tutti gli alberi del giardino, ma dell'albero della conoscenza del bene e del male non devi mangiare, perché, nel giorno in cui tu ne mangerai, certamente dovrai morire»).*

Genesis 3:1 - Now the serpent was more crafty than any of the wild animals the Lord God had made. He said to the woman, "Did God really say, `You must not eat from any tree in the garden'?" (*Il serpente era il più astuto di tutti gli animali selvatici che Dio aveva fatto e disse alla donna: «È vero che Dio ha detto: "Non dovete mangiare di alcun albero del giardino"?»).*

Genesis 3:2 - The woman said to the serpent, "We may eat fruit from the trees in the garden, but God did say, `You must not eat fruit from the tree that is in the middle of the garden, and you must not touch it, or you will die.'" (*Rispose la donna al serpente: «Dei frutti degli alberi del giardino noi possiamo mangiare, ma del frutto dell'albero che sta in mezzo al giardino Dio ha detto: "Non dovete mangiarne e non lo dovete toccare, altrimenti morirete"»)*

Genesis 3:6 - When the woman saw that the fruit of the tree was good for food and pleasing to the eye, and also desirable for gaining wisdom, she took some and ate it. She also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate it. (*Allora la donna vide che l'albero era buono da mangiare, gradevole agli occhi e desiderabile per acquistare saggezza; prese del suo frutto e ne mangiò, poi ne diede anche al marito, che era con lei, e anch'egli ne mangiò.)*

Genesis 3:11-12 – And he said, "Who told you that you were naked? Have you eaten from the tree that I commanded you not to eat from?" The man said, "The woman you put here with me--she gave me some fruit from the tree, and I ate it." (*Riprese: «Chi ti ha fatto sapere che sei nudo? Hai forse mangiato dell'albero di cui ti avevo comandato di non mangiare?» Rispose l'uomo: «La donna che tu mi hai posto accanto mi ha dato dell'albero e io ne ho mangiato»)*

Genesis 3:17 - To Adam he said, "Because you listened to your wife and ate from the tree about which I commanded you, `You must not eat of it,' "Cursed is the ground because of you; (*All'uomo disse: «Poiché hai ascoltato la voce di tua moglie e hai mangiato*

What the collective imaginary has retained is the fact that it was Eve who did not obey to the command of God and therefore did tempt Adam with the forbidden fruit which most often was represented by an apple – especially in the late Medieval iconography. An important argument which does sustain this thesis is as well the fact that for a long time on Christmas Eve – December 24th – a tree had been ornated with apples so that it could evoke the original sin.[150] The misunderstanding might as well be caused by an unfortunate translation of the Latin term *pomum* – which may indicate whatever fruit: grape, fig, orange, pomegranate etc. The term *pomo* in Italian as well does simultaneously designate the tree and its fruit. Within the Greco-Roman world where Christianism does develop itself **the apple** had been known as the sacred fruit of Venus while the golden apple had been the fruit of discord through which the Trojan War had come to burst.[151]

Yet within a climate that much unfavourable to it as the one from the Middle East it is rather unlikely that the apple tree as a species could have survived – should it have been due to botanical reasons only. In the antique Hellenic territory, the apple did represent fecundity. During the ceremony of their marriage the spouses-to-be had to fulfil a symbolic gesture which was the one of eating together an apple – as a main reference to a wished-for fertility. The references towards it are most probably metaphors, symbols, allegories; yet the Book of Genesis does speak of the tree of knowledge of good and evil situated in Paradise as being a real tree. We have as well ascertained the fact that the passages of the Holy Scriptures that concern it do not mention anywhere what kind of a tree might it be but instead it is referred to generically as *the tree (albero).* The etymology of the term *albero* (*arbor* in Latin) is related to the Indo-European radical urv- --> *urb- --> arb-* which does express the concept of fecundity.

Etymologists do as well propose some other interpretations: one is that this term might have issued from the Sanskrit radical *ardh-* which does express the concept of growth, of development while the other states that the same concept of growth might have been expressed by the prefix *ad-* reunited to the Sanskrit radical *bhu-*. The misunderstanding might as well be caused by an unfortunate translation of the Latin term *pomum* – which may indicate whatever fruit: grape, fig, orange, pomegranate etc. The term *pomo* in Italian as well does simultaneously designate the tree and its fruit.

Yet what might have been the main reason for which the apple could have gained this reputation of a „forbidden fruit"? The version of the Bible –

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dell'albero di cui ti avevo comandato: "Non devi mangiarne", maledetto il suolo per causa tua!)
150 Daniela Messi, Roberta Anau, *La cucina della Bibbia. Le ricette al tempo di Adamo, Eva e dintorni*
151 Le Sacre Scritture di Gerusalemme, Conferenza Episcopale Italiana,

in Latin – usually known as the *Vulgata* - has made use of both the respective terms "bonum" and "malum" (4th century AD). Consequently, when translated in Italian the term „malum" has come to acquire a double sense – therefore creating some ambiguities – since it has been translated both by „male (evil)" and „mela (apple)". This erroneous connection of concepts has however come to be included to the collective imagination – especially due to the artistic representations created during the Medieval Age and the Renaissance. In Latin these two terms do significantly resemble one to the other: *mālum* (apple) and *mălum* (evil). Yet during the Medieval Age – when the differences between the two vowels ă and ā have come to soften – the copyists most probably and eventually neglected to point out in the written form the respective difference.

Once Adam and Eve had come to be present in the Christian culture, this fruit does acquire a mostly negative propensity as it is the element through which temptation does supervene and thereby the human being does come to perpetrate the original sin. The peoples upon the territory of which **pomegranates** do grow and are cultivated have attributed to this fruit a particular significance. The Ancient Testament does mention it as one among the fruits which do grow upon the Promised Realm; the Phoenicians did endow it with a religious dimension while for the Christians of the early times its red colour was a symbol for the blood of the martyrs. In other cultures and civilizations, the pomegranate was associated to the concept of fertility. In the Hellenic and Latin mythologies Hera (Juno for the Romans) – the daughter of Chronos and Rhea and eventually the wife of Zeus – was the protective goddess of marriage and fidelity. In some representations she does uphold a perfectly royal attitude and *attiré* since she is sitting upon a throne and is holding a pomegranate as a symbol of fertility.

Our curiosity has been appealed due to one of the most prestigious Italian dictionaries, the Zingarelli – when it has come to the „forbidden fruit": "*il pomo che, secondo la narrazione biblica, Adamo non doveva mangiare*"[152]. We have immediately associated this vocable with another Italian term - *pomodoro - „the golden fruit or bearing",* a term which does designate the tomato: *pomodòro (pop. pomidòro)*[153] *s. m. [da **pomo d'oro** in latino **"pomum aureum" o pomo d'oro**)] (Lycopersicon esculentum o Solanum lycopersicum), originaria dell'America*[154]. The prestigious Treccani dictionary does explain the second sense of the word: ***Pomodoro arboreo****, nome di un'altra pianta delle solanacee,*

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152 The fruit/bearing which Adam should not have eaten according to the biblical narration. Dizionario Zanichelli,

153 http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/pomodoro/

154 from Latin **"pomum aureum".** (Lycopersicon esculentum sau Solanum lycopersicum) brought in from America.

Cyphomandra betacea, chiamata anche albero del pomodoro[155]; (v.) àlbero del pomodòro[156] locuz. usata come s. m. – Arbusto delle solanacee (Cyphomandrabetacea), originario del Perù e coltivato nei paesi caldi; è alto fino a 4 m, con foglie quasi persistenti, e frutti ovoidei, simili ai pomodori, che si consumano freschi e si usano per marmellate e conserve. As Pianigiani does underline the fact in the „Etymological Dictionary" *pomodòro* or *pomidòro*[157] (the red eggplant/tomato) is the fruit of a plant from the Solanaceae family denominated by botanists as *Solanum lycopersicum[158]*.

In Italian the term „pomodoro" does appear for the first time in a text of Pietro Andrea Mattioli - a medical doctor from Sienna who has lived at the beginning of the 14th
century and who defined it as a fruit[159].

Ever since the Antiquity certain fruits have had a symbolic value imparted by the human being and which has carried on various meanings – should they have been complex or not. Let us remember that the golden fruit or the fruit (apple) of discord does have some deep roots in the Hellenic mythology.

The goddess Eris of the Greeks known as Discord by the Romans did feel as being insulted for not having been invited at the wedding of Thetis and Peleus – and once arrived has therefore thrown upon the table an enchanted golden apple offered as a gift – as she said - „to the most beautiful one"; three feminine goddesses - Hera, Athena and Aphrodite did each of them consequently consider the apple as meant for them. This dispute is the origin of the Trojan War as well as the one of the expressions: „fruit of discord". Perhaps the identifying of the apple as fruit of the sin is as well due to these pagan remnants from the Hellenic and Latin antiquity.

In Homer's poems many objects were made of gold: Athena's sandals, Poseidon's trident, the coat, whip and balance of Zeus, Apollo's sword and

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155 **Pomodoro arboreo** – denomination of another plant from the Solanaceae family, the *Cyphomandra betacea* also known as the *albero del pomodoro* (tamarillo, red eggplants/ tomato/tree)

156 *àlbero del pomodòro* (tamarillo, red eggplants/ tomato/tree) locution made use of as a masculine noun. – Tree from the Solanaceae family (Cyphomandrabetacea), originated from Peru and cultivated in the warm countries; its height does rise up to 4 m and its leaves are permanently green. Its fruits have an oval form resembling to the tomatoes and are to be consumed both fresh or conserved or either as a jam.

157 https://archive.org/details/VocabolarioEtimologicoDellaLinguaItaliana2/page/n271, retrieved on 7.06.2019

158 https://amailtuoverde.it/storia-del-pomodoro-lorigine-del-re-degli-ortaggi/, retrieved on 9.06.2019: 'The scientific term is to be translated by *wolf's fruit* as an expression of lacking trust.'

159 https://italiapost.it/pomodoro-origine-etimologia-storia/

shield, the magic wand of Hermes, the wings of Iris as well as the ones of the Gorgone, the hat of Pterelaus - Poseidon's nephew, the palace of Helios and the one of Psyche, the spindle of Artemis and the sword of Chrysaor – the son of Medusa who is said to be born sword in hand [160]. Hesiodus does speak of this *aurea aetas* which is as well known throughout the Roman antiquity – they have their own myths about gold: Tarpeia in love with the Sabine king Tatius does betray her own city – Rome – so that she could gain the golden bracelets usually worn by the Sabine warriors on their left arms. The house built by Nero which he had moved f the Palatine hill to the Esquiline one - *Domus Aurea* – is made of gold too according to the *Lives of the Caesars* written by Suetonius.

The forbidden fruit has also been often represented by a **grape cluster**. Consequently, the tree of knowledge of good and evil has been imagined as a vine. An extended series of researchers among which let us mention Benedetto Carucci do sustain that the real tree has been a vine and not an apple – which is to be found a bit later since the 14th century in the late Medieval iconography: "nel testo sacro non si precisa che tipo di albero fosse quello del "frutto proibito[161]".

The fig tree represented in cult sanctuaries

Ficus Ruminalis was a species of wild **fig tree** endowed during the Roman antiquity with some mythological and religious meanings. It was situated precisely where the cradle which carried Romulus and Remus upon the Tibrus' flow had reached for the shore according to the tradition. This type of bush is a reminder of Rumina, one among the Roman goddesses of birth and childhood who would protect suckling women.[162] It is a legendary shrub which has become sacred due to the connection of its image with the founding of Rome. The name of the city does seem to come from the Latin term of an Etruscan origin *ruma* - a term which does designate the *mamela* the fruit of which does have an ovoid shape and does look milky when it gets cut. Various Latin dictionaries do not mention *rumàre* as pertaining to the classical period yet during the Medieval one it does mean *to suckle*. In the „Dictionarium Latin-Barbarum" the words *Ruma, uber* and *mamma* are synonyms and do designate the breast. In certain Italian dictionaries the noun

160 Alessandra Boccone, *L'oro nell'antichità: materiale, storia ed arte*,
161 The sacred text does not precise what kind of tree is the one wherefrom the "forbidden fruit" has been taken or picked.
162 Varro, *De lingua latina*; Plinius, *Natural History*, Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*; Servius, note to *Aeneid*; Festus 332–333 (edition of Lindsay).
 Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 151.

ruma derived from the Latin verb *rumare* does hold three senses: *rumine, stomaco, poppa*.[163]

In the Bible (Genesis 3:7) after they have fallen into sin Adam and Eve do cover themselves with fig tree leaves: „*Then to both of them the eyes have opened and they have known that they were naked and they have sewn fig tree leaves and made covering clothes out of them*". In the apocryphal text "Adam's Testament" at the question Seth asked his father Adam related to the fruit which had brought the banishment from Paradise this latter does reveal that it was the fig[164]. Yet we still do consider as necessary to mention as well the biblical passage which does speak about the curse thrown by Jesus upon the unbearing fig tree: "*In the morning of the next day, while He was returning to the city, He had become starvingly hungry; / And as He had seen a fig tree along the road He had walked towards it but had found nothing upon it but leaves and He said to it: From now on there shall be no bearing of yours for ever! And the fig tree had instantly withered away. / Seeing this the apprentices had been amazed and had said: How has it come that the fig tree had instantly withered away? / And Jesus, answering to them, had said: To you the truth I do utter: Should you have faith and in no way doubt would you do not only what has been done with the fig tree but also to this mountain should you say: Rise and drop into the sea – so shall it be / And all of those you could ask for by praying faithfully you shall be given.*[165] The scholars do consider the unbearing fig tree as a symbol which does designate Israel and its lack of faith. It is often correlated with the text from Genesis 3:7 where the fig leaves seem to conceal the sinful state of the proto-parents Adam and Eve.

The first rather obvious proofs of the fact that the collective imagination does figure the forbidden fruit as a fig during the Antiquity and the Medieval Age are two **sarcophagi:** the Roman one from the 4th century (approximately 325-350 AD) also denominated as the **"dogmatic sarcophagus**" or as the „**sarcophagus of the two testaments**" – discovered in the 19th century due to some reconstruction works made upon the church of *San Paolo fuori le mura* and preserved at the Vatican Museum (Museo Pio cristiano). Upon its upside are painted two episodes of the Genesis (The Creation of Eve – mentioned in the Genesis 2:18,25 – and the episode where God does entrust to Adam and Eve the signs of the labour - mentioned in the Genesis 3:17-23): *Cristo tra Adamo ed Eva e l'albero del Peccato*. The art historians have therefore denominated exactly this way the tree represented

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163 Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, Favre, Niort, 1883, tomo VII, pag. 235: *Ruma seu mamma alere* (alimentare con la poppa o mammella / to nourish with poppa or with mamella).
164 https://www.luigialbano.it/la-mela-inesistente.html
165 The Holy Bible, Matthew 21:18-22

upon the sarcophagus: „the tree of Sin". Together with the Sarcophagus of Giunio Basso it is one of the most valuable historical and archaeological monuments inspired by Christianism during the time of Constantine the Great[166]. As well due to the shape of its fruit the fig tree does remain in the Western iconography as a primordial vegetal element and tightly connected with the feminine sexuality.

The legend of Romulus and Remus does also stand as a support for this reference. Another representation of this tree in the Paleo-Christian art from the times of Constantine the Great is the marble sarcophagus known as the **Sarcophagus of Adelphia –** discovered on the occasion of an archaeological campaign and preserved in Syracuse at the *Paolo Orsi* Museum. This sculpture too does involve the fig tree.

In **frescoes** let us mention among the early representations of the tree of knowledge of good and evil: *The Original Sin*, fresco, Catacombs of Saints Marcellino and Pietro, Rome, 4th century and the **rupestrian church of Matera** – the fresco of which are approximately dated as long ago as between the 8th and 9th centuries AD. It is known as the "**Cripta del peccato originale"** („Crypt of the original sin)". It seems that this crypt had once been the cult sanctuary of an army of Benedictine monks from the Lombard period. In its pictural cycle do figure some episodes of the Genesis and the Original Sin. The fruit which Eve does handle to Adam is the fig. … When biblical episodes are laid upon the front sides of the various cult sanctuaries of the peninsula in the ancient Christian representations one of the most frequently employed modalities is the bas-relief.

Among its examples let us mention: the ones of the **Modena Cathedral** created by **Wiligelmo** – a Paduan artist whose origins have most probably been Lombard – around 1090 (in certain documents we will recognize him mentioned as Wiligelmus). The marble bas-relief does reflect the image of Adam and Eve seen as both still innocent - deprived of any sexual attribute or connotation. They are shown as savouring the forbidden fruit offered to them by the serpent which has coiled up around the bole of the fig tree. Its leaves are simultaneously concealing the human couple. As we have mentioned above its fruit is a symbol of abundance and fertility.

Niccolò, sculptor of the first half of the 12th century and probable disciple of Wiligelmo, left his most significant works in the **Church of San Zeno in Verona**. He is the author of the Biblical scenes within this church: The first one, *The original Sin*, has the Latin inscription: IDRA DAT EVA VIRO, VIR MORDET FEDERE DIRO. The second one, the Expulsion from Paradise, is accompanied by the writing LEX DATUR OFFENDITUR: PENAS PRO CRIMINE PENDIT. The sculpted figures are the angel, Adam

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166 www.gliscritti.it

and Eve. Adam, grieved and reluctant, covering his nakedness with a large fig leaf, brings his left hand to his chest and holds, only in this scene, his head recessed in his shoulders, oppressed by guilt. On her left, Eva makes the same gesture of covering herself with a fig leaf.

The most beautiful **mosaïques** which have attracted our attention and which do represent pe Adam and Eva – together with the tree of knowledge of good and evil and with the forbidden fruit – are the ones from the **Cappella Palatina of Palermo** realized in 1143 – where biblical episodes are narrated and where the two are savouring the orange-coloured fruits of the tree; the **mosaique from Basilica di San Marco in Venice**, within the Cupola della Genesi, realized around 1220-1230 - where Adam and Eve are hiding from the presence of God - and the mosaïques from **Saint John's Baptistery in Florence** realized between 1250 and 1330 where Adam and Eve are reaching with their hands so that they could pick the figs from the tree around which the serpent had coiled up.

On the front side of the **Orvieto Dome, Lorenzo Maitani** has sculpted some bas-reliefs at the beginning of the 14th century. In one among the represented scenes God is shown as pointing with His finger towards Adam and Eve while He does explain to them the fruits of what particular tree they ought in no way touch or eat. In another one the serpent is coiled up around the same tree – which is a fig tree for this time too – and does look towards Eve while it does handle the forbidden fruit to Adam.

On the walls of the **Palazzo Ducale in Venic**e there is also a bas-relief from the 14th century where Adam and Eva are represented.

Giovanni Antonio Amadeo – a sculptor and architect born nearby Pavia in 1447 – has realized the front side of the **Cathedral of Pavia** (**Certosa di Pavia**). In 1466 he and his brother Protasio have been hired as sculptors in the locality of Certosa near Pavia in order to sculpt in the Renaissance style. Later in 1490-1499 - together with the Mantegazza brothers and their apprentices - they have decorated it with some sculptures which do represent various biblical episodes including the one of the original sin.

From 1425 till 1434 it was the turn of the artist **Jacopo della Quercia,** who has sculpted upon the main door (Porta Magna) of the **San Petronio Basilica of Bologna** a bas-relief the central theme of which is the original sin. The fruit he did represent is again the fig.

The first door of the **Battistero di Firenze**, the Western one, has been created in the Gothic style by Andrea Pissano and it does present the life of Saint John the Baptist while the Eastern one, created by **Lorenzo Ghiberti** is a representation through images of the New Testament. In order to design the Eastern doors a contest has been organized among artists. Initially they all had been asked to respect the style of Pisano. The final

combat was held between Brunelleschi and Ghiberti. The latter won because his work has been considered as easier to „read" but as well due to the originality of his style which does totally separate itself from the Neo-Gothical line in order to embrace the method of perspective. Aged only 21, Ghiberti does indeed achieve the illustration of the lives of Christ and of the saints in a *chef d'oeuvre* which was destined to become one of the most famous creations of all times: the „Doors of Paradise" or „Gates of Paradise". It was Michelangelo who had named them "the doors of Paradise"; about Ghiberti's work he used to say that it was a *chef d'oeuvre* of the style made use of: *„They are so wonderful that they could ornate the Gates of Paradise"*. The contract had been signed since 1425 but Ghiberti was able to finalize his work only in 1452. Though among his apprentices were Donatello and Paolo Ucello Lorenzo Ghiberti had chosen to finalize the „doors of paradise" by himself. Yet the disposition formula of the icons had been officially signed by Lorenzo Bruni – an accomplished humanist and scholar but as well at that time the Chancellor of the Republic. The Gates of Paradise are simply astonishing. Up on the left door the first image does reflect the creation of our proto-parents Adam and Eve, the perpetration of the original sin consequently followed by the banishment from Paradise. Some researchers had come to the hypothesis that the concerned fruit would have been the **pomegranate** (*melagrana* in Italian) also designated as the *mela granata* or only *granata*. The term does come from the Latin *malum granatum*.

The **Alberti Chapel** of the **Holy Crucifix of San Vigilio Cathedral** from **Trento** was built in 1682 by order of Prince Bishop Francesco Alberti-Poia, who also wanted his burial here. In the tympanum above the altar a marble group, by the sculptor Francesco Barbacovi, depicts the tree of earthly paradise with the sin of the protogenitors that was expiated and conquered by the new Adam on the cross.

Insofar painting is concerned: around 1340 in the **church of San Galgano from Montesiepi di Chiusdino**, **Ambrogio Lorenzetti** does paint a fresco where Eve is shown in *négligé* and does plainly confess the original sin in the case situated below the image: „I have sinned out of passion"[167]. Apart from the insuperable interpretation of the nature of this passion through her gestures we are able to find in it certain details which are precious for our research: the bough held by Eve is one from a fig tree. Its references are this time as well related to birth and to life. The church of San Galgano from Montesiepi di Chiusdino is a building of a circular shape situated not far from the renowned Cistercian convent elevated in order to celebrate the place where the saint had transformed himself. The surviving

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167 "fei peccato per passione"

frescos are distributed upon the arches and on three of the four walls of the edifice. Should we look at each wall for each of the three existing levels the scenes would have to be considered as starting from the extreme left and ought to be regarded from the upside to the right. The Ancient Testament does start by the Creation of the World and does continue by the Creation of the Human Being - Adam in the Garden of Eden – and by the one of Eve. The last of the scenes above does show that Adam and Eve are indeed eating the forbidden fruit.

Around 1367 **Bartolo di Fredi** does paint some scenes on the left side of the Dome from San Gimignano – also known under the name of *Collegiata* di San Gimignano – which are narrating episodes of the Ancient Testament. He does as well start by the Creation of the World and does continue by the Creation of the Human Being - Adam in the Garden of the terrestrial Eden – and by the one of Eve to conclude by the scene where they are regaling themselves through eating the forbidden fruit.

In 1425 in the Brancacci chapel from Florence **Masolino** does paint the *Tentazione di Adamo ed Eva*. Masolino is an artist who is still bounded by the classical trend lasting from the past and does not seem to be too audacious through his art. The scene does represent the snake which is tempting Adam and Eve. These latters do seem to have some judicious proportions and seem harmoniously elaborated, almost idealized. The two subjects seeem to be nearly possible: there is no trace at all of spontaneity in their attitude which is rather stiff and unnatural. The colour of the background is deeply dark and uniform. The only landscape element is the tree of knowledge of good and evil wherefrom does stretch the tempting snake which has a highly ambiguous human head. Adam and Eve almost seem to float within a space that is indefinite, flat, supra-real and lacking consistency. The subjects are placed within a soft and discreet light.

In 1508 **Raffaello Sanzio** does realize through the fresco technique an autographical painting entitled *Adam and Eva* upon the arch of a room from the *Musei Vaticani.* The background is a mosaïque of false gold. The two are represented as surrounded by the leaves of the Tree of Life around which the serpent – with a human bust - has coiled up. It is the moment of the original sin. Eve hanging from a branch is going to offer the forbidden fruit to Adam who is standing near her. Though their intimate sides are concealed by the branches the ancestors are practically naked. A famous imprint of Dürer has probably inspired this fresco.

In 1510 **Michelangelo** does finalize the fresco from the Sixtine Chapel *Peccato originale e cacciata dal Paradiso terrestre* – where the tree of knowledge of good and evil is a fig tree. The Bible does instead suggest that the forbidden fruit as Eve has tasted it might be an apple. Yet upon the ceiling part which does illustrate the Temptation Michelangelo has chosen to

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paint a fig tree. He also does paint the serpent – Satan – not as a male figure but instead with the head of a woman.

The Original Sin is a painting by **Tintoretto** achieved through the oil on canvas technique in 1550 – 1553 and preserved at the Academy of Venice. Even since that time the coeval researchers of the history of art have considered this painting – together with "Cain who does kill Abel" – as being the most appreciated and celebrated parts of the cycle by the Trinity School.

The Venitian painter **Tiziano** has created around 1565 *Adam and Eve in Paradise* – which is preserved at the Museo del Prado from Madrid. The represented scene is from the Book of Genesis of the Ancient Testament and does concern the original sin perpetrated by Adam and Eve which does as a consequence bring the fall of the human being. The religious iconography does present Adam on the left side of the tree and Eve on the right side. Up on the tree does coil up the serpent which does offer the forbidden fruit - yet under the appearance of a child. As he is fearful Adam does lay his hand upon Eve's chest wishing to stop her but afterwards, he is going to give up and to eat from the forbidden fruit which God had ordered them not to eat.

Eve by **Carlo Antonio Procaccini** is a part of the scene representations created for the Milan edition of Adam' sacred representation (1613) by G.B. Andreini. The mythological perspective does indeed suit in its shape the middle of the 17th century. The serpent is grasping with its queue the bole of the tree while it is piercing through the branches with its body. Alike a siren it is able to put a spell on the woman encouraging her through the communion of beauty.

In 1623 Domenico Zampieri – known as the **Domenichino** – does paint the work *Rimprovero ad Adamo ed Eva*. He does point out the rejecting gesture of Adam towards Eve and the heads of the little flying angels. For him Italy is the paradise on earth. The tree of knowledge of good and evil seems again to be a fig tree.

Conclusion

As a conclusion for this brief *excursus* in search for the forbidden fruit within the cultural area of the Italian Peninsula let us allow to ourselves the amazing perspective which does lead us to the remark of how richly various have been the modalities through which the forbidden fruit has stepped into the Italian collective imagination throughout time: from fig to grape, to pomegranate or to apple, the forbidden fruit does trace through its presence itself a dense and comprehensive trajectory in the history of art as an intrinsic asset of this extended and impressive artistic space which is Italy.

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The Value of Reflective Teaching: Benefits and Challenges

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Abstract

Current literature in education has definitely shown that teachers differ substantially according to their goals and priorities. In fact, one of the most important gains of language teaching and learning, in general, is bringing behavioral change through reflection and counseling. The purpose of this study is to explore theoretically the practices and challenges of reflective teaching in helping EFL teachers to become more efficient practitioners. Providing a high quality teaching based on rational practices, teachers are required to reflect on their knowledge, skills and experiences, elements, which are prerequisite for the professional growth of an individual. Hence, reflective teaching is among the specialized form of thinking that teachers should espouse to develop professionally. It is believed that teaching is undeniably a theoretical activity and a practical one as well. Therefore, teachers should understand their daily performance via the pursuit of reflective self-development. This paper explores some of the current ideas related to the benefits and challenges of reflective teaching. I will attempt to discuss the major pedagogical concerns commonly used in my personal professional career. Given the fact that reflective teaching is complex and context-dependent that cannot be applied mechanically or simplistically, I will provide some techniques and strategies as instructions for teachers to become proficient and efficient.

Keywords: Reflective teaching, professional development.

Introduction

This paper provides a clear, succinct explanation of how reflection is an integral part to teachers' understandings of themselves, their practice, and their context, and elaborates how various conceptions of reflective teaching differ from one another. The emphasis on the importance of both self and context is embedded within distinct and varied educational traditions, be they conservative, progressive, radical, or spiritual. Existing literature in education has unquestionably shown that teachers differ substantially

according to their goals and priorities. In fact, one of the most important gains of language teaching and learning, in general, is bringing behavioral change through reflection and counseling. Providing a high quality teaching based on rational practices, teachers are required to reflect on their knowledge, skills and experiences, elements, which are prerequisite for the professional growth of an individual. Hence, reflective teaching is among the specialized form of thinking that teachers should espouse to develop professionally. It is believed that teaching is undeniably a theoretical activity and a practical one as well. Therefore, teachers should understand their daily performance via the pursuit of reflective self-development. This paper explores some of the current ideas related to the benefits and challenges of reflective teaching. Special light is given to the major pedagogical concerns commonly used in my personal professional career. Given the fact that reflective teaching is complex and context-dependent that cannot be applied mechanically or simplistically, I will provide some techniques and strategies as instructions for teachers to become proficient and efficient.

Background and Context

The process of reflective teaching and its role in the professional development of teachers has been at the center of interest of a myriad of educators, researchers and practitioners. In fact, scholars such as Dewey (1933); Calderhead (1989); Rogers (1980); Schon (1983); and Zeichmer, (1987) have examined the construct as a *generic pedagogical principle*168 in the teaching environment with the aim to formulate some instructional strategies to enhance teachers' reflection. These scholars -though they have different theoretical orientations- admit that by developing teachers' reflective abilities, they would build a scaffolding platform upon which professional development can be enhanced. A hot debate has also been set about the determining the current state of teachers' reflection and its content. No empirical evidence has been put forward to unravel the various aspects of the content of the subject matter and the reasons why teachers reflects on certain aspects and not others. It has to be admitted that most of the theoretical considerations of teachers' personal theories, beliefs and values serve as the basic criterion for classroom practice and curriculum decision-making.

Reflective Teaching: Some Basic Assumptions

168The term is an aspect of teacher's competence used by Tsangaridou & O'Sullivan (1997), which comprises knowledge of planning (cross-curricular principles of instructional planning), knowledge of methods (repertoire of instructional methods), and instructional and classroom management skills.

The term reflection or reflective practice are based on the works of Carl Rogers (1983) and David Schon (1991) studying the actions and thoughts in a variety of fields who learn to analyze and interpret events in ways that guide their own development and day-to-day practice. Indeed, reflection is one means of encouraging deeper and richer understandings during the learning process, and is a form of purposeful thinking that can be used to explore complex problems, anticipate outcomes, or be used on unstructured ideas to gain clarification (Larrivee & Cooper, 2006; Ryan, 2013). Reflection can be applied in higher education or any other levels of school, to enable learners as well as teachers to grow intellectually, professionally and personally (Rogers, 2001; Ryan, 2011). Hence, one may easily infer that reflective teaching is a process of self-observation and self-assessment all at once, whereby the teacher examines the content of teaching and ponders about the various incentives behind his teaching performance. That is, it requires from the teacher that he should reconsider the purpose, methods and the content of his teaching. Brookfield (1995), in this respect, points out that a teacher as practitioner commits him/herself to some actions or performances in a constant cycle of self-evaluation in order to unravel the various problems that hinder growth and learning. The following diagram adopted from Gibbs' Model explains well the whole process of reflection:

Figure 1 Adopted from Gibbs' Model of learning by doing
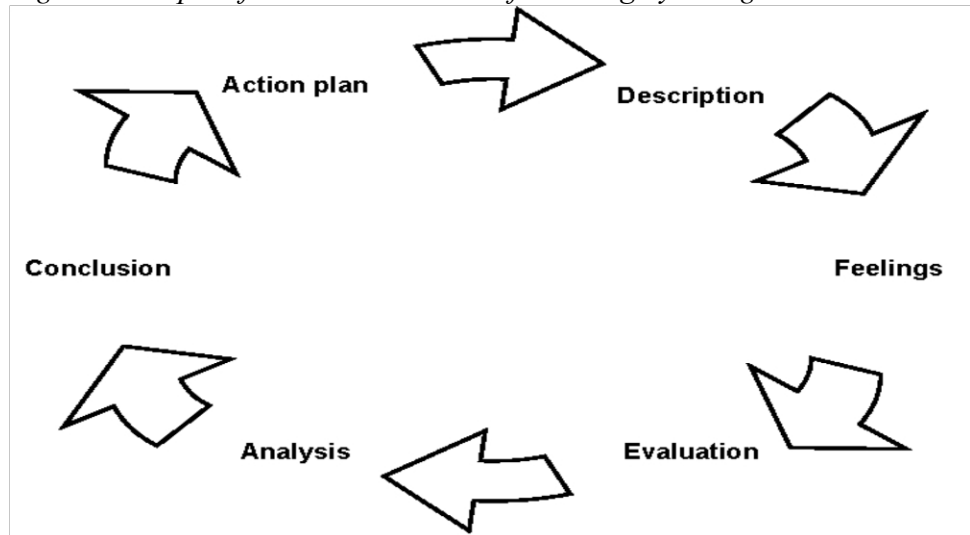
Hence, this reflective cycle illustrated here has been extensively implemented by those studying, performing and teaching the skills of critical reflection. It has been developed to become a seminal platform for professionals, staff designers and higher education teachers, and remains a recommended model to benefit from. Indeed, 'Learning by doing', or

'experiential learning', as cases of reflective teaching, are usually cast-off to refer to several different aspects of learning and professional development.

Further, Tsangaridou et al. (1997), points out that *"reflection is the act of thinking about, analyzing, assessing or altering educational meaning, intentions, beliefs, decisions, actions or products by focusing on the process of achieving them"* (p. 4). This act, the author claims, takes place in the course of and after the practice is achieved. The central objective of the reflective teaching act is, the authors add, to structure, adjust, generate, refine, restructure, or alter knowledge and actions that inform practice. However, teachers sometimes find it very problematic to reflect on their teaching and learning performances. Still, it has to be admitted that learning from one's experience is an everlasting process that continues throughout professional career. It is believed that a good teacher is also regarded as a good learner. Alvin Toffle[169] (2007) corroborates this by claiming in his book *"Rethinking the Future"* talking about next generation to come, that "the illiterate of the 21st Century will not be those who cannot read or write, but those who cannot learn, unlearn and relearn". Therefore, this process of learning and relearning allows the teacher to evolve and build on his experiences.

From another perspective, Moon (2005) begins by defining reflection as a method of analyzing individual's assumptions to produce and improve new ideas and concepts that have a part in various academic errands such as critical review, decision-making, and self-awareness. Accordingly, I believe that Moon is really is considering reflection as a compulsory critical component to academic learning, because it allows the learner to connect innovative thoughts with information already recognized. This process allows for a deeper learning to take place, as it slows down the process and enables a learner to reassess their views, access their own knowledge, and allows them time to challenge their ability to connect with the material.

Conversely, teachers sometimes face various problems when they want to integrate reflective activities into their professional practices in classrooms. The first is when peers and students may not understand the value or process of reflection. The second is when learners do not help positively in the whole learning process. In this logic, reflection can be regarded as an aspect of challenging those barriers to professional development in the sense that it offers a chance for teachers to develop deliberately strategies, especially when they use journaling, portfolios that can be incorporated into the learning process and which necessitates an individual to take part consciously with the material. Interestingly enough, this process of learning, growing and building on the habits is that teachers

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169 Retrieved from http://blog.commlabindia.com/elearning/how_can_you_unlearn

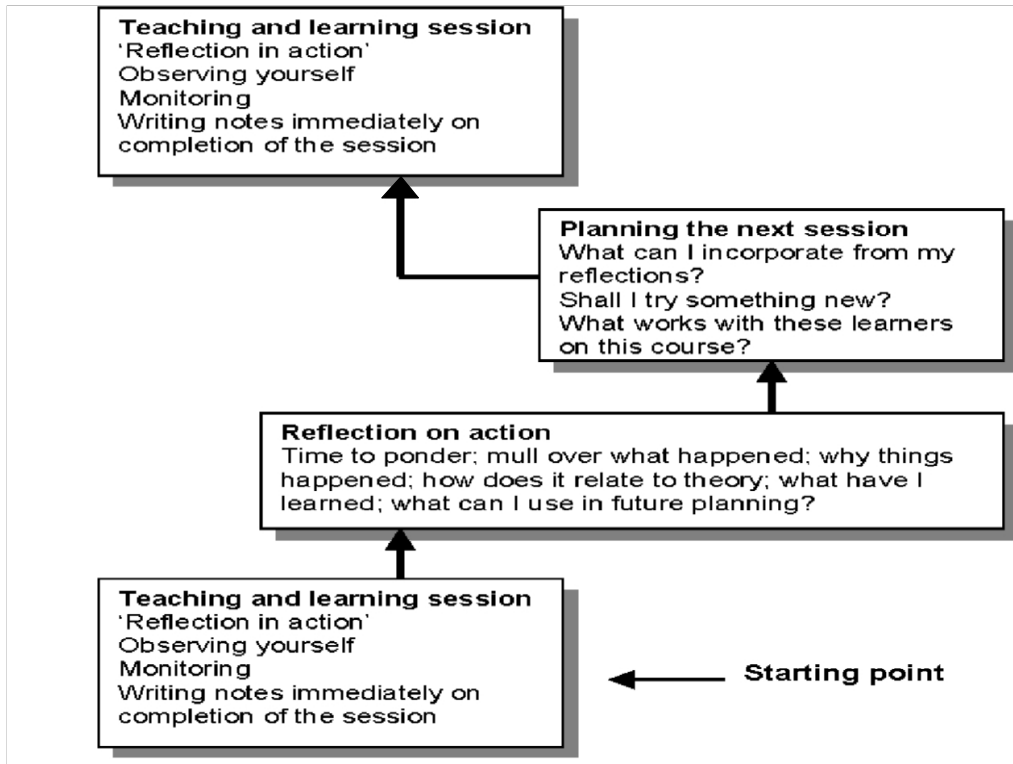master the basic assumptions of self-improvement and self-growth in all areas of our lives.

Benefits of Reflective Teaching for professional growth
Exploring Classroom Practices

Because reflection is a metacognitive strategy, it helps teachers think critically upon their experiences, actions and decisions during their teaching practices. Many psychologists believe teachers, to varying degrees, have an internally driven need for reflection for professional development. The latter drives them to seek success and significant achievement in their lives. In such a stream, I would say that teachers who rate high in reflection tend to work harder and more determinedly on tasks and responsibilities. They also tend to reflect more than those who rate low in reflection and consideration. However, whether teachers work hard on any particular task to achieve goals depends on their expectations of success and the value the task.

Based on my own experience, I would admit that a certain group of people whom inspiration visits is always present in the circle of students. I am alluding here to reflective teachers and professors, whose work is marked by a continuous effort and energy to change the lives of others by trying to stretch their imaginative, theoretical, empirical, and normative perspectives and traditions. I believe that reflective teaching is an exalting process, full of both sublime emotions and rationality, from which one learns to change things. Personally, I never feel more thrilled than after classroom session that has gone well. I remember that this happened to me once I finished a lecture on Culture, media, Communication or Grammar. Admittedly, teaching, I trust, is my art, vocation and my chosen passion, a passion that I am assuming with love, conviction and assurance. I see my task as creating spaces for students to face fundamental questions of power, identity, etc. As a professor, I am doing my best to push beyond the students' experience to expand their skills and Knowledge and the same time to reconsider my standpoints once I voiced them publically in case they should refined or rethought. I feel proud of enriching this ability to think about, discuss critically with new awareness and humanistic significance. I am a professor who still leaves each classroom session asking how the next might be better, enlightening and propitious. Put simply, I am working with my students to become motivated, insightful, and enthusiastic thinkers.

In general, teachers recognize a wide range of different characteristics about their classes for their school associates to discern and gather information on. These comprise organization of the lesson, teacher's time management, and students' performance on tasks, time-on-task, teacher questions and student responses, student's presentation during pair work,

classroom relations, and class performance during a new teaching activity and students' use of the first language or English during group work. In future, they upswing a number of insights and visions about their own teaching from their colleague's interpretations and that they would like to use peer- observation on a regular basis. The whole course can be summarized Shon's Model:

Teaching and learning session
'Reflection in action'
Observing yourself
Monitoring
Writing notes immediately on
completion of the session

Planning the next session
What can I incorporate from my reflections?
Shall I try something new?
What works with these learners on this course?

Reflection on action
Time to ponder; mull over what happened; why things happened; how does it relate to theory; what have I learned; what can I use in future planning?

Teaching and learning session
'Reflection in action'
Observing yourself
Monitoring
Writing notes immediately on
completion of the session

Starting point

Adopted from Donald Shon, 1983

One the major benefits reflective teaching is the response that any performance act can assist in the development of reflection skills. In fact, without a response and open-dialogue approach there is a risk that reflection may be introspective jeopardizing self-assessment and self-awareness such as the acknowledgement of flaws. Many scholars corroborate the use of response to improve reflective skills report on the benefits of acquiring a mentor, or critical companion in this respect (Johns, 2002) who can question the student and assist them in deconstructing practice related issues.

The second major benefit for reflective practice is the self-evaluation that can be the initial step in an ongoing attempt to improve teaching and instruction procedures. Indeed, the instrument might be used to spot the light

on any aspect of teaching and instruction, with freedom to focus on any item perceived as important.

The third crucial asset of reflective teaching is that it enables teachers to diagnose and recognize their classroom contexts and students' learning better, put their students' learning at the heart of the teaching-learning process, develop a rationale for their teaching and take informed specific actions and make sound decisions in the classroom. The open discussion among colleagues for purpose of self-evaluation and improvement can also help in giving teachers opportunities to enhance through good relations and communication among teachers.

Challenges of Reflective Teaching

There are in fact many problems with reflective teaching principles. Most teachers found it much thought provoking to become armed with reflective teacher characteristics, like open-mindedness, tolerance, responsibility, and wholeheartedness. Generally, they believed that they looked-for more skills to improve their critical thinking before all this process happens. I believe that a high cognitive aptitude, potential, and persistence are skills compulsory for becoming a critical thinker. Among the three types of reflection, that is, reflection for action, reflection in action, and reflection on action, teachers recalled that they require a rich knowledge based on alternatives and high potential for on-the-spot decision making to be able to reflect in actions.

Therefore, the teacher, today, should apply principles of reflective teaching, though difficult it might seem, in classroom practice, in order observe and reflects on the results so that the classroom becomes a kind of laboratory where the teacher can relate teaching theory to teaching practice. By implementing reflective teaching pedagogy, the teacher communicates inspiration and aspirations among teacher trainees, to allow them exercise the same in their teaching practice gatherings. Learning pedagogy that should be practiced in open and distance education to withstand attention and curiosity among teacher can realized via through open and desirable teaching as an art and vocation. The following model, I believe, can be integrated as in any professional career for benefiting from situations of self-awareness, development and growth.
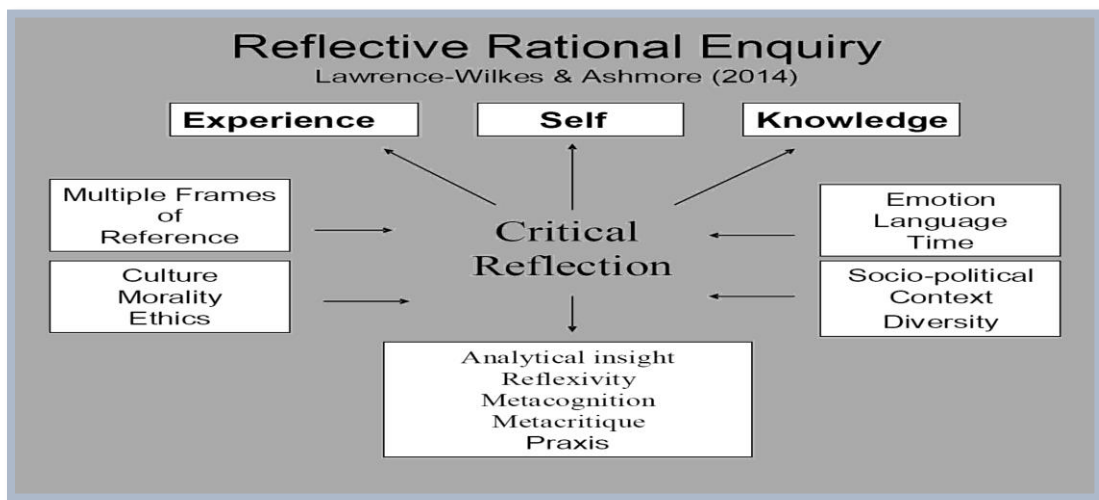
Lawrence-Wikes an Ashmore 2014 Model[170]

From such a model, one may draw the conclusion that self-evaluation, based on critical reflection, is a key issue in autonomous learning by virtue of its ability to face various pedagogical barriers to monitor and evaluate their own learning. All the elements of successful teachers are incorporated here such as understanding the self, interaction with the external environment through experience, and building on knowledge through lifelong learning. Therefore, this mental operation should take place taking into account the sociopolitical context as well as the analytical insight used by teachers to make a success the whole teaching and learning operation.

Conclusion

Thus far, implementing reflective practice as a teaching methodology in one's career to professional development in order to expand our knowledge is a challenge. The latter includes teacher's capacity to "reflect on his or her practice" in order to "bring about adjustment and improvement", especially in the foreign context that is represented by variety of learners, curricula, available resources, and amount and type of teacher preparation. Nowadays, teaching students to meet their requirements of the new

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millennium does not only encompass the operative and professional usage of style, training and concept alone. Rather, it should be preferable to incorporate both theory and practice with extremely experimental process of reflective exercise. Reflective practice, I have to admit, is a reflective professional development tool, which must be treated merely as a personal low-tech way of incorporating reflective practice in day-to-day classroom teaching in order to make my class more effective. Therefore, evolving one's own reflective or critical thinking skills should engage various aspects of teaching, such as preparation process, receiving feedback form the learners, self-evaluation process, feedback or criticism from the colleagues, statistical data, teacher's diary, training/development and own teaching experience.

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Biologic activity of 3-mesityl-5-methyl-4,5,11, 11a-tetrahydro-6H-[1,2,4]oxadiazolo[5,4-b][1,3,4]benzotriazépin-6-one

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Abstract

A novel heterocyclic compound 3-mesityl-5-methyl-4,5,11,11a-tetrahydro-6H-[1,2,4]oxadiazolo [5,4-b][1,3,4]benzotriaze´pin-6-one 3 has been synthesised by a 1,3 dipolar cycloaddition (13DC) reaction of 1,3,4-benzotriazepin-5-one 1 with mesitylnitrile oxide 2. The reaction, beside its synthetic interest, has shown to be completely chemo- and regioselective. The structure of the compound was determined by X-ray crystallography and analysed by spectral methods (NMR and mass spectrometry). The molecular mechanism for the reaction has been studied using quantum mechanical calculations at the B3LYP/6-31G* theory level. Two mechanisms are possible for the formation of the cycloadduct 3. Analysis of the results indicates that it takes place along asynchronous concerted bond-formation process with a very low polar character. The regioselectivity obtained from the calculations are in complete agreement with the unique formation of the cycloadduct 3. The second mechanism is initiated by the nucleophilic attack of the N3 nitrogen of the tautomer form of 1 to the C_5 carbon of the nitrile oxide 2 to yield an amidoxime. However, the large energy involved in this addition prevents this mechanism. The large energy difference between the tautomers 1A and 1B, makes that only the C—N site of benzotriazepin-5-one 1 could act as a dipolarophile site. This fact makes the 13DC reaction to be chemoselective. The analysis of global electrophilicity of the reagents allows explaining the low polar character of these 13DC reactions.

Keywords: 1,3-dipolar cycloaddition; Benzotriazepines; chemo- and regioselectivity; synthesis.

Introduction

Triazepine derivatives have attracted a great deal of attention because of their ability to act as anti-convulsant and anti-anxiety. Their oxo and thioxo derivatives have acquired both pharmaceutical and economical relevance.[1] Triazepines and diazepines have attracted a great attention as starting materiel in thesynthesis of fused heterocyclic systems of potential pharmaco- logical activities.[2–9] Different triazepine derivatives have exhibited significant biological activities.[10–13] The area of biological interest of this family of compounds have been extended to various diseases such as cancer,[7] viral infections (HIV)[8] and cardiovascular disorders.[9,10] It is known that the pharmacological activity appears to be enhanced when a further heterocyclic ring is linked to the heptatomic nucleus.[14,15] They are reported as excellent ligands with transition metals inducing a large application in organometallic chemistry.[16–18]

In the context of our current interest in the synthesis of novel heterocyclic compounds,[19–23] susceptible to have biological activity, we have now studied the 1,3-dipolar cycloaddition (13DC) reaction between 1,3,4-benzotriazepin-5-one 1 and mesitylnitrile oxide 2. In this paper, we report the experimental and biological results of the 13DC reaction between 1,3,4-benzotriazepin-5-one 1 (R—H) and mesitylnitrile oxide 2 (Scheme 1).
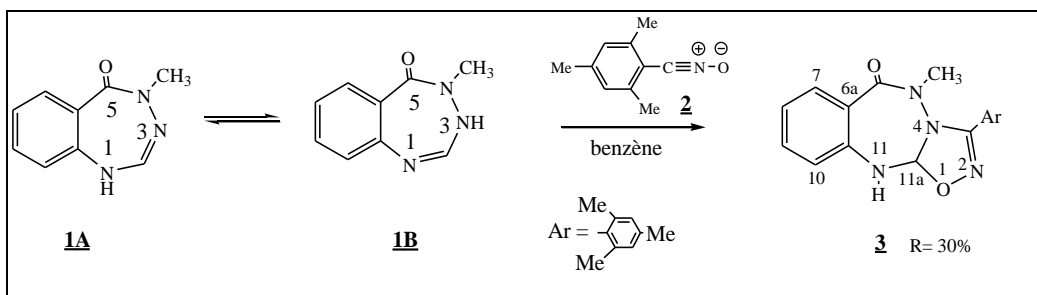
Main Text:

The reaction of 1,3,4-benzotriazepin-5-one 1A (R—H) with mesitylnitrile oxide 2 was performed in dry benzene at reflux during 8 h. After purification by chromatography on silica gel column (hexane/ethylacetate), the cycloadduct 3-mesityl-5-methyl-4,5,11,11a-tetrahydro-6H-[1,2,4]oxadiazolo[5,4-b] [1,3,4]benzotriazepin-6-one 3 ($C_{19}H_{20}O_2N_4$) was isolated in 30% yield (Scheme 1). The structural identification of the reaction product was based on spectral data ([1]H

NMR, ^{13}C NMR and mass spectrometry) and X-ray crystallographic analysis.

Spectral data allowed the preferential C2—N3 attack site of the benzotriazepinone 1A (chemoselectivity) and the predominant orientation of the addition Ndipole À Cdipolarophile (regioselectivity). So the 13C NMR spectra (spin echo) of the cycloadduct 3 (R—H) shows the chemical shift of the carbon atom C6 at about 172.6ppm and excludes categorically the addition on the oxo group. Concerning the orientation of addition of the dipole, the chemical shift of the carbon C11a at 100.8ppm indicates the sense of the addition (O dipole C dipolarophile) and rules out unambigu- ously the formation of the other possible regioisomer. It is noteworthy that the observed value is in good agreement with those described in the literature for a similar environment.[19] In the same spectra, we can moreover detect four signals at about 19.7, 20.6, 21.5 and 38.1ppm assigned to methyl carbons of mesityl group, and to the carbon in N—CH3 respectively. The signals of aromatic carbons were also observed in this spectrum. Addition- ally, the regioselectivity was confirmed by the singlet at 6.65–6.75ppm in the 1H NMR spectra assigned to the proton at C11a for the cycloadduct. In the same spectra, the chemical shifts at about 1.30, 2.15, 2.25 and 3.25ppm were assigned to methyl protons of mesityl group and hydrogen in N—CH3 respectively. In the mass spectra (FAB), wenoted essentiallymolecularpeaksto m/z ¼ 337 (100%) [M þ H]þ in agreement with mono-condensation reaction.

Even though the spectral data were in good agreement with the proposed structure,and because of the existence of two possible dipolarophile sites (N1—C2 and C2—N3), it is difficult to make a choice between structure 3 Finally, the exact structure was determined on the basis of the X-ray crystallographic analysis of a single crystal of 3 (Fig. 1).
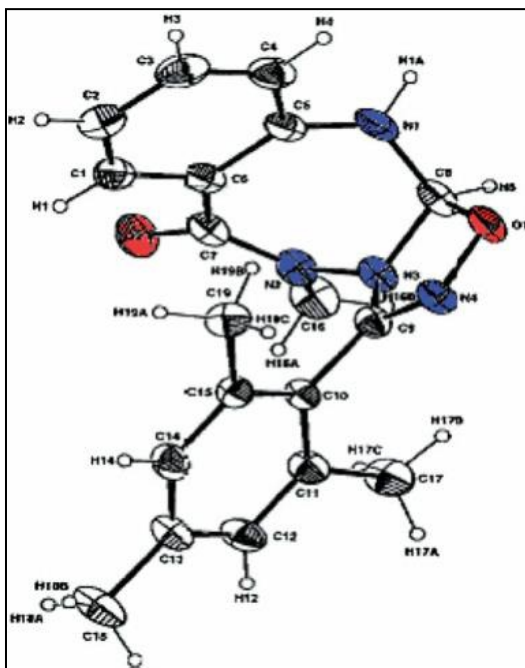
Figure 1. The molecular structure of compound 3(R¼H) (ORTEP: XTAL 3.6) with the numbering scheme. Displacement ellipsoids are drawn at 30% probability.

The biological activity of the synthesized product was evaluated against Staphylococcus aureus, Baccillus subtillus, Escherichia coli, Klebsiella pneumoniae, pseudomonas aeruginosa and Vibrio choloreae. Indeed, the results of these biological tests showed an average antimicrobial activity of the compound against Staphylococcus aureus and also against Salmonellattyphi. However, for the other bacteria the compound showed no pharmacological activity of interest.

Culture medium

The culture medium used in this study is Muller Hinton agar medium (BIO-RAD).

Preparation of disks

Discs 6 mm in diameter, Whatman No. 1 paper, are sterilized initially in the autoclave at 120 ° C for 20 minutes and then each filled with 10 .mu.l of the 10 mg / ml concentration of parent product, under aseptic conditions.

Commercially available antibiotic disks are used as positive controls: Gentamicin (GM: 30 μg / disc) (cooper) and Ciprofloxacin (Cip: 5 μg / disc) (Bayer).

Inoculation and incubation

The diffusion method used consists of inoculating by flooding the petri dishes containing the solid culture medium, from an inoculum of 106 CFU / ml. They are left to dry for 10 minutes at room temperature. The Whatman paper disks, 6 mm, impregnated with the products to be tested, as well as the control disks are deposited on the surface of the seeded medium. The petri dishes are left for 30 minutes at room temperature to allow complete diffusion of the tested products, before their incubation for 24 hours at 37 ° C. The zones of inhibition formed around the disks are measured using a vernier caliper. Each test was repeated three times under the same experimental conditions. Bacteria cultures, eighteen hours old, were suspended in sterile physiological saline. The turbidity of the inoculum is adjusted to 0.5 McFarland, which corresponds to an iniculum of 106 (CFU / ml).

Results

The results of the biological tests carried out show that the compounds 3 exhibit a spectrum inhibitory activity limited to gram-positive bacteria particularly with respect to Staphylococcus aureus and Baccillus subtillus with inhibition diameters which vary from 8 to 12. mm. Moreover, compound 3 has an inhibitory effect on Pseudomonas aerogenosa (Gram negative bacteria) and on Baccillus subtillus (Gram positive bacteria) (Table 1).

This activity remains low relative to that of the positive controls. However, the small diameters of inhibition obtained may be due to the low diffusion of the product **3** within the culture medium. A test using the dilution method determining minimum inhibitory concentrations (MIC) will be considered in the future.

Table 1: Antibacterial Activity on Different Organisms of Product 3
Inhibition diameter area a (mm)

Microorganismes	**3**	Cip	Gm
Escherichia coli	-	**22**	20
Pseudomonas aeruginosa	-	**25**	16
Staphylococcus aureus	**12**	**26**	20

Proteus mirabilis	**-**	**30**	7
Klebsiella pneumoniae	**-**	**22**	16
Bacillus subtillis	**-**	**32**	18
Salmonella typhimurium	**12**	**30**	18
Vibrio cholorea	-	24	20

Conclusions

The 13DC reaction of mesitylnitrile oxide 2 to benzotriazepin-5-one 1A proceeds with complete chemo- and regioselective reaction. Only one cycloadduct 3 was obtained in 30% yield and it has been characterised using NMR,massspectroscopy,andX-raycrystallography.The molecular mechanism of the reaction has been studied using DFT calculation at B3LYP/6–31GÃ level. For- mation of the cycloadduct 3 can take place along two alternative mechanisms. The first one involves a 13DC reaction between the C—N double bond of the benzotriazepin-5-one 1 and mesitylnitrile oxide 2. An analysis of the gas phase results indicates that this 13DC reaction takes place along an asynchronous concerted process, the formation of the experimental cycloadduct 3 being kinetically favoured. The cycloaddition presents a total regioselectivity.

The biological activity of the synthesized product 3 was evaluated against different bacteria. The most significant results are obtained on Staphylococcus aureus and Salmonella ttyphi. Our immediate objective is to perform other biological tests on the activity of these new heterocyclic.

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