

BENEATH THE PEAK:
TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY
IN A MOROCCAN MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2010

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To Sequoia

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Anthony Oliver-Smith for introducing me to the field of anthropology and teaching me theoretical frameworks that have undoubtedly left an indelible impression on my worldview. Anita Spring provided invaluable assistance in writing several funding proposals; without her assistance, this research would not have been possible. The Center for African Studies at the University of Florida provided generous support to pursue language study to prepare for this project, and encouragement from Leo Villalón, Fiona Mc Laughlin and Corinna Green made a positive impact on my progress. I would like to thank the Fulbright Commission and the Moroccan-American Commission for Educational and Cultural Exchange for providing funding during the research term, and most importantly, Saadia Maski for ensuring that my stipend arrived each month.

In the field: I am indebted to Khadooj 'N Agoundis' for being 'like a sister' to me and helping me get through the loneliness and isolation that accompany long-term fieldwork. I am also grateful to Fatima Ait el Kadi, Khadija Mazouz, Brahim Zeen, Hassan Agafay and the Agafay family, Omar La Rouge and family, Marcia Duggan, Hassan, Meena and Munim in Asni and everyone in Aremd for making me feel welcome as I intruded into their village and into their personal lives.

Pre-dissertation preparedness would not have been possible without financial support from the American Institute for Maghrib Studies as well as the Polly and Paul Doughty Fellowship from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida. The writing phase of this project was made possible by support from the O. Ruth McQuown Fellowship from the Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research at

the University of Florida and the Elizabeth Eddy Fellowship for Applied Anthropology from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida.

I also received invaluable feedback and encouragement from, Michael Heckenberger, Clarence C. Gravlee, Brijesh Thapa, Laura Sjoberg, Brenda Chalfin, Matthew Watson, James Miller, Devon Liddell, Peter Schmidt, Karen Jones, Patricia King, David Crawford, Patricia Spurles, Fatima Gebrati, Atiqah Hachimi, Kenneth Sassaman, Kevin Casey, Jane Bayley, Gary Martin, Tim Nevin, Noelle Sullivan, Renatta Sera, Julie Silva, Ed Gonzalas-Tennant, and Mohamed Mahdi. Anarchademics at the Civic Media Center and Maude's Café helped make writing this dissertation a little more interesting. I would like to thank Eric Wamnes and my mother, Margaret Wamnes, for micro-lending services that helped carry me through gaps in funding cycles, and Casey Whitford for providing emotional support and encouragement through the final stages of my doctoral program. Most importantly, I would like to thank my daughter, Sequoia Rain, for placing me on the right track, providing a constant reminder of why I should stay there, and for being such a good sport during the less comfortable moments of living in the High Atlas Mountains.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
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December 2010

Chair: Anthony Oliver-Smith
Cochair: Anita Spring
Major: Anthropology

Under the auspices of international institutions, such as the World Bank and the United Nations, the Kingdom of Morocco implemented a series of tourism-based rural development policies that relied on a neoliberal assumption that eco-tourism markets will increase cash and capital flows into remote areas and alleviate rural poverty. This research presents an ethnographic analysis of tourism development in Aremd, an Islamic Amazighe (Berber) village in the High Atlas Mountains that became a popular tourist destination as a result of national tourism development policies targeting rural areas. Qualitative data derived from seventeen months of anthropological fieldwork in Aremd from 2007-2008 reveals that multi-scalar power relations, within the global tourism economy and within the community, contributed to the differential distribution of the benefits, costs and consequences of tourism development among residents in Aremd. Inequities were reflected by uneven development processes as the new economy appropriated pre-existing gender- and kinship-based social hierarchies and generated a new form of inequality based on money-wealth and localized expressions of hegemonic notions of 'modernity'. At the village level, social divisions were reflected

by livelihood divisions in symbolic and cultural forms and practices related to the use of different temporal frameworks, the differential distribution of transition-based health risks associated with chronic diet-related illness and HIV/AIDS, the reformulation of labor-based identities and the emergence of new livelihood alliances, and the socio-cultural politics associated with meanings, use and access to spatial domains.

Ultimately, this research calls to question tourism-based rural development policies by showing that transition from a localized agricultural production regime based on cooperative labor to a globalized tourism economy based on individual income can introduce new risks for residents, such as economic and social exclusion, and increase a community's vulnerability to global market crises.

CHAPTER 1 GLOBAL DISCOURSES AND RURAL REALITIES IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Beneath the peak of Jebel Toubkal, North Africa's highest mountain, the Amazighe (Berber) village called Aremd was at one time a locality in the periphery of the global system and the enforcement of world-wide capitalist development. In the beginning of the twenty-first century however, the small mountain community became entrenched in a vortex of global economic relationships, transnational commodity and labor flows, and international trade and financial transactions that have come to characterize global capitalist economies. These changes were due in large part to the emergence of a new tourism-based economy which locked residents in a globalized market characterized by intense competition, erratic and sensitive tourism market fluctuations, transnational commodity flows, unequal labor arrangements, and a globalized hegemonic culture that carried meanings and messages that generated tensions within the community, between households, and among family members.

As the mountain community became embedded within a larger economic framework based on transnational (and unequal) socio-economic relationships, the material and social realities and expectations for residents in Aremd were transformed. Twenty-first century village life was restructured by new technologies, communication systems, transportation networks, and different standards for material living that forced residents to negotiate and reconcile previous ways of life and thinking with a globalized cultural system based on specific ideas about euro-centric notions of cultural and material modernity.

Economic change in Aremd was due in large part to Moroccan national economic policies known as the 'Vision 2010' campaign, a ten-year program that aimed to reduce national debt by boosting the international tourism economy in Morocco with a specific goal to achieve ten million annual international tourist arrivals by the year 2010. Although Aremd was never truly isolated, the Vision 2010 agenda pushed the localized rural economy into a more globalized market by transitioning production away from agriculture toward an international tourism-based economic system. National development policies were in step with a United Nation's agenda that heralded the development of tourism economies as a vehicle for poverty alleviation in rural communities in poor countries (United Nations 2003; 2005).

The intended success of tourism-based policies quickly became evident in some High Atlas villages, including Aremd. The region surrounding Jebel Toubkal became one of the crown jewels for rural tourism in Morocco. Close proximity to the mountain peak, the establishment of Toubkal National Park in 1942, aggressive tourism promotion on the part of the state, and eager cooperation from residents helped transform Aremd into one of the most popular eco-tourism destinations in Morocco. By 2008, the small remote village was hosting several thousand annual visitors originating from countries such as France, England, Spain, United States, Australia, and China.

The prevalence of tourists and the emerging dominance of the tourism economy entrenched residents in globalized capitalist currents characterized by transnational commodity flows, international labor relationships, and worldwide technologies in communication systems and transportation networks. State-motivated international tourism development not only helped extend the global economy into the Moroccan

countryside by integrating localized economies, it strengthened the cultural forces of globalization in the mountain community. The new economy situated residents at the intersection of global and local articulations, and this rendered a myriad of diversified and oftentimes uneven outcomes.

While many residents in Aremd benefited from the increased flow of tourism-based cash and capital into the area, many others did not. As the economy transitioned to a predominantly tourism-based production system, competitive capitalist processes sorted residents by privileging those who could adapt to the demands imposed by the new economy and alienating those who could or would not. Tourism revenue provided some (mostly young men) with enough income to support unemployed family members, build second homes, buy automobiles, and send their children to private schools in Marrakech. Other residents, particularly women and elderly, were alienated and disenfranchised by a new money-based competitive capitalist economy that displaced older orders of localized cooperation and exchange in agricultural production by privileging foreign forms of cultural capital. International economic activity carried ideological flows that ushered in new ideas about modernity and alternative ways of being that challenged and articulated with older modes of living. Rapid material and cultural change, coupled with an uneven distribution of tourism-based income, reinforced pre-existing inequalities and generated new divisions and social tensions within a village that once relied on a community-based organization of reciprocal labor and resource exchange. Despite the consequences of a global, tourism-based economy, residents in Aremd embraced the tourism industry because the ideology of 'development' carried a promise for new living conditions that could lead to what

residents referred to as 'catching up' with Europe; and under the auspice of the state, there was no alternative.

In Morocco, state-motivated tourism policies and programs presented cash and capital as the only solution to rural poverty and environmental degradation. This approach was part and parcel of twenty-first century international economic policy initiatives that relied on arguments led by proponents of tourism-based rural development who claimed that 'alternative tourism' markets (often referred to as *eco-tourism, community-based tourism, or cultural/heritage tourism*) are a more sustainable alternative to the resource extractive production systems employed by rural people living in remote areas (Goeldner and Richie 2006; Murphy and Price 2005; Wood 2002, Goodwin 2007; Schwartz 1997; King and Stewart 1996; Eadington and Smith 1992; Smith 1989; Budowski 1976). Advocates for tourism-based development have argued that tourism demands fewer and less expensive capital investments and technical skills than other economic sectors and is thereby an ideal development vehicle for rural communities in lower income countries. Alternative tourism markets have been presented as having fewer impacts on rural communities because, proponents argue, it is more compatible with natural, social and community values (Deloitte and Touche 1999; Goodwin 2007). This type of tourism is referred to as *pro-poor tourism*, or 'tourism that generates net benefits for the poor; economic, social, environmental and cultural benefits and costs are all included' (Goodwin 2007:175).

Pro-poor tourism rests on the expectation that a new tourism-based capitalist market will provide opportunities for marginalized people to generate income, which is in turn expected to create social benefits for those who have been left out of the global

capitalist development. Riding on this assumption, the United Nations (UN) integrated the World Tourism Organization (a congress of national tourist organizations, industry and consumer groups) as a special agency within the UN in 2003; it is now called the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). The UNWTO provides governments with the infrastructural support that is necessary to stimulate and maintain tourism-based development in rural communities such as; human resources development, market intelligence and promotion, statistics and economic measurement tools, information technologies and communications, and crisis management (United Nations 2008, <http://www.unwto.org/develop/>).

This research challenges 'pro-poor' tourism development rhetoric by showing that tourism-based socio-economic restructuring can introduce new risks, such as economic and social exclusion, when capitalist processes privilege some residents and alienate others. In Aremd, the new economy reinforced pre-existing social hierarchies and generated a new form of inequality based on money-wealth and localized expressions of hegemonic notions of 'modernity'; this created tensions and conflicts within the community, between households, and among family members. As the socio-economic fabric of the community transitioned from an agricultural production system based on cooperative labor to a tourism economy based on competitive labor and individual income, household reliance on tenuous and unpredictable tourism markets jeopardized the long term security of rural communities. Findings from this research contribute to a larger body of scholarship that has illuminated the negative effects of tourism development in rural areas.

Before tourism gained momentum in the policy arena for international development in rural communities, research in the anthropology of tourism had already identified several social consequences attributed to tourism development. Amanda Stronza (2001) provides an historical overview of early anthropological critiques of international tourism in poor communities. The anthropological study of tourism which began during the 1970's and 1980's provided ethnographic accounts of the social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism development (Smith 1977; Crick 1985,1989; Nash 1977,1981; Graburn 1977,1983; Cohen 1974,1979,1984; Silverman 2001; Nash and Smith 1991; Jafari 1990; Nunez 1989; Crick 1989; Rossel 1988; Machlis and Burch 1983; DeKadt 1979). This body of research produced a multitude of case studies that demonstrated how tourism industries not only failed to deliver promised benefits, the new economy introduced and exacerbated problems such as; drug-use and trafficking, currency black markets and prostitution (Opperman 1998), luxury spending, pollution, overcrowding and environmental degradation (Stonich 2000; Honey 1999; Kottak 1998), cessation of pre-existing production strategies and economic dependency (Mansperger 1995; Oliver-Smith 1989, Seiler Baldinger 1988; Rosenberg 1988; Gamper 1981), wealth stratification (Vickers 1997; Mansperger 1995), and cultural degradation (Nash 1996; Reed 1995; Munt 1994; Bendix 1989; Leong 1989; Cohen 1988; Adams 1984; Erisman 1983; Gamper 1981; Greenwood 1977; Boorstin 1964). These ethnographic realities prompted Dennison Nash (1989) to characterize the new economy as the 'vanguard of neo-colonialism'.

In the twenty-first century, however, a growing number of anthropologists and conservationists began riding the wave of state-motivated tourism development. This

emergent trend in tourism research broke rank from earlier anthropological critiques by arguing in favor of the so-called positive aspects of tourism-based development and by providing recommendations and strategies for 'best practices' in the tourism industry through the rhetoric of 'economic and ecological suitability,' 'local participation,' 'environmental education,' and 'community-based' tourism development (Lalone 2005; Mason 2005; Chambers 2005; Wallace 2005; Shunnaq 2010).

Two years after the United Nations adopted the World Tourism Organization, the American Anthropological Association published a special bulletin that not only highlighted the current and potential contributions of anthropologists in the tourism industry, it publicized retractions by renown anthropologists who had previously critiqued the industry (NAPA 2005:7). The bulletin also shed light on an emerging class of applied anthropologists who have successfully integrated the field of anthropology with commercial opportunities to join the ranks of the global elite by serving as cultural brokers in the transnational cultural/heritage tourism markets (Ingles 2005; Bruner 1995, 1996; Smith 2005; Wallace 2005). Wallace argues '... anthropologists provide culturally appropriate guidelines for ethical and responsible tourists and tourism, but they are well situated to assist local people in the decision-making process so communities can together produce, organize, and control tourist activities' (Wallace 2005:22). Through this body of practice, the field of anthropology provided the global tourism industry with its own particular specialized category of intellectuals that function not only in the economic realm, but in the social and political (Gramsci, Hoare and Smith 2001).

The combined efforts of international agencies, state governments, commercial organizations, private tourism operators, anthropologists and eager recipients of

development have enabled international tourism to become one of the most successful industries in the world. Tourism has been coined as 'the largest scale movement of goods, services and people that humanity has perhaps ever seen' (Greenwood 1989:171). With 903 million international tourist arrivals worldwide in 2007 and an economic growth rate of 6.6 per cent in 2006, international tourism became one of the largest categories of international trade and represented one quarter of all export services (UNWTO 2008). The economy extends into nearly every country on the planet and the market has become one of the most powerful drivers strengthening global capitalism. Alternative tourism markets enable global economic networks to reach into the most remote communities by relying on intrepid tourists to venture beyond the capitalist frontier and serve as a vector for world capitalist expansion. Tourists have successfully carried global capitalism to Mount Everest and the Himalayas (Stevens 2003; Jayal 1986, McEachern 1995), the polar regions (Hall and Johnston 1995; Vidas 1993), outer space (Rogers 1998), and even into the homes of Berber families in the High Atlas mountains of Morocco.

Despite this goliath achievement, this dissertation challenges the anthropological turn toward a perspective on tourism that positions the new economy as a means toward poverty alleviation and improved well-being for those who have been jilted by the unequal distribution of global wealth. Information collected during sixteen months of anthropological field research in Aremd, a village heralded as a success story for rural tourism in Morocco, will show that international tourism in Aremd has accomplished more than the intended goal to increase cash and capital flows, generate income opportunities and improve rural access to goods and services. International economic

policies promoting tourism development inextricably linked the mountain village to globalized economic phenomena, it fundamentally transformed the social fabric of the community, and redefined how residents situated themselves in relation to others. Tourism-based economic change and social restructuring introduced new risks such as diet-related chronic illness and infectious disease, as well as vulnerabilities to tourism market recessions and social conflict. The lived reality of tourism-based development experienced by residents in Aremd should force policy-makers to look beyond simple objectives to increase cash and capital flows in impoverished communities and interrogate how state-motivated tourism development penetrates the social fabric of the community and affects residents and households in deeply personal ways.

The theoretical frameworks employed here emerged from a discourse that approaches culture and society as an ever-changing system of complex and dynamic strategies that take place through processes of historical change. The term 'development', as it is used here, does not refer to a linear trajectory toward moral, social or economic progress; I have adopted a neo-Marxist perspective that frames 'development' as a calculated effort on the part of the state to promote capitalist expansion into non-capitalist systems (Babb 2003; Goldman 2007). The term 'modernity' will refer to the ideological apparatus attached to the cultural system that accompanies global capitalist development (Giddens 1998:94), and 'globalization' will refer to the reformulation of ideas, meanings, symbols and practice that emerge through the articulation of global modernity and other cultural systems (Appadurai 2001) . Therefore, this goal of this dissertation is not to provide a critique of social or cultural change in Aremd; it is a critique of the conditions in which specific changes have

occurred and the outcomes of those changes. Overall, the material presented here intends to challenge the increasingly popular trend to apply 'development' as a solution to the very problems it has produced.

Theoretical Framework: Capitalism, the Unknown Ordeal

In the contemporary era, the capitalist market has been posed as the dominant mechanism for achieving not only economic growth and efficiency, but also political freedom, social justice, and a better way of life for individuals living in the periphery (Harvey 2005). Capitalism has been presented by its advocates as a free and *self-regulating* sphere of human activity where the freedom for individuals to act as *rational, self-interested, and profit-maximizing* consumers and producers regulates the market by maintaining prices according to consumer needs and producer capacity (Smith 1776; Hayek 1944; Lal 1983). Capitalist markets are considered *neutral realms* because they are expected to: 1) level social inequalities according to rational choices made by producers and consumers, and 2) provide an arbitrary and homogenous arbiter for exchange through the use of money. The social neutrality of capitalist systems is expected to provide marginalized individuals with avenues to opportunity, power, and resources that are otherwise unavailable within existing social frameworks (Popkin 1979). This logic correlates capitalism as a necessary condition for democracy that goes in hand with the democratic principles of freedom, opportunity, and liberty.

According to Nobel laureate Friedrich von Hayek (1944), a free and competitive market is a superior and democratic way of attaining social needs because a free market liberates society from the dictatorship of the individual will of a central planner. Hayek provided a damning indictment to government intervention and likened state planning in economic systems to tyranny, or a 'coercive apparatus of government ...'

(Hayek 1944 quoted in Cassidy 2000:49). Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* (1944) has since been called 'the founding charter of neoliberalism' because it established the theoretical foundations for a more liberated form of capitalism that characterized the second half of the twentieth century (Anderson 2000).

The neoliberal form of capitalism was launched by global economic restructuring set forth by the 1944 Bretton-Woods agreement that organized transnational production and finance across national borders and pegged national currencies to the American dollar with the overall intention of strengthening growth of capitalist economies worldwide (Harvey 2005; Klein 2007). During the Reagan and Thatcher administrations, a neoliberal political agenda packaged global capitalism with human dignity and improved well-being of post-colonial states (Harvey 2005; see also Cooper 1996; Ferguson 1996; Bose 1996). Neoliberal philosophy penetrated international economic policies largely through Deepak Lal's *Poverty of Development Economics* (1983) which argued that economies in 'developing' states were predatory and should be minimized to allow free markets to benefit the overall good of society. The foundation of this approach was rooted in a perspective that situates nations on a predetermined trajectory from the 'undeveloped' state of non-capitalist systems to the 'developed' condition of capitalism and the culture of modernity. These policies were, and continue to be, enforced by international development institutions such as the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund, monolithic institutions that provide financial resources to developing countries through conditional lending practices that require recipient countries to structurally adjust their national economy by liberalizing their economic systems and adopting free market principles (Harvey 2005; Babb 2003; Babb and

Chorev 2006; Goldman 2007; Toussant 2008). Despite neoliberal logic and the international popularity of capitalist development approaches, capitalist economies have not expanded opportunity, freedom and liberty for marginalized and socially oppressed people. In fact, capitalism has deepened existing injustice and inequalities, exacerbated the differential distribution of wealth, and formulated new forms of oppression (Bush 2007).

Capitalist development generates differential outcomes for individuals because market mechanisms operate in conjunction with the socio-cultural politics of economic activity. Markets provide a milieu for social reproduction rather than a neutral forum, and even a so-called 'free' market is socially organized (Bourdieu 1977). Early anthropological scholarship revealed that social and cultural values underpin the production and exchange of material and immaterial goods and services, and therefore it can be expected that economic choices are influenced as much or more so by beliefs, customs, and social rules rather than market demands or self-interest (Malinowski 1935; Levi-Strauss 1966; Mauss 1967). The social nature of economic activity makes hierarchy and inequality of particular relevance in development economics.

Feminist scholarship provided some of the earliest case-studies of development-based inequality and oppression by revealing that social inequalities rooted in gender ideologies can result in gender-based differentials in the distribution of the benefits and consequences of development (Boserup 1970, Guijt and Meer Shah 1998; Moore 1988, Goetz 1995; Harcourt 1994; Kabeer 1994; Folbre 1986, 1996a, 1996b; Elson 1992; Moghadam 1997; Griffis 1998; Beneria 2003; Meillassoux 1981; Engels 1891). Research on cultural ideologies related to race, ethnicity, caste, nationality and other

socially constructed demographics has also found that the socio-cultural dynamics of economic activity are often rooted in power-based social mechanisms that ascribe unequal rights and responsibilities for members in a community and thereby have a direct effect on social inequality in the market (Shanklin 1994, Scott 1976, Grannovetter 1982; Anderson 2000; Rankin 2004; Collins 2005; Tsing 2005; Ferguson 2005; Walsh 2003; Beneria 2003; Sen 1999, 1992; Harvey 1989; Ferguson 1990; Escobar 1995, Ong 2006, Williamson 1975) .

The social relations that take place within capitalist markets do not create a level playing field for all who encounter development, as its proponents suggest. Capitalist systems appropriate and make use of the social inequalities and exploitation that operate within nations, communities and households in order to maximize profits and increase competitiveness. Social inequality fuels the growth of capitalism because inequities provide better informed and more powerful players with a competitive advantage that can be parlayed into procuring even better information and greater relative power. Sheltered from political accountability and social obligation by neo-liberal policies, powerful individuals and corporations are free to employ economic coercion against the powerless by invoking a doctrine that economic growth provides benefits for all (Polanyi 1944; Wood 1995:45; Heilbroner 1985).

The international tourism industry is no exception. The tourism economy is constructed out of social systems that inform all aspects of economic activity and therefore, all tourism processes embody social relations. Tourism development often reflects and reinforces class and gender systems within the society in which tourism operates (Dekadt 1979; Sinclair and Stabler 1997, Kinnard and Hall 1994, Swain 1995;

Aitchison 2001; Ghodsee 2005). According to Adrian Bull (1991), decisions regarding the distribution of tourism resources and benefits are governed by social relationships, and the ways in which the outcomes of these relationships are realized is the central concern of the economic study of tourism. Despite a plethora of real-world evidence, contemporary tourism-based development policies continue to rest on the neoliberal presumption that there are no asymmetries of power or information and that a free market provides social benefits for all.

Although it is clear that capitalist development has failed to deliver the promised benefits of liberty and equality, this dissertation does not aim to present a dualist model of capitalist and non-capitalist systems. Richard Wilk (1996) and Mark Granovetter (1986) have already argued that the economic rationality of the maximizing individual is not limited to capitalist societies because people in non-capitalist systems can pursue self-interest and engage in exploitative practices by strategically manipulating and negotiating social norms and hierarchies. Most importantly, a binary model would: 1.) fail to address the trajectories of economies within a framework of complexity and dynamic change, 2.) ignore the historical context in which capitalist development takes place, and 3.) neglect to acknowledge how capitalism has articulated with other economic systems and generated a wide range of hybridized economic arrangements (Marcus and Fisher 1983; Wolf 1982; Allen et al. 1992; Althusser and Balibar 1970; Godelier 1973; Rey 1975; Scott 1976; Marx 1904). Therefore, the historical complexity of global capitalism is a fundamental aspect of any critique of twenty-first century global capitalist development.

In the post-Cold War era, the 'free market' that was most familiar to early advocates such as Adam Smith (1776) and pre-Reagan era economists such as Friedrich von Hayek (1944) and Deepak Lal (1983) has been transformed into a globalized capitalist economy accompanied by international rules of trade that have not only liberated capitalism from state control, state governments now operate as an apparatus for transnational elites by implementing policies that promote capitalist growth and provide tremendous advantages to the world's most powerful corporations (Klein 2005; Robinson 2004; Wallerstein 2004, Gunder-Frank 1984, Mitchell 2002; Harvey 2005, Ong 2006; Roseberry 2002; Hardt and Negri 2001; Sassen 2006; Ferguson 1990). Contemporary capitalism is an international network of hybridized capitalist economies interconnected through technological advances in communication and transportation systems that allow trans-national capitalists to take advantage of a world-wide selection of alternative labor and resource arrangements. This system of *flexible accumulation* (Harvey 1989) increases corporate competitiveness by allowing transnational production strategies to rely on the flexibility of international labor and commodity flows and the emergence of entirely new sectors of production. In many cases, global industries create new sectors of production within rural economies in remote areas where cheap labor and capital are located. Labor is the predominant means by which the rural poor participate in the global economy. This was emphasized in a press release by UNWTO, 'The geographical expansion and labour intensive nature of the tourism sector provide a spread of employment which is particularly relevant in remote and rural areas where many of the poor live.' (UNWTO 2009)

The creation of capitalist markets in remote areas is the foundation of tourism-based economic development in rural communities. The global tourism economy is embedded in the global capitalist market economy via segmented transnational economic systems that include heavy reliance on the privatization of property, domestic and international transportation systems, imported and locally produced goods and services, accommodations, global financial institutions, and advanced technological and communication systems. The industry is characterized by transnational production taking place through multi-national companies and corporations, transnational capital flows through foreign investments and international tourist arrivals, and international labor relationships between sophisticated global capitalist elites and a local laboring population (United Nations 2002, Sinclair and Stabler 1997).

Once tied into a global tourism market, rural communities are placed within a complex matrix of international economic relationships and savvy transnational corporations engaging in commodity and labor exchanges that permeate state and legal boundaries via free-trade zones, digital communications and technologies, international transportation networks, currency trading, privatization initiatives, sophisticated financial institutions, and corporate franchises. This new world order articulates with local conditions and reshapes patterns in the accumulation and flow of wealth and exchange, restructures spatial relationships, and rearranges labor relationships as heterogeneous and unequal encounters lead to new arrangements of power, culture, and ideas.

Yet the expansion of global capitalism not only brings about economic transformation; it initiates change at the interface of ideological, symbolic, social, cultural and political contacts that occur within relations of power. Globalization takes

place when individuals are confronted with a diverse range of groups and cultures on a global scale (Appadurai 1999; Arnett 2002; Bhabha 1999; Hall 1991; Hermans and Kempen 1998; Kinnvall 2004; Marsella 1998; Wallerstein 1991; Meyer and Geschiere 1999; Falmagne 2004; Barber 1987; Feld 1988; Hannerz 1987, 1989; Ivy 1988; Nicoll, 1989; Yoshimoto 1989; Adams 2004; Giddens 1991; Lash and Urry 1987; Callero 2003). These exchanges stimulate the localization of globalized phenomenon when symbols and meanings associated with the cultural systems of 'modernity' articulate with pre-existing socio-cultural paradigms. In a globalizing society, individuals are not positioned in one particular culture; they are living at the intersection of many cultures that meet within the singular individual (Appadurai 1990; Hermans & Kempen 1998; Raggatt 2000; Spiro 1993; Wolf 1982; Campbell and Rew 1999). The uniformities and diversities that emerge lead to the formulation of new social arrangements for a broad range of individuals and groups, and the creative development of new cultural systems embedded within a worldwide community become naturalized in people's conception of themselves and the world around them (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988).

Research Objectives

Through the lens of tourism-based development in Aremd, this research will rely on theoretically informed ethnography to interrogate how globalized processes within state-motivated tourism development have generated new socio-economic arrangements and reformulated symbolic and cultural forms and practices that were shaped by multi-scalar power relations. Special attention will be given to two kinds of hierarchical tensions within Aremd that are particularly relevant to development studies, gender and paternal kinship, both of which contributed to the uneven distribution of the benefits and consequences of development for residents in different social locales. Using an action-

based approach (Bourdieu 1978 [1972]), this research will emphasize that while social, political and economic structures played a significant role in shaping tourism-based development in Aremd, socio-economic processes were influenced by the agency of individuals who consistently negotiated changing circumstances within an ever-changing social milieu of market to non-market, capitalist to non-capitalist, and global to local interactions that characterize economic processes embedded within the tourism industry.

Chapter two will begin by situating tourism development in Aremd within a larger socio-historical framework rooted in the French colonial legacy and the position of Morocco within international relations during the post-World War II era. Chapter three will present the pitfalls and negotiations that characterized the methodological approaches used to conduct anthropological fieldwork for this dissertation.

Chapter four will highlight how gender and kinship systems informed, and were informed by, tourism development processes. Social institutions based on hierarchy and social obligation localized global processes while globalization and economic change transformed social institutions and redefined human relationships. As a result, tourism development exacerbated existing gender inequality, displaced the age-based kin authority of fathers over sons, and generated a new class-based hierarchical system based on money-power and lifestyles.

Chapter five will show how the television became a salient feature in the lives of women who were excluded from tourism development in Aremd. Through television-watching, marginalized women situated themselves within globalized contexts and reformulated their expectations in regards to social relationships, consumer behavior

and alternate modes of living. In this way, broadcast media penetrated the segregated household and took an active role in promoting a modernist agenda that fueled tourism development and ensured community participation.

Chapter six will argue that the dominance of a tourism-based 24/7 temporal regime resulted in a hegemonic reformulation of time frameworks that not only restructured economic activity in Aremd, it exacerbated gender-based hierarchical rifts and created new tensions between generations and livelihood practices.

Chapter seven examines how tourism development intersected with health, wealth and power within multiple social domains in Aremd. An analysis of two hierarchical systems prevalent in Aremd (relationships between tourists and residents and gender relationships between men and women) within the context of two health scenarios relevant to tourism development (diet culture and sexual relations) will outline the complex ways in which power relationships directly influence health-related behaviors and decision-making.

Chapter eight will interrogate how multi-scalar systems of power articulated with the social construction and production of space within state-motivated tourism development in Aremd. Since spatial contexts are socially produced and constructed (Low 2000, 2003), the spatial dynamics within tourism economies were rooted in multi-scalar (global to household) power relations entrenched in social, political, cultural and economic interactions. As tourists circulated through and made use of multiple spatial domains, their mobility, activities and relationships were informed by the meanings associated with the spaces they engaged and the socio-historical context in which those meanings emerged. Although social hierarchies and structural inequalities led to differential

access and control over spatial domains, residents in Aremd actively strategized to challenge and contest economic, social and political barriers to tourism spaces.

Chapter nine will identify how globalization processes embedded in international tourism development in Aremd introduced new frameworks for the creation of individual identity which restructured the social fabric of the community and introduced new rifts that permeated household relationships. Changing systems of production diversified livelihoods in Aremd and generated social meanings of labor that were born from the pairing and reproduction of local and global forces that served as a framework for the ways residents situated themselves and others within globalized contexts. Tourism labor became part of as part of a process by which a person sought to integrate various statuses, roles, and experiences into a coherent image of the 'self', and certain forms of tourism labor came to serve as 'symbols of exclusiveness' that intensified and reinforced the reformulation of social groups.

The concluding chapter will situate the lived realities of rural development within the larger context of international tourism development and a globalized capitalist economy. It will draw upon ethnographic findings presented in previous chapters to address how the unstable and uneven nature of tourism-based development has jeopardized the long-term security of residents in Aremd.

CHAPTER 2 THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF RURAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE HIGH ATLAS MOUNTAINS

Introduction

The contemporary tourism economy in Aremd is rooted in a series of socio-historical processes that have taken place in Morocco, as well as throughout the world. Social phenomena are in a perpetual state of resistance and accommodation to broader processes of influence that are just as much internal as they are external (Marcus and Fischer 1986). This chapter will situate twenty-first century tourism development in Aremd within the historical context of national and global economic development programs and processes in order to describe how local conditions are situated within larger systems. The socio-economic landscape of contemporary Morocco has emerged from a rich history of significant events such as the arrival of Amazighe people, the Phoenician Wars and Roman occupation, the Arab invasion in the seventh century and the emergence of an Islamic empire, and colonial occupation (Naylor 2009); yet the socio-historical framework presented here will be limited to specific events related to global and national economic restructuring that took place in the post-independence era that began in the middle of the twentieth century.

Between 1983 and 1993, the Kingdom of Morocco set forth a series of economic restructuring programs after experiencing a budgetary crises in the late 1970s (Claassen and Salin 1991; Griffis 1998; Horton 1990; Kydd and Thoyer 1993; Spencer 1993; Cohen 2003; Cohen and Jaidi 2006).¹ The programs aimed to develop the

¹ Cohen (2003) argues that 'Economically, during the 1960s, Morocco enjoyed moderate growth and a minimal trade deficit, and agricultural production outpaced population growth (a situation dramatically reversed in the following decade). In the 1970s, accrued national debt and revenues from phosphates allowed the state to accelerate investments in education and industry, create a civil service (during the beginning of the 1970s), establish requirements for pension and health insurance benefits and a minimum

financial and economic balance in national accounts and to alleviate poverty in urban and rural areas. Shortly thereafter, the Moroccan government began to encourage private education and training, employment in the private sector, and flexible labor practices.

These nationalized efforts echoed a post-colonial agenda that emphasized hegemonic notions of 'progress' and 'civilization' and held little regard for the unique and diverse modes of living that enriched Moroccan society. After colonial occupation by Spanish (1860) and French (1912), the country achieved political independence in 1956 and established a constitutional monarchy led by King Mohammed V and an elected bicameral parliament. The late King Hassan II succeeded the throne after his father's death in 1957, and immediately began implementing a series of nationalist policies centered on ideologies rooted in euro-centric modernism. In 1964, Hassan II announced that Moroccan society "must know a harmonious evolution, as much in the conditions of existence as in its modes of thinking so that cities and the countryside can progress at the same rhythm toward one goal, a common ideal."² Less than a decade later, the head of the nationalist Istiqlal party, Âllal al-Fassi, emphasized: "[The Moroccan people] are perfectly conscious of the fundamental role that knowledge plays in eliminating the causes which were at the origin of colonial domination, in building a new society that responds to all material and moral needs of the population, and in permitting the individual to recover his dignity and to profit from modern civilization by

wage, continue hiring in industry and the administration, and even grant wage raises and subsidize food products.'

² *Discours du Trône*, 3 Mar. 1964 from *Citations de Hassan II 1981*. in Cohen 2003

participating in its progress.”³ These nationalist goals heralded ‘development’ as part of a progressive trajectory that reflected the modernist agenda.

After the death of Hassan II in 1999, his eldest son, Mohammed VI, continued the tradition of progress through economic development and initiated a massive campaign aimed to liberalize the Moroccan economy and attract private foreign investments. Morocco had already joined the World Trade Organization in 1995, and the King signed a Free Trade Agreement with the United States in 2006, achieved advanced status in its 2000 Association Agreement with the European Union in 2008 and became in signatory in other free trade agreements such as the Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area with the EU and the Agadir Agreement signed with Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia.⁴ In light of these political moves, the Moroccan government has received commendations from the IMF for the country’s ‘success’ in implementing structural adjustment and privatization programs.

The negative effects of market liberalization and integration into the global market economy had become apparent however, and the Moroccan government was criticized by the World Bank for poor progress on social indicators (World Bank 1997; Cohen 2003). According to World Bank statistics, asymmetrical income distribution generated a wide gap between an elite urban minority and a vast number of residents living beneath the poverty threshold. In 1991, the Living Standard Measurement Survey for Morocco counted 2.5 million poor, and the poor population increased from 3.5 million

³ From *Charte Nationale pour l’Enseignement*, Parti de l’Istiqlal, 20 et 21 février, 1971 (Gaudio1972 in Cohen 2003).

⁴ (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html> accessed 11 May 2010); (Commission des Communautés Européennes - http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/progress2008/sec08_398_fr.pdf)

to 5.3 million between 1991 and 1999 (19% of the population in comparison 13% previously). In 2000, Morocco scored as an extreme double deficit country in the Wellbeing of Nations report (2000). Despite two decades of economic restructuring and neoliberal economic policies, Morocco ranked at only 130 out of 182 countries in the 2009 Human Development Index.⁵

The Human Development Index looks beyond GDP and PCI statistics to measure the overall well-being of human populations. According to the 2009 HDI report, human development indicators have progressively increased in Morocco since 1980. Yet the country has lagged behind other nations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. For example, Morocco ranked 96th (31.1) in the Human Poverty Index⁶ in 2007, next to Haiti which ranked 97th (31.5) that same year. Average remittances per person sent to Morocco in 2007 were US\$216 (or US\$6,730 million), compared with the average for Arab States of US\$125.

Despite the recent emergence of a 'modern' middle-class in urban Moroccan society (Cohen and Jaidi 2006), the nation's negative social indicators are largely rooted at the intersection of rural poverty and gender inequality. Although the country's approximately 29 million inhabitants are almost equally divided between urban centers (54.5%) and rural areas (45.5%), more than 70 percent of the poor live in rural areas. In 1999, more than 81 percent of rural households did not use electricity for lighting, more than 93 percent did not have running water, and more than a third relied on wood for

⁵ http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_MAR.html accessed 12, May 2010

cooking purposes. In addition, only 56.5 percent of rural households were classified as having proper sanitation (Household Living Standards 1999).

Although Morocco's literacy and educational achievement rates improved, they remained the lowest in the region and displayed a significant gender gap (Spratt 1992). Every child, male and female, was guaranteed the right to a primary education in a state funded school through a provision in the Constitution in 1962 and a royal decree in 1963. Regardless, primary school enrollment rates for girls fell from 79 percent in 1985 to 66 percent in 1990, the lowest in the region and rivaled only by Sub-Saharan Africa. By 1992, only 52 percent of primary school aged girls were enrolled in school (Moghadam 2005). Morocco also lagged behind other MENA countries in terms of school life expectancy rates of 8.0 for males and 5.7 for females (UNESCO 1995). In Morocco, mean years of schooling for men 25 years and above is 5.9, and for women 1.5 (UNESCO 1994). Into the 21st century, women continued to constitute the largest portion (62%) of the country's illiterate population (Moghadam 2005; World Bank 2001). The highest concentration of illiteracy existed among populations of women living in rural areas. In 1999, 87 percent of rural women were illiterate compared to 43.7 percent of women in urban centers.

Recent research has shown that the social cost of economic restructuring in Morocco is most evident in terms of poverty intensification among women in rural areas. Although women represented half of Morocco's population of 27.5 million in 2000, they were disproportionately represented among the total population of poor. The highest poverty levels were among rural wage earners and females (Nsouli et al.1995; Pfeifer 2000).

Following economic restructuring, the Moroccan economy experienced a 5.8% annual increase in female labor employment (with an overall increase from 14.6 percent in 1984 to 32.5 percent in 1999). The country had one of the highest levels of female employment in the MENA region with 25 percent of the country's formal labor force represented by women (Griffiths 1998). Yet, the rapid growth of the labor force that followed economic restructuring programs led to increased unemployment nation-wide, an overall drop in wages (Moghadam 2005), and a salary gap of 41 percent between men and women in urban centers with the same competence and experience (Skalli 2001). Unemployment rates for heads of household was disproportionately higher for women (56.9 percent) than it was for men (15.1 percent) and female heads of households generally accepted the lowest paid jobs on the market (Skalli 2001). Research has also shown that economic recessions in Morocco affect employment for women more often and more intensely than men.

Although Morocco signed the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1993, there have been inconsistencies between laws that address equality in labor and the differential treatment of men and women in family law derived from the Shari'a. Legal guarantees against discrimination did not necessarily prevent gender bias and discrimination on the part of employers. Sexual harassment in the workplace received world-wide attention after a massive protest by women factory workers and the Democratic Association of Moroccan women (ADFM) in November 1995. Approximately 500 women textile workers demonstrated against sexual harassment at the Manufacture du Maroc factory near Rabat in response

to 'repeated violence' against female employees.⁷ Discrimination in the work place, in addition to social, legal, and economic constraints, has resulted in the majority of active women in both urban and rural areas to remain either underpaid or not paid at all (Rapport D'Analyse 1997:21).

Overall, the country has been characterized as having a poorly performing economy, poor political rights, civil liberties, and press freedom, lack of access for women to education and governance, and poor water quality (Cohen 2003). In 2005, the Moroccan government launched the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH), a \$2 billion initiative to improve social welfare through rural electrification program, an overhaul of the tourism and agriculture, and the gradual renovation of urban slums (Zawya 2008).

Despite twenty years of structural adjustment programs from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the Moroccan economy remained sluggish. Between 1989-1999, economic growth nearly stagnated at 2.4%, only slightly more than its demographic growth at 2.1%. Approximately 44% of the total labor force was employed in agriculture despite the fact that only 20% of land is cultivated.⁸ Real gross domestic product (GDP) growth has remained slacked, with a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 3.1% between 1990 and 2007.

Unemployment has plagued the economy throughout economic restructuring. Urban unemployment rates among educated twenty-five- to thirty-four-year-olds rose to as much as 30 percent in 2000, and rates surpassed 9% in 2008 and 2009 due to a

⁷ International Herald Tribune 28 November 1995 p7 and The Guardian Weekly 10 December 1995 p 19

⁸ Federation of International Trade Associates
(http://www.fita.org/countries/morocco.html?ma_rubrique=social)

dramatic decrease in exports following the global economic recession that prompted a decline in the flow of foreign tourists and remittances, two primary sources of foreign currency.⁹ In 2005 the Moroccan government launched the Employment Initiative and announced the goal of creating 200,000 jobs over three years (EIU Morocco Country Report 2008).

Cohen (2003) noted that increasing competition in a shifting job market fragmented the labor force into trajectories based on social, economic, and educational capital (Bourdieu 1984) that created labor sectors with varied levels of economic and social insecurity. In 2006 the World Bank revealed that only 1.4% of the workforce was composed of highly skilled workers, such as scientists or engineers, and of these 13% were expatriates (World Bank 2000). Graduates of universities and professional schools were concentrating on employment opportunities in service industries in the private sector developed through market liberalization, such as marketing, finance, education, media and tourism.

Tourism in Morocco

One of the most salient components of economic restructuring in Morocco has been an increased focus on tourism-based economic development. Morocco is among the leading international tourist destinations in the developing world (UNWTO 2010), and the international tourism market has become one of the primary economies in Morocco as well as a principal source of foreign currency income. More than 8 million tourists visited Morocco in 2008 and formal tourist receipts in 2007 totaled more than

⁹ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html> accessed 11, May 2010; http://www.map.ma/eng/sections/economy/unemployment_falls_t/view; <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5431.htm>

seven billion USD.¹⁰ The most visited urban destinations are Marrakech, Fez, Agadir, Casablanca, Ouarzazate, Rabat, Tanger, Errachidia and Tetouan. France and Spain represent the most lucrative markets (Porter and Ketels 2008). In 2008, French visitors topped the list with 927,000 arrivals followed by 587,000 visitors from Spain and a significant number of arrivals originated from the UK¹¹, Germany, Belgium and Italy.¹² Increased tourist arrivals and foreign revenue has also generated a multiplier effect on other economic sectors in Morocco, particularly the food industry, handicraft production, public infrastructure, building and road construction and transportation. Tourism revenues also represent a significant contribution to unofficial economic activities such as 'home-stay' accommodations in private homes, informal guiding services, secondary sales of merchandise, gift-giving, soliciting money from tourists, prostitution and other economic activities which are largely undocumented and unaccounted for in national economic indices.

Tourism is not a new economy in Morocco, however. Proximity to Europe and the country's colonial legacy as a French Protectorate positioned tourism as a key component in the national economy long before structural adjustment and market liberalization policies began targeting tourism. Throughout the twentieth century, a series of state institutions attempted to manage and promote international tourism in Morocco. In 1918 the French government created the *Office du Tourisme* to centrally

¹⁰ Many Moroccan nationals visit popular destinations in Morocco; Yet in 71% stay with family or friends, 12% stay in hotels, and only 8% stay in paid family lodges (12).

¹¹ New European discount airlines began offering direct flights between London and major Moroccan cities which increased British arrivals to 141,000 in 2008 (http://www.map.ma/eng/sections/economy/development_efforts/view)

¹² Morocco Tourism Administration: <http://www.tourisme.gov.ma/francais/5-Tourisme-chiffres/Frequentation.htm>

organize the tourism sector with the specific goal to 'create a place for French people to rest,' and the government invested in a series of measures to 'improve the stay of tourists' (Stafford 1996). *L'Office Chérifien du Tourisme (OCT)* was created in 1937 and terminated only three years later. Six years after the *OCT*, the *Office Nationale du Tourisme (ONT)* was created in 1946 with a specific goal to protect and evaluate historical heritage. After independence in 1956, *ONT* was transitioned into the *Office Nationale Marocain du Tourisme (ONMT)* and the *Minister of Tourism* acted as the chair of the agency's board. *ONMT* adopted a commercial approach to tourism promotion and targeted professional training and promotion.

By the 1960s, tourism planning entered into national economic policy. *Plan 1965/1967* positioned tourism as an economic priority in terms of the amount of resources allocated to target areas, specifically seaside tourism. The plan also focused on a training system for tourism operators. A royal decree in 1968 provided the Ministry of Tourism with the ability to regulate and license tour guides. Another decree in 1986, initiated by the Prime Minister, aimed to promote guiding professions and improve services by establishing educational criteria (Movimondo 2005). First level licensure required a diploma, and second level licensure required a humanities degree, or five years experience. At the time of independence in 1956, there were approximately ten documented guides in Morocco. In 2005, there were 2,459 registered tour guides. In response to increasing participation in guiding services, decree 196761 mandates that a mountain tour guide must undergo a cycle of studies in Tangier to obtain licensure. The same law also stipulates guide-service prices and attempts to improve the integration of older guides through linguistic training.

In addition to guiding, national policies also addressed tourism businesses. A royal decree in 1969 classified travel agencies and tourist operators into three categories; mother agencies, dependent agencies and foreign workers. Between 1972 and 2002 registered travel agencies increased from 106 to 754 (Movimondo 2005)

The following *Plan*, 1968/1972, focused on product quality, infrastructure for luxury tourism such as hotels and resorts, and promoting the country as an international destination. The policy regulated internal transport services include taxis (long distance 'grand taxis' and inner-city 'petit taxis', public and private bus services, private drivers, car rentals, and a recent emergence of 4x4 car-hires that are operated singly or in fleets.

During the economic crisis in the 1970s, the country experienced a decrease in tourist arrivals. In accordance with structural adjustment policies, national policy aimed to eliminate the public sector and privatize the national economy, including tourism. Policies abandoned public investments and began to promote the private sector. Plan 1973/1977 aimed to attract foreign investments by promoting enterprise associations and regulations with the overall goal to increase visitor numbers and encourage domestic tourism. At the same time, the plan provided for a mandatory majority (fifty percent) Moroccan ownership and defined a 'Moroccan' company (El Aoufi 1990). The 1981/1985 structural adjustment plan promoted the privatization of public hotel infrastructures while at the same time proposing to increase public funds for tourism promotion. The following plan, 1988/1992, aimed at improving the quality of tourism services while increasing income generation through diversified tourism sectors. Tourism, along with other sectors in the Moroccan economy, went into a recession

during the 1990's. In response, the 2000/2004 *Plan* emphasized the importance of a revamping development in the tourism sector.

In 2001 the Moroccan government embarked on an ambitious tourism campaign dubbed as the 'Vision 2010'.¹³ It not only established a private contract program with the Moroccan Government, it specified primary objectives to increase total tourist arrivals to 10 million (to include seven million foreign visitors), increase hotel capacity by 160,000 beds to reach a national capacity of 230,000 beds, increase investment volume to eight to nine billion Euros for new sea tourist resorts, infrastructures, hotel trade and entertainment, reach 48 billion of Euros in foreign currency receipts, create 600.000 new jobs, increase GDP contribution from tourism by 8.5% each year to reach 20% by the year 2010. As part of the campaign, the "Plan Azur" project that aimed to create six coastal resorts for holiday-home owners and tourists in Agadir, Tanger and Tetouan, provide for large-scale upgrades for airports, and build new train and road networks. The plan also included an 'open sky' agreement with the European Union that allowed European airlines to operate in Moroccan airports and compete with national carriers.

The Vision 2010 also opened the door to transnational tourism real estate developers such as Fadesa, Emaar, Thomas & Piron, Colony Capital, Dubai Holding, Dubai International Properties, Emaar, l'Atelier, Colbert, Orco, Risma and Kerzner; international tour operators such as Nouvelles Frontieres, TUI UK and Deutschland, Globalia, LTU Touristik, First Choice, Jetair, Alpitur, Mytravel and FRAM; and international hotel operators such as Accor, Hilton, TUI, Thomas Cook, Barcelo, Britannic Hotels, Nesco, Valtur, and Aman Resorts. The sudden explosion of resort-

¹³ <http://www.tourisme.gov.ma/english/2-Vision2010-Avenir/1-en-bref/enbref.htm>

style tourism development increased the number of total tourist nights in Morocco at a rate of 6.0% compared to the world average growth rate of 1.6% between 2002 and 2007 (Euromonitor 2008). More importantly, it changed the demographic of tourists in Morocco by significantly increasing the number of wealthy tourists entering the country (Oxford Business Group 2006). The majority of the massive tourism development projects were concentrated in urban cities and coastal areas, yet state policies also directed attention to tourism development in rural and remote communities as a means to alleviate rural poverty.

Under the guidance of the United Nation's World Tourism Organization, the Moroccan government developed a 'national strategy for the development of rural tourism' (2001) that included a program for the 'strategic development of rural tourism' (2001-2003) that integrated principles of 'sustainable development' into national tourism policies. New policies targeted poverty alleviation through tourism development in rural areas by emphasizing cultural heritage and natural environments in international tourism promotion¹⁴. Foreign interest in rural tourism in Morocco has primarily focused on mountain areas, and the Atlas Mountains are the most well known rural destination with approximately 50,000 visitors each year¹⁵.

Toubkal National Park

Research for this dissertation took place in the High Atlas Mountains at village of Aremd, a gateway community to Toubkal National Park. Jebel Toubkal, North Africa's highest mountain is located in Toubkal National Park. It is one of 15 protected areas in

¹⁴ http://www.unwto.org/develop/activities/en/mp_popup.php?pais=504&nombre=Morocco®ion=CAF

¹⁵ Rural tourism in Morocco has modest official figures. This may be due to the majority of tourism taking place in rural areas as undocumented.

Morocco. Established in 1942, the park was classified as an IUCN IV protected area and consists of 38,000 ha. Extensive climatic and altitudinal variability in the region has resulted in a rich variety of ecosystems, habitats, and species. The area hosts at least 145 endemic species (24 strictly endemic) and several species of fauna of global importance. (Ministry of Territorial Planning, Water and Environment 2001)

Despite 'protected' status, resource protection is weak due to the absence of management plans, executive decrees, public awareness, and institutional capacity. Natural resources have been impacted by feral dog and cat populations associated with human settlements, and human land-use such as poaching, wood collection, livestock grazing and littering have degraded the environment. Deforestation caused by grazing and wood collection exacerbated erosional impacts and created a significant risk to human settlements in the valleys. A massive landslide in 1995 resulted in several thousand casualties along the valley from Aremd to Ourika. Today, reforestation projects carried by the national Eaux et Forêt agency and private organizations aim to mitigate erosional processes and stabilize the sloped landscape. New management policies aim to preserve natural resources and mitigate human impacts within park boundaries (Parrish and Funnel 1996, Funnel and Parish 1999). A key aspect in park management centers on income generation through tourism as an alternative to resource extractive livelihoods.

In 1997, tourism development in Toubkal National Park received special attention by the World Bank, and the agency implemented tourism-based strategies as a vehicle for rural development and as a way to alleviate pressure on natural resources (World Bank 1997). Management policies were established by the national Eau et Forêt

agency, yet land-use and protections have not been enforced due to the absence of park personnel. The park receives several thousand official visitors each year, as well as a significant number of undocumented visitors. Despite the popularity of the area, the park does not require an entry fee and thereby does not generate revenue to support management objectives.

Jebel Toubkal is the predominant tourist attraction within the park. It is the highest point (4,165m) in a series of longitudinal crests such as Mgoun (4,070m), Tignousti (3,819 m), Rhat (3,781 m), El Ayachi (3,700 m) and Azourki (3,677 m). At the road's terminus in Imlil, tourists can hire local guides, and mules and porters to carry equipment and food supplies into the mountains. However, the trekking route is clearly marked and many tourists bypass guide services or arrive with a guide contracted online or in Marrakech. Tourists access Jebel Toubkal with a moderate climb that generally requires two days and an overnight stay in one of two stone-built refuges (Old Neltner Refuge and Refuge du Toubkal).¹⁶ Each refuge offers food and accommodations and rental areas for tent camping. The first documented ascent of Jebel Toubkal by Europeans took place on June 12, 1923 by the Marquis de Segonzac, Vincent Berger and Hubert Dolbeau (Collomb 1980).¹⁷ Today, there are multiple routes to Jebel Toubkal, yet the most popular route begins from the end of the paved road in the village of Imlil and continues through the village of Aremd before entry into official park boundaries.

¹⁶ Along the hiking trail is a shrine, Sidi Chamharouch, that attracts religious, and primarily domestic, pilgrim tourists..

¹⁷ It is highly likely that the summit was climbed by local residents well before that time.

Aremd

The Amazighe (Berber) village of Aremd is one of the most elevated human landscapes in North Africa, and oral histories report that the patrilineal Muslim community known as the Ait Mizane has inhabited the mud and stone houses that cling to the north face of a mountain that forms the perimeter of the Wadi Reraiya river basin for more than 500 years (Miller 1984; Hammoudi 1990; Mahdi 2000; Bencherifa 1983). In the past, relations with the outside world were scant. Residents relied on trade with neighboring villages and employed diversified subsistence strategies to cultivate agricultural resources such as walnuts, barley, corn, and goats. Agricultural production was carried out on terraced plots and labor was organized within and between households according to a kin-based social structure and the *tiuizi* system of reciprocal labor exchange.

During the time of research for this project, Aremd was one of approximately 130 villages, or *doars*, located within or along the periphery of Toubkal National Park. A national census in 2000 reported that approximately 1500 people lived in Aremd, and residents approximated that the 2010 census would show that the population had doubled during the past decade. In recent years, the area had become increasingly congested as a result of reproductive population growth as well as immigration of entrepreneurs seeking opportunities in the growing tourism economy that was centered on Toubkal national park. Aremd was a 'gateway community' to the protected area because it was the last stop before the entrance to the hiking trail to Jebel Toubkal.

The tourism economy in Aremd was initiated by a road built by the French Protectorate in the 1930s that facilitated transport in and out of the remote region. A dramatic increase in tourism traffic resulted as Jebel Toubkal, and other alpine features

in the High Atlas Mountains, gained popularity with a primarily European mountaineering community. This created new opportunities for residents in Aremd to generate cash income by providing food, beverage, accommodation, transport, equipment, and guiding services to visitors.

In 1942, the first café opened at the termination of the paved road in the neighboring village of Imlil (Miller 1984). Close proximity to the paved road caused Imlil to become the launching pad for tourism development in surrounding villages such as Aremd. The once tiny and remote area became crowded with cafes, restaurants, hotels and hostels, food stores, equipment stores, taxis, buses and a congregation of village residents, urban elites and foreign investors.

The rapid growth of the tourism economy in Imlil and Aremd encouraged residents, particularly young men, to shift away from agricultural livelihoods and concentrate on more lucrative tourism-based production strategies. By 2008 tourism became the predominant production strategy for people living in Aremd, with nearly every household partially, and in most cases totally, relying on tourism-based resources for survival.

Male residents in Aremd began generating income in tourism development through activities such as: mountain guiding, transportation services (as drivers in taxis, sport utility vehicles and personal vehicles, as well as muleteering,), food service in cafes, souvenir merchandising, bed and breakfast accommodations, and home-stay arrangements.¹⁸ In the home-stay arrangement, tourists slept inside the household in either a segregated section or in the same room with household members. The home-

¹⁸ Chapter four will address how gender ideologies limit women's participation in income generating activities in tourism.

stay included separate meals, or in few cases, visitors ate with household members during customary mealtimes. Residents competed against accommodations offered by operated by urban or foreign businesses in Aremd by referring to their home-stay as an 'authentic' or 'real' Berber experience. The cost for a home-stay varied, even within the same household as residents plainly stated that they charged according to what they predict the tourist is willing to pay. In most cases, the cost for home-stay accommodations ranged between ten and fifteen USD per day, including meals. Most home-stay arrangements in Aremd operated illegally. The regional government office in Asni issued permits for home-stay operations, and in 2008 the office listed only seven households with permits to provide services to visitors as a 'bed and breakfast'. However, nearly every household in Aremd generated a moderate income by providing 'home-stay' accommodations for park visitors.

Five 'bed and breakfast' style accommodations were in operation in Aremd during the time of this research. Bed and breakfasts in Aremd were modest multistory buildings comprised of more than ten rooms, with shared toilet and shower facilities and a small kitchen or café providing food service to patrons. Four of the five operations were owned by local residents. The fifth operation, which was partially owned by a French national, provided up-scale accommodations compared to the resident-owned businesses. In most cases, members of the business owner's household managed bed and breakfast operations such as cleaning and food service.

Four households owned and operated souvenir shops along the railway that led tourists into the park. One shop-owner operated two stands, one stand was located in Aremd and another inside the park at a pilgrim shrine visited by primarily domestic

tourists called Chamarouge. The shops sold typical souvenir items that were generally available in souvenir shops throughout Morocco: carpets, fossils, leather sandals, silver jewelry and beaded jewelry, Thuya (wood) boxes, trinkets made from Thuya or silver, scarves, clothing and antiques. The vast majority of the merchandise was purchased in Marrakech or elsewhere and imported into the village. It was customary for a shop-owner or worker to offer tourists tea as they passed by the store as a means to entice the visitors to browse the merchandise.

Many residents operated souvenir shops and guest houses at the terminus of the paved road down-slope from Aremd in the neighboring village of Imlil. Throughout the duration of research for this project, Imlil was in a massive state of perpetual building construction. Few people lived in the village any longer, and the site served as a major commercial center for satellite villages such as Imzeek, Agersewal, and Aremd. In Imlil, residents operated clandestine guesthouses and bed and breakfast facilities to compete with hotel operations in the area that were owned and operated by transnational tourism businesses from France and England.¹⁹ Residents stated that they were able to circumvent business licensing by paying bribes to local officials and refraining from posting business signage.

Some residents who lacked the cash and capital needed to engage in business ventures worked in transportation services as taxi drivers, 4x4 drivers for transportation companies, muleteers to haul baggage (or tourists who were unwilling or unable to trek up the mountain), and in very few cases, residents used personal vehicles to transport tourists and their baggage. Transportation played a key role in the tourism economy in

¹⁹ For example, a five-star resort owned by British Billionaire, Sir Richard Branson, called Hotel Tamadot was located less than 20 minutes drive from Imlil.

Aremd because once a driver contracted transportation for a tourist, the driver was placed in a position to direct the tourist to friends and family that provided other tourism-based services in the village. The road's terminus in Imlil was the primary staging grounds for economic activity in the area and the main location where several hundred men congregated to negotiate pricing for return transportation, accommodations and guiding for tourists.

Guiding was the predominant tourism-based livelihood for residents in Aremd. Boys as young as seven began experimenting with income generation by asking for a modest fee after leading tourists to restrooms or to a nearby cafe. Older guides led tourists through the village, into the mountain areas and sometimes guided tourists to the Sahara desert or urban cities such as Marrakech and Essaouira. Residents in Aremd possessed a significant amount of knowledge related to the mountain terrain in the area because most boys began informally apprenticing with fathers or older brothers who worked as guides. Yet, the vast majority of guides in Aremd were unlicensed and untrained in skills such as first-aid and emergency response and preparedness. Although state licensing regulations aimed to improve service quality and formalize the professional guiding sector, residents in Aremd had limited access to the educational resources that were necessary to obtain licensing and most guides worked illegally.

Most guides earned approximately 20 USD per day for guiding services that lasted from dawn and into the late night. However, residents reported that increased competition among guides, due to a dramatic increase in the number of local men engaged in guiding services coupled with a significant increase in the number of urban men engaged in rural guiding, has suppressed wages and degraded working conditions.

Some young men were unofficially employed by transnational and urban tourism companies as non-contract guides who worked on demand. Non-contract guides needed to be available at a moments notice, and some residents reported that tour companies began to demand additional services such as 'authentic' meals in the guide's household with their family and 'traditional' musical entertainment while the tourists visited the village. The cost to employ a guide through a tourism company ranged between 80 to 100 USD per day. Residents reported that they received approximately 15 USD per day from companies, and many men complained that companies often delayed payment for several weeks.

Some residents were sporadically employed as 'personal' guides by repeat tourists who organized group tours that were not affiliated with a licensed tourism company. Although personal guides received higher wages, sometimes 20 – 30 USD per day, many men reported mistreatment by their clients such as sexual harassment and social pressure to drink alcohol, dance, pose for photographs and engage in other touristic behaviors. Guides working illegally were particularly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse by company employers and clients because they had no means to illicit help from authorities without jeopardizing their livelihood.

The clandestine and informal nature of tourism-based business operations in Aremd posed a logistical hurdle in terms of capturing an accurate account of tourism-based business activities and income-generation in Aremd. Most residents were uncomfortable discussing illegal business operations due to the sudden increase in regulation enforcement by local officials.

Despite increased policing of tourism-based economic activities, state regulatory agencies were unable to devise an accurate measure of tourism-based economic activity in Aremd. During an interview in 2007, a government employee in the regulating office in Asni reported that approximately 40 tourists entered Toubkal National Park each day. This was alarming since on any given day I was able to visually count several hundred tourists walking along the pathway through Aremd within only a few hours.

In light of the informal nature of the tourism economy in Aremd, the majority of economic activity remains unmeasured and unaccounted for in national statistics. Residents circumvent licensing and permitting restrictions by engaging in tourism ventures within social networks. Once a tourist contracts a driver or guide, it is most likely that they will also acquire additional tourism-based accommodations and services from other members of his household

This was most apparent in the appropriation of women's and children's labor in tourism activities in Aremd. Many women participated in the tourism economy by providing domestic services such as cooking, cleaning and laundering tourist clothing and linens. Since women's contributions to tourism labor was usually incorporated into women's domestic labor in the household; tourist laundry was washed with household laundry, tourist meals were prepared with the household's meals. Therefore, women's labor activities in tourism were largely unpaid and unaccounted for in formal tourism-based economic indices. Similarly, children also contributed to tourism development by participating in labor activities such as operating family storefronts, leading mules for the clients of household members, and selling trinkets or candy to trekkers hiking the dirt

pathway. Income generated by children was usually appropriated by adult household members, and omitted from revenue accounts.

Residents also generated additional revenue from gifts and services provided by tourists. Tourists sometimes offered gifts such as gear, clothing, food and additional cash to residents during their visit in the village. In several cases, tourists sent gifts to residents after they returned to their home country. Tourist donations stimulated soliciting activities by many residents, particularly those who were less successful in entrepreneurial activities or restricted in participating in income-generating activities. Some mothers sent their children to solicit money from tourists, and men who developed romantic relationships with tourists oftentimes received a steady supply of cash and gifts.

Elicit activities such as prostitution, theft and scamming also provided income for a growing number of residents in Aremd, and residents from surrounding areas began visiting the village to engage in elicit activities with tourists or with tourism workers earning sufficient income. Residents reported that there was a dramatic increase in crime, particularly theft, that coincided with the growth of tourism in the area. On three occasions I discovered that a resident had stolen personal items and money from me. In 2007 the government positioned a gendarme (police) officer in Imlil, yet several residents complained that the officer spent the majority of his time collecting bribes from resident businesses that lacked the money and resources to obtain legal permitting.

Increasing government oversight and enforcement of tourism-based regulatory policies and limited access to resources creates significant obstacles for residents to compete in the liberalized tourism market. The private sector in Morocco is essentially

represented by urban elites and foreign investors. Cohen (2003) has noted that many entrepreneurs and managers in Morocco have received private language training to become multilingual, have traveled abroad, have studied at expensive business schools, and possess lucrative social connections that help them locate jobs or capital to start a business. Without adequate resources, many residents in Aremd are at a significant economic disadvantage in a competitive globalized tourism market.

Unlike members of the minority urban elite, residents from impoverished rural communities generally lack educational training, foreign language proficiency, freedom to travel out of the country and experience foreign cultures, and most importantly, they lack prestigious social connections to politicians and businessmen with power to help them find jobs, facilitate business transactions and licensing, and/or establish financial capital resources for setting up businesses.

Information and resource deficits in rural areas generate significant power differentials between rural people in tourism and the urban and international competitors. To overcome hurdles and restrictions imposed by legal, social and cultural frameworks that privilege urban elites and transnational business operators and entrepreneurs, residents must rely on local institutions such as household and family networks to contend in the competitive tourism market.

The lived realities of tourism development in Aremd is inextricably linked to national initiatives and international agendas. Morocco's historical legacy with structural adjustment programs, free trade policies and the regions spatial and political proximity to wealthy European countries set the stage for a global market-based approach to development. The budgetary crisis that characterized the latter portion of the twentieth

century, coupled with poor human development indicators established by the World Bank and the Human Development Report, provided the impetus to address socio-economic barriers with free market answers. Post-independence ideologies held by national leaders were rooted in a modernist agenda centered on ideas about 'progress' and 'development', and these ideas led the way for efforts to restructure the national economy with the overall objective to reformulate Moroccan ways of life into a single nationalized way of living.

The international tourism economy became one of the primary contributors to foreign currency income and as a result it is one of the main drivers for economic development in Morocco. State policies not only aimed to increase tourist arrivals and expand the new economy into the countryside, it implemented a series of regulatory guidelines that established licensing and educational requirements. As free trade initiatives and ever-increasing tourist arrivals strengthened the new economy in Morocco, internal regulations presented barriers for residents in Aremd to fully participate in the growing economy. This not only set the stage for external socio-economic relations between residents and other stakeholders, social norms and ideologies within the village articulated with structural inequality in the national and international arena. As a result, tourism development has generated a myriad of diversified outcomes for residents in Aremd.

CHAPTER 3
METHODS: EMPIRICAL IDEALISM IN THE CLASSROOM MEETS
ANTHROPOLOGICAL REALITY IN THE FIELD

‘... man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.’

Clifford Geertz (1973:5)

Introduction

Fieldwork for this research project took place during permanent residence in Aremd from May 2007 to August 2008; and a wide range of pitfalls and negotiations characterized fieldwork and data collection for this research. After I entered the field, my methodological approach changed significantly because my initial research design was fraught with logistical and theoretical problems. I entered the field with a research plan that relied on quantitative analysis of information collected from standardized questionnaires with a randomly selected sample of 23 households, and I left the field with a collection of fragmented ethnographies created from reflexive qualitative interviews with less than twenty individuals who lived in Aremd. Unlike my initial approach that aimed to identify shared trends and patterns in the community, my field notes emphasized difference and defiance. More importantly, I began to objectivity of my findings, as it became more clear that the information I was collecting was directly affected by who I was and I recognized this as a key aspect in the production of anthropological knowledge. More importantly, not only did my research undergo a significant methodological shift, it underwent a dramatic theoretical turn. I initially hoped to produce research that would assist with the implementation of more gender-equitable tourism policies that would include women’s participation in development. Yet my research led into an interrogation of the industry and a critique of development and the

power structures that enforce it. Therefore, I not only find it necessary to provide an overview of the methodological framework that shaped this research, I will also describe the social and cultural conditions that shaped data collection in the field and prompted me to abandon my original research plan and adopt a grounded approach that emphasized the reflexive aspects of qualitative ethnography.

The methodological transition began with a fundamental change in the intended goals for this research project. I initially created a research design that aimed to identify structural barriers that impeded women's participation in income-generating opportunities that had become available by the newly developing tourism economy. Pre-dissertation research conducted the previous summer revealed that tourism labor was predominantly performed by men. I therefore took to the task to address gender inequality and develop a means for women to have a more equitable share in opportunities presented by tourism-based economic development. The fundamental flaw in this goal became apparent early on.

While I aimed to identify opportunities for women to engage in income-generating activities, I never asked if women *wanted* to participate in the new economy in the first place. My original goal was rooted in my own ethno-centric assumptions: 1) that women in Aremd needed to become empowered, 2) that empowerment was achieved through income-generation, and 3) that the road to empowerment via income generation began through inclusion in economic development. Within a month of living with a family and interacting with women on a daily basis, I realized that my research goal was seriously flawed.

For the most part, women in Aremd did not want to engage in tourism labor activities. After I became more familiar with the arduous nature of tourism labor in Aremd and with prevailing gender and kinship ideologies that entitled women to men's income, women's disinterest in tourism labor was not only understandable, it was astutely strategic. 'Why should I work, when I can take money from my husband?' a young woman replied when I questioned her desire, or lack thereof, to participate in tourism labor activities. Women's attitudes toward work and labor compelled me to pay closer attention to the ways gender and other ideologies inform development processes. In addition to ideological forces, I also came to question the motive to promote women's participation in tourism labor activities. Many men working in tourism were complaining that labor competition among men was depressing wages and making it impossible to negotiate for better working conditions. I began to contemplate the implications of adding women to the highly competitive labor pool, and I seriously questioned who truly stood to benefit from the addition of female laborers in an already flooded labor economy. In light of this, I found it necessary to develop a new research agenda that included residents perspectives and were based on questions derived from resident's experiences.

As residents became more actively engaged in my research activities, my anthropological inquiries shifted toward addressing needs that were explicitly expressed by residents rather than meeting specific objectives outlined in my design. As residents spoke of their frustrations with tourists and tourism operators, or with family members and other residents, I began to take a closer look at multi-scalar systems of power within the tourism industry, as well as power relations within the community and

between members of the same household. In time, I formulated new research questions that aimed to address a more broad socio-historical picture: 'How have global and local power relationships shaped tourism development?' and 'How has the new economy reshaped systems of power in Aremd?' I began to question residents about power relations between residents and between residents and tourists. Informal interviews helped me become more familiar with residents, to understand the unique perspectives and passions held by individuals, and to realize the different ways that each resident strategized and manipulated power structures as well as old and new circumstances. Therefore, I found it necessary to pay special attention to the variety of ways individuals in the same locale negotiate power and experience the same development phenomena in distinctly unique ways. In the end, I had completely shifted to a qualitative assessment of variation and inequality among residents and between residents and tourists by focusing on individual experiences, structural forces, and how residents negotiated and deviated from social 'norms'.

Like my original research goals, the methodological techniques I selected were also seriously flawed. Complications arose from the very beginning when I attempted to 'select' a sample. I aimed to rely on a randomly selected, yet purposively stratified, sampling of participants obtained from census data. Three primary factors impeded sample selection, however. First, the U.S. occupation of Iraq was widely publicized by televised media broadcasts. This had heightened suspicion of American citizens for some residents in Aremd and thereby made it difficult to collect personal information about residents. Second, I was naive to assume that I could walk into a village and select anyone to participate in my study. It became immediately apparent that I was

completely reliant on the willingness of individuals to participate in my research. I never 'selected' anyone, I needed to wait for people to select me. Third, I found it virtually impossible to delineate 'household' and 'family' units within the highly complex social and kinship relationships that characterized social structure in Aremd. In light of these complexities, I shifted the unit of analysis for this project from households to individuals.

Sample Selection & Data Collection: From Household to Individual

At the onset, the selection of a randomly selected sample from census data became a logistical nightmare as it relies on the existence of census data for the targeted community, the availability of the data to the researcher, the precision of the data, and the use of a conceptual 'unit' of analysis that is compatible to both the research project and the community. The most precise census information available for Aremd was a census report published by the Haut Commissariat du Plan (2004) in Morocco. The 2004 census reports a total population of 9,796 residents in the municipality of Imlil that includes the village of Aremd. The census reports 1,502 households and a total population of 9,063. However, the national statistic information systems for 'household' and village membership conflicted with local conceptualizations shared by the residents and theoretical conceptualizations held by me. According to residents, membership to the *douar*, or village, was based on birth-rite rather than physical residence within the geographical boundaries of the village, boundaries that were ultimately vague and unclear. From this perspective, an individual born in Aremd and living in another locale was still considered a member of the Aremd community, although national statistical reports counted them as a member of their residential community. Similarly, an individual born outside of Aremd and living within the village, such as a woman from outside the village who married into Aremd, would be counted

among the population in Aremd despite her membership to her natal village. Residence was further complicated by the discovery that many residents in Aremd had two or more residential locations by maintaining a household in Aremd and keeping an apartment in an urban area such as Marrakech and/or a foreign country such as France or Spain. Therefore, the contradictions between the simplified and static representation of 'community' in national statistics, the cultural perceptions of 'community' offered by residents, and the fluidity of residence for community members created logistical problems for an anthropological attempt to select a random sample from a fluid and abstract population.

This problem was further exacerbated by differences in the construction of 'household' and 'family' by national statistics, local perceptions, and anthropological theory. The 2004 census reported 1753 households in the municipality of Imlil. Yet the conceptual definition of 'household' used by the census-takers was unclear. This created a fundamental problem because previous research in anthropology has demonstrated that 'household' is a complicated unit of analysis. Researchers and census-takers often conceive of and represent 'households' and 'families' as a male-headed nuclear family living within a single structure. Yet, families and household structures vary in place and time. Household and family structures may consist of more than one family, an extended family, a communal family, a polygamous family, a single-parent family, a zero-parent family, or a same-sex parent family (United Nations 1986, 1987a, 1987b; Spring 1992; Evans 1994; Allen and Demo 2006). Furthermore, the number of individuals living under one roof or interacting within a family network may

also vary throughout the year according to seasonal migrations, geographical networks, or socio-economic changes (Evans 1994).

In Aremd, residents did not define 'household' or 'family' as a uniform or bounded unit. This was reflective in the physical complexities in the construction of homes throughout the village. Aremd was not comprised of separate and distinct dwellings housing individuals and families. The village was a mud, stone and concrete labyrinth of interconnected housing structures, animal pens and gardens that were occupied by extended family networks that inhabited and used communally shared and semi-private spaces. It was not unusual for a single person to inhabit and use several different structures and spaces that were 'owned' by different extended and immediate family members. The interconnectedness of the village core, both structurally and socially, made it impossible to delineate households into discrete units.

Surrounding the periphery of the village, however, were newly constructed 'satellite' structures that represented the recent emergence of 'nuclear-family' homes that were geographically situated outside of the physical network of the village-core, but remained socially connected through kin-based exchanges in resources and labor. Therefore, a structural definition for 'household' as a discrete unit of analysis in Aremd was useless. In this research, 'household' will refer to a loose collection of people who participate in a general trend to live, work, eat, sleep and exchange in the same dwelling.

'Family' was similarly problematic as a unit of analysis. The notion of 'family' for residents in Aremd was both vaguely broad and distinctly exclusionary. For example, in the initial attempts to construct kinship diagrams, informants always recounted a vast

network of individuals that spanned several generations up, down and across maternal and paternal lines that regularly overlapped due to the prevalence of first-cousin marriages. During a discussion about one resident's kinship diagram and my apparent frustration, a married male in his 30's remarked, 'It (Aremd) is like one big family, isn't it?' In some ways, yes. However, women who married into a 'family' were never counted by residents as a 'family' member during the construction of the kinship tree. They were referred to as 'brother's wife' or a similar title denoting affine, or marriage-based, relationship. For the purposes of the research project, it was essential to include these women in the 'family' unit, although the anthropological approach was in direct conflict with the resident's conception of family.

Therefore, the sampling unit of analysis for this research project shifted from households and families to the individual because the utility of the household or family, as a bound unit of anthropological analysis disappeared. For residents in Aremd, my discovery was common sense. As one young male guide pointed out, 'Look at me and my brother, we are from the same, but he is not the same as me.' This statement revealed that my efforts to construct the household or family as a sample unit was more for the sake of statistical convenience than a fact of social reality.

Another sampling problem emerged in relation to the intention to randomize the selection of participants. Random selection not only depends on adequate population referencing which, as previously mentioned, did not exist, but it is also heavily reliant on resident's willingness to be selected and participate in the research process. In Aremd, I needed to take what I could get. I did not select my sample, my sample selected me.

The social dynamics of village life further complicated data collection. Although kinship diagrams gave an illustrated impression on paper that the village was 'one big family,' the social reality of village life was characterized by internal factions, conflict, and social alliances that were fluid and ever-changing. The interpersonal politics of life in Aremd created a social obstacle. Association with one community member or group generated a disassociation with a rivaling individual or group. During a quarrel for example, immediate family members, as well as visiting anthropologists living with the family, were expected to participate in the rivalry by, at the very least, demonstrating an alliance with the family member engaged in the quarrel. When I crossed quarrel boundaries, I faced the consequences of perceived disloyalty which was expressed by suspicion, loss of trust, and sometimes being temporarily cut-off from further interaction with the individual I inadvertently betrayed. Therefore, my mobility and interactions were negotiated with community members according to restrictive boundaries that were determined by who was quarrelling with whom. Most of the time quarrels were resolved and social restrictions lifted. Unlike the onset of a quarrel however, the resolution of a quarrel occurred without a formal announcement and social relations reconvened as if the quarrel never happened. This required constant monitoring and knowledge of changes in the social relationships between individuals in the community. The social negotiations demanded by data collection in anthropological research made the idea of 'randomization' of the sample population in Aremd nothing more than a joke between me and fellow anthropologists who were also working in Morocco.

In light of these difficulties, the research process shifted from an examination of households to an examination of individuals, and from a random selection of

participants within a demographically stratified sample of the census population to a negotiated selection of participants that was dictated by social networks and resident's willingness to participate in the research process. The foundation of these difficulties and the resulting methodological shift was the result of a phenomena that also forced me to consider a determining force of social actions; human agency.

From Shared Patterns to Agency

My initial research design was based on the perceived need to establish shared patterns by discarding outliers, or deviants, that fell outside of a specified range of distribution in my analysis. Yet, my intention to smooth out the differences and identify generalized patterns in Aremd would have undermined the existence of inter-community variation, and variation is particularly important in anthropological research on economic development. While living with a family, I began to observe how some women in the most structurally disadvantaged position could strategically negotiate and invoke social norms and obligations to exert power and control over other community members who appeared to be in a structurally advantageous position. This type of action, or agency, fell outside of the structural phenomenon that I originally wanted to capture. I decided that it was just as important to ask: 'How is it that one individual can defy those who are in power?' and 'How and why are the circumstances so different for some and not for others?' and 'In what ways do individuals defy others and forge new paths outside of the pre-existing paradigm?' My original design overlooked the substantive aspects of the human experience such as culture, agency, and power. In order to understand the 'hows and whys' of social phenomena I decided to rely on the collection of qualitative phenomenological information acquired from intensive participant-observation.

In this research, intensive participant-observation allowed me to develop relationships with participants. Through these relationships, I came to realize that the data I intended to collect in the initial research design were not the data that I needed to collect in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the lived experience of tourism development in Aremd. The research process came to be informed by the participants themselves; either through direct communication as residents called my attention to information they deemed relevant or through close observation of the participants and their daily lives. This process helped to shed light on how unique individuals have distinctive life experiences and circumstances while they negotiate changing structural forces that occur in economic development. The interaction between individual agency and dynamic structural forces generates social complexities, and social complexities in tourism development became the focus of this research.

Standardized Questionnaires to Grounded Ethnography

As I gained greater familiarity with the daily lives of residents, I developed an appreciation for the need to address the broader implications of tourism development in Aremd such as; new vulnerabilities generated by greater reliance on an international global market system, changes in kin-based land allocation and inheritance due to foreign investments, relationships between local entrepreneurs and transnational tourism companies, changes in marriage arrangements in the community, rising H.I.V. statistics associated with increased tourist arrivals, inversion of kin-based power relationship between fathers and sons, and so on. Throughout the research term, I consistently devised new questions that sought to acquire deeper and more precise information about the ways in which individuals exert agency in order to negotiate changing local systems and the growing dominance of global forces.

One of the most fruitful methodological techniques used in this study was discussion of my findings with residents. Each evening, I transcribed my field notes in the company of residents. These discussions served two purposes; they consistently reminded residents that I was collecting information about their lives and they provided me with an opportunity to compare my impressions and conclusions with resident's perspectives. After several months in the field, it can be easy for residents to forget the purpose of my presence and public transcriptions of my field notes provided a regular reminder of informed consent. In addition, discussing my field notes with residents helped clarify misunderstandings and false impressions generated by my observations, it enabled me to revisit particular phenomena and conduct a deeper investigation into specific findings, and it often launched a group discussion among residents of various backgrounds with very different perspectives.

Participant - Observation & The Social Nature of Anthropological Research

Participant-observation was the foundation of the research methodology employed in this project. I established permanent residence in Aremd by living with a host family during the first six months of the field term and then rented a room in a small guesthouse owned by a different family. While I maintained close ties with my original host family, residence in the guesthouse provided greater autonomy over my interactions with other residents who were not part of their social network. Throughout my stay, I joined women in household chores and agricultural duties, and I interviewed men and women in their homes, gardens and agricultural fields. While living in Aremd, I had the opportunity to observe the daily activities and social routines performed by residents. In time, my consistent presence seemed to reduce resident's reactivity to my observations and inquiry into their lives. As I transitioned from 'guest' to 'friend' or

'annoyance' I had the opportunity to move beyond congenial niceties and develop a frankness with residents that revealed the successes, failures, hopes, defiance, desires, frustrations and dramas that shaped each of my informant's lives. However, my 'outsider' status demanded that I maintain interpersonal relationships with residents through regular contact and this necessitated constant presence in the village.

Interviews with male residents working in tourism, tourists, tour operators and tourism officials were conducted in the nearby markets of Imlil and Azni as well as the urban center of Marrakech. Each return to the village required a re-aggregation process that included fielding questions about my activities outside of the village, relaying information about the conditions (usually the weather) in the place I visited, as well as the people I met there, and being informed about the events and activities that took place during my absence.

Although the opportunity to live in another culture and establish intimate relationships with residents can be a rewarding experience for any anthropologist, the social and personal demands are often exhausting, uncomfortable and inconvenient. Fieldwork demands the fieldworker to relinquish control over their surroundings and allow themselves to become vulnerable to strangers and reliant on the assistance of others. Oftentimes, the researcher must learn a new language while stumbling their way through social norms and cultural expectations that were far different from their own. The lack of familiarity and control will oftentimes result in embarrassing and uncomfortable situations, and in some cases, slightly dangerous circumstances. There are a wide variety of ways for researchers to avoid the inconveniences and socially awkward circumstances that accompany intensive participant-observation as an

outsider in a community, and understandably, a growing number of anthropologists are choosing to establish permanent residence *outside* of the field-site and conduct data-collecting forays during a series of short-term visits over a long-term duration. This allows the researcher to engage the community when desirable and then retreat to more familiar, comfortable and less vulnerable conditions whenever necessary. With this approach, however, one must ask; As the social distance between the anthropologist and the community increases, how is the anthropologist different from a researcher in any other discipline?

During my field research term, I learned that in Morocco, the U.S. Peace Corps requires in-service volunteers to live in the field site for the first six months of their two-year service term. During that time, volunteers are expected to focus on community integration. It is only after this six month period, that volunteers may begin to design and implement a community-based project. Furthermore, the United Nations World Tourism Organization defines a 'tourist' as a person who spends *more than one year* at a destination (UN 2001). In light of this, the effort toward community-integration through permanent residence in Aremd for more than one year was a key methodological tool in this research project. Not only did I expect this to reduce participant reactivity to my observations, it also provided residents with a better opportunity to inform and influence the research process. According to Chambers (1997) participant-observation allows community members to engage the researcher and take part in the research process.

The Social Context of Data Collection

Throughout my stay in Aremd, my mobility and interactions with community members were directly affected by the social relationships that developed between me and community members. I arrived in Aremd, not as an anonymous and neutral data

collecting machine, but as a social being that needed to be situated within the existing social fabric of the community. The way I was situated changed according to the context of the social environment. My identity as an American during the Bush administration and U.S. occupation in Iraq placed me in a precarious political position within the context of pan-Arab political unity in the global arena and the popularity of Islamic fundamentalism for some residents in the community. My racial identity as a European descendent imbued prestige in a place where Europe is associated with greater wealth and social status compared to many other parts of the world, including Morocco. My ability to read and write, coupled with access to income via funding for my research, signified that I came from a more privileged background than other members of the community. However, all of these meanings needed to be negotiated with the most important part of my identity, my gender.

Above all, my identity as an unmarried woman with a child had a direct affect on when, where and with whom I interacted. Unlike male visitors, I was expected to remain indoors at night. Interaction with unmarried men prompted other men to question the sexual intent of my activities. Interaction with non-elderly married men prompted other women to question the sexual intent of my activities. Therefore, I opted to interact and interview unmarried or young married men within a group context in order to protect my reputation and personal integrity with residents. I spent the majority of my time with women in the village. This not only alleviated the socio-sexual tension that often emerged in mixed-sex groups, it helped mitigate the socio-cultural tension that emerged from the social privileges that separated me from other women in the community.

My positioning within the social context of Aremd was further complicated when my adolescent daughter accompanied me during a significant portion of my field term. I was advised by friends and colleagues to lie about my marital status. Yet, I felt it was unethical to collect data about the personal lives of the residents, all the while lying about my own. I was forthcoming to residents that I had a child outside of wedlock. Yet it was not until my daughter arrived in the village, four months after I began fieldwork, that my single-motherhood was fully recognized by residents. Although my efforts to respect the gender-based moral code in the village by avoiding one-on-one contact with young males received approval by residents, the arrival of my daughter generated a moral shockwave through the community. In the eyes of residents, sex and childbirth outside of marriage is the most shameful act a woman can commit. While indeed, a few residents chose to disassociate themselves with me, a greater number of residents became curious about my life and the social circumstances surrounding my single-motherhood. I was bombarded with questions about my personal life and the circumstances surrounding my family situation: Why didn't I marry her father? Where is her father? What happened when my family found out? Are there a lot of unmarried mothers in America? How do I work and care for my daughter? Do I plan to get married and have another child? If I did, what would happen to my daughter? The inquiries seemed endless and reaffirmed that anthropologists are just as much a subject for inquiry as the participants in their studies.

I allowed my personal life to be investigated and dissected by community members, and I did my best to field their questions with frankness and honesty. My willingness to divulge intimate, and from their perspective highly shameful, details about

my personal life led to a new discourse between myself and residents. Through intimate dialogue rooted in cultural exchange and sharing, informal 'interviews' took a new direction as I became aware of the personal realities lived by residents in Aremd such as women who were unhappily married to male guides that engaged in sexual relations with tourist clients, men who resented their fathers for appropriating income generated through new opportunities in tourism, and tourism workers that were exposed to labor and sexual exploitation by tourists and tourism operators. This exchange forced me to investigate the socio-cultural realities of tourism development and the socio-economic effects of global capitalist expansion in a rural economic system by engaging in an inquiry that fell outside of the impersonal questions that defined my initial research design and highlighting the deeply personal effects of state-motivated economic change.

After I returned home and began analyzing and compiling field notes, I worked my way through the authorial anxiety that comes from the post-modernist critique of speaking on behalf of others by taking a more reflexive turn and interpreting my findings from the vantage point of an American female scholar. In the end, the information presented in this dissertation is far from the sanitized methodology aimed toward objectivity and statistical truths, and is based on my own subjective encounters with individuals in Aremd and the experience of living in a mountain village that is undergoing rapid tourism-based economic development in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco. In light of the sensitive information revealed here, I have chosen to change the names of the people who shared their stories with me

CHAPTER 4
'A WOMAN WITHOUT CHILDREN IS LIKE A COW WITHOUT MILK': GENDER,
KINSHIP & TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE HIGH ATLAS

Introduction

'A woman without children is like a cow without milk' was a common saying among many men in Aremd. It reflected a patriarchal gender ideology that assigns women with the responsibility to bear and raise children for her husband's household and lineage. Like many villages in the High Atlas Mountains, the social roles, rights, responsibilities and expectations for individuals living in Aremd were informed by gender and kinship ideologies rooted in household production and the perpetuation of a male-based, or *patrilineal*, lineage system. Divorcing a woman for her failure to fulfill her social role as a mother was likened to slaughtering a dry cow to make place for a more productive animal. In many ways, gender and kinship ideologies served to naturalize social hierarchies in the household and community, and beliefs about 'natural' inequalities provided a cultural justification for differential access and control over resources, labor, time and space among household members. In light of this, the economic opportunities, material benefits, and social power brought about by tourism development were not distributed equally among residents in Aremd.

The differential distribution of the benefits (and consequences) of tourism development was generally patterned according to gender and kinship hierarchies. At the same time, the accumulation of tourism-based wealth among a minority of young male tourism workers fractured the age-based hierarchy between fathers, sons, and brothers, and contributed to the development of a class divide within the community.

During a time when state-motivated development policies in Morocco aim to promote a new tourism economy in rural communities like Aremd, it is critical that

tourism researchers and policy-makers address how the articulation of social inequalities and development processes can exacerbate inequality and generate new systems of inequality in rural households and communities. This chapter will interrogate two significant hierarchical tensions in development: 1.) gender and sex-based inequalities between men/males and women/females and 2.) age-based inequality between parents and (adult) children. Ethnographic research in Aremd shows that global tourism development initiatives have exacerbated existing gender inequality, displaced the age-based kin authority of fathers over sons, and generated a new class-based hierarchical system based on money power and wealth. Patrilocal residence patterns, patrilineal descent practices and social limitations for girls and women consolidated power into the hands of men; and as a result, most of the economic opportunities, material benefits and new systems of power created by tourism development were monopolized by male residents. Not every male resident was able to benefit from economic opportunities in tourism development, however. The new economy favored young, multi-lingual, educated men who possessed the necessary language skills and other forms of cultural capital that were needed to successfully manage and interact with a foreign clientele. Elder men and men engaged in agricultural livelihoods were largely excluded from tourism development. This not only stratified households in the community, it generated a socio-economic division among income-earning tourism workers and agricultural producers living within the same household. Money-based power enabled tourism workers to challenge and subvert pre-existing ways of living in the household and the community. Overall, the articulation of kinship and gender ideologies with the demands of tourism development not only

resulted in the disproportionate distribution of economic benefits among residents in Aremd, it introduced a new system of power centered on the emergence of a wealthy class of young, multi-lingual males and their female allies.

The analytical framework employed in this chapter will approach kinship and gender as interlinked cultural domains because the articulation of kinship and gender shapes the social reckoning of roles, rights and responsibilities for residents in Aremd. The term *kinship* will refer to the 'ethnographic particularities of being related in a specific cultural context' (Carsten 2000:4). This will include affine/marriage and sanguine/decent connections, but it will also account for other systems of relatedness and alliances such as friendship, economic networks, shared identities, etc. The term *gender* will refer to the socio-cultural meanings attached to sex-based differences. In Aremd, sex and gender are inextricably linked because gender socialization, enforcement and conformity occur in accordance with the individual's sex determination as either male or female at birth.²⁰ Specific terminology will differentiate biological sex, as *male* and *female*, from the social construction of gender, as *woman* and *man*. By integrating kinship and gender, this analysis will illuminate how gender operates differently according to how it is situated within kinship arrangements. In other words, gender roles, rights, and expectations are not uniform; they are applied and performed by men and women according to how they are related to the people they engage. In this way, gender is dynamic not only through time and across cultures; gender is practiced and performed differently according to the particular context of each unique social

²⁰ It is likely that the prevalence of intersexuality in Aremd is similar to other parts of the world (Lang and Kuhnle 2008; www.isna.org). Yet, evidence of intersex individuals was not made apparent to me during the course of my field term.

engagement. Therefore, if we accept that economic processes are formulated according to the context of socio-economic relationships, then gender and kinship should be a central focus in any investigation into economic development processes.

Theoretical Framework

Economies and social structures are inextricably linked because economic processes are carried out by individuals operating within a specific arrangement of social roles and responsibilities (Wilk 1996). Social institutions based on hierarchy and social obligation inform globalization, modernization processes and development (Marcus and Fisher 1986). Inversely, globalization and economic change can transform social institutions and redefine human relationships (Giddens 1990; Beck 1992).

Early investigations into the articulation between social hierarchies and economic relations emerged from studies that highlighted the role of gender in economic development. As early as the 1970s, feminist scholars identified how women were often excluded from the opportunities and benefits of development (Boserup 1970; Folbre 1996a, 1996b, 1986), and researchers later identified how economic exclusion generated a world-wide trend in the feminization of poverty and the social exclusion of women (Moghadam 1997, 2005). Scholarship on gender in Morocco argued that, like many societies throughout the world, gender ideologies place Moroccan women in a lower position relative to men and have denied women equal access to education, employment opportunities, treatment before the law, access and control over resources, adequate health services, housing, and social support; The result of such inequality for women has led to an increased incidence in female poverty (Skalli 2001, Sadiqi 2003, Moghadam 1997b, Mernissi 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1995, Brand 1998, Charrad 2001; Kapchan 1996, Scheafer-Davis 1983; Hoffman 2002; Skalli 2001; Brand 1998;

Charrad 2001; Rassam 1980; Lamphere 1974; Spurles 2006). Research on gender and men in Morocco also revealed social inequalities among men that resulted in social exclusion and economic alienation (Mahdi 1999; Hammoudi 1993; Rachik 1992, 2004; see also Amahan 1998; Bencherifa and Johnson 1990; Ilahiane 1999, 2005; Kraus 1998; Venema 2002; Joffé and Pennell 1991; Sabah 1987; Belarbi 1996; Charrad 1996; Bourqia and Gallagher 1996; El Alaoui 2001; Gadant 1990; Gelard 2004; Kasriel 1989; Maher 1974; Temsamani 1996).

A key point within this body of gender research centers on how household-level analysis fails to address hierarchical relationships and power dynamics that oftentimes characterize household and family relationships. Gender analytical techniques centered on the disaggregation of household data according to sex, gender and other variables play a key role in developing research that contributes to a better understanding of why and how gender matters in development .

In more recent decades, the central concern of gender in anthropology rested on disentangling biological sex from the social construction of gender and the extent that gender is performed rather than biologically determined (Astuti 1998; Broch-Due et al. 1993; Butler 1990, 1993; Eckert 2003; Errington 1990; Moore 1988, 1993, 1994; Morris 1995; Strathurn 1988, 1992, Howell and Melhuus 1993, Yanagisako and Collier 1987, Ortner 1974, 1981); and a growing concern centered on the intersection of gender with other cultural domains such as race and class (Collins 2010) . This latter body of gender research relied on a cross-cultural analysis of gender diversity across a wide range of social, historical and political contexts to emphasize the dynamic nature of gender ideologies and gender-based relationships.

Along the same lines, second-wave kinship studies broke ranks with early North American, British and European schools of structural anthropology and kinship models that emphasized sexual reproduction, biological descent and marriage between men and women (Morgan 1970; Durkheim 1912; Levi-Strauss; Malinowski 1930; Radcliffe-Brown 1950; Fortes 1949; Dumont 1994). Early scholarship on kinship generated a vast compilation of genealogical diagrams, terminologies and kin-based relationships that contributed to a wider understanding of the cross-cultural differences and similarities in the structural organization of kinship systems. Anthropological research taking place in Morocco during this time reflected structural approaches and highlighted the significance of social organization in the High Atlas communities (Montagne 1973; Gellner 1969; Berque 1953), and important debates about social order by notable anthropologists such as Durkheim, Bourdieu, Gellner, and Geertz relied on evidence from the High Atlas Mountains (Goodman 2003, Pouillon 2005, Roberts 2002).

However, contemporary kinship scholars argue that structural interpretations and analysis reflect a bias toward a euro-centric quasi-scientific view of human relationships because they are based on biological connections created through sex and birth in the context of a monogamous heterosexual marriage and because the 'nuclear' family is considered as the fundamental unit of societies (Yanigasaki and Collier 1987). A new approach to kinship calls for the 'denaturalization' of relationships to allow for a deeper investigation into the ways that kinship is formulated and performed, how kinship meanings are transformed within specific historical contexts, and how kinship interacts with other cultural domains such as gender. In light of this, second-wave kinship studies emphasized cultural meanings within discourses and practices taking place

within kinship systems. This allows researchers to include elective relationships and alliances such as friendship, neighbors, and same-sex unions (Weston 1991, 1995; Strathurn 1993; Hayden 1995; Franklin 1998; Yanigisako and Delaney 1995), technology assisted reproduction (Kahn 2000), and the reformulation of kinship in response to increasing rates in divorce, remarriage, and adoption (Stone 2004). This trend emphasizes the social and cultural aspects of kinship systems and the failure of biology to account for the extreme cross-cultural variations in kinship models (Schneider 1984, Schneider: 1995 193-4 in Carsten 2000).

Nonetheless, several kinship scholars continue to argue that biology, marriage and descent remain a significant force within gender and kinship relations (Stone 2009, Parkin and Stone 2004). Along these lines, recent research by David Crawford (2008) in the Agoundis valley in the High Atlas illuminates the role of descent and marriage while presenting dynamic aspects in the social mechanics of kinship within the household and family relations.

In the context of tourism studies, kinship and gender has received significant attention in recent scholarship that reveals how tourism processes operate according to gender hierarchies (Kinnard and Hall 1994; Swain 1995). Other social hierarchies, such as class and caste, have also been addressed (Rankin 2004; Ghodsee 2007). This chapter will contribute to this body of knowledge by demonstrating the importance of household analysis in tourism studies and illustrating how gender and kinship relations at the household level are linked to broader social institutions that inform global development processes.

Methods

Although a comparative approach to kinship and gender in Aremd was unintended in the initial research proposal, it was implicitly unavoidable as each observation and experience was couched within my own cultural meanings and social positioning within the village. Anthropological research is inherently colored by the researcher (Becker 2002; Ensel 1999; Gellner 1969:13; Ilahiane 2001). As previously mentioned in the Methods chapter, my biological sex as female and my gender as a woman affected the type of information I was able to access. I spent the majority of my time with women and thereby spent most of my days in households or agricultural fields. Most of my interviews were conducted with women. Most women spoke only Tachelhit, and many had never left the village. Beyond sex and gender, my status as single mother undeniably altered how residents interacted with me. Many friends and colleagues advised me to lie about my marital status to avoid being shunned by residents in the conservative Islamic village. I chose to be honest instead. Although I openly disclosed to residents that I had a daughter without a husband when I initially arrived, her arrival in the village four months into my field term was a cultural shock for many people. In Aremd, motherhood outside of wedlock is the most shameful act committed by a woman, and there I was parading my daughter around for all to see. I fielded the question 'Manza Argossinem??'(Where is your husband/man?) more than any other inquiry about my life. I was surprised to find that my honesty and frankness regarding my single motherhood intensified my closeness with many residents in Aremd. My willingness to openly discuss my 'shameful' condition opened the door for other residents to share personal thoughts, feelings and actions that were considered forbidden and shameful. My identity and my personal experiences allowed me to learn

that Aremd was a village full of rule-breakers, just like any place else. Although many residents consistently criticized, negotiated and defied social norms, they continued to recognize the social importance of the norms and expressed feelings of shame for their deviance. Deviation was considered a betrayal of the social fabric that bound the community. Therefore, all the names of the residents who shared their stories with me are fictional.

Gender and Tourism Development in Aremd

'A woman without children is like a cow without milk,' Mohammed explained in a matter of fact manner as he tipped back on his small wooden chair and took a sip of sweet tea, or *atay*. As a new father, he was making rounds visiting friends and family throughout the village to discuss fatherhood and bask in his reproductive success. At only 25 he was the primary income-earner in his own household where he lived with his mother, father, three unmarried sisters and his teen-aged wife, Meena, who was born in another village. He met Meena while she was visiting relatives in Aremd. Visiting was a strategy she and many other women used to escape an impoverished village and marry into prospering Aremd. They married in July 2006 during the customary summer wedding season practiced in the village. I had just arrived to begin 'pre-dissertation' research, and their wedding was my social debut to residents.

I discovered that pregnancy was expected immediately after marriage. Many new brides who married that season became pregnant shortly thereafter. Meena did not. The delay created concern for Mohammed, his family, and Meena especially. It was not until after Meena's daughter, Hassina, finally arrived more than a year later that I was able to understand the gravity of her previous situation. As Mohammed explained, if Meena had not born a child he would have sent her back to her village and found

another wife. 'But don't you love your wife?' I asked. He said, 'The wife is not for love, she is for cooking and cleaning and raising children. That is all.' And he summed up his position with the woman-cow metaphor.

I held a friendly debate with Mohammed as we sipped atay in the kitchen of his uncle's house. We were surrounded by women: the female head of household, her three daughters in law who married into the family, and her ten year old grand-daughter who lingered to eavesdrop on the conversation. I assumed the women would rally behind my argument against Hussein's women-cow metaphor. I was mistaken. As Mohammed spoke, they mostly nodded their head in agreement with him and repeated his words. leesha didn't say a word, however. She was the newest and youngest woman to marry into the household. She was the only woman in the house with a primary education. Throughout the conversation she stared at the floor and appeared sick.

After I lost the debate, Mohammed carried on to another household. I was left alone with leesha. She continued to look disturbed, and I asked her if she agreed with Mohammed. She surprised me by raising her index finger in the air and using one of the few English words she knew, No! leesha exercised her knowledge of the French language to point out how she could read and write, that she would have continued school if she had been allowed to, but her parents forced her to stay home to carry out household chores and take care of animals. She said she wanted to leave her husband, live in the city, take off her head scarf, and work to make her own money. It was clear that leesha believed that she was capable of doing many things that were socially forbidden to her. She was not satisfied with a life relegated to cooking, cleaning and

raising children in her husband's family's home. Yet, that was the only life available to her. The only avenue for opportunity allowed to Leesha was marriage, and she used marriage to improve her life by marrying into Aremd, a village that was significantly more prosperous than her natal village because state economic policies targeted Aremd as a popular tourist destination.

Structured Society in Aremd.

Before tourism development, the village of Aremd consisted of modest mud-stone buildings that clung to the artificial stepped slopes surrounding the perimeter of the Wadi Reyiera river basin. Yet, the most predominant feature in the physical composition of Aremd in the 21st century is the integration of modern structures built with cement and mortar. Income generation brought about by the new tourism economy enabled many residents to build homes, souvenir stands, bed and breakfast facilities and carports with imported materials. Although the insulation properties of cement in the alpine climate were vastly inferior to the protection provided by mud and stone harvested from the nearby river bed, cement was the preferred building material for male household members who had the gendered responsibility to organize and execute building and construction. The heterogeneous matrix of mud-stone and cement materials reflected the economic articulation of the new tourism economy with the previous agricultural way of life. Imported cement was used by those who could afford to pay a truck to deliver it and to hire laborers to build with it. Those who couldn't afford cement resorted to rocks from the river bed.

Physical homes in Aremd were interconnected and overlapping; some structures shared walls, doorways, kitchens and rooms. The patchwork of households cascaded down the steep mountain slope; residents literally lived on top of one another. A

household upslope could easily observe the activities of those living below. Residents moved through the village via circuitous dirt pathways that threaded through the labyrinthine network of multi-story living spaces, stables and corrals, gardens, storage facilities, and irrigation systems. The footpaths created a human circulatory system that established social ties between households in the village; oftentimes it was clogged with gangs of small children. Although the distance between households was short, it took a considerable amount of time to travel from one home to another because the venture was incessantly interrupted with the social obligation to engage in cordial conversations, village gossip, and invitations to tea.

In many ways, the settlement pattern of Aremd reflected the social organization of the community: interconnected, overlapping, and *constantly changing*. From an unlearned eye, the organizational system of Aremd might have appeared random and chaotic. In reality, however, everything in Aremd was purposefully situated according to cultural design: from the positioning of a rock during the construction of an agricultural terrace, to the parameters of a room addition to a home, or the alternate footpath used by women to avoid a space occupied by tourists. Everything had its designated purpose; and this purposive system of cultural design was most pervasive in the household organization of sex-based gender and kinship.

The Constitution of Sex, Gender and Orientation in Aremd

Gender socialization of children in Aremd was based on a binary system of male-female biological sex determination at birth. Sex determination belied gender expectations and the differential treatment of sons and daughters during childrearing. Female babies were given names such as Zara, leesha, Fateem, Hasina and Meena. Male babies were given names such as Hamid, Hassan, Abdula, Hussein, Mohammed

Brahim, and Lahcen. Females were dressed in different clothes than males and assigned different chores than males. As children grew older, boys were allowed to venture into the market and neighboring villages until dusk and dark; girls were kept close to home. In most cases, both male and female children were sent to primary school in the village. Yet only males were sent to continue their education in the secondary schools in the nearby village of Asni or the city of Marrakech. Females stayed home and performed domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of babies. After the onset of menarche, females were encouraged (and eventually required) to cover their hair. To protect a girl's sexual reputation, mobility and freedom was restricted for post-pubescent females as their parents began consideration for her marriage arrangements. Post-pubescent males however, enjoyed considerable freedom to stay out all night, leave the village alone, visit friends and family in other villages and begin working with tourists to earn income. Sex-based gendering was particularly evident in a locale like Aremd where authority and patrilineality were tied to male bodies and thereby institutionalized male dominance in decision-making and in the allocation and management of crucial resources.

The differential treatment of sons and daughters served to naturalize cultural ideologies regarding sex-based differences, since they were seldom questioned during the impressionable age that they were learned under the authority of parents. As a result, every adult resident interviewed believed in innate differences between males and females which necessitated different gender roles, rights, obligations and responsibilities for individuals as men and women as part of a natural order of human behavior. In very few cases, I challenged the beliefs of those I became close with by

using myself as an example of a female 'gender-bender'. One male tour guide in his thirties replied, 'Women here are different.'

Recent globalized movements toward gender subjectivity and equality were only beginning to reach Aremd at the time of this research. The same-sex marriage (and subsequent arrest) of two young men in Tangerang in 2007 (<http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2007/11/27/42200.html>) made national headlines in Morocco, and news of the event ignited discussions among curious residents. Love-based marriage arrangements and alternative sexual orientations were relatively new phenomena for most residents, at least in the open. During same-sex marriage debates in the village, I was questioned by residents about my personal views regarding the rights of individuals to choose their marriage partners. My liberal point of view opened the door for several residents, mostly men, to express their own desires to choose their own spouse or avoid marriage entanglements altogether. A few men who worked as mountain guides confided about their own same-sex liaisons with tourists and other guides. During one conversation, a teen-age male who attended school in Marrakech avidly argued that Moroccans were more liberal than their European and American counterparts in terms of same-sex hand-holding and same-sex demonstrations of mutual affection. It was true that same-sex expressions of love and affection was relatively widespread in Aremd, yet specific rights and desires of the individual in terms of marriage were considered secondary to the interests of the family and household. Sons and daughters were socially obliged to show deference to the authority of their parents, and in most cases, parents upheld the prevailing paradigm of male-female marriage arrangements.

Self-sufficiency through income generation in tourism provided some young men with the freedom to exert their individual interests and desires in terms of sexual relationships, marriage and family arrangements, and to control their own resources. This was most apparent in the emergence of separate nuclear-family type households headed by young male tourism workers. Income generation through tourism enabled a growing number of men to establish their own structurally separate households which allowed them to detach (more or less) from the authority of their father) and thereby accumulate personal wealth and social freedom. Away from their fathers, young males were able to act as the head of their own household, avoid distributing their earnings to unemployed household members, and choose a marriage partner according to their personal desires and needs rather than the needs of their family. At the same time, their household remained socially connected to their natal household and members in both structures regularly exchanged labor and resources and shared meals.

Elective relationships rather than economic associations will undoubtedly become the central link in marriages and households if the cultural economy in Aremd continues to transition from a productive agricultural milieu to a consumptive tourism-based arrangement (Giddens 1991; Beck1992). New systems of elective relatedness will undoubtedly produce family and household formations that differ from the pre-existing household model in Aremd. At the time of research however, the majority of marriages and households were centered on the arrangement of biological male-female marriages, and the children produced by their biological union were the kin-based foundation for the formation of families, households and community organization.

Within the predominant cultural paradigm, each individual within the family and household were expected to abide by specific boy/man-girl/woman gender prescriptions assigned according to their sex determined at birth. Residents seeking alternative arrangements left the village for urban locales to pursue more liberal gender models and sexual orientations such as same-sex relationships, unmarried cohabitations, and pre-marital sex. It was common knowledge in the village that these practices took place in urban areas such as Marrakech, and that some residents living in Aremd participated in these practices when they were in Marrakech. Yet, these practices were forbidden (at least in the open) and strictly regulated within the spatial confines of the village. Cultural prohibitions served to preserve predominant gender and kinship ideologies in the village. As a result, the cultural practice of gender and kinship ideologies in the constitution of households and families acted as a considerable force in the nature of tourism development within the village locale.

Households

'Household' and 'family' were fluid units in Aremd, much as they are through most of the world (Fortes 1949, 1958; Stone 2010). They are dynamic organizations of people whose lives are temporarily tied into emotional and productive arrangements; ties are forged and broken through processes such as death, birth, marriage, migration, disagreement, jealousy, love, and conflict. The dynamic nature of the household and family composition made it logistically impossible to rely on a static measure of a household unit during the long-term field research. For example, when I first visited Aremd in 2005 my host family consisted of fourteen people that lived and ate together in the same structure. By the end of my field research in 2008, the household experienced four marriages and two births that resulted in the loss of two members and the addition

of four. One male household member who worked in tourism began spending most of his time in Marrakech. The household eventually split into two structurally separate, yet socially-connected, households as a result of conflicts between two female household members.

In many households, some male members were transient and spent significant amounts of time away in Marrakech, visiting family members and/or spending the night with girlfriends. In addition, it was not unusual for family members in other villages, particularly unmarried women and male laborers, to visit a household for an extended stay lasting several months. Furthermore, anthropologists (me) and repeat-visit tourists were temporarily incorporated into the household and expected to abide by the intra-household network of alliances and feuding, kinship protocols and gender expectations. No one lived alone. Everyone in Aremd (anthropologists included) was biologically, socially, economically and/or emotionally tied to a household group. The largest group I encountered consisted of seventeen people living and eating together in a single structure at one time. The smallest was comprised of a woman, her husband and a baby; yet this group remained socio-economically linked to the husband's natal household group. None of the households were autonomous and independent. Most household groups were allied socially and economically via resource and labor exchanges or in the participation of inter-community feuding. The intensity of household alliances fluctuated, however. In one case, the close alliance of two separate households headed by two elderly brothers was temporarily severed during a three month-long dispute over the management of a parcel of shared land.

For the most part, household groups were characterized by the individuality of its members. One salient feature was the connection between the household and masculinity. The household was considered the defining feature of manhood, and this idea was connected to men's gendered obligation to provide material support for all household members. Therefore, the material condition of a household was considered a reflection of the male household members. A household in crisis indicated that male members were failing to fulfill their duties.

The connection between households and manhood was reinforced during the Eid Kabir holiday when all male 'heads of household' were obliged to perform a sacrificial ritual to commemorate Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son. Fulfillment of this obligation was not only considered an honor, it was an opportunity for men to display their masculinity vis-à-vis their material success to the rest of the community. During the Eid, material success was measured according to the type of animal slaughtered; chickens signaled crisis, goats indicated the household was moderately doing well, a robust sheep symbolized prosperity. In 2007, several households publicly displayed their prosperity by slaughtering multiple animals throughout the day.

In contrast, women took little part in the slaughtering process during the Eid. Some women supplied water for men to wash their hands, others served tea. After the slaughter, women brought the meat into the kitchen, or *anwal*, to cook and serve the family and visitors. Providing and slaughtering the Eid animal was clearly a man's affair, and this reflected the material expectations for men. This expectation was not only shared by women, it was *used by* women. Failure to meet the material needs of the household was among the most shameful acts for men in Aremd. Village gossip among

women regularly included complaints about a husband's failure to meet her material needs, and gossip was a powerful tool.²¹ In one particular scenario, a woman's husband learned of the gossip through other female household members and he salvaged his reputation by lavishing his wife with gifts in an overtly public display. Men's material obligations provided leverage for women in the household to obtain what they wanted. This was particularly important for women who married into the household and held a lower kinship status than her husband's consanguine, or blood-related, female members.

Family, Marriage and Descent

Household members were organized (for the most part) according to hierarchical systems of marriage, family and descent. Residents practiced patrilineal, or agnatic, descent that recognized links through biological males only. Patrilineality was exercised in patrilocal residency patterns, where married women live with or near their husband's patrilineal kin. In this way, males and females are born into a group, but only males remain in the group and pass on group membership. Sons remain members of the household throughout the course of their life. Although daughters retain their family (or father's) name, they marry into a different household and their children are members of their husband's descent group. Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent consolidated power into the hands of male household members because women were not considered members of the family, at least not on a permanent basis.

During early attempts to construct kinship diagrams, men in Aremd did not include their wives or their brother's wives as part of the 'family.' Wives were considered a part

²¹ Men were often compared to fictional husbands in daytime television dramas, particularly Mohandus in the popular Turkish series Noor.

of the woman's natal family. Yet, male residents failed to include sisters who married into another household as a member of their own family. This placed married women in a liminal state of group belonging, betwixt and between households and families. Along the same lines, unmarried women enjoyed group membership and privileges in their natal home until they married and left the household. Within this construction of family, fathers, brothers and sons represented the core of the household.

Marriage Arrangements

Gendered child-rearing was centered on the ultimate goal to marry and produce children for the family and household. Arrangements were usually coordinated, or at least approved, by parents. The event was considered a right of passage for children to become adults, yet it had very different meanings for sons and daughters. Biological females were expected to marry biological males, and each individual was expected to exercise specific roles, rights and responsibilities according to their 'husband' or 'wife' status. A boy became a man, or *argos*, after marriage; and they became entitled to a private room within the household, or they could establish a separate household structure in the village. Through marriage, a man acquired status and prestige by accumulating property and wealth for his household and by exercising authority over his wife and children. A girl became a woman, or *tamgart*, after marriage. She acquired status and prestige by producing children for her husband's lineage. Ideally, she would have sons that would remain in her husband's household and protect her interests throughout the remainder of her life.

The marriageable age for sons lasted significantly longer than for daughters. Many males in Aremd waited well into their thirties before they married, and they remained relatively ambivalent over the immanence of finding a spouse. Daughters on the other

hand, were under a critical timeframe to obtain a husband. A girl in her mid-twenties was perceived as too being old, especially in light of the marriage availability of girls as young as fourteen years old. The ideal bride was considered youthful, innocent and virginal; so many families aimed to marry their daughters before their daughters lost desirable attributes.

In October 2003, the King of Morocco announced a series of reforms to the family legal codes, or the 'Code of Personal Status' which is commonly referred to as the Mudawana (Sadiqi 2008). The reforms were ratified by the Moroccan parliament in January 2004. The new legal code mandated that a child was 18 years of age before marriage. Yet, most marriages in Aremd took place when a girl was 15, 16 and 17 years old. I discovered this during marriage ceremonies when brides showed me their picture on new identity cards that displayed their birth date. One married woman never showed me her card, and she claimed to be eighteen years old from the time I first met her in 2005 until I completed research in 2008. The woman I became closest with did not know her age. She was born in a distant and remote village and her birth was never documented. Her husband was thirty-two years old, and she estimated that she was approximately the same age as a seventeen year old woman who married into Aremd in 2007. Yet, her eldest daughter was five years old. If her estimate was correct, she would have been approximately twelve years old when her father arranged her marriage into Aremd. Four years after Maduwana reforms, Fatima Sadiqi (2008) reports that the new Family Law remained under-enforced in Morocco because reforms were poorly known in rural areas, male judges resisted applying the new laws, and the impact of

patriarchy, tradition, illiteracy, and ignorance can prevent women from invoking their rights or reporting crimes against them.

Parents in Aremd were also under pressure to marry their daughters early because marriage was a competitive market for girls in the High Atlas, and family's were reluctant to refuse a proposal when the opportunity arose. Sons in Aremd had greater mobility and thereby enjoyed access to a larger pool of potential spouses via migration to urban areas, traveling with tourists and interacting with female tourists in the village. Unless girls visited family outside of the village, daughters were restricted to the dwindling pool of men who remained in the village or those who temporarily came to the village to visit. Interaction with male tourists was forbidden to girls. This is not to say that girls did not consistently challenge that boundary. A young girl once shocked a group of male tourists in their twenties when she entered the room and greeted the men with a kiss on the cheek. No one from the household was in the room at the time.²²

Furthermore, girls were not able to choose their potential spouses; they had to be *chosen*. If a girl was not chosen before she was considered too old, she needed to rely on her parents to wheel and deal an arrangement. Failure to marry was a personal disaster for girls in Aremd because there was little opportunity for a woman to live independently and earn income to support herself. Therefore, marriage proposals and arrangements were seldom turned down.

In most cases, marriage alliances were arranged (or at least approved) by parents. Residents stated that in the past, patrilineal parallel cousins (marriage of a daughter to her father's brother's son) was considered an ideal arrangement in terms of preserving

inheritance and household integrity. The two children would have grown up together in the same household and would have been well acquainted with each other. Cousin marriages became less common in the twenty-first century and residents most often cited developments in transportation and decreased isolation as the most common explanation for the liberalization of marriage strategies. A road built by the French in the 1940s connected Aremd to the national highway system via Marrakech, and as a result, marriage arrangements spanned distant locales. Tourism pushed marriage arrangements across national boundaries. Several mountain guides married former female clients and in at least two cases, the marriages lasted more than two decades. I was not aware of any women in Aremd who married tourists, yet I learned of two situations when fathers attempted to arrange a marriage between his daughter and a tourist.

During the late 1980s, a man in Aremd included a marriage arrangement with his daughter as part of a business deal with a British tour operator, but the deal failed and the marriage did not take place. I interviewed the tour operator in Marrakech. He was in his fifties at the time of the interview and was still bitter over the failed deal. More recently, after a family learned that I had a younger, unmarried brother in the U.S., the father handed me a small school photograph of his fifteen year old daughter and asked me to send it to my brother. He later did a follow-up to inquire if my brother had seen her photo.

Although final approval for marriages fell under the authority of the fathers in most cases, mothers usually orchestrated marriage arrangements with the goal of obtaining mutual economic benefits for their children, the entire household and sometimes for

themselves. In a case where the daughter's interests were prioritized, a mother consulted other women with unmarried sons to arrange a marriage for her daughter within the village. Her daughter married a relatively poor agricultural worker within the community. At the cost of wealth however, she was able to stay in proximity to her mother and her natal household. Since her mother was easily able to visit her, her husband's family remained accountable for her living conditions.

Within the same family, the father arranged the marriage of the youngest daughter to a migrant worker living in an extremely impoverished village more than two hours driving distance from Aremd. The girl's mother was devastated. This was a surprising arrangement because the family was among the wealthiest in Aremd, and marriage arrangements for women in Aremd were usually at least a lateral move on the village wealth ladder. A few months after the marriage, a male resident living in the household next door to the family critically pointed out to me that men from the village she married into began working for her father in Aremd. Her marriage into an impoverished village provided the social ties her father needed to access cheap labor, at a considerable social and economic cost for her. The male neighbor clearly disapproved of the girl's arrangement, but when she returned a few months later to visit her family she was pregnant. She told me that she was happy to be married and to have a baby. In a place with limited opportunities and entitlements for girls, marriage and children provided the only avenue for her to acquire status and prestige in womanhood.

Wedding rituals emphasized the material benefits of marriage for girls. The final, and most popular, ceremony taking place during the four-day wedding festivity was an overt display of the wedding gifts. Nearly the entire village congregated upslope from

the groom's household while wedding gifts are hauled upon the rooftop terrace. The bride and groom would sit in silence while a man, usually the groom's brother, holds up each gift and announces the name of the gift-giver. Popular wedding gifts included cash, household goods, jewelry, clothing and home décor. In 2007, twenty-three weddings took place, oftentimes more than one at a time. Each wedding reinforced the ideology for young girls that marriage led to material wealth.

In addition to material gain, marriage provided an opportunity to leave the village and pursue a more globalized lifestyle. Many young girls in Aremd had their eyes set on Marrakech. They wanted to pursue a lifestyle that was similar to the cultures represented on the serial dramas broadcast on satellite televisions. Marriage to a man outside of Aremd was the only way out of the village, and marriage to a rich man was the only way to obtain material wealth. In light of this, girls devised strategies to obtain an income-earning husband to improve the material conditions of their lives. Some girls wore make-up and fine clothes in areas where they would be visible to tour guides or to men who came to the village seeking rural women to marry.

Urban men sometimes visited the village in search of a potential spouse. During a conversation in a café in nearby Imlil one man from Rabat told me that women in the city were 'too difficult'. He explained how urban women were corrupt and lacked traditional values. His idea of traditional values centered on gender roles that emphasized women's domestic responsibilities and male authority. He described subservience as 'respect'. In contrast to difficult urban women, he explained, girls in Aremd are taught to respect their husbands. He visited the particular region surrounding Aremd because he believed that recent developments in the area had

familiarized young girls with urban modes of living. Therefore, girls from Aremd possessed a desirable mixture of traditionalism and modernity. During my field research, a young girl was selected by a visiting urbanite, and she was quickly married. She returned from Marrakech to visit her family wearing a new and ornate djellaba, gold bracelets and strong perfume. As she made her way through the circuitous pathways to visit friends and family in other households, she was accompanied by an entourage of envious young girls. She was a testament to the ideology that marriage can provide women with a considerable amount of material gain.

Marriages to urban men not only provided material benefits to women, it also created external social contacts for members in their natal household. The husband's household was obliged to host his wife's family members, especially during significant events such as holidays and births. I accompanied a woman to visit her youngest daughter who married in Marrakech. I returned to the village after three days, but she remained for more than four weeks. Visitation with her daughter provided her with one of the only excuses she could use to leave the village and take a 'vacation' away from the household and her domestic obligations.

Exogamous marriages were not only practiced by girls and families seeking to marry out of Aremd, girls in more impoverished villages employed strategies to marry into Aremd. Most villages I visited outside of Aremd were primarily populated with women, elderly men and children who lived off of remittances from male household members who migrated out of the village to find work. Residents in many other villages needed to ration and reuse water. Electricity was sparse if it was available, and agricultural production was hindered by factors such as water scarcity, erosion and a

lack of men to work their gendered role in agricultural labor. Children and babies suffered from infections and other sicknesses, and women continued to experience high mortality rates in childbirth and for newborns. To escape these conditions, girls married into Aremd to enjoy the benefits of tourism development. Unlike the majority of villages in the High Atlas, tourism enabled men to remain in Aremd rather than migrate to other areas to seek employment. Residents in Aremd enjoyed an unlimited supply of fresh water runoff from the mountains, complete infrastructure for electricity, telephone lines and internet. Agricultural production was abundant due to a profusion of water, male labor and the ability to purchase fertilizer and pesticide inputs. Residents lived in walking distance to the medical clinic in the neighboring village of Imlil, and the community owned an ambulance to expedite emergency transportation to Marrakech. Some residents in Aremd also enjoyed a wide range of other conveniences and material luxuries made available through men's income generated in tourism such as washing machines, cars, expensive jewelry and fine clothes. For many women outside of Aremd, marriage into Aremd simply a means of improving the quality of life for themselves and their future children.

Two girls from the village of Agersewal married two young paternal cousins in Aremd on the same day. Both girls employed similar strategies to marry out of their village. One woman participated in a women's jewelry-making cooperative that was a stopping point for guides to bring tourists. She told me that she did not participate in the cooperative to earn income, she wanted to make herself visible to tour guides who passed through the area and brought tourists to visit the cooperative. In only a few months she received a proposal from a young guide from Aremd and was able to leave

her impoverished village. Once she arrived in Aremd, she immediately began pressuring her husband to rent an apartment in Marrakech. The other woman from Agersewal came to live with extended relatives in Aremd. She assisted the household with agricultural labor, and her outdoor labor not only made her visible to unmarried men in the village, it demonstrated her domestic and agricultural skills. She received a marriage proposal from a guide in Aremd who lived in an extended family that also engaged in agricultural production. Both women were able to indirectly access the benefits of tourism development in Aremd and improve the material condition of their lives by employing specific strategies aimed at marrying income-earning men.

Women's marriages into Aremd could also benefit male members in their natal household outside of Aremd because the marriage created the social ties men needed to access the tourism economy in Aremd. A man in his twenties from a different village operated a souvenir shop along the pathway to Aremd. The high demand for vending locations in that area among residents in Aremd posed limitations for outsiders to establish commercial venues. The young entrepreneur managed to overcome this obstacle because his sister had recently married into the family that owned the space. Her marriage into Aremd did not provide her with the opportunity to earn income through tourism because cultural norms prohibited women from interacting with non-relative males. However, her marriage provided her brother with the social contacts he needed to rent the space and generate income from tourists visiting Aremd.

Although income-earning opportunities were primarily limited to men. There was one unmarried twenty-three year old woman who operated a store, or *hanoot*, in the village. Her father helped her set up the hanoot where she sold household items that

catered to the needs of women. It was the cleanest hanoot in the village and undoubtedly, the most organized. She allowed me to take a picture of the hanoot, but would not allow me to take a photo of her in it. She explained to me that it was prohibited in Islam, and I learned that she was very religious. She was the only person in the village that attempted to convert me to Islam, and she gave me a French translation of the Koran. She claimed that she was not concerned about her unmarried status. 'God-willing' she shrugged. I asked her father if he was concerned that she was not married. 'She does not need to get married. God-willing, ' he replied. The woman's circumstances defied popular notions that women's economic limitations are rooted in Islamic ideologies regarding women's status in society. She was the most overtly observant Muslim woman I encountered in the village, and the only woman who directly engaged in income-earning activities.

For the most part however, women and men in Aremd considered the material needs of the household to be the gendered responsibility of male household members. This ideology diminished incentives for women to pursue income-generating opportunities. In fact, if a woman engaged in income-generating opportunities, it reflected poorly on the household because it was considered an indication that male household members were not fulfilling their obligation as a provider. Therefore, limited opportunities to earn income in the tourism economy were primarily restricted to men. Women accessed the income through marriage to income-earners and by fulfilling their role as wife, mother and domestic manager.

While men provided income, women were expected to conduct the domestic chores in the household such as cooking, cleaning, and childcare. Domestic chores

were usually delegated according to the hierarchical structure of women within the household. Mother in laws oversaw the labor of daughters and daughters in law. This social arrangement was the foundation for a highly controversial marriage arrangement that ignited heated debate among men in Aremd. After the marriage of her only daughter, a disabled mother initiated marriage arrangements for her seventeen year old son. Since her daughter left the household, the mother was left with the responsibility to perform household chores. She solved her dilemina by obtaining a daughter in law that would be expected to perform the chores under her authority.

The heated debates surrounding her actions reflected an ideological rift among men in the community. One side of the debate, primarily held by young employed tourism workers, argued that the boy's life would be ruined with an early marriage. They stated that he needed to have an opportunity to gain experiences before being tied to a family, and that he should have the ultimate decision regarding who and when he will marry. The counter argument centered on the right of the parent's traditional authority over their children. From this perspective, the desires of the individual son were less important than the needs of his household, or in this case, his mother. This debate among men revolved around the rights of the son, and never touched on the rights of the girl he would marry. It revealed how some men in the village were adopting more liberal views regarding marriage and family, but only as they related to men. Previous ideas that pertained to women and marriage remained unchallenged.

Money power through tourism employment provided leverage for young men to choose their spouse and delay marriage until they were financially capable of establishing a residence separate from their natal household. In addition to money

power, the nature of tourism labor influenced and informed men's ideologies regarding the role of marriage in the household. Financial security and wealth status became more important than status acquired through marriage and children. This was evident in the changing ideologies regarding polygyny in the village. In the past, marriage to more than one woman imbued status and prestige to men. Most men told me that it was too expensive and financially burdensome to marry more than one woman anymore, and that quarrelling and jealousy between wives would eventually force them accrue the costly expense of maintaining two separate households. At the time of research, I learned of only two men were married to more than one woman in the village.

One man had an informal second 'marriage' with a French woman who was formerly a tourist. He spent the majority of his time living with her and their ten year old daughter in France. Although they were not legally married, he referred to the French woman as his wife. He met her when she hired him as her guide into the mountains when he was already married to and had three children with a woman in Aremd. He left his first wife in Aremd, but did not divorce her. His Aremd wife remained in the house with her children, and he sent her financial support from France. In addition to the financial support she received from her husband while he lived with his French wife, she earned additional income from managing the bed and breakfast he left for her in the village. Unlike other women who needed to conduct domestic shores for their husband and their husband's family, she managed her own household. More striking, she governed her own life and did not live under the authority of her husband or his relatives. By village standards, she was relatively autonomous and independent. She was one of the most upbeat and energetic women I encountered while I lived there.

The man's informal marriage to a French tourist generated benefits for him and his first wife. The French woman's sponsorship enabled him to leave Morocco and earn considerably more income in France. The income generated by migrating to France not only elevated his material well-being, it allowed him to abide by social norms that obliged him to provide material support for his household in Aremd. Not only did his first wife receive financial benefits, his physical absence gave her freedom and liberty that was not enjoyed by most women in the village. The arrangement between the three reflected an integration of old and new marriage ideologies in Aremd.

Ideologies regarding the attributes of a 'good' husband and wife were also changing. With few exceptions, women aimed to marry income-earning men in order to avoid the drudgery of agricultural labor. Buying power coupled with affection comprised the ideal attributes of a good husband. During conversations, women oftentimes compared men in Aremd with their observations of the interactions between married tourists and between characters on television shows. Ideologies among men differed by class and livelihood. Agricultural producers had a more difficult time finding marriage partners than their tourism-based income-earning counterparts. Not only because few women born in Aremd were willing to commit to a lifetime of agricultural labor, but when I asked men in agriculture about their criteria for a 'good' wife, they listed what a woman could *do*. Most girls in Aremd had little interest in learning agricultural tasks. Therefore, men who relied on agricultural production often ventured into more remote and impoverished regions to find a spouse that was not only willing to engage in agricultural labor, but also possessed useful knowledge about the environment and agriculture.

Abdulah, an agriculturalist in his early thirties, traveled several hours by car into the Agoundis Valley region²³ to find a woman who was willing to participate in agricultural production. His young wife entered his household with a range of traditional ecological knowledge that rivaled his elderly mother's knowledge. Although his wife was the youngest and newest woman to marry into the family, she held considerable power in the home because she was an agricultural powerhouse compared to the other women. She also possessed a wide range of medicinal knowledge regarding local flora²⁴, and she was the only one who knew how to make the traditional tanoort bread. Most importantly for Abdullah, she was grateful to live in Aremd and to be able to enjoy the prosperity that was deprived of her natal village which lacked water, electricity, cell phone coverage, schools, and access to medical services.

Abdullah's younger brother, Hamid, worked in tourism and characterized the ideal spouse quite differently than he did. During his Hamid's wedding I asked him how he selected his wife, leesha, who came from a neighboring village. 'She had the prettiest face in the group,' he replied. Since her husband earned income, leesha chose to opt out of agricultural labor and spend her days indoors. This generated near violent conflicts between her and the other women in the household. Less than a year after their marriage, they established a household that was structurally separate, yet socially tied to his natal household. Reliance on cash, rather than agriculture, enabled Hamid and leesha to pursue a lifestyle that more closely resembled the alternative gender models represented by some tourists and television programs. Alternative gender

²³ Location of David Crawford's (2008) field site

²⁴ I spent countless hours with this woman sitting under a specific tree in the village. I eventually learned that it was a non-fruiting almond tree. Although almond trees are quite unusual in Aremd, they are prolific in her natal home in the Agoundis Valley.

models in Aremd were in large part based on ideologies that centered on income generation as men's role and domestic labor as women's role and emphasized status associated with the consumption of market goods.

Residence

In most cases, marriage arrangements followed a patrilocal residence pattern; the woman left her natal home and moved into her husband's household. Within her husband's household, a woman not only assumed a subordinate status to her husband and his blood, or *consanguine*, relatives; she also needed to jockey power relations with other women. Women who married into their husband's household were placed in a considerably disadvantageous position compared to other women in the household. However, women with natal households in Aremd, had more leverage than women who married in from distant villages. During a dispute between a woman and her husband, members from the woman's natal household in Aremd arrived to intervene on her behalf. This provided her with social leverage in the dispute because her husband's family needed to negotiate their social standing with her family and with the community. In another scenario, a woman took her baby and simply walked back to her natal household. Within the safety of her natal home, she was able to openly criticize his adulterous activities and other failures. Concern over the household's reputation compelled his family to ameliorate her marriage conditions and convince her to return. Between January and July, she returned to her natal household at least three times.

Women who married into Aremd from distant villages had considerably less social leverage in a conflict because they usually had nowhere to go and no one to intervene on their behalf. During an ongoing dispute between two women over household chores, the woman from a distant village took desperate measures and finally refused to

perform agricultural labor. Since the household relied on her labor, her father in law eventually intervened in the conflict by sending her rival (and the son that married her) to live in a separate structure. Although the woman from a distant village did not have social leverage from relatives living in Aremd, she gained leverage in the household through her contributions to household production.

Interpersonal interactions formulated alliances and generated fractures among men and women in the household and between households. The resolution of intra-household conflicts involved every member of the household, yet proximity of women's natal home affected their ability to negotiate patriarchal household relationship. Women from Aremd may have sacrificed a potential for significant material gain by marrying in Aremd, but they were able to benefit from the proximity of family members to intervene on their behalf, if it became necessary. Women who married into Aremd from distant impoverished villages enjoyed the material benefits of upward mobility, yet a deficiency in social ties within Aremd jeopardized their positioning within the household and they needed to rely on power gained through their participation in household and agricultural production.

The primary goal of a marriage dispute was reconciliation. Divorce was usually mentioned as an idle threat rather than a viable option. In very few cases however, marriage disputes ended in divorce. In the neighboring village of Imzeek, next to Aremd, I briefly stayed with a family and learned that a son's wife had returned to her natal home in Imzeek. She came to his home to visit her three school-aged children because he would not allow her to take them with her. Despite her mother in law's attempts to use the children to cajole her into returning to the household, she announced that she

was seeking a divorce. It was not unusual for men to exert their patrilineal authority over their children in order to control their wives. During a long term marriage dispute, a young woman was not allowed to take her baby with her when she was allowed to walk to her natal village to visit her mother. When I asked her mother in law why she could not take the baby, she replied frankly, 'she will not come back.'

The Mudawana provides women with the legal ability to seek a divorce, but significant structural inequalities in society limit the feasibility of divorce for women. Most women have no means to support themselves financially, and families are not likely able to afford to take care of daughters after they return home. Remarriage is highly unlikely due to the low ratio of men to women and the desire for women's virginity before marriage. Despite these hinderances, some women did leave their husbands and many more expressed the desire to do so.

It is likely that my status as an independent single mother allowed women to feel more comfortable expressing their desire to leave their husbands, and it undoubtedly gave a false impression of the possibilities of living alone with a child. As I walked along a pathway, a young mother yelled down from a balcony and proudly announced to me that she left her husband. 'He is no good,' she complained, and she explained that she was very unhappy with him. When I asked, 'what will you do now?' she ran down the stairs to accompany me on my walk back to the household I was living in. Arm in arm we walked and talked about men and marriage, or lack of. When we arrived at the room I was staying in, she walked in and surveyed my living space. She inspected clothes in my make-shift closet, the books I piled along the wall, and the collection of toiletries I kept on a plastic shelf. Women in the village regularly watched me leave and

return to the village as I pleased. I spent my own money (how I earned it was a mystery) and purchased what I wanted when I wanted it. At the same time I assisted with household and agricultural chores. Most of the time, my daughter accompanied me. Several occasions young girls said that they wanted to live like me. This made me concerned that I was providing a very distorted representation of the realities of single motherhood, particularly the social isolation and economic stresses of being a single head of household with a dependent. My life in the field was supported by a generous research grant and it was quite different from my life in the States. Despite my best efforts, I was not able to successfully communicate that even in a wealthy country like the United States, there were significant pitfalls related to single-parenthood.

Some women did own property and may have had the means to utilize the property to live independently and support children. In every case, I found that women's property was managed by their husbands. Land ownership was an incentive used in marriage arrangements. Some men acquired land by marrying women who inherited land from their families. In the past, men were expected to compensate his wife's family with cash and gifts during their engagement and at their marriage. Yet the twenty-first century marriage market leaned heavily in men's favor. In many cases, men needed only provide a token gift to his wife's family. In some cases, parents offered land as a marriage incentive to make their daughter more marriageable. In one arrangement in a village near Aremd, a man promised 500 dirhams (roughly 60USD at the time) as marriage compensation to his wife's family. After they married, he moved into a small house on a plot of land that her father gave to her. Four years and three children later, the man never made a single payment to her family. He spent his days and nights with

a middle-aged American woman who lived nearby. Despite his routine absence, he managed and controlled his wife's land. He told her what to plant and she took care of the livestock on the property. Therefore, property ownership did not elevate his wife's status in the household.

Lineage, Power and Authority

In patrilineal and patrilocal arrangements, men (fathers, brothers and sons) created a nexus of power in the household. Male power was usually organized by age; fathers exercised authority over their sons and older brothers exercised authority over younger brothers. As children aged, daughters prepared to leave the household through marriage and sons gained power in the household by contributing to the household economy, marrying, and managing wealth and property. In time, a woman's daughters are eventually replaced with her sons' wives, and she must secure her position in the household through her relationship with her sons.

Law of the Mother

The female head of household acted as household manager, and she allocated household resources. For example, men purchased food from the market and stored the food in a locked room. In most cases, only the female head of the house possessed a key to the room and she controlled the rationing of food for household members. The female head of household also held authority over the domestic and agricultural labor performed by her daughter in laws. In many cases, her authority was consistently challenged and negotiated.

After her arrival in her husband's home, a young woman consistently complained of feeling ill and she acted as if she was incapable of performing the most trivial agricultural tasks. The mother in law became increasingly frustrated and appealed to

her son to make his wife work. In a different scenario, the hardest working woman became the object of disdain by her mother in law. She was one of three women who had married into the household, yet she was the only one who possessed domestic and agricultural knowledge that rivaled her mother in law's abilities. Her knowledge and labor provided her with status and prestige within the household, and she was particularly favored by her father in law. In addition, she received a considerable amount of affection from her husband who constantly told me that he was grateful to have such a good wife. Despite her status in the household, she endured constant conflicts with her mother in law who often told the men in the household that the young woman mistreated her when they were absent.

The amount of authority the female head of household exercised over her daughter in law was determined by the amount of backing she received by the men in the household. In some households, women married into domestic servitude to their mother in laws. In other cases, husbands intervened on behalf of their wives and a growing number have established separate households that provided women with some autonomy and control outside of the reach of their mother in law.

Apart from authority granted by male household members, female heads of household also secured their position in the family by caring for their son's children. In my earliest attempts to create time allocation matrices, I found that grandmothers spent nearly twice as much time caring for babies than the mother. Childcare provided by the mother in law allowed young women in extended households to carry out agricultural labor and domestic chores while being unhindered by small children. Even women in single households brought their babies to their mother in laws in their husband's natal

household for several hours a day. It was more common to see an elder woman walking through the village with a small infant strapped to her back than a young mother.

Elder women derived power through the care and management of their son's small children. This necessitated a steady flow of newborns, and therefore, some mothers pressured their daughters in law to have more children. An educated Berber woman visited me in Aremd, and during her stay a young woman in the village solicited her advice regarding her mother in law who was pressuring her and her husband to have more children. 'I already have two children and I have too much work now. If I have another baby, it will kill me.'

Care of grandchildren reinforced a woman's relationship with her son and allied her with male authority. This became most apparent after a woman's husband transferred his authority to his mother when he left the village to work with tourists. He established his own residence across the river valley from his natal household, and this enabled him to keep most of his earnings and accumulate material wealth for his own household. His wife enjoyed the material benefits of his financial success. However, her husband's mother stayed in his home while he was away from the village. To make matters worse for her, her mother in law appointed a fourteen year old nephew to supervise her whenever the mother in law needed to leave the house. The woman's resentment over the arrangement was obvious; she mocked and insulted her mother in law whenever the woman was out of sight. The constant supervision not only controlled the young woman's children, it also served to patrol her sexuality.

Gender, Reproduction and Sexuality

'The key to heaven lies beneath the mother's foot' according to many residents in Aremd. When women's reproductive roles are highly valued, control of women is sought by men in order to control reproduction (Rosaldo 1974; Moen 1979; Robertson 1991:41). In locales where patrilineal procreation is emphasized, women experience even tighter regulations on their sexual and reproductive rights.

In three households that I visited, the female heads of household reported that they had thirteen children. One stated that two of her children died at a young age. Most of the elder women I met had seven to nine children. It was not unusual for a woman in her thirties to have five children. During interviews, most women stated that they preferred to have only two to three children. Not a single woman stated that she wanted more than 3 children. 'Soffy!,' or enough, they exclaimed. Most women claimed that more than three children was too much work. This might reflect growing ideas about the potential to live outside of the extended family household and carrying on labor duties without assistance from family members.

Unlike women, several men replied that they wanted as many children as possible. This sentiment was expressed by agriculturalists and tourism workers alike. I questioned these men about the labor and financial costs associated with a large family and they pointed out examples of large prosperous families in the village and stated that big families were a part of tradition in Aremd. In contrast to negative perceptions about the costs related to multiple wives, the costs associated with several children were considered a positive investment.

Men were the primary decision makers in terms of family planning. Women did not have access to contraception, prophylactics or abortion because they were not made

available within the village. Women were restricted from visiting the market space or the health clinic outside of Aremd without their husband's permission. Therefore, women needed to rely on their husbands to obtain contraception, and this positioned men as the authority in women's reproductive health.

Men were also gaining control over childbirth and pre/post natal care. Although several women in the village had given birth to more than ten children, emphasis on hospitals and 'Western' medicine undermined women's knowledge about delivery and post natal care. A woman's daughter in law was experiencing difficulty breastfeeding after delivering her first child. The mother in law consulted me for advice. I offended her by pointing out that I had only one child and she had ten, that she must know more than I did. She clarified that she wanted a pill or a cream.

Mothers in law provided care and support to their daughter in laws during pregnancy, childbirth and post natal recovery. Women living alone with their husbands needed to rely on their husband for care and support during pregnancy and childbirth. On one occasion, a woman's husband decided that she would deliver her third child in the home. She had already experienced three emergency c-sections and the death of a newborn immediately after birth. I pointed out to him that if there was another emergency, it would take at least an hour to reach the road at the bottom of the mountain and another two hours to travel to the hospital in Marrakech. He was determined to have her deliver in the home. He quickly cited women's experiential-based knowledge regarding childbirth and pointed out that I had very little. I was alarmed by his decision and I sought advice on how to ethically deal with the matter. I underestimated his wife however. While he was away from the village guiding tourists,

she left the village in the night and hiked down the mountain to the clinic in Imlil. She delivered her third son in a hospital. She later stated that she went to the hospital because she was experiencing leg paralysis. No one questioned how she managed to hike down the mountain. Kinship and gender ideologies not only shaped cultural ideas about residents' reproductive roles, power differentials rooted in kinship and gender defined an individual's capacity to participate in reproductive decision making.

Kinship, gender and power also influenced resident's ideas and expectations regarding sexuality for males and females. Through childhood, male and female children freely intermingled at home, school and in outdoor play. As children approached adolescence, they appeared to self-segregate. Girls spent more time with female household members performing domestic chores. Boys formed small mischievous bands that marauded through the village to spy, vend, and sometimes steal from residents and tourists. As boys grew older they gained considerable freedom to venture into neighboring villages, visit the internet café to play video games or watch teenage boys chat online with urban and foreign women. As girls grew older, they retreated to the home-space, began to experiment with covering their hair, applying make-up, and strapping other women's babies to their backs. By the time they reach their teens, girls are forbidden to interact with non-relative males while boys their same age begin working and interacting with a wide range of non-relative women: tourists, vendors in the market, prostitutes, and married female residents.

Sexual experimentation, albeit frowned upon, was generally tolerated for boys; and the consequences for sexual transgressions were considerably more lenient than the consequences endured by girls. An unmarried tourism worker in his late twenties

explained how as a teen-ager he was caught engaged in sexual acts with another teen-aged girl in the village. They had been meeting in a partially constructed building owned by her family. When her family discovered their activities they demanded that he marry her. His family agreed and began to pressure him to cooperate and marry the girl. He tried to bargain for more time and eventually decided to run away because he felt that he was not prepared for marriage. He stayed in Marrakech for nearly two months and when he returned, he discovered that his 'girlfriend' was married to an older rich man in another village. He appeared sad when he told me the story, so I asked him if he regretted running away. He replied, 'She has two children now, she is happy.' Then he continued to express how he was lucky to avoid being strapped down with the responsibility of caring for a wife and children. Clearly, the consequences for the two parties were drastically different. The young girl was thrust into marriage and motherhood against her wishes. The young boy was able to return to the village and carry on as if nothing happened.

Gender ideologies that prize virginity as an ideal attribute for brides, also demand that unmarried girls are innocent and ignorant of sex and sexual activities. The authoritative role of the husband extends into sex and sexual relations. Grooms are expected to be knowledgeable about sex and sexual activity despite extreme deficits in sex education or opportunities to learn about sex outside of engaging in sex acts that are forbidden. Because of this, sexual experimentation is a virtual expectation for unmarried boys and men.

While visiting the weekly market in Asni, approximately twenty minutes drive from Aremd, a tourist entered a café and reported to the two men at my table that he had

witnessed two young boys engaged in sex acts behind the café. The men were nonplussed. 'Isn't that forbidden in Islam?' I asked them. They explained that *homosexuality* was forbidden, but the young boys were probably just experimenting. This turned into a gem of a conversation as the men explained how society was sexually repressive and this forced unmarried men to engage in a wide range of alternate sexual activities in order to satisfy their desires. These activities were tolerated for young boys because there were no perceived consequences. Girls may become pregnant or break their hymens, and either event would be socially disastrous for the young girl. Therefore, girls must be protected from disaster by segregation.

I returned to Aremd and questioned residents about the new information I learned from the men in Asni. Three married men in their thirties were particularly frank with me. They completely disagreed with the men in Asni, and pointed out that residents in Asni were morally corrupt. According to them, prostitutes and married women provided opportunities for young boys to acquire sexual experience before marriage. The weekly market in Asni was a place where men congregated to engage in buying and selling. When young boys began to participate in economic activities in Asni, it represents a time for 'coming of age.' Part of the coming of age process also included participating in the new sexual opportunities made available by prostitutes that frequented the market.

The spatial distance of Asni allowed boys and men to engage in activities that were forbidden in Aremd. The high density of men in Asni created a sexually charged environment. Sexual harassment within the market was intense; any woman was considered fair game for physical groping. The male-dominated environment was penetrated by few women. Most of the women in the market were either elderly women

peddling used goods, younger women donning excessive amounts of make-up and costume jewelry, or ignorant tourists and anthropologists who accidentally wandered in. Outside the boundaries of the market, women from surrounding villages flooded the pharmacy or the taxi stand, yet they were wise enough to stay out of the market space to avoid harassment and protect their reputations. Every woman in the market was considered a prostitute, even the elderly women selling goods. "Why else would they be there?' one man asked me.

In addition to prostitutes, the three men also explained that boys and young men engage in sex with some married women in Aremd. Most women in Aremd had entered into marriage arrangements with men that they did not know. Virginity was their primary asset, and it was immediately lost during their marriage ceremony. Husbands working in tourism stay away from home for extended periods, sometimes for more than a month. Left alone in the home, some women acquired young 'boyfriends' who visited them while their husbands were away. One of the three men claimed that he had carried on with a married woman in Aremd for nearly three years while he was in his teens.

I attempted to verify this information with a few women in Aremd. Many women openly criticized their husbands adulterous activities, but they never discussed their own sexual transgressions with me. None of the women ever implied that other women in Aremd engaged in sexual activities outside of marriage. Not even same-sex relationships were revealed. Understandably, the consequences of such an act would be extreme. Overall, urban women and female tourists were considered sexually promiscuous by women in Aremd, but none of the women in Aremd were willing to imply that women in Aremd may also engage in some of the same behaviors.

Regardless, many men in Aremd used women's sexuality as a means to justify social norms that restricted women from interacting with non-relative men. Limitations on women's mobility, the supervision of wives, and the segregation of unmarried daughters and sisters from non-relative men was considered a preventative measure aimed to protect the patri-lineage and the reputation of the household. Women's obligations were centered on domestic responsibilities. If a woman desired or attempted to venture outside of domestic boundaries, she risked accusations of adultery or other shameful behaviors. As a result, many women over-emphasized their domestic role in the home and openly criticized other women who challenged social boundaries. In Aremd, women's sexuality and behavior was oftentimes patrolled by other women than it was by men.

In most cases, the female heads of household regulated their daughters and daughters in law. Mothers kept their daughters close to home in order to protect the girl's reputation and increase her marriagability. Daughters in law were supervised in order to protect the patriline. In every household I visited, women in extended households spent more time under the supervision of their mother in law than any other member of the household. In two single-family households, the mother in law stayed in the home with her daughter in law while her son was away.

Freedom from supervision came with aging. Elder post-menopausal women enjoyed a considerable amount of mobility and authority inside and outside of Aremd. Elder women circulated freely throughout the village and regularly left the village alone to visit family members in other villages. Elder women interacted with non-relative men,

even tourists on occasion. Having reached a desexualized state, women were liberated from the social restrictions that regulated their sexuality throughout their youth.

Love and The Double Standard

During the very first interview I conducted in Aremd, a young tourism worker stated that he did not want to marry a Berber woman; he wanted an educated wife that worked outside of the home and contributed to household income. This sentiment resonated throughout numerous interviews with many young tourism workers during my field term. Tourism labor exposed young men to educated income generating Moroccan women and women tourists who represented different gender models than the model imposed on women in Aremd.

Several married and unmarried men had tourist girlfriends who visited Morocco on a fairly regular basis. The men were attracted to the wealth and freedom tourist women possessed and shared. I attempted to discuss the structural circumstances that limited opportunities for girls in Aremd compared to women from other locales. Most men readily acknowledged social barriers for women and girls in Aremd as a 'problem,' yet they blamed a lack of desire on the part of women to challenge existing norms. One unmarried tourism worker explained, 'The women here just want to have children and stay home. They do not want to work, they expect the man to do everything.' The possibility for women to contribute to household income and alleviate men's burden to provide the material resources for the household was appealing. Married tourism workers oftentimes compared tourist women to their wives who they perceived as doing nothing at home apart from watching television and eating. At the same time, none of the men I interviewed ever challenged gender norms for girls and women in Aremd, and many even enforced social restrictions for daughters and sisters within their own

households. New standards for living were perceived as appropriate only for women *outside* of their household and village. When I questioned some men about the double standard, some men described how women in Aremd were 'different' from women in other parts of the world. In essence, they perceived village women as intrinsically less capable of accomplishing goals and managing tasks performed by urban and tourist women. Other men disagreed and acknowledged that women in Aremd possessed the same capacities and abilities as urban and tourist women. Yet they believed that it was impossible to change gender ideologies in Aremd, and they therefore had no choice but to participate in and enforce gender inequality in their households. One father explained, 'If I raise my daughter the same as my son, she will be different. The village will talk about her, she will have no friends and no man will marry her. She will be alone.'

Daughters and Sons

Differential treatment of daughters and sons was rooted in their structural positioning in the patrilineal kinship system. Most sons were long-term assets because they remained members of the household and continued to contribute to the household economy throughout the duration of their parents' lives. On the other hand, most daughters left the household when they married and were expected to contribute to their husband's household economy through the duration of his parents' lives. Sons were expected to generate income and material wealth for the household. Daughters were expected to conduct domestic tasks and care for her children in her husband's household. Different gender expectations resulted in differential allocation of material resources for daughters and sons in terms of food, education, and inheritance.

Land inheritance was the most striking representation of differential treatment of sons and daughters. Credit systems were considered shameful and forbidden by Islamic law, and therefore inheritance stood as the most viable means for obtaining land. Although some women inherited land from their family, property was generally passed down from father to sons. The patrilineal inheritance system, coupled with a dwindling land to population ratio, strengthened the father's authority over their son. Since the father was the primary means to obtain productive property and establish a household in the future, it was in the best interest of young men to pay deference to their fathers and earn his favor through obedience and service (see also Hammoudi 1997). In most cases, sons would not outright own property until the death of their father, yet fathers oftentimes allocated land for their sons to manage before their death. This process served as a system of rewards and punishment among multiple sons.

In an extended household that included four married sons and one unmarried son, the father began allocating land to each son in a very delayed and piecemeal fashion. He began by providing only one son, the eldest who worked in agriculture, with a parcel of property to build a small bed and breakfast aimed to host tourists and generate income. This ignited intense jealousy, resentment, and anxiety among his remaining sons. The youngest son was particularly infuriated. Out of earshot from his father, he publicly characterized his brother as a 'lazy' farmer who was incapable of managing tourists. He argued that he had been working with tourists since he was a young boy and always turned over his income to the household. He lamented being away from home and believed that his brother was at an advantage to earn favor with his father because he spent more time at home because he did not work with tourists. The

youngest son did spend significant amounts of time away from the household working with tourists. As the sole income-earner in the household, approximately twelve adults and six children relied on his income. In light of this, the young man was quite arrogant. He oftentimes talked down and challenged his older brothers. He resisted his father's demand for him to settle down and marry a woman in the village. He openly declared that he wanted a 'tourist wife' to take him out of Morocco. On one occasion he wandered through the village faintly smelling of alcohol. His relationship with his father was tenuous. Despite his significant economic contribution to the household, the allocation of land to only one son enabled his father to send a strong message that a gerontocracy remained intact. Within a year, the young son married a woman from an adjacent village, shortly thereafter he received a plot of land from his father.

Marriage and property ownership are dialectically related. Marriage served as a rite of passage into adulthood and an institution for male authority. Property ownership elevated a man's status among other men. The gendered responsibility for husbands to provide support for their wife and children provided a justification for property entitlements. This generated pressure for men to marry and have children in order to receive land from their fathers. In one household, an unmarried man in his mid-thirties received a significant sum of money from an Italian benefactor who lived in California. He used the money to build a house for his family and establish a café in the market. Although his family members relied on income earned from the café and lived in a house purchased with his money, he was not entitled to a room in the house because he was not married. He reluctantly embarked on a search for a potential spouse. He expressed a very poor attitude about the prospect of marriage, so I asked him why he

bothered to get married at all. He replied that he was tired of sleeping in the television room.

Marriage also allowed men to hoard their income. The responsibility to maintain a household or work toward establishing their own household provided a justification for men to keep their earnings rather than contribute their pay to support the entire household. On the other hand, unmarried sons were expected to contribute all of their earnings to the household because they did not have dependents. This prompted many unmarried tourism workers to avoid the household altogether and remain in Marrakech during time periods when they do not have work. Some men established households with foreign or Moroccan men or women in Marrakech while others led an itinerant lifestyle. During extended stays away from home, their fathers periodically travelled into Marrakech to collect their earnings. 'Whenever I come home they expect me to give them money,' a young tourism worker complained, 'and when I don't come home, my father comes here to take it.'

Most elder men were not able to generate their own income in the tourism economy because they spoke only Tachelhit and Moroccan Arabic and/or they were physically incapable of guiding tourists in the steep and rugged mountain terrain. The tourism economy in Aremd favored young multilingual men and this usually resulted in only one to a few income generators within each household. As households in Aremd transitioned away from agricultural production and increasingly relied on tourism revenue, it generated a significant responsibility for a minority of successful tourism workers to provide support for several household members.

In the past, fathers were entitled to their son's labor and resources within a gerontocracy that allowed elders to control the economy. This generated conflicts between fathers and tourism-working sons who desired to accumulate wealth and lead lifestyles similar to those practiced by the tourists they spent time with. As a result, many tourism workers devised strategies to accumulate their wealth by hoarding and hiding it from household members in the village by purchasing homes and assets such as cars that were kept in Marrakech or other locales that were out of sight and out of reach of household members. After a young tourism worker purchased a used car from his employer, brother who lived in his household immediately acquired their driving license and demanded use of the car. He also fielded incessant transportation demands from household members. He eventually took the car to Marrakech.

Money-power allowed young tourism workers to exert autonomy, avert obligations to the household, and challenge the social power of their fathers. Without a means to generate income through tourism, some elder men acquired money-power by selling their land to wealthy urbanites and foreigners. The sale or potential sale of a parcel of land to an outsider waged disasterous social effects within the household and the community. On one occasion, two adult sons in a household were taken by surprise when a man from the capital city of Rabat arrived to inspect a parcel of land owned by their father. The two sons anxiously followed the man and their father. After the man left the village one of the sons publicly threatened to disown his father if he sold the land. Several men in the village arrived to support the two sons, all of them argued that land was already scarce in Aremd and that selling land to an outsider was not only a betrayal to his sons, he was also betraying the community.

Land scarcity and tourism development dramatically inflated land values in Aremd and surrounding areas. The village's new status as a tourist destination generated national and even international real-estate interests. Wealthy urbanites and foreigners were willing to pay alarming amounts of money for land parcels that were virtually worthless only a decade earlier. A tourism worker in his early thirties reported that he received a sloped hectare from his father in 1998, and he was ambivalent about the gift because the land seemed useless. He was in process of building a guest house on the property because he hoped to retire from mountain-guiding. He said that he was approached by a French man in 2008 who offered him 5000 euros for the land and partially constructed structure. This was more than approximately five years of his average income as a tour guide. 'I don't want to sell it, but it seems impossible to say no.'

Tourism-based income was significant by village standards, but it provided scant leverage against the bargaining prices offered by wealthy elites. Elder men were placed in an even thornier position. Exclusion from tourism development undermined elder men's social entitlements to power and authority in the household. Yet, the opportunity to obtain cash through land sales risked social alienation in their household and their community. Without authority over their sons and their son's income, elder men were particularly vulnerable to alienation from sons who were socially obliged to care for them when they became too aged to care for themselves.

During a conversation with a group of men about why fathers sell land, I mentioned that it appeared to me that sons were more willing to take care of their mothers than they were willing to take care of their fathers. All of the men denied this

initially, and argued that they cared for their parents equally. After the conversation segued onto a tangent, one of the men returned to the topic and said, 'Do you know why I don't like to care for my father like my mother? Because my whole life he takes from me. He puts everything into his pocket. Now, I say that is enough.'

As fathers and husbands, men wield authority and power in the household. Yet, male power becomes tenuous and fragile as they age and their authority is challenged by adult sons. In contrast, women marry into the household virtually powerless, yet their authority and power strengthens as their sons come of age into adulthood. In many households, the aged mother was the most dominant person in the family due to the power she generated through allegiance from her sons. Oftentimes the mother, not the wife, was the recipient of men's affection, love and devotion. I received a beautiful scarf as a gift from a friend in Saudi Arabia, and I gave the scarf to a man in the village for him to give to his wife as a gift. A week later I saw his mother wearing the scarf. I asked him if his mother took the scarf from his wife. He told me that he never gave the scarf to his wife. He gave it to his mother.

All of the men I interviewed recalled an emotional closeness to their mothers, and emotional distance from their fathers. The father was perceived as an authoritarian figure, dispensing power and punishment. Mothers provided nurturing and comfort throughout childhood and into adult life. For mothers, sons offered affection and companionship rather than husbands, whose alliance fell with his own mother.

I observed many mothers build and reinforce bonds with their young sons through affection and food, and in many cases it was one of the most blatant acts of differential treatment of sons and daughters. Within the household that I spent most of my time,

mothers ensured that their sons received meat at the dinner table. If boys were asleep, their mother woke them from their slumber and demanded that they *ish tifeeyee*, or 'eat meat'. I observed a ten year old girl watch her mother wake her younger brother and shove meat into his mouth at the dinner table, and then her mother handed her a bone and a fragment of cartilage.

Like the allocation of food, many sons enjoyed a disproportionate amount of affection from their mothers. This was most noticeable while I watched television with women. Many women cuddled with their young sons while they watched television. I observed only one woman who cuddled with her young daughter while watching television; she did not have a son.

My structural position as a mother with a daughter colored my response to son preference by women in the village. It was one of the few areas where I emphasized my personal feelings and biases to women in Aremd. None of the women acknowledged son preference, however, and they referred to their daughters and sons as *zoond*, *zoond*, meaning 'same same'. It is likely that they were not aware of the differential treatment. I also became jaded to son preference while living in Aremd. My daughter arrived during my fourth month of field research, I brought her with me to visit a household. We brought a bag of cookies to share with the women and children. After we left my daughter was furious. 'I can't believe they did that with the cookies,' she said. 'Did what?' I asked. 'They broke up one cookie for all the girls and they gave rest of the bag to the boy. You didn't see that!?!' my daughter asked incredulously. I did see it, but I ceased noticing it. Son preference in the allocation of food was so common that I no longer recognized it.

This led me to question a Peace Corps volunteer working on a project related to 'women's empowerment' by asking her, 'How can you possibly expect a women to demand equal rights from society, when she has spent her entire childhood being treated second to her brother by her own mother?'

Class and Connection in the New Economy

The development of a new tourism economy in Aremd posed new and different forms of social relatedness and connection that extended outside of the household and village network. Many residents developed long-term relationships with international entrepreneurs and maintained connections with tourists that continued to send cash and gifts to residents for many years after their initial visit. Tourists were connected to households and tourism workers expected loyalty from tourists in some of the same ways that loyalty was expected from household members.

Between 2007 and 2008, I met seven tourists who stayed in the village for more than one month. Five of the seven had visited Aremd before. These tourists had developed relationships and alliances with specific households in Aremd. During an extended stay in Aremd, a young tourist from Spain requested to relocate to a different household because she wanted a diverse experience in the village. The family she stayed with was alarmed by her request, and they wanted to know what they had done to make her want to leave. The woman felt so guilty for offending the household that hosted her, she remained with them throughout her entire month-long stay. I had a similar experience after I returned to Imlil from Marrakech late at night and conveniently found a room at an open bed and breakfast in Imzeek, a village located a short walk from Aremd. The following day, a male member of the household that I usually stayed with in Aremd arrived at the bed and breakfast. Village gossip travelled fast, and his

household had learned that I was staying elsewhere. They assumed I was angry with them. As I was explaining my circumstances, the owner of the bed and breakfast entered the room and assured the resident from Aremd that my stay was only temporary. The two men explained how conflicts between households erupt when one household 'steals' tourists from another household. The conflict is likely motivated by economic rather than emotional ties, but nonetheless, repeat tourists are connected to specific households and intra-household mobility is quite difficult.

Residents also formed internal and external alliances and factions that were based on shared livelihoods. Tourism workers spent most of their time with other tourism workers in the village, and they established networks with tourism workers and entrepreneurs outside of the village. Cafés in Imlil were packed with tourism workers from peripheral villages who travelled to the central market to await the arrival of tourists at the road's terminus. Men in agriculture were in many ways more reliant on other agricultural producers outside of their household network than they were on their brothers who worked in tourism.

While tourism workers populated tourist spaces, men in agriculture primarily remained in the vicinity of their homes and worked in terraced fields. They worked together to haul harvests or to build and repair communal property such as irrigation systems. Agriculturalists in Aremd also established bonds with agriculturalists in other locales to obtain resources cultivated in different ecological niches, such as almonds, and to buy and sell their own goods in distant markets.

Along the same lines, women formed alliances according to their livelihoods, yet women's livelihoods were most often determined by their husband's livelihood. Since

men living in the same household usually engaged in different livelihoods, i.e. some men worked in tourism while others worked in agriculture, then women's alliances oftentimes extended outside of the household network. Women married to farmers usually performed tasks according to the gendered division of labor such as cutting fodder, harvesting fruits and vegetables and collecting wood. Women in agriculture formed social bonds by working with and reciprocating with other women who also engaged in agricultural production. Women married to tourism workers sometimes did not participate in the agricultural activities performed by other women in the household, they joined cliques with other women who were married to income-earning men and spent their time watching television together.

Livelihood divisions among men and women reflected class divisions in the community. Most extended family households relied on a mixed economy based on tourism and agricultural production. Yet a growing number of single family households comprised of a typical nuclear family relied on tourism income exclusively. The differential distribution of income opportunities in tourism enabled some households to accumulate more wealth than others; and wealth enabled some households to adopt lifestyles and modes of living that were represented by television programs and tourists. While many tourism-based households accumulated material assets such as cars, washing machines, computers and even second homes in Marrakech, households that relied on agricultural production struggled to meet new expenses imposed by the monetary demands of rapidly changing village life. Economic prosperity in Aremd transformed expensive luxuries such as education, electricity, long distance

transportation, and imported construction materials into necessities that many residents remained ill-equipped to afford.

Poor residents were viewed with suspicion, and jealousy by the less fortunate was feared. After a young successful mountain guide began to experience knee problems, he told me that it was likely a result of magic performed by someone in the village who noticed how much work he had recently acquired. I asked him why someone would do that to him, and he blamed jealousy. Anyone less fortunate was suspect, and he even considered his own brother as a potential culprit. A new car owner began to experience fainting and dizziness, and he attributed his condition to jealousy from residents that watched him drive his car up and down the mountain. He said that he regretted driving the car into Aremd, and that he should have kept it parked at the base of the mountain in Imlil. I was also considered vulnerable to jealousy. Several women in Aremd warned me against eating food that was prepared for me only. They stressed that I should only eat from a shared plate because other women in the village might get jealous and add something to my food. Suspicion, coupled with the obligation to share with the less fortunate, compelled wealthy residents to connect with other residents of similar class and wealth.

Residents seldom recognized structural inequalities, and inequality generated by tourism was ignored. Material success in tourism was attributed to intrinsic abilities and hard work. At the beginning of fieldwork I visited a household in the village that appeared virtually destitute compared to other households. We sat on the floor and ate a meager meal comprised of couscous and greens harvested from the river. After I returned to the significantly wealthier household where I lived, the family questioned me

about my visit. The youngest son declared that the poor household suffered because the father smoked hashish. They discouraged me against visiting the household again. Regardless, I maintained contact with the poor household throughout the duration of fieldwork. I never found any indication that the father smoked anything. He did struggle to speak French, and he did not own enough land to engage in agricultural production. He worked as a freelance mountain guide, yet he was significantly less competitive than young, multilingual guides because not only did he lack the language skills needed to communicate with a foreign clientele, he was too aged to lead tourists on difficult mountain terrain. He usually resorted to hauling baggage and other weighty objects up and down the mountain with a mule, and therefore earned significantly less than younger tourism workers.

In addition to the poor, some residents expressed disdain for farming and farmers. A man in his early thirties sold souvenirs in three separate shops along a tourist pathway through the village. I visited one of his shops and we had a conversation about literacy. He equated illiteracy with being 'like an animal' and believed that illiterate men needed to resort to agriculture because they were incapable of working with tourists. Another man in his late thirties was a long-time mountain guide who was in process of building a bed and breakfast for 'retirement' income. While I watched a young farmer operate an irrigation system down-slope from the guide's rooftop terrace, he remarked 'that is what he does, because that is all he knows.' A third man in his early twenties came from a relatively wealthy household. He worked as a part-time guide, yet he spent most of his time on his computer networking with tourists for other tour guides in the

village. The young computer entrepreneur referred to agricultural production and extended family households as being 'behind'.

Some women who married successful tourism workers expressed similar sentiments. A newly married woman with a primary education was experiencing conflicts with other women in her house because she refused to participate in agricultural activities. I asked her why. She said that the livestock were too dirty. She pointed out that she could read and write, she understood the French language, and her husband earned money working with tourists. 'Why should I get dirty?' she asked me. Her husband eventually established his own household, and she spent her time with other women who did not want to work with dirty livestock. Early in my fieldwork, I observed a husband and wife working together in the field. I commented to another woman about how hard the female farmer was working. 'She is from Agoundis,' the woman replied. She pointed to her temple and said, *walloo*, which means 'nothing'.

Residents in Aremd often pointed to the head and said *walloo* when they referred to people who were illiterate, uneducated, or lacking worldly knowledge gained from working with tourists. During a household visit, a woman asked me to read the instructions on a prescription she received from a clinic. As I translated written French into verbal Tachelhit, the woman's husband pointed to her head and said *walloo*. She responded by pointing to her own head and repeating the word.

Gender and Education

Foreign language and literacy were not only forms of cultural capital in the tourism economy, they were symbolic markers for social class in Aremd. Despite the economic and social significance of language and literacy, there was not an equitable distribution in opportunities for residents to access literacy and language training – even within the

same household. Most households included several children and lacked the financial resources to provide a secondary education for every child. The nearest secondary schools were located in Asni and Marrakech and attendance required additional expenses for accommodations and transportation during the school year. Only a few households were able to send a child to secondary school, and in nearly every case, households sent sons.²⁵²⁶ Unlike daughters who were expected to marry and join another household, sons were expected to become long-term contributors to household production. Therefore, a son's education was an investment into the future welfare of the household. A secondary education would help a son develop advanced skills in literacy and foreign languages that were likely to increase income-earning capacity in the future.

After completing a primary education from the school located in Aremd at twelve years of age, most girls stopped attending school and began contributing to household production by performing domestic chores and agricultural work with other women in the household. There was very little incentive to provide daughters with secondary education not only because gender ideologies positioned marriage and family as the ultimate goals for girls, but female residents experienced limited opportunities to earn income in tourism or other economic sectors. Opportunities to generate income were usually restricted to men because men were responsible for the material well-being of the household and family. As a result, daughters were not provided with the opportunity

²⁵ I was informed by one resident that one girl in the village was sent to secondary school in Marrakech, I was unable to find the household, however.

²⁶ During the time of research, a British charity organization associated with a British tourism company was building a girls' dormitory in Asni that would enable area girls to attend secondary school.

to develop advanced skills in literacy and foreign languages that could potentially increase economic opportunities to generate income in the tourism economy.

For most boys, education was also limited to primary school. Many parents removed their sons from school because they believed that schooling was unnecessary and ineffective. Some residents stated that interaction with tourists was the only means of acquiring the skills necessary to be profitable in the tourism economy. A successful mountain guide stated that he left school in Marrakech because he believed that the material he was studying at the school was useless in the tourism economy in Aremd. He said he was encouraged by the school teachers to return to Aremd and gain experience working with tourists because high unemployment in cities and discrimination would offer little opportunity for him to find work outside of the tourism economy in his village. A father who owned a souvenir stand next to the school chose to send his sons to Imlil to work with tourists in lieu of sending them to school. Like many fathers in Aremd²⁷, he complained about the quality of education provided by the state-funded school, and he did not have confidence in the urban Arab teachers that taught at the school. He explained that early exposure to tourists was the only means for his sons to develop the language skills they would need to become successful in the tourism economy. According to him, his sons needed to 'study' the tourists; learn their language and know their habits and customs. He boasted that he never attended

²⁷ Mothers never complained to me about the primary school, and this was likely due to their own lack of educational opportunities and the benefits of childcare that the school provided during the day.

school, and that he was financially successful because he was able to learn several foreign languages by working with tourists²⁸.

Unlike boys, girls were prevented from developing language and cultural familiarity with tourists after they left primary school because social norms prohibited girls from working with tourists. Although most girls lacked literacy and foreign language skills sufficient for employment in tourism, familiarity with French and reading provided social leverage for girls to acquire husbands who worked in tourism. Literacy provided status and prestige for women because it represented modernity. Illiteracy brought about feelings of shame and inadequacy in the rapidly changing culture in Aremd. A woman who married into Aremd from a village in the Agoundis Valley told me that she remembered when the school was built in her village. She said that she begged her father to go, but he did not allow her. She recalled watching the teacher write names on a list and as she described the story she began to cry.

As I spent more time in Aremd and learned the social significance of literacy, I chose to refrain from reading and writing in the company of women in order to avoid reminding them of their educational and social exclusion. Despite the vast amounts of knowledge that many illiterate women possessed in terms of ecological knowledge, childcare, household management, and subsistence production; the hegemonic value of formal education compelled many women to point to their head and say *walloo*.

²⁸ Most tourism workers had a working knowledge of at least three foreign languages: Arabic, French and English. Many men also knew Spanish, Dutch, and German and during fieldwork, a few men were actively learning Chinese.

Regional Alliances and Ecological Connectedness

The most salient feature organizing residents in Aremd centered on Berber, or Amazighe, identity. However, growing prevalence of intermarriage between residents and non-Berbers, as well as the different interpretations of Berberness among residents, challenged the salience of Berber identity in Aremd. Historically, the community has been categorized as the 'Ait Mizane' clan (Hammoudi 1997, Miller 1984), yet this nomenclature was hardly recognized any longer by young adults and youth in Aremd. I discussed clan alliance with a mixed sex group in a household when I shared with them a copy of Abdellah Hammoudi's 1993 ethnography of the Ait Mizane. The elder father was surprised that I knew what Ait Mizane meant. Access to the internet, cell phones and cross-country transportation enabled many young residents to develop alliances with residents from other Berber villages through work in tourism or marriage ties. This fostered a pan-Berber identity that extended outside of clan alliances and served to culturally differentiate residents from the cultural Arab majority in urban locales.

Residents did recognize regional alliances based on different ecological zones. Tourism workers who led trips into the desert regions stated that Berbers living in desert areas were fundamentally different than Berbers living in mountain areas. They marked differences through variations in food, language and livelihoods, yet the most distinct difference was rooted in the economic and environmental poverty endured by people living in or near the Sahara. Residents in Aremd prided themselves on aspects of modernity, yet economic marginalization and hardship positioned desert-dwellers as the harbingers of 'real' Berber identity and culture. When I initially arrived in Aremd and told residents that I was interested in learning the Tachelhit language and researching

Berber culture, several residents advised me to visit the desert because the language and way of life was less integrated than it was in Aremd.

Despite environmental and economic differences, residents in Aremd expressed connectedness with other residents from rural locales. Transportation and communication technologies blurred the urban-rural divide since many residents negotiated both domains. Yet, urban Berbers were not only considered morally corrupt, they were also perceived as being helpless and physically weaker. During the summer months when the village was inundated with urbanites seeking cooler mountain temperatures, resident's ideas about urban people became apparent. Although the number of foreign tourists rivaled that of Moroccan tourists, residents blamed urbanites for trash accumulation, crime, sexual harassment of local women and traffic congestion. Two men debated paving the dirt road that connected Aremd to Imlil; one of them argued that the rocky road would keep the urbanites out because urban people were too afraid to drive the road and too weak to hike up. After several months of living in the village and I was able to eat foods and drink water without becoming ill, a resident complimented, 'now, it is like you are from the mountains.'

Global technologies and economic development facilitated regional alliances and rural connections that strengthened solidarity and contributed to a sense of kinship rural people in Morocco. These same processes also served to alienate and marginalize rural people. Many residents in Aremd internalized hegemonic ideas about euro-centric modernity. A guide in his twenties compared the color of his hand to my mine and referred to his hand as ugly because it was darker than mine. Women in the village consistently referred to my daughter's blonde straight hair as beautiful and referred to

their own hair and even their daughter's hair as ugly because it was curly and dark. Some residents referred to the village and their friends and family members who remained in the village as being 'behind.' These residents embraced massive construction projects in Imlil and Aremd. While watching a truck unload cinderblocks for a building in construction, one resident proudly proclaimed 'when you come back here, you will not recognize it. It will be changed. ' Some residents bragged that modernity in Aremd was parallel to modernity in Spain. Although none of them had actually visited Spain, second-hand information from tourists and Moroccan migrants led them to believe that Spain was lagging behind in the European development trajectory; rapid development in Morocco during the 21st century gave them confidence that Aremd would one day be 'same as Europe.'

Ideas about a Berber identity that was associated with rurality and 'tradition' conflicted with ideas about modernity and European ways of life that were characterized by a consumptive lifestyle, globalized tastes, and more liberalized relationships. Tourists vacationing in Aremd epitomized consumption culture and oftentimes openly engaged in sexual and affectionate relations with other familiar and unfamiliar tourists. Residents identified tourist habits and relationships as a reflection of the general way of life led by people living in Europe and the United States. Residents emphasized their connections to a globalized culture by establishing social alliances with tourists and tourism operators and overtly displaying material items such as plastic, diapers, electronics, listening to foreign music, eating foreign food and engaging in casual sexual relationships. I annoyed a young tourism worker after I expressed surprise upon learning that he had a girlfriend in Marrakech. He responded, 'I have a girlfriend and I

drink beer. I am the same as a European man!' Some tourism workers correlated the monotony of a traditional staple diet to the monotony of a monogamous sexual relationship with the metaphor, 'Cous cous everyday is not good'.

While nearly every resident I encountered held a sentiment that being Berber imbued a sense of moral superiority over non-Berbers, particularly Arabs, and being Muslim imbued superiority over non-Muslims. Yet many of these same residents expressed disapproval over traditions and social arrangements that had been practiced in the village since time immemorial. Throughout the duration of my stay in an extended family household that included fourteen people, some residents expressed concern that the household would affect the accuracy of my research and the way I would represent their village to outsiders. I was encouraged by astute residents to obtain a broad spread of multiple households that would represent the many different ways of living practiced by a diverse range of residents. The household I stayed in not only relied heavily on agricultural production, but household members were organized according to a strict patriarchal hierarchy. Within the family, the male head of household struggled to maintain his power and authority and resist changing gender and kinship ideologies in the cultural rip-tide that was induced by tourism development and economic change. A forty year old tourism worker who lived alone with his wife and two small children summed up his disapproval of the old man when he said, 'everything is changing now. They should not live that way anymore.'

Conclusion: Why Gender and Kinship Matter in Tourism Development

The popularity of international tourism as a vehicle for rural development in Morocco makes it necessary to interrogate the interconnectedness between gender roles, kinship dynamics, and global economic development in order to address how

local practices interact with broader economic contexts. Tourism studies in rural communities must identify the centrality of kinship and the significance of gender in order to shed light on why tourism development may not only fail to provide promised benefits for socially marginalized members of households and communities, it may also contribute to the development of new systems of social alienation and economic marginalization (Ilahiane 2005, Kraus 1998, Venema 2002).

Tourism economies impose a demand for a specific set of resources, such as property, language, education, cultural capital, tourist spaces, social ties and connections, time expenditures, etc. (Sinclair 1997). In order to realize the promised benefits of tourism development, residents need access and control over these resources. In Aremd, gender and kinship ideologies naturalized social hierarchies that codified cultural practices and defined individual rights and obligations, thereby justifying the differential distribution in access and control over tangible and intangible resources among household and community members. As a result, economic opportunities, material benefits, and social power brought about by tourism development were, in large part, patterned according to gender and kinship hierarchies.

In many ways, tourism development exacerbated existing gender inequality in Aremd. Patrilocal residence patterns and patrilineal descent practices consolidated power and resources in the hands of men. Compared to men and boys, most women and girls were restricted or limited from lucrative resources; and the gendered disparity began with the differential treatment of sons and daughters in the allocation of resources, rights, responsibilities and even affection. Young girls were socialized to position marriage and family as the ultimate goal, while boys were positioned with the

responsibility to contribute to the material well-being of their household. Therefore, most households prioritized and extended boys' education more than girls' education. Boys enjoyed greater mobility to venture into markets and tourist spaces, interact with tourists, and gain familiarity with the cultural and linguistic habits of tourists. Mobility, social freedom, and language acquisition enabled boys to establish extensive social ties outside of the household and the community. External ties for girls were primarily limited to family and marriage into her husband's household. While sexual experimentation for males was tolerated, female sexuality was strictly regulated through intense supervision and segregation. Women were forbidden to interact with non-relative males, and this represented a significant hurdle in an economy that is founded on hosting outsiders.

Gendered access and control over resources, coupled with gender ideologies that placed material responsibility on men, privileged men as income-generators in the household. Men's gender and kin-based patriarchal authority was further strengthened by money-power as households transitioned away from agricultural production and reliance on tourism income increased. Dependency on men's income diminished women's status and decision-making capacity in the household. At the same time, women associated with men's money power gained status among other women who continued to engage in agricultural production.

Tourism development also generated a new system of inequality among men. Elder males and young farmers in Aremd were alienated by a new economy that favored those who possessed the cultural capital needed to manage and interact with a foreign clientele. As a result, most of the economic opportunities, material benefits and new systems of power created by tourism development were monopolized by young,

multi-lingual educated male residents. Money power concentrated in the hands of male youth posed a direct challenge to parental ideas and customs regarding marriage, family, and the distribution of household wealth.

Social hierarchies extended beyond the material realities of wealth, power and resources. Residents were also arranged according to ideological hierarchies that privileged Euro-centric tenets of development, globalization, modernization, individualism, sexual liberation and consumption. Tourism development permeated the shared cultural frameworks practiced in Aremd, and residents learned new ways of living through tourists, television, and urban social milieus. Cultural markers such as literacy, manufactured goods, pre-marital and extra marital sexual relationships, and liberalized ideas about gender expectations and kinship roles symbolized cultural connectivity to a globalized world. Some residents described a linear trajectory of progress that was associated with specific cultural practices, and they allied themselves with other residents who aimed to disassociate from the way of life experienced by previous generations. Nonetheless, transportation and communication technologies brought about by tourism, globalization, and modernity in Aremd fostered new connections between residents in Aremd and a Pan-Berber community aiming to revitalize and strengthen cultural connectivity by invoking previous traditions.

CHAPTER 5
TOURISTS & THE TAFEZA: TELEVISION AS AN APOSTLE FOR THE GLOBAL
ECONOMY IN THE HIGH ATLAS MOUNTAINS

Introduction

Television became a salient feature in the lives of women who were excluded from tourism development in Aremd. During the time of this research, the Moroccan government was subsidizing satellite broadcasting, providing coverage for nearly eighty percent of the land-space in Morocco.²⁹ This allowed transnational media corporations to transmit messages and meanings into remote villages and into seemingly segregated households. Through television-watching, women who had been alienated by the new tourism economy were able to situate themselves according to globalized contexts that were represented in televised programming, particularly daytime dramas, and they reformulated their expectations in regards to social relationships, consumer behavior and alternate modes of living according to the hegemonic ideas that promoted a global culture of modernity. In this way, television fueled tourism development by facilitating acculturation to a modernist agenda and thereby ensuring community participation in development agenda.

The television, or *tafeza*, provided more than just a passive activity for women whose livelihoods had been displaced by a tourism economy that favored men; the television was an apostle for tourism development and capitalist expansion into the rural frontier. It penetrated the seemingly isolated home-space to deliver new messages and meanings about gender roles, gender relations, and materiality that help change consumptive processes in the household members. Changes in consumption fueled the

²⁹ In 1995, the Kingdom of Morocco's Global Rural Electrification Program aimed to extend access to electricity to the entire Kingdom before 2010. <http://www.afd.fr/jahia/Jahia/site/afd/lang/en/pid/1346>

drive for residents to transition from agricultural to tourism-based production because the tourism economy was the only means for most residents to access income necessary to engage in the life-world they viewed everyday.

Lila Abu Lughod (1997) has pointed out;

‘ taking television seriously forces us to think about ‘culture’ not so much as a system of meaning, or even a way of life but as something whose elements are produced, censored, paid for, and broadcast across a nation, even across national boundaries. The hegemonic or ideological- and thus power-related- nature of mass mediated cultural contexts in the service of national, class, or commercial projects is undeniable.’

This chapter situates television-watching in Aremd within socio-economic practice in the context of historical change, economic development and global processes by analyzing the transnational and trans-cultural meanings and messages broadcast to residents in Aremd . At the same time, this research evaluates how residents in Aremd negotiated televised worlds as they mediate changing ideological and socio-economic circumstances in their surroundings and how their negotiations were shaped by gender.

Theoretical Frameworks

Previous anthropological research on television watching has illuminated the significance of television’s presence in the household as an ubiquitous fixture that situates television watching within a complex set of daily practices and discourses in the lives of contemporary people (Abu-Lughod 1997; Radway 1984; Larkin 1996; Spitulik 1993). Anthropologists have explored how television alters patterns of sociability, usage of time, creates conflicts and alters the gender balance in communities (Kottak 1990; Lull 1988), how gender, age and household position mediated people’s television viewing (Mankekar 2002). Trends in anthropology of the media reflect an increasing awareness of the significance of mass media on processes of identity formation, and

how televised transmission of trans-cultural ideas and images intersects with, and becomes naturalized in, people's conception of themselves and the world around them and becomes enmeshed with other social fields of meaning and power (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988; Ivy 1988; Russell 1991; Traube 1989; Davis 1995; Rofel 1994, Mankar 1993).

Critical anthropologists argue that transnational companies rely on media technologies to construct desires and create needs to establish what MacCabe (1986, cited in Caughie 1986:165) refers to as 'enormous machineries of desire' by importing consumption values that are reinforced by advertising and prevailing development orientations (Beltran and Oliveira 1990). Bennett (1982) portrays the media as a tool within a modernist agenda to promote 'modernization' and 'modernity'. Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (2002) outlines how economic development planners in low income countries use the media as a development strategy to mediate between macro and micro levels of socio-economic structures. She points out how development planners Daniel Lerner (1958) and William Schramm (1964) described the 'traditional' values of the developing world as obstacles to political participation and economic activity and their 'solution' was the use of media to alter attitudes and values.

Critiques of media as promoting cultural and economic imperialism pin-point media producers as the source of all power and concludes that media reproduces existing social relationships through a host of strategies (i.e. stereotyping, essentializing, reductionism, naturalization, fetishism, binary oppositions, fantasy) that predispose and guide audiences towards readings favoring existing power structures (Hall 1981, 1997, Mulvey 1989, Morley and Robbins 1995a, 1995b; Appadurai 1990; Tomlinson 1991).

Abu Lughod (1997) states in her analysis of television and women in an Upper Egyptian village, 'television programs are produced not just by specialists of a different social status than viewers ... but by professionals of a different class – often urban rather than rural, with national and sometimes transnational identities and social ties – who are working within structures of power and organizations that are tied to and doing the work of national or commercial interests.' However, conceptual challenges to the 'cultural imperialism' model suggests that diverse audiences articulate their own interpretive frameworks and sets of meaning with media and thereby resist media hegemony (Sreberny-Mohammadi 2002).

Methods

Ethnographic analysis of television watching was derived from case studies with approximately 21 women and 15 men who resided in one of the four primary households where I spent the majority of my time in Aremd. I collected information through formal and informal interviews and observations with men and women and by participating in the daily activities women performed, including television-watching. While creating data matrices to organize time-allocation information for household members, one significant variable emerged in very activity profile I created for women, 'television-watching'. The salience of television in the lives of women in Aremd demanded inquiry into the cultural and psychological role television played in women's lives.

Life in L'beet Tafeza

In Aremd, both men and women watched television. Women watched television in the home, usually day-time dramas, serials and cooking shows.³⁰ During the day, men watched television together in café's, usually news programs and sporting events. At evening time, most men returned home to share the final meal of the day with their families. Every family ate the evening meal together while watching television, and the choice of programming reflected the power relations between men and women. Men controlled the television and determined which programs the entire family watched; usually the evening news broadcast or a significant sporting event.

Although watching television was an activity performed by both men and women, the activity had greater significance for women because of the limited range of activities available for women in Aremd. Unlike men, women were forbidden to leave the village without an escort, engage in income-generating activities outside of the home, or interact with visiting tourists. As a result, the television was a more predominant feature in the lives of women than in men's lives.

While watching television inside the home, women needed to situate themselves in relation to an 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson 1983) of women and the bourgeois public sphere (Habermas 1989) that included various social arrangements and systems of materiality that differed widely from the experiences of women in Aremd. Representations of women in televised broadcasting worked in tandem with the growing population of women who arrived as tourists in Aremd. Tourist women engaged in

³⁰ Residents also owned DVD movies in Arabic and Tashelhit. Tashelhit films were usually set within the rural context, and the plots revolved around dramas associated with theft of livestock and male migration. Women favored Arabic films that displayed glamour, opulence and high drama such as marital strife.

cultural modes of material living and social relations with male residents that conflicted and contrasted with the experiences shared by women living in Aremd. These dual forces, inside and outside of the home, worked together to incorporate marginalized women into a global culture of modernity by restructuring women's social and material expectations to conform to a globalized market agenda. This phenomena went in hand with state-driven tourism development polices in rural areas of Morocco that aim to expand the capitalist frontier by integrating male laborers into the tourism economy and expediting an economic shift from a primarily localized agricultural economy to a globalized cash-based consumptive economy in rural communities.

Chapter four addressed how tourism development, and the resulting influx of cash, expedited economic transition from agricultural production and a gender-based division of labor to a globalized tourism economy rooted in cash and capitalist labor relationships and income earned by male household members. As households shifted to tourism-based production, women's contribution to household production became limited to childcare and domestic household chores. Most women embraced this shift because the ability to opt out of agricultural labor imbued status and prestige, and men's income provided the means for women to participate in the material culture they observed on television. Therefore, tourism development contributed to the emergence of a new class of women in Aremd, women who garnered the fruits of tourism development through social ties with male tourism workers; husbands, sons, fathers and brothers who were obliged to financially support the household by social norms that dictate the gendered role of men as 'providers.' Patterns in television-watching reflected class divisions among women in Aremd.

All of the seasonal and daily activity profiles I created to identify time and labor expenditures by women included 'watching television.' In Aremd, the television was always located in the *lbeet tafeza* (the 'television room') and it was social locus of the home. It was the room where children played when it was too hot or cold outdoors and where the family congregated to eat, drink tea, relax, nap, talk, host guests, and recover from sickness. Patterns in the labor profile indicated that the amount of time a woman spent in the *lbeet tafeza* depended on family composition, the time of year, the time of day, and the household economy.

Women who engaged in agricultural production spent less time watching television than women who did not. The amount of time agricultural women spent watching television was affected by their daily and seasonal workload, seasonal changes in climate, and seasonal ritual cycles. During intensive harvest times, particularly for walnuts in October and cherries and apples in mid summer, television consumption for women was primarily limited to the evening and during meal times when the family congregated in the *lbeet tafeza* to eat and watch television together for one or two hours. Television consumption peaked to four hours in the summer time when the cool indoor temperature of the *lbeet tafeza* offered refuge from sweltering outdoor temperatures and agricultural work, such as harvesting of fodder, was restricted to early mornings and evenings. During the summer season, the midday was spent preparing meals and tea, consuming meals and tea in the *lbeet tafeza*, and napping in the *lbeet tafeza* until the outdoor temperature became cool enough to return to the field for evening harvesting. Although the overall agricultural workload was lighter in the winter, women who participated in agricultural production spent less time watching television

during the cold months because they spent more time socializing on a sunny terrace where temperatures were warmer than in the unheated indoor temperature of the lbeet tafeza.

Seasonal television consumption was also disrupted by festive rituals such as wedding feasts during the May to September marriage season and Islamic holidays such as the Eid Kabeer in the winter. Television consumption reached an all-time high during the month of Ramadan however, when daylight fasting reduced the need to cook the midday meal and televised programs offered a distraction from thirst and hunger. In addition, television provided entertainment for the increased number of guests that came to visit during the Ramadan holiday. Daily television consumption was regularly interrupted by household chores such as cooking and cleaning. Childcare however, did not affect television consumption because babies were often kept in the lbeet tafeza, and small children occupied the lbeet tafeza when they were indoors.

As previously mentioned, women who lived in single families entirely supported by men's earnings in tourism did not need to participate in agricultural labor, and therefore the agricultural cycle had no effect on their seasonal and daily consumption of television. Similar to agricultural women however, seasonal television consumption was reduced by participation in wedding feasts and by time spent in the warm sunny terrace in the winter. Daily consumption of television was also interrupted by chores such as cooking and cleaning as well as hosting guests and visiting other households. Childcare seldom interrupted television consumption because babies and small children accompanied their mothers in the lbeet tafeza.

Due to the lack of participation in agricultural duties, some women in tourism-supported households spent the entire day alone accompanied by a television that remained 'On' for up to twelve hours throughout the course of the day and into the night. Chapter six will explain that the nature of the tourism economy required male laborers to spend a significant amount of their time outside of the household and village. Men who worked in cafes and souvenir shops spent the entire day in the nearby market in Imlil, leaving at the crack of dawn and returning before twilight. Men working as guides were often away from home for multiple days and even weeks at a time. The television provided entertainment and companionship for women who were not only isolated from the continued absence of their husband, but they were also isolated from their lack of participation in the agricultural labor activities that created social ties between groups of women who labored together. Social isolation was even further exacerbated for women who married into Aremd and had limited or no family ties within the community, and therefore they did not have any one to visit outside of their husband's family.

In addition to companionship and entertainment for women, the television also provided absent husbands a sense of reassurance that their wife was staying in the home. A male resident in his 30's, whose labor at a distant souvenir shop along a mountain trail demanded long periods of time away from home, explained the urgency to acquire a television for his recently established household 'It (television) is good. She (his wife) can learn about things she cannot experience in Aremd ... and be tranquil.' He explained how the television did more than simply keep his wife complacent in the home, it also provided her with the opportunity to learn about how other people live and

to acquire exposure to ideas that she would otherwise not have access to due to social and economic barriers.

McLuhan points out that media technologies constitute a revolution in social relations around the world, achieved through the compression of space and time and collapsing of social distance: the emergence of the 'global village' (McLuhan 1994:8; see also Giddens 1991 and Harvey 1989). In Arendt, television enabled women living in relative isolation to engage a *life-world* (Habermas 1981) that was forbidden to them by cultural norms. Televised life-worlds they engaged were created by transnational elites that transcended social, economic and geographical boundaries, and broadcasting of their messages was sponsored by the state.

The Moroccan government either owned or had a stake in the country's two largest broadcasting networks: 2M and Société nationale de radiodiffusion et de télévision (SNRT). SNRT was established in 1950 as a public broadcasting station and became a member of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). It operated seven television channels (<http://www.snrt.ma/>). 2M was established in 1989 by the largest economic conglomerate in Morocco (Omnium Nord African). Its broadcast coverage spanned at least 70% of the population, and the company's programming was well-known for covering controversial issues and testing the limits of media freedom. The state purchased a majority of 2M's shares and broadcasting service was free via satellite broadcast with 80% coverage in the country (<http://www.2m.ma/>). Both companies hosted a wide range of channels that included Moroccan programming (Al Maghribia) in addition to televised broadcasts from the Middle East (Aljazeera, NileTV, KoweitTV, JordanieTV, SyriaTV, MTV Lebanon, etc), Europe (BBC Arabic,

France24Arabe, RussiaToday, etc.), the United States (NBC2), and other African nations (MauritaniaTV). In this way, the television provided an amalgam of diverse images and representations from throughout the world, and for rural women in Aremd, it served as a communication portal connecting their geographically and economically isolated household to the vast and complex network of global cultures.

For families that ceased to participate in agricultural production, television watching was the singular activity that tied all family members together, and it was widely used to entertain guests. Television ownership not only showed visitors that the household was economically successful, it occupied guests while women prepared the tea and snacks they were obliged to offer. I was a guest in multiple households nearly everyday. The hosting women would invariably adjust their television to the American channel (NBC 2), leave for a moment, and return with tea and a snack. Together we would sit, talking and watching television. As I became more familiar with my hosts and transitioned away from 'guest' status, I became more comfortable in telling my hosts that I did not like to watch television. This was baffling and merely confirmed my status as an 'outsider' among the population of women living in Aremd. Yet it released my hosts from the obligation to entertain me with television viewing and allowed them to select the programming they preferred.

In the beginning I ignored the television and transcribed my field notes while the rest of my host family watched television. After several months, I began to watch the television with the women and their family because it presented images, messages, ideas and social configurations that were more familiar to me than life in Aremd. Askew and Wilk (2002) argue that Eurocentrism has spawned trends in media production that

privilege partial, stereotypical, essentialized and greatly condensed representations of cultures. The stereotypes and essentialisms not only comforted me, television watching helped link me to the cultural web of women I was most familiar with.

Through conversations that took place while watching television, I provided women with my interpretation of the foreign ideas and objects that were being televised into their home, and I had the opportunity to learn how their interpretations shaped the way they perceived themselves in relation to what the television led them to believe about the life worlds around them. These conversations shed light on the significant role of televised programming in reshaping their expectations about social relationships, such as love and marriage, and the material expectations women held for themselves and for their household.

During Ramadan, for example, I sat in the lbeet tafeza with a young woman from a neighboring village who recently married into the family I stayed with. Her husband, seven years older, was a successful mountain guide. With her mother-in-law and the woman married to her husband's brother, we watched a cooking show hosted by an attractive and immaculately dressed French-speaking Arab woman who effortlessly demonstrated how to create an adapted version of strawberry shortcake with the assistance of state of the art electronic appliances such as a stainless steel blender and a digital microwave. The women in the room were impressed with the devices and expressed it by clapping, oo-ing and ahh-ing. The young woman asked me if I had such things in my American household. I confirmed that I did. She continued with her line of questioning; What type of food do you cook? Does your kitchen look the same as that one? How is it different? After she established a vague idea of my American kitchen,

she began a comparative line of questioning; Do you like the kitchen in this house? Do you like the village food more or less than the food you eat at home?

The cooking program was regularly interrupted with commercial breaks that advertised products marketed directly to women; detergents that rendered clothes fresh and spotlessly clean, shampoo that guaranteed straight shiny hair, elegant diamonds and gold jewelry that created happy marriages, skin lightening crème that would ensure success, lotions that soften hands, and toothpaste that would maintain a full set of white shiny teeth. After the commercial breaks, the program returned to the cooking show host who looked as if she actually used all the advertised products and enjoyed their promised benefits. After the host finished her shortcake, she presented it to the T.V. audience on a fine decorated platter and this evoked a round of applause by the women in the room.

Then we left the lbeet tafeza and filed into the kitchen, or *anwal*, a dark dank room that was dimly lit by a hanging light-bulb. The women prepared the staple tajine dish. One woman used a small paring knife with a rugged plastic handle to cut vegetables on a small broken wooden table while her sister-in-law removed the feathers and innards of a chicken recently killed neared the doorway. They placed the meager contents in an earthen clay pot and left it to simmer on a flame that rose from a rusty propane tank that sat on the wet and dirty cement floor.

The message delivered from the television was clear; unlike these women in Aremd, women in other parts of the world live in a spotless house with spotless children. They wear nice clean clothes and elegant jewelry while they happily perform household duties with the assistance of electric appliances and specialized detergents. Their

husbands are happy to see them when they come home from work, and men express their love with expensive jewelry and affection. The woman shows gratitude to her husband by flashing her full set of white teeth, running her soft manicured hands through her long, straight, shiny hair and presenting him with a fabulous meal made effortlessly in an immaculate kitchen that is stocked with expensive kitchen appliances.

As Erving Goffman's (1979) research on advertising and gender identity has shown, these commercials draw heavily upon the social construction of gender roles in America through the association of women's roles in the domestic sphere. Still, the commercials diverge sharply in the material objects that women are associated with. Sut Jhally's (2002) analysis of advertising schemes shows how the medium is situated within a market society that propels definitions of satisfaction, happiness and wellbeing through a commodity-image system. 'Fundamentally, advertising talks to us as individuals and addresses us about how we can become *happy*. The answers it provides are all oriented to the market place, through the purchase of goods and services' (Jhally 2002: 328). According to Jhally, 'quality of life surveys' have revealed that the conditions people believe will make them happy are; personal autonomy and control, self-esteem, a happy family life, love, relaxation, friendship and leisure time. Yet, these conditions are abstract states that cannot be bought and sold, or commodified, in the market. To solve this problem, advertising uses image-based promotions to connect the sought after conditions with goods and services that can be purchased in the market. Within the institutional structure of a market society, the commodity image-system promotes a particular model of self-validation that is connected to what one *has* rather than what one *is*.

The commodity-images women receive present a stark contrast to the reality experienced by women in Aremd. Most women work tirelessly to keep their homes clean by sweeping the floors with a little hand broom made from a small shrub that is pulled from the side of the mountain. The woody stem of the shrub serves as a handle for the plant's bushy root base which is brush the floor. Floors require constant sweeping throughout the day, particularly in extended families where persistent foot traffic constantly drags dirt, pebbles and manure throughout the house. Children play outdoors in the country-side and their mother's efforts to keep them clean seem futile. Within minutes of walking out the door, children's clothes are muddied with dirt and livestock manure, and their skin is often caked with the dust that blows off the dirt-road. In many homes, clothes are hand-washed against a washboard or a boulder using a bar of soap or powdered laundry detergent. The laundry demands in an extended family household required women to spend several hours every two to three days scrubbing, rinsing and drying clothes and linens. Unlike the social scenarios presented in the laundry detergent commercials broadcast into their homes, no one expressed awe over clean clothes or said 'thank you'.

Women's labor impacted their bodies. Coupled with the rigors of agricultural work, washing clothes took a toll on the hands and caused the skin to become weathered and calloused from regular immersion in water and harsh detergent. Women in Aremd often inspected my hands and then showed me theirs and said *irkshin*, or ugly. With limited access to toiletries, many women used laundry detergents, the only soap available, to wash their hair and body and the harsh cleaning agents created dry, chapped skin and

lackluster hair. Like their hands, many women were quick to refer to their hair, their skin and themselves as *irkshin*.

Women's health also took a toll. Chapter seven will address how economic transition away from agricultural production toward an increasingly sedentary lifestyle for women, coupled with a staple diet that is high in sugar, starch and oil, resulted in a sharp increase in health effects related to obesity, diabetes and tooth decay. A high sugar diet and poor oral hygiene made toothaches and dental disease a common health complaint among women in Aremd.

Most women tourists and female characters in televised programming sported a full set of perfect white teeth. Most women in Aremd suffered from tooth loss by the time they reached their thirties, and many women lost all of their teeth by the time they reached fifty. Many women suffered from a toothache or illness for days on end without asking their husbands to buy medication or take them to see a doctor. To avoid painful tooth decay, some of the women who married successful tourism laborers opted to have all of their remaining teeth removed and a lucky few received dentures from their husbands.

In households that continued to rely on agriculture to supplement men's earnings, limited income restricted access to goods and services for women's health needs. Even in wealthy households, limitations for women in financial decision-making, access and control over cash, and access to market spaces impeded women's ability to purchase the items they needed and wanted such as toothbrushes and toothpaste, medicine, sunscreen and lotion, shampoo, or tools and appliances that facilitate household

chores. To overcome this obstacle, women relied on social norms and gender ideologies that obliged men to support them.

In Aremd, the household is the reflection of the men who live in it. A household in economic duress brought home upon the men who are obliged to support it. This provided leverage for women to invoke men's obligation to ensure that their needs are being met. On one occasion for example, a male guide left his home to lead tourists on a week-long excursion through the mountains and failed to leave his wife with a stock of meat, an integral part of the staple diet in Aremd. The woman remedied her meatless situation by embarking on a visitation spree throughout the village and casually mentioning to each host that her husband left her *bla tifayee*, without meat. Gossip spread through the village and news of her situation quickly reached his family who urgently supplied her with more meat than she could possibly eat during her husband's absence. Days later, her husband returned to Aremd and received an angry reception, not from his wife, but from his family who chastised him for failing to fulfill his household duty and thereby bringing public shame upon the family.

Men were experiencing increasing responsibility as the sole providers for the household as the community transitioned from a gender-based division of labor in an agricultural economy to a male-centered tourism economy. Although gender ideologies obliged *all* men to support their household, chapter four described how class divisions emerged among men as new opportunities to earn income through tourism labor were available for only *some* men in Aremd. Differential income opportunities among men in Aremd has created a new type of family; single families headed by young, successful men who earn a livable wage in the tourism economy.

In Aremd, the male head of household appropriated his son's earnings, regardless if his son has his own wife and children. The father either saved his son's income or redistributed it to other family members. This system not only reinforced the father's control in the household, it ensured that the needs of all members of the household were being met. In the past, men relied on this patrilineal system of appropriation and redistribution, as well as inheritance and social networks, to acquire land and resources.

However, the tourism economy in Aremd catered to foreign tourists who needed multi-lingual and able-bodied residents to guide them through rugged mountain terrain. As a result, income-generating opportunities were concentrated in the hands of young, multi-lingual, men. Many sons gained autonomy through money-power and opted to establish semi-autonomous households that were structurally separate from their extended family household yet tied into a familial network of inter-household exchange. Unlike an extended-family household where the resources and income of male household members were appropriated and redistributed by the father, a single-family household enabled young men to exert greater access and control over their accumulated income and wealth. Therefore, living in a single household provided women with greater access to their husband's earnings and greater ability to acquire the material goods being advertised on the television. Toiletries, appliances and other luxury items purchased by men allowed some women in Aremd to refashion themselves according to the global life images presented by televised programming.

Differential access to goods among women, those married to tourism laborers living in single families and those married to agricultural laborers living in extended families, created a marked class divide among women in Aremd. However, class

identity was not expressed overtly through material showcasing that would induce jealousy from neighbors or encourage social obligations to share wealth, class was expressed through social alliances among other women who also fashioned themselves according to the images of women represented on television. While women living in extended families that relied on agricultural labor worked in the fields together, women in cash supported households spent their time sipping tea and watching television together.

When I initially arrived in Aremd, several women attempted to incorporate me into their tea-television repertoire. During every first visit, the female head of household led me through the home to show me her possessions. Hidden behind closed doors, I discovered electric washing machines that drained into small holes in the floor. Other items, such as audio electronics and clocks (either working or in disrepair), were placed on display in the *lbeet tafeza*. I was often led into a bedroom where women pointed out personal items such as jewelry, elaborate gowns, framed photographs and beauty products.

The most striking commonality among women in single families was the careful arrangement of make-up, perfume and toiletries that were created atop bedroom furnishings such as wooden *armoires* and *bureaus*. I was usually invited to inspect each item, smell the fragrance of lotions and *crèmes*, and occasionally I was unexpectedly sprayed with perfume. On several occasions, women applied a copious amount of make-up to my face and dressed me in expensive Moroccan clothing. During the early stage of my fieldwork I felt powerless to resist. I spent many of my early days of fieldwork donning a geisha-like face and wearing an ornate *djellabas* while sipping

tea and eating cookies with women who were watching television. Watching television with me was more than a host-guest interaction for these women, my presence provided the opportunity to interact with and examine a genre woman that was represented in the television programs they watched. Like electronics and other market goods represented on the state and corporate owned televised programs, I was an ornament for the refashioning of these women's lives.

Unlike women living in single families who enjoyed privacy and some degree of autonomy, women living in extended families kept their possessions hidden in large armoires with locking doors inside a bedroom with a door that was always locked. Apart from a few shared items on display in the *lbeet tafeza*, such as dishware and electronics, houses occupied by extended families almost always appeared barren. When I visited extended families, I did not receive a grand tour of the home and the displays of personal belongings. It was not until my participation in agricultural labor led to closer relationships with some of the women that I was able to get a glimpse of what agricultural women owned.

While cutting *lasheesh*, or fodder, with a young woman who was married to a farmer, we were caught in a sudden deluge which forced us to run to her house. I was completely soaked, so she brought me into her bedroom to change clothes. She unlocked the armoire that held her belongings, and as she rummaged through her clothes to find something large enough to fit me, I had the opportunity to look at the objects inside. Like the women in households who openly displayed their possessions in careful arrangements, her possessions were also carefully arranged on display within

the confines of the armoire, safe from the shared space of other family members where unattended items were fair game for anyone to take.

Instead of the luxury items owned by some of the women in single households however, her items were inexpensive or partially used products that had been discarded by tourists, and even products discarded by me. I recognized empty containers of toiletries I had given to her during my first visit to Aremd two years prior. Even though the contents were gone, the plastic bottles remained on hidden display. Ornate plastic packaging that once held my first-aid kit was positioned as the centerpiece of the arrangement. Broken plastic barrettes she had acquired from elsewhere were neatly arranged around a make-up case that held only a residual amount of its product. Although the items no longer served their intended purpose, the arrangement of manufactured items was a monumental assemblage of the goods fetishized by televised programming.

It became evident that women in both extended and nuclear family households shared the same desires for the objects represented on the television, yet they had dissimilar access to the objects. In some households, income-earning men gave money to their wives who were able to purchase items from travelling salesmen who visited the village with a large plastic bag filled with toiletries, accessories, clothing, and even lingerie. Transactions with these traveling salesmen were the few times I observed women in Aremd openly interacting with a non-relative man. For some women without access to money or the market, baggage owned by tourists (and anthropologists) provided easy access to market goods.

Chapter two described how some households provided home-stay accommodations for tourists. Even within the home-stay arrangement, female tourists seldom interacted with women in the home without the accompaniment of their male guide or male travelling partners. Despite limited social interaction however, female tourists provided market goods to women in Aremd through gift-giving and by leaving their baggage unattended. In some cases, female tourists gave items such as lotion or perfumes as gifts to women living in the houses they visited. Toiletries were regularly forgotten or left behind by tourists as well. While trekking mountain trails or exploring the village, tourists often stored their bags in their guide's house, taking only outdoor gear and supplies on their excursion. As I became a regular fixture in some households, I observed how some women searched for desired objects in unlocked and unattended baggage owned by female tourists, and on a few occasions, I walked in on women rifling through my own belongings. I eventually learned that if I wanted to keep my possessions, I need to keep them hidden and locked away just as the women living in extended households hid and locked their belongings.

The desire for market goods reflected women's interpretation of the televised meanings associated with objects presented in television programs. A common similarity shared by all of the object arrangements I found in Aremd, in both nuclear and extended family households, was that none of them included an object that was produced in Aremd. Hand-made, artisanal, or 'natural' goods held little value in the countryside. Women posed for photographs with music CDs, clocks, or other electronic devices. When the mountain side was covered with summer wildflowers, households were decorated with plastic floral arrangements. Plastic and other manufactured

materials represented modernity for residents, and their overt display reinforced each resident's connection to the global market. This connection to the market was performed through rituals in Aremd, particularly in the final ceremony of wedding festivity.

Weddings in Aremd usually consisted of four days of feasting and singing en mass. Through the duration of the ceremony, the groom's household provided meals and festivities for gift-bearing guests. The most popular event occurred on the fourth and final day, when all of the wedding gifts were hauled onto the terrace of the house and a gender-segregated audience congregated on surrounding terraces to observe the display. Women dressed in their best clothes and took advantage of the opportunity to apply make-up and wear their nicest jewelry. Children perched themselves along walls or dangled their legs over the terrace edges. Men huddled in small clusters and observed the ornately dressed women. A male member of the groom's family, usually his brother, performed final ceremony by holding an item up for all to see and yelled, or in rare occasions, used a megaphone, to announce the name of the gift-giver. The bride sat quietly in a chair with downcast eyes.

The most popular wedding gifts were household items; synthetic blankets, appliances, silverware, dishware, luggage, ornate clothing, prints in gold-plated frames, make-up, toiletries, perfume, and money. Residents stated that at least twenty marriages occurred each year during the marriage 'season' between June and September. During that time, young girls in Aremd are bombarded with a solid message; marriage leads to material wealth.

Chapter four addressed gender ideologies in Aremd that positioned marriage and childbirth as the only means for women in Aremd to achieve upward social mobility. As a result, women were forging their own avenues to material success through marriage with men who earned income in the tourism economy. Marriages in Aremd were usually arranged through parents, and women had comparatively limited abilities in selecting their spouse than men did, young men with money-power exercised even greater autonomy in selecting a spouse. In light of this, many unmarried women aimed to increase their chances of obtaining a cash-earning husband by displaying themselves in spaces that were frequented by men who worked in tourism, such as a women's cooperative and a family-owned souvenir stand located alongside a mountain hiking trail. According to two women who used, women not only exerted agency to improve the material conditions of their lives, they were also pursuing an alternative form of marriage relations within the pre-existing paradigm.

Women in Aremd needed to negotiate Islamic ideas and practice centered on modesty with a culture of modernity and liberalized intimacy that was reflected in television programs and embodied by women tourists. Increased tourist arrivals challenged residents to negotiate the community's pre-existing practices and ideas while interacting with foreign tourists who observed very different customs related to social and sexual relations. Long-term contact with women who practiced alternative gender roles for women, such as income-generation and more liberal sexual activity, challenged some men's gender ideologies regarding the role of women in the household. While women in Aremd spent significantly less time with tourists with men (in fact, most women did not spend any time with tourists) women's ideas about men's

roles were changing, particularly in terms of their expectations for husbands to display affection and engage in gift-giving. These two attributes were not only represented in commercial advertisements, they were personified by Mohandus, the leading male character in a Turkish television drama (Gumus) that was translated in Arabic, broadcast in Morocco as 'Noor', and was wildly popular among women in Aremd.

The series revolved around a woman named Noor and the trials and tribulations related to her marriage into a wealthy family. Her husband, Mohandus, was a tall, broad-shouldered blonde man with striking facial features and a persistent tendency to show absolute love and devotion to Noor. Every evening, while the tajine simmered on the propane flame and before the men returned from spending their day in the market, women settled in the lbeet tafeza and watched Noor together.

The marriage between Mohandas and Noor was not perfect. Occasionally, Noor became irritated, jealous, or angry and this would launch Mohandas into a series of actions aimed to regain her favor such as profound displays of affection and, of course, gift-giving. His actions conflicted with the prevailing ideologies about marriage relationships in Aremd. Many men in Aremd told me that affection toward the wife was a sign of weakness, and as mentioned in chapter four, a common saying among men in Aremd, 'a woman without children is like a cow without milk' reflected a gender ideology that limited women's role in marriage to the reproduction of children.

After several months living in Aremd, I began to look forward to watching the Noor program, or more specifically, Mohandus. When the women in Aremd discovered that I had developed an affinity for the character, it not only intensified my relationship with

many of the women in Aremd, it also allowed me to see what a profound effect Mohandas had on their daily lives and their ideas about the role of men and marriage.

While harvesting fodder, one of the women in our group asked me if I would marry when I returned to the United States. I joked that I planned to find a husband like Mohandas. 'Mohandas is *ishwah* (beautiful)?!' she asked me. 'Mohandas is *ishwah*,' I replied. That statement caused the group to stop working and sparked a discussion about Mohandas and the many ways that he was *ishwah*. Two of the women took it a step further and compared their own husbands to Mohandas, particularly their husbands' lack of generosity and affection.

Once I entered the 'Mohandus circle', I learned how the character was such a profound feature in the lives of women in Aremd. His televised actions were often the topic of conversation in the field, and women's daily agricultural activities revolved around the programming schedule of Noor. Morley (1991:5) pointed out how television watching is a ritual that serves to structure domestic life. A few days after I established my shared interest in Mohandas, I was back in the field and the woman I accompanied was hurriedly cutting fodder and then said 'yallah Sarah, Mohandas,' and gestured her scythe to the direction of her house.

Through Noor, women in Aremd realized a different set of options for love, marriage and domestic life. Abu Lughod's (1990) research with Western Desert Bedouin women in Egypt found that soap operas provide a different set of options for Bedouin women, particularly the possibility of marrying for love and living independent of the extended family. Through the character of Mohandus, the television promoted a

transformation of intimacy between men and women (Giddens 1992) and conveyed messages of love and romance and the importance of male gift-giving.³¹

Commercials peppered throughout the program reinforce ideologies regarding gendered patterns of exchange within the household. Advertisements for cars, clothing, and jewelry included dramatizations of the husband and father providing material goods for his wife and children, and the mother passing material goods on to her children. The flow of goods is accompanied with gestures of love acted out through the exchange of hugs, kisses and smiles. These commercials not only emphasize the purchasing power of male household members and their obligation to support their family, the displays of affection imply that men in the commercials derive satisfaction in fulfilling their financial obligations.

Televised dramas and commercials promote images of materiality, consumerism and alternative human relationships. At the same time, broadcast companies in Morocco include televised religious programming that reinforces conservatism and orthodox gender roles for Muslim women and men by broadcasting images and meanings that aim to define morality and promote behaviors that often contradict the images and meanings represented in secular programming. Like forms of 'indigenous media', religious programming uses media as 'vehicles for internal and external communication, for self-determination, and for resistance to outside cultural domination' (Ginsburg 1995a:256).

Susan Schaefer Davis (1995) has already called attention to the intersection of Islam, modernization and changing sexual politics and gender relations among

³¹ In Saudi Arabia, clerics blamed the Mohandas character for rising divorce rates; <http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2008/06/29/52291.html>

adolescents in a small Moroccan town. She found that although media exposure influenced social behavior, choice of mate, and career aspirations, adolescents were eager to reconcile different ways of living with Islamic ideas and practice.

Religious channels such as the Moroccan Assadissa by SNRT (http://www.snrt.ma/Sur-Assadissa_r67.html) and eight international religious channels by 2M provided constant religious programming from scripture readings in the Quran to debates, commentaries and documentaries. Televised sermons by religious leaders from countries like Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon imported foreign interpretations of Islam and Muslim practice and delivered messages that sometimes targeted the role of women in the home and society. Few women in Aremd were fluent in the forms of Arabic spoken by the religious men leading the programs, so they relied on translations and interpretations from male household members and the gendered images that were televised during a sermon that was delivered with authoritative address and tone.

I shared a midday meal in the lbeet tafeza with a small family, and lingered afterwards to watch a religious program on the television with an unmarried woman in her 20's. I asked her if she understood the Arabic dialect that the program was broadcast in. She did not, and neither did I. Together we watched the male host deliver a message in a fervent tone and quick speech. As she watched the program, she sat with an unopened copy of the Quran on her lap. Many residents in Aremd were illiterate and believed that hearing and speaking the words of the Quran was beneficial. A few times I observed women using the book as an amulet by tucking it next to a sleeping baby or holding it during sickness. Like the written word, televised religious programs in

Middle Eastern Arabic are incomprehensible for many women in Aremd, yet hearing and seeing the Quran was a form of religious practice .

As I watched the program with the young woman, I recognized the images presented by the speaker as the story of Lot and the divine destruction of the hedonistic cities of Sodom and Gomorra. The program displayed cartoon images of idol-worshipping women wearing scant clothing that exposed their arms and knees. Their hair was uncovered, hanging wild and loose over bare shoulders. Large bracelets hung from their wrists. Their lips were bright red and their mouths gaped wide to show loudness and laughter. They were flanked by eager-looking men whose tall bodies lurched over the women. The young woman laughed, pointed to the television and said, 'Mrakch!' referring to the nearest urban city, Marrakech. The idol-worshippers were analogous to the female characters represented in the program Noor, and similar to the way the women and girls in Aremd described and imitated female tourists and urban Moroccan women. For example, an eleven-year-old girl once pulled her shirt-sleeve over her shoulder, smoked an imaginary cigarette and gave out a cackling laugh while walking like a drunkard as we talked about Marrakechi women. Like their male counterparts, many women in Aremd were in process of reconceptualizing gender as they aspired to attain the qualities of tourists and urbanites, yet condemned the same qualities within the confines of the village by making a mockery of other women.

In contrast to the idol-worshippers, the program broadcast images of Lot's daughters with a more conservative and quiet demeanor. Loose fabric covered their arms, shoulders and legs, and the women clutched a loose cloth that covered their hair. Modest and beautiful, they wore fearful and concerned faces with closed mouths and

downcast eyes. They huddled together as they followed their father, the patriarch who led them away from debauchery and sin. Viewers did not need to understand the verbal commentary to understand the message. The visual story centered on the plight of the pure and pious surrounded by sin and debauchery, and in many ways, this reflected the situation of women in Aremd who were surrounded by a culture of modernity that reflects more liberalized social and sexual relations between men and women.

Religious programming challenged alternative gender models represented by Noor programs and strengthened ideas that promote women's seclusion from the encroaching immorality of the tourist environment that is penetrating Aremd. They validated social norms that prevented women from interacting with tourists and participating in the tourism economy. It is likely that globalized Islamic messages and meanings delivered by transnational broadcasting has also influenced the recent emergence of a small minority of ultra-conservative women in Aremd.

During my research term, there were less than ten women living in Aremd who fully covered their bodies, hands and faces with black fabric. They rarely left their homes and lived outside of the social fabric of the village by not participating in agricultural labor or socializing with other women in the village. I did not have access to these women, and I needed to rely on information from other residents. According to several men and women, this small population of women emerged in Aremd within the last decade. (A time period that coincides with the presence of electricity and television). I was told that one of the women was American, none of the residents were willing to take me to meet her.

The young woman I watched the religious program with was more modest than most women in Aremd in terms of dress, yet she was more educated and was one of the only women I met who engaged in income-generating activities. Although she had difficulty, she studied the Quran and consulted her father and brothers to assist her. She was the only woman in the village who attempted to educate me about Islam, and she gave me a small book of Quranic verses that were translated into French. She was also the only woman in Aremd who owned and operated a small store, or *hanoot*.

She brought me to her hanoot, a small room situated in the middle of the village, where she sold household items such as detergent and sponges, as well as dry goods such as lentils and cous cous. Compared to other hanoots in the village, her hanoot was immaculately clean and organized. When I took a picture of the space, she stepped away from the range of the camera and told me that in Islam, it was forbidden to have her picture taken.

I hung around the hanoot while she had a few transactions with female residents, and her father passed by and stopped to talk. I told him I was surprised to learn that she had a hanoot because none of the other women in Aremd had one. Didn't he want his daughter to get married like the others? He explained that he gave her the hanoot because he wanted his daughter to earn her own money rather than depend on a husband. Whether she married or not was up to the will of God, he said. After he left I asked her, do you want a husband? She shrugged and said, *inshaallah*, or God-willing.

This woman and her father represented an outlier in terms of what I found among most women and their fathers in Aremd, because they did not express patterns of behavior that were in any way similar to the other residents I interviewed. Yet they were

key in helping me identify the multiple ways residents exert agency to determine how they refashion themselves within the context of globalization. This reveals that residents in Aremd were not passive recipients of external globalized media forces, they actively selected which messages and meanings they chose to incorporate into their daily lives. Like commercial programming, most of the televised religious images represented men as providers, caretakers, decision-makers, and authoritarians as a moral foundation for women's reliance on male household members. Despite this, at least one woman and her father have chosen to challenge these ideologies, and forge a new role for women as income generators. Nonetheless, few women in Aremd shared this goal.

Although most women in Aremd do not participate in income generating activities, they play an active role in shaping the consumer demands of the household. Household consumerism is shaped in large part by state-sponsored commercial television broadcasts that deliver new meanings and messages that inform the social and material expectations of women and other family members who are marginalized from tourism-based economic networks.

As the family's expectations for the material and social relationships shift toward consumer-based global models represented by televised programming, pressure for male household members to engage in income-generating activities increases. A newly married tourism-worker complained, 'Everyday I work or I am looking for work, but I never have money. When I come home, the family is always asking me, 'Hussein, I need this. Hussein, I need this... My brother gives something to his wife, my wife asks me, 'Hussein, why do I have nothing? ... If I bring home a cadeau (gift), I need to have one for my wife, my mother, my sisters, and all the children. This is difficult! They want

to live like they are in London, but I have no money! ... I am never tranquil!' Chapter ten will address how the growing number of men participating in tourism-based labor has increased competition among tourism workers in Aremd, suppressed wages, and made it virtually impossible for workers to negotiate to improve working conditions. Since the tourism economy was one of the only means for male residents to generate income, transition from a productive economy to a consumptive economy fueled the growth of the tourism economy in Aremd by generating a steady supply of male tourism workers for transnational tourism companies operating in Aremd and ensuring community participation in state-motivated tourism development objectives. In this way, television goes in hand with tourism development.

Conclusion

The rapid expansion of tourism development in Aremd expedited an economic shift from a primarily food-producing economy to a cash-based market economy. As agricultural livelihoods were displaced with income-generating tourism activities, the role of women in Aremd transitioned from active participants in the gendered division of agricultural production to active participants in household consumption. Household consumption was largely shaped by the prevalence of television in the daily lives of women. Television watching enabled women to overcome the social barriers that prevented interaction with tourists and women were able to access ideological representations of modernity, material goods, and 'Western' ways of living through transnational broadcast media. Unlike representations and meanings of modernity that were offered to male residents through direct contact with foreign tourists, television programs presented popular ideologies about different ways of living, the availability of

material objects that accompany different lifestyles, and alternative configurations of human relationships, particularly between married men and women.

The life-worlds portrayed by televised media contributed to a fetishism of manufactured objects that represented a link to images and meanings that were connected to a globalized culture. This material link facilitated the expansion of the global tourism economy in Aremd by fueling consumer demand for market-based goods and restructuring local cultural processes that encouraged a trans-cultural commodity system that was more compatible with a globalized market agenda. While the development of a tourism economy linked Aremd to the global economy and provided a means to access goods in the global market, television programs recruited household members into a consumer culture that intensified the demand for men to participate in income-generating activities in the tourism economy. In light of this, televised broadcasting is an apostle for the expansion of the global economy and the assimilation of rural people into a culture of modernity.

CHAPTER 6
KEEPING MOROCCAN TIME: TOURISM AND TEMPORAL HEGEMONY IN A
MOUNTAIN VILLAGE

Introduction

The symbolic ordering of time is inextricably linked to individual identity and social cohesion; and this places time in a pivotal position within systems of power in the tourism economy in the village of Aremd. As state-motivated tourism development policies aimed to increase the circulation of tourists in rural communities in Morocco, residents in Aremd encountered new temporal frameworks that oftentimes conflicted with the pre-existing religious, agricultural, and social time regimes observed and practiced by the community. The emerging dominance of a globalized 24/7 temporal regime in Aremd resulted in a hegemonic reformulation of temporal frameworks that not only restructured economic activity, it penetrated the social fabric of the community, the household and the individual.

This chapter will investigate how international tourism development in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco generated changes in the temporal experiences for residents in the village of Aremd. Research for this project identified how the community's transition from a primarily localized agrarian economy to a new globalized tourism economy introduced, enforced, and privileged temporal frameworks that conflicted with the temporal frameworks that were, at one time, embedded within the social fabric of the community. In Aremd, the growing dominance of international tourism-based timing (a framework centered on the global elite) has restructured the temporal fabric of the community in partial and uneven ways. Furthermore, access, control and use of different temporal frameworks in Aremd generated social fractures in the community, particularly in terms of gender and age.

Aremd, like many mountain communities in Morocco, has been the focus of state economic policies that aim to alleviate rural poverty by increasing cash and capital flows through the development of new tourism-based economies. Located only seventy kilometers from the urban center of Marrakech, Aremd is a 'gateway community' to Toubkal National Park and a crown jewel for rural tourism in Morocco. Oral histories and early ethnographies (Miller 1984, Hammoudi 1993; Mahdi 1999) report that the clan known as the Ait Mizane comprised of approximately 600 residents that occupied mud and stone homes that still cling to the steep mountain slope. Residents carried out subsistence agricultural production on irrigated stepped terraces by cultivating walnuts, barley and vegetables through a labor system organized according to an age and gender based division of labor and a system of reciprocal labor exchange. Young men led goat herds to elevated pastures and women cared for livestock near the home. Additional goods were exchanged via an extensive network that linked communities in the mountain valley and into the arid flatlands.

By the 20th century, residents engaged in cash market exchange of walnuts and new cash crops such as cherries and apples were incorporated into the gender and age based system of production. In 1940 however, a new road was built by the French protectorate while Morocco was occupied by the colonial regime. The road made the mountain range more accessible for European alpinists, and by 1942 the first café catering to tourists was built by a local resident at the road's terminus in Imlil, approximately one kilometer from down slope from Aremd.

In the early eighties, geographer James Miller (1984) produced an ethnography of Imlil. He noted that the local tourism economy was gaining momentum at that time, and

he predicted that the agrarian community would transition to a predominantly tourism-based economy. He was right. By the end of the decade, the village of Imlil virtually disappeared as its geographic space transitioned into a tourism center for satellite villages such as Imzeek and Aremd. By the 21st century, tourism took center stage for state motivated economic policies in Morocco, such as the Vision 2010 campaign. The new economy ushered novel goods and technologies into Aremd such as electricity, internet, television and satellite broadcasting.

At the time of research for this project in 2007-2008, agricultural activities persisted as a secondary and undesirable backup economy to tourism-based income generation. Many agricultural fields and terraces had been converted to gite and cottage accommodations to host tourists or had been sold to urbanites and foreigners at inflated property prices. The tourism-based realities experienced by 21st century youth in Aremd were dramatically different from the experiences of their agrarian parents only a generation earlier. The differences delve deeper than material experiences and expectations between youth and elders, however. Economic change in Aremd generated rifts in one of the most fundamental aspects of life - time.

Theoretical Frameworks

Time, according to David Harvey (1989), is one of the most basic categories of human existence. Temporal meanings are so embedded within the social cognition and organization of human living they are taken for granted as common sense. Temporal processes and perceptions are learned yet seldom noticed, and they are performed through human action in routinized ways that shape individual identity and group cohesion because the symbolic orderings of time determine who we are (Bourdieu 1977). The central role of temporal processes and meanings for individual identity and

social dynamics places time in a pivotal position within systems of power and control. And the temporal realities situated within systems of power in capitalist economies make time of particular relevance for international tourism development policies aimed at rural people. 'In money economies, and in capitalist society in particular,' David Harvey writes, 'the intersecting command of money, time and space forms a substantial nexus of social power that we cannot afford to ignore' (1989:#).

Temporal realities are as numerous and varied as the range of individuals and collectives that experience it. Early research on time produced a vast arrangement of temporal typologies and time ethnographies that aimed to highlight differences on how time has been conceived and practiced. Different cultural schemas were labeled with titles such as *linear, cyclical, agricultural, secular, religious, work, leisure, A-series, B-series, calendrical, seasonal, epochal, glacial, lunar, solar, diurnal, nocturnal, historical, prehistorical, diachronic, synchronic*, and so on (Durkheim 1915;1965, Evans-Pritchard 1935; Levi-Straus 1963; Gell 1992, Bluedorn 2002). As a veritable degree of time diversity was established via an assortment of time typologies and genres both within and between groups and individuals, social theories began to focus on the manner in which time is created and understood.

Early work by Emile Durkheim presented time as a social product 'objectively thought of by everybody in a single civilization' (1915:10). Later ethnographic research on time shed light on the diverse range of temporal frames operating *within* groups. Gurvitch (1964) proposed a framework for interpreting the meaning of time by situating the specific sense of time within particular social formations. In this way, time takes on multiple meanings as every social relation contains a specific sense of time. Pierre

Bourdieu (1977) assigned a more active role to time by arguing that although time takes place through social action, it simultaneously serves to shape social action. Bourdieu (1977:163) writes, 'the temporal forms or the spatial structures structure not only the group's representation of the world but the group itself, which orders itself in accordance with this representation.' The symbolic orderings of time, according to Bourdieu (1977) provide a framework for experience through which we learn who and what we are in society. Bourdieu's study of time in the Kabyle house and external domains such as fields, markets and gardens went on to demonstrate how the organization of time assigned meanings to divisions within the group. For example, the organization of time in the household reflected gender and age relations and the division of household labor. Similarly, temporal variation within larger groups has been identified by scholars such as Eviatar Zerubavel (1985) who demonstrated how the timing of worship and the day of the *Sabbath* served to distinguish three related monotheistic religious communities; Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Without discounting the social significance of time, David Harvey argues that time cannot be understood independently of material processes (1989:203). He relies on early time theories by Durkheim (1915) and Lefebvre (1992) to argue that time is formulated through material processes and practices that serve to reproduce social life. From a materialist perspective, each distinctive mode of production or social formation will embody a distinctive construction of time practices and concepts. At the same time, however, changes in the conceptual apparatus of time will have material consequences for the daily ordering of life (Harvey 1989:204).

Materialist perspectives provided the foundation for early Marxist investigations into the relationship between time and historical processes, particularly political-economic change. Historian E.P. Thompson (1967) correlated labor control in early industrial factories in England with the imposition of new systems of time-discipline. According to Thompson, task-oriented production was replaced with time-oriented production; and as a consequence, daily living became structured according to unnatural time-keeping devices. Later studies placed the factory system as the single most important factor in changing people's perception toward time (Le Goff 1980; Landes 1983; Hopkin 1982); others highlighted the uneven development of standard time in the latter nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Aveni 1989; Davison 1992; Pawson 1992); while several challenged Thompson's thesis (Whipp 1981; Harrison 1986; Glennie and Thrift 1996, May and Thrift 2001). Regardless, Thompson's argument established the foundation for an evaluation of time in modern capitalist systems and created a framework for addressing how new meanings for time emerged with the monetized valuation of time through the connection of money to wages within social relations in the capitalist labor system.

In capitalist economies, money measures value. In capitalist relations of production, money is connected to time through the social value of labor vis a vis wages (Marx 1973: 173, Harvey 1984). Command over a person's labor is essentially command over one's time (Marx 1967 vol 1, 233). Through wages, money is used to command time, and time is converted back into money. *Wage time* is measured and controlled via *clock time* in standardized hours, minutes and even seconds; time sheets

disaggregate 'on the clock' wage time, *double time* and *time and a half* from 'off the clock' *free time*, *break time*, *lunch time*, and *time off*.

Altering the ways time is used and defined can increase profits because it allows the capitalist to maximize the amount of labor and production associated with 'on the clock' time. This is most apparent, Harvey writes, in commodity exchange when shorter turnover times generate greater revenues (Harvey 1984:229). Assembly lines, mechanization, electronic banking and digital financial transactions are technological innovations designed to overcome temporal barriers in the commodity exchange system. Production systems with the fastest transactions can generate the greatest profit and are therefore in a better position to survive a competitive market.

Hassan and Purser (2007:2) point out that the term '24/7' emerged out of the relentless production of contemporary commerce, and this new temporal logic drives individuals beyond clock-based regimes and into a system of continuous production. Speed and acceleration are the temporal character of capitalist economies; this makes spatial barriers that delay exchange processes a central concern in capitalist development in the world system.

The spatial context of time became relevant through time research in geography that fused temporal realities with the geospatial experiences of space, place, and movement in what Glennie and Thrift (1996:280) have named a 'geography of time, timing and time-consciousness.' Time-space geographies can trace its roots to the work of Torsten Hagerstrand (1953, 1967) that highlighted the temporal character of human spatial activities. These studies pointed to the spatial associations apparent in the creation of time and the temporal experiences within either dual time-space frameworks

or an integrated spatio-temporal context (Adam 1990; Davidson 1992; Howell 1992; Pawson 1992; Massey 1994; May and Thrift 2001). Other geographers began taking a closer look at how communication and transportation technologies that appear primarily concerned with overcoming spatial barriers (such as satellite broadcasting, telephones, internet, electronic banking and vast transportation networks) alter the human perception of time and temporal experiences (Janelle 1968; Falk and Abler 1980, Zerubavel 1981; Harvey 1989; Adam 1992; Urry 1995; Stein 2001, Shaw 2001, Davies 2001, Wolch 2001, De Verteuil 2001). At the same time, geographers pointed out how spatio-temporal technologies significantly increased the speed and volume of capital and information flows (Castells 1989; O'Brien 1991; Leyshon 1995). One of the most significant associations of time and economic systems came to light out of this body of research.

Time-space compression emerged in the context of political-economic studies by geographer David Harvey (1989). Harvey's thesis stemmed from Marx's (1887) earlier notion of the 'great acceleration' and the 'annihilation of space by time' which is grounded in an historical series of technological developments in transport and communication technologies that increased the speed of travel and communication and consequently changed the human experience in negotiating space and time (Thrift 1994, Stein 1999 (in May and Thrift)). The compression of time and space refers to the ever-diminishing amount of time it takes to traverse space and the way people represent that fact to themselves (Harvey 1989: 240). Time-space compression has restructured the spatial organization of human populations, independently of

geographic, political, and territorial boundaries, and created a shrinking 'global village' characterized by intense interconnection (and disconnection) worldwide.

Intense interconnection and time-space compression has created a 'network ecology' according to Hassan and Purser (2007) who argue that a cybernetic fusion of humans with technological aids has changed fundamental aspects in the human relationship to time and restructured human living according to a new type of synchronous time. They argue that in a 'network society' (Manovich 2001:25-26) clock-based *shift* time characteristically related to capitalist work regimes is being deconstructed by '*flexible* and *efficient*' labor regimes aimed to accommodate the new global economic system, one that is based on transnational production, circulation and consumption activities taking places over vast geographic domains.

Flexible accumulation, also coined by Harvey (1989:147), is characterized as a fluid and decentralized system of production that departs from the rigid and centralized *Fordist*, or factory-based, production systems that are based on synchronization, predictability and planning. Contemporary capitalists are no longer limited to localized labor pools, unions, regulations and restrictions. Transportation and communication technologies, coupled with state policies (Robinson 2004), enable capitalists to take advantage of an international assemblage of surplus labor pools and more lenient production regulations in other parts of the world. In order to accommodate a multinational pool of laborers working simultaneously, multinational production and labor regimes operate according to an '*any time any place*' temporal logic.

A globalized network society allows transnational production (and consumption) regimes to expand capitalist frontiers by incorporating peripheral economies into the

global economic system. In economic policy and practice, this process is referred to as 'development'. Yet the network society that facilitates global economic expansion does not translate into an even and homogenous spread of development or a fair distribution of the goods and services it produces. Global capitalism is characterized by partial and uneven networks and contacts that generate differential flows and accumulations of wealth, technologies, information, and power (Sassen 2006, 1998). Therefore, the temporal logic of the global network society interacts, articulates, and changes other temporal frameworks in various ways according to the intensity and circumstances of the human connection. The result is a radical variation in the global constitution of temporalities. This constitution is consistently restructured and reformulated according to constantly changing circumstances within the domains of economics, politics, environment, etc. As Anthony Giddens (1984) points out, through the perpetual restructuring of society, individuals incorporate their own interpretations to received knowledge, and these interpretations diversify beliefs, perceptions, and values within in a single community. The experience of temporal restructuring differs among people according to location, as well as a person's social positioning within existing power structures (May 1994; Stein 2001; May and Thrift 2001).

Time relations are nested in multi-scalar systems of power. Since different groups and individuals signal different meanings through use of time, time can be the site for intercultural conflict because power relations are always implicated in temporal practices (Hall 1966; Harvey 1984:226). Power differentials and systems of inequality brought about through economic development processes have serious implications for the temporalities of the disadvantaged and oppressed. Hegemony is political, economic,

ideological or cultural domination by one group over another (Gramsci 1992); temporal hegemony occurs when those who control the material processes also control the temporal context of social relations. The nesting of time in the social fabric of communities and its significance as a fundamental aspect of the human experience forces us to consider how international tourism development processes create new meanings for temporality within hegemonic circumstances.

It should come as no surprise that the recent explosion in international tourism development coincides with the emergence of the globalized network society. Time-space compression creates optimal conditions for tourism, an economy that has been characterized as the largest scale movement of goods and people in history (Greenwood 1989:171). The affluent are no longer bound to photographs and descriptive literature about the 'exotic' that appear to live outside of the network. Rapid advances in transport and communication enable the global elite, and anthropologists, to visit faraway places as tourists and gain first-hand experiences with the 'other'.

Tourists travel along transportation nodes and networks. They regularly connect into communication networks via technologies such as cell phones, internet, and electronic banking. In an attempt to escape the network, either for an extended period or a brief moment, many tourists journey into the 'remote'. These tourists comprise the market for international initiatives aimed at alleviating rural poverty in remote areas through tourism. Tourism development advocates rely on the intrepid adventure-seeking tourist to extend the network as they venture into the frontier, engage local people, and use money as the medium of exchange. Through this process, organizations such as

The United Nations World Tourism Organization argue, tourism is a vehicle for poverty alleviation.

However, new social arrangements are created as rural people engage in the tourist economy and connect into a sophisticated network society that is quite different from the way of life they are accustomed to. Rural people are oftentimes burdened with information deficits, technological shortages, communication pitfalls, and limited resources when they bargain with tourists and business savvy transnational tourism entrepreneurs; the tourism economy is hardly a level playing field. As a result of power differentials, tourists and tourism operators control the material conditions of tourism development and thereby dictate the temporal circumstances in which it operates.

This paper will rely on the aforementioned theoretical frameworks to investigate the temporal negotiations taking place between tourism participants (tourists and tourism operators) and residents in the village of Aremd in the High Atlas Mountains to create an interpretive framework that recognizes: 1.) the multiplicity of the subjective qualities which time models express, 2.) the role of human practices in their construction, and 3.) how development-based power dynamics rooted in social relationships shape temporal realities for residents in uneven and unequal ways. This paper will argue that tourism-based economic change affects cultural practice through a hegemonic reformulation of temporal processes that not only restructures economic activity, it penetrates the social fabric of the community, the household and the individual.

Methods

This research is based on sixteen months of anthropological fieldwork while living in Aremd in 2007 – 2008 as a U.S. Fulbright grantee. In the beginning of the research

term, I relied on a structuralist theoretical approach and attempted to create time diaries for residents to record and analyze demographic patterns in the availability and use of time, *as I conceived it*. However, it was through my own personal experiences in living in the village and participating in the social fabric of the community that I began to understand how *my* time was quite different from the variety of times used and conceived by many people in Aremd. This stimulated a theoretical shift to a more conceptual framework that relied on participant-observation in daily activities in Aremd³² and informal interviews with residents, tourists and tourism company owners and operators.

‘Moroccan Time’

*Come back for emklee*³³, one resident said while I was departing their home during a morning visit. *Emklee? When is emklee?* I asked. *Emklee*, they replied. *But when?* I asked again, pointing to the top of my wrist. *Emklee!* she laughed while holding open the door for me to leave. I stepped outside her home confused and frustrated. I had been in the village for a month and the novelty of living in a remote area far away from home was beginning to wear off. The machinations of life in Aremd perplexed me, and my constant state of confusion was becoming a source of entertainment for the residents.

Before I began the research term, I spent a few days in the capital city of Rabat to attend an orientation for Fulbright grantees. During that time, I met coordinators of the event, Moroccan nationals and foreign nationals who referred to ‘Moroccan Time.’ It

³² The gender-segregated culture of Aremd caused a majority of my participant-observation to take place among women.

³³ Italicized dialogue denotes conversation in Arabic, French or Tachelhit that has been translated

was usually a joking reference to extended delays in meeting times, appointments, opening and closing of businesses, and a general unstructured air of temporal fluidity imparting a sense of being in no particular hurry. Moroccan time, as it was used, reflected similar accounts related to differences in the perception of the pace of life such as 'Island time' and 'Trinidad time' (Shaw 2001; Birth 1999). Learning to adjust to Moroccan time was considered by the coordinators of the event as a key part of the grantees' cultural accommodation to living in Morocco.

When I arrived in Aremd, it became immediately clear that daily life in the village was more regimented and routinized than I expected. Most residents rose before dawn for the first of five daily prayers that were summoned by the mosque near the center of the village. The male head of household in the family I lived with was in charge of the early morning call to prayer. This was a task he performed with great pride. Every morning he awoke, without an alarm clock, to deliver the call. Men left the homes to pray in the mosque and women usually prayed at home before preparing a small meal of tea and bread. After the small meal, children ran to school and farming men and women went into the fields. Tourism workers migrated to Imlil to find work and congregate with men from neighboring villages. Within a few hours, women farming near their homes returned to prepare a more hearty morning meal in an earthen clay tajine dish for the family. Children stayed in school and men in Imlil ate with other men.

The midday call to prayer signaled another mass migration of men to the mosque and women began preparing a large midday meal, *emklee*. Children came home from school for *emklee*. During *emklee*, the village appeared vacant as nearly everyone is inside eating with their families. After *emklee*, children returned to school and parents

napped or returned to the field to finish agricultural chores. The day came to a close after the evening prayer when the entire family congregated in the home to share *emensee*, the final meal of the day, and retire to the bed.

I eventually figured out that *emklee* was the meal that followed the midday prayer, and like the residents, I began to structure my days according to the regular routine of prayer and meal times. For many residents in the village, prayers and meals took priority over labor tasks. Farming activities were suspended and small storefronts, or *hanoots*, were shut down during meal and prayer times. The holy prayer day, Friday, also took priority over farming and local commerce. Most *hanoots* were closed on Friday.

The routinization of daily and weekly prayer and meal time regimes were disrupted by annual religious holidays, particularly *Ramadan* and *Eid Kabir*. During the month of Ramadan, residents refrained from eating and drinking during daylight hours. Residents awoke in the dark morning hour to pray and eat a calorie-rich meal before the call from the mosque signaled the daylight fast. *Emklee* was replaced with television watching and visiting other households in the village. In the evening, families congregated in their homes to pray together and break the fast when the prayer call from the mosque signaled the end of day. Breaking the day's fast on the final day of Ramadan was a festive event marked by family visits and gift-giving. The religious holiday, *Eid Kabir*, marked an occasion for families to congregate and share gifts while farming men showed off their animal dressing skills, an art that is rapidly disappearing in the village.

Ramadan, the Eid and other holidays and holy days occurred according to the Islamic calendar³⁴.

In addition to religion, agriculture also shaped temporal rhythms for residents in Aremd. Agricultural activities, both subsistence and cash-crop production, were organized according to a gender and age-based division of labor. Men and women, children and parents worked together during planting, irrigation and harvesting times. During the walnut harvest (October) for example, men climbed high into the tree tops and thrashed the nuts with long reeds and women and children collected the nuts from the ground. Men hauled the load of walnuts to the household where women defleshed the nuts. The entire family worked together to wash the nuts, spread them on the roof top to dry in the sun, and place them in large bags for storage or transport to the market. Men usually sold the walnut harvest to brokers or sold them directly to buyers in the market. Similar routines were carried out during the cherry harvest (June) and the apple harvest (September). In this way, agriculture facilitated family cohesion as members worked together according to the temporal rhythms of production.

Agricultural rhythms also bonded residents in different households as members came together to share a common task. During the hay, or *Isheesh*, harvesting season (summer), women worked in groups as they assisted one another in cutting and hauling enormous bails of fodder upslope to their home or storage rooms. Men worked together to repair and clean the irrigation systems that directed surface water down slope into their fields and terraces. Time spent conducting cooperative agricultural labor created bonds among households that extended beyond the immediate family network.

³⁴ The Islamic calendar is based on 12 lunar months and years are counted beginning with the year the Prophet traveled to Mecca.

While the temporal rhythms of agriculture, religion and meals structured the timescape of households in Aremd, clocks adorned the walls of nearly every home in Aremd. In most cases, the hour and minute hand remain in a fixed position, lacking the battery power needed to make them move. They did not function as time-keeping devices that regulate the behavior and activities of household members, but they displayed the symbolic significance of a new temporal order emerging in Aremd.

Tourism Time

For the most part, tourism time in Aremd was modeled on European time. Most Europeans adhere to the Gregorian calendar³⁵ and daily rhythms are tracked according to incremental time measures standardized as hours, minutes and sometimes seconds. One day is measured as 24 hours. A seven-day week is generally organized according to workday – weekend arrangements.

Although Europe is comprised of a diverse range of religious and non-religious populations, the Christian calendar provided a historical religious backdrop to the sharp peak in tourist arrivals during the Christmas and Easter holidays. In addition to weekends and Christian holidays, Europeans adhere to a vacation and holiday system that converts a workday into a leisure day for secular or personal reasons. Calendar, day and week times are tracked via clocks, watches, and digital communication devices such as cell phones and computers.

Despite the routinized calendar, week and day temporal frameworks, tourists are linked into the network society and a 24/7 time regime. Tourists originate from various

³⁵ The Gregorian calendar is a 12 month civil calendar introduced by the Catholic Pope Gregory XIII in Europe in 1582. Year counting is based on the *anno domini* system rooted in Catholicism during the middle ages.

destinations and time zones, and they travel through transportation networks that traverse multiple locales and time zones. International transportation networks do not conform to regional temporal practices; airlines and airports, trains and stations, ferries and ports usually operate according to a 24/7 time regime. As a result, tourists arrive and depart from Morocco, and enter and leave Aremd, 24/7 every day of the year.

Tour Operators

Although the offices of transnational tourism operators operate according to the European time-scape, the management of tourists occurs 24/7. For package tours, most tour operators required tourists to arrange their own flight accommodations into Marrakech and the tour contract began with their arrival in the airport and ended with their airport departure. Since airport arrivals and departures occurred all day and night, companies needed to provide transportation to and from the airport 24/7. A package tour comprised of tourists from multiple origins arriving on multiple flights could necessitate several pick-up and drop-off services throughout the day and night.

In many cases, tourists arrived in Morocco without making prior arrangements. Many tour operators maintained offices in urban areas like Marrakech and offered 'walk-in' tourists on the spot opportunities to purchase packaged tours lasting a day or several weeks. Spontaneous and unpredictable contracts with post-arrival tourists necessitated immediate arrangement and availability for transport, guiding and accommodations. To accommodate spontaneous, unpredictable and 24/7 habits of tourism arrivals, tourism operators expected workers (most of whom are uncontracted and unofficial) to be available at a moments notice, night and day. During interviews, tour operators referred to 24/7 availability as *reliability*. Workers that failed to respond at a moments notice, or

were unavailable 24/7, were bypassed for those who were considered *more reliable*. As the tourism labor pool swelled in Morocco, alternate workers were easy to find.

Operators often complained that *punctuality* was the primary problem with local labor pools. Several operators stated that punctuality was more important than language. 'It is easier for them to learn a language than to be on time. They can take a class for language, but punctuality, that is a mentality. You cannot change that.' (IN3) Operators emphasize punctuality because tours were designed to provide the maximum amount of services and activities within a limited time frame. To accommodate this, most tours abided by a very regulated schedule based on hour and minute regimes that began with predawn meal preparations and ended with late night entertainment and festivities. When tourists went over-board with late night festivities, care and management of sick or injured tourists could extend through the night and into the next day. Regardless of the amount of sleep time available to workers, workers were expected to be prepared early the next morning. Tourism time demanded that workers were familiar with clock-time regimes and demonstrated time-discipline by adhering to it. In this way, tourist time is a form of cultural capital that could lead to economic gain.

Some international tour operators, particularly one operation based in Australia, bypassed local guides and employed American, British and Australian guides as cultural brokers between tourists and local workers. In one company, local guides worked alongside foreign guides (for lesser pay). Yet, unlike foreign guides who received time off for vacations and visitation with family, the local guides did not receive vacation time.

Tourists

The majority of tourists arriving in Aremd originated from Europe. Residents reported that most of the tourists visiting the village came from France in the past, but

tourists from England became the majority in recent years.³⁶ Residents reported that in the past only a few tourists were from Australia or the United States, but the minority was growing rapidly. Additionally, tourists from China were virtually unknown in the past but there was a sudden increase in arrivals from China after the two nations signed The Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco on Tourism Cooperation³⁷. Nearly all tourists originated from the 24/7 network society. Whether they contacted the tourism laborer through a tour operator or through direct contract off the street, virtually all tourists maintained their connection to the network via internet, cell phones and electronic banking and exercise their temporal framework. They conformed to European time regimes through their use of watches and cell phones to track incremental clock time and schedule activities and meeting places. Tourists expected their guides and local laborers to adopt their temporal frameworks. During interviews with tourists, the second most common complaint and expression of frustration was related to the failure of local laborers to express time-discipline³⁸. Tourists hate to wait. Even on vacation, time is money. Time spent waiting while touring translates into money wasted.

Tourists expected time-discipline and punctuality from tourism laborers. At the same time, vacation time is liminal time, a time when status, roles and obligations are temporarily suspended (Graburn 1977; Moore 1980; Lett 1983; Vester 1987; Turner 1974). Tourists remained connected to the network society and clock-time regimes, but

³⁶ This is likely due to the popularity of the Irish economy airline, *Ryan Air*, which provided a round-trip flight from London to Marrakech for less than 20 pounds during the time of the research term.

³⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (<http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/xybfs/gjlb/2858/t16394.htm>)

³⁸ Common complaints were related to sales pressures and the perception of being 'scammed'.

vacation indicates that tourists are on holiday from the temporal expectations and obligations imposed by them. This creates a double bind for tourism laborers who must negotiate the time-discipline demanded by tourism operators and the time flexibility demanded by tourists. Tourism laborers are charged with the additional task of negotiating tourist time with the temporal rhythm practiced by their friends and family in Aremd.

Tourism Time in Aremd

Many male residents in Aremd worked exclusively as unofficial wage laborers for transnational and urban tourism operators outside of Aremd; yet a wide variety of money-making opportunities were available for unemployed and underemployed men living in the village. This is because Aremd is a tourist *destination*. The landscape, the village, resident's homes, and even the residents are tourist attractions. As a result, tourists were always in the village. Tourists stayed in resident's homes, accompanied residents into the fields and to the market, and even ate meals with the family³⁹. Since Aremd is a destination, tourism workers never actually leave their workplace; and the constant presence of tourists visiting the village year round presented relentless money-making opportunities for residents.

Continuous opportunities to make money from tourists created stress and anxiety from many residents because the mobility of tourists offers only a brief window of opportunity for residents to capture tourist expenditures. Opportunity anxiety was compounded by the unpredictability of tourism arrivals. The number of tourists in the

³⁹ In this way, virtually everyone in Aremd is a tourism worker.

village fluctuated dramatically and this led to intense income insecurity. Opportunity anxiety and income insecurity was compounded by internal labor competition.

The number of men working in tourism and the percentage of households that rely on tourism-based income (nearly 100%) increased dramatically in recent years due to the lucrative nature of tourism labor, as compared to agricultural work. A 35 year-old guide who began leading tourists as a teenager complained, 'There were not as many tourists here before, but there were few of us in Aremd who could work with them. Now, everyone is doing it. Even rich men in the city come here with tourists. The money was good before. I know there are more tourists, but now it is too difficult. I need to find other work because I cannot support my family anymore.' (BZ) Labor competition coupled with the brief window of opportunity to earn money and the unpredictability of tourism arrivals forced tourism laborers to actively engage the tourism economy 24/7.

In light of this, tourism workers are often absent from the daily temporal practices that promote family cohesion, such as prayer and meal times. Guides and drivers eat when tourists decide to eat. Guides sleep when tourists are asleep. I asked one 29 year old guide how he prayed when he was with tourists. 'I can't pray!' he replied incredulously. 'If I stopped to pray five times, do you know what happens? They complain to the owner.' (HA) Tourists often took pictures of residents praying in the outdoors, and public prayer was a form of entertainment for many – provided it did not conflict with other tourism activities. I witnessed tourist anger first-hand after a taxi driver pulled his vehicle to the side of the road to pray. The delay caused an uproar from the other foreign passengers who were anxious to arrive at their destination.

In addition to daily routines, tourism workers also negotiated tourism time with long term religious and agricultural timeframes. While fasting during Ramadan, many guides were required to lead tourists on week-long trips into the mountains, spending the entire day hiking and climbing at high altitudes. During the Eid, a newly married guide missed his first opportunity to participate in the crucial moment when every married male in Aremd performs their religious obligation to slaughter an animal. He was waiting for a delayed flight at the Marrakech airport. He returned home, a day late, and provided his family with the same explanation for his absence that I witnessed many times during my stay; he didn't have a choice.

Tourism time demands also conflicted with agricultural timeframes. Mountain tours could last more than a week and even more than a month. Workers seized the opportunity to work extended tours because they provided a significant amount of income. Extended and unpredictable time demands of tourism labor made it nearly impossible for laborers to meet the time-sensitive demands of agricultural regimes. Planting, harvesting and storage of crops were coordinated within a limited time window and timed according to weather conditions. For example, rainfall during a dry planting season necessitated immediate action to plant seeds while the ground conditions were appropriate. During a break in the rainy season, walnuts and *Isheesh* were hauled onto terraces to dry in the sun. Absence during crucial agricultural moments forces tourism laborers to rely on others to perform their agricultural duties. Failure to fulfill the temporal commitments in agriculture could lead to considerable economic losses.

None of the men interviewed expressed regret over missing agricultural events, however. Agricultural livelihoods are considered lowly and backward by most young

men and women in Aremd. Agriculture is the last resort for those who do not have the resources (language, contacts, time-discipline, etc.) necessary to participate and compete in tourism labor. 'He does irrigation because that is all he knows,' explained a café owner while we watched a young man irrigate his cherry trees. During community-wide cooperative labor activities, such as irrigation system maintenance and repair, many tourism workers went to Marrakech. 'I do not have fields to irrigate, so I am not obliged,' one man responded after I asked him why he left. This sentiment reflected a social divide in Aremd, as a growing segment of the population opts out of cooperative activities that bind the community.

Young women also opted out of agricultural labor when marriage to a successful tourism worker provided enough material support to enable them to abandon agricultural tasks women usually perform. The ability to opt out imbued status and prestige, yet it came at the cost of being alienated from the cliques and alliances women formed when working together. While visiting a very young woman who married a successful guide, I asked why she didn't want to join the other women. *I work hard to wash these clothes; I do not want to make them dirty!* she replied. (FA) She married into Aremd from a nearby village and had only a few relatives to visit. She spent the majority of her days at home cooking, cleaning and taking care of her children; alone. She is part of a growing population of women in Aremd whose agricultural livelihood has been displaced by tourism, and time spent in agriculture was being replaced with time spent watching television.

Early on, I recognized television as a salient feature in the time allocation diaries I created for women. I did not find a single household in Aremd that did not have a

television. 'Watching television' was the primary activity for women living in households that were supported by tourism and the timing of television programming structured time spent performing household activities. One Turkish serial called 'Noor' was a village favorite, and even women who engaged in agricultural labor rushed back to their households in the early evenings to tune in to the latest drama. Noor was replacing agriculture as a cohesive vehicle for women. Nearly every woman in the village, women who worked in agriculture, women who did not, and even an American anthropologist came together to watch and discuss Noor.

In addition to agriculture and television, women spent a significant amount of the day conducting household chores; washing clothes, house cleaning, childcare and cooking meals. Women prepared six meals each day, and as previously mentioned, meal preparation accommodated prayer schedules. Three of the six daily meals were prepared as a tajine or cous cous; both dishes required more than an hour to prepare. Women also prepared tea and snacks several times throughout the day, especially when another resident or an anthropologist arrived for a visit.

Women living in households with tourism workers had the additional task of preparing meals and tea for tourists that visited their homes. Male household members arrived with tourists, usually unexpectedly and without notice, at any time of the day and oftentimes into night. When tourists arrived, women needed to suspend household activities to accommodate tourists and the male household member working with them. In home-stay and bed and breakfast accommodations, women washed linens and tourist clothes, cleaned rooms and prepared meals. Unlike men, women's time contribution to tourism labor was unpaid. Women's tourism labor was considered a part

of their domestic contribution, and although the rare tip from a tourist was appreciated, women did not expect male household members to compensate them for their time. I asked one gite owner why he did not pay his sister and wife for assisting him with tourists. He replied, 'why do they need money?' (OLR)

Cultural norms prohibit women from interacting with non-relative males, and this limits women's ability to engage directly in tourism labor activities in the ways that men do. This has created a gender rift in temporal realities of men and women. Men in Aremd use watches and cell phones (possessions of status and prestige) to stay in tune with the new temporal rhythm that is emerging in Aremd. Some women in Aremd wear watches as adornment; it is an adornment that associates them with the temporal culture that is penetrating their lives. I forgot my watch in one household after spending the day washing laundry with women in the home. I returned the next day to retrieve it and discovered the teenage daughter wearing it. She asked me if she could wear it a little longer and I agreed. While wearing the watch, she took great care to protect it and regularly inspected the watch face. When she walked through the village, it stimulated excited discussion among young girls who marveled over it. So much commotion took place over the watch, when the time came, I could not possibly take it back. Although women in Aremd did not abide by the temporal regimes enforced by watches, the symbolic meaning the time piece represented was significant. While at the same time, women's temporal rhythms were affected by tourism vis a vis their social obligation to assist male household members. Tourism time generated hardships for women by increasing the amount of time invested in household labor while providing no direct economic returns.

Participation in tourism labor was also limited for the elder male population who not only lacked the physical stamina necessary to lead extended trips into rugged mountain terrains or participate in exhausting tours, they did not possess the necessary resources to compete in the tourism labor market such as foreign language proficiency, literacy, familiarity with European time expectations and other forms of cultural capital. Elder males did comprise the majority of the land-owning population in Aremd, and they represented the backbone of agricultural production in the village. Some women in Aremd owned land and possessed knowledge about managing it. Yet, men controlled land, and male heads of household directed agricultural time spent by women and children, as well as unemployed and underemployed sons. Men decided what to plant, when to plant, and how to manage the harvest.

In addition to agricultural management, elder males engaged in tourism as entrepreneurs by converting agricultural land into locations for cafes, souvenir shops, and cottages. Tourism revenues decreased dependency on agriculture and alleviated the time rigors of farming production. Like agricultural time, elder males controlled labor time invested into the business by household members, as well as the distribution of revenue generated by the business. Labor time by women and children was usually unpaid. Fathers often collected their son's earnings. Small tourism-based businesses enabled elder males to capture tourism revenues without succumbing to the temporal demands of tourists. It was an economic position that many men in Aremd were striving for.

None of the residents I interviewed lamented the loss of local time regimes. Tourism time was European time, and a European way of life was a condition most

residents desired. The material benefits and conveniences offered by the tourism economy far outweighed romantic ideas about sustainable living and traditionalism. 'We are catching up' a teenager remarked when the household discussed one of several new resorts built in Marrakech. The desire to 'catch up' or conform to European ways of living was also shared by the Moroccan state. During the last month of my research term, the King of Morocco implemented 'daylight savings time,' sending the nation (residents, tourists, and anthropologists) into a state of temporary confusion. In order to differentiate the new standardized system with the old standardized system, the new system was referred to as *wakt xhoodma*, or 'working time'. The few residents who held permanent jobs with the government or with private corporations needed to adhere to the new working time system. This distinguished a very small minority of residents who had official jobs from those who did not and signaled another fracture within the community as yet another form of time was forcefully imposed on the masses.

Conclusion

Residents in Aremd have always employed multiple time regimes and temporalities rooted in religious and agricultural activities. Observation of shared time regimes bonded community members who exercised common temporal-cultural observations, and temporal practice defined different roles in the community. Yet, tourism-based economic change in Aremd changed temporal meanings and collective practice through a hegemonic reformulation of temporal processes that restructured the social fabric of the community, households and individuals in uneven and unequal ways. Tourism-based power dynamics rooted in the social relations among residents and between residents and tourists reshaped temporal realities in ways that fractured the community according to differences in gender, age and livelihood.

In the age of tourism, residents in Aremd live according to multiple and subjective temporalities that are expressed and practiced not as a cohesive community, but within systems of material power. In capitalist economies, power is evident in money. In the tourism economy in Aremd, power was concentrated in the hands of tourists. Within this economic system, tourists and the operators that broker tourism business imposed temporal demands and enforced temporal regimes that conflict with pre-existing temporal paradigms in the community. This generated cultural conflicts within the community and accrued social costs to residents.

Unlike cash and capital, social costs and the social and cultural value of time is not quantifiable. It is not unlikely that socially valuable time regimes will be collectively abandoned in favor of a different regime that promises material benefits and a better way of life. Yet the social conditions and historical circumstances in which temporal change has taken place in Aremd should force us to consider what it really means to be *losing time*.

CHAPTER 7
HEALTHY ECONOMY?: TOURISM AT THE INTERSECTION OF HEALTH, WEALTH
AND POWER IN AREMD

Introduction

The health risks and challenges faced by rural people in tourism development are immense; and for residents in Aremd, the health costs, consequences, and benefits of development lie at the intersection of global and local power and wealth. As national policies in Morocco promote tourism development as a means to alleviate rural poverty by integrating rural communities into the global economy, a dialectical relationship between health, wealth and power emerges. Income generation brought about by tourism revenues may improve access to health resources and services for some residents in rural communities. Yet, globalization (*vis-à-vis* integration into the global tourism economy) introduces a host of new health risks and challenges for residents, and social hierarchies within communities and households can lead to a differential distribution of health risks and inequitable access to health resources and services. Therefore, any investigation into the relationship between health and tourism development must interrogate how the new economy can contribute to the emergence of new health crises, and how health-related benefits and consequences are inextricably linked to power and wealth within the context of global, national, community and household relationships.

This chapter will examine how the new tourism economy in Aremd has introduced new health risks and vulnerabilities for residents, and how residents' health status intersected with wealth and power within multiple social domains. I will rely on two hierarchical systems prevalent in Aremd: a.) relationships between tourists and residents, and b.) gender relationships between men and women, to present the

complex ways in which power relationships directly influence health-related behaviors and decision-making. I will focus on the context of two health scenarios relevant to tourism development, diet culture and sexual relations, in order to position resident's risk and vulnerability to chronic illness and infectious disease within the socio-historical context of power and wealth in Aremd. This chapter aims to shed light on the context-dependent nature of global tourism mechanism directed at rural development, and the direct effect that tourism development has on the health status of rural people.

Information from this chapter will demonstrate that the popularity of tourism development as a vehicle to alleviate rural poverty in Morocco makes it necessary to examine the complex linkages between globalization and health in order to identify and address the health effects associated with economic, technological, political, social, cultural and environmental change.

The relationship between tourism and health is of particular relevance in Aremd because rapid tourism development has positioned the village in a globalized economy that has been characterized by uneven socio-economic development. World-wide, there is a substantial disparity in the wealth (and health) resources between rich and poor countries, and the global distribution of mortality and morbidity reflects the differential distribution of global wealth (Parker 2002; Elmendorf 2002). There is a growing gap in the distribution of wealth within both rich and poor nations, and the differential distribution in health resources at the national level can result in exacerbated differences in health status within the national population (Harris and Seid 2004). Even among people living together in a single household or community, power differentials between individuals can result in unequal access to health resources and an inequitable

distribution in the risk of illness and disease (Doyal 2002). Privileged populations and individuals are not exempt from health risks and vulnerabilities, however. Development-based economic changes are deeply rooted in processes of globalization that affect the lifestyles of people and generate 'transition risks' and health costs for people engaged in economic development (WHO 2002; Harris and Seid 2004).

As the country of Morocco experienced an economic, demographic, epidemiological and social transition, the health effects of economic change became apparent. Since achieving independence in 1954 and implementing structural adjustment programs and free trade policies soon after, the national population increased from nearly nine million in 1950 to more than 30 million in 2002 reflecting an annual population growth rate of .4 percent in rural areas and 3.5 percent in urban areas (World Resource Institute 2008). Life expectancy at birth increased to 70.5 years for females and 66.8 years for males in 2002 from 47 years in 1962. Infant and juvenile mortalities decreased, from 92/1000 and 69/1000 in 1982 to 42/1000 and 46/1000 in 2005, respectively (WHO 2008). Availability and access to vaccines, antibiotics and other medical resources dramatically reduced the rate of infectious diseases such as polio, diphtheria, leprosy, tuberculosis, rubella, pertussis, rubella, tetanus and yellow fever (WHO 2007; WHO 2010a, 2010b).

At the same time however, more than 21,000 adults and children in Morocco were infected with the HIV/AIDS virus by 2008 (UNAIDS). Researchers also suggest that a 'nutrition transition' in Morocco has led to epidemic proportions of overweight people (body mass index (BMI) $> 25 \text{ kgm}^{-2}$) and obesity (BMI $> 30 \text{ kgm}^{-2}$) as well as the emergence of lifestyle-related health problems such as diabetes and cardiovascular

disease (FAO 1998; Benjelloun 2002; Rguibi and Belahsen 2004; Popkin and Larsen 2004) Among adults, the overweight population increased from 26% in 1984 to 36% in 1998, with higher rates among females (32% in 1984 and 45% in 1998) than among males (19% in 1984 and 25% in 1998). Obesity increased from 4% in 1984 to 10% in 1998, and was reportedly higher among urban populations (30% in 1984 and 40% in 1998) than rural populations (20% in 1984 and 29% in 1998). Forty percent of urban women were reportedly obese in 2000. Overweight and obesity in adults was associated positively with economic status (Tazi et al 2003; Benjelloun 2002). In addition, nine percent of children under three were reportedly obese in 1997; yet under-nourishment persisted among children less than five years old with a 23% rate in stunting and 10% underweight in 1997 (Benjelloun 2002; WHO 2006).

A 2000 study reported nationwide diabetes prevalence of 6.6%. However, researchers project a prevalence rate of ten percent to account for the majority of diabetes cases in Morocco which are undiagnosed and untreated (Nahid and Abdelilia 2006; Moktar et al 2003; Rguibi and Belahsen 2004; Benjelloun 2002). Despite significant increases in development-related illness and disease, only fifteen percent of the population receives health insurance and more than half receive healthcare from the public sector where resources are lacking and facilities are often inadequate (Nahid and Abdililah 2006).

The general health status of the national population reflects the world-wide epidemiological shift away from nutrient deficiency and infectious pathologies toward a high prevalence of chronic and degenerative diseases that are associated with more sedentary industrial lifestyles and urbanized diets (Omran 1971). In a recent survey,

more than thirty percent of urban students between 13-15 years old reported watching television, playing video games or participating in other 'sitting' activities for more than three hours per day (WHO 2010c), and data from the 'Tourism and Television' chapter in this dissertation revealed that television-watching was the most salient activity for rural women in Aremd.

Although official health statistics related to residents in rural areas are lacking in comparison to urban populations, it can be assumed that rural people are vulnerable to the same adverse health effects of economic change as residents in urban areas, if not more. In the contemporary globalized economy, transportation and communication networks connect rural areas to urban nodes of international development (Sassen 2007; 2006a; 2006b; 2001). This is particularly the case in the tourism economy where rural people participating in tourism development must rely on urban centers that serve as the central hub for tourist arrivals and departures. Therefore, people living in the most remote areas are not only affected and impacted by urban phenomenon, they are likely to experience urbanized phenomenon within a structurally less powerful context due to geographic, economic and socio-cultural restraints and with significantly fewer resources than their urban counterparts. This fact underscores the need to understand the mechanisms central to tourism development at the global, national, community and household contexts in which these mechanisms operate.

Theoretical framework

Although the precise definition of globalization has been debated (Held 2005), the concept has generally been used to describe the transnational economic, social and political interconnectedness that prevail in contemporary world affairs (UNDP 1997). Processes of globalization have been facilitated by recent advancements in

transportation and communication technologies that allow humans, capital, labor, products, services, information, communication, ideas and cultural practices to move across long distances within ever-decreasing amounts of time (Giddens 1990; Robertson 1992; Harvey 1990; Castells 1996; Lee 2002; Eastwood 2002:224). The outcomes or effects of globalization have been equated with economic growth, increased wealth, improved living conditions and enhanced well-being, and a liberal democracy (Dollar 2001; Feacham 2001). More recent scholarship has pointed out the costs, risks, challenges, and consequences of the world-wide intensification in human social relations by highlighting the erosion of social and environmental conditions, widespread economic insecurity, the global division of labor, the accelerating spread of consumerism, and the exacerbation of the gap between rich and poor (Luttwak 1999; Korten 1999; Cornia 1999; McMichael and Beaglehole 2000; Vlassoff and Moreno 2002; Robinson 2004; Harris and Seid 2004; Baum 2003; Berlinguer 1999). This body of research has shown that the intensification of globalization during the last half century has not only distributed economic benefits to distant locales, it has also facilitated the world-wide spread of risks and threats in virtually all human domains.

McMichael and Beaglehole (2000) outline the 'primary health risks' imposed by globalization: income differentials that create and maintain poverty-associated conditions for poor health, flexible labor markets that perpetuate poor working conditions and environmental hazards, environmental degradation and pollution, smoking-related diseases stemming from the globalization of the tobacco industry (see also Wagnleitner 1994), diseases of dietary excess from image-based marketing of food products, proliferation of car ownership, widespread obesity, expansion of the

international drug trade, spread of infectious disease due to expanded travel, and increasing prevalence of depression and mental health disorders. According to McMurray and Smith (2001) globalization fosters deteriorating health through changing lifestyles and unhealthy living conditions as economies shift away from subsistence agriculture to a cash economy that is characterized by urbanization, excess consumption and more sedentary lifestyles. They link 'diseases of globalization' to lifestyle factors such as smoking and alcohol consumption, excess body weight, lack of exercise, consumption of inexpensive processed and imported foods that are high in refined fat, salt and sugar, and inadequate health education.

Scholars also warn that global food trade policies restructure diets and launch a 'nutrition transition' that generates new patterns of disease that represent a shift away from nutrient deficiency and infectious diseases toward higher rates of heart disease and cancer, the so-called 'diseases of affluence' (Omran 1971; Popkin and Larsen 2004; Diaz-Bonilla et al 2002; Hawkes 2005). In the *World Health Report* (2002), the World Health Organization refers to the health effects of changing patterns of living that result from agricultural and trade policies that restructure food processing and production as a 'risk transition.' As Kennedy, Nantel and Shetty (2004) explain, "globalization is having a major impact on food systems around the world...[which] affect availability and access to food through changes to food production, procurement and distribution... in turn bringing about a gradual shift in food culture, with consequent changes in dietary consumption patterns and nutritional status that vary with the socio-economic strata" . Hawkes (2005) identified how specific agricultural and trade policies promote poor quality diets characterized by refined vegetable oil and highly-processed

foods that contribute to a world-wide epidemic of overweight, obesity and diet-related chronic diseases such as heart disease, diabetes and some cancers. She argues that the consumption of foods high in fats and sweeteners is increasing throughout the developing world, while the share of cereals is declining and intake of fruits and vegetables remain inadequate.

Globalization not only restructures the nature of agri-food systems, it alters the quantity, type, cost and desirability of foods available for consumption and facilitates a convergence in consumption habits (as is commonly assumed in the "Coca-Colonization" hypothesis). Dietary convergence is characterized by increased reliance on a narrow base of staple grains, refined oils, salt and sugar, and a lower intake of dietary fiber" (Kennedy, Nantel and Shetty 2004:9). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) diets in countries more integrated into the world economy are converging in terms of primary commodities (Bruisma 2003).

Convergence is mainly driven by income and price. On the other hand, dietary adaptation refers to "increased consumption of brand-name processed and store-bought food, an increased number of meals eaten outside the home and consumer behaviors driven by the appeal of new foods available" (Kennedy, Nantel and Shetty 2004:9) is driven by globalized labor patterns, lifestyle changes and ideological shifts.

From a health perspective, globalization presents a double-edged sword comprised of a recipe of threats and benefits that improve health in some circumstances and threaten it in others. The World Health Organization states, 'the benefits of globalization are potentially enormous, as a result of increased sharing of ideas, culture, life-saving technologies, and efficient production processes,' and at the same time the

organization warns, ' globalization is under trial, partly because these benefits are not yet reaching millions of the world's poor, and partly because globalization introduces new kinds of international challenges' (WHO 2001:1). The majority of the benefits of development most often fail to reach millions of the world's poor because globalization and development do not occur evenly and equally. In most cases, global flows travel along multi-scalar nodes and networks that are created and defined according to broad and minute systems of power (Sassen 2007, 2006; Ferguson 2006; Robinson 2004; Harvey 2005). Uneven growth results in unequal socio-economic development and a differential distribution in the benefits and consequences of development. Access and control over the benefits of development are concentrated in the hands of the elite while the disadvantaged are oftentimes left out. As structural adjustment programs and conditional lending policies mandate a reduction in public expenditures, including health services, the adverse health effects of development are exacerbated among those who cannot afford to pay for privatized health resources and services. This causes the vast majority of the poor, in both rich and poor countries, to experience double exposure to both health disorders that arise out of impoverished conditions as well as the health consequences of development (Koren 1999; UNDP 1999; Cornia 2001; Vlassoff and Moreno 2002).

Differences in health status between different social groups were identified by William Farr as early as the 19th century, and in most cases, health differences were referenced to socio-economic class and socio-economic factors such as education, income, and occupation (Whitehead 2000). During the late 20th century, questions regarding inequality and health moved beyond class and began to address other forms

of social inequality such as gender and race (Correa 1994; Mundigo 1995; Macintyre 1996; Bird and Reiker 1999; Doyal 2002; Sen et al 2002; Krieger and Smith 2004).

While socio-economic factors are still identified as some of the strongest and most consistent predictors in health and mortality, social factors such as gender and race remain significant when they are characterized by socio-economic inequality.

Theoretical approaches that situate patterns of pathologies within the context of power relationships has led to groundbreaking scholarship such as Paul Farmer's work, *Pathology of Power* (2006), which shed light on how gender inequity is one of the reasons that so many women die from AIDS. From this perspective, health status reflects the social context of an individual's experiences in a stratified society because social processes affect individual access to health resources such as education and prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness, and awareness of health related risks and behaviors. Therefore, inequality can exacerbate biological exposures and vulnerabilities to disease, increase the risks of mortality and morbidity, intensify the severity and consequences of illness, and multiply experiences and implications of ill health. In this way, power relationships directly affect exposure and health outcomes for people and can contribute to differences in health status.

The relationship between inequality and health is of particular relevance in the context of tourism development in rural communities because tourism markets are characterized by uneven development and the tourism economy relies on human mobility and social encounters . Researchers have already identified a causal relationship between disease, travel, and migration. Some argue that the 'globalization of disease' began in the 15th century when European explorers and traders facilitated

the world-wide spread of infectious diseases such as smallpox, measles, yellow fever, plague, typhus, influenza, hookworm, yaws, leprosy, schistosomiasis and malaria (Robertson 1992; Lee 1999; Walt 2000). In the contemporary era, Dollar (2001) argues that the health effects from globalization are most clearly the result of travel and migration, and Diaz-Bonilla and colleagues (2002) argue that 'increases in international travel, tourism, and food trade will transport new disease-producing pathogens from one continent to another. The relationship between tourism and the spread of HIV/AIDS has received particular attention from applied health organizations and scholars. Weisbrot and colleagues (2001) contend that 'the spread of the AIDS pandemic is itself partly as a result of increased trade and travel associated with globalization,' and researchers with the World Health Organization and the World Tourism Organization (Abbott 1992; Broring 1996; Ford 1990, 1991; Forsythe 1998) report that there is a positive correlation between increasing incidents in HIV/AIDS and increasing tourist arrivals.

Research on the social hierarchies embedded in tourism economies has revealed the social complexities of power and inequality in tourism development. Early scholarship in tourism studies presented the politics of tourism policy, planning and practice as a neo-colonialist model (Britton 1983, Allcock 1983; Palmer 1994; Hall 1994, 2000; Nash 1989; Milne 1998), and this body of research paved the way for later researchers to address the composite nature of power relations and the complex strategies of individual and collective methods for negotiation and engagement that characterize capitalist tourism economies (Picard and Wood 1997; Oakes 1998; Hollinshead 1998; Cheong and Miller 2000; Bianchi 2006). A growing number of tourism

scholars are now beginning to examine how the tourism economy articulates with pre-existing inequalities and power inequities, particularly gender and race (Kinnaird and Hall 1994; Sinclair 1997; Aitchison 2003; Ghodsee 2005; Rankin 2005). Evidence from this body of tourism studies positions the tourism economy at the nexus of power relationships that are pervasive from the global arena to the household unit. Since health and power are inextricably linked, it can be expected that power systems in tourism development will influence the distribution of risks, vulnerabilities and resources and affect the health status of residents in Aremd in vastly different ways.

Methods

Information in this chapter is based on seventeen months of ethnographic research in Aremd from 2007 to 2008. While living in a household in the village, I conducted participant-observation and informal interviews with residents, tourists and tourism operators. Information was obtained from residents through case studies with eighteen primary informants in three primary households (twelve women aged from eighteen to approximately sixty years and six men aged twenty-five to forty years). Sampling selection of residents is covered in the Methods section of this dissertation. Information was collected from tourists via convenience sampling of forty-six visitors in the village. Information was also gathered from two transnational tour companies and three independent (unregistered) foreign tour operators. Information regarding residents' diet, eating habits, medical ailments, and the availability of food and health resources was obtained through direct observation while living in the village. Information regarding sexual activity was received through informal interviews.

Data in this study is qualitative in nature; no nutritional analysis was performed on food items, and no laboratory or medical confirmation of infectious disease or chronic

illness was available. Furthermore, deeply rooted taboos against discussing sex and illness may have compelled some residents to provide personal information as that of an acquaintance, and my personal status as an unmarried woman undoubtedly influenced the nature of the information provided by residents, as well as sample selection. Despite the inability to accurately quantify data, in-depth interviews and case studies still provided valuable information on the social context of the intersection of power dynamics and the distribution of health risks and resources. Information provided by this study can shed light on practical considerations for the health consequences of tourism development within complex and stratified communities, and it will illuminate the need for clinical research on tourism-related illness in rural Morocco.

Globalized Health in Aremd

At the time of research, the HIV/AIDS epidemic was beginning to receive a significant amount of national attention and governmental funding in Morocco. In Aremd however, health issues related to diet and lifestyle were most apparent. Food played a central role within the socio-cultural fabric of the community because meals represented the only activity where genders and generations merged. For the most part, daily life in Aremd was segregated according to sex and age.⁴⁰ Men and women generally spent their days apart while they performed gender-based activities. Most men left the village early in the morning to engage in tourism labor, perform men's agricultural duties, or congregate with other men in the Imlil market. Women spent their day in the home performing domestic chores, preparing meals, conducting agricultural tasks assigned to women, or watching television. Time expenditures were also patterned along

⁴⁰ For more on this, refer to the chapter 'Keeping Moroccan Time'

generational divisions; young children spent their days in school or playing along the river bed with other children, older boys usually spent their time among tourists to learn the ropes of the new economy while older girls stayed in the home with their mothers to learn the ropes of marriage and domestic skills. Elder men congregated at the mosque while elder women stayed in the home to supervise the labor of their daughter in laws. At meal time however, families and friends assembled together.

In most cases, meals consisted of a tajine stew or a cous cous platter prepared by women in the household. Meal preparation represented the bulk of women's work as families consumed five meals each day; a minor breakfast, followed by a major breakfast, a major lunch (emklee) which followed the mid-day prayer, a minor lunch, and a major dinner (emensee) which took place late at night after the fifth and final prayer of the day. For every meal, a large plate was positioned at the center of the table and the congregants ate the food from the singular plate using only their right hand. Sharing meals not only reinforced social bonds among family and friends, it also reflected the social arrangements that organized household and community members. In some households, family members freely ate together. In most households however, eating habits revolved around a highly patriarchal social arrangement. In these households, the speed and the quantity of food taken from the plate reflected the social positioning of the household member.

In one particular household, for example, household members ate the vegetables first and then the meat was unequally allocated to individuals by the female head of household. In every extended-family household in Aremd, food resources in the home were controlled and allocated by the female head of household. Non-perishable items

were kept in a storage room and the female head of household was the only women who possessed a key to access the food. Most of the time, refrigerators were also locked in the room. Daughter in laws needed to request access, and this reinforced and reflected their mother in law's higher status in the home. The allocation of meat during meals also reflected the authority of the mother in law. Meat, or *tifeeyee*, was the most important part of the meal. *Ish tifeeyee*, or 'eat meat' was a popular gesture to welcome guests and family members during meals. One male resident expressed the importance of meat by emphasizing, 'There are no vegetarians in Morocco!' To allocate the meat to household members during meals, the female head of household separated the meat into portions and distributed it to individuals. In every case, men and boys received a hefty allotment first. She then allocated a serving to herself, her daughters and her daughter in laws, respectively. Grand daughters were the last to receive their share, and on several occasions, young girls did not receive any meat at all. During one late night meal, a ten year old girl waited tentatively to receive her portion of meat. She watched her mother retrieve her younger brother who had fallen asleep in front of the television, and her mother forced her brother to eat the remainder of the meat. The girl received nothing. In addition, some girls were occasionally chastised by their mothers for eating too fast, and the same mother would prod her son to eat more. Son preference was most evident during meal times, yet it was largely unacknowledged by women. All women stated that they treated, and loved, their children equally. Through observation it was quite clear that the allocation of meat was not equal among sons and daughters, yet it did not necessarily imply that mothers loved their children unequally. It was a reflection of hierarchical gender norms and practices that not only affected each

residents' ability to make choices regarding the quantity food they ate, but gender norms and values also affected how residents chose to allocate household food resources among men and women as well as boys and girls.

Decision-making for food production and purchase was also influenced by gender norms and practices. In Aremd, men were responsible for the material well-being of the family. In the past, men managed and controlled agricultural production which relied on a household division of labor that included women. During the last decade however, tourism has become the primary economy in Aremd and most households have come to rely on tourism based income to meet the material needs of the household. Men's gendered role as 'providers' positioned them as household income-generators. Women's participation in income-generating activities was considered shameful by most residents because it was perceived as a consequence of men's failure to fulfill their gendered obligation to support their household. Social norms also prohibited women from venturing into markets and from interacting with non-relative men; these ideologies imposed a serious impediment in a market-centered economy rooted in hosting strangers. With limited access to money and market space, women in tourism-supported households needed to rely on male household members to purchase food for the household.

Exclusive access and control over market spaces and financial resources concentrated decision-making for production and consumption into the hands of men. As previously mentioned, most men were absent from the household for the majority of the day, and men who worked as guides were oftentimes absent for several days or weeks at a time. While in Imlil or with tourists, men congregated in cafes to eat together

and they therefore did not rely on household food. Because of this, many women and children relied on a bare-bones food supply in their household. One man in his forties justified his household's spartan food storage by explaining, 'If I buy a lot of food, they will eat, eat, eat.' He believed that, in his absence, the women in his household spent their days lounging and watching television. 'If I bring a lot,' he explained 'there will still be nothing left at the end of the day.'

Through income-generation, men not only controlled the quantity of food in their household, they also controlled the quality and diversity of food resources for household members. As households shifted from a primarily agricultural economy to a tourism-based economy, a dwindling number of the households continued to manage a modest collection of livestock and subsistence crops. Agricultural production not only provided food and a meager income for households, food produced in agriculture was largely accessible to everyone in the household because the entire household participated in agricultural production. Women fed and watered livestock (chickens, goats, sheep, turkeys, rabbits and cows). Men slaughtered the animals, and the refrigerated meat and organs were accessible to women who prepared meals for the household. Elderly women milked cows, churned butter and produced a wide range of foods from various stages of fermenting milk. Women gathered eggs laid by wandering chickens as needed. Several households managed small plots of agricultural land on terraced fields that male household members carved into the mountainside. Subsistence crops included barley, corn, beans, peas, tomatoes, eggplant, onions, potatoes, and turnips. Wealthier families also managed small cash-crop orchards of apples, cherries, walnuts and peaches. Agricultural land was managed by men, yet most women and children

participating in harvesting and women oftentimes received a share of the harvest for personal use. In the household I lived in, for example, the male head of household allocated a 100 pound bag of walnuts to female household members who assisted in harvesting the lucrative cash crop. Women also incorporated a portion of the fruit and vegetable harvests into the meals they prepared during the day. In addition, children from households with orchards climbed family trees to snack on fresh fruit, and thorny blackberry bushes used to contain goat herds provided snacks for passersby every June. Agricultural production provided greater accessibility to food resources for all household members. Despite this, livestock animals were becoming increasingly unpopular due to extensive labor demands that conflicted with time demands imposed by tourism labor and ideas about modernity that associated livestock with rurality.⁴¹ One elderly couple reported that access and use of agricultural food had decreased significantly in recent years, and they blamed diminishing land resources, the emerging money economy, and cultural changes brought about by tourism.

Few residents lamented the loss of agriculture because it was considered an unfavorable livelihood due to intensive labor demands and residents' perceptions that, compared to globalized tourism-based livelihoods; agriculture is a last resort for residents who lacked essential skills of modernity to participate in the globalized tourism economy.

Agriculture was associated with rurality and illiteracy. Literacy was a form of social capital and a source of status and prestige. A souvenir merchant in the village stated that men in agriculture 'have a mind like the animals.' New ideologies coupled with land

⁴¹ Chapter six addressed the temporal conflicts that emerged between the two economies.

scarcity further discouraged residents from engaging in agricultural livelihoods. Rapid population growth (600 in 1980 to 1500 in 2000) imposed considerable pressure on land resources that were already scarce in the sloped mountain terrain. Many residents complained that agriculture was no longer a viable livelihood because there was not enough land to support the village. A male guide in his thirties explained that his father did not have enough land to distribute to all of his sons. Without an inheritance, he was forced to earn a living as a guide for tourists. After achieving considerable financial success as a mountain guide, he was able to purchase a small segment of land from his less-fortunate brother who had inherited land. He joined a growing number of capitalist land-owners who converted agricultural land into tourism spaces such as cafes and bed and breakfast accommodations.

Agriculture has also received negative attention from state officials and environmentalists who blame agriculture and pastoralism for erosional degradation in the mountainsides that has contributed to increasing incidents of deadly landslides throughout the area (Funnel and Parrish 1998). The new tourism economy, policy-makers and environmentalists claim, will alleviate pressure on natural resources by transitioning residents away from agriculture toward a 'more sustainable' tourism-cash economy (United Nations 2003; World Bank 2008) and a safer landscape.

The shift away from agriculture was also expedited by the opportunity to earn quick income from tourism rather than engage in a long-term and, what is perceived to be, a more risky investment agricultural production. One man compared his goat herd to tourists, 'I take tourists into the mountains for one day and I earn more than if I take the goats for one month. I never know how much I will get when I take the goats to the

market. Goats are too much work.’ Cows were also considered too labor intensive when compared to the availability of inexpensive ultra-pasteurized milk sold in boxes in the market. Care and maintenance of cows was part of women’s gendered division of labor. Women needed to cut, haul and store heavy loads of fodder to last through the winter season. One young woman married to a successful tour guide explained why she refused to work with animals; ‘why should I work every day to milk the cow, carry grass to the top of the mountain, and dirty my clothes when my husband can buy the milk in the market?’

The outcome of income generation through men’s labor and the availability of cheap food in the market was evident in household meals. Despite the abundance of olives throughout Morocco, food prepared in Aremd households were saturated with cheap imported vegetable oils. Cereal staples produced in the village, such as barley and corn, were also being replaced by packaged cereal products imported into the market. In the past, women made cous cous from whole barley grown in the village, yet few women in the village retained knowledge of the laborious process of milling the grains or hand-rolling barley dough into minute balls. After an intensive cous cous-making lesson, an elderly woman led me to an abandoned hydro-powered mill hidden under overgrown blackberry bushes. She explained that it was much easier for men to buy the processed cous cous (imported from France) than for women to spend the entire day making it at home.

Government subsidies in Morocco, which represented a significant portion of government expenditures, enabled particular processed foods such as refined flour, sugar and table oil to be more affordable, and thereby more accessible, to consumers

(Tyner and Arndt 1996). Easy access to imported and refined foods from the market launched a 'nutrition transition' away from foods that were once produced in Aremd or obtained through trade with nearby villages in different ecological clines.

Ease of access and affordability were not the only drivers stimulating dietary change, imported and processed foods symbolized the culture of modernity, globalization and men's financial success. Purchased food reflected men's financial success and their ability to fulfill their gendered obligation to support their household. Men who worked in tourism returned to tehri homes each evening with plastic bags full of items they purchased from the market. Empty hands and pockets reflected failure.

In the household I lived in, the children congregated along the roof-top terrace each evening and waited to catch sight of male household members as they ascended the mountain slope to return to the village and their homes. If they identified their father, brother, uncle or cousin carrying a bag, they erupted into a celebration and quickly notified the women in the household. Everyone gathered together to await the men's arrival and receive what they purchased in the market. The most common items included fruits, vegetables and meat as well as plastic bags of cous cous, white rice, flour and pasta, large plastic bottles of vegetable oil, paper boxes of ultra-pasteurized milk, enormous blocks of white sugar, several small boxes of Chinese 'gunpowder' tea, and a box filled with paper packets of tajine seasoning that included artificial dyes and seasonings.

Market foods not only reflected men's financial success, they also represented a culture of modernity and evidence that the household was participating in a globalized culture. Three tour guides made jokes after they found me harvesting wild greens from

a river bed with another woman in the village. One man laughed, 'Did you leave America to eat poor food?' Later, the young man explained that the greens were for people who did not have any money to buy food. Regardless, I continued to join the woman and harvest greens from the river bed, several elders in the community asked why I liked eating the greens. I described how the greens resembled a food in the United States that was particularly popular in the southern region where I was from. This was surprising to them, and one elderly woman explained that the river greens were once a popular in the village, yet it had fallen out of favor due to the availability of imported foods and stigmas that associated it with poverty and out-dated tradition. In Aremd, local foods and agricultural production were valued as part of village identity and heritage while at the same time devalued as 'backward' and 'behind.'

When I visited cafes in Imlil and shared meals with men, they oftentimes assured me that they liked the same foods that I liked. On one occasion a young man in his twenties insisted that we drink a Coca Cola and share a salad and French fries. While eating in cafes, most men consumed copious amounts of sweet tea. Yet, at least three young mountain guides began buying bottled water, a product that was primarily marketed toward tourists and the success of which is evident by the plethora of plastic bottles that littered the village and the mountain trails. The men stated that they preferred to drink the imported bottled water over the fresh mountain runoff that passed through the village because the bottled water tasted better. They also repeated tourists' concerns over contaminants and bacteria.

Alcohol was also gaining popularity among some men in Aremd, despite Islamic prohibitions that forbid alcohol consumption. Tourists often brought beer and liquor from

Marrakech into the village, and they frequently shared their beverages with the male residents that worked with them. Tourists also discarded partially consumed bottles of alcohol where they were easily found by children and women. In one extreme example, a full-size bus full of Spanish tourists parked in the Imlil market place for several days. The tourists stocked the bus with beer and liquor, and the bus served as a temporary bar for some male residents to make clandestine purchases. Like Coca Cola and bottled water, alcohol consumption was associated with a European lifestyle. When I offended a young man by acting surprised after learning he had a girlfriend, he angrily argued, 'I have girlfriends, and I drink beer. I am the same as a European man!'

While women's interactions with tourists were limited compared to men's, women also associated particular foods with the globalized lifestyles they observed on television programs. The Tourists and Television chapter describes how televised cooking shows were immensely popular among women in Aremd. Cooking shows integrated women's gendered role to prepare and cook meals as practiced in Aremd with globalized lifestyles associated with the culture of modernity. I met a newly married young woman in Aremd who, like many women, spent the majority of her day watching cooking shows hosted by urban women who wore expensive clothes while using state of the art kitchen appliances to produce elaborate cakes and casseroles. When I initially arrived in the village, she repeatedly asked me for an American cookbook and insisted that we make a pizza together. When we finally made the pizza together (using ingredients from a box I purchased from a chain grocery store in Marrakech), she sent her nephew to the market to buy us a Coca-Cola. When he returned, the three of us ate pizza, drank Coke and watched television together. Later, I prepared a tray of deviled

eggs for her household. The older women in the household were disgusted by the texture of the classic American dish. Yet, she insisted that she liked the egg and mayonnaise combination, despite the concentrated look on her face as painstakingly she chewed and swallowed each egg. Marriage to a tourism-worker enabled her to opt out of the agricultural lifestyle practiced by her mother and sisters in her natal household and move closer to the lifestyles televised into her home by government subsidized satellite broadcasting. Remnants of her lifestyle littered the outside of her home: empty cans of Nido powdered milk, diapers, plastic food packaging and other refuse that reflected her husband's income and her participation in a globalized economy.

While economic changes stimulated new food habits, old food habits were also affected by prosperity. This was particularly evident in the daily consumption of sugar. Once a luxury item offered to families during marriage proposals, sugar had become a staple food in the village as it has throughout Morocco and the world (Travis 2008; Mintz 1986). Sweet tea, or *atay*, held a central role in the dietary culture of the village. *Soo atay*, or 'drink tea', was a social invitation and the beverage was the primary means for welcoming guests in the household, and it was oftentimes the only beverage available to children. While living with a family, I participated in the same eating and drinking rituals as household members. I documented my eating and drinking habits during one day and learned that I had consumed thirty-six four once glasses of the sugary beverage.

I eventually discovered that sugar consumption was not limited to *atay*. The brown syrup we poured on bread cakes in the morning was not honey, as the beehive on the label indicated, but a gelatinous processed sugar product that tasted similar to honey.

The family added sugar to my glass of milk and cup of coffee that I drank every morning. It was sprinkled over the fresh fruit I snacked on during the day. Sugar products such as cookies, cakes, candies and sodas were also the most popular item sold in small store-fronts in the village, called *hanoots*, that catered to residents. Hanoots were a popular hang-out for children and the area surrounding the store was usually littered with plastic packaging from small single serving size treats. In the absence of cookies and candy, small children sucked on sugar cubes throughout the day.

Sugar had become the most salient food item in residents' diets. Government subsidies and rising incomes helped increased availability and use of the global commodity, while information regarding the dangers and side-effects of sugar consumption was relatively absent. As a result, the health effects of excessive sugar consumption was becoming apparent.

Diets in Transition

Toothache was a very common health complaint among women in the village. Nearly every woman I met suffered from some form of dental problem, from tooth pain to shocking oral abscesses that swelled the entire face. During the weekly market in the nearby village of Asni, women were always congregated outside of the make-shift dental office, mouths stuffed with cotton and appearing delirious with pain. The absence of dental services in the village coupled with women's reliance on men to consent and pay for dental services compelled women to delay dental care until reaching a medical emergency. Many of the elderly women in Aremd had lost all of their teeth, and some women as young as thirty years old opted to have all of their teeth removed and replaced with dentures in order to alleviate or avoid dental pain. This was a risky

decision, however, because women needed to rely on men to pay for the procedure. In at least one case, a man paid to have his wife's teeth removed, but he never followed through on his promise to buy her dentures.

Tooth loss and decay created more than discomfort alone, they imposed additional restrictions on the type of food people were able to eat. Residents suffering from significant toothache and loss struggle to chew hard and semi-hard foods that were produced in the village such as walnuts, peaches, apples and meat. Therefore, dental carries led to increased reliance on purchased food.

Tooth-loss and decay also impacted self-esteem. When I arrived at a household for the first time, I met a twenty year old woman who was married to a tourism worker. She covered her mouth with her hand whenever she spoke. Eventually she told me that the whiteness of my teeth made her feel embarrassed and ashamed of the condition of her teeth.

Boys and girls also suffered from dental ailments. In one household, the two youngest children of four had only rotten remnants of their front teeth. The gums of the oldest of the two, aged four, were bloody and inflamed. Men also suffered from tooth loss and decay, but access to the market and control over income allowed men to seek out and pay for dental services as they needed them. Many young mountain guides carried small bags of toiletries, similar to tourists' bags, that included a toothbrush and toothpaste. During a conversation about tooth decay in the village, a man stated that he once bought toothbrushes to his children, but they would not use them. He complained that, unlike the routines he observed among tourists, oral hygiene was not part of the daily regimen in the village. He pointed out that although children attended a state-

funded school in Aremd, the school curriculum did not provide health education or information about the health consequences from sugar.

In addition to dental problems, it is likely that the prevalence of sugar in the diet has contributed, or will contribute, to problems associated with diabetes. Residents referred to diabetes as 'sugar disease', yet confusion surrounded the causes and consequences of the problem. Only a few residents in the village had received an official diagnosis of diabetes. This is not surprising since residents seldom sought medical attention outside of an emergency; so it can be expected that diagnostic rates would be low.

A woman in her forties became increasingly ill during the latter part of my research in Armed. After several weeks, she was unable to perform agricultural labor or domestic chores. Since her daughter had married into another household and her teenage sons were too young to marry, she was left with the entirety of household chores and her illness brought the house to a standstill. Her husband eventually sent her to the clinic in Imlil. According to her, she was diagnosed with diabetes, yet she did not receive treatment or a care plan; she was simply advised to refrain from drinking *atay*, the highly sweetened tea beverage. Nonetheless, abstaining from tea consumption was virtually impossible for her because it was women's gendered responsibility to prepare and serve *atay* for guests and household members. In Aremd, it was considered extremely inhospitable and suspicious if the host did not also drink the beverage they served. By the time I left the village, the woman was bedridden and her daughter temporarily returned home to take over her household responsibilities.

As previously mentioned, statistical studies in 2000 indicate that diabetes is on the rise in urban areas in Morocco, and most cases are left undiagnosed and therefore, undocumented (Nahid and Abdelilia 2006; Moktar et al 2003; Rguibi and Belahsen 2004; Benjelloun 2002). As the economy in Aremd shifts from agricultural production to income generation in the tourism economy, and residents in Aremd adopt similar consumption and lifestyle changes, it can be expected that residents in Aremd will experience, or are already experiencing, the same diabetic consequences as residents in urban areas

Economic transition also changes daily and seasonal activity patterns. Tourism development has led to an increasingly more sedentary lifestyle for many residents in Aremd, particularly for women. The 'Tourism and Television' chapter revealed how television-watching has become the primary activity for women in households supported by tourism; time spent in the fields was being replaced by time spent watching television. Men's income from tourism enabled female household members to opt out of undesirable agricultural labor, and women who did not participate in agricultural development were able to acquire status and prestige among other women in the village by adopting transnational lifestyles and consumptive habits that were similar to those broadcasted into their homes via satellite.

The physical effects of economic transition were immediately evident at the onset of research. During the first week of fieldwork, I met a woman in her forties while I was descending the mountain slope. She was visibly winded while she rested under the shade of a walnut tree. She explained that she used to walk the pathway everyday to bring the family cow to the pasture in the river valley. Her daily routine changed after

her husband sold the cow; she no longer needed to venture down to the valley each day. She described how it had become extremely difficult for her to ascend the pathway from the riverbed to her home.

Lack of exercise not only prevented some women from travelling long distances in the sloped terrain, it also affected visitation patterns within the village. During a fervent gossip session, a young woman who married a tourism-worker complained that her older sister, who married a farmer, never came to visit. I pointed out that she didn't visit her sister either. She argued that it was too difficult for her to walk upslope to her sister's house at the top of the village; if her sister can haul fodder up and down the mountain slope, then it was easier for her to be the one to visit. Changing labor patterns had a direct effect on physical conditioning for women, and sedentary lifestyles brought about by women's alienation from household production was taking a toll on their bodies.

None of the women expressed positive sentiments toward agricultural labor however, and most women described agricultural duties as extremely difficult and pointed out the negative effects caused by agricultural work such as blisters, calluses, cuts, bruises, sunburn and fatigue. Yet, women who worked in agriculture expressed pride for their contribution to household production, and they sometimes criticized women who opted out of agricultural labor by blowing out their cheeks to imitate a fattened face and performing a duck-like walk.

Many men were also able to opt out of agricultural labor, yet the nature of tourism labor and access to market spaces provided men with additional opportunities to maintain active lifestyles. Few men in Aremd were overweight or obese. While mountain

guides often complained about the physical fatigue that resulted from guiding tourists through the mountains, they also boastfully compared their physical stamina to European male clients who usually struggled to climb the trails. Even unemployed men were able to acquire some form of daily exercise because, unlike women in the village, men were free to trek up and down the mountain to spend their day in the Imlil market and congregate with other men and tourists. In this way, gendered labor patterns and gender power relations articulated with daily exercise routines and resulted in differential experiences among men and women.

Spatial barriers and information deficits affected health-related decision-making and behaviors for residents. High levels of illiteracy among women and farmers contributed to low health awareness. Without knowledge of written French or Arabic, residents were unable to read prescription directions and contraindication warnings. In addition, linguistic barriers prevented residents who spoke Tachelhit exclusively from acquiring health information from national public service announcements and educational resources that were communicated in Arabic and French languages. Furthermore, limitations on mobility prevented women from accessing health resources since social norms prohibited women from leaving the village and venturing to the clinic in the Imlil market or to the hospital in the urban city of Marrakech two hours drive away.

To overcome barriers to health-related resources in the market, some women began to use me as a way to access the market. I became a courier between Aremd and the Imlil pharmacy. Women came to the household where I lived and gave me the empty box of their medication, and most of the time, money to buy the medication was inside the box. I took the boxes to the pharmacy during my next visit to the Imlil market

and delivered the refills to the women when I returned to Aremd. Women oftentimes asked to borrow or buy over-the-counter products such as sunscreen to protect them from burns while working in the fields, band-aids for cuts and bruises (usually incurred by agricultural labor), and aspirin for headaches.

Some women broke social norms and defied their husband's authority in order to obtain medical treatment. As described in the 'Gender and Kinship' chapter in this dissertation, a pregnant woman left the village and descended the mountain in the middle of the night to reach the hospital and deliver her baby. She challenged her husband's decision that she would deliver the baby at home, a decision he maintained although she had already experienced two emergency Cesareans and the loss of a newborn during delivery. Women who chose to challenge norms are still faced with limited access to cash income to pay for medical services or for transportation to the location where services are offered. Therefore, medical decisions were oftentimes left to men who controlled household income, and women's health seldom took priority in household finances.

Men who were absent from the household for long periods of time were oftentimes ill-informed of women's medical needs. I visited a young woman while she agonized over an abscessed tooth. She was married to a successful souvenir merchant and her household was among the wealthiest in the village. Despite the abundance of luxury items in the household, such as a satellite television, new furniture and linens, and a washing machine, she was unable to access the health services she needed. Ironically, her husband returned to the home in the evening with a bag of bandages he purchased at the pharmacy to cover a large blemish that erupted on his face. On a different

occasion, I discovered that the women and children living in the household I stayed in were battling a severe head lice infestation. The women were using household detergents to treat the infestation, and one woman had developed a very painful rash on the back of her scalp and down her neck. Motivated by self-interest, I purchased lice shampoo for the entire household, which cost approximately ten USD. Later that evening, an unmarried male household member returned from Imlil with a new cell phone and pair of shoes which cost more than forty USD. I asked him why he did not buy lice shampoo for the women and the children. He replied that he unaware that there was a problem with head lice.

It is important to note that women did not always inform men about their health needs or ask for medical assistance. Several women I spoke to did not consider their own health as a priority in the household. When I asked women why they did not inform their husbands and ask for help, they blatantly stated that they did not want to create a problem in the household. The Gender and Kinship chapter explained that women moved into their husband's household when they married, and after marriage, they must rely on their husband and his family members to meet their needs. This would make it in a woman's best interest to gain and maintain favor from her husband and his family members. Expensive health costs would generate an economic burden in households with limited income.

Many men in the village did pay for health care and medicine for women in the household. Regardless, women did not have autonomy to make their own decisions over their health needs because they did not have opportunities to generate income to pay for medical services and participate in health-care decision-making. Women's

alienation from tourism development placed them in a position where they were structurally dependent on male household members, or temporary anthropologists, to meet their health needs; and this placed women's health in a precarious position.

The complex interactions between tourism, power, wealth and health shaped the distribution of the benefits and consequences of dietary and nutritional change in Aremd. Macro structural forces, such as tourism development policies aiming to advance globalization and integrate rural economies into the global economic system led to uneven development and an inequitable distribution of development-based benefits and opportunities among residents, particularly between men and women. As the village economy shifted away from agriculture toward tourism-based production, women's role in agricultural production was becoming obsolete and social norms prohibited women from participating in the tourism economy. Control over income and access to markets provided men with greater access and control over food purchases, dietary decision-making and health services; and many women came to rely on men to for their nutritional and health needs. Yet, men's participation in the tourism economy and long-term exposure to tourist lifestyles also affected dietary behaviors and decision-making. Interaction with tourists enabled men to acquire beneficial health information habits, such as dental care and maintenance, but it also promoted negative health behaviors and practices such as alcohol consumption and reliance on imported processed foods. Furthermore, globalization and the availability of income through tourism contributed to a shift in lifestyle behaviors and consumer desires in households. Widespread consumption of (and preference for) market foods over food produced in agriculture was fueled in large part by government subsidies that made refined foods,

such as sugar, more affordable to low-income families and televised marketing associated processed and imported foods with modernity and globalized lifestyles. For women in Aremd, modern convenience and prestige came at the cost of dependency and loss of control over the quality and quantity of food in their diet. Women who continued to engage in agricultural labor and food production had greater access and control over food through their participation in agricultural labor, yet participation in agricultural labor came at the cost of lower status and prestige among other women. Dietary changes, particularly increased consumption of subsidized sugar, generated negative health effects such as advanced tooth decay and increased vulnerability to diabetes. Although men also shared the same health risks and vulnerabilities brought about by tourism development, the consequences were concentrated among women because women could not access income and market spaces that were necessary to control their diet and/or seek out medical services. The experiences of residents represented in this chapter demonstrate that the intersection of tourism development processes with systems of power and wealth led to gendered patterns in dietary changes and health consequences which reflected the socioeconomic and cultural context in which tourism policies operate.

Tourism and HIV / AIDs

Power inequities in tourism are oftentimes played out in sexual relationships. When sex interacts with the disproportionate distribution of power and wealth in tourism development, it is likely to result in a disproportionate distribution in the health risks and vulnerabilities that come with sexual activity (Farmer 2003; Van der Kwaak and Wegelin-Schuringa 2006). This is most evident in interactions between tourism workers and tourists, as well as between tourism workers and their spouses.

Most tourists in Morocco are members of a wealthy minority of global elites originating from rich nations such as France, England, Spain, Australia and the United States and are thereby free to cross most international borders. People become tourists after they have accumulated enough wealth to allow them to suspend labor activities and take a holiday, or vacation, to engage in recreational activities. While in Morocco, tourists obtain services from tourism workers, most of whom are in a structurally less powerful position than their clients.

In contrast to their clients, most tourism workers in Aremd were uneducated men with large extended families and overwhelming financial obligations to fulfill their gendered role as a household provider. The majority of men were forced to work illegally in the tourism industry because they lacked the financial and social resources they needed to obtain legal permitting and licensure or long-term contracts for stable employment. Tourism workers in Aremd were not permitted to freely cross international borders without securing significant financial sponsorship abroad. Therefore, it should not be surprising when the financial and social insecurity experienced by residents in Aremd is matched with financial prosperity and social liberty experienced by tourists, a power imbalance emerges; and power inequities can operate within sexual relationships that take place between male residents and their clients.

Power inequities between tourism workers and tourists can generate health risks and vulnerabilities for workers who engage in sexual relations with their clients. Workers risks and vulnerabilities are commuted to residents in their village, particularly women, because tourism workers are in a structurally more powerful position within their

household and community. Power dynamics within sexual relations are particularly relevant in terms of sexually transmitted infections such as HIV/AIDS.

Until recently, research into sexually transmitted infections in the Arab-Muslim and North African context was particularly lacking and most research has been concentrated in Egypt (Hind et al 1999). In Morocco, the Ministry of Health estimates 600,000 new cases each year (Elharti et al. 2002; Ryan et al. 1998). Increasing presence of STIs diagnoses indicates prevalence in high-risk sexual behaviors. Manhart et al's (2000) research in the cities of Tangier, Khenifra and Sali identified clear gender differences in understanding the risks associated with sexual activity and in understanding health-care-seeking behavior. Like Aremd, Khenifra is a rural village located in a mountainous area that was sustained by agriculture. Through interviews, Manhart and colleagues found that STIs were viewed as women's illnesses, and men with STIs reported feeling victimized by women. Within their sample, men had more extensive informal information sources for STD than women and men had greater access to treatment, for both social and economic reasons.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has received particular attention in Morocco. More than 21,000 adults and children in Morocco were infected with the HIV/AIDS virus by 2008, and more than 40 percent of HIV positive residents were between 30 and 39 years old (UNAIDS). More than eight percent of AIDS cases were counted in metropolitan areas with a 60% concentration in the four largest provinces of Morocco including Marrakech province which accounted for sixteen percent of active cases, second only to Agadir which is another popular tourist destination (MAP 2009; WHO 2008). In 1988, the Moroccan National AIDS Control Programme response initiated a national strategic plan

to monitor and control the spread of HIV, to inform and protect residents, and provide services for people who were infected with the virus. Nearly ten years later, the Ministry of Health conducted a qualitative study in 1996 in order to enhance information, education and communication strategies in the national STD/HIV program. More recently, the 2002-2005 National Strategic Plan budget included US\$ 20 million to address prevention (36% of allocation), impact reduction (33% of allocation) and related activities (31% of allocation). The Moroccan government received additional international support from the United states (USAID), France and the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) amounting to US\$ 9.23 million during a four-year period (March 2003 to February 2007). The implementation of the 2007-2011 National Strategic Plan determined objectives and targets for “universal access” (http://data.unaids.org/pub/FactSheet/2008/sa08_mor_en.pdf). During this time, the Moroccan government developed partnerships with thematic nongovernmental organizations such as the Moroccan chapter of the Pan African Organization for the Fight against AIDS (OPALS), the Moroccan League for the Control of Sexually Transmitted Infections (LM-LMST), the Moroccan Association of Youth against AIDS and the Moroccan Association for Solidarity and Development, all of which play an active role in activities to raise awareness and contribute to the AIDS response. (http://data.unaids.org/pub/Report/2008/jc1348_morocco_response_highlights_en.pdf). The Moroccan Association for the Fight Against AIDS (ALCS) is one of Morocco's leading NGOs addressing HIV/AIDS and is a key member conducting advocacy and implementation for the Moroccan Ministry of Health's national HIV/AIDS initiatives, funded by the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. It was one of the

first organizations to advocate and provide highly active anti-retroviral treatment to people living with HIV/AIDS.

Government programs and related NGOs came under fire from the Justice and Development Party (PJD) for 'promoting condom use' and for reaching out to marginal populations, such as sex workers and men who have sex with men (<http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/organizations/the-moroccan-association-for-the-fight-against-aids>). PJD was the largest opposition political party in Morocco, and the party's political platform was centered on Islam and Islamic democracy. In the national parliamentary election that took place during field research in September 2007, the PJD party won only 46 out of 325 seats. Despite low national support, the PJD party was the most popular party in rural areas. Residents in Aremd likened their vote for the PJD as common sense.

Using religion as a backdrop, PJD heavily criticized the programs for promoting a Westernized 'condom culture' and failing to represent the Islamic character of Moroccan society or regard Morocco as an Islamic country." The PJD also launched a campaign against a cartoon book aimed to make youngsters aware of the danger of AIDS, and party leaders condemned the authors for presenting the condom as a safe option and for using a mosque as a background to some of the cartoons. The PJD also targeted programs that promoted tourism development and blamed tourism for the spread of HIV/AIDS in Morocco. According to the PJD, "fidelity to religion and marriage" are the way to fight AIDS, which it described as "divine punishment"(Abderrahim El Ouali 2006).

I inadvertently confirmed the PJD's representation of Western 'condom culture' after I accidentally displayed a strip of multi-colored condoms while sitting at a table in a café with a group of men. I pulled the condoms out of a small pocket in my book bag while rummaging through it. To break the awkward silence, I attempted to explain how I obtained the condoms; that there was an HIV/AIDS awareness booth set up in a park at my university, they handed out condoms along the walk way, I took them and shoved them in my bag to be nice to the people who were working there. I forgot they were in my bag and here they are in Morocco ... As I rambled through my story, a man in his thirties interrupted, 'it is a school, not a pharmacy. If you are there to study, why would they give you condoms? Maybe books, not condoms.' As I tried to explain that the school had a pharmacy and perhaps the booth was in some way associated with the pharmacy the incredulous looks on the men's faces told me that they either thought I was delivering a pack of outlandish lies or I did, in fact, come from a 'condom culture.'

Surprisingly, residents' ideas about the condom culture promoted by the U.S. and other countries were associated with residents' perception of American relations with Israel. During a conversation about condom-use and prostitutes at a café in the commercial center of Asni, one hour drive outside of the village, a man in his thirties remarked that condoms were necessary to avoid most STIs, but not HIV/AIDS. He explained that the campaign to promote condom-use as a means to protect oneself from HIV/AIDS was fabricated by a Jewish man who owned a condom factory. The story described how the condom factory was about to go out bankrupt. In order to save his business, the Jewish factory-owner devised a means of promoting condoms by associating HIV/AIDS with sex and claiming that condom use would protect individuals

from the disease. Since the U.S. and Israel are closely allied, the United States supported his campaign and implemented programs to promote condom use worldwide. As a result, the factory prospered and the Jewish man became very rich. His story incensed a middle-aged American woman who had joined our conversation. She angrily argued that she personally knew people who had died of AIDS, and that she was insulted that he would deny that the disease existed. He clarified that he was not denying that the disease existed, only that it was not acquired through sex. I returned to the village and asked several residents if they had heard of the story. Everyone did. I then asked if they believed the story; Most of the residents replied that it was impossible to know for sure, but it was likely.

Controversy surrounded residents' ideas about condom-use and HIV/AIDS. Condoms were largely associated with sex outside of marriage (to avoid pregnancy) and sex with prostitutes (to avoid disease). These associations led to a logical extrapolation that married people did not need to use condoms, and this perspective was reinforced by the PJD. Both residents and the PJD argued that making condoms accessible to unmarried individuals would encourage premarital sex, and married couples should not need to use condoms unless they are unfaithful. Therefore, if one partner were to suggest using a condom, it would imply that they were unfaithful, or that they were accusing their partner of being unfaithful. Shame associated with condom-use discouraged men from acquiring condoms which were available at the nearby pharmacy and clinic in Imlil. In fact, sex-workers were residents' primary source for condoms. According to two men in their thirties who worked in tourism, sex-workers

sold condoms to their clients, and the condoms usually cost more than transactional sex.

Access to condoms was particularly limited for women since women were forbidden to venture into market spaces where pharmacies, clinics, and healthcare workers were located. In addition to spatial barriers to access condoms, possession of condoms would seriously jeopardize a woman's reputation in the village since condoms were associated with prostitution and sex outside of marriage. Nonetheless, none of the women interviewed stated a desire to acquire or use condoms, but this was likely due to inadequate education about transmission and insufficient awareness of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Morocco.

It was evident that residents' ideas, knowledge and awareness of STIs, condoms, and HIV/AIDS was the result of the dearth of educational resources available within the confines of the village; and this reflected the structural positioning of the village within the global and national arena. During the time of research, HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns were just beginning to gain momentum in Morocco. Yet the vast majority of the informational resources were concentrated in urban areas, such as Marrakech. This imposed limitations on residents who spent the majority, if not all, of their time in the village. Men visiting Marrakech would have more exposure to informational resources than women who were unable to venture into the urban area without being accompanied by a man. Men working in tourism were more likely to acquire information from tourists (who originated from wealthy countries that have invested heavily in HIV/AIDS education) than women or men who worked in agriculture. Furthermore, simple exposure to HIV/AIDS programs and informational resources was insufficient

because the majority of the information about the disease that reached the village was relayed in French and Arabic languages. This created a communication barrier for residents who spoke only Tachelhit or Moroccan Arabic, as well as residents who were illiterate. Informational resources included printed materials, such as a French/Arabic banner displayed in Marrakech, radio PSAs, and television commercials broadcast by transnational companies.

While watching television with a group of women, a young woman changed the channel during an HIV/AIDS PSA. I asked the women if they knew about the disease and if they were concerned. The women identified AIDS, known as *SIDA* in Morocco, as a disease in Marrakech and among tourists. This was logical since the socio-cultural (and linguistic) backdrop of the PSAs on the television was centered on urban settings and lifestyles. PSAs never portrayed a rural Berber woman contracting the disease from an unfaithful tour-guide husband, for example. This led women to believe that they were not at risk of contracting the disease. Inadequacies in the distribution of educational resources forced women and many men in Aremd to rely on word of mouth information, and word of mouth information oftentimes included misinformation and mythical stories, such as the tale of a Jewish man who owned a condom factory.

Sex, Power and Tourism

The outcome of information deficits and inadequacies in health resources experienced by residents further exacerbated power differentials that characterized economic inequality between residents in Aremd and their clients. Since residents were situated in a structurally less powerful position than their tourist counterparts, they were more vulnerable to the risks imposed by tourist behaviors, including risky sexual behavior. Morocco's proximity to wealthy European countries such as France and

England made it a popular, and convenient, destination for European tourists. Discount airlines, such as Ryan Air and Easy Jet, offered direct flights at a discount (London to Marrakech direct cost ten pounds/20USD in 2007) making Morocco an affordable destination for low-budget weekend travelers, many of which were impulse travelers who arrived alone. Low-budget solo travels were the primary clientele for guides who did not have an active contract with a tourism agency or who needed to work illegally. Without the assistance of a tourism company in Morocco, solo travelers usually arrived without an itinerary or pre-arrival information and could therefore easily come to rely on inexpensive services provided by a local guide. In Aremd, many unemployed guides spent their time loitering at taxi stands awaiting the arrival of solo tourists who were usually beleaguered from the intensity of the urban Marrakech destination and, apart from a travel guide, they were usually clueless about local accommodations and services and generally uncommitted to a specific itinerary. The taxi stand in Imlil offered a daily supply of independent shoe-string budget tourists, and the tourists were usually greeted with a swarm of over-eager guides offering services that included 'authentic' Berber accommodations in their home and informational tours into the village and mountainside.

It may be safe to assume that most tourists arriving in Morocco did not intend to participate in sexual relations during their stay. However, information gathered in Aremd is consistent with findings from previous research in other parts of the world that indicates that sexual relations are a common touristic activity. Ford's (1991) research in Torbay, England found that nearly one quarter of tourists who participated in the study had engaged in sexual activity with a person whom they just met while on holiday;

nearly half of those who had engaged in sex while on holiday had sex with locals (the remainder had sexual relationships with other tourists). More than a third of the respondents indicated that they were more likely to engage in casual sex on vacation than at home, and even tourists who were reportedly in a steady relationship indicated that they were more likely to engage in external sexual activities while on vacation. Less than half of all sexual activity while on vacation involved the use of a condom, and three-quarters of female tourists who had sex with residents in Torbay did not use a condom, compared to 42% of male tourists. Forsythe (1998) found that tourists are generally more adventurous on vacation than they are at home, and they tend to take risks that they otherwise would not take at home. According to Forsythe, tourists may drink more, use drugs, and/or take sexual risks. In addition, a minority of so-called "sex tourists" travel specifically to engage in sex with the local population.

For tourists, vacations are terminal liminal periods when participate in activities that deviate from normative behaviors at home (Burns 1999; Ryan and Hall 2001). Yet, tourists eventually return home and reaggregate into their customary routines. Tourism workers, on the other hand, are perpetually immersed in tourist culture and are persistently exposed to tourist's liminal behavior and risk-taking. It is therefore likely that tourism workers, as well as their families, will be disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS risks presented by tourist sex behaviors. For example, a UK study found that both male and female tourism workers have more sex partners (usually with tourists) and more casual sexual relationships than the resident population (Ford 1990). When tourists engage in unprotected sex with local residents they create a bridge for HIV/AIDS to travel from the tourist's origin to their vacation destination, and their local

sex partner creates a bridge between the tourist and the partner's community and household. Therefore, tourists who engage in unprotected sex with residents not only represent a risk to their partner, they also impose risks to the partner's family and all subsequent sexual contacts that the local person may have.

In Aremd, contracts between a male tourism worker and a client tourist lasted from a single day to more than two months. Chapter six described how residents working as guides or drivers needed to accompany and accommodate their client twenty-four hours a day throughout the duration of their contract. Oftentimes, male tourism workers spent more time traveling with and caring for their clients than they spent in their household with their family; and in many cases, the extended-stay client was a solo-traveler. During my first visit in Aremd, I stayed in a small bed and breakfast owned by a resident household, and I met a young French woman who also planned to spend her entire summer vacation living in the village. Like her, I made my accommodation arrangements through one of the male household members who worked as a guide. My arrival with the young man angered the woman, and her temper flared as I arranged my belongings in a room next to hers. I learned later that she was touring Morocco alone and established an informal guiding contract with the resident tourism-worker after he solicited her in Marrakech. She eventually developed a sexual relationship with him and after the week-long contract terminated, she opted to spend the remainder of her summer in the village. The guide's family assumed that, like me, she was a client, yet her clandestine arrangement with the guide enabled her to stay in the bed and breakfast for free. When I returned the following summer to conduct pre-dissertation research, I asked about the woman, and the young man replied that he attempted to telephone her

several times but he never heard from her again. However, his arrangement with her was not unique. Throughout the duration of my dissertation research, the young man's clientele primarily consisted of young and attractive female tourists travelling alone. In one particularly complicated situation, he unsuccessfully attempted to juggle two tourists at the same time.

While living alone in the village I frequently became acquainted with other women who also visited the village alone, some were simply tourists aiming to experience the countryside and others were pursuing a relationship with a male resident. Several times, after learning that I was conducting long-term research in the village, female tourists used me as a resource to soundboard their ideas, thoughts and feelings while they embarked on an exciting, yet uncertain, relationship with a resident in the village. Sometimes I was interrogated with a line of questioning, 'would you ever date a Moroccan man?', Do you think a relationship would work between a Berber man and a non-Berber woman?, Do you think a Berber man can respect a woman?, What is it like to interact with the family?, Do you think his family would accept a foreign woman?, Do you need to cover your hair when you enter the house?, Do the women like you?' In some circumstances, women indicated that they were considering a long-term relationship that could potentially lead to marriage. This was the case with a forty-year old French woman who was in an eight year relationship with a male tourism worker from Aremd. She initially hired him as a guide during her first visit to Morocco, and she has returned to Morocco twice a year, ever since. Despite the duration of their relationship and several visits to the village as a 'tourist', she had never met his family or entered his household.

In other cases, women were pursuing short-term relationships that were not expected to continue after their departure. A Spanish woman in her twenties came to Aremd with a resident tourism worker. After her arrival, he introduced her to me and abruptly left. Within a few days, the woman became disgruntled and left the village alone. She invited me to meet her in Marrakech, and when I arrived, she introduced me to her new guide who was a man she met in the city. It was clear that the line between 'guide' and 'date' was quite blurry. When I asked her to clarify the exact arrangement she had made with the Moroccan man, she explained that he had approached her while she was visiting a popular plaza called Djemna El Fna. He offered 'guiding services', and she accepted. As it turned out, his services included accompaniment to dinners and night clubs during her solo vacation. She paid for everything.

Djemna El Fna, or 'the plaza', is a central location in Marrakech where tourists and Moroccan nationals intermix. In Aremd, male tourism workers assumed that single women, tourists and nationals, visit Djemna El Fna to seek out men to accompany them on their vacations. They referred to this as 'fishing', and the men caught in the plaza are referred to as 'fish'. During a visit to Marrakech I ran into a resident from Aremd, and he invited me to lunch. When we arrived at the café, however, he wanted to sit at an inside table in a dark, dank corner. When I asked why we couldn't eat at a table outside, he replied 'people will think I am your little fish.' The assumption that single women in Djemna El Fna are looking for male companionship made evening visits to the festive, carnival-like plaza unbearable for solo female tourists who actually desired to spend their vacation alone. While walking through the plaza, I experienced incessant cat-calls, solicitations and sometimes physical groping from men. It seemed unlikely that the

annoyances would lead to a successful connection, yet the plaza was an ideal location to connect with tourists and many men found success.

In the Imlil market, I met an American woman in her fifties who was filing for divorce from a 30 year-old Moroccan man she met in the Marrakech plaza. He lived with his family in one of the villages that connected to the Imlil market. They initially met in Djemna El Fna and maintained contact via internet after she returned to the U.S. He proposed to her through a webcam, and she returned to Morocco and married him. She used her life-savings to buy land and build an elaborate house in the middle of a scenic village that was less than a half hour drive to Imlil. After one year of marriage, the house was nearly complete. Against her wishes, his family moved into the house and she eventually found him engaging in sexual relations with the young housekeeper she hired. She filed for divorce and learned that he was entitled to half of everything. She moved to a more populated village along the main road to Marrakech and he remained in the house with his family. By the time I met her, she had spent more than three years and several thousand dollars in attorney fees trying to settle her divorce. For better or for worse, she was a very popular woman in the village where she lived. Not only was she the only American in the community, she had considerable more wealth than the rest of the residential population. She owned a car, and her apartment was equipped with running water, appliances, air conditioning, and a host of additional luxury items. She liked to drink alcohol. Needless to say, her house was a popular hang-out for poor young men living in a mundane remote village. Unlike other women in the community, she had boyfriends and casual sex. Near the end of my field research, she was in the process of transitioning boyfriends by ending a relationship with a flighty young man and

embarking on a new relationship with an older, and seemingly more committed, married man. She told me that she did not use condoms, and when I questioned the wisdom of unsafe sex she replied, 'I would know if they were sick.'

Regardless of the availability of financial and social resources that have been made available to the American woman in her home country, she chose to take considerable risks while living in Morocco, and the outcome of her risk-taking behavior was likely share not only with her partners, but with her partner's family members as well. I questioned the woman's new boyfriend about his wife and wondered if his wife cared that he spent his time with another woman. He replied that sometimes she gave him a hassle, but there was really nothing she could do. Unable to earn her own income, his wife was economically dependent on him. He kept a flock of sheep and refused to buy a washing machine because his wife 'needed to be busy to stay out of trouble.' Ironically, the house they lived in was initially owned by her family who used the property as part of a dowry to help their daughter succeed in a highly competitive marriage market. Marriage was become more competitive for women because men's marriage options were increasing as a result of increased mobility, urban migration, and the arrival of tourist women. As a consequence, womens' options dwindled as urban migration decreased the male population in the village and women needed to compete with tourist women. Restrictions on womens' mobility and prohibitions against social relations with non-relative men generated difficult circumstances for women to seek out a spouse outside of the village or with tourist men.

Apart from verbal complaints, the man's wife was virtually powerless to protest against his openly adulterous relationship with the American woman. It is very likely

that, due to the dearth of educational and health resources available to women in the area, she was largely unaware that her husband's infidelity was not only socially and emotionally harmful, but it imposed a considerable threat to her health as well.

In Aremd, an openly adulterous relationship would have been considered unacceptable. Yet, many residents (men and women) engaged in clandestine relationships behind closed doors. A male Peace Corps worker in a nearby village who spent the majority of his time with tourism workers told me that guides in Imlil have constructed a gradient scale that correlated nationality with the likelihood to have sex; Dutch women were considered most likely and surprisingly, American women were considered the least likely.⁴² In time I was able to identify some of the more sexually-active tourism workers, either as a result of the men testing their luck with me or through observation and conversation.

A few guides introduced me to their secret 'tourist' girlfriends because they thought I needed a friend, or they needed me to keep her occupied while they worked with other tourists. On two occasions I was approached by perplexed female tourists who wanted me to explain why their guide offered them a 'free' trip to the Sahara desert if they returned to Morocco. Remote and rural areas, like Aremd, were popular destinations for sex tourism because Moroccan laws forbid unmarried couples to share a hotel room. This law was usually upheld in the urban center of Marrakech where police were known to enforce the restriction, yet rural accommodations seldom enforced the law and accepted the prohibited arrangement.

⁴² This ordering may have been modified to avoid offending the American Peace Corps Worker.

Although relationships with foreign women were considered shameful by village standards, tourist girlfriends were also a status symbol for men in Aremd. Relationships with foreign women not only symbolized men's direct participation in a globalized culture, the woman's decision to be with a Moroccan man over a European or American man was also a testament to their sexual supremacy over the richer, more powerful, Euro-American counterparts. This was illustrated through a colorful conversation with a lively guide in his thirties. 'Do you know why they come here to be with us?' he asked me, 'because we satisfy. How many times can a European man go?' I refused to answer. 'Just once, right? A Berber man can go many, many times. Too many times ... Sometimes it is too much for his wife, and he must go to the tourist as well.' Sexual superiority over European men was a sentiment shared by many men in Aremd (see also Rabinow 1977). Sexual superiority was a form of dominance over those who formerly occupied Morocco through colonialism and continue to occupy the country and its inhabitants through integration into the global economic system.

The majority of overt sexual encounters between residents and tourists took place between male residents and women. However, Marrakech and surrounding areas have received international notoriety as a same-sex tourist destination for men and it is therefore likely that same sex encounters were more prevalent than they appeared to be. Homosexual relationships are forbidden in Islam, and therefore information regarding homosexual interactions between residents and tourists was less accessible than interactions between men and women . Only two men in the village revealed that they participated in same-sex activities at least once, and both residents described the arrangements as consensual. On one occasion however, a guide in his twenties arrived

with a very demanding, older Hungarian man. After several days with the man, the guide approached me, and with tears in his eyes, asked me if there was any way I could find work for him in the United States. He stated that he could not bear to be a guide for that much longer. I pointed out that the Hungarian man seemed very hostile, and that I could help him find a different tourist to take his place. He replied that the man was a regular client, and he could not afford to lose the business until he found another job. A few months later, I discovered that the Hungarian man managed a website that hosted photos from his time spent in the village. In one of the photos, the man had his arm around the young guide who stoically held a stuffed animal. Beyond simple suspicion, there was no evidence to indicate that the resident was engaging in sexual activities with the lone male traveler. Yet, the economic power held by the older Hungarian obviously made it impossible for the impoverished young guide to say no to his demands. In light of the economic power differentials between residents and tourists, male tourism workers are situated in a precariously vulnerable position when they are forced to meet the demands of an unethical and exploitative client, either male or female, in order to fulfill their gendered obligation to meet the material needs of their household and family.

Tourism, Sex and Gender

Tourism workers act as a bridge between the tourist and their household and community; and when tourism workers engage in risky sexual behaviors with tourists (either willfully or coerced), the risk is passed on to the worker's household members and their community. While male tourism workers in Aremd were in a structurally less powerful position relative to foreign tourists, they wielded considerable economic and social power within their households and communities, this was particularly the case

within the unequal gender relationships between women and their husbands. The 'Gender and Kinship' chapter in this dissertation illustrated the patriarchal hierarchies that characterized gender relations in Aremd; in many ways, women were socially and economically dependent on male household members. Previous research has shown that not only are women more biologically susceptible to infection than men (Kost et al. 1991), but economic dependency and unequal gender relations place women at higher risk because they are less able to negotiate safer sex with male partners and this increases women's vulnerability to STIs (Gupta 2000). In Aremd, dependency reduced women's capacity to exert agency within their husband's household, and lower status diminished women's capacity to protect themselves from sex-related vulnerabilities and risks. Furthermore, women elevated their status in the household by producing children. Therefore, safer sex through condom use presents a double-edged sword because it can protect women from infection while virtually eliminating women's opportunity to gain prestige through motherhood.

Socio-economic inequality not only affected women's ability to negotiate safer sex and protect themselves from sex-related risks, it impeded women's ability to leave an adulterous husband in order to protect herself from infection. In Aremd, divorce imposed the risk of losing economic support and a place in society. Although many women stated that they would like to leave their husband, only one woman left her husband during my field research term. She stated that she left in protest of his adulterous activities with tourists and Moroccan women in Marrakech. She left his household and walked uphill to return to her natal household in the village. However, many women in Aremd were originally from distant villages, and they came to Aremd when they moved

into their husband's household after marriage. These women lacked the social resources they needed to leave their husbands if they needed to. As Doyal (2002:239) points out, 'In a situation where they have few options to support themselves, many women may feel compelled to stay with a male partner even when this is putting their own life at risk. A refusal to participate in unsafe sex may mean the withdrawal of material support leaving a woman and her children with no alternative means of survival. '

Social norms that place women under the authority of their husband exacerbated power differentials created by economic inequality. According to patriarchal interpretations of Koranic law, a woman is under the authority of her husband, and Islamic law supports the principles of sexual consent while mandating sexual obedience by the wife (Orobu loye et al.1993). When sex falls under the decision-making authority of the husband, women cannot easily refuse sex to their husbands and practice an 'abstinence only' approach to HIV/AIDS prevention. For many men in the village, women's obligation to remain sexually available to the husband was a key part of marital relationships. Sex outside of marriage was forbidden, and therefore, married men considered sex an entitlement. A tourism worker in his twenties explained, 'I work and I pay for the house, her food, the clothes, everything. When I come home, if I need to lay with her, why should she say no to me??'

The risks imposed by gender norms that mandate sexual obedience are further compounded by a 'culture of ignorance' and the demand that women remain virgins until marriage. The culture of ignorance dictates that so-called 'good' women are ignorant about sex and should assume a passive role in sexual relations. Unlike men

who openly discussed their sexual escapades, both in within and outside of marriage, few women in Aremd were willing to discuss their sexual experiences. The culture of ignorance creates a barrier for communication that not only impedes the dissemination of information about HIV/AIDS risk reduction and negotiating safer sex (Gupta 2000), it discourages women from seeking out information about sex-related risks and vulnerabilities. Women who conformed to the culture of ignorance were referred to as 'clean' women, which referred to sexual morality rather than hygiene. At the same time, masculinity was characterized by sexual aggression and fecundity. Men were expected to be well informed about matters regarding sex despite a dirth in resources for men and boys to obtain information. Without resources, men and boys needed to rely on experience obtained through sexual experimentation. One man described how, as a teenager, he engaged in sexual experimentation with a female resident who was also in her teens. According to him, they engaged in alternative sex behaviors, such as anal, oral and 'thigh' sex in order to avoid pregnancy or rupturing her hymen. Cultural demands for girls to remain virgins until marriage, and the necessity to provide proof of virginity by bleeding during first intercourse compelled unmarried residents to practice sex behaviors, such as anal and oral sex, that increased their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infection.

Most male informants stated that the primary sources for sexual information and experimentation were tourists, prostitutes, and married women. Previous research has claimed that for married women in Morocco, like many women in the developing world, vulnerability and risk to STIs such as HIV/AIDS is largely determined by their husband's behavior (Kamenga et al. 1991; Mbizvo 1996; Boerma et al. 2002; Sanchez et al. 2003;

Harvey et al. 2002; Ryan et al. 1998). Wegelin-Schuringa (2005) reports that, world-wide, more than eighty percent of women infected with HIV contracted the disease from a male partner, and the partner is usually their husband. Without discounting the staggering statistics, it is important to note that some women may exert agency to undermine patriarchal arrangements in order to exercise their sexual desires and this may also place their husbands at risk. As previously mentioned, men working in tourism can be absent from their households for as long as two months. The majority of married women lived in their husband's extended family within his household and remained under the authority and supervision of their mother in law. However, a growing number of women lived in single-family type households, and they lived alone during their husband's absence. Three men in Aremd claimed that their first sexual experiences took place with married women who invited them into their home while their husband was away. None of the women in Aremd shared personal experiences with adulterous relationships, nor were they willing to allege that other women in Aremd participated in adulterous sexual activities. However, several women agreed that infidelity was a problem among women in *other* villages. This perspective was reinforced after news reached Aremd that a woman in Agersewal was caught in the act when her husband returned home early, and residents engaged in debates regarding the appropriate course of action. Some argued that he should divorce her and return her to her family, while one man claimed that it was in the best interest of her children to simply beat her as a deterrent against future transgressions. Regardless of the validity of the Agersewal story or the credibility of men who claim to have had sex with married women, HIV/AIDS awareness approaches that position men as sexual aggressors and portray women as

asexual, ignorant and faithful run the risk of overlooking women's sexual agency and ignoring how women can also transmit STIs and impose risks to their husbands and community members.

At the time of research, there was no obvious evidence or reports of HIV/AIDS among residents in Aremd. However, educational resources emphasizing the necessity for testing was relatively absent. Therefore, it is unlikely that the presence of HIV/AIDS would be detected before symptoms of the disease began to manifest. Even then, few residents in Aremd possessed the financial resources to pay for health services outside of a medical emergency. In light of findings by the World Health Organization that indicate a positive correlation between increasing tourist arrivals and increasing reports of HIV/AIDS, it can be assumed that the steady increase in tourist arrivals in Aremd, coupled with high risk sex behaviors, will invariably result in the emergence of HIV/AIDS in the host community. In the absence of preventative behaviors that have resulted in the overall lack of educational resources, residents will be left to rely on early detection and treatment to avoid secondary complications and prevent further transmission of the disease.

Early detection relies on the individual's ability to recognize the infection, and detection of asymptomatic infections relies on regular screening (Aral et al., 1996; Holmes and Ryan, 1998). This creates more serious implications for women than men because, like other health services mentioned earlier, women experience social and financial barriers for acquiring sexual health services. The majority of Moroccan public health physicians are still male (Manhart et al 2000), and none of the facilities available near Aremd specialize in women's health. The absence of specialized services and the

unavailability of female physicians can affect women's willingness or ability to seek treatment for gynecological ailments. 'I will not allow a man to see my wife without clothes,' one forty year old resident proclaimed after he confided that, despite three children together, he had never seen his own wife without her clothes. The idea of another man screening his wife in the nude and inserting a speculum into his wife's vagina was tantamount to having sexual relations.

For men, it was difficult to perceive wealthy foreigners as vectors for disease. Representations of foreigners on popular transnational dramas broadcast via satellite into households in Aremd never addressed, or even mentioned, the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. Unlike women in Aremd, most female tourists visiting Aremd did not suffer from advanced tooth decay, and health complications arising from dietary and lifestyle habits were likely treatable or managed in the tourist's country of origin. Tourist's bodies did not reflect a lifetime of rigorous agricultural labor or overexposure to sun, wind and harsh detergents. Most tourists used expensive crèmes, soaps, and lotions on their skin and hair to maintain youthful and healthy appearances. While inspecting wrinkles on his face, a tourism worker in his late twenties remarked, 'In the mountains, we get old quick,' and residents in Aremd often commented that tourists remained youthful longer than they did. Income generation in the tourism economy was expected to bring the material benefits needed to live and look like the tourists, and few residents were aware of tourism-based health consequences looming in the future. When I asked residents if they were concerned about the growing HIV/AIDS epidemic in Morocco, the ultimate response was virtually unanimous; residents shrugged and said 'Insha'Allah' or 'god-

willing, a popular saying that refers to the belief that everything is left to divine providence.

An Unhealthy Economy

The apparent and potential health effects of tourism-based development present some clear implications for the need to address the health consequences of tourism development in rural communities like Aremd. Health status of rural people in tourism development face the worst of both worlds, diseases of poverty and diseases of affluence, while educational and health resources in rural areas remain insufficient and inadequate. Policy-makers and economic planners advocating for tourism development as a means to alleviate poverty in rural communities need to account for the long-term health effects of global economic integration and the contexts in which they operate. This necessitates an awareness of the medical and social costs associated with the health consequences of economic change such as degraded diets, obesity, diet-related chronic diseases such as diabetes and tooth decay, and infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, and how vulnerability and risk to health consequences are distributed differentially within populations. Health practitioners and educators in developing locales need to look beyond narrowly defined health initiatives to address how health status is rooted in complex systems of power that affect individual access and control over health-related resources and how power inequities affect an individual's capacity to engage in autonomous decision-making in terms of personal health and wellness. Standardized programs in health education and prevention are likely to fall short in reaching those who need it the most.

Quantitative studies need to determine the extent of the costs and consequences of tourism development in rural communities in Aremd in order to identify how

inequality, behaviors and beliefs exacerbate vulnerabilities and risks to disease, and data analysis needs to account for the variables that define the broader relations of power that provide the foundations for social inequality. In locales like Aremd, gender norms, ideologies and inequalities within the community and household create different health experiences for men and women and generate dramatically different health outcomes. Gender inequities and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity dictate various roles, rights, and responsibilities, and this necessitates the development of gender-specific approaches to disease intervention and treatment. At the national level, differential distribution of health services and resources has created economic, social, spatial and linguistic barriers for poor rural residents, particularly women. Public service announcements and educational campaigns in French and Arabic will fail to reach monolingual Tachelhit-speaking residents. Clinics and hospitals in market areas and cities are inaccessible to residents who are forbidden to enter market spaces and urban areas. Within the international arena, power differentials between tourists and residents impose considerable health risks for male tourism workers whose livelihood depends on accessing income by meeting the demands of tourists who engage in high risk behaviors while on vacation. Contemporary economic arrangements that generate an equitable distribution in technological, productive and consumptive resources can improve the health status of the world's populations and lend truer meaning to a 'healthy' economy.

CHAPTER 8 SPATIAL IDEOLOGIES AND IMAGINED BOUNDARIES: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF SPACE

Introduction

Built environments and the symbolic ordering of space provide the frameworks that underlie the spatial organization of social, cultural, economic, and political activity. Therefore, space is a fundamental component in the social construction of boundaries that create difference and commonality among people, and access and control over space creates and reinforces systems of power that inform socio-economic relationships. This has become apparent in a globalized tourism economy where the compression of time and space, induced by communication and transportation technologies, has resulted in the largest-scale movement of people and goods in human history. Tourists circulate through and make use of multiple spatial domains; and their mobility, activities and relationships are informed by the meanings associated with the spaces they engage and the socio-historical context in which those meanings emerged. Since spatial contexts are socially produced and constructed (Low 2000, 2003), we can assume that the spatial dynamics within tourism economies are rooted in multi-scalar (global to household) power relations entrenched in social, political, cultural and economic interactions. For that reason, the popularity of international tourism development in rural communities in Morocco demands inquiry into the spatial context in which socio-economic systems operate and the ways rural people engaging international tourism development negotiate spatial orders invoked by the new economy.

This chapter will interrogate how multi-scalar systems of power articulate with the social construction and production of space within tourism development in Aremd. In

order to identify how socio-economic and cultural forces embedded in tourism development shaped spatial experiences for residents, I will evaluate how social relations and activities contributed to the conceptualization of different spatial domains and the use of physical space. I will rely on ethnographic interviews and participant-observation to reveal how social hierarchies and structural inequalities led to differential access and control over spatial domains, and that residents in Aremd actively strategized to challenge and contest economic, social and political barriers to tourism spaces. Information in this chapter will ultimately shed light on the ideological and structural forces that underpin the symbolic ordering of interconnected spaces within international, national, urban, rural, city, village, public, and private contexts to reveal that, while spatial domains are fluid, dynamic, integrated, and overlapping, the cultural politics of space operating within tourism processes can generate very different experiences for residents in encountering development.

Theoretical Frameworks

The theoretical underpinnings to the *social production* of space are rooted in anthropological research that began during the 1970s when anthropologists launched an inquiry into human-environment interactions and the socio-cultural significance of built environments. This body of research targeted the social, economic, political, ideological, and technological forces that contribute to the physical creation of material settings (Rapoport 1976; King 1980; Smith 1991, 1996; Zukin 1991). Moving beyond material foundations, cultural anthropologists directed their attention to the social *construction of space* by relating expressive culture to the phenomenological and symbolic experiences that are mediated through social processes that include socio-cultural relationships, memories, and daily routines that convey meanings that create

place (Bourdieu 1977; Fernandez 1992; Basso 1990; Myers 1989; Richardson 1984; Gellner 2008). Arjun Appadurai (1996, 2001) situated the production and construction of space within the context of globalization and modernity and the development of global 'scapes' that are complex, overlapping and disjunctive and constructed out of complex historical processes. Appadurai's concept of scapes emphasizes that both abstract and material spaces are perspectival because they are *experienced* by individuals.

The subjectivity of space opened the door for a critical analysis of the social mechanisms involved in space and place-making, and this revealed how social relationships articulate with the production and construction of spatial contexts. According to Henri Lefebvre (1991), 'space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations' (1991:286 cited in Low 2000:130). Postmodernist and feminist analysis of space directed attention to how systems of power are embedded in space and place-making (Anzaldúa 1987; Baudrillard 1988; Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Foucault 1982; Jameson 1984; Kaplan 1987; Martin and Mohanty 1986, Rabinow 1989; Holston 1989; Gupta and Ferguson 1992), and how people exercise agency and resistance to spatialized power regimes to employ strategies and tactics to reappropriate space (de Certeau 1984).

Spatial analysis of power relations extends beyond the field of anthropology. Geographers, political scientists and sociologists addressed broader relationships within globalized geo-political contexts. Benedict Anderson (1983) described socio-historical processes that linked social identity to geo-political representations of nations.

Immanuel Wallerstein (2006) pushed theoretical frameworks established by Fernand Braudel (1992) and Andre Gunder-Frank (1967) to create a global model for the 'modern world system' which outlined geo-political inequities within a system of capitalist relationships among core and peripheral and nation-spaces. Latter scholarship examined the social conflicts centered on class-based struggles imposed by globalized political and economic regimes that challenged nation-spaces as discrete unites. David Harvey (1985) analyzed the world-wide transition from centralized Fordist production schemes to flexible transnational production regimes as well as the phenomena of time-space compression within processes of globalization. Manuel Castells' (1996, 1997, 1998) research on network societies laid the foundation for the social science of information technologies and new digital geographies. Saskia Sassen (2000; 2006) built on Castells' work by interrogating the role of technologies in generating new systems of power within global networks and transnational financial flows.

The significance of space and place in tourism processes fell under the radar of scholarship that addressed the commodification of place (Britton 1991, Greenworld), the economic geography of tourism systems (Ionnides and Debbage 1998), tourism policy and planning (Hall 1994, 2000), and the politics of power and agency embedded in place (Bianchi 2006). This body of research identified how economic, political and social forces shaped the spatial context of touristic processes and practice.

The theoretical approach in this chapter is built on previous theoretical foundations by assuming that space is socially produced and constructed, and that tourism-based development (like any form of social, cultural, political or economic change) is not only

informed by pre-existing spatial orders, it consistently reorganizes spatial domains. This chapter will rely on the integrated analytical framework, set forth by Setha Low (2000, 2003), that incorporates the social production of the built environment with the cultural realm of daily living. Lowe's framework proposes that;1.) The social production of space and the social construction of space must be understood as a dialogical process that is characterized by a high degree of conflict and contestation, and 2.) Labeling and classification practices rooted in social factors such as gender, class, and cultural difference shape and form spatialization processes. This perspective creates an analytical framework that contextualizes the forces that produce space while taking into account that individuals are social agents that construct their own realities and symbolic meanings. In this way, anthropological scholarship can identify local conflicts while uncovering broader structural issues.

Within this framework, I will argue that space is a fluid domain that is consistently reorganized and reconceptualized as residents negotiate social, economic, political, ideological, and technological processes that are embedded in the spatial organization of tourism development. Ethnographic information will contribute to a theoretical understanding of how multi-scalar power relationships not only articulate with the production and construction of space in a rural community like Arend, they also generate differential access and control over spatial domains that provide the foundation for the unique ways that residents in Arend perceive and experience space within the cultural realm of daily living within the new economy.

Methods

Information for this chapter was initially gathered through 'participatory-mapping' (Mukherjee 2004) exercises I initiated at the onset of dissertation research. The original

methodology aimed to identify the distribution of spatial resources (property in particular) and differential access to spatial resources among men and women in the community. For the most part, the exercise was limited to the geographical parameters of built environments. Yet, interviews with residents and participant-observation of daily activities helped identify the prevalence of globalized scapes brought about by contemporary technologies (particularly media and cyber space) in the village, the economic significance of global scapes within the emerging tourism economy, and the social meanings associated with access and control over the diverse range of tangible and intangible spatial domains. I was not able to capture and quantify these phenomena through my original research design, and therefore the organization and presentation of data in this chapter is arranged according to thematic trends recorded in my notes throughout the duration of fieldwork.

Data

The world-wide circulation of people is the foundation of the international tourism economy. The global community is grouped and divided according to different social, economic, geographic and political spaces, and the creation of commonality and difference among people was one of the most salient aspects in the socio-economic politics of space and place-making within the tourism economy in Aremd. This was evident from the socio-cultural organization of space within households to the geo-political organization of the international community vis-a-vis nationality. One of the most apparent scenarios reflecting power differentials among people was practiced according to the imagined boundary of geo-political spatial domains known as the 'nation'.

Benedict Anderson (1983) has pointed out that *nationality* binds individuals to an 'imagined community' that is linked to a geopolitical spatial domain known as the nation, and both the community and the nation are attributed with a collection of traits, values, and meanings that bind them together. Nationality is institutionalized by the state through the political process of citizenship which serves as a symbolic association, or disassociation, with the geo-polity. While nationality and citizenship create a fictive kinship, Leigh Mullings points out that 'as people define themselves nationally and regionally, they are also defining out other groups' (1997:23 in Low 2000:153).

In a globalized tourism economy, national groupings create a structural foundation for the ways international tourism operates; nationality determines *who* can participate in the international tourism economy and *how* they can participate in it. In the modern world system, nations are hierarchically tiered, and while free trade allows for the free flow of commodities and financial transactions across national borders, it strictly regulates the flow of people and labor. Tourism-based border-crossing (or restrictions against crossing borders) was informed by the individual's nationality and the structural positioning of their nation in relation to other nations. This nation-based process of inclusion and exclusion contributed to the social, political and economic organization of tourism development in Aremd.

The socio-economic organization of the multi-national community in tourism resembled the international hierarchy of nations presented by Wallerstein's modern world system. Moroccan consulate websites provide a list of less than seventy nations whose citizens are permitted to freely enter and exit the country, and remain in the

country for up to ninety days without a visa or advance approval from state authorities.⁴³ The list included nations (such as the United States, Great Britain, England, France, Spain, Australia, and Saudi Arabia) that would be characterized as 'core' nations within Wallerstein's schema. Citizens from all other countries (such as Kenya, Haiti, and Ukraine) that would be characterized as 'peripheral' or 'semi-peripheral' nations however, were required to submit a visa application, provide a passport valid for at least six months, include a photograph with their application, submit a detailed flight itinerary, verify employment in their country of origin, provide proof of a hotel reservation or a 'Letter of Invitation' from a host in Morocco, and pay a fee of approximately 30 USD. After all application materials were submitted, entry into the nation-space was subject to the approval of state authorities. Therefore, spatial mobility of tourists in and out of Morocco reflected socio-economic relationships among distinct geo-political entities; people grouped with higher-income nation-states were able to freely and discretely cross the geo-political borders of the Kingdom of Morocco and engaged in touristic activities. People grouped with lower-income countries were denied free mobility and their entry was subject to the authority of the Moroccan state. As a result of political mobility and wealth, citizens from core nations (France, Spain, Great Britain, Australia, and United States) comprised the bulk of tourist arrivals in Morocco. Similarly, international mobility of Moroccan citizens was governed by socio-economic relations between the Kingdom of Morocco and other nation-spaces. Despite liberties granted to citizens in core nations by the Moroccan government, Moroccan citizens were required

⁴³ <http://www.moroccanconsulate.com/visa.cfm> accessed July 5, 2010.

to submit a visa application and receive entry approval before crossing into the territories of core nations.

Differential access and control over international mobility between tourists and Moroccan citizens not only reflected an extension of the colonial history that informs socio-economic relationships between Morocco and other nations, it also exacerbated contemporary economic power differentials between Moroccan tourism workers and citizens from core nations who are engaged in the international tourism economy. International mobility provides a distinct advantage in the operation and management of a transnational tourism company, and international travel enables people to acquire cultural capital in a very competitive global tourism market. Transnational mobility also allows individuals to seek out concentrations of wealth and labor within an increasingly flexible global production regime. Although Free Trade Agreements ensure the unfettered circulation of wealth across national borders, immigration policies restrict the circulation of people and thereby generate inequities in the opportunity to compete in the global tourism economy. In addition to economic barriers, exclusion and restricted mobility also carried social meanings that reinforced social hierarchies between tourists and tourism workers.

One of the most common complaints among tourism workers in Aremd was that they were unable to visit their client's country of origin. Long-term exposure to a highly mobile clientele contributed to a growing desire among resident tourism workers to engage in touristic activities abroad. Most tourism workers, particularly guides, had achieved advanced listening and speaking proficiency in several foreign languages. One tourism worker in Aremd acquired proficiency in four foreign languages (English,

Spanish, French, and German) without any formalized language training. This was typical among tourism workers in Aremd because, in the international economy, multilingualism is an essential asset for residents who lack cash and capital needed to engage in entrepreneurial activities. In addition to foreign language skills, tourism workers also acquired in-depth knowledge of distant locales by interacting with people from far-off places. For example, as I sat in a make-shift café in the village and thumbed through a travel guide of Gibraltar, a mountain guide in his thirties invited himself to my table and took it upon himself to provide an impromptu history lesson on Gibraltar, the Strait of Gibraltar, and the current political relationship between Great Britain, Spain and Gibraltar. He relayed the information in perfect English. Impressed, I asked him, 'Have you been to Gibraltar?' and he bitterly replied, 'No, I am Berber. I cannot leave this place.' He explained that he would like to visit Gibraltar, as well as Paris and London and maybe Florida (my home), but that he doubted it would ever become possible. This was frustrating to him, and he pointed out that he had family in Aremd and no desire to live anywhere else. 'I just want to visit and see it, like you.'

Since I had travelled extensively, especially compared to residents in the village, some tourism workers exercised their knowledge of foreign places by quizzing me about geographic and political facts and details they learned from their clients. After demonstrating that he knew more about London than I did, twenty-nine year old Hamid questioned why I was able to visit London and he could not. 'The difference between us is, you were born in America and I was born in this place ...It is like a jail.' Despite considerable pressure by his family and little likelihood that he would ever leave the country, he was delaying marriage. 'I want to have experience in this world, and travel

a little bit before I need to work. Wife and children are expensive,' he explained. Yet, a few weeks before I completed dissertation research and left Aremd, he abandoned his dream to travel and married.

The predicament experienced by these guides reflected a tragic irony in the dynamics of international tourism development in rural communities in peripheral nations. Their livelihood was centered on travel and tourism, and they spent substantial amounts of time with an internationally mobile population; yet their political positioning as 'Moroccan' within the modern world system coupled with their economic positioning within their own nation-space restricted them from participating in the very activities from which they earned their living. Unlike wealthy Moroccans who were more likely able to provide proof of property ownership, employment and financial wealth that was required to obtain a visa and enter core nations, the economic status of residents in Aremd left little opportunity to fulfill visa requirements established by core nations. Most residents in Aremd possessed very little property. In some cases, property ownership was a social arrangement that lacked legal titles of ownership for the individual who possessed and managed the space. In addition, the bulk of tourism revenue in Aremd was informal and undocumented, and therefore most residents would have been unable to provide proof of income, stable employment, or financial savings. In light of the legal and economic barriers that prevented entry into wealthy nations, the most realistic means to travel abroad was through marriage to a foreign national.

Marriage visas enabled Moroccan nationals to bypass economic requirements necessary to gain entry into restricted national territories and take advantage of economic opportunities in wealthier nations. The potential for migration through

marriage encouraged young men to pursue relationships with female tourists in hopes of acquiring a visa and obtaining permanent residency in a core nation. I interviewed four residents who married, or had been married to, a foreign tourist and had travelled outside of Morocco. All of the residents were men because women in Aremd were forbidden to interact with non-relative men, and therefore opportunities to migrate through marriage were relatively limited for women. One man maintained two households; he lived in one house with his wife in France and he continued to support his former wife in Aremd. Another man had recently divorced a woman from the Netherlands, and he disapproved of international marriages. He openly encouraged men in Aremd to marry women from the village. Despite his warnings, many young tourism workers continued to pursue marriages with tourists because they were enticed by the migration potential offered by international marriages as well as the opportunity to tap into the wealth that has disproportionately accumulated in core nations.

Conversations with tourism workers revealed that marriage pursuits were affected by men's migration preferences and linguistic capabilities. A tourism worker in his mid-thirties claimed that he liked American women, but he needed to marry a French woman because he did not speak English. After an attractive Hungarian woman took an obvious liking to a resident tourism worker, I asked him why he did not seem interested in her advancements. 'What would I do in Hungary?' he replied.

While national citizenship binds Moroccan people to similar geo-political experiences within the international arena, the social context of the internal Moroccan nation-space loosely breaks down into Arab and Berber associations. Although the racial, social, and cultural underpinnings of Berber and Arab identity are problematic

and highly contestable, residents expressed difference and commonality with the social groupings through spatialized meanings that were performed and interpreted as a system of power and domination. Male residents complained that spatial domains such as politics, national sports (soccer in particular) and economics were monopolized and controlled by a predominately Arab elite, and their complaints were usually accompanied by expressions of disdain for all things Arab. For example, many residents attributed increasing trends in prostitution, theft, alcohol use, gambling, garbage accumulation, and graffiti in Aremd to a growing number of Arab people visiting and living near the village. During a discussion on marital potential for different groupings of women, a male resident stated, 'Anything is better than an Arab.'

Contempt for Arabs was evident, yet a long history of interaction and intermixing left residents hard-pressed to differentiate between contemporary 'Arabs' and 'Berbers'. In addition to cultural markers such as language, food, music, and clothing, most residents associated *Arabness* with wealth, power and urban locales. This was apparent when a friend from Marrakech visited me while I was living in the village. She was an educated, female Moroccan woman who earned her own income as a translator for scholars and entrepreneurs. The women in the village were surprised when she spoke to them in Tachelhit, the indigenous language of Aremd, because her wealth and residence caused them to assume she was Arab. When her Berber identity was revealed, her popularity in the village skyrocketed among female residents who were intrigued by an educated and wealthy woman who was born in a village located less than an hour's drive from Aremd.

The socio-cultural meanings associated with urban areas, like Marrakech, were rooted in the significance of the locale as a globalized node that connects the nation to world-wide transportation, communication, technological and financial networks. Surprisingly, tourism workers did not take issue with the growing dominance of foreign entrepreneurs in Marrakech, and transnational tourism companies were embraced because they offered opportunities to generate income. In the eyes of resident tourism workers, proximity to and control over urban spaces provided Arab-Moroccans with a distinct advantage over Berber-Moroccans in the tourism economy. Tourist arrivals and departures took place in airport and train transportation centers in Marrakech. Banking institutions and electronic banking services were located in Marrakech. Therefore, most tourism companies operating in the High Atlas (foreign and Moroccan) were headquartered in Marrakech. Residents described how social and economic opportunities in Marrakech were central for success in the tourism economy. Thirty-four year old Brahim explained, 'If you spend your life in the mountains, maybe you can work as a guide without papers; and when you are an old man, you will know nothing but going up and down the mountain. In Marrakech, there are good schools, not like the schools here. And there are many more jobs, more than just tourism. In a few years, you can save a little bit and become the owner of a company. Insha'Allah. But here, it is more difficult.'

Residents also characterized the tourism economy as an economy built on social connections, and social connections in Marrakech were of utmost importance. During a conversation about tourism business development, a tourism worker from Aremd described the pitfalls of starting a tourism company in Marrakech, 'I need permits and

license. I go to the office, pay this man, pay this man, but when they see me, they know I am Berber. They will know I am from Aremd. I will never get papers to be legal. This is Morocco.' The two men described the social and economic disadvantages of being spatially and socially distant from the geographic nexus of the international tourism economy in the city of Marrakech. Their spatial distance was expressed through their 'Berber' identity which was located outside of the urban social network that they described as being dominated by Arab Moroccans. Although, transportation access to the urban center of Marrakech was improved dramatically by a road built by the French Protectorate during the mid-twentieth century, power differentials within the social and economic landscape in the city imposed limitations for rural residents to compete on a level socio-economic playing field.

To overcome disadvantages in the tourism economy, residents generated alternate (and sometimes illegal) economic exchange networks that competed with predominate (and usually legal) networks controlled by elites in Marrakech. Within the city, various hotels and cafes served as a hub for rural tourism-workers to establish contacts with tour operators and tourists. For example, one hotel (weathered, yet well-known among international mountaineers) was a launching pad for trekking expeditions in the High Atlas Mountains. The hotel lobby was a one-stop expedition center that provided topographic maps, gear rental, food, lodging, and arrangements for transportation and guiding services. The owner of the hotel referred guests to mountain guides, and he did not discriminate against unlicensed guides. (See Background chapter for a detailed description of guide licensing regulations.) As a result, the hotel was a lucrative location for unlicensed tourism workers competing in an increasingly

regulated economy. Needless to say, it was a popular hang-out for both legal and illegal tourism workers from villages in the High Atlas, such as Aremd.

The popularity of the hotel made it quite convenient for me hitch rides with tourism workers who were transporting tourists from Marrakech to Aremd. This habit helped me establish contacts with tourists and conduct interviews during the two hour drive. This process also helped me discover that tourism workers often delivered the tourists to their household and then immediately returned to Marrakech. They sometimes did this without providing an explanation to their clients, which left the clients confused and anxious over their abandonment. After two tourists from Spain became angry when the guide they originally hired in Marrakech had abandoned them with his brother who was not familiar with the Spanish language, I interviewed the male members of the guide's household to determine what happened. They explained that they worked as a group since the family could only afford to pay for one son to acquire official licensure to work as a guide. The licensed son worked in Marrakech to establish contracts with tourists. After obtaining a (verbal) contract, he delivered the tourists to his unlicensed brothers in Aremd and then returned to the hotel to seek out additional clients. This strategy enabled the household to overcome social and economic disadvantages imposed by state regulations in Marrakech by brokering a socio-economic link between the household located in Aremd and tourism hot spots located in Marrakech. Upon entering the village, the tourism economy operated according to kin-based socio-economic arrangements rather than the state-regulatory arrangements enforced in Marrakech.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Chapter nine will address how, in some cases, tourism-based livelihood alliances replaced kin-based networks for labor exchange.

Despite economic advantages available in urban destinations, the popularity of state-motivated tourism development in the High Atlas positioned the village in a more economically advantageous location than what was experienced by other villages in the area. Aremd was a 'gateway community' to Toubkal National Park. The village was the last stop along the most popular hiking trail leading to Jebel Toubkal, the area's most popular and most internationally publicized natural attraction. Each year several thousand international tourists arrived in Morocco to visit the park, and the bottle-neck of tourism traffic in Aremd provided residents with a multitude of income-generating opportunities every day. In light of this, residents in surrounding villages, as well as residents in urban areas like Marrakech, aimed to establish social and economic networks in Aremd in order to conduct tourism-based business and/or acquire property in the area. This not only privileged Aremd over other rural villages in the vicinity, it also elevated power and wealth for some residents in the community⁴⁵.

The economic advantages experienced by residents in Aremd contributed to growing resentment by residents in surrounding villages that, despite close proximity to Aremd, had significantly less wealth and resources. I regularly visited a member of the Peace Corps who worked in a nearby village that suffered from water shortages, intermittent electricity outages, and severe unemployment. The majority of male community members had migrated out of the village to seek employment opportunities elsewhere. Two men who remained in the village learned that I was living in Aremd, and

⁴⁵ The gender and kinship chapter in this dissertation highlighted how sky-rocketing property values in the already land-scarce mountainous area affected power relationships among men in the village. The chapter also addressed how gender relations informed kin-based strategies to arrange marriages into Aremd as a means for women in other villages to achieve upward mobility and for male members in their household to establish alliances in Aremd that would help them participate in the tourism economy.

they shared several popular and very offensive jokes about people who lived in Aremd. I was surprised to learn that the negative characterization of residents in Aremd was quite similar to the way that residents in Aremd had characterized Arabs and Marrakechis; the jokes centered on references to excessive greed and sexual immorality, for example. It appeared that the structural positioning of the village of Aremd (geographically, politically and economically) situated the seemingly peripheral community at a central location within the globalized tourism economy that brought the rural village closer to Marrakech than to its rural neighbors.

Despite economic advantages available in Aremd, many residents in Aremd were envious of the social and economic advantages enjoyed by residents in Marrakech. Men and women associated Marrakech with wealth, modernity, and globalized cultures that were in keeping with euro-centric ways of living. While the city invoked a sense of intrigue that allured young men and women in particular (many unmarried women stated that they hoped to marry a man in Marrakech), a moral paradox existed because the city was also characterized as morally degraded and corrupt. The 'Tourism and Television' chapter in this dissertation provides an account of an eleven year old girl imitating Marrakechi women by pulling her shirt over her shoulder, pretending to smoke a cigarette and staggering like a drunkard. The 'Gender and Kinship' chapter also explained how some urban men visited Aremd to seek out a spouse with 'traditional values'.

Tourism workers in Aremd also stated that social and business contacts from Aremd and surrounding villages were more trustworthy than social alliances forged in Marrakech. This reflected a philosophy that associated wealth (and urbanity) with

corruption. A souvenir vendor in Aremd explained, 'Money is dirty. This is in the Quran. If you are always near money, it gets into the heart and the mind.' From this perspective, the association of poverty with rurality was crucial for residents in rural communities. The souvenir vendor, and many others like him, characterized himself as 'poor' despite his accumulation of a significant amount of debt-free wealth he had accumulated through capitalist endeavors in the tourism economy. I argued that he was wealthier than many Americans who were indebted to a mortgage and credit systems, and that only a rich man in the United States would could own a house and business outright and afford to support a stay-at-home wife and three children like he did in Aremd. This was incredulous to him, and he repeatedly stated 'I am a poor man' while pulling on the front of his shirt.

Residents conceptualized space by the socio-economic power relations and social activities taking place within each specific domain, and these relations and activities were rooted, in large part, by power relationships within the tourism economy. Residents recognized national inequities within the global arena by reflecting on the travel restrictions imposed on Moroccan nationals and the privileged status of tourists from wealthier nations. This not only reinforced social inequalities in the international arena, it created economic barriers for residents engaging in the tourism industry. Residents also recognized the centrality of urban areas in tourism development and the economic disadvantages associated with being spatially and socially distant from Marrakech. To overcome spatial boundaries, some residents exerted agency by pursuing marriage alliances with foreign nationals and forging alternate social alliances in urban areas. (These opportunities were restricted for women however, because

women were forbidden from interacting with non-relative men or entering urban areas without accompaniment of a male relative.) Power relations embedded in tourism development also shaped how residents conceptualized others in relation to themselves. Urban people were associated with the wealth, power and globalized lifestyles concentrated in urban areas, and urbanity was negatively associated with Arabness and corruption. At the same time, close proximity to Jebel Toubkal offered more economic power and wealth for residents in Aremd than in other villages. The association of power and wealth with Aremd contributed to the formulation of negative caricatures about residents by people in surrounding villages. In this way, tourism development processes reformulated space and contributes to the creation of new hierarchies and social groupings.

Tourists and urban Moroccans also characterized residents according to pre-conceived notions about rural spaces which were predominantly centered on ideas that associated rurality with global isolation. After a Moroccan professor commented that I was lucky to enjoy 'authentic' Berber cuisine at my research site, I replied that the majority of foods I ate were imported and processed products purchased in the Imlil market. She invoked her nationality and argued that rural people in Morocco were privileged with an abundance of fruits, vegetables, grains and meats. Her description of a Garden of Eden style cornucopia of organic and wholesome foods produced in abundance throughout the countryside forced me to question how much time the university educated woman had actually spent in a rural village in Morocco. Like the university professor, tourists also referred to the food prepared in the village as 'organic'. They assumed that, unlike tourists, market goods and the vehicles

transporting them were incapable of penetrating the Atlas mountain range. I began pointing out evidence of globalization to tourists such as a box of Chinese tea residents used to prepare atay or describing how men applied imported chemical pesticides to the trees in the orchards without wearing protective gear. On a few occasions I horrified tourists by describing how the orchards were upslope from the river, and that it was likely that surface water runoff had carried pesticides down-slope and contaminated the water we were drinking. Tourist's pre-conceived notions about rural isolation not only pertained to food and market goods, but to infectious diseases as well. During a conversation about HIV with a group of tourists who arrived on a tour bus, a young woman from New York City remarked, 'But they wouldn't have AIDS *here*, right?'⁴⁶

The association of rurality with isolation was also shared by residents in Aremd who sometimes correlated ignorance with being 'from the mountains'. For example, a young resident who made a joke after I ground the gears while driving a stick-shift through steep mountain roads. 'It is like you are from the mountains!' he laughed. 'That's funny,' I replied, 'because you're the one who is from the mountains.' 'But you are the one who cannot drive this car!' he rebutted. The description 'from the mountains' was oftentimes used by residents to refer to a general lack of knowledge about worldly ideas, technologies and ways of living. Mountain-dwellers were described as being backward, or in some resident's words, 'behind'. As mentioned in the gender and kinship chapter, residents engaging in rural livelihoods had lower social status than income-earners because it was assumed that they lacked the 'modern' skills that were necessary to engage in tourism labor.

⁴⁶ See chapter eight for a further discussion on the implications of rural tourism and HIV/AIDS.

Resident and tourist representations of Aremd as an isolated space overlooked the reality that both urban and rural spaces were occupied by a heterogeneous and highly mobile population that was tightly interwoven. The tourism-based relationship between Aremd and Marrakech created a transient community of rural residents within the urban-space of Marrakech and urban elites within the rural village-space of Aremd. Both domains hosted an economically diverse population of urban and rural elites, urban and rural poor, and a growing middle class. Transience and the use of multiple spatial domains blurred the boundaries between seemingly discrete and opposing spatial entities and challenged generalizations about people who were associated with the spaces. Regardless, the socio-cultural meanings attached to each spatial domain remained intact.

Similarly, generalizations that associated corruption with urban spaces are obviously problematic, yet access to Marrakech did create opportunities for some male residents to escape from the social controls enforced in Aremd and engage in practices and behaviors that were forbidden within the confines of the village-space. Some tourism workers visited girlfriends or fraternized with tourists who congregated in popular attractions. Several men smoked cigarettes and consumed alcohol while in Marrakech. During a group interview with three men, all agreed that they prayed less when they were in Marrakech than when they were in the village. Marrakech also provided opportunities for activities such as transactional sex, gambling, pornography (in the public cinema), and simple interaction in a mixed-sex environment that were not available in the village.

The liberalized atmosphere and social liberties exercised by residents visiting Marrakech directly affected data collection during fieldwork. Men who virtually ignored or avoided me in the village were enthusiastically hospitable and friendly when I encountered them on the street in Marrakech. Some of the most fruitful interviews with male residents from Aremd took place in a café in Marrakech. Outside of the boundaries of the village, some residents abandoned conventional norms and habits that regulated behavior and social interaction in the village. Therefore, Marrakech was not only a place for residents to engage a network of tourism-based economic activity, it was also a locus for residents to take advantage of social opportunities to forge new contacts, build alliances and engage in behaviors that were forbidden in the village locale.

Activities taking place in Marrakech provided the moral impetus to restrict women's access to the city. Women in Aremd were forbidden from venturing into Marrakech without being accompanied by a male relative. When women travelled to Marrakech with men, they usually did so to visit with family members and they stayed in the family's household. Every time I returned from a visit to Marrakech, the women in the household I lived in asked me to recount the details of my excursion, such as the friends I met, the food I ate, and even the weather. The women seemed intrigued and frequently stated that they wanted to accompany me on my next trip to the city. I attempted to convince male household members to allow the women to embark on a brief visit, and I suggested that one of the men in the household chaperone our group. During a conversation about the potential outing, it became evident that the men in the household were not pleased with my proposal and the eldest daughter in law retracted her desire to visit the city. She assured her husband and his brothers that she did not

want to leave the village. It was clear that I had rocked the boat, and to the dismay of the youngest daughter in law, I abandoned all efforts to organize a group trip to Marrakech. The youngest daughter in law left an extremely impoverished village when she married into a household in Aremd at seventeen years of age. After her marriage, she immediately began pressuring her income-earning husband to consider renting an apartment in Marrakech. During my last day of fieldwork, she divulged that she wanted to live in Marrakech, find a job, divorce her husband (imitated a kicking motion) and take off her headscarf. Like men in Aremd, women perceived Marrakech as a spatial domain to escape the social and economic restrictions in place within the village. Because of this, many young girls aspired to marry men from Marrakech because unlike boys in Aremd, there were no opportunities for women to earn income in the tourism economy. Marriage arrangements with urban men or tourism workers presented the only opportunity for women in Aremd to access urban spaces and the globalized lifestyles they desired.

Marrakech was a crucial location for men and women to acquire socio-economic power and wealth, yet power and wealth also flowed through a network of markets that linked the village to the metropolitan city. In the Atlas Mountains, market spaces were built environments that served as nodes within the social, economic and technological networks that penetrated the countryside and integrated satellite communities into the globalized network system.

The market arrangement connecting Aremd to the global economy reflects central place theory which proposes that markets are spatially distributed within hierarchies of settlements, or central places, that are interrelated to urban locales. The arrangement of

exchange patterns within and between market systems takes place according to other social, political, and cultural practices within local, regional, and national arenas (Skinner 1977; Smith 1976).

Residents in Aremd were connected to three primary markets: the daily market in Imlil, the weekly market in Asni, and the daily market in Marrakech. Only a twenty-minute hike down-slope from Aremd, the daily market in Imlil was located at the terminus of the paved road that leads to Asni and continues to Marrakech. James Miller's (1984) ethnography, *Imlil: A Moroccan Mountain Community*, provides a detailed description of Imlil as a small residential community with a few storefronts and an emerging tourism economy. By my initial visit to Imlil in 2005, the market was primarily geared toward tourism services; cafes, restaurants, motels and bed and breakfast accommodations lined the narrow road that led to Aremd. Few residents remained. When I returned in 2006, the market included an internet café and a pharmacy. At the onset of dissertation research in 2007, a gendarme (police) established an office across from the taxi stand where most tourists arrived. The commercial center of Asni was located approximately twenty-five minutes driving time from Imlil. In Asni, market activities primarily catered to residents. Although a few cafes operated in the vicinity, the area did not provide accommodations for tourists. Storefronts offered imported products such as electronic goods, furniture and upholstery, hardware supplies and clothing. Government offices provided postal services, permitting and licensing, birth certificates and identification cards, law enforcement, and other regulatory services. Inside a small internet café, computer stations were separated with curtains to allow private screening. A weekly market took

place every Saturday, and each Saturday the small town was inundated with residents from satellite villages. At least one hundred vendors offered goods such as food, new and used clothing, electronics, carpets and furniture, household items and medicine. The market also included services such as shoe repair, dental work, and consultations with herbalists and other healers, and other services that were otherwise unavailable in the area. The daily market in Marrakech was an hour and half drive from Asni. The vast labyrinthine market was located in the 'old city', or *medina*, and it provided a greater range of goods and services from imported products commonly found in department stores to rare herbs and spices displayed across a blanket on the ground by an itinerant herbalist.

Markets in Morocco were primarily dominated by men. Women's increasing involvement in market activities has been documented by earlier scholarship (Hajjarabbi 1987,1988; Troin 1975; Kapchan 1996), and the gender-based socio-economic dynamics of women's involvement in the Marrakech market as entrepreneurs, vendors, henna workers, and employees and managers in restaurants and hotel has been documented by Patricia Spurles (2006). As proximity to Aremd increased, however, women's participation in markets decreased. The Asni market was predominantly comprised of male buyers and sellers. The Gender and Kinship chapter explains how women's participation in the Asni market was considered shameful by residents, and male residents claimed that market participation was a guise for women to engage in prostitution. Few women participated in the Imlil market, and the women I encountered who sold goods in the Imlil market were from outlying areas. Although women from Aremd did not participate in formal market activities, they contributed to the market

economy in Imlil by performing unpaid labor (such as cleaning, cooking and providing laundry services) in restaurants, cafes and accommodations operated by their household.⁴⁷

Exclusion from public market spaces and urban spaces presented considerable barriers for women to participate in income-generating activities and contributed to the exclusion of women from the tourism economy. Economic transition from a predominately agrarian economic production regime that is rooted in a gendered division of household labor to a tourism-based economy rooted in cash and capital accumulation demands access to the spatial arenas where cash and capital flows. In Morocco, tourists use pre-existing infrastructure; they congregate in urban spaces, shop in large and small markets, eat in cafes and restaurants, stay in hotels, and travel along transportation networks. Gender norms and ideologies that restricted women's access to crucial spaces limited women's ability to access economic and social resources; this not only increased women's social and economic dependency on men, it exacerbated gender inequality in the village and the household.

Women's dependency and unequal status strengthened men's control over their spatial mobility. I asked a tourism worker why his wife never accompanied him to Marrakech or the market in Imlil. According to him, markets were not an appropriate place for Berber women. 'There are a lot of things happening that she does not understand. She might get ideas that will make her unhappy. It is best for her to stay in the village.' As mentioned in the Gender and Kinship chapter, it was not uncommon for

⁴⁷ The 'Tourists and Television' chapter in this dissertation describes how travelling salesmen accommodate social norms that prohibit women from entering market spaces by venturing into the village to sell products such as household items, clothing, and toiletries that are targeted toward women.

men to point to their wife's head (or for a woman to point to her own head) and say 'walloo', or nothing, to refer to women's ignorance which was in large part associated to women's confinement to rural spaces that are characterized by ignorance. Most men believed that women in Aremd lacked worldly knowledge, and exposure to spaces outside of the confines of the village would lead to corruption or dissatisfaction with village life. Many husbands in Aremd believed that confinement in the village-space not only enforced social controls on their wife, it would also prevent women from learning about, and thereby wanting to participate in, forbidden behaviors or other modes of living that were practiced openly outside village boundaries. Despite strict restrictions on their mobility, women were keenly aware of activities and ideas associated with and practiced within urban and global spaces. The 'Tourism and Television' chapter pointed out that television-watching was the most salient activity for women in Aremd, and the transnational media-scape penetrated the village household and delivered a wide range of images and ideas that not only informed women about globalized lifestyles and forbidden behaviors, it planted seeds of consumptive desire. Through television-watching, women were able to engage transnational media-scapes, articulate with global processes, and learn about alternative ways of living, all within the privacy of their own home.

Television-watching was a salient activity in women's lives, yet social norms restricted women and girls from accessing other digital worlds such as cyberspace. Educational barriers for girls, literacy in particular, were a likely factor that limited women's access to the world-wide web. Yet, the internet café located in Imlil was predominantly populated with male residents, and like the market, it was a strictly male

domain. Men controlled the internet café and their exclusive access to cyberspace reflected men's domination in the tourism economy in Aremd. The internet was the backbone to the tourism economy in Aremd because it was the gateway to a world wide web that linked the small village in the High Atlas to the globalized village comprised of tourists.

The internet was a digital market that not only undermined the built markets that represented geographic linkages and tangible flows of wealth between Aremd and Marrakech, it also challenged pre-existing social hierarchies by providing a forum for those who lacked cash and capital to compete in a global market. Cyberspace compressed time and space, and this allowed residents in Aremd to overcome transportation barriers and initiate social and economic relationships across vast distances (Harvey 1989; Castells 1989; 1986). It also allowed rural tourism workers to bypass socio-economic links to globalized networks in Marrakech and engage in direct communication with a global clientele. This created a micro-version of Saskia Sassen's (2001, 2006) analysis of how digital technologies can 'destabilize older hierarchies of scale.' According to Sassen, digital technologies transform international state-based relations because technologies facilitate network flows between global cities and undermine state power and authority. In much of the same way, cyber technology enabled rural tourism workers in Morocco to undermine economic power and authority that was concentrated in the global city of Marrakech and tap directly into the global network flows and conduct undocumented and unregulated economic activity. In light of this, the popularity of cyberspace among young men in Aremd was immense.

Once a week, I hiked to the internet café in Imlil and spent two to three hours answering email or researching material for fieldwork. The café was sometimes occupied by one or two tourists, but it was always congested with young male residents. Small boys played online videogames or congregated around older boys and young men who engaged in video conferencing with urban and foreign girls and women. Each of the six computers in the café was equipped with a webcam and headphones that allowed users to hear and see each other, and online video-conferencing with women always attracted a crowd of on-lookers. I was occasionally asked to compose an email to English-speaking girlfriends or clients, thanking them for their visit and inquiring about their return. Clients also contacted tourism workers to make arrangements for services and negotiate pricing. I helped two emerging entrepreneurs develop a website, and after news of my web-building skills spread through the village, I fielded incessant requests by other tourism workers who wanted to promote their livelihood on the internet. The economic power available through cyberspace made web development a priority among tourism workers, particularly those who lacked licensure and were forced to work illegally. The significance of cyberspace was stressed by a tourism worker I met in Asni on my way to visit a member of the Peace Corps who lived in the area, 'Tell her we don't need the projects they are doing here. What we need is someone to show us how to make a website.'

Sassen (2006) emphasizes the weight of digital technologies, such as the internet, in shaping social outcomes and organizing social domains by arguing that 'the digital is embedded in the larger societal, cultural, subjective, economic and imaginary structurations of lived experience and the systems within which they operate'

(2006:344). Her analysis draws upon previous research that has contested binary representations of digital and non-digital space by demonstrating that digital networks and technologies are embedded within contemporary social structures and power dynamics (Castells 1996; Latour 1991; Lovink and Riemens 2002; Mackenzie and Wajcman 1999; Avgerou 2002). Within the social politics of digital worlds; power, inequality and social hierarchy not only inform who controls electronic space, they also affect who can access it.

Previous research has revealed patterns in cyber inequities within the international and national arenas; wealthier nations have greater access and control over globalized cyberspace, and middle class households have greater access to the internet than poor households (Jensen 1998; Harvey and MacNab 2000; Hoffman and Novak 1998). In Morocco, educational resources needed to control and harness cyberspace through web design and management were concentrated in technical schools located in urban areas. In rural areas, economic power generated through internet-use was harnessed by cultural systems in the community that mediated access to cyberspace. Gender-based inequality articulated with resident's ability to access cyberspace and this led to differential access to digital resources among men and women, as well as young boys and girls, within households in Aremd.

The socio-cultural meanings associated with cyberspace also imposed social barriers that discouraged young girls from challenging gendered limitations to cyberspace. During a visit to Imlil, for example, a male resident from Aremd asked me to supervise his ten year old niece who accompanied him to the market. Leaving the village was a major outing for her, and she was excited to sit in a café with me. We left

the café after a while and explored the market. I brought her to the internet café because I wanted to show her the interactive 'Dora the Explorer' game available online. She enjoyed playing with the keyboard on my laptop computer when I brought it to her household, and I assumed that she would be eager to experience the internet. She refused to enter the internet café, and when I tried to convince her to go in, her eyes began to swell with tears. Social norms prohibiting her to penetrate an all-male environment were stronger than the allure of the internet. The masculinization of internet spaces imposed a significant hurdle for women to harness one of the most powerful resources in the tourism economy.

Globalized forces, such as the internet, were pervasive within the village and the surrounding areas. Nonetheless, residents, urbanites, and even tourists continued to represent the village-space as an isolated locale that was segregated from systems of globalization and modernity that characterized urban scapes. Tourists arrived in Aremd expecting to find the 'other', and they were often shocked, and even disappointed, to find 'modern' amenities and technologies in what they expected, or wanted, to be a 'pristine' space inhabited by community of people who were deprived of the conveniences that tourists enjoyed at home. Popular notions held by tourists and urbanites represented Aremd as an isolated community occupying a peripheral locale that was cut off from globalized networks. Residents sometimes played up to this expectation by hiding wealth from tourists and overemphasizing stereotypical characterizations of Berber culture (see Turner 1999). In actuality, communication and transportation networks inextricably linked the remote village into the same global networks that were familiar to tourists and urban Moroccans.

Tourists played a key role in strengthening globalization in the region by promoting the expansion of globalized networks into remote communities and households throughout the countryside. In the tourism economy, tourists are vectors for globalization and economic development. This is particularly the case for 'adventure tourists' or 'eco-tourists' who aim to venture off pre-existing infrastructural networks and penetrate peripheral communities. Remote villages, and the residents living in them, are an 'attraction' or 'destination' for tourists who seek out activities that are characterized as 'cultural heritage,' 'authentic,' and 'off the beaten path.' In order to reach these frontiers, tourists must move through global circuits, and tourist flows carry money, ideas about 'modernity', and alternate behaviors that articulate with the communities they engage. Tourists bring the market, the city and the global world to the doorstep. In this way, the circulation of tourists not only strengthens globalized spaces, it pushes the limits of the globalized networks into the rural frontier. This is the aspect of rural tourism that makes it such an appealing economy for policymakers aiming to promote development and integrate rural communities into the global economy.

In the twenty-first century, international tourism represents one of the most decentralized production system on the planet (Sinclair and Stabler 2002), and tourism-based rural development rides on the tail of global economic restructuring that took place in the second half of the twentieth Century. Neoliberal policies set forth by the Bretton-Woods agreement after World War II, solidified during the Reagan and Thatcher administrations, and promoted by governments and multi-lateral organizations into the 21st century reorganized the spatial arrangement of economies from a primarily centralized Fordist production scheme toward a flexible transnational production system

(Harvey 1989, 2005). Free Trade Agreements set forth by the World Trade Organization and conditional lending policies established by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have fueled the integration of national economies into the global economic system by allowing capitalist regimes to seek out and incorporate peripheral economies into the new world order. While transnational tourism-based corporations penetrate national boundaries, tourism-based rural development incorporates peripheral communities and households into the globalized economic system through institutional tourism-based policies and programs set forth by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO 2010).

Tourism-based rural development injects the global economy into rural household and increases household reliance on cash income and capital accumulation. Rural people engaging in the economy must contend with savvy entrepreneurs; and deficits in education, wealth, power and resources in rural areas like Aremd place most rural people at a structural disadvantage. In order to succeed in a competitive tourism market, residents in Aremd needed to offer a service or good that was unavailable in urban spaces and inaccessible to their urban competitors. Lacking cash and capital, most residents aimed to market themselves and their culture to tourists by selling 'authenticity'.

Although Jebel Toubkal has been heralded as the primary tourist attraction in the region, only a small minority of tourists embarked on the two-day trip to summit the peak. The majority of tourists visiting Aremd were seeking 'Berber culture'. Residents answered the demand (and consequently became quite competitive in the market) by inviting tourists into their personal lives and sharing private spaces. The most popular

cultural commodity was the 'home-stay' accommodation. The homestay required little, if any, capital investments by the household. In the home-stay arrangement, tourists stayed in the tourism-worker's home, ate with the family, accompanied household members to events and festivities, played with children in the household, watched television with family members, and sometimes participated in household or agricultural labor. Since the tourist was temporarily incorporated into the household, tourism labor was incorporated into women's household labor. Women cooked the tourist's meals, cleaned the tourist's room and washed the tourist's clothes.

The home-stay arrangement provided accommodations and services, and family events and community festivals provided tourism entertainment. During my first visit to Aremd in 2005, I hired a guide to accompany me into the village and help me establish contacts in the community. Within a few hours of my arrival in Aremd, he brought me to an 'authentic Berber marriage' and I spent the entire day eating, dancing and socializing with female residents. I was incorporated into the wedding festivities as if I was a member of the bride and groom's family. I learned later that the groom was my guide's cousin, and the women who looked after me that day were members of his household.

During the summer marriage season, tourism workers invited tourists to attend a segment of the multi-day wedding ceremony. During dissertation research, I became the wedding photographer since I was the only person who owned a working camera. After the multi-day marriage ceremony ended, I developed a batch of photos in Marrakech and returned the photos to the bride in a photo album. When I returned with the photo album, the family gathered to review the photos and reminisce over the ceremony. I photographed several bug-eyed and culture-shocked tourists among

wedding participants, and the image of the tourist who usually stuck out from the rest of the crowd was quite humorous for everyone. I asked the families if they were bothered by the presence of a stranger at their wedding. Not only did no one mind, but a new bride discretely showed me a 200 dirham note (25USD) that a female tourist gave her when the tourist attended her wedding.⁴⁸ As it turned out, tourists not only observed wedding ceremonies, they also participated by engaging in gift-giving. Learning this reminded me of when I was also ill-prepared to attend a wedding ceremony when I first arrived in the village in 2005, and to overcome the awkwardness of my intrusion, I gave the bride a monetary gift. Tourism was encroaching on private marriage ceremonies, and as a result, one of the most significant events in the life of young women in Aremd was also becoming one of the most lucrative tourist attractions.

Cultural attractions like the home-stay arrangement and marriage ceremonies restructured spatial organization in the household by reformulating the meanings and activities that informed the social production and construction of space in the village. To overcome power differentials within the tourism economy, tourism workers strategized to become more competitive by commodifying personal spaces and the routinized practices that make up daily living in the village. This perforated the boundary between private space and personal space and was most evident when tourists traipsed across newly planted fields, knocked on resident's doors looking for a toilet, or took photographs of women washing laundry on the terraces of their homes. Residents were ambivalent toward the daily intrusions imposed by tourists. On the contrary, the absence of tourists in the village was worrisome to residents because it indicated the

⁴⁸ This was a substantial gift considering that the daily rate for private guiding services at that time was approximately 200 dirhams.

absence of opportunities to generate income. This was summed up by a young woman married to a tourism worker as we spent a winter day sitting in the sun on her rooftop terrace staring at the empty hiking trail that zigzagged up the adjacent mountain slope. She shook her head and said, 'no tourists, no money.'

Conclusion

As state policies promote tourism development in rural areas, villages like Aremd are transformed into tourism attractions and the global economy saturates spatial phenomena experienced by residents. Increasing mobility of residents and tourists, coupled with power differentials between tourists and residents, necessitated the perpetual reorganization of space and the assignment of new tourism-based meanings related to the different contexts that informed the ideological foundations of place-making and the symbolic ordering of space. Tourism development processes provided the frameworks for the spatial reorganization of social, cultural, economic, and political activity in the village because space was reconceptualized according to the tourism-based activities taking place and the socio-cultural underpinnings of the participants.

Power relations embedded in the cultural politics of space within tourism processes became a fundamental component in the social construction of boundaries that created difference and commonality among residents in Aremd and between residents and others. Power dynamics rooted in multi-scalar socio-economic relations led to differential access and control over spaces and reinforced systems of power entrenched in social, political, cultural and economic interactions. To overcome specific barriers to space, some residents strategized to formulate new alliances and networks or took advantage of new spatial frontiers created by digital technologies. Yet, local

power inequities, such as gender inequality that forbid women from accessing crucial spatial resources, generated differential access to new spatial terrains among residents.

New spatial organizations thread seemingly binary and discrete domains into interconnected and overlapping spaces. Regardless, the reformulation of space contributed to the development of new hierarchies and social groupings as people were characterized according to the symbolic representation of spaces; and these representations were situated within the context of tourism development and globalization.

CHAPTER 9
CHANGING SYSTEMS OF PRODUCTION AND THE SOCIAL MEANINGS OF LABOR:
REFORMULATING IDENTITY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Introduction

International tourism imposes a broad and deep impact on social identity and the social organization of communities. This was apparent in Aremd, an Amazighe (Berber) village in the High Atlas Mountains, where increasing geographic, social, political, and economic interconnections associated with a new tourism-based global economy had become a salient aspect of everyday life. For many residents, connections and ideologies rooted in the tourism economy provided the frameworks for the ways residents represented themselves and perceived others. This was most evident in the manner in which residents formulated social values and meanings within the context of participation in (or exclusion from) global culture vis-à-vis tourism-based labor. Tourism labor forged different social networks and alliances that extended far beyond social networks in Aremd, and the social meanings ascribed to old and new forms of labor directly affected how some residents conceptualized themselves and categorized others. This not only changed the social organization of the community, it affected social relations between members of the same household. Therefore, a social analysis of tourism economies in rural communities like Aremd must not only address how tourism-based changes in local systems of production generate new economic relationships for residents, it must also account for the ways that economic change reformulates the social meanings of labor and thereby restructures the social fabric of the community and the identity of individuals.

This chapter will interrogate how individuals and groups actively create new norms, values and meanings from the bottom up through interlinked polyadic

relationships that occur when local conditions intersect with tourism-based global flows. Previous chapters relied on an ethnographic analysis of cultural practice, or what people do, to address how cultural formulations of time, gender, kinship, and space articulated with hegemonic systems of power. This chapter will aim to identify the social meanings of labor embedded within a changing economy by relying on how residents expressed their personal ideas, values and perceptions of themselves and others in relation to different forms of labor, or *xdma*. Ethnographic case studies will portray and analyze how the social meanings ascribed to labor were born from the intersection and reproduction of local and global forces that served as a framework for the ways residents situated themselves and others within globalized contexts.

I will argue that these meanings were largely informed by a dialogical relationship between: a) ideological flows rooted in Eurocentric notions of modernity, the emergence of global social networks, and the introduction of new risks and vulnerabilities rooted in the unpredictability of a new international capitalist production system, and b) the erosion of age-old social support systems, active resistance to hegemonic orders, and a contemporary revival of 'traditional' aspects of Berber identity. In other words, the meanings associated with labor were largely informed by the articulation of various hegemonic flows of technological, social and ideological forces with local conditions and the agency of actors in Aremd. These meanings were not static and uniform, however. They were dynamic and oftentimes contradictory as residents negotiated the prospect of maintaining old orders with the relentless need to mitigate risk and vulnerability in the tourism market by forming strategic labor-based relationships in a highly competitive and unpredictable new economy.

This chapter aims to reveal how the different cultural forms that emerge within processes of globalization and localization can generate a dialogical conception of self and identity that are rooted in different forms of labor. Information in this chapter will show that, in communities engaging in tourism development, labor may not only be valued according to the product produced by labor; it may also be measured by the social meanings attributed to labor and that these meanings can be transferred to the social identity of the individual performing the work. This can have serious implications in a capitalist tourism economy because inequalities in tourism can become normalized into essentialist extrapolations about marginalized people. Ultimately, this chapter aims to challenge theoretical frameworks that portray globalization as a 'homogenizing' force by illuminating how globalization contributes to an increasingly heterogeneous cultural landscape characterized by new tensions, oppositions, clashes, prejudices, and misunderstandings between people from the *same* cultural backgrounds, within the *same* community, and even within the same household. In many ways, these differences can generate a new system of inequality that goes beyond class-based inequities in the distribution of opportunities, benefits and resources; they can lead toward new social hierarchies that are based on the reformulation of social identity and the social reorganization of communities according to hegemonic notions of modernity.

Theoretical Framework

The field of anthropology has produced a vast body of research investigating the construction of social identity and processes related to changes in social identity (Abbinett 2003; Campbell and Rew 1999; Martin 1995). This chapter will rely on a definition of 'identity' as being part of a system comprised of 1.) social categorizations, 2.) self-ascriptions, and 3.) the symbolic ideas, actions and expressions that individuals

use to construct difference and commonality as a means of social organization; and the articulation of ideas about the self and others are communicated and ascribed meaning through social interaction. From this perspective, identity is *subjective, experiential and performed*. This approach is based in part on Epstein's framework for identity as an integration of synthesis and action: that represents the process by which a person seeks to integrate various statuses, roles, and experiences into a coherent image of the 'self', and certain forms of behavior come to serve as 'symbols of exclusiveness' that intensify and reinforce the social formation of groups (1978:10).

Labor is not the exclusive symbolic marker of identity formation. In terms of globalization however, it is one of the most salient symbols for rural people in the global economy because labor is one of the only means that those who are poor in cash and capital can participate in transnational capitalist production regimes like the international tourism economy. Previous research has shown that labor and livelihoods can serve as symbolic markers for social identity and group cohesion because it is a means by which humans reproduce themselves and participate in the social organization of group formation (Marx 1886; Polanyi 1944). Karl Polanyi (1944) presented labor as a 'fictive commodity' that is not produced for sale, 'it is only another name for human activity that goes with life itself.' He argues that workers engage in production not only to meet needs for subsistence, but their labor is also informed by ideas, values and beliefs that are rooted in local institutions and pre-existing webs of social relationships. More recently, Jane Collins has argued that the global economy is always in tension with its opposite due to 'tendencies to localize, to draw on specific labor market advantages, to embed production in local networks' (2003:165).

In the contemporary era, virtually every economy in the world has been touched by the global economic system, and economic integration has been characterized by the encroachment of transnational production regimes, transnational commodity flows, and flexible labor arrangements. Yet economic transition also initiates change at the interface of ideological, symbolic, social, cultural and political contacts between different communities. These exchanges stimulate the formation of localized expressions of globalized phenomena, through the synthesis of old and novel forms of labor, new categories for persons engaging in different economic activities, and a reformulation of social and cultural identity through the repositioning of the self and the community in the global context.

Although a wide body of literature has provided a critical analysis of globalization by documenting the homogenizing effects of cultural integration into a global world system and the world-wide increase in resistance against hegemonic global forces through the development of 'neo-tribes' based on ethnic and geo-cultural allegiances and other 'imagined communities' (Hamelink 1983; Mattelart 1983; Schiller 1976; Maffesoli 1996; Bauman 1992:136-7), theoretical approaches that treat globalization as a homogenizing process are becoming obsolete. A growing number of scholars are noting paradoxical articulations that result when individuals are confronted with a diverse range of groups and cultures on a global scale, and that the intensification of cultural differences and oppositions can lead to a sharpening of difference between and within populations (Appadurai 1999; Arnett 2002; Bhabha 1999; Hall 1991; Hermans and Kempen 1998; Kinnvall 2004; Marsella 1998; Wallerstein 1991; Meyer and Geschiere 1999; Falmagne 2004; Barber 1987; Feld 1988; Hannerz 1987, 1989; Ivy

1988; Nicoll, 1989; Yoshimoto 1989). These theorists have argued that the era of globalization demands a more complex analysis of the uniformities and diversities that result from increasing political, social, economic and geographic contacts taking place between a broad range of diverse individuals and groups. They argue that social science must replace the fractured global-local instrument with instruments that situate concepts of self and identity as part of an exploration of the polyadic relationship that emerges when globalized ideologies, technologies and practices intersect with local scenarios. The task of such an analysis is to show how distinctive identities are created from scattering, fragmentation, diversity, and the 'localized intensification of global possibilities and associations' that emerge as a compromise between elements of resistance to incorporation and elements of accommodation to a larger order (Marcus 1992). In a globalizing society, individuals are no longer positioned in one particular culture, they are living on the interface of many cultures that meet within the singular individual (Appadurai 1990; Hermans & Kempen 1998; Raggatt 2000; Spiro 1993; Wolf 1982; Cambell and Rew 1999)

According to Hermans and DiMaggio (2003), 'different cultural voices are involved in various kinds of dialogical relationships and producing positive or negative meanings' and this necessitates a dialogical conception of self, identity and 'Other'. Building on the theoretical frameworks set forth by Bakhtin (1973, 1981) James (1890), and Mead (1934), Hermans and DiMaggio argue for an analytical framework that presents a multi-voiced dialogical self that is characterized by internal and external interchanges that never reach a final destination. 'Every individual has several identities to choose from,' Rew and Campbell write, 'therefore identity is communicated in part through negotiation

which takes place in specific social contexts and which takes place according to recognized social conventions' (2005:98). An individual can therefore adopt multiple identities and representations of self which are performed and enacted according to different social contexts. The dynamics of multiple identities provide workable solutions to the problems and challenges that result from an accelerating process of globalization and the capacity to deal with uncertainty, contrasts, tensions and oppositions in a rapidly changing and heterogeneous world that integrates sharp historical differences and various social milieus (Cooper & Hermans 2006; Bertau 2004; Callero 2003; Watkins 2003; Hermans 1996).

Hermans and DiMaggio theorize that two socio-cultural trends, that are closely intertwined, can be identified within processes of globalization and identity: (a) 'globalization as boundary crossing and leading to international and intercultural connectedness and exchange' and (b) 'localization as sets of customs or practices emerging from particular places, regions, or countries.' The two trends, Herman and DiMaggio argue, are not mutually exclusive; they coexist and fuel each other in dialectical ways.

The multi-variate approach to globalization and identity is in large part rooted in Arjun Appadurai's (1990, 1997) model of a global cultural economy which is comprised of a complex layering of fragmented, scattered, separate, and diverse 'scapes' (ethnoscapes, technoscapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes, and finanscapes) that flow into local societies. He relies on the suffix 'scape' to indicate that the flows are deeply perspectival and inflected by the unique historical, linguistic, and political situations of diverse actors. According to Appadurai, globalization of culture is not so much a

homogenizing phenomena, but rather it employs a variety of instruments of homogenization that are absorbed and transformed into local institutions, such as politics and culture and emerge as heterogeneous dialogues. This presents cultural change not as mere imitation, but as a process of negotiation and creativity that takes place within ever-increasing points of contact.

The collapse of old orders and the creative development of new systems is part of a what Ulrich Beck (1992) has referred to as a 'risk society'; and risk, according to Adams (2004) and Giddens (1991) motivates people to create new localized niches in an attempt to find security, safety, and certainty within increasingly vulnerable situations. Lash and Urry (1987) point out that a fractured and fragmented cultural economy stemming from economic and political disorganization has led to the growth of a post-modern culture, which is linked to specific interest groups rather than social classes. Bauman (1992) argues that post modernity is characterized by the recognition that the void created by the collapse of old orders is permanent, leaving people alone and privatized. The end result, according to Manuel Castells (1992), is the creation of new cultural systems and worldwide virtual communities that emerge at a time when primary identities, institutions, organizations and nation-states experience fragmentation, dissolution and decay. Post-modernity is an age of 'imagined communities' that develop in the absence of institutional support and are socially created by self-appointed participants. New communities present new avenues for the creation of social identities, yet old and new orders of power and domination inform how neo-communities develop and determine the inclusion or exclusion of individuals into new social organizations.

Callero (2003:127) points out that social identity is fundamentally a social phenomenon where symbols and meanings are created within relations of power. Building on this notion, Hermans and DiMaggio argue that 'for a deeper understanding of the process of globalization and its implications for self and identity, the notion of social dominance is indispensable. Contemporary theories of the self, with their strong emphasis on unity, often lack insight about the intense interplay between relations of dominance in the society at large on the one hand and relations of dominance in the "minisociety" of the self on the other hand'(2003:45).

This chapter will address the theoretical perspectives presented here within the context of the transnational tourism economy in Aremd and the formation of new identities and groups that were expressed through the social meanings of labor. It will illuminate the complex relationship between the individual and processes of globalization and reveal how individuals and groups actively create new institutions, identities, norms, and values from the bottom up through linked dyadic relationships between global flows and local scenarios. Case studies will shed light on how the articulation of global flows and local phenomenon has transformed the cultural landscape into a heterogeneous matrix of fractured and fragmented conditions that introduce new vulnerabilities and initiate the development of new identities and social groups. It will establish how labor was employed as a symbolic marker for social identity and how the reorganization of labor provided a framework for social reorganization within the community. While the tourism economy is embedded with a broad system of international power structures in the global economy, it also embedded itself into local institutions, social relationships and organization (such as gender and kinship). More

importantly, this chapter will address how globalization processes embedded in international tourism development in Aremd has introduced new frameworks for the creation of self-identity which has restructured the social fabric of the community and introduced new rifts that permeate into household.

Methods

Information for this chapter is based on ethnographic interviews conducted with individuals in two different households. I initially attempted to create 'Activity Profiles' (March et al. 1999) that aimed to identify the gender and age distribution of agricultural and tourism-based labor activities for more than fifteen households. I detected early on that the matrices would fail to identify distinct demographic patterns in the distribution of labor. This was due, in large part, to extreme daily and seasonal variability in labor activities and to irregular labor patterns that has emerged as residents negotiated two economic systems; the growing tourism economy and the diminishing agrarian economy. This made it apparent that economic transition was in the process of reformulating pre-existing systems of gender and age-based division of labor that has been noted by previous scholarship in the High Atlas (Crawford 2008; Hart 2000; Miller 1984; Hammoudi 1993,1997; Mahdi 1999). Nonetheless, interviews that focused on labor activities provided a platform for residents to articulate ideas, values and perceptions of changing labor practices and the organization of labor in the household and community. This revealed thematic trends in the social and cultural meanings ascribed to labor, ideas about particular labor practices and obligations, and the values associated with labor and those who perform it. I purposively selected case studies from participants living in two households that best describe the thematic trends that emerged from most ethnographic interviews centered on labor. One household

consisted of a 'nuclear' family that relied on tourism income exclusively. The second household consisted of one of the largest extended families in Aremd, and household members engaged in both tourism-based income generation and agricultural production. I was not able to select a household that relied solely on agricultural production because, at the time of research, every household participated in tourism-based income generation in one form or another. Analysis of information collected from members within a single household will reveal how changing production systems not only affected the social fabric of the community, it also reformulated the social fabric of the household, family and individual identity.

Data

Household one (Brahim and Meena):

Look at him, coming down the mountain like a goat,' Brahim pointed to a mountain guide descending the slope with a flock of tourists trailing behind him. Brahim was a tourism-worker in his early forties who recently became employed as a driver for a tourism transport company after he was able to save enough money to pay for a driving permit. I hitched a ride from him while he was transporting tourists to Aremd in a brand new Toyota Land Cruiser. I used the two-hour drive as an opportunity to conduct an interview. Brahim was the second resident I met in Aremd only a few years prior. At the time he was a very active mountain guide and quite proud of his success in the profession. He often bragged that he was among the first guides in the village, and although I knew that wasn't true (Miller 1984), I did know that he was among the most knowledgeable guides, that he had trained many younger guides in the village, and he was in very high demand by transnational tourism companies and repeat visitors. 'Because he is guiding those tourists?' I asked him. 'Up and down the mountain, every

day. Just like a goat.' He replied. This launched a conversation about the nature of mountain guiding, the most prolific labor sector in the tourism economy in Aremd.

Guiding was the most important form of tourism labor for residents in Aremd because it was one of the only means for men who lacked cash and capital to generate income in tourism. Therefore, most men in Aremd worked as mountain guides, either formally with tourism companies or informally by soliciting tourists in public areas. In the past, according to Brahim, it was easy to earn a living by guiding tourists through the mountains because there were fewer guides. Because of this, many of the older guides have been able to accumulate wealth and invest in capitalist endeavors such as bed and breakfast accommodations. 'Now everyone is doing it,' Brahim complained, 'even men from Marrakech are coming here with tourists! It is becoming more difficult everyday.'

According to Brahim, the cost of guiding services has remained the same (200 dirham / 25USD per day) for nearly ten years despite significant annual increases in the number of tourists visiting Morocco and the High Atlas. 'Before, you needed special knowledge about the mountains to work as a guide, and there was only a few who could do it,' he said. 'Now everyone is doing it, even men from Marrakech who know nothing about our area.' Other guides in Aremd aired similar complaints, and they noted that competition among guides was getting worse. Brahim's friend, Omar, interjected, 'If you don't accept their pay or work whenever they call, even in the night, there will be another guide waiting to take your job. They will never call you back.' For most guides, the cell phone was an immensely important asset for to compete in the tourism labor

market because it enabled workers and companies to maintain constant contact. (Chapter six addressed the 24/7 temporal demands imposed by the tourism economy.)

Competition generates a hegemonic despotism that degrades working conditions at the benefit of corporate interests (Burawoy 1985; Collins 2003). Transnational tourism companies operating in Morocco not only needed to compete with other Moroccan-based companies, they also faced competition in the global market. Non-contractual labor enabled tourism companies to enhance their competitiveness by decreasing the costs of labor by fostering competition and by limiting the overhead costs of labor during times of recession.

Tourism workers in Aremd not only competed with more educated and better connected urban workers based in Marrakech, they also competed with each other. Competition suppressed wages because, without a contract, tourism workers in Aremd were under constant threat that the company would select another worker if they asked for a higher wage or improved working conditions. The organization of labor within the tourism economy, and the social and spatial distance between employer and worker, made it difficult, oftentimes impossible, for workers to negotiate with employers. Most tourism workers I interviewed had never met the owner of the tourism company that employed them. Most work arrangements were informal verbal contracts organized over the telephone with a social contact in Marrakech who acted as an intermediary between the resident and the company.

Competition was not as difficult for Brahim as it was for other guides, however. Brahim was always in high demand by tourism companies and returning clients. His schedule was booked months in advance, and he used email to keep track of the dates

for each trip. He did not attribute his success to decades of experience or to a lifetime of building social connections in the city. He was confident that his success was due to intrinsic qualities that he possessed. 'When they tell me to be somewhere at three o'clock, I am there at two thirty. I must be clean and wear deodorant. Other men do not have this mentality. They work in this business, but they are thinking the same as if they are in the village.' Brahim also spoke English with very little accent, and he wore outdoor clothing by brand-names such as Columbia and Mountain Hardwear – even when he was not working. He also carried himself in an extremely confident manner. In cafés he often leaned back in his chair with his arms folded across his chest and his legs spread apart in the same fashion as mountaineers when they discussed their adventures. Once, while I sat in a café with a tourist from Spain, Brahim joined our table, and while he was distracted, the woman leaned over and whispered 'he is like a European man!' His familiar attributes seemed to put tourists at ease and tour companies were obviously eager to capitalize on this.

The manager of an Australian tourism company operating in Marrakech plainly listed cultural capital that the company looked for when hiring local workers. 'Most importantly, they need to understand and speak English clearly. Almost as important, they need to be on time ... but they also need to know how to socialize with visitors, relax and have a good time. People on vacation don't want to feel like they are being judged. If someone is overly religious, serious or uptight, it creates a weird vibe... A lot of these guys don't know how to interact with women, and that's a real problem. They need to be down to earth, and I will be honest with you, around here that's not easy to find. We go through help like crazy.'

During the interview with the company manager I began to understand why Brahim was so successful in the tourism industry. He was an embodiment of all the traits she spoke of, and he had internalized those traits and made them a part of his daily life. When I sometimes made appointments to meet Peace Corps workers in the Asni market about an hour away from Aremd, I often found Brahim casually socializing with the mixed-sex American group rather than integrating with other local men who congregated at the market. He was the only resident I knew who built a shower inside his home rather than use the village *hammam*, a public bath house. He even spoke out against other residents who displayed increasingly popular commemorative paraphernalia associated with the September 11th event, such as a framed enlarged photograph of the airliners crashing into the World Trade Center.

This cultural capital enabled Brahim to excel as a guide and thereby accumulate a considerable amount of wealth. His income allowed him to break away from his extended family household and support his own household with his wife and two sons. He was also in the process of building a guest house in the market of Imlil as well as an addition to his home in Aremd which he planned to use as board for tourist clients. Yet he always reminded me that he had nothing when he began working as a guide. He would enunciate nothing, or *walloo*, to be certain I understood. This was important to him, and he stressed that he did not inherit his, as many men had in the village. His wealth, and consequent prestige, was the result of hard work. Regardless of the upward mobility made available to him through hard work in guiding, he admitted that he detested the profession. 'Every day I was taking orders and caring for Europeans like I was a dog. I was always worrying that I would get hurt, not be able to work and lose

everything ... It is not a job for an old man, but you see old men doing it because they have no choice.'

This reminded me of Lahcen, a man I met during my very first visit to Aremd, when I arrived as a tourist to ascend Toubkal. I walked into a café and inquired about a guide. After waiting half an hour, I was surprised when the guide arrived. He was a decrepit old man, who was at least fifty years old and a life in poverty had taken its toll. He borrowed a knapsack from the café owner who filled it with a few cans of sardines and a loaf of bread. He didn't speak English or French, and I was only beginning to learn Arabic. He virtually ignored me as we trekked along the trail, and we spent most of the two-day excursion in awkward silence. During fieldwork (and after a few years of language training) I became better acquainted with him. He was excessively friendly and delighted to see me when I returned to Aremd for research. I suspected I may have been the only tourist to see him more than once. He invited me to his home to have dinner with his family. He lived in the village adjacent to Aremd, and he was among the poorest residents in the area. He shared a two-room unfurnished building with his wife, three daughters and a young son. Apart from the small house, he was landless and his lack of foreign language skills made it difficult for him to find work in the tourism economy. He sometimes annoyed younger, more prosperous, guides when he asked them for money. A few wealthy men alleged that he was poor because he smoked hashish; this was a common allegation against less fortunate residents. By the time I left, Lahcen was having an even more difficult time finding work in the increasingly competitive mountain-guiding labor sector that was becoming flooded with young and

wealthy urban men aiming to get their share of the income opportunities available in the new economy.

A future of economic destitution seemed inevitable for Lahcen and his family, and I asked him if he had any other options apart from mountain guiding. Lahcen confided that his son was ten years old and was already beginning to contribute to household income by borrowing mules from other households and transporting baggage for tourists. I met his son when I visited Lahcen's house, and the young boy immediately began practicing English within minutes of my arrival. According to Lahcen, it was only a matter of time before his son would be able to earn income as a guide and take on the responsibility of supporting the entire family.

Brahim, on the other hand, was riding the wave of tourism-based economic prosperity. His promotion from guide to driver provided constant access to the company-owned Land Cruiser, which he used to shuttle himself and other select residents up and down the mountain. During the day, he parked the vehicle in the middle of the market in Imlil, leaning against it and occasionally polishing it as if it was his own. He considered his new role as a 'driver' in the transportation segment of the economy as more than a mere upward promotion from guide, it was a reflection of his abilities. Brahim emphasized that his success in tourism was not due to luck, but was attributed to his ability to 'think like a European man.' Like many successful tourism-workers in Aremd, he likened himself to European men in ways that went beyond mere cultural practices of dress and food but moreso as an ideological alliance associated with liberalized relationships and material modes of living. During our conversations, he

referenced liberalized and individualistic ways of thinking by stating, 'I am the same as a tourist in here' while pointing to his temple.

Although he had never received a formal education, Brahim always carried literature with him. He spent his leisure time reading English-language magazines that he borrowed from Peace Corps workers, tourists and me. The only thing he liked to discuss more than international politics was the variety of ways in which he was different from the rest of the residents in the village. He complained that the residents' minds were 'too small', and that people in Aremd only wanted to talk about the village. He complained that he had nothing to discuss with anyone, even with his wife, Meena.

While eating dinner with his family, he switched to English and in the company of Meena who spoke only the indigenous language, Tachelhit , he complained, 'I want to come home and discuss more than what is right here on this table,' and he motioned to the food she prepared. He openly expressed regret for marrying and starting a family. He was contemplating the possibility of establishing a second household in a more developed area called Oarzazette, a popular Hollywood movie production location. He confirmed that he still intended to fulfill his gendered obligation to support his household by sending financial support to Meena and his two young sons in Aremd.

Meena married Brahim when she was approximately fifteen years old and he was nearly twenty. She was from the neighboring village called Imzeek. She met Brahim when she was performing agricultural labor on her father's land along the side of the main road. According to Brahim, he regularly passed Meena on transit between Aremd and Marrakech. One day he told the driver to pull over to the side of the road, and he asked her to marry him. Although she had never seen him before, she told him her

father's name and a few weeks later, Brahim arrived at her home with a basket of sugar as a gift. He asked her father for permission to marry her and disclosed that he was poor and landless. Despite Brahim's poverty and questionable future, Meena consented to marriage. A few months later, she was married and living in Aremd with Brahim and his extended family.

I started visiting Meena at her home while Brahim was away working with tourists. Unlike Brahim, Meena was shy and introverted and therefore she was quite difficult to interview. She seldom initiated conversation, even among her friends and family who lived in the village and she replied with short and succinct statements. She spent the majority of her time alone in her home which was located at the very top of the mountain. The strenuous hike upslope to her house discouraged other women from visiting her, so she sometimes ventured down slope to join women in other households who engaged in agricultural labor. This was unusual, because most of the women that I met in the village who were married to successful income-earning men chose to opt out of agricultural labor, as I described in chapters four and five. I asked her why she bothered to continue to participate in agricultural production now that she and Brahim were significantly wealthier than they were when they first married. 'I do not want to sit alone everyday and do nothing,' she said. She described that in her natal household, she grew up participating in agricultural production by initially assisting her mother in the field and eventually performing the labor on her own. When she married Brahim and moved to Aremd, she carried on the same tasks that she performed at her natal home. The only difference was that she was contributing to her husband's household. Shortly after marriage, she gave birth to a son who was twelve at the time I conducted

fieldwork. She had another son five years younger than the first, and she learned she was pregnant two weeks after I first met her.

Throughout thirteen years of marriage she had dedicated her life to fulfilling a role as a mother and wife, and according to her, she desired nothing more. I asked her if she wanted to work in tourism and earn her own income, or accompany Brahim when he was away for long periods of time. 'No, I do not want to work with tourists... I have a very good husband and I am happy here. I have my children and I have family in Aremd. I am lucky.'

I suspected that Meena's response was due to her knowledge that I also talked to Brahim, but other women I knew in the village also said that Meena never complained. Other men in the village even went so far to comment that Brahim had a very 'good wife'; this was because she was content to perform her gendered role as mother and wife and participate in agricultural production. She also considered this her contribution to the household. Yet, when Brahim earned enough money in the tourism economy to establish his own residence, their household economy shifted to one that was solely dependent on Brahim's income. Without agricultural land, Meena's contribution to the household economy was reduced to the domestic labor associated with being a wife and mother. The agricultural labor she had spent her life learning had become obsolete, and in Brahim's eyes, her labor was worthless. To make matters worse, he sometimes characterized her as a simpleton.

Brahim believed that Meena spent her days watching television. I called his attention to the fact that she assisted other women with agricultural labor, in addition to taking care of their sons and maintaining the house. He dismissed her work, and

pointed out that it was his income that paid for his family's house, food, clothes and other luxury items, 'not the grass she cuts for the cows.' He referred to her lack of desire to earn income as part of the 'problem with women' in Aremd. From his perspective, women like Meena who desired to carry on the domestic and agricultural labor tasks that had been performed by the generations of women who preceded them were simply failing to move forward. 'They have no interest in gaining experience or developing their minds,' he said. He compared Meena to female clients of his who earned their own income and, he assumed, also fulfilled their domestic roles at home. 'I tried to take her on a vacation and show her how things are outside the village' he said,' but she just complained that she wanted to go back to the village. Her only interest is in children and village life.' Brahim blamed the mentality of women for the abundance of children in the village, 'It is not good to have so many children, not for the family and not for the village. There are already too many, and there is not enough work for everyone now. How will there be enough when all of these boys are men?'

Meena was delighted to be pregnant again, however. Since she had two sons already, she wanted a daughter, *Inshaallah* or god-willing. She doted over my eleven – year old daughter when I brought her to Meena's house. After I made a comment about babies being a lot of work, she reminded me that her sons were older. Her youngest had just started school and both boys were becoming more self-reliant. Like agricultural labor, her child-caring labor obligations were also becoming unnecessary. Meena never explicitly stated that she felt that her position in her household was in jeopardy, but it is likely that she was aware of Brahim's growing discontent with life in Aremd and his desire to relocate elsewhere. As her son's grew older, the demand for (and value of) her

child-care labor was diminishing and therefore her role in the home was eroding. Another baby would provide a renewed demand for her labor, and thereby secure her role in the household. Brahim, on the other hand, was concerned about the arrival of a third child. He worried about the cost of the prenatal visits and the potential that she may need a hospital delivery. He also wanted to send his eldest son to school in Marrakech, and with his current income, there was a slight possibility. He worried that the costs associated with a third child would infringe on his son's opportunities in an already disadvantageous economy.

Brahim was acutely aware of the cut-throat and competitive labor market in the tourism economy, and he recognized the hardships residents in Aremd faced in light of increasing regulations on laborers entering the market. As previously mentioned in chapter two, although state-policies aimed to liberalize the tourism economy to attract transnational investments, internal regulatory policies had become increasingly more stringent for laborers through the implementation of licensing regulations and standards for minimum training and educational requirements for specific tourism labor sectors such as guiding. Furthermore, Brahim's penchant to stay abreast of international politics caused him to become concerned over the stability of the tourism economy in Morocco. He was old enough to recall the recession that occurred during the outbreak of the first Gulf War when international tourism in Morocco came to a stand-still. Most of the guides in Aremd had only experienced the upward growth of the tourism economy and had yet to weather a real economic recession.

In light of increasing labor competition, job scarcity and the tourism economy's vulnerability to recession, Brahim did not want his son to engage in tourism-based labor

like the majority of parents in Aremd. He criticized fathers who forced their sons to work in tourism only to appropriate their son's earnings. He considered this selfish and likened it to 'working a mule'. Although he never spoke ill of his own father, he did mention that he spent his younger years working as a muleteer in tourism rather than attending school. Brahim seemed bitter that he missed out on the educational opportunities made available to his tourist clients from other parts of the world. When we discussed the research goals for my dissertation, he sadly remarked that he would have gone to a university if he had the opportunity. He never explicitly mentioned plans for his youngest son, yet he was adamant that his eldest son would receive an education and acquire employment in the professional sector. His son shared this vision.

Unlike most young boys in the village who were absent from school because they spent their days practicing the ropes of tourism labor in Imlil by muleteering and assisting other tourism-workers, Brahim's son had perfect attendance in school. He had a collection of English language children's books, and like his father, he spent a great deal of time reading. Brahim was intent that his son spend time with my daughter so that he could become familiar with 'how other children live, not like the children here.' His son was the only child in the village to express a desire to work in a labor sector outside of tourism. It was likely that he was one of the few children to consider it a remote possibility. He was confident that he wanted to become an obstetrician, and both Meena and Brahim were proud of this. (Meena joked that she was actually the one to credit for her son's ambitions because he was present when she delivered his younger brother.)

Their son was slated to become the embodiment of the identity that Brahim had adopted, yet was not able to live out. This alienated his son from other boys in the village, however. While other boys his age spent their days in the Imlil market, Brahim's son spent most of his time at home. Although Brahim may have been earning enough money to pay for his tuition, the logistical aspects of sending him to secondary school in Marrakech made the reality seem bleak. With limited opportunities for the young boy to receive a higher education and acquire professional employment in Morocco, not only was his economic future uncertain, but his social future was questionable as well.

It became clear that a lifetime of tourism labor had helped alienate Brahim from his own community, and even from his family. The tourism economy placed Brahim and Meena at the intersection of a globalized culture of modernity and more localized norms and expectations, yet they each experienced differential outcomes because they were in structurally different positions. Both residents spent their early years performing the same labor and roles as the generations that preceded them, and they assumed these roles after they married. Yet, landlessness forced Brahim to break away from the roles his fathers and brothers performed and engage in tourism-based labor because it was one of the only means for him to earn income and establish his own household. His success in the tourism economy enabled him to generate enough wealth to establish a separate residence with his wife and children, acquire property, and invest in additional capital such as a driving license that would enable him to gain access to more lucrative and prestigious labor sectors.

Since local norms obligated Brahim to provide material support for his family, Meena was able to enjoy the material benefits of Brahim's participation in the tourism

economy. Yet, their household's reliance on Brahim's income diminished the social value of the agricultural labor that she was able to contribute and her contribution to child-care labor was becoming less significant as her two sons aged. The social meanings to Meena's labor became subjective. Some residents valued the role of women's labor contributions in agriculture and child-care that had been practiced for generations. Yet, new ideas about modernity and income-generation introduced different roles and expectations for women that were shared by some residents, such as Meena's husband. For Meena, another child would offer a renewed value to her labor contributions to her household and family, while her husband calculated the additional costs associated with raising a child.

When Meena and Brahim began their marriage, they shared the same ideas and expectations. Income generation and wealth brought about by tourism development undoubtedly changed their lifestyles when they detached from Brahim's extended-family household that was supported by a mixed economy of tourism and agriculture to a nuclear family arrangement solely dependent on income generation in the tourism economy. In addition to changes in the material and economic conditions for living, tourism labor exposed Brahim to different ideas and alternative modes of living. After several decades of spending the majority of his time among tourists, immersion in tourist culture compelled him to forge a different identity that allied him with tourists more than other residents. He engaged in cultural performances he associated with tourists such as reading English-language literature, engaging in discussions related to global affairs and adopting ideological trends that he envisioned as life outside of

Aremd. This served as a symbolic marker that disassociated Brahim from what he considered to be limited and narrow perspectives shared by others in the village.

Brahim's cultural capital earned him considerable success in the tourism economy, and he considered his success in tourism as evidence that he was more closely aligned with tourists than other tourism workers in Aremd. He created new social categories for other residents, and even his wife, that were based on hegemonic ideas about modernity, progress, and development. He ultimately became so disenfranchised from the village and from his family that he was planning to abandon Aremd and live in a larger and more diverse city that frequently hosted outsiders. His immersion in the tourism economy also contributed to his desire to socialize his son with different ideas, expectations and opportunities than what has previously been made available to children in Aremd.

Household two (Fateem, Zara, Lahcen, Hussein and Khadoo):

I met Fateem on the first day of her four-day wedding ceremony. She arrived with an enormous caravan of cars carrying her family from her small impoverished village to Aremd. After the excitement simmered down, Fateem spotted me in the crowd and immediately insisted that I sit next to her throughout the festivities. She was surprisingly loud and out-going, and she even seemed a bit flirty with some of the young men. The following day she sent her new brother-in-law to retrieve me. When I arrived, a small clique of women was in her room, and when I walked through the door I was overwhelmed with the scent of perfumes. During this visit, the young women decorated our faces with an exorbitant amount of make-up. Once we were all made up, Fateem began to show off the wedding gifts she received. For the remainder of the day, I sat in a the room with Fateem and a gaggle of visitors. We spent the entire day eating,

drinking tea and participating in sudden bursts of dancing while a boom box blasted Berber music throughout the house and, without a doubt, into the neighbor's house as well. It was among the largest marriages that I would attend in Aremd because Fateem had married into one of the wealthiest and largest extended family households in the village. When she entered the household, it consisted of fourteen people: her mother and father in law; her husband; his eldest brother and his wife⁴⁹ and three children; his second eldest brother and his wife and two children, his third eldest brother who was unmarried; and his unmarried sister. (Within a year, Fateem's daughter would add another member to the household.) Through kinship ties, the family was also well-connected in the community, and with other villages.

After the ceremony ended and the hoopla settled down, her new household returned to their daily routine by participating in a mixed economy of tourism-based labor and agricultural production. Fateem's husband worked as a mountain guide and his unmarried brother was employed as a transport driver. They both worked nearly every day because they were proficient in multiple foreign languages, and they had informal contracts with multiple tourism companies. His eldest brother also worked as a guide, but only occasionally. He never received an education, and therefore his language skills were not as developed as his younger brothers' skills. The second eldest brother worked almost entirely in agriculture, save the occasional need for his tourism-working brothers to solicit his assistance with the family's mule.

⁴⁹ The eldest woman to marry into the household was either in a perpetual bad mood or held a serious grudge against me. Either way, apart from working side by side in the field, I opted to stay out of her way and never conducted an interview with her.

Agricultural work in this household was a monumental task because Fateem's father in law owned several hectares of land in plots that were scattered throughout the village. The second eldest son built terraces, irrigated fields, planted perennial crops and maintained trees in the orchard. He hauled the harvests to the market. All of the women in the house participated in agricultural labor nearly everyday. They harvested vegetables for subsistence as well as cash crops from the walnut, apple, peach and cherry orchards. Women cut fodder by hand and hauled enormous loads of bailed hay up the mountain to feed livestock (cows, sheep and goats) that were kept near or in the home. They also led livestock to grassy patches to graze. At the end of most days, women were sweaty and dirty from agricultural chores, and these were chores that Fateem had no interest in performing.

In the beginning Fateem accompanied the other women into the fields to work, in actuality however, she accomplished very little. When she did attempt to work, she seemed to struggle significantly more than the other women. She usually tagged along with her unmarried sister-in-law who was approximately her same age. Yet the sister-in-law's consanguine ties to the household gave her a more privileged position than the other women, and she was less obliged to work as hard as the women who had married into the household. When her sister-in-law was abruptly married, Fateem was left alone with her mother-in-law and the remaining two women. She eventually abandoned going into the field altogether. The other women didn't seem bothered by Fateem's lack of participation. Yet the summer ended and I left Aremd; when I returned eight months later to begin dissertation fieldwork, social relations in the household had changed.

A serious conflict had erupted between Fateem and Zara, a woman who married into the household nearly three years before Fateem. Initially the women did not share the circumstances surrounding the conflict. When I asked Fateem why she was crying, for example, she looked at her brother in law who was glaring at her and did not answer. However, a near violent conflict erupted between the two during Ramadan, and I discovered that the tension between Fateem and the others revolved around her refusal to assist with agricultural chores. In protest, Zara also refused to work and demanded that Fateem leave the house. Without Zara's labor, agricultural production in the household came to a stand-still. Their father-in-law eventually sent Fateem and her husband to live in a separate structure across the riverbed.

Zara was married to the second eldest, agricultural-working, brother in the household. She came from an impoverished village in the Agoundis Valley. Unlike Fateem, she never attended school and therefore she was not literate and she did not speak Arabic or French languages. She had two young children, a three-year old daughter and a one-year old son. Her childcare responsibilities did not get in the way of her productive capacity, however. She was an agricultural powerhouse. Although she was approximately five feet tall and maybe 100 pounds, she was able to harvest and haul enormous loads up steep slopes. She worked for several hours on end without stopping for a rest or a drink. I came to consider my 'participant-observation' time with her as part of my daily exercise routine. In addition to agricultural work, she also helped prepare meals for the entire household, cleaned the house, and washed the family's laundry by hand two to three days a week. It appeared as though she never stopped working. Despite her immense strength and seemingly limitless endurance, she was a

soft-spoken and quiet – especially compared to Fateem’s boisterousness. Her outburst against Fateem was out of the ordinary, but it revealed how her labor enabled her to wield a considerable amount of power. This was in large part due to her father-in-law. As the unmarried brother put it, ‘Zara is my father’s favorite.’

His father, Lahcen, was more than sixty years old and a true patriarch. When he entered the room in his usual stately fashion, the rest of the household improved their posture and rearranged themselves to allow him to take the seat directly in front of the television and to be flanked by his consanguine family members. He was dedicated to agricultural production. Apart from invoking his kin-based right to appropriate his son’s income, he had very little to do with the tourism economy. In Lahcen’s home, the gendered division of labor was extremely rigid; women served food and men did not so much as fix themselves a glass of water. It made sense that he would favor Zara, yet it was impossible to tell by observation alone. His daughters-in-law did not speak to him unless he addressed them first, and as a Moroccan woman from Marrakech noted, ‘it is as if his own wife fears him.’

When I first arrived, Lahcen did not like me. I detected this when I realized that he left the room whenever I entered it. When I asked his son, he replied ‘My father doesn’t understand a lot of things.’ In Aremd, I inadvertently criss-crossed gender boundaries, and my status as a single- mother did not help much, either. I learned to navigate around the taboos I violated, and I simply avoided intruding on residents who disapproved of me. Lahcen had a change of heart, however, after he discovered I could read and write Arabic. He noticed my handwriting in a notebook, and when I claimed it was mine, he quizzed me to be certain. After a few simple writing demonstrations, I was

cast in a new light. The man who once avoided me started checking on me to be sure I was happy. Finally, I was finally able to conduct an interview with Lahcen.

Lahcen and his brother had inherited a significant amount of land from their father who, in terms of property, was among the wealthiest men in Aremd. He revealed that in addition to the several hectares of scattered plots and orchards located throughout the village, he also owned a plot of land near a scenic waterfall and shared a plot in Imlil with his brother. He had participated in agricultural production throughout his entire life; first with his father's land and then after he inherited his own property. He managed livestock (cows, goats, sheep and chickens) and vegetables for subsistence, as well as cash-crops (walnuts, apples, peaches, and cherries) for consumption and sale in the market. Through land-ownership and social norms that organized the household division of labor according to gender and kinship, Lahcen's position as the male head of household provided him with a considerable amount of power.

Lahcen owned and managed the land, but at his age, he did not contribute labor. With occasional assistance from other household member's, Zara and her husband carried out the bulk of agricultural labor for the household. He explained that his other sons were not interested in agriculture because cash crop production provided little profit for a significant amount of work. Not to mention that the price of the agricultural commodities fluctuated wildly each year. Low profits and high risks provided little incentive to engage in agricultural production. I asked him about the *tuizi* system of reciprocal labor that I read about in James Miller's (1984) ethnography of Imlil and about the clans-based system David Crawford (2003) documented in the Agoundis valley. Lahcen was surprised to learn that Americans bothered to document and learn about

the previous ways of organizing labor, 'No one cares about the Ait Mizane anymore,' he responded. 'Now, when you ask someone to help you, they want to know how much you will pay them.'

Lahcen was rich in land, and his kin-based right to appropriate his son's earnings provided him with a moderate amount of money. He was able to hire laborers from impoverished villages to help Zara's husband with the tasks his tourism-working brothers failed to complete. According to Lahcen, agricultural production was becoming endangered because of disinterest in agriculture and the growing need for money. 'We traded and made what we needed, but now everything is for money. Everything.' At his advanced age, Lahcen was contemplating the security of his sons, Zara's husband in particular. He did not have the language skills or the cultural capital needed to compete in the tourism economy. Zara and her husband were able to access money when Lahcen appropriated and redistributed income from his other sons. Lahcen was in the process of converting an agricultural terrace into a guesthouse for Zara's husband to earn income and this increased tension between Zara's husband and his tourism-working brothers.

Without his father, Zara's husband, Hamid, had little authority in the household. His younger brothers who worked in tourism earned 200-300 dirham (20-30USD) each day, and they wielded a considerable amount of money power within the family. They carried cell phones and possessed sizable wardrobes. His youngest brother even owned an MP3 player. Hamid occasionally earned 50 dirham as a muleteer when his brothers needed him, and the majority of the money earned from cash crop agriculture was appropriated and redistributed by his father. Since his brothers spent their days

with tourists or in the market in Imlil, they were seldom present when Hamid and Zara performed agricultural chores. Therefore, they were under the impression that Hamid and Zara were free-loading off of their income. After I spent the day with Zara and her husband, his youngest brother who was married to Fateem asked me, 'did you enjoy sleeping in the day? We work so they can live like that.' I did, in fact, take a nap during the middle of the day. In the morning I spent four hours cutting and hauling fodder with Zara while Hamid repaired irrigation systems. After we returned to the house, Zara assisted her sister in law in preparing a mid-day meal. We engorged ourselves and then took a brief nap. Zara was never able to rest because her youngest child was too irritable to sleep. We spent three more hours in the field that evening, and by the time we returned to the house, I was filthy and physically exhausted. Nonetheless, Hamid's youngest brother assumed that I had been lounging around all day.

Even when Hamid and Zara's work was visible, the nature of the work was devalued. While sitting on a terrace with Hussein, Hamid's unmarried brother, and Hussein's friend, we were able to see Hamid and Zara working together in a field below. They were laughing together, and I commented to the men that they appeared to be in love. Hussein's friend replied, 'That is not love. They laugh because this is all they know. They do not need to worry about anything. There are no tourists or companies calling them to complain. They just come here and work a little bit and laugh all day.' What was more surprising than the friend's remarks, was that Hussein said nothing in his brother's defense.

Unlike Hamid who was quite introverted, Hussein was extroverted and very friendly, he often tested social boundaries with her interactions with women. He was

among the most successful guides in Aremd. Hussein spent most of his time in Marrakech and he claimed to dislike the village. When he was in the village, however, he had celebrity status. Women and girls, both married and unmarried, flocked to Hussein's household to 'visit his sister'. A few years prior to my arrival, the village was rocked by a sex-scandal involving Hussein and a young unmarried girl. According to Hussein, he left the village for a few months and when he returned it was as though it never happened. Nonetheless, Hussein openly declared that he did not want to marry a Berber woman from a village, he was aspiring to marry a tourist. He practiced cheeky tourist slang, such as 'Okay mate' and 'see you later alligator.' He always smelled of cologne and had accumulated a vast wardrobe comprised of expensive clothes and jewelry from Marrakech. One of his British clients said to me, 'I never expected someone from a village to dress so fashionably.' He also appreciated electronic gadgets, and was constantly upgrading his phone to a new and more innovative version. Hussein had absolutely no interest in agricultural work. He did not like to sweat or get his clothes dirty, he said.

Hussein's time in his household was sparse, and he spent the majority of his time fraternizing with other successful guides, like Brahim. More importantly, Hussein was forging economic and social alliances that extended outside of the kin-based system of exchange his father worked hard to enforce. When Hussein was double-booked with clients, he secretly passed the extra work to other tourism-workers rather his own brothers. This was unusual because most of the tourism-workers I observed passed work along paternal kinship lines. I asked him why he chose to send the work outside of his family network, and he provided two reasons; one reason was grounded in ideas of

reciprocity and the other was related to cultural capital. 'If I give my clients to him, then he will send one back to me. My brother is not good with the tourists and he does not have enough work. He does not speak to them in a good way. If I give them to him, they will not be happy and then they will be angry with me. They will come back and say 'Hussein, why did you send us to that man?'

Hussein was working on external ties because he was earnestly attempting to penetrate a social network that revolved around a British tourism company that had been operating a small upscale resort in Imlil for more than twenty years. The company had established a 'non-profit' charitable organization targeting 'community development', and they sponsored projects such as a water treatment facility, the construction of a public bath house, and a dormitory for girls at the secondary school in Asni. The company owner was an honorary member of the village association, a key decision-making institution within the village, and he therefore wielded a considerable amount of power within the community. While the company had contributed considerably to the upward mobility of several community members, the opportunities were not made available to everyone in the village. Residents, like Hussein, who had been left-out of the economic network created by the transnational company resented those who were fortunate enough to be regularly employed by the company. Nonetheless, they aspired to develop social ties with residents who were already incorporated into the company network. As one worker in Imlil explained, 'They have a lot of money and steady work. They think they are better than the rest. You need to be like this (joins index fingers to signify closeness) with the men who work there. Then maybe they will talk to the owner for you.'

For Hussein, tourism-based economic alliances were replacing the gender and kinship alliances that organized agricultural labor in his household. Yet, he was also among a minority of men in Aremd who embraced the revival of the increasingly controversial Bilmaun. The bilmaun was part of an early Berber ritual practiced among the Ait Mizane since time immemorial and has been documented in Abdellah Hammoudi's (1993) ethnography, *The Victim and Its Masks*. During the Eid Kabir, one of the most important holidays of the year, young men fashioned a costume from the hides and horns of slaughtered goats and performed the Bilmaun, a trickster character who ran throughout the village with a stick and a small bag of ashes. As the bilmaun roamed throughout the village, screams and laughter echoed throughout the mountainside as residents fled from the Bilmaun. The celebration lasted until the fourth day and the putrid smell of the decaying costume became unbearable.

Although the identity of the Bilmaun was hidden, most of the Bilmauns that year were wearing expensive sneakers, a cultural marker that the men who participated in the event were either tourism workers or were closely associated with tourism workers. Hussein was the only person in his household to participate in the Bilmaun festivities, but his participation led to conflicts between him and other men in his family.

Hussein was sad and glum the evening after he was the Bilmaun. He said he had been confronted by his father and other elders in Aremd who scolded him for his activities. 'They said that the God will punish me, and I will not be able to take it off.' The costume? I asked. 'Yes, because I changed myself.' 'Do you believe that will happen?', I asked. 'Who knows. Anything can happen,' he said. Hussein's friend, Yassine, had accompanied Hussein while he marauded through the village. Yassine said that he

enjoyed participating in the event, but he was afraid to wear the Bilmaun costume because it was 'against god'.

Hussein embraced the Bilmaun performance because he identified the practice as part of his cultural heritage, and he had established an alliance with a national community of men and women who shared his perspective. The Bilmaun was part of a package of cultural practices that included the Berber alphabet and ideas about a 'pure' Berber language that were beginning to receive significant attention among a circle of tourism-workers in Aremd and surrounding villages. Hussein was actively engaging in a pan-Berber movement that he had learned about while travelling into cities as a guide and from the internet. Despite the cultural significance of the ancient practice, the Bilmaun received disapproval from his family and many other residents in the village who believed that the practice was associated with evil. Chapter five addressed increasing religious conservatism among some residents in Aremd as a result of satellite broadcasting. Through television watching, men and women gained access to transnational religious broadcasting programs that presented transnational Islamic messages and meanings from Imams in countries such as Lebanon and Saudi Arabia; and new meanings oftentimes conflicted with localized religious practice, such as the Bilmaun.

As a tourism worker, Hussein needed to negotiate different and opposing cultural forces; the cultural expectations shared by his friends and family in Aremd, the cultural expectations of tourists, and the cultural expectations of individuals in the new social networks he forged while working in the tourism economy. Focusing on the psychology of adolescence, Arnett (2002) has noted that globalization forces people to face the

challenge of adapting to a global society in addition to their local culture. As a consequence most people develop a multi-cultural or hybridized identity that combines elements of global and local cultural expectations and practices (see also Hermans & Kempen 1998).

Hussein was heavily influenced by his best friend Mohammed, another tourism worker in Aremd, who owned a computer and had internet access through a telephone line in his home in the village. Unlike Hussein, Mohammed wore a *Djellaba* and he married a woman from Aremd. He and his wife had two daughters, and he said it was important to him that his children were raised by a Berber woman. He wanted to send both of his daughters to school, and he hoped they would be able to receive a higher education and work in tourism one day. Like Brahim, Mohammed always carried English literature with him, and he enjoyed reading segments of anthropological ethnographies of Atlas communities that I shared with him. When Mohammed learned that I was studying Tachelhit, he insisted that I also learn the Berber alphabet and visit the Sahara region to hear the 'real' Tachelhit. He reviewed a language manual I borrowed from a Peace Corps worker and edited out the Arabic words.

Through the internet, Mohammed and Hussein educated themselves about the Pan-Berber political movement that was making waves in cities throughout North Africa. Their employment as guides, enabled them to travel to distant cities and network with other Berber men and women who were involved in initiatives to promote Berber identity and culture in the national arena.⁵⁰ Before I left for a brief trip to Agadir, a seaside town in southwest Morocco, Mohammed and Hussein warned, 'Do not speak Arabic there.

⁵⁰ For more information on urban movements, see Crawford and Hoffman (2000).

You will get into trouble. The Berbers are very strong in Agadir.’ Mohammed and Hussein complained that the culture in Aremd had been contaminated with Arabic and French cultures and languages. ‘They think they are Berber, but they do not know that what they are doing, the words they are saying, it is Arabic!’ Throughout the duration of my stay, Mohammed was under the impression that I was studying Berber culture, and until the day I left, he insisted that I should have studied in the Sahara region.

Although they were employed as tourism-workers and did not participate in the agricultural economy in Aremd, access to the internet (through literacy) and access to urban social networks gave them access to privileged information that was not available to the majority of residents. Tourism labor not only provided these men with the ability to purchase expensive market goods such as computers and cell phones, it also granted access to expanded information networks and social circles that provided them with the justification to proclaim themselves judges of the authenticity of the cultural practices and identities of others in the village. For the most part, their notions of ‘authentic’ Berber culture and practice were rooted in language, songs, rituals, and other performances that are likely to be most acceptable to urban elites. Cultural practice stopped short of agricultural production, however. Neither man had an interest in performing agricultural labor.

Divisive perceptions of the cultural significance of agricultural labor became evident when my hands were dyed brown from defleshing walnuts. During the walnut harvest in October, women removed the flesh from the nuts before they were washed and dried in the sun. Processing the enormous quantity of walnuts not only chaffed the hands, but the pigments from the flesh dyed the hands brown and the discoloration

lasted several weeks. After several days defleshing walnuts with Zara, my hands were dyed a very dark brown, they were chaffed and ragged. I did not mind my dyed hands when I was in the company of other women with dyed hands. When I left the village and ventured down to Imlil to catch a taxi to Marrakech, my hands changed. As I waited in a café, a young tourism-worker caught sight of my hands and asked, 'Why did you do this to yourself?! This is not good, Sarah. Look at your hands!' The male tourism-workers did not hold back that they thought my hands were ugly, and that I was foolish to allow them to degrade into such a ragged condition. I was a bit self-conscious by the time I arrived in Marrakech. During the two hour drive my hands transitioned from normal to ridiculous. They were cracked, calloused and rough. My nails were split from digging into the walnut flesh and the cuticles were jagged. I hid my hands in my pockets.

Later that evening I entered the Marrakech market and when I reached out to pay an old man for a bunch of grapes, he grabbed my hand and said 'Tachayea?' ('walnuts?'). I confirmed that it was from walnuts. He interviewed me for a bit, asked which village I was living in and why was I living there. The price of the grapes was reduced to half. My hands turned into a cultural commodity in the Marrakech market. I started displaying my hands everywhere I went, particularly when I was buying something. As I made my way back to the village I needed to negotiate a price with a taxi-driver. He offered the inflated amount that was usually charged for tourists. Another driver grabbed my hands and scolded him, 'This is not a tourist, look at her hands!' My hands were evidence that I had participated in agricultural production and this held cultural significance to many residents in Marrakech, as well as in the village.

Chapter five addressed how women oftentimes referenced their hands when they talked about their labor. When I first arrived in Aremd, my hands were nicely manicured and softened from applying lotion on a regular basis. Not to mention, most of the work my hands performed was limited to a computer keyboard. The women in Aremd always remarked about my hands, compared them to their hands, and asked me if I could share any lotion with them. After a few months of participant-observation of agricultural labor, my hands began to more closely resemble their hands. I developed calluses, and they were usually decorated with a grimy band-aid covering a gash I acquired from the scythe. Instead of remarking on their beauty, women and men would inspect my hands and say *xdma*, or work, and show the similarity of their hands rather than the differences.

In Aremd, cooperative labor activities provided a forum for social cohesion. Yet, chapter four explains how women have been excluded from participating in income generation in the tourism economy because social norms prohibited women from interacting with non-relative men and ideologies positioned men as 'bread-winners'. Therefore, women's labor was primarily manual labor. In addition to agricultural work, women also supervised children and performed domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and household laundry. Women also contributed to tourism production when their labor was appropriated by men and they assisted male tourism-workers in their household with tourists' meals, laundry and cleaning the tourists' room.

Although women's contributions were unpaid, it was considered 'work' by many male household members. For example, while I assisted Zara with an enormous load of dishes left behind by her brother-in-law's group of tourist clients, her husband entered

the kitchen and said, 'you are working!', and I foolishly replied, 'No, I am just doing the dishes.' He looked confused for a moment and retorted, 'That is work, yeah?' At that moment I came to the realization that I was operating on a labor ideology that I was most familiar with, one that dismisses women's domestic contributions to household production as 'work'. Hamid, on the other hand, acknowledged women's labor contributions as work, agricultural and domestic. This was a key aspect that contributed to Zara's position in the household.

Zara was illiterate and far from her kinship alliances with members of her natal household, this placed her in a particularly vulnerable position in a village like Aremd where most women have received at least a primary education and were likely to have close kinship ties with other residents in the village. Zara was able to overcome her vulnerable position through the social value of her labor. Although she did not gain money-power by earning an income, her labor helped forge an alliance with her powerful father-in-law and her husband and this provided the leverage she needed when she was embroiled in a conflict with Fateem.

Zara's social clout was also important during her intermittent spats with her mother-in-law, Khadooj, who was the female head of household. At her advanced age, Khadooj had difficulty performing agricultural work. Unlike Fateem, Zara easily took on Khadooj's role in agricultural production. Khadooj spent the majority of her time supervising Fateem's daughter who was nearly two years old by the time I left the field. Without small children in the household, Khadooj would be left with very little to do. Shortly before I ended dissertation research, Khadooj began pressuring Zara and

Hamid to have another child. They resisted because Zara complained that she was already over-worked.

When I asked Fateem about how many children she wanted, she shrugged. Her opinions regarding family size were relatively ambivalent, yet throughout the duration of my field term, she remained steadfast in her refusal to perform agricultural labor. 'My husband earns money, why do I need to get dirty with animals?' she argued. After she was relocated into her own home, she began losing her temper with family members, and in her absence, household members described her by twisting their index finger at their temple, a gesture that was used to call someone 'crazy', or *enooful*. She spent the majority of her time alone watching television and listening to contemporary Berber music. Living in a separate structure enabled her husband to withhold more of his income from his father and thereby accumulate more wealth. In time, Fateem no longer used a boom-box to listen to music. She was able to upgrade to a more expensive entertainment system. Her clothes were much nicer than her sister-in-laws' clothes. She wore make-up, jewelry, and perfume everyday. Every time I visited her, she showed off something new that her husband brought home from the market. During my visits, we usually watched television or sat on her terrace sipping tea and watching women work in the fields in the riverbed below. Depending on her mood, she either made fun of the women as they worked or she expressed sympathy for them. Despite social alienation from her household, she was gratified that she no longer needed to engage in a form of labor that she clearly detested.

The interpersonal conflicts taking place in Fateem's household were rooted in the social meanings of labor embedded within two different, yet articulating, production

systems within a single household. The organization of tourism-based labor contradicted the household organization of agricultural labor, and different ideas about the rights, roles and responsibilities of individual family members generated rifts within the family.

Tourism-workers in the household, and women who married them, adopted new ideas and alliances that conflicted with the previous systems of household production and socio-economic relationships practiced by other household members. As a result of a labor-based conflict between Fateem and Zara, Fateem and her husband left the household and established a separate residence. A structurally separate household enabled Fateem's husband to retain his wealth, and as a result, Fateem was able to live a distinctly different lifestyle than her sister-in-laws who remained in her husband's natal household. Although household members considered the separation of the family as a result of an interpersonal issue between two women, the cause of the conflict was a result of two women holding different ideas about the social meanings of labor. Marriage to a tourism-worker provided Fateem with a justification to opt out of women's role in agricultural production and refrain from participating in tasks that she considered undesirable and dirty. Zara, on the other hand, was able to generate a significant amount of social power within the household through her participation in agricultural production and the household division of labor. In this way, the tourism economy penetrated social relations within the household and helped restructure the social organization of the family.

Lahcen, the patriarch of the family, brokered both production systems within his household by managing the social organization of agricultural production performed by

his son Hamid and his wife Zara, and by invoking his kin-based right to appropriate and redistribute the earnings of his tourism-working sons in order to create a more equitable distribution of resources within the household. The redistribution of resources provided financial security for Hamid and Zara as they participated in a cultural economy that was rapidly eroding. Financial security came at the cost of social tensions between Hamid and his tourism-working brothers because they did not value the couple's labor contributions to agricultural production for the household.

At the same time, tourism-based labor empowered Hamid's younger brothers because they were not only able to accumulate more wealth than other household members, they were also able to actively challenge social norms practiced and enforced by their father. The youngest son, Hussein, distanced himself from his family and forged new alliances with tourism workers and urban activists outside of his kinship network. Hussein not only established a separate social network, he also created new economic networks that deviated from the kin-based organization of economic exchange practiced by his household. Hussein, like many other tourism workers, adopted a more politicized cultural framework based on ideas and meanings about Berber culture and identity which were informed by globalized connections through the internet and urban centers. These ideas and meanings were different from those held by his father and other residents in Aremd, and Hussein and his cousin framed these differences according to practices that were 'real' (theirs) and those that were 'contaminated' (others). Hussein was in turn alienated by members of his community after he participated in a controversial secular performance that had lost favor by an increasingly conservative religious segment of the population.

The cultural system of identity that Hussein embraced was based on cultural markers that were defined by a globalized community that he was able to access through his participation in the tourism economy. His system privileged particular aspects of cultural practice such as language, script and ritual and virtually ignored the cultural significance of agricultural labor. Among agriculturalists however, labor facilitated social cohesion among workers and represented an individual's contribution to household production. Unlike Hussein and his brother who did not recognize the contribution of agricultural production in the household economy, Hamid adhered to a more expanded concept of labor that also included women's domestic contribution as 'work'.

Economic transition toward a predominantly tourism-based organization of labor reformulated the social meanings of women's labor in household production. The inclusion of women in the household organization of agricultural and domestic labor provided women with the opportunity to elevate their status in the household by contributing their labor to household production. As households shifted toward a greater reliance on tourism-based income and social norms discouraged women from participating in the tourism-based economy, women's labor contributions diminished. Although women's domestic labor was appropriated by some male tourism workers, their contributions were largely unpaid. The social value of women's work was reduced to household chores and childcare and greater reliance on the reproduction of children.

Conclusion

As state-motivated tourism development policies changed the system of production in Aremd away from an agricultural economy to a new tourism economy, the social reorganization of labor generated different systems of exchange that forged new

social networks and alliances that rearranged the social organization of the community and households. The social meanings of labor embedded within a changing economy changed social relations between residents in the village and even between members of the same household. Globalized networks and alliances within the tourism economy offered different frameworks for residents to actively create new norms, values and meanings for the ways residents represented themselves and perceived others. This led to the emergence of new self-ascribed identities and social categories based on labor, symbolic ideas, actions and expressions.

The social meanings of labor and identity were born from the articulation of local and global forces. Ideological flows rooted in Eurocentric notions of that privileged literacy, education, and material goods such as clothing and electronics served as symbols of exclusiveness. Globalized social networks extending into cities, foreigners and cyberspace not only forged new alliances outside of the village, they also provided access to different forms of cultural information. New risks and vulnerabilities brought about by competition and the unpredictability of a new international capitalist production system encouraged tourism workers to form alliances and exchange with other tourism workers outside of household and kinship relations. At the same time, tourism-workers actively resisted hegemonic flows by participating in a contemporary cultural revival stimulated by an emerging pan-Berber community.

New cultural forms emerged within processes of globalization and localization. Money power through income generation enabled young men to challenge elders while recapturing old practices that have come under attack by globalization. Some women redefined gender roles and defied labor obligations to their household. Tourism-based

globalization contributed to a more diversified cultural landscape which brought about new tensions, oppositions, clashes, prejudices, and misunderstandings between people within the same household and family. In this way, new economy contributed to the development of a new system of inequality that went beyond class-based inequities in the distribution of opportunities, benefits and resources and led toward a social hierarchy rooted in the reformulation of social identity and the social reorganization of communities.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION: THE RURAL REALITY OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: TAKING AIM ON RISK, VULNERABILITY, AND DISASTER

In the midst of a global economic crisis, the World Bank and the United Nations World Tourism Organization continue to promote tourism-based rural development policies that rely on a neoliberal assumption that a capitalist market will alleviate poverty and improve the well-being of rural people. Yet, findings from this research have shown, that the new globalized economy introduced new risks for residents such as diet-related chronic illnesses, infectious disease, and economic marginalization; and uneven development generated differential vulnerabilities to risk among community members.

Through the lens of tourism-based development in Aremd, this research relied on theoretically informed ethnography to challenge tourism-based development rhetoric. Ethnographic analysis identified the many ways in which tourism development intersected with multi-scalar power relations and socio-economic arrangements in Aremd, and the outcome generated uneven development and inequities in the distribution of the consequences and benefits of development which marginalized and alienated segments of the population. Special attention was given to two kinds of hierarchical tensions in Aremd, gender and paternal kinship, to show that the new economy not only appropriated pre-existing gender inequalities, it created an additional form of social inequality that was based on money-wealth and the local expression of a globalized culture of modernity. This generated symbolic and cultural forms and practices that reflected hegemonic ideologies about cultural lifestyles that were defined by wealth and alternative modes of living.

Rapid material and cultural change, coupled with unequal development, generated tensions between people in the community, within households and among family

members as capitalist processes sorted residents by privileging some and alienating others. These tensions not only reformulated fundamental aspects of the way of life in Aremd, they restructured the social fabric of the community. As village life was restructured according to tourism market mechanisms, the tenuous nature of global economic relationships places residents in a precariously vulnerable position to socio-economic disaster. Findings from this research will be situated within the context of the production and distribution of tourism-based vulnerability to disaster in order to understand how state policies that force rural communities to transition into a new globalized economy and a capitalist system of economic relations will inevitably jeopardize the long-term security of rural communities.

Developing Disaster

Economic recessions and market collapse can produce the same devastating effects as hurricanes, landslides, floods and other natural events that destroy human infrastructure. Economic policies that force people to rely on transient and transnational global markets to meet their needs will inevitably make people more vulnerable to the crises of capitalism because, like weather and climate, the global economy is constantly changing. Global markets fluctuate and transnational capitalism constantly seeks out cheaper labor and capital in distant locales. When communities reformulate their socio-economic infrastructure to accommodate a global market system, residents become increasingly vulnerable to disaster as a result of economic recession and market collapse. Development sets the stage for disaster when markets fail to meet human needs, and all other means of support have been lost.

Despite the apparent risks imposed by development, the UN and multi-lateral funding agencies such as the World Bank continue to hold the idea that disasters are

simply unavoidable events that needs to be addressed with technocratic solutions (Cannon 1994:16-17). Yet, disaster is the 'actualization of social vulnerability' (Lewis 1999:8), and the social processes that produce vulnerability are enmeshed in broader economic and political systems (Cannon 1994:24). The creation of 'under-development' and dependency produces vulnerability (Escobar 1995; Gunder-Frank 1967); and this research has shown that tourism-development policies can create vulnerability because the interplay between local and global processes generates unique and unpredictable circumstances that are inevitably embedded with a diversity of apparent and hidden risks of disaster that are unfamiliar to residents.

Through time and experience, risks associated with dangers and disasters become cultural perceptions that stage cognitive processes that prompt individuals to make economic decisions based on existing knowledge, experience and expertise (Douglas 1985, Appadurai 1986). Yet, transition from an agricultural production regime adapted to a localized social and environmental system toward a tourism-based arrangement tied into a globalized market-centered system changes the socio-economic milieu for risk avoidance.

Tourism development in Aremd placed residents in a globalized market economy that is embedded with specific risks related to intense labor competition, erratic and sensitive tourism market fluctuations, transnational commodity flows, unequal labor arrangements, and a hegemonic globalized culture. These risks generated vulnerabilities for residents who needed to negotiate risk while competing in a global market without the same information or safety nets as their transnational competitors. Since vulnerability is the link between disasters and people, understanding the

relationship between residents and risk is key to identifying tourism-based vulnerabilities to disaster. In order to fully appreciate how vulnerabilities emerge, it is necessary to understand the historical context of disaster causality (Oliver-Smith 1986; Lees and Bates 1984). In capitalist economies, risk and vulnerability are embedded in market fluctuations.

Market Vulnerability

The complexities inherent to global tourism markets present an immense risk for rural communities that are in transition from a diversified agricultural resource base to a specialization in an international tourism market. Agricultural production has its own set of inherent risks that can lead to disaster such as drought, pests, and flood. Like other rural agriculturists, farmers in Aremd relied on localized knowledge to mitigate risk and employed conservative strategies based on a balanced distribution of diversified production that provided a margin of security in the event of disaster (Miller 1984; Mahdi 1999; see also Scott 1976; Bartlett 1980).

During the time of this research, agricultural livelihoods were diminishing and most households were in the process of transforming agricultural land into sites for tourism-based production such as the construction of cafes and bed and breakfast accommodations. Chapters four and nine described how the emergence of tourism-based livelihoods and income generation diminished the status of agricultural livelihoods for both men and women in Aremd. Every household engaged in tourism-based income activities in one form or another. Income generation through tourism provided money-power for tourism workers, and households supported by tourism income enjoyed status and prestige through their association with a culture of modernity and globalized lifestyles. Many men who engaged in agricultural production needed to

seek out marriage partners from remote villages and women from impoverished villages aimed to marry tourism workers in Aremd in order to escape the drudgery of agricultural labor. As a result, agricultural knowledge was becoming an endangered asset in Aremd, and chapter nine provided an example of how agricultural knowledge was source of power for one of the few remaining women who possessed it. Her knowledge provided power because through it she was able to contribute to household production and provide a safety net for her household during times when male household members failed to earn tourism-based income.

As more and more households come to rely on tourism-based income exclusively, safety-nets provided by a diversified production strategy will no longer exist. As state policies transition rural economies to a specialization in tourism-based production, the more familiar localized agricultural risks are replaced with the hidden hazard of market recession caused by 'decreased tourist arrivals' that results from globalized threats such as war, terrorism, epidemics, and natural 'disasters'.

Capitalist market systems fluctuate by cycling through a series of long and short waves of growing 'boom' and declining 'bust' phases that demand constant economic restructuring (Roseberry 2002, Kondratieff 1979, 1926). Success in a market system demands perpetual innovation and calculated risk of losses. Yet chapter nine revealed that few tourism workers were aware of the risks associated with economic recession, as most young men had only experienced the booming increase of tourism arrivals in the village. Without adequate knowledge about recession, and the need to diversify resources in order to mitigate risk, tourism-based households were placed in a precariously vulnerable position for disaster. Residents in Aremd did not have access to

the same safety nets created by elites. Chapter nine explained that labor relations between most tourism workers and transnational tourism companies were characterized as non-contract labor arrangements. Workers were employed on an 'as needed' basis. This labor arrangement increased economic resilience for transnational companies by reducing obligatory expenditures during a recession, but it increased tourism-workers' vulnerability by eliminating income security during an economic downturn. As a growing number of households in Aremd came to rely on tourism-based income, the community became increasingly more vulnerable to market-based disaster.

Market-based disaster is particularly relevant to the global tourism economy because the economy is embedded in multiple economic sectors such as transportation, communication, financing, food products and imports, and therefore is particularly sensitive to recessions in other sectors (Sinclair and Stabler 1997). During the 'global crisis' of 2008, there was a significant decrease in tourism arrivals worldwide. 'International tourist arrivals fell by an estimated 4% in 2009,' reported the United Nations in a Press Release (UNWTO 2010). The release, entitled 'International Tourism on Track for a Rebound after an Exceptionally Challenging 2009' aimed to promote tourism development despite staggering economic indicators signaling market-based decline. According to the report, 'Prospects have also improved with arrivals now forecast to grow between 3% and 4% in 2010. This outlook is confirmed by the remarkable rise of the UNWTO Panel of Experts' Confidence Index.' The UNWTO's 'panel of experts' provided tourism-based propaganda aimed to overcome obvious indications that the tourism economy is highly sensitive to global market fluctuations. Despite increasing market instability, the United Nations World Tourism Organization

continued to promote the tourism industry and thereby jeopardize the long-term security of marginalized populations who have come to rely on tourism-based income.

Social Vulnerability

Tourism development not only restructures pre-existing economic and political arrangements, the new economy disassembles social ties and networks and reworks them to serve the interest of economic growth rather than social security. For residents in Aremd, transition to a tourism-based economy contributed to the creation of new forms of social alliances based on class, wealth and livelihoods, and it restructured the composition of households and families as well as the social relationships within them. It rearranged social relations between friends and relatives while changing how residents represented themselves and others.

Socio-economic restructuring in Aremd was informed, in large part, by the articulation of local and global power relationships, and in many ways, the outcome of restructuring served to reinforce existing social hierarchies and introduce new forms of inequality. Many residents in Aremd benefited from tourism-based cash and capital, yet many others did not. The competitive nature of the tourism market helped sort residents by privileging young multi-lingual males and discarding women and elderly men. Pre-existing gender and kinship ideologies helped shape the pathways of tourism-based opportunities and benefits, yet global ideological flows also ushered in ideas about modernity and alternative ways of being that led to the emergence of a new system of inequality based on wealth and alternate modes of living. Tourism development generated new divisions and social tensions within a village that at one time relied on a social network to organize community and household reciprocal labor and resource exchange.

Social networks can serve as a safety net for individuals in crisis (Unger and Powell 1980). In Aremd, collective labor arrangements and the *tuizi* system of reciprocal labor exchange reinforced social bonds between household and community members in Aremd (Miller 1984). Chapter four described how changing livelihoods reformulated the gendered division of household labor as well as the kin-based division of labor among men.

Individualized income generation enabled some sons to challenge the authority of their fathers, and income accumulation allowed many young men to leave their extended-family network and establish nuclear households. This not only changed household and family structures in Aremd, it fundamentally transformed the distribution of resources between households and within families.

Separate living accommodations provided sons with the means to escape their father's authority to appropriate and redistribute their income, and they were able to distance themselves from the social obligation to share resources with their kin (see also Parkin 1977). Chapter five identified how the differential accumulation of wealth and the emergence of nuclear families stratified households and contributed to the formation of new divisions and alliances among women. While some women continued to participate in agricultural production, a growing number opted out of the agricultural labor activities that promoted social cohesion among women by choosing to spend the majority of their time alone watching television. Similarly, chapter eight shed light on the identity politics that surrounded new livelihood divisions among men. Through tourism labor, workers forged new alliances and identities that were largely informed by globalized ideas about gender roles and alternative ways of living which challenged

older, kinship-based social arrangements. Chapter nine addressed the spatial restructuring of social ties in Aremd and the ways in which tourism workers forged long-distance networks in urban areas and fluid short-term relationships with tourism operators or with tourists over the internet. Chapter six details the temporal conflicts imposed by demands of the tourism economy and the ways that the hegemonic reformulation of time reinforced divisions between tourism workers and other residents in Aremd. The incremental time regime practiced by tourists represented symbolic capital for tourism workers because it represented ideas about modernity and globalized lifestyles. At the same time, the 24/7 demands imposed on workers by the tourism industry oftentimes conflicted with the religious, agricultural, and meal times that structured community activities and facilitated social cohesion. Lastly, chapters four and seven detailed the sexual politics of tourism labor and increased opportunities for male tourism workers to develop long-lasting and temporary social and sexual ties with tourist women. This not only changed the social milieu of marriage arrangements in Aremd, it imposed additional risks for girls facing a diminishing pool of available men and the stark realities of divorce, abandonment and sexually transmitted infections for men and women.

The emergence of these new social systems is part of a what Ulrich Beck (1990) has referred to as a 'risk society'; and risk, according to Adams (2004) and Giddens (1991) motivates people to create new niches in an attempt to find security, safety, and certainty within increasingly vulnerable situations. This was exemplified in chapter nine with two case studies of tourism workers who prioritized their social alliances with tourists and other tourism workers over their kinship and marriage. Tourism-based

alliances generated a rift between the tourism workers and members of their household and family.

New social systems in Aremd were shaped by the tourism economy, and tourism-based relationships generated rifts between members of the same household and family. Tourism-based alliances and social systems also exacerbated inequalities and generated new systems of inequality because they were exclusionary in nature and promoted fracturing rather than solidarity within the community.

Tourism-based social exclusion introduced new vulnerabilities because it created an inequitable distribution of the consequences and risks of tourism development within the community. As residents became increasingly individualized and more reliant on a global economy, they inadvertently eliminated the social safety nets that they will need to rely on when the tourism market inevitably falls into a 'bust' phase.

Uneven Development and Inequality

Social inequality within tourism development creates vulnerable populations because risk is apportioned unevenly, and this situates certain segments of the population in more vulnerable circumstances than others. Chapter seven addressed the differential distribution of the health costs and consequences of tourism development that has emerged as a result of social inequality between men and women in Aremd and between tourists and tourism workers. Residents experienced the same phenomena with vastly different results. This is because vulnerability depends on a community's social order and the relative position of disadvantage or advantage that a person or group occupies within it (Hewitt 1997: 141). The intensity of risk is affected by marginalization, which is in turn affected by a recipe of variables such as gender, sex,

age, and class because these variables can affect entitlement and empowerment (Hewitt 1997; Watts 1993; Wisner 1993).

In Aremd, women experienced the nutrition transition very differently than men as a result of gender norms that restricted women's mobility and social interaction with non-relative men. Women needed to rely on men to meet their dietary and medical needs. At the same time, gender norms that place economic responsibility for men to support their household compels tourism workers to spend a significant amount of time with tourists and experience more intensive exposure to risky tourist behaviors such as alcohol consumption and sexual activity. Inequality between workers and their clients intensifies workers vulnerability to risky tourist behaviors, and chapter seven provided an example of how income dependency prevented a young tourism worker from ending a contract with an abusive client.

The spatial context of uneven development also imposes additional risks as residents become more dependent on a globalized economic system. Chapter eight described the spatial dynamics of tourism development in which tourism workers relied on economic activity taking place in distant locales. The city of Marrakech, a two-hour drive from Aremd, was the central transportation hub connecting residents to the international tourism economy. Cyberspace enabled tourism workers to bypass urbanized nodes and networks and engage in commercial transactions across vast distances. Yet, vulnerability oftentimes not experienced in the place where the risk originates (Bankoff 2001). World-wide networks connected residents to distant risks in the same way the networks connect residents to tourists. In a global tourism economy, risk travels through time and space; therefore residents must not only face tourism

market vulnerabilities that originate in Aremd, reliance on international tourism makes residents vulnerable to threats taking place in faraway places such as the 2007 bombing of an internet café in Casablanca, the 2009 H1N1 flu scare, and the 2009 mortgage crisis in the United States; all of which contributed to a decrease in international tourist arrivals.

New Directions for the Anthropology of Tourism Development

Contemporary international development policies that position the tourism economy as a means to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for marginalized people have ignored the crises and conflicts of capitalism that have come to characterize the dawn of the 21st century. While American and European economies have come to rely on state-based life support, violent uprisings in countries such as Greece and Argentina have reminded national leaders that citizens can be fiercely opposed to the social and economic detriment that has been brought about by neoliberal policies and economic restructuring. It has now become undeniable that capitalist development has not only failed to deliver the promised benefits of liberty, equality, and improved well-being for marginalized people; global capitalist development has led to the polarization of wealth, degradation of the environment, and the erosion of civil liberties (Held and Kaya 2007; Bush 2007; Rudra 2008). Knowing this, we can no longer take for granted that tourism-based economic development can improve the material conditions of living or create a better quality of life for the poor and marginalized. The anthropology of tourism must remove itself from the ideological army that serves to promote the expansion of the new world order, and applied anthropologists must refrain from polishing tourism development rhetoric with qualifiers such as 'participatory' and 'community-based'.

Participatory and community-based development derives its use in the desperate need for people to choose between submitting to a globalized hierarchy by joining in on a pathological system that is inherently unstable or enduring the conditions of poverty created by earlier forms of development. Poverty has overlapping and parallel discourses with vulnerability, yet they are not synonymous. Poverty is the outcome of historical processes that have deprived people of access to the resources they need to live. French colonial occupation of Morocco, the privatization of land, and structural adjustment programs are all factors that induced conditions of poverty for residents in Aremd. Yet, vulnerability is derived from historical processes that deprive people of the means of coping with hazards without incurring damages or losses that leave them destitute and degraded (Chambers 1989:1). In light of this, tourism development is no longer the 'vanguard of neo-colonialism' as Dennison Nash eloquently stated in the latter part of the twentieth century; tourism development has become the vanguard of development-based disaster.

The task of twenty-first century anthropology of tourism lies with the responsibility of identifying the irrationality of proposing any form of development as a remedy to the conditions of poverty that were created by development processes to begin with. Information presented in this dissertation has shown that tourism development is an apparatus of a global economic agenda that aims to incorporate peripheral rural economies into a global capitalist system. For residents in Aremd, transition to a tourism-based economy is a ticket to a hierarchical global economy that is dominated by a minority of elites; and development offers no way out. In Aremd, the tourism economy created a language in which the new order expressed itself and that language infiltrated

reality by restructuring the spatial organization of society, altering the social fabric of the community, reorganizing household relationships, introducing new threats to the body, and reformulating ideologies and symbolic representations within the mind. Arturo Escobar has already pointed out that development processes colonize society by indelibly reshaping representations of reality to make permissible specific modes of thinking and being that disqualifies others (Escobar 1995: 5). As a consequence, people in Aremd began to measure themselves according to hegemonic benchmarks established by those who stand to profit from their development.

It is the task of the anthropologist to interrogate an ideology that stinks of the same colonial conditions from which the field emerged, and launch an assault on an academic apparatus that justifies and legitimizes social, economic and political domination. Early research in the anthropology of tourism provided a plethora of case studies to argue that tourism development provided far too many bad answers for residents living rural and remote communities. Therefore, contemporary anthropology of tourism should not ignore the mistake that lies in asking the question of what is better or worse than before, we must address the right for people to achieve autonomy, self-determination and mutual respect.

New research in grassroots resistance to globalization, development and displacement has challenged hegemonic paradigms and demonstrated considerable opposition against the new world order (Oliver-Smith 2006, 2010; TIC 2009; Schwarz, Network and Sagris 2010). Other scholars have investigated alternative economic and exchange modalities (Curl 2009; see also Kropotkin 1902), and a more recent turn in anthropology has highlighted alternative systems of self-governance and value

(Graeber 2007, 2001,2002; Klein 2001). As anthropologists shift away from development-based approaches to poverty and social exclusion, new insights will undoubtedly generate more opportunities for anthropologists to participate in a discourse that will shed light on inclusive economic systems that alleviate poverty, increase the resilience of rural economies, and contribute to the long-term security of rural people.

APPENDIX
MAP OF MOROCCO



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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

After receiving a Bachelor of Arts in cultural anthropology from the University of Florida in 1997, Sarah Cervone worked as a social worker in a private health and rehabilitation facility in South Florida and as a substitute teacher for at-risk youth before returning to the University of Florida to pursue a Master of Arts in religion. In 2001 she completed her Master's thesis, *Redefining the American Neo-Pagan Population*, which relied on ethnographic research of 107 self-ascribed Pagans and 15 pagan organizations in Florida to portray the diversity of contemporary pagan religious perspectives that were underrepresented in the scholarly literature at that time. Soon after, she worked for the University of Florida writing press releases for the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences and translating scholarly literature into common language for a public website hosted by the Center for Aquatic and Invasive Species. She entered the doctoral program in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida in 2003 to conduct research on indigenous populations in protected areas. She participated in several research projects in S.E. Alaska, and completed dissertation research in tourism development in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco.