

Representations of Moroccan Culture in Al Jazeera Documentary

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Abstract :

This paper is about representations of Moroccan culture in Al Jazeera documentary. It is a discourse analysis of five documentaries produced and broadcast by Al Jazeera documentary. The paper is based on theories of framing and orientalism.

The paper tries to discover and explain how Al Jazeera documentary framed the Moroccan culture and approached it. It also tries to discover the aspects that Al Jazeera documentary focused on and the themes tackled in the documentaries. The paper goes through concepts and theories of culture, Moroccan culture, Framing theory, Orientalism, discourse analysis and analyses the five documentaries that cover almost all aspects of Moroccan culture: Music, urban life, rural life, architecture, history, folklore, cultural heritage, society, cultural diversity, and civilizations.

Keywords: Moroccan culture, culture, Al Jazeera documentary.

ملخص:

يتناول هذا المقال تمثيلات الثقافة المغربية في أفلام الجزيرة الوثائقية. وهو تحليل خطاب لخمس وثائق من إنتاج وبث قناة الجزيرة الوثائقية. تستند الدراسة إلى نظرية التأثير (Framing) والاستشراق.

يسعى المقال إلى الكشف عن الكيفية التي قامت بها الجزيرة الوثائقية بتأثير الثقافة المغربية وتناولها. كما يحاول تحديد الجانب التي ركّزت عليها هذه الوثائق والمواضيع التي عالجتها.

وستعرض الدراسة المفاهيم والنظريات المرتبطة بالثقافة، والثقافة المغربية، ونظرية التأثير، والاستشراق، وتحليل الخطاب، قبل أن تقوم بتحليل الوثائقيات الخمسة التي تغطي تقريرًا جمیع جوانب الثقافة المغربية: الموسيقى، الحياة الحضرية، حياة البدایة، العمارة، التاریخ، الفولکلور، التراث الثقافي، المجتمع، التنوّع الثقافي، الحضارات، وغيرها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الثقافة المغربية، الثقافة، الجزيرة الوثائقية.

Introduction

Culture is one of the concepts that have been discussed the most and that preoccupies thinkers, scholars, academicians and ordinary people. Culture is omnipresent in everyday life and appears in people's lifestyle, music, architecture, and modes of thinking.

Moroccan culture is a highly diverse one that comprises Islamic, Arabic, Amazigh, Saharan, Andalusian and Hebraic components. That is why I chose to study the representations of Moroccan culture through the documentaries of Al Jazeera documentary.

In this thesis, I aim to demonstrate the way Al Jazeera documentary approached the Moroccan culture through five documentaries that tackle different and diverse topics about Morocco.

Morocco is a country located in the far west of North Africa, overlooking the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Morocco has a rich and ancient history. It has known various civilizations and cultures, from the Amazigh culture that is authentic to all the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya) to the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians and the Romans, and then to the Arab Islamic civilization with the entry of Islam to Morocco. Morocco remained under the influence of all these civilizations that has formed his rich and diverse identity.

Moroccan culture is a diversified culture that has known several influences through history since the earliest times B.C and in the modern times. Morocco has known, alongside the succession of empires and civilizations, several waves of migrations through its history. For all these factors, Morocco has developed through time a very rich, diversified culture.

The Moroccan culture includes a wide variety of musical genres, gastronomy, architecture, paintings, *art de vivre* (art of living), traditional clothing, celebrations...etc.

In this paper, we will discuss how the Mashreq (Middle East) views Morocco, considering that the Mashreq was the cradle of Islam and the Arab Islamic civilization that spread to various countries of the world, including Morocco.

The influence of Mashreq began on Morocco BC, with the arrival of Phoenicians to Morocco. However, the most important contemporary influence on Morocco by the Middle East is the entry of Islam to Morocco. This has been prepared and done since the

seventh century AD through various military expeditions to North Africa, which was then part of the Byzantine Empire. These military invasions led to the entry of all North Africa under the Umayyad Caliphate in the 8th century AD after the defeat of the Byzantine Empire by the Muslim armies (Gibbon & Bury, 2013). During the 20th century, Morocco entered under French protectorate in 1912 and took its independence in 1956. The Moroccans found themselves in a difficult situation, in one hand, the influence with the Francophone heritage, which was the legacy of colonialism, and on the other hand, the considerable rate of illiteracy within the Moroccan population in that period. Therefore, Moroccan politicians, with the approval of the royal institution resorted to the policy of Arabization in order to rebuild and strengthen bridges with the Arabic language and culture, through the Arabization of schools and institutions of Morocco. Despite the Amazigh majority in Morocco, Arabic was the official language spoken and written in documents, books and manuscripts before colonialism. It was therefore necessary to return to the Arabic language after the independence from the French protectorate, as a language that unites Moroccans and expresses a considerable part of their identity on the one hand, and as a language that guarantees continuity with their history and affirms their belonging to the Arab-Islamic civilization on the other.

In the absence of Moroccan teachers of Arabic language, many Arabic language teachers were recruited from Middle Eastern countries, especially from Iraq and Syria, and the texts of many Middle Eastern Arab writers and thinkers were included in school curricula, such as texts of Naguib Mahfouz, Mustapha Al-Akkad, Taha Hussein, Ahmed Shawki, Mahmoud Sami Al-Baroudi and others (Bousrif, 2016). Thus, the Arab Middle East exercised some kind of cultural hegemony over Morocco in the post-independence era.

Most of the Arabic books that filled the libraries belonged to Arab Middle Eastern writers and intellectuals. The new Moroccan intellectual elite in the post-independence period became Orient-centered, unlike the previous intellectual elite that was deeply influenced with the Francophonie. This does not mean that the influence of the Francophonie has disappeared completely from the scene; however, it has started to lose power and influence in favor of the Arabic culture, which was rooted in Morocco before the French protectorate period, which can be considered as a relatively short period (44 years of French protectorate in Morocco).

This new post-independence elite is more interested in the events of the Levant, reading Levantine newspapers, discussing the ideas of Middle Eastern intellectuals, watching Middle Eastern films (Especially Egyptian one, because at that time, the Egyptian cinema was dominating the artistic scene in the Arab World) and singing Middle Eastern songs (Oum Kalthoum, Abdel Halim Hafez, Farid Al Atrash ...). Moreover, some Islamic movements in Morocco appeared and they have linked religion with "Arabity" (Arabic language and Culture).

All the factors I mentioned earlier contributed to making the Middle East known for Morocco, whether culturally, artistically, intellectually or politically, but in contrast, Morocco remained a mystery to the Middle East. Add to all this that the dialects of Morocco are not generally understood in the Middle East, while the dialects of the Arabic Middle East are generally understood in Morocco. Thus, the Orient is not open to Morocco and still considers it a mysterious country and have preconceptions about it. Therefore, in this research, we will try to analyze how Al Jazeera documentary framed Morocco and the Moroccan Culture, considering that Al Jazeera Documentary is a Middle Eastern Arabic channel. In this research, we will study the depiction of Morocco through documentaries of Al Jazeera documentary. To study the depiction of any culture by another culture, we must get inspired from theories of orientalism that have abundantly analyzed this issue and theorized it.

Literature review

Orientalism as a movement to study culture

The thinker Edward Said (one of the most important theorists of Orientalism) assumes that the beginnings of modern orientalism were in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The increasing number of specialists in Oriental studies and its teachers characterized it. Across Europe (Said, 2011). By 1850, every major university in Europe had an integrated curriculum in one of the branches of the Oriental Studies. The term orientalist came to be associated with university training in Oriental studies (Said, 2011). With Napoleon's conquest of Egypt in 1798, there was a change in the concept and essence of orientalism, which shifted from an oriental Orientalism to an oriental orientalism, deriving its strength and influence from the Orientalist establishment in the East, which is connected to the East and trying to control it. Orientalism thus became a library of information about the East. France, Britain and the imperialist countries resorted to it at the time in order to facilitate the process of control over the "Eastern" countries (Said, 2011).

Orientalism, then, first appeared as curiosity to the east, stimulated by nomadic writings and drawings by artists who visited the East. Much of what was written and painted about the East was fantasy, exaggeration, and fantasy towards an unknown and explorer world of Europeans at the time.

However, this does not negate the fact that the Europeans had knowledge of the East, especially the Islamic world. Their scientific and intellectual rise was based on the translation of the works of the great medieval Islamic scholars from Arabic and Persian to Latin and on the use of various sciences developed by medieval Muslim scholars Physics, chemistry, medicine, optics, philosophy, music, social sciences etc. However, after the fifteenth century AD, the balance of power and the renaissance of the European world reversed the deterioration of Islamic civilization and the gap began to grow between the Islamic world and Europe. The Islamic world is in the fields of science, thought, politics and economy. Therefore, the Islamic world was unknown to the Europeans in the eighteenth century, who no longer needed his science. They built up their language and developed it. They were looking for ways to control the self-contained East that seemed isolated from the process of progress and development in the world.

Orientalism in the direction of hegemony

Orientalism tends to dominate when it acquires power and exercises its power in multiple ways determined by regional and regional political and economic contexts (Al-Jabri, 2009). We can also define orientalism as the idea of the West from the East, which was embodied through reality and through different historical stages, as depicted by circumstances and contexts. It was sometimes embodied through the missionary and sometimes by portraying the East and its representation in writings and drawings. (Al-Jabri, 2009) The West is about the East, in a more authoritative form of colonialism, while all these images are essentially representative, rather than reflective, imperialist culture, meaning that they are not aimed at portraying reality as objectively, but rather to portray an inner feeling about an external subject represents an excitement for him (Al-Jabri, 2009).

Orientalism has remained part of the fantasy of the West, which imagines the absence of reason and unleash the instincts, desires, and marvels. While this picture is only a metaphor for the Western man who tried to dedicate this image of the East, despite its distance from reality, several goals, both to maintain this image Imagined as it is or to easily control the East on the pretext of introducing progress and modernization.

Therefore, orientalism has become a reflection of the pre-orientalist views of orientalists from the East, and a reflection of the projections and desires that aim to bring these visions, convictions and beliefs to the ground by writing about them and their relation to the East. The East becomes a subject for arousing the imagination of the Western scholar. Therefore, these preconceptions prevent the western researcher from seeing the East as it is, and portraying it in a realistic way, away from the imagination and projections (Al-Jabri, 2009). We can refer to this because Western culture is a non-dialogue culture. It is a repressive, authoritarian culture that is based on the abolition of the other and exercised the role of authoritarian tutelage in order to portray reality in a way that conforms to its convictions, desires and investment plans aimed away from the objective reality (Al-Jabri, 2009). It is true that Western society is a multicultural society, but the relationship between these cultures is a conflict and repression that is far from the logic of dialogue. This has resulted in the supremacy of certain cultural forms over others (Al-Jabri, 2009). Thus, one culture dominates another within Western societies, and dominant culture is

often the capital-backed culture associated with major political institutions (Al-Jabri, 2009).

We can therefore say that the nature of Orientalism is closely linked to the nature of Western society. This society, according to writer Salah al-Jabri, typifies a conflict between different cultures within it, and the predominance is usually a culture supported by capital. Therefore, it is natural to deal with the East with the same logic and logic of transcendence.

Nevertheless, we should not think that Orientalism is merely the fabric of lies and myths about the East that will collapse when confronted with the truth. Orientalism is evidence of the dominance of Europe and America on the East rather than a mere discourse on the East (Said, 2003). What distinguishes the discourse of Orientalism is its strength and its proximity to Western decision-making centers and major political and economic institutions, in addition to its continuity for a long period of time (Said, 2003). Thus, we conclude that Orientalism is more than just a bunch of lies (Said, 2003). Orientalism, then, is not limited to being a Western fantasy, but an integrated structure of theories, fieldwork and knowledge of the East (Said, 2003).

Methodology of the paper

In this chapter, I will determine the research plan, research questions, samples of the study, and discourse analysis, which we will be using through the analysis. Moreover, I will define the theories and concepts that constitute the theoretical framework of this study: framing theory, concept of culture, cultural studies, and theories of culture.

Research plan

In this thesis “Representations of Moroccan Culture in Al Jazeera documentary”, I will try to analyze and study the way Al Jazeera documentary framed Moroccan Culture through the study of five documentaries that tackle different aspects of the Moroccan Culture: Celebrations, history, rural life, music, architecture, food, society, languages... Each documentary in itself comprehends several themes of the Moroccan culture. For example, in one of the documentaries “The other side of Chefchaouen”, there are several topics that are highlighted: Life of the city, architecture, history, Andalusian influence,

paintings, art, religion... The same thing applies to the other four documentaries, which comprise different and diverse topics as well.

I will resort to a discourse analysis in the study of these documentaries.

Research questions

- 1- How the Moroccan Culture was approached in Al Jazeera Documentary?
- 2- From which perspectives the Moroccan Culture was represented in Al Jazeera documentary?
- 3- How did the five documentaries frame Moroccan Culture?
- 4- What deductions can we make from the comparison between the analyses of the five documentaries?

Samples of the study

The five documentaries that I will study in this thesis are the followings:

- ❖ “Oases have stories” Lil Wahat Qissa
- ❖ “Echo of the rhythms” Sada Al-Angham
- ❖ “The other side of Chefchaouen” Al Wajh Al Akhar li Chefchaouen
- ❖ “Saffron, the red gold of Taliouine” Zaafarane, Addahab Al-Ahmar li Taliouine
- ❖ “Wedding of the village” Aours Al Badia

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis takes in consideration how language, both spoken and written depicts social and cultural perspectives and identities. (Gee, 2011)

As a generic term, ‘discourse analysis’ incorporates branches of linguistics that are more sociological, dialogical, hermeneutic and pragmatic, as an example, sociolinguistics as the science of living speech and language, conversation analysis, textual analysis, communication theory and research and metalinguistics (as the science of the sciences of discourse). (Sandywell, 2011).

We can extend the term “Discourse analysis” to integrate interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research into the logosphere of language, culture and other domains of reflexion: therefore, the study of the reflexive properties and uses of signifying practices. Which refers us to the axiomatic ‘discourse is a language, not a mirror’ (Santayana, 1955: 179) (Sandywell, 2011).

A majority of discourse analysis of all kinds is profoundly impregnated with Western perspectives on society, language, communication, and politics (Shi-xu 2014, Shi-xu, Prah, and Prado 2016).

The issue of the impregnation with Western perspectives in discourse analysis is tackled in Lakshmanan study in which she resorts to critical discourse analysis to deal with the problematic nature of literature written by North Americans about "third world" countries (Rogers, 2011). She studies in particular the novel *Sold* (2006) written by Patricia McCormick in the aim of demonstrating the links and connections between the literary discourse, the visuals used on the book's cover for marketing purposes, and the knowledge practices that the publisher suggested in the discussion guide (Rogers, 2011). The author Lakshmanan argues that critical literary analysis should not limit itself to a study of power relations, which exist in class, race, or gender differences in literary texts alone. Rather, the power relations that emerge from texts should be considered with a critical optic, as well as their global implications (Rogers, 2011). Only when this happens, Lakshmanan affirms, can readers become aware of the ideological positions that they are exposed to, and how this could affect international relations (Rogers, 2011). In focusing on the most fruitful crossings and intersections for analysis, Lakshmanan also embraces Fairclough's notion of *cruces*, the places in which visual, textual, and pedagogical implications seem to be competing or problematic (Rogers, 2011). She resorts to postcolonial theories on power relations to relate to her analyses throughout the chapter. In resolving these discursive struggles, Lakshmanan decodes and clarifies some of the predominant statements and enunciations they inscribe. Lakshmanan comes up with the conclusion that the predominant political discourse on individual/social change in developing countries depends on the positive alikeness of a chain of activities. As an example, in the novel "Sold", the author draws connections between gender, culture, disempowerment, sexual exploitation, and poverty. Therefore, she suggests both a lack of transformative and reframing power within the *soi-disant* third world on the one hand, and a sort of Western, outsider, savior agency on the other. (Rogers, 2011).

The author James Paul Gee suggests one solution to this issue of Western hegemony and domination in the majority of the discourse analysis works, which is to expose these perspectives and move further to develop, across different cultures, culturally distinct forms of discourse analysis (Gee, 2016). This approach would have to recognize that for hundreds of years now the colonizers and the colonized would have influenced,

acquired and borrowed from each other, and many a former colonized has, in the changes and turns of history, become the colonizer (Popper, 1994). There is not a single or pure West, East, North, or South. (James Paul Gee, 2016) (Discourse analysis matters: Bridging frameworks, 2016).

Therefore, we conclude that discourse analysis is a term that designates the multiple approaches used to analyze and study language both written and spoken. Discourse analysis is used in the disciplines of humanities and social sciences such as cultural studies, anthropology, sociology, international relations, communication studies etc.

Theoretical framework

Framing theory

In this thesis, I will resort to the framing theory to analyze the way Al Jazeera documentary approached the Moroccan culture and framed it.

Framing theory is one of the most popular theories in Mass Communication.

Framing is about selection and Salience. Framing aims to promote a particular “problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p: 3), by selecting certain aspects or angles of a perceived reality. (Entman, 1993).

A framing effect is a “process in which altering salient attributes of a media message, such as selection of information and thematic structure, renders thoughts applicable, resulting in their activation and use in evaluation.” (Fung & Scheufele, 2014, p: 3).

Framing is also related to the use of symbolic language or imagery that can define and cast the meaning and significance of a political event or proposal. (Allen et al., 1994).

Frames give importance and bring attention to some aspects of reality while ‘obscuring’ other aspects and elements. (Entman, 1993).

Frames define problems, by determining ‘what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits’. (Entman, 1993, p: 3)

Frames also diagnose causes by identifying the forces that are the source of the problem. (Entman, 1993).

Finally, frames suggest remedies, solutions. It gives treatments for the problems, and even forecast their effects. (Entman, 1993).

This idea is strengthened by the example of the cold war, which argues that frames have at least four positions in the communication process. (Entman, 1993).

- 1- The communicator: Communicators make ‘conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say’. (Entman, 1993, p: 3). These judgments are oriented by frames, which set the communicators’ system of beliefs. (Entman, 1993).
- 2- The text: the text carries the frames that are demonstrated by the presence or absence of ‘certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.’ (Entman, 1993).
- 3- The receiver: The receiver of the frames (audiences, public).
- 4- The culture: The social, cultural environment of the communicators and the receivers.

Frames show some fragments of information, which is the subject of communication, and consequently giving them more salience. Salience means ‘making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences.’ (Entman, 1993, p: 4).

Therefore, framing is the use of different frames, by communicators (Media), in order to influence the individuals’ ideas and shape public opinion. To attend this objective, Media resort to different techniques that involve giving salience to certain aspects of a reality and neglecting other aspects.

Concept of culture

The concept of culture is a concept characterized by polysemy, volatility, fluidity as well as “hyper-referentially” (see Kuper, 2000) (Sellam & Dellal, 2013). Therefore, it is not an easy task to tackle the issue of the cultural situation in a society such as the Moroccan society, which is characterized by its complex, multiethnic, multilingual features, and full with superimposed strata of a rich history (Sellam & Dellal, 2013). Indeed, the Moroccan culture is a highly diverse one and relatively tolerant. Moroccan identity takes pride of the fact that it has been and is still symbiotic, pluralistic, and reciprocally tolerant of its constitutional components: Islamic, Arab, Amazigh, Saharan, Andalusian and Jewish (Sellam & Dellal, 2013).

Culture is founded on the human capacity to catalogue experiences, and encode those classifications in a symbolic way, in addition to teaching those abstractions and

reflections to the others (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). In general, culture is acquired through the process of enculturation, a process through which a younger generation is persuaded and prompted to reproduce a settled style of living by the eldest generation; thereupon, culture is rooted in people's lifestyle and habits. (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). It is not an easy task to calibrate culture, as culture generally prevails at an unconscious level, or in other terms, it tends to be so ubiquitous and pervasive that it withdraws from everyday thinking (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). For this reason, that culture usually prevails in the unconscious level, that anthropologists have a tendency to be skeptical toward theorists who try to analyze and study their own culture (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). In order to study various and different cultures, anthropologists essentially resort to fieldwork along with comparative or cross-cultural methods and approaches (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Therefore, ethnographies are usually produced from in-depth study of another culture, which usually requires enduring periods of living with a group of people (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). The ethnographic fieldwork often implicates gathering data by the analyst who investigates and assumes the role of participant-observer, through interacting and discussing with people in the most natural manner and through observing their behaviors discretely and confidentially (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Moreover, ethnologies use specialized treatises and monographs to draw parallels and comparisons amidst cultures (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017).

We deduce that culture is an ambiguous concept, hard to define with exactness, and that culture is generally studied through ethnographies in which a theorist or an analyst immerses himself or herself in a certain group of people or society in order to observe their behaviors and ways of living and thinking. Culture is studied in different fields: Sociology, anthropology, literature, political science, and in cultural studies. In this thesis, we will draw attention to the cultural studies field.

Cultural Studies

Cultural studies is one of the most controversial and the most influential new theoretical interdisciplinary fields, which has edged out from the humanities and social sciences in the 1970s onwards (Turner, 2011). Cultural studies have had a considerable effect and influence on the theoretical orientation and research methodologies of a large category of related and affiliated fields and disciplines (Tuner, 2011).

Cultural studies is a postmodern discipline, it could be compared to an intellectual enterprise but not a register of individual studies, because its main topic of study is not limited only to culture but also to the study of culture (Hartley, 2015). Cultural studies can be defined as the culture that investigates the politics of disciplinarily (Lee, 2003). Cultural studies, in the context of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham, seemed to necessitate a schism with the established epistemology, through a constant conceptual and theoretical interrogation and methodological self-contemplation and reflection (Hartley, 2015). Cultural studies have derived its broad and diverse range of methodologies and theoretical observations from several disciplines such as literary theory, film theory, sociology, history, philosophy etc. (Turner, 2011).

Cultural Studies projects have vigorously studied and analyzed several core theoretical movements that have emerged from the humanities since the 1970s such as structuralism, post-structuralism, and post-modernism (Turner, 2011). However, the focus of cultural studies on specific categories of analysis like audiences abled it to infiltrate several other fields (Turner, 2011).

Theories of Culture

Several early anthropologists comprehended culture as assortment and collection of characteristics and traits and studied their expansion and diffusion from one society to another (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Analysis in the field of cultural studies emerged from several different theories of culture and allowed new theoretical structures to be found (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). The new theoretical structures were able to apprehend and approach the subtle and ambiguous term, which is the term Culture. However, critics of diffusionism highlighted the point that this theory failed to explain why certain characteristics and traits of culture spread and others do not (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Cultural evolution theory states that traits possess a particular meaning in the context of evolutionary phases, and this theory studies the relationships and links between material culture and social institutions and beliefs (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). The theorists of the cultural evolution theory make classifications of culture on the basis of their relative degree of social complexity and resort to several economic differentiations and distinctions to refer to the evolution of culture within societies (foraging, hunting, farming, and industrial societies), or they resort to political

distinctions (autonomous villages, chiefdoms, and states) (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017).

Those who criticize this theory argue that the use of evolution to explain culture is limited because it supposes a certain path of development while assuming an implicit apogee of evolution at the modern and industrial society (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Ecological approaches explain the different ways that people live around the world not in terms of their stage of evolution but alternately as distinct adaptations to the variation of environments in which they live (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). They also determine how ecological factors may engender cultural transformation, such as the advancement of technological means to control the environment (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Structural-functionalists look at society as a combination of institutions (such as government and family), viewing culture as a system of normative beliefs that strengthen and reinforce social institutions (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Some disapprove this view, which suggests that societies are by nature stable (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Structuralists analyze the relationships among cultural constructs of different societies, assuming universal mental patterns and processes from the abstract models of these connections and relationships (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). They theorize that such patterns exist independent of and often contrary, with practical behavior (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Historical-particularists look upon each culture as a unique result of its own historical processes (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Symbolic anthropology focuses on how people's mental constructs manage their lives (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Many theories of culture have been criticized for assuming, intentionally or otherwise, that all people in any one society experience their culture in the same way (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Today, many anthropologists view social order as a fragile accomplishment that various members of a society work at explaining, enforcing, exploiting, or resisting (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). They have turned away from the notion of elusive and ambiguous "laws" of culture that often characterizes cross-cultural analyses to the study of the concrete political, historical and economic forces that structure the relations among cultures (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017). Important theorists on culture have included Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas, Emile Durkheim and Clifford Geertz (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2017).

To sum-up, culture is a vague elusive term that comprises several meanings and can be understood in different contexts. Culture is studies through different fields of humanities and social sciences and specifically in cultural studies, which has inspired its methods and views from fields such as sociology, literature, history, media studies, film studies etc. There is a wide range of theories of culture and each gives its own explanation of culture, society, and the forces that govern culture and societies and the relationships between all these elements.

Analysis of documentaries

In this chapter, I will analyze the five documentaries of Al Jazeera documentary to determine how Al Jazeera documentary framed and approached Moroccan culture.

Overview on Al Jazeera documentary

Al Jazeera documentary channel belongs to Al Jazeera Media network. It was launched on 1 January 2007 and is the first of its kind in the Arab world. Al Jazeera documentary broadcasts a wide variety of documentaries that cover a large category of topics. The channel focuses on topics of history, culture, society, art, and influential personalities of the world, especially from the Arab world.

Al Jazeera documentary is one of the leading channels in the field of documentaries.

Al Jazeera documentary had launched its own website after two years from its launching, in January 2009 (Rachid, 2012)

Al Jazeera documentary owns one of the largest visual document libraries in the world (Rachid, 2012).

The launch of the channel has attracted a large category of audiences for many reasons, including the fame of Al Jazeera worldwide, its use of standard Arabic language and the diversity of broadcast programs. Al Jazeera documentary broadcasts specialized cultural programs in the standard Arabic language and is inspired from the interest in human beings, their environment and the interaction between them (Rachid, 2012).

First documentary “Oases have stories” Lil Wahat Qissa للواحات قصة

The documentary "Oases have stories", which was broadcast on March 2, 2016, is about the oases of Daraa in southern Morocco, which was home to ancient civilizations known throughout history.

The documentary begins with pictures of the Daraa oases and the presentation of the oases of Daraa as it was home to civilizations that flourished in the pre-Christmas times. The documentary moves to the professor of history, "Abdelkader Boras," who says that many stone inscriptions were found in several places of the Daraa region, and these inscriptions are living images representing the first human being in this region. These inscriptions show the first human being who resists predatory animals (Lions, elephants etc.).

The documentary shows that the Daraa Valley stretches along an estimated length of one thousand and one hundred kilometers, making it the longest river in Morocco, as it flows from the Great Atlas Mountains to the southeast and then to the desert where Tan Tan beach stops. The presence of the river in the region of Daraa is one of the most important factors that made this region a strategic place since ancient times. The name of Daraa is located on the first map elaborated by the Greek astronomer and geographer, Ptolemy.

After this glimpse of Wadi Daraa, the documentary moves to another speaker, Jamal Bami. This researcher says that Daraa is a group of oases, formed by the oases of Zagora, but starts before the oasis of Agdz and then extends to Zagora and then to Taconit and finally to M'hamid El Ghizlane.

The oases of Daraa are located on the outskirts of the Sahara Desert and were the point of contact between sub-Saharan Africa and the Atlas Mountains, according to another spokesperson in this documentary, Abdellah Kamali, a civil society activist. The same researcher adds that the geographical nature of the oases was a determinant factor that made it famous to the world.

The documentary goes back to the first speaker, history professor Abdelkader Boras, who states that Daraa played an important role in the caravan trade and resulted in the prosperity and flourishing of the region.

The civil society activist Abdellah Al-Kamali speaks again in the documentary, but this time about the inhabitants of the Daraa region and says that the indigenous people and the first of the region are the Amazighs who were nomadic, dependent on grazing and

agriculture. He also adds that the Dara'ii is the resident of Daraa, whether he is Sharif (descendant of the Prophet), Amazigh, Jew, or a Sub-Saharan or Arab descendant from the tribes of the Bani Maa'qil.

The documentary's voice off states that Daraa was an important area of migrations and transit throughout history, to which Jewish groups immigrated since the 10th century BC. History professor Abdelkader Boras says the Haggada of pessah document lists Jewish migrations from Egypt in the days of the Pharaohs to the south of Morocco, including Daraa. The background voice affirms that the area of Daraa remained a stable environment for the Moroccan Jews who lived there until the 1950s and 1960s, when they migrated to Palestine and other countries. The voice off in the documentary adds that the Daraa space embraced the arrivals of all religions and cultures. Historians, including Ibn Khaldun, state that the Arabs of the tribes of Bani Maa'qil came to the region of Draa, in conjunction with the entry of Arabs of the Bani Hilal tribe to Morocco.

The documentary brings us back to the scholar Jamal Bami, who demonstrates that the inhabitant of Daraa is distinguished by being a man of ancient culture, attached to his land, loving the nature, hardworking, and creative. History professor Abdelkader Boras adds that the area of Daraa is characterized by handcraft occupations and that there are important art centers established there, which are famous for their goods, whether silver jewelry or carpentry. History professor Abdelkader Boras adds that the silver jewelry industry belongs to this region by excellence.

The documentary goes back to the civil society activist Abdellah Kamali, who says that jewelry in the area of Daraa is not only an adornment for women but also an important financial asset for the family, as they can resell it if they are in need to do so.

The documentary then moves on to the images of a small music group composed of men performing folkloric singing and dancing characteristic to the region. History professor Abdelkader Boras says music at Daraa expresses the concerns of the region's residents, who express them and share them among the different tribes through singing, dancing and playing drums.

Researcher Jamal Bami says that the residents of Daraa have developed skills as a result of living in an arid environment with scarcity of natural resources, making of the nature characteristics in Daraa a culture of the population. The same researcher adds that farming in the community of Daraa is a vital element on which the population depends to live. Agriculture is the first element of income and life in this community.

The documentary moves to another person, a farmer in the area named Shafeii Ait Taazitz, who speaks about the nature of his work as a farmer and says he cultivates wheat, corn and fodder according to seasons, as well as some vegetables for domestic consumption when the season comes.

The researcher Jamal Bami says that agriculture in Draa is based essentially on the cultivation of dates.

The documentary then moves to a weekly market in Deraa where dates are sold, which is one of the fundamentals of the economy in the Draa region.

There are two hundred and forty varieties of dates in Morocco, says one of the producers of dates' jam, Abdel Rahim Okran and that the finest are produced in the area of Draa.

The documentary then goes to history professor Abdelkader Boras, who says that the Mansour Dahbi barrag in Ouarzazate provides Daraa with a significant amount of water, but that is not enough to cover all its agricultural needs. Nevertheless, agriculture remains an economy of subsistence based on farming.

The documentary shows that in addition to agriculture, tourism is the second source of livelihood in the area of Daraa. The documentary shows pictures of foreign tourists (mostly French and European) who visit the weekly market of a shield and follow them through some of their activities. The documentary shows that the residents of Daraa are very generous and deal generously with the tourists. History professor Abdelkader Boras once again intervenes in the documentary and says that during the period of French protectorate in Morocco, the French authorities encouraged French businessmen to invest in the field of tourism in Morocco and for this reason promoted the southern Moroccan regions especially the Daraa region. This led many international film directors to making their films in Daraa and Zagoura, South of Deraa), such as the Lawrence of Arabia film, a part of it was filmed in Ouarzazate and another part in Daraa.

The documentary moves to a woman who is an owner of a hotel in Daraa region, a Frenchwoman named Sylvie Azoul, she says that tourists are fascinated here by the people's hospitality and the Amazigh Moroccan traditions they learn and participate in.

The documentary then goes on to speak about women's education in Daraa and show us pictures of women of all ages going to literacy centers to learn the basics of writing and reading. One of the residents of Darra, Zahra Ait Oufkir, talks about her learning experience and says that before learning, she knew nothing about social life and the outside world, but now she can read the newspaper and memorize the Quran.

The documentary is concluded with a folkloric dance of a men's band from Daraa under the eyes of foreign tourists.

We see from the looks of foreign tourists that they are surprised by the art they see as unfamiliar to them, but there is a kind of arrogance in their eyes that looks at this art as primitive. The Europeans are still looking at the countries that they colonized in the past, albeit briefly, as if these people have not yet reached an equal degree of progress and development. The relatively fragile social and economic situation of Third World countries makes them highly dependent on foreigners' tourism in their economy. This may prompt the authorities not to develop these areas in order to preserve their traditional identity that attracts tourists, which we can rightly consider unfair to the inhabitants of these areas. The Europeans who visit these regions want to escape the technology and developed lifestyle of their country to relax in the "slow", "natural", "traditional" lifestyle that characterizes some parts of the Third World, such as the southern regions of Morocco. The European comes with the mentality of visiting a place that is completely different from its environment and comes with a vision that we may regard as orientalism, and this is what we observe in his actions during his travels as well as in the treatment of the population and the citizens. The European or Western visitor in general is welcomed with excessive hospitality and attention, while the national tourists do not receive the same degree of attention from inhabitants of these touristic regions. There are several explanations for this, namely that in our societies there is still an overwhelming colonized thinking that the colonial west is always advanced, rich and developed.

صدى الانغام "Echo of the rhythms" Sada Al-Angham

The documentary "Echo of the rythms", which was broadcast on Al Jazeera documentary on 27 June 2017, deals with the theme of the Andalusian heritage in Morocco in its artistic and musical part. The documentary opens with the testimony of a member of the Arab Music Society "Abdel Aziz ben Abdel Jalil", which tells about the formation of Andalusian art since the beginning of the Umayyad arrival in Andalusia and the establishment of the Umayyad state there, like the Umayyad state in Damascus. Abdel Aziz bin Abdel Jalil says that different governors ruled the affairs of Andalusia during that period. The governors of Andalusia followed the affairs of Morocco and the affairs of Tunisia, from Kairouan to the shores of the Atlantic, until Moussa Ibn Nassir came. Moroccan musician Abdel Aziz Ben Abdel Jalil adds that after the fall of the Umayyad state in the Levant, in Damascus, many Umayyads immigrated to Morocco and then to the

north, to Spain (Andalusia). After immigrating to Andalusia, they established a new rule, an extension of the Umayyad rule in the Orient. Despite the stability of the Umayyads who settled in the new land of Andalusia, they continued to long to the Orient and to the music of the Orient, which flourished in the Umayyad era, prompting them to search for the great musicians of the Orient, including Ziryab, who came to Andalusia from the Middle East. He later became one of the most important founders of Andalusian music and his music became famous to this day. Ziryab, according to the first speaker in this documentary "Abdel Aziz Ben Abdel Jalil," is the precursor of the Andalusian music. Ziryab also founded the first school of music education in Andalusia and was followed by his sons and daughters and some women coming from the East as well as women from other European countries. Therefore, the Ziryab School became a big affair, and its director and tutor who teaches the music and its rules is Ziryab.

The documentary "Sada Al Angham" takes us to the testimony of another Moroccan artist and specialist in Andalusian heritage, Omar Metioui. Omar Metioui says that Ziryab established the first music school not only in Andalusia but also in all Europe, and that Europe in that time had no musical school previous to the Ziryab school, which used academic methods of teaching and improved sound and performance. Omar Metioui adds that in the era of Ziryab, the idea of "Nuba" (An Andalusian musical genre) appeared and was developed. "Nuba", according to the definition of the same researcher, is a series of musical tracks without the instruments, and other tracks that depend only on the voice, and others that depend on the rhythm with the sound and the poetry. Andalusia will wait from the ninth century until the twelfth century for another artistic figure to appear in Andalusia, Ibn Bajah "Avempace". Ibn Bajah will develop all the music theories and features that Ziryab brought. The documentary returns to the first speaker Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Jalil, who adds that Ibn Bajah wrote a book on the science of music, moreover he is a well-known figure in science and philosophy, and he is considered among the prominent Andalusian philosophers of Islam. However, Ibn Bajah, according to the same spokesperson, came out with another testimony, namely that before the arrival of Ziryab in Andalusia, people used to sing songs of Christian tradition, but after the arrival of Ziryab, the singing became in the Arabic dialect.

After a short musical track of a Moroccan Andalusian group, the documentary brings us back to the Moroccan artist and expert of Andalusian heritage Omar Metioui,

who says that the philosopher and music scholar Ibn Bajah developed the "Nuba" by introducing new poetic methods, such as muwashah and zajal.

In 1492, the year of the fall of Granada, thousands of Andalusians immigrated to Morocco and a few of them to Latin America and Turkey. All these migrations brought with them musical art, architectural art, engineering and science, according to Omar Metioui.

The documentary in its first part is based mainly on the testimony of two people, Omar Metioui and Abdel Aziz Ben Abdel Jalil.

Morocco became a flourishing environment for the Andalusian heritage after the Andalusians emigrated to it. The works of Ibn Bajah, Ibn al-Haseb and Ibn Joudi appeared on the land of Morocco, according to the testimony of a member of the Arab Music Society Abdelaziz Ben Abdel Jalil.

The documentary takes us to another person, Younes Chami, who is also a member of the Arab Music Society. He declares that when the term "Moroccan-Andalusian music" is said, it is an evidence that there is a considerable Moroccan participation in this field. The documentary once again goes back to Abdel Aziz Ben Abdel Jalil, who says that Moroccan musicians added the bar (musical measure) of "Darj" to the four Andalusian bars (musical measures), so that the number of bars in one Nuba becomes five rather than four. In a matter of fact, the Moroccan music contributed highly in the Andalusian art renaissance, according to Younes Chami, a member of the Arab Music Society. Abdelaziz Ben Abdeljalil Jalil says that the Spanish people want to attribute the Andalusian heritage to them and say that it is Spanish, which is considered by the same researcher as a mistake and falsification. Andalusian heritage is one of the Arab and Andalusian creations developed in Morocco in its ancient geographical sense (Morocco and southern Spain).

After an Andalusian musical track, the documentary meets with a professor in the Andalusian and Moroccan literature, Abdel Malek Chami. Abdel Malek Chami declares that the effort performed by the Andalusian composers lies in the fact that they started with the melody and not with the words, as they were producing melodies and searching later for poetry that would fit in them.

Abdel Aziz ben Abdel Jalil, a member of the Arab Music Society, says that more than 50 percent of the Andalusian heritage was lost due to lack of expansion and publication. The researcher adds that the number of nubas was twenty-four, but we have only eleven nubas left nowadays. This researcher adds that the Moroccan zawiya (soufi

institution) is the one that has preserved the eleven nubas from getting lost also like the rest of the andalusian nubas.

In another part of the documentary "Sada Al Angham", Moroccan scholar Younes Chami notes that Andalusian music was once an elitist music, but thanks to the media and communication, it became widespread in Moroccan society.

The documentary returns to Abdel Malek Chami, who speaks of Andalusian music and says that the love and appreciation of Andalusian music is not related to the social status of the person or whether he is a literate or not. He adds that the religious singing known by the term "Samaa" (literary listening), in Morocco, was greatly influenced by the Andalusian music. The researcher Abdel Malek Chami adds that the Andalusian music was also useful in the treatment of psychiatric patients Fez.

The documentary returns to the singer Omar Metioui, who says that from the 18th century to the 19th century, most Andalusian Moroccan families used to have a musical instrument at home. Omar Metioui adds that Fez has played a great role in preserving Andalusian music and Andalusian heritage. The singer Omar Metioui did not deny the role of the northern cities of Tetouan, Tangier and Chefchaouen in preserving Andalusian culture and developing it in different ways than those used in Fez.

After a succession of Andalusian musical tracks, a new speaker gives a declaration in the documentary. The Spanish scholar and instrument industry expert, Carlos Paniagua, says that the more you learn more about the Andalusian music, the more you will be fond of it.

Researcher Abdel Malek Chami states again that there are two trends among the Andalusian music researchers. The first trend says that this art should be preserved, the way it is, and should refuse all the changes, such as the insertion of the piano and other instruments that are considered extraneous to it. The second trend says this musical art is a heritage of the Maghreb, therefore Moroccan artists have the right to introduce changes to it.

Researcher Younes Chami, speaks and says that he does not agree with the introduction of Western instruments such as the piano on Andalusian music and in his opinion, we must preserve the authenticity of this Tarab (musical art). Singer Omar Metioui has the same opinion and refuses to introduce modified instruments such as the guitar and wind instruments on Andalusian music.

The documentary "Sada Al Angham" ends with a discussion about Andalusian music between originality and innovation. The documentary ends with a piece from an Andalusian Moroccan group singing songs for the Prophet (pbuh).

Third documentary “The other side of Chefchaouen” Al Wajh Al Akhar li Chefchaouen الوجه الآخر لشفشاون

The documentary, which was broadcast on March 28, 2017, starts with a piece of the famous song "Chefchaouen" in Morocco, which has been sung by the singer Nouaaman Lahlou about this city and with pictures of beautiful places from Chefchaouen. After this brief visual introduction of the city, the documentary moves to the first speaker, a Moroccan historian named Ali al-Risouni. This historian resembles the city of Chefchaouen to a pearl surrounded by the peaks of mountains and which is close to the Mediterranean Sea. This historian then recounts the advantages of the city and the advantages of its people and the sweetness of its waters. According to the historian Ali al-Risouni, Chefchaouen has several informal labels such as "Little Granada", "Granada's sister", "Little Fez" and "The Zawiya of Sheikh Abdel Salam Ben Mchiche". The same historian mentions that Chefchaouen was founded by Prince Moulay Ali bin Rashid in 1471.

The documentary moves to a second speaker, a researcher and a painter named Abdel Kader al-Aqil. This artist says that some historians believe that the history of the city of Chefchaouen dates back to before the Islamic conquest of Morocco and that it is a Roman city and their argument in this is that it has a bridge very similar to the bridges that were built by the Romans.

The documentary goes back to the historian Ali al-Risouni, who says that the reason behind the establishment of the city of Chefchaouen is to make it a settlement and place of gathering for the Mujahedeen, both in the north (then Andalusia) or in the south (Morocco). The artist and researcher Abdel Kader al-Aqil added that the city at the beginning of its establishment was composed of one district, District of al-Suweika, but after the Andalusians migrated to it from Granada after its fall in the fifteenth century, they founded new districts called "Rif of Andalusia". The documentary returns to the historian Ali al-Risouni, who says that after the fall of Granada, the city became completely closed to foreigners in protest against the fall of Granada, as well as raising black flags over the minarets to remind the inhabitants of the loss of Andalusia.

The documentary broadcasts an extract of a poem about Chefchaouen in conjunction with pictures of a man walking between the streets of the city. We discover through the documentary that the man walking in the streets in the poet who wrote the poem about Chefchaouen and his name is Abdel Karim Tabal. This poet relates his relationship with the city of Chefchaouen and states that it is a relationship of existence and a relationship of life and that his memories in this city are innumerable.

After this discussion with the poet Abdel Karim Tabal, the documentary returns to the artist and researcher Abdel Kader al-Aqil, who says that the word "Moor" means Andalusian families that migrated from Andalusia to the Maghreb countries. The historian, Ali al-Risouni, adds that the city of Chefchaouen is a mixture of the Cherif Arabs (descendants of the Prophet), the Andalusians and the Amazighs, and for him, the city of Chefchaouen is an example of tolerance, moderation and love.

The artist Abdel Kader al-Aqil says that the construction in Chefchaouen is still impacted by its Andalusian character.

The documentary returns to the historian Ali al-Risouni. The latter says that the houses in general were modest in Chefchaouen and even the princes in Chefchaouen used to have modest houses. The documentary later shows pictures of one of the oldest houses in Chefchaouen with its various halls and beautiful Andalusian decor. The documentary goes then to the researcher and artist Abdel Kader al-Aqil, who says that the architecture of Chefchaouen is very similar to the architecture of the city of Granada. After that, the documentary returns to the poet Abdelkarim Tabal, who praises the beauty and the charms of the city.

The documentary returns to the historian Ali al-Risouni, who says that he is establishing a cultural institution that gathers all the historical documents and manuscripts available to him that belong to his family or a period of the Moroccan history in general.

The documentary then shows scenes from the Friday prayer sermon performed by the historian Ali al-Risouni.

The documentary returns later to the poet Abdel Karim al-Tabal, who reads some of his poems in a park in the city of Chefchaouen.

The documentary then goes back to the Kasbah of Chefchaouen, an important historical site in the city. The documentary accompanies the history professor Yassine Al-Habta in his visit to the museum of Chefchaouen, which is located inside the Kasbah. This professor talks about the origin of Chefchaouen's name and says that some narratives state

that Chefchaouen means the place of gathering of the Mujahedeen. Another story says that Chefchaouen used to mean in the ancient Amazigh "see mountain horns". History professor Yassine Al-Habta adds that the Kasbah was the administrative, political and architectural core of the city, because it was the center of residence of the city's emir, Moulay Ali bin Rashid. The professor adds that the General Franco had written in his memoirs during the departure of the Spanish military from Morocco that it seems that the nature allied with the Kasbah to create resistance. The documentary then shows pictures of the museum of Chefchaouen and displays its various parts of traditional dresses, ornaments and carpentry.

The documentary meets with an architect named Ilias Tabal, who speaks of the architecture in Chefchaouen as it can be considered as an Andalusian rural architecture. This architect says that Chefchaouen has its own architectural character.

The documentary then goes on to meet women from the town of Chefchaouen who talk about their daily lives in Chefchaouen. Then the documentary goes to a painter named Mohamed Haqoun as he talks about his love for his city Chefchaouen and shows some old photographs of Chefchaouen he has in possession.

The documentary goes on to meet a theater group that trains on a play in one of the public places in Chefchaouen. The director of the play Anas al-Aqil speaks of his band that is named "Apinome", an old Roman name of the city of Chefchaouen, and talks about his new play "Midnight Gypsies." The documentary moves then to a group of women singing in Chefchaouen and performing "hadrat" (local songs centered on the praise of the Prophet). Mohammed A'ayi, a professor and a researcher in this art, states that this musical group of women preserves an important cultural heritage that characterizes the city. The documentary ends with scenes from the music performed by this group.

The fourth documentary “Saffron, the red gold of Taliouine”: Zaafarane, Addahab Al-Ahmar li Taliouine

"Saffron, Red Gold for Taliouine" A documentary that was broadcast on 17 September 2017 on Al Jazeera Documentary, deals with the production of saffron in Morocco. Morocco is the second producer of saffron in the world, especially in a southern region of Morocco called "Taliouine"; this region produces between 2 to 3 Tons of saffron annually, part of which is marketed in the Moroccan market while the biggest part is being exported abroad.

The documentary starts with a black background with the script: "Morocco is the second producer of saffron after Iran, the region of Taliouine produces about 90 percent of this production, and annually produces 4 tons of saffron for \$ 24 million."

After this presentation, the documentary takes us to pictures from a Moroccan city. We understand from the back voice that it is the city of Casablanca. The documentary traces the path of two women, Hafida and Mariam. Hafida goes to a traditional market and Mariam goes to a modern shop, in which they are looking for one of the most expensive spices in the world, the saffron. Both women ask the vendors about the saffron, as shown in the documentary, and insist that the saffron is from Taliouine and not from another region. They take two grams of the saffron at a very high price compared to other spices (50 dirhams, equivalent to about 5 euros).

Later on, the documentary takes us to the Taliouine region where the saffron is produced. The voice off in the documentary states that the Taliouine population is about six thousand people, most of them are working in agriculture, especially in the cultivation of saffron. The documentary moves then to the president of the Inzgane Cooperative, "Khadija Akhras", who says that saffron is the main source of livelihood in the region.

The documentary moves later to the field of a small farmer and shows us how saffron is produced. The documentary also accompanies Abdullah and his son, who plow the ground to put the seeds of the saffron flower and then irrigate it in a traditional way. The farmer talks to Abdullah and says that he and the small farmers do not have functional modern irrigation channels. The documentary later shows that in the large fields, the irrigation issue has been solved by modern, effective methods. In these large fields, almond trees and saffron flowers are planted.

In the section of the documentary that follows, one of the farmers' bridges in the area, "Mohammed Ohaqi" talk about the Saffron cultivation and states that he resorts to the process of irrigation by a gasoline engine, for the irrigation to be effective, however, the process is expensive, as the irrigation engine consumes 16 liters of gasoline per day, which means 150 Moroccan Dirham per day (equivalent to approximately 15 Euros) and irrigates 1 hectare per week. This farmer states that irrigation with the use of solar energy is the best way. The documentary adds that the farmer Mohammed Ohaqi receives 50 percent of the aid from the Regional Commissariat of the Ministry of Agriculture to modernize his irrigation methods.

Mohammed Ohaqi reiterates that modern agriculture projects require substantial funding. The documentary states that the amount of Saffron may reach ten to fifteen kilos after the second year following the cultivation, equivalent to forty thousand dollars a year, which is approximatively the income of Mohammed Ohaqi's farms of each hectare.

By the end of October, the saffron bristles begin to grow. As the documentary mentions, it is the time to collect them.

The documentary moves to another farmer. This farmer awakes every day before sunrise to go to the saffron fields. The documentary accompanies the farmer, whose name is Mohammed Amheil. This farmer meets with some women who work in picking the saffron flowers, a task that requires a considerable experience and tact according to the farmer Mohammed Amheil. The time before the sunrise is the most adequate one for farmers. Because as the sun rises, the leaves of the flowers shrink. The farmer, "Mohammed Amheil," explains how to collect flowers without damaging them. He speaks in the Amazigh language of Souss as the majority of participants in documentary did. "There are no big farmers in this region but only small farmers like me," says Mohammed Amheil. "Saffron is the source of life here and an important part of the peasant's life. He also says that the production varies according to the area, soil, seed quantity and quality, in addition to the number of people who work in the field, so it is difficult to invest in the field of saffron. The documentary shows that the approximate number of bristles in a single saffron flower is five bristles, but in the larger farms, where Saffron flowers receive high care, the number of bristles in a single flower can reach twelve.

The documentary accompanies Mohammed Amheil and his assistants in their work that consists of collecting the bristles of the Saffron flowers around a round table in the house of Mohammed Amheil. Mohammed Amheil says that there are many intermediaries in the Saffron business in Morocco. The voice off in the documentary explains that the color of the saffron in the few areas that produce it varies from orange to red; however, the best is the dark red one, which happens to be produced in the Taliouine area.

The farmer "Mohammed Amheil" shows us the stage after the process of collecting the bristles, which is drying the saffron bristles. There are two ways to dry the saffron, a traditional method which consists of drying it under the sun, and a modern way with an electric dryer, indicates Mohammed Amheil. The farmer tells us that once the saffron is dried, it is taken directly to the market.

The documentary then shows a scene of two men examining the saffron, in its final stage after collecting it and getting it dried. The two men discuss then the modalities of selling it in the market.

Then the documentary shows a farmer getting out of his house, his wife accompanies him and tells him what to buy from the market, with the money he will get from the saffron he will sell. Afterward, the man goes to the weekly market of Taliouine and negotiates the price of the saffron. The documentary's voice off shows the operation of selling the saffron. The saffron that is sold in the big markets in the cities for six dollars a gram, does not exceed two dollars in the weekly market of Taliouine (a rural region).

In another part, the documentary moves to Dar al-Zaafran in Souss, an institution that supports Saffron's cultivation and buys it from local cooperatives, with the mission of valuing the products of these cooperatives.

The documentary moves to one of the cooperatives in the Taliouine region. It is called "Aknaren Cooperative". The president of the cooperative "Khadija Sakkawi" talks about the work of cooperative and says that the women in the cooperative are working hard to improve the productivity and quality of the Saffron. One of the administrators of the Cooperative talks about the Taliouine festival of Saffron that is going to take place the day after.

The documentary concludes with the scenes of folkloric dances and songs taken at the saffron festival in Taliouine, which takes place in Taliouine every October.

الوثقى الخامس "زفاف القرية" أورس البادية

The documentary that was broadcast in January 19, 2015 begins with pictures of the nature of a countryside in Morocco with a background of traditional Moroccan music. The documentary then moves on to the first speaker, who speaks about the Bouaarouss village that is part of the Taounate region. Therefore, we understand that the wedding is taking place in this northern region of Morocco. The first speaker in the documentary is a researcher named Fouaad Charaa. He states that Bouaarouss is not like the other regions of Morocco as it is keen to preserve the traditions and assets inherited from father to son, which is evident in the celebrations of weddings in this region go through the most ancient rituals of weddings. The researcher adds that the traditions and customs of the wedding represent a cultural symbolism and a cultural, social and religious heritage.

Afterward, the documentary accompanies a man walking in his agricultural field and talking to his son. The man discusses with his son and tells him that it is time for him

to get married and constitute a family. The father adds that he has talked with one of his friends and that they have agreed to meet in order to arrange a marriage between his son and his friend's daughter. Then, the man asks Allah to bless this marriage and bless his son and all Muslims.

The documentary goes on to a second speaker, a resident of the village of Bouaarouss, named Maher Idris. This speaker says that in this village, if a young man likes a girl and wants to marry her, he needs his parents' approval first. If they do not appreciate her, they will look for another girl to their son, and after consulting with their son, the parents will go with some close friends to visit the girl's parents. In case the families get along and the bride accepts the marriage offer, the man's family visit the girl's family, they bring some gifts and they officially celebrate the engagement day. After the engagement, the father of the groom goes with some people of his village to visit the father of the bride and brings other gifts. After dinner, the fuqaha will read some parts of the Qur'an and the two fathers will agree on the dowry that the groom needs to give to the bride. The families usually agree also on the amount of sowing and sheep the groom's family will give to the bride's family, and of course, they agree of on a date for the wedding.

The documentary goes on to another speaker, a woman from the region who did not mention her name. She says that the groom's family ask for the girl's hand for their son, and that in the past, the groom's parents used to bring with them three bowls of planting, three sheep, sugar, oil and flour, while the dowry was estimated at 1500 dirhams (about 150 dollars). The same woman says that currently, the sowing and the flour are not brought as gifts ... however; a very high amount of dowry is given to the bride's family in order to cover the wedding's expenses.

The documentary comes back to the second speaker, Maher Idris, a resident of the region who says that in the end of the celebration of the engagement, the Quran and the first Surat Al-Fatiha are read. He adds that after reading Surat Al-Fatiyah has a considerable symbolism, which is that this union is blessed by Allah and by the families who read Surat Al-Fatiha together. After the engagement comes the stage of preparation for the wedding, adds Maher Idris.

The documentary returns to the third woman, who is a resident in the region. She says that when the bride's family receives the sum of the dowry, the father of the bride goes to the market. If he has enough money, he goes to Fez. If he cannot afford going to Fez, he goes to the local markets. However, he buys the gold in Fez, because there are no

gold sellers in the village of Bouaarous, and the closest city to this village is Fez, which is reknown for the quality of its gold.

The documentary moves on to a man from the region named "Siddiq Mohammed", who is a merchant in Samara market, a well-known market in the Bouaarous area, which is held every Saturday. This man says that all the inhabitants of Bouaarous buy their supplies from this market, and the accessories of the bride are bought from here.

The documentary goes back to the woman in the documentary and who is a resident of the village of Bouaarous, who was talking about the supplies the father buys for his daughter with the amount of the dowry. She adds that if the father saves some money from this amount after buying the clothes and accessories his daughter needs as a bride, he buys some house furniture for his daughter's future house. The woman adds that the father is the one who pays for his daughter's wedding.

The merchant Mohammed Siddiq states that it is a tradition in the region that the father buys the wedding supplies for his daughter. The same speaker adds that the father is the one who buys everything and this is usually a tradition inherited from father to son.

The documentary moves on to another speaker, a merchant of dry fruits in the same market, named Ahmed al-Darwish. This merchant says that people buy dry fruits such as dates and pistachios to serve to guests at weddings and events. According to this man, serving dates reflects the joy of welcoming guests.

Another trader, Nader al-Darwish, adds that if dates are not offered to guests during the wedding, it is as if nothing has been offered.

The documentary returns to the woman who is from the village of Bouaarouss. She says that after the stage of giving gifts to the bride's family, comes the stage of Henne, in which the bride's family invite women to a private ceremony to assist to their daughter's henne (act of tattooing hands with henne). Before the henne, the bride goes to the moorish Hammam with other women who sing celebration songs and carry with them roses, cloves and lotions.

Then the documentary shows a bride coming out of the moorish bath followed by women with flowers and carrying with them containers filled with roses.

The woman who speaks about the henna ritual of the bride, says that the bride's hair is tied with wool threads during the henne ceremony. Women also put bracelets of wool in her hands and ankles, and the henna process begins. The same woman adds that henne is an occasion for women to meet, celebrate and sing local song, which bless the

wedding, and praise the groom and the bride. The same woman adds that the celebration is announced by placing white and red flags on all houses.

A resident of Bouaarous village named Zahi Mohammed says that a tent is being set up where parents and relatives gather to celebrate the wedding. The same person adds that celebrating in a tent is an ancient tradition in the region. All guests are welcomed in the tent until the celebration ends.

The documentary returns to the first speaker, the researcher Fouad Charaa. This researcher says that the bride's henna ceremony occurs a day before the henna of the groom. The henna has a considerable and important symbolism in the region.

Maher Idris, a resident of the village, adds that before the henna ritual, the groom also goes to the Moorish bath in a ceremonial way, then wears a white Djellaba (traditional clothing for men) puts on a yellow scarf and puts a red poniard on his shoulder. The henna rituals are performed, and the men recite some of the Adhkar (spoken prayers) until the groom gets into the tent. The henna rituals consist of putting some henna on the groom's hands by a woman of his family. The documentary shows these moments in which men recite prayers as they accompany the groom. After the henna ritual, comes the ritual of choosing who will be the groom's best man, a man who will accompany him for seven days of the ceremony. After finishing the henna and choosing the groom's best man, who is often one of his closest friends, the groom is taken out of the tent, the ceremony begins at the groom's house, and the bride's family celebrates the wedding as well. A woman from the region says that the couscous is prepared on the first day of the wedding. This woman adds that the wedding's rituals are inherited from father to son as they are ancient traditions, and the region still preserves them.

Another resident of the region, Rahma Mouktadir, says that women gather to purify wheat and barley, grind the plant, count the dough, and then bake the bread in a traditional clay oven.

The second woman, who lives in the area, says that during the ceremony, the groom's relatives are received by the bride's family who serve them a meal, as well as tea and sweets. Then comes the moment of the bride's departure from her parents' house, and she is helped by her relatives to ride a horse, and she is accompanied on the horse by her younger brother or by a small child. The same woman adds that during the bride's departure from her home, she is accompanied by the "naggafa", the woman who is

responsible for her make-up, arranging her clothes and jewels. While the parents do not accompany the bride to her new house, her brothers and relatives do.

Researcher Fouad Charaa says that the celebration takes place in the presence of the folkloric band "Hita", which plays drums and sings songs characteristic of the region. He adds that the presence of this band is very important in all weddings.

Ahmed Krimo, from the "Hita" group, says that if a man intends to celebrate his engagement to a girl, and when the wedding is celebrated, the "Hitta" musical group must be present at all stages of the celebration from the henna ritual to the end of celebrations.

Chapter four: Discussion and conclusion

Through the analysis of documentaries, we deduce that Al Jazeera documentary aimed to discover all aspects of Moroccan culture, which is not very known in the Middle East. Therefore, its aim was to introduce the Moroccan culture to the Middle-Eastern audience, in addition to raising the number of Moroccan audiences. Al Jazeera documentary tackled the Moroccan culture from its various aspects: music, urban life, history, habits and traditions, architecture, rural life, cuisine, social relations and dynamics. There are several points of resemblance between the five documentaries that I analyzed in this thesis.

Al Jazeera documentary, through these five documentaries, introduced views and opinions of a wide category of people, to diversify the views in the documentary, even opposite ones sometimes. The quasi-totality of interveners in the documentaries were Moroccan citizens who are specialized or have an in-depth knowledge in the domain they are discussing. We deduce that Al Jazeera documentary preferred Moroccan citizens so that the documentaries seem immersed in the Moroccan environment and that the viewpoints seem more authentic coming from a person who belongs to the Moroccan culture. The five documentaries tried to be exhaustive as they approached their main topics from several, wide perspectives. The five documentaries were broadcast between the year of 2015 and the year of 2017. One documentary of five 1/5 was broadcast in the year 2015, One documentary of five 1/5 was broadcast in the year 2016 and three documentaries of five 3/5 was broadcast in the year 2017. The majority of interveners in the documentaries are men; we notice that few women only intervened as speakers in the five documentaries.

The documentaries focused on the rural life more than the urban life. In a matter of fact, 3/5 documentaries (Aours Al Badia, Lil Wahat Qissa, and Zaafaran Addahab Al-Ahmar li Taliouine) dealt with topics related to the rural life while 2/5 documentaries (Sada Al-Angham and Al Wajh Al Akher li Chefchaouen) dealt with topics related to the urban life.

None of the five documentaries approached the topic of politics neither in an explicit way nor in an implicit way. This is probably due to the channel's position regarding not tackling political issues but focusing on cultural, historical, and social ones, which is what the director of Al Jazeera documentary, Ahmed Mahfouz, has confirmed in the interview above.

We also notice that there were very few interveners in the documentaries from the youth category.

Al Jazeera documentary tried, in these documentaries, to explore topics that are unknown to the Arab audience outside of the Maghreb, such as the Amazigh culture in Morocco, the celebration of weddings in rural zones in Morocco and the Andalusian art and community in Morocco, in addition to the history of the northern city of Chefchaouen. Moreover, Al Jazeera documentary explored the lifestyle in the southern parts of Morocco where the climate is arid and the desert predominates.

We also have found no clear evidence that Al Jazeera documentary is approaching the Moroccan culture with the logic of Orientalism. However, its depiction of the topics was not very in depth. We suggest that Al Jazeera documentary, when producing a documentary about the Moroccan culture, gets immersed deeply in the Moroccan culture and for a considerable period of time, and getting in touch with Moroccan families, living with them for a while, conduction in-depth interviews with diverse categories of the society, including the youth.

We have also noticed that in three of these five documentaries (Oases have stories, Saffron, the red gold of Taliouine and Wedding of the village) Al Jazeera documentary focused on the economically vulnerable category of Moroccans but ignored the middle and upper classes of the Moroccan society. This is mostly apparent in these three documentaries because they tackled topics related to the rural zones in Morocco, but did not integrate someone from the middle or upper class in the rural zone. As an example, the

owners of farming lands, rural projects, politicians etc.), as the rural zones in Morocco are known to have a small category of upper-middle class families that live in contrast with the majority of the population.

Al Jazeera documentary could have highlighted this contrast, its reasons, and its presumed link to some sort of exploitation of the economically vulnerable categories in their jobs, how this contrast affects the harmony of the rural society, in addition to the unfair nature of this disparity.

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