Two Days in *Ait Hadiddou*: The Active Role of Traditions and Hosts in Tourism

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ABSTRACT

Based on ethnographic observation of a festival organized in two villages in Moroccan High Atlas, this study analyzes the role of traditions and hosts in touristic areas. In this article, I gave a description of the festival in order to illustrate that traditions are not passive elements mobilized only to attract tourists. My ethnographic data shows that, firstly traditions can be mobilized against touristic event, in doing so, it statute changes from passive role, to active role by forcing a touristic event to change it activities. In the other hand, in my fieldwork, hosts are not just performers that try to attract tourists by performing and being confined by their traditions. In fact, they are active agents that innovate events and decide what to show to tourists. These tow results changes the perspective by which anthropologists approached the hosts/ guests interactions, and try to change the bias analysis that consider traditions as dependent always to tourism.

Keywords: Hosts; Traditions; Tourism; *Ait Hadiddou*; Moroccan High Atlas

1. Introduction

In Morocco, tourism becomes a fundamental economic activity for a large number of inhabitant. According to HCP the GIP of the touristic sector in Morocco passed from 22 485 million Dirham at 2016, to 28 808 million Dirham in 2018 (Haut-Commissariat Au Plan, 2019). Tourism industry got more attention in the development program by government (Minardi et al. 2020). In Morocco since 70' it become one of the pillar of Moroccan economy. This progressive momentum of tourism in Morocco began to increase by promoting tourism industry to extend in Moroccan High Atlas in 80' (Boumaza, 1996), which permit to tribesmen of High Atlas to experience other forms of social interactions, in other words, to interact with tourists. Therefore, the study of these interactions in the villages of Moroccan High Atlas is important, firstly because tourism industry achieve a significant progress in these villages. Secondly, the study of these interactions allows us to reveal other aspect that does not appear in earlier anthropological studies.

In this article I studied the role of both traditions and hosts in touristic areas. Based on ethnographic observation of a touristic event organized in two villages situated in Moroccan High

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Atlas, namely *Imilchil* and *Agoudal*[1], this article reveals facts that can change anthropologists' perspectives toward the reality of tourism. My ethnographic data shows that traditions are not always submitted to tourism "manipulation", but it can be turned against tourism activities. Therefore, in my fieldwork, traditions were mobilized by some villagers to stop the organization of a part of a touristic event, consequently traditions change it statute from passive to active part as we will see later.

In addition to clarifying that traditions have an active role in touristic areas (Firdaus, 2018), my study tries to go beyond the simplistic vision that reduces the role of hosts in "performers". In fact, the ethnographic data of this article, shows that this vision illustrate one side of the reality of hosts/ guests[2] interactions. By focusing on studying how hosts "perform" a "staged authenticity[3]", anthropologists firstly neglected other forms of these interactions. Secondly, they represent hosts as people confined in their traditions. In contrast of this approach, my study demonstrate not only that hosts innovate other ways of interacting with tourists, but also they take power in the interactions by determining what to show to tourists.

2. Literature Review

The study of tourism by anthropologists opened a rich field of human experiences, and revealed social and cultural realities within these experiences. Unlike other anthropological subjects, tourism hasn't received attention until 70' and 80'. Anthropological studies of tourism are divided into three fundamental sub-subjects. In the first one, anthropologists focus on determining the social characteristics of the tourist. The second one, deals with the study of tourist generating societies. The final sub-subject is the study of what the anthropologists' calls host societies (Nash, 1981). This third one received more attention than the others.

Trying to understand how tourism transform host societies, a long debate emerged among anthropologists about the effects of tourism industry since it is "contributing to the transformation of favorite anthropological territory, the preindustrial world" (Nash, 1981). Therefore, their reaction toward these transformations variate. While some of them approached tourism as an opportunity to develop preindustrial countries, the dependency theorists rejected it (Cohen, 1979). Reasons behind this rejection are different but the most important for me is the "manipulation" of traditions[4] by tourism industry. Thus, anthropologists argued that tourism change the "real" meaning of some traditions, rituals, or dances and turn them to "performances" (Dean, 1973; Greenwood, 1976; Michel, 2006).

For those anthropologists, tourism "destroy" the host societies' cultures by turning them into commodities. According to this approach, traditions in touristic areas become commodities soled to tourists by performing them in exchange of money. Thus, hosts are performers who satisfies tourists quest for authenticity. Beside it rich ethnographic descriptions, this approach underestimate the role of hosts in touristic areas by reducing their role in just "performers". Such approach represent hosts as passive agents in host/guest interactions, because hosts always try to satisfy tourists' demands. As a result of this analysis, firstly anthropologists focused only in studying who traditions are "manipulated" and "submitted" to tourism. Secondly, the study of

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[1] Names of places and traditions are in Tamazight (Berber language), so for the transcription, I adopted a simple way to make the pronunciation easy for non-Moroccan reader. All letters are pronounced as in French except: kh is pronounced like ch in German word nacht. H in *Ait Hadiddou* is pronounced like ح in Arabic. In *Ait I'zza* and *mu'arada* the ' is pronounced like ع in Arabic. Ch in *Imilchil* and *chara* is pronounced like ش in Arabic. Q in *qalb* is pronounced like ق in Arabic. Gh in *Bu-Wghanim* is pronounced like غ in Arabic.

[2] Hosts/ guests are ambiguous terms because Půtová pointed out that " [t]he original host-guest polarities have lost their accuracy as they have become confused, when hosts can be migrating workers, or guests can settle in the destination and become hosts" (Putová, 2018, p. 75). Therefore, these terms are used to distinguish tourists from the organizers.

[3] Concept used by MacCannell to illustrate that what tourists see in host societies is not the real authenticity, but a staged one performed to them (Dean, 1973).

[4] In this article I will use the term traditions to describe the aspects which hosts mobilize in tourism industry.

hosts/ guests interactions was limited in showing who the second ones are in position of power by determining what to see.

Thus, in this study I will try to answer the following question: can hosts play other roles more than presenting their traditions to tourists? This question illustrated other situations in the hosts/ guests interactions. Therefore, this study tries to discover these situations, because Stronza criticized the prior studies by noticing that "[m]issing in these analysis is the possibility that locals can, and often do, play a role in determining what happens in their encounters with tourists" (Stronza, 2001, p. 272). Thus, inspired by this critique, in my study I tried to go beyond the simplistic vision that reduces the role of hosts in "performers", and I tried to show that both traditions and hosts have other roles in touristic areas.

3. Method

The ethnographic data that I will present in this article, are collected by a direct observation (conducted by the author during the two days of the festival) of a touristic event organized in *Imilchil* and *Agoudal*. Two villages situated in Moroccan High Atlas[5] (Figure 1). The observation of the event focused on firstly how hosts interacts with guests. Furthermore, in the ethnographic description, I gave more attention to the organizers of the event because they chose the activities of the festival, therefore, they had power over other hosts especially the hotels owners and the comping owner which received the participants of the festival. In fact, this focalization on the organizers do not mean that the role of other hosts is underestimated, but the fact that, the observation of organizers of the festival can change our perspective toward the role of hosts in touristic areas. Thus, in this study the term hosts refers to the organizers.

Figure 1. Map Indicating the Geographical Position of *Imilchil* and *Agoudal*
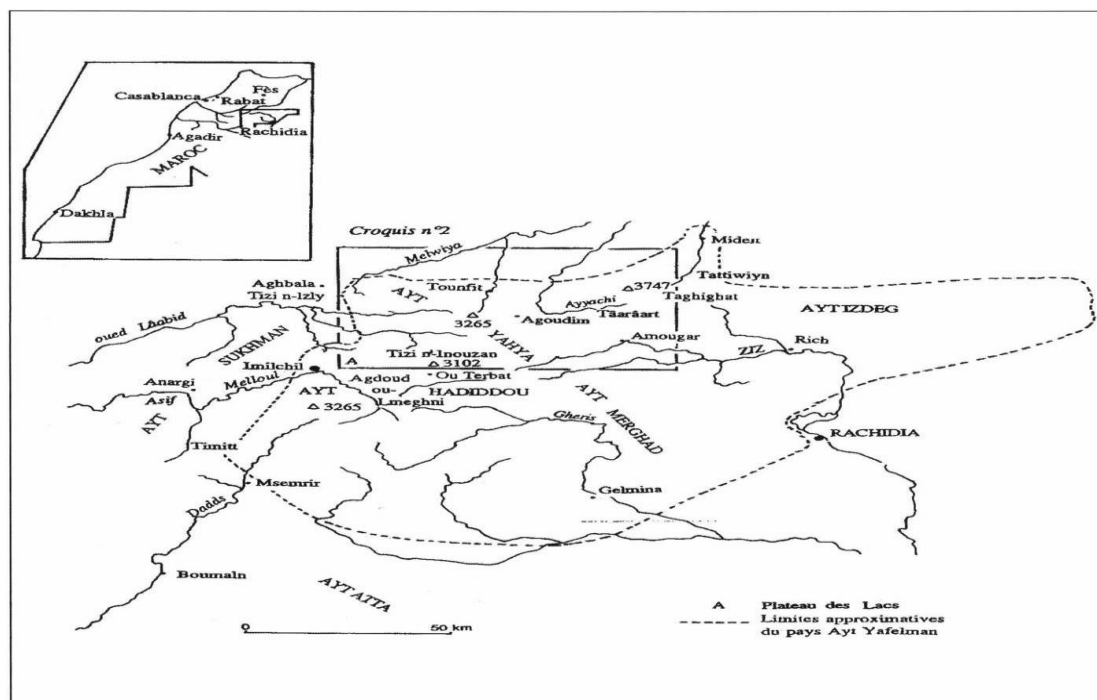
Source: Peyron & Camps (1999)

The observation was directed to see how hosts present themselves by the activities of the festival. Therefore, I was interested only in the ways by which hosts present their traditions to the

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[5] The two villages belongs to a Berber tribe called *Ait Hadiddou*, but each one belong to a different fraction, while *Imilchil* is the administrative center of *Ait I'zza* fraction, *Agoudal* is the most famous village of *Ait Brahim* fraction, geographically the two villages are close to each other, there is 30 km between them. The tribe Ait Hadiddou is situated within the territory of the region *Draa Tafilalet*, specifically the province Midelt.

participants. But, before the organization of the festival, an event changes my approach toward the phenomena. Some villagers objected the organization of an activity of the festival. This fact, made me change my method. So, instead of focusing only on hosts which mobilize traditions to attract tourists, I started to investigate about who local individuals mobilize other traditions to stop the organization of an activity of the festival. This enlargement of my method changed my perspective of the role of traditions in touristic areas.

4. The festival of *"Marocains du Monde"*

4.1. General Context of The Festival

The festival "*Maroccains du monde*" was organized by *Akhiam* association, located in *Agoudal*, and a French association called Sens. During three days from 16 to 19 august 2019. In fact, the associations managed to organize two events in one time, firstly tours in the touristic places of the two villages during day. This part is the "*maroccains du monde*" festival. In addition to this event, they planned to organize the festival "*musiques des cimes*"[6] for the participants in the evening at the lake *Tislit* (fiancée). This was the plan of the whole event, but things didn't go the way that the organizers wished.

In fact, the celebration of the festival was controversial because some individuals from *Imilchil* were objecting the organization of the festival "*musiques des cimes*" at the lake, because of that, the *jema't*[7] (assembly) of *Imilchil* made a *mu'arada* (objection), sort of a list of names of people that objected the celebration of this festival. While the opposition is unified against the celebration of the festival, the reasons behind this objection are different; the first category see that the festival should be organized in its traditional place, at the central place of *Imilchil* while others see that *Akhiam* doesn't have the right to organize this event since it is an association ruled by people belonging to the other fraction *Ait Brahim*, their historical enemies.

This objection wasn't a surprise for the president of *Akhiam* because the projects initiated by the association in *Imilchil* weren't always welcomed by the villagers. In a conversation with him. He told me that "the people of *Imilchil* are like dogs that bark against each other, but when a stranger comes near them, they start barking on him". By this metaphor, my interlocutor try to explain to me that the villagers forget the conflict between them, and come together to object the celebration of the event planned by his association, and he was wondering why people oppose to an event that will provide an economic development for the village. As a matter of fact, my interlocutor was surprised by the fact that one of the people that opposed the celebration of the event is a touristic guide, chef of the provincial council of tourism of the province *Midelt* and owner of a Hotel in *Imilchil*. Thus an individual that should encourage touristic events, was one of the objectors.

After a long debate between the jema't of the village, the president of Akhiam and other individuals from *Imilchil*, the program of the event was changed. The association submits to the objection of the villagers, and canceled the celebration of festival "*Musiques des cimes*", and just celebrate the other event. Therefore, in the evening of August 16th, two buses got to *Imilchil* carrying the tourists called by the organizers "participants" of the festival "*Maroccains du monde*", those were about 40 Moroccan person from different ages. Most of them are retired functionaries, and a group of students with their two professors. In addition to those, two sub-Saharan immigrants participated in the event.

The participants were divided into 4 groups. Each one stays in a hotel. Thus, the organizers of the event chose 4 hotels among 13 one existing in *Imilchil*, to receive the guests. The president of *Akhiam* explained to me that *Imilchil* does not have an institution to receive a big number of

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[6] Since 2003, this festival is organized every year at the central place of *Imilchil*.
[7] In Morocco, the *jema't* is a traditional social institution which villagers organize their socioeconomic affairs. The assembly of *Imilchil* is constituted by five men *ijma'en* (delegates) each one represent his clan. The chef of the assembly is called *Amghar* (elder), for more information about the Moroccan assembly see Gellner 1969.

visitors, so they had to choose appropriate ones to the task. In this situation the issue is: under what conditions the organizers chose this 4 hotels? For the president of the association, the 4 institution chosen have the adequate level to serve the guests, but for other owners of hotels, the organizers choice is not only based on quality of service, but the most important criterion is the price. According to an owner of a hotel in *Imilchil*, the 4 institution are chosen because their owners accept low price to serve the event guests.

4.2. First Day: *Imilchil* and The Two Lakes

In the morning of August 17th, after having their breakfast, the participants guided by members of the association, were together in one hotel to start the festival. At the hotel, the ex-president of the association made a brief speech to welcome the participants, and to explain to them the change of program. In doing so, he told them that the assembly of the village is responsible for this change. Later on, he presented Mr. BO as the animator of the festival activities, he also gave a speech welcoming the participants, and gave them the program of the day. In his speech, BO asked the participants to forgive them if the service of the hotels was not good enough as expected, and told them that the *Ait Hadiddou* do not have enough equipments to receive guests, but they have a "warm hospitality".

After the opening speeches, the first day of the festival started. The program of the first day contains: visiting the lake *Tislit*; playing some of the traditional games of the tribe, especially *chara* and *qalb soukar* (loaf of sugar); and watching the musical group of *Bu-Wghanim* (the player of flute), but before that, the animator explained some traditions related to the games and to the personage of *Bu-Wghanim*. During his explanation, participants were asking him for more details, or laughing especially when he explained to them that traditionally *Bu-Wghanim* was a seducer of women, so the villagers always choose a black man to play to be *Bu-Wghanim*. To explain his tribe traditions, BO translated them from Tamazight (Berber langue used by tribesmen in Moroccan high atlas) to *Darija* (Moroccan Arabic) because the participants don't understand Tamazight.

Once rules of games were explained by the animator, guests started playing. Simultaneously, *Bu-Wghanim* and his two assistants were wearing their traditional clothes in a tent hidden from views. After a little time of playing, the group of *Bu-Wghanim* interrupted the games and started playing music. The participants immediately dropped out games and formed a circle around the 3 men. Seduced by the beauty of music, the participants were dancing and laughing. Meanwhile, the camping owner's wife and sister were preparing lunch, while he and his brother were setting tables. Entertained by *Bu-Wghanim* the participants gave him some tip during the performance of his dance. The organizers interrupted the dance to have lunch, but the guests were insisting to keep dancing. A few minutes later, they stopped dancing and joined the organizers to eat lunch.

After lunch, the participants took the buses and left the lake *Tislit* heading to the big lake *Isli* (fiancé). In the journey, MH a member of the organization committee, explained the myth related to the lakes *Tislit* and *Isli*, and some traditions of *Ait Hadiddou* using the pronoun "we" or "in our tribe". The guests were asking him questions about traditions of marriage, and the role of woman in *Ait Hadiddou* tribe. By *Isli* the organizers placed chairs in a shape of a stage faced to see the lake and the performance that will be presented. Waiting for the musical group *Ahidous*[8] to wear their clothes, BO explained to the participants that this dance is performed as a ritual of marriage. He provided them with details about the role of every actor in the dance, when he arrive to the part where the fiancée comes on a mule holding a boy and a sheep female

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[8] In Morocco *Ahidous* is a Berber dance, every Berber tribe has a group performing this dance. This group invited to the festival is the official group of *Ait Hadiddou* tribe, it is composed of 5 women and 6 men including the chef of the group. It members belongs to the two fraction of the tribe. The tribesmen can easily know the affiliation of women of *Ahidous*, because each fraction has it color, black and red for Ait Brahim, white and black for the other fraction.

participant interrupted hem asking: why a boy not a girl? The animator smiled and replied: why not a girl?

After getting dressed in a track far from the participants, *Ahidous* group came in front of the participants and started dancing. A few moments later, some of the participants stood up and started dancing with the group, and filming them, one of the participants yelled on them, asking them to set and let the others see the group alone performing the dance. One of the participants commented on this by saying "we, Moroccans, always get into the monument before taking pictures of it". After performing some dances, it is time to present rituals of marriage. Thus the group chose a man and a women to play the role of the fiancé and his fiancée, but the men of the group were confused about the order of activities of the rituals. To solve this dilemma, they asked women of the group about what they should do, then they decided to play the scene as women told them.

At the end of the dance, the participants and the organizers joined the group and formed a large line dancing and singing together. When *Ahidous* ended, the participants took the buses and returned to Imilchil. Arrived at the village, the organizers gave the participants an hour to rest before starting the conference of the evening. It was animated by 4 participants of the event, two Moroccan professors and the two sub-Saharan immigrants and organized in one of the 4 hotels. The subject of this conference was: the role of immigrants in the development of their countries, the spectators of the conference were the other participants, and the organizers. During the conference, the ex-president of *Akhiam* told the spectators about his own experience as an immigrant in France, and how by the association he contributed to develop his village, he also showed them some of the association achievement when he was the president.

4.3. Second Day: Visiting *Agoudal* and *Akhiam*

In the second day, the program was different from yesterday. The participants visited two other villagers: *Bouazmou* and *Agoudal*. After taking breakfast, they went firstly to visit a cooperative and a bakery encouraged by the association *Akhiam* in *Bouazmou*. When we arrived, the owners of those institutions welcomed us with tea. The participants were accompanied by one of the owners to explain to them the products of the cooperative while some of the villagers gathered up around the participants to see what was going on. Some female participants interacted with the villagers, especially children by talking to them or giving them cookies. In the same time, some participants went with BO and other organizers to start to a project initiated by the association in a nearby village.

In road to *Agoudal*, the animator was responding to the participants' questions, and laughing with them. When we arrived to *Timaryiin* a village between *Bouazmou* and *Agoudal* a young participant asked BO about the number of population in *Timaryiin*. The animator responded: "I don't know, but I will search". In the bus, a female participant saw a man in the river washing his clothes, and she yelled "look at that man! Bravo, salutation to him». Subsequently, BO told the participants that *Ait Hadiddou* has traditions relevant to marriage that permit to young boys and girls can meet in the fields of village, and freely flirting and discussing about marriage, without the surveillance of parents. At this point, a participant commented on that by saying in French "Oh! *la civilisation*". The animator told the participants that he was crying in the fields for his lover, and said "these fields witnessed the best love stories like Romeo and Juliette".

Arrived at *Agoudal*, the participants were divided into 4 groups, each group took a mini-bus to visit the cave *Akhiam* because the road to it is inaccessible to big ones. In the cave, BO started to explain rituals related to the cascade of the cave. According to him, women who are not able to marry or to get children come on Sunday and take a shower under the cascade, then they lit 7 candles in a hole in the cave, and finely they took off their under-clothes. When he finished explaining the ritual he said: "we don't encourage *l-khurafat* (superstition), but we believe that

nature has power. We should explain to you the traditions of the region". Near the cascade, two men prepared *bahmou* (bread prepared especially by pastors), tea and butter for the participants.

After a short break, the participants climbed a mountain to go to the cave. In this time, the members of the association explained to the participants that they built and fixed the road to the cave, so that tourists can go up the mountain easily. In front of the cave, the organizers presented to the participants a man who will guide them into the cave, and give them some information about it. This man was considered by the organizers as "the expert of *Akhiam* in *Agoudal*". The participants spent about 30 minutes discovering the cave, then they returned to *Agoudal* to eat lunch in a hotel. The journey in the village didn't ended. After lunch the participants were invited to visit the siege of *Akhiam* association. While some participants chose to stay in the hotel, others went to visit the siege where they discovered some of the association achievement, and watched *Bu-Wghanim* again.

That was the final activity at *Agoudal*. The participants took the buses back to *Imilchil*. Later in the evening, after taking dinner, the participants were invited to gather up in one of the 4 hotels to celebrate a musical animation. In the hotel, participants, organizers and the family of the hotel owner danced and sang together. Actually, some of the hotel neighbors joined the party. Thus the two days in *Ait Hadiddou* came to an end. In the flowing morning, all the participants met in the hotel where the buses parked, to go back. The animator BO and the organizers came to the hotel to see off the participants. In contrast of the two other days when BO dressed traditional clothes, in this final meeting, he came dressing blue jeans and a t-shirt.

5. Discussion

5.1. Traditions Turned Against It Spectators

After the description of the event, I want to discuss firstly one of the most controversial subject in the anthropology of tourism, which is the relationship between tourism or to be more specific tourists, and traditions provided by "host societies". Studying this phenomenon, some anthropologists have a negative reaction[9] about how tourism "manipulate" and "use" traditions, and turn them to a "meaningless folklore" (Greenwood, 1977). Thus, according to them, tourism return traditions into performances, or as MacCanell called "staged ethnicity" presented to tourists. Greenwood comment on this process by saying that "local culture" is "altered and often destroyed by the treatment of it as a tourist attraction. It made it meaningless to the people who once believed in it by means of a process that can be understood anthropologically" (Greenwood, 1977).

This analysis is the result of studying how a ritual celebrated in Fuenterrabia a Spanish village, became a tourist attraction, and the implications of such change. *Alarde* is a ritual performed by the villagers to themselves as the author confirmed, "[i]t is an affirmation of their existence and identity" (Greenwood, 1977). In the case of *Alarde*, what is important for the author, is for whom the ritual is performed? Because before the "commoditization" of *Alarde*, it was performed for the villagers themselves, it is a discourse produced by the group about and for himself. But after the penetration of tourism in the village, and in "service of simple pecuniary motives, it [the municipal government of Fuenterrabia] defined the *Alarde* as a public show to be performed for outsiders who, because of their economic importance in the town, had the right to see it" (Greenwood, 1977). In this study, the author showed to us how a ritual became by a political decision a touristic show.

Other anthropologists have focused in describing how individuals invest their traditions to attract tourists. In his description of the impact of tourism in *Meo Doi Pui* a Thai village, Cohen noticed that "[s]ome inhabitants have learned to play the role of "professional natives", and extract a benefit from the tourist" (Cohen, 1979). According to him, some villagers dress

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[9] This negative reaction toward tourism don't only exist among anthropologists studying tourism, but it exists also in some studies of other anthropologists dealing with other subject. See for example Hart (1977).

traditional clothes to present to tourists the traditional life. Thus, tradition is mobilized by villagers to take benefits from tourists. Furthermore, they just plays a role, or to say it using MacCannell concept, they perform a "staged ethnicity" (Dean, 1973). At this point, individuals that mobilize tradition, present a "false" image about themselves to tourists.

In these studies, anthropologists focus a lot on determining how tourism invests or reshapes traditions in "host societies", and how some individuals mobilize traditions to benefit from tourists. Thus, tradition is always influenced by tourism, either by commoditizing it, or in other cases reinforcing it[10]. But we can find cases where tradition not only manipulated by tourism, but it can block touristic activities. Consequently, tradition changes it statute by becoming active not just passive. In the festival that I described above, traditions of the tribe, did not only offer to the participants performances, but it made the organizers change the festival program. An element of the traditional life of *Ait Hadiddou*, which is the *jema't* of the village reshapes a touristic activity. Therefore, tourism which used to reshape and control, is the one that is being reshaped.

Thus, instead of investing tradition to benefit from tourism, some individuals from *Imilchil* mobilized the assembly of the village to block a part of the event. In a conversation with a member of the assembly, he explained to me that the *jema't* did the *mu'arada* because the organization of a festival in the lake can pollute its water, which the villagers use to irrigate their fields. Therefore, the assembly proposed to the organizers to celebrate the festival in the central place of *Imilchil*. At this point, the assembly represents the farmers of the village and try to protect the economic source of the majority of the inhabitants of *Imilchil*. To conserve their economic interests, the villagers mobilized the assembly as a traditional institution that represents them.

To understand the situation described above, let's say that we have two groups of individuals. The first one benefits from tourism; it is composed of individuals that mobilize some aspects of their traditions to attract tourists. In the other hand, we have a group of people that don't benefit from touristic activities, and in order to defend their economic interests, they use aspects of their traditions. Hence, we have two groups who belong to the same tribe, using differently the tribe traditions to their advantage. At this point, the utility of tradition, as explained Lenclud, is to offer to those who in the everyday life enunciates and reproduces it, the way to confirm their difference. Furthermore, according to Lenclud, each group and social entity has its own tradition, occurred by searching in the past for what is convenient to their interests (Lenclud, 1987).

The *mu'arada* is an example of how tradition can play different roles in touristic areas. In fact, it shows us that concepts like "staged ethnicity" and "commoditization of culture", used to interpret the presence of tradition in tourism industry are firstly forged from a perspective treating tradition as a passive element in the process. An element which presents itself to be observed by tourists[11]. Secondly, these concepts not only hide some hostility toward tourism as a practice based on investing in traditions, as noticed by other anthropologists (Cohen, 1988; Stronza, 2001), but they are the construction of a selective and simplistic analysis of a complex realty. A realty that does not reveal itself under investigations based on dualistic conceptions like front/ back, performance/ authenticity, as we will see subsequently.

5.2. Hosts/Guests Dynamics in The Festival

The interpretation of anthropologists toward interactions between hosts and guests is controlled by a bias vision. According to this vision, tourists are seekers of authenticity which they miss in their modern countries. Thus, they possess the upper hand in the interactions with "locals" because the hosts should satisfy the tourists search for authenticity. As we saw in the earlier

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[10] In his study of the impact of tourism on the hill tribes of Thailand, Cohen explained that in 1973 when the village *Lao Tha* was discovered by tourists, they lodged in the head house (Cohen, 1979). Thus, tourism reinforced the role of the headman in the village, because he monopolizes the right of hosting tourists.

[11] This treatment of tradition can be the result of a vision that underestimate tradition and valorize modernity. A vision that give priority to the modern aspects, in our case tourism, and considering that tradition can only be dependent on modernity.

example described by Cohen, "locals" change their look and attitude, to provide a traditional "authentic" image to the tourists in exchange of cash (Cohen, 1979). Furthermore, Stronza remarked that "ethnographical accounts have shown that the gage of tourists can be especially influential in determining how hosts look, behave, and feel" (Stronza, 2001).

In such studies anthropologists overestimate the game of power existing in host/ guest interactions. By focusing on how the quest of authenticity influence "locals", anthropologists present them to us as passive agents, "actors" who try to satisfy the tourists expectations. This vision, disregards other situations where "[i]n addition to "toying with tourists", locals may be active agents in determining what they want to preserve, purposely inventing traditions and/ or folk art for tourists" (Stronza, 2001). Through criticizing the bias vision of anthropologists, Stronza opened a large perspective in the domain of anthropology of tourism because she calibrates the interactions that were presented to us as asymmetrical in power relations between hosts/ guests. Otherwise, with this innovative perspective, new social dynamics appear which confront, criticize, and reveal the theoretical limits of the earlier ethnographic studies.

In contrast of anthropologists that underestimate, and simplify the role of hosts in their interactions with tourists. My study focuses on showing how hosts or "locals" are not a simple actors that try to "obey" to tourists' taste. Firstly, my ethnographic data reveals the fact that hosts in the village create an event within their capacities to attract tourists, in other words, they mobilized their association to create an event. This might be interpreted as a kind of efforts to interest guests, so the part in position of power is tourists. But what is more important to me is not to determine who is in control in terms of power. In the contrary, I am interested in how hosts in some ways, not being limited in their traditions, as presented to us by earlier studies, but innovate other ways of attracting tourists.

The organizers of the festival are members of an association that encourage touristic development in the tribe of *Ait Hadiddou*. In tribal regions in Morocco, associations are new mode of organization that coexists with other modes[12], especially the traditional assembly. According to the president of *Akhiam*, his association tries to create events to attract tourists, since as he explained to me "the more events we have, our chances to achieve an economic development in the villages raises". The significant thing is that by a new mode of organization, and new event, hosts in *Imilchil* did attract tourists. In the contrary of depending only on their traditions, the hosts in my case, innovate an event that not only invests in traditions of the tribe, but by which the organizers had the choice of determining what to show to tourists.

To clarify the fact that "locals" play the role of "professional natives", Cohen give us this example: "one old man sits motionless in his home, smoking a pipe, while tourists take pictures; but he comes very much alive when they are about to leave, asking for his remuneration" (Cohen, 1979). In this example, the old man is not only an actor that plays the role of "native" or "local", but he is also an individual that can't do anything but present himself to be observed by tourists. Thus, the role of hosts in this situation is limited in presenting themselves as "object of observation". In my case things are much different. As we saw in the description of the festival, hosts prepared an event with a program of what they want to show to the participants.

For example, the organizers not only showed the participants traditions of the tribe, but also they presented to them some of the achievements they done by their association of *Akhiam*. Thus, the organizers showed the participants the cooperative promoted by the association, and some participants witnessed the start of a project initiated by the association. Therefore, we have active hosts, individuals that. In the contrary of hosts described by other anthropologists, are not "confined" by their traditions, hosts that invest traditions by new mode of organization.

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[12] For more information about associations in Moroccan tribal regions see Mahdi (2018). *Culture et Patrimoine Des Nomades: Les Bni Guil Du Maroc Oriental* (Darassalam).

Certainly, such of innovation is not always welcomed, as we saw earlier, but by this innovation other social dynamics emerge, also a vigorous debate occur within villagers about traditions.

6. Conclusions

Prior studies in anthropology of tourism gave us a mosaic of ethnographies from different "host countries" around the world. Ethnographies that enriched both the anthropology of tourism, and the anthropology of social change and development. Ambitioned by the aim of understanding how tourism "influence" or "change" societies, anthropologists produced a large number of studies. It is true that these studies made the anthropological encounter possible in the domain of tourism, but their interpretations and analysis had been pointed in the wrong direction, and directed by a bias vision that reveals an aspect of the phenomena, but occults other important aspects.

Studying the role of tradition and hosts in the touristic process, was limited/ guided by the purpose of measuring the impact of tourism in "host societies", as for the cases of Cohen (1979), and Greenwood (1976 & 1977). In his study, Cohen noticed that the study of tourism impact, suffer from a bias analysis which manifests in how anthropologists react toward tourism impact, a reaction directed by political and ideological aims (Cohen, 1979). This has negative results for the study of the role of tradition and hosts in touristic areas because it makes anthropologists to see only how tourism manipulate traditions, and how hosts are "actors" performing the role of natives. Furthermore, this idea of measuring tourism impact, misdirected anthropologists.

Based on an ethnographic description of a festival organized in Moroccan High Atlas, my study propose another way to interpret and approach the role of tradition and "hosts" in the tribe *Ait Hadiddou*. An approach that not only goes beyond measuring the impact of tourism, but also tries to deconstruct the reality of the phenomena, to reveal the missing aspects in the earlier studies. In this article, I showed that besides the role of tradition described by the former studies. It can also play another role, especially as a reason to stop touristic activities. Thus, tradition is not only activities and beliefs that tourism manipulate and reshape, but in my fieldwork, it becames more active and can intervenes to reshape a touristic activity. Furthermore, this study highlight a category of individuals that mobilize tradition to defend their economic interests menacing by tourism activities.

Also, the ethnographic data presented in this study shows how hosts can be active agents in hosts/ guests interactions. I can say that the most crucial weakness in the prior studies is considering hosts like actors that only present themselves to be observed by tourists. As a result of this vision, a host is considered as a passive individual, confined by his traditions. But as I showed before the realty is more complex than that. In the festival that I described above, the organizers are an active agents that create and innovate in order to attract tourists, and achieve an economic development to their tribe. Those organizers break the image described by anthropologists of hosts who are just performers, the festival organizers decide what to be presented to the participants, and proud of their other achievements.

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9. Conflicts of Interest

The author declared no conflict of interest.

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