

Influence of New Forms of Solidarity on Traditional Forms and Social Change in Closed Geographical Communities

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Abstract

As part of this research project, the objective is to investigate the impact of cooperatives as a modern form of solidarity on sociocultural change, specifically focusing on the role of women within cooperatives, in closed and geographically remote communities. Additionally, the study aims to explore how these new forms of solidarity, exemplified by cooperatives, influence traditional forms of organization. The research methodology comprises a quantitative study involving questionnaires administered among 513 members, complemented by an exploratory qualitative study comprising 2 focus groups and 18 interviews. The field survey revealed a complementary relationship between the two forms of solidarity. Moreover, the study found that the same mechanisms of male domination observed in these closed communities are replicated within cooperatives, despite being considered modern expressions of social and solidarity economy.

Keywords

Social and solidarity economy - Solidarity - Traditional forms - Cooperatives - Social change.

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1. Context

Solidarity corresponds to a social duty, an obligation among individuals in a group or community due to the bond that unites them, such as blood or kinship ties (family, etc.) or affiliations (friends, colleagues, etc.).

In the sense of Durkheim, solidarity is primarily the "cement" of society, referring to the invisible bonds that connect individuals to one another. Durkheim develops two forms of solidarity, namely:

Mechanical solidarity: This form of social cohesion is based on the similarity of individuals' behaviors and the traditional values of society. It persists within primary groups (families, peer groups) in which individuals form connections with others who are similar to them.

Organic solidarity: This is also a form of social cohesion found in modern societies, based on the complementarity of individuals' activities and functions.

Therefore, two forms of solidarity can be distinguished: traditional solidarity, which characterizes traditional societies, and modern solidarity, which primarily concerns modern societies where associations or other non-state and state actors play the role of regulators and intermediaries.

Today, the development of the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) addresses the growing demands for solidarity. Towards the end of the 20th century, the capitalist economy was believed to be capable of enabling citizens to attain means of production and consumption, especially after the failure of the communist model. However, as the 21st century began, the capitalist system proved to be inadequate in meeting all the needs of society and the environment.

This realization led to the emergence of the concept of sustainable development (Brundtland Report³, 1987; Earth Summit⁴, 1992) and the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE). The SSE is often viewed as a distinct sector that intervenes to address the needs unmet by the public and private sectors, with the objective of ensuring sustainable and inclusive growth. It aims to provide employment opportunities for youth and women while promoting local products.

In societies like Morocco, various traditional forms of solidarity persist and continue to provide solutions. For instance, in the face of high bank loan costs or due to religious considerations (Halal: permissible or Haram: prohibited), the Tontine continues to offer a more affordable savings and credit

³ UN. (1987). Our Common Future. Accessible at: <https://www.are.admin.ch/are/fr/home/media-et-publications/publications/developpement-durable/brundtland-report.html>

⁴ The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. (1992). Held in Rio de Janeiro from 3 to 14 June. Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. Retrieved on July 1, 2022, from: <https://www.un.org/french/events/rio92/rio-fp.htm#three>

solution (without interest) for different categories of civil servants, employees, homemakers, and others. The country's culture and traditions, whether rooted in religion (Zakat, Sadaqa, Waqf) or non-religious practices (Jmaa, Touiza, Louziaa, Annouba, Taoula, Agadir, or Tagadirt), influence the types of solidarity and how they operate.

These practices constitute forms of cooperation, mutual aid, and solidarity that encompass various areas, such as consumption, production, agricultural work, and services.

- **Jmaa**, a common practice in rural areas, is an institution responsible for the management of collective goods. According to customary norms, it is administered by a committee appointed by individuals with recognized status in the respective douar or village.
- **Touiza**, which means "help" in Amazigh, is a form of cooperation and service sharing in areas such as construction, well drilling, etc. It is based on the principle of exchange and reciprocal service among community members. There are two forms of Touiza: common interest Touiza, requested by the Jmaa (the community) to serve the interests of the entire community, and individual interest Touiza, granted by the community to one of its members.
- **Louziaa** is a practice based on the collective purchase of an animal with the aim of distributing its meat collectively and equitably. Its objective is to strengthen social bonds and assist those in need. It resembles a consumption cooperative.
- **The Charte or Charde** is a traditional practice where community members take turns or contribute equitably to provide food and accommodation for the visiting Fqih or Talb of the mosque.
- **Annouba or Taoula**, which means "turn" or "role" in Amazigh, involves a group of people cooperating to take turns guarding livestock. It resembles a form of guarding cooperative.
- **Agadir or Tagadirt**, which means "fortified dwelling" in Amazigh, represents a form of collective storage for foodstuffs, which is monitored in rotation by members of the community.

In addition to these traditional forms, various modern forms have emerged to accompany the modernization of society and economic development. One such form is the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE), which encompasses various types of organizations. Alongside cooperatives, there are mutuals, public and private foundations, social enterprises, associations with economic and social objectives, and microcredit associations. These entities are called upon to play a crucial role in promoting solidarity values, disseminating human rights, and contributing to the socio-economic development of the country. Individuals can organize themselves at any time to collectively address certain obstacles through associative forms.

Most associations have been established with the aim of addressing the shortcomings of both the state and the private sector, ensuring significant autonomy in safeguarding the interests of citizens

(Hida, 2007)⁵. The areas of focus often revolve around health, education, empowerment, environment, local development, the need for geographical inclusivity, and more.

The pace of association creation accelerated in 2005 with the launch of the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH). As of 2020⁶, there were approximately 220,000 associations, contributing 1% to the GDP (2019). However, this number was only 44,771 in 2007⁷, which then rose to 130,000 in 2015⁸.

Furthermore, the Moroccan cooperative sector constitutes a significant component of the SSE sector, contributing to both economic and social development and the creation of numerous jobs. The number of cooperative establishments, which are part of the modern organizations in the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE), experienced a remarkable increase after the adoption of the INDH in 2005. Consequently, their number grew from 62 in 1957 to 4,985 in 2005, reaching 40,531 in 2020 according to the Office of Cooperative Development (ODCO). Cooperatives, along with associations, are regarded as driving forces for women's empowerment and, consequently, for combating male domination, particularly in rural areas, as recognized in several state programs.

Therefore, the evolution of these organizations (associations, cooperatives, etc.) is primarily influenced by historical and temporal changes. This is likely to contribute to social change, which manifests as a sustainable transformation of a part or the entirety of a social system (society) in terms of its functioning, structure, or cultural models.

2. Previous studies

For centuries, Moroccan culture has witnessed citizen practices of mutualism and solidarity. These initiatives are launched by society to address needs that are not met by the government and the private sector (Iraki, 2006)⁹. These practices of collective work and mutual assistance now form part of the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) and are deserving of scientific study.

At both the international and national levels, several studies have focused on SSE in general and cooperatives in particular. However, the majority of these studies merely praise the merits of SSE and

⁵ Hida, B. (2007). Social Movements and Actor Logics: Development NGOs in Morocco Facing Globalization and the State: Moroccan Alterglobalization. (Doctoral dissertation, UCL Université Catholique de Louvain).

⁶ La quotidienne. (2021). 220,000 registered associations in Morocco in 2020, retrieved on October 25, 2021, from: <https://laquotidienne.ma/article/infos-societe/220-000-associations-enregistrees-en-2020-au-maroc>

⁷ Haut-Commissariat au Plan, HCP. (2011). Summary Report of the National Survey of Non-Profit Institutions (2007).

⁸ Zaoui, Zahra, Khlafa, Mustapha, Himmich, Hakima. (2016). Status and Revitalization of Associative Life: Report of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council (CESE). Retrieved on October 6, 2019, from: <http://www.cese.ma/Documents/PDF/Auto-saisines/2016/av28/rp-as28f.pdf>

⁹ Iraki, A. (2006). The Organization of Solidarity in Territories under Construction: Restructured Neighborhoods in Morocco. *Espaces et sociétés*, (4), 63-77.

highlight its characteristics in comparison to the traditional economy, or they simply recall the historical development of SSE.

Other works have explored the advantages and disadvantages of the cooperative model compared to conventional enterprises (Hansmann, 1999¹⁰; Fulton and Giannakas, 2001¹¹; Chaddad F. and Iliopoulos C., 2013¹²; Ory J.-N., De Serres A. and Jaeger M., 2012¹³; Carbo-Valverde, 2007¹⁴). The social impact of cooperatives is considered more significant than that of conventional enterprises.

Additional researchers (Aït Errays, N. 2022; Driouch¹⁵, S. & Erraoui, El H. 2020¹⁶) have focused on the field of cooperative work, investigating its economic and social impact, as well as the differences in terms of innovation compared to conventional enterprises. Haut du formulaire

Most studies have focused on the roles of cooperatives in combating vulnerability, promoting employment, and empowering women, particularly in rural areas (Gaëlle Gillot, 2016¹⁷; Lakhyar & Ennajari, 2020¹⁸; El Hassouni, 2020¹⁹).

According to Fatema Mernissi (Mernissi, 1981), rural women, in particular, have long been exploited in small trades and have been deprived of social mobility rights due to a dominant ideology.

¹⁰ Hansmann H. (1999), "Cooperative Firms in Theory and Practice," *Finnish Journal of Business Economics*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 387-403.

¹¹ Murray Fulton & Konstantinos Giannakas, 2001. "Organizational Commitment in a Mixed Oligopoly: Agricultural Cooperatives and Investor-Owned Firms," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Agricultural and Applied Economics Association, vol. 83(5), pages 1258-1265

¹² Chaddad F. and Iliopoulos C. (2013). Control Rights, Governance, and the Costs of Ownership in Agricultural Cooperatives. *Agribusiness*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 3-22.

¹³ Ory J.-N., De Serres A., and Jaeger M. (2012). How to Resist the Effect of Standardization: The Challenge of Cooperative Banks. Analysis of the Convergence Process of the French Cooperative Bank to a Dominant Model of Governance Shareholder. *Revue des Sciences de Gestion*, vol. 258, no. 6, pp. 69-82

¹⁴ Carbó-Valverde S. (2007). Implications of Basel II for Different Bank Ownership Patterns in Europe. *Atlantic Economic Journal*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 391-397. DOI: 10.1007/s11293-007-9088-4

¹⁵ Aït Errays, Nouredine. (2022). The impact of internal social capital on the innovation capacity of cooperative societies. *Revue Marocaine de Recherche en Management et Marketing*, [S.l.], v. 10, n. 2, pp. 305-329, Aug. 2018. ISSN 2458 – 665X. Available at: ><https://revues.imist.ma/index.php/REMAREM/article/view/13279>>. Accessed: Aug. 21, 2022. doi: <https://doi.org/10.48376/IMIST.PRSM/remarem-v10i2.13279>

¹⁶ Driouch, Salah; Erraoui, El Houssaine. (2020). Cooperative Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation: Study of Innovative Aspects of Cooperatives in the Agadir Ida Outanane Prefecture. *Repères et Perspectives Economiques*, [S.l.], v. 4, n. 2, July 2020. ISSN 2509-0399. Available at: ><https://revues.imist.ma/index.php/rpe/article/view/21535>>. Accessed: Aug. 21, 2022. doi: <https://doi.org/10.34874/IMIST.PRSM/RPE/21535>

¹⁷ Gillot Gaëlle. (2016). Cooperatives, a good bad solution to women's vulnerability in Morocco? *Espace populations sociétés* [Online], 2016/3 | 2016, posted on January 31, 2017, accessed on Aug. 20, 2022. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/eps/6619>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/eps.6619>

¹⁸ Lakhyar -Ennajari, Abdelali -zouhair. Contribution to the modeling of mobility autonomy and participation in public life of cooperative members. *La Revue Marocaine de la Pensée Contemporaine*, [S.l.], no. 7, Dec. 2020. ISSN 2605-6488. Available at: ><https://revues.imist.ma/index.php/RMPC/article/view/24019>>

¹⁹ El Hassouni, Fidaa. (2020). Influence of integration into social entrepreneurship on the position and social representations of young rural Moroccan women. In "Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Francophone Economics." Entrepreneurship and professional integration of youth and women in Francophone Africa. Mohammed V University of Rabat, March 2-4, 2020.

These works have relied on analysis referring to theoretical frameworks related to work quality and precariousness, resilience during times of crisis, social innovation, and theories of empowerment, primarily using capability approaches (Amartya Sen, 1976²⁰, 1985²¹, 1999²²; Solava Ibrahim & Sabina Alkire, 2007²³).

3. Research problem

Today in Morocco, despite the presence of informal and traditional solidarity practices such as Jmaa, Touiza, Louzia, etc., the development of other forms can either supplant or coexist with these traditional practices. Only modern forms, such as cooperatives, associations, etc., are officially recognized within what is commonly referred to as SSE.

In rural areas, the persistence of certain traditional forms of solidarity and the disappearance of others demonstrate the interconnectedness of these areas, which are not entirely isolated from the rest of the world.

Indeed, new forms of solidarity have also emerged in rural areas. Associations (including microcredit associations), cooperatives, and various other solidarity-based organizations have been established.

The purpose of this research is to study the social change that can result from women's involvement in cooperative work and its consequences on their role and status within the cooperative, especially in mixed cooperatives (comprising both men and women). To examine the impact of cooperatives as a modern form of solidarity on sociocultural change (including work-related values and representations of women) in geographically closed and remote communities, it is also essential to investigate the influence of these new forms of solidarity on traditional practices.

Questions and hypotheses

The research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

Question 1: Do these new forms replace traditional forms of solidarity?

H1: The emergence of new forms of solidarity does not lead to the weakening of certain traditional forms; instead, they complement them without replacing them.

²⁰ Sen, Amartya. (1976). Poverty: An Ordinal Approach to Measurement. *Econometrica: Journal of the Econometric Society*, 219–231.

²¹ Sen, Amartya. (1985). Well-Being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures, *The Journal of Philosophy*, 82.4 (1985), 169–221

²² Sen, Amartya. (1999). *Commodities and Capabilities*. OUP Catalogue. Sen, Amartya. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor, 525–547.

²³ Ibrahim, Solava, and Sabina Alkire. (2007). Agency and Empowerment: A Proposal for Internationally Comparable Indicators. *Oxford Development Studies*, 35.4, 379–403.

Question 2: Do these new forms of solidarity reproduce the same traditional structure in terms of the division of labor between men and women? Is social change complete or still in progress?

H2: Social change is still in progress as male dominance and women's vulnerability are reproduced in these new forms of solidarity, specifically cooperatives.

H2-1: In mixed cooperatives, men take charge of decision-making and leadership roles.

H2-2: Compared to male-led cooperatives, women's cooperatives have lower levels of education and invest in sectors with lower added value. **H2-3:** Women's empowerment is likely to be more focused on social aspects than purely economic ones.

4. Methodology

This study is a qualitative research based on interviews and focus groups conducted with women's cooperatives, with a total of 32 women being interviewed. These interviews were conducted between the cities of Missouri and Taounate. Additionally, a quantitative study was conducted, which included two focus groups and 18 interviews, using an interview guide.

For the quantitative study, 513 questionnaires were distributed among cooperatives in the Fès-Meknès region, covering the cities of Taounate, Taza, Missouri, Fès, Ifran, and Meknès. The study was conducted by employing an analytical descriptive methodology, which involved a systematic approach to analyzing and presenting data. In this process, the researchers chose to adopt non-probabilistic methods, with a particular focus on the quota sampling technique. This technique was utilized to ensure that the sample selected for the study accurately represented different cities within the Fès-Meknès region. By considering the city as a crucial criterion, the study aimed to capture a diverse range of perspectives and insights from various rural areas in the region.

The data from the qualitative study were analyzed using qualitative data analysis software, Atlas.ti. For the quantitative study, statistical software such as SPSS and Sphinx were utilized for data processing of quantitative data.

Presentation of the cooperative sample in the qualitative survey

A total of 32 participants were approached in the two cities, divided between interviews (18) and focus groups (14). The study focused on approximately ten cooperatives operating in various fields, with an average of 16 participants per city. The majority of these cooperatives were newly established, between 2012 and 2016, with an average of 12 members per cooperative.

Regarding the level of education, out of the 32 women interviewed in both focus groups and interviews, only 4 were either illiterate or had no formal education. The rest had educational backgrounds ranging from primary to higher education.

Presentation of the cooperative sample in the quantitative survey in the study

A total of 157 cooperatives were surveyed across the included cities (Taounate, Taza, Missour, Fès, Ifran, and Meknès). The majority of the cooperatives in the study were mixed-gender cooperatives (65%), followed by women's cooperatives (24%), and then men's cooperatives (11%). The oldest cooperatives in the sample were established in 1955 under colonial authority, comprising two cooperatives in the artisanal sector. The remaining cooperatives in the sample were established after Morocco's independence, starting from the era of agrarian reform. However, approximately 97% of these cooperatives were newly created (between 2002 and 2020), with an average of 12 members per cooperative.

Social empowerment of women rather than economic

The women who were members of the cooperatives included in the study were motivated to improve their socio-economic situations and assert themselves by developing their skills and personalities. The majority believed that their roles within the family had positively changed after joining the cooperative. However, for a minority of them, this came at the expense of the time they could dedicate to their families. They were aware that their situation had improved after joining the cooperative, particularly in social terms rather than purely economic. Still, they aspired to a better professional environment characterized by collaboration and a willingness to sacrifice for the collective good. They also considered the cooperative, located close to their place of residence, as a means to achieve a level of autonomy while still caring for their families. They benefited from training opportunities, opened up to the outside world, and asserted themselves.

For the members, who generally had a low level of education, their economic situation improved compared to before joining the cooperatives.

Therefore, the improvement in social situation for this category of members is mostly felt within their immediate surroundings (taking care of their families, husbands, etc. due to proximity). However, due to administrative tasks and sometimes manual work, managers dedicate less time to their families. They have a higher level of education, and although they do not mostly experience an immediate improvement in their income, they see their social networks expand. Their network of relationships can extend nationally and even, in some cases, internationally (unlike members with a lower level of education).

Furthermore, the members did not deny the importance of encouragement from their families, despite some resistance primarily coming from men (husbands, elder brothers, etc.) in the village. However, there is a difference between being a manager and being a simple member performing manual labor. The improvement in situation after joining is more measured in economic terms for the simple members and in social terms for the managers. That's why the improvement in social situation (relationships, social role, respect, etc.) is not always dependent on economic improvement.

The majority of members with a higher level of education are managers of the cooperatives. According to the survey findings, the level of education is correlated with the opportunities to develop relationships and social capital. Therefore, managers have a greater chance of building their networks and expanding their circle of acquaintances, such as by attending training sessions and exhibitions.

Male domination and the precariousness of women

Description of the sample of members

In the 157 surveyed cooperatives, 513 members were interviewed, with an average of 3 to 4 cooperative members per structure. Over 60% (316) were from mixed cooperatives, 28% (142) from women's cooperatives, and 11% (55) from men's cooperatives. In the total sample (513 questionnaires), women represent 52.2%.

Among the members of women's cooperatives, 56% are basic members, 42% are managers, and the remaining 2% are employees. They primarily work in agriculture, beekeeping, sewing, and pastry making. The average age of these women is 41 years, with a standard deviation of 10 years. Over half of these women are married (56%), while the others are distributed among singles (27%), divorced individuals (5%), and widows (4%).

Regarding their educational levels, 29% have no formal education, while a minority (15%) has a university education.

Members of men's cooperatives

These cooperatives consist mainly of men, with 56% being managers and 42% being members, while the remaining 2% are employees. The average age of these men is 43 years, with a standard deviation of 12 years. In terms of marital status, 67% are married, and 31% are single. In contrast to women's cooperatives, where the illiteracy rate is very high, only 7% of men's cooperative members are illiterate. Over half of them (54%) have a secondary education level, 24% have a primary education level, and a minority of 5% have a university education.

These cooperatives primarily operate in the agricultural sector and are more concentrated in the cities of El Hajeb, Sefrou, Taounate, and Taza.

Members of mixed cooperatives

They exhibit a similar distribution in terms of sociodemographic characteristics and areas of operation as the other types of cooperatives. However, there is a difference regarding the profile of those who manage the cooperative and make decisions. According to the results in the table below, even in mixed cooperatives, it is observed that men are the ones in charge of management (72.4%) compared to women (27.6%). Although there is no significant difference between men and women in terms of membership (50.3% are male members compared to 49.7% female members).

The different types of cooperatives exhibit a similar distribution in terms of sociodemographic characteristics and areas of operation. However, there is a notable difference in the profile of those who manage the cooperatives and make decisions. According to the results in the table below, it is evident that even in mixed cooperatives, men are predominantly in charge of management (72.4%) compared to women (27.6%). Although there is no significant difference between men and women in terms of membership (50.3% are male members compared to 49.7% female members).

Table 1: Combination of the gender variable with the function

Coded_Function/Gender	Male	women	TOTAL
Members	50,30%	49,70%	100%
Managers	72,40%	27,60%	100%
Employee	75,00%	25,00%	100%
TOTAL	61,10%	38,90%	100%

Source: Survey data

Dependence is very significant. $\chi^2=15.64$, $\text{dof}=2$, $1-p=99.96\%$.

Table 2: Intersection of the gender variable with the level of education

Gender/Level of education	Without	Primary	College	Secondary	University	TOTAL
Male	10,30%	16,80%	21,20%	28,30%	23,40%	100%
Women	31,60%	19,70%	14,50%	16,20%	17,90%	100%
TOTAL	18,60%	17,90%	18,60%	23,60%	21,30%	100%

Source: Survey data

Dependence is very significant. $\chi^2=24.83$, $\text{dof}=4$, $1-p=99.99\%$.

Based on the results presented in the table above, a significant correlation between education level and gender is evident. Roughly one-third of female members lack formal education, whereas this rate stands at only 10% among males. Moreover, a majority of males possess at least a secondary education level or higher.

Consequently, due to the prevalence of illiteracy among the majority of female members, men assume a more active role in the management and decision-making processes within the cooperatives. This educational disparity contributes to a notable gender-based exclusion. Women with comparatively lower education levels are disproportionately affected by this imbalance.

The findings underscore the significance of addressing educational inequalities as a means to promote gender equality within cooperative structures. Enhancing access to education for women can empower them to participate more actively in managerial roles and decision-making processes, thereby contributing to a more balanced distribution of responsibilities and opportunities within these cooperatives. This aligns with the broader global emphasis on the importance of education in promoting gender equity and socio-economic progress.

Moreover, these outcomes reveal the persistence of traditional gender dynamics within these modern cooperative settings. The higher involvement of men in managerial positions reflects the continuation of a historical trend of male dominance in decision-making. Despite the emergence of cooperatives as contemporary forms of solidarity, gender imbalances persist, perpetuating the same mechanisms of male control that have been observed in the broader societal context.

In summary, the research findings highlight the critical role of education in shaping gender dynamics within cooperatives. Addressing educational disparities among female members is vital for fostering their active participation and reducing gender-based imbalances in leadership and decision-making. Furthermore, the results emphasize the need for targeted efforts to challenge and transform traditional gender norms, even within seemingly progressive models of organization like cooperatives. Only through such comprehensive approaches can meaningful progress towards gender equality be achieved within both cooperative structures and society at large.

Conclusion

The conclusions drawn from the research align with the formulated research questions and hypotheses, shedding light on the complex interplay between traditional and modern forms of solidarity within the context of cooperatives.

The conclusion indicates that Hypothesis 1 is validated²⁴. The research demonstrates that the introduction of new forms of solidarity, such as cooperatives, does not result in the replacement of traditional forms. Rather, both coexist alongside each other. This coexistence is influenced by a range of factors beyond the emergence of cooperatives, including labor migration, changing family structures, and media influence. The research reveals a complex relationship where traditional and modern forms of solidarity complement each other, reflecting the intricate nature of sociocultural change.

The research validates Hypothesis 2 and its sub-hypotheses²⁵. The study's findings reveal that, despite the emergence of cooperatives as new forms of solidarity, gender dynamics and traditional power structures persist. In mixed cooperatives, men continue to occupy decision-making and leadership roles, reinforcing male dominance. Women's cooperatives, on the other hand, tend to have lower levels of education and are engaged in sectors with lower economic value, suggesting that structural inequalities influence their opportunities.

Moreover, women's empowerment within these cooperatives is often more focused on social aspects rather than purely economic ones, reflecting the broader societal patterns of gender roles. This conclusion underscores the ongoing social change in progress, where even innovative models like cooperatives struggle to overcome deeply ingrained gender norms.

In essence, the research's conclusions emphasize the nuanced nature of sociocultural change. While traditional and modern forms of solidarity coexist and complement each other, gender imbalances and vulnerabilities persist within these new structures. This underscores the need for targeted efforts to address gender disparities within cooperatives, taking into consideration factors such as education, decision-making roles, and economic opportunities. The research thus contributes valuable insights to both the academic understanding of solidarity dynamics and the practical endeavor of promoting gender equality within cooperative frameworks.

²⁴ Question 1: Do these new forms replace traditional forms of solidarity?

H1: The emergence of new forms of solidarity does not lead to the weakening of certain traditional forms; instead, they complement them without replacing them.

²⁵ Question 2: Do these new forms of solidarity reproduce the same traditional structure in terms of the division of labor between men and women? Is social change complete or still in progress?

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