Mapping Myths of the Medina:
French Colonial Urbanism, Oriental Brandscapes and the Politics of Tourism in Marrakesh

By

Nancy Nabeel Aly Demerdash

B.A., Art History (Honors in the Major), Religious Studies (Minor) (2006)
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science in Architecture Studies

At the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

June 2009

Signature of Author.....
Department of Architecture
May 21, 2009

Certified by.....
Nasser O. Rabbat
Aga Khan Professor of the History of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by.....
Julian Beinart
Professor of Architecture
Chairman, Committee on Graduate Students

THESIS COMMITTEE

Thesis Supervisor:
Nasser O. Rabbat
Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Thesis Supervisor:
Suzanne P. Blier
Allen Whitehill Clowes Professor of Fine Art and African and African American Studies
Harvard University

Mapping Myths of the Medina:
French Colonial Urbanism, Oriental Brandscapes and the Politics of Tourism in Marrakesh

By

Nancy Nabeel Aly Demerdash

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 21, 2009 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Architecture Studies

ABSTRACT

Before the French Protectorate of Morocco was established in 1912, Marrakesh was both a major trading node in North Africa and one of the royal cities in Morocco. Yet as the number of colonists surged and the pieds noirs population settled in the ville nouvelle, Marrakesh's native inhabitants were relegated to the medina. The French *mission civilisatrice* bolstered segregationist aims and in the process, manufactured a Moroccan cultural heritage (in contradistinction to the preservation of a French heritage) that served to lure potential emigrants. With its burgeoning tourism industry, this colonial binarization of the urban layout and demography lives on in Marrakesh, resulting in the creation of a medina that is still marketed through an orientalizing lens, heralded as little more than an exotic spectacle. This study seeks to understand the contrived makings of a Moroccan cultural heritage, embodied in the monolithic medina, with respect to urban form. But the colonial constructs of old are far from obsolete; these myths of the medina are being adopted, appropriated, and reinvented by the current Moroccan Ministry of Tourism and its partners to satisfy foreign demand. Consumed in the form of what I call an "Oriental brandscape," Marrakesh is framed and famed to promise hedonistic pleasures. Such perpetuated representational tropes actually materialize the oriental fantasy for the consumer; consequently, Marrakesh has become more of a product than place. This study attempts to highlight that the modern manifestations of Moroccan cultural heritage are not discrete from its colonial constructions.

Thesis Supervisor: Nasser O. Rabbat
Aga Khan Professor of the History of Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Thesis Reader: Suzanne P. Blier
Allen Whitehill Clowes Professor of Fine Art and African and African American Studies
Harvard University

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Truly, this thesis in its grand-scale production was a collective effort. It is to these individuals—in gratitude to them and the serendipity that brought them into my life—that I dedicate my work and effort.

Two important people, with their guidance and encouragement, receive first mention: my adviser, Professor Nasser Rabbat, who picked me up at some very low points throughout my writing and the duration of my degree here at M.I.T.; and Professor Suzanne Blier, my first reader and, really, the person who "introduced" me to the richly insatiable field of African art and architecture when I took courses with her in Spring and Fall of 2008 at Harvard University. Both of these individuals have shaped my thought process and my life in innumerable ways; their inspiration to me intellectually, professionally and personally knows no bounds.

Field work in the summer of 2008 was made generously possible by a Short-Term Research Grant from the American Institute of Maghrib Studies. While in Morocco, the staff at the Bibliothèque nationale in Rabat was incredibly patient and accommodating, in spite of their quizzical and sometimes suspicious bewilderment as to why an American speaking Egyptian colloquial Arabic would want to see dusty French urban legislation dating to the Protectorate. Specifically, the young lady Malika Hamza (whom I affectionately dubbed "malikat al-maktaba," or "Queen of the Library"), a student at Mohammed V University in Rabat and aspiring librarian, facilitated when my Arabic failed to articulate my needs, or when some Derija words were Greek to me. Malika's father (who was the bawwab, or doorkeeper of the library) and mother took me in, treating me as their own kin, feeding me lamb with prunes and couscous and sweet mint tea. Their gracious hospitality I cannot forget. On the street and in everyday dealings, Jamal Ahaniche, my companion, showed me the ropes of Moroccan life, and to him I am indebted for the gift of stargazing in the Atlas Mountains.

Additionally, the support of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture (AKPIA), M.I.T.-International Science and Technology Initiative (MISTI), and a grant from the "Avec et pour autre" Fund, provided me with the opportunity to take a short course on "Islam and the West: Deconstructing the Other" at the Freie Universität in Berlin in the late summer of 2008, which also contributed to this thesis. I also benefited from criticism and comments on sections of this thesis from conferences I attended at the University of Arizona-Tucson in April, 2008 (affiliated with the Department of Middle Eastern Studies) and Boston University in March, 2009 (affiliated with the African Studies Program).

Part of this thesis was written during a class in my first semester here at M.I.T., "City as Palimpsest: The Islamic City from Pre-Modern to Postmodern," with Dr. Nebahat Avcioglu of Columbia University-Paris, France. To her I owe my appreciation for urban form and much more.

Without my parents, I might have never become transfixed by Moroccan culture, for it was with them that I had my initial encounters with Morocco in the summer of 2006. That experience whetted my palette; I knew I had to find a way to return. Of course, their love and

support (and that of my sister Yvonne, and brother, Omar) have been invaluable to me throughout the course of my program here, and always.

Recognition is rightfully due to my former professor, my dear friend and mentor, Dr. Charles Hallisey of Harvard Divinity School, with whom I have had the honor and pleasure of sharing many an afternoon tea with in the past two years in Cambridge. Helping me through some difficult life decisions, he has listened and imparted sound advice, much of which is responsible for my writing this today. Time and again, Charlie has imbued me with both self-confidence and a drive to think beyond my own capacity. It is his warmth, compassion, and incomparable depth that have sustained and shaped me, and with him, I can only hope for a lifetime of afternoon tea.

My dearest friend Petra Duecker—a pillar in my life and an eternal optimist—pointed me in times of doubt and despair to see the rainbow after the thunderstorm. Be it over Google-chat or on the phone, late nights of laughter with her were and continue to be my metaphysical nourishment. Hopefully this thesis has taken me a few footsteps closer to our cottage on the ocean.

Finally, my peers at M.I.T. helped me to formulate my thoughts just as my professors did. My roommates this past year, Shiyun Ruan and Leila Farhadi, provided me with a home environment that was loving and supportive—one I never dreaded returning to at the end of the day, and one I could always derive good conversation from. The cheer, sensitivity, and critical insight of my classmates in AKPIA and the History, Theory, Criticism section, namely Mohammed Alkhabbaz, Zameer Basrai, Azra Dawood, Christian Hedrick, and Sarah Katz allowed for some much-needed mutual reinforcement. With them, jokes and fun managed to iron out some rough and prickly patches of graduate study. That kind of collegial camaraderie is irreplaceable and in part because of them I will always look back on my days here with the utmost fondness.

BIOGRAPHY

Nancy N.A. Demerdash received her B.A. degree in Art History with Honors in the major and a minor in Religious Studies from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in December 2006. There her interests focused themes of transculturation, cross-cultural and artistic exchange in Mughal India. As a S.M.Arch.S. candidate in the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at M.I.T., she turned to study French colonial urbanism in Morocco. Upon graduating from M.I.T., Nancy will start the next chapter of her academic career as a Ph.D. student in the Department of Art & Archeology at Princeton University in the fall of 2009, where she plans to critically engage with architecture, urbanism, colonial history and historiography in African contexts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

"...all struggles have become struggles of representation...there persists the false dichotomy between the objectivity of structures and the subjectivity of representations—a distinction allowing all that is cultural and symbolic to be put on one side, all that is economic and material to be put on the other."

--Achille Mbembe[1]

[1] Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press, 2001), 6.

INTRODUCTION

Of Representation and Perception: Confronting Exoticism in Marrakesh

Following misleading and frequently pejorative labels, the city of Marrakesh in southern Morocco is often described in Western travel guide literature today as being "uncontained, disorderly...untamable...bedlam."[2] The American novelist Edith Wharton wrote, "...dark, fierce and fanatical are these narrow souks of Marrakech."[3] Based on his brief period in Marrakesh, the political novelist and literary essayist George Orwell depicts the area surrounding the city as swaths of barren wasteland: "Most of Morocco is so desolate that no wild animal bigger than a hare can live on it. Huge areas which were once covered with forest have turned into a treeless waste where the soil is exactly like broken-up brick."[4] Even *The New York Times* recently published an article illustrating Marrakesh's luxurious, yet bohemian appeal, citing the Jemaa al-Fna market as possessing a "carnivalesque atmosphere," and used subtitles with the words "harem," "ruin," and "maze" to evoke its exoticism and capacity to be discovered.[5] The affiliated slide show features two of these components of the "Islamic city"—the hybrid hammam-spa and the marketplace, but no mosque, as foreigners are not typically allowed in North African mosques (in this photograph we have a conspicuous shot of a woman wearing the niqab, walking in a street with what seems to have no trace of foreign influence, juxtaposed with a scene of a sheesha lounge or nightclub) (Figures 1-3).[6] Similarly, journalistic articles in the British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Observer* use such flagrant stereotypes to denote,

---

[2] *Time Out: The Best of Marrakech & Morocco* (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 65.
[3] Barnaby Rogerson and Stephen Lavington ed., *Marrakech, the Red City: The City Through Writers' Eyes* (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2003), 127.
[4] George Orwell, "Marrakech," *Marrakech, the Red City: The City Through Writers' Eyes*, eds. Barnaby Rogerson and Stephen Lavington (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2003), 110.
[5] Seth Sherwood, "36 Hours in Marrakech," *The New York Times*, November 11, 2007. See http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/11/travel/11hours.html With subheadings such as "Palace for Your Palate," "Public Harem," and "Dare to Steam," Sherwood uses tropes of exoticism to lure his readers and prospective travelers, invoking the same stereotypes that most post-colonial scholars seek to abolish, or at the very least, unpack.
[6] Ibid. http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2007/11/11/travel/1111-36Hours_index.html

respectively, the struggles of buying property amidst Marrakesh's "medina madness" or the indispensability of a camel ride outside of the city, that "no Sahara adventure would be complete without [an encounter with a camel]." (Figures 4-5)[7] These reductions of an entire city and its culture—as handsome, yet pastiche-like scenes of an Oriental interior or a desert dune of camels—have been perpetuated so as to maintain the veneer of exoticism necessary to sustain the influx of European tourists and retirees. But how and why did these nearly hyberbolic, often denigrating delusions become the formulaic descriptors for Marrakesh? Is it merely attributable to the banality of travel literature, or are these perceptions indicative of something historically rooted, and perhaps more troublesome?[8]

What may be construed superficially as no more than slick, seductive marketing ploys actually run much deeper into Morocco's complex colonial history, as I will argue. The city of Marrakesh, I posit, is a kind of raconteur for this transformative history, narrating the dynamic interactions of space and time. However, scholarship on French colonialism in Morocco, in its urban, historical, political, and architectural corollaries has not only neglected the city of Marrakesh altogether, but has not unpacked the links between this colonial past and its vestiges in the country's burgeoning tourism industry, a manifestation of a seemingly neocolonial present. This literature has not pieced together the very rich, if not paradoxical connections between

---

[7] Zoe Dare Hall, "Property in Morocco: Medina Madness," *Telegraph*, September 29, 2008. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/property/overseasproperty/3364093/Property-in-Morocco-Medina-madness.html The irony of this article is the way an image of a tranquil and inviting courtyard is oddly paired not only with the disparaging descriptor of "madness" in the title, but also the subscript forewarning potential buyers of being swindled: "If you don't watch out, your restored riad could end up with hot-flushing loos and cold showers...There's no shortage of people wanting to take your money in Marrakech." See also Jane Dunford, "20 Reasons to Visit Morocco this Winter," *The Guardian*, October 12, 2008. http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/oct/12/morocco-wintersun

[8] Georges Van Den Abeele, *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), xv. Van Den Abeele observes that banality has been endemic to Western travel writing, dating back to the Renaissance: "...the very banality or banalizing of travel to be found in literature both veils and unveils its importance for Western culture...But if one grants the banality of the genre commonly associated with innovation, the question that needs to be raised is whether the commonplace quality of the metaphor of travel does not at some point constitute a limit to the freedom of critical thought."

nation-building in the post-independence era, and the rise of tourism in Morocco. While there is no "real" or "authentic" image of Marrakesh or its people, nor is there a "true" urban landscape of the city, the problems of representing cultures, places, and peoples persist, especially when considering the reasons for which those representations are exploited. Echoing what has been posited by Cameroonian historian Achille Mbembe in the quotation above, issues of supposed objectivity and subjectivity cannot be neatly bifurcated. Like Mbembe, I assert that the complexities in representing Marrakesh are entrenched in the interconnected socio-cultural and politico-economic histories of the colonial and so-called postcolonial experiences.

In the subsequent chapters, I will demonstrate that the French colonial remaking of Marrakesh and the post-independence refashioning of the city for touristic ends together tremendously impact the ways in which the spaces of this city are perceived and how they are lived by its residents. Rather than seeing the effects of the colonial and the post-independence eras as temporally discrete, it is my intention to illustrate the prevailing, albeit subverted continuities. In my reiteration of the French colonial legacy in Marrakesh, it is not my wish to repeat the anti-colonial diatribes of hackneyed and tiresome "colonizer"/ "colonized" binaries. I am aware that the perilous undertaking of "re-writing" Marrakesh[9] problematically necessitates a center/periphery dichotomization of sorts. I employ a nuanced postcolonial critique[10] that illuminates how forms of cultural domination continue to operate and are latent in contemporary

[9] Here I echo Achille Mbembe's efforts: "I have tried to 'write Africa,' not as a fiction, but in the harshness of its destiny, its power, and its eccentricities, without laying any claim to speak in the name of anyone at all." Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, 17.

[10] Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 2001), 11. "Postcolonial critique focuses on forces of oppression and coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world; the politics of anti-colonialism and neocolonialism, race, gender, nationalism, class and ethnicities define its terrain."

Marrakesh and its relationship with the world, with tourism as a conduit. It is precisely here where I question the (post) of postcoloniality.[11]

I only hope to highlight that in the case of Marrakesh (moreso than other Moroccan cities[12]) its colonial history in relation to its current political economy—heavily rooted in tourism—cannot be dismissed. In its representations, Marrakesh has morphed into a kind of fetishized, consumable container of Moroccan culture, an "Oriental brandscape." This thesis is not a call for the eradication of tourism in a middle-income country like Morocco; given the strengths of marketing forces within the global capitalist system, such an aim is ultimately futile. Rather it is an attempt to understand the role of this capitalist industry in Marrakesh historically, with special interest in its relationship to colonial urban space and the transformation of that space and perceptions of it over time.

Because this is neither an ethnographic nor anthropologic study, I am not necessarily fulfilling any subaltern project by telling the untold stories of Marrakesh locals, nor am I set out to emancipate them from some metaphorical shackles of capitalist expansion.[13] Instead, I investigate the French colonial remaking of Marrakesh and tracing its spatial transformations

---

[11] Bill Ashscroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995), 117. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin maintain: " 'Post-colonial' as we define it does not mean 'post-independence,' or 'after colonialism,' for this would be to falsely ascribe an end to the colonial process. Post-colonialism, rather, being from the very first moment of colonial contact. It is the discourse of oppositionality which colonialism brings into being. In this sense, post-colonial writing has a very long history."

[12] Cities like Casablanca and Rabat, for example, were and still are the administrative and economic centers of the country. Meknes and Fez, former royal capitals, are still largely peripheral tourist destinations. Coastal towns such as Essouria are witnessing extensive touristic development, prompted by the Moroccan government, as are inland cities like Aït Ben Haddou in the Ouarzazate region. However, in my assessment, none of these cities are framed with the same tropes with subtexts of allure and exoticism as is Marrakesh.

[13] Here I recognize my own complicity in representing others, ensconced within a network of power that is the academic institution. I find Kwame Athnoy Appiah's comments especially apt: "Postcoloniality is the condition of what we might ungenerously call a comprador intelligentsia: of relatively small, Western-style, Western-trained, group of writers and thinkers who mediate the trade in cultural commodities of world capitalism at the periphery...Postcolonial intellectuals in Africa...are almost entirely dependent for their support on two institutions: the African university—an institution whose intellectual life is overwhelmingly constituted as Western—and the Euro-American publisher and reader." Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York; Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1992), 149.

since independence, while considering how these narratives coalesce with its flourishing, modern-day tourism industry. That the presence of tourism in Marrakesh is due to a confluence of conditions and events is axiomatic, but it should nevertheless be questioned. What outwardly appears in the city as a benign form of tourism must also be considered for the often subtle and insidious events that shaped that formation.[14] With this in mind, I ask the following: Given that Marrakesh is presently the touristic hotbed of Morocco, one must wonder—how did it become this way and who are the major historical players in this transformation? How does tourism perform a selective exclusion of certain communities? What are the internal and external factors pertaining to issues of economic development—or rather, what are the contours of these power structures—that position Morocco today in between the proverbial rock and a hard place?

It would be fallacious to view 1956—the year in which Moroccan independence was declared—as a clean rupture from colonial power relations. Despite the departure of European architects and their clients, urban policies maintained many of the practices acquired during colonialism.[15] In thirty-six years, from 1920-1956, Morocco saw the development of a sizeable touristic infrastructure, and after independence, from 1956 to 1964, though still a prominent industry, the government began to view tourism as exclusively within the interests of the private sector.[16] Paradoxically, independence established a relationship of reliance upon the former colonial metropole and other countries in the European Community (before it was renamed the

---

[14] Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London; New York: Verso, 1989), 6. Here I take political geographer Edward Soja's statement to be incredibly powerful in how we approach urban space and its dense histories, with self-awareness of our own actions and the possibilities for space to morph entire on its own terms into something other, and perhaps more formidable, than we might have initially expected: "We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology."

[15] Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002), 15-16. The authors state: "Later French foreign aid workers consolidated the policies pursued by the veterans of Écochard's team and Moroccan architects."

[16] Mimoun Hillali, *La politique du tourisme au Maroc: Diagnostic, bilan et critique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007), 37.

European Union[17]) by virtue of certain economic policies, rendering Morocco more vulnerable to European protectionism[18] and more recently, the global recession.[19] The rhetoric through which Morocco is frequently positioned—as a so-called "darling" of the World Bank (in the early 1990s, the World Bank gave more than $6 billion towards Moroccan development, a sum larger than any other presented to a country in the Middle East or Africa[20]) or a *bon élève* ("good student") by the European Union (EU)—implies the questionable relations that this country has with its European neighbors.[21]

In Chapter 1, I will proffer an exploratory introduction to the city, discussing the formal aspects of its medina and former ville nouvelle (today referred to as the sectors of Guéliz and Hivernage), while paying special attention to the fundamental role of the city's main market place, the Jemaa al-Fna Square as liminally situated in between the "old" and the "new." This chapter intends to give the reader a social and spatial sense of Marrakesh, as well as a brief history of the French colonial construction of the ville nouvelle. Chapter 2 engages with the historiographical scholarship of French Orientalist scholars, the brothers Georges and William Marçais, and Roger Le Tourneau, and their creation of the "Islamic City" construct. Specifically, I attempt to illustrate how this construct was fundamental not only as a justification for the French civilizing mission, and simultaneous instantiation for French agricultural production and archeological digging in Morocco, but also served as a tool of rhetoric in constituting a French nationalist identity in contradistinction to a Moroccan one. Assuming that Orientalism, as defined by Edward Said, is an intellectual discourse, the very imbrications of power with

---

[17] This renaming occurred in the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993. The European Economic Community was created by the signing of the Treaty of Rome, on March 15, 1957.

[18] Gregory White, *A Comparative Political Economy of Tunisia and Morocco: On the Outside of Europe Looking In* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2001), xi.

[19] http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2009/car031309a.htm

[20] Joyce Chang et al., *Morocco: An Oasis of Investment Opportunity* (New York: Salomon Brothers' Emerging Markets Research, 1992).

[21] Gregory White, *A Comparative Political Economy of Tunisia and Morocco,* 25.

knowledge, [22] it is then imperative to understand how Moroccan urbanity specifically, was conceptualized by the French as a product that would later be commodified. Such discourses are in fact manifest in the physical environment, and affect how we think about the urban sphere and its geopolitical and cultural constructions. Chapter 3 theorizes tourism and discusses issues pertaining to tourism and the political economy of Morocco today. Problematizing the very loaded word "development," I show that Marrakesh, as a part of governmental plans to expand tourism, is being marketed through colonial tropes of old. Nationalization left Morocco encumbered economically, and tourism offered prospects of hope, however, at a cost.

The Status of Literature

Scholarship on colonial North Africa in anthropology, history, and urbanism abounds. Studies on French colonial urbanism in Morocco, the most prominent of which by Janet Abu-Lughod[23] and Gwendolyn Wright,[24] have concentrated on Rabat and Casablanca, respectively, as it is these two cities that became the political, administrative, and commercial centers in Morocco. As the subtitle of her text suggests, Abu-Lughod underscores the role of an ideological apartheid deployed spatially and socially, arguing that the French instituted "caste cleavages" of social and racial segregation in 1912, whereby class stratifications in Rabat were issued along ethnic hierarchies.[25] Paul Rabinow's text, drawing much from Michel Foucault, concerns the French ideological construction of modernity and its trappings, while intricately revealing parallels across various domains of colonial activity (i.e. among urban planners, biologists, sociologists, military leaders, bureaucratic administrators, etc.).[26] Gwendolyn Wright

---

[22] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 3-5.
[23] Janet Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).
[24] Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[25] Abu-Lughod, *Rabat*, 220.
[26] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

interrogates the political implications of French colonial experimentation in urbanism and architecture across Morocco in the early twentieth century, but stops at that historical juncture.[27] For the reasons that her text interrogates the motivations and patterns in the French colonial administrations, Wright zooms in the centers of the French colonial administration in Morocco—Casablanca and Rabat—while giving only a cursory glance at Marrakesh. Zeynep Çelik, who cogently chronicles the history of French urban planning and architecture in Algiers, argues that these forms were harnessed to political aims serving to translate myths into tangible colonial realities.[28] Over the course of several integrative compilations, Nezar AlSayyad has highlighted the interconnections of colonialism, nationalism, and arguably neocolonial urban realities.[29] Recently, Stacy Holden has problematized the relationship between French colonialism and historic preservation in Fez.[30] Brian McLaren also has provided a framework for understanding the intersections of heritage ideology, colonialism and tourism, but in the context of Italian fascist Libya in the 1930s.[31]

Although much scholarship has taken European colonial agendas to be monolithic, oppressive entities, this thesis attempts to underscore the ideological and in some cases, propagandistic qualities of colonial rule, examining the metamorphosis of these discursive power structures in the face of nationalist interests vis-à-vis their touristic conduits. More recent studies of urban form have sought to rework the counter-colonial interpretations of colonial narratives in Morocco and challenge theories that perpetuate the dialectics and oppositions of postcolonial

---

[27] Wright, *The Politics of Design.*
[28] Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
[29] See Nezar AlSayyad,ed., *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001). See also Nezar AlSayyad ed., *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992).
[30] Stacy Holden, "When It Pays to Be Medieval: Historic Preservation as a Colonial Policy in the Medina of Fez, 1912-1932." *The Journal of the Historical Society,* vol. I: 2 (June 2006): 297-316.
[31] Brian McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006).

discourses. However, as much as current trends in literature seek to subvert the assumptions and internal dialectics within postcolonial studies, we have yet to overcome new formations and reinventions of colonialism; the "post" prefix renders the postcolony as a mythical foil to its extant colonial counterpart. Reading Marrakesh not so much as a city experiencing continued domination or imposition by external forces, I rather understand it as a dynamic player in its own reinvention. Nevertheless, I question the degree to which the country's political economy instantiates arguably neocolonial aspects.[32] As I will show, a wide-range of media—maps, tourist ephemera, photography—together allow one to analyze power structures' permeability in visual and spatial spheres, painting the startling picture of Marrakesh as an Oriental brandscape, self-perpetuating site of capitalist expansion.

This thesis is an attempt to bridge not only the gap in the corpus of scholarship on French colonial urbanism in Morocco, but also seeks to bridge the historiographical gap between the literature on French colonial urbanism and the construction of heritage in Morocco. I examine the changing representations of Marrakesh and the corresponding changes in perception in light of discursive formations of knowledge, the wielding of claims to political power, and the fabrication of national heritage. Mapping such monolithic notions of the Islamic medina in juxtaposition to the contiguous French ville, not only served as the basis for the construction of a

---

[32] Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 46-47. Echoing what Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah had argued as 'neocolonialism,' Young takes the term to indicate a system of capitalistic exploitation, increasing economic disparities, leftover and little changed since the colonial period. Young states: "Nkrumah suggested that neocolonialism, like colonialism before it, represents the export of the social conflict of capitalist countries; in particular, the demands of western welfare states, with their comparatively high working-class living standards, meant that class conflict within the nation-state had been transformed into an international division of labor...Nkrumah argued that neocolonialism represented the American stage of colonialism, that is an empire without colonies."

unified Islamic culture, but also was the self-reflexive tool that defined "Frenchness" for pieds noirs populations in the heart of the colony.[33]

Research Questions

In understanding these issues of representation, I address the following questions: How did the French go about establishing their foundations in Marrakesh? How did the construction of French heritage in the Moroccan colony form concurrently with, but in contradistinction to, the unification of an Islamic one? Despite visible transformations of the city, how does the colonial urban layout of Marrakesh, dividing new city from old medina, continue to reinforce the demographic and socio-economic disparities among the city's residents and visitors? What is the history of tourism in Marrakesh and in what ways is this history integrated with the formation of the colonial city? What are the political implications of preservation and, in Marrakesh, which parties do they serve? How did the construction of French heritage in the Moroccan colony form concurrently with the packaging of an Islamic one?

In its purview, I take note of several macro-level questions—what about Marrakesh renders its multiple urban civic spaces politically and culturally important for Moroccan history? How, from a Western historical perspective, has Marrakesh become the embodiment of some quintessential, reified Moroccan culture? In what ways are the mythical constructs surrounding Marrakesh the very formation of political inequities? With reference to Marrakesh, and the Maghreb more broadly, how do we confront and negotiate terms like "decolonization," and "neocolonialism"? This work is also about the reproducibility, and transmutations of representations of the urban environment. In reading French colonial histories of Marrakesh, and in understanding the role of tourism in the city, I attempt to understand how political, economic,

---

[33] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1989).

and socio-cultural interactions have effectively produced space—physically and conceptually—in Marrakesh. In analyzing the connections between Marrakesh, the colonial construct, and Marrakesh, the touristic construct—I argue that behind each construct is a myth.

In my thesis, I will demonstrate that a confluence of historical phenomena rooted in French colonial imperatives have posed restrictions on how we conceptualize Marrakesh as a city. The construction of a one-dimensional Islamic heritage, grounded in French Orientalist theories of the Islamic city, morphed the medina of Marrakesh into a site of spectacle. Its imageability is now contrasted with the four and five-star hotels that line Avenue de France in the district of Hivernage. The way in which we view and experience any given city bears much on how we produce knowledge about and ultimately impact that city. And inasmuch as this thesis is anchored in historical analysis, inquiry of both urban form, and textual critique of primary source reports and secondary source materials, it is also devoted to pointing new ways of how we might conceive of or view Moroccan cities. Although it may be extreme to label this phenomenon as neocolonialism, Morocco's economic autonomy is clearly a mirage, yet paradoxically, Marrakesh's vitality depends on its tourism industry and its orientalizing marketing schemes. The modern manifestations of the "Islamic city" should give us a sense of urgency in defining a new paradigm for understanding Islamic urbanism, one that goes beyond its colonial grounding, and its problematic re-renderings as "heritage" in nationalist rhetoric.

CHAPTER ONE

Imaging the Urban Layout of Marrakesh: Reading Beyond Form and Function

The Jemaa al-Fna and Medina

Before launching into a socio-historical analysis of French colonial presence in Marrakesh, it is imperative to first understand the formalistic qualities of the old city (medina) of Marrakesh (Figures 6-7). The medina is a fortified walled city with eight gates dispersed along the perimeter of its earthen ramparts. It encompasses many quarters, which are closely knit physically. Because Marrakesh area is a palimpsestic city affected by its precolonial and colonial pasts and nationalistic present,[34] in this section I will explore the Jemaa al-Fna—a space straddling both the medina and the ville nouvelle—as a function of French colonial social and economic policies, specifically in these policies' reflections through the architecture and urban plans constructed (Figures 8-9).[35] Analyzing not only the forms of dominance exerted by the French in Marrakesh, but more importantly, how they were deployed spatially, may also point to clues furthering an understanding of colonial urbanism generally. In this chapter, I will provide background history as to the precolonial medina, as well as an analysis of the building of French colonial ville nouvelle, or new city, juxtaposed against it. A site of investigation will be the sūq, a major and centralized node fixed in between the old, gated medina and the ville nouvelle,

---

[34] Alsayyad ed., *Forms of Dominance,* 20. Alsayyad rightly states that colonial institutions and their current presence continue to influence the environments in which they exist, and they often propagate the conditions of dominance, even if the country has been "liberated" or nationalized.

[35] Anthony D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990). See also Robert J. Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp, ed., *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context* (Dordrecht, Netherlands; Boston: M. Nijhoff ; Hingham, MA, USA: Distributors for the U.S. and Canada, Kluwer Academic, 1985); Nezar Alsayyad ed., *Forms of Dominance,* 4. Here I qualify Marrakech as a colonial city on the basis of King, Ross, and Telkamp's criteria, as summarized by Nezar Alsayyad: " (1) that power (economic, political, and social) is principally in the hands of a non-indigenous minority; (2) that this minority is superior in terms of military, technological and economic resources—and, as a result, in terms of social organization; and (3) that the colonized majority are racially (or ethnically), culturally, and religiously different from the colonizers."

founded by the French with the chief intent of stimulating commerce and economic development.[36]

Marrakesh was long defined by its social interactions (within and beyond its city walls) as a site of cultural and economic exchange, being the trade emporium that it was in the trans-Saharan caravan, with connections to Timbuktu and Kano, in present-day Mali and Nigeria, respectively, as early as the 11th century.[37] A settlement was first established by Yūsuf ibn Tashfīn, initially a leader of the Sanhadja Berbers and their army, who would later become the first Almoravid, or al-Murābitūn sultan. In 1126-1127, when the city was under threat from the Almohads, or al-Muwahhidūn, who succeeded as the new ruling dynasty, they built a new royal palace slightly to the south of the al-Murābitūn fortress as well as a defensive wall.[38]

Henri Lefebvre's asserted that space necessarily connotes a set of relations across things, subjects, and objects, and this certainly holds true in the case of Marrakesh.[39] Social space is not an object within itself.[40] Spaces are produced—an accumulation of what Lefebvre calls social superstructures. Additionally, spaces are a means of production. Inextricable from the governmental body of the state, spaces essentially operate as a network of interactions and relations. Urban social life in the precolonial Maghreb has been described by Moroccan scholars F. Stambouli and A. Zghal as consisting of three interdependent participants: the central power (the Makhzen), the townsmen, and the tribesmen.[41] Within the medina these quarters are organized according to the many personal relationships and interests upon which people's

---

[36] Wright, *The Politics of Design,* 85-86.
[37] Emily Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 5.
[38] Friedrich W. Schwerdtfeger, *Traditional Housing in African Cities: A Comparative Study of Houses in Zaria, Ibadan, and Marrakech* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1982), 188.
[39] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 83.
[40] Ibid., 73.
[41] F. Stambouli and A. Zghal, "Urban Life in Pre-Colonial North Africa," *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 1 (March 1976), 3.

livelihoods are dependent.[42] The grouping of institutions and services indicated to outsiders who resided in certain sectors and acted as the precursor to residential segregation, which also had political purposes (i.e. the Jewish mellah in the medina is located next to the royal palace).[43] The major arterial streets seem to project outward organically from the Jemaa al-Fna toward the eight gates, with smaller streets offshooting from these arteries, and even smaller alleyways branching from these streets.[44] Several mosques, palaces, and medrasas are scattered throughout the medina, the location of which subsequently affected the location of public arenas, sūqs among them, and private residential quarters.[45]

The casbah, or fortress, containing the royal palace in the medina is situated in the southernmost end of the medina, but this does not suggest that it was isolated. On the contrary, the palace is intrinsically linked to the Jemaa al-Fna, with several streets connecting these entities; this suggests the necessity of the ruler's ability to subjugate and watch over the activities of the market area. The fact that the sūq by definition is an arena of jihād, whereby merchants are supposed to uphold their moral foundations and not take unfair advantage of their customers

---

[42] Dale F. Eickelman, "Is There an Islamic City: The Making of a Quarter in a Moroccan Town," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* v. 5 (1974): 278.

[43] Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City—Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 19, no.2 (May 1987): 165.

[44] Quentin Wilbaux, *La médina de Marrakech: Formation des espaces urbains d'une ancienne capitale du Maroc* (L'Harmattan: 2001), 334-335. Wilbaux, despite his attempts to grapple with Orientalist notions of the "Islamic city" and his overall conclusions that Marrakesh is an organic city, he nevertheless perpetuates binaries in his chapter on "Ordre ou Desordre?" Here he describes the plan of Marrakesh as a "radio-concentric" type, indicative of its spontaneous growth. He also states that the city's growth and organizational scheme also depended on the determination of sacred space, i.e. the location of mosques. "Un plan nettement radio-concentrique comme celui de Marrakech, ne signifie pas que la ville soit née spontanément. Marrakech est une ville créée en ce sens qu'elle est resultant d'une volunté determine, mais cette creation se'est limitée à la construction du pole structurant (la mosque centrale) et des ramparts, don't les portes sont reliées entre elle par des axes qui les relient au centre. La creation dans le cas de Marrakech, c'est aussi la determination d'une orientation sacrée, qui aurait influence de manière plus évidente la trame du parcellaire des quartiers résidentials si 'lorientation choisie pour la mosque centrale n'avait été remise en cause plusieurs fois aucours de l'évolution urbaine. Mais Marrakech est également une ville spontanée."

[45] Michael E. Bonine, "The Sacred Direction and City Structure: A Preliminary Analysis of the Islamic Cities of Morocco," *Muqarnas*, vol. 7 (1990): 68. Interestingly, the variations in the slope of the landscape in Marrakech posed differences in the qibla direction of mosques in the city. Bonine suggests that the supposed "irregularity" of the streets results from the unevenness in the landscape, thereby producing "the irregular city morphology."

presents to us the sūq's import as a space of moral concern and uncertainty.[46] The hisbah (the religious obligation to avoid evil doings) within the sūq was traditionally monitored by the muhtasib (and still is in Saudi Arabia and in Morocco) who is an official responsible for maintaining the order of the market, setting prices, and collecting taxes.[47] Essentially, these muhtasibs served as administrative extensions of the state.[48] Just as the sūqs are the prime sites of consumption and materiality, they are also sites of governmental surveillance; the Jemaa al-Fna, as a major node of commercial traffic, is no exception.[49] The position of the mellah, adjacent to the casbah, also allowed for close monitoring of activities within that space, to which I will later return.

Magical Spectacles, Deterritorialized Sūqs: The Jemaa al-Fna as Contact Zone

The sūq or bazaar can be broadly defined as the site of commercial trade and capitalistic consumption.[50] The sūq, however, is not an isolated institution, architecturally, socially, or culturally. Rather, the sūq inextricably connects a range of various social institutions or organizations and forms, namely, zawiyas (Sufi hospices), guilds, hammams, caravanserais, and mosques, serving as a physical nexus for cultural exchange among merchants, craftsmen, apprentices, money-changers, peddlers, brokers, and shop assistants.[51] Frequently, the sūq is bound legally to these institutions and individuals through the establishment of waqfs, or

---

[46] *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, s.v. "Bazaar" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 209.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City," 171.
[49] Clifford Geertz, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society: Three Essays in Cultural Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 129. Referring to the Sefrou bazaar, Geertz notes that "the town was less a hub than a way station, a link between remote economies rather than a focus for adjacent ones. Its function was to connect."
[50] *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*, 2nd Ed., s.v. "Bazaars and Bazaar Merchants" (Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004): 418-421.
[51] *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, s.v. "Bazaar," 207.

religious charitable endowments, and at times is physically linked to them.[52] Clifford Geertz describes the multiplicity of meanings and implications of the term sūq in the Moroccan context, as referring to the market as a whole, to a specialized sector within that marketplace, or to a part of a quarter that is more commercial than residential.[53] As the meeting ground for peoples of different socioeconomic status and varying racial or ethnic origins, the sūq is a powerful space of contestation, tension, perpetual change and mobility.[54]

The Jemaa al-Fna Square of Marrakesh, exemplifies this general characterization inasmuch as it strays from it. Loosely translated as the "Assembly (Congregation) of the Dead," the Jemaa al-Fna Square was once the location of processions and ceremonial functions in front of the royal fortress of the Almoravids, or al-Murābitūn, whose capital at Marrakesh was founded in 1071.[55] The Arabic name of the square refers to its prior role as a public execution site, serving as both a fear tactic and a signal to the authority of the rulers. However, over time the Jemaa al-Fna Square became the location of one of the largest sūqs in North Africa.

To call it a "square" is actually misleading—the space is effectively a multi-sided, yet enclosed quadrangular terrace with streets off-shooting from it. In addition to the many crafts, textiles, leather goods and carpets that one can find in and around the Jemaa al-Fna, one can also eat and absorb many of the visual spectacles provided by a variety of entertainers—snake charmers, acrobats, musicians, and dancers. It is at once a market and a plaza, a setting for social

---

[52] Ibid.
[53] Geertz, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society,* 126.
[54] Roland Barthes, "Semiology and the Urban," *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. N. Leach (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 170-171. The words of Roland Barthes hold true that the city center is "...the place of our meeting with the *other*, and it is for this reason that the center is the gathering place in every city..." In this text, Barthes characterizes the "erotic dimension" of a city to be the place where one receives nourishment, makes purchases, or engages in social meetings. The erotic dimension is the site of sociality for Barthes. If I make reference to an "erotic dimension," it is in the Barthian sense of the term. Also, the "centre" does not imply physically central necessarily, but rather suggests a space of commonality.
[55] Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 306.

transactions and interactions, a space where meaning is continually inscribed and rewritten. For the spectacle that it undeniably is, the Jemaa al-Fna is a place frequented by locals and tourists alike. But the social exchange within this space is incredibly complex and cannot be simply reduced to a spectator/spectacle dichotomization. Spanish novelist Juan Goytisolo, who has been residing in Marrakesh for a good portion of his life, remarks that the Jemaa al-Fna evades description:

> "The empire of cybernetics and the audiovisual flattens minds and communities, Disney-ises children, atrophies their powers of imagination. Today only one city upholds the privilege of sheltering the extinct oral patrimony of humanity, labeled contemptuously as 'Third World' by many...How do you define the undefinable, the protean nature and all-embracing warmth rejecting any reductive label? Its strategic position, on the busiest corner in the Square, made it the hub of hubs, its real heart...the Djemaa el Fna resists the combined onslaught of time and an obtuse, grubby modernity."[56]

As a space where peoples meet, clash, compromise or negotiate amongst themselves with their various transactions, the Jemaa al-Fna qualifies as what Mary Louise Pratt has called the "contact zone."[57] Sociologist John Forster articulated the cultural paradoxes that arose in response to touristic presence, and that it prompted a conversion of the "moral nexus" to a "cash nexus;" this happens, for example, within such contact zones when ceremonial rituals become spectacles, or when locals dressed in traditional garb demand payments from tourists in order to be photographed.[58] The Jemaa al-Fna, in this regard, can be construed as a commodified cultural form.

An understanding of how surveillance was deployed within the sūq is central to our spatial and functional understanding not only of the medina but of the Jemaa al-Fna as an

---

[56] Juan Goytisolo, "The Oral Patrimony of Humanity," in *Marrakech, the Red City: The City Through Writers' Eyes*, eds. Barnaby Rogerson and Stephen Lavington (London: Sickle Moon Books, 2003), 51-55.

[57] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York; London: Routledge, 1992), 4-6. Pratt explains the contact zone to be "...the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."

[58] John Forster, "The Sociological Consequences of Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 5(2): 217-227.

embodiment of simultaneous openness and entrapment.[59] When the French penetrated Morocco militarily in 1907, Colonel Lyautey ordered that the military posts be sited contiguously to markets; Lyautey claimed that "'Economic considerations go along with military considerations.'"[60] Surveillance in many ways still defines the space of this public square, where the city's police station is located on the fringe.[61] A crowd can be controlled in the bounded but permeable space of the Jemaa al-Fna, and interestingly, the various forms of entertainment that now infuse the space with a sense of the spectacle distinct from its primary function as a space of surveillance by not only the muhtasibs, but also the police.[62] Each shop opens onto the plaza, keeping the flow of money inward. The Jemaa al-Fna is situated opposite a public park burgeoning with palm trees and candidum lilies, called the Place de Foucauld (named after Charles de Foucauld, the French Catholic explorer and religious figurehead who attempted to evangelize in Morocco,[63] admired by Louis Massignon). Notably, the French Consulate in Marrakesh exists not in the ville nouvelle, but rather is strategically nestled in between the twelfth-century Almohad Kutubiyya Mosque and the Jemaa al-Fna.

However, despite any overriding notions of surveillance, the Jemaa al-Fna is a place of perpetual change and fluid movement; the Muslim dynasties leading up to European colonization and the French sought to keep it that way. Maintenance of the "Turuq as-Sultaniyye," or royal roads constructed under Muslim dynasties ensured the flow and mercantile exchange of material

---

[59] Michel Foucault, "Panopticism," from *Discipline and Punish* (1977), in *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader*, ed. Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 97. Foucault's statement about the inescapable visibility posed by the panopticon holds true for the Jemaa al-Fna as well: "The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately…Visibility is a trap."

[60] Wright, *The Politics of Design*, 91.

[61] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York; Grove Press, 2004), 3-4. Fanon states, "...in colonial regions, however, the proximity and frequent, direct intervention by the policy and the military ensure the colonized are kept under close scrutiny, and contained by rifle butts and napalm."

[62] Ibid., 101. "Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance."

[63] Robin Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal Areas, 1912-1956* (London: Cass & Co., 1973), 54. According to Bidwell, de Foucauld thought Morocco would never amount to anything truly French without first being truly Christian.

goods.[64] The French sought to capitalize on the already existing system of roads and markets and they proceeded to build upon them.[65] Structurally speaking, the area is the nexus from which seven streets emanate, making it accessible. This mobility intrinsic to the Jemaa al-Fna and the tensions that result from its relationship to the political state underlines the fact that the sūq generally is a site of two thresholds in the Deleuzian sense, insisting on deterritorialization or becoming.[66] The space of the Jemaa al-Fna is a rhizomatic one, because it is constantly shifting, "...always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo."[67] The tension between the state and the microcosm of the sūq perpetuates constant becoming and its inherent tenuousness.[68] Therefore, the permeability and mutability of the Jemaa al-Fna were characteristics the French wanted to sustain to ensure economic gain and this necessitated the perpetuity of surveillance tactics.

Marrakesh, the Colony

> "Shaping a new city does not involve simply laying out roads, neighborhoods, parks, and public gardens. Nor is it a matter of merely preserving historical sites and monuments or designing sites for administrative buildings such as schools, post offices, public health facilities, and so forth. It is also a question of rationally shaping the urban block in a way that is appropriate to its end use."
>
> --Henri Prost, c. 1920[69]

---

[64] Geertz, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society*, 129.

[65] Ibid., 130-131. Geertz states in reference to the trade routes from the High and Middle Atlas Mountains to Sefrou and Fez that "...by 1900, European guns and cottons were beginning to appear in it, though the amber, slaves, and civet cats of black Africa no longer did, there is no reason to believe that the essential form of the trade itself, and thus of the town's relationship to it, had change for centuries." The same is true in the case of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The Ottomans purposefully maintained the bazaars of the Byzantines so as not to disrupt the city's economic life. See Halil Inalcik, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," *Journal of Islamic Studies* v.1 (1990): 22.

[66] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and the Schizophrenic* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 25.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, "City/State," *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, N. Leach ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 313-316. Deleuze and Guattari assert that the existing two thresholds between the city and state are perpetually shifting against the movement of the other.

[69] Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002), 79. Cited from Prost, "L'urbanisme au Maroc," AA, Henri Prost estate, dossier E6 37. Cohen and Eleb write: "Prost's method was based not on the design of single buildings but rather on delineating a zoning envelope for entire groups of city blocks."

As told by the famous French chronicler of Marrakesh, Gaston Deverdun, Marrakesh was officially swallowed within the Protectorate on September 7, 1912. In recounting the events leading up to occupation, Deverdun states that occupation was provoked when al-Hība, the son of Mā' al-'aynīn, a brotherhood of religious Tafilalet, with the band of "les hommes bleus" declared holy war on the Maghrebi Christians (i.e. foreigners), raiding Marrakesh.[70] After the bloody battle, in which a 5,000 French army defeated a Hibist army two to three times its size, the Région de Marrakech was secured. Colonel Charles Mangin was ordered by Lyautey to make Marrakesh the end point of military activity. Marrakesh, therefore, played a decisive role in both the symbolic and physical formations of the greater colony of Morocco.[71]

Envisioned by Lyautey as a settlement to attract *colons*, or European migrants, the ville nouvelle of Marrakesh came into being in 1913, shortly after the Protectorate was established in 1912 (Figures 10-11).[72] The ville nouvelle was designed by Henri Prost and constructed in combined grid and radio-centric system, with the Place du 16 Novembre and the Place de la Liberte as central nodes along the major arterial street of Avenue Mohammed V, later named after the King of Morocco who reigned from 1927-1961. Noticeable is the fact that the new city is demonstrably separated from the old medina, so as to enforce the segregation of not only new and old, but of European and other. Guéliz, named after the church, or église des Saints-Martyrs established there in 1930 (on the northern end, and was formerly the site of the French military

---

[70] Gaston Deverdun, *Marrakech des origins à 1912*, 2 vols. (Rabat, 1959), 1:548-550.
[71] William Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 46-47. Hoisington comments: "To Lyautey's great relief it 'considerably altered' the political and military situation throughout Morocco, as had the French military victory at Bou Denib in 1908, by halting the coalescence of anti-French forces...Lyautey now defined...two Moroccos—'the one that we occupy, which is militarily weak and governed by a Makhzen without force or prestige, and the other, much more important, which is comprised of the Berber masses who are deeply agitated, fanaticized, and militarily strong, and who under influences beyond our control stand united against us.'"
[72] Wright, *The Politics of Design*, 94-95.

fort, secured from the locals by its location on particularly rocky soil)[73] and Hivernage (to the south)—both of which now are the realm of the wealthy locals and tourists, with five-star hotels, an opera house, Plais des Congrès, an airport and a railway station. In 1918, Lyautey played a hand in the building of the first luxury hotel in Marrakesh, la Mamounia, to which I will return in a later section.[74] Not only does this railway station in the ville nouvelle provide an easy mode of transportation to tourists and colons, but its implementation is also an intentional means to quicken the usurpation and exploitation of Moroccan resources.[75] Sustaining mobility was crucial for the ville nouvelle and the old medina alike—French economic gain depended on it. Overall, the form and urban layout of the ville nouvelle, with its radial and peripheral streets, served to facilitate circulation and movement between Guéliz and Hivernage, and yet remains distinct from the old medina, suggesting a policy that was at its core segregationist. But as much as the ville nouvelle was an effort to attract European newcomers to the colony, it also functioned as an experimental testing ground to see whether such urban planning strategies could be beneficial, or even executable, in France.[76]

The ville nouvelle, however, was not initially intended as resort or vacation getaway for the French. Instead, it functioned primarily as a military camp and industrial space for production, with the residential, administrative, and commercial buildings as auxiliary elements. In this map from 1924, from the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale in Rabat, the ville nouvelle is developed foremost as a military camp (Figures 12-14). The legend makes clear the

---

[73] *Time Out: The Best of Marrakech*, 13.
[74] Hillali, *La politique du tourisme au* Maroc, 25-26.
[75] William J. Curtis, "Type and Variation: Berber Collective Dwellings of the Northwestern Sahara," *Muqarnas*, Vol. 1 (1983): 205. "The motor roads which they built over the Atlas in the twenties and thirties and along the route from the Agadir to Ksar es Souk (now Er-Rachidia) in the latter decade were symbols of a new network of power which remained somewhat removed from the core of the cultures of the south; nonetheless these, too, exerted a subtle influence by speeding up the transmission of goods and ideas and by taking the edge off the precariousness of economic supply and survival."
[76] Wright, *The Politics of Design*, 102.

priorities and sites pertinent for European use: the Spanish and Dutch consulates, the electric plant ("la usine èlectrique"), the English and French post offices, as well as the school for Jews. The city also functioned as a key location of industrial production (Figure 15-16). Working off of the model of his military hero and superior, Colonel Jospeh Gallieni, Lyautey lauded his approach in Tonkin, and applied it to Marrakesh: "To this military work, Colonel Gallieni combines the simultaneous organization of roads, telegraphs, markets, and European and native concessions, so that with pacification a great band of civilization advances like a spot of oil [une tache d'huile]."[77]

These French technocrats in the colonial sphere were fully cognizant of their ideological constructions of modernity,[78] as David Harvey asserts, that urban space serves to "...reinforce existing patterns of social life."[79] The control and manipulation of space enables the wielding of social and political power for both capital and labor. Paraphrasing Michel Foucault, Harvey states: "Space...is a metaphor for a site or container of power..."[80] Space and visuality are inextricable from the domains of power and knowledge.[81] Furthermore, the mapping and visualization of urban space "...reveals much about the dynamics of the urban process, its inner tensions, and the significance of urbanization to capitalism's evolution..." and pushes us to "...understand the dilemmas and confusions that the urban experience produces for political and intellectual consciousness."[82] It is from this consciousness of individuals, capitalists, and city planners that designs and plans for a built environment emerge.

---

[77] Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*, 7.
[78] Rabinow, *French Modern*, introduction.
[79] David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 250.
[80] Ibid., 231.
[81] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).
[82] David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1989), 198.

Urban planner Henri Prost created a formulaic model for zoning and applied it to all of the villes nouvelles in Rabat, Casablanca, Fez, Meknes, and Marrakesh.[83] Zoning served the French intent of separating varying socio-economic and ethnic communities. "The colonial world is a compartmentalized world...Yet if we penetrate inside this compartmentalization we shall at least bring to light some of its key aspects. By penetrating its geographical configuration and classification we shall be able to delineate the backbone on which the decolonized society is reorganized."[84]Fanon describes the colonial world here as one that is compartmentalized—but to what degree during the period of French colonization did the urban form of Marrakesh with its social layers, demonstrate evidence of clearly delineated compartments? In spite of any clear intent of implementing an ironclad system of social segregation, the porous quality of city spaces is still undeniable.

Prost envisioned a commercial and consumerist city center, providing leisure and entertainment, which holds true today.[85] This conception of a consumerist locus in the ville nouvelle corresponds with Barthes' notion of the erotic dimension in cities. While the French conspicuously maintained the sūq and the Jemaa al-Fna—simultaneously placating the locals while extracting economic profit for themselves—they also sought to create districts containing new venues and stores which catered to European tastes and promoted economic growth.[86] Marrakesh, in its "end use," as referred to by Prost, was envisioned from the outset to be a site of consumption.

---

[83] Ibid.
[84] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 3.
[85] Wright, *The Politics of Design*, 106.
[86] Geertz, *Meaning and Order*, 250. "There were some European stores—French and Spanish—as well by the mid-1930s. Again, language—or more specifically literacy—is an excellent, if indirect index of the greater involvement of Jews than Muslims in this sector of the bazaar. If one takes, from the 1960 census, men over forty-five years of age (i.e., those who would have been at least twenty years old in 1935), 5% of the Muslims were literate in French, 14% of the Jews."

In this chapter, I have sketched the exploitive and gradual nature of French colonial urban expansion in Marrakesh at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The construction of the ville nouvelle as a connected yet separate civic, racial, socioeconomic entity from the medina underscores not only the zoning tactics of the French colonial regime, but additionally highlights their intent to impose order on what, as I will show in my next chapter, they perceived from their skewed Orientalist perspective to be a disorderly and chaotic city. To facilitate the speedy absorption of Moroccan resources, the necessary infrastructure was implemented, including intricate road systems, military posts (near marketplaces), etc. French colonial domination via urban "renewal" of Marrakesh, and Morocco generally, was a gradually invasive process with its historical roots in the late nineteenth century.[87]

But the colonial past continues to live on in Moroccans' lives today. Mushrooming with luxury hotels and tourist attractions, the urban layout of the ville nouvelle thrives now more than ever. The Jemaa al-Fna, permanently marked by French colonial presence and the development of the tourist industry, will likely always be a place of liminality for the Moroccan citizen. As the site for Deleuzian deterritorialization, the status of the Jemaa al-Fna will continually transform itself, mirroring the Moroccans' liminal and shifting post-colonial identities. Janet Abu-Lughod stated that, "...cities are processes, not products"—Marrakesh and its people are no exception.[88]

---

[87] Ross E. Dunn, "The Trade of Tafilalt: Commercial Change in Southeast Morocco on the Eve of the Protectorate," *African Historical Studies*, vol.4, no.2 (1971): 271-304.
[88] Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City," 172.

CHAPTER TWO

French Orientalist Visions of Marrakesh and the Reconquest of Roman North Africa

"L'Occident n'est pas à l'ouest. Ce n'est pas un lieu, c'est un projet."

--Edouard Glissant[89]

Mapping the Myths of the Medina

As early as 1928, French Orientalist savant William Marçais identified three core attributes to the paradigmatic "Islamic City": the mosque, the surrounding markets, and the public baths or hammams.[90] The legacy of this fictitious and polemical Islamic city is unfortunately one that has endured, with the highly orientalized and timeless descriptions serving as the lens through which Muslim cities are perceived. The mapping of a monolithic Marrakesh relied on the construct of uniformity; I find sociologist Michel Maffesoli's term, "fantasme de l'un," or roughly, a "delusion of oneness,"[91] to be an apt way of understanding how the North African Islamic city was conceptualized by such savants. The French discourse of the Islamic city focused on North Africa, as presented to us by French Orientalist scholars—primarily the Marçais brothers and later, Roger Le Tourneau—I will argue in the course of this chapter, intricately weaves France's *mission civilisatrice* with colonial objectives on the ground. The civilizing mission, reclamations of a Latin past through archeological digs, and agricultural pursuits were all entangled to cajole *colons* to settle in Marrakesh. Grasping the history of the construct of this mystical medina within the context of Morocco will enable us to understand how Marrakesh is framed today. As Edward Said states, narratives of self-identity were

---

[89] Edouard Glissant, *Discours antillais* (Paris: Seuil, 1981), 12 n.1.

[90] William Marçais, "L'Islamisme et la vie urbaine," *L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lêttres, Comptes Rendus* (Paris: January-March 1928): 86-100. See also Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 78-79.

[91] Michel Maffesoli, *Du nomadisme: vagabondages initiatiques* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, Le Livre de poche, 1997). 22. In his explanation that nomadism is antithetical to the maintenance of the modern nation-state, Maffesoli notes that, "...En fixant l'on peut dominer. Il s'agit là d'une bonne illustration de ce 'fantasme de l'un,' qui est le propere de la violence totalitaire moderne."

embodied by a "...system of barriers, maps, frontiers, police forces, customs, and exchange controls."[92] And, taking Edouard Glissant's observation into account, I will turn to the symbolic interpretations of urban space as determined by French Orientalist savants and other colonial officials in their mythologizing of a new Marrakesh. It is this project that confirmed ideas of French nationhood and constituted much of what the Moroccan state would then be founded upon.

The notion of the Islamic city, formulated and refined at the end of the 1920s, has become one of the most contentious subjects in Islamic and post-colonial studies since the late 1970s. More recent works by Janet Abu-Lughod,[93] Nezar AlSayyad,[94] and André Raymond[95] have exposed this stereotype, but none of the literature has illustrated in explicit terms its French origins as a concept and its direct connectivity to a broader web of French national and colonial interests in the Maghrib. Gwendolyn Wright[96] and Paul Rabinow[97] explore ethnography and urban planning in France and in its colonies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however, the purview of their works center more on the social ramifications within that timeframe, rather than investigating the cultural consequences paid by North Africans today. In their studies, Wright and Rabinow do not focus on the formulation of this reified Islamic City, nor do they draw links between its intellectual development and justifications for colonial control.

The Marçais brothers and Le Tourneau comprise a camp of colonialist historians and the colonial apologists prominently known as the "Ecole d'Alger," and I focus on their corpus

---

[92] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 307.
[93] Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City," 155-176.
[94] Nezar AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism* (New York, London: Greenwood Press, 1991).
[95] André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Centuries* (New York: New York University Press, 1984). See also his article "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1994): 3-18.
[96] Wright, *The Politics of Design.*
[97] Rabinow, *French Modern.*

because they were some of the most prominent Western writers on North African history, dominating the fields of urban and architectural history until independence.[98] It was their establishment of a discourse on a unified, universal Islamic city type upon which further studies were built.[99] Although their work was published much after French colonial settlements had been established (in Algeria, 1830; and in Morocco, 1912), they nonetheless present a picture of the quintessential Muslim medina, an image that reinforced French colonial aims. Starting from about 1930 onwards, those espousing a distinctly different point-of-view, like Mubārak ibn Muhammad Mīlī[100] among others, attempted to rewrite Maghribi history.[101] Recent scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic has tried to deconstruct the *pensée autre* and "decolonize" Orientalist scholarship on the Middle East.[102] This chapter seeks to critically review this body of French literature holistically, and argue that these individuals' work, produced largely from the beginning to mid-twentieth century, served a broader series of nationalistic and political needs of France to cohere and preserve its claims to colonial power in North Africa through an official discourse on the "Other."[103] What had disgusted Lyautey about the handling of Algiers was that it was too similar to the big cities in France—crowded and polluted; what he envisioned for

---

[98] David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1-2.

[99] Eugen Wirth, "Zur Konzeption der islamischen Stadt: Privatheit im islamischen Orient versus Offentlichkeit in Antike und Okzident," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Bd. 3, Nr. 1 (1991): 52. In reference to the Marçais brothers' work, Wirth states, "...so bauen all spätern Wissenschaftler letztlich mit auf seinen Gedanken und Arbeiten auf."

[100] Mubārak ibn Muhammad Mīlī, *Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir fī al-qadīm wa-al-hadīth* (Algiers: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 2007).

[101] Prochaska, *Making Algeria French.*

[102] Halim Barakat, ed., *Contemporary North Africa: Issues of Development and Integration* (Washington D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1985).

[103] Pascal Blanchard and Gilles Boëtsch, "La France de Pétain et l'Afrique: Images et propagandes coloniales," *Canadian Journal of African Studies/ Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1994): 2. Blanchard and Boëtsch state that the Vichy government developed a propagandistic system to conserve France's empire, through: "...utilisation systématique de l'image, organization du discours official sur l'Empire, développement d'une veritable mythologie coloniale. Les texts, tracts, calendriers, ouvrages, brochures ou manifestations sur l'Empire ne manquent pas entre 1940 et 1944, mais l'image domine largement dans la propaganda colonial d'alors."

Morocco was a French colony that somehow could maintain its "authenticity."[104] It is these orientalist vestiges that continue to affect our perceptions of "Other" spaces. Such orientalist remnants are due, I attribute, to the systems of economic interdependence within which the Moroccans (particularly) are entrenched. This economic dependence on tourism industries and the steady cash flow filtering through them sustain these geopolitical constructions of space, along with their colonial subtexts.

Before delving into how the Islamic city was constituted, it is necessary to briefly sketch a background of these French Orientatlist scholars. Georges Marçais (1876-1962)[105] was trained as a painter and engraver.[106] It was a visit to his elder brother William Marçais (1874-1956), then a director of a school in Tlemcen, in northwestern Algeria, that prompted Georges to write a thesis on the Berbers of North Africa. Consequently, he dedicated the remainder of his life to the study of Islamic art in North Africa, whereby he taught as a professor at the University of Algiers (1919-1944). Throughout his life he was prolific, writing on a range of topics, from architectural history to technology to ethnography, although architecture was his primary focus. Both brothers wrote about issues germane to urbanism, but Georges' oeuvre was quantitatively greater, with *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*[107] and *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*[108] as some of his most famous publications. As mentioned earlier, William proposed that the quintessential elements of the Islamic city are the mosque, sūqs, and hammams, whereas

---

[104] Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*, 3. Lyautey detested Algiers: "'The more I see Algiers, the more my impression of three years ago, of three months ago, of yesterday holds true: I abhor this city.'"
[105] Georges Marçais, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'occident musulman* (Algiers: Imprimerie Officielle, 1957).
[106] *Oxford Art Online*, s.v. "Marçais, Georges" by Oleg Grabar.
[107] Georges Marçais, *Mélanges d'histoire.*
[108] George Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1954).

Georges extended upon this by noting the differentiation between residential and commercial sectors, ethnic divisions within residential quarters, and a hierarchy of trades or professions.[109]

Roger Le Tourneau (1907-1971), born in Paris, began his professional life in North Africa in 1930, appointed to teach at the Collège Moulay Idris at Fez where he would eventually become director before moving to Tunisia.[110] During his time in Fez, he wrote his monumental *Fès avant le protectorat*,[111] the style of which echoes that of the Marçais brothers. Le Tourneau took particularities to Fez and extended these assumptions to the whole of North Africa. Le Tourneau served as Professor of Islamic History at the University of Algiers until 1958, when he was appointed as the Visiting Professor of North African History at Princeton University in alternate years.[112]

The installation of orientalist thinkers like the Marçais brothers and Le Tourneau into the educational infrastructure of Maghribi colonies can be seen in a broader sense as abiding by the plan of associationism, whose chief purpose was to stave off social unrest and upheaval. Associationism, as a new tactic for rule stressed that regional, religious, and ethnic specificities of communities should be recognized so as to minimize social disruption and maximize the submission to colonial governance.[113] French historian Daniel Rivet states that through this education-focused approach in the colonial administration, the French in Morocco wanted "...to avoid repeating the shortcomings and faults which contributed to unmaking indigenous society in

---

[109] AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 15. George Marçais, "L'urbanisme musulman," and "La conception des villes dans l'Islam," *Revue d'Alger*, 2 (1945), 517-33.
[110] Edmund Burke III, "In Memoriam: Roger Le Tourneau, 1907-1971," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 1972): 361.
[111] Roger Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat: etude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'Occident musulman* (Casablanca : Société marocaine de librairie et d'édition, 1949).
[112] Ibid. 362.
[113] Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961; Reprinting Lincoln, NE; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 106.

Algeria and to provoking the emergence of a mob of uprooted and proletarized men."[114] The creation of a "colonial lobby" in France in the late 1890s—the *parti colonial*—in the Chamber of Deputies served to unite academics, lawyers, businessmen, diplomats and other civil servants, synthesizing their various fields of expertise to support the colonies.[115] Other groups formed, like the Comité l'Afrique française and the Union colonial française, boasting some of the most active leaders in the colonial cause, such as Eugène Etienne and Paul Leroy-Beauliéu.[116] Intellectuals across all disciplines formed what would become the brain trust for French colonial governance. By educating and attempting to instill within its military personnel a sense of appreciation for the pre-existing culture of the colonized, the Lyautey regime in Morocco hoped any potentialities of colonial warfare would be thwarted and that pacification would be achieved through the model of *pénétration pacifique*.[117] Officers of native affairs were required to undergo language training and those aspiring to climb the ranks were strongly urged to conduct ethnographic studies, gaining extra familiarity with local customs.[118]

Now that their careers and work have been historically contextualized, what is the Islamic city as postulated by the Marçais brothers and Roger Le Tourneau, and how did it mold disparaging perceptions of North African urban space? To uphold and institutionalize new codes for segregation in the colonies, the French colonial administration used one's religious identification as a means to racially segregate individuals. Islam was qualified by both sets of authors as an urban religion. William Marçais explains that "...The mosque, like the synagogue

---

[114] Daniel Rivet, *Lyautey et l'institution du Protectorat Français au Maroc, 1912-1925* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988), Vol. II, 191.
[115] Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*, 16-17.
[116] Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association* , 6.
[117] Edmund Burke III, "A Comparative View of French Native Policy in Morocco and Syria, 1912-1925," *Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 2 (May, 1973): 177. See also Hubert Lyautey, *Paroles d'action* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1995).
[118] Ibid., 177.

and the Church, is a thing essentially urban (citadine). Islamism [sic] is a religion of cities."[119] Abu-Lughod interprets this quotation as "undermining the whole enterprise of defining the unique character of the Islamic city; it suggests that Islam shares with Judaism and Christianity the same quality of urbanity."[120] What most neglect to see is that containing all North African cities under this "Islamic" qualifier actually legitimated French claims to colonial establishments in North Africa, asserting the civilizing role of the French.

The comparative analytical approach that dominates art historical methodologies is interlinked with the methods of government-issued ethnographic studies which in turn justified racist discrimination and urban segregation. In both studies, the art historical and the ethnographic, the object or subject is organized according to typological categories. The Marçais brothers' work made significant contributions in the study of Islamic art and architecture in North Africa, but the comparative methodology that their studies employ can be seen in the broader scope of orientalist scholarship and colonial aims. Georges Marçais' publication, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*, through a seemingly Beaux-Arts approach to examining archaeological artifacts, attempted to validate this construct by extracting typological units from North African sites in an art historical comparison.[121] The overall method—a comparative analysis, and its page layout, is similar to that used by K.A.C. Creswell on Egypt[122] and Arthur Upham Pope on Iran.[123] Just as they broke down the city into its physical components, architectural structures were broken down into elements, a tradition that hearkens back to Vitruvius, whereby decoration and ornament are auxiliary to the form of the structure

---

[119] Marçais, "L'Islamisme."
[120] Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City," 156.
[121] Marçais, *Mélanges d'histoire*.
[122] K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1978).
[123] Arthur Upham Pope, *Persian Architecture: the Triumph of Form and Color* (New York: G. Braziller, 1965).

itself.[124] Similarly, in his *Le costume musulman d'Alger*, Georges Marçais opens his text by defining a social hierarchy of North African peoples, listing the following social groups and their common accoutrements in order of increasing despicability, so it seems, placing Arabs and Berbers, black Africans and women at the bottom of the social chain.[125]

The *indigènes* were lumped according to ethnic and racial categories, and generalized within those terms. What is peculiarly notable here is Marçais' distinction between "Moors" and Arabs or Berbers. A "Moor" here is seen as an ethnic category, just as Jews are considered to belong to a specific ethnicity; Islam, to Marçais, is a social and ethnic identifier. His methodology is one that nearly cites the French Beaux-Arts tradition, particularly the drawings of French engineer and architect, Pascal Coste, in his break down of customary Cairene garments into elements.[126] It is this racialization of not only the peoples themselves, but of their cultures and spaces that makes the underlying ethnographic project of art historical studies, and by extension, architectural and urban studies all the more palpable. Ethnographic studies such as this one would have been used as prime fodder for the colonial-induced ethnic factionalism between those of "Arab" and "Berber" blood. That the study of North Africa today is principally relegated to anthropology (rather than taken as a serious area of study within art or architectural

---

[124] Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930* (Berkeley; L.A.; London: University of California Press, 2003).

[125] Georges Marçais, *Le costume musulman d'Alger* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1930), Plate 1. "A. Juif.—"Leur costume se compose de plusieurs vestes ou gilets en drap gris, d'une large culotte de meme couleur; quelques-uns portent des bas; le plus grand nombre va jambs nues. Sur la tête une calotte de drap noir...autour de laquelle ils roulent...une cravat de soie noire. B. Turc.—Il porte la moustaches, et son turban de couleur est formé de torons croisés. Sa petite vest est une *bed'iya*, don't le bas est pris dans la ceinture. C. Maure.—Il porte la barbe et est coiffé d'un turban blanc à torons horizontaux. Il est habillé d'une veste flottante à manches longues (ghlîla ou jabâdoûli); au-dessous pend une blague à tabac, sans doute attaché à un bouton de la veste intérieure. Burnons jeté sur l'épaule. D, E. Arabe et berbère.—L'une de face—plus riche, a un costume ajusté et, par dessus, un *hâïk* et deux burnous; celui de dessous en laine, celui de dessus en drap. L'autre a la tête couverte d'une pan du hâïk. Son burnous de lain est effrangé.F. Nègre.—Il porte le caban à capuchin, dit kabboût. G. Femme.—Elle porte le petit voile de figure et la grande draperie (*hâïk*), avec la pantaloon blanc de rue (*sarwâl ez-zanqa*) alors beaucoup plus long et moins large qu'il ne devait l'être plus tard."

[126] Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1826*, ed. Firmin et Didot (Paris, 1837).

history) shows that its foundations as a subject of scholarship lie primarily in French colonial ethnography, a subunit of which is the discourse on the Islamic city.

Reclamations of the Latin Legacy

This theorization of the Islamic city and grounds for its legitimacy as a model intersects with French archaeological pursuits as well, which in turn were used to bolster claims to colonial control. In 1881, the French military sent expeditions to identify and map archaeological sites, forming two atlases *L'Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie* and *L'Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie.*[127] André Raymond states that French colonization "...willingly represented itself as re-establishing Roman 'imperium,' with which French civilization was establishing ties, so to say, after an 'interval' of some fifteen centuries."[128] In Algeria, the French had even attempted to resuscitate some of the extant remains of Roman forts and roads to serve as structural foundations for their new colonial urban infrastructure.[129] North Africa was simultaneously seen as an extension of Europe through the vestiges of its antique past and inextricably connected to the Middle East.[130] With the French implementation of villes nouvelles, or new cities in Morocco, with their radial and grid street systems serving to facilitate circulation and movement and yet remaining distinct from the medinas, we see that notions of order invoke both a French modernity and an antique heritage. Georges Marçais bemoaned the destruction of some Roman archeological sites in Algeria (i.e. the demolition of an amphitheater by French military engineers in 1845); he deplored that "the Algiers of the Corsairs [had been] cut up, the capital of

---

[127] Michel Le Gall and Kenneth Perkins, ed. *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History and Historiography* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), 20.
[128] André Raymond , "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* vol. 21, no. 1 (1994): 4.
[129] See Michael Greenhalgh, "The New Centurions: French Reliance on the Roman Past During the Conquest of Algeria," *War and Society* vol. 16, no. 1 (May 1998): 1-28.
[130] Leila Tarazi Fawaz, Christopher Alan Bayly, Robert Ilbert, *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 4-5.

the deys refashioned on the model of a Marseille suburb."[131] With their understanding of the symbolic dimensions of streets (as the nexus of private and public interests),[132] the French-imposed villes nouvelles also afforded the colonial regimes greater regulative control and surveillance. According to the renowned historian Eugen Weber, French republicans perceived that building a civilization of France could only arise from "urban France."[133] But in the remaking of French heritage was also the construction of a Maghribi heritage, separate from its French counterpart.

Clearly, however, this near obsession with reclaiming France's Latin origins was deeply interconnected to the civilizing mission. French naval office R. Montagne stated in an address to the British Chatham house that:

> "We are partly Latin...This is the other influence in our colonial history, the Latin influence. Mistral, the great Provençal poet, says of the Latin race 'elle se nourrit d'enthousiasme et de joie, elle est la race apostolique qui met les cloches en branle, la trompette qui publie, la main qui sème le grain.' You see there is nothing Anglo-Saxon in that. Because of his Latin origins the Frenchman always feels himself something of a missionary. He must teach the world, or show it what he believes to be the truth, his truth."[134]

The renewed founding of Carthage by Julius Caesar is seen in Western historiography as the rightful reclamation of Africa. "Thenceforth, the region was in reality a part of Europe..." writes Archibald Cary Coolidge in 1912, in reference to the Roman takeover of North Africa.[135] On the day of his appointment as Resident General to the Protectorate, Lyautey gave a speech invoking the glory of the Greco-Roman legacy, quoting Montesquieu to Poincaré: "Alexandre résista à

---

[131] Georges Marçais, *L'art en Algérie*, Exposition Coloniale de Marseille (Algiers: Imprimerie Algérienne, 1906), 148.
[132] Max Weber, *The City*, eds. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 62.
[133] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), 486.
[134] R. Montagne, "French Policy in North Africa and in Syria," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931-1939),* vol. 16, no. 2 (March-April 1937), 266. This speech was given as an address to the Vice-Admiral C.V. Usborne at the Chatham House on November 24, 1936.
[135] Archibald Cary Coolidge, "The European Reconquest of North Africa," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 17, no. 4 (July 1912), 725.

tous ceux qui auraient voulu qu'il traitât les Grecs en maîtres et les Perses en esclaves. Il ne laissa pas seulement aux peoples qu'il avait vaincus leurs moeurs, il leur laissa encore leurs lois civiles et souvent meme les rois et les gouverneurs qu'il avait trouvés. Il fut Alexandre le Grand, parce qu'il voulut tout difference pour tout conserver."[136] Jacques Ladreit de Lacharrière, an officer in the colonial Service des Affaires Indigènes (created in 1926) wrote that, "La France ne colonise pas comme d'autres pour exploiter mais pour civiliser."[137] In harkening back to this Greco-Latin heritage, Lyautey essentially tried to disinherit Morocco of its Arab-Muslim identity: "Ma plus vive préoccupation fut de le garder ainsi, passionnément provincial, ayant conservé un fort mauvais souvenir des invasions arabes."[138] Indo-European racial similarities to the Berbers also legitimized domination; the indigenous Berber population was perceived as a branch of Indo-European, superior to its Arab, Semitic invaders.[139]

Constructing Deficiency

Because it was in part modeled off of a Weberian method of studying the Muslim urban landscape in juxtaposition with Europe, this concept of the Islamic city perpetually framed cities of North Africa and the Middle East in terms of lack and deficiency.[140] Specifically, Max Weber differentiated the Islamic city from that of the Greco-Roman cities of antiquity on the basis of the former's socio-political particularities.[141] Despite the prevalence of Greco-Roman remains that the French attempted to reclaim, Le Tourneau, like Weber, attributed the lack of Roman fora or

---

[136] Lyautey, *Choix de lettres* (Paris: Colin, 1947), 296.
[137] Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule,* 3. Bidwell refers here to Jacques Ladreit de Lacharrière, *La création marocaine* (Paris: Peyronnet, 1930), 143.
[138] Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule*, 20.
[139] H.V. Canter, "Civilization in North Africa," *The Classical Journal*, vol. 35, no.4 (January 1940), 198. "The indigenous stock were the Berbers, a race far nearer in relation to the Indo-European than to the Semitic."
[140] André Raymond , "Islamic City, Arab City," 4.
[141] Wirth, "Zur Konzeption der islamischen Stadt," 52. "Mit schon von G. Marçais (1945) genannten Kriterien argumentierte dann G. von Grunebaum. Er veröffentlichte 1955 drei fast identische Aufsätze, in denen er sich auf Gedankengänge von Max Weber (1920/21) stütze: Die, "islamische Stadt" unterscheidet sich von den griechisch-römanischen Städten der Antike und von den Städten des abendländischen Mittelalters vor allem durch ihren rechtlichen und politischen Status..."

curia to the distinctively variant ways in which Islam shapes the urban environment.[142]

According to Paul Rabinow, one colonial urban planner, Tony Garnier, proposed a plan in 1902 for the ideal town that reinforced zoning—the *cité industrielle*—of which a city's history served as its "social glue."[143] A city's history was the lens through which French colonial administrators remapped the entire swaths of land. Georges Hardy, an administrator and director of the Parisian Ecole Coloniale stated that Africa's past "...ought to merit more than disdain," but that Africa could only be rectified after France had firmly taken hold of North Africa.[144] For other orientalists like Georges Marçais, it was the timeless quality that distinguishes Muslim society from others, and Marçais notes that the Muslim house-type is: "...aired and lit by its inner courtyard, whose piece of sky belongs to it alone."[145] In sharp contrast to Marçais' seemingly mild comments, Roger Le Tourneau fatalistically comments that Fez would likely have rotted, if it were not for French interventions:

> "...Fez would regain only a diminished equilibrium, because it would be the capital of a country arrested in its development and set apart from the rhythm of the world. Can it be said that the French Protectorate and its consequences drew Fez out of its semi-lethargy? Yes...All of this makes the future of Fez appear limited, leaves it with scarcely more than its past, its old Moslem university whose fate is uncertain...It is therefore permissible to conclude that, except in the event of an unforeseeable reversal, the fourteenth century is indeed the moment when Fez reached its fullest fruition."[146]

Here Le Tourneau fixes Fassi socio-cultural structures not as stagnant or unchanging, like some of his contemporaries, but rather in grim terms of constant decline and regression! Cities like Fez, Marrakesh, and Tangiers were framed in such language so as to be contrasted with the order

---

[142] Roger Le Tourneau, *Les villes musulmanes de l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, Algeria: Imprimerie Officielle, 1957), 20-21.
[143] Paul Rabinow, "France in Morocco: Technocosmopolitanism and Middling Modernism," *Assemblage*, no. 17 (April 1992) , 54. See also Tony Garnier, *Une Cité Industrielle*, ed. Riccardo Mariani (New York: Rizzoli, 1990).
[144] See Georges Hardy, *Vue générale de l'histoire d'Afrique* (Paris: A. Colin, 1922), 50.
[145] Marçais, *L'urbanism musulman*, 227.
[146] Roger Le Tourneau, *Fez in the Age of the Marinides* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 149-150.

of cities like Rabat and Casablanca, where the French colonial administrative bases were being established. In an address to the American Oriental Society in Philadelphia, 1934, Richard J.H. Gottheil writes:

> "One has to only go to the so-called international city of Tangiers and compare it with Rabat and Casablanca to see the difference. Tangiers has remained an Oriental city of the old style, with bad roads, miserable houses, and dirty inhabitants who, unless they belong to the European or rich element, are mostly clothed in rags."[147]

Deterioration and decadence defined proto-French cities in Morocco under colonial authorities. Le Tourneau's colonialist sympathies are nowhere more evident than in the following statement: "Certainly the Western powers which established themselves in these countries in virtue of various treaties, whether Spain, France, or Italy, all proclaimed their respect for the Muslim religion and their express intention not to harm it in the least...The sincerity of those who signed these diplomatic documents in the name of the Western governments cannot be doubted, any more than the good faith of those who applied them."[148]

Photography in the Service of Civilizing

That photography was a conduit for the civilizing mission is undeniable. The medium of photography played a vital role in the military, performing surveillance and documentation for the state both home in France and across the Mediterranean. Susan Sontag affirms that, "...starting with their use by Paris police in the murderous roundup of communards in Paris in June 1871, photographs became a useful tool of modern states in the surveillance and control of their increasingly mobile populations."[149]

---

[147] Richard J.H. Gottheil, "Morocco as it is Today," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 54, no.3 (September 1934), 234.
[148] Roger Le Tourneau, "North Africa: Rigorism and Bewilderment," in *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. Gustave von Grunebaum (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 235-236.
[149] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), 5.

This section is a brief exploration of how photography of French colonial urban development went hand in hand with touristic marketing, particularly with regards to the representation of urban space in photographs on postcards of Marrakesh. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam have linked the uses of photography to colonial violence, stating that the "camera gun...resonated with the aggressive use of the camera by the agents of colonial powers."[150] Mary Vogl in her interpretation of Roland Barthes states that the act of "taking a photograph is metaphorical killing, and photographers are 'agents of death' because time is made to stand still and the photograph can never evolve or change."[151]

Military use of photography became commonplace in mid-nineteenth-century France. In 1859, Captain Aimé Laussedat, an officer in the engineering corps, took pictures to survey and map the land around Paris.[152] Legislation passed in 1861 requiring at least one man in each brigade to be adept in the medium, and by 1871, state military schools in Paris offered a course on photography.[153] Indeed, the layout of the city drastically changed in order to accommodate French military needs.[154] Paris-based photographer J.B. Moulin was hired by the Ministry of War to document a wide inventory of sites, including urban centers, ruins, oases and villages.[155] Likewise, the French government funded some of the largest postcard producers, such as Neurdein Frères-ND Photographic Studio to popularize the notion of a colony that is desirable.[156]

---

[150] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multi-Culturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 1994), 106.
[151] Mary B. Vogl, *Picturing the Maghreb: Literature, Photography, and (Re)Presentation* (Oxford, England: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 3.
[152] Donald E. English, *Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic, 1871-1914* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984), 8.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations*, 27.
[155] Deborah Cherry, "Algeria In and Out of the Frame: Visuality and Cultural Tourism in the Nineteenth Century," *Visual Culture and Tourism*, ed. David Crouch and Nina Lübbren (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2003), 42.
[156] Rebecca J. Deroo, "Colonial Collecting: French Women and Algerian cartes postales," in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, eds. (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 159.

Indeed, the binary tropes of illness/health and savage/civilized play into the orientalizing iconography of postcards and the affirmation of French colonialist imperatives (Figures 17-19). The worn zellij tilework featured in these charitable fountains, or the staged stance of the water merchant and his cadre in these photographs, later to be sold as postcards, insinuate a need for corrective measures in the colony. These goals echoed the popularization of the "social question" in France at the end of the nineteenth century which addressed the needs to reform laws on philanthropy.[157] Similar to Haussman's approach to Paris, in providing the city with ample circulation and improved hygiene, Le Corbusier also sought to create open, wide boulevards in Algiers.[158] The same urban formation was applied in the case of Marrakesh by Henri Prost in transforming the medina into a "counter space."[159] A special municipal commission of hygiene was even implemented so as to educate the *indigènes* on health and cleanliness.[160] Hygiene of citizens reflected the hygiene of the space which they inhabited. Photography was more than just a means of documentation, but it rather facilitated in communicating the very crux of what it means to civilize.

Remaking the Makhzen

The Moroccan state—essential to comprehending the functioning of power in urban form—has to be understood as a historically-produced entity, one constructed by its society.[161] In the context of Morocco, as for any other country, the state should be comprehended as a plural noun, with many players; as Robert Putnam notes, "...not the state 'it,' but the state, 'they.'"[162] Traditionally, the Moroccan state—its governmental apparatus—is known as the Makhzen;

---

[157] Rabinow, *French Modern*, 11.
[158] Rabinow, *French Modern*, 76-77.
[159] Ibid., 38.
[160] Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations*, 41.
[161] Peter Evans, *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transforma-tion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).
[162] Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games," *International Organization* 42(3): 427-460.

functioning under the leadership of the Sultan, the Makhzen is essentially a decentralized, democratic institution with the djemaa, or consultative assembly, operating at a local level.[163] Before the onset of the Protectorate, Morocco was a cause célèbre maneuvered and shifted by covetous European powers. The conference of Algeciras, Spain, held between January 16-April 7, 1906, allegedly called for by the Sultan Abd al-Aziz and attended by fourteen countries—Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and the U.S.A.—superficially reinstated the sovereignty of the Sultan, and essentially opened the floodgates for economic exchange amongst the countries, laying the groundwork for colonization.[164] Lyautey's "Makhzen policy"—a *politique des grands caïds*—was his application of associationist principles; by indirect rule, with Sultan Moulay Youssef recognized by the French the Makhzen was bereft of its governing power.[165] With the signing of the Treaty of Fez in 1912, the sovereignty and authority of the Sultan was not to be undermined, but French interventions effectively reconfigured how the Makhzen and

---

[163] *Morocco Under the Protectorate: Forty Years of French Administration* (New York; Washington, D.C.: Istiqlal Party of Morocco, Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation, 1953), 17.

[164] William Spencer, *The Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980), 24. See also Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule*, 3. By March 1935, *L'Afrique Française* stated that, "La France a été très généreuse vis-à-vis du Maroc. Elle a defendu ce pays contre les convoitises étrangères." The "covetous strangers" to which this article refers points undoubtedly to France's neighboring competitors in Europe. At a time when Morocco's colonial fate was still undecided, it was deemed a country too unruly and impossibly untamable; nevertheless, it was vied for its plentiful resources. Lieutenant Trent Cave, of the British Army and Navy Club, writes in November 1859 of Morocco in the introduction to the 1860 publication, *Travels in Morocco*, by British missionary James Richardson: ""It is scarcely possible that either France or Spain can contemplate the conquest of the entire Empire of Morocco, as the result of the present impending crisis, the superficial extent of the territory being 219,420 square miles, and the population nearly 8,000,000, of which a large proportion live in a state of perpetual warfare...Let us, however, suppose, that the present action of France and Spain should result in the subversion of the atrocious system of Government practiced in Morocco: a guarantee from the conquerors that our existing commercial privileges to ensure the protection of our interests, and what an extended field would the facilities for penetrating into the interior open to us!...Should the war not result in conquest, the least we have a right to expect, is that toleration should be forced upon the Moors, and that European capital and labour should be allowed a free development throughout their Empire...Alas! Why should we respect the national existence of any community of Mahometans?...Civilization cries aloud for retribution on a race whose religion teaches them to regard us as 'dogs.' Surely, far from protecting and cherishing, we should hunt them out of the fair lands they occupy, and force them back on the deserts which vomited them forth on our ancestors..." In James Richardson, *Travels in Morocco* (London, 1860) iv-x.

[165] Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*, 48.

governmental administration worked. The euphemistic guise of pacification rendered the Makhzen a futile institution. The Treaty of Fez reaffirmed these cloaked European prerogatives in its promise to "introduce reforms and assure the economic development of the country."[166]

But what were the implications of remaking the Makhzen for urban form and its regulation? The hierarchy within which decisions were made had been turned upside-down, whereby high Makhzen officials would be dismissed and overthrown without the consultation of consent of the Sultan. Through the issuing of residential decrees, the Resident General essentially usurped power from the regional or local representatives. "Technical service" positions—those offices held in the Departments of Finance and Estates, Education, Arts and Antiquities, Labor and Social Services, Public Works and Transportations, Industrial Production and Mines, Agriculture, Post, Public Health, and Commerce—were held by Frenchmen, with the most subordinate of positions occupied by Moroccans.[167] While this certainly comes as no surprise, what this division of labor and across ethnicity foreboded for land usage was astounding. By undermining the democratic underbelly of the pre-colonial Moroccan government, the French were basically free to make decisions as they willed.

This resulted in the dahir, or edict, of August 12, 1913, regarding land ownership registration, which drastically affected urban planning and the real-estate market in its permit to arbitrarily confiscate Moroccan-owned land in Marrakesh, as in other cities.[168] In a letter from June 1919 written by Lyautey to French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, the welfare of Moroccans was the least of priorities (whereas European agendas were of utmost concern), so long as there were no outbursts of social unrest: "...l'omnipotence actuelle des Grand Caids est

---

[166] *Morocco Under the Protectorate: Forty Years of French Administration* (New York; Washington, D.C.: Istiqlal Party of Morocco, Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation, 1953), 7.
[167] Ibid., 19.
[168] Cohen and Eleb, *Casablanca*, 77.

incompatible avec le développement régulier et légal des interest européens dans les régions soumises à leur autorité...Vers la Région de Marrakech comme dans les autres parties soumises du Maroc, vont affluer, qu'on le veuille ou non, de nombreux Européens...Nous avons l'obligation absolue d'assurer un champ d'action à leurs initiatives collectives ou privées et des les aider par notre influence, notre contrôle et notre action." At the same time that French (and in this letter, European) interests were watchfully protected, the French colonial forces able outwardly projected themselves as stabilizers to Moroccans.[169]

Reviving the Roman Granary with California Dreams

Posing as sufficient grounds for occupation—the decay of North African societies, a will to rightfully reclaim the Roman legacy, and the supposed philanthropic "sincerity" of Western governments' intentions—the French colonial forces' civilizing mission also conveniently dovetailed with very practical needs to physically colonize the land. Claims justifying French colonization in Morocco based on its Roman heritage were also deeply intertwined with lofty agricultural goals in the region. Policies were structured so as to best procure markets and secure industries that would be "indispensible to the smooth operation"[170] of the French national economy.

Such agricultural aims in Morocco were prompted in part by a food crisis caused by torpedoes' sinking of several French ships transporting grains in 1916. That same year, a geographer working for the Parisian Société de Géographie Commerciale dauntlessly boasted that "these soils...called *tirs*...should make Morocco one of the most productive grain-producing regions in the world."[171] The Commissaire Générale à l'Agriculture pour l'Afrique du Nord et

---

[169] Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule*, 119.
[170] Lyautey to de Margerie, 4 February 1897, in Lyautey, *Lettres du Tonkin et de Madagascar*, 2:137.
[171] M.J. Fougous, *L'Avenir économique du Maroc* (Paris, 1916), 10. Quoted in William D. Swearingen, *Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912-1986* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 17.

les Colonies Françaises, Henri Cosnier (who was originally a parliamentary member and agronomist) was appointed with the task of ensuring the increase of cereal production for the metropole. With the popular reference to France as the heir of the Roman legacy in North Africa, this opened a watershed of propagandistic sloganeering for Morocco as the "granary of Rome." In a 1920 document addressed the French President Raymond Poincaré it was stated that, "North Africa is completely covered with monuments which attest to the importance of the Roman civilization in this land. Sons of this same civilization, we...must have the courage to restore this empire in all its power and splendor...Thus we must employ all our means to settle and solidly organize this New France where, as did ancient Rome, we will find the foodstuffs and raw materials necessary to nourish our old France."[172]

The Sultan was compelled to issue dahirs legalizing land transfers to Europeans; in the dahir of August 1, 1914, land formerly belonging to the makhzen was parceled by the Domaine Public de l'État (a sub-sector of the Administration des Travaux Publics).[173] This resulted, by 1951, in a European population of 363,000 owning one million hectares (2.5 million acres) of Moroccan territory, a great deal of which was fertile agricultural soil. On average, a European farm owned 170 hectares, whereas the average Moroccan farm contained only 17 hectares. William Spencer interprets this policy as one aimed at turning the rural population into a "migrant unemployed sub-proletariat."[174] Lyautey, for instance, openly dreamed for Morocco's development of an aristocratic settler population, abhorring the "little settler" groups that had colonized Algeria. With his preference for the installment and growth of a landed gentry class in

---

[172] Swearingen, *Moroccan Mirages,* 31. Originally quoted in H. Cosnier, *L'Afrique du Nord—son avenir agricole et économique* (Paris, 1922), 336. Swearingen does not indicate who wrote this document.
[173] Schwerdtfeger, *Traditional Housing in African Cities*,197. Originally cited in H. Fazy, *Agriculture marocaine au Maroc* (Paris, 1948), 62.
[174] Spencer, *The Historical Dictionary of Morocco*, 7.

Morocco, Lyautey envisioned a Moroccan countryside dominated by elite French landholders.[175] It is here that issues of colonialism and class structures merge; spaces either urban or rural intended for European consumption were developed accordingly.[176]

The 1930s witnessed a new approach that was sure to invite a new generation of money-hungry *colons*, where the intersection of business and agriculture lay. Promoted most ardently by journalist Georges Louis, a writer for *La Vigie Marocaine*, the main French newspaper in Morocco, was the "California dream." On the basis of California and Morocco's comparable latitudes and thus similar climates, Louis among others upheld the strong implications of California's success for Morocco (Figure 20). With France importing more than 600 million Francs worth of fruit per annum, the prospective profitability of fruit-growing was tremendous.[177] Publishing a total of forty-six articles between 1931 and 1932 on the subject, Louis advocated that Morocco follow the lead of California, which had optimized the advantages of its climate through irrigation techniques.[178] Nestled within the Haouz plain (Figure 21), Marrakesh was thought to be at a distinct advantage for its level land, good water resources and soils. Considered a part of the bilād al-makhzen (or territory controlled by the makhzen, or central government) before the Protectorate, it was then dubbed "Maroc utile" by the French.

California dreams were sought out by M. Laguerre, a French commercial attaché in San Francisco, who was a strong proponent of marketing Moroccan produce with a label in the manner of "Sunkist" in the United States; in 1932, the Office Chérifien de Contrôle et

---

[175] Swearingen, *Moroccan Mirages*, 17. Lyautey remarked, "En somme, la definition du colon idéal est assez exactement fournie par l'expression anglaise de 'gentleman-farmer.'" Swearingen is quoting from Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, *La Renaissance du Maroc-dix ans de protectorat, 1912-1922* (Poitiers, 1922), 292.

[176] Wright, *The Politics of Design*, 159. "Colonialism could not provide innovation or progress in the Moroccan districts; this prospect the French reserved for themselves."

[177] William Hoisington, "The Selling of Agadir: French Business Promotion in Morocco in the 1930s," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1985), 316. Originally cited in André Colliez, *Notre protectorat marocain: La première étape, 1912-1930* (Paris, 1930), 428-430.

[178] Swearingen, *Moroccan Mirages,* 68-69.

d'Exportation (OCE) invented a label that would be slapped onto every crate of foodstuffs (Figure 22). What is most fascinating about this label is that its imagery uses the city view of Marrakesh as its referent; within the oblong cartouche, the unmistakable minaret of the Kutubiyya masjid stands amidst abstracted palm trees looking like pinwheels, against the backdrop of the Atlas Mountains. Marrakesh, by association with the signifieds of fruit, grains, and other foodstuffs—therefore becomes a signifier for a range of meanings: fertility, wealth, prosperity. This model yielded profitable results—by 1953, nearly 6,000 European farms spread over more than one million hectares.[179]

The implications of this new class of bourgeois landowning *colons* were profound not only for agricultural production and exportation, but for the extraction of minerals as well. The Bureau de Recherche et de Participations Minieres (BRPM) was founded by the Protectorate administration in 1928 with the purpose of exploring coal and oil deposits.[180] As of 1949, 110,000 tons of super-phosphate extracted was either allocated for foreign exportation or consumed on Europeans' farms in Morocco.[181] Overall, despite the vital importance of mineral extraction and foodstuffs, developmental funding for agriculture was restricted to less than 1% of the Protectorate's total funding capacity, whereas over 90% of that pool went towards the building of basic infrastructure—ports, railroads, roads, and administrative buildings.[182] Nevertheless, the symbolism of a Roman heritage was potent in stressing the urgency for agricultural development in Morocco. The fringes of Marrakesh posed as key farmland where produce could be cultivated.

---

[179] Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule*, 213.
[180] Spencer, *The Historical Dictionary of Morocco*, 39.
[181] *Morocco Under the Protectorate: Forty Years of French Administration* (New York; Washington, D.C.: Istiqlal Party of Morocco, Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation, 1953), 27.
[182] Swearingen, *Moroccan Mirages*, 44.

In this chapter, I have argued that the formulation of a discourse on the Islamic city is inextricably conflated with the retention of French nationalist interests, which it ultimately served. A last quotation from the great post-colonial thinker Edward Said summarizes what I sought to illustrate:

> "No scholar or school is a perfect representative of some ideal type or school in which by virtue of national origin or the accidents of history, he participates. Yet in so relatively insulated and specialized a tradition as orientalism...there is in each scholar some awarenesss, partially conscious or partly unconscious, of national tradition, if not national ideology."[183]

The construct of the Islamic city can be seen as a part of a larger narrative of French nation-building. It was an entity that, when concretized, embodied the intrinsic shortcomings of the *indigène* and in turn symbolized a foil to both the remains of an antique past and a French, yet still staunchly Latin, nation.[184] As an archaeologist and historian who worked in the service of the French motherland, George Marçais and Roger Le Tourneau were ideologues of this French myth, working to render both it and an Islamic myth palpable through their careers. Just as Homi Bhabha has argued, the projects of nation-building are intricately tied to those of narration.[185] I also sought to make clear that the dialectics—one between a palatable, mythical medina, and the lost landscapes of a Roman empire; another between a decrepit Morocco in need of social and physical cleansing and a richly, fertile territory—were shaped practical pursuits on the ground in developing a sizeable population of *colons* to cultivate the land.

Though the viewpoint that Islamic urbanism is static and unified is dead, the clouded essentialism of the Islamic city is still very much alive in preservation and conservation projects

---

[183] Said, Orientalism, 263.
[184] R. Montagne, "French Policy in North Africa and in Syria."
[185] Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990).

today. As I will show in subsequent chapters, the modern reinventions of French musings in the North African Islamic city persist.

CHAPTER THREE

Selling Marrakesh: Nationalism, Heritage and the Politics of Tourism

"To attract a tourist population is to gain everything for both the public and private budgets."

--Hubert Lyautey[186]

Dionysian Spaces, Sexual Vice: Consumption of Bodies in the Mellah of Marrakesh

In order to confront the hedonism, bohemianism, and gratification associated with Marrakesh, it is essential to look at the conditions through which these labels emerged, and investigate the ideological implications of them. As I will show in this section, these descriptors, inasmuch as they are often exaggerated, are not constructs but rather indicative of socio-historical contexts true to the city. One trade that flourished in the mellah—the Jewish quarter of the medina—well before colonization that has indeed contributed to the city's allure and mystique, is that of prostitution. Gaston Deverdun, the chronicler of Marrakesh, characterized the moral economy of the city as follows: "Naturally hardworking and sober, Marrakeshis have always loved pleasure, and, despite the appearance of severe restriction of female life in the city, they avoid moral corruption only with great difficulty."[187] The mellah, for centuries, was synonymous with sex. And although this aspect of sexual transactions within the city remain, I would like to foreground (and I will return to this in a later section) that what has happened today is that a kind of appropriation, in which the Moroccan tourism industries have adopted the subtexts of allure, eroticism, and pleasure to maintain consistent levels of foreign demand; Marrakesh remains a place to be penetrated, experientially and sensually.

As early as 1767, French subjects were granted extraterritorial rights in Morocco, which occurred concomitantly with the opening of the French consulate in Salé, outside of the present-

---

[186] Wright, *The Politics of Design*, 134.
[187] Deverdun, *Marrakech des origins à 1912*, 1: 609.

day capital of Rabat.[188] European merchants and voyagers traveling to Marrakesh were largely confined to the mellah, following the precedent thought to have been established during Sa'adian rule in the sixteenth century.[189] Their initially benign reputation as *ahl al-dhimma* gradually transmuted, as the nineteenth century closed, into intrusive members of the Islamic conception of dār al-harb (the realm of war).[190] One of the first Europeans to describe the mellah of Marrakesh is Jean Baudry in 1767, where he differentiates the city spaces in terms of their religious function:

> "The city is divided in two: the first part, which one calls the Mellah, is the place where Christians and Jews reside. The Spanish have a convent there consisting of seven or eight priests or monks. The other part, which one calls the medina, is the place where the Moors live. It is a lot nicer than the mellah."[191]

The mellah was only transmuted into the "ghetto" by virtue of its misuse and abuse by foreigners and Muslims alike as a space permissible for debauched behavior. The strict socio-spatial boundaries between the casbah of the ruling classes, the medina of the Muslims, and the mellah for the Jews and Christians contributed to a growing perception of an impenetrable, inaccessible city, thereby adding to its intrigue. This dichotomous paradigm of inclusion/exclusion is schematically represented in a sixteenth-century Portuguese manuscript drawing of the royal casbah of Marrakesh (Figure 23).[192] However, this is not to deny these spaces' permeability.

---

[188] Harold D. Nelson, ed. *Morocco: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Army, 1985), 33.

[189] Emily Gottreich, "Rethinking the 'Islamic City' from the Perspective of Jewish Space," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 136.

[190] Jonathan Katz, "The 1907 Mauchamp Affair and the French Civilising Mission in Morocco," in North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World from the Almoravids to the Algerian War, ed. Julia Clancy-Smith (London, 2001), 154. Posing a formidable threat to European residents of Marrakesh, a group called the "Blue Men," led by the Saharan Ma al-'Aynayn, often carried out verbal and physical attacks on the minority.

[191] Gottreich, "Rethinking the 'Islamic City' from the Perspective of Jewish Space," 135. Here Gottreich quotes Jean Baudry, "Une Ambassade au Maroc en 1767," *Revue des questions historiques* 36 (1906): 193.

[192] Khireddine Mourad and Alain Gérard, *Marrakech et La Mamounia* (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994), 23. This text does not indicate the location of the Catalan map.

Employing a reworking of anthropologist Victor Turner's concept of liminality,[193] Emily Gottreich understands Marrakesh's mellah as being a truly liminal space, in terms of its in-between, unfixed and momentary social makeup.

Sex was not the only incentive to go to Marrakesh; commercial transactions and prospects for wealth lured outsiders to the city as well. Largely controlled by the French (and to some degree, the Danish), the ports of Agadir and Safi, with their connections to Marrakesh, provided a wealthy monopoly.[194] With the signing of a treaty in 1856 between Morocco and Europe (mediated by the British), all trade internal to the country was opened to non-Moroccans. This posed a direct impact on the population of Marrakesh which saw a substantial increase of European residents; in 1832, a census indicates that there were only 248 Europeans in residence, whereas in 1867 that number had spiked to 1,497.[195] With more extensive foreign presence in the region, Europeans making the journey to Morocco possibly prompted the 1889 publication of the first travel guide for Morocco, by M. de Kerdec, then chief editor of a French newspaper in Tangiers, *Le réveil du Maroc* ("The Awakening of Morocco").[196] Such literature would proliferate and disseminate the now clichéd stereotypes of a quintessential Moroccan lifestyle, where pleasure meets fortune. The spaces of the mellah allowed Europeans and Muslims alike to subvert the proscriptions of Muslim spaces.

It is indeed ironic that a city once devoid of European presence (due to the fact that it was an imperial capital) would acquire a reputation of ostentatious hedonism, formed by its late

---

[193] Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 231.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Gottreich, "Rethinking the 'Islamic City' from the Perspective of Jewish Space," 136. Miège, *Le Maroc*, 2:474.
[196] Hillali, *La politique du tourisme au Maroc,* 32-33. Originally cited in Roland Lebel, *Les voyageurs français du Maroc* (Paris: Librairie colonial et orientaliste Larose, 1936), 347. Lebel says: "Ces sortes d'ouvrages ne sont pas tous de date récente. Il est probable que l'Empire chérifien ne vit pas beaucoup de tourists avant le XX^{e} siècle; pourtant, dès 1889, M. de Kerdec publia un guide du voyageur au Maroc, qui apparaît bien comme le premier essai de ce genre. L' auteur était le rédacteur en chef d'un journal française de Tanger, Le réveil du Maroc, et il est probable qu'il cherchait à attire des compatriots dans ce centre d'hivernage, déjà connu des 'Anglo-Saxons.'"

European newcomers. This disrepute is rooted in how Europeans and Muslims alike historically used specific urban spaces in Marrakesh, attributing in part its connotations today as a city where one can live la vie bohème. Emily Gottreich writes that the disparaging views by city locals of the Europeans had more to do with their exhibition of ill-conduct and depraved social mores than by their mere influx in numbers; outward veneration for local customs decreased as the number of foreigners increased.[197] But over time, the mellah was also where Muslims could leave expectations of religiosity at the gate; Muslim men could drink alcohol, gamble, smoke, intermingle with Europeans, and have direct ingress to women's bodies.[198] According to census reports, divorce and adultery were incredibly common. Syphilis too ran rampant throughout the city. Prostitutes, closely tied with dancing and singing professions (*shaykhāt*), were often Jewesses, and their beauty was well-lauded. A Spaniard with the pseudonym Ali Bey was awe-struck, "...their rose and jasmine faces would charm Europeans; their delicate features are very expressive, and their eyes enchanting."[199] Newspapers in the colonial period also publicized Marrakesh as "la ville empoisonée."[200]

More currently, Arthur Koestler, a writer in the U.S. popular press writes:

> "Marrakech, the trading center and playground of the Sahara, had one of the most picturesque red-light districts in the world; it was one of its principal industries. Its Pahsas used to pay their armies with their revenues from prostitution, which was taxed like any other trade. The French troops stationed in Marrakesh added to the boom; when the brothels were finally abolished in 1955 by the present Sultan, there were 27,000 officially registered prostitutes in the town, which had a total population of 240,000. A little arithmetic yields the astonishing result that over 10 percent of the total population; that is, 20 percent of the female population; that is, 40 percent of all females of childbearing age, exercised that profession."[201]

---

[197] Gottreich, "Rethinking the 'Islamic City' from the Perspective of Jewish Space," 136.
[198] Ibid., 126.
[199] Ibid., 131. *Originally cited in Ali Bey Al-Abassi Travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia, 1803-1807*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1816), 174.
[200] Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule*, 121.
[201] Arthur Koestler, "Reports and Comment: Marrakech," *Atlantic Monthly* 12 (1971): 26.

That these statistics are staggering accounts, in part, for the prevailing perceptions of dionysian cityscapes. This reputation is one that had lingered throughout the decades not only in the West, but across the Middle East. It is widely known that oil revenues from Gulfi sheikhs pay for sexual fulfillment and carousing in Marrakesh.[202] But as we will see in subsequent sections, the history of this one trade has had consequences on ways in which the city itself has been pimped for other purposes.

Accommodating the Colonial Tourist: Motifs of Hybridity in the Mamounia Hotel

With the social restrictions posed on Europeans' abilities to act out at will on their prerogatives, in the early days of the Protectorate, land was confiscated and built to suit new demands—those of an increasingly European population. The wary traveler had to be accommodated. As early as the mid-1850s, the city's potential for generating business was realized by Narcisse Cotte, a Frenchman traveling in Morocco who believed that the early European settlement in Casablanca could be the site of lucrative hotel businesses on the path from Marrakesh to Fez.[203]

Taking on one of Lyautey's chief objectives of expanding the tourism industry, in hopes of building a sizeable *colons* population, were the architects Henri Prost and Antoine Marchiso, in their design and construction in the 1920s of the Mamounia hotel in Marrakesh, which served a booming European clientele (Figure 24). It was once the site of the garden of al-Mamoun, the son of the Alaouite Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdullah, before it was leased out by al-

---

[202] Karim el-Gawhary, "Sex Tourism in Cairo," *Middle East Report*, no. 196 (September-October, 1995), 26-27. See also L.L. Wynn, *Pyramids and Nightclubs: A Travel Ethnography of Arab and Western Imaginations of Egypt, from King Tut and a Colony of Atlantis to Rumors of Sex Orgies, Urban Legends about a Marauding Prince, and Blonde Belly Dancers* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007).
[203] Cohen and Eleb, *Casablanca*, 23.

Mamoun in 1785-1786 when he was next appointed to serve the post of khalīfa in Fez.[204] Gaston Deverdun, states that the name "la Mamounia" can be "...traced back to the 18th century. In this park of ancient olive trees, the perfectly proportioned little square pavilion, situated at the crossroads which trace the initial divisions of the park with simplicity, and the remodeled riyâd, also date back to the reign of Sidi Mohammed."[205] In the hotel, blending modernist aesthetics and art deco modes of the early twentieth century, with architectural elements citing a Moroccan vernacular, Prost and Marchiso envisioned a hybrid building palatable to European tastes for luxury and an exotic veneer, and tolerable enough for locals to withstand as an imposition (Figures 25-27). Interior designs for common rooms also employed similar hybrid styles, inspired by Moroccan palace interiors and French decorators like Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann and Jules Leleu (Figure 28).[206] Yet in their efforts to juxtapose Moroccan interiors with art nouveau trends in furniture, their aesthetic choices made for an often incongruously hybridized blend.

Noticeably, the designers' vision was in keeping with contemporaneous preservation tactics; an official in the colonial administration claimed that if Moroccan craftsmen and builders were to construct hybrid, courtyard houses in Fez, for example, that Europeans would pounce at the opportunity to reside in such buildings for their supposed mix of Moroccan authenticity and modern amenities.[207] The visual language of hybridity, translated into space and architecture, was seen as a way of optimizing the intrigue in the foreignness and "ancient" qualities of one aesthetic and the facility and modernity of another.

---

[204] Mourad and Gérard, *Marrakech et La Mamounia*, 107.
[205] Deverdun, *Marrakech des origins à 1912*, 1:506.
[206] Mourad and Gérard, *Marrakech et La Mamounia*, 115.
[207] Holden, "When It Pays to Be Medieval," 311. Originally cited in Ministry of Culture (Rabat), unclassified, Leonetti, Ministry of Culture functionary, to unidentified official, (1928).

In addition to the Mamounia hotel, other hotels began to spring up when the Crédit immobilier et hôtelier (CIH) was created in 1919 to jumpstart private investment in Morocco.[208] Taking out nearly 995 million old francs in loans by 1955, the hotel industry flourished and continues to.[209] The accommodations sector is where most of the profits lie.[210] As we will encounter in the subsequent section, the strategic construction and planning of chaîne hôtelière was connected to the establishment of transportation infrastructure, which also employed tropes of hybridity for advertising purposes.

Building Eurafrican Railways, Flying Moroccan Skies

> Take the train from Casablanca going south
> Blowing smoke rings from the corners of my mouth
> Colored cottons hang in the air
> Charming cobras in the square
> Striped djellabas we can wear at home, well...
> Wouldn't you know we're riding on the Marrakesh Express...
> They're taking me to Marrakesh...
>
> --Crosby, Stills and Nash, "Marrakesh Express"[211]

Morocco's location played a fundamental role in shaping French military plans for the implementation of an infrastructural system. Realizing the strategic position of Morocco, the French colonial government issued that studies in geography and topography be undertaken. Among the most prominent French geographers of the period was Paul Vidal de la Blache, who stressed the fundamental role of a trans-Saharan railway across the French colonies.[212] "The importance and value of Morocco is due to her geographical position. Astride of the

---

[208] Hillali, *La politique du tourisme au Maroc*, 59. This formerly was the Caisse de prêts immobiliers du Maroc (CPIM). Hilali states: "Du temps du protectorat, les promoteurs privés désireux d'investir au Maroc pouvaient solliciter la CPIM pour obtenir des prêts à des conditions defiant toute concurrence."
[209] Ibid. Hilali cites Hassan Sebbar, *Bilan d'une politique: l'exemple du Maroc* (Mémoire, faculté des sciences juridiques, économiques et sociales; Université Mohamed V, Rabat, 1972).
[210] Robert Vitalis, "The Middle East on the Edge of the Pleasure Periphery," *Middle East Report*, no. 196 (September-October, 1995), 6.
[211] Crosby, Stills, and Nash, "Marrakesh Express" (Atlantic Recording Co., 1969).
[212] Wright, *The Politics of Design*, 71.

Mediterranean Sea and of the Atlantic Ocean, the power established in Morocco will control one side of the western entrance of the Mediterranean, which since the cutting of the Suez Canal, has again become a highway of commerce between the Occident and the Orient."[213] The first Moroccan rail line was opened in 1911, running for approximately 15 miles from the westernmost end of the Algerian standard gauge line (1.44 meters) to Oujda, in northeastern Morocco.[214] Due to the conditions of the Franco-German Convention of November 4, 1911, France, being held in check by the Germans, was prohibited from building more commercial lines. France, however, was able to circumvent these restrictions, instead constructing a military line with a narrow gauge (0.60 meters).[215] These narrow gauge lines were replaced beginning in 1923 with more permanent lines. Clearly, military strategies and economic imperatives shaped the formation of the railroad system in Morocco.

In the 1940s, the European Coal and Steel Community—a sort of federation of coal and steel industries—briefly pursued the lofty goal of building a trans-Saharan railroad and a highway-railway tunnel under the Strait of Gibraltar that would connect Spain and North Africa.[216] Maurice Lemaire, a Gaullist deputy and head of the French railway conducted in 1953 a study of European transport for the Council of Europe, whereby he stressed that a tunnel connecting the continents was "inevitable and that in aiding the development of Africa, this linkage would become a great transport avenue of the future."[217] Fabricated ideologies of a singular "Eurafrica," disseminated in this period by geopoliticians like the Frenchman Eugene

---

[213] Thomas Willing Balch, "French Colonization in North Africa," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 3, no.4 (November 1909), 549.
[214] Benjamin E. Thomas, "The Railways of French North Africa," *Economic Geography*, vol. 29, no. 2 (April 1953), 100. A military line from Algeria to Fez was constructed despite the mountainous topography, from 1911-1915.
[215] Ibid. 100.
[216] John A. Marcum, "North Africa and the West," *The Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 2 (June 1957), 315.
[217] Maurice Lemaire, "Des transports terrestres depend l'Europe," *Le Monde,* May 16, 1953, 2.

Guernier[218] or Austrian-born Anton Zischka[219] sought to bolster and legitimize European claims and interests in Africa.

But these military needs for infrastructural expansion coincided with various other aspects of the colonial agenda as well. Italy under Fascism—modeling its colonial policies largely after the French in Morocco—promoted the creation of transportation systems in order to increase demographic colonization, which was fundamental for fueling money-generating industries, like agriculture and tourism.[220] By 1928, the French private steamship company, the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique formed a program of sea and rail combination transportation services that extended throughout Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria (encompassing 25,000 km of land), including forty-three hotels and nineteen automobile itineraries. Advertising material (Figure 29) for the company boasted a "unique chain of modern hotels" in all three colonies.[221] An ad by the Société des Voyages et Hotels Nord-Africains cleverly renders the experiential and tactile qualities of travel (Figure 30); zigzag blocks of textile patterns embed a wide range of scenes indicating not only the ease of travel and accessibility of exotic locales, but also point to the ability to have modern luxuries and yet still keep at a comfortable distance from the native quarters.

Though the ideological claims supporting a Eurafrican railroad have largely vanished, connectivity and stable transportation infrastructure was and still is essential in maintaining foreign interest in Marrakesh. Crosby, Stills, and Nash boarded the commercial trains to Marrakesh, but by 1985, nearly two-thirds of all tourists arrived by automobile via ferries. A

---

[218] Eugene Guernier, *L'Afrique: Champ d'expansion de l'Europe* (Paris, 1933).
[219] Anton Zischka, *Afrique: Complement de l'Europe* (Paris, 1952).
[220] Brian McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006), 47. McLaren cites the example of Italian political rhetoric author, Giuseppe Vedovato who wrote in his *Colonizzazione e turismo in Libia* (Salerno: Prem. Stamperia Raffaello Beraglia, 1934) that tourism and agriculture go hand in hand, and that tourism was an economic catalyst with the simultaneous capacity to civilize and modernize.
[221] Ibid. 54-55.

more efficient means of transportation was sought out.[222] In 1989, the European Commission's director of the Mediterranean, Near, and Middle East Directorate, Eberhard Rhein, wrote that, "...the Euro-Maghreb relationship will become particularly intensive as far as the southern Community is concerned. Indeed, we should expect a sort of economic power-house to develop around the western Mediterranean...based on high-tech industries and services on the northern shores, [with] ancillary industries (energy, fertilizer, all sorts of outward processing and labour-intensive productions) and services (certain transports, recreation, etc.) on the southern shores..."[223] Now, the project of physically linking the continents is supposedly underway, as Craig Whitlock reports for the *Washington Post* that plans for a Spain-Morocco "chunnel" have been drafted to be up and running by 2025.[224] Added to this is a deal signed between France and Morocco in 2007 to build a high-speed railway between Tangiers and Marrakesh (by the company Alstom, worth 2 billion Euros and operational in 2013), which will only increase accessibility to Europeans.[225]

But transport to Marrakesh in the colonial period was not at all limited to the rail lines. Airlines such as Air France, Air Atlas, among others, promised efficiency, speed, and the most up-to-date technology. Aside from the perhaps axiomatic implications or subtexts of power or surveillance, posters from this period, dawning on independence, boasted an easy means to access the colony. Modernity, symbolized in the swooping airplane, is pictured against the backdrop of a stereotypical medina. The Air France advertisement (Figure 31) utilizes a derivation of the trompe l'œil device for framing the image, positioning the viewer inside a

---

[222] Nelson, ed. *Morocco: A Country Study*, 230.
[223] Eberhard Rhein, *The European Community and the Maghreb: Prospects for Cooperation in the Decades Ahead* (Directorate: Mediterranean, Near and Middle East, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1989), 4.
[224] Craig Whitlock, "A 'Chunnel' for Spain and Morocco: High-Speed Train Line Below Strait of Gibraltar Gains Traction," *Washington Post*, January 28, 2007, Page A15. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/27/AR2007012701334.html
[225] "France and Morocco in Train Deal," *BBC News*, October 23, 2007. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7057444.stm

sumptuous tent, seated next to a generic-looking, passive Maghrebi man who is about to serve tea; latent are a mixed pairing of themes, such as a demonstration of North African hospitality with subordination/powerlessness, or a serene casbah and adjacent oasis with the inevitability of touristic intrusion. The minaret of Marrakesh is clearly referenced in this Air France ad, in which the airplane hovers over the red desert (Figure 32). Through a bird's-eye-view, atmospheric perspective, the Moroccan Office of Tourism designed another rendition of the same idea, whereby from the angle of a seemingly expansive Moroccan terrain, the country's geographic proximity to Europe is emphasized (Figure 33).

Most recently, Morocco has received a loan of 240 million Euros ($315.9 million) from the African Development Bank (AfDB) to finance upgrades to the nation's airports, mainly in Casablanca, Agadir, Marrakesh and Rabat.[226] The Menara Airport of Marrakesh features a new contemporary wing with an exterior of twenty-four concrete rhombuses. Its roof is made of a steel structure that forms a canopy (Figure 34). Today initiatives to improve transportation infrastructure and therefore retain the steady flow of foreign wealth show continuities with those undertaken during the Protectorate.

Making Marrakesh the Oriental Brandscape

> "Yet the national bourgeoisie never stops calling for the nationalization of the economy and the commercial sector...For the bourgeoisie, nationalization signifies very precisely the transfer into indigenous hands of privileges inherited from the colonial period. In its decadent aspect the national bourgeoisie gets considerable help from the Western bourgeoisies who happen to be tourists enamored of exoticism, hunting, and casinos. The national bourgeoisie establishes holiday resorts and playgrounds for entertaining the Western bourgeoisie. This sector goes by the name of tourism and becomes a national industry for this very purpose..."
>
> --Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*[227]

---

[226] Tarek Amara, "Africa's AfDB bank lends Morocco 240 mln euros," *Reuters Africa*, April 16, 2009 http://af.reuters.com/article/moroccoNews/idAFLG49027520090416

[227] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 100-101.

Just as the sun sets in the Jemaa al-Fna marketplace, one of the largest open marketplaces in North Africa, one can hear the call for the evening prayer streaming from nearby mosques, one of which being the Kutubiyya masjid against the backdrop of snake charmers' hypnotic rhythms. In the distance, scarves, carpets, tunics, and leather products of rich, varying shades of magentas, tangerines, indigos, are sold to the most persistent of bargainers. Fragrant smells of orange zest, saffron simmering in tājīns, herbalists' aromatic stalls and smoky escargot permeate the surrounds. For anyone not accustomed to the way of life here, the splendor in all its forms—the audio, visual, tactile, and taste—presents sensorial overload. You think you're in a dream, but you're not. Welcome to the city of Marrakesh, Morocco.

This is precisely how Marrakesh is marketed to the world by both local tourist agencies and their money-wrangling affiliates in other countries. In the French magazine *Maroc* (Figures 35-36), a spread is done on the Jemaa al-Fna, using words such as "*tourbillon* (whirlwind)" or "*ivresse* (intoxication)" to denote its frenetic and rapturous atmosphere. As Frantz Fanon had presciently foreseen, former colonies in their nationalizing transition would transform themselves into sites to be consumed and discovered in all their dimensions. Mary Louise Pratt argues that in travel writing since the 1980s, journalists, popular authors, among others have attempted to position sites within new "realistic" paradigms of representation, in contradistinction to mass tourism visual vocabularies: "In the 1960s and 1970s, exoticist visions of plenitude and paradise were appropriated and commodified on an unprecedented scale by the tourist industry. 'Real' writers took up the task of providing 'realist' (degraded, countercommodified) versions of postcolonial reality."[228] The fetishistic mystique of the medina—imageries apart of a long-standing advertising vocabulary is posed as a reality, now supplementing the foil of crisp, modern hotels and boutiques; this ultimately results in the

[228] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 220-221.

transformation of Marrakesh as a "pleasure periphery," as coined by Louis Turner and John Ash.[229] Replete in modern-day representations of Marrakesh are messages which implicitly hint at unequal power relations between foreigners and locals.

Nationalist efforts and independence movements ironically played a pivotal role in recapitulating aspects of a colonial system; handing land to foreigners was thought to create wealth and the promise of modernization or development.[230] Moroccans today, quite matter-of-factly recognize the tensions. Mimoun Hillali, a professor and researcher of the International Institute of Tourism in Tangiers (l'Institut supérieur international du tourisme à Tanger), states that there is no choice with regards to tourism in Morocco, and its presence dares not be denounced or questioned publically: "...Pour séduire, le discours official a usé, au point d'en abuser parfois, de deux arguments très engagements: 'le tourisme moteur de développement' et 'le tourisme, grand générateur d'emplois.' De nos jours, personne n'ose contester ouvertement le choix du tourisme au Maroc."[231] Characterized euphemistically as both the motor of development and the generator of employment, tourism in Morocco remains unchecked; it today functions not only as an industry, but as fundamentally an institution originating in and leftover from the colonial period, one which the Moroccan government is consciously expanding.[232] The fundamental and seemingly indispensible position of tourism within the local economy and its relationship to social structures within the urban layout is the central problematic. Ruth Young posits that the structural form of tourist industries within a country mirror those socioeconomic

---

[229] Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London, 1975).
[230] Dennison Nash, "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, edited by Valene Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).
[231] Hillali, *La politique du tourisme au Maroc*, 16-17.
[232] Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary African and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 4. Mamdani argues that many colonial institutions implemented in Africa have more or less been left intact.

structural antecedents.[233] The history and transformation of the structural form of the industry raises a slew of questions, not about whether there is something intrinsically alluring in the region, but rather, how perceptions of and indeed, inventions of such an allure become attached to the region over time. In the case of Marrakesh, it seems as though the many of the features of the North African Islamic city in French Orientalist discourse delineated in the last chapter, have been adopted by the present-day Moroccan government as tropes to be appropriated for touristic expansion.

Borrowing and appropriating Anna Klingmann's book, *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy*,[234] I see the urban conglomerate of Marrakesh—the former ville nouvelle and the medina—functioning as a kind of brandscape, whereby the tourism industry reproduces and conserves the uneven power relations between foreigners and locals through the symbolic systems of what I will refer to as the "Oriental brand." Within my interpretation of such a system, images used to market the city are densely packed with meaning, where landscape is aestheticized and depoliticized. Klingmann writes: "...today's brandscapes—exemplified by corporate franchises, signature buildings, shopping centers, expositions, and planned residential developments—have resulted in a culture of the copy, imitating one another in their offerings and aesthetics."[235] However, in contrast to Klingmann's positive view of branding as a constructive means to rebuild and mold communities, I see the Oriental branding of Marrakesh as creating a false authenticity, or at least one that is predicated on a selective refashioning of Orientalist archetypes of the city which are problematically thought to be "authentic." Following Lefebvre's assertion that space is redefined according to continually changing economic

---

[233] Ruth Young, "The Structural Context of the Caribbean Tourist Industry: A Comparative Study," *Economy, Development, and Cultural Change* Vol. 25, No. 4 (July 1977): 657-671.
[234] Anna Klingmann, *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge, MA; London, England: M.I.T. Press, 2007).
[235] Ibid., 3.

conditions,[236] I argue that reception and perception of the city is affected by this redefinition of space, depending on the economic constraints imposed on that space. The synergy of production and the demands of consumption shape the urban fabric and the ways in which people use space, and in turn, the ways in which its people are perceived. Defining their own preconceived images of what constitutes "authenticity" based on what is deemed to be the "true indigenous culture," tourists depend on stereotypes as their go-to reference.[237] The stereotype of Marrakesh becomes a simulacrum sans referent—a simulacrum when there is no referent to begin with.[238]

What is communicated openly in a text, and what is said between the lines (its metatext)—the latter being allusions, quotations, or direct citations—do not always complement one another. Such a narration is not unfamiliar, nor is it necessarily unique to Morocco; I have chosen to highlight it intentionally because of the perceived connectivity between Europe and the Maghreb, myth and reality that will manifest in the touristic reinventions of Marrakesh. Marrakesh, through Oriental branding, becomes a site within this experience economy that utilizes many of the same representational metaphors as used during the colonial era that the urban space is to be "experienced" and "penetrated." Talk of globality or globalism tends to veil the inherent problematic of these representational devices.

What historical conditions prompted the recent touristic surge and how did this shape the popularization of Marrakesh as an Oriental brandscape? Mimoun Hilali states that immediately after independence, the two main pillars of economic and social development were tourism and

---

[236] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1991). See also David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1989).

[237] Amanda Stronza, "Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 30 (2001), 271.

[238] Frederic Jameson writes of Jean Baudrillard's concept: "...the repetitive structure of what he calles the simulacrum (that is, the reproduction of "copies" which have no original) characterizes the commodity production of consumer capitalism and marks our object world with an unreality and a free-floating absence of "the referent" (e.g., the place hitherto taken by nature, by raw materials and primary production, or by the "originals" of artisanal production or handicraft) utterly unlike anything experienced in any earlier social formation." See Frederic Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Social Text*, no.1 (Winter, 1979), 135.

agriculture, but as Chapter 1 and 2 have discussed, these industries were essentially the country's stronghold since the time of the Protectorate. (One must bear in mind that the development project grew out of the post-World War II moment—from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s—as an institutional regime which operated on a global level.[239]) At the time of independence in 1956, nearly all industries within Morocco were foreign-owned, accounting for 10% of the GNP.[240] Realizing the consequences this bears on the growth of the Moroccan economy, in 1962, King Hassan II called for a mission to "emancipate" the Moroccan individual, with his implementation of a *marocanisation* plan.[241] Through its outward goal of making all private sector companies have majority Moroccan ownership, the policy in effect strengthened the holdings of the elite as opposed to aiding the middle classes for whom the benefits of *marocanisation* were intended, thus widening the gaps in extant socio-economic disparities, creating a need for more employment options.[242] Until the cost of phosphate tripled in 1973, tourism brought in more foreign wealth than any other export, and henceforth became the top priority of the national state and economy. In 1982, the tourism division provided employment for about 120,000 Moroccans in addition to the innumerable affiliated personnel working in related fields of transportation, construction, handicrafts, etc.[243] In 1983, it ranked third in foreign exchange earnings after phosphates and remittances, bringing in close to 2.9 billion DH.[244] In the 1980s, the manufacturing industries comprised approximately one-third of Morocco's annual total exports,

---

[239] Arun Agrawal, "Poststructuralist Approaches to Development: Some Reflections," in *Peace and Change* 21 (4): 468.
[240] Spencer, *The Historical Dictionary of Morocco*, 62.
[241] Shana Cohen and Larabi Jaidi, *Morocco: Globalization and Its Consequences* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 127.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Nelson, ed. *Morocco: A Country Study*, 230.
[244] Ibid.

with their primary plants and centers in urban areas like Casablanca and Rabat, but also in Marrakesh as well.[245]

As an institution and an industry, tourism exercises power not by a means of direct subjugation—in which we often assume tourism as foisted onto local environs, uninvited and unwanted[246]—but rather as an informal mode of exclusion.[247] Though usually viewed from the perspective of leisure, tourism itself is in at once capital and the self-perpetuating mechanism that creates capital for the country. This kind of capitalist production, as with any, necessitates its own expansion. Marx's prescient *Capital* can illuminate the broader premise of this trend: "It is that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and the closing point, the motive and the purpose of production..."[248] Diminishing return rates necessarily produce the conditions for expansion of the Oriental brandscape. Yet in spite of the spikes in rising GNP or extra foreign exchange value due largely to tourism, it is nevertheless problematic to gauge "progress" solely in terms of these indexes, at the behest of ignoring stagnant levels of education, health care, and sanitation.[249] From its ability as an industry to absorb vast numbers of people with very little education or specialization, tourism in fact perpetuates static levels in education; moreover, managerial or professional posts are filled by expatriates or foreigners, thereby sharpening the

---

[245] Ibid., 213.
[246] Stronza, "Anthropology of Tourism,"269.
[247] Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducability* (New York; London: Routledge, 2007), 59. Here Dutta does not make reference to tourism per se, but rather I understand tourism to operate as a kind of 'informal mode' of culture.
[248] Karl Marx, *Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 455.
[249] Malcolm Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings and Servility," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 18 (1989), 319. Originally pointed out in R.A. Britton, "International Tourism and Indigenous Development Objectives: A Study with Special Reference to the West Indies," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1978), vii.

social divide.[250] Touristic expansion is posed by the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism as a "win-win":

> "To promote touristic investment in Morocco as a location for tourism investment and to broaden the scope of partnership with the private sector is to strengthen its contribution in the development of this industry, the Moroccan state has continued to work for creating an incentive framework favorably grant many benefits and special privileges. The law has thus met the needs of investors through the formation of the Charter of the investment with the main objective of strengthening the legal and institutional environment in Morocco. Under the new tourism policy, a public-private partnership has been established for the development of new resorts and tourist areas and for the achievement of hotels across the country. It is a win-win through which the state grants to investors the benefits specific to the type of intervention for each operator."[251]

Lyautey's vision of creating a permanent European landed gentry in Morocco, as I had demonstrated earlier, has effectively come into fruition in Marrakesh. Further analysis of census studies would likely show that the local economy is still very much steered by this class of Europeans who have invested in the region.

Place as Product: Marrakesh's Emerging Brandscape and the Experience Economy

Marxist literary and culture critic Frederic Jameson asserts that postmodern subjects, in general, do not contemplate significance of foreign cultures, but rather explore and search in order to solidify preexisting expectations.[252] The demand for Oriental brandscapes necessitates their reproduction and replication. It is in this light that sociologist Dean McCannell's

---

[250] Robert A. Poirier and Stephen Wright, "The Political Economy of Tourism in Tunisia," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1 (March, 1993), 159.

[251] Statement from the Site de la Direction des Aménagements et des Investissements, Ministère du Tourisme. See http: www.tourinvest.ma/ The above text is my translation of the following statement: "Afin de promouvoir le Maroc en tant que terre d'accueil des investissements touristiques et d'élargir le champs de partenariat avec le secteur privé pour renforcer sa contribution dans le développement de cette industrie, l'Etat marocain n'a cessé d'œuvrer pour la création d'un cadre incitatif favorable par l'octroi de nombreux avantages et privilèges spécifiques. Le droit commun est ainsi venu répondre aux besoins de ces investisseurs par la constitution de la charte de l'investissement avec pour objectif principal le renforcement de l'environnement juridique et institutionnel marocains. Dans le cadre de la nouvelle politique touristique, un cadre de partenariat public/privé a été instauré pour l'aménagement des nouvelles stations balnéaires et zones touristiques ainsi que pour la réalisation d'unités hôtelières à travers le territoire national. Il s'agit d'un partenariat Win/Win à travers lequel l'Etat octroi aux investisseurs des avantages spécifiques selon le type d'intervention de chaque opérateur."

[252] Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," 136.

proposition holds true—mass tourism necessarily alienates modernity, in a number of ways.[253] The Oriental brandscape—the commercialization and conflation of product with place—alienates the possibility of a Marrakesh that is other than the erotic, exotic, transitory destination that it has become.

The Moroccan government intentionally positions the country, and Marrakesh, within the global "experience economy." Coined by B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore, the experience economy poses services, goods, and commodities as experiential.[254] Within such a framework, economy plays a hand at directly fashioning and restructuring experiences and perceptions of culture. As L.L. Wynn concisely puts it, "There is a dialectical process of production and erosion of authenticity that frames the prototypical tourist experience."[255] For example, in an agreement signed in Marrakesh on January 10, 2001 between the Moroccan Ministry of Economy, Finance, Tourism and Privatization[256] and the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises (CGEM), the two parties sought after lofty aspirations of fame and fortune for Morocco. As a part of a larger contract program developed for 2001-2010 entitled "Tourism: A Vision, A Challenge, A Will," the CGEM and the Department of Tourism (within the Ministry of Economy, Finance, Tourism, and Privatization) proposed the following objectives:

> "...to construct, with realism, an ambitious vision of the development of the sector by the year 2010; to establish the diagnosis concerning the assets to be exploited and the challenges to be taken up in order to achieve these objectives; to propose a global and voluntary strategic system likely to trigger the powerful dynamic of tourism development which will allow the Kingdom of Morocco to appear among the most sought-after destinations all over the world. By fixing the objective of 10 million of tourists by the year 2010, this contract program proposes indeed a plan

---

[253] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).
[254] B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1999), 1-17.
[255] L.L. Wynn, *Pyramids and Nightclubs*, 16.
[256] Moroccan Ministry of Economy, Finance, Tourism, and Privatization, *Framework Agreement 2001-2010*, January 10, 2001 (Marrakesh, Morocco, 2001), 2. http://www.tourisme.gov.ma/docspdf/accordcadre_en.pdf Mr. Fathallah Oualalou, Minister of Economy, Finance,Tourism and Privatization; Mr. Hassan Chami, President of the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises (CGEM).

> of fast development of the Kingdom through sustainable and accelerated growth of its tourist industry."[257]

Marketing, in hopes to amass upwards of 10 million tourists per annum, is key to both the governmental and private sector's fiscal strategy at generating more employment opportunities. This relates to what David Harvey refers to as "urban entrepreneurialism," whereby cities and their governments adopt policies explicitly motivated by acquiring investors.[258] By casting cities like Marrakesh as a prime "destination,"[259] promotion is encoded as place.[260] Susan Ossman notes from her field work that Moroccans' ideas of what Morocco "is" and what tourists should see are embedded in the various representations of sūqs, medinas, palaces, fountains, etc.—which is not far off from what the Moroccan government itself promotes as "tradition" or "heritage."[261] With its ever-growing trendiness as a site for European consumption, Marrakesh and its supposed exoticism and splendor is packaged anew. As a cultural product, Marrakesh is fundamentally a commodity.[262] What the tourism industry seeks to accomplish is essentially

---

[257] Ibid.

[258] See Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*.

[259] Moroccan Ministry of Economy, Finance, Tourism, and Privatization, *Framework Agreement 2001-2010*, January 10, 2001 (Marrakesh, Morocco, 2001), 4. http://www.tourisme.gov.ma/docspdf/accordcadre_en.pdf "...the parties agree to adopt a set a measures destined to re-establish the competitiveness of Morocco's destination. The parties decide, consequently, to implement the strategies adopted relating to 'product,' 'price,' 'promotion' and 'professionlization trades' in order to position the Kingdom as one of the major and natural tourist destinations all over the world and more particularly in European tourist markets."

[260] Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (New York; London: Kampmann & Co., 1978, 1987 reprinting).

[261] Susan Ossman, "Boom Box in Ouarzazate: The Search for the Similarly Strange," *Middle East Report*, no. 196 (September-October, 1995), 14. "Their [Tarik and Hassan's] vision of Morocco, and of what visitors should see, was not radically different from that presented in tourist guides and travel brochures: suq, medina, palace, etc. They notice what travelers go to visit, and their extensive information about other places gives them some idea about what their areas have that other places do not. Their Moroccan media, too, presents a notion of traditional Morocco and Moroccan identity which emphasizes some of the same characteristics as tourist literature: hospitality, Islam, and historic monuments."

[262] David Harvey, "The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture," in Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, eds., *A World of Contradictions: Socialist Register 2002* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 10-13. http://socialistregister.com/recent/2002/harvey2002 Harvey states: "The contradiction here is that the more easily marketable such items become the less unique and special they appear. In some instances the marketing itself tends to destroy the unique qualities (particularly if these depend on qualities such as wilderness, remoteness, the purity of some aesthetic experience, and the like...)...The bland homogeneity that goes with pure commodification erases monopoly advantages. Cultural products become no different from commodities in general."

materialize the fantasy for the consumer. The differential of imbalanced power coerces submission to definitions of cultural authenticity, manifesting place as experiential product.

The subtexts of indeterminacy and ambivalence brought about by cultural contact via tourism, is not, as Ruth Mayer points out, a cheery form of subversive resistance;[263] in other words, thinking of cultural hybridity or intermingling as solely having liberating dimensions, without considering the underlying threads of exploitation, is ultimately misleading. The growth of a global market—inextricable from political networks—has affected the distribution of income, perpetuating patterns of inequality. Globalization, in the context of Morocco, necessarily involves aspects of cultural consumption as well as issues of political and economic reform. Leaving a notable imprint on the local economies of North African cities, as a force it additionally undermines national institutions and "financializes" politics.[264] Pitched as a product, Marrakesh is caught in the midst of these messy identity formations, further complicating the terms in which the city can be characterized.

Marketing Nature: the Environment and Rural Tourism

The tourism industry, with its incisively insidious urban encroachment on cultivatable land, has contributed in part to record drought increases of 6-10% in Moroccan agricultural production.[265] So long as the touristic needs of land and capital are expected, any surplus capital from agrarian regions of the country will be exported either to the Mediterranean coastline, or to the Great South ("le Grand Sud" as it is generally called) both areas designated by the state as new sites for touristic development.[266] The limitations posed on farmland bring about other economic challenges, particularly as it concerns exportation of Moroccan agricultural goods,

---

[263] Ruth Mayer, *Artificial Africas: Colonial Images in the Times of Globalizationn* (Hanover and London: Dartmouth College, the University Press of New England, 2002), 8.
[264] Ibid., 298.
[265] Hillali, *La politique du tourisme au Maroc*, 19.
[266] Ibid.

rendering the tourism industry and its expansion as a kind of double-edged sword. In the 1960s, the European Community established the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which posed restrictions on the exportation of Moroccan goods to the previous colonial metropole.[267] For middle-income countries like Morocco economic prosperity is largely contingent on external markets.[268] King Hassan II was sharply criticized by the public for pushing upscale tourism, including golf courses in a country that is repeatedly ravaged by drought.[269] Mohamed Berriane writes that in areas boasting hotspots for coastal tourism, the government does not enforce protections via environmental legislation or by land-use restrictions.[270]

Despite all the recent interest in ecological or environmental sustainability,[271] environmental decision-making in Morocco is often reoriented to suit touristic ends. "Rural tourism" is the new fad, where tourists are given a multitude of options to engage with the variant topography and sub-climates, including mountain climbing or hiking, biking, among other choices (Figures 37-38). But to take part in all of this "adventure tourism," one has to take the train to Marrakesh, the southernmost stop on the rail line. With its primary call to "manage" the problems posed by nature, sustainability, as Arturo Escobar describes, reinvents nature "...as environment so that capital, not nature and culture, may be sustained."[272] In other words, nature is redefined and represented in such a way as to preserve and protect, not necessarily nature per se, but rather the market system.

---

[267] White, *A Comparative Political Economy of Tunisia and Morocco*, 26.
[268] Robert Bates, *Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2.
[269] White, *A Comparative Political Economy of Tunisia and Morocco*, 40. White recalls the skit of Ahmed Sanoussi (banned from performing in Morocco), whereby the comedian comments that cows gather around the golf courses in Morocco to froth at the lush green.
[270] Mohamed Berriane, "Environmental Impacts of Tourism along the Moroccan Coast," in Will D. Swearingen and Abdellatif Bencherifa, eds. *North African Environment at Risk* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 241-253.
[271] Arturo Escobar, "Constructing Nature: Elements for a Poststructural Political Ecology," in *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements*, eds. Richard Peet and Michael Watts (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 48. The discourse of sustainable development was brought to global attention in 1987 by the United Nations' report of the World Commission on Environment and Development.
[272] Ibid., 49.

Imageability, Preservation, Museumification

This section aims to explore the arguably interdependent relationship between the projects of cultural/historic preservation and the constructions of nationhood in the context of Marrakesh, and problematize the notions of representation and authenticity. What are the political implications of such goals of preservation, and which parties do they serve?

The interconnectivity between spatiality and power manifests itself in the symbolic and iconographic value of urban space, which I argue the French capitalized upon in their visions for Marrakesh and its touristic potential. French urban historians' integration of geographic, demographic, historical, economic and sociological studies had been in part due to the surge of interest in museology and ethnography in the late nineteenth century. In 1894, the Musée Social was established so as to educate the public on social issues, and in 1907 the Section d'Hygiène Urbaine et Rurale was founded in France.[273] Soon thereafter, in 1911 the Société Française des Urbainistes (SFU) formed as an offshoot of the Musée Social, viewing urbanism to be both an art and a science.[274] Exhibitions, such as the Franco-Moroccan exhibition held in Casablanca in 1915 (Figure 39), and the Colonial Exposition in Marseilles in 1922 (Figures 40-41) were more or less self-laudatory enactments, documenting the French presence as a panacea to Moroccan social and urban decay. Rationalizing the Islamic city to be a separate entity substantiated efforts to contain it from the sector of the French and pieds noirs populations. In Algiers, the Commission of Historic Monuments in 1931 sought to maintain the "picturesque physiognomy" of the casbah.[275] The writings of the Marçais brothers and Le Tourneau place the Islamic city in an ethnographic sense in keeping with the French hype of exhibitions, one that is to be looked at

---

[273] Wright, *The Politics of Design,* 21.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations*, 41. Çelik is quoting here René Lespès, "Les Villes," in *Les Arts et la technique modern en Algérie 1937* (Algiers, 1937), 25-26.

quizzically from a distance, enveloped in a metaphorical showcase. The presentation of the city as a spectacle, as a part of this late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century trend, is a topic that authors like Timothy Mitchell[276] and Patricia Morton[277] have explored in looking especially at worlds fairs and exhibitions.

In transforming the medina into a concretized image, Kevin Lynch's notion of a city's *imageability* seems to apply.[278] Lynch defines imageability as "...that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer...it might also be called legibility, or perhaps visibility in a heightened sense, where objects are not only able to be seen, but are presented sharply and intensely to the senses."[279] However, imageability demonstrates more than just legibility, but rather signifies the re-creation of symbolic and semiotic subtexts from urban form. Questions pertaining to a city's imageability demonstrate how mental mappings of space relate to tangible, imagistic ones; probing the role of spectatorship and reception becomes essential. W.J.T. Mitchell states that "...it is the realization that spectatorship (the look, the gaze, the glance, the practices of observation, surveillance, and visual pleasure) may be as deep a problem as various forms of reading (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.)."[280] If one understands spectatorship to be a form of consumption, what does the influx of foreign investing and the city's burgeoning real estate market mean for Marrakesh?

In recognizing what imageability could do for the growth of the colony via tourism, the French invested heavily in architectural preservation projects. Museumification of the urban form by French colonial administrators and archeologists, though perhaps not their overt goal,

---

[276] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[277] Patricia Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 2000).
[278] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA; London: M.I.T. Press, 1960).
[279] Ibid., 9-10.
[280] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16.

resulted in false conceptualization of North African cities as objects in a time standstill, belying all cities' intrinsic social spatiality.[281] Timothy Mitchell insists that the representational practice of colonizing Egypt was an instance of a larger phenomenon of modernization, the construction of "the world-as-exhibition."[282] As Mitchell explains the complex operation of "the world-as-exhibition," he pays close attention to its positioning of the observing subject in relation to the rest of the world. The "world-as-exhibition" constructs "objectivity" through an alienation of observer and observed; it is the very process of "othering." The touristic imageability of the medina today maintains the veneer of exoticism and mystique, which I believe is the basis for Marrakesh's constructed heritage.

The mystique of a derelict medina of Marrakesh, can also be construed as an accidental byproduct of mass rural-urban migration and its consequences on the extant infrastructure; in 1921, the walled medina was inhabited by an estimated 100,000 people, whereas in 1951 this number had nearly doubled to 180,000. During this period, only 10% of the total built-up area of the medina was intended for residential use, causing overcrowding in an already densely packed medina (thus, resulting in a density by the early 1950s of 500 persons per hectare or 200 persons per acre).[283] Interestingly, on a tourist's map printed by the red, double-decker Marrakech Tour Bus Company, the residential sector is clearly marked as being separate from the area of the sūqs, almost as a forewarning to the tourist to prevent them from entering this seemingly private space of the locals (Figure 41). There are two possible routes—in red, "Marrakech Monumental" and in blue, "Marrakech Romantique." Based on the concentrated clustering of sites in the district of Guéliz shown here, it seems that the Euro-American tourist will encounter none other than his/her self.

---

[281] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 73.
[282] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 10-13.
[283] Schwerdtfeger, *Traditional Housing in African Cities*, 209.

The goals of historic preservation—including tactics of display, framing and objectification—play an integral role in how cities are perceived and represented. In the case of Fez, as explored by Collette D. Apelian in her dissertation on the conservation and preservation of that city during the Protectorate, argues by employing actor-network theories that colonial Fez, "...in both its legal and practiced incarnations was multiple and...formed by a wide range of governmental and nongovernmental actors simultaneously defining and employing culturalist and progressivist ideals. The conservation of Fez, therefore, did not simply lead to the imposition of static and singular conceptions of Moroccan madinas, and, thus, museumification as previous authors have defined this concept."[284] Apelian asks her readers to sharply reconsider the claims that Moroccan medinas were made victim to museumification—which she defines as the "successful disallowance of modernization."[285] While Fez may be an anomaly in these preservation/museumification tactics, I argue that Marrakesh today faces pressures from the Moroccan government to preserve its allure and appeal, and, like a museum exhibit, its capacity to be walked through, enjoyed, and left behind.

Schemes to preserve (so as to museumify) were fueled by interests in touristic expansion, therefore altering existing patterns and modes of production to suit these ends. As Stacy Holden maintains, the choice to bolster pre-modern infrastructure and labor based on the production of handcrafts, operated so as to exclude specific kinds of industrialization. The act of restoring or conserving a single site or building, was in the time of the Protectorate, and largely still is, in the interest of the economy, more than any overt goals to concretize national heritage. Prosper Ricard commented in his *Guide Bleu*:

---

[284] Collette Denise Apelian, "Negotiating the City: Conserving Fez, Morocco during the French Protectorate (1912-1956)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of CA-Los Angeles, 2005), xxvii.
[285] Ibid., xxvi.

> "The economic shock would be very grave and of great consequence if it was not canceled, or at least lessened, by wise measures of precaution dictated from a high place: preservation of ancient cities, restoration of historic monuments, encouragement of indigenous arts and adoption of a Moorish style in constructing numerous new edifices."[286]

In examining modes of museumification we can understand how European conventions of representation are connected to other expressions of power in Protectorate urban planning.[287] But a Marxist reading of production and its relation to space, as notes Henri Lefebvre, must go beyond the dichotomization between subject and object, labor and capital; rather than taking production to be a linear process, Lefebvre instead deems it a diachronic one to be constituted by "...the incessant to-and-fro between temporality (succession, concatenation) and spatiality (simultaneity, synchronicity)..."[288]The urban and architectural space of any city is not necessarily a cultural artifact, or object, but can rather be considered, as Michel Foucault posits, a *dispositif*--an arrangement that comprises a set of relations between individuals and groups.[289] Marrakesh, therefore, must be understood as a confluence of interactions and negotiation. Commercialization and privatization for example, pose restrictions on certain social actors' participation within a given space.[290]

Yet the French discourse on the containability of the Islamic city, as a spectacle frozen in time, and its consequences on methods of conservation and historic preservation today is a correlation that has not been fully explored. Just as it was being named a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Marrakesh was deemed a "...textbook example of a large Islamic capital in the

---

[286] Prosper Ricard, "Les métiers manuels à Fès," *Hespéris* 4 (1924): 205.
[287] Susan Ossman, *Picturing Casablanca: Portraits of Power in a Modern City* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1994), 4-5.
[288] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 71.
[289] Cohen and Eleb, *Casablanca*, 15.
[290] Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), 35.

Western World" by the International Council on Monuments and Sites in 1984.[291] The "Western World"—since when has Marrakesh ever been viewed as intrinsic to the "Western World"? Whose heritage is being constructed here and for what ends? Fez's medina made the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1981, envisioned "...not as an operation that preoccupies itself with the protection and restoration of the buildings of the medina...but as a vaster undertaking that proposes to assure the continuation and the blossoming of the ensemble of the social, economic, cultural and religious life that made the particular genius of the medina."[292] Arguing in her dissertation that the notion of cultural heritage was invented so as to diffuse tensions between nations vis-à-vis "Cultural Internationalism," Lucia Allais' hypothesis[293] perhaps insinuates at the very least that this "protection" of the UNESCO label is more a sign of diplomatic reconciliation than it is a deliberate attempt at historic preservation. Similarly, Stacy Holden has suggested that in the first eighteen years of colonial rule in Fez, preservation projects were undertaken so as to stave off social turmoil among the urban working class.[294]

Recent preservation studies in Morocco have been fueled by various underlying motivations. Beneath the cost-benefit justifications for touristic development lurk potent political aims. The World Tourism Organization (WTO), a sub-agency of the United Nations created in 1975 as an international conglomerate to support the expansion of the industry,[295] has undertaken efforts to restore sites in southern Morocco—namely, historic "foundouks" or inns, for tourists'

---

[291] http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/331.pdf

[292] Geoff D. Porter, "Unwitting Actors: The Preservation of Fez's Cultural Heritage," *Radical History Review*, Issue 86 (Spring 2003), 124. Here Porter is directly quoting from the *Réunion—Débat du groupe d'experts sur la "Sauvegarde de la Ville de Fès, 12 au 16 Sept., 1988"* 1 (1988): 3.

[293] See Lucia Allais, "Will to War, Will to Art: Cultural Internationalism and the Modernist Aesthetics of Monuments, 1932-1964" (Ph.D. Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 2008), 15-17.

[294] Holden, "When It Pays to Be Medieval," 297.

[295] Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences," 310.

use, as well as renovations of casbahs for the same purpose.[296] The exploitive marketing of the country's natural beauty has been the object of developing "Rural Tourism" by the WTO as well.[297]

Vernacularization of Urban Space: Berberness and Politicizng Heritage

The socioeconomic and ethnic division of districts on the basis of clientele was essential in the zoning scheme of the French, and it functioned to uphold the separatist undercurrent in French urbanism.[298] Disrupting ties of allegiance among the various ethnic communities within the ville nouvelle and in the old medina was precisely the intent of the French. In issuing the dahir, or decree, of 1930, the French sought to factionalize the Berbers from the Muslim Arab population and form not only an alliance with the Berbers, but make a French-loyalist elite out of them, purified of any Arabic or Islamic influence.[299] However, the French failed in this regard—Berbers took on nationalist sympathies and favored the use of the Arabic language over French.[300] Furthermore, the French had smugly predicted that Algerian or Moroccan identity would fade, and much like how the Aborigine population in Australia dwindled, they assumed the North Africans would be exterminated too, following suit.[301] The Berber dahir was later rescinded in 1934 as it was deemed as an attempt to alienate ethnic groups, but this rescission in actuality sharpened the social divisions.[302] Hillali remarks, "La tentative de division du Maroc en deux zones, l'une arabophone et l'autre berbérophone, aboutit au resserrement des rangs de la

---

[296] World Tourism Organization Website, http://www.unwto.org/develop/activities_en_mp_popup.php?pais=504&nombre=Morocco&region=CAF

[297] Ibid.

[298] Prochaska, *Making Algeria French,* 19. "In terms of urban morphology, spatial layout, and land use patterns, the dual nature of the colonial city is also evident…there is an uneven spread of city services and amenities—roads, recreational space, water, electricity, sewers, not to mention housing, shopping areas and hotels—between the Western and non-Western sections of the colonial city." This fact is highlighted by the discretely different treatment by the French colonial urban planners of space within the ville nouvelle as opposed to space in the old medina.

[299] Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 607.

[300] Ibid.

[301] Prochaska, *Making Algeria French*, 234.

[302] Spencer, *The Historical Dictionary of Morocco*, 7.

résistance marocaine."[303] Ethnic distinctions made between Arab and Berber were manifested in the separation of Berber and Arab social zones. Despite the fact that the Istiqlal, or independence movement in Morocco was rooted in a national ideology which asserted the ability of Islam and Arabic language to cohere all of North Africa, a counter-movement based on the unifying force of Berber culture emerged in response.[304]

The act of institutionalizing difference, as Mahmood Mamdani writes, enables power to fragment resistance efforts, thereby reinforcing the methods through which power can maintain control.[305] Ethnicity and cultural patrimony are complicated in Marrakesh today, not so much in terms of how difference is deployed spatially, but in how the city's multiple cultural constituents—Arab, Berber, and West African—intersect. It can be said that in contrast to Morocco's other densely populated cities such as Fez, known for its history of Islamic exegesis and learning,[306] or Casablanca and Rabat, which are administrative centers and port cities, Marrakesh is unique in that issues of ethnicity and race shape the way in which the city is perceived and the ways in which it is invented anew, to legitimate claims to a distinctly Berber heritage.

Since the late 1960s, Berber culture has been reborn as a movement of political struggle, whereby leaders have sought to standardize Amazigh as a national language (as opposed to French and Arabic) establish a pan-Berber political entity.[307] It would seem that in the face of a new, post-independence moment, the Moroccan government sought to reform relations among

---

[303] Hillali, *La politique du tourisme au Maroc*, 24.
[304] James McDougall, "Myth and Counter-Myth: 'The Berber' as National Signifier in Algerian Historiographies," *Radical History Review* 86 (2004).
[305] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 3.
[306] Deverdun, *Marrakech des origins à 1912*, 1: 608. Deverdun notes that Fassis are lauded for their formal decorum and ties to an intellectual tradition, whereas Marrakeshis are known for their "gaîté fort libre," their venture for pleasure.
[307] Paul Silverstein, "States of Fragmentation in North Africa," *Middle East Report*, no. 237 (Winter 2005), 28.

political groups and "indigenize"[308] civil society institutions, in the service of bolstering nationalist rhetoric. In 2001, the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) was founded which brought Amazigh language into primary school curricula.[309] However, IRCAM has indicted the Moroccan state for "folklorizing" Berber culture, which has deepened the ethnic divide. Paul Silverstein contends that conflicts between Berbers and the Moroccan government have revolved around the control for resources. The Congrés Mondial Amazigh, in writing to the Committee for Human Rights at the United Nations, explained in 2003:

> "In Morocco, Amazigh regions have a standard of living that is largely inferior to that of other regions. Worse, Moroccan authorities have taken it upon themselves to maintain, indeed to accentuate, the economic and social marginalization of these regions, targeting particularly the localities considered the most rebellious. Thus, in the regions of Rif and the Atlas in the southeast and south of Morocco, a great number of independent economic, social, or cultural organizations are voluntarily discouraged by regulatory and administrative obstacles put forth by the Makhzen."[310]

These instilled ethnic prejudices are evident, though they are not translated directly into concrete spatial divisions. Nevertheless, what I see as largely contrived ethnic conflicts today are exacerbations of tensions foisted upon Moroccans during the colonial period.

The vestiges of a divide and conquer leitmotif remain today, and ethnic struggles are politicized—even in cultural realms—to serve various agendas. In this 1967 issue of the newspaper *Le Petit Marocain* (Figure 42), an article was published on the folklore festival of Marrakesh, recording 15 million attendees to the festival.[311] Today, the same festivals are held

---

[308] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 289. "The mainstream nationalists who inherited the central state at independence understood colonial oppression as first and foremost an exclusion from civil society, and more generally as alien rule. They aimed to redress these wrongs through deracialization internally and anti-imperialism externally. The new state power sought to indigenize civil society institutions and to restructure relations between the independent state and the international economy and polity."

[309] Paul Silverstein and David Crawford, "Amazigh Activism and the Moroccan State," *Middle East Report* 233 (Winter 2004).

[310] Cohen and Jaidi, *Morocco: Globalization and Its Consequences*, 100-101.

[311] *Le Petit Marocain*, "Le festival folklorique de Marrakech," May 4, 1967.

annually (Figure 43), and I know from speaking to Marrakesh locals that it is a popular event, and one that they are quite proud of. But publicity for the event is almost exclusively in French (which excludes a certain socio-economic strata of society that speaks only Arabic or Berber dialects). The advertisements feature glossy photoshop-ed artwork and skillful graphic design. Clearly, the event creates positive energy among both the locals and tourists alike, but cultural heritage is commodified, in a sense, and it is only deemed attractive or worth consuming if it is seen through the lens of a sleek and novel modernity. Nonetheless, questions of audience reception and perception persist and should prompt us to reconsider the ends to which the invocation of ethnic differences serves, and the historical conditions that sustained such differences.

Everlasting Pastiche: The Blinded Spectacle of Marrakitsch Tourist Ephemera

> "the *Blue Guide*...answers in fact none of the questions which a modern traveler can ask himself while crossing a countryside which is real *and which exists in time*. To select only monuments suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical, and as a consequence, the monuments themselves become undecipherable, therefore senseless. What is to be seen is thus constantly in the process of vanishing, and the *Blue Guide* becomes, through an operation common to all mystifications, the very opposite of what it advertises, an agent of blindness."
>
> --Roland Barthes[312]

The notion of "print capitalism" as discussed by Benedict Anderson, served to fundamentally link the bourgeoisie to other peoples, regardless of ethnicity or socioeconomic status, reifying an imagined community.[313] Published media—ranging from guide books to

---

[312] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 76. The italicized words are in the original text. The "Blue Guide," or Guide Bleu, to which Barthes is referring is a specific travel guidebook of Prosper Ricard (that was referred to earlier) which he critiques and jostles throughout one of the chapters.

[313] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983), 86.

brochures to postcards—act, as I contend, as instruments of blindness, functioning to preserve place as pastiche. Tim Edensor asserts that "...such representations are part of a technology of enframing sights and cultures which forms the epistemological apparatus through which tourists see and interpret difference."[314] In seeking to understand the motivations behind people's penchant for globetrotting, Dean MacCannell and John Urry spearheaded sociological studies which analyzed the role of visual consumerism in the tourism industry.[315] Urry suggests that the tourist is driven by his or her "touristic gaze," fueled by a desire to authenticate and seek truths which are different from one's everyday encounters.[316] This is not all that different than what Griselda Pollack proffers as the "spectacle of difference."[317] Pollack puts forth that "...the structures and practices of tourism constitute a unifying consciousness by which fragmented and complex forms of modern society can be reassembled, but in a displaced form, as spectacle."[318] Amidst this literature, however, the interrelated problems of the representation of urban space in photography and its use in postcards are largely overlooked. Postcards operate within this framework of consumption, signaling one's social class and mobility. Today, the supposed ephemerality of touristic kitsch is a nexus of several questions—to what extent can this kitsch be considered encoded conduits of messages that perpetuate a Marrakeshi pastiche?

In addition to postcards' significance as the locus of desire, longing, and memory, they also have to be understood as visual culture with import and value. Defining visual culture as being "...concerned with visual events in which information, meaning or pleasure is sought by the consumer in an interface with visual technology," Nicholas Mirzoeff deftly points out that

---

[314] Tim Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 13.
[315] MacCannell, *The Tourist.* See also John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Newbury Park, 1990).
[316] Alsayyad, ed. *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage*, 3-4.
[317] Griselda Pollack, *Avant-Garde Gambits 1888-1893: Gender and the Color of Art History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 62.
[318] Ibid.

seeing is no longer just a matter of passive spectatorship, but rather that the visual is an inextricable part of culture which is both "read" and consumed (borrowing Mieke Bal's concept of "reading" art).[319] Reading and consuming the visual enable the viewer/interpreter to extract meaning in a way that works at both the individual and collective levels. "Marrakitsch" visual culture and printed media, through photographic representations, define a blinded reality.[320] And still, the blinded reality tells one a great deal about consumerist demands, as in these neo-Orientalist paintings sold practically in every major marketplace across Morocco (Figure 44). Moreover, the so-called ephemera and other pieces of visual culture, in their act of being "read" communicate and instill messages that perpetuate the Oriental brandscape. Despite the ludicrous and humorous undertones of this bumper sticker of a camel (Figure 45), this neat hanging of t-shirts featuring stereotypes of formidable, turbaned Arabs as personifications of space and place (Figure 46), or this postcard featuring a horse and buggy mapped over cropped photos of architectural details from the mosque-mederesa complex of Ali Ben Youssef (Figure 47), what this kitsch portends for the formulation of audience perceptions is frightening; these images do not stray far from those selected for the journalistic pieces mentioned in the introduction.

In reworking David Harvey's argument for the "urbanization of consciousness," whereby all forms of consciousness constructed by the individual, social class, family, community, and nation are affected by urbanization, I argue that the converse statement applies, in that there is a corresponding consciousness of urbanization, in which pictures—and in this case, the postcard—depicting urban spaces become vessels for transmitting notions of *différance*, an appurtenance of

---

[319] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Introduction to Visual Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 3.
[320] Donald Horne, *The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 121. Horne states "...the camera and tourism are two of the uniquely modern ways of defining reality."

power.[321] By destabilizing our assumption that postcards are merely innocuous ephemera we can begin to understand the interplay between modernity and consumption, necessarily blurring the boundaries between capitalist realities and our most deep-seated, utopian fantasies—those which define the Oriental brandscape.

[321] Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*, 231. See also Jacques Derrida, Extract of "Différance" from *Margins of Philosophy* (1972), in *A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds*, ed. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 59-79.

CONCLUSION

This analysis seems to beckon one unanswerable question—what will become of the great Red City? What we can learn from the case of Marrakesh is that its transformation into a colonial city—as an aggregate of military, industrial, and agricultural points of focus--drew in a staggering European demographic presence in the city, which in turn had profound effects on the social and spatial aspects of urban life, planting the seeds for a prominent tourism industry. This thesis sought to make lucid not only that the tourism industry and infrastructure embedded in the urban environment of Marrakesh was a prime legacy of the French colonial regime, but that the more recent reinventions of this industry have in fact redefined the urban spaces.[322] These inner dialectics and modes by which capitalist exploitation operate are responding to changing conditions, ones that pose constraints on how the urban environment is perceived, takes form, and performs socially. History, as I hope I have shown, is a process of differentiation. To bring my analysis full circle to where I began with my quotation of Achille Mbembe, the struggles and transformations of representation are products of the political, the economic, the social, and the symbolic working in concomitant simultaneity.

Undoubtedly, this thesis opens a floodgate of more questions, answers to which could be found in archival-digging, census surveys, and/or from extensive interviews with locals on the street. But more than anything else, it would seem that this study ultimately calls for reflection on how cities and their cultures are captured, represented, and received. While it might be convenient to refer to theories of ambivalence as an easy solution or end point in helping us

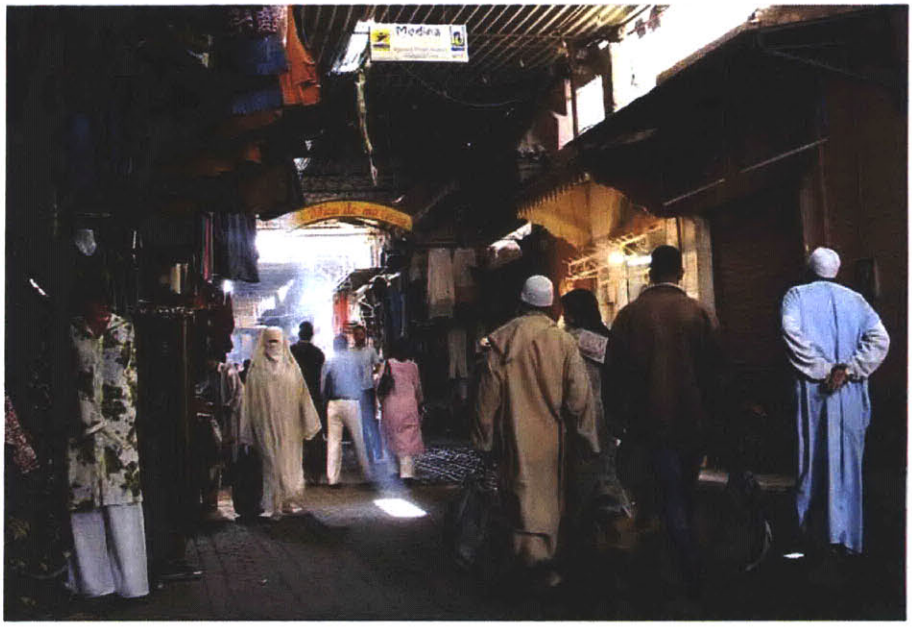
---

[322] David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press; London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 306. "Space and the political organization of space express social relationships but also react back upon them..." The word "react" here does not imply the Newtonian sense of reaction and counteraction, but instead points to more subtle ways of understanding the interplay, interdependence, and inter-reaction between historical phenomena, political ideologies, and transformations of urban space. Lefebvre articulates this effectively: "...industrialization, once the producer of urbanism, is now being produced by it."

reconcile with, or absolve ourselves from any complicit role in how certain types of representations come about and perpetuate, I hope my study instead points to some much-needed self-criticality and self-consciousness in how we engage with and experience urbanity and all of its manifestations.

Contrary to the enfranchising rhetoric of nationalist movements, 1956, the year in which Morocco gained independence, witnessed among other things not a clean rupture from colonial relations, but rather paradoxically, the strengthening of those ties through the adoption of policies that would boost touristic development. So long as disparities in the global political economy are maintained, Marrakesh will reinvent its Oriental brandscape with the same tropes of difference, remaining abidingly loyal to the myths that sustain touristic demand—those of the harem, sūq, and their timeless surrounds—the myths of the medina. It remains yet to be seen how these myths—and hope for their demystification—will transform the city of Marrakesh.

Figure 1

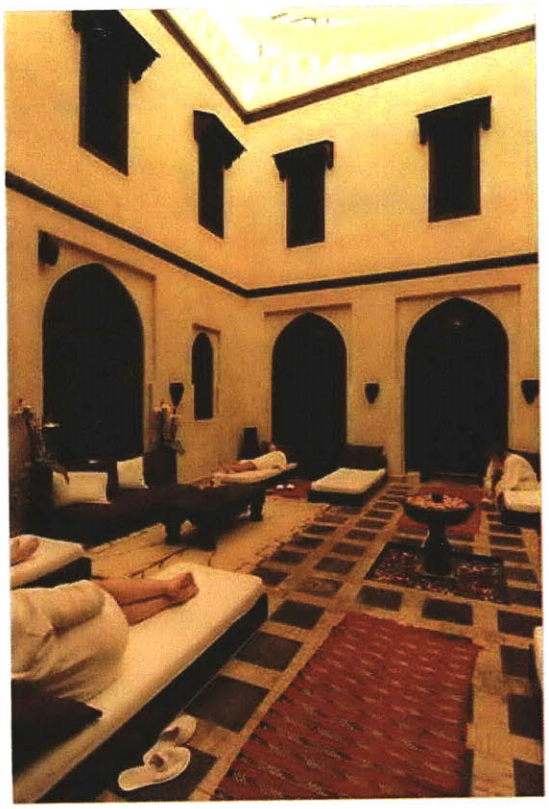


Photograph from "Weekend in Marrakesh" Slideshow, *The New York Times*
Photograph by Ingrid Pullar
http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2007/11/11/travel/1111-36Hours_index.html

Figure 2

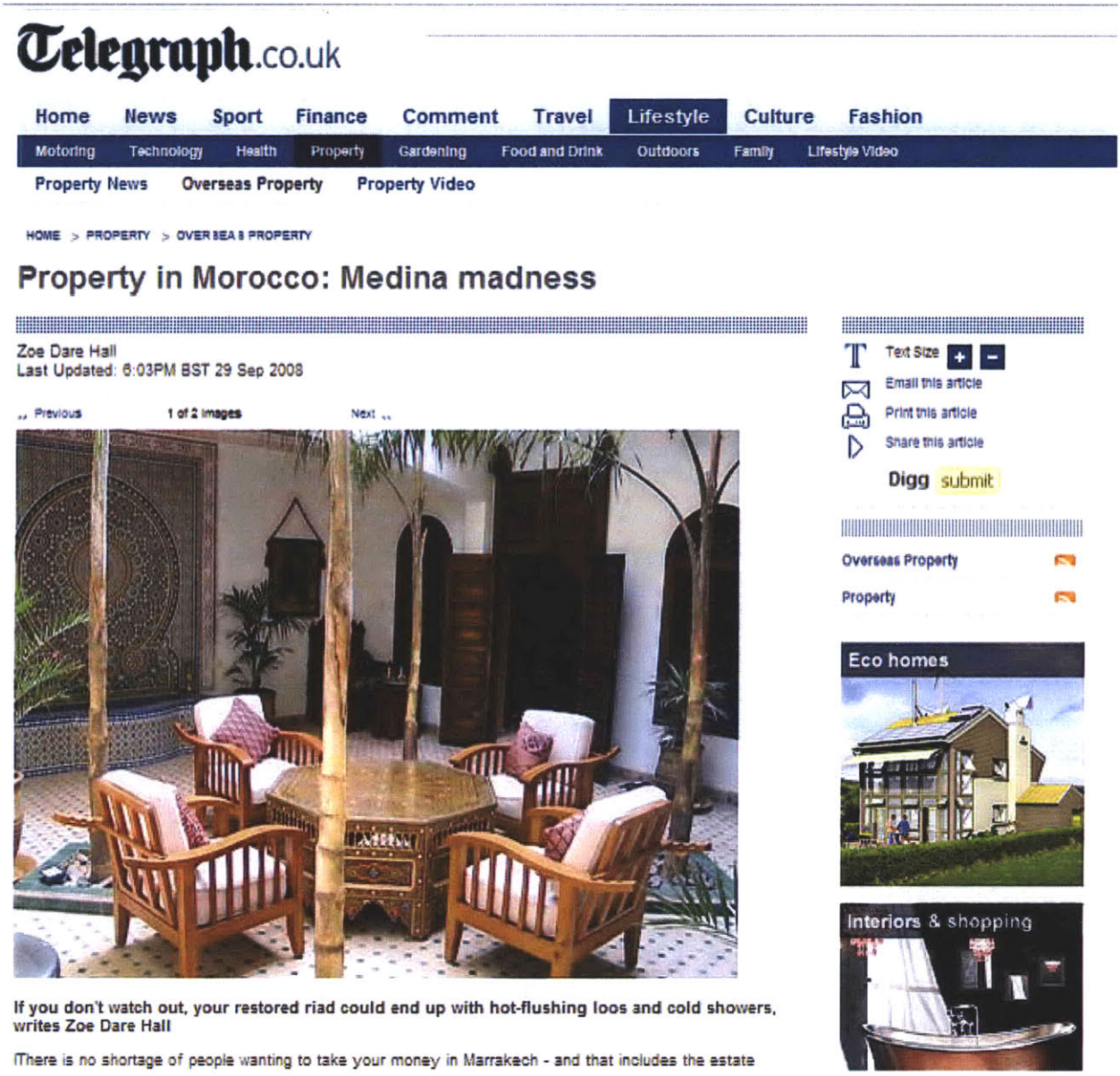
Photograph from "Weekend in Marrakesh" Slideshow, *The New York Times*
Photograph by Ingrid Pullar
http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2007/11/11/travel/1111-36Hours_3.html

Figure 3



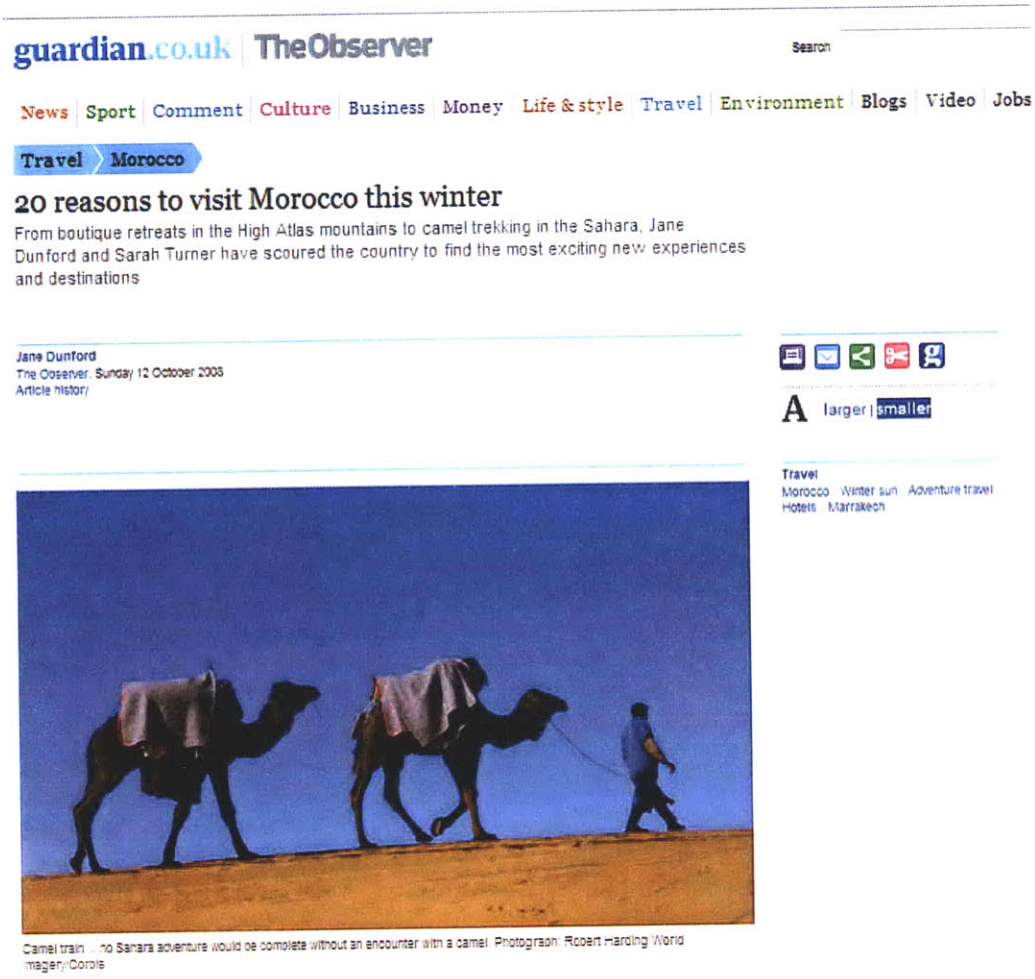
Photograph from "Weekend in Marrakesh" Slideshow, *The New York Times*
Photograph by Ingrid Pullar
http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2007/11/11/travel/1111-36Hours_7.html

Figure 4



"Property in Morocco: Medina Madness," *The Telegraph*, September 29, 2008
By Zoe Dare Hall
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/property/overseasproperty/3364093/Property-in-Morocco-Medina-madness.html

Figure 5



guardian.co.uk | The Observer

Search

News | Sport | Comment | Culture | Business | Money | Life & style | Travel | Environment | Blogs | Video | Jobs

Travel › Morocco

20 reasons to visit Morocco this winter

From boutique retreats in the High Atlas mountains to camel trekking in the Sahara, Jane Dunford and Sarah Turner have scoured the country to find the most exciting new experiences and destinations

Jane Dunford
The Observer, Sunday 12 October 2008
Article history

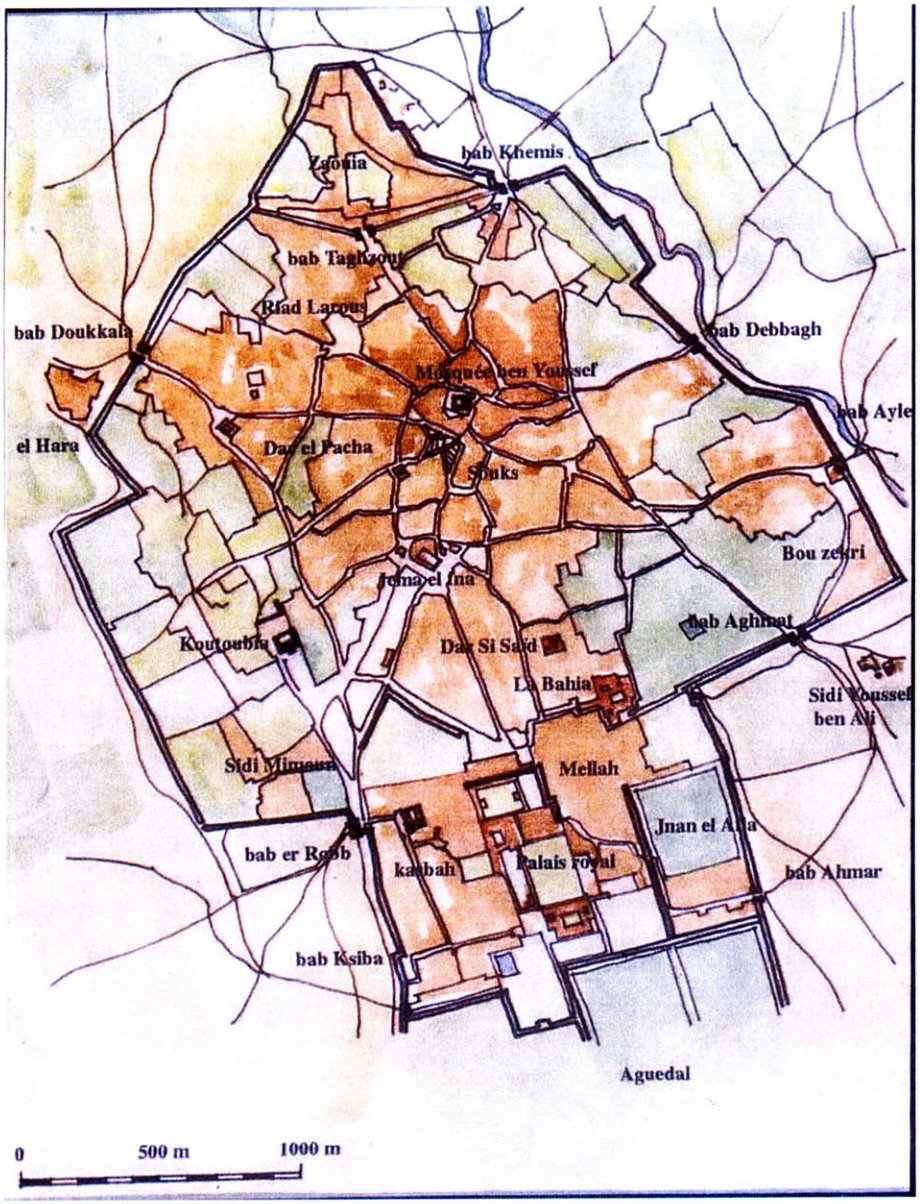
A larger | smaller

Travel
Morocco Winter sun Adventure travel Hotels Marrakech

Camel train ... no Sahara adventure would be complete without an encounter with a camel. Photograph: Robert Harding World Imagery/Corbis

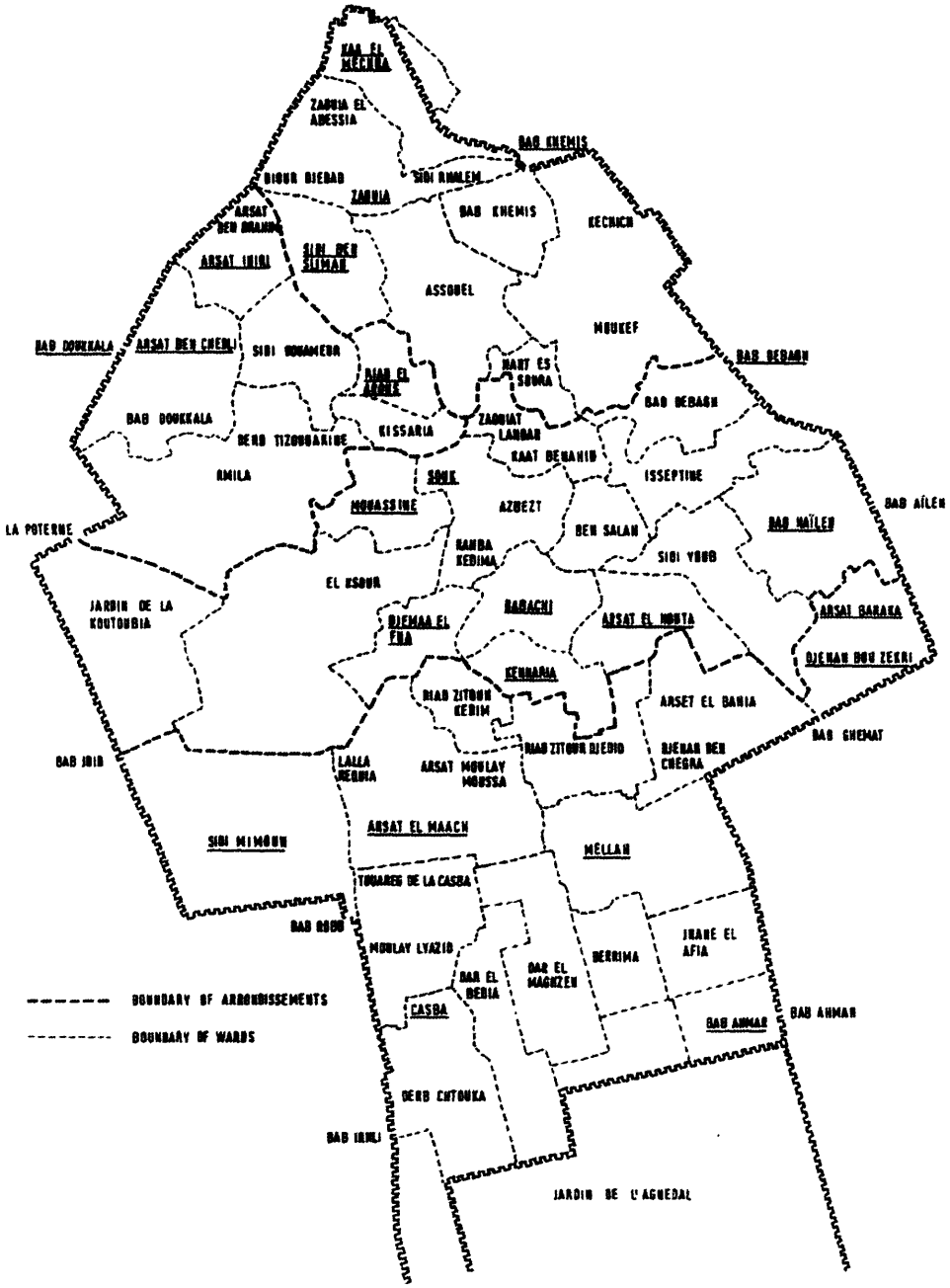
"20 reasons to visit Morocco this winter," *The Observer*, October 12, 2008
By Jane Dunford
http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/oct/12/morocco-wintersun

Figure 6



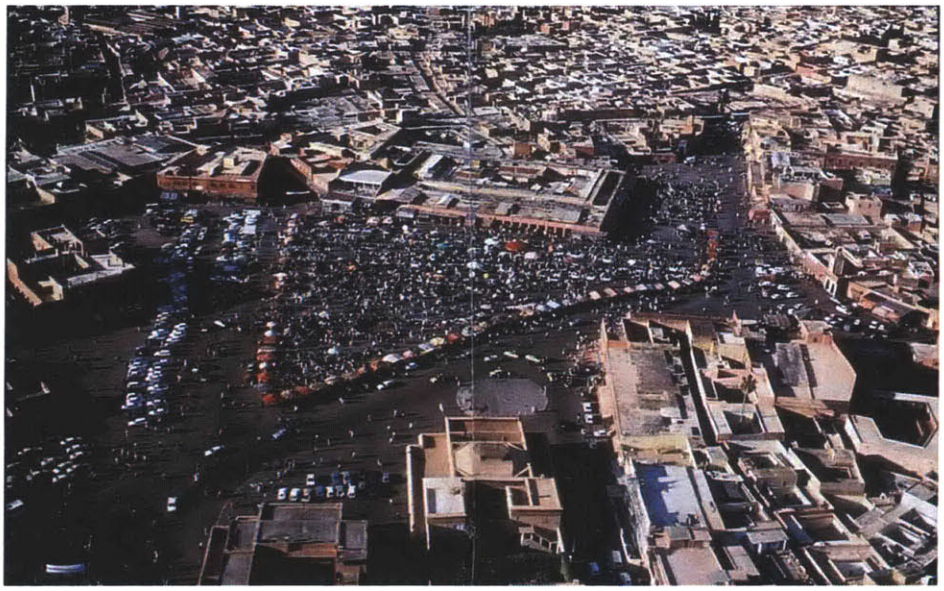
Medina of Marrakesh
Image from the Rotch Visual Collections, M.I.T.

Figure 7



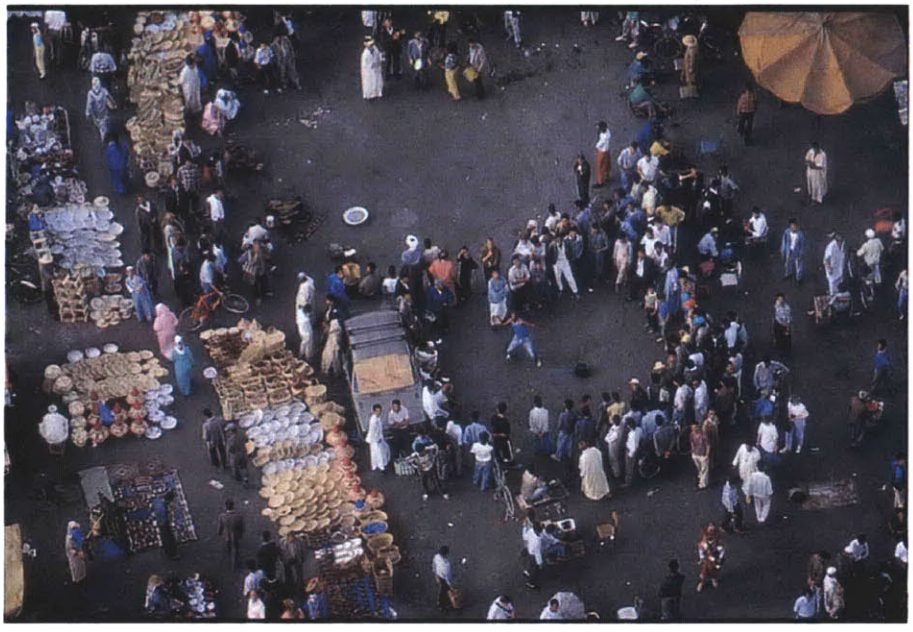
Municipal Divisions of the Medina
From Friedrich Schwerdtfeger,
Traditional Housing in African Cities (New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1982).

Figure 8



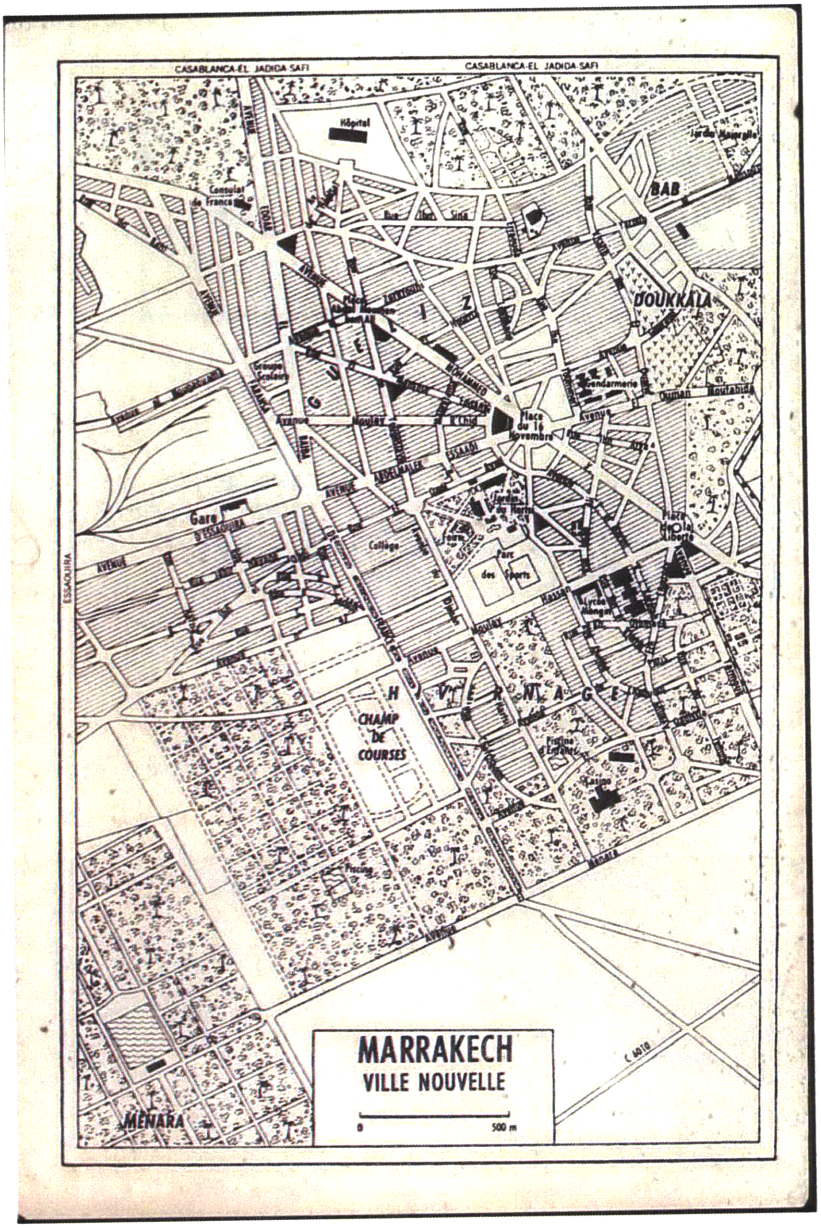
Aerial Photograph of the Jemaa al-Fna
Rotch Visual Collection, M.I.T.

Figure 9



Aerial Photograph of the Jemaa al-Fna
Rotch Visual Collection, M.I.T.

Figure 10

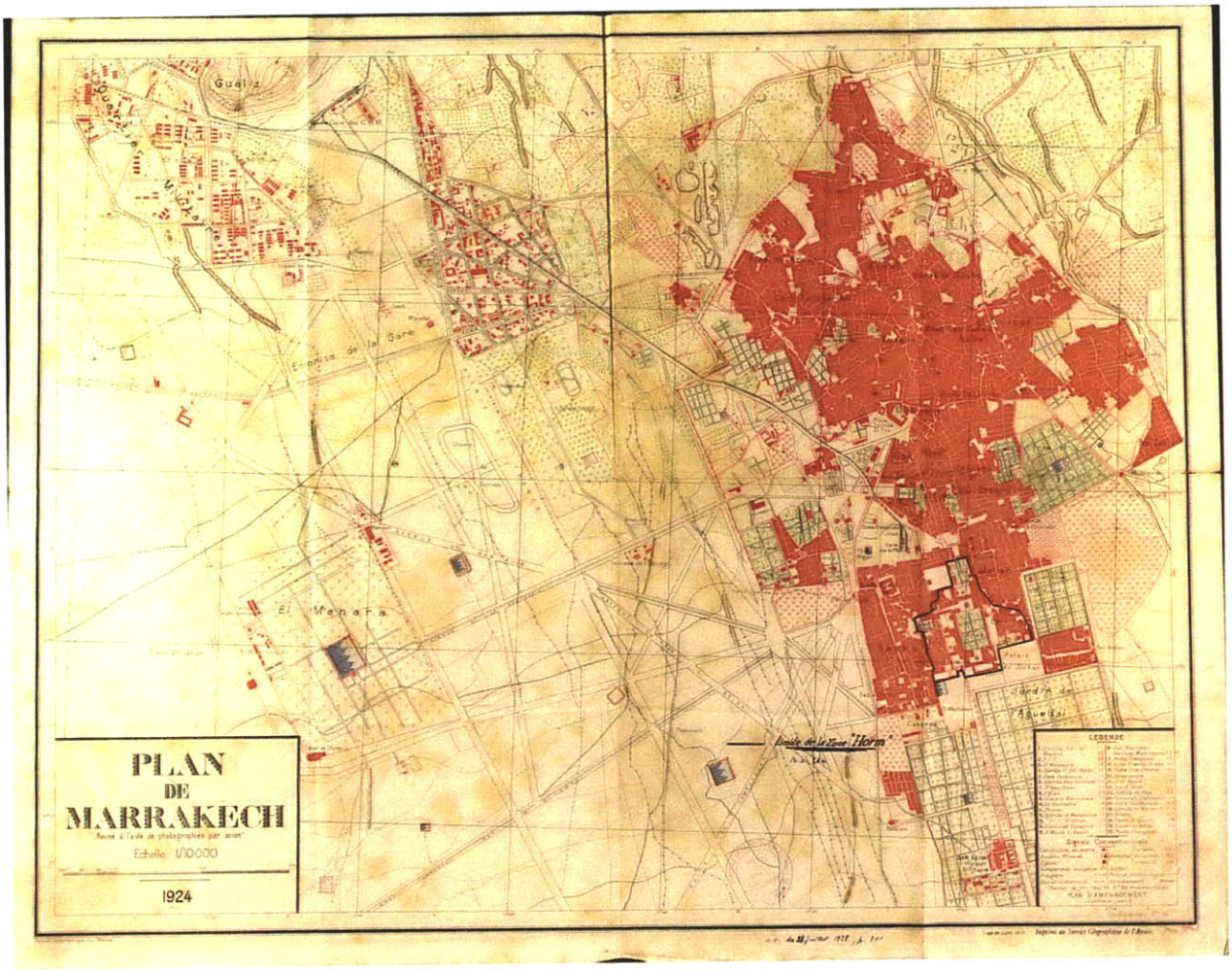


Ville nouvelle, Marrakesh
Rotch Visual Collections, M.I.T.

Figure 11

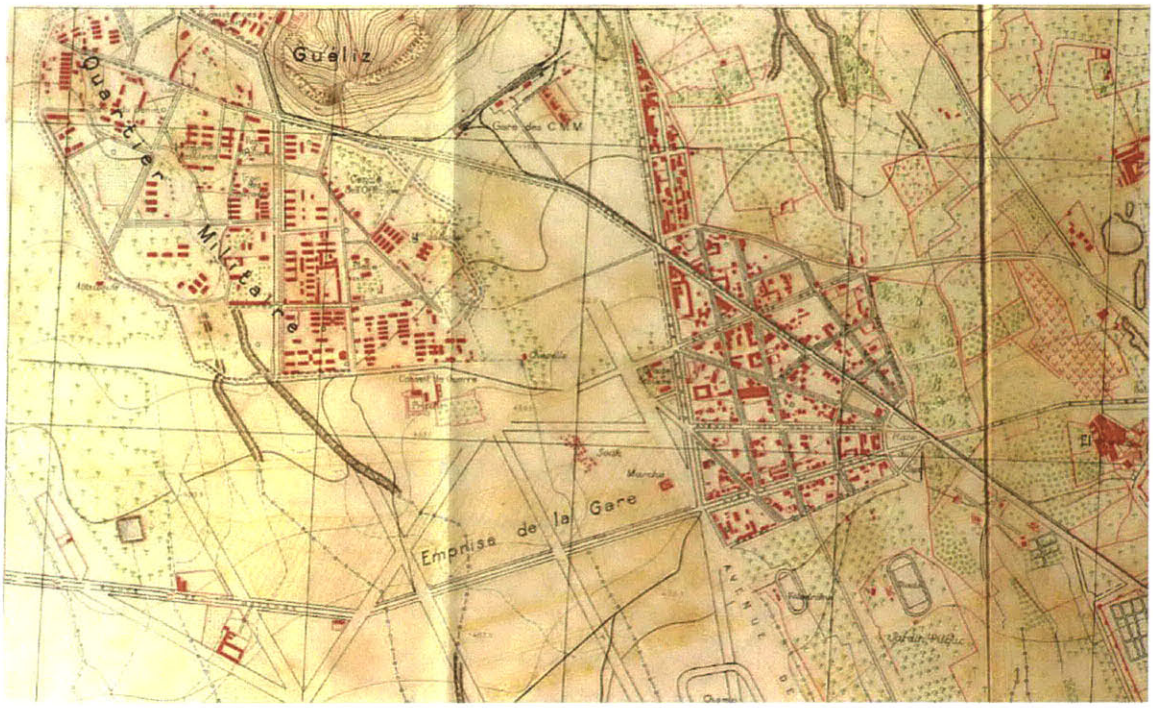
Google Earth Image, Guéliz and Hivernage

Figure 12



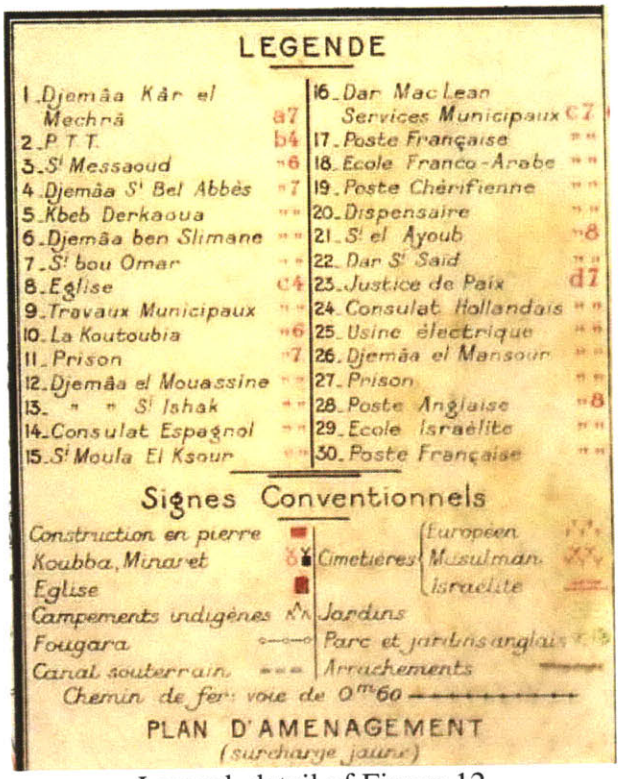
Map of Marrakesh, 1924
From archives at the Bibliothèque nationale in Rabat

Figure 13



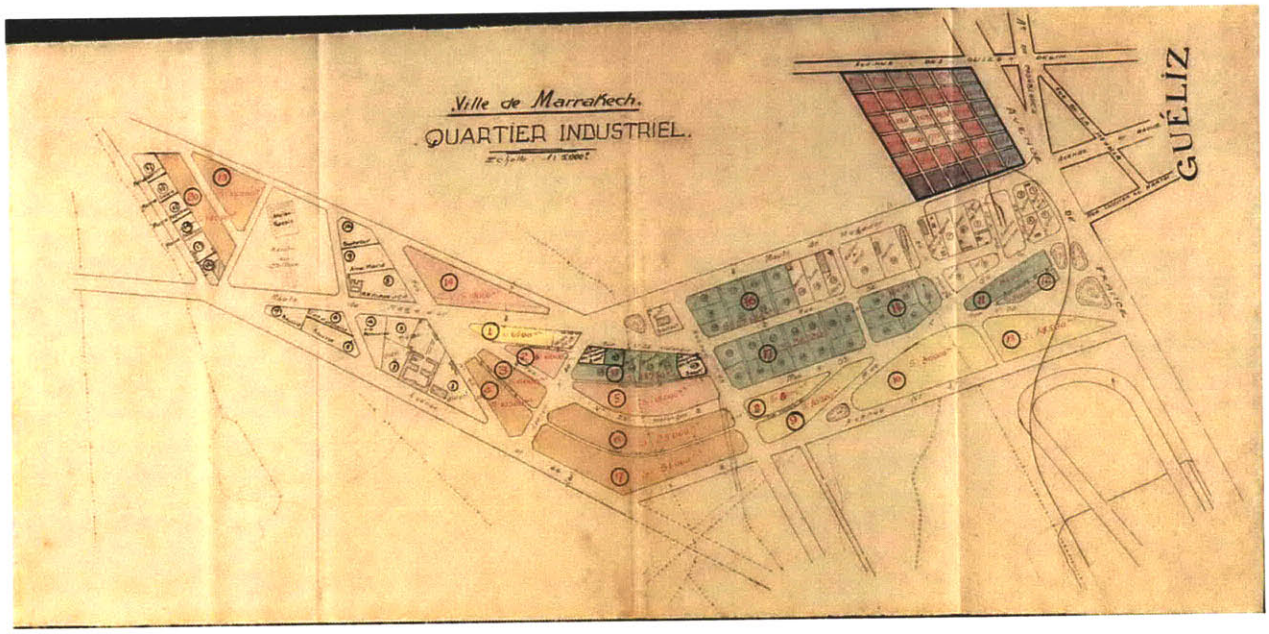
Military quarter, detail of Figure 12
From archives at the Bibliothèque nationale in Rabat

Figure 14



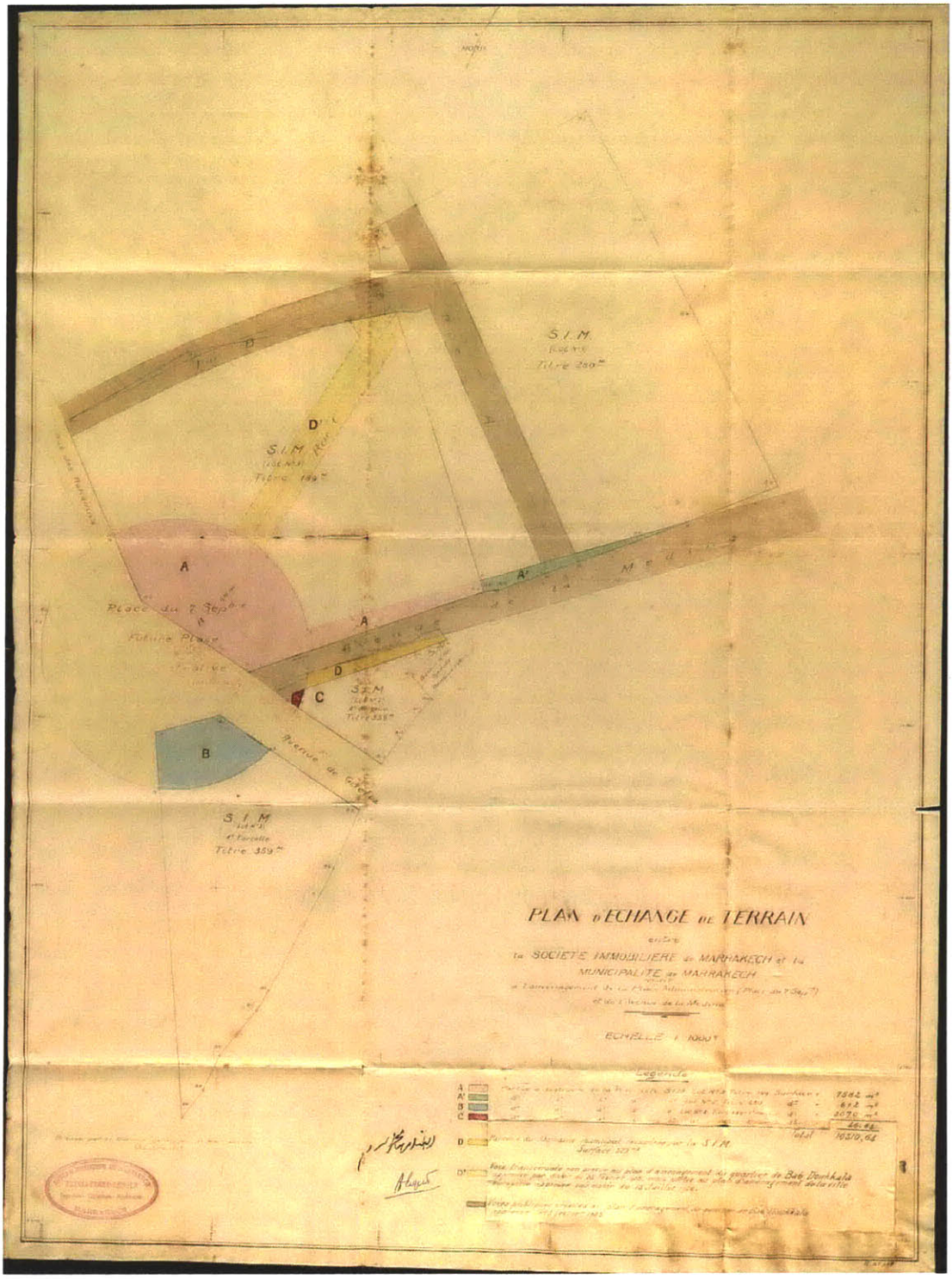
Legend, detail of Figure 12
From archives at the Bibliothèque nationale in Rabat

Figure 15



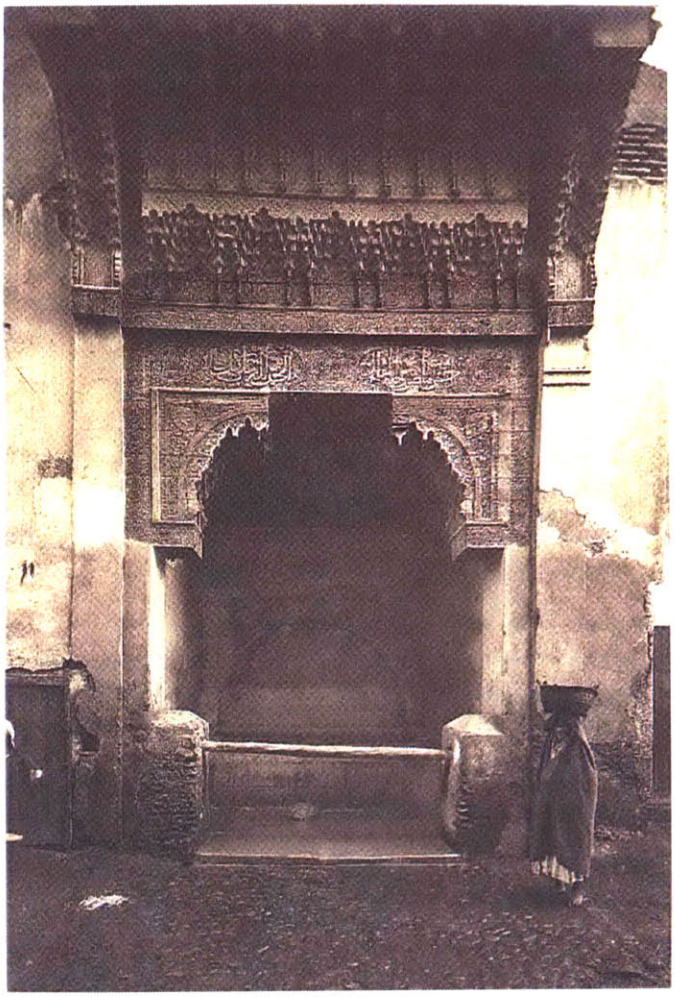
Map of the Industrial Quarter (n.d.)
From archives at the Bibliothèque nationale in Rabat

Figure 16



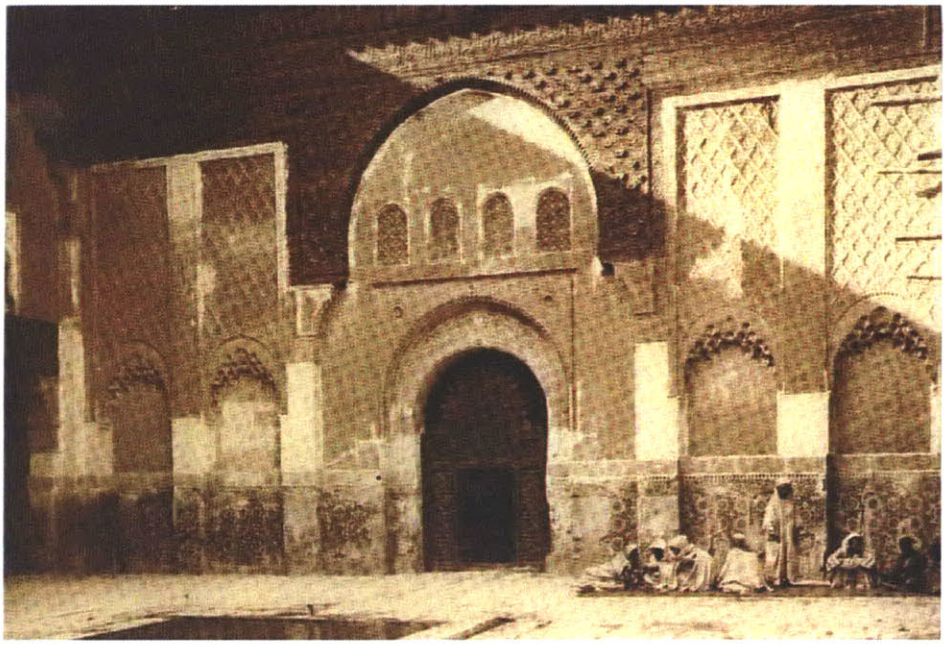
Drawing of the Place du 7 Septembre in Guéliz (dated October 1927)
Stamped Bureau Technique de Marrakech
From archives at the Bibliothèque nationale in Rabat

Figure 17



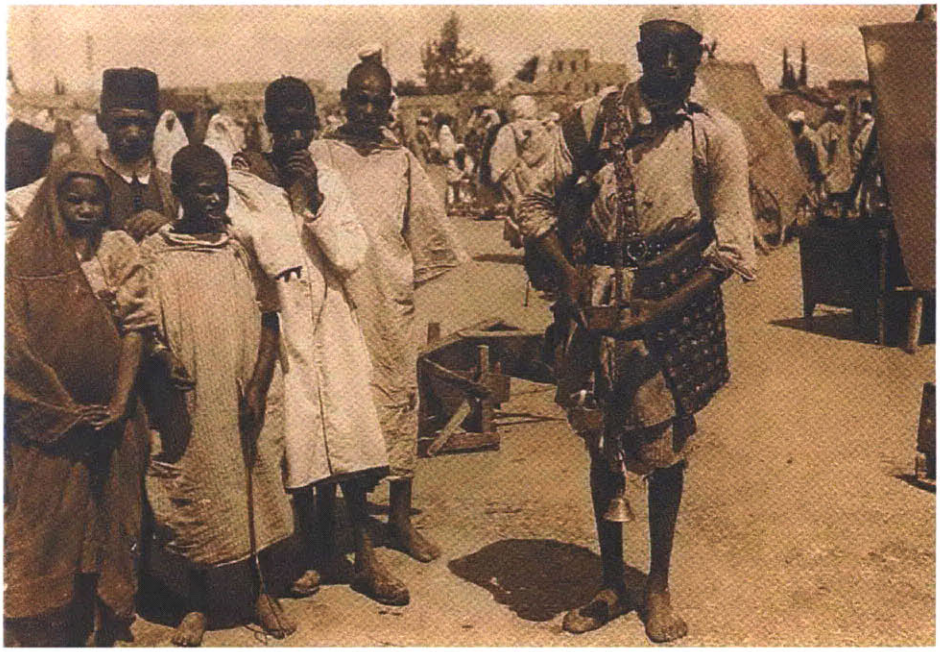
Fontaine Echrob ou Chouf, Marrakesh, 1920

Figure 18



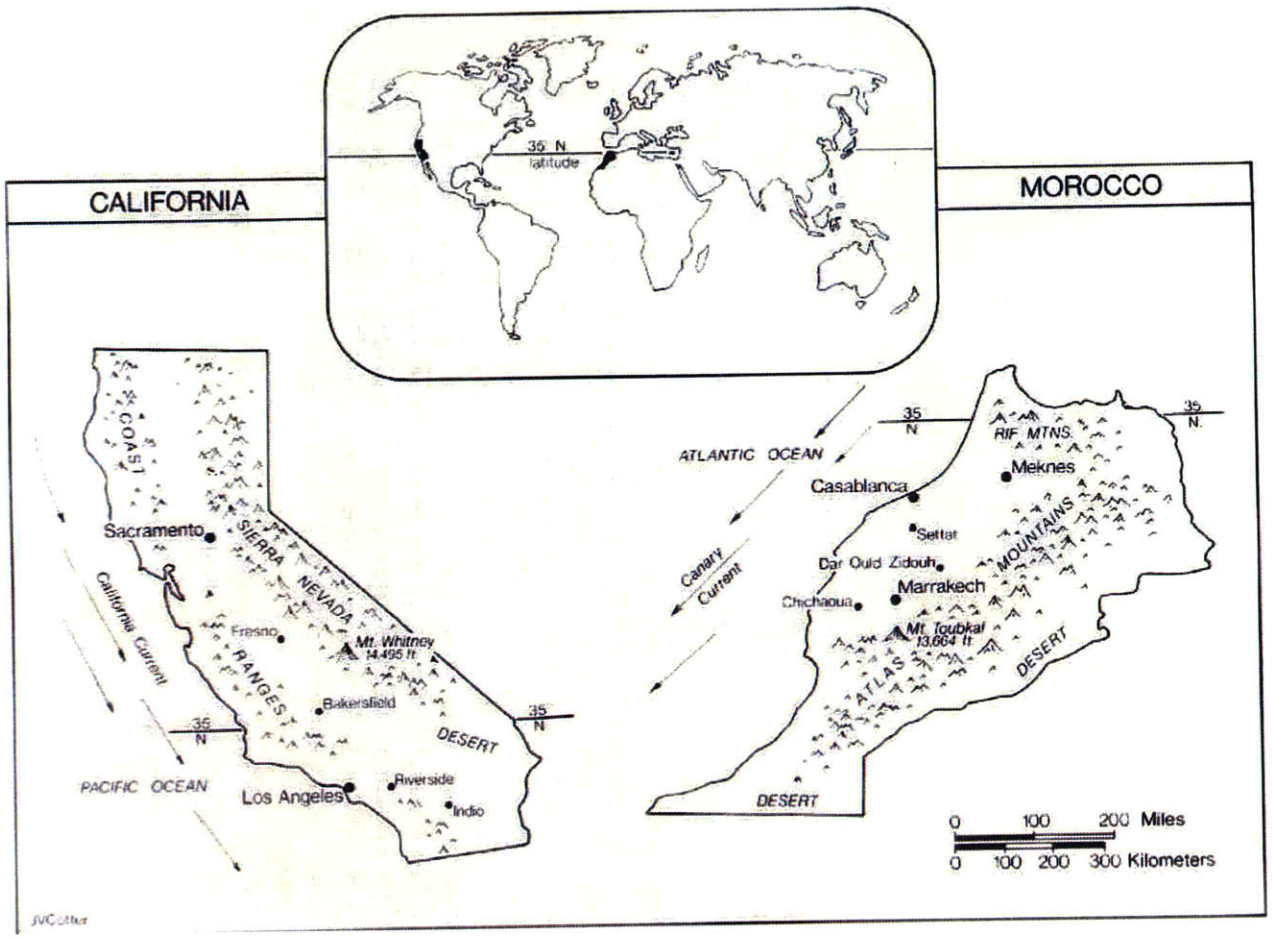
Mederesa Ben Youssef, Marrakesh, 1910

Figure 19



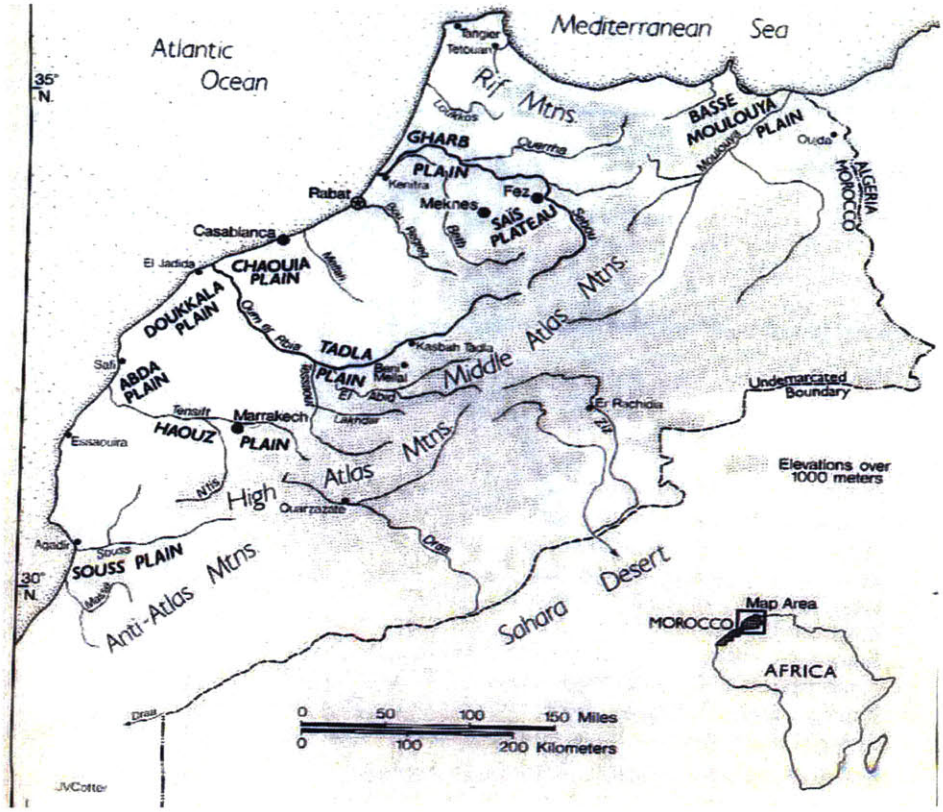
Marchand d'eau, Marrakesh, 1912

Figure 20



California-Morocco Comparative Map from William D. Swearingen, *Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912-1986* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).

Figure 21

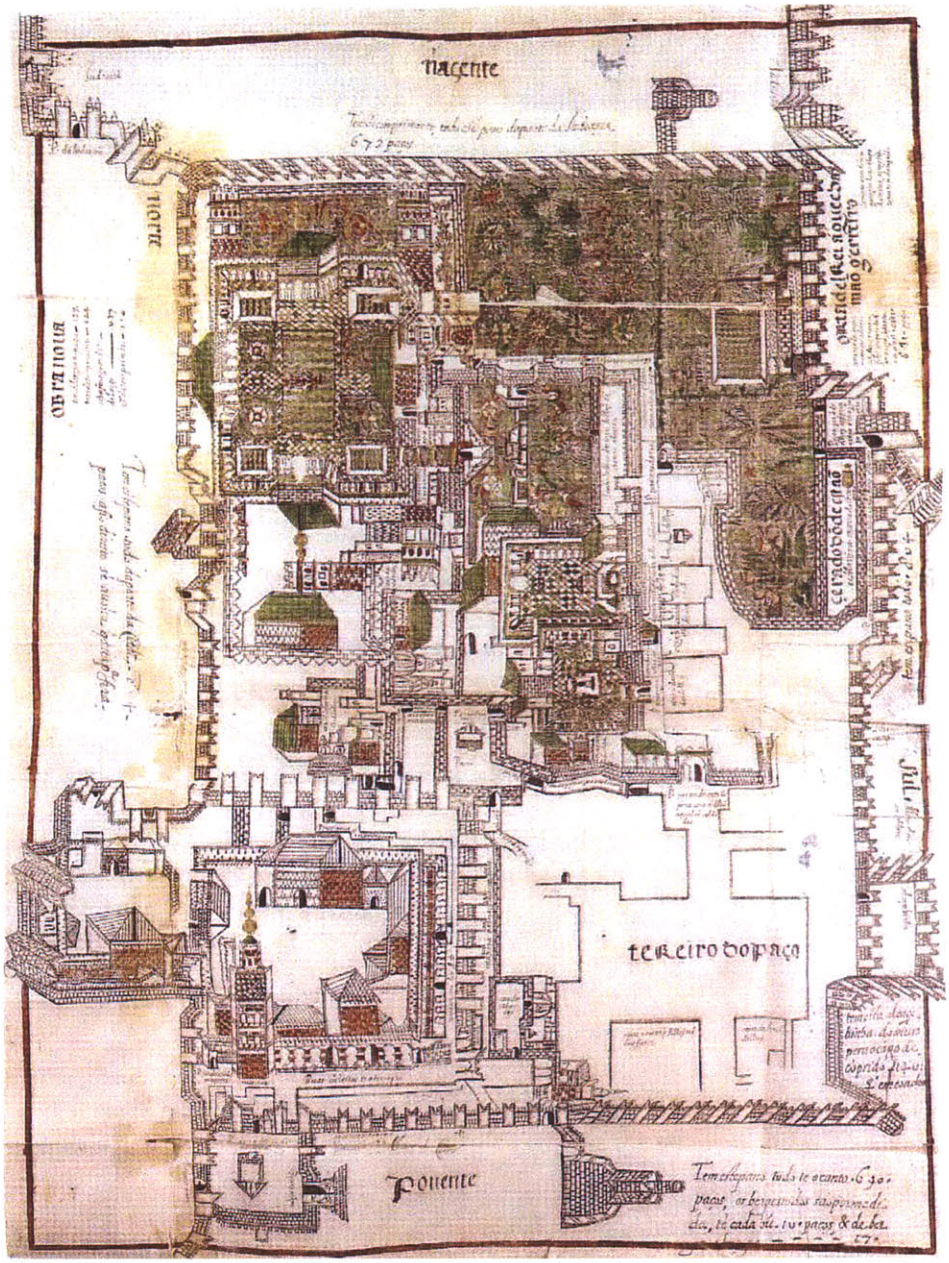


Map from William D. Swearingen,
Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912-1986
(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).

Figure 22

Produce Label by the Office Chérifien de Contrôle et d'Exportation (OCE), 1932
Image from William D. Swearingen,
Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912-1986
(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).

Figure 23

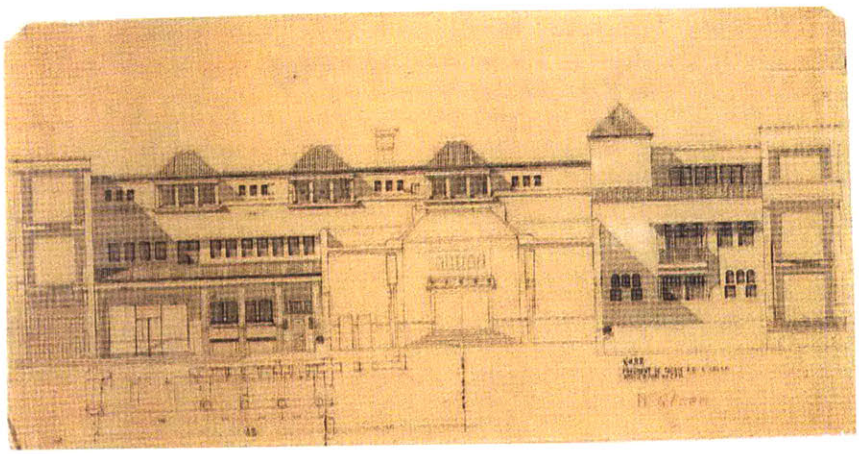


Portuguese map of Marrakesh, 1585
Map from Quentin Wilbaux, *Marrakech* (Paris: ARC Edition Internationale, 1999).

Figure 24

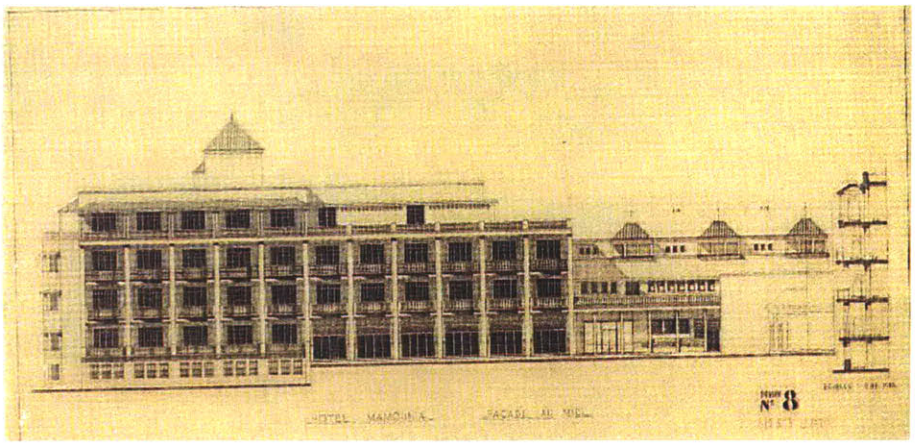
Mamounia Hotel, c.1940
Photograph from Khireddine Mourad and Alain Gérard,
Marrakech et La Mamounia (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994).

Figure 25



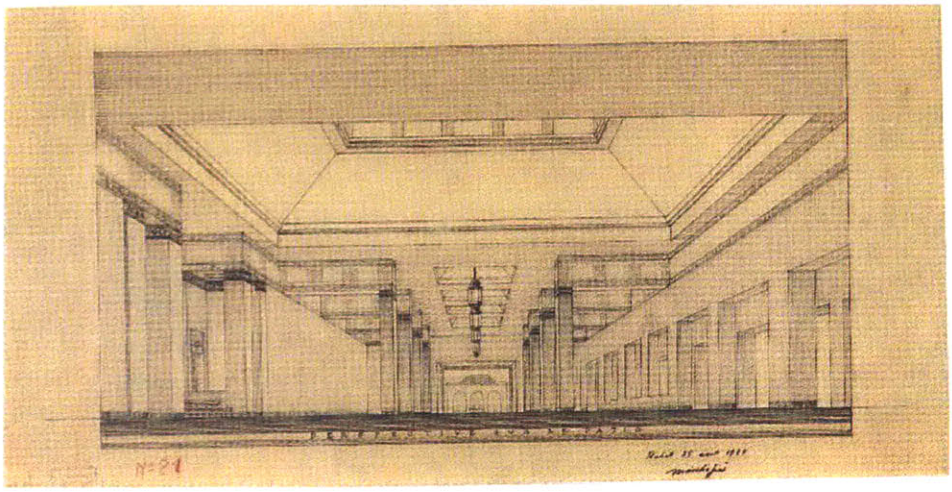
Plans for the Mamounia Hotel by Henri Prost and Antoine Marchiso
Image from Khireddine Mourad and Alain Gérard,
Marrakech et La Mamounia (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994).

Figure 26



Plans for the Mamounia Hotel by Henri Prost and Antoine Marchiso
Image from Khireddine Mourad and Alain Gérard,
Marrakech et La Mamounia (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994).

Figure 27

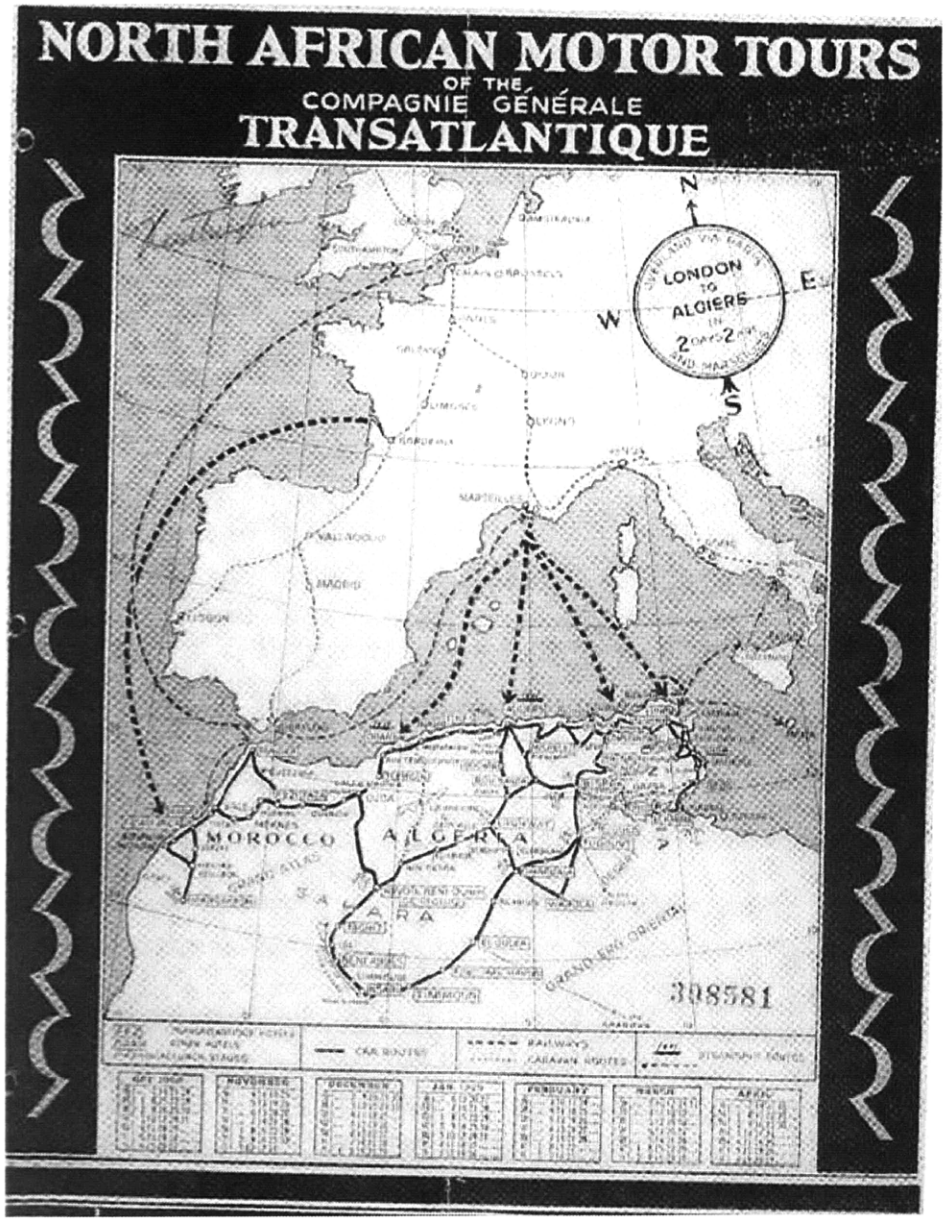


Plans for the Mamounia Hotel by Henri Prost and Antoine Marchiso
Image from Khireddine Mourad and Alain Gérard,
Marrakech et La Mamounia (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994).

Figure 28

Interiors of the Mamounia Hotel by Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann and Jules Leleu
Image from Khireddine Mourad and Alain Gérard,
Marrakech et La Mamounia (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994).

Figure 29

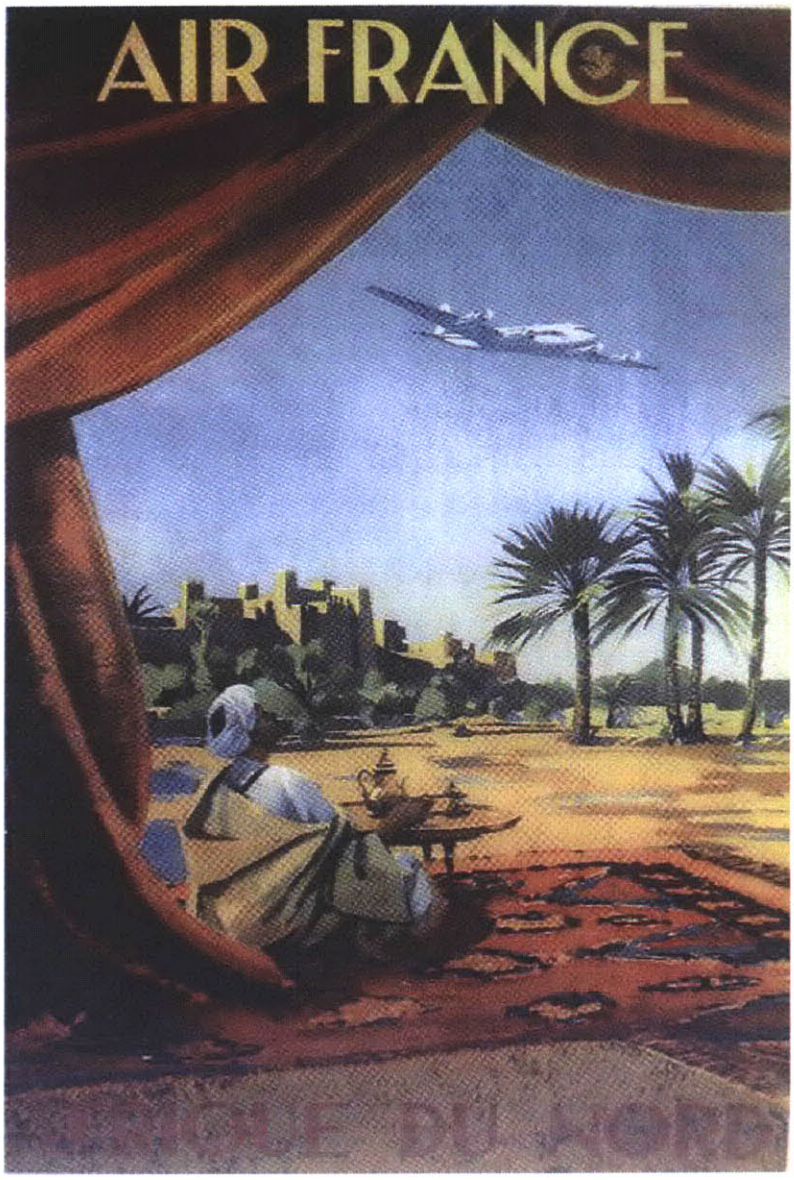


Advertisement by the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique
Image from Brian McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006).

Figure 30

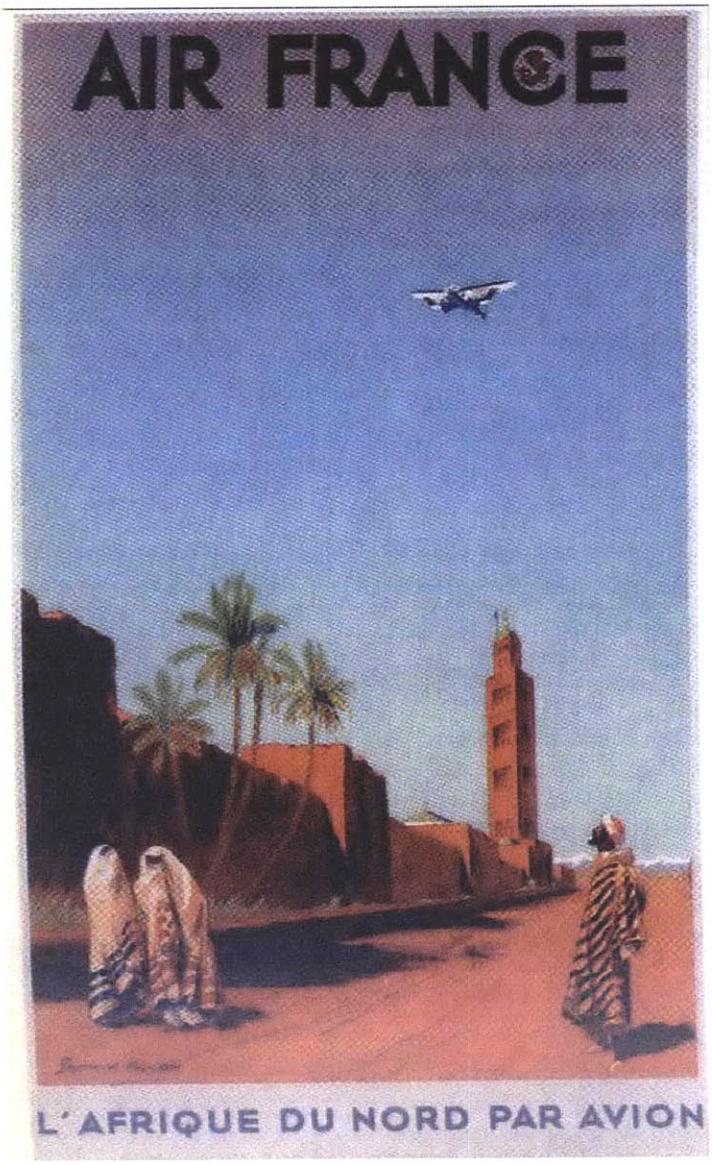
Advertisement by the Société des Voyages et Hotels Nord-Africains
Image from Khireddine Mourad and Alain Gérard,
Marrakech et La Mamounia (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994).

Figure 31



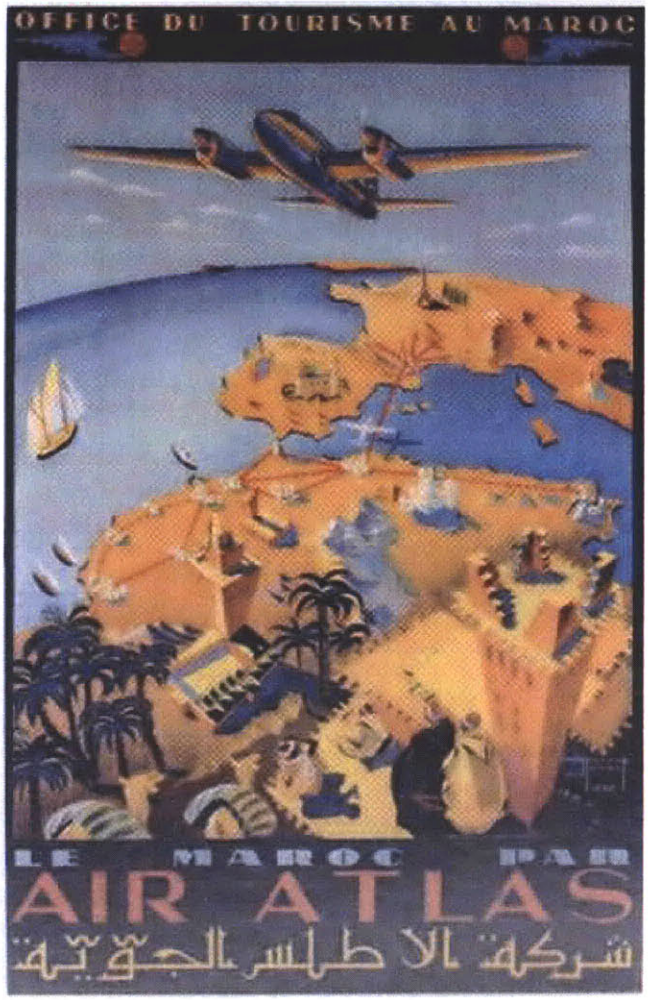
Air France Advertisement (n.d.) for "North Africa"

Figure 32



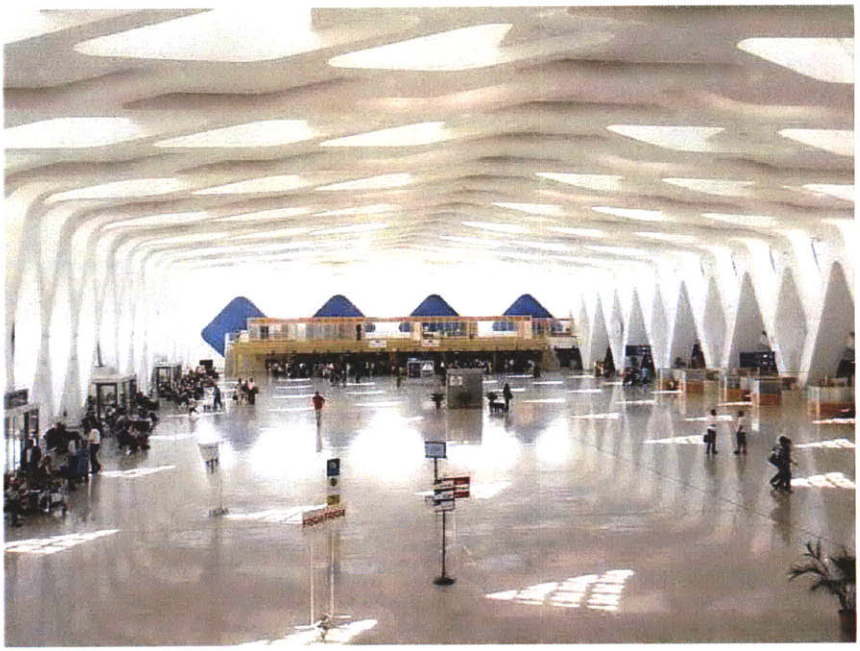
Air France Advertisement (n.d.) for "North Africa"

Figure 33



Advertisement by the Office of Tourism in Morocco (n.d.) for Air Atlas

Figure 34

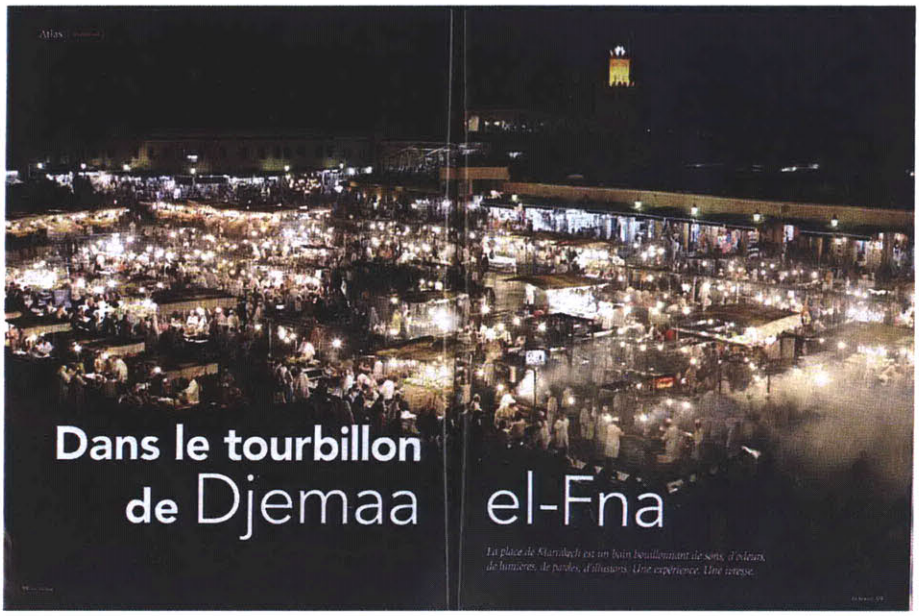


Menara Airport, Marrakesh
From http://www.travelblog.org/Photos/2572905.html

Figure 35

Maroc Magazine
Issue July 2008

Figure 36

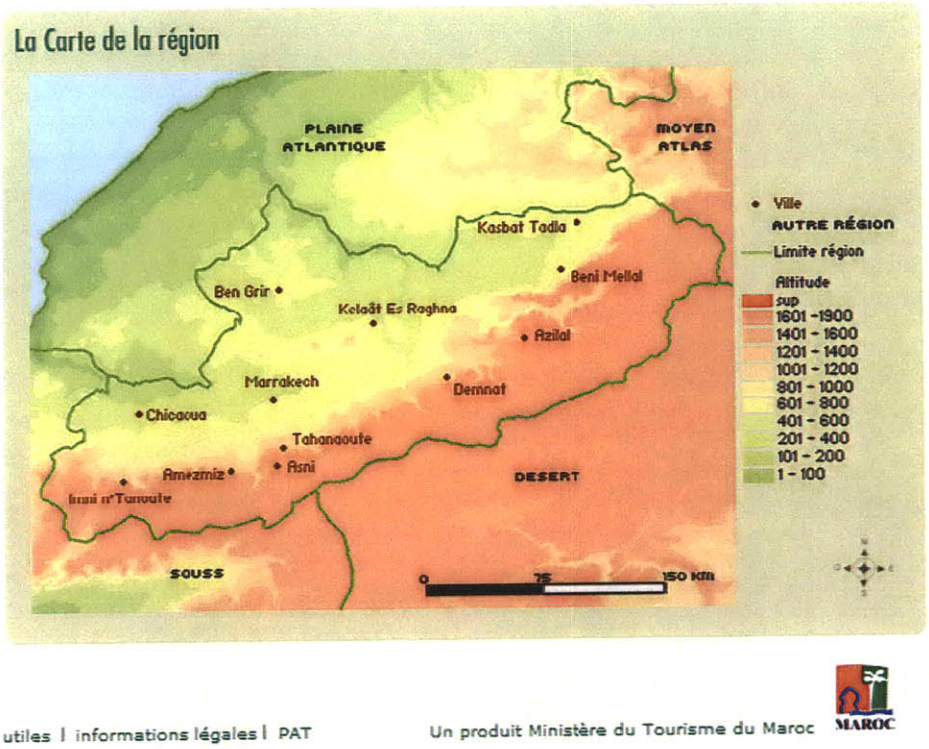


Maroc Magazine
Issue July 2008

Figure 37

Webpage for Rural Tourism in Morocco
http://www.ruraltourism.ma/

Figure 38



Map of Rural Tourism Destinations in Morocco
http://www.ruraltourism.ma/

Figure 39

Photograph of the Sultan of Morocco at the Franco-Moroccan Exhibition, Casablanca, 1915
Image from Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002).

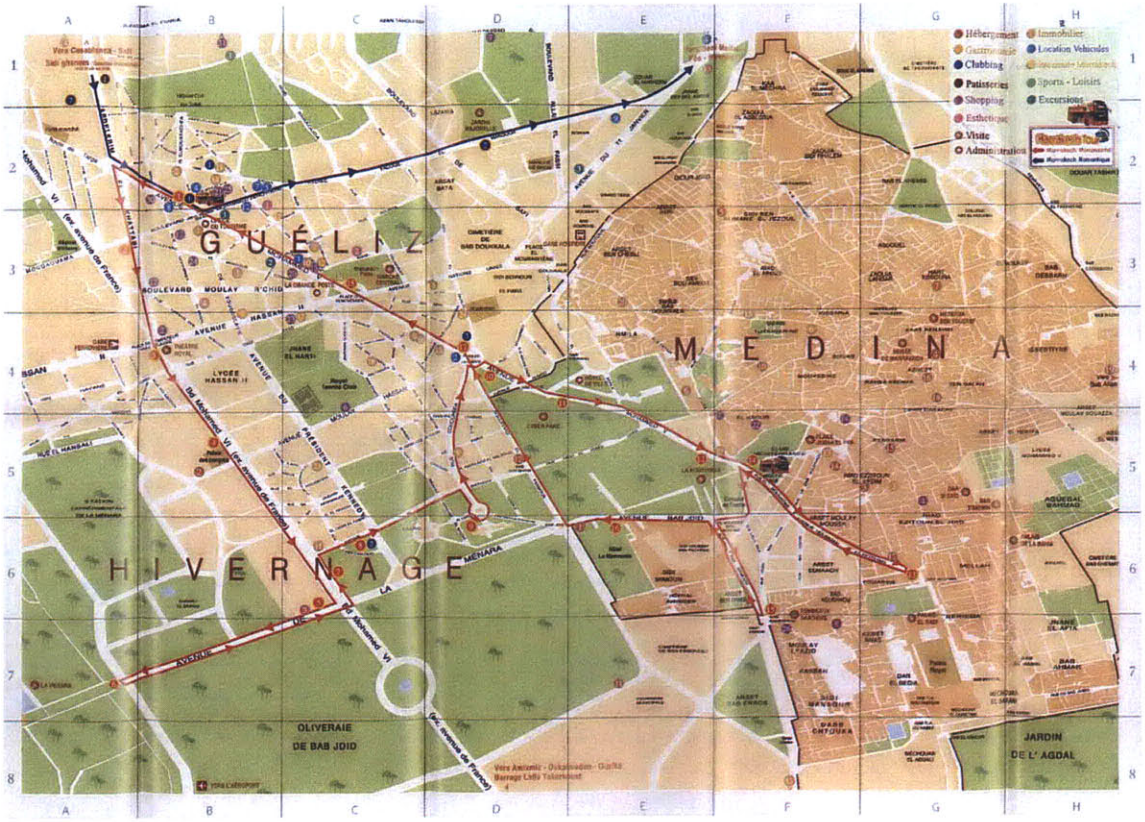
Figure 40

Moroccan City Plans on display at the Colonial Exposition, Marseilles, 1922
Image from Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002).

Figure 40

Poster for the Colonial Exposition, Marseilles, 1922

Figure 41



Marrakesh Map
By the "Marrakech Tour" Bus Company

Figure 42

Le Petit Marocain

5ie Année, N° 15.813
Prix : 0,30 DH

LE PROGRES MAROCAIN

La plus forte vente des quotidiens du Maroc

JEUDI
4 MAI 1967

M. Ababou dans une conférence de presse

15 MILLE PERSONNES attendues au festival folklorique de Marrakech

Placé cette année sous le signe des « quatre saisons »

Football international

L'Inter de Milan en finale de la Coupe d'Europe

A Hamm (RAF) : Les FAR et l'Allemagne font match nul 0-0 dans une rencontre du CISM

Pas de championnat dimanche au Maroc

(VOIR PAGE 3)

TOURISME : "Passeport pour la paix"

Le Maroc a fait sien le mot d'ordre lancé par les Nations-Unies

Tous les details en page 3

LE FESTIVAL FOLKLORIQUE DE MARRAKECH

s'est ouvert hier soir

97 MORTS EN 24 HEURES AU SOUDAN

37 PERSONNES BRULÉES VIVES DANS UN AUTOCAR

SEUL LE CONDUCTEUR EST INDEMNE

LE CHARME YOUGOSLAVE A CANNES

M. WINC
LE PAV

Le Petit Marocain: Le Progres Marocain,
Wednesday, May 4, 1967
From archives at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Casablanca

Figure 43

Sample brochures for the 43rd National Festival of Popular Arts
June-July 2008

Figure 44

Neo-Orientalist paintings sold in Casablanca
Photograph by the author

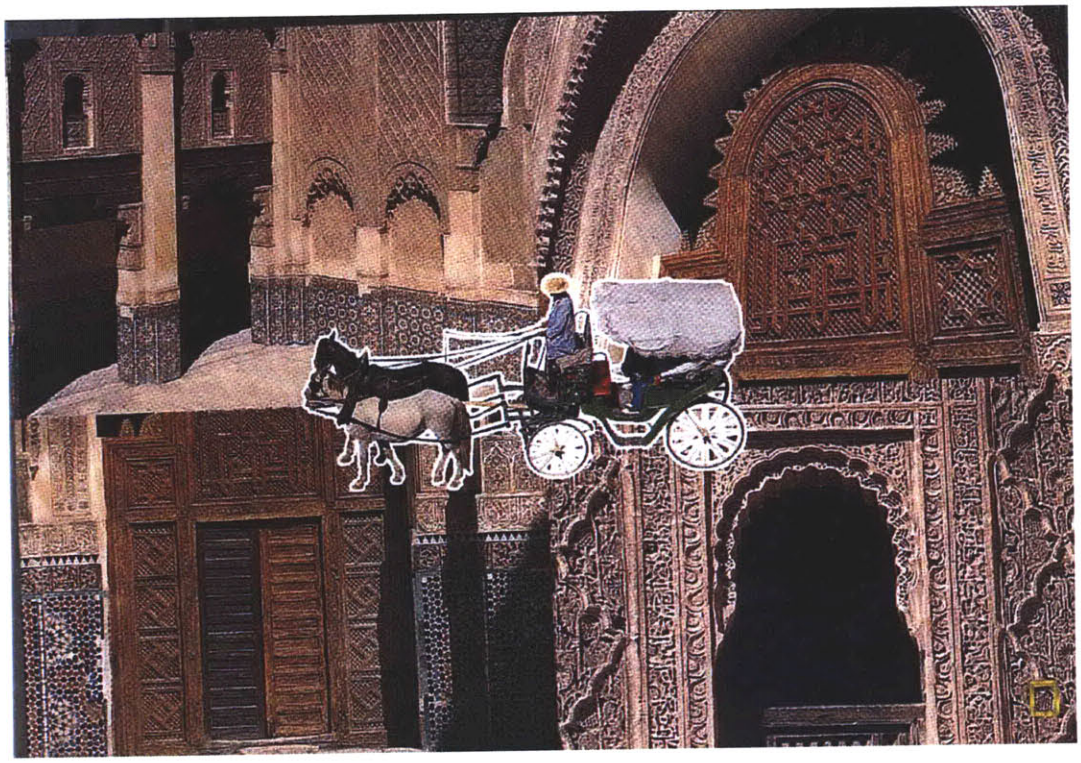
Figure 45

Bumper sticker sold in Marrakesh

Figure 46

Products sold in Casablanca marketplace
Photograph by the author

Figure 47



Postcard from Marrakesh

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu-Lughod, Janet. "The Islamic City—Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 19, no.2, May 1987.

----------. *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Agrawal, Arun. "Poststructuralist Approaches to Development: Some Reflections." *Peace and Change*, 21 (4): 464-477.

Allais, Lucia. "Will to War, Will to Art: Cultural Internationalism and the Modernist Aesthetics of Monuments, 1932-1964." Ph.D. Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 2008.

Alloula, Malek. *The Colonial Harem.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

AlSayyad, Nezar. *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism.* New York, London: Greenwood Press, 1991.

AlSayyad, Nezar ed. *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism.* London; New York: Routledge, 2001.

----------. *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise.* Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992.

----------. *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment.* Westport, CT; London: Praeger, 2001.

AlSayyad, Nezar, Irene Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat, eds. *Making Cairo Medieval.* Oxford, UK: Lexington Books, 2005.

Amara, Tarek. "Africa's AfDB bank lends Morocco 240 mln euros." *Reuters Africa*, April 16, 2009 http://af.reuters.com/article/moroccoNews/idAFLG49027520090416

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* New York: Verso, 1983.

Antoniou, Jim. *Islamic Cities and Conservation.* Paris; Geneva: Unesco Press, 1981.

Aouchar, Amina. *Colonisation et campagne berbere au Maroc.* Casablanca: Afrique Orient, 1995.

Apelian, Collette Denise. "Negotiating the City: Conserving Fez, Morocco during the French Protectorate (1912-1956)." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of CA-Los Angeles, 2005.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture.* New York; Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Ashcroft, Bill. *Post-Colonial Transformation.* London: Routledge, 2001.

Ashscroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader.* London: Routledge, 1995.

Bal, Mieke. "The Politics of Citation." *Diacritics*, vol. 21, no.1, Spring 1991.

Balch, Thomas Willing. "French Colonization in North Africa." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 3, no.4 (November 1909): 539-551.

Barakat, Halim, ed. *Contemporary North Africa: Issues of Development and Integration.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1985.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies.* Trans. by Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.

----------."Semiology and the Urban." *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory.* Edited by N. Leach. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.

Bates, Robert. *Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Benjamin, Roger. *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930.* Berkeley; L.A.; London: University of California Press, 2003.

Betts, Raymond F. *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961; Reprinting Lincoln, NE; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Betts, Raymond F. ed. *The "Scramble" for Africa: Causes and Dimensions of Empire.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1966.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture.* London; New York: Routledge, 2004.

----------ed. *Nation and Narration.* London; New York: Routledge, 1990.

Bidwell, Robin. *Morocco under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal Areas, 1912-1956.* London: Cass & Co., 1973.

Blanchard, Pascal and Gilles Boëtsch, "La France de Pétain et l'Afrique: Images et propagandes coloniales." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/ Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1994.

Bonine, Michael E. "The Sacred Direction and City Structure: A Preliminary Analysis of the Islamic Cities of Morocco." *Muqarnas*, vol. 7, 1990.

Britton, R.A. "International Tourism and Indigenous Development Objectives: A Study with Special Reference to the West Indies." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1978.

Brunschvig, Robert. "Hommage a George Marçais." *Arabica*, T.11, Fasc. 1 (January 1964): 1-4.

Burke III, Edmund. "A Comparative View of French Native Policy in Morocco and Syria, 1912-1925," *Middle Eastern Studies,* vol. 9, no. 2 (May, 1973).

----------. "In Memorium: Roger Le Tourneau, 1907-1971." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol.3, no. 3 (July 1972): 361-363.

----------. "Orientalism and World History: Representing Middle Eastern Nationalism and Islamism in the Twentieth Century." *Theory and Society*, vol. 27, no. 4 (August 1998): 489-507.

Canter, H.V. "Civilization in North Africa." *The Classical Journal*, vol. 35, no.4 (January 1940): 197-208.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule.* Berkeley; L.A.; London: University of California Press, 1997.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chang, Joyce, et al. *Morocco: An Oasis of Investment Opportunity*. New York: Salomon Brothers' Emerging Markets Research, 1992.

Clancy-Smith, Julia A. *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*. Berkeley; L.A.; London: University of California Press, 1997.

Cohen, Jean-Louis and Monique Eleb. *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures.* New York: Monacelli Press, 2002.

Cohen, Shana and Larabi Jaidi. *Morocco: Globalization and Its Consequences*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Coolidge, Archibald Cary. "The European Reconquest of North Africa." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 17, no. 4 (July 1912): 723-734.

Cooper, Frederick and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tension of Empire: Bourgeois Cultures in an Bourgeois World.* Berkeley; L.A.; London: University of California Press, 1997.

Coste, Pascal. *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1826*, ed. Firmin et Didot. Paris, 1837.

Crick, Malcolm. "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings and Servility." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 18 (1989): 307-344.

Crouch, David and Nina Lübbren, eds. *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2003.

Curtis, William J. "Type and Variation: Berber Collective Dwellings of the Northwestern Sahara." *Muqarnas*, vol. 1, 1983.

Daughton, J.P. *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. "City/State." *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Edited by N. Leach. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.

---------- *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and the Schizophrenic*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

Demissie, Fassil ed. *Postcolonial African Cities: Imperial Legacies and Postcolonial Predicaments*. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.

Deverdun, Gaston. *Marrakesh des origins à 1912*, 2 vols. Rabat, 1959.

Dunn, Ross E. "The Trade of Tafilalt: Commercial Change in Southeast Morocco on the Eve of the Protectorate." *African Historical Studies*, vol.4, no.2, 1971.

Dutta, Arindam. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducability*. New York; London: Routledge, 2007.

Edensor, Tim. *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site*. New York and London: Routledge, 1998.

Eickelman, Dale F. "Is There an Islamic City: The Making of a Quarter in a Moroccan Town," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* v. 5, 1974.

----------. *Knowledge and Power in Morocco*. Princeton, NJ; London: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa, 2nd Ed., s.v. Detroit, Mich.: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004.

English, Donald E. *Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic, 1871-1914*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984.

Escobar, Arturo. "Constructing Nature: Elements for a Poststructural Political Ecology." From *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements*, eds. Richard Peet and Michael Watts. London; New York: Routledge, 1996.

Evans, Peter. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transforma-tion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

----------. *A Dying Colonialism*. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

----------. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1963.

Fawaz, Leial Tarazi, Christopher Alan Bayly, and Robert Ilbert. *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Forster, John. "The Sociological Consequences of Tourism." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 5(2): 217-227.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1982.

----------. "Panopticism," from *Discipline and Punish* (1977), in *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader*. Edited by Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Fougous, M.J. *L'Avenir économique du Maroc*. Paris, 1916.

Gagne, Jacques. *Nation et nationalism au Maroc: Aux raciness de la nation marocaine*. Rabat: Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, 1988.

Gaillard, Henri. *Une ville de l'Islam: Fès*. Paris: J. André, 1905.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes. "William Marçais (1874-1956)." *Arabica*, T. 3, Fasc. 3 (September 1956): 245-246.

El-Gawhary, Karim. "Sex Tourism in Cairo." *Middle East Report*, no. 196 (September-October, 1995): 26-27.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

----------.*Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society: Three Essays in Cultural Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Ginio, Ruth. *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa*. Lincoln, NE; London: University of Nebraska, 2006.

Gosnell, Jonathan K. *The Politics of Frenchness in Colonial Algeria, 1930-1954*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002.

Gottheil, Richard J.H. "Morocco as it is Today." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 54, no.3 (September 1934): 231-239.

Gottreich, Emily. *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Grant, Richard and Jan Nijman, "Globalization and the Corporate Geography of Cities in the Less-Developed World." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 92, no. 2 (June 2002).

Greenhalgh, Michael. "The New Centurions: French Reliance on the Roman Past during the conquest of Algeria." *War and Society* vol. 16, no. 1 (May 1998): 1-28.

Guernier, Eugene. *L'Afrique: Champ d'expansion de l'Europe*. Paris, 1933.

Hammoudi, Abdellah. *Master and Disciple: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Hardy, Georges. *Vue générale de l'histoire d'Afrique*. Paris: A. Colin, 1922.

Harvey, David. "The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture." From Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, eds., *A World of Contradictions: Socialist Register 2002*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001.

----------. *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

----------. *Social Justice and the City*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press; London: Edward Arnold, 1973.

----------. *The Urban Experience*. Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1989.

Hayllar, Bruce, Tony Griffin, and Deborah Edwards, eds. *City Spaces—Tourist Places: Urban Tourism Precincts*. Oxford: Elsevier, 2008.

Hight, Eleanor M. and Gary D. Sampson, eds. *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*. London; New York: Routledge, 2002.

Hillali, Mimoun. *La politique du tourisme au Maroc: Diagnostic, bilan et critique*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hoisington, William A. *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

----------. "The Selling of Agadir: French Business Promotion in Morocco in the 1930s." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no.2 (1985): 315-324.

Holden, Stacy E. "Constructing an Archival Cityscape: Local Views of Colonial Urbanism in the French Protectorate of Morocco." *History in Africa* 34 (2007): 121-132.

----------. "When It Pays to Be Medieval: Historic Preservation as a Colonial Policy in the Medina of Fez, 1912-1932." *The Journal of the Historical Society,* vol. I: 2 (June 2006): 297-316.

Horne, Donald. *The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History*. London: Pluto Press, 1984.

Hourani, Albert. *Islam in European Thought*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Inalcik, Halil. "Istanbul: An Islamic City." *Journal of Islamic Studies* v.1, 1990.

Jameson, Frederic. "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture." *Social Text*, no.1 (Winter, 1979): 130-148.

Kabbani, Rana, *Europe's Myths of Orient*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986.

King, Anthony D. *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*. London; New York: Routledge, 1990.

Klingmann, Anna. *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy*. Cambridge, MA; London, England: M.I.T. Press, 2007.

Koestler, Arthur. "Reports and Comment: Marrakech." *Atlantic Monthly* 12 (1971).

Lapidus, Ira. *A History of Islamic Societies, 2nd Ed.* Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Lees, Andrew. *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space.* Trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991.

Le Gall, Michel and Kenneth Perkins, ed. *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History and Historiography.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997.

Le Tourneau, Roger. *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.

----------. *Fez in the Age of the Marinides.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

----------. *Les villes musulmanes de l'Afrique du Nord.* Algiers, Algeria: Imprimerie Officielle, 1957.

Low, Setha. *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000.

----------. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader.* New Brunswick, NJ; London: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Lyautey, Louis Hubert Gonzalve. *Paroles d'action.* Edited by Jean-Louis Miège. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1995.

Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City.* Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1960.

MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: Schocken Books, 1989.

Maffesoli, Michel. *Du nomadisme: vagabondages initiatiques.* Paris: Libraire Générale Française, Le Livre de poche, 1997.

Makdisi, Ussama and Paul A. Silverstein, eds. *Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Marcum, John A. "North Africa and the West." *The Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 2 (June 1957): 301-317.

Marçais, Georges. *Les arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle.* Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913.

----------. *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*. Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1954.

----------. *Les villes d'art celebres: Tlemcen*. Paris: Librarie Renouard, H. Laurens, 1950.

----------. *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*. Algiers: Imprimerie Officielle, 1957.

Marçais, William. "L'Islamisme et la vie urbaine." *L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lêttres, Comptes Rendus* (Paris: January-March 1928): 86-100.

Marx, Karl. *Capital.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Mayer, Ruth. *Artificial Africas: Colonial Images in the Times of Globalizationn*. Hanover and London: Dartmouth College, the University Press of New England, 2002.

Mbembe, Achille. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press, 2001.

----------."Ways of Seeing: Beyond the New Nativism, Introduction." *African Studies Review*, vol. 44, no.2 (September 2001).

McLaren, Brian L. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006.

Miller, Susan Gilson, et. al. "Inscribing Minority Space in the Islamic City: The Jewish Quarter of Fez (1438-1912)." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 60, no. 3 (September 2001): 310-327.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Miyoshi, Masao. "A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation-State." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 19, no.4 (Summer 1993): 726-751.

Montagne, R. "French Policy in North Africa and Syria," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931-1939),* vol. 16, no. 2 (March-April 1937): 263-279.

Morocco Under the Protectorate: Forty Years of French Administration. New York; Washington, D.C.: Istiqlal Party of Morocco, Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation, 1953.

Morton, Patricia. *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris*. Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 2000.

Mourad, Khireddine and Alain Gérard. *Marrakech et La Mamounia*. Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994.

Nelson, Harold D. ed. *Morocco: A Country Study*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Army, 1985.

Newcomb, Rachel. "Gendering the City, Gendering the Nation: Contesting Urban Space in Fes, Morocco." *City & Society*, vol.18, issue 2 (2006): 288-311.

Nochlin, Linda. *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*. New York: Harper and Row, 1989.

Ossman, Susan. "Boom Box in Ouarzazate: The Search for the Similarly Strange." *Middle East Report*, no. 196 (September-October, 1995): 12-14.

----------. *Picturing Casablanca: Portraits of Power in a Modern City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Pine II, B. Joseph and James H. Gilmore. *The Experience Economy*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1999.

Pollack, Griselda. *Avant-Garde Gambits 1888-1893: Gender and the Color of Art History*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992.

Poirier, Robert A. and Stephen Wright, "The Political Economy of Tourism in Tunisia." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1 (March, 1993): 149-162.

Porter, Geoff D. "Unwitting Actors: The Preservation of Fez's Cultural Heritage." *Radical History Review*, Issue 86 (Spring 2003): 123-148.

Prochaska, David. *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Putnam, Robert D. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-level Games." *International Organization* 42(3): 427-460.

Rabinow, Paul ed. *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Random House, 1984.

----------. *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1989.

Ranger, Terence. "Colonialism, Consciousness, and the Camera." *Past and Present*, No. 171, May 2001.

Raymond, André. *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Centuries.* New York: New York University Press, 1984.

----------. "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1994.

Rhein, Eberhard. *The European Community and the Maghreb: Prospects for Cooperation in the Decades Ahead.* Directorate: Mediterranean, Near and Middle East, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1989.

Rivet, Daniel. *Lyautey et l'institution du Protectorat Français au Maroc, 1912-1925 Vol. I-III.* Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988.

----------. *Le Maroc de Lyautey à Mohammed V: le double visage du Protectorat.* Casablanca: Porte d'Anfa, 1999.

Rogerson, Barnaby and Stephen Lavington eds. *Marrakech, the Red City: The City Through Writers' Eyes.* London: Sickle Moon Books, 2003.

Ross, Robert J. and Gerard J. Telkamp eds. *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context.* Dordrecht, Netherlands; Boston: M. Nijhoff; Hingham, MA, USA: Distributors for the U.S. and Canada, Kluwer Academic, 1985.

Roxburgh, David J. "Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, c. 1880-1910." *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 30 (2000): 9-38.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

----------. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1979.

Schwerdtfeger, Friedrich. *Traditional Housing in African Cities.* New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1982.

Sherwood, Seth. "36 Hours in Marrakech." *The New York Times*, November 11, 2007.

Shohat, Ella and Robert Stam eds. *Multiculturism, Postcoloniality, and Transnational Media.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.

Shohat, Ella and Robert Stam eds. *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multi-Culturalism and the Media.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Singer, Barnett. "Lyautey: An Interpretation of the Man and French Imperialism." *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 26, no.1 (January 1991): 131-157.

Smith, Valene, ed. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London; New York: Verso, 1989.

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979.

Spencer, William. *The Historical Dictionary of Morocco*. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Stambouli, F. and A. Zghal, "Urban Life in Pre-Colonial North Africa." *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 1 (March 1976): 1-20.

Stronza, Amanda. "Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 30 (2001): 261-283.

Swartz, Merlin L. "The Islamic City: A Colloquium by A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 93, no. 2 (April-June 1973).

Swearingen, William D. *Moroccan Mirages: Agrarian Dreams and Deceptions, 1912-1986*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Swearingen, William D. and Abdellatif Bencherifa, eds. *North African Environment at Risk*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996.

Thomas, Benjamin E. "The Railways of French North Africa." *Economic Geography*, vol. 29, no. 2 (April 1953): 95-106.

Time Out: The Best of Marrakech & Morocco. London; New York: Penguin Books, 2003.

Turner, Louis and John Ash. *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. London, 1975.

Turner, Victor. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.

"Preservation, Revitalization, and Promotion of the Jemaa el-Fna." UNESCO. March 2004-March 2007.
http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=28511&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Newbury Park, 1990.

Van Den Abeele, Georges. *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.

Vitalis, Robert. "The Middle East on the Edge of the Pleasure Periphery." *Middle East Report*, no. 196 (September-October, 1995): 2-7.

Vogl, Mary B. *Picturing the Maghreb: Literature, Photography, and (Re)Presentation.* Oxford, England: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

Weber, Max. *The City.* Edited by Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth. New York: Collier Books, 1962.

White, Gregory. *A Comparative Political Economy of Tunisia and Morocco: On the Outside of Europe Looking In.* Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2001.

Whitlock, Craig. "A 'Chunnel' for Spain and Morocco: High-Speed Train Line Below Strait of Gibraltar Gains Traction." *Washington Post*, January 28, 2007, Page A15.
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/01/27/AR2007012701334.html

Wilbaux, Quentin. *La médina de Marrakech: Formation des espaces urbains d'une ancienne capitale du Maroc.* L'Harmattan: 2001.

Williamson, Judith. *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising.* New York; London: Kampmann & Co., 1978, 1987 reprinting.

Wirth, Eugen, "Zur Konzeption der islamischen Stadt: Privatheit im islamischen Orient versus Offenlichkeit in Antike und Okzident." *Die Welt des Islams*, Bd. 31, Nr. 1 (1991): 50-92.

Wright, Gwendolyn. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism.* Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Wynn, L. L. *Pyramids and Nightclubs: A Travel Ethnography of Arab and Western Imaginations of Egypt, from King Tut and a Colony of Atlantis to Rumors of Sex Orgies, Urban Legends about a Marauding Prince, and Blonde Belly Dancers.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007.

Young, Robert. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction.* Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Young, Ruth. "The Structural Context of the Caribbean Tourist Industry: A Comparative Study." *Economy, Development, and Cultural Change,* Vol. 25, No. 4 (July 1977): 657-671.

Zischka, Anton. *Afrique: Complement de l'Europe.* Paris, 1952.