ABSTRACT

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This thesis is on the idea of colonial space in Morocco and how the French used space to colonize the people. The focus is on the early twentieth century but there are back ground pieces that begin as early as the 1500s. The first section of the paper describes the idea of space and how physical or public space is the focus of the paper. From there, the thesis describes the colonial policies of the French and how the French did not forcefully assimilate Morocco as it did in Algeria but used a policy of association which directly impacted how the French used physical space in Morocco. Next the thesis delves into several divisions of space in Morocco including the division between the urban and rural areas, the dual city within urban space, and Jewish space. The final section deconstructs the idea of space showing that even though the French tried to create clean divisions that this was not the reality of the situation. Areas such as the slums, women's space, and entertainment were perpetually crossing boundaries.

This work is important because it shows the larger picture of the divisions in Morocco once the French arrived and how it affected the Moroccan population and continues to affect the population today.

COLONIAL SPACE IN MOROCCO

By

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I. Introduction: Defining Space in Morocco

A. Defining the People of Morocco through Space

People tend to be defined by the space in which they live, as well as how they use that space. Space is the lens through which a group of people is observed by the outside world. This is how the French observed Morocco in the early twentieth century and how some Moroccans defined themselves throughout Moroccan history. The spatial transformations that occurred during French colonialism are also some of the most obvious and visible aspects of the French colonial legacy in Morocco.

This paper will examine the history of spatial manipulation and spatial change in Morocco and how space was an essential element which, correctly or not, defined the people living within it. The paper's main focus will be on the French colonial period of Moroccan history in the early twentieth century, but it will also discuss periods as early as the 1500s. In order to provide sufficient historical background, this thesis begins with a short discussion of colonial policies.

To fully comprehend how the French manipulated spatial divisions in Morocco, it is important to understand the methods the French used in their colonization of the Moroccan people. Though there were spatial divisions before the French arrived, this thesis will begin by discussing those which the French either deepened, such as the division between the rural and urban areas, or those which they created, as they did through the establishment of the dual city.

After discussing Muslim spaces and how French colonialism impacted those physical spaces, the next spatial division which will be discussed in this thesis is one which the Moroccans created themselves and occurred long before the coming of the

French. This spatial division is the religious division between the Jewish and Muslim populations. As this paper demonstrates through an in-depth exploration of Jewish life in Morocco, the physical division was not always present. There was a period during which the Jewish population lived among the Arab population. However, the lack of a physical spatial division changed, first in the city of Fez, and then throughout Morocco in the fifteenth century. Though this division was created by the Muslim population prior to French colonization of Morocco, the physical spatial division would change again with the coming of colonization early in the twentieth century and then once more with decolonization in the mid-twentieth century.

The section on the division between Muslim and Jewish space is treated as a case study of how one community within Morocco was particularly affected by the changing of spatial divisions. The Moroccan Jewish community is a minority within Morocco. Analyzing the changes that the community has undergone in both physical and non-physical space provides a unique perspective on the spatial divisions in Morocco and how colonization by the French truly impacted all facets of Moroccan society and culture.

Finally, after analyzing all the divisions of space in Morocco, the paper will turn to the idea of whether or not these divisions were clear and impermeable, or whether there was a gray area within each division. Though the concept of whether the divisions were impermeable will be hinted at throughout the paper, the final section will deconstruct the idea that the spatial divisions and lines between the various sectors of Moroccan society were strictly drawn. Some of the issues with delineating concrete divisions emerge in the discussion of the slum areas, women, and entertainment.

Throughout the thesis the idea of spatial divisions in Morocco and how they are used to define the people of Morocco is analyzed. Though the paper contains analysis of divisions which occurred prior to the coming of French colonization, the focus is on how the French manipulated existent divisions, or created new ones, to aid in their colonization of Morocco. However, before beginning to analyze how the French used space in their colonization of Morocco one must first define the term space, especially in relation to the colonial process.

B. The Idea of Space

Space, or the idea of space, is a concept that has been defined and redefined over time. It is also an essential element in understanding France's colonial plan. Timothy Mitchell looks in depth at space in his concept of enframing. Mitchell states that space starts out as a "neutral surface." However, it can come to be redefined as a commodity, which can change how it is treated. This occurs when the physical space is planned, even down to the last centimeter. Space is enframed into containers, or "inert frames," which are "abstract and neutral" and are to be used for various purposes.[1]

Colonization brought with it a new way of observing space. Gwendolyn Wright discusses colonial space in the introduction to her work, The Politics of Design in Colonial French Urbanism. To her, colonial space involved not only the native architecture and countryside, but the new streets, monuments, and other structures built by the colonizing power as well. For Wright, the most intriguing and illuminating area of

[1] Timothy Mitchell, Colonising Egypt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 44-45.

colonial space was that of the colonial city. In the French colonial experiment, the colonial city was where urban planning took on a whole new form and really shaped the theory of colonization according to Wright.[2] The Moroccan colonial city, or *les villes nouvelles*, is the space which will be the primary focus of this paper.[3]

Colonial space involved not only buildings and the layout of cities but all the aspects of space. Elizabeth Thompson defined public space as "those areas in the physical environment that are shared by anonymous individuals, whether they be owned by the state and designated as such, as in public gardens, or privately owned but explicitly open to anyone who chooses to enter, as in a grocery store or a theater."[4] She goes further to note that public space is not opposition to private space, but that the two flow into each other, especially in the colonial environment. She uses an example of when regulations get involved in the childrearing of colonial peoples. These situations bring aspects of the private space into the public.[5] This thesis discusses both areas together. Public space will dominate the discussion, but private space will be examined in relation to education, religion, and gender roles, especially in the case study of Jewish space.

Although Elizabeth Thompson distinguishes between public and private spaces, this thesis will discuss space in terms of the physical and non-physical. Though this thesis focuses predominantly on physical space, it is important to understand the place of non-physical space in relation to physical space. In dealing with this area, this thesis will

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[2] Gwendolyn Wright, The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 6-7.

[3] *Les villes nouvelles* were part of the French colonial theory of association which was used in Morocco and will be discussed in more detail later in the paper.

[4] Elizabeth Thompson, Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon,(New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 173.

[5] *Ibid.*

discuss aspects such as education, religion and religious practices, economics, and political space. However, none of these topics will be discussed in detail, and they will merely be mentioned in conjunction with the dynamics of physical space. The exception to this rule is the case study on Jewish space; that section delves into non-physical space as well as physical.

II. French Colonial Theory: Assimilation to Association

When analyzing how colonialism affected the dynamics of space and spatial divisions in Morocco, it is important to first understand the theory of French colonization used in Morocco and why that method was chosen. French colonization of North Africa was highly experimental. French colonization created new concepts which would directly affect the allocation of space, especially in regards to Morocco. In 1830 Algeria became the first North African nation to be colonized by the French, and the theory of assimilation was used. Assimilation was to be accomplished by invading the indigenous space and placing the colons, Europeans who came to live in the colonies, alongside the Algerian people. In 1883, Tunisia became the first protectorate in North African, marking the beginning of a shift away from the policy of assimilation towards one of association. The shift to association was not complete until the colonization of Morocco in 1912. The new colonial policy would have a direct effect on the spatial situation in Morocco. Morocco's experience will be specifically described in depth in the following sections. This section, however, will focus on the theories of colonization and how they were applied to North Africa generally, starting with the first and longest French colonization experience in North Africa, which was the assimilation of Algeria.

A. Assimilation: The Algerian Experience

In the nineteenth century, the predominant French colonial theory was assimilation. Assimilation theory has been used by many colonial powers, not solely the French. Assimilation dates back in European history to as early as the Roman Empire. In French history, assimilation theory can be traced back to the seventeenth century during the time of Cardinal Richelieu. At this time, all natives under the French banner were to be converted to Catholicism and then treated as Frenchmen. This theory would be expanded into political assimilation at the time of the French Revolution around 1790. During the French Revolution, France's colonies were becoming more volatile. The planter, merchant, and mulatto classes in the French colonies at the time disliked the colonial regimes and were extremely bitter. As a result, the French decided that it was necessary to have moderate assimilation. Moderate assimilation was considered ideal because the French colonial administration feared that full assimilation would incite rebellion. Joseph Barnave, the deputy of Dauphiné, a province in southeastern France, gave a speech in 1790 which ignited this new policy of moderate assimilation. The same day as Barnave's speech, the French Constitutional Assembly created colonial assemblies which were designed to be a voice for the colonial peoples while still maintaining the current colonial regime. In 1795, article VI was added to the French Constitution. It stated that the colonies were to be under the same laws as France, completing the philosophy of political assimilation.[6]

[6] Raymond Betts, Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 10-13.

In the context of the colonization of Algeria, assimilation embodied two basic principles: domination through culture and domination through military force. The first principle of domination was known by the French as the *mission civilisatrice*, or civilizing mission. The French would transform colonized people through the changing of laws, language, architecture, and other aspects of the native culture to produce a colony that resembled the mother land. The indigenous peoples were forced to conform to French ideas and observe France's overarching prowess through the redefining of their everyday lives. The native peoples would lose their identity and heritage, and in theory, assume that of the French.[7]

The second principle is even simpler. The imperial power would establish a strong military presence in the colony. The French would often demonstrate their strength by demolishing towns, cities, ancient sites, and the like. This continual occupation allowed France to maintain its supremacy, even though the French were significantly outnumbered by the local populace.[8]

The policy of assimilation was implemented almost immediately in Algeria. Thomas-Robert Bugeaud was chosen as governor-general of Algeria in 1841, as a result of poor military success there. He believed that military colonization was the only manner in which France could successfully subdue the indigenous population. Bugeaud failed as a politician and frequently engaged in squabbles with his military subordinates. At the start of his time as governor-general Algeria was merely a coastal colony, but he turned it into a battle for the hinterland as well.[9]

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[7] Wright, The politics of Design, 73.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Raymond F. Betts, Tricouleur: The French Overseas Empire (London: Gordon & Cremonesi, 1978), 56.

Beyond the coastal towns, the colonization of Algeria was entirely military in nature. Bugeaud and many others in the French administration believed that military dominance was the only way to quell the desert tribes. In the 1840s, colons were not permitted to settle beyond the coastal areas because that was considered a huge safety risk, since the desert was still unconquered in many areas.[10]

Bugeaud has mostly been criticized for his policy of *razzia*. *Razzia* is the military destruction of the population, their property, and their land. Bugeaud insisted that since Algeria was a rural and nomadic society, it could not be quelled like a European power. As a result, crops were burned, entire families vanished, and livestock was seized by the French military. Bugeaud wanted to colonize "by the sword and with the plow." The second part of this concept, colonizing by the plow, was extremely unsuccessful.[11]

The idea of stripping indigenous peoples of possessions, loved ones, land, and anything else of personal importance went hand in hand with the French policy of assimilation. This manner of colonizing took away Algerian space and made the space French. The Algerians could not use their space as they desired; instead, they lived under French control and had to live within their space as the French colonial administration dictated.

In Algeria, after various unsuccessful attempts to rule the people, the French set up the *bureaux arabes* which more directly controlled the public and private space of the Algerians. An army officer was placed in charge of each bureau in a newly acquired area. Under this officer was a *chef de bureau* who established schools, toured the area, and reported back to the military official. By 1848, civil *bureaux arabes* were

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[10] Sullivan, Antony Thrall, Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, France and Algeria, 1784-1849: Politics, Power, and the Good Society (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), 143.

[11] Betts, Tricouleur: The French Overseas Empire, 57.

established in non-militarized zones. The system changed as more colons moved to the area. The colons did not like the *bureaux arabes* dictating policy to them but instead desired more political representation as full French citizens.[12]

The French military in Algeria suffered a defeat in 1870 and the *bureaux arabes* were altered by placing an entirely civilian regime in control. The new French idea was not to quell the Algerians militarily, but to force the Algerians either to assimilate to the French regime or be pushed back into the desert. This resulted in more loss of Arab lands and property as well as the collapse of pre-colonial institutions. The post-Bugeaud regime called this policy *refoulement,* or repression.[13]

Assimilation was never completely achieved in Algeria. Though Algerians were placed under many of the same laws as French citizens, they were not equals. Indigenous people in Algeria had access to schools, hospitals, and government agencies, but only because the French hoped this would increase their capacity to work. Also, the French decided that the Algerian aristocracy had to be dismantled. It was considered a stumbling block to Algerian progress. The change in French thinking from the 1830s to the 1870s was influenced by biological racism. The French were able to adapt to the inhospitable Algerian climate through Western medicine, rather than intermarriage with Algerians. Also, the Algerians resisted the gifts offered to them by the French and fought them bitterly, which further convinced the French that the Algerians were a backwards, inferior

[12] Robin Leonard Bidwell, Morocco under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal Areas 1912-1956 (London: Cass, 1973), 155.

[13] Moshe Gershovich, French Military Rule in Morocco: Colonialism and its Consequences (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 25-26.

race. These ideas were promulgated in the French colonial administration through the works of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, a colonial publicist.[14]

Assimilation was forced upon the Algerian population, but Algerians were still denied essential rights. Unlike the colons, Algerians were not allowed to vote at any level. Only after World War I did some Algerians gain any real civil rights, but these gains came at the cost of complete denial of their Muslim identities through a renouncement process. As a result, though France considered Algeria a southern province and an integral part of France, Muslim Algerians rejected the idea of Algeria being an extension of France. After almost a century of attempted assimilation in Algeria, the colony became France's model of what not to do in future colonial expeditions.[15] Joseph Chailley-Bert, a colonial theorist, stated that assimilation was not attainable because those subjected to it "do not welcome us and they do not love us as liberators; they hate us as conquerors."[16] Also, "advances" in the sciences provided support for those who argued that France should shift from assimilation to a new theory in future colonial endeavors. According to some colonial theorists, such scientific "advances" suggested that Africans were racially inferior and therefore incapable of being assimilated into the superior French system. As a result, a new approach to the situation needed to be embraced.[17] The influence of this shift in thinking was evident in France's other North African acquisitions: Tunisia and Morocco. Tunisia became the next French colonial experiment in North Africa and was a middle ground between the

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[14] Alice Conklin, Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 21-22.

[15] Moshe Gershovich, 25-26.

[16] Betts, Assimilation and Association, 105.

[17] Conklin, Mission to Civilize, 78.

policy of assimilation in Algeria and the theory of association which would be implemented in Morocco.

B. Policy Shift for North Africa: The Tunisian Protectorate to the Coming of Association

In 1881, France invaded Algeria's neighbor, Tunisia. The pretext for this invasion was securing Algeria's border with Tunisia. The policy of assimilation was largely seen as a failure, especially in its application to Algeria. 60,000 French soldiers were needed to maintain peace in Algeria, making it impossible for the French to repeat the assimilation model in another colony. As a result, the French made Tunisia a protectorate with the Treaty of Bardo in 1883. [18]

Colonial theorists had difficulty defining what a protectorate was during the colonization of Tunisia. Theorist Joseph Chailly-Bert commented that "[t]he word 'protectorate' is but a label which conveniently allows the most varied combinations, often even the most conflicting."[19] Tunisia was not fully annexed by France, yet the French were still heavily involved in the ruling of the area. The *Bey*, the Tunisian head of state, was allowed to maintain much of his control, but he ultimately answered to the French administration. Though this new form of colonization was not readily definable, most French people praised the new method in the face of the failures in neighboring Algeria.[20] With the mistakes of Algerian colonization still fresh, and right next door, the French parliament was wary of annexing another North African country. A protectorate

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[18] Betts, Assimilation and Association, 34, 127.
[19] *Ibid*, 128.
[20] *Ibid*.

was seen as one step short of annexation and was, as a result, favored by even the anti-colonialists in the French government. Rejecting assimilation in favor of a protectorate helped the situation in Tunisia by maintaining the illusion that a Muslim sovereign retained control of the country. This policy allowed the French to avoid a full-blown colonial war.[21]

C. The Final Shift in North Africa: Association in Morocco

French colonial policy continued to change as Europe began to make new scientific discoveries and new ideas were developed around the turn of the twentieth century. Evolution theory started to impact the ways imperialists viewed the governing of colonies. Such scientific developments soon became "the finest justifications for the rejection of the policy of assimilation." The theory of evolution and the principle of natural selection made French colonial theorists believe that there were natural divergences among races which could not be changed. Therefore, complete assimilation of an indigenous population was impossible and should not be attempted.[22]

Of course, the theory of evolution was not the sole reason for the shift from a policy of assimilation. Another driving factor was rebellions in colonies which were governed under some form of assimilation. One example is that of the Philippines, where religious assimilation of the population to Catholicism by the Spanish caused revolts, the exiling and persecution of various members of the clergy, and a separation from Spain by

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[21] Gershovich, 23.

[22] Betts, Assimilation and Association, 59.

1898. In the eyes of French colonial theorists, this was a direct result of Spain's assimilation policy.

In addition to Spain's example, the French also had their own failures from which to learn. One of these failures was the attempted assimilation in Algeria. As a result of their experience in Algeria, the French believed that 'lower' races were unable to be assimilated, and therefore a new colonial policy was necessary.[23] When Morocco became a protectorate of France, General Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey (1854-1934), the first resident-general of Morocco from 1912-1925 and a general in the French army, felt that a new method of colonization would be more practical and advantageous. The new method was that of association.

The process of association stands in stark contrast to that of assimilation, both in theory and application. France needed a more pragmatic means of colonizing North Africa, and the shift from assimilation to association made this possible.[24] The new idea was to associate the local people into being able to make effective policy.[25] The main principles embodied in this theory relate to the preservation of local cultures. Cultural differences between the governed and the colonized were accepted. Through the protection of the indigenous way of life and establishment of beneficial social structures like schools, the colonial power would be able to quell any form of rebellion with minimal force.[26] Local leaders would be consulted in the decision-making process and the French wanted to educate them on how to rule effectively.[27] In the eyes of the

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[23] *Ibid*, 70.

[24] Wright, The Politics of Design, 74.

[25] Alice L. Conklin, "The French Republican Civilizing Mission," in Alice L. Conklin and Ian Christopher Fletcher (eds.), European Imperialism: 1830-1930 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 65.

[26] Wright, The Politics of Design, 74.

[27] Conklin, 65.

imperialists this plan was perfect, and they could envision no reason why the indigenous population would object to their presence.

General Lyautey was at the forefront of the policy of association. He criticized other French colonization efforts, especially those in Algeria, because they did not prioritize the preservation of the local culture.[28] When he went to Algeria for the first time in the early twentieth century, Lyautey was a very young lieutenant unaware of how colonization impacted the indigenous peoples. Once he saw the difference between those in urban areas and those still untouched by Europe, he began to understand the injustices of assimilation. Lyautey stated, "'Voilà un peuple heuruex, honnête, croyant, patriarcal, auquel jusqu'ici le désert fait une ceinture préservatrice....Au bout de dix ans de chemins de fer et d'infusion d'idées européennes, qu'en restera-t-il? Où est la vérité? Où est le progrès?'"[29] After his enlightening first visit to Algeria, Lyautey abandoned the policy of assimilation completely.

During a trip to Morocco in 1912, Lyautey came to believe that there was no modernization in Morocco, and he developed the idea that he could lead Morocco into the twentieth century. Lyautey thought that he could modernize Morocco without destroying the culture of its people, and that is what he attempted to do by applying the colonial policy of association.[30] Lyautey became one of the first imperialists to use this method. Association seemed to be a promising alternative to forceful colonization of an area, and Lyautey believed he would be able to guard Moroccan culture while simultaneously exploiting Moroccans as an economic resource for France.

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[28] Wright, The Politics of Design, 92.

[29] Daniel Rivet, Lyautey et L'institution du Protectorat Français au Maroc 1912-1925 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988), 36.

[30] Alan Scham, Lyautey in Morocco: Protectorate Administration, 1912-1925 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 191-192.

The use of politics in Lyautey's colonial rule was just as important as the use of the military to secure the region. Lyautey himself stated that the French should rely on a "combined use of politics and force."[31] By politics, Lyautey meant diplomacy, but also economic policy. He consulted French officials who were well educated in every aspect of the natives' culture to determine the best options for his administration. However, even though the policy of association seemed to be in the best interest of the indigenous people, because the lack of military force caused less damage and fewer casualties, the ultimate aim, as historian William Hoisington points out, was the same: "to conquer as quickly and as effortlessly as possible."[32] Association was still a method of exerting power over another people. The French were still in the business of colonization.

The theory of association created a new type of French colony. When applied to Morocco, it had various consequences including a change in the spatial divide within the region. First, it deepened the idea of the divide within Morocco between urban and rural areas. Second, it created a new spatial divide within the major cities. What aspects of the new colonial theory lent themselves to this change, and how did it affect not only the indigenous Moroccans but the lives of the colons as well? These questions will be explored in the next two sections.

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[31] William A. Hoisington, Jr. "Colonial Mission: France Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", in William B. Cohen (ed.), The Transformation of Modern France (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996), 99.

[32] *Ibid.*

III. Conquest and the First Spatial Division

The first spatial change caused by association was the deepening of the distinction between the urban and rural areas of Morocco. By the time the French officially colonized Morocco in 1912, Morocco had already been divided into two distinct realms in the eyes of foreign visitors. The French and many other Europeans who had visited Morocco since the early 1800s stereotyped the people of these two realms based on their adherence to the sultanate. The realms were split between rural and urban. The rural area was considered Berber, tribal, less attached to the Sultan, and therefore dissident. The urban area was Arab, governable, and always acquiescent to the Sultan. This stereotyping, which would be used by the Moroccan officials as well as the French by the turn of the twentieth century, was not an accurate portrayal of Morocco before, during, or after colonial rule. However, it was effectively employed to create a spatial division among the Moroccan people.

A. The Political Structure of Morocco

When analyzing the creation and deepening of the spatial divide between urban and rural areas in Morocco, it is important to understand the political structure of Morocco prior to the arrival of the French. First, Morocco, unlike the rest of North Africa, was never under Ottoman rule. When the French came to colonize the country, it was under the influence of Europeans but had an established native government in place.

The Sultan held almost all of the power, especially after 1873 when Moulay el-Hassan became Sultan.[33]

Moulay el-Hassan refused to delegate power to the vizirs, or political advisers, and the vizirs did not make any decrees from 1873 until they were granted more authority under the French in 1912. The Sultan's power was considered absolute, and he served as the religious and secular leader of the people. The Sultan's religious authority was vast. An example of this is that his name, and no other Arab leader's name, was mentioned during Friday prayer. Additionally, on the secular side, the Sultan determined all domestic and foreign policies and acted as the Supreme Justice of Morocco.[34]

The Sultan did not attempt to control much of the rural regions, because it was too costly to subdue these areas of Morocco. The rural areas did not produce enough goods for their subjugation to be profitable. The Sultan only cared that the rural regions did not disrupt trade caravans and that the people who resided in those areas recognized him in the Friday prayer. Though the rural areas did not rely on the Sultan in their everyday affairs, he was useful to them. The tribes looked to the Sultan as their Muslim leader and holder of *baraka*. Also, when the feuding in their region became too intense or crop failure occurred, many rural inhabitants took refuge in the cities. The Sultan also frequently helped to resolve tribal disputes since he was the recognized leader of Morocco, even to the desert and mountain peoples.[35]

The Sultan had two principal means of power. First were the *jaysh*, or army, tribes. The Sultan used the *jaysh* tribes to quell rebellions and to carry out his executive

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[33] Scham, 49-50.

[34] *Ibid*.

[35] C. R. Pennell, Morocco since 1830: A History (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 28.

desires in Morocco. The *jaysh* tribes were obedient to the Sultan's wishes in exchange for land and exemption from taxes. The other means of power used by the Sultan was the *mahalla*, or expeditionary force. The *mahalla* followed the Sultan around Morocco whenever he traveled. They could be used to subdue disruptive tribes, but nothing more than that. This is because the *mahalla* was a makeshift force that often refused to serve the Sultan at all and frequently deserted their posts.[36] The *mahalla* troops were also sent to collect taxes and were paid through being allowed to pillage. However, many of the areas to which they were sent were extremely poor, so they frequently abducted people and held them for ransom to obtain money.[37]

Though the Sultan had little to no means of enforcing his authority in the mountain and desert regions, he did not wish his authority to be ignored either. The treaty of 1799, for peace between the Sultan and Spain, was a huge blow to his leadership ability, especially his authority as a Muslim ruler. The people in urban centers felt that by not including the Rif areas in the treaty the people there were outside the realm of Islam and their morals were questionable. The fact that the inhabitants of the Rif areas spoke Berber, instead of the language of the Quran, merely added to the *makhzan*, urban people, questioning the morality of the people of the Rif.[38]

Essentially, the structure of the Moroccan government was that of a monarchy. The Sultan was the supreme authority in both the urban and rural areas. He had more direct control of the urban spaces, but his power was not completely ignored in the far reaches of the desert either. He was recognized as the civil and religious leader of his

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[36] C. R. Pennell, Morocco: From Empire to Independence (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003), 52, 85, 115.

[37] Douglas Porch, The Conquest of Morocco (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1982), 99-100.

[38] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 28-29.

people. Moreover, Morocco was the only country in North Africa whose own ruler's name was mentioned during the Friday prayer. The rest of the Muslim countries in North Africa mentioned the Ottoman Sultan, who was the nominal ruler of those territories. Despite the tribal peoples' recognition of and respect for the Sultan, Europeans had a different view of how the Moroccan political structure operated. Europeans perpetuated this view, and it created stereotypes of the people and regions of Morocco that resonated during the French colonial venture.

B. Stereotyping by the Europeans: The Makhzan and the Siba

By 1830, the year the French colonization of Algeria began, Morocco became more accessible to European visitors. Before 1830, European travelers were largely unable to penetrate Morocco beyond its port cities. Now Europeans could travel around Morocco and make observations about what they saw. One example of this occurring is when Edward Drummond-Hay, the British Consul in Tangier, traveled to Marrakech. He made a trip from Tangier to Marrakech from 1829 to 1830. During this time he traveled through various areas of Morocco, stopping to make observations, and met with different groups of people along the way. Interest in Morocco would increase after the French took Algiers in June 1830.[39]

European visitors to Morocco believed that it was in an almost constant state of rebellion. Europeans subscribed to the perception that Morocco was actually split into two separate zones: *bilad al-makhzan,* or land of government; and *bilad al-siba,* or land of dissidence. The *bilad al-makhzan* was the Arab portion of Morocco, in the plains and

[39] *Ibid.*, 1.

the cities. The people in this realm were thought to be loyal to the Sultan of Morocco. The *bilad al-siba* was the Berber-speaking population, in the deserts and mountains. The people in this realm were regarded as not being loyal to the Sultan.[40]

C. Moroccan Resistance to Colonization

The perception that Morocco was split into two distinct zones, *bilad al-makhzan* and *bilad al-siba*, began long before the French colonization officially began in 1912. However, the division continued to be the way in which foreign powers saw Morocco. As a result, these areas were colonized differently, though the perceived division did not necessarily prove to be accurate. The Treaty of Fez, which was signed by the Sultan on March 30, 1912, sparked resistance movements throughout the Sultan's realm. The main struggle in the Arab zone occurred in Fez. Pacifying the *siba* was also a challenge, and the Rif War in the 1920s was one of the more open resistance movements to the colonization of Morocco and the Sultan's decision to concede to the French.

1. Crisis in Fez

Moroccan cities were often a source of resistance against monarchical authority. Though most of the colonial resistance started after the Treaty of Fez and was confined to the countryside, there was some resistance in the major cities. Most notably, the people of Fez resisted the coming of the French during 1911 and 1912. The Fassi people first welcomed the French, thinking their presence would improve the Moroccan economy.

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[40] *Ibid.*, 28.

This idea was especially strong among the merchant class. However, this belief soon faded and the city began to take actions against the French.[41]

Early in 1911, the Sultan had a letter read in the mosques of Fez in an effort to calm the small protests which were starting to occur. Instead, the letter merely proved to the Fassis that the Sultan was under the control of the French and therefore should not be heeded. By May of 1911, there was a full-fledged revolt in Fez. The French actually used this as an excuse to completely occupy the city. Once the rebellion was quelled, martial law was enforced.[42]

The occupation of Fez eventually led to the treaty that turned Morocco into a French protectorate. The Sultan remained in control of religious matters and was the secular head of the government as well. However, the French gained full executive power over the country and the Sultan acted primarily as a figurehead for the rest of Morocco's colonial experience.[43]

The Fez rebellion serves as an example of the *bilad al-makhzan* acting against the wishes of the Sultan. The French used the Sultan to attempt to sway popular opinion in favor of the French presence, but the effort was unsuccessful. The Fassi people rebelled and disproved the argument that the *bilad al-makhzan* would not rebel against their own Sultan. The Sultan lost control of his people when he began to kowtow to the French. The Sultan's loss of control demonstrated that regardless of where one lived within Morocco, if the people feel the Sultan is not acting in their best interest, rebellion can occur. The Sultan was not always able to maintain absolute authority over the people of

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[41] Edmund Burke, Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1860-1912 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 180.

[42] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 155.

[43] Pennell, Morocco: From Empire to Independence, 142.

the *bilad al-makhzan*. In the following years, however, resistance to French colonization was concentrated in the rural areas.

2. Pacifying the *Siba*

The first governor-general of Morocco, Marshal Hubert Lyautey, wanted to conquer every part of Morocco, including the realm known as *bilad al-siba*, with as little bloodshed as possible. Lyautey sent Europeans out into the rural regions to do studies of each tribe to better analyze how to best incorporate them into the colonial regime. The method of pacification he used exploited the traditional rivalries of the various tribes. The Berber tribes considered themselves at war with one another unless an agreement for peace was made. Many tribes would stand by and watch as their neighbors were pacified, not realizing that the French would not stop with their neighbors, and that they would be next. Before resorting to military action, the French tried to pacify the various tribes diplomatically and stressed the importance of the Sultan as the religious leader of Morocco. Many tribal leaders did submit with little resistance. Those who did not submit often made that choice due to fear of their population's reaction if they were seen to be placating the French.[44]

The main rebellion during the colonial period in the *bilad al-siba* occurred in the Rif from 1920-1926. The Rif was an area that was under Spanish influence, rather than French, though it was never truly pacified by either. The leaders of the rebellion movement were two brothers, Mahammad and Muhammad Abd el-Kruim. They declared the Rif an independent republic and fought a war with the French zone in the

[44] Bidwell,34.

1920s. The Rif War ended in 1925 with the re-institution of the Spanish Protectorate in Northern Morocco.[45]

The Rif was historically an autonomous area within Morocco. Even in 1799, long before direct European authority was exerted over Morocco, the Rif was outside the domain of the Sultan.[46] The treaty of 1799, which was reaffirmed in 1824, limited import tariffs between the two nations to ten percent and placed a limit on export tariffs.[47] The 1799 treaty with Spain excluded the Rif because of the Sultan's lack of true control of the people there. Morocco's independence in the twentieth century and the war with France further proved that the Rif was beyond the Sultan's control. It was not until the French were virwctorious militarily that the Rif region was finally acquiescent.[48]

D. Governing the People: Two Colonial Theories

As a result of the belief that two zones existed in Morocco, the French chose to govern the areas quite differently. However, the methods of governance used seem counter to what one might expect. The Arabs in the *makhzan* were governed under the principle of association. The policy of association was handled through what would be known as the dual city and is discussed in depth in the following section. In contrast, the French used a policy of assimilation for their dealings with the rural Berbers.

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[45] Moshe Gershovich, 122-124.

[46] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 28.

[47] Khalid Ben Srhir, Britain and Morocco during the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886 (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 33-34.

[48] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 28.

One of the main reasons the French used a policy of assimilation with the Berbers was that the French were not proficient in the Berber language. From the outset of the protectorate, the French realized that they would need to govern the Berbers in French, not Berber. This approach to the Berber language led the French to believe that it would be possible to assimilate the Berbers and make them into French citizens. The French began to give the Berber tribes preference in the distribution of government grants and other resources. Even though most of the Berbers were not under French control, the French believed that in the future the Berbers would be their greatest allies in Morocco.[49]

The French went so far with the assimilation policy for the Berbers that in 1930 the French made the Sultan change the law that the Berbers used to govern their people. Until this point, Moroccans were allowed to use their own customary laws. This meant that the Berbers, who were Muslims, used the same Islamic laws as their Arab counterparts. However, the French saw the Berbers as different from the Arabs and with the Berber Dahir, or decree, of 1930, which the Sultan was forced to sign, the Berbers were forced to follow French common law.[50] This final attempt by the French to strip the Berbers of their Islamic identity only made the Berbers more resistant to French rule and more closely linked to the Arab Muslim population.[51] The French perception of the *bilad-al-makhzan* and the *bilad-al-siba* as two distinct zones only resulted in the two areas identifying themselves even more strongly with each other, showing that creating a distinction between the two areas was ultimately a flawed strategy and an inaccurate portrayal of the spatial division in Morocco.

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[49] Bidwell, 52-53.
[50] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 212-213.
[51] Bidwell, 54-55.

E. Conclusion: The Myth of Two Zones Debunked

Morocco has been characterized as being comprised of two distinct zones. Though the idea of two zones is not completely inaccurate, the perception of such a division is ultimately flawed. Though the rural areas were less directly tied to the Sultan throughout Moroccan history, the division between the rural and urban zones was not as significant as some thought. To understand the errors in the perception of a significant division, one must first look to the sultanate and the expectations the Moroccan population placed on that institution. The Sultan was expected to carry out the responsibilities of a true Muslim leader, including defending *dar al-Islam* from outsiders and governing according to sharia, Islamic law. As a Muslim leader, the Sultan was expected to manage religious matters and secular matters simultaneously. Europeans and even some Moroccans claimed that the Sultan only had religious power over the *bilad al-siba*. However, this would be nearly impossible for the Muslim population in that area to comprehend because of the nature and history of Islamic rule, especially in Morocco. In Morocco, civil and religious matters have always been interrelated, and the Moroccan Sultan exercised control over both within his state.[52]

The Sultan saw no economic benefit in centralizing his power in the rural areas, so he left them to their own devices in everyday life. He only ensured that the rural areas did not disrupt the economic activity of the centralized zones and that the people within the rural areas ultimately saw him as the supreme religious and political authority. As a result of the Sultan's decentralized approach, when actual policies were forced on the

[52] Burke, 12.

bilad-al-siba by the colonial regime such as taxes, the people rebelled more than residents of the urban areas.

The main exception to the Sultan's policy of having both religious and political control of Morocco was the Rif region. The Sultan ultimately had the most trouble reigning in this region. In 1799, the Sultan was unable to include this region in his treaty with Spain, and in the twentieth century the zone declared itself an independent republic. In the 1920s, the people of the Rif decided to train an army, and they fought the Spanish and then the French. They lost their autonomy in this struggle, and the Spanish gained the Rif as a piece of their protectorate in northern Morocco.

Throughout Moroccan history, various rebellions have occurred in both the *bilad al-makhzan* and the *bilad al-siba.* The Sultan had authority over both regions. While there was some truth to the perceived division between the regions, the rigidity of the lines drawn by the Europeans between the two zones and the way they chose to define allegiance to the Sultan obscured the more complex realities of Morocco. The divisions in the country were much more fluid than they were portrayed, and the people were more multi-faceted in their faithfulness to their Sultan and the centralized government.

This portion of the paper illuminates the first spatial division created in Morocco by the colonists, that of urban and rural. The divide caused the French to see Morocco not as having one cohesive Islamic population but two, Arab and Berber. The different policies the French used in their dealings with these populations only caused more animosity towards French rule and a more strongly Muslim-identified population. This division of the Moroccan people was followed by the spatial division of the people within

the cities themselves as the French implemented their alternative to assimilation, association, in the form of the dual city.

IV. Colonial Segregation in Morocco: The Creation of the Dual City

As previously discussed, the French colonial experience in Morocco was an experiment quite unlike that in its neighbor, Algeria. This difference in how colonial policy was implemented led to a difference in how space was treated in Morocco versus Algeria. In 1934, Léandre Vaillat, a Parisian art critic and publicist, called the French colonial experience in Morocco, "[a] laboratory of Western life and a conservatory of oriental life."[53] With the policy of association came a new method for organizing colonial life and space. Instead of assimilating the Moroccan people into the French culture, the French created what is known as the dual city under the direction of General Lyautey, the first Resident-General of Morocco, and Henri Prost, an urban developer. Lyautey took what he had learned about city planning in Madagascar and applied it to Morocco's development under French rule. He said, "It was in Madagascar from 1897 to 1898 that I first understood the beauty of the *urbs condita* when I saw with a father's eye the small town of Ankazobe, whose plans I had drawn on that very ground."[54] Lyautey would expand upon the urban development knowledge he gained in Madagascar in the new cities he planned in Morocco.

The dual city approach placed all European residences and all aspects of European life in Morocco in *les villes nouvelles*, or new cities. *Les villes nouvelles* were built in the open areas outside of the *medinas*, or traditional Moroccan cities, and were planned in great detail by Lyautey's administration. These new cities were composed of all of the "best elements of modernity." They were developed to maintain the distinction

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[53] Léandre Vaillat, Le Périple Marocain (Paris: Flammarion, 1934), 55.

[54] Jean Dethier, "Evolution of Concepts of Housing, Urbanism, and Country Planning in a Developing Country: Morocco, 1900-1972,"pp. 197-243 in From Madina to Metropolis: Heritage and Change in the Near Eastern City, edited by L. Carl Brown (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, 1973), 201.

and uniqueness of the French and Moroccan cultures and not disrupt the everyday workings of Moroccan life.[55]

General Lyautey was especially concerned with the development of Marrakech, Meknes, Fez, and Rabat, since they were the traditional royal capitals of Morocco. The planning of these cities had to be orderly and well thought out so as to not disturb the *medinas*, or the palaces, there. If the Moroccans were to accept France's plans, the prestige of these cities in Moroccan cultural and political terms needed to be protected at all costs. The concept of the "dual city" emerged as the solution.[56]

The dual city was another spatial divide, created in Morocco by the French colonial regime. Though Henri Prost attempted to model these new cities on what he considered to be Moroccan architecture, *les villes nouvelles* stood in stark contrast to the traditional Moroccan cities. The two parallel cities were aesthetically different just as the people living within them were; the dividing lines between the *medina* and *les villes nouvelles* were there to separate the residences of the colons and the Moroccans and were not crossed during the protectorate except by the Jewish population. The Europeans did go to visit in the *medinas* and the Arabs did go to *les villes nouvelles* for work but as far as residences were concerned, only the Jewish population was welcome in *les villes nouvelles* and Europeans would not have considered living in the *medinas*. The only gray area is the slums that built up around the larger cities. They will be discussed in more detail later in the paper. Regardless of the overcrowding that occurred in the *medinas*, the Arabs remained in the *medinas* and the Europeans remained in *les villes nouvelles*.[57]

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55 Wright, The Politics of Design, 88.

56 *Ibid.*, 94

57 Betts, Assimilation and Association ,18,106.

This spatial divide between Europeans and Moroccans was the physical manifestation of the theory of association. Unlike assimilation, association was supposed to allow for the indigenous culture to be maintained during colonization. Under assimilation, the colonies were considered French politically and culturally, as was the case with Algeria. Under association, each colonial experience was different and depended upon the people being colonized. Raymond F. Betts states that "evolution of native groups along their own lines was the key."[58] The dual city strategy was a literal interpretation of this statement and created full separation between the French and the Moroccans residences in the form of urban development. Lyautey went so far as to create regulations to maintain the spatial divide and aesthetic continuity in the old cities. This section will explore this spatial divide by first focusing on European perceptions of pre-colonial urban Morocco. After that, the planning of the European sectors will be discussed and followed by a presentation of the *medinas* as regulated cities during the colonial era. Finally, after studying an overarching view of the two cities, the *medina* and *les villes nouvelles*, the paper concludes with observations of two particular cities, Casablanca and Rabat, and how they were developed during the protectorate.

A. Life before the Protectorate

Prior to the protectorate, there were two main areas within a typical Moroccan city: the *medina*, where the Muslim population resided, and the *mellah*, where the Jewish population resided. The *medina* made up the larger portion of the city and was a busy place with winding streets, narrow passageways, busy souks, and everything needed to

[58] *Ibid.*

support the Muslim community. To the European eye, it was extremely unorganized and not modern. The souks were thought to be loud and dirty. Most *medinas* were devoid of European interaction until the 1800s, just before the protectorate was established. The one exception was the city of Tangiers, which because of its close location to Spain was frequented by foreigners.[59]

Though the above generalizations were not always accurate or a balanced portrayal of Moroccan society, they were made by nearly all European visitors and can be found in travel journals and other sources from the time period. Foreign visitors would often compare their experiences in Morocco to their own European culture. For example, when Sir John H. Drummond-Hay, the British Consul-General to Tangiers, wrote his travel journal in the mid-1800s, he called the Muslim prayer beads a rosary. Though the introduction to his account stated that he intended to merely describe his journey and relate the narratives passed on to him by his Arab companions, he did not always adhere to these boundaries. In the journal, Drummond-Hay is very judgmental of pre-colonial Moroccan society, calling places "dilapidated," "wild," and "weird." He also describes peoples' dress as "half-naked" or "dirty."[60] His account is critical of the Moroccan way of life even though the introduction states otherwise and his account, though very insightful, is not unbiased and therefore not a fully accurate depiction of Moroccan culture.

In a 1918 address to the Royal Geographical Society, J. M. MacLeod describes the state of Morocco prior to the French protectorate there. He discusses the country in terms of backwardness. Morocco was without a telegraph system as late as 1911, which

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[59] Porch, 12-14.

[60] John H. Drummond-Hay, Morocco and the Moors. Western Barbary: Its Wild Tribes and Savage Animals (London: John Murray, 1861).

seemed unfathomable to MacLeod, and according to him, there was no intellectual life. The country was ruled by an inadequate Sultan who could not control the tribal population, which dictated trade and travel routes around Morocco. The only area of life which seemed to show a little progress, according to MacLeod's address, was trading. The remainder of the address discusses the various ways that France 'improved' its new protectorate during its first six years there. France accomplished this through creating a public works bureau, revamping the political system, and augmenting notably the spatial situation in Morocco.[61]

Many scholars have challenged the way Europe observed, characterized, and depicted its colonial lands. For example, in Colonising Egypt, Timothy Mitchell discusses how Egypt was viewed by the Europeans and the Egyptian displays presented at exhibitions in Europe. In the opening chapter, Mitchell relates the story of how a delegation of Egyptians went to Paris and visited the World Exhibition of 1889. There they were taken to the Cairo exhibit, where they noted that even the paint on the buildings was made to look dirty to convey the feel of the streets of old Cairo. The whole scene disgusted the Egyptian visitors, who stayed away from the exhibit. However, the most appalling sight for the delegation was that of the mosque. From the outside the building looked like a mosque in Cairo, but inside it was a coffee shop with dancers for entertainment. It was all a façade designed by Europeans to display and commercialize the "Orient."[62]

The same principles of representation were at work when the French created new spatial divisions in Morocco. The French administration took the idea of what they

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[61] J. M. MacLeod, "The Achievements of France in Morocco," The Geographical Journal, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Aug., 1918), 84-101.

[62] Mitchell, 1.

perceived as true Moroccan life and employed all methods possible to maintain the *medinas* as they were. General Lyautey and his urban architect Henri Prost froze the Moroccan *medinas* in time with the regulations they placed on the space within the *medinas*. *Les villes nouvelles* were allowed to grow, change, and adapt with the coming of new technologies and people. In contrast, the *medinas* were stagnant and unchanging, regardless of what those living within their walls desired. Thus, the French were able to preserve an idealized image of the native city and what they believed was authentic Moroccan culture.

B. La Ville Nouvelle: An Experiment in Urban Planning

General Lyautey's creation of the dual city approach was the product of a conglomeration of his colonial experiences prior to being appointed resident-general of Morocco, as well as of his love of English colonial urbanism. Lyautey appreciated the work of General Joseph Gallieni in the French colonization of Lang Son in Indochina.[63] He learned from Gallieni the importance of urban planning, not merely for determining how to strategically locate the European colonial bases, but even down to where to place each of the buildings.[64] Finally, he was greatly influenced by his own experience in Madagascar from 1897-1898. In Madagascar, he had his first experience in urban planning. Lyautey designed the city of Ankazobe. This experience preconditioned him for what he encountered in Morocco.[65]

General Lyautey stated that he wanted to create new cities, not abolish the ones which already existed. His stated reason for this was respect for native design and respect for native people's family and religious lives. He felt that if these aspects of their

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63 Betts, Tricouleur: The French Overseas Empire, 106-107.
64 Wright, The Politics of Design, 180.
65 Betts, Tricouleur: The French Overseas Empire, 107.

lives were protected, the colonization of the area would be much easier because the native population would not reject the colonizers from the outset.[66] This method of reasoning directly correlates to the shift away from assimilation as a colonial theory and towards the theory of association. Association dictated that the two cultures, that of the colonizer and that of the colonized, should be preserved. Lyautey took this theory literally in his decision to create new cities rather than encouraging the French to live among the Moroccan population.

In 1914, General Lyautey recruited the French architect Henri Prost to design the new cities. His first task was to draft a *dahir*, or royal decree, that laid out the guidelines for the construction of the new cities. The decree stated that the European sectors should resemble the Moroccan *medinas* with regard to style, scale, and materials. Lyautey's logic for this was that if the buildings were fashioned in the traditional Moroccan style they would be tolerable to the Moroccan population. Though this idea seemed simple enough in theory, the reality was that the resemblance was only a façade. The buildings adhered to the latest developments in European design. Though they had some Moroccan trappings, they were for Europeans to reside and work in and were therefore designed accordingly.[67]

One of the main goals of the new cities was to help Morocco flourish economically by bringing modernity to the country while still preserving the old cities. To the French administration, modernity was understood in two main ways. First, it related to an urban existence. Such an existence was to include various commercial activities along with cultural enterprises. Secondly, it was understood as being a

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[66] *Ibid.*, 106-107.

[67] Pennell, Morocco since 1830: A History, 172.

protection against urban problems caused by industrialization. The administration combated these potential problems through careful city planning. Industrial zones were often entire cities within themselves, separated from major urban areas, as was the case with the central Moroccan city of Kenitra. Or, as in Casablanca, the industrial zone was an area that was rocky, devoid of vegetation, and allowed for the smoke and other industrial pollution to be blown away from the city and not into it.[68]

When planning *les villes nouvelles*, Henri Prost placed a lot of emphasis on the purpose of the new imperial cities. For example, Rabat was known as the city in a garden. It was meant to be the governmental center of the colony, and Prost wanted to create a city that was aesthetically pleasing to the eye of any observer. The streets were wide and lined with various types of foliage and plant life.[69] The governmental buildings were laid out in a fan design. At the center of the fan was the administrative building. Beyond were the Ministries which Lyautey had placed in logical order. There was also a kiosk set up for the distribution of maps. Everything about Rabat was planned and logically based on its function as the governmental capital of the protectorate.[70] This stood in stark contrast to the European sector in Casablanca, the economic hub of Morocco, which William Hoisington describes in his text as a "rough and tumble, no nonsense" city.[71]

Timothy Mitchell discusses how maps represent the concepts of cities in Colonising Egypt. During a tour which Lyautey gave to visitors in *la ville nouvelle* in Rabat, Lyautey explained the layout of the city and then showed them the kiosk where

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[68] Wright, The Politics of Design, 86-87.

[69] William A. Hoisington, Jr. Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 110-111.

[70] Mitchell, 161.

[71] Hoisington, 110-111.

they could obtain maps. Mitchell states that, "what was before them appeared divided into the 'thing' and its 'philosophy', the city and its map as though cities and maps belonged to two different categories of being." The map is a representation of the ordering, a guide to the organization and the reasoning behind it. Even while visiting Rabat, there were two distinct realms, the material and the conceptual. This can be seen, according to Mitchell, through the city planning process in Morocco.[72]

The first aspect of change dealt strictly with the aesthetics of Morocco. The planning of *les villes nouvelles* and the type of architecture used there undermined traditional Moroccan architecture for which Moroccans were so well known. The labyrinthine streets and variances in the appearance of residences were not copied in the new construction projects. The new projects were planned out, organized, and patterned. Even though the French tried to educate themselves in the ways of Moroccan design and architecture, they viewed Moroccan architecture as a common form found in Spain and throughout the Middle East and not as specific to Morocco.[73] Henri Prost, as previously stated, was the master designer of *les villes nouvelles*. "Les plans d'H. Prost dessinent la carcasse des nouvelles villes. Il reste à les meubler avec des bâtiments qui s'inspirent du style du pays et entretiennent entre eux unité de ton. Cela nécessite de promulguer une 'police des constructions.'"[74] However, even with these provisions, the architecture that developed in Morocco was not unique to Morocco; instead, it was an amalgamation of styles from throughout the Arab world. *Les villes nouvelles* became a place where French architects could go ~~and~~ to experiment with architecture that really fit nowhere

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[72] Mitchell, 172. The scene with Lyautey and the tourists in Rabat is described in more detail below with reference to how the planning of Rabat was carried out.

[73] Wright, The Politics of Design, 111.

[74] Rivet, 155.

else, but was not Moroccan per se. The architecture was coordinated with the climate and look of Morocco, but it was not traditional Moroccan architecture.[75]

Les villes nouvelles represented a new vision of the contemporary metropolis. They were complete with electricity, running water, and public transportation. Adorned with gardens, public squares, and large spacious boulevards, they were designed for growth and expansion. The urban, industrial setting was portrayed as one that could be clean and elegant while not losing its efficiency. Lyautey lauded his own accomplishments, calling his new creation the "epitome of modern conditions."[76] This image of what the protectorate considered modern and contemporary stands as almost the polar opposite of the preservation which occurred in the adjacent *medinas*.

Though most urbanization projects took place in *les villes nouvelles*, it was not those living in these new sectors who paid for the majority of these projects. A harsh taxation system paid for the modernization projects and the development of the European quarters in Morocco. Though Muslims, Jews, and Europeans all paid taxes, the Muslim sector of the population received nothing in return. The Jewish segment of the population benefited because they were able to relocate to *les villes nouvelles*, as will be further explained in the following section. Also, the tax was determined through a traditional system, the tertib tax, which was an agricultural tax, but the method of collection was changed. Traditionally the tax could be paid in kind. The protectorate, however, refused to accept this type of payment, which negatively impacted the Muslim population.[77]

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[75] Wright, The Politics of Design, 111.

[76] *Ibid.*, 88-89.

[77] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 192-193.

C. The Medinas under the Colonial Regime: A Regulated Native City

The French, although they claimed otherwise, segregated the population by creating the dual city. *Les villes nouvelles* were considered part of an overall modernization effort by the French in Morocco, but *les villes nouvelles* were never meant to benefit Morocco as a whole. Instead, *les villes nouvelles* were merely created to benefit the French and other European residents. The goal of preserving native culture, which was an integral part of the theory of association, went far beyond solely maintaining it. While the plan for *les villes nouvelles* was for them to flourish economically and be centers of modernization, the plan for the *medinas* was to shield traditional Moroccan culture from being changed or assimilated to that of French culture as a result of French colonization.[78]

Beyond solely trying to preserve Moroccan life as a result of the policy of association, tourism became a chief interest of the French, which made it necessary for the *medinas* to go unchanged. As a result, the French administration did not allow any modernization in the *medinas* whatsoever, in order to further the tourism industry. Lyautey stated, "since the recent, intense development of large scale tourism the presentation of a country's beauty has taken on an economic importance of the first order."[79] For example, Lyautey, disturbed by the appearance of a power line along a *medina* wall, created an organization whose sole purpose was to create guidelines for new construction in *medinas*, including the way houses should be set up. Lyautey passed

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[78] Wright, The Politics of Design, 85-86.

[79] *Ibid*, 134.

legislation which governed every part of city planning. He did make some adjustments to make the dreary *medinas* more aesthetically pleasing. He demanded that the Bab Boujeloud, a large tiled entryway, be built to make the entrance to the *medina* in Fez more elegant and to create a better view of the *medina* upon entering. These changes, or lack thereof, affected Moroccans negatively in both cases. The lack of change caused the *medinas* to stay behind technologically, which the *medinas* still suffer from today. Nevertheless, the changes that were made altered the *medinas*' traditional architecture in the Moroccans main cultural stronghold in which the Moroccans under the impression the *medinas* would be left untouched by the imperialists.[80]

The *medinas* were affected by Lyautey's regulations in more ways than merely those dealing with aesthetics and modernity. Lyautey was determined to preserve what he saw as Moroccan culture in more general terms. One way he did this was by issuing a decree that stated that no rooftop terrace in the *medinas* could overlook another home. Lyautey did this to protect the privacy of women while in their households.[81] General Lyautey wanted no aspect of Moroccan life to be altered by his urban planning, and that included the seclusion of women. By making decrees such as this one, Lyautey entered into and interfered with Muslims' decisions about how to address issues within Moroccan private space.

Ultimately, the plan of the dual cities did little to aid the Moroccan Muslim population. It ignored the areas inside *medina* walls except to create regulations which ensured no European developments were adapted by the people. Land that once belonged to the Moroccan people was allocated not only for the Europeans who were

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[80] *Ibid*, 134-150.
[81] *Ibid*, 143.

currently residing in Morocco but for future development as well. There was no such plan for future development of the Moroccan people's space. The *medinas* were already suffering from overcrowding when the protectorate was established in 1912. This was only worsened by the fact that there was no plan for expansion in the future. The indigenous people were stuck within the walls of the *medinas* regardless of population growth and the need for more space.[82]

D. Casablanca: A Case Study for Urban Development

Henri Prost was responsible for designing nine European quarters in Morocco: Agadir, Casablanca, Fez, Marrakesh, Meknes, Ouezzane, Rabat, Sefrou, and Taza. Of these nine quarters, the planning of Casablanca in particular was unique. It was not a royal city as many of the others were, but Lyautey had a specific goal in mind for the "scruffy" urban area. Lyautey referred to it as his New York City. It was to be the economic capital of Morocco and needed to be planned accordingly. By 1913, it was already becoming the busiest port area and home to the first factories in the protectorate.[83]

When Prost first set foot in Casablanca in 1914, he described it as chaotic. Though it was the largest port area in Morocco, the water was still too shallow near the dock to accommodate large vessels. Once in the urban area, where Europeans had already begun building, Prost discussed how the streets were unplanned and the direction of any particular street was difficult to determine. Europeans were building wherever

[82] Abu-Lughod, 162.
[83] C.R. Pennell, Morocco since 1830: A History, 172.

they saw fit and Prost later stated that Casablanca "will always bear the mark of its chaotic origins."[84] From Prost's observations, it is easy to discern that he had his work cut out for him if he wished to plan Casablanca as he had the other major areas. The European centers in other Moroccan cities that were already being planned were better organized and would turn out quite differently than Casablanca.

The issue of a shallow port was quickly fixed. Lyautey ordered a new harbor to be dug at Casablanca. It included immense jetties and extensive docklands. As a result of the new harbor, Casablanca had one of the largest ports on the African continent. This added to the city's industrial and financial focus. One of the main differences between the expansion of Casablanca and the imperial cities was that Casablanca was burgeoning as a result of European settlement, not royal patronage. This dissimilarity is also what helped Casablanca transform into the industrial and financial capital of the protectorate, allowing areas like Rabat to be more controlled and peaceful places.[85]

One of the major challenges that Prost encountered when planning Casablanca was creating a division between *les villes nouvelles* and the *medina*. Prost and Lyautey always wanted to create a spatial division between the two areas in addition to the walls that always encased the *medinas*. In Casablanca, as a result of Europeans settling there before the planning of the new city began, this was a difficult task. Prost actually had some European settlements taken down in order to create a large boulevard, *boulevard des 4ème Zouaves*. This boulevard served as both a physical and social barrier between the Europeans and the Muslim population.[86]

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84 Wright, The Politics of Design, 100.
85 *Ibid.*, 94.
86 Abu-Lughod, 147.

Casablanca was still seen as a failure in urban planning after the changes made by Prost. It suffered from high crime rates, was feared as a place which brewed revolutionary tendencies, and was not as aesthetically pleasing as the other imperial projects, such as Rabat. Michel Ecochard took over as urban planner after Henri Prost. In the late 1940s and early 1950s Ecochard was faced with the problem of saving Casablanca as a project in imperial design. It still maintained its place as the main port in Morocco and was frequented by foreigners, which meant it needed to be as aesthetically pleasing as its competing port, Rabat. One of the first changes made was that Ecochard no longer felt the need to preserve 'native culture'. The *medina* of Casablanca was already smaller than the others in Morocco and was therefore not so important to preserve.[87]

The new method of planning was based on the efficiency of the industrial process and not on the spatial divisions dictated by the policy of association. Ecochard was concerned about residential zoning, the circulation of traffic, and the zoning of industrial and commercial areas. The Muslim workers needed places to live that were close to their places of employment, so satellite residential areas were developed at low cost to house them. The *medina* was abandoned and the main concern was making Casablanca into the best economic hub possible.[88]

[87] *Ibid.*, 225-226.
[88] Dethier, 216-219.

E. Rabat: A Garden City

Two cities' development could hardly be more different than Rabat's and Casablanca's. As the previous section indicates, Casablanca was a very unorganized city that would always show signs of its unplanned origins. In contrast, Rabat was one of the most harmoniously and seamlessly planned cities in colonial Morocco. There was perfect separation between the *medina* and *les villes nouvelles*. Monuments and gardens surrounded the planned city and Lyautey and Prost were able to adapt the buildings which already existed to their new plans for Rabat. One of the first steps taken by Lyautey was to move the administrative capital to this newly organized area from the hubbub of Fez.[89]

Rabat has frequently been referred to as Lyautey's Washington, D.C. The new capital combined a glorification of Morocco's past with the latest advancements in technology. It was described as "one of the most beautiful modern cities in the world" by Leandre Vaillat, a French architecture critic during the colonial period.[90] Lyautey gave a tour of Rabat to French engineers and journalists just after the completion of the railroad from Casablanca to Rabat. As they exited the train he began to explain the layout of the city:

> 'I shall explain to you the philosophy of the thing…the buildings as a whole form a fan. At the centre of the fan, in the mounting - those are the Administration. Beyond them, where it broadens out, are the Government Ministries placed in the logical order. You understand? For example, here, Public Works. Next to it: Roads and Bridges, and then Mines. Next to Agriculture, Forests. This, here, is the gap for Finance. The building has not yet been built, but it will be intercalated in its logical place.' One of the guests interrupts with a question: 'Monsieur le Maréchal', he asks,

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89 *Ibid.*, 204.

90 Wright, The Politics of Design, 94.

'what is this kiosk for?' To which Lyautey replies: 'That? That is for the sale of maps.'[91]

From this explanation, one can comprehend Lyautey's intent for Rabat and that Lyautey was able to accomplish his plan for Rabat successfully. He wanted to design the new city in a manner that would convey order and logic. Rabat was perfectly laid out and each building had its own place and purpose. This is greatly different from the rough and tumble Casablanca, which would always show signs of disorder from its comparatively frenzied beginnings.

F. Lasting Effects of Association – The Continuation of Urban Planning

The colonization of Morocco by the French ended in 1956. This change came more smoothly for the Moroccans than for their Algerian neighbors, but it was not without complications. For example, the French had created a massive system of infrastructure that needed to be maintained. Yet an overwhelming majority of Moroccans were illiterate, eighty-nine percent of men and ninety-eight percent of women. So, the question of what was to become of Morocco after the French left was not an easy one to answer.[92]

Though the French left Morocco, the urban development did not stop. With the exodus of the foreign population in 1956 came the influx of the Muslim population into *les villes nouvelles*. There was a housing shortage in Morocco during this period. The *medinas* could not expand, forcing the creation of slums around *les villes nouvelles*, which ~~I~~ will be addressed in more detail in the final section of this paper. This departure

[91] Mitchell, 161.
[92] Pennell, Morocco from Empire to Independence, 163.

of the colon population opened up more spacious housing arrangements and better paying jobs for those who had been pushed out with the coming of the French. However, it did not completely alleviate the problem of overcrowding, and more low income housing was built in the major urban areas.[93]

1. Tourism after Decolonization

Tourism began to flourish more in the period directly following decolonization. The building projects in the cities quickly expanded to potential tourist areas, most notably Tangiers and Agadir. The planners for these sites created what was known as *villages des vacances,* or vacation villages. Though the tourist industry was on the rise, ~~the~~ housing projects took precedence and large buildings ruined natural sites like that of Alhucemas Bay on the Mediterranean.[94]

These low income housing projects were a continuation of the French urban planning scheme that persisted even after decolonization. In 1957, the architecture committee was mainly operated by Moroccans, but some foreigners did stay to aid in completing the twenty-year urban plan for the country. The timeframe for the project was shortened and an influx of funds was added to the budget. Most of these housing projects were on the outskirts of Casablanca, but projects also existed in Rabat and other major urban areas.[95]

The government neglected the tourism industry in regards to the *medinas* after 1956. Foreigners flocked to the *medinas* to experience the true Muslim city and to see "real exoticism." However, with the end of colonization came an exodus out of the

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[93] Abu-Lughod, 252.
[94] Dethier, 232.
[95] Abu-Lughod, 253.

medina. Those Moroccans who could afford it left the *medinas* for *les villes nouvelles*, leaving behind the lower classes and new migrants from rural Morocco. As a result, the *medinas* went unaided and began to fall into disrepair. This situation was aggravated by the continued overpopulation problem that occurred as a result of migrants moving to the *medinas* from the rural areas. Even with the move out of the *medinas* and the new building projects, the urban development could not keep up with the overcrowded *medinas*.[96]

When the colons lived in *les villes nouvelles* and enjoyed the latest in European architectural design, the Muslim population of Morocco had been relegated to the countryside and the walls of the traditional urban centers. These centers, the *medinas*, were prevented from further development or architectural changes under the French rule by means of French development plans and *dahirs*, or decrees, issued by the Sultan at the request of the colonizers. After the French left, this legacy continued. Modern building projects in what were once the European sectors of the urban regions continued while the *medinas* were left out of the plans for architectural development of Morocco. Though the dual cities were now both dominated by Moroccans, the division still remained. In general, the wealthier Moroccans chose to leave the *medinas* behind and improve their new space, while those unable to make such decisions were resigned to living behind the overcrowded walls of the *medinas*. For those who chose neither option, there were the *bidonvilles* in some major cities like Casablanca and Rabat, but this was arguably a worse option for Moroccans.

2. Bidonvilles

[96] Dethier, 232.

When comparing the urban planning for the two cities, the *medina* and *les villes nouvelles*, it is obvious that Lyautey and Prost believed not only in separate development of the two cities but also in unequal development. Lyautey wanted to show that he had respect for the natives, but he did this by not helping their sectors to develop, taxing them heavily to pay for the European sectors, and creating slums or *bidonvilles* outside *les villes nouvelles*. The construction that occurred after 1912 did bring employment to Morocco, which helped the native population. However, Lyautey and Prost did not allot housing in the European quarters for the Muslim workers. As a result, these workers created makeshift homes just outside *les villes nouvelles*. The Muslim population may have benefited from new jobs and income, but it was at the cost of their living situation. Instead of improving their lives, the new jobs were actually a step backwards for the Muslim workers. Many of the migrant workers were relegated to sleeping on the ground and lived in worse conditions than in the crowded *medinas*.[97] The concept of the *bidonvilles* will be discussed in more detail in the final section of this paper.

G. **Conclusion**

As a result of the policy of association, the spatial division in Moroccan urban centers was forever changed. The creation of the dual city divided the physical space of Moroccan cities and directly affected the lives of Moroccans during colonization. The lingering effects of the policy can still be observed today in Moroccan cities. Though this divide more directly impacted the lives of the Muslim population in Moroccan cities, the

[97] Abu-Lughod, 162.

Jewish population of Morocco was affected as well. The next section will discuss how the Jewish population was affected by the coming of French colonization and how an individual community within Morocco has been affected by the space around them, from the first spatial changes they encountered to the final spatial change after decolonization began in the 1950s.

V. Jewish Space in Morocco

In addition to the divisions within Muslim-dominated space, Morocco also had another division, based on religion, which was established prior to colonization. The Jewish population of Morocco had a different trajectory from that of their Muslim counterparts, and the distinct Jewish space is very unique within Morocco society. The next section of this paper is a case study which delves into many facets of Moroccan Jewish life.

This chapter is meant to highlight the differences between the spatial history of the Arab-Muslim population in Morocco and the Jewish population. There was not only a spatial division between the Jewish population and the rest of Morocco, but this spatial division manifested into a political division as well. With the coming of the French in the twentieth century the Arab-Muslim framework was transformed, which resulted in a drastic alteration of Jewish space as well. The Jewish population experienced various

physical spatial changes within an extremely short period of time, along with non-physical spatial changes. The changes to Jewish space in Morocco will be explored in this chapter. Through this exploration, this chapter will show the stark differences between the history of Jewish space and that of the Muslim population of Morocco as a result of the French colonization in the early twentieth century.

A. Introduction: A History of Movement

Throughout Morocco's history the inhabited space has been divided in a variety of ways based on concepts such as ethnicity, religion, lifestyle, and colonial policy. One way that this was done was through the creation of *mellahs*, or Jewish quarters, and then their subsequent dissolution with the coming of colonialism. The original *mellah* was established in the city of Fez during the fifteenth century. The purported reason for the development of the *mellah* was a religiously based effort to keep the *medinas* pure, but there were underlying economic reasons for the change as well.

The *mellah* was created to house the Jewish residents of the city who were no longer permitted to cohabitate in the *medina* with the Muslim residents. This new dwelling space completely changed how the Jewish community lived within Morocco. Once able to move freely among the Muslim population, now all that was necessary to maintain the Jewish population's lifestyle was included within the *mellah*. After the original *mellah* was established, others began to be created throughout Morocco, and Jews would reside there until the coming of the French in the twentieth century. When the French colonized Morocco, they created their own spatial distinctions. The *mellahs*

in cities such as Fez were abandoned for *les villes nouvelles*, a move which once again altered various spheres of Jewish life.

The creation of the *mellah* in Morocco changed how the Jewish community lived and the vision they had of themselves. They went from being *dhimmis*[98] in a Muslim city where their lives depended on the whims of the ruling dynasty to being a separate community. In the *mellah,* inhabitants could be openly Jewish without fear of persecution or being treated as lower than their neighbors as a result of their religion. The Jewish residents controlled their streets by means of a city gate and were able to practice their religion more ardently. All the while, due to economic ties with the outside community, they did not confine themselves to the *mellah*, nor were outsiders forced to remain beyond the thick walls. This is how life would be for the Jews of Morocco until their space was once again altered by the coming of Europeans and colonization by the French.

B. Pre-Mellah Morocco

The Jewish community in Morocco was very heterogeneous. There were two main groups: the *migarashim* (expellees) or Sephardim, and the *toshavim* (residents).[99] The *migarashim* were the upper tier of Moroccan Jewry. They were exiles from Spain

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[98] *Dhimmi* is the term used for non-muslim people who live in a Muslim country. The term is reserved for only the Jewish and Christian population. These two religious groups typically hold a special position in Muslim countries because they are "people of the book," or that they come from the same religious tradition as Muslims.

[99] These terms are used in many sources to differentiate between the origins of the Jews of Morocco. In a note in Shlomo Deshen's The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco, it tells a story of an eighteenth century sage and the sage used these terms as well. In the actual text Deshen says "the sources" refer to them as this.

during the 1391 pogroms and the inquisition following 1492.[100] The members of this community differed from the original Jews of Morocco in several ways. They were generally more educated and historically made up the majority of the rabbinical population.[101] They also stayed to the northern edge of the country and were mainly involved in banking and trade.[102] They were responsible for bringing the Sephardic Jewish tradition to Morocco which would be adopted in part by the original Moroccan Jewish community within the *mellah* society.[103]

The *toshavim* community, on the other hand, was the original Jewish community in Morocco.[104] Within the *toshavim* there were two groups: Judeo-Arabs and Judeo-Berbers. It is believed that the Judeo-Arabs, or Middle Eastern Jews, traveled to Morocco either to escape the Visigoth invaders of the Iberian Peninsula or following the Muslim armies of the early conquests. They lived within the Arab community either in the interior of Morocco or in coastal towns. The other type, the Judeo-Berbers, or Pilichtim, are said to be the descendants of Jews from Palestine, but it is more likely that they are Berbers who converted to Judaism. They lived in rural areas, mainly in the Rif and Atlas mountains. These Jews were more secluded than either the Sephardic communities or the Judeo-Arabs.[105] Though the Judeo-Berber community has an intricate and important place in the historiography of the Moroccan Jewish community, this paper will mainly focus on the urban Jewish community and how it adapted to spatial

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[100] Ken Blady, Jewish Communities in Exotic Places (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, Inc., 2000), 291.

[101] Shlomo A. Deshen, The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 8.

[102] Blady, 291.

[103] Susan Miller, Attilio Petruccioli, and Mauro Bertagnin, "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 Sep., 2001), 313.

[104] Shlomo A. Deshen, The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian , 8.

[105] Blady, 291-292.

changes. The Berber Jewish community only began to interact with the urban community with the coming of the French and the opening of the *mellah* society.

Prior to the creation of the *mellahs*, or Jewish quarters, Jews mainly lived among the Muslim population. Jews who had lived in Morocco before the Arab conquest were not threatened by the coming of Islam because Jews were considered people of the book and were therefore protected as a *dhimmi* community.[106] Jews paid the *jizya*, an annual tax for non-Muslims, which granted them security under the Sultan except in times of more intolerance when their *dhimmi* status was revoked. Conversely, they were limited in some of their actions. Jews were generally forbidden from riding horses or carrying arms. They also had to remove their shoes in many cities and towns when walking by a mosque. During certain periods, they were forced to wear different clothing to distinguish themselves from the Muslim population, and their word was not accepted against a Muslim's in court. However, they had their own rabbinical courts to decide issues within their own communities. [107]

This separate social status, although limiting in some ways, did not prevent Jews from participating in economic life. Jews are the only non-Muslim minority in Morocco who were able to fully integrate themselves into the state economy. The Jewish community did this by acting as middlemen between producers and consumers. This gave Jews the ability to move freely throughout the country.[108] An excellent example of Jews integrating themselves into the Moroccan economy can be found in the city of Fez, which was founded in 808 CE. From the outset, the city welcomed the Jewish community for its commercial capabilities and family ties beyond Morocco. Jews

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106 Pennell, Morocco: From Empire to Independence, 26.
107 Pennell, Morocco since 1830: A History, 36.
108 Miller, 312.

originally settled in the *medina* of Fez, which was then a very diverse community. During this initial period, the Jews of Fez were not treated as different from the rest of the population in the *medina*. As long as they paid their *jizya*, they were protected by Qur'anic law. Jewish men and women participated in the commercial sphere, producing luxury goods for the caravan trade and the local markets.[109]

Jews not only helped establish the economic life of Fez, but the intellectual one as well. Fez quickly gained a reputation for being a main center of learning within Morocco. The new Jewish community there contributed to this in its early centuries. Jews living in Fez were connected with Jews abroad and used their ties to expand Morocco's intellectual reputation. Rabbinical studies, philology, and other human sciences were studied by the Jews of Fez and discussed with Jews outside of the state as far away as Babylon, present day Iraq.[110]

The Jews of Fez flourished until the twelfth century when the militant Al-Muwahhid dynasty came to power. In an effort to eliminate all non-believers from Morocco, the *dhimma* contract was nullified and all synagogues and churches were attacked. Those who did not convert to Islam by force were pressed into exile. Jews who refused to go into exile lived double lives, practicing their true beliefs in private. These devout few formed the base of the Jewish community when it was revived again in the thirteenth century.[111] This was not the only incident of Jews being forced to convert throughout Morocco's history. Depending on the dynasty in power, Jews were or were not granted protection by the Sultan. The cycle of acceptance and rejection was ultimately what led to the creation of Jewish quarters.

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109 *Ibid.*

110 C. R. Pennell, Morocco: From Empire to Independence, 36.

111 Miller, 312.

C. Creation of the Mellah

By the fifteenth century a less tolerant dynasty, the Banu Wattas, regained control of Fez and changed the face of Morocco's entire Jewish population. In 1437, the tomb of the sainted founder of Fez, Sultan Idris II, was rediscovered within the *medina*. The dynasty declared that the entirety of the *medina* of Fez was therefore holy ground and as a result non-Muslims were no longer permitted to live there. Consequently, all Jews within the *medina* were forced to relinquish their homes, shops, and places of work to Muslims. Though Jewish historians consider this forced move to have been unreasonable, the Muslim population of Fez felt it was logical. Once the Jews left, Muslims no longer had to compete for space on the crowded market streets, and their living areas were cleansed of beliefs, practices, and artifacts they considered unclean. The separation between the Jewish community and the Muslim community had become severely blurred from years of false conversions and alterations in rules regulating the treatment of Jews. The forced exodus of the Jews from the *medina* created a clearer distinction between the communities.[112]

The Jews were subsequently transferred to the area known as the *mellah*. The word *mellah* originated in Fez. After gaining control of Fez during the thirteenth century, the more tolerant Banu Marin dynasty had built a new imperial city known as Fez al-Jadid. Just south of the palace was an area of marshy ground known as the *mellah*, which means salty place. This was the area to which the Jews were relocated in the fifteenth century. Because the Jewish community eventually inhabited this land, the word

[112] *Ibid.*, 313.

"*mellah*" became synonymous with the Jewish quarter, and all future Jewish quarters in Morocco were called *mellahs*.[113]

The *mellah* was home to the Jewish population of Fez for over five hundred years. The Jews of Fez lived within this separated walled area which included residences, synagogues, schools, ovens, and bath houses. All that was necessary to maintain their lifestyle was included within the *mellah*. Today, the *mellah* is occupied by migrants from the rural areas of Morocco. The Jews left the *mellah* for *les villes nouvelles*, and later other countries, including Israel and France, after Moroccan independence was declared in 1956.[114]

Once the *mellah* of Fez was established, other *mellahs* sprang up throughout Morocco, varying from place to place. Some developed within an already existing city such as Tetuoan, while others were attached to the royal palace, like in Fez. In the more rural areas of the country, the Jewish quarters were actually small towns.[115] The *mellah* of Marrakesh was the second to be established in Morocco in the summer of 1555. It was located where the royal stables once were. The Jews of Marrakesh, like the Jews of Fez and other areas of Morocco, had undergone periods of acceptance and rejection. Though it is not completely clear what drove the creation of the *mellah* in Marrakesh, like in Fez, the Jews lived freely in the *medina* prior to 1557, but afterwards they were segregated into a walled area on the Sultan's orders.[116]

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[113] Roger Le Tourneau, Fes avant le Protectorat; Etude Economique et Sociale d'une Ville de l'Occident Musulman (Rabat: Editions La Porte, 1987), 66.

[114] Miller, 310.

[115] *Ibid.*, 311.

[116] Emily Gottreich, The *mellah* of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 12-16.

D. Life within the Mellah

The *mellahs* are often compared to the ghettos of Europe, especially by European observers who were forced to stay in them when they visited Morocco. Since the *mellahs* were typically enclosed by thick walls, the expanding community within was usually crowded, with the only open air being that in the cemetery. As a result of the cramped quarters, the *mellahs* were known to have quite a stench.[117] British diplomat and traveler John Drummond-Hay remarked upon his visit to the *mellah* of Rabat that the streets were dirty and the health of the inhabitants was poor. However, he stated that the living areas were clean enough. The same comments were made about the *mellah* of Marrakesh.[118] This contrasts with his description of the Muslim space. While in Tangiers, where he acted as the British Consul General, he made a log of his early travels. Upon visiting the Muslim area, the marketplace, he commented how he enjoyed its entrance, especially the colonnade, and "the principal mosque is a fine building."[119] On this same journey his host took him to a synagogue on the Jewish Sabbath. There they entered "a miserable room, wherein were assembled some twenty Hebrews, wretched in appearance." The rabbi was "standing before a dirty desk, and held in his hand a still dirty book of prayers." He went on to write, "it is painful to look upon these degraded Israelites."[120] Drummond-Hay clearly saw the Jewish space as being of lower quality than the Muslim space, and it is European accounts such as these that reinforced the idea that Moroccan *mellahs* were similar to the European ghettos.

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117 Porch, 49-50.
118 Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 34.
119 Drummond-Hay, 103.
120 *Ibid.*, 116.

Though some compared the *mellah* to the ghettos of Europe, such a correlation is not easily made once one looks inside the walls of the *mellahs* of Morocco and considers how they were integrated into Moroccan life. The creation of a distinct Jewish space did have an effect on Jewish life in Morocco and did limit the community members' movements more than ever before. However, the Jews of Morocco still maintained their roles as economic intermediaries and were freer within the walls or seclusion of the *mellahs* to practice their beliefs openly and live according to Jewish principles.

Unlike the ghettos of Europe, the Jewish space of the *mellah* was not seen as something that constrained Jews' independence, but as a way for Jews to have independence from their Muslim neighbors. The *mellahs* were usually heavily walled areas which were penetrable only through gated entrances. These gates locked from the inside, not the outside, in order to keep the Jews safe at night and to close them off from the outside world on the Sabbath.[121] The gates were guarded by day by Muslim officers who were employed by the Sultan. Once night fell, the gates were locked and the key was entrusted to the Jewish community within until dawn when the guards would return and the gates were reopened.[122]

Beyond the walls, Jews were not always safe. Within the *medinas* they were treated as second-class citizens.[123] They were still prohibited from carrying arms or mounting a horse. When walking on holy ground, such as the *medina* of Fez, they had to remove their shoes. This was especially horrid since the streets of the *medina* were filthy. They were also easily recognizable because they were forced to dress in black or

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[121] Gottreich, 92.

[122] Roger Le Tourneau, "La Vie Quotidienne des Juifs à Fès en 1900," in Juifs de Fès, edited by Joseph Cohen (Québec: Editions Elysée, 2004), 175, 177.

[123] Gottreich, 92.

dark colored clothing and wear a skull cap.[124] They were not granted the same rights ~~of~~ as their Muslim counterparts, since they were considered *dhimmis*, and they were at times attacked physically in the *medina* streets. The *mellah* was a place where they could escape this reality and live their lives the way they chose.[125]

1. Private Life

Private life within the *mellah* was organized around the home. In that respect, it was little different from life in the Muslim areas. Just as in the Muslim quarters, all *mellahs* were equipped with public bakeries, slaughterhouses, markets, and bath houses.[126] Within the home, life was organized around the courtyard and the terrace. The terrace was used as a domestic workshop during the day. It was the place where food was prepared, laundry was washed, and other domestic tasks were carried out. At night, especially in warmer weather, the terrace was used for socializing and sleeping. During times of unrest these rooftop enclaves were also used as routes for transportation and communication so people could avoid the potentially dangerous streets below.[127]

The family revolved around the oldest male figure. Marriages were typically monogamous in the *mellah* and were preferred to be within one's own kinship. The children, once married, lived in the home of the groom's family and were subordinate to the father figure until he was unable to work outside the home. Then the responsibility of the household fell to the eldest son. The family, extended family, and kin group were the primary realms of social interaction. The women held subordinate roles to the men in the

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124 Porch, 50.
125 Gottreich, 92.
126 *Ibid.*, 35.
127 Miller, 314-315.

house and carried out household duties which were overseen by the eldest maternal figure.[128]

Education in the *mellah* was private and informal. For the Jewish communities, education was only a communal responsibility for those who were needy and orphans. As a result, even in histories on the *mellah* of Fez, a city known for its intellectual life, there is very little written on education. Education was conducted privately, typically in the home or synagogue. If individuals were wealthy enough, they had a personal tutor come to their home. Otherwise, education was carried out in small groups.[129]

Education was strictly religious in nature and formally began at the age of four. Languages played an important role as well. Young boys learned Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin. The education of women was not undertaken in the *mellah* society. The only decree by the Moroccan government which dealt with education in the city of Fez was made in 1711, and it dictated at what age young boys could begin apprenticing. It had been the practice to start apprenticing as early as nine; however, the 1711 decree changed the age to thirteen. Boys of this young age who apprenticed were also permitted to go to the synagogue freely during working hours. This stipulation was added so that a boy's formal education would not be sacrificed once he began apprentice work in a specific field.[130]

2. Religious Life

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[128] Alex Weingrod, "Reciprocal Change: A Case Study of a Moroccan Immigrant Village in Israel," American Anthropologists Vol. 64, No. 1, Part 1 (Feb., 1962), 116-117.

[129] Jane S Gerber, Jewish Society in Fez, 1450-1700: Studies in Communal and Economic Life (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 77-78.

[130] *Ibid.*, 77-80.

Prior to life in the *mellah*, Jews shared space with people of other religions. Their neighbors were not necessarily fellow Jews, and their religious life was not so closely watched. Once in the *mellah*, their religious life was completely confined to the *mellah* and could be highly scrutinized by the Jewish community as a whole. With the migration to the *mellah* came stricter adherence to the principles of Judaism in Morocco. Infractions against Jewish law were more noticeable by fellow Jews and were punished accordingly. This regulation and control of life inside the walled quarters helped to maintain a high level of morality. Areas which were particularly closely monitored were purity in married and domestic life, incidences involving intoxication, and expenditure and unnecessary extravagances.[131]

The synagogue holds the traditional role of home to religious practices in Judaism, but it typically acts as a center for Jewish social life as well. Synagogues serve as a place of worship, scholarly learning, internal politics, charity, and other social roles in a Jewish community. Within the *mellahs* of Morocco, synagogues were the main arena for religious practice and held some significance in scholarly learning, especially in regard to rabbinical studies, but they were not as essential to social life as they were in other Jewish societies.[132]

Due to the isolated nature of the *mellahs*, the Jewish community of Morocco was able to have festivals in the streets. One example of this was the celebration of Purim. Purim, or the Festival of Lots, takes place on the fourteenth day of the Jewish month of Adar and is the time when the story of the book of Ester is recounted. During this holiday, it is traditional to hold large celebrations right before sunset. This was a time

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[131] Haïm Zafrani, Two Thousand Years of Jewish Life in Morocco (New York: Sephardic House in association with KTAV Pub. House, 2005), 133-135.

[132] Deshen, The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco, 86.

when the *mellah* streets were extremely lively. People would gather in the streets with noisemakers and play different card and dice games, since games of chance were encouraged Purim.[133]

Other examples of using the streets for religious purposes were ceremonies such as *bar mitzvahs* or times of prayer. For young boys' *bar mitzvahs*, sometimes the boy would be paraded around the streets before being taken to the temple for the ceremony. Afterwards, he would be carried through the main streets on a throne like a bride. Also, during times of turmoil, Rabbis would gather the community in the streets. They would hold public prayers asking for God's aid.[134]

Another religious space inside the *mellah* was the cemetery. Cemeteries have always held a special place in Jewish society and *mellah* society was no different. In Fez, a new cemetery was built in the fifteenth century for those who lived within the *mellah*. The burial rituals in Fez were controlled by a society called the *hebrah kadisha*. It was traditional for the entire community to follow the coffin to the grave site. The coffin was carried by men on their shoulders as if it was the arc. During the procession, a ram's horn would be blown. Once at the cemetery, the community would remain for seven days saying prayers and honoring the dead.[135]

In addition to their rituals surrounding the dead, Moroccan Jews were very active in saint veneration. This was a shared religious aspect between the Muslim and Jewish communities of Morocco. Muslims in Morocco believed in saint worship, and it is thought that the two communities influenced each other in this area of religious life. They looked to their saints for signs about life and believed the saints could guide them in

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133 Zafrani, 259-260.

134 Miller, 321.

135 Gerber, 65-66.

making decisions and predict attacks on their communities. Even when separated by the walls of the *mellah*, both the Muslim and the Jewish communities continued to actively participate in saint veneration and allow this practice to expand in Morocco.[136]

3. Economic Life

Interactions between Muslims and Jews were primarily a result of economic needs. The *mellahs*, like the *medinas* that preceded them, all contained their own market space. Products that the Jewish merchants controlled exclusively were first sold in the *mellah* and then later sold in other *suqs*, or shops, in the area. This was the case in Marrakesh, where the Jews dealt mainly in the markets for oil, sulfur, almonds, apricot kernels, cotton, barley, and wax. In order to purchase the best of these products, it was necessary for the non-Jewish population of Marrakesh to enter the *mellah* on Friday morning, the busiest and most well-stocked day for the shops in the *mellah* as the community prepared for the Sabbath. Muslims also entered the *mellah* to buy meats at cheaper prices. Muslims were permitted to eat Kosher meat under Maliki law, the school of Islamic law used in Morocco, so this was a big draw for Muslims to do business in the *mellah*. The Jewish community was able to offer lower prices on meat because they would sometimes illegally slaughter livestock during times of drought or animal replenishment.[137]

Buying products was not the only thing that drove Muslims to the *suqs* in the *mellahs*. They also entered to sell their own products. Water sellers, porters, and beggars were regular sights in the *mellahs*. In the case of Marrakesh, Muslims owned ten percent of the dwellings in the *mellah*, according to the census taken in 1890. Therefore, Muslim

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[136] Issachar Ben-Ami, Saint Veneration among the Jews in Morocco (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 147-156.

[137] Gottreich, 73.

landlords would stop in periodically to collect rents and to look after their property. Once the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* opened a school in the *mellah* of Marrakesh in 1901, Muslims who were employed by the school as guards entered the *mellah*. A Muslim was hired in 1910 to teach Arabic at the school, but there are no records of whether he took up the appointment or not.[138] The bread ovens were also typically manned by Muslims. The reason for this was that the ovens had to continue to operate on the Sabbath, so the Jews needed them to be staffed by non-Jews.[139]

4. Women's Place in the Mellah

Women had a specific place in all aspects of *mellah* society. Whether it was the family sphere, religious activities, or economic endeavors, throughout the *mellahs* of Morocco the gender roles were clearly defined. Even within the secluded walls of the *mellah*, women were isolated even further. They rarely left the home and had no roles outside of family life. Women did not participate in formal education and home life was based on a patriarchal system, which left women little room for holding any type of power within the *mellah*.

The pre-colonial Moroccan Jewish family was based on the extended family and was patriarchal in nature. Young brides experienced most of the disadvantages of this situation. A newly married woman was taken from her family at a young age, sometimes not having yet reached the age of maturity, and placed into the home of her husband. Once there, she was subject to the authority of her husband and his family. It was a difficult transition for which a young bride was given little preparation. Typically, the

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138 *Ibid.*, 74.

139 Miller, 320.

newly married bride did at least know the family into which she was marrying. This was because the two families would have had some sort of social relationship before the marriage placement. Marriages in the Jewish community in pre-colonial Morocco were typically carried out within the same kin group. Another source of assistance to the young bride was the spatial proximity between her new family and her natal family. It was uncommon for Jews in pre-colonial Morocco to move from their native city, and kin groups typically lived together. This meant that the bride was always near her extended family, and this offered a form of protection for her in her new role as a wife.[140]

Unlike for men, the synagogue was not a place of social interaction for women in *mellah* society. There is not much information about women attending services there. Most *mellah* synagogues did not even have a separate area in which women could sit. Without a separate seating area, women were not permitted to enter the synagogue for any purpose.[141] For some time, burials were the only place where women could publicly interact with men outside of their family. Until 1735, the burial ceremony, which included parading to the grave site and camping there for seven days, was a unique ritual in which men and women from the community would intermingle. After 1735, women had to maintain a "respectable" distance from the men and were not permitted to enter the cemetery itself.[142] This change limited one of the few liberties that women in the *mellah* enjoyed.

Women were also completely removed from the public economic sphere. They were not permitted to have any independent ventures or any say in the economics of the

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[140] Shlomo Deshen, "Women in the Jewish Family in Pre-Colonial Morocco," *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol. 56, No. 3 (Jul., 1983), 135-136.

[141] Deshen, The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco, 103.

[142] Gerber, 65-66.

household. This made life difficult for independent women in the *mellah* and made the closeness of family ties very important for Jewish women.[143] Without an education or a role in religious or economic life, Jewish women's existence in pre-colonial Morocco was extremely limited. They had no life outside of the walls of their domestic area, and even within the domestic sphere they were very restricted.

Men, on the other hand, did play a role in domestic life. They helped in the house with tasks such as meal preparation. This gave women little room for dominance. The one aspect of life which they could use to gain power was in conjugal sexual relations. Due to the cycle of women's purity, which was monitored by all women of a household, women could use this as a form of power over the male members of the family.[144] However, these limitations placed on women in Moroccan Jewish society would change under the AIU and the French protectorate as well.

5. Restrictive or Liberating: Analyzing the Move to the *mellah*

As addressed earlier in this section, many historians of the *mellah* compare it to the Jewish ghettos of Europe and therefore see it as a form of restriction placed on Jewish life. Other historians disagree and emphasize that Jews were also liberated by the *mellah*. They were free to be open about their religion and free from their *dhimmi* status outside the walls of the *mellah*. The Jewish population controlled their own community within the small, crowded space of the *mellah*.

There is no simple answer to the question of whether the development of the *mellah* was positive or negative for Moroccan Jews. Obviously, the Jewish community

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143 Deshen, The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco, 103.

144 Deshen, "Women in the Jewish Family in Pre-Colonial Morocco," 134-142.

was restricted by the move to the *mellah*. For example, the *mellah* was created for the sole purpose of confining the Jewish population outside of the Muslim space. The space of the *mellah* was predetermined without regard for future growth. The *mellahs* of Morocco were forced to grow upwards, with Jews obligated to live in what Western observers considered to be tight, dirty quarters. Finally, once Jews left their defined space, they were again lower citizens compared to the Muslim population. They were mocked in the streets and restricted in dress. The *mellahs* acted as another way for Moroccan rulers to wield power over the minority population.

On the other hand, there were elements of the *mellahs* that were rather liberating. Within the *mellah,* the Jewish community could practice its faith in public as it was not able to do in the Muslim space. This included celebrations in the streets and closing the *mellah* on the Sabbath and certain holidays, including Yom Kippur. Within their space, Jews were free to act as they chose. Though the *mellahs* comprised a small amount of space and ultimately restricted Jews' movement, they were liberating in the sense that the Jewish community was free from persecution within the *mellah* and could act as a coherent community in Morocco. As a result, the *mellah* was a restriction with advantages that were unknown prior to the separation of space.

E. Colonization: Losing the Jewish Community

With the coming of the French protectorate in 1912 came the destruction of the *mellah* of Fez. The assault on Morocco began in the *mellah*. The Jewish quarter of Fez was significantly damaged as a result of the attack. This campaign by the French once

again changed the face of the Jewish community in Morocco. It was an attack on Jewish space in Fez that had effects which were felt by the Moroccan Jewish community as a whole.

In April of 1912, a rebellion erupted in the city of Fez. Though the rioters originally attacked the French soldiers in the city, they soon turned their attentions to the *mellah*. The reasons for this shift were a combination of the strategic location of the *mellah* and the relationship between the Europeans and the Jewish population.[145] An official reason for the raiding of the *mellah* remains unknown. Sources do not mention the cause of the onslaught but merely accept that it was inevitable and that it was part of the Fez mutiny. As when other problems erupted in Fez, the Jews of the *mellah* had already locked themselves into the *mellah* when the mob began to attack. However, after one hour of outside assault on the gates, they gave way and the Jews inside were forced to flee to the palace for protection. Forty-three Jews were killed before they found refuge with the Sultan, where they were placed in his empty lion cages. After the riot was over, the *mellah* was left in pieces.[146]

It took years to rebuild the *mellah*, and it did not have the same aesthetic appearance afterwards. It was modernized in a European fashion. The streets were widened and balconies were added to many of the buildings. The wealthier Jews completely abandoned the *mellah* for *les villes nouvelles* which were being built by General Lyautey and his urban designer Henri Prost. They eventually left altogether for

[145] Mohammed Kenbib, "Le Tritel," in Juifs de Fès, edited by Joseph Cohen (Québec: Editions Elysée, 2004), 255.

[146] Porch, 244-246.

foreign countries. The poorer Jews were left behind in the *mellah* until they had the resources to join the rest of the Jewish community in *les villes nouvelles* or abroad.[147]

In Marrakech, the Jews also slowly began leaving the *mellah* after the declaration of the French protectorate in Morocco. Though some left for Palestine in the 1920s and 1930s as a result of their belief in the Zionist cause, most did not. Zionism did not take a firm hold in Jewish Moroccan circles during the protectorate. One reason for this was the influence of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (AIU), which called for assimilation and therefore was anti-Zionist. Most Jews who left the *mellah* of Marrakech left for the new European parts of the city as their counterparts in Fez had done. Similarly, those who could afford to left the country for Europe, Canada, or the United States in later years.[148]

With the migrations of Jews out of the *mellahs*, the Jewish identity that had existed since the creation of the first *mellah* in Fez was altered forever. No longer confined to a space determined by their Muslims rulers, the Jewish community had more mobility than ever before. Though life in the *mellah* had been liberating in some ways, life without the *mellah* was also liberating, though not in the same ways. Clothing, occupations, education, living standards, and political demands all changed with the migration, and the face of the Jewish community in Morocco once again morphed into something altogether different than before.

One major limitation that the Jews faced outside of the *mellah* was that they no longer had a defined space as a safe haven. Within the *mellah*, they were primarily under the jurisdiction of their own rabbis and Jewish courts. They also regulated the *mellah* through a main gate that they could control. By leaving the mellah, the Jews traded the

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147 Miller, 323-324.

148 Gottreich, 132-134.

protection that it offered for the expanded space beyond its walls. The idea of protected confinement was outshone by the opportunities available to Jews in *les villes nouvelles* and abroad. Also, with the coming of the French the need for protection was lowered significantly for the Jewish population as there was no longer a strict *dhimmi* policy.

1. Clothing, Economics, and Education

The Jews of Morocco were often compelled to wear a specific type of clothing to differentiate themselves from the Muslim population. This was one of the first things to change with the coming of the protectorate and the cessation of forced life in the *mellah*. Young Jews especially began to wear European attire as they abandoned their old styles of dress. This was viewed as a form of liberation for the Jews by the French and became more evident as Jews moved from the countryside and the *mellah* to the new European style towns.[149]

Younger Jews also began to flock to the new French cities for employment opportunities. They were attracted to the French lifestyle and the freedom it gave them. In the *mellah* they were obligated to remain near their families and obey their elders. With the coming of the protectorate and the movement out of the *mellah*, this changed. New opportunities presented themselves as the French-planned cities and areas such as Casablanca began to grow in size with the influx of Jews from the interior. The migrations allowed young Jewish men freedom from family responsibilities and rules that were placed on them in the *mellahs*.[150]

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[149] José Bénech, Un des Aspects du Judaïsme : Essai d ;Explication d'un *mellah* (Ghetto Marocain) (Paris: Larose, liminaire, 1940), 273.

[150] Weingrod, 117.

An example of how the coming of the French changed the economic situation for Jews can be found in Marrakech, especially from 1925-1928, when the city experienced an economic boom as a result of the expansion of the European community there. The Jews took full advantage of the situation. They began to establish businesses, including banking endeavors and hotels. The Europeans were well accustomed to dealing with the Jewish community. Jews acted as intermediaries to the Europeans long before the establishment of the protectorate, and the Jews used this to help their new economic undertakings blossom. The Muslim community did not have the advantage of already established relations with the Europeans, though they were not completely left out of the new economic situation either. The benefit to the Jewish community was merely larger and more widespread.[151]

A major factor that enhanced economic opportunities for the Jews under the protectorate was their educational advantage. The AIU was the main organization that provided education for the Jewish community under the protectorate. It had been active in Morocco since 1862 when it set up its first school in Tetuan. By 1900, the AIU had added schools in five cities and had almost 2,000 pupils. Its main objective was to bring "moral progress" to the Jews of Morocco. It was an organization which originated in Paris in 1860. The founding members were prominent French Jews and included Alphonse Crémieux, a lawyer who lobbied to grant French citizenship to Jewish Algerians in 1871.[152]

The early establishment of the AIU in Morocco only aided the Jewish educational system when the protectorate was established. In the *mellah*, the education of young

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[151] Bénech, 271-280.

[152] Pennell, Morocco since 1830: A History, 83.

boys was conducted primarily in the home or at the synagogue. The AIU slowly changed this, and the shift was even more pronounced with the coming of the French. The Muslim population had reservations about switching to the French style schools, but the Jewish population was eager to switch to the European system. The AIU worked with the Jewish population and the French to help ~~in~~ facilitate the transition. As with other facets of their lives, under the protectorate the Jews were ready and willing to assimilate with the French, especially if it meant economic improvement.[153] However, there was some opposition to the changes that the AIU made in terms of education from conservative Jews. Most of the opposition stemmed from the AIU's decision to permit girls to enter public schools.

The schools themselves provided a much different education than the one young boys received in the *mellah*. Prior to the intervention of the AIU and the French, Jewish children received a traditional education that was based in religion. This was very similar to the education of their Muslim counterparts. After 1912, it was completely different. Jewish children received a French education, one which was not based on the Jewish faith. However, the popularity of the AIU schools largely stemmed from the fact that mainly Jews taught in the Jewish schools, unlike the schools for Muslim boys, at which Europeans living in Morocco taught.[154] This difference existed because the AIU schools were not official protectorate schools. The French did not compete with the AIU in educating the Jewish population but would aid financially in expanding the Jewish school system into the rural areas in southern Morocco.[155] The schools that were the most

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[153] Michael M. Laskier, The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco, 1862-1962 (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983), 304.

[154] *Ibid*.

[155] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 250.

successful were those jointly sponsored by the community within the *mellah*.[156] As a result, an education from these schools acted as a transitional aid for Jews encountering the European world and influence prior to the coming of the protectorate.

Jews had typically acted as intermediaries for foreigners in Morocco, but their role expanded under the protectorate. Instruction in the AIU schools was conducted in French. By 1936, this equated to approximately a quarter of the Jewish population being literate in French, and even more than that were able to speak it reasonably well. Educated Jews, especially the younger generations, were able to find employment in large European corporations, and a trained Jewish professional class began to develop. The first Moroccan medical doctor was a Jew from Casablanca named Léon Benzaquen.[157] The expansion of economic opportunity was one of the main factors that drew Jews to the French designed cities. The young, educated men went to find better jobs with the French administration, leaving the *mellah* behind.

2. Gender Roles Revisited

These improvements and changes were not limited to the male Jewish population. Gender roles changed under the protectorate, and women reaped some benefits from the coming of the French as well. Changes occurred in multiple areas of women's lives, and the female members of Jewish society also took steps ~~in~~ towards assimilating to French and European culture. Though many changes occurred, sources related to this topic are extremely limited. Therefore, the entire picture of Jewish women's lives during the protectorate is not available.

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[156] Laskier, The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco, 1862-1962, 72.

[157] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 250-251.

Traditionally Jewish girls were not educated. They lived lives of seclusion within the domestic sphere. Hence, formal or informal education for girls in *mellah* society was not deemed necessary. With the coming of the AIU schools in 1862, this began to change. The AIU was considered very liberal, and many traditional and conservative members of the Jewish population rejected it. One reason for conservative Jews' rejection of the changes implemented by the AIU was the lack of a strict Jewish studies curriculum. Another reason was that the AIU admitted girls ~~in~~ at their Tetuan and Tangier schools.[158] Though the education of girls was limited in scope, it represented a marked change from traditional *mellah* society and an improvement for women.

Also, under the protectorate, men were not the only members of Jewish society to assimilate to French and European ideas. Girls began to be given French names before boys. Even in rural settings girls started to adopt French hairstyles and fashion. These aspects of French culture took longer to expand to young boys.[159] Though these changes were small, they represented an opening of the sphere of Jewish women in Morocco, a sphere that had been very restricted prior to the arrival of Europeans.

However, just as the loss of the *mellah* was liberating for the Jewish population in some ways but in some aspects the Jewish population actual lost protections, the same was true for gender roles. Young brides lost the protection of their immediate families with the opening of the *mellah*. Young men began to leave the *mellah*, which ultimately meant that their brides accompanied them as they started families in *les villes nouvelles* or abroad. The security of the closeness of family and kin groups was lost as Moroccan Jews left the *mellah* permanently. Sources also lack information on women working

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158 *Ibid.*, 83.
159 *Ibid.*, 250.

during the protectorate. This suggests that women still had an extremely limited place in Moroccan Jewish society during the protectorate.

3. Religious Life in the Protectorate

The practice of religion was bound to change for the Jews with the coming of the protectorate as well. The *mellah* changed religious practice for the Jewish community in the first place because it allowed for a stricter adherence to the faith. Jews lived in close proximity without the outside influence of Islam. The closeness of the community allowed for more rabbinical oversight, which had been difficult when the Jewish minority had been immersed in the Muslim majority. With movement out of the *mellah* and into a European dominated space, this aspect of the Jewish community in Morocco was altered.

One way the newfound laxity in religion can be seen is through the complaints that began to be raised by the rabbinical community. The rabbinical community was upset with the assimilation to European culture just before and during the protectorate. One aspect of this assimilation with which they were particularly upset was the change in the educational system. As already discussed, the AIU took responsibility for the Jewish community's education in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries. Religious figures in the Jewish communities complained that it was far too liberal. They thought that education should be based on Jewish principles and learning about the faith and not on modern subjects taught in European schools. The mere fact that some of these schools educated girls was considered extremely liberal and contrary to the social structure established by the Jewish faith.[160]

[160] *Ibid.*, 84.

However, not all of the Jewish community's religious practices changed with the coming of the protectorate. The Jews of Morocco still carried on certain traditions long after their move to *les villes nouvelles*. The Moroccan Jewish community is unique in its ritual practice of the faith, and this uniqueness has not disappeared with the spatial movements they have undergone over time. One example of a unique tradition is that of the *mimuna*. The *mimuna* marks the end of the Passover for Moroccan Jews and is a springtime festival.[161] The festival continued as a traditional Moroccan Jewish festival even as the community has emigrated to Europe and Israel. It was celebrated as a national holiday in Israel for the first time in 1966, and 300 Fassi Jews attended. It has grown into a festival that draws over 10,000 Jews today and was officially celebrated in France for the first time in 2006.[162] Though the Moroccan Jewish community lost its unique relationship upon the opening of the *mellah*, certain traditions and religious aspects lived on even outside the boundaries of the state.

Another example of the continuity of the Moroccan Jewish community's religious practices is saint veneration. The Jewish community continued their worship and creation of new saints during the protectorate and beyond. They took this practice with them when they left Morocco for various places abroad, particularly in their communities in Israel. Many Jews who practiced saint veneration in Morocco consulted a certain saint in order to attain permission or a sign that immigrating to Israel was the righteous path

[161] Harvey E. Goldberg, "The Mimuna and the Minority Status of Moroccan Jews," Ethnology Vol. 17, No. 1 (Jan., 1978), 75.

[162] Jewish Agency for Israel, May 2009, Mimouna in Israel, http://jewishagency.org/Jewish Agency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Jewish+Time/Festivals+and+Memorial+Days/Mimouna/Mimouna+in+Israel.htm, May 2009.

for them. Though the saints and places of worship were left behind in Morocco, the practice did not cease with the new change in Jewish space.[163]

4. Citizenship and Complete Assimilation

Jews, especially the better educated ones, began to integrate into the European society in Morocco. They adopted a European style of dress, were employed by Europeans, and entered European school systems. With these changes came an almost immediate demand for French citizenship. Campaigns began as early as the 1920s from educated Moroccan Jews, who were typically of Sephardic heritage. They encountered much opposition to their calls for citizenship. When the Jewish community referenced the Crémieux Decree of 1870, which granted French citizenship to all Jews living in Algeria, Resident-General Lyautey bluntly stated that he opposed the decree and had no intention of doing the same in Morocco. He did not, however, rule out the option of a slow selection process in granting Jews citizenship.[164]

The educated, French speaking Jews of Morocco did not concede the issue of citizenship. They were willing to accept a slow process which would result in all Moroccan Jews being granted French citizenship in twenty to thirty years. In their opinion, a rapid process should begin immediately for the upper echelons of Moroccan Jewry. They pleaded their case in French journals and worked with the AIU. In these journals, they stressed the importance of the services that could be provided to the protectorate by French-educated Jewish allies. To these educated elite, French citizenship for Jews would be payment for their assistance to the cause of the protectorate

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[163] Ben-Ami, 171-172.

[164] Michael M. Laskier, North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 24-25.

administration. The protectorate's European population supported the naturalization of the most educated Moroccan Jews. Victor de Stahl, a prominent figure of the protectorate, was quoted as saying, "Here is a race which was hermetically sealed in the *mellahs* without daring to leave its gates……And here we see that same race today perfectly assimilated. There are those among them who qualify for becoming French citizens, based on their intellectual level."[165] Though many, like Victor de Stahl, felt that the Jewish population should be granted citizenship, the process of fully assimilating the Jewish population of Morocco was never accomplished.

F. The Final Shift: Moroccan Jews Abroad

As World War II was coming to a close, major changes were occurring in Morocco. The most significant was the call for independence from France. This was not embraced by the Jewish population as it was by Muslims. Jews had begun to assimilate with the French society in Morocco, and the idea of Morocco without the French was not something most Jews were ready to embrace. At this same time, the new Jewish state of Israel had just announced its independence and it became more and more clear that the presence of a Jewish community in a mostly Muslim nation would not be tolerated. As a result, Jews began to leave their homes in Morocco for more promising futures abroad.[166]

Still, not all Jews left Morocco for Europe and Israel. Those who stayed behind were not victimized, as many Jews feared they would be by the Moroccan government. Instead relations were kept open and positive. The Moroccan Jews who did leave for

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165 *Ibid.*, 25-26.

166 Weingrod, 117-118.

Israel managed to maintain relations with those left in Morocco and were even able to return occasionally for visits. The Moroccan government used this openness to create and maintain relations with Israel. There were even two secret visits to Morocco by Israeli delegations in 1976 and 1977. The Moroccan Jews who stayed behind maintained their property, and some even acted as personal advisers to the palace.[167]

One of the main factors determining where Moroccan Jews chose to immigrate to was their economic status in Morocco. As mentioned earlier, educated Jews were less likely to embrace Zionism. This was a direct result of the work the AIU had done to assimilate the community towards Europe and not towards the Zionist cause. Therefore, it was more likely for more assimilated Jews to flock toward Europe. However, not all Moroccan Jews were so quick to dismiss the Zionist ideals. The poorer population of Jews who did not leave the *mellah* during the protectorate period was beyond the scope of the AIU. As a result, this lower tier of Jewish Moroccan society was more likely to embrace the state of Israel and Zionist teachings. By the1930s, Zionist activity began in smaller Moroccan towns. Despite these early efforts, though, Israel did not experience an influx of Moroccan Jews until after the Second World War.[168]

G. Conclusion

The Jewish population of Morocco has a long history in the country. Their history starts with the early communities that mainly lived within Muslim society, dealt with attacks on their community by certain sultanates, and even assimilated to Muslim

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[167] Pennell, Morocco: From Empire to Independence, 181.

[168] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 251-252.

culture. Then there was the forced transition to separate quarters in the urban setting and the legacy of life within the *mellah* began. This period is one that is looked upon as the authentic expression of Moroccan Jewish culture by some, though the Moroccan Jewish trajectory is far more complex than that and involves a strong rural Jewish community as well. Finally, with the protectorate the Jewish community was liberated from the *mellah* walls and began to assimilate to an outside culture imposed on them by the French protectorate.

The Jewish population was no longer confined within the walls of the *mellah* once the French arrived. They began to live a more Europeanized lifestyle, and those who had the resources moved from the crowded *mellahs* to the modern *villes nouvelles* and from rural to more urban settings. There was also a significant movement from the interior to newer port areas such as Casablanca. Ultimately, most Jews within Morocco left for Europe, America, and the newly created state of Israel. The main drive behind this transition was not Zionism or a calling from the larger Jewish community but one of economics and the promise of a better future outside the dreary, secluded *mellah* society. Today the *mellahs* of Morocco remain but the small Jewish population in the cities live in *les villes nouvelles*. The shops of the *mellah* that were still owned by Jews during the protectorate are now almost completely run by the Muslim population who also live within the old *mellahs*. Once a large and unique Jewish population, Moroccan Jewry has all but vanished.

The Jewish Moroccan community abroad still remembers and celebrates its heritage, which can partially be attributed to the past existence of a distinct Jewish space in Morocco. Though the *mellah* was not the beginning of the Jewish legacy in Morocco,

it was a significant development that created closeness within the Moroccan Jewish community that is unparalleled in the state's history. The urban Jews of Morocco who now live abroad still maintain their ties to their heritage by reenacting ceremonies, maintaining their method of performing Jewish rituals, and by periodically returning to their homes in Morocco.[169] The continually changing spatial situation has not inhibited the Jewish community of Morocco from holding on to its past.

[169] Miller, 324.

VI. Conclusion: Deconstructing Space

Thus far, with little exception, this paper has presented a divided view of Morocco. Space seemed to be allocated to different groups and the lines drawn between them were rarely crossed. This view leaves little room for gray areas and is not an altogether adequate interpretation of the historical spatial divisions in the country. The situation in Morocco was not as easily defined as the spatial distinctions already outlined suggest. There were areas within the country that did not fit neatly into any one category and were therefore affected by a variety of different factors and in different ways than the areas around them.

Various areas where the strict divisions of space do not hold up have already been discussed. These areas include the gray zones between *bilad al-makhzan* and *bilad al-siba*, as well as the Jewish population that chose to stay behind as the majority of the population moved first to *les villes nouvelles* and then abroad. Three areas which have not been discussed in depth are the slums around *les villes nouvelles*, the sphere of women, and entertainment in the form of prostitution.

A. The Slums

The *bidonvilles*, or slums, are one of the most devastating remnants of French urban planning in Morocco and one of the more visible gray zones in the spatial division created by French colonization. These illegal encampments began to spring up outside of Moroccan towns around 1907, just before the official colonial period. *Bidonvilles* were established by Moroccans who were working on construction projects for the Europeans.

The Moroccans needed space near their employment for themselves and their families to live. As a result, this group of Moroccans made homes from whatever scraps were available from industrial refuse directly outside the newly developing *villes nouvelles*.

Casablanca, more so than any other Moroccan urban center, is known for such structures and is believed to be the site of the first *bidonvilles*. The local term for *bidonvilles* is *karyan*. This term means quarries, which the slums were constructed around in Casablanca. The workers in the quarries needed residences and were therefore the catalyst for building a *bidonville* in 1920. In Rabat, the rural term for quarries, *doar*, was used instead. Such spaces were not established in Rabat until 1921. Space which had traditionally been set aside for European residences was used to create two official doars in Rabat instead of letting them arise haphazardly, as was the case in Casablanca.[170]

The *bidonvilles* were unique spaces within Morocco which crossed traditional spatial boundaries. They were where people of lower or no income made do with what was around them to survive. Typically, the population that lived in the *bidonvilles* would have been residing in the countryside, but this was not an option for those who needed to work in *les villes nouvelles*. The *bidonvilles* also crossed boundaries because Moroccans were living alongside non-Moroccans. This housing issue, with a lack of any assistance from the state, was not merely a division of space based on racial terms, but on economic or class terms as well. Lower class Spanish and Portuguese people, who had no other options in Morocco, cohabitated in this space with the poor Muslim population.[171]

A major problem of the *bidonvilles* was their illegal nature. The residents lived in poor conditions, many only in tents. There were no titles for any of the land and many

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[170] Wright, The Politics of Design, 153.
[171] *Ibid.*, 153-154.

were charged high rents for the space they occupied. This was difficult for most of the people living in the *bidonvilles* because they were casual laborers, not permanently employed workers in *les villes nouvelles*. The Moroccan population in the *bidonvilles* attempted to hold on to their rural roots by settling close to others from their region. They maintained small farms and raised animals such as chickens to help offset their expenses. This bleak existence was far better for most than the option of remaining in the countryside where the population was growing too quickly to keep up with the economy. Through living in the *bidonvilles* was not ideal, it was better than being unemployed in rural Morocco.[172]

Prost and other colonial urban planners saw the *bidonvilles* as the largest problem and obstacle for their urban design in Morocco. The question of how to get rid of such sectors without raising wages was not an easy one to tackle and was never answered on a protectorate-wide scale. Methods attempted included building new native districts for those who came to labor in *les villes nouvelles* and creating housing with rent controls. However, these plans were never effectively implemented and many *bidonvilles* remained in place.[173]

Bidonvilles still exist in Morocco and are yet another legacy of the French colonial period. They are unhygienic places where every member of the family is forced to work, yet most families are still only barely able to support themselves. Many of the shanty structures are overcrowded and infested with rodents and bugs. The encampments are places where the space of men, women, and children all overlap. Many divorced women end up here when they are left with no other options. During the day, production

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[172] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 223.
[173] Wright, The Politics of Design, 154.

is in full swing. One trade which is very prevalent is that of textiles. Most people who work in the *bidonvilles* are involved in the informal market. In the 1980s, thirty percent of the young, educated population was unemployed and many lived in these spaces. It was a real problem for the Moroccan government because this segment of the population was often the source of riots against the monarchy.[174]

B. Muslim Women

Another overtly gray area in the spatial division is that between the male and female population in Morocco. During the pre-colonial and colonial period, women had their own space, that of the home. This was a common thread connecting Muslim and Jewish women in pre-colonial Morocco. However, the slave population and those women who were in the lowest of the economic classes did not live in the same manner as those in better economic positions. This changed with colonization for the Jewish, female population as was explained in the section on Jewish space. This next section will focus instead on Muslim women.

Muslim women's space in Morocco, especially near the end of the colonial experience, was a gray area. First, Muslim women's space in Morocco was not always clearly defined because the slave and lower class female population could not afford the luxury of being confined to the home. They crossed the traditional boundary of women not being seen in public space. Second, with the onset of decolonization and Moroccan national movements in the 1950s, as this section will discuss, Muslim women began to leave their traditional space in the home and appeared in public more frequently. They

[174] Pennell, Morocco since 1830, 360.

once again crossed the traditional spatial boundary that separated spatial definitions of men and women. Women also began to show themselves in public space unveiled. This change in women's space was a result of French colonization and the changes that occurred in Morocco after the arrival of the French.

Muslim women's space, even prior to the coming of the French, was different based on the economic status of the woman. Prior to decolonization in the 1950s, women in families that could afford it were largely confined to the home in Morocco. If women did travel outside or entertain men who were not family members in their home, they did so from behind a veil. Though this seemed like a bleak existence to many Europeans who visited and lived in Morocco, it did not necessarily mean that Muslim Moroccan women lived unhappily or were not satisfied with their place. Douglas Porch argues the contrary. He states that Moroccan Muslim women did not desire to have the freedom that their European counterparts had and could not imagine not having the protection of the veil. He also alludes to the fact that many women lived a comfortable life in their homes, especially those who were fortunate enough to be married to more wealthy men.[175]

Edith Wharton, an American writer who traveled to Morocco in 1917, discussed in her account of her travels how infrequently she saw women in public space. The only women she saw in the marketplace were from the lowest class and slaves. She states that they were "wrapped in grave-cloths." The one exception she notes is the unveiled Berber women. There seems to have been a stark contrast between Morocco and France's other North African colonies. Edith Wharton makes a reference to the lack of the "dancing-girls whose brilliant dresses enliven certain streets of Algerian and Tunisian towns." The upper class women "never leave their harems except to be married or buried." During

[175] Porch, 32-33.

street festivals women were also absent, except from the rooftops where they looked out at the festivities of the day.[176]

Edith Wharton's take on the situation of women in Morocco is very interesting. She seems taken aback by the idea that women were relegated to remaining in the home. However, according to Douglas Porch Moroccan women saw this issue differently than Wharton. According to him, women preferred to stay in the home and be hidden behind a veil. Imagining themselves outside of this setting was as foreign to them as their never leaving their homes was to Edith Wharton.

To the outside observer, the picture of Arab women in pre-colonial and colonial Morocco is one of seclusion. They have a small space and even their person is covered from the public. Many European sources contend that there is a lack of any significant information about women because they were difficult to observe during this period. Women's space, whether Muslim or Jewish, was mainly sacred and hidden from the observing eye. The only groups that seem to have penetrated this mold even a little are the slave and servant women who were allowed in public, but they still covered themselves. Only Berber women did not necessarily veil in public.

Leading up to the nationalist movement, there began to be a change in how women were perceived, and women began to cross traditional spatial barriers. In April of 1947, the new resident-general, Eirik Labonne, gave the Sultan Mohammed Hassan permission to travel to Tangiers. There he and his daughter, Lalla Aisha, gave various speeches on Arab unity and Islam. During these speeches, Lalla Aisha left her hair uncovered. She was praised by younger Moroccan women for having a more modern

[176] Edith Wharton, In Morocco (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 51-52.

outlook. This change in perceptions of women continued as the protectorate began to wane.[177]

1. Nationalist Movement

With the nationalist movement came a new role for women. Lalla Aisha was not the only Moroccan woman who found a place in the rejection of French rule. Though women were not as prominent in the street during this period as men were, women were still active participants. Many women would call out from their rooftops at the soldiers below. When this was not effective enough, some women would take the stones they used to stretch drying clothing out and throw them at the French soldiers. This resulted in the French being granted permission to shoot at the women on the rooftops.[178]

Women became more involved as the nationalist movement continued. Once independence was achieved, women's work did not stop. Their struggle went from independence from the French, to independence from the difficulties of underdevelopment. King Muhammad V worked closely with the nationalist women and had some of them come to the palaces to educate his children. The women's nationalist goals were to improve literacy rates and school attendance through scholarship programs. These women also received international recognition when a delegation was sent to Moscow for an international youth conference and to Damascus for the first congress of Arab women. Lalla Aisha was present at the conference in Damascus.[179]

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[177] Pennell, Morocco: From Empire to Independence, 159.

[178] Alison Baker, Voices of Resistance: Oral Histories of Moroccan Women (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 24-25.

[179] *Ibid*, 28-29.

Though women were becoming more visible in the public sphere, their presence remained very limited in the decades after independence. The women's movements worked more towards aiding the poor and toeing the government line rather than towards empowering women. The goal of the programs these women initiated was to improve the economic situation in Morocco, not to push a feminist agenda.[180]

2. Women in Public Space Today

Today Moroccan women's place in public has expanded quite a bit. With *les villes nouvelles* now being open to Moroccans, there has been a change in women's place in public. Though not all women go out, it is now accepted for women to be in some cafes and to be seen in the street. However, there is a stark difference between women in the *medinas* and women in *les villes nouvelles*.

a. Streets

According to traveler's logs, such as that of Edith Wharton, women during the French colonial period, with the exception of slaves, were missing from the streets. This is not the case today. However, even with the change in spatial divisions for women, Moroccan women still walk a fine line. A street is not a place for women to linger as it is for men. It is a means to get from one place to another. For men, on the other hand, the street is an extension of their social circle. They can sit outside a café for hours without a problem. Women are seen on the streets going from one place to another, wearing fashionable clothes, but trying not to draw too much attention to them. Their fear is that

[180] *Ibid*, 39.

they may appear improper, or even be mistaken for prostitutes. Harassment by men is still a large problem in many areas.[181]

b. Cafes

The cafes, another traditionally male-dominated sphere, are a place where women can now be found. This occurs more frequently in *les villes nouvelles* than the *medinas*. Also, there are still some cafes at which women are not allowed. There are a variety of reasons for this, including that they are dirty or may serve alcohol. When men were interviewed about allowing women in cafes in Fez, many stated that women would not feel comfortable in dirty cafes, although what constituted a dirty cafe was debated. Some felt that dirty meant lower class. These cafes would be full of smoke and probably physically dirty as well. Other men meant dirty because of the type of people they attracted. Many higher class cafes were known meeting spots for prostitutes, and men felt that respectable women should not go there.[182]

3. Prostitution

Another area of women's space is the non-physical space of prostitution. The earliest mention of Jewish prostitution in Marrakech is from 1626. In this instance, as well as subsequent mentions of prostitution, women turned to prostitution after a time of epidemic and famine. In order to combat this in the Jewish sector, women and girls who engaged in the practice were faced with excommunication. However, this seems to have been a weak deterrent for those who chose to sell themselves. Another circumstance

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181 *Ibid.*, 140-141.

182 *Ibid.*

which made women more likely to enter this lifestyle was abandonment. Women who found themselves alone and having to provide for not only themselves, but also their children, had few other options.[183] Women in these types of situations had to cross traditional economic spatial barriers and become an economic force to support themselves. Under normal circumstances, women were economically supported by men. Even among the lower class population, most women who had to work to help support themselves and their families found other means to do so without resorting to prostitution.

In regards to the spatial distribution of prostitution, at least in Marrakech, Jewish women seem to have worked as prostitutes not only in the *mellah* but the *medina* as well, although this idea is contested in some sources. This indicates that women who became prostitutes crossed the spatial barrier that was created between the Muslim and Jewish population. Though prostitution was not limited to Jewish women, it was a reason given for not allowing Muslim women in the *mellah*. It was believed that if Muslim women entered the *mellah* it would jeopardize their reputations. As a result of this belief, the proposition for building a new entry that went directly from the *mellah* in Marrakech to the *medina*, instead of going through the *kasbah*, was rejected.[184]

Today prostitution still exists in Morocco. In Fez, women see prostitution as a viable option when other sources of employment are not available. This is especially true for divorced women. If a woman were to remarry, her first husband could take custody of the children. As a result, many women look to domestic work as an alternative, but they say that the line between domestic work and prostitution is blurred. Many women

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183 Gottreich, 81.

184 *Ibid.*, 82.

who do domestic work for families are forced into prostitution by the men in the house. If they refuse they can be beaten or fired, leaving with them with even fewer options.[185]

Women's space has evolved over time. Though there were always aspects of women's space that were a gray area, such as the space of lower class women and that of prostitution, women's space now generally includes more than merely the home. Women can now enter cafes, are seen in the streets, and are more educated than they have ever been in Morocco. Not only have small pockets of women in Morocco been able to cross spatial barriers, but women's space in general in Morocco has morphed since the colonial period. The nationalist movement was a turning point for Moroccan women. It gave them a larger place in the public realm of society and expanded their space and their identity beyond the traditional sphere of the home. However, women's space is still more limited than men's space in Morocco.

VII. Space in Morocco

Throughout history, the way space is defined in Morocco and what it means to the Moroccan people has changed drastically. The boundary lines have been perpetually shifting and in turn so has the identity of the people. The coming of French colonialism in Morocco was a major catalyst for many of the changes in space and has left a lasting legacy on the country.

The layout of the country changed completely with the French colonial policy of association. The Berbers became more attached to their Arab Islamic counterparts as the French tried to assimilate the Berbers rather than use the new method of association when colonizing their space. The traditional divide between the urban areas and the rural areas

[185] Rachel Newcomb, Women of Fes: Ambiguities of Urban Life in Morocco (Philadelphia, university of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 80-81.

was deepened in some ways as a result of the French choosing to colonize the two areas in different ways.

The French changed the physical layout of urban centers by constructing parallel cities to the traditional *medinas* and maintaining the structural integrity of the original *medinas* through preservation efforts. There was a distinct space for the colons and a separate distinct space for the Muslims living in the urban areas. Both were regulated through colonial policy and the differences can still be observed today in Morocco.

Jews went from being integrated into mainstream Moroccan society to being segregated into their own space prior to colonization by the French. Then, with the coming of French colonialism, the Jewish population moved not only out of their traditional sectors to *les villes nouvelles*, but eventually a majority of the Jewish population left Morocco completely. They left to go abroad to various places in Europe, Israel, and even the United States.

Even though much of Moroccan space seemed to be very distinct with clear separation between different segments of the population, there were still gray areas. First, there were the slums, which evolved as a direct outgrowth of French colonization. The slums, or *bidonvilles*, were established outside of *les villes nouvelles* and were places where those with the least economic means made their homes. Second, women's space not only had gray areas, such as that of the slave or poorer population and that of prostitution, but women's space also slowly evolved from almost predominately private to being able to enter the public realm as they joined the nationalist movements in the 1950s and aided in the push for decolonization.

The divisions in Morocco's space over the course of its history may seem distinct, but one cannot categorize the people of Morocco into predetermined stereotypes. Morocco's historical changes and unique qualities helped shape the identity of its people and the identity of the country before, during, and after colonization.

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