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Colonial Legacies in Morocco's Urban Spaces: Policies of Modernization and Preservation

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Colonial Legacies in Morocco's Urban Spaces:
Policies of Modernization and Preservation

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Abstract

Globalization has touched Morocco through the historical process of colonization. Though the colonizer has left, a relationship remains and Morocco like many other countries is far too entangled in the global system of economics and politics to withdrawal. The restructuring of urban spaces and the preservation of cultural and historical sites have contributed to the country's economic dependence on and the expansion of the tourist industry at the expense of local communities and certain industries. Culture has become a commodity that is profitable and thus countries besides Morocco continue to present an inauthentic and static experience for visitors that perpetuates stereotypes.

Introduction

Colonialism has been historically far-reaching and has touched nearly every corner of the earth, contributing to its global significance. Policies of colonial administrations were designed to affect most aspects of everyday life in order to assert control and to promote efficiency in serving the needs of the metropole. This included the urban projects of important cities. France's empire and imperial ventures spanned across Europe, Asia, the Americas, and Africa. Morocco was a protectorate of France and urban planning policies and projects of the French colonial administration were important in the shaping of the Morocco that exists today. My own interest in this field of research emerged after my own experiences studying and traveling in Morocco. The numerous preserved sites increased my interest in the policies that made them possible and has raised important questions that have guided my research. It is important to explore not only how Morocco and local communities were immediately affected, but also what the lasting impacts have been. In doing so, a clearer picture of Morocco begins to emerge.

Research Question

What are the impacts of urban space policies of the French colonial administration on urban spaces and their communities, both past and present, and how have they helped shape the Morocco of today?

Methodology

For my research, I incorporated both qualitative and quantitative data. Both types of data were useful in illustrating the methods used by the French to restructure the Moroccan urban space to suit their needs and the impacts that this has had on Morocco and is still having to this very day.

A large portion of my data is qualitative. Some of the data that I have found important is the actual policies that the French colonial government had in Morocco. By looking at the primary documents from this period of colonialism the intent of the colonizers can be observed directly without any outside interpretation. Specifically, the policies of Lyautey, whose primary focus was the preservation of the medina and the modernization of the remaining urban space. Comparing the policies in the two different spaces gives insight into why cities were divided into two zones, old and new. The new constructions were meant to bring a stark contrast between the modernity of the French and the perceived backwardness of the Arabs and other groups residing in Morocco. Additionally, it is important to look at the documents that pertain to the preserved sites. In many cases, the preserved sites held no major significance to the local population and thus were not being preserved. However, they were still preserved by the French for posterity and the opportunity of future generations to enjoy Morocco for centuries to come without ever changing.

For other parts of my research, I have found quantitative data. Some data is about the economy and the tourist industry to see the reliance of Morocco on tourism and other data shows the origins of the tourists who are coming to Morocco to draw on the continued relationship between the former colonizing power and its protectorate. This stems from the French colonial empire and its preservation of sites. The tourists that visit Morocco are still predominantly from Europe, mainly France and Spain (who both share a colonial past with Morocco). Additionally, there is quantitative data that shows the impact of the tourist industry on local industries in the cities that attract the largest numbers of visitors.

Additionally, my research is informed by my own personal experiences in Morocco. I had the opportunity to study and travel in Morocco over a period of four months. During this

time, I took a course titled “Modern Imperialism and its Culture” and its aim was to explore different aspects of imperialism and colonialism. This course in addition to discussion with its professor, who specializes in North Africa and colonial policies, helped frame my understanding of the region and its history.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical perspective that I have used in framing my capstone combines the works and theories of Edward Said, Karl Marx, and Arjun Appadurai. These theorists individually present ideas about culture, commodification, and globalization. When combined, their theories can be used to explain French colonial urban projects and their effects on the Moroccan urban space.

Edward Said’s theory of orientalism provides background for the fetishization of culture. The primary focus of his book *Orientalism*, in which his theory is developed, is the cultural representation of “The East”. These representations show the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in which the latter is exoticized. The creation of the “other” plays a role in the power dynamic between the colonizer and the colonized. In the case of North Africa and the Middle East, Arab culture is both romanticized and all the while undermined as being inferior to that of the West. Stereotypes are perpetuated and the contrast between East and West is further exaggerated. The tales of exotic lands and people also create curiosity. Individuals hoping to find adventure in far off places are drawn in to see for themselves just how different they are (Said, 1978).

The theory of commodification has its origins in the theories of Karl Marx. For Marx, commodities and commoditization are a part of what is wrong with the capitalist system of economics. It is the process by which goods, services, and labor become commodities. It is also a

process through which exploitation occurs. In order for this to happen, a value must be assigned. This value becomes a monetary value which is then something that can be exchanged for another thing of value. For Marx, commodification is a form of capitalism and is a part of the political and economic system (Muchie, et al., 2006).

Arjun Appadurai uses Marx's theory of commodification and applies it to globalization and culture. He emphasizes that in order for culture to become a commodity, someone has the power to decide that it has value. Without that assigned value, there is no economic value. Appadurai presents a critique of Marx, stating that commoditization of a good depends on its social potential and he broadens Marx's theory to include anything that is intended to be exchange and not just manufactured goods. The meaning and value that becomes associated with a commodity becomes a driving force for human transactions (Appadurai, 1986).

By having an understanding of why and how the "other" and culture are fetishized, it becomes more clear how they are commoditized. In exaggerating differences and painting an image of a place and people so vastly different from the colonizer, value is assigned. That value then becomes economic.

Literature Review

The subject of my research is the impact of colonialism on the urban space of Morocco. My research has focused on the modernization and more importantly preservation of sites throughout Morocco and what the impact was both immediately and if there are any long term effects still being felt. The sources used include primary sources which detail the policies of France in its protectorate and the individuals behind these policies. Additional sources show similarities in other parts of the world that have been similarly exploited and have felt some of the same effects.

The first grouping of sources introduces Hubert Lyautey as a key figure in the French colonial empire in relation to the planning and implementation of urban projects and the preservation of sites. As indicated by Berenson, Lyautey was specially selected to preside over the French protectorate of Morocco. This was in part to his military capabilities which were deemed necessary to maintain control over the country and its people. As a charismatic leader, he did not face strong disapproval in Morocco (Berenson, 2010). One of the lasting impacts of Lyautey, as cited by Ling, is his urban projects. While many projects focused on the modernization of Moroccan cities, Lyautey also thought it important to preserve sites like the medinas for posterity. The result was cities divided into new and old, and this is still visible to this day (Ling, 1974).

Following the exploration of important individuals, it is important to understand the French policies concerning urban space themselves. Derderian notes that with France's empire stretching across Africa, Asia, and the Americas, there were some policies that were common across its empire. A colony's main purpose was without a doubt to benefit the metropole. This was true for the available resources, the economy, and use of space, especially if it was to be inhabited by the colonizing power. In some cases, this meant the reassignment of value (Derderian, 2003). Betts discusses France's shift from assimilation to association. This overall policy guided all forms of colonial interaction, including the implementation of urban planning projects (Betts, 2006). Wagner views these policies as being crucial in establishing their own power in the colony and as a way of ensuring control over the population. In effect, these policies were not only meant to bring immediate economic benefit to the metropole but to maintain its position of power in the future (Wagner, 2010). Wright discusses France's colonial policies, especially those of Lyautey. She points out the clear intentions of the French to divide

the old and the new parts of the city in order to serve their own purposes. While they claimed that their preservation of historical sites was an appreciation of history and cultural heritage, colonial urban projects disturbed the urban space surrounding these sites. Wright also partially attributes the fall of the French colonial empire to their policies pertaining to urban space (Wright, 1987).

The next group of sources focus on the medina in Fès. The old city of Fès is the largest and oldest preserved medina in all of Morocco, standing apart from the Ville Nouvelle which was created by the French. While the restoration of the medina has often been hailed as an important project that aims to preserve a historical monument of great importance, Bocquet raises several important questions in his article. He presents information on the displacement of local artisans and a number of households who have thus been replaced by a slew of restaurants, cafes, and hotels which cater to the tourist industry (Bocquet, 2013). Locals are not only not benefiting from these projects but their way of life is being disrupted (Restoring Fez's Medina, 1998). Holden furthers this argument by presenting a different perspective. She asserts that the sites that been preserved were of no deep significance to the local community and that their state of disrepair prior to the restoration projects of the French was actually a sign of this. Not only did the French chose sights to preserve arbitrarily, but they were not above constructing their own structures to suit their visions (Holden, 2008). Of course there are opposing viewpoints, one of which is presented by Kimmelman. He argues that had it not been for restoration projects, the medina of Fès would be in the same state of disarray and disrepair as other medinas across the country. These projects also serve to revitalize the community (Kimmelman, 1998). The final article in this grouping discusses the preservation and maintaining of authenticity of heritage sites in general. Restoration projects and tourism have gone hand in hand but this also threatens

the authenticity of heritage sights. They have remained unchanged in some cases but now they cater primarily to tourists (Alberts, 2010).

In addition to Fès, other major cities in Morocco have experienced similar urban projects. The first city which Wagner describes as a laboratory of the French is the Moroccan capital of Rabat. Beyond the old medina, preserved in the time of Lyautey, Rabat is a modern city. This is also attributed to the projects of Lyautey. While Rabat was partially preserved as a site of historical importance, the majority of the city was modernized by French standards. The impacts of this modernization led to the displacement of many local and it is still felt today (Wagner, 2014). Another tourist hotspot examined by Bigio is Marrakech. It is also filled with preserved sites. The emphasis on tourism in Marrakech has changed the local industries. Many artisans now operate with the hopes of producing goods to be sold to the increasing numbers of tourists (Bigio, 2010). An important issue that is raised by Miller regards sacred space. Sacred spaces in Morocco, such as those of religious significance in Tangier, have been repurposed as attractions (Miller, 2001).

Colonial policies in the urban space have influenced industry and economic development in Morocco, helping to shape what it has become, as demonstrated by the next group of sources. In 2014, the unemployment rose to nearly 10% in Morocco. Some of this can be attributed to the continued losses in traditional manufacturing sectors. This includes industries such as textiles and other artisanal fields that have faced increasing competition due to increased participation in global markets (Morocco Economy, 2015). Additionally, growth in tourism has been tremendous. Tourism as an industry as indicated by Blass has made it a larger contributor to Morocco's GDP. Growth in this industry have been laid out by the government and will continue to increase its importance (Blass, 2012).

The following sources discuss how orientalism play a role in the process of commodification of culture and history. Mitchell presents the three factors which are necessary: essentialism, otherness, and absence. Essentialism refers to the understanding of an unchanging racial essence, while otherness is the magnification and exaggeration of difference, and absence refers to lack of reason or logic. This paves the way for orientalism and allows for the representation of the world to be channeled into museums, architecture, schooling, tourism, and the fashion industry. An example that he gives of commodification of everyday life is the exhibit of Egypt in 1889, where the streets of Cairo are replicated to present all of the old aspects of the city (Mitchell, 2004). Barrell also discusses orientalism and commodification in Egypt, though he focuses on literature as a source. The tourist industry in Egypt experienced tremendous growth due to the imposition of the British and so did the production of tourist literature. The writings on the topics promised experiences of exotic and ancient sites, though in reality many were underwhelmed by the actual experiences (Barrell, 1991).

Morocco is far from the only country that has experienced commodification. This group of sources deal with similar circumstances and their impact on local communities. Roland performs a case study of Cuba and its tourist industry. Though Cuba has progressed past common stereotypes, the tourists that it attracts still have expectations of what they are going to see. To satisfy their desires, the local community puts on an act (Roland, 2010). Wei additionally examines the relationship between host country and tourists by focusing on China's tourist industry. This particular article uses the term self-orientalism which is fitting for all of the cases involved. The local community is forced to play up a narrative that has been produced about their culture and assume it as though it is based in fact (Wei, 2018).

The final group of sources are important for establishing a theoretical framework that can be used to analyze the case of Morocco and additionally a critique that argues for change. Orientalism, as presented by Said, details the fetishization of culture and the “othering” that occurs in colonial interactions. The emphasis on exoticism makes the East a candidate for further exploration and exploitation (Said, 1978). Marx’s theory of commodification was originally an analysis of the process by which labor and workers become a commodity in a capitalistic system. In this system, labor is assigned to workers and the labor that they offer, thus becoming a commodity to be traded (Muchie, et al., 2006). Appadurai provides a critique of Marx’s theory of commodification and build upon it. He expands the theory to include the commodification of culture and heritage. He emphasizes the assignment of value to culture that makes it a commodity with a value that can be transformed into a monetary value (Appadurai, 1986). A criticism which can be applied to the practice of preservation comes from the work of Appiah. He suggests that globalization has led to a fear of homogeny, though fighting it does not allow for natural progression and transformation. Preservation of culture hampers progress and may in fact have negative consequences (Appiah, et al., 2006).

Findings

France’s conquest of North Africa began in the 1830s and most of the Maghreb fell under the influence of the French colonial empire. The French protectorate in Morocco was established in 1912 and remained in place until Morocco gained full independence in 1956 (). Throughout this period, a number of projects were carried out by the French. These projects were meant to reconfigure the urban space to suit the needs and desires of the French while both modernizing portions of Moroccan cities and preserving other parts for posterity. In the case of

Morocco, the reshaping of the urban space in the colonial period has had lasting impacts, many of which can still be seen today.

Urban planning projects were not an uncommon feature of the French colonial empire. Throughout its colonies in Indochina, Madagascar, and of course North Africa, France laid out numerous projects with similar intentions (Derderian, 2003). In Morocco, one of the key figures was Hubert Lyautey. Lyautey was a general in the French army and following his service in both Indochina and Madagascar, he became a colonial administrator in Morocco (Ling, 1974). He presided over Morocco in a manner which was not met with great hostility as he strived to move past using force alone and he was not greatly disliked. He instead tried to present Morocco with a vision of a better future under the guidance of the French empire (Berenson, 2010). This vision involved the reorganization of Morocco's urban space. For that he enlisted the help of French architect, Henri Prost, and began to lay out plans for Morocco's major cities (Berenson, 2010). One of their biggest successes would be Casablanca, a city which grew almost overnight to become an urban masterpiece with a population larger than any other city in Morocco. Urban projects in Morocco revolved around the concept of "dual city" and reflected the French policy of association (Ling, 1974). In short, while old parts of the city remained, modernization of major cities came to the forefront. French modernity and style was imbued into construction plans, the likes of which can still be seen in cities like Rabat. Development was also important to cater to an influx of French nationals in Morocco (Wagner, et al., 2014). Urban projects also reflected the need to serve the growing populations in cities of both incoming Europeans and Moroccan in search of new opportunities. New residential buildings, administrative buildings, plazas, and parks began to appear throughout cities. This, however, was not the only purpose that urban projects served. They were also meant to reinforce the power and control of the

French (Wagner, 2010). New constructions were built with everything in mind including military strategy for controlling the populations. The main purpose overall was ultimately to serve the metropole.

In addition to constructing new and modern sections of city, urban projects also had another objective: preserve cultural and historical sites. Lyautey's conception of "dual city" meant that while new sites would go up, the indigenous communities were to be disturbed as little as possible. This policy was described as being in the "best interest" of Moroccans, as to preserve the beauty and history of Moroccan architecture (Wright, 1987). Lyautey and urban planners enacted projects that simultaneously modernized the city while also creating pockets of untouched sites. Sites of historic importance would remain and around them, symbols of French modernity would creep up, in effect ruining that authenticity that they claimed to want to preserve. The stark contrast between the two sites reflects the difference that the French were attempting to emphasize between their own modernity and capabilities to that of the local population. The French administration still presented the beneficiaries of such projects as being the local communities (Wright, 1987). Though does not align with the rest of the colonial administration's policies which most greatly benefit colonials in Morocco and those of the metropole. These policies were beneficial to Europeans in Morocco, while local communities often experienced further racial and class divisions (Holden, 2008). Additionally, of the sites that were preserved by the French, not all were of significance to Moroccans (Holden, 2008). Many sites, specifically in the medina of Fès, were in disrepair when they were encountered by the French. This includes old madrasas which have since been repaired and preserved for exhibition (Bocquet, 2013). The French were able to dictate with their policies, where change

was permitted to happen and where it was not. Till this day, the medina in Fès and other preserved sites remain static, unchanged.

Though it has been more than fifty years since the departure of the French colonial administration from Morocco, the policies have remained and evolved. The impact is still being felt by local communities, as they have become an almost integral part of Morocco and its identity.

One of the major issues that has arisen due to urban planning projects in Morocco has been the displacement of locals. The example of Rabat- Salè one that is presented. The capital, Rabat, is today a modern city which is a product of Lyautey's management. He and other planners failed to predict the housing crisis that would result in both Rabat and neighboring Salè (Wagner, et al., 2014). Development and a push for modernization in Rabat may have been viewed as successful, but in reality, thousands were pushed out of newly developed projects. This issue has persisted to this day with lack of necessary housing and spillover into Salè. Another example is the medina in Fès as it stands today. Rising costs of living in the medina has caused some its residents to be pushed out of the preserved site (Restoring Fez's Medina, 1998). Costs of living in the famed medina have risen exponentially, in part due to the cost of maintenance. As a heritage site, buildings are meant to maintain certain facades and face restrictions when it comes to change. Additionally, this increased cost also comes from the demand for space in the ancient medina. Demand comes from both those hoping for space to be used for business purposes, such as hotels or restaurants, and it comes from those hoping to establish a vacation home.

Urban planning policies have in turn contributed to loss of industry in Morocco. This loss has primarily been felt in artisanal industries. Urban planning policies were focused on creating a

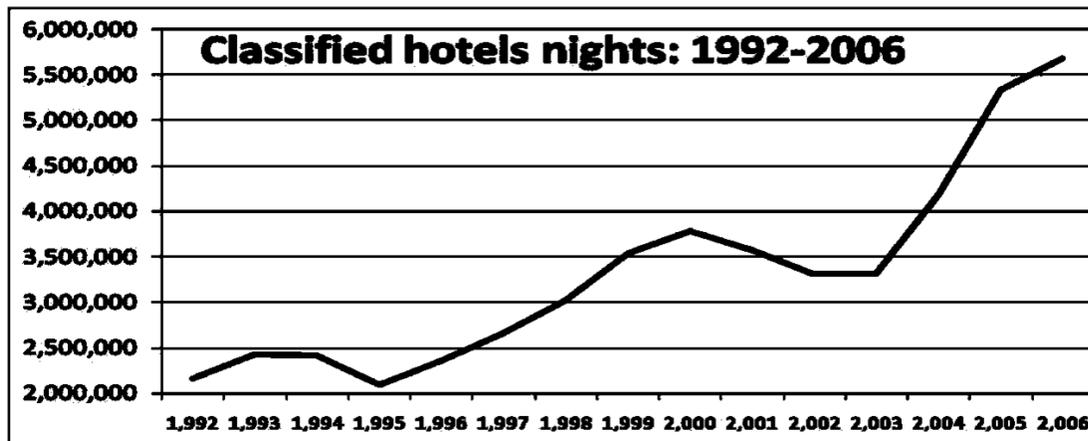
space conducive of contributing to the needs of the colonizer (Wright, 1987). New urban development supported the businesses that were run by and catered to Europeans, both within and outside of Morocco (Kimmelman, 1998). Some may argue that this has played a role in boosting Morocco’s economy but it also made the country more dependent on the flow of foreign capital. Local industries suffered as a result of this development. Professions that were once capable of supporting the locals became insufficient, especially as the move to newly developed cities like Casablanca were occurring (Morocco Economy, 2015). As populations moved to the quickly expanding cities, they left behind the arts and traditions that once sustained them.

Figure 1: Airline Passengers to Marrakesh

| | 2006 | 2005 | 2004 | 2003 | 2002 | 2001 | 1995 |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Marrakesh – all passengers | 2,648,742 | 2,195,899 | 1,667,267 | 1,368,281 | 1,349,363 | 1,393,015 | 675,548 |
| Domestic passengers | 272,495 | 305,030 | 273,339 | 246,858 | 286,145 | 308,201 | 157,697 |
| International passengers | 2,324,348 | 1,847,628 | 1,345,460 | 1,066,814 | 1,038,075 | 1,063,487 | 497,749 |

Source: Bigio, A. G. (2010). National Airports Office.

Figure 2: Classified Hotel Nights, 1992-2006



Source: Bigio, A. G. (2010). Information compiled from the Annuaire du Maroc directory.

These policies have not just signified a decline in industry, but they have also meant an expansion in a new industry, the tourist industry. Since its time as a protectorate, Morocco has become a travel destination for numerous tourists seeking adventure. Advertised as a taste of “the Orient” with its rich culture and traditions, Morocco’s attractiveness stems from its designated seat as part of “the Orient” and its relatively safety for travelers. Figure 1 examines the number of airline passengers to fly into Marrakech between the years of 1995 and 2006. In those 11 years, the number of international passengers rose from 497,749 to 2,324,348, indicating a 366.97% increase (Bigio, 2010). This growth is indicative of the exponential growth in the interest of foreigners to visit Morocco. Figure 2 presents the number of nights travelers have spent in hotels during their stays in Marrakech between the years of 1992 and 2006. The numbers indicate that in general, numbers have been trending upwards, indicating more time spent in Marrakech by travelers (Bigio, 2010). With the crowds of tourists becoming larger each year, the Moroccan government has given more focus to increasing profits from tourism. This comes as no surprise considering that tourism has become the second-largest contributor to Morocco’s GDP and the second-largest job creator in Morocco, with there being 400,000 individuals employed in the industry directly and a significantly larger number in secondary employment (Blass, 2012). Mohammed IV, the king of Morocco, along with the Moroccan government envision an expansion of the tourism sector, doubling it by 2020 from 7.9 million tourists recorded in 2010 (Blass, 2012).

Research findings suggest that there is evidence that the urban space policies of the French colonial administration have had significant impacts on local communities in Morocco. The effects have not been limited to the past and continue to shape Morocco’s urban spaces. It

has meant significant changes in the lives of many Moroccans, especially when it comes to being a part of an industry that can sustain individuals and their families.

Analysis

The policies of France in Morocco in regards to urban planning serve as a continuation of their overall policies of association over those of assimilation. Until the conclusion of the 19th century, the French empire preferred the policy of assimilation, under which the French had a deeper involvement in the ruling of their colonies (Betts, 2006). Under this policy, the French hoped to spread their culture to all subjects under their rule. While some of these practices, including education and the promotion of the French language, continued the preferred policies in Morocco were those of association. The move from assimilation to association meant that the French were no longer trying to absorb native societies entirely. Exploitation of lands and people would continue, but they were able to retain some of their culture and traditions.

The policies that created a “dual city” are a continuation of the French policy of association. The development of cities occurred in a manner which surrounded the parts that were intended for preservation. A historic site could be completely surrounded by new projects, creating a stark contrast between the old and new, and yet colonial administrators would claim that they were preserving the historical integrity of such sites. Their expression of concern and desire to protect the cultural and historic heritage of Morocco supported their search for power under the policy of association. They were able to make the changes they wanted with development by making it seem as though they were not making great changes to the core of Morocco. By presenting their plans with a façade of respect and cultural appreciation, local communities are not forced to part immediately with their histories and traditions. However, this

does not mean that the colonizers were not using this as an opportunity to strengthen their control over the protectorate and its people.

One of the most significant and lasting impacts of French urban policies and projects has been the transition of culture being a part of a people's heritage to it becoming a commodity. The act of preserving sites during the colonial era was intended to preserve sites that the French deemed to be of significance for the sake of posterity. Not only was this done with little to no consideration for what was truly of value to the local communities, but it also served to promote the image of Morocco that the French wanted to portray. Morocco would be seen as the French intended it to be. They also intended for Morocco to become host to the European tourists who would flock to get a taste of the Orient and it was advertised as such. Preservation of sites made them more important than those that were not given the same consideration and so gave them more value. The French assigned value where they deemed necessary and created commodities that would generate a new industry.

The commodification of culture and historical heritage was encouraged by Western exhibitions, like that of the World Fairs and through literary works. World Fairs were touted as an educational experience, capable of exposing European populations to far off places like "the Orient" (Mitchell, 2004). Exhibits could include replicas of cities, local people, animals, food, and goods from the places being represented. An individual could visit such an exhibition and walk away thinking that they had indeed traveled to a different country and experienced all that it has to offer. Though an issue arises in regards to what is being presented. Mitchell's work explores a World Fair in Paris that featured an exhibition of Cairo (Mitchell, 2004). A group of Egyptians were invited to witness the exhibit for themselves and they described it as a representation of everything ancient about Cairo (Mitchell, 2004). In this unbalanced relationship

of power where colonizing powers have the ability to shape the perceptions and understandings of other countries and their populations. They also have the ability to generate public interest in those countries contributing to expanding tourism industry, all the while claiming it to be in the name of appreciation of cultural heritage. In one such exhibition, planners went as far as to create a mosque to enhance its accuracy. However, upon entering the mosque, visitors discovered a café (Mitchell, 2004). A mosque is a sacred space for those who enter within its walls to pray. Here it has been created with a façade of authenticity, however its purpose is to cater to those who may not necessarily have knowledge of or respect for this sacred space. In addition to exhibitions, literary works have also contributed to the commoditization of culture. Tourist literature became popular and anyone could become a source, providing insight into tourist hotspots and adding their own perspective to the conversation (Barrell, 1991). Adventures of such writers have propelled other to do the same. Even today such tourist literature is produced every day with greater ease than before. Bloggers detail their explorations of ancient sites and in many instances “the Orient” is still exoticized. In both, exhibitions and literature, cultural heritage has become a commodity that has attained a value and it has been translated into monetary value.

A similar case study examining Cuba was conducted by Roland. In Cuba, the tourist industry has contributed greatly to the economy, cementing its importance. Through this process, the commodification of culture and the perpetuation of stereotypes has played a major role. In Cuba’s case, it has been understood by local communities that tourists come with expectations of what they will see, and in order to maintain a beneficial relationship, the Cuban people must portray the image that is in demand (Roland, 2010). The result is a reproduction of a certain narrative and it ensures that perceptions of culture remain static. In these kinds of scenarios, the

hosts become self-orientalising (Wei, et al., 2018). In reality, the experience presented is no longer authentic. The same can be said for Morocco. Tourists arrive with preconceived ideas of what they will see and those who fit their vision have an easier time selling an experience. Due to this, the authenticity of what is presented becomes distorted.

Today, there are nine sites that are World Heritage Sites in Morocco, with an additional thirteen being considered (UNESCO World Heritage Centre). All of these sites are overseen by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), a western body. Many of the sites listed by UNESCO as sites of important cultural heritage were preserved during the period of French colonialism (Holden 2008). With that being the case, they continue to preserve and perpetuate a colonial narrative. This is problematic in that power remains in the hands of the dominant few. Shaping the cultural heritage and history of the country lies in the hands of those not necessarily a part of the local communities whose history and culture they actually represent.

During its colonization, Morocco's cultural heritage became a commodity. This was supported by global trends of fetishizing "the Orient". While some claimed that interest was generated as a means of appreciation of culture and was for the education of a larger audience, commoditization of culture has contributed to its demand in global markets. Tourism is a growing industry which depends on preservation of cultural and sites of cultural heritage in many cases. Increased dependence on this particular industry leaves countries like Morocco in a position that nearly demands that they provide what it is that people want to see. As a result, the perception of cultures may become distorted from what it is in reality and people's views remain static.

Conclusion

After examining the case of Morocco, a few questions arise. Is it possible to authentically preserve cultural heritage sites? The culture of a group is most likely rooted in history and tradition, but preservation requires culture to remain unchanged. In reality, this is unrealistic, as culture is changing and developing as society changes around it. Making it necessary for communities to remain static may be harmful than beneficial. Can the industry of tourism be more than just exploitive in nature? Changing what the tourism industry is would be extremely difficult because of its core nature. Countries will continue to rely on tourism because of the economic benefits, so it is important for individuals to consider how they can be ethical tourists. As consumers, tourists have the power to change what it is demanded and eventually perhaps the entire industry. This includes taking greater consideration for tourism in sites of religious importance (Miller, 2001). Is it possible for these spaces to be reclaimed by local communities? For this to happen, it is important for bodies like UNESCO to have less of a say in sites of cultural heritage. Local communities must have a say in what is being preserved, as it is them who are directly affected. Perhaps it is time to consider what preservation of sites and culture really means. As Appiah suggests, contamination of culture should not be feared and homogeny should not be perceived as strictly negative (Appiah, et al., 2006). Globalization has made the world increasingly more interconnected and the transformation and evolution of culture should not be a negative.

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