Cosmopolitan Continuities: The Re-Framing of Historic Architecture and Urban Space in Contemporary Morocco (1990-Present)

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**Introduction:**

In major Moroccan cities, there is not one historic neighborhood, but rather several. There is the *medina*, or the walled Islamic city, with its maze-like network of narrow streets, bazaars, fountains, and neighborhood mosques. Outside the medina walls, there is the colonial city built under the French and Spanish protectorates- called the *ville nouvelle* and *ensanche*, respectively. These neighborhoods sharply contrast with the medina, with their wide tree-lined boulevards and tall buildings with ornamented facades. But these classifications hardly convey the scope of the histories that inhabit the Moroccan citiescape. A small portion of the medina is called the *mellah*, or the neighborhood where Moroccan Jews used to live before mass-immigration. In general, the medina’s architectural styles cannot only be classified as “Islamic” or “Arab,” as the landscape also reflects the Amazigh (Berber), Jewish, Andalusian, Ancient, Ottoman, and European influences that Morocco has seen over time.

In this study, I argue that two separate elite coalitions of state officials, architects, artists, academics, and activists in the Moroccan cities of Tetouan and Rabat frame their historic architecture and urban spaces (from before Moroccan independence) as demonstrating the city and nation’s enduring cosmopolitanism. By framing their urban heritage, and subsequently their history as cosmopolitan, this elite coalition asserts that Morocco has always been multicultural, tolerant, and open to new ideas. This allows Moroccans to more effectively insert themselves into contemporary global capital and cultural flows while *simultaneously* promoting a sense of national and local identity. This identity is grounded in the idea of “Moroccan exceptionalism,” where locals define Morocco as a unique crossroads of cultures between the Middle East, Africa, and Europe.
I use the cities of Tetouan and Rabat as case studies because of their unique histories. First, both cities are good examples of the architectural legacies of Morocco’s historic cosmopolitanism. In ancient times, they were inhabited by ethnic groups such as Mauritanians, Phonecians, Amazighen (Bebers), and Romans, and religious communities of Jews and Chrisitans. Following the Islamic conquest of North Africa in the 7th century, the cities became largely inhabited by Arabs, Jews, large quantities of refugees from the Iberian Peninsula after the Christian reconquest of the 16th century, and immigrants from other parts of Morocco and North Africa. Most distinctively, Tetouan and Rabat were the capitals of the Spanish and French protectorates, respectively, from 1912 to 1956. Spanish and French rule resulted in a sophisticated architecture that blended European and Moroccan styles. As the former protectorate capitals, Tetouan and Rabat have some of the best surviving examples of this protectorate architecture in contemporary Morocco.

There are two additional reasons why Rabat and Tetouan are my case studies. Despite their rich architectural heritage, the historic built environment in both cities garnered less attention from state and society until the end of the 20th century. Historic preservation under the regime of King Hassan II (r. 1961-1999) was centered on more traditional “Islamic” sites like the medina of Fez (to be discussed further). Preservation movements in Tetouan began in 1990, after the local city council signed a partnership with the regional Andalusian government in southern Spain. The preservation movement in Rabat began in 2011, with its nomination and eventual inscription on UNESCO’s world heritage list. Thus, the time frame for my research is 1990 to the present. Finally, Rabat and Tetouan are almost polar opposites regarding their current levels

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1 From 1912-1956, Morocco was divided into the Spanish protectorate in the country's extreme north and south, and the French protectorate in the remainder of the territory. In essence, the French and Spanish controlled the politics and economy of their respective zones in return for protection during the war period.
of development and globalization: the former is already highly developed and continuing to do so, whereas Tetouan is much more impoverished and peripheralized.

In each city, I argue that the decisions to reframe, preserve, and promote historic sites as cosmopolitan are not the result of one actor or one type of actor, but rather a *coalition* of elite actors—state officials, architects, academics, artists and activists. A “coalition” is a political science term to describe “a group of actors that coordinate their behaviour in a limited and temporary fashion to achieve a common goal.”\(^2\) Members of coalitions can be state actors, such as local government offices, or non-state actors, like leaders of NGOs. Each group “retains their distinctive identity and interests, but the purpose of collaboration across all three is ultimately the same: to aggregate actors’ strengths to achieve some shared goal that none could achieve individually.”\(^3\)

In both cities, the two coalitions’ “shared goal” is portraying the city’s heritage as cosmopolitan. In Tetouan, From 1990 to the present, members of the city council partnered with the Andalusian government representatives to preserve the city’s built heritage, while NGO the Tetouan Asmir Association (TAA) and a group of young filmmakers spread knowledge of Tetouan’s heritage to local and international communities. These three branches of the Tetouani coalition have both overlapping and individual motives behind portraying historic urban spaces as cosmopolitan. For example, the TAA puts an emphasis on using these spaces to attract tourism, while the filmmakers care more about the political message cosmopolitanism sends. All of the coalition members agree that preserving these spaces promotes a national identity centered around a continuous cosmopolitanism since the beginning of the city’s history.

\(^3\) Ibid
A similar phenomena has and continues to occur in Rabat since 2011. A group of state officials and architects preserve Rabat’s heritage via their nomination to UNESCO’s world heritage list of protected sites. The Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé, a local government urban planning office, continues to preserve these historic spaces, while NGO members educate local communities and tourists on the history of these sites. While all groups portray Rabat’s historic buildings and spaces as enduringly cosmopolitan, they have different end goals. For example, the Urban Agency’s urban plans focus heavily on attracting global tourists, while the NGO is more concerned with cosmopolitanism’s potential to insert locals into global culture. All of the coalition members, like in Tetouan, agree that historic cosmopolitan urban spaces can be used to promote local or national identity.

For the basis of my research, I use a discourse and text analysis of a variety of primary sources from the two coalitions in each city. These sources include government documents (urban plans and proposals), organization websites, facebook pages, videos, blog posts, and architecture guides. Furthermore, in January of 2020, I conducted two weeks of fieldwork in Rabat, where I interviewed members of Rabat’s coalition. I focus on elites and experts in this study because they are instrumental to processes of urban preservation and development, not just in Rabat and Tetouan, but across Morocco. The majority of photos in this study are my own; I took the photos in Rabat during my two weeks of fieldwork. I also include photos that I took in the fall of 2018, the first time I went to Morocco, when I visited Tetouan and Northern Morocco for a week with my study abroad program. I personally translated any documents from Spanish to English, while I used google translate for French to English translations.

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4 This fieldwork in January of 2020 was generously funded by the Jere Bruner Research Grant in Politics, the Jerome Davis Grant, and the Oberlin MENA program.
**Literature review:**

In this study, I am in conversation with other scholars who discuss the political motivations for portraying historic urban spaces as cosmopolitan in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). My research is most similar to the book chapter co-written by architect Dalila el-Kaderny and urban planner Galila el-Kadi. Studying contemporary Cairo, they analyze the preservation efforts of a Cairene coalition of elite state and non-state actors in the historic “belle époque” district of Cairo (the zone constructed by the British protectorate and Turko-Circassian monarchy). El-Kaderny and El-Kady argue that the coalition portrays the “belle époque” architecture not as colonial or foreign, but rather a “golden age of urbane, liberal, cosmopolitan Arab creativity.” This is shown in the styles that perfectly synthesize both European Art Deco/Art Nouveau with Arabesque elements. The coalition includes state officials- primarily the ministry of culture and housing- who protect the buildings from being razed or altered. After official legislation, “Egyptian businesspeople, entrepreneurs, and shopkeepers” manage the spaces, converting them into museums or hotels, while “academics, historians, and “publicity campaigns have educated the public about the importance of these little-known sites and objects.”

On the one hand, the two Moroccan coalitions I lay out are very similar to the one El Kadi and El-Kaderny identify. Elite state and non-state actors have come to a consensus on

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6 Ibid, p. 345-347

7 Ibid
portraying the built environment as cosmopolitan. They promote this image with a mixture of legislation that protects the buildings, with showcasing and spreading knowledge about the buildings through media and spaces of consumption. However, in El-Kaderny and El-Kady’s study, they argue how the Cairene coalition points to one moment in Cairo’s history - the late 19th century/early 20th century - as demonstrating an ideal cosmopolitanism, which is “articulated during a time of economic and political decay.”8 In my study, the Moroccan coalition points to the city’s entire historic urban fabric over all periods of the city’s history as demonstrating an ideal cosmopolitanism. It is not only the areas that were built under European occupation that make Morocco cosmopolitan.

In her studies of Istanbul, professor of Geography Amy Mills argues that groups of “economic and cultural elites” portray historical spaces as cosmopolitan to make the city look “western” and “European.” By emphasizing how neighborhoods in Istanbul were historically diverse, with Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and European immigrants, it “sustains traditional upper class Kemalist notions of Turkish identity as secular, modern, and located in the West.” This identity can help Turkey make a case for joining the European union, which benefits these elites both politically and economically.9 In my study, Moroccans do not use historic urban spaces to argue that they are Western or European, but argue that cosmopolitanism is uniquely Moroccan. Even the French ville nouvelle in Rabat or the Spanish ensanche in Tetouan are framed by the coalitions as one further example of the cosmopolitanism that existed in Morocco centuries before modern European colonialism.

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Amy Mills also writes about how “everyday residents” of a historic minority neighborhood in Istanbul—rather than an elite coalition—frame historic urban spaces as cosmopolitan. By collectively remembering, preserving, and showcasing the neighborhood’s multicultural past (its former large numbers of Jewish, Greek, and Armenian residents) the locals imagine a different kind of Turkish nationalism. This nationalism is more “benign” than the current state leaders’ portrayal of Turkish identity as strictly ethnically Turkish and Muslim. While my study focuses on elites and experts rather than “ordinary” residents, I build upon Mills’ idea that portraying historic spaces as “cosmopolitan” and “tolerant” is a type of nationalism. I argue that cosmopolitanism is used to demonstrate Moroccan exceptionalism; while it may be more inclusive of minorities like Jews, Berbers, and Christians, it still promotes nationalism.

Geoffrey D. Porter discusses historic preservation and cosmopolitanism in the context of modern Morocco. In his study on historic preservation in contemporary Fez, Porter argues that the Moroccan private sector is the primary actor in framing the medina of Fez as cosmopolitan. While King Hassan II previously framed the medina of Fez as the most beautiful example of Moroccan Islamic identity, “according to the [contemporary] private sector interests, the heritage of Fez's medina is humanitarian, cosmopolitan and only incidentally associated with Islam.” The private sector's emphasis on the medina’s cosmopolitanism is not for any particular political reason, Porter argues, but rather to attract a wider variety of global tourists so business owners can accumulate profit.

In my study, I find that it is not only the entrepreneurial private sector—but also high ranking Moroccan state officials, local activists, architects, and academics who are stressing the cosmopolitanism of urban spaces. Furthermore, the coalitions that I identify in Rabat and Tetouan portray Moroccan Islam—inh its many iterations—as included in the layers of Moroccan cosmopolitanism. There were and are many different kinds of Muslims in Morocco (Berber Muslims, Andalusian Muslims, Arab Muslims, etc) in addition to non-Muslims. However, the most significant difference between my argument and Porter’s is that framing historic spaces as cosmopolitan can indeed be used for economic reasons, but it equally serves political interests. Furthermore, the political and economic are often intertwined.

**Moroccan cultural exceptionalism and the historic cityscape**

So what is Moroccan cultural exceptionalism?

King Hassan II famously stated in a speech that Morocco "a tree with its roots in Africa and its branches in Europe." Even Hassan II, who meticulously crafted an Islamic image for his nation, echoed this idea that had always circulated among Moroccans of the country being different from its MENA neighbors. Indeed, with its geographical location between Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, Moroccans always prided themselves on

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being- as Moroccan academic and policy analyst Mohamed Chtatou put it- “A True Melting Pot.”  

Chtatou gave an in depth analysis of what Moroccan cultural “exceptionalism” actually is in *Morocco World News* in 2019. The first reason that sets Morocco apart from the rest of the MENA region is its “Judeo-Amazigh” origins: “The Jewish people and Amazigh were both tribal, nomadic, matrilineal, and had democratically elected ruling bodies. Because of these similarities in tribal structures and the Jewish people’s ability to adapt to different cultures while holding onto their religious and cultural identity, the two groups flourished together.” Even when the Arab Muslim armies conquered Morocco in the 7th century, “the traditions of the Judeo-Amazigh society were already so established that many aspects of society remained the same,” including “the traditions of religious coexistence.” Second, Chtatou says Morocco was lucky to have “soft colonization” under French and Spanish rule. Because Morocco was a protectorate and not a colony, the European powers preserved Moroccan culture in addition to introducing their own. Thus, Moroccan and European cultures synthesized over the protectorate period in a way that didn’t occur elsewhere in the MENA region. While these discourses have circulated throughout Moroccan state and society before and after independence, the updated Constitution of 2011 officially codified this “exceptionalism”:

> A sovereign Muslim State...the Kingdom of Morocco intends to preserve, in its plentitude and its diversity, its one and indivisible national identity. Its unity, is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber [amazighe] and Saharan-Hassanic [saharo-hassanie] components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebraic and Mediterranean influences [affluents]. The preeminence accorded to the

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15 Ibid
Muslim religion in the national reference is consistent with [va de pair] the attachment of the Moroccan people to the values of openness, of moderation, of tolerance and of dialogue for mutual understanding between all the cultures and the civilizations of the world.\(^{16}\)

I argue that we can understand Moroccan “exceptionalism” as cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, the two coalitions in my study identify this cosmopolitanism in the historic built environment. As art historian Mirinaldi Rajagopalan argues, historic buildings and monuments can be used as “archives” by political actors to further contemporary political (and economic) goals.\(^{17}\) For example, Mirinaldi argues that the state can selectively draw upon certain histories of a monument or a neighborhood in order to craft a particular political identity.\(^{18}\) I thus extend Rajagopalan’s framework to contemporary urban Morocco. The coalitions in my study are using historic urban spaces- such as the Jewish quarters of Rabat and Tetouan, the French Ville Nouvelle of Rabat, and the Spanish Ensanche of Tetouan, as “archives” of Morocco’s deep-rooted cosmopolitanism.

**Cosmopolitanism and globalization: theoretical approaches**

Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah defines cosmopolitanism as “the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence... conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association.”\(^{19}\) Appiah further identifies what he calls “two strands of cosmopolitanism”- the first, “the idea that we have obligations to

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\(^{18}\) Ibid

others that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of shared citizenship.” The second, is that people should care about other cultures outside their own: “people are different, cosmopolitanism knows, and there is much to learn from our differences.”

A result of cosmopolitanism, Appiah argues, is cultural “contamination”—or the creation of a culturally, religiously, and linguistically heterogeneous society—which he argues is a good thing. Cultures are fluid and constantly incorporating new elements without losing their identity: “we do not need, have never needed, settled community, a homogeneous system of values in order to have a home.” The coalition in my study— in both Rabat and Tetouan—similarly emphasize Appiah’s positive view of “contamination” with regards to their historic sites. For example, the architecture of the medina of Tetouan is a hybrid of Andalusian, Arab, Amazigh, Ottoman, and Jewish styles. Through referencing historic architecture, the coalition claims such cosmopolitan “contamination” as authentic to Morocco.

I argue that promoting discourses of an enduring cosmopolitan “contamination” in the city’s architecture is the means in which the coalitions insert themselves into contemporary global capital and cultural flows. “Global flows” are how anthropologist Arjun Appadurai conceptualizes what has become known as globalization in the post cold-war world. Appadurai characterizes these flows into five “landscapes.” These are 1) “Ethnoscapes”—or people who travel around the world—“tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals.” 2) “Technoscapes”—technology used all over the world, 3)...

\[\text{\textsuperscript{20}} \text{Appiah. 2006 Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a Word of Strangers p. xv} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{21}} \text{Ibid, p.106} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{22}} \text{Ibid, p. 109-111} \]
financescapes- or the global markets, 4) Mediascapes- “the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film-production studios) and to the images of the world created by these media.” Finally-there are 5) “ideoscapes,” which are political and “have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it. These ideoscapes are composed of elements of the Enlightenment...freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and the master term ‘democracy.’”**

Geographer David Harvey would argue that one of the most prominent “global flows” is the “financescape,” or more precisely, the global nature of capitalism. Capitalists, Harvey argues, have a strong preference “towards the general reduction of spatial barriers,” for the sake of new markets and accumulation potential.** Furthermore, “geographical networks also have to be constructed to facilitate global capital financial flows connecting zones of capital surplus with regions of capital scarcity.”** Thus, Harvey’s definition of globalization is through the lens of neoliberalism- the mode of economic thinking that has perforated across the globe since the 1970s, that “proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade.”

In the context of my study, I refer to both Appadurai’s and Harvey’s theoretical frameworks of globalization when I refer to “global capital and cultural flows.” For example,

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26 Ibid, p. 45
global tourist markets are neoliberal capital flows, or a “financescape” that some of the coalition members hope to profit off of. In addition, tourists, and other foreign visitors who are drawn to the cities’ diverse architecture, constitute Appadurai’s “ethnoscape.” Finally, both coalitions’ discourses on diversity, multiculturalism, and tolerance can be understood as “ideoscapes.” Diversity and tolerance are, as Appadurai describes, “Enlightenment” ideals that are shared by societies across the contemporary borders, particularly in other cosmopolitan global cities.

Preservation, memory, and the framing of historic urban spaces in the post-World War II MENA region

Portraying one’s historic architecture in a certain way is usually in the context of the historic preservation of said building, monument, or neighborhood. Professor of urban and regional planning Norman Tyler defines historic preservation as “the maintenance of a property without significant alteration to its current condition.” Tyler also identifies various other forms of “interventions” towards historic architecture which constitute preservation: restoration, or “the process of returning a building to its condition at a specific time period,” and reconstruction, or the “building of a historic structure using replicated design and/or materials...when a historic structure no longer exists but needs to be physically in place for contextual reasons.”

Finally, there is rehabilitation or adaptive use, when “historical features are damaged or deteriorated but modifications can be made to update portions of the structure, even adapting the building for a new purpose.” In this study, I will examine various efforts to preserve Rabat’s and Tetouan’s

29 Ibid
architecture, such as by enlisting the protection of UNESCO, or rehabilitating old buildings by converting them into hotels.

Collective memory or nostalgia among a community for the historical period represented by an old building or monument is also a powerful way in which to craft a political identity such as cosmopolitanism. In his work on Tokyo, historian Jordan Sand describes how intellectual activists spread awareness of historical sites. Through the dissemination of photographs and information in the media or public forums, these activists can preserve the essence of historic urban spaces.\(^{30}\) Movements like this can claim certain periods of the city (and nation’s) history are authentic, “redefining historical value and contemporary usefulness in the built environment.”\(^{31}\) For example, in my study of Rabat, I show how a local NGO aims to raise awareness of the city’s cosmopolitanism through hosting conferences, tours, and releasing media publications on the city’s diverse historic sites.

However, until the end of the 20th century, the power of collective memory and nostalgia, as well as the framing of urban heritage as cosmopolitan, were much more marginal activities than state-led historic preservation. As architect Nezar Al-Sayyad states, since the majority of countries in the MENA region achieved independence from European powers post-World War II, the central government has been the main agent in preserving urban spaces as “banks of national identity” and/or for development of the local economy.\(^{32}\) When the state preserved heritage sites, they tended to frame the historic spaces representing an “authentic”


\(^{31}\) Ibid

Arab/Islamic national identity- in cities like Cairo, Tunis, and Fez. Tourism was always a central agenda to the restoration of urban spaces in all of these cases, but it tended to be separate from the state leaders’ Arab-Islamic nationalist projects.

*A brief history of historic preservation in Morocco: how local political actors have framed historic urban spaces until the 1990s*

Historic preservation of Morocco’s built heritage has existed since the Amazigh dynasties of the late medieval period and persisted until the present day. Historian and architect at Mohammed V University in Rabat, Mina Al-Maghari, whom I interviewed during my fieldwork, stated how a general misconception is that the French introduced the idea of historic preservation in Morocco. In reality, she said, the Makhzen of the pre-colonial Moroccan government always preserved buildings that were built under the previous dynasty, only destroying structures that were explicit symbols of the former dynasties’ power. Furthermore, the Waqf, a pre-colonial Islamic endowment for charity, was allocated by the Makhzan to repair houses in the old medinas.

Preservation of old buildings did take on a new political significance during the French (and Spanish) protectorates. Professor of architecture Gwendolyn Wright and urban sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod have written some of the most influential and insightful scholarship on how French preservation in Morocco was a colonial policy that sought to control, contain, and

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34 Al-Maghari, Mina. Personal interview. January 13th, 12:00pm.
patronize the native Moroccans.\textsuperscript{36} In cities like Rabat, the French, under protectorate Resident General Hubert Lyautey, preserved the medina quarter in order to freeze the landscape and its inhabitants in time, while the French could surveil them from the airy boulevards of the Ville Nouvelle. Furthermore, by preserving the medina, the French prevented development and resources for the native Moroccan residents, while also attracting “French tourists who wanted to see charm and authenticity.”\textsuperscript{37} More symbolically, the medina was used as proof of the “backwards” and dirty nature of Morocco without the European tutelage. The French Ville Nouvelle, in contrast, stood as a beacon of hope with its “modern,” “rational,” and “legible” forms of urbanism, and subsequently, society. Janet Abu-Lughod even called this spatial, stylistic, and symbolic division between the ville nouvelle and the medina a form of “urban apartheid.”\textsuperscript{38}

Therefore, in 1956, the newly independent Moroccan state needed to craft a new, national identity to exorcise the spectre of the French. While the first post-colonial king of Morocco, Mohamed V (r. 1956-1961) did not devote any attention to old buildings, the following King, Hassan II (r. 1961-1999) put a great emphasis on historic preservation to establish Morocco's national identity. Scholars have generally come to a consensus that Hassan II’s policies of historic preservation framed Moroocco’s architecture as as Islamic- which served dually nationalistic and legitimization purposes. Art historian Jennifer Roberson argues that Hassan II preserved Islamic architecture to illustrate how his family directly traces their lineage to the prophet Mohammed. Through cultivating his powerful religious image, Hassan II legitimized his


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid

political rule over Morocco.39 Geoffrey D. Porter makes a similar argument about Hassan II’s preservation efforts in the medina of Fez, adding that Hassan II framed the medina’s streets, mosques, and madrasas as representing the true identity of Morocco: urban, Arab, and Islamic as opposed to Berber (Amazigh) and rural.40

Historian Diana Wylie demonstrates how non-state actors pushed back against this aforementioned state narrative of an “authentic” Arab-Islamic Moroccan identity through claiming that architecture from the French protectorate is also “Moroccan.” In her study on Casablanca NGO Casamemoire, Wylie studies how local Moroccans preserve and promote knowledge of “French” colonial architecture in the city. She argues that they do this in order to challenge state narratives that colonialism was a “rupture” in an otherwise linear Moroccan history. The NGO members maintain that while French colonialism was far from perfect, fair, or just, this history is still “part of who we [Moroccans] are.”41 Wylie shows not how Casamemoire is portraying French colonial architecture as cosmopolitan per se, but rather how there is no one “authentic” Morocco and that “change” is part of Morocco’s identity.

In my study, I demonstrate how we are seeing a coordinated effort by local elites- both state and non-state- to frame historic architecture as cosmopolitan. We are no longer seeing the state as the only actor using historic architecture to primarily showcase Morocco’s Arab-Islamic identity as was the case in the Hassan II era, and as demonstrated in the scholarship of Roberson

and Porter. Nor are we seeing a dialectical relationship between state and non-state actors over whether some sites are more “authentically” Moroccan than another, as outlined by Wylie. Unlike during the Hassan II years, the coalitions in my study have expanded upon what constitutes Moroccan identity to include not only their Arab/Islamic heritage, but also Amazigh, Jewish, Andalusian, Christian, French, and Spanish heritage. And yet, this contrast, this “melting pot” is the authentic Morocco. To the coalitions, *cosmopolitanism is the authentic Morocco.*

Ultimately, by claiming an authentic cosmopolitanism, the coalitions in Rabat and Tetouan make the powerful statement that the city- and the nation- must naturally globalize in the contemporary world to uphold the legacy ever present in their cityscapes. After all, if Moroccans did it historically, why should they stop now?
Chapter One: Tetouan

Located in northern Morocco along the Mediterranean coast and at the base of the lush Rif mountains, the city of Tetouan has always been a crossroads of cultures. Since around the third century CE, Tetouan existed as a small town near the former Roman city of Tamuda. However it was all but destroyed by the Spanish Armadas in the early fifteenth century. Tetouan was then re-founded in the 15th century by Sidi Al-Mansari, a Muslim refugee from the Spanish city of Granada, fleeing the Christian “reconquest” of Iberia. Into the 16th century, large numbers of Muslim and Jewish refugees migrated to Tetouan from Iberia, building the walled medina and the mellah (Jewish quarter) respectively. By the 19th century, Tetouan was a bustling port city, with commercial ties to both the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and
Europe, and a diverse population of Jews, Muslims, Andalusians, and the indigenous local Amazigh. From 1912 to 1956, Tetouan was the capital of the Spanish protectorate in Morocco, leading large numbers of Europeans to move to the city and build the ensanche, or Spanish colonial city. While present day Tetouan’s population is almost entirely local Muslims, the legacies of Tetouan’s cosmopolitan history still exist in the city’s historic architecture.

In this chapter I identify the efforts of the three groups that comprise an elite Tetouani coalition that preserves and promotes aforementioned historic architecture. The first group is the Tetouani city council, who has partnered with the regional Andalusian government in Southern Spain in order to preserve historic urban spaces from 1990 to the present. The second group is the NGO the Tetouan Asmir Association (TAA), who, from their founding in 1997 to the present, further preserve historic urban spaces and spread information on these spaces both locally and abroad. The third group consists of young Tetouani filmmakers who released a video series in 2017 in order to showcase the history and sophistication of Tetouan’s urban spaces to the rest of the world. Although the medina of Tetouan was inscribed as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1997, the local governing bodies have not published nor made accessible their original nomination for the medina. However, the documents co-authored by the Tetouani city council and the Andalusian government are published on the latter's website. They describe the

42 Tétouan 2019. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc.
43 Contemporary Spain is divided into 16 “autonomous communities” that have their own governments. Andalusia is one of the largest “autonomous communities,” and is at Spain’s most southern point. Furthermore, Andalusia is home to the cities of Córdoba, Granada, and Seville, which were the major centers of Al-Andalus, or Muslim Spain, which existed from 711-1492. The architectural heritage of Andalusia has a lot of Muslim influence, from the great mosque of Córdoba, to the Almohad architecture of Seville, and the Alhambra of Granada.
44 UNESCO states on its website that the responsibility of the nomination’s publication falls upon the “governing body” that nominated it in the first place. The approval for inscription by UNESCO is published on their website, but that is insufficient as I am asking the question of how local actors discuss and frame their heritage.
justification of the preservation of Tetouan’s heritage, and predate the medina’s nomination and inscription on UNESCO’s world heritage list.

Through a textual analysis of the coalition’s publications that document their preservation work, I argue that each coalition member frames Teotuan’s historic urban spaces as what Anthony Appiah defines as “cosmopolitan.” The coalition members frequently collaborate with one another or build upon each other’s work. While their methods to preserve and promote the historic urban spaces differ, they share two general political and/or economic goals. First, they use these spaces to insert themselves into contemporary global capital and/or cultural flows. Second, they use these spaces to promote an “exceptional” local and national identity. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, the coalition’s discourses on Tetouan’s continuous and enduring cosmopolitanism allows these two goals to reinforce one another.

Map: areas roughly corresponding to the ensanche (red outline) and the medina (black outline)
There were no major historic preservation efforts in Tetouan during the majority of the second half of the 20th century, or post-Moroccan independence. In fact, King Hassan II (r. 1961-1999) was known to hate northern Morocco as a whole, and infamously never even visited Tetouan. Therefore, the Tetouani government could not rely on funds from the crown to help the urban development and management of their city, let alone the preservation of its historical neighborhoods. Most likely, this royal neglect led the city council to turn- somewhat ironically- to Spain.

**Group I: The Tetouan city council and the Andalusian government**

In 1991, the city council of Tetouan began a continuous project to preserve and rehabilitate the city’s architecture that they identify demonstrates an enduring diversity, tolerance, and multiculturalism, which comprise Anthony Appiah’s definition of cosmopolitanism. I argue that the city council uses historic preservation in order to insert Tetouanis into global *cultural* flows while simultaneously fostering national and local identity. Since the city council did not receive monetary support from King Hassan II and his administration, they signed an agreement in 1991 with the Council of Public Works and Housing of the regional government of the autonomous community of Andalusia in southern Spain (Spanish: *Junta de Andalucia*). Most importantly, this agreement ensures funding from the

Andalusian government that the city council allocates to rehabilitate historic buildings. Below is a chart of the collaborations to date:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR(S):</th>
<th>REHABILITATION PROJECT:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992-1994</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of Tarrafín Street in the medina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-1998</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of a Naqsi Governor’s house in the medina</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of the Aragón, M’dina, and Lebadi houses in the medina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of Andalusian Adarves in the medina</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of Non-Profit Tetouan Asmir Association’s Headquarters in the Ensanche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2004</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of Ben-Walid Synagogue in the medina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2004</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of M’Kadem Street, Plaza del Pescado, and Plaza del Pan in Medina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of the Central Market in the Ensanche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2010</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of buildings and public spaces in the Ensanche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2010</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of the Grand Plaza in the medina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2010</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of the urban space of the Plaza del Pan- the Gate of the Cemetery in the Medina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2010</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of urban space of Plaza del Pan – Fez Gate in Medina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of the Museum of Nationalism in the medina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2011</td>
<td>Signage of streets and buildings of interest in the medina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 The council on promotion and infrastructure of the Andalusian government has many “international collaborations” with cities in Morocco and beyond to fund the preservation of historic architecture. These “urban rehabilitation” partnerships exist in North, South, and Central America, the Caribbean, and Africa.
48 Chart created by the author with data from the Junta De Andalucíá’s website
While Andalusia provides the funding for preservation projects, the directors of the project are a mix of Tetouani and Spanish architects. Local Tetouani construction companies are usually employed to carry out the actual renovation.\textsuperscript{49}

Additionally, experts from the Tetouani city council and the Andalusian government Junta co-write detailed “Architecture Guides” and project reports that describe and justify the preservation of the medina and ensanche. A textual analysis of the architecture guides to the medina, the ensanche, and the project report of the rehabilitation of the Ben Walid synagogue provide the basis of my analysis for this section. The authors of the architecture guides and plans for projects stress Tetouan’s unique synthesis of Andalusian, Muslim, Berber, Jewish, Arab, and even Christian European architecture coming together to demonstrate a cosmopolitan, universal heritage. In the prologue to the 2012 edition of the \textit{Guide to the Architecture of the Medina}, Dr. Idaomar Mohamed, then president of the Tetouani city council and Josefina Cruz Villalón, the advisor to the Council of Public works in the Andalusian government state that even the founding of the city in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century was an encounter between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.

We can remember that the last and definitive foundation of Tetouan occurred in 1487, by a Granadan, Sidi Al-Mandari; a general of the Nasrid military according to chronicles. This Andalusian was displaced from Granada to what is now Tetouan. On the ruins that he encountered, he founded a city that was going to receive, during more than a century, many families that were forced to leave Andalusian soil, due to cultural, social, and military conflicts. The refounding [of Tetouan] was a wise decision, because it made

\textsuperscript{49} City Council of Tetouan and Regional Government of Andalusia. 2011. “Rehabilitation of Homes, Equipment, and Public Spaces in the Medina of Tetouan.” Brochure
possible the birth and development of one of the most beautiful cities of Morocco, and one of the most culturally-fertile societies in North Africa.\(^{50}\)

One of the city council's main arguments for preservation is that the architecture of the medina is a living testament to Tetouan’s “fertile” exchanges between peoples from diverse geographic regions over history. On the one hand, since the city was founded by Andalusian refugees, the streets, homes, mosques, and synagogues built from the 15th to 19th centuries resemble those of Spanish cities like Granada, Córdoba, and Seville. For example, the Andalusian *Adarves* (narrow alleyways), rehabilitated in 1994, are reminiscent of the *Adarves* in the Alhambra of Granada.\(^{51}\) Additionally, the whitewashed buildings with expansive patios (courtyards) are very similar to the Moorish district of Córdoba. Further, many nineteenth century residences in the medina show contact between Tetouan and greater Europe. The Ben Naim house, for example, incorporates many Islamic/Moroccan elements, but also the “construction influence of the West, in particular Spanish, shown in doors and windows with stained glass and checkerboard floors.” Skirej House was built with some “prefabricated” materials from Europe, which “reflects the contact of Morocco with the West and the importance of European manufactured materials.”\(^{52}\)


\(^{51}\) Built from the 12th century to the 15th century- the Alhambra of Granada is one of the most distinctive Moorish monuments that has survived until contemporary times.

In another chapter of their 2012 guide, members of the city council and the Andalusian government state that the medina’s architecture also demonstrates a historic connection to the rest of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). For example, mosques and homes in the medina convey Ottoman and Algerian influences. In the Mosque of Baja, the “octagonal minaret” evokes Ottoman minarets in cities like Istanbul. Medina residences that were built by Algerians “are distinguished from houses of Granadan origin by the iron symbol that you see over the doors of the house.” These architectural elements reflect Ottoman motifs because Tetouan was, until the mid-20th century, a bustling port city with commercial and religious ties to the rest of the Mediterranean. Furthermore, after the French invasion of nearby Algeria in 1830, a large number of Algerian Muslim refugees settled in comparatively peaceful and tolerant Tetouan.  

The city council additionally describes how the medina's architecture represents Tetouan’s historical tolerance of Jews. From 2001-2004, the city council and Andalusian government restored Ben Walid synagogue, the last remaining Jewish synagogue in the mellah quarter of the medina of Tetouan. In their co-written report with the Andalusians, the city council representatives write that the synagogue is “testimony of Moroccan Sephardic Judaism, of the concrete encounter between Jewish, Hispanic, and Moroccan heritage.” The synagogue is furthermore “the manifestation of another side of Morocco: religious,
linguistic, and cultural pluralism...a useful message in the wake of the temptations of exclusive ideologies.”

Cosmopolitanism can also characterize the city council's descriptions of the Spanish ensanche that was built when Tetouan was the capital of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco (1912-1956). The city council portrays the ensanche not as a reminder of nearly half-a-century's worth of colonial Spanish rule, but as a continuation of Tetouan’s historic role as a point of contact between various civilizations. In the introduction to the Guide to the Architecture of the Ensanche, published in 1996, the city council argues that the ensanche represents an urban “symbiosis” between Morocco and 20th century Spain. The Spanish were just one of the many groups of people who inhabited Tetouan throughout history:

[The ensanche] is a beautiful piece of a Mediterranean city, where Andalusian and Moroccan tradition, and an old modernity, with an equal relation between the public and the private, between the buildings and the plazas, produces a set close to the compact and harmonious model that claims contemporary urban culture.

Similar to their guide to the medina, the city council’s guide to the ensanche notes how buildings in the ensanche show a unique architectural synthesis between 20th century Spanish and Arab-Moroccan styles. The Equitativa building, for example, showcases “an accumulation of

Idelson 31

stylistic references, parts of modern rationalism. As many design elements are taken from the historic architecture of the [Iberian] peninsula as local traditions of Arab architecture, making a total set of powerful singularity.”

The Spanish movie theatre (cinema espanõl ) is a “composite result of the beginnings of modernism, with permeable local influences,” such as simpler whitewashed facades that are typical of the medina. The historic hospital is a mixture of “the modern movement with elements of Arab tradition [such as] horseshoe arches, twinned windows, and glass tiles.”

The city council has put an emphasis on restoring the ensanche’s cathedral in order to further convey Tetouan’s continuous religious pluralism. While there is currently only a tiny population of Christians in Tetouan, the cathedral, located in central Plaza Mulay al Mehdi, is still functioning and rings the bells every hour. The restored pastel yellow facades, hourly bells, and ornate interior are proof that Tetouan welcomed Christitans in addition to Jews, despite historically

58 Ibid, p. 76
59 Ibid, 79
being a Muslim city. In a sense, the city council’s preservation of the cathedral effectively states that although present day Tetouan is almost entirely Muslim, its built legacy of religious tolerance will always be safeguarded.

I argue that preserving the aforementioned spaces allows the city council to insert Tetouanis into what Appadurai identifies as global “ideoscapes,” or political ideals from the Enlightenment that have spread across the contemporary world.” In this case, the “ideoscapes” are universal ideals of tolerance and coexistence. By the turn of the 21st century, Tetouan was (and continues to be) a peripheralized city with high levels of poverty, a homogenous population, and little to no awareness from the international community. And yet, the post-cold war world is also the era of rapid globalization. Therefore, the city council recognized that its centuries of cosmopolitan history embedded in the architecture of the medina and ensanche were the city’s best resource to insert themselves into global cultural flows. While Tetouanis cannot claim the levels of diversity in global metropolises like New York or Paris, they can claim to share similar ideologies. Global ideoscapes like that of contemporary cosmopolitanism not only give Tetouan and Morocco a favorable image on the world’s stage, but also attract foreign visitors and markets.

At the same time, the city council is preserving the medina in order to promote the exceptional identity of the city. The city council members are not just baselessly fabricating a cosmopolitan history in order to insert themselves global cultural flows. As the various buildings in the medina and ensanche convey, Tetouan is authentically a mixture of Andalusian, Islamic, Jewish, Ottoman, and Spanish cultures. Therefore, the city council is helping Tetouanis reclaim

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62 Appadurai, Modernity at Large
their unique local identity that exhibits the Moroccan cultural exceptionalism that the country takes such pride in.

Of course, one must remember that the city council is not working alone, but rather partnering with the Andalusian government to preserve Tetouan’s built heritage and frame it as cosmopolitan. Archeologist Beatriz Marín Aguilera takes issue with Spain’s overall presence in Morocco. Aguilera views the Andalusian government’s monetary support to fund preservation in Morocco as a neo-imperial venue for the Spanish government. Since the Spanish are providing aid to a former colony, it reinforces the very paradigms of colonialism by making the periphery (Morocco) depend on the “Western” center. (Europe).

While Aguilera’s argument raises important ideas about post-colonial power and wealth disparities, I dispute the claim that the Tetouani-Andalusian partnership is only an extension of neo-colonialism. The local Moroccans who are collaborating with the Spaniards to preserve and promote the historic zones of their city are political agents by deciding to cooperate with international actors. The city council members recognize that with the city’s limited resources and high levels of poverty, they need financial support to be able to preserve Tetouan’s heritage. Furthermore, Abdesalam Baraka, the president of the Tetouan city council in 1996 explicitly describes partnership as a “friendly” endeavour: “the geographic and human proximity, the latency of a history shared over centuries, has made these programs of cooperation proceed far into the future, a partnership from the roots of the feelings that animate and unite the good faith

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Thus, Tetouanis are not passive recipients of Spain’s “neocolonialism,” but rather are partners in a transnational effort. Baraka’s statement also reveals that through a joint effort to preserve what he describes as “the latency of a history shared over centuries,” the city council establishes important networks between Tetouan and Spain/Europe. After years of Tetouan’s isolation, the city’s cosmopolitan architectural heritage can be the means in which the city’s state officials become connected with similar state officials in Europe. As city council member Muhammad Azimán states in the epilogue of the guide to the medina:

Between Tetouan and the Andalusian government exists an intense cooperation in the realm of the preservation of the architectural legacies and cultural remnants of the city of Tetouan. This city constitutes a pointed example of...a city where the past meets the modern, where the old muslim city [the medina] meets with the new city [the ensanche] that is stamped with an European influence. Tetouan is an example of Muslim, Andalusian, and European-Muslim architecture. This provokes...a poetic sense that reincarnates and creates a sense of spiritual closeness and nostalgia of a common past.

In sum, preserving architecture is an opportunity for Tetouanis to form transnational networks while simultaneously promoting their “exceptional” identity.

**Group II: The Tetouan Asmir Association**

The NGO the Tetouan Asmir Association (TAA), founded in 1997, builds upon the work of the city council and Andalusian government to frame Tetouan’s historic urban spaces as enduringly cosmopolitan. They thus comprise the second major group of the Tetouani coalition. The TAA both preserves old buildings and promotes knowledge of these buildings through media publications both locally and abroad. I argue that the TAA uses the city’s historic spaces

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to insert the city into both global capital and cultural flows, while maintaining a sense of local identity. Unlike the city council, the TAA puts explicit emphasis on the promotion of tourism and incorporation of Tetouan into global “financescapes” in addition to “ideoscapes.”

The organization is composed of local architects, academics, and artists, and frequently collaborates with the city council, as well as universities, cultural institutes, libraries, and even sometimes the national ministry of culture. The TAA’s primary mission is to preserve Tetouan’s heritage through restoration of buildings, and the spreading of awareness of said heritage through the media (blog posts, websites, videos, articles and books). The TAA organizes conferences and lectures on the city’s heritage, where its members collaborate with other intellectuals and architects from abroad. I use a textual analysis of these publications as the basis of my argument.

First, in the TAA’s media publications- they echo the city council’s language on the diversity, tolerance, and coexistence- or cosmopolitanism- present in Tetouan’s historic urban spaces. Vice president of the TAA, retired academic Mohammed Benaboud states on the TAA’s website:

How can we explain the fact that Tetouan’s unique history and culture are generally ignored despite the city’s exceptionally rich cultural legacy? This city reflects a variety of cultural influences including local Moroccan, Andalusian, Ottoman and even European elements [and] where Christians and Jews lived peacefully side by side.

The TAA’s official blog further uses this language on Tetouan’s diverse architectural legacy. On the blog, which is available in French, English, Arabic, and Spanish, academic Yassir Ghailan wrote an extensive entry in 2006 stating that “from its founding in the 15th century, the medina

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69 Ibid
has assimilated Andalusian architecture in its walls, its Kasbah, its small houses and palaces (with patios, fountains and gardens), its minarets, its mausoleums and its fondouks (traditional hotels).” Ghalian argues that the medina had contact with Europe prior to the protectorate: houses in the medina were “inspired by the European style, in particular the construction techniques using iron pillars [and] Baroque European decor was also introduced.” In the ensanche, “the interior of Tetouan Cathedral could be mistaken for that of an Andalusian mosque.” In sum, “it is a city that has always been enriched by its permanent contact with the outside world, while retaining its specificity.”

However, unlike the city council, the TAA explicitly emphasizes how Tetouan’s enduring cosmopolitanism present in its architecture must be used to solve the city’s present-day social, cultural, and economic problems. For example, academic and TAA member Toumander Khatib describes the city’s unfortunate current situation in a post from February of 2008:

Poverty, unemployment and massive rural exodus are not the only causes of this lamentable situation. Drugs, in all their forms, impure and therefore much cheaper and more harmful, are the cause of... robberies, burglaries, murders, stabbing attacks, some of which offer passers-by scenes of horror.

Khatib states that poverty, unemployment, rural migrants, and most importantly drugs, both harm local Tetouanis, and give the city a negative reputation abroad (among the small number of foreigners who are even aware of Teotuan’s existence).

Khatib therefore frames the continuous cosmopolitan history of the city, evidenced in its architecture, as the solution to Tetouan’s political and economic challenges. As he writes on the

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TAA’s blog:

Today, Tétouan seems determined to face…all the plagues flouting its memory and threatening its specificity, its statute of singular and emblematic city, of pioneer city, spiritual, commercial, cultural and artistic city. Port city, diplomatic capital, capital of northern Morocco under the Spanish Protectorate, place steeped in history, City of Arts, university city, city of cinema and theaters, city of museums... city of festivals. Tétouan has always been a city ahead of its time with exceptional personalities and great historical figures who have marked the history of Morocco over the centuries.  

Tetouan’s aforementioned “statute of singular and emblematic city” is most evident in the built environment, as previously identified by the city council and the Andalusian government. This architecture, therefore, is the primary resource that TAA continues to draw upon to advertise their city the cosmopolitan cultural capital that it always was.

First, the TAA argues that Tetouanis can use their diverse architectural heritage to insert themselves into what David Harvey would call global neoliberal capital flows. This means the promotion of global tourism. Vice president of the TAA Mohammed Benaboud states on the TAA’ website that: “Tetouan’s future must surpass its present hibernation, but for this to happen, the city’s rich culture and history must be publicised and exploited as the city’s most precious capital for its economic development on the basis of cultural tourism.” Tourism not only incorporates Tetouan into global markets, but also continues the city’s cosmopolitan legacy of being open to global “ethnoscapes,” or the tourists themselves.

The best example of the TAA’s promotion of tourism was its project in 2017 to renovate five diverse historic houses in the medina. In addition to restoring the historical structures, the project created a “visitor’s circuit” around the homes. This included signage and plaques

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73 Ibid
74 Benaboud, Mohammed. “Tetouan Asmir Association.”
around each house that indicate the history. Most importantly, Benaboud stated that in the future the TAA plans to convert these houses into riads (historic hotels) and youth hostels:

The idea is to offer our potential clients the possibility of not only visiting, but of sleeping in XVIth, XVIIth, XVIIIth, XIXth or XXth century house. The idea is that all this will occur inside the historical walls of our five century old Medina. In a way, they will be able to relive a little part of Medina's five centuries of history. This will also contribute to create a general consciousness of the architectural development of the Tetouani houses over the past five centuries. Simultaneously, this will be a means of publicizing new ways to consolidate and restore traditional houses of the Medina correctly.

This will include adding some contemporary technology to the historic structures: “we had to introduce some changes to all them in order to make them habitable again, such as renewing all of their water and electricity systems or introducing new telephone wires and new modern toilets.”

Benaboud attributes the touristic appeal of these historic houses to their combination of Andalusian and European architecture. As Geoffrey Porter argues in his work on Fez, a building or monument framed as cosmopolitan can attract a larger potential group of tourists than a building or monument framed only as “Islamic.” For example, the TAA restored one home in the mellah, or Jewish quarter, who’s architecture synthesizes many different geographic and religious influences:

The houses in this quarter were the same as the traditional Andalusian style houses in the muslim quarters, but some rich Jewish families that became rich as a result of their comercial activities built their houses on European models with Spanish style doors, Spanish tiles covering the outside, large windows with wooden shutters and balconies with iron decorated bars. They also introduced new elements like marble stairs and Spanish tiles inside these houses.

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76 Ibid, p. 365-366
78 Ibid, p. 373-374
79 Ibid, p. 370
Thus, the TAA’s framing of urban spaces as cosmopolitan is partially a marketing strategy for their city. Building off Porter’s ideas, I argue that when Benaboud identifies the “Jewish” “Andalusian” and “European” influences in the historic houses, they become appealing to a wide audience of potential tourists.

However, The TAA’s preservation of urban spaces is not just for the promotion of tourism. The TAA describes heritage as consistently cosmopolitan to insert Tetouan into global cultural flows. The TAA promotes the architectural heritage of Tetouan with an international audience through hosting conferences, lectures, and media contributions both locally and abroad. In July of 2019, the TAA hosted a conference on the shared heritage between Spaniards and Moroccans. Just this past February, members of the TAA “participated in a presentation of a book on Tetouan’s heritage edited by the president of the TAA in collaboration with researchers in Holland.” These conferences and publications allow the TAA to insert themselves, and the city into what Arjun Appadurai calls global “ethnoscapes.” They bring elite foreign academics, artists, and architects to Tetouan, and also allows Tetouanis to travel around the world. Additionally, the conferences and publications further insert Tetouan into global “ideoscapes” of tolerance and multiculturalism.

Finally, the TAA draws upon the same cosmopolitan urban spaces to promote a sense of

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local identity. The TAA frames the city’s current political and economic decline as a break from an otherwise continuously diverse, tolerant, and culturally rich history. As Mohammed Benaboud writes on the TAA’s website:

The Tetouani mentality....reflects various cultures, people, and eras. However, this historical load in the city’s personality is what allowed it to overcome large obstacles with success. The flexibility and adaptation to new circumstances is possibly the key to understand the continuity and the city’s traditional mentality. This is because of the assimilation of new elements that was a product of continuous immigration to the city. The new elements brought new dynamism....Although it maintains its traditional character, it is the object of a continuous transformation process, because its geostrategic position, its political social context, and its history dictated this.

In essence, cosmopolitanism has always made Tetouan its unique and authentic self. Whenever the city was faced with an “other,” Tetouan’s identity was not threatened, but enhanced. By preserving and promoting urban spaces that are, as Rajagopalan would say, “archives” of this legacy, the TAA helps Tetouanis re-connect with their city’s exceptional blend of cultures.

**Group III: “Tetouan Highlighted by Its Youth” Film Series:**

In 2017, a group of highly educated Tetouani film students from the Arts NGO Ibdaâte released a video series titled “Tetouan Highlighted By Its Youth” (In Arabic: “Tetouan B’Ayoun Shababha”), becoming the third group in the Tetouani coalition that I identify in this study. Their series includes fifteen 5-7 minute videos in Arabic with English subtitles. The videos are written and produced by the youth from Ibdaâte, an NGO based in the Tetouani neighborhood of Jamaa Mezuak, and showcase various aspects of Tetouan’s architectural heritage. To finance

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production, the filmmakers partnered with the Tetouan Asmir association and the city council. I argue that the filmmakers similarly portray Tetouan’s architecture and historic urban spaces as cosmopolitan in their videos. In their case, cosmopolitanism allows the youth to abandon reputations of terrorism, Islamism, and poverty. Cosmopolitanism inserts the filmmakers into global cultural “ideoscapes” of tolerance and multiculturalism while maintaining pride in the unique identity of their city.

The filmmakers are from the Jamaa Mezuak neighborhood in Tetouan, the home of the suicide bombers who carried out the deadly terrorist attack in Madrid in 2004. Additionally, there have been several youth from Jamaa Mezuak who went to fight as Islamist “Jihadis” against the United States during the Iraq war. While people outside of Morocco tend to not have heard about Tetouan, the little media attention the city has received overseas references terrorism and Islamism. In November of 2007, investigative journalist Andrea Elliott published an extensive article in *The New York Times Magazine* about Jamaa Mezuak titled “Where Boys Grow Up to Be Jihadis.” 83 The article profiled the young men who became the Madrid bombers, the youth who became Islamic militants, and their respective communities in Tetouan. Elliot states how residents of Jamaa Mezuak condemned violence as a whole, but were very suspicious of America, and “the same discussions often bring a facile condemnation of Jews. In the neighborhood, heroin is known as the “bone of Jews.” 84

I argue that the film series is first a political statement by the young filmmakers to dispel reputations of terrorism and intolerance that their community has become known for. In the introductory video the series, a local historian speaks on the filmmakers’ behalf: “whenever we

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84 Ibid
hear the name of this neighborhood, we directly associate it to terrorism, but the young people of
this neighborhood wanted to change this negative image of their neighborhood to a positive one
throughout this project.”  

By describing the diverse legacies in Tetouan’s urban spaces, I argue
that the filmmakers challenge the images of terrorism and intolerance that foreigners could have
of their neighborhood (and the city as a whole). To produce the series, the filmmakers of Ibdaâte
partnered with the Tetouan Asmir Association, the city council, and even the national Ministry of
Culture. They released the video series via Marcopedia, “an online encyclopedia, available in
four languages (Arabic, French, English, and Amazigh) which promotes the Moroccan culture,
by putting it in the forefront of audiovisual documentation.”  

Thus, the videos are free and
accessible to local, Moroccan, and international audiences. Even Morocco World News, a
Moroccan newspaper that caters to an international audience published an article promoting the
video series.  

In their videos, the filmmakers use similar discourses to the TAA and the city council
regarding how the architecture of the city exhibits a unique diversity. They have made videos on
the Mauritanian and Roman ruins of Tamuda, to the centuries of multicultural history in the
medina, to the “Spanish neighborhood” of the ensanche. The video “History of Tetouan,”
describes how the medina’s buildings demonstrate the stylistic influences of with Mashreq
(Middle East) and Muslim world from one side and with Spain and Europe on the other side.”

The video on the ensanche states how the buildings show a mix between Spanish and local

86 Ibid
Moroccan styles: the buildings are whitewashed like the old medina, but with ornate facades from the 20th century. In the video on “the Spanish Cinema” the filmmakers interview the theatre’s owner, Hussein Boudir, who says how “this cinema has an important role for Tetouan: Tetouan is known for its intellectuality…and it was the cultural capital of Morocco during the colonization period.” Finally, in the video on the ancient archaeological site of Tamuda a few miles outside of the city proper, the filmmakers interview the “assistant caretaker” of the site who gives a virtual tour of the different Mauritanian and Roman ruins.

By framing Tetouan’s historic architecture as diverse and multicultural, or as cosmopolitan, the filmmakers engage in the same global ideoscapes of what they themselves call “tolerance values, peace and citizenship.” Inserting themselves into these ideoscapes not only dispels images of terrorism and Islamism, but makes Tetouan seem like a sophisticated global city to their international audiences. One of the young filmmakers (unnamed) states: “the future is to talk about the culture of Tetouan, and to be open to other cities, and discover new things.”

As the videos demonstrate, the aforementioned “culture” of Tetouan was consistently influenced by diverse peoples from the Romans to the Arab Middle East. Even during the protectorate era, the city was a center of the arts and culture. In essence, the filmmakers show how Tetouan was as historically diverse and cultured in the past as cities like New York, London, and Paris are now. This film series thus uses Tetouan’s history to put its present in conversation with the globalized world through shared cosmopolitan values.

90 Tetouan Highlighted By Its Youth: Tamuda Archeological Site" http://tetouan.marocopedia.com/portfolio/tamuda-archaeological-site/
91 Ibid
At the same time, just like the TAA and the city council, the filmmakers promote a sense of local identity through their audiovisual showcasing of historic urban spaces and architecture. The filmmakers claim that the diverse, artistic Tetouan that one can see in the video series is the true Tetouan: “we were excited to regain our forgotten memory, our past that has gone away,” one of the young filmmakers says in the introductory video in the series, standing with a beautiful view of the Tetouani skyline behind him. “Tetouan deserves our initiative,” he continues. “As young people of Tetouan, we thought of a project to make the heritage of Tetouan alive.” Tetouan’s heritage— which they show in their videos reflects a synthesis of Roman, Mauritanian, Spanish, Islamic, Arab, and Andalusian influences— is unique— and Tetouanis should take pride in “their city.”

Conclusions:

In this chapter, I show how the Tetouan city council/Andalusian government, the Tetouan Asmir Association (TAA), and a group of young local filmmakers have formed an elite coalition that frames Tetouan’s historic architecture and urban spaces as enduringly cosmopolitan. Tetouan was historically a crossroads of Andalusian, Islamic, Arab, Jewish, and European cultures. The coalition believes that the current state of poverty, drugs, and Islamist terrorism are not representative of the authentic identity of the city. Therefore, through a cumulative effort to preserve and promote the buildings that reflect Tetouan’s cosmopolitanism, the coalition can both profit from contemporary global flows and allow the city return to its exceptional roots.

Ibid
Chapter Two: Rabat

In this chapter I will analyze the historic preservation efforts of three groups of actors that comprise the elite Rabati coalition: 1) the board that nominated Rabat’s historic core for inscription as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, 2) the Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé, the regional government office of planning, and 3) the NGO Rabat-Salé Memoire (RSM). Similar to the coalition in Tetouan, the Rabati coalition believes that its historic architecture makes Rabat look cosmopolitan, tolerant, and cultured, despite the three groups’ varying approaches to historic preservation. The UNESCO nomination board frames Rabat’s built heritage as cosmopolitan in order to insert Rabat, and Morocco, into what Appadurai calls global “ideoscapes.”95 The Urban

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95 Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai describes in his book Modernity at Large how “ideoscapes” are theories, values, and Enlightenment ideals that have perforated across the globalized world.
Agency of Rabat-Salé is primarily interested in using these spaces to insert Rabat in global capital flows through tourism. The NGO Rabat-Sale Memoire is less concerned with markets, and instead uses their heritage to insert Rabat into similar ideoscapes that the nomination board promotes. As in Tetouan, all three groups simultaneously use this belief in their architecture's enduring cosmopolitanism to promote an “exceptional” Moroccan political identity.

Similar to Tetouan, Rabat is indeed historically a very cosmopolitan city; one does not have to look far to see architectural reminders of the diverse peoples who called Rabat home.

Located on the Atlantic coast between the major cities of Casablanca and Tangier, the city has a population of around 1.7 million people and is the current political capital of Morocco. The area near present-day Rabat was originally called Chellah or Shellah. Chellah was a Phoneican and Berber settlement, eventually occupied by the Romans in the 1st Century CE. Historians do not know much about the area until the Almohad conquest of Morocco in the 12th century. Almohad Caliph Yacoub Al-Mansour built the walled Kasbah of the Oudaias where the southern bank of the Bouregreg River meets the Atlantic, calling the fortification Ribat al-Fath. In addition to the Oudaias, the Almohads began to build an enormous mosque- the Hassan Grand Mosque- but construction was abandoned after the death of Yacoub.

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97 The Almohads were a Muslim Amazigh (Berber) dynasty that ruled much of medieval Morocco and the Iberian peninsula.
al-Mansour. The ruins of the mosque and its distinctive unfinished minaret (now called Hassan Tower) remain to this day.\[^98\]

An important historical moment in the urban development of Rabat was, just as it was in Tetouan, the Christian Spanish “reconquest” of Iberia from the Muslims that characterized the 15th and 16th centuries. The Marinid dynasty ruled Rabat from the 13th century to the 15th century, when they moved to the interior of Morocco. After the departure of the Maranids in the early 17th century, Rabat became a haven for both Muslim and Jewish Andalusian refugees from Iberia, as did the town of Salé across the Bouregreg. These refugees were important agents in urban change; they re-populated and expanded the Kasbah of the Oudaïas, and founded the medina directly to the south of the Oudaïas (see map below). By the mid-17th century, the Andalusians who settled in both Rabat and Salé founded the Independent Republic of the Bouregreg, which became known for its piracy against Spanish and Portuguese colonial ships along the coast.

Another important historical moment in the history of Rabat was the arrival of the French colonial powers and the establishment of the city as the French Protectorate’s capital in 1912. The Independent Republic of the Bouregreg dissolved when the Alawite monarchy consolidated their rule in Morocco, and designated Rabat an imperial city alongside Marrakech, Fez, and

\[^{98}\textit{Rabat 2019. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc.}\]
Meknes. When the French arrived in Rabat, they found a historic city that was less populated and less politically relevant than the interior cities of Fez (then the capital) and Marrakech. The French built the *Ville Nouvelle* (French: New City) outside Rabat’s medina wall, which gradually expanded throughout the protectorate period.\\

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99 Ibid
100 Rabat 2019. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc.

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Map: areas roughly corresponding to the kasbah of the Oudaiaas (black outline), the medina (blue outline), and the *ville nouvelle* (red)
Group I: The UNESCO nomination board for “Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage” (2011-2012)

The state officials, architects, and professors who successfully nominated historic Rabat to be inscribed on UNESCO’s world heritage list stressed the urban fabric’s cosmopolitanism. According to the nomination board, The architecture shows a “fertile exchange” between Ancient, Islamic, Amazigh, European, Jewish, and Christian societies. I use a textual analysis of the original nomination file from the board that was submitted to UNESCO for review as my primary source of evidence. Other evidence includes excerpts from my interview in January of 2020 with Imane Binnani, an architect and academic who was one of the individuals who served on the UNESCO nomination board.

The individuals who served on the board consisted of elite state officials, architects, and intellectuals/academics. The project coordinators were Abdellah Salih- Director of Cultural Heritage from the Moroccan Ministry of Culture, and Hassan Amrani, the Wali of the Region Rabat-Salé-Zemmour-Zaer and Governor of Rabat prefecture. The supporting “Scientific and Technical Team” includes archeologists, architects, and professors who also serve in government offices regarding heritage, culture, and urban planning. For example, the science/technical team included Mohamed Belatik, an archaeologist and urban planner from the ministry of culture, Ahmed Skounti, professor of anthropology at the National Institute of Sciences of Archeology and Heritage in Rabat, and Imane Binanni, architect, geographer, and head of the architecture

school at the International University of Rabat. Ultimately, the nomination board proposed that the following historic neighborhoods and sites be inscribed on UNESCO’s list to be protected: 102

1) The medina  
2) The Kasbah of the Oudayas  
3) The Ville Nouvelle  
4) The Hassan Tower and Mohammed V Mausoleum  
5) The Chellah  
6) Dour Jamaa Neighborhood  
7) Historic gardens

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Throughout the nomination, the board frames Rabat’s built heritage as a “shared history” between different people, religions and cultures. I argue that the board’s emphasis on historic Rabat’s harmonious blend of cultures can be understood as Anthony Appiah’s definition of cosmopolitanism, which is a “contamination” and “coexistence.” of different cultures.\textsuperscript{103} This cosmopolitanism, the board shows, has persisted in Rabat since the city’s founding:

From ancient to modern times, the town site offers a panorama of monuments, sites and landscapes, historical and/or living representative of its history and, more broadly, a portion of that of the country and even the Mediterranean west. They show each and all of this sharing that Moroccans have demonstrated throughout their history, despite the vicissitudes of which it was marked repeatedly.\textsuperscript{104}

For example, over the course of history, the Kasbah of the Oudaias was inhabited by the Almoravids, Almohads, Jewish and Muslim Andalusian refugees, and the Alawites.\textsuperscript{105} The archeological site of Chellah has Mauritanian, Phonecian, Roman and Muslim Maranid ruins.\textsuperscript{106}

Rabat’s historic sites’ cosmopolitanism meets UNESCO’s standards of an “outstanding example of human settlement” and a “testimony of an interchange of human values.”\textsuperscript{107}

The board proceeds to describe in great detail how the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century ville nouvelle, or neighborhood built by the French Protectorate in Morocco, conveys a balanced “synthesis” of western European urbanism with local Moroccan urbanism. For

\textsuperscript{103} Appiah. 2006. \textit{Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a Word of Strangers} p. xv \\
\textsuperscript{105} “Rabat: Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage.” SUBSECTION: “The Kasbah of the Oudaias” \\
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid, SUBSECTION: “The Chellah Archaeological Site” \\
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid, “Justification of criteria”
example the Bank of the Maghrib building’s “style is rich, especially in the differential treatment of the facades...it is a neo-Moorish style public facility with a subtle harmony between art deco and Moorish architecture.”

St. Peter's Cathedral, built in 1919, “is a colossal neoclassical building with Arabic influences. The plan of the cathedral has a Latin cross (Roman style) while the tower's minarets adopt a silhouette (inspiration of the Islamic style).” The post office built in the 1910s has an art deco foundation, with the “theme of the triumphal arch with the tripartite opening and the importance of the central arch but with integration of green glazed tile in coronation as a reminder of Moroccan traditional arts.”

While the nomination board members are aware that the buildings were built under a period of foreign occupation, they still frame the ville nouvelle as a successful “marriage” between European and Moroccan styles. Imane Binanni, an architect who served on the nomination board observed:

The architecture – at the time of the protectorate, in the twentieth century, there was art deco, art nouveau. They took that style and they applied it here but with a Moroccan touch: this is neo-traditional, this is our version of art deco, our neo-classic style. They took a well-known style and made a Moroccan version of it. Here’s art deco, this here is how our art nouveau is, here’s modern art.

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108 Ibid
110 Binnani, Imane. Personal interview. January 20th, 2020. 12:00pm, International University of Rabat
Binanni’s statement in the context of the overall nomination argues that Morocco’s urban fabric was able to incorporate different styles, and subsequently ideas of urbanism, culture, and way of life.

The neighborhood of Diour Jamaa further demonstrates what Appiah would define as “cultural contamination” between the French and Moroccans. Built by French architects in 1917 to 1930, the architectural styles are almost exact replicas of those in the old medina. The French architects built the quarter to accommodate middle and upper class Moroccan bureaucrats, as the original medina became overwhelmed by large numbers of rural migrants. The UNESCO nomination board emphasizes how “the architectural tradition of the Medina dazzled French architects [with its] urban beauty and authenticity.” Thus, the low houses inverted on courtyards, and narrow streets of the quarter look almost identical to the medina. However, “in order to integrate the necessities and amenities of modern life, some architectural elements such as fireplaces, sanitary and openings are modern European style.” The result, similar to the ville nouvelle, is “buildings where two different cultures blend and harmonize…elements that marry, in a perfect symbiosis, the modern and the traditional, local and abroad.”

However, the nomination board makes it clear that Rabat’s cosmopolitan urban fabric existed long before the French arrived. Rabat’s old medina, founded in the 12th century, demonstrates a remarkable mix of cultures just like the Ville Nouvelle and Diour Jamaa:

The medina has an Amazigh (Berber) background dating back to the Almoravid period and especially Almohad and Marinid, and gradually arabized. The medina welcomed, from the sixteenth century, many Andalusian families expelled from Spain after the Reconquista. The cultural traits these families are felt to this day. Finally, the Jewish

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112 “Rabat: Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage.”
The mellah is a “symbol of tolerance and cohabitation,” which is another key tenet of Appiah’s definition of cosmopolitan. Rabat, like Tetouan, was a refuge for expelled Jews from early-modern Iberia. Originally Jews settled in the Kasbah of the Oudaias, but when the Jewish population of Rabat grew, Sultan Moulay Slimane ordered an entire section of the medina to be designated as the mellah for their protection. Thus, the board states how the Jewish quarter is testament not only to Morocco’s overall acceptance of Jewish refugees, but that its sultan actively accommodated Jews into the space of the city while Spain and the rest of Europe were increasingly intolerant.

The board proceeds to show how historic homes in Rabat’s Medina represent the city’s historic geographical diversity. For example, Dar Karrakchou, built in the mid-18th century by Andalusian merchants, is described as a “synthesis of influences developed on both banks of the Mediterranean. And despite having experienced a first renovation in the year 1862 to 1863, the house still retains [a] soft decorative Spanish-Maghreb combination.” Similarly, the minaret of Moulay al-Makki mosque is “stylistically related to

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113 Ibid
114 Ibid
115 “Rabat: Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage.”
the tower of gold in Andalusia,\textsuperscript{116} testimony of the continuous exchanges between the two shores of the Strait of Gibraltar.”\textsuperscript{117}

The Mohammed V Mausoleum, built by his son, former King of Morocco Hassan II, symbolizes the diversity present within modern Moroccan society. As the advisory board states “visitors can admire the dome that crowns the funeral hall and records carved on plaster or wood that offer a brilliant synthesis of Moroccan decorative arts.” For example, the walls are lined Arabic calligraphy styles adopted from Muslim Spain, and the green roof is traditional to Fez, while the dome alludes to the Marinid and Saiidan dynasties.\textsuperscript{118} Even when I interviewed my tour guide on why her favorite monument was the mausoleum, she told me:

\begin{quote}
A lot of artisans from all of Morocco came to Rabat to make it. Morocco is very big, with lots of artisans, so the mausoleum shows that even if it’s just one country, we have a lot of cultures, which came together to make a magical thing. Every time I go is like the first time.
\end{quote}

Finally, throughout the entire document, the nomination board consistently references Rabat’s architectural links to other historically Middle East and North African (MENA) cities that can be defined as cosmopolitan. The “symmetry and organization” in the designs of medina residences are similar to the “Muslim houses of Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo and of Kairouan.”\textsuperscript{120} During the medieval and early modern period, the aforementioned cities were the “New York City” of the time: ethnically and religiously diverse cultural/commercial centers. Similarly, Rabat’s “monumental Almohad” gates that surround the medina possess an

\textsuperscript{116} The “Tower of Gold” or “Torre de Oro” in Spanish is an Almohad watchtower in Seville, Spain, built when the city was the capital of the Almohad caliphate.
\textsuperscript{117} “Rabat: Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage.”
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid
\textsuperscript{119} Oumaima. Personal interview. January 9th, 2020. Rabat, Morocco
\textsuperscript{120} “Rabat: Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage.”
ornamentation that alludes to the Great Umayyad mosque of Córdoba.\textsuperscript{121} In the tenth century, the city of Córdoba in today’s southern Spain was one of the largest metropolises in the world, where Muslims, Jews, and Christians coexisted in relative harmony.

Through framing their built heritage as cosmopolitan to an international audience like UNESCO, I argue that the members of the nomination board insert both themselves and Rabat into global “ideoscapes” of tolerance and multiculturalism. For example, the board explicitly uses language like “tolerance and cohabitation” when they refer to the mellah Jewish quarter, and “the marriage of Western and Muslim architectural features” when they refer to the ville nouvelle. These discourses on tolerance and cultural coexistence constitute what Arjun Appadurai calls “ideoscapes,” as they are Enlightenment values that have perforated around the contemporary world. At the same time, I argue that the board posits cosmopolitanism as the reason why Morocco is exceptional. The board claims that “the styles used in architecture and decoration in each period as well as their successful synthesis by the architects of the early twentieth century complete each other to give it a unique character.”\textsuperscript{122}

\textbf{Group II: The Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé}

Following historic Rabat’s successful inscription on UNESCO’s world heritage list in 2012, the Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé, or the local government urban planning office, launched two additional plans to further rehabilitate the city’s historic urban spaces. Thus, the Agency is the second group in the elite Rabati coalition that I identify in this chapter. I will analyze the discourses from the Agency’s two plans: 1) the “Plan for the Safeguarding of the Medina of

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid
\textsuperscript{122} “Rabat: Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage.”
Rabat” (2013), and the “Plan for the Safeguarding of the Rabat City Center [ville nouvelle]” (2015). In these plans, representatives of the Agency frame Rabat’s medina and ville nouvelle as cosmopolitan just like the UNESCO nomination board. However, unlike the board, the Agency’s representatives put an emphasis on drawing upon these historic spaces to insert Rabat into global neoliberal capital flows, or “financescapes.”

The Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé itself was founded in 1993. On their website, representatives of the Agency describe themselves as “a public establishment, endowed with legal personality, and with the financial autonomy created by the governmental authority in charge of town planning.” They are organized into a board of directors, chaired by the government authority responsible for town planning and managed by a Director General. In addition to the representatives of the State, the board of directors includes the presidents of the prefectural assemblies of Rabat and Salé, the presidents of the city councils of Rabat and Salé; the representatives of the councils of rural communes on the basis of one representative for ten rural communes, and the presidents of professional chambers.

First, in the “Plan for the Safeguarding of the Medina of Rabat,” published by the Urban Agency in 2013, architect and Urban Agency representative Ahmed Iraqi highlights the medina’s ethnic and religious diversity. I argue that by doing this, Iraqi frames the medina’s heritage with Anthony Appiah’s definition of cosmopolitanism. Over time, Iraqi writes, the Amazigh Almohads, the Maranids, Alawites, and Saiidans lived in the medina, and “the early seventeenth century marked the arrival of Hornacheros and Moriscos

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123 Appadurai, Modernity At Large; Harvey, The Enigma of Capital, A Brief History of Neoliberalism
Iraqi additionally describes how the medina was a bustling center of commerce during the French protectorate, noting the presence of Jews: “The traffic of the port of Rabat in this period was very active...In Ouakassa street there were warehouses and retail stores of Jewish merchants.”

Iraqi proceeds to state that the medina’s rich history can and should be used as a means to attract global tourism. Through promoting tourism, I argue, the Agency attempts to insert Rabat into what David Harvey would define as global neoliberal capital flows. Iraqi states:

Rabat's Medina and Kasbah Oudayas is a historical, religious and cultural high value and is an outstanding river and maritime site. Their tourist attraction is undeniable both by their sites, their monuments and places of worship, cultural and handicraft as their specific souks and residential streets.

Nevertheless, Iraqi claims that the current status of the medina, despite retaining its historical integrity from centuries prior, is not physically equipped to accommodate large numbers of foreign tourists: “[the kasbah and medina] do not offer the minimum required in tourist establishments to adequately fulfill their roles and promote tourism that can contribute to their economic development.”

Thus, the Urban Agency must rehabilitate the landscape, as well as foster private sector action to ensure that the medina can become a viable global tourist destination. Iraqi describes how the Agency plans to deploy rehabilitation strategies commonly found in other cities in the MENA region, tailoring the historic landscape to appeal to the foreign tourist’s tastes. The Agency plans to create a “circuit of sightseeing tours” with signage, while “encouraging the

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126 Ibid. p. 11
127 Ibid, p. 57
construction of tourism luxury units following the precepts of traditional urbanism.”

Furthermore, the Agency will build large underground parking lots near the entrances to the old

[Image: an underground parking lot being built by Bab al-Had entrance to the medina (photo taken by Simon Idelson)]

medina. Finally, they will support “cultural activities and service organizations to facilitate public access to heritage: museums, libraries, theaters, exhibitions and cultural tourism agencies.”

The Agency insists that global tourism will benefit the overall population in the medina. Iraqi states that “tourist infrastructure would mobilize employment and investment” which in turn “can have a profound impact on disadvantaged and marginalized social groups.” More specifically, Iraqi argues that tourism in the medina will benefit poor and working classes:

Because of the worrying level of the population in poverty in the medina of Rabat, (especially among youth), a proactive policy integrating the cultural dimension in future action to promote progress could save these populations in autonomy and vitality . The

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130 Ibid
131 Ibid, p. 19
challenge then is to help them find innovative ways to improve their livelihoods. The benefits of these renovation projects of cultural heritage are numerous: strengthening the local and national economy, job creation, improvement of the urban environment and quality of public spaces. Furthermore, once the sites are rehabilitated, the value of real estate and tax revenues tend to increase, which frees up additional resources to support local institutions and the provision of services.\textsuperscript{132}

In reality, whether or not the local poor and working classes will actually benefit from the tourist industry is very debatable. Sociologist Koenraad Bogaert explains how similar kinds of state and private sector urban renewal efforts in Morocco to attract tourists actually widen socio-economic inequalities.\textsuperscript{133} Bogaert, echoing critical scholars like David Harvey, argues that when elite Moroccan actors insert themselves into global neoliberal capital flows (i.e tourist markets), their primary goal is to accumulate wealth from beyond their borders. Thus, it is very likely that the Urban Agency’s preservation of the medina and its cosmopolitanism primarily benefits people like the owners of the “luxury tourism units” that Iraqi previously mentioned.

Second, I argue that the other report, the “Draft Management Plan and Safeguarding of the City of Rabat”, written by architect and Agency official Abderrahmane Chorfi in 2015, similarly emphasizes what we can understand as cosmopolitanism in the architecture of the ville nouvelle.\textsuperscript{134} Interestingly enough, Chorfi himself was one of the architects/state officials who served on the UNESCO nomination board. Thus, using parallel language from his previous as he did in the nomination, Chorfi describes the architecture of the Ville nouvelle as an encounter, or as Appiah would say, a “contamination,” between Moroccan and French cultures:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{132} Iraqi, Ahmed and Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé, “Plan of Medina Development and Safeguarding” p 19.
\end{itemize}
borrowings from two radically different cultures gave birth to an original architecture, the contradictory aspects of which were overcome with unequal happiness, but often brilliantly...This area has a great diversity and a wide range of styles, some of which bear witness to a great decorative richness and a certain eclecticism from one façade to another and sometimes in the same building. This mixture of forms, however, has not erased architectural styles and the existence of constructions that can be clearly related to this or that era.135

For example, many buildings in the neo-traditional style, such as the Balima hotel along the main Boulevard Mohamed V,

Are characterized by the use of simple and sober volumes enhanced with decorative elements borrowed from local architecture. The multiple friezes are used outside the buildings unlike the medina or they were exclusively intended for the interior of living rooms and patios. This “Arabizing” architecture adapts the figures of the traditional style to new functions.136

Chorfi and the others in the Urban Agency emphasize how the Ville Nouvelle’s rich architectural heritage can be a vital resource, like that of the medina, to promote global tourism. Again, we can conceptualize the revenues from foreign tourists as global capital flows. Even if it is free to walk around the ville nouvelle, tourists will pay to stay in nearby hotels, book tours, eat in restaurants, etc. To accommodate the historic neighborhood to outside visitors, the Agency plans to rehabilitate the landscape to explicitly showcase its cosmopolitan history. The Agency plans to establish several “tourist circuits,” or routes, such as:

A twentieth century architecture tour allows you to contemplate and if necessary visit the remarkable buildings, gardens and public spaces of the New Town (ville nouvelle). This tour allows you to see a collection of objects belonging to all periods of the last century

136 Ibid, p. 25
(art nouveau, art deco, neo-traditional architecture, neoclassical architecture, architecture modern, brutalist current, postmodern architecture, official architecture).137

Chorfi states that the tourist circuits “require development (signs, specific furniture, informative tables, plaques of architects, etc.) and the training of high-level guides (architects or architecture students). Eventually, both tour groups and individual tourists would be able to follow these tourist routes.138

At the same time, Chofri and the others in the Agency stress that rehabilitating the Ville Nouvelle is not just to attract foreign tourists, but to spread awareness among locals of Morocco's “remarkable” heritage. The Agency plans to “strengthen the interest of Moroccans, Rabatis, residents and activity bearers [and] develop events aimed at arousing or establishing this interest: conference, guided tours, street art events, etc.” In these conferences and tours, experts will teach locals about the “remarkable buildings, gardens and public spaces” that show Art Nouveau, Art Deco, and Arabizing designs. As I demonstrate in the next section of this chapter, this strategy of spreading “local awareness” of the cosmopolitan architecture is also used by NGO Rabat Salé Memoire.

Therefore, I argue that Chofri and the Agency identify cosmopolitanism in the buildings of the ville nouvelle as a means to promote Morocco's exceptional national identity. Chofri again emphasizes that the ville nouvelle is both French and Moroccan, a coexistence of foreign cultures- one of Appaih’s key components of cosmopolitanism- that can only be found in Morocco:

137 Ibid, p. 68
139 Ibid, p. 63
Beyond the styles and trends mentioned above, we should note the appearance in Rabat and more generally in Morocco, of an architecture that is both neoclassical by the organization of the facades and the systematic use of symmetry and neo-traditional by the decorative elements borrowed from the local expression. This architecture cannot be reduced to any of the styles to which it refers. It expresses what can be considered as the official architecture of the Protectorate...There is a point, in particular, which we do ourselves some honor. It is to be attached to one of the best characteristics of the Arab construction, the exterior sobriety (...) the Arab construction makes its point of honor to manifest itself outside only by the line, the simplicity of the contours and facades. This architecture will be found in many official buildings.  

As Chofi states, while the Ville Nouvelle was built during the French protectorate, it is most definitely not an identical copy of buildings and boulevards of Paris. Rather, it is an eclectic mix of European and Arab styles. And as he says, this “protectorate” synthesis of architecture can be found “more generally in Morocco,” such as in Casablanca and Marrakech.

Furthermore, when Chofi showcases the ville nouvelle’s cosmopolitanism, it reinforces the idea of Moroccan exceptionalism. As Professor Mohamed Chtatou of Mohammed V University in Rabat states, one reason Morocco is “exceptional” from its Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) neighbors is because of the “‘soft’ colonization under French rule.” Compared to next-door Algeria, Chtatou says, where “the French wanted nothing less than to wipe out all traces of Algeria’s culture,” French resident general in Morocco “Lyautey had a soft-spot for Moroccan culture and safeguarded the Moroccan traditions while modernizing the country.” Therefore, the stylistic blend of the ville nouvelle represents this “soft colonization” that is unique to Morocco; the French “modern” and Moroccan traditional cultures were able to coexist.

142 Ibid
Group III: NGO Rabat-Salé Memoire

The NGO Rabat-Salé Memoire (RSM), founded in 2014, is the third group in Rabat’s coalition that showcases the city’s unique, continuously cosmopolitan identity to both locals and tourists. I argue that this cosmopolitanism serves to insert Rabat’s local communities into global discourses, or “ideoscapes” of tolerance and multiculturalism, while also showing pride and knowledge of their nation’s heritage. I draw upon discourses from primary documents produced by RSM, as well as three personal interviews I had in January of 2020 with the president of RSM, a board member, and a former volunteer. RSM’s primary mode of historic preservation is through education and awareness at the local level. The president of the association is architect Fikiri Ben Abdellah, and the remaining board members are a mixture of architects, economists, and academics. The organization classifies themselves an NGO. RSM is a very well funded NGO because as President Fikiri Ben Abdellah stated that there are “ministries [Ministry of Culture, the Housing ministry], businesses, and banking associations” that help fund the organization. Everyone who works there, however, is a volunteer.

While the UNESCO nomination board and the Urban Agency of Rabat Salé physically rehabilitate, restore, and renovate historic urban spaces, RSM preserves the legacies and histories of the same historical sites through education and outreach to Rabati citizens. RSM has six categories of projects that further their mission of promoting and preserving the local urban heritage:

1) The documentation of heritage that needs to be preserved

143 https://www.rabatsalememoire.com/presentation-de-lassociation
144 RSM Pamphlet
145 Ben Abdallah, Fikiri. Personal interview. January 21st, 2020. 5:00pm, Rabat-Salé Memoire headquarters, Rabat, Morocco
2) Heritage days- where the NGO gives free tours of heritage sites in the city with trained local volunteers
3) Heritage Tuesdays, or monthly conferences and panels on heritage
4) Outreach to school children
5) Working to have heritage further protected by legislation
6) Outreach to the public and private sector for funding.\textsuperscript{146}

In their tour brochures, RSM frames the local built heritage of Rabat as a blend of different cultures. Therefore, I argue that RSM’s language can also be understood as Appiah’s definition of cosmopolitanism as distinct cultures “contaminating” one another. In their “Passport of Heritage,” or the small brochure that RSM provides people on their tours or at their events, RSM has written a brief description of various buildings in the medina of Rabat/Kasbah, the medina of Salé, the Chellah, the Historic Gardens, the Ville Nouvelle, and of the Hassan Tower and Mausoleum of Mohammed V. For example, they describe how the Post office in the Ville Nouvelle possesses an architecture that evokes both France and Morocco: “it is a perfectly symmetrical building, its central front body is clad in Salé stone and recalls the Arc de Triomphe. The Mausoleum of Mohammed V, they say is “characterized by a mix of “Arab-Andalusian style” and “traditional local Moroccan artisan work.”\textsuperscript{147}

\textsuperscript{147} Rabat Salé Memoire. 2019. “Heritage Passport,” print
President of RSM Fikiri Ben Abdellah similarly echoes the language of cosmopolitanism when he describes Rabat’s urban heritage as “characterized by an ancient urban history with different types of people.” He states:

We have a history that begins 600 years B.C.E., from the Romans, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Amazighs, who were in Morocco before Islam. Afterwards came the Islamic state that governed Morocco for almost 1300 years. This is Moroccan history including the interference of Andalusia in Spain.  

Ben Abdellah claimed that RSM preserves this “ancient urban history with different types of people” primarily to promote pride in national Moroccan identity:

Heritage is the foundation of identity. All peoples and human gatherings have a social history and things we see socially. It’s an accumulation of social experiences. This identity includes things that our grand-parents built and applied. This is the cultural identity, the civilizational identity, identity of a nation, its pride, our participation as Moroccans, or Egyptians, or French, or American. That’s why we turn towards heritage and its study.  

Dr. Mina Al-Maghari, an architect and historian who serves as an “assessor” for the NGO actually says that it is relatively new for Moroccans to emphasize the different cultures reflected in their historic architecture. She stated:

Before, In the 1980s onward, there was lots of attention on the buildings that are in the medina. But now, after Rabat was inscribed on UNESCO's list, there is growing sentiment to include French architecture as a part of Moroccan heritage. This is also Moroccan heritage because it is on Moroccan soil. This has happened to French heritage, Portuguese Heritage, and Spanish heritage. And there is growing awareness of a lot of other Moroccan heritage, such as Jewish heritage, churches, and the ancient granaries in the south. 

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148 Ben Abdallah, Fikiri. Personal interview.  
149 Ibid  
Al-Maghari attributes this shift to a new “way of thinking” of Moroccan identity, particularly in the context of the 2011 constitution:

Moroccans now are African and Muslim, but also Christians and Jews. Officially, now, Moroccans are diverse. And this diversity reflects the heritage. And Berber heritage, this is Moroccan. There is the “official” heritage from the dynasties, and then other diverse heritage. This is shown through the government, education and civil society. Civil society is very important in Morocco. They are doing a lot of work to spread awareness on this future. Foreign countries look at Morocco as a special country, as exceptional.  

First, I argue that when Al-Maghari and other Moroccans engage in aforementioned discourses of diversity, they can subsequently engage in contemporary global ideoscapes of tolerance and multiculturalism. Second, as Al-Maghari mentions, cosmopolitan and diverse built heritage is also the source of Morocco's “exceptionalism.” No other countries in the MENA region can claim the historic religious and ethnic diversity as Morocco. Even before the Romans, Arab/Muslims, and Europeans, Morocco possessed “Judeo and Amazigh” origins.

Additionally, former RSM volunteer Youssef demonstrates how the organization trains tour guides to frame Rabat’s historic urban spaces as cosmopolitan. Youssef is a young professional who now works in a multilingual call center in Rabat, while also giving private tours of the city’s architecture through Airbnb. He speaks French, English, and Darija (Moroccan colloquial Arabic), and used to volunteer for RSM by giving tours at the Chellah archaeological site primarily to schoolchildren and locals. The organization gave him and several of his friends a three-month training session on the history of the sites. Upon completion of the training, the

151 Al-Maghari, Mina. Personal interview.
153 Youssef. Personal interview. January 11th, 2020. 11:00am. Rabat Waterfront
volunteers selected the site where they were to give tours. Youssef said that when giving tours, he and other tour guides would emphasize the different cultures reflected in the architecture:

The Chellah is a site where there are Phoenecian ruins, Mauritanian ruins, and Roman ruins...and a Muslim necropolis with a quranic school built by the Maranids. After the reconquista, Andalusian refugees settled in Rabat and Sale, and they brought their culture, history, traditions, and even names.

Again, Youssef’s emphasis on the diverse ethnic and religious groups—Roman, Maranid, Andalusian, Islamic, etc.—illustrates Appaih’s definition of cosmopolitanism.

Through disseminating the urban spaces’ cosmopolitan history through tours to locals and children, I argue that RSM engages local communities both with global ideoscapes of diversity. When schoolchildren and locals go on tours of Rabat’s historic urban spaces with people like Youssef, they learn how Morocco is a synthesis among various cultures (Roman, Islamic, Andalusian, Berber, European, etc.). Thus, they are able to join global conversations on the values of diversity, multiculturalism, and tolerance—the essence of cosmopolitanism. These ideoscapes are particularly potent in global cities like New York, London, and Paris. In essence, *shared cosmopolitan values* put contemporary Rabat in conversation with cities like New York, London, and Paris.

Simultaneously, these tours can instill in locals a sense of their exceptional national identity as Moroccans. Youssef said one of his primary roles as a tour guide was “to educate youngsters and the locals on the importance of their heritage, and of historical monuments.” When locals learn about the post office, who, as RSM’s tour guides say, evokes both the arc de triomphe and Arab ornamentation, or the Andalusian styles in the Mausoleum of Mohammed V,

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154 Youssef. Personal interview. January 11th, 2020. 11:00am. Rabat Waterfront
155 Youssef. Personal interview
they will learn to continue the sentiment of Moroccan exceptionalism. After all, no other country can boast an archaeological site with Roman, Mauritanian, and Phonencian ruins, monuments with Berber and Andalusian designs, and a neighborhood whose buildings are a mix between French and Arab styles, all in one city.

**Conclusions:**

In Rabat, we see a coalition made up of three individual groups come to a consensus on portraying the city’s historic architecture and urban spaces as consistently cosmopolitan throughout the city’s centuries of history. These groups are the UNESCO nomination board, the Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé, and the NGO Rabat-Salé Memoire. By emphasizing how Rabat’s architecture has consistently reflected a mixture of cultures- Amazigh, Arab, Jewish, Andalusian, Roman, Mauritanian, and French- the coalition inserts themselves into global capital and/or cultural flows. In addition, they use these spaces to anchor Morocco’s unique, national, exceptional identity.
Conclusion:

Since 1990, two separate elite coalitions of state officials, architects, academics, artists, and nonprofit activists in the Moroccan cities of Tetouan and Rabat have and continue to preserve the city’s historic built environment. Within the context of their preservation work, these two coalitions similarly claim that their cities’ historic buildings, neighborhoods, monuments, and ruins are “archives” of the city’s- and Morocco’s- enduring diversity, tolerance, and multiculturalism. By using this language, I argue that the two coalitions frame their historic architecture and urban spaces as what Anthony Appiah defines as “cosmopolitan.”

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156 Art historian Mirinalini Rajagopalan argues how buildings can be used as historical archives for political motives in her book *Building Histories: The Archival and Affective Lives of Five Monuments in Modern Delhi*
Cosmopolitanism allows the coalition to *simultaneously* insert Moroccans into what Arjun Appadurai and David Harvey describe as global capital and cultural flows, while promoting a sense of an “exceptional” Moroccan identity. To the two coalitions, Tetouan and Rabat’s architecture is exemplary of Morocco’s “exceptional” blend of cultures- African, Amazigh, Jewish, Roman, Arab, Islamic, Andalusian, Ottoman, French, and Spanish.

The Tetouani coalition consists of three primary groups: the city council/Andalusian government, the NGO the Tetouan Asmir Association (TAA), and a group of young filmmakers from the neighborhood of Jamaa Mezuak. The Tetouani city council partners with the regional government of Andalusia to preserve the historic architecture, framing the architecture as cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism both engages the city’s residents with what Appadurai calls global “ideoscapes” of diversity, tolerance and multiculturalism. The TAA expands upon the city council’s efforts by continuing to rehabilitate and spread knowledge of Tetouan’s historic cosmopolitan architecture locally and abroad. The TAA emphasizes that the city’s diverse architectural heritage can be marketed to a wide range of global tourists, thus inserting the city into global neoliberal capital flows, or “financescapes.” Finally, the filmmakers draw upon Tetouan’s historic cosmopolitan architecture to personally engage in global ideoscapes of tolerance that dispel reputations of terrorism, Islamism, and drugs. At the same time, all groups in the Tetouani coalition emphasize how a continuous “exceptional” cosmopolitanism is a source of Tetouani pride and identity.

The Rabati coalition also consists of three preservationist groups: the nomination board that successfully inscribed Rabat’s historic core on UNESCO’s world heritage list, the local

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157 Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai uses the terms “financescape,” “ideoscape,” and “ethnoscape” to describe the facets of contemporary globalization in his book *Modernity at Large*
governing body the Urban Agency of Rabat-Salé, and the NGO Rabat-Salé Memoire (RSM). The nomination board, made up of state officials from the ministry of culture, architects, and academics, was the pioneering effort to identify Rabat’s enduring cosmopolitanism in its urban spaces. By emphasizing cosmopolitanism to an international audience (UNESCO), the board engages in global ideoscapes of tolerance and multiculturalism. The Urban Agency prioritizes Rabat’s cosmopolitan architecture as a means to insert the city into global tourist markets. Finally, RSM draws upon Rabat’s cosmopolitan urban spaces to promote global “ideoscapes” of tolerance and multiculturalism to local community members. All three groups in the Rabati coalition simultaneously preserve Rabat’s cosmopolitanism to promote a sense of national identity grounded in Moroccan exceptionalism.

To conclude, I identify two broader explanations of why claiming an enduring, authentic cosmopolitanism is important for political actors in the contemporary political climate of Morocco. First, enduring cosmopolitanism shows how Moroccan identity stems from other sources besides Islam. Twenty-first century Morocco has witnessed the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood as a political actor. The Muslim Brotherhood seeks to assert that extreme Islamist practices as authentic to Morocco, which threatens both the legitimacy of King Mohammed VI (r. 1999-present) and the established international image of Morocco as a “moderate,” “modern” Muslim country. Therefore, efforts to demonstrate Morocco’s cosmopolitanism are important counterpoints to the efforts of Morocco’s Muslim Brotherhood. Of course, Morocco has always possessed an important Muslim heritage, but it also has been home to groups such as the Romans, Berbers, Jews, and Europeans.

Second, efforts to demonstrate that Morocco was always cosmopolitan insinuates that 21st century globalization is the continuation of Morocco’s authentic identity. For example, in Rabat, King Mohammed VI and various state and private sector elites are building glass skyscrapers, American style-malls, museums, theatres, and “modern” infrastructure. These modern developments in such a historic city has concerned UNESCO authorities outside of Morocco. In July of 2019, UNESCO wrote a letter to the Moroccan government about the state-private sector project to build the Mohamed VI skyscraper, a 45-story glass skyscraper that is expected to be completed in 2022. In the letter, UNESCO’s representatives said that they were worried how the huge skyscraper could “ruin” the historical integrity of Rabat.

However, as both the Rabati and Tetouani coalitions demonstrate, Morocco has always been open-minded towards different people, religions, and cultures. This is the essence of Morocco’s exceptional cosmopolitanism. While futuristic architecture may be “foreign,” Moroccans have always embraced new people, culture, and ideas. Architect and member of the UNESCO nomination board Imane Bennani states:

Here in Morocco, we know our history but we like to be modern. Both. That isn’t to say, if we build a skyscraper or something else that’s modern, that we will forget our history. For example, with the Mohammed 6 Tower, we want it. And we want the UNESCO heritage as well. We want both. But one won’t interfere with the other. Maybe in other countries, it’s different; they either concentrate on history… we want both...we won’t forget our history, but we will go forward as well.

Binnani continued to state how in Rabat, the “traditional” and “modern” do not contradict one another, but rather coexist. Binani states:

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160 Ibid
[The medina] is foreign. It has a rhythm of life, a particular character, a contrast, and the contrast must stay. We must stay modern while also continuing to be attached to our identity, both of them living in the same space. You may go to the Oudayas and be transported to the period of the Republic of The Bouregreg, the pirates, and contemplate. You may go right next to it and walk around the medina and see everything… The Zaha Hadid theatre. You’ll feel like you in the 2000’s. But right next to it in the same area – this part will bring you back to the years before the Almohads, and feel that the place brings you back to that… And then you go and say I’m living in technology, Zaha Hadid, the bridge, etc. I think we need to stay this way. For me, we shouldn’t preserve heritage and stay attached to it like we’re a museum. We need both. We must leave something for the next generations. Only, we shouldn’t destroy anything. We should continue with both.

In essence, globalization- which brings new developments, markets, and ideas- does not threaten Morocco's historic integrity, but continues its legacy of enduring cosmopolitanism. “Modern” skyscrapers like those in Dubai and New York City, or a futuristic opera house designed by Iraqi architect Zaha Hadid are the logical next stage, rather than a rupture in Morocco's history. If one has any doubts about Morocco's authentic cosmopolitanism - they need only look at the architecture of Tetouan and Rabat. They need only to go on a tour with Rabat-Salé Memoire, or watch the “Tetouan Highlighted by Its Youth” film series. They need only to visit one of the historic houses that the TAA restored, or read Rabat’s nomination document on UNESCO’s website. Then, when one observes how the bazaars in the old medina sell Adidas sneakers, or Sushi bars and McDonald's stand next to historic buildings in the ville nouvelle, they will realize that Morocco’s culture is not threatened. Rather, its millenia-old cosmopolitanism is continued.

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