The post-colonial landscape? Investigating Factors Affecting Moroccan Native Business Landscape Pattern with a Case Study of Jema el-Fnaa Square

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Reference List


Endnote

*The article is based on a field trip entitled “The Tourism of Moroccan, native Landscape” which was held in September of 2016 and was funded by “NAZAR research center”.*
in the midst of a hundred-year-old heritage, and conveys tourists. The Spanish writer’s move towards intangible heritage has made it possible to reveal the business landscape of the Jema el-Fnaa square from the other parts of the city of Marrakech and proved that the real credibility of the square is related to the oral business landscape. However the quantity and form of oral landscape have been transformed by various factors such as colonization, cultural mixing, globalization and tourism; but the spirit remains constant: people who give away one person “ring”, watching him starring at the middle of it.

At the end, it should be said that although the tourism industry boom has affected the native business landscape, the business landscape of the Jema el-Fnaa square is not just a tourist attraction. This landscape, though appearing to be consistent with the post-colonial center-alleviation criteria, is not considered to be the post-colonial landscape; because it does not come from the collective consciousness of the native inhabitants of Morocco. It is only the result of the individual action of those who are arbitrarily colonizers themselves, directly or indirectly. The resultant landscape is a landscape that, although is very similar to its original form, but owes this durability and preservation of its indigenous identity colonialism and “alienation” (the alien means the resident/colonial, not the tourist); the contradiction that may be due to cultural alienation caused by a long association with European countries. It can threaten the oral heritage of the Jema el-Fnaa Square to change or shake in the long run, and this heritage could be influenced by the demands of European tourists. Originally, the Moroccan native business landscape is a colonial landscape with the post-colonial appearance. It is due to the lack of self-awareness of the colonial community about the importance of post-colonial discourse in its society. As long as the society does not reach collective consciousness in post-colonialism, all aspects of the landscape (including the business landscape) will be permeable and vulnerable to the damage of modern colonialism.

Fig.7. The magician stall, night, Jema el-Fnaa square, Marrakech. Photo: Sajjad Moazzen, 2016.
square; and is a significant landscape mutation in the mental image of the audience of the cultural heritage to the Jema el-Fnaa square. The important point is that, as in the first stage, the origin of this transformation is non-native and based on individual action, and the role of the native audience and collective spirit is faint in the protection of this spiritual heritage. The impact of the desire for globalization can be regarded as one of the major causes of this conflict, as well as the mental continuity of the colonialism. An important point is in the difference in motivation of the landscape development of the square; which has a cultural cause and is based on the interest in preserving the cultural heritage (albeit belongs to a foreign country). While indigenous self-awareness is not provoked in this case, and even vice versa, indigenous ignorance of the cultural affairs of the Jema el-Fnaa square had put the square at risk of physical changes.

Tourism and Business Perspectives: Audience and performer
Morocco has been a tourist territory for a variety of reasons including being close to Europe, having many beaches and the effects of many years of European entanglement, and this is not a controversy. The basic question of this paper, from the beginning, has been the type of interaction between the “tourist” and the “business landscape”. Tourism in a city such as Marrakech has existed since colonization era, but the beginning of the tourism boom as the second source of country income dates back to the late 1990s and in particular after the “2010 Outlook “ was presented by the King of Morocco, Sultan Mohammed VI in 1999 (a decree to reach 10 million foreign tourists in 2010). The date of both transitional stages of the business landscape of Jema el-Fnaa square has precedence on this date. In fact, tourists have played a minor role in the two main stages of the landscape transition of Jema el-Fnaa square - and, in particular, the business landscape-. This does not mean that tourists are not effective in the native business industry. For example, the presence of tourists has completely affected the business of the Jema el-Fnaa Square, as well as the Marrakech Medina's markets (this effect of the tourism industry is more pronounced in comparison with the less- touristic cities such as Meknes). But in indoor space of square, the impact of tourism is more limited to material business. For example, drinking stalls have completely touristic figure, but there are their native instances in native drinking stalls of Meknes city as well. It means these elements are not absolutely under the influence of tourism.

Oral business, however, as it has been seen, was part of the culture and history of the square in such a way as to affect the colonialists. Although the shape of these activities has changed, for example, today there are fewer storytellers and magicians, and music performers are more active (Schmitt, 2005: 184); but these changes seem to be more likely due to the spirit of time and the globalization of nations rather than the presence of tourists.

In other words, tourists on the Jema el-Fnaa square merely represent the spectators or the maximum black cast of a great scene, whose main actors are the heirs of Oral Culture.

Conclusion

Given the achievements of the second part of this paper the hypothesis, although not completely rejected, is not acceptable either. The impact of tourists on the material business industry of the Jema el-Fnaa square (possibly the most volatile sector of Morocco’s native business landscape) is more or less visible, although this effect is more significant in the periphery section of the square. But the oral business landscape, which is in fact the spirit of the square, retains the medina
emphasizing the impartiality of the interior space of Square from any construction, it was actually sealed to continue the life of in-square activities based on the native business landscape. In this way, the field remained open for the preservation and survival of the oral heritage of the square. On the other hand, the replacement of shops and cafes instead of the walls that were formerly around the area, initiated a new wave of materialistic and commodity-based business landscape. Because, with the recognition and modernization of the Jema el-Fnaa Square, this field has become, in fact, the common ground of Medina and the European part of Marrakech, and the functional role of the “urban knot” was left to it. Thus, it can be expected that the “alien” foot is gradually opened to this important urban area and as a result, the commercial services demanded by this cortex will be presented in the modern areas of the square along with it.

In sum, it should be said that the first stage of the mutation of Jema el-Fnaa square, albeit with a non-native origin and exploitative goals behind it, but in the end, due to the observance of the principles of the indigenous urban life, there are convergent results: It led to the creation of a physical order in the square and also has protected the former indigenous system based on oral business landscape. Indeed, the greatest achievement of this period was the preservation of the Oriental-Organic Order of the square which has been the cultural-historical aspect of the landscape.

Second stage: post-colonial era.

The second landscape mutation targeted the mental aspect of the Jema el-Fnaa square more than the previous one. Although the city of Marrakech, which included the Jema el-Fnaa Square, was registered as a World Heritage Site in 1985 by UNESCO, the cultural significance of the field was still false (Skounti & Tebbaa, 2011: 57); to the extent that in the 1990s the municipality policies of Marrakech placed this area in physical degradation (Meller, 2010). The landscape value of the square as an oral and intangible heritage was first noticed by Juan Goytisolo, a Spanish writer living in Medina of Marrakech. In his novel “Makbara” (published in 1980), he introduces the common life on the Jema el-Fnaa square as the nomadic life utopian: calls it the non-dominant world, and while abolition of ownership, knows the square has rigid special hierarchy (Goytisolo, 1988: 205). He considers the square’s spatial mechanism “unyielding” and “awkward” (The same) and at the same time he praises this figure. Applying the term “grasping” to the current life in the square also makes Goytisolo’s view more visible to the native culture of the Jema el-Fnaa square and the land of Morocco in general. In fact, he has been judged about the Moroccan culture as a “foreigner”; and since he has considered it far from universal civilization he has admired it; an attitude that is in a way, a continuation of Marshall’s separatist view between two European and African worlds. Goytisolo could bring local intellectuals with him and attract attentions. His idea of protecting the intangible heritage of the Jema el-Fnaa Square eventually led to the introduction of the square by UNESCO in 1997 in the title of the cultural space required for protection (the same & Smith, 2005: 179). Juan Goytisolo’s proposal was so important that was launched the UNESCO 2003 Statement on Intangible Cultural Heritage. In this statement, non-physical factors such as behaviors, symbols, and native knowledge and skills were recognized as an intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003). This definition is compatible with the oral and intangible values of the Jema el-Fnaa square and in particular the oral business landscape of this area. Historical activities of the square, such as augury and prophecy, were supported under the protection of UNESCO by these definitions and Goytisolo’s efforts.

The second stage of the mutation of Jema el-Fnaa square was neither objective nor physical development. This mutation was a semantic transformation which attracted everyone’s attention to the value of the oral heritage of the
Table 1. Comparison of business landscape in two squares of al-Hadim Meknes and Jema el-Fnaa Marrakech, based on three variables. Source: Author.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place variable</th>
<th>al-Hadim square Meknes</th>
<th>Jema el-Fnaa square Marrakech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>audience</td>
<td>indigenous</td>
<td>Indigenous/tourist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods/services</td>
<td>native usually/ temporary &amp; permanent routine goods/entertainment and native meal services</td>
<td>Combination of native &amp; tourist/ temporary &amp; permanent Non routine goods/ native meal services/ cultural services (oral landscape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>active at evening/night</td>
<td>semi-active at Day hyper-active at evening/night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The history of the business landscape on the Jema el-Fnaa Square

A review of historical sources suggests that the oral business landscape on the Jema el-Fnaa Square of Marrakech has a long history, much more than modern tourism history. Hassan Elyouzi, a Moroccan Sufi writer, who lived during the 17th century, in a paper mentioned eminent account of the storytelling profession in Jema el-Fnaa, and describes how the old storyteller is busy with an exciting storytelling while the congregation circled around him (Tebbaa & El Faiz, 2003: 98). This goes back to the time that, Jema el-Fnaa still did not have the physical form of a metropolitan area, and was more a vast open space in which activities such as what was said took place. This suggests that the business landscape, at least in the oral sector, has a top priority on the tourism industry on the one hand and the urban systematization of the Jema el-Fnaa square on the other.

Protecting Business Landscape: Stages and Reasons

In the following library studies on the subject, two stages of fundamental change have been identified in effective urban policy in landscape of the Jema el-Fnaa square; both of which have been designed to protect the business landscape of square; However, with completely different reasons and incentives. First stage: the colonial era

The first fundamental transformation in the structure of the Jema el-Fnaa Square occurred during the colonial period of Morocco by France from 1912 to 1956. This evolution in fact, was part of French cultural policy in its urban colonial development. During this period the French governor of Morocco, Marshall Lyautey, took the policy of reconciliation instead of harmonizing Moroccan urbanism and architecture. In the sense that, to create the desired social order of the French government and to create unity, pressure counted an undesirable and costly measure. Instead, it was supposed to maintain local life styles (Minca, 2006: 158,159). The significance of such a policy will be revealed when it is compared to the urban development policy of the colonial government of Britain in a colony like India. Policy based on major changes in urban structure, such as what is seen in Mumbai. Accordingly, the idea of the dual city design was introduced, which consisted of three pillars:
1. Maintaining traditional and indigenous areas.
2. Creating a green belt around these indigenous areas.
3. Designing and constructing a new town for the residence of European residents.

According to this theory, the Moroccan cities included two adjacent parts: Medina and Veil Novele. In the following, Marshall Lyautey started a project called “Inspiration for Local Cultures” for the development of traditional texture along with preserving the native system. Some part of project was related to the systematic study of Moroccan historical sites. From these studies the Jema el-Fnaa Square was “redeveloped”. Until then, the square had no geometric shape that would be recognizable and lacked a specific area. At the same time, this space was “vibrant,” which fascinated Marshall (The same, 160,161). The liveliness came from popular landscape depended on native business landscape that has survived over time, but its value remained unknown.

The Marshall ordered to calculate and determine the limits of square, and three orders were issued to protect the area as a cultural heritage of Morocco:
1. The center of the square was excluded from future construction.
2. The facades of the surrounding area are not allowed to make changes without the permission of the competent authorities.
3. Only “natives” have permission to buy or rent buildings around the area (Ibid : 167).

Impact of urban policymaking on the business landscape of Square

The three-fold commands of protecting Jema el-Fnaa Square were effective on the business landscape from two aspects; The first one: By
rare in al-Hadim Square, which is practically non-existent. While the presence of a variety of musicians or groups of musicians, snake-catchers, as well as traditional lounges that move tourists from the entrance of the medina to Jema el-Fnaa square, creates a frenzied scene that increases the likelihood impact of the tourist industry on the popular culture of the square (Fig. 5).

**Third variable: time**

In addition to the impact of the audience and the service, the time issue is also effective in business landscape change. In particular, this effect is more striking during the day and night in Medina Squares, in Meknes and Marrakech. In Meknes and al-Hadim Square, in the middle of the day, the presence of people and street vendors is dim. As the sun sets in, it has risen to the present, and faces the socially active population by night, in which many stalls and street vendors play an important role in this popular landscape prospect.

In Marrakech, though, during the day there are a large number of drink stalls in Jema el-Fnaa Square, but as the end of the day approached, the huge flood of food retailers and musicians and performers, along with tourists as well as natives, come along to Square, then square become a field of popular landscape, a combination of indigenous people and tourists (Table 1); (Fig.6).

**Conclusion of Field studies: Formation of the hypothesis**

What found form the first part of this paper as a hypothesis, is that the business landscape and tourism industry in the cities of Morocco has a dual relationship with each other. Thus, at first, the tourism industry was formed under various causes, one of which was the historical aspect of the land; at this stage, the business landscape in the historical fabric is considered as one of the tourism attractions. In the following, the presence of the tourist has caused a gradual or perhaps dismissal change of the business landscape in the traditional Medinas; There has been changes based on the wishes of the tourist, both in terms of the type of goods as well as in terms of services. The developments that eventually led to the formation of a distinctive business landscape in similar bodies in the Medina of various cities. Accordingly, the current model of the native business landscape of Medinas seems to be a function of the tourism industry. The witness of this hypothesis, in particular, is the Marrakech’s Jema el-Fnaa Square, as one of the most important tourist attraction centers in whole Morocco.

**Part II: Analyzing the status of Moroccan Native Business Landscape through Library Studies**

To verify the correctness or inaccuracy of the hypothesis, there is a need for library studies and its adaptation to field observations; the second part of this paper addresses this issue. In this section, the focus is on the Jema el-Fnaa Square, which the tourism industry has already been described as a major variable in its business landscape pattern.
includes mobile vendor stalls and other temporary commercial services. In the division of the permanent and temporary business, the two squares are roughly similar, but the quality and quantity of the services offered differ. Al-Hadim Square, in the busy hours discussed below, influenced by the non-native audience is more dedicated to providing public services for leisure. For example, there are several traditional drinks (sugar cane juice) booths and traditional food (such as chickpeas), as well as the sale of low-cost children’s products (balloons and cheap toys). Although the native food experience is one of the Moroccan tourist attractions, but the native business landscape of al-Hadim Square and its popular landscape shows that these products are actually in line with the native audience’s request (Fig. 3).

Unlike Meknes, there are two temporary business spectrums in Jema el-Fnaa Square of Marrakech: first the food retailers; and second the spectrum of performers and native arts providers. In another division, it can be referred to the “material-goods business” and “oral-cultural business.”

In the first case, the multiplicity of vendors as well as their special form of presence (in large and high-profile stalls, which are all covered with numbers and figures and promotional materials) show a clear competition for attracting tourists. The most important product offered by these vendors is herbal drinks and all kinds of juices, which is perfectly suited to the ethos of tourists. Because the basis of the behavior of tourists is to go through long paths in long periods of time, the most important consequence of which is thirst (Fig. 4). The audience type also complements and consolidates this section of the business landscape of Jema el-Fnaa Square as well. Dining outlets are also present at those hours of the day and night in which their audience fluctuates between the indigenous and the tourist Spectrum.

The spectrum of performers and native artists is another important distinction between the business landscape in the two urban squares of Meknes and Marrakech. Such services are very
First variable: audience
The audience on the one hand influences the popular landscape of environment (popular ethics) and, on the other hand, determines the type of business. In the field of determining the type of business and public urban commerce, the issue of goods and services required by the audience is the first word. Here, the role of the non-native audience is highlighted in creating differences. The indigenous audience is primarily looking for everyday goods and services, and in the next step, is seeking goods and services that are non-routine, but related to his/her native life. In contrast, the demand of the non-resident audience and the tourist is to experience and buy products that have a trace of Moroccan traditional history and culture, products that are native, albeit mixed to native everyday life and therefore no longer have a place in the native business landscape; in the sense that they are not needed by the natives. The tourist audience is essentially seeking to experience the history of Morocco on its contemporary journey. The audience on the al-Hadim Meknes Square is absolutely native. While Marrakech’s Jema el-Fnaa Square has both indigenous and tourist audiences. The distinction of audiences, shows its impact on the distinction between the type of goods/services provided more than anything else. In fact, in field observations it seems that the second variable itself is a function of the first variable (an effective step towards the hypothesis of the article). How of this connection will be discussed further.

Second variable: goods, services
The two squares of Jema el-Fnaa in Marrakech and al-Hadim in Meknes have two physical incidents of business landscape: permanent and temporary business landscape. The permanent business is shaped in large parts of the body of the square on both squares in the form of outbound shops and cafes. The temporary business, which has a more dynamic image than its permanent form,
like a neighborhood center and usually there are a few shops that offer everyday services, such as grocery and home appliances repair shops. The spatial openings in Morocco is basically not like a native gathering center and is more like the continuation of the market. Usually, in addition to the continuity of the market, the presence of over-the-top cafes full of European tourists is impressive in the spatial opening of this city’s Medina: Cafes which are serving traditional Moroccan cuisine. These spaces are providing services more than providing goods,

**Square**

Square in Medina of the two cities of Marrakech and Meknes, regardless of the differences that will be addressed, is a multi-functional space, combined with the good-centric function of the market orders and the service-centric function of the spatial openings. For this reason, the field, at the same time, has spaces of pause, half-pause and movement, which are diverse in terms of quantity and quality. This variety and multiplicity of space, confirmed by the audience’s approach, turns the Medina Square into the landscape business section and its extract in both of these cities (Fig. 1&2).

**Comparison of business landscape in two squares of al-Hadim and Jema el-Fnaa**

After selecting the square of Medina as the focal area and the business landscape icon, in the third step the “how” of the business function of the two squares of al-Hadim and Jema el-Fnaa is compared, so that during the comparison and the adaptation of the causes of the differentiation, the possible variables shaping the native business landscape of Medinas can be identified. This comparison is based on three variables of the audience, time, and goods/services.

![Fig.1. Jema el-Fnaa square, day, Marrakech. Photo : Samaneh Rahmdel,2016.](image_url)
**Research questions**

1. What are the factors that affect the native business landscape in Morocco?
2. To what extent native business landscape of Morocco has the native originality and how much of it is just native scenes? In other words, the maintenance of the native structure of the business landscape to what extent was the result of self-consciousness and native self-knowledge, and to what extent has been influenced by non-dominant or perhaps colonial factors?
3. What is the role of tourism, as a foreign agent with a colonial background, in the current shape of the Moroccan business landscape? Subjective or passive?

**A Survey on how the Moroccan native business landscape looks through field observations**

In the first part of this paper, the “how” of the native business landscape is examined in three steps:

Step 1: Field surveys of indigenous business environments in the Moroccan cities, and the identification of Medina as the origin of the native business landscape. In this section, according to the research questions, the two cities of Meknes and Marrakech, have been chosen as a case study; because while affinity in the structure of Medinas, the two cities in terms of the tourist’s audience are in opposite poles, which allows for a fair comparison.

Step 2: Locating the business landscape focal points in Medina; based on field observations, urban squares are identified as the focal point of a business landscape.

Step 3: Comparing the business landscape of two cities’ Medinas; taking into account time and audience variables; and hypothesis formation.

**The Moroccan Medina; the origin of the native business landscape**

Comparing the economic fabric of Medina with the new city, the native-modern bipolar is clearly identifiable given the scientific concept of modernity as universal and non-native concept. In both the cities of Meknes and Marrakech, the Medina of city has an economic dynamic in the two fields of the urban orders and urban squares. However, this dynamism has severity and weakness and has different qualities in both cities and in different parts of every city, but in any case indicates the choice of Medina as an active trading space. Although the nativity level varies depending on the type of audience and service in the Medina of city, however, every Medina has at least a distinct business landscape compared to city’s new part.

**Locating the Business Landscape Centers in Medina**

The Medina of city in Morocco generally consists of three sections: the square, market orders, and spatial openings. Comparing the business landscape in these three areas, it leads to the identification of the most dynamic commercial space of old fabric.

**Orders**

In the business orders of Meknes, the role of the audience is even more pronounced. Regardless of the low economic level, the goods are presented in few categories: first, everyday goods such as food and meat. Second, non-routine goods with indigenous consumption, such as cheap clothes and fabrics, such as the Moroccan women wear. Third, high-priced non-routine goods, which should be specifically mentioned in the market for petroleum products, which, of course, are not of interest to tourists and are of special interest to indigenous people. Market orders in Marrakech have also looked longer and, in terms of the type of goods offered, have become a completely touristy spot. From the sale of all kinds of leather and textiles, pottery and crystals to miniature souvenirs named of Morocco, all of Moroccan market orders are different from the Meknes market. The type of audience present at the site also confirms this impression from the business landscape.

**Spatial Openings**

The spatial openings in Meknes Medina are more
Introduction

The term “post-colonial discourse” began to emerge from the early 1980s into the postmodern world of intellectual thought, by thinkers such as Edward Saeed. Its purpose is generally the decentralization of the world, centered around European and American colonizers, and the prevalence of the theory of the “existence of a multi-centered world”, in terms of culture and civilization (Vatanabadi, 2003: 31). It should be noted that the term post-colonial does not mean the post-colonial era; as there are territories which, with the end of the colonial era, still failed to regain their identity, and remained colonized. Of dimension economic the, hand other the On article this in to referred ,landscape urban the been have always “landscape business” the as ,titles and names different with considered the thus and ,livelihood of quality the reflects it environment living the of vitality. Urban of components indigenous the Among ;place special a have activities social ,landscape in else anything than more evident is which in landscape business The ,landscape business landscape popular a considered is land every of exchange of area the in behaviors Popular .pillar good a provide level city the at services and goods environmental of perception the for opportunity subject is landscape business The ,perceptions and objective both including ,factors various to these of some ,region each in ;factors subjective this shaping in role effective more a play factors staging social. A is City Moroccan the as known now is What city old the including ,arena dimensional-two the as known ,city new the and ,Medina called physical both ,sections two The ,Nouvelle Ville ,different fundamentally are ,style life and in landscape business the ,consequently and .evolutions different two has cities Moroccan form current their in Medinas Moroccan The former the from body the of merging the are Morocco in life of spirit the and landscape urban diminution the is merger this of result The .today ,contrary the on and ,living of landscape the of business native the of view visible more a is it ,Medina dominated has which ,landscape

The Need for Research

To understand the process of evolving the urban landscape in colonized lands, it is important to distinct between the role of colonialism and the colony in this process; because this makes it clear that to what extent the contemporary structure of the native urban landscape shaped to its own native culture, according to the inhabitants’ awareness; and to what extent it was based on the ignorance of the influence of the colonial culture. Meanwhile, the signs of the presence of native culture in urban landscape cannot be easily passed; because these signs can be the product of traditional life, contemporary consciousness or non-native factors. Each of these causes can lead to a different future for the native urban landscape. Therefore, it is necessary to first identify the “present” state, then, with a mistake to the past, the reason for the current state of the urban landscape is discovered. That is why the present paper begins with an interpretation of the current state of the urban landscape under discussion, and then analyzes the origin of the current situation.

Hypothesis

The native business landscape in the medina squares of Moroccan cities is a direct function of the tourism industry, so that with the change in the rate of tourism in different cities, the business landscape of the square varies in the spectrum between the native landscape and the tourist landscape.
The post-colonial landscape?

Investigating Factors Affecting Moroccan Native Business Landscape Pattern with a Case Study of Jema el-Fnaa Square

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Abstract

Moroccan native business landscape consists of a landscape that is most visible to the daily activities of the people of this land. The business landscape, for the same reason, is most closely related to native culture; at the same time, it is the function of various variables which distinguish this landscape on intercultural scale. This essay aims to identify a part of the native culture of the Land of Morocco, looking for the most influential factors in shaping the current Moroccan native business landscape. This process is done in two parts: field observations and library studies. The first step is to discover the problem; and the second step is to solve it. In the field studies, by examining the Moroccan medinas as locations of the native business landscape, ultimately two squares of Moroccan cities were selected as two examples of focal point of this landscape: al-Hadim square in Meknes and Jema el-fnaa square in Marrakech. By comparing these two, the hypothesis of the impact of tourism as a major variable in the business landscape model of medina is presented. In this section, the viewpoint of the Jema el-fnaa square is introduced as the witness of the assumption. This hypothesis is challenged in the second part.

Key words

Native business landscape, World heritage, Post-colonial landscape, Jema el-Fnaa Square, Al-Hadim Square.