
RESEARCH ARTICLE

Representation of the Moroccan Ruler, Tribe and Resistance in Travel Writing: A Postcolonial Study of Morocco That Was and In Morocco

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ABSTRACT

Colonial travel writing performed ideological functions in North Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The images, stories, and narratives composing its representation- created a distorted reality of the colonized lands to normalize and legitimize colonialism. This study contributes to offering a more literary account of how colonial writings about Morocco targeted social and political institutions or organizations as part of its imperial project in the region. To this end, this study examines two travel accounts (Morocco That Was and In Morocco) to identify how they represent the Moroccan ruler, tribe, and resistance during the colonial period. Based on postcolonial and critical discourse analysis perspectives, the findings of this research showed that representation of these aspects of Moroccan life during that period endorsed the colonial and imperial project in Morocco. In the meantime, the study recommended the integration of this colonial discourse earlier in Moroccan textbooks.

KEYWORDS

Travel account, colonialism, postcolonial discourse, representation

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1. Introduction

Morocco underwent French and Spanish colonialism at the beginning of the twentieth century. Before their military invasion, these colonial forces resorted to a colonial discourse produced by Western anthropologists, writers and travelers to explore and design reports about life in this area. Morocco That Was by Walter B Harris and In Morocco by Edith Wharton were two travel writings embodying this trend.

2. Literature review

This part provides a theoretical framework for the current study. It includes a general introduction which sets a historical background of colonial discourse in general and travel writing related to Morocco in particular. Also, it defines some key terms associated with colonial discourse theory, the lens through which representation is investigated in the books at hand.

2.1 Conceptual framework of the study

As stated earlier, the critique of Morocco That Was (MTW) and In Morocco(IM) is done within critical discourse analysis and postcolonial perspectives. Usually, postcolonial theory reflects an orientation in critical discourse analysis which probes into and unveils the derogatory portrayals relegated to the indigenous in colonial discourses. As such, it converges with critical discourse analysis (CDA) in its endeavor to uncover the images of segregation and disparity, aiming to perpetuate power relations and

dominance through discourse¹. Besides, it replicates CDA's main principle of going beyond the simple analysis of the content to address the socio-political context that generates it (Van Dijk, 2000; Fair Clough, 2001).

Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak are prominent scholars who laid the theoretical foundations of postcolonial theory. Edward Said, in his well-informed book *Orientalism*, has raised awareness about the nature of the Western colonial discourse. For many, Said's (1978) ideas have launched a disciplined framework to deconstruct the West ethnocentric vision and chauvinistic attitude toward the rest of the world. According to Gandhi (2007 p. 9), Edward Said's *Orientalism* has explored the "imbalanced relationship between the world of Islam, the Middle East and the 'Orient' on the one hand, and that of European and American imperialism on the other."

2.2 Representation

Selecting and tailoring facts with the purpose of creating a specific reality usually occurs within the boundaries of representation. As such, this latter becomes a complex process which goes beyond the simple act of describing what goes on to an ability to manipulate facts. In this sense, no longer does representation involve the practice of describing "things as they appear in real life" (Longman Dictionary for Contemporary English, 2016), nor should it be confined to "some enabling capacity of the human mind" (Fabian, 1990, p.756). Representation is mainly concerned with "something that we do, as our praxis" (Fabian, 1990, p.756). Fabian's (1990) main point is that representation should be conceived in "the strong sense of transforming, fashioning, and creating" (Fabian, 1990, p.756).

The power of language in this process of representation can by no means be denied. Not only does language operate as the medium through which reality is described, but it represents a source of power to produce facts and beliefs about this reality. For Stuart Hall, language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Representation through language is, therefore, central to the processes by which meaning is produced (Hall, 1997, p.1)

2.3 Representation in colonial writing

Different scholars have identified features of representation in colonial discourses. Edward Said insightfully pointed to how binarism became a key tool in colonial accounts to attribute "civility to the West and "backwardness" on the other to the Orient. As Raja (2019) argued, this term has its origins in sociolinguistic studies, namely in the structuralist view that "signs mean something in difference from other signs". Based on Ferdinand de Saussure's analysis, the meaning of signs is achieved when the signifier and signified are put in binary opposition. The difference between a sign and another establishes meaning. A cat is a cat because it is not a dog. According to Raja (2019), this binary opposition has been transmitted to a colonial discourse where the sign gets its meaning through these binary structures of language: civilized/uncivilized, democratic/tyrant, etc. For Raja (2019), in colonial discourse, "binarism is when the colonizers define the colonized world through these binary structures of the language, where the civilized is associated with the European and primitive is associated with the native cultures..."

Hence, as a technique recurrent in colonial representations, binarism is based on representing two poles apart: the center (the European /We) as a cultured, noble, and righteous Self, and the periphery (non-European/They) as a tyrant, exotic and inferior Other. This technique controls the whole space of representation in a way that the other is unable to act beyond this delineated binary division. In this sense, Bertens (2001) clarified that in colonial representations, "West and East form a binary opposition in which the two poles define each other, the inferiority that orientalism attributes to the East simultaneously serves to construct the West's superiority. The sensuality, irrationality, primitiveness, and despotism of the East construct the West as rational, democratic, and progressive, and so on". Thus, For Bertens (2001, p. 205), while binarism is employed to confirm superiority and dominance, it leads to "such fundamental binary impulses within imperialism as the impulse to 'exploit' and the impulse to 'civilize' (Ashcroft, B. et al., 2003,20).

This process of othering created by binarism in colonial representations leads to ambivalence. This term, introduced by Homi Bhabha, describes the colonial experience as being responsible for bringing about an ambivalent state in the colonized self, fluctuating attitude of both admiration and complicity to the colonizer on the one hand and repulsion and resistance to it on the other. According to Ashcroft B. et al. (2000,10), the effect of ambivalence (the simultaneous attraction and repulsion) is to produce a profound disturbance of the authority of colonial discourse.

¹ According to Van Dijk (2001, p.352) CDA is "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". For Wodak's (2001), it is "fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language". (2001, p.2). Similarly, Fairclough's (2001; 2003) view of CDA, as cited in Benattabou (2020, p.2), "is geared towards the examination of social inequality and injustice as transmitted to us through the linguistic manifestations embedded in discourse"

Gayatri Spivak revealed more findings about the nature of colonial representation. Based on her critiques of the colonial discourse, she elaborated the notion of the Subaltern, which provided insights to further scrutinize the representations of the indigenous in colonial discourse. Spivak, especially in her essay "Can the subaltern speak?" argued that the representation of women's voices in the colonial discourse of the colonized India is not heard. In this sense, postcolonial theory sets itself as a form of critical discourse aiming to re-represent marginalized groups and uncover the goals behind the discriminatory representation in the colonial discourse.

In short, the study of representation in MTW and IM will help uncover the major tools used to portray some social and political institutions in Morocco.

2.4 Colonial travel literature

This literary genre refers to the set of productions aiming to explore the intended colonized territories at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. It comprises travelers' diaries, letters, novels, stories, reports, and so forth. These forms of production gave birth to a literary tradition dedicated to providing thorough accounts of prospective colonized nations' lifestyles and mindsets. That is their social and religious traditions and organizations, their ways of thinking, their governing systems, their language features, etc.

With colonialism, travel writing served to construct a separate world- of the other- characterized by exoticism, savagery, tyranny, and backwardness. As Pratt, M. L.(2008, p.4) observed, when attempts to construct "the rest of the world" have been sought, and when the colonial powers have tried to find excuses to legitimate the imperial and colonial expansion, "travel writing, among other institutions, is heavily organized in the service of that need."

For Said (1993), one basic feature of travel writing is the omnipresence of narrating. As he emphasized in *Culture and Imperialism*, "stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world" (Said, 1993, p. xii). These narratives, he adds, "become the method colonized people used to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history"(Said, 1993, p. xii). Being built on narrative² is the reason why travel writing is also called travel narrative. Besides, bias in favor of the West and distortion of the realities prevailing in the Orient world are other main features of colonial literature, of which travel writing is a core component. The striking fact about these travel writings, as Said contends, is "the rhetorical figures one keeps encountering in their descriptions of "the mysterious East", as well as the stereotypes about "the African[or Indian or Irish or Jamaican or Chinese] mind..." (p. xi). These features have been thoroughly scrutinized by scholars whose counterarguments have laid the foundations of postcolonial theory.

2.5 Postcolonial discourse

The word postcolonialism has been viewed in two ways. On the one hand, it has been used to refer to the moment after independence, specifically the era during the Second World War onward. In another, the concept is believed to have emerged in the late 1970s as a movement in literary criticism whose mission was to portray the drastic effects of colonialism on native cultures (Ashcroft et al., 2000).

Accordingly, as Young (2003, p. 02) reports, "Since the early 1980s, postcolonialism has developed a body of writing that attempts to shift the dominant ways in which the relations between Western and non-western people and their worlds are viewed". For young (2003, p. 04), in the absence of any change within colonialist powers towards colonized nations, postcolonialism has presented itself as a body of thought which resume "the anti-colonial struggles of the past" . In Young (2003,p.7)' sense, postcolonialism's new duties have been to "change the way people think, the way they behave, to produce a more just and equitable relation between the different peoples of the world". Hence, postcolonial scholars have been reviewing these relations to react against any prevailing colonial forms of thinking (McLeod, 2000).

Edward Said stands as the pioneering scholar who laid the foundations for anti-colonial discourse. His illuminating works, namely *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, have provided an in-depth analysis of how colonial writings offer ideological support to imperialism and colonialism. In these works, to name but a few, the author has refuted the claims and propaganda disseminated through imperial narratives about the colonized lands.

² In Quinn (2006, p. 278), a narrative is "an account of actual or imagined events told by a narrator. A narrative is made up of events, the story, and the arrangement of those events: the plot"

For Hulme and Youngs (2002, p. 08), Edward Said's orientalism has "offered particular insight into the operation of colonial discourses". These new ways of dealing with colonial discourses have also uncovered the range of techniques used in travel writings to sustain and support colonial goals.

Concerning the current study, the alternative critiques offered by postcolonial scholars have produced a well-informed theoretical basis to analyze the two pieces of travel writings at hand.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Objectives of the study

This research analyses and interprets two colonial travel accounts (MTW) and (IM) with two major objectives: First, to identify how these books represent the Moroccan ruler, tribe, and resistance during the Moroccan colonial era, and second, to identify the link between such representation and colonialism in Morocco.

3.2 The research design

As stated above, the purpose of this study is to investigate representation in MTW and IM and to identify how these books endorse the colonial and imperialistic project in Morocco in the twentieth century. To this end, this study adopts an analytical qualitative research design to identify the features of representation in MTW and IM and its dimensions.

3.3 Research questions

Regarding the historical context which surrounded the production of MTW and IM, these latter have been utilized as ideological tools to facilitate French colonialism in Morocco. Consequently, these travel writings made up stories and images about Moroccan life to realize this purpose. In line with this, this study investigated two research questions:

1. How do MTW and IM represent the Moroccan ruler, tribe and resistance?
2. Does MTW and IM's representation of the Moroccan ruler, tribe and resistance support colonialism in Morocco?

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 How do MTW and IM represent the Moroccan ruler, tribe and resistance?

4.1.1 The Moroccan ruler in Morocco that was and In Morocco

4.1.1.1 The image of "the corrupt" ruler

The narrative in IM constructs an image of the Moroccan ruler as corrupt. After her exhaustive journey in the "dusty" and "ruined" Meknes and the delight she experienced out of the exotic landscape of the city, Wharton (1920) sat to contemplate its founder, Moulay Ismail:

Such was the appearance of this extraordinary man who deceived, tortured, betrayed, assassinated, terrorized and mocked his slaves, his subjects, his women, and ministers like any other half-savage Arab despot, but who yet managed through his long reign to maintain a barbarous empire, to the wilderness, and give at least an appearance of prosperity and security where all had before been chaos (Wharton, 1920, p.68)

Here, the ruler of Meknes is depicted as a dictator, a political agent whose rule is stained with corruption and abuse. Similarly, as is revealed in the description below, the same image of the malicious and inhuman ruler prevails in MTW too:

The heads of enemies were until, the end of Moulay Hafid' s reign, commonly exposed upon the gates of the towns of the interior of Morocco. In 1909, during the official mission of the Sir Regnal Lister to Fez, the Bab Mharouk was hung with the head of rebels. One of these grisly monuments fell, with a resounding thud, as the British Minister and some of his party were passing underneath; the manner of affixing them was by passing a wire through the ear, which was fastened to a nail in the wall. Over and over again during my long residence in Morocco have seen the gates and other buildings at the Moorish capitals decorated with those horrid trophies. (Harris, 1921, pp. 116-117)

According to the author, the general governing process is awash with atrocities. The ruler is so merciless that those who oppose his rule and his regime are prosecuted. Also, we get to know that such a rule is met with public indignation and chaos - "with the head of rebels."

It is substantial to note here how language in these narratives is manipulated to create these images of political abuse. In Wharton's (1920) account, we are assailed by a rhetoric showing the ruler torturing his people. In Harris's (1921) account, hyperbole and satire are used to shape the image of Morocco as a land of extreme barbarism and political abuse. Here, "manipulation of the text, through processes of selection, ellipsis, and fabrication-turn out to be powerfully instrumental in constructing certain reality

(Ashcraft, Bill, et al., 1989, p.89). also, as explained by Edward Said, since the ultimate goal of the colonizer is to build an empire, arrangements for this start within culture, that is the colonial text. In the above description of the ruler in IM, the author builds the implicit fact that the rationale behind raising this issue is "noble": to urge the human consciousness- here, of the colonizer- to "rescue" and "save" Moroccans from such long enduring tyranny. These facts the colonial text seeks to create are explained by Hall (1997) as a means to establish meaning. Hall (1997, p.3):

In part, we give things meaning by how we represent them -the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them.

In this respect, two main observations can be drawn from these representations of the Moroccan ruler. First, the narrative in these travel accounts uses exaggeration and overgeneralization about political life to help construct a dreary image of the Moroccan ruler as corrupted and incompetent. The effect of such a way of representation is to facilitate the normalization of the fact that the colonizer is worthy of governing. In Kabbani's (1988) terms, "if it could be suggested that Easterners peoples were slothful, preoccupied with sex, violent, and incapable of self-government, then the imperialist would himself justified in steeping in and ruling" (Kabbani,1988, p.6). More importantly, this colonial representation puts a heavy focus on spreading facts about the indigenous ruler to create the subversive effect of getting rid of him. Second, a set of arguments exists within these descriptions themselves, which put these "truths" about the Moroccan ruler in doubt. For, there is a paradox in the portrayal of the ruler, for instance, how this latter can exert his cruelty and ruthlessness while he is physically weak and decayed! Also, another paradox is captured as the practices of the political regime are described as abhorred.

While the military attacks on Moroccan cities by French forces are presented as normal, "The bombardment of Casablanca in those days of horror necessitated a campaign to clear the surrounding country of the evil tribes..." (Haris 1921, p118). What is more, these narratives sympathize with the indigenous people for being hopeless towards the cruelty exerted on them- and distaste the same people for being rebellious- against the French and Spanish invasion(see the section below devoted to the representation of Moroccan resistance).

In a nutshell, as a response to our second research question above, it is obvious that the representation of the Moroccan political situation by MTW and IM serves to support the propaganda against the Moroccan ruler as incapable, ruthless, and tyrant. The paradox found in these representations themselves and the bias and exaggeration in description demonstrate that these images are no more than clichés and stereotypes employed to offer the colonizer an excuse for an intrusion. These events and stories constituting representation in these colonial discourses seek to persuade the public to accept, normalize, and legitimize colonialism in Morocco.

4.2 The image of the primitive ruler

A further image of the Moroccan ruler is constructed; this time, as a primitive person. As described by the author of MTW:

The sultan's fear was pitiful to behold. He literally clung to the French officer beside him, with terror starring from his eyes. All he could utter was, "tell them to stop; why don't you tell them to stop!" the fright of his native retainers was even more marked. They called out and clung to each other in abject fear, except the amused. Then the train whirled out of tunnel into daylight again. Then sultan pulled himself together and said with air of offended majesty.

"You will kindly tell them to do it again "

"I am afraid it will be difficult to avoid."

"Why ?"

"Because the line must pass under the hills."

"Then the train must stop and I will walk the top and point it again on the other side" (Harris, 1921, p.167)

In this excerpt, the ruler is overwhelmed by terror and fear, which is ignited by a train moving on a railroad. In the choice of this event, the narrative of the author represents the Moroccan ruler as backward. A person who is not able to cope with what Western technology has even invented. The indigenous ruler is given an inferior, dependent, and passive position in this narrative, while the Western is shown as superior, dominant and independent. Moreover, capturing the Moroccan ruler in such a state seeks to construct the indigenous as an Other that is totally different from the self. This process of othering, which is a pillar of representation in colonial travel writing, seeks to relegate the colonized individuals to a derogatory position to help accelerate the believe that the outsider, with all its distinguished powers and civilization, has the right to govern and dominate. For

(Boehmer, 1995, 21), this othering seeks to offer legitimacy “to the West to colonize” through enabling dominance of the self over the other.

As can be noted in the excerpt under issue, the author manipulates language in a way to create the image of the indigenous as backward and independent. There is much fear and dependence attributed to the indigenous, while much calmness and independence are associated with the French: “The sultan’s fear was pitiful to behold. He literally clung to the French officer beside him, with terror starring from his eyes”. This justifies what Said (1978) argued that language has this effect in the colonial text through “the naturalizing of constructed values (e.g. civilization, humanity, etc.) which conversely, established “savagery” “primitive”, as their antithesis and as the object of reforming zeal” (Said 1978, p.3).

In short, the Moroccan ruler, on one side, is presented as cruel, despot and incompetent and on the other as uncivilized. These constructed derogatory images served colonial agendas to say that colonialism has set foot in Moroccan lands, not for exploitation and destruction but for human causes, “to save” the Moroccan people from tyranny, chaos and primitiveness.

4.3 The Moroccan tribe in Morocco That Was and In In Morocco.

During the colonial period, Moroccan social life was regulated through norms set by the tribal system. The tribe was located at the heart of the Moroccan social structure thanks to the critical roles it played. The tribes contributed to inserting order in different aspects of Moroccan life at that time. Herouch (2018) describes the tribe as an independent institution that manages the affairs of its society and imposes its authority. For these reasons, it was not surprising to find that the tribe was an omnipresent theme in colonial travel writings.

In MTW and IM, the tribe has been mentioned over twenty times, and whenever mentioned, the term was always associated with derogatory connotations—dispute, revolt, disorder, and violence. In IM, for instance, the author associates the tribe with first, fighting and robbing “out of a welter of wild **tribes** confusedly **fighting and robbing** he drew an empire firmly seated and securely governed”(p.12); second, revolt and sedition “though so near Fez it is still almost on the disputed border between the loyal and the “**unsubmissive” tribes**” (p.31). Similarly, in MTW, the tribe was associated with first) rebellion and murder “.... One or two serious **rebellions among the tribes**, and an acute quarrel with the Government....” (p.41), “A leader, Taher ben Suleiman, had arisen, and under his influence, **the tribes revolted**. The local authorities were murdered or driven out, and the rebellion became general” (p.32); second) wars and disputes “....for the northern **tribes** are poor, numerically in no great force, and **always at war with each other....**” (p.32), “Again, beyond the plains, the great range of the Atlas Mountains is inhabited by spirited and **warlike Berber tribes....**” (p.32) “....these great tribes, governed by hereditary chiefs, were nearly always **on bad terms with one another**” (p.32), “Bou Ahmed had other things to think of besides his house. **There was grave dissatisfaction amongst some of the tribes**(Harris, 1921, p 35); 3) crime “...**tribe after tribe** had thrown off their allegiance. **The robbery and pilfering and corruption were worse than ever....**”(p.104); 4) sedition “such few, that is, as were left of them, for the greater part had long ago deserted to the Pretender, who fed his men, or had sold their rifles to the nearest buyer, and gone back **to spread sedition amongst the tribes**” (p.106)

As the quotes indicate, finding the same negative attitude towards the tribe in the books under study shows that misrepresentation is methodic and systematic in colonial travel writing. The tribe is given an image of social and political stability disrupter. This specific and systematic representation of the tribe prevailing throughout the two travel accounts shows that this discourse has well-defined ideological goals and agendas. These colonial texts, through such representation of the tribe, prepare the ground to accept any foreign intervention to establish stability and security instead of the bloodshed atmosphere imposed by the tribe authority, as denoted in this statement:

The bombardment of Casablanca and those days of horror necessitated a campaign to clear the surrounding country of the evil tribes that hovered about, waiting for another occasion to murder, rape, and pillage. The beginning of the French occupation of Morocco and the final end of centuries of cruelty, corruption, and extortion

In brief, it seems that preparation to dismantle the tribe through these colonial texts is set as a priority in the objectives guiding the eye to see this organization in the colonized lands. As is revealed in other travel writings, the same view towards the tribe is obtained. In *El Maghreb: 1200 Miles Ride Through Morocco*, the author relates tribesmen with incivility and lies, “The inhabitants of “Kuckshot”, who were of the Kabayla or tribe of Oolad Moses “the sons of Moses”, were most uncivil, and told us an astonishing number of lies for the short time we were there” (Hugh, 1886, p.42)

In his well-informed book, Elharoui (2005) explains that such treatment of the Moroccan tribe was done in part as a response to the French general Leatey’s “colonial request to explore the Moroccan tribe, how it is organized, its weaknesses and strengths, as

well as its relations to the makhzan”(Elharoui, 2005, p.54). To illustrate, Elharoui (2005, p.55) cites Michou Bellaire's view on the tribe, considering the latter a land of *essiba*, closed and isolated from legitimate political life. This view towards the tribe reflects “the general basis which governed the designers of the French protectorate on Morocco”(Elharoui, 2005, p.55)

As can be deduced, regarding the centrality of the tribe in Moroccan society, this negative view towards it can be justified by the fact that, first, the tribe was a real obstacle against foreign intrusion. For this reason, as Elharoui (2005, p.63) explains, knowing about “ its organizational mechanisms, weaknesses and strengths were necessary to dominate and integrate it”. More importantly, colonial forces targeted the tribe ahead of military invasion for the sake of “dismantling, dividing and legalizing it administratively as well as to transform it to obliterate its features and to take over its land source of power- and getting it out of its original state and to integrate it within ‘the Western universal civilization”(Elharoui, 2005, p.64).

Hence, to answer the second research question, the representation of the tribe, as is the case with that of the indigenous political regime, demonstrates colonial travel writers’ alliance with the military invasion. The general goal of both the colonial writer and the military invader was to dismantle the social structure of the colonized and to spread doubts about its individuals and institutions to govern and rule.

4.4 Moroccan nationalist resistance in Morocco that was and in In Morocco

Travel writings assisted the colonial mission in expanding through its strict objection to the existence of indigenous resistance. In MTW and IM, the Moroccan nationalist movement against French and Spanish colonialism is viewed as a terrorist act. In MTW- Raisuli is introduced as a villain whose acts made “the whole country round lived in terror of his raids” (Harris 1921, p.180). The atrocity of Raisuli, the author adds, is innate: “By nature he was, and he is cruel” (Harris, 1921, p.180). Raisuli “took to the adventurous lucrative... profession of a cattle robber”

In the colonial discourse, as in the example above, deliberately misrepresenting colonialism opponents serves strategic goals for many reasons. First, resistance puts the entire colonial project at risk. Harris(1921) unconsciously admits that “Raisuli found himself all-powerful hence in the eyes of the Moors, a **menace** in those of Europe” (Harris, 1921, p.199). Second, Raisuli’s resistance threatens colonialism as it spreads a model that refuses to comply with the colonial reality. The ideal indigenous instead remains obedient and “ exist[s] only as a function of the needs of the colonizer” (Memmi, 1965, p152). For this purpose, Harris’s (1921) narrative differentiates between two kinds of the indigenous: one is abhorred, undesired (e.g. Raisuli), and the other is flattered and viewed as a “good native” (e.g. Sid El Arbi Bel Aysh). The blandishment of the latter stems from his submissive nature and refusal of any reaction against the colonial intervention, “he himself aloof from all his tribe when in 1913 they declare war on the Spaniards” (p.253). Therefore, “the only orient or oriental or “subject” which could be admitted,” Said (1978) contends, “at the extreme limits is the alienated being, philosophically, that is, other than itself in relation to itself, posed, understood, defined-and acted-by others”(Said, 1978, p.97). Third, as Said (1978) states, this negative attitude to resistance is explained by the intention to “transmute living reality” so that “nothing in the Orient seems to resist one’s powers” (Said, 1978, p. 86).

In IM, a similar image of nationalist resistance leaders is made up. Wharton(1920) describes El Heba as a rebel causing social unrest. She reports that “the disorder in the South and the appeals of the native population in the South for protection against the savage depredation of the new Mahdist rebels made it necessary for the French troops to follow up their success” (IM, p.163). Resistance is described as responsible for social disorder, and the purpose is to prepare the scene to see the colonial intruder as a source of rescue and stability.

To recapitulate, as is the attitude toward the indigenous ruler and the tribe, the representation of Moroccan resistance also demonstrates how the colonial text provides ethical excuses for European colonialism in Morocco. Eroding national resistance in the eyes of the colonizer is a means to guarantee security and order in the colonized territories.

4.5 Do MTW and IM’s representation of the Moroccan ruler, tribe and resistance support French colonialism in Morocco?

The present paper has shed light on the representation of the Moroccan ruler, tribe, and resistance in MTW and IM. As has been demonstrated, the analysis of the content of these books has proved the bias and subjectivity by which these components of Moroccan life have been represented. It has been concluded that the representation of the Moroccan ruler, tribe, and resistance has been done in a way that supports colonial expansion and provides a state of fact that naturalizes colonialism and gives it noble dimensions.

5. Conclusion

The techniques employed in travel writing serve to sustain a state of unbalanced power relations. As has been illustrated, the narrative in MTW and IM is not apolitical since it disseminates an ideology that backs up colonialism in Morocco. Since this period

is critical in the shared memory of the Moroccan community, one major implication of this study is to integrate postcolonial studies earlier in Moroccan educational syllabi. This has many advantages. First, it increases Moroccan youth engagement with sensitive matters in their country. Besides, it helps them understand the historical background as well as the social and political context of these colonial texts. Moreover, it contributes to providing them with tools to see Moroccan political relations at a wider level. Here, Moroccan social stability and territorial unity, for instance, have always been in jeopardy because of the effects of French and Spanish colonialism. Furthermore, probing into the colonial era from this postcolonial perspective helps Moroccan youth understand the background of the current conflicts and challenges associated with the international recognition of the Moroccan Sahara. Integrating these issues into the curriculum will increase opportunities to involve Moroccan generations in defending this decisive sovereignty matter. Finally, integrating colonial writings earlier in the Moroccan educational system might increase students' critical abilities to be able to deconstruct colonial writings about Morocco and unveil their context and ideologies.

In short, the purpose of this study was to analyze MTW and IM as prototypes of colonial travel writings about Morocco. The results showed that the way of representing the Moroccan ruler, tribe and resistance was part of a general colonial scheme to weaken all forms of unity and resistance against colonialism in Morocco.

Generally, due to time constraints, the scope of the current study was limited to studying only two colonial travel writings. The use of more texts written by other travelers would help generalize the findings of this study. In this respect, one main recommendation for further research would be to broaden the size and location. That is, to shed light on more colonial travel writings about other regions-sharing the same historical context- and explore how they represent the issues dealt with in this study.

More importantly, the current study recommends the integration of colonial discourse analysis in educational syllabi as a way to make learners aware of the dimensions of this type of discourse. In this respect, a good piece of research would combine literary studies with applied linguistics by investigating the effect of colonial discourse on indigenous learners. The point is to investigate how this type of discourse influences these learners' attitudes towards their identities and national cultures.

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