

IRSTI 17.09.91

Article

**Abdullah Al Zubayer***Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan**(E-mail: : alzubayer799@gmail.com)***Literary Colonial Legacies: Orientalism and Cultural Imperialism in al-Maghrib Al-Aqsa****Abstract**

The paper studies a very significant timeline in Moroccan history: French and Spanish protectorates (1912-1956) to analyze the literary frequencies and resistance through the post-colonial theories of Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978) and *Cultural Imperialism* (1993). The paper adopts a qualitative analytical method to extract the literary texts and works during and post-colonial era. The study investigates how the literary figure of Morocco reflects the 'orient,' 'alienation,' 'cultural and psychological trauma,' 'hybridity,' 'resistance,' and 'cultural imperialism.' The significant findings reveal that during the colonial period (1912-1956), the authors have strongly tried to find their pre-colonial traditions of Moroccan Islamic and Arabic influences. The French dominance, French language, secular education system, western-styled clothing, and pop music provoke the authors to reconceptualize the indigenous Moroccan socioeconomic history, which leads to the ultimate Moroccan resistance and independence. However, the post-colonial literary tendency concerns the vulnerability of Morocco to neocolonialism in the digital era. As the literary figures are predisposed to discuss Western approaches to social and economic structures in Moroccan novels, essays, and poetry. This post-colonial tendency seamlessly portrays Edward Said's representation of 'the Occident' and 'the Orient.' Overall, the cultural imperialism exposes the double standards of Moroccan writers in literature in the post-colonial period, which reveals the critical explanation of 'biased history.' Substantially, the study offers profound insights into Moroccan literary frequencies during and post-colonial times. And the study contributes to postcolonial studies by extending Said's framework to North African literature, exposing insights into the literary mechanisms of resistance and identity reconstruction during the postcolonial period.

**Key words:** Orientalism, Culture, Moroccan literature, colonialism, post-colonialism

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.71078/a17gfr03>

Arrived: 30.01.2025; approved: 20.03.2025; available online: 25.03.2025.

**Introduction**

Edward Said's groundbreaking work *Orientalism* (1978) revitalized the study of colonial power by presenting how the West systematically constructed the 'Orient' as an exotic, inferior, and other. The theories in *Orientalism* decipher the true colonial structure in a specific demography, altogether with the interactions with the colonized people. And *cultural imperialism* (1993) is extended through Edward Said in subaltern studies. While Edward Said's theories have been extensively applied to South Asian and Middle Eastern contexts, their application to North Africa, particularly Moroccan literature, remains underexplored. Al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (Morocco), with its geographical significance and the enriched critical history, acts as a dominant force in global governance. Plus, Moroccan authors and literary figures, grappling with the cultural impositions of French and Spanish colonialism (1912-1956 CE), engaged in prolific literary production that critiques Orientalist stereotypes and reclaims

indigenous identity. However, this study will explicitly provide a comprehensive analysis in understanding the Moroccan literature frequency and resistance during the colonial period as well as the postcolonial era, applying Edward Said's postcolonial theories of *Orientalism* and *Cultural Imperialism*.

The paper is organized as follows: The first section provides a literature review, highlighting key debates on Edward Said, postcolonial studies, and Moroccan literature. Next, the methodology, data collection and analysis, and research objective; detailing the analytical approach and methods used to examine Moroccan literature through Said's framework. The subsequent sections present the findings, discussing under the topics: Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978): Within the rich tapestry of Morocco's literary heritage, and Edward Said's *Cultural Imperialism* (1993): critical intersection between orientalism and cultural imperialism. In fine, the paper concludes with final thoughts.

### **Research Methodology**

This study will employ a qualitative research methodology, with a primary focus on the textual analysis of Moroccan poetry, to investigate how Moroccan literature reflects the influence of colonial powers – specifically the French and Spanish protectorates (1912-1956 CE) – and how it responds to them through the framework of Edward Said's subaltern theories of *Orientalism* (1978) and *Cultural Imperialism* (1993). The research will examine both colonial and postcolonial literary works to trace the evolution of resistance and cultural reassertion within Morocco's literary tradition. Said's *Orientalism* and *Culture Imperialism* will serve as foundational texts, offering critical insights into the social, political, and economic mechanisms of colonial dominance and the role of literature in both reflecting and challenging colonial power structures. The study will apply Said's theories, particularly his concepts of cultural hybridity, alienation, psychological trauma, and resistance to cultural imperialism.

Authors' novels, texts, and poetry will be analyzed and carefully included based on their applicability as primary sources. The secondary sources include scientific works, research papers, essays, and previous analyses on Edward Said and Moroccan society. Besides, the study approaches the necessity to thoroughly follow the timelines mentioned here, as well as the archives, visual presentations, Moroccan cultural and traditional trends, and visual artworks of the literary figures. This methodology will help to engage more with the Moroccan society and assist understanding the cultural phenomena and political power dynamics studied.

We have, firstly, sorted randomly the writers who published their works during the French and Spanish protectorates (1912-1956), and then we focused on their works to analyze the relevancy with our paper. Then we collected the works, and authors dedicatedly worked with colonial and post-colonial periods. All the literary figures, male or female, were cited irrespective of their relevancy.

The analysis will focus on a selection of key Moroccan literary works written during and after the colonial period, with an additional examination of modern literary trends to further explore postcolonial Moroccan traditions and cultural expressions. The study will include a variety of Moroccan genres, including novels, short stories, and poetry, to explore themes of identity, social cohesion, and resistance to colonialism. Primary texts written in French will be properly cited with accompanying translations. This research aims to demonstrate how colonialism is represented in Moroccan literature within the broader European colonial discourse, as outlined by Said in *Orientalism*.

### **Degree of Study of the Topic**

In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said examines how the West constructed the Orient as passive and inferior, justifying imperialism. He argues that culture is deeply connected to power and political agendas, and intellectual work must challenge dominant ideologies.

Said critiques nationalism as exclusionary, advocating for inclusive liberation movements that embrace diversity (Said, 2013, pp. 65-86). Said argues that Orientalist discourse functions as a tool for exerting control and supremacy, institutionalized through various academic disciplines and cultural expressions (Said, 1978). Said critiques how cultural imperialism is embedded in Orientalism, with the West defining its identity by portraying the Orient as the 'Other.' This representation justified colonial exploitation and continues to shape global politics, particularly in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa (Said, 1978).

Bhabha's concept of the «third space» and Spivak's essay «Can the Subaltern Speak?» are based on Said's examination of power and representation in colonial discourse (Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1988). However, Said's work has inspired a broader analysis of how such polarities are involved in the formation of racial and cultural identities (Said, 1978; Hall, 1997). Gilbert (2003) assesses the representation of society in contemporary understanding of Said's post-colonial theories. In a different context, Chatterjee (1986) argues that while Western intellectuals have contributed to Orientalist discourse, the East has historically engaged in its own self-representations and resistance. (Nandy, 1983) applied Said's theory in her Indian studies and found that the colonial period significantly impacts the colonized people.

Furthermore, Edward Said's Cultural Imperialism (1993) becomes a key formula in perceiving how global power dynamics shape cultural norms and the production of knowledge, downplaying the need for continued decolonization (Qaiser, 2016; Mongia, 2019). Roy (2004) found that the western intervention in Middle Eastern politics and socio-economic spheres reflects the cultural imperialism theory of Said.

The understanding of Edward Said's Orientalism and cultural imperialism is instrumental in apprehending critical and complex Moroccan colonial history. Stora (2001) argued that the colonial powers destroyed the Moroccan enriched tradition and implied a western-styled education system. According to Said (1978), the French writers like Frantz Fanon and Louis Massignon undermined Morocco and constructed it as inferior, barbaric, and disordered, positioning Europe as the superior and rational center. Abdellah Hammoudi (1997) and Fatima Sadiqi (2003) found that the colonial scars in Morocco still influence their culture, education, and politics while Arab and French languages compete. Ben Jelloun (1987) studied that the Moroccan people still bear the psychological trauma they went through in the colonial period. (Berrada, 1982; Khatibi, 1983) found the cultural hybridity merged during colonial Morocco and the impact of that in the post-colonial era. Sadiqi (2003) found the new effort to revive Arabic and Berber languages.

Salah Rachmaoui (2001) argues that colonialism in Morocco was not merely a political and military imposition but a social reorganization that aimed to undermine traditional, old, enriched Moroccan ways of life. He also found that the colonial powers treated the traditional Moroccan traditions as backwardness, nefarious, and old and introduced the colonial culture as prime, new, and modern. M.A.R. Azzouzi (2002) highlights that the French and Spanish colonial powers in Morocco used literature as a tool of cultural and socio-political dominance. Abdellah Hammoudi (1997), a leading Moroccan scholar, found that French language practices are making Morocco vulnerable again to colonialism.

Mohammad A. M. Tazi (2010) argues that the French education system is, in the long run, creating a westernized elite class in Morocco who work as middlemen between the colonial powers and indigenous Morocco. According to Robert A. L. Hughes (2005), Moroccan writers often employ Western literary forms not merely as a vehicle for expressing colonial subjugation but to defend anti-colonial narratives. Ahmed Bouzid (2009) elaborated that learning French is still considered as prestige and modernity, while Arabic, the language of the indigenous population, is relegated to a secondary role. Fatima Mernissi (1987), a key figure in Moroccan feminist thought, found that the colonial power highly subjugated the Moroccan women and intervened in their social and cultural life. In *Beyond the Veil* (1987), Mernissi critiques the

colonial stereotype of the oppressed Muslim woman and calls for Edward Said's resistance theory to gain their freedom and independence. Abdellah Laroui (1977) held colonial powers liable for impeding the progress and advancement of Morocco. In his work *The History of the Arab Nation* (1977), Laroui criticizes the French colonial power for disappearing Moroccan indigenous cultural history.

Analyzing the existing studies on Edward Said's postcolonial theories and Moroccan literature, the study found, firstly, significant research gaps in analyzing Moroccan literature through the postcolonial propositions of Edward Said's Orientalism and cultural imperialism. So, we focused on contributing to analyzing Al Maghrib (Moroccan) literature in the colonial (1912-1956 CE) as well as the post-colonial period until present days. We will analyze the impact of French colonialism on Moroccan literature. This methodology will investigate how colonial powers shape Moroccan literature and how the literary figures react within colonized Morocco. Secondly, we will imply Edward Said's post-colonial theories from *Orientalism* (1978) and *Cultural imperialism* (1993). This objective will place Morocco in broader European colonial discourse. Finally, we will assess the relevance of Edward Said's postcolonial theories in the context of Moroccan literature according to the theories of adaptation and resistance mentioned in *Orientalism* (1978) and *Cultural imperialism* (1993). Overall, the study will significantly broaden the scope of literary analysis within Moroccan literary studies, particularly in relation to the ongoing effects of data colonialism. Secondly, this study will contribute to allowing theoretical advancements in postcolonial literary criticism. In a broader sense, in all the colonial countries in the Maghreb. Finally, this research will help in perceiving how postcolonial literature continues to shape contemporary debates on national identity, memory, and cultural politics in this globalization era in Morocco.

## Results and Discussion

### *Edward Said's Orientalism (1978): Within the rich tapestry of Morocco's literary heritage*

Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978) said, 'The Orient was almost a European invention and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, and astounding landscapes, remarkable experiences.' The Orient was a discovery of the Occident to stereotype the Asian colonial states. The stereotyping started with the colonial powers, not just after a certain period following the colonial period. And this effort concludes two potential resolutions of the west. Firstly, to validate the colonial ruling in the states through an experiment, specifically importing the western ideas in literature, architecture, and economic spheres. In so many countries, the colonial power just destroyed the indigenous education system, outlawed new languages and academic courses, vastly built the western structures, and destroyed the home economy; all they did for their exploitation ease. Most of the present nation-states in Asia; the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia were under European dominance. However, Said's understanding of *Orientalism* represents critical 'colonial' states of the colonized nations. The European colonization powers, either any of the European companies or the British Raj, initially convinced the central power of a state asserting their identity as merchants. Generally, they used to deal with the central power with the British Raj to facilitate their commerce altogether to influence the other different national merchants and the local people. In most of the states, the colonial powers face early rebellion from the poets and literary figures. As a result, the European colonial powers took two initiatives to defend the hidden protest and remove the claw of exploitation. Firstly, they immediately ban that literature and undermine the persons, often the literary figures, facing sentences. Secondly, the literature used to be disappeared (Al Jazeera, 2019). Critics often make the European colonial powers accountable for importing magnificent works in literature in their countries.

In every colonial state, the literary figures firstly vented frustration on them and helped



to awaken people. The memory of the colonial period portrays significantly the expectations and reality of the colonial powers. Morocco, a country with strong Arabic and Islamic identity, was colonized by French and Spanish protectorates from 1912 until 1956. The difference in pervasive influence during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods is obvious. Morocco tries to assimilate their post-colonial culture and identity with the pre-colonial era, an effort that clashes with the colonial perception and digital colonialism. But the memory of the colonial period and post-colonial era is exquisitely portraying the mass stance in those years.

Ahmed Sefrioui's (1915-2004) *The Box of Wonders* (1954) explores the explicit colonial influence on Moroccan traditional identity. Ahmed was the prime character in Sefrioui's literature, where the character recalls his childhood, his relationships with his family, and his observations of Moroccan society during a time of colonial domination. The book comprises the pre-colonial rich traditional culture and history of Morocco, and with the colonial period, that ultimately leads to a protest and owning the Moroccan identity of the main characters. Sefrioui metaphorically used a box; Ahmed's mother was the owner, and the box was not just a physical object but an embodiment of traditional Moroccan identity. Ahmed, in his school, notices that the language Arabic is being replaced by French, the academic courses are being westernized, and the holy concepts of religion are being promoted to secularism. Sefrioui's character doesn't only imply the colonial feeling within an individual but also the collective feelings of the generation. Ahmed's mother was the symbol of Morocco's sophisticated past, who came from a more conservative tradition but still confronted the European modern doctrines and influence. Gradually, Ahmad confronts his Moroccan identity clash with European teaching, apprehending, 'I looked at the box and saw not just the wonders inside, but the way the world was changing, slowly stealing from us what made us who we were,' the core difference and mystery between the colonizer and colonized powers. Sefrioui portrays the French colonial era, forwarding Ahmed. Ahmed realizes that 'the French soldiers,' 'new French language signs,' and 'foreign ideas' are symbols of cultural displacement. The Ahmed generation felt an identity crisis whenever they were taught, 'The world outside our city is different' and 'to adopt the French language.' But ultimately 'the box' serves as a reminder that the world without the new foreigners, new languages, and new soldiers would be the only Moroccan way of life.

Edward criticized the Western idea of the East as being 'backward,' 'stereotyped,' and 'exotic,' which represents the completely different portrayal of the East. Rather, colonial power always demonstrated totalitarianism, imposing new languages, new social codes of conduct, and excessive manipulation. The prominent Moroccan writer Ahmed Sefrioui exactly manifested the hindsight of colonial tactics in Morocco. Even Ahmed Sefrioui's *The Box of Wonders* (1954) was written and published in French. One of the unique aspects of the Moroccan colonization period is that the French language became frequent and generalized in their culture, literature, and politics as an official language. *Le Passé simple* by Driss Chraïbi (1926) is a semi-autobiographical novel that similarly voices Ahmed Sefrioui. The children got to comprehend the identity clash between their own and colonized tradition and seek freedom. The boy aspired to be free: '*Je voulais être libre, mais ma liberté était un piège dans un monde qui ne voulait pas de liberté* (I wanted to be free, but my freedom was a trap in a world that did not want freedom) (Choukri, 1973).' To be free, but the French and Spanish colonized Morocco socio-politically, that freedom seems intangible for them. To approach with a panoramic view, Edward Said's theory of the colonizers in imposing a language and immortalizing that is partially accurate in the Indian subcontinent context. The core difference between Morocco and the Indian subcontinent. In the Indian subcontinent, they introduced a new language, 'Sanskrit,' but in the post-colonial era, that didn't simplify things; rather, the governments reintroduced their own languages, highly influenced by nationalism.

Edward Said, in *Orientalism*, talks about the theory of alienation: The Orient is not the West,

and yet it is constantly being pulled into a relationship of power, dependence, and difference with the West (Said 1978).’ The theory exposes a contrast in an individual’s identity with a colonized approach that leads to an alienation trying to seek their identity. *La Nuit sacrée* (The Sacred Night) by Tahar Ben Jelloun (born in 1944) is the second part of his *L’Enfant de sable* (The Sand Child) series that explores Moroccan identity, alienation, and psychological trauma of the Moroccan people. The prime character, Ahmed, was born in the colonial period and in post-colonial independent Morocco; he simply blended his tradition with old traditions and the colonial period, and he tries to cope with his own identity. Edward Said stated that a psychological scar the colonial power seeds in those nations, which in the long run made them colonized in different ways. The European notions like secularism, liberalism, and freedom all lead to being recolonized under those powers in the post-colonial world. Simply put, the colonized people get to comprehend their enslavement but are ultimately unable to change the system. In *La Nuit sacrée*, the writer aligned with Said, articulating a similar sentiment: Colonialism left invisible scars, but deeply rooted in souls and bodies.’ Even the Moroccan independence from colonized time was described as merely an illusion: ‘The independent Morocco was only a pure fiction; that’s never possible.’

Mohamed Choukri’s novels *For Bread Alone* (1973) and *The Sign of the Cross* (1980) are seminal works that reflect the harsh reality in colonial Morocco. The autobiographical novel *For Bread Alone* (1973) describes the Moroccan city Tangier. The writer explores both the colonial and post-colonial challenges Morocco faces, ranging from education and politics to economic poverty. The writer criticizes the colonial French and Spanish, complaining, ‘Colonialism snatched everything from me. Even my dignity.’ The novel highlights the individual’s struggle to cope with psychological subjugation experienced in the colonial period. One of the powerful lines that echo the reality of Edward Said’s theory is that ‘independence didn’t free us; it’s just about changing hands.’ Moroccan society experienced much poverty during’ the opposition’s total period. Edward Said’s theory of ‘alienation’ to justify the Occident by modern, new, epic, and ‘otherness’ efforts is in reality proven by the colonial states’ severe economic exploitations. Like Morocco, the Indian subcontinent under the British Raj endured a catastrophic famine that killed one third of the total population in Bangla in 1770 CE. The theory of severe exploitation leading to alienation of the generation and psychological trauma to hold identity is evident in the Moroccan context.

Next, Morocco’s literature was noticeably banned during the French and Spanish protectorates (1912-1956) and reported to have disappeared afterward. Abdellah Guennoun authored *an-Nubūgh al-Maghribī fī al-adab al-‘Arabī* (The Moroccan Genius in Arabic Literature) on the history of Moroccan literature in three volumes that was censored by the French colonial authorities (Literatura Marroqui, 2009). This 20th-century Middle East, on one hand, is defined by the more literary exposure; on the other hand, a significant number of literatures were banned by colonial censorship. Later in his book *La pensée arabe contemporaine* (1986), he explains that the colonial power not only destroyed the Moroccan Arabic literature but also highly downplayed the scholars of Morocco. In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Edward Said mentioned, Imperialism has never been just about domination. It’s also about memory, about forgetting, about trying to erase certain histories.’ Abdellah Laroui, a Moroccan historian and intellectual, argues in *The History of the Arab–Muslim Civilization* (1977) that the colonial power ravaged the literary and educational systems, imposing western-style doctrines and academic discourse. Tahar Ben Jelloun, a Moroccan-French author, in his novel *La Nuit sacrée* (1987), demands accountability for colonialism’s impact on Al Maghrib literature. In *The Sign of the Cross* (1980) by Mohamed Choukri, the author consents with Edward’s theory of cultural trauma, composing that the western influence is like a cross that ruins everything under its weight.’ Again, the cultural and psychological trauma is omnipresent in Tahar Ben Jelloun’s novel «*The Yellow Notebook*» (1980), which confesses that ‘France is more than a distant nation

to me. France is everywhere in me.' The pressure of the French in patronizing their influence to facilitate their colonial interests was severe and chained every individual's mind. He also says that 'colonialism is everywhere; it's invisible, but it's within me and around me.' In a broader context, the French and Spanish Protectorates (1912-1956) introduced massive judicial reform in Morocco, and still now the laws and courts operate within colonial boundaries. Progressively, the colonial period became a part of Moroccan history and tradition.

The principle to subjugate the 'Oriental' is found in Edward Said's theory in *Orientalism*: 'The Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of knowledge or a free society; it was made to appear in the West as an object of knowledge, and therefore as an object for Western domination.' (Said, *Orientalism*, 1978). The Occident imposed power on the Orient, treating it as an object of western knowledge. As the determinants of being superior or inferior depend on suppression and oppression of knowledge production. Accordingly, the exploitation and psychological trauma were the key components of colonial powers in Morocco. Abdellatif Laâbi's *The Plague* (1967) and *Poèmes de la rupture* (2002) deeply observe and address the post-colonial trauma and huge impediment in continuing pre-colonial Moroccan hierarchy, hegemony, and progression. These books reflect the colonial past and post-colonial present and criticize the post-colonial government's failure to fulfill the promise of independence. Similarly, Idriss El Khayat's *Le Dernier Retour* (1990) addresses the complexities the post-colonial states face in redefining their own culture, heritage, and history. The main character of this novel, Mohammed, returns to Morocco after independence after spending years abroad and feels profound disillusionment and alienation. He reacted, 'I no longer recognize my own land; it is bearing the wounds of colonialism.' Respectively, in another novel, *La Saison des amours* (1981), he discerns a path to retrieve Morocco's lost traditions displaced by colonial rule through gaining personal and collective freedom.

In the final stage, Edward Said's resistance theory explains the ways the Orient reclaims their lost past in *Culture and Imperialism*: Resistance is a reaction to domination; it is also a kind of historical reassertion of a way of life that has been erased or distorted. (Said 1994 p. 263). According to Said, reclamation takes many forms, e.g., awakening mass people by changing the colonial narratives, poetic rebel voices, reclaiming cultural identity, and foreign influence. Analyzing all the colonial history, it's found that the average years of the people to reclaim their own country takes almost more than 50 years. They began considering the colonizers foreigners within a gap of a long time, and then gradually, they began asserting agency and reclaiming lost past. This theory is mostly relevant to all Orient and Occident colonial histories in the respect of their gaining independence. In Morocco, the literary figures highly influenced people to reclaim their sovereignty. Mohamed Ben Brahim's poetry *Rise, O People!* (1925) composed that 'The chains of foreigners bind our feet, but our spirit is free. Rise, O people, and claim the sky (Ben Brahim, 1925, p. 12). In another poem, *The Voice of the Land* (1930), he narrated, 'Our land sings its name, even when silenced by the oppressors (Moroccan Nationalist Poetry, 1930, p. 56).' Among others, Malika al-Fassi's poetry *A Mother's Lament* (1943), Ahmed Sefrioui's novel *La Boîte à merveilles* (*The Box of Wonders*, 1954), Abdallah Guennoun's *Preserving Our Heritage* (1946), and *Homeland of Martyrs* (1956) by Allal al-Fassi greatly catalyzed widespread protests against colonialism and the struggle for independence. They awakened the masses, and they performed the Istiqlal (Independence) movement and the Berber Revolts to gain their independence.

*Theories of Cultural Imperialism: critical intersection between orientalism and cultural imperialism*

*Cultural imperialism* is Edward Said's extended theory from *Orientalism*. He further analyzed the type of colonial powers to the potential dominance of indigenous cultures. This theory is applicable to every colonial power and in the modern data colonialism era. Culture is an integral part of a certain society that shapes everyone's identity, ethnicity, and community



affiliation. The colonial powers used the defacement of culture for two significant reasons. Firstly, to facilitate their ruling in a certain context. They used to show that the new culture they bring is modern, new, and more sophisticated. In every country in Asia that went through colonization, the destruction of their indigenous culture occurred, and they confronted the new culture. Secondly, as Edward Said mentioned, the tendency of the Occident to treat the Orient as 'other.' The prone to reflect the inferior reflection on Orient leads to the effort of cultural obliteration. However, the concept of culture applies in a very wide lens of society, ranging from language, food habits, clothing, social beliefs, and concise ways of life. Colonialization evolved through time; in modern times, cultural imperialism redefines the 'colonization' concept. Edward Said's theory includes every individual, society, or nation that is vulnerable enough to cultural imperialism as under neo-colonization. However, Morocco was under French and Spanish colonial power (1912-1956) and was significantly shaped with cultural imperialism.

In *Memory in Exile* (1997), Abdelkebir Khatibi addresses the clash between Moroccan indigenous culture and western values. Among the Berber (Amazigh) and Gnawa communities, Gnawa music was pervasive in spiritual and ritual contexts; Andalusian music was also sung with Islamic lyrics with traditional musical instruments like oud, rebab, and bendir. Also being referred to in Abdellah Laroui's *The History of the Maghreb* (1977) and Tahar Ben Jelloun's *La Nuit sacrée* (1987), the traditional Moroccan music was downplayed, replacing it with western music and influence, such as introducing violin, piano, and brass. The themes of the traditional songs, which variously used mystic and spiritual elements of Islamic religion, were gradually replaced by secular, liberal, and western pop music. Western culture was gradually overshadowing the clothing traditions of the people. Simply, the western clothing was replaced by the Moroccan traditional kaftan *Djellaba* and *KafKafta*.

According to Edward Said, *the enterprise of empire depends upon the idea of having an empire... and all kinds of preparations are made for it within a culture; then, in turn, imperialism acquires a kind of permanence in that culture* (Said, 1994). The colonial French were to permanently dominate Morocco; the narratives of literature were forced to shift significantly. Tahar Ben Jelloun's *La Nuit sacrée* (1987) addresses the literature shift from Islamic spirituality to secularism; Islamic literature, the Quran, Hadith, and Fiqh were instrumental in Moroccan culture. But in the post-colonial period, the western-influenced writers like Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre mainly focused on individualism, alienation, questioning Moroccan traditional values, Islamic philosophy, and Islamic morality. Again, Driss Chraïbi's *The Simple Past* (1954) addresses the neo-tendency of the literary figures to write about nationalism, naturalism, and existentialism. Notably, Mohamed Choukri's *For Bread Alone* (1973) deals with the growing tension between two ideologically different traditions: Moroccan and colonial. Also, the revised thematic trends in literature. However, at present, there is noticeable literature in both literatures. But the Edward theory of the colonial permanence effort in culture remains uninterrupted. Currently, in the late 20th century to the present, the literature in-depth explored the individualism, gender and social issues, modernization, diaspora, and immigrants.

Traditional literary Moroccan poetry was shifted from *adab*, *Al-Mahfuzat*, and *mystical* poetry to western secular, feminist, and liberal poetry. The colonizers used to make society, by wealth, into two parts: wealthy and poor. It's evident in every colonial history in the Orient. They do it as for ease in exploiting and injecting their own narratives. In modern times we call the process 'materialism' and 'capitalism.' The technique is also a significant interpretation of Edward Said's post-colonial theories. In Morocco, during the colonial period (1912–1956), poverty was widespread. And this was not any separate phenomenon under a colonial power, but it was general. Driss Chraïbi's *The Simple Past* (1954) and Mohamed Choukri's *For Bread Alone* (1973) address the colonial repression and introduce the western method in literature. The voice of Islamic traditional culture was widely replaced by western-influenced freedom of expression and modernism. The harsh reality of poverty in Morocco, like the Indian subcontinent, forced



people to grasp and practice Western colonial narratives, literature, and doctrines. The way the cultural imperialism of Morocco was influenced by French and Spanish colonization. 4 years in Morocco.

About the cultural collaboration of the writers with colonizers, Edward Said opined, «*In the case of imperialism, the subject matter of the novel, its characters and landscapes, its 'realism,' and its forms were all used to validate imperial power and to illustrate the necessity of domination* (Said, 1994).’ The theory validates the colonizers efforts to cultural dominance as to identify themselves as superior and great. But, in Morocco, after the post-colonial period, the dual nationality writers and Western-influenced writers hugely published their works prompted by Western influence. Such works include Abdellah Taïa’s *Salvation Army* (2006), Leila Slimani’s *Lullaby* (2016), Adèle (2014), Yasmina Khadra’s *The Swallows of Kabul* (2002), and Nadia Yassine’s *The Islamic Feminist Project* (2003). These works were widely influenced by the Moroccan Arabic and Islamic values as well as conflict with Islamic norms. These works repeatedly represent colonizers (1912-1956) as modern and question the Islamic values of Morocco as backward. Similar literature after the post-colonial period strongly refers to validating the imperialists and, according to Edward, illustrates the necessity of domination.’

The post-colonial phenomena are, in other words, described as western influence in narratives. The way the former colonizers narrate the history is often more acceptable to the western. According to Edward Said, «The European writer’s role... is not to create a moral judgment but to describe the world of the empire as it was seen and experienced by those who carried out its civilizing mission» (Said, 1994, p. 15). The theory is widely applicable in Morocco (Al Maghrib literature). After the post-colonial period, both the colonizers and the colonized people tend to rewrite the history on their own. But this history is often quietly biased, as the colonizers are prone to validate their imperialism and exploitation, and the colonized people tend to explain the invalidity and unlawfulness of their dominance. But as Edward said, between these two, the West always prioritizes the colonizers narrative. That’s rapidly validating all his theories on postcolonialism. This is about one side of the West considering the Orient as ‘other.’ Also, there is another phase that the colonized countries have an inclination to write biased history in favor of the colonizers.

Oftentimes, as the colonizers narration got prioritized in the western world. Then the western writers try to bolster the logics of the colonizers rewriting the history. To be noted, most of the colonizers in the world are the Europeans, and their values, social norms, and beliefs are identical. Consequently, on one side, there remain western and colonizer narration and, on the other side, the other’s narration.’ So, in this phase, the colonized writers often get simply biased in data collecting and proofing the history to validate it as factual. In Morocco, the post-colonial tendency of the literary figures is being derived from these two streams. However, as there is a huge conflict of interest remaining on both sides, the unbiased history is quite complex. But, in Moroccan literature, the literature published during the colonial period often rejects the logics of the colonizers to validate their imperialism. Edward Said’s standpoint of the western ‘not to create a judgment’ is applicable in every colonial experience. In the Indian subcontinent, there is also antagonism in history between the western and indigenous narrations. Bengali philosophers like Dr. Abdul Karim and Dr. Mohor Ali frequently claimed Bengal to be one of the world’s largest GDP holder countries in the pre-colonial period (before 1757). But the history written by James Rennell (1742–1830) or William Wilson Hunter (1840–1900) often focused more on the adversity and critical situation of the economy in Bengal. Similarly, in Morocco, the core, unbiased history often leads the indigenous writers to be biased, validating ‘colonial powers.’

Edward Said’s another significant theory implies the continuity of cultural imperialism of colonizers over former colonial countries. He said, «*Cultural imperialism is about the imposition of one culture’s values and norms over another’s, making the dominated culture internalize the superiority*

of the colonizer's culture» (Said, 1994). This theory is widely applicable to Morocco. The French and Spanish cultural hegemony was introduced (1912-1956 CE) during their colonial period. However, those cultural permanences in Morocco still now, especially in education (secular), language (French), clothing (western fashion), literature, and economy, trigger neo-colonialism in Morocco. As Morocco is practicing and preserving the motifs, art, sculpture, and architecture of French rather than Moroccan indigenous traditions and social beliefs, the indigenous culture faces vulnerability. Even in the modern context, where cultural imperialism became a routine term and imposed threats to every weak culture, Moroccan literature attitudes towards favoring the colonial period make it more vulnerable.

Another significant remark by Edward Said is that the colonial powers make the indigenous history inviable and invisible and serve their culture anew. He said, «Cultural imperialism works by subordinating local cultures not through brute force but by making them invisible or by subsuming them into a dominant framework of Western culture (Said, 1994).’ In Morocco, there are a few histories about pre-colonial cultural traditions, and the critiques liable the colonizers to disappear a large amount of literature. This phenomenon is also a general practice by the European colonizers. Taking the Indian subcontinent into account, the British Raj destroyed all the components of indigenous culture to make it comparatively vulnerable to imposing the Western values. Most prominently, Bengal was rich in producing the world's most valuable and comfortable 'Reshmi' clothing commercially. But the British Raj sanctioned cultivating 'Reshmi'; instead, they impelled the peasants to indigo planting, dating back to 1777 CE. Even after the decolonization period (after 1947 to the present), people can't plant 'Reshmi.' Also, the literature about 'Reshmi' isn't numerous. This implies a general effort of the colonizers to disappear the past practices and to force them to stay in sync with the western dominant culture. In Morocco, during the colonial period, the Islamic traditions and Moroccan indigenous traditions were significantly ignored. Altogether they banned enriched literary works, and afterward they disappeared the elevated Moroccan literature. So, this theory validates the revival of imperialism through cultural dominance. And Al Maghrib (Moroccan) literature and traditions are significantly susceptible.

Concludingly, Edward Said's post-colonial theories in *Orientalism* (1978) and *Cultural Imperialism* (1993) in the Moroccan context validate the western colonizers theories. Moroccan own Arab and Islamic traditions were severely ignored by colonial powers: the French and Spanish (1912-1956 CE). Morocco is still now bearing the western-introduced traditions and literary trends that exposed it to the effects of cultural imperialism. However, the narratives of indigenous writers in literature mostly influence the conservative and religious families to overlook the western trends. Yet, with a strategic demographic location in western hegemony, Moroccan literature tends to approach colonial powers with bowstrings of its pre-colonial literature, art, history, traditions, and architecture.

### Conclusion and Summary

The paper aimed to analyze Moroccan literature through Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and *Cultural Imperialism* (1993) to perceive the literary frequencies and resistance during the colonial period (1912-1956) and current trends in the post-colonial context. The study significantly found that the authors and poets deliberately participate in criticizing the colonial period through their works. Their general tendency was to find the pre-colonial identity in Morocco. That inquisitive paved the path to profoundly realize that the colonial powers gradually injected them with their own doctrines that destroyed the uniqueness of traditional Arabic and Islamic cultural richness of Morocco. The prominent literary figures of Morocco, e.g., Ahmed Sefrioui (1915-2004), Mohamed Choukri (1935-2003), Driss Chraïbi (1926-2007), Tahar Ben Jelloun (1944-present), and Mohammed Berrada (1938-present), frequently criticize the French rule. Besides, singled out post-colonialism bias among the Moroccan writers in favor

of western narratives that validate the colonial powers. On the other hand, this neotendency is marked as making Morocco vulnerable to neocolonialism in this globalization era.

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## Әдеби отаршылдық мұралар: әл-Мағриб әл-Ақсадағы шығыстану және мәдени империализм

**Аңдатпа.** Зерттеу жұмысында Марокко тарихындағы француз және испан протектораттары (1912-1956), Эдвард Саидтың *шығыстанудағы* (1978) және *мәдени империализмдегі* (1993) пост-отаршылдық теориялары арқылы әдеби жиіліктер мен қарсылықты талдау үшін өте маңызды уақыт шкаласы қарастырылады. Жұмыста отаршылдық дәуірдегі және одан кейінгі әдеби мәтіндер мен шығармаларды алу үшін сапалы аналитикалық әдіс қолданылады. Зерттеу Марокко әдебиетінің қайраткерінің «шығыс», «бөтендік», «мәдени және психологиялық жарақат», «гибридтілік», «қарсылық» және «мәдени империализмді» қалай бейнелейтінін зерттейді. Маңызды тұжырымдар отаршылдық кезеңде (1912-1956) авторлардың мароккоға дейінгі ислам дәстүрлері мен араб дәстүрлеріне қатты әсер еткенін көрсетеді. Француз үстемдігі, француз тілі, зайырлы білім беру жүйесі, батыс стиліндегі киім және поп-музыка авторларды Марокконың түпкілікті қарсыласуы мен тәуелсіздігіне әкелетін байырғы Марокко әлеуметтік-экономикалық тарихын қайта тұжырымдауға итермелейді. Дегенмен, отаршылдықтан кейінгі әдеби тенденция Марокконың цифрлық дәуірдегі неоколониализмге осалдығына қатысты. Әдебиет қайраткерлері Марокко романдарында, эсселерінде және поэзиясында әлеуметтік және экономикалық құрылымдарға батыстық көзқарастарды талқылауға бейім болғандықтан, бұл пост-отаршылдық тенденция Эдвард Саидтың «Батыс» және «Шығыс» бейнесін біркелкі бейнелейді. Жалпы алғанда, мәдени империализм Марокко жазушыларының отарлаудан кейінгі кезеңдегі әдебиеттегі қос стандарттарын әшкереледі, бұл «біржақты тарихтың» сыни түсіндірмесін ашады. Зерттеу Саидтың шеңберін Солтүстік Африка әдебиетіне кеңейту арқылы постколониалдық зерттеулерге үлес қосады, постколониалдық кезеңдегі қарсыласу мен тұлғаны қайта құрудың әдеби тетіктері туралы түсініктерді ашады.

**Түйін сөздер:** Шығыстану, Мәдениет, Марокко әдебиеті, отаршылдық, постколониализм

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## Литературные колониальные наследия: ориентализм и культурный империализм в аль-Магриб аль-Акса

**Аннотация.** В статье изучается очень важный период истории Марокко: французский и испанский протектораты (1912-1956), чтобы проанализировать литературные тенденции и сопротивление через постколониальные теории Эдварда Саида в работах *Ориентализм* (1978) и *Культурный империализм* (1993). Статья использует качественный аналитический

метод для извлечения литературных текстов и произведений из колониального и постколониального периода. Исследование анализирует, как литературная фигура Марокко отражает «ориент», «отчуждение», «культурную и психологическую травму», «гибридность», «сопротивление» и «культурный империализм». Существенные результаты показывают, что в колониальный период (1912-1956) авторы активно пытались найти свои доколониальные традиции марокканского исламского и арабского влияния. Французское господство, французский язык, светская образовательная система, западный стиль одежды и поп-музыка побуждали авторов пересматривать местную социально-экономическую историю Марокко, что в конечном итоге привело к марокканскому сопротивлению и независимости. Однако постколониальная литературная тенденция касается уязвимости Марокко к неокOLONIALИЗМУ в цифровую эпоху. Литературные фигуры склонны обсуждать западные подходы к социальным и экономическим структурам в марокканских романах, эссе и поэзии. Эта постколониальная тенденция наглядно изображает представления Эдварда Саида о «Западе» и «Ориенте». В целом, культурный империализм выявляет двойные стандарты марокканских писателей в литературе постколониального периода, что раскрывает критическое объяснение «предвзятой истории». В значительной степени исследование предоставляет глубокие идеи о литературных тенденциях Марокко в колониальный и постколониальный периоды. Это исследование вносит вклад в постколониальные исследования, расширяя теоретические рамки Саида на литературу Северной Африки, раскрывая литературные механизмы сопротивления и реконструкции идентичности в постколониальный период.

**Ключевые слова:** Ориентализм, культура, Марокканская литература, колониализм, постколониализм.

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