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female, cultural and political emancipation in Morocco as well as the role of Islam in contemporary Moroccan society and the impact this has on Moroccan fashion. This is followed by Chapter 3, which is dedicated to three generations of Moroccan fashion designers, who are believed to have played a crucial role in adapting Moroccan fashion to important changes in society at crucial moments in time. It shows how a first generation in the 1960s was confronted with the consequences of the French Protectorate, a nationalist movement and an independent Morocco facing Europe. By re-inventing Moroccan fashion, they successfully adapted these clothing styles to newly obtained lifestyles. It explains how in the 1990s, a series of events led to the democratization of fashion in Morocco, contributing to the success of a second generation of Moroccan designers. Finally, at the turn of the century, due to both internal and external developments, a new generation of Moroccan designers developed that aims to analyse its cultural heritage against a global background and re-invent Morocco's cultural heritage far from 'folkloric stereotypes'. In Chapter 4, I concentrate on the impact of (new) communication technologies on Moroccan fashion. For example, Moroccan women's magazines have been using Moroccan fashion to materialize a 'Moroccan modernity' and, in doing so, contributed to its revival. Also, the media played an important role in the democratization of fashion in Morocco and contributed in a large extent to an image change of Moroccan fashion by taking it out of its 'traditional' context and showing it on fashion covers and catwalks. The Internet, in its turn, allows fashion to be personal, interactive and censure-free. Continuing with Chapter 5, this illustrates how the arrival of foreign fashion brands on the Moroccan market at the turn of the twenty-first century boosted the consumption of Moroccan fashion through the introduction of new consumption patterns and marketing strategies. It discusses the shifts that occurred from the anonymous tailor to the glamorous fashion designer, and from the imageless workshop to the fashionable boutique/showroom. It also treats the commercialization of new hybrid clothing categories as part of the commodification of Moroccan fashion. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the consumption of Moroccan fashion based on the important socio-cultural role it continues to play in contemporary Moroccan urban society. It explains more elaborately how Moroccan and European fashion are classified, and illustrates how both fashions are equally important in the construction of dynamic multiple individual and collective identities. It also illustrates how the consumption of Moroccan fashion is surrounded by seemingly contradictory behaviour, and how this reflects cultural anxiety and ongoing processes of negotiating the borderlines of continuity, change, tradition, modernity, national, transnational, local and global. Finally, Chapter 7 recalls the main objectives of the research and elaborates on some central debates of the research such as notions of authenticity, the commodification of cultural heritage, and the increasing emphasis on national fashion identities.
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MOROCCAN FASHION AS TRADITION

Although coded as traditional, Moroccan fashion is far from embodying a timeless, closed society; on the contrary, it results from a centuries-old history of weaving together influences from Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Asia. It is far from an 'authentic' cultural product, closed in upon itself in an unchanging purity – as a quick look at history can reveal. Due to its geographical position on the crossroads of three continents, Moroccan material culture has a long history of external influences because of the passages of important trade routes that fed the local market with raw materials, fabrics, patterns and decoration techniques. Also, following the Spanish Inquisition at the end of the fifteenth century, a large number of skilled Muslim and Jewish craftsmen, including weavers, embroiderers and tailors, settled down in the northern cities of Morocco, introducing fashions and crafts from (southern) Europe, the Mediterranean region and the Middle East. Additionally, from the nineteenth century onwards, there has been structural trading with Europe, the Middle East and Asia, including the import of textiles.

Nevertheless, Moroccan fashion is deeply anchored in Moroccan society as part of its collective cultural heritage and its tradition, and this chapter testifies how it is a materialization of historical, social, cultural, economic, religious and political developments in society. The opening section, 'Moroccan fashion and politics', shows how a number of political events throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have had an important impact on the development of Moroccan fashion. The French Protectorate, for example, although it did not even last fifty years, strongly influenced Moroccan fashion through the introduction of French culture, lifestyle and fashion. As a reaction, almost immediately a nationalist movement developed, resulting in the elevation of Moroccan fashion as a symbol of silent resistance and nationalism. Additionally, three generations of Moroccan monarchs have used Moroccan fashion to materialize their political ambitions and to construct a unifying national identity.

In the second section, 'Moroccan fashion and emancipation', a number of emancipation waves are analysed and their impact on Moroccan fashion. Female emancipation, for example, resulted in the transition from the female ḥayk to
the male jelaba as an outer garment for women. By literally adopting a male garment, women claimed the rights that came with it, such as the right to participate in public life. Cultural emancipation, in its turn, although strongly influenced by Euromodernity, is simultaneously marked by a search for a Moroccan modernity, which uncontestably contributed to the revival and success of Moroccan fashion. As a counter-reaction to the increasing impact of cultural globalization, cultural heritage as a means of emphasizing a local distinctiveness has undergone revaluation. Furthermore, the most important wave of political emancipation, especially after King Hassan II had severely restricted the possibilities of democratic reforms, is the Moroccan 20 February Movement in the context of the so-called Arab Spring in the region. These developments have especially materialized in Moroccan fashion by an increasing challenging of dominant Arabo-Muslim identity representing the political élite and a growing influence of street fashion representing the people.

The final section, ‘Moroccan fashion and Islam’, testifies to how Moroccan fashion is closely interwoven with Islam and more particularly the cultural heritage of Moroccan Islam. Due to the country’s geographical position at the extreme of the Arab world and its proximity with Europe, Moroccan Islam is considered more hybrid then Islam as practised in the Arab Peninsula. Socio-religious events such as weddings and the fasting month of Ramadan continue to be the most important events whereby Moroccan fashion is consumed.

**Moroccan fashion and politics**

Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, there have been a number of political events that have had an important impact on the development of Moroccan fashion. Under the French Protectorate, for example, it was decided to separate the new European city centres from the indigenous Arab city centres. This resulted in a cultural buffer against French cultural influences, allowing the continuity of a Moroccan lifestyle. Over time, this led to two more or less parallel universes that became associated with European and Moroccan fashion respectively and the compartmentalization of vestimentary behaviour (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, the French decision to move their political and economic centres from Fez to Casablanca and Rabat not only broke the economic and political power of the Moroccan élite, but also brought about remarkable changes in lifestyle, which in its turn reflected in rigorous innovations in Moroccan fashion (see Chapter 3).

Moreover, as a reaction to the foreign presence, a Moroccan nationalist movement developed almost immediately, uniting the country for the first time against a common enemy. This played an important role in the construction of a national identity, materialized through Moroccan fashion. Additionally, the royal family had been playing an important part both as a role model and a trendsetter.
The term *mekhzeni*, for example, refers to Moroccan fashion worn by the royal family, which is considered a parameter for traditional Moroccan fashion. Furthermore, three consecutive monarchs since independence have been using Moroccan fashion to materialize their political ambitions, thereby strengthening its position as a symbol of Moroccan national identity. While King Mohamed V, especially, used Moroccan fashion as a symbol of nationalism, female emancipation and progress, King Hassan II, on the other hand, rather gave it a connotation of conservatism, Muslim and Arabic identity. King Mohamed IV, in his turn, has been using it to promote a Moroccan modernity and particularly through the example of his wife, Lalla Salma, who is the first royal spouse to fulfil a public role and who is a popular subject in national lifestyle magazines.

The French Protectorate

At the turn of the twentieth century, Morocco found itself confronted with a period of riots and internal conflicts. The brother of the Sultan took over in 1908 but in order to establish his authority, he had no other choice but to call in the help of the French. This resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Fez in 1912, confirming the French Protectorate, based on ‘guidance’ (contrôle) rather than ‘direct rule’ (administration directe) (Hoisington 1984: 5). Although this was far from the case in reality, an important consequence was that the Moroccan monarchy and élite kept their privileged positions and influence as role models.

The concept of the French Protectorate was popularized by Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey, the first Resident General in Morocco. According to William Hoisington Jr. (1984: 4–5), Lyautey thought of the Protectorate as a means by which a non-European state could survive and progress in modern times, retain its own institutions and govern itself under the ‘simple guidance’ of a European power, which would represent it abroad, oversee the administration of its army and finances and direct its economic development; this was a rather modern point of view for that time. By respecting local religion and tradition, Lyautey believed that he would be able to ‘shelter the individual, the family and the community from the destabilizing effects of contact with the West’ (Hoisington 1984: 5). For example, Morocco is still one of the rare Muslim countries (besides Algeria and Tunisia) where mosques are prohibited for non-Muslims, based on a law introduced by Lyautey. He believed that

Nothing has been more deadly for the originality and harm of oriental cities than their penetration by modern European installations. (…) The natural tendency of Europeans upon entering a foreign place is to preempt the centre, which causes both the Europeans and the natives to suffer.

*Abu-Lughod 1980: 142–3*
Therefore, he developed an urbanization plan for Moroccan cities that insisted on the complete separation of the European city centres (villes nouvelles) from the Arab city centres (mdina) for political, economic, sanitary and aesthetic reasons, as well as for town planning purposes (1980: 131). Although Janet Abu-Lughod argues that ‘this division led to a system of cultural and religious apartheid, segregating Europeans in new cities laid out on vast open spaces and following a plan aimed at realizing the most modern conditions – large boulevards, conduits for water and electricity, squares and gardens, buses and tramways – while confining Moroccans to the oldest cities’ (1980: xviii), this segregation also enabled the continuity of a Moroccan lifestyle, buffering European influences on Moroccan culture. For example, while European fashion came to dominate the streets of the ville nouvelle, Moroccan fashion continued to prevail in the mdina. This would eventually result in a system whereby Moroccan fashion became associated with Moroccan/traditional contexts and European fashion with European/modern contexts (see Chapter 6).

Furthermore, the French administration chose Rabat over Fez as the new political centre for Morocco. This shift was motivated by both political and practical reasons: on the one hand the French sought to destabilize the power concentrated in Fez, on the other hand Rabat’s proximity to the economic centre of Casablanca made it more pragmatic. The French urbanist Henri Prost had been asked to design a modern and innovating city plan for Casablanca in 1914, which was no more than a small provincial harbour town at the time. Soon Casablanca became an experimental field for architecture and urbanism and even an example for the development of numerous European cities because of its modern and innovative character. Due to its economic activities initiated by its modern harbour, the city came to attract people from all corners of the country (and abroad), including a massive migration of the political élite from Fez. This considerably weakened their position as conservative guardians of Moroccan tradition, allowing cultural reforms. Casablanca, with its cosmopolitan identity, its avant-garde urbanism and architecture and its rapid economic growth, contributed to the introduction of a new lifestyle as well as the rise of a middle class. French department stores like Galeries Lafayette and Le Bon Marché, for example, had opened branches in Casablanca, providing the latest French fashion trends. Also, the transition from the old Arab medina houses in Fez, which were inhabited by extended families, to new French villa’s that were only built to hold nuclear families, contributed to an important change in lifestyle and mentality.

The Nationalist movement

However, the self-governance of Morocco under French guidance soon turned out to be a charade and, according to William Hoisington Jr. (1984: 6–9), Lyautey
admitted in 1920 that he was disappointed with the Protectorate, troubled by the revolutionary implications of the notions of self-determination and colonial emancipation. It had not evolved fast enough to keep pace with the expectations of those thousands of Moroccans who had fought for France in the First World War and, having returned home, were now ready to play a more vital role in their own society. Eight years of the French Protectorate had done little to make Moroccans true partners of the French.

The clash came with the judicial reform known as the Berber dahir, under the French Resident General Lucien Saint, which touched off a summer of urban rioting in 1930 (Hoiistington 1984: 8–11). The dahir consisted of recognizing Berber common law and transferring criminal cases to French courts, which especially in the cities led to an anti-French fury. The French were accused of forcing the Sultan to give up his rights in the ‘amaziɣ territories – thereby threatening the religious and political unity of the empire – attempting to divide the ‘amaziɣ from the Arabs and stepping up evangelism among the ‘amaziɣ by Christian missionaries. All were considered deceitful moves to strengthen French control over Morocco and the menace to Islam raised the ire of the city dwellers. Protest was at first limited to prayers and petitions, but later extended to street demonstrations and clashes with the local authorities. The nationalists began organizing delegations in cities throughout the country to transmit their grievances to the Sultan (Hoiistington 1984: 29–33). They regrouped into the Comité d’Action Marocaine and in 1939 they wrote the celebrated Plan de Réformes.2 The plan envisioned the creation of a liberal constitutional monarchy, the establishment of a national council elected by universal suffrage in two stages, and the institution of civil rights and obligatory education (Hoiistington 1984: 40–1). In 1941, the nationalists presented the Manifeste de l’Indépendance, in which they openly demanded independence from the French administration (Daoud 1993: 243).

Although the initiative for independence came from the urban élite, and especially from Fez, the nationalist movement succeeded over time in uniting all social classes and geographic areas, as well as men and women. Probably for the first time in Moroccan history, the territory was united against a common enemy, which would have a deep impact on the construction of a national identity after independence. The nationalists founded their legitimacy and authority to a great extent on Arabo-Muslim identity, which not only allowed them to clearly distinguish themselves from the French, but also to associate with the pan-Islamic community. As a result, the political élite continued to emphasize this identity after Independence, overshadowing all other cultural and religious groups.

Also, the nationalist movement did not revolt against the rule of the Alaouite Dynasty but, on the contrary, chose the Sultan as its leader (see next paragraph). In this period, Moroccan fashion was elevated to a symbol of silent resistance as well as nationalism. Both men and women would use the benefits of Moroccan fashion to masquerade their resistance activities. Women wearing the ḥayk, for
example, were rarely checked by the French security forces and therefore ideal for smuggling weapons (Baker 1998). Also, men wearing the jellaba were believed to be on their way to the mosque and therefore generally left alone. Simultaneously, there was a revival of Moroccan silk brocade even though it was inferior in quality to the imported French silk brocade from Lyon.

The Moroccan monarchy

Although King Mohamed V went down in history as the monarch who led his people to independence at the side of the nationalists, he began his career as the docile marionette of the French administration. He was hardly eighteen years old when he became Sultan in 1927. Although he was only third in line to the throne, the French administration chose him because he was believed to represent no threat. At first he was aware that a Morocco moulded in the image of the nationalists, with their advanced aspirations for reforms, would be a state wherein his power would be severely reduced (Hoisington 1984: 45–7, 55). But over time, with growth in both age and experience and following some major events, the Sultan emerged as a discrete ally of the nationalists in 1944, and finally as their leader in 1947 (Le Tourneau 1992: 291). Consequently, the royal family was exiled in 1953, which announced the beginning of the end of French Rule since this was against the principles of the Protectorate. Two years later, the royal family returned and Sultan Mohamed V was received as a hero. In March 1956, he finally became ruler of an independent Morocco and this is where he changed his title from Sultan to King as he believed this to be more modern. But despite his strong promotion of (Euro)modernity, including European fashion, he himself always kept on wearing the jellaba and the terbus watani, both of which became symbols of Moroccan nationalism.

When he died in 1961, only five years after independence, his son Moulay Hassan took over, better known as King Hassan II. Since he was only thirty-two years old, he was initially popular among his citizens, 70 per cent of whom were under the age of thirty (Vermeren 2002: 22). But despite his age and his European education, he led a conservative regime. He reinforced the power of the Alaouite Dynasty, but his unwillingness to share power with the political parties led to discontent. During the first thirty years of his dictatorship, known as les Années de Plomb (Years of Lead), thousands of people were shot, imprisoned, banished or simply disappeared. But despite his unpopularity, Hassan II was an influential role model and a fashion icon. In his political ambition to unify the country, he gave visual and material form to his messages through Moroccan fashion. It usually took no more than forty-eight hours before his look would be copied on a large scale after a public appearance or an official photo-shoot. Any picture of him was always meticulously orchestrated, whether wearing a perfectly tailored
European suit by his favourite tailor Francesco Smalto or the finest hand woven *jellaba*. According to Claire Nicholas (2005: 111), his sartorial style prompted the increased popularity of the *jellaba* for both men and women but, unlike his father, Hassan II gave it an image of tradition, Muslim and Arab.

When he died in 1999, all hope was set on his eldest son, Sidi Mohamed Ben Hassan el-Alaoui, to introduce advanced democratic reforms. Just like his father, Mohamed VI was a young King when he came to power at age thirty-six. His nickname M6 testifies to his cool image based on his good taste for luxurious cars and designer clothes as well as his passion for jet skis. Just like his grandfather, but unlike his father, he is considered a King of the people. In the first years of his reign, he launched a series of projects aimed at improving women's rights through a reform of the *mudawwana* (family law), reducing poverty through the National Initiative for Human Development and reducing illiteracy, especially among women, by expanding and improving the national education system. Additionally, he acknowledged the injustices committed by his father during the 'Years of Lead' by founding the Equity and Reconciliation Commission charged with the investigation and compensation of the victims and/or their families. He also gave more importance to a number of cultural and religious minorities in Morocco – for a long time ignored by his father – by according them special rights and facilities. For example, he created the Institut Royal de la Culture 'Amazig au Maroc (IRCAM), which is in charge of promoting 'amazig' language and culture in Morocco and abroad.\

Just like his grandfather and father, Mohamed VI is aware of his influence as a role model and the power of Moroccan fashion in the transmission of his political ideas. His marriage with Salma Bennani, for example, an information services engineer from Fez, is a clear statement and a break with tradition in that not only was she not a member of the Zayan (a Moroccan-Berber tribe), which is custom for royal marriages, but neither was it an arranged union. In his construction of a Moroccan modernity, he is the first monarch to only have one wife and they have only two children. They are frequently featured in national lifestyle magazines wearing both European and Moroccan fashion to emphasize that both fashions are part of a modern Moroccan identity.

Moroccan fashion and emancipation

Moroccan society has gone through a number of emancipation waves throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. First, female emancipation was initiated during the nationalist movement, when Moroccan women were encouraged to go to school and to participate in public life through nationalist activities and a modest participation in the work force. The introduction of education for women announced the entrance of girls in a space formerly reserved for men. Also, the
free nationalist schools, where classes were mixed with male teachers, turned the notion of gender-segregation and the role of men and women upside down for the generations to follow. Simultaneously, the educational content in itself changed the mentality of Moroccan women and exposed them to a new self-awareness.

Second, there have been several waves of cultural emancipation dominated by aspirations of modernity. The nationalist movement, for example, especially promulgated ideas of Euromodernity like the equality of human beings, the establishment of social services, technical improvements, and increasing production. Under the reign of three consecutive monarchs, however, modernity shifted from an emphasis on Euromodernity to a formulation of a Moroccan modernity, whereby Moroccan fashion came to play an important role. In more recent years, cultural emancipation has been particularly dominated by a quest for increasing individual rights in relation to religion and/or cultural identity. This has been reflected in Moroccan fashion and particularly in the work of a new generation of Moroccan fashion designers emerging at the turn of the twenty-first century who have been using its designs both to criticize the system as well as to shape individual (artistic) identities (see Chapter 3).

Finally, the country has been confronted with several waves of political emancipation, with the 20 February Movement in the context of the Arab Spring as probably the most influential in recent years. Although today the Movement has lost most of its influence and it must be concluded that the Arab Spring did not meet its promises, it did uncontestably contribute to more consciousness and the involvement of young Moroccans in national politics and citizenship. As for Moroccan fashion, this is particularly represented by the increasing influence of popular culture and street fashion.

Female emancipation

The female emancipation movement in Morocco started in the context of the nationalist movement, for its leaders believed women to be the key to the development of the country. Besides the fact that they represented half of the population that was not actively contributing, they were considered the educators of their future leaders. Therefore, the nationalist movement encouraged the education of Moroccan women. However, it is important to note that they did not aim to emancipate them, but only to educate them in order for them to contribute. It was Mohamed V himself who closely orchestrated their development in order to control the output. He consciously used his eldest daughter, Princess Aicha, to create an example of a modern educated Moroccan woman, engaged in the renaissance of her country but always subservient to the central power and religion. She was formed by the expert hands of her father as well as the religious leader, fqihi Mohammed Belarbi Alaoui, to guarantee her royal and religious
legitimacy (Nicholas 2005: 49). In April 1947, she accompanied her father to Tangier at the age of sixteen, where she delivered an iconic speech in French, English and Arabic, dressed in a jacket and skirt with no face veil and only a white scarf covering her head. Her status as a member of the royal family, descendant of the Prophet and spokeswomen of the King gave her an undeniable legitimacy. Women, who would imitate her by adopting European fashion and by taking down the face veil, could justify their act with the approval of the King (2005: 48).

An increasing participation of women in public life through their schooling and their activities for the nationalist movement, uncontestably had an impact on their dress. When the first girls were sent to school, for example, they had no suitable garments to wear, since the female wrap around garment hayk was difficult to wear and seriously limited the movement of the wearer. Therefore young girls were dressed in the male outer garment jellaba, which was much easier and more practical. Over time this resulted in an irreversible shift from the female hayk to the formerly exclusively male jellaba as an outer garment for adult women. At first it was worn with the hood over the head and a face veil. In contrast to the hayk, which was considered respectable and modest, the jellaba was considered young, modern and fashionable (Décroux 1947: 11 in Nicholas 2005: 70). According to Claire Nicholas (2005: 79),

The relationship Moroccan women had with their bodies had changed through their display in public. Contrary to the jellaba, the hayk was the materialization of the acknowledgment that women were trespassing into an exclusively male environment and that this presence was only temporary. ( . . .) [Also] The jellaba offered more possibilities to express an individual identity through colour, cut and decoration than the hayk, which could only differ in quality and the way it was worn.

However, after independence, women, and especially women of the lower social classes, were expected to go back to their old (secluded) lives. Many who had participated in the nationalist movement moved to charity since there was no longer room for revolutionary women. The alliance of the feminist movement to the nationalist movement and the monarchy turned out to be a weakness for the feminist cause. To manifest against the state as an independent movement was considered a threat to the central power and therefore women were limited to taking part in actions organized by the state or in the private sphere (Baker 1996: 6–7). Especially under the reign of Hassan II, many of the rights that had been hard won were turned back. In a speech in 1968, he declared that ‘we have respected more the letter than the spirit of Islam and instead of making a spouse or a mother, we have made a woman’ (Daoud 1993: 275). This was a direct reaction to the discourse of his father and his support for female emancipation. It was especially a reaction against the results it had produced, such as the
lowering of the face veil and even the headscarf and the widespread wearing of European fashion, including the mini skirt.

In the past fifty years, Moroccan women have continued to fight for more rights and the women’s lifestyle press, in particular, has been playing an important role in this (see Chapter 4). Although statistics are often unreliable, more women have gained access to education, which has been leading to better jobs. A considerable percentage of Moroccan women today are combining the education of children with paid labour outside the home. Women’s associations, in their turn, are rapidly increasing in numbers and gaining power to contest injustices inflicted on women.

Cultural emancipation

Cultural emancipation in Moroccan society, although strongly influenced by Euromodernity, has simultaneously been marked by a formulation of a Moroccan modernity. The nationalist movement, for example, which especially promulgated ideas of Euromodernity, was simultaneously feeling constraint to spread secular and European values associated with the former colonizer. King Mohamed V, who himself received a classic Arabic education and only poorly spoke the major European languages, was clearly influenced by Europe in his ideas on modernity and particularly used his children as influential role models. Wearing European fashion, taking Latin, English and singing classes, riding on horse-back and swimming, his daughters were frequently pictured as ‘modern’ girls (Daoud 1993: 245). He broke with the total seclusion of the royal female family members by making their lives public, and the media were consciously used and manipulated in the spread of these images of Euromodernity (1993: 245).

Under Hassan II, however, who was more conservative in his ideas, a number of reforms introduced by his father were reversed. In order to reinforce his spiritual and thereby his political authority, Hassan II placed more emphasis on his role as Prince of the Faithful (amir l-mu’minin) and even had the title included in the Constitution in 1961. The way Zakya Daoud (1993: 265) explains it, ‘his political commitment in the 1960s and 1970s was translated by a deliberate mixture of notions of religion and tradition, associated with a moralizing discourse on the duties of civicism’. He introduced laws on prostitution, alcoholic drinks, eating in public during Ramadan, and openly criticizing Islam (1993: 265). According to Claire Nicholas (2005), it was Hassan II who turned the jellaba into an anchor point for Moroccan Muslim tradition and morality. It became valorized in opposition to European fashion, which became representative of immorality and indecency. Associated with piety, the jellaba for women lost its contested pre-independence character and became instead a medium for the new political discourse. Through his own example, Hassan II related the garment to specific
characteristic Moroccan activities and religious ceremonies like going to the bathhouse (hemmam) or market (souq), during the fasting month of Ramadan, to visit people in mourning, or to go to the mosque.

Mohamed VI, in his turn, has been focusing on a Moroccan modernity that is more in harmony with prevailing Moroccan norms and values. As a counter-reaction to (too much) European cultural influences and the impact of cultural globalization in general, Moroccan cultural heritage as a means of emphasizing local distinctiveness has undergone a remarkable revaluation, which has uncontestably been contributing to the revival and success of Moroccan fashion (see Chapter 5). Although Mohamed VI wants to assure participation for his country in world progress, he also has to take into consideration a (religious) conservative part of the population that believes Morocco is far too influenced by Europe, resulting in (both religious and cultural) traditionalism. In his propaganda for a Moroccan modernity, Mohamed VI uses his wife especially as an influential role model. Being a talented Moroccan woman with a Moroccan university degree, she is adored by the people because she is considered as ‘one of them’. Right from the beginning, the emphasis in the media has been on the fact that she is from a popular background, an orphan even, raised by her grandmother in a modest apartment in Fez. It is almost as if Mohamed VI has been creating a ‘Moroccan dream’, where ordinary people can accomplish anything through hard work and perseverance. This is rather revolutionary in a country where only the élite, with their French education, has access to socio-political mobility. Lalla Salma was the first wife of a Moroccan King to feature on the cover of a Moroccan lifestyle magazine in modern Moroccan fashion. Since the couple became a family, all its members have been frequently pictured in popular national lifestyle magazines as representatives of a modern, strong, united family, all wearing modern Moroccan fashion. Mohamed VI’s political message is clearly modernity, but in harmony with Moroccan and Islamic values and traditions.

Furthermore, since the turn of the century, cultural emancipation has been particularly dominated by a quest for increasing individual rights. This development is especially concentrated in two popular movements, namely the Alternative Movement for Individual Freedoms (Mouvement Alternatif pour les Libertés Individuelles; MALI) and Morocco Now (DabaMaroc). The first was created in 2009 as a Facebook group to campaign for more individual rights including freedom of conscience, cult, sexual orientation and more generally the division of state and religion. That same year DabaMaroc started as a monthly initiative organizing activities involving music, dance, theatre, blogging, writing and debates around socio-political topics. Although not formally a movement, the initiative aimed to render young Moroccans more aware, critical and proactive and, therefore, has been gathering like-minded people. This claim for individual rights has been materializing in Moroccan fashion through the work of a new generation of Moroccan fashion designers (see Chapter 3).
Political emancipation

Finally, Moroccan society has undergone several phases of political emancipation throughout the twentieth/twenty-first centuries, with the events in the context of the so-called Arab Spring being the most recent. After initial hopes for more democracy and freedom following the coronation of King Mohamed VI in 1999, there grew a general discontent about the slowness of political and economic reforms and the eradication of corruption in public services. Despite his numerous initiatives to improve conditions, he is still faced with a young population, high unemployment, including among university graduates (chômeurs diplômés), high percentages of illiteracy compared to similar developing countries, and limited freedom of the media. The way Nicolas Pelham (2012) puts it:

Morocco’s vital statistics are worse than Tunisia’s. Its population earns half as much on average as its smaller North African counterpart. One of every two youth are unemployed, and the number is rising: failed rains have cut the country’s wheat harvest in half and have compounded a mounting budget deficit hiked by rising fuel prices and a downturn in tourism and exports to Europe, Morocco’s beleaguered main trading partner.

Therefore, when a wave of protests and demonstrations hit the region in December 2010, Morocco was not spared. The first demonstrations were held on 20 February 2011, which became the name of the nationwide movement for reforms. The 20 February Movement succeeded in bringing together Moroccans from all political persuasions and was purposely designed as a ‘leaderless’ movement to promote inclusion and prevent it from being co-opted. It included secularists, atheists, socialists, conservatives and Islamists (Rahman 2011). Although they initially managed to mobilize protestors in some eighty Moroccan cities and towns, many of their initiatives soon melted away. Today it is largely inactive because, the way Marina Ottaway (2012) puts it, youthful activists were not able to sustain the momentum of protest, both because of organizational shortcomings and because many Moroccans were willing to wait and see what the King’s reforms would bring.

Morocco has been considered an ‘exception’ because, unlike the majority of political leaders in the region, King Mohamed VI quickly plunged into a process of political reforms in an attempt to avoid total disorder. In a matter of weeks he created a commission to write a new Constitution, which was swiftly approved in a referendum in July 2011 (official numbers indicated 98 per cent in favour) (Alami 2011). By November, new parliamentary elections were held and won by the Islamist Party for Justice and Development (PJD). The King accepted the victory and appointed PJD Secretary General Abdellah Benkirane as Prime Minister (Ottaway 2012).
However, many Moroccans have begun to wonder whether the partnership between the still-powerful King and his politically astute entourage on one side and the PJD with its popular support on the other truly represented a revolutionary reform, or whether it was simply a return to the status quo. Because, in 1991, King Hassan II also allowed the most successful opposition party, the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP), to form a government in a seemingly daring step towards democracy. In reality, the move eliminated the party from the opposition roster without allowing it to exercise real power (Ottaway 2012). In many ways, that is exactly what has been going on in later years. Nicolas Pelham (2012) even believes that Mohamed VI possibly used the Islamists to ‘revive the monarchy’s legitimacy at its weakest hour’.

Elaine Combs-Schilling (1989: 8) argues that the Moroccan population will never revolt against the monarchy because it is considered legitimate by both religion and popular consent. The way she puts it, the monarchy lays effective claim to the supreme political position in Islam, the caliphate, established over 1,350 years ago upon the death of Prophet Mohamed. Old, powerful and legitimate, she states that the monarchy is deeply valued. It constitutes the heart of the nation, she says, the symbol of self, the link to Islam and the past. Even the country’s most strident critics, she adds, tend to support it, calling for its reforms, but not its eradication (1989: 8).

When it comes to Moroccan fashion, these recent developments are particularly reflected by an increasing challenging by contemporary fashion designers of a hegemonic definition of Moroccanness in favour of an Arabo-Muslim identity represented by garments like the qaftan. Popular culture, rural cultural influences and street styles have become more influential in recent years, representing Morocco’s cultural and social diversity and made visible by influential fashion bloggers (see Chapter 4).

Moroccan fashion and Islam

The large majority of the Moroccan population is (Sunni) Muslim, with a small minority of Christians and Jews. According to Islam, a person is Muslim when his or her father is Muslim and since Moroccan law forbids conversion as well as Moroccan Muslim women to marry non-Muslim men, this leaves little room for change. As such, national identity is strongly interconnected with Muslim identity and vice-versa. However, due to the country’s geographical position at the extreme of the Arab world and its proximity with Europe, Moroccan Islam is considered more hybrid than Islam as practised in the Arab Peninsula. In the course of time it has been mixed with local beliefs and religious practices.

Nevertheless, in recent years, Morocco has been increasingly confronted with religious extremism, intolerance and terrorist attacks fed by poverty and a growing
hopelessness of the poor urban populations. Salafism, in particular, an ideology that claims to practise 'pure' Islam, has been structurally gaining popularity. With it came the introduction of so-called Muslim fashion, which has increased considerably in popularity over the past ten years. This type of fashion, for both men and women, is especially influenced by fashions from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and includes the complete veiling for women, including the face and hands. It is clearly distinct from Moroccan fashion and still represents a strong minority (see Chapter 6). Because Muslim fashion is not considered Moroccan due to its (too) strong influence by Middle East fashion identities, it is deliberately not widely discussed in this volume.

Furthermore, rather than the religious dogmas, it is especially the cultural heritage of Islam that plays an important role in Moroccan fashion, such as socio-religious ceremonies including weddings and the holy fasting month of Ramadan. These events have become strongly commercialized by the Moroccan fashion industry in the past ten years, since it is the custom for Moroccans to buy new garments for these occasions. The industry has become almost entirely focused on these two festivities, whether it is through an array of fashion events promoting the latest fashion trends, fashion magazines featuring special editions, or boutiques offering promotions in order to stimulate consumption (see Chapter 5).

Moroccan Islam

Although Islam was introduced into Morocco at the beginning of the eighth century, when Arab migrants settled in the northern parts, it has been considerably influenced over time by other spiritual beliefs practised by local populations and migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. For example, spiritual brotherhoods based on Islamic ideologies, but strongly influenced by the belief in local Saints, have played important roles in Moroccan society (Le Tourneau 1992: 327-8). In this respect, Maraboutism, in which people visit the shrines of local saints to ask for blessing (baraka), continues to be widely practised (Combs-Schilling 1989: 19). However, the nationalist movement tried to 'purify' Moroccan Islam based on salafist ideology because they founded their legitimacy and their authority on the Arab and Muslim character of Morocco. They especially used Islam and the Arab identity to distinguish themselves from the French colonial power, to unify their partisans and to align theirselves with the pan-Islamic community.

The salafist ideology is based on the principle that the adoption by the Orient of western ideologies automatically leads to the stagnation of the Muslim world as a result of an incorrect interpretation of Islam (Douad 1993: 239). Salafism encourages a utopian return to the 'sources of Islam' and the Golden Age of Muslim tradition, and condemns the decadence of 'wrong traditions' produced by a general ignorance of Muslim principles (1993: 239). In a way, Islam became
a means to express a new form of opposition against the French and Koranic schools were tagged as the nationalist movement's 'kindergartens', where teachers were carefully chosen to transmit the nationalist message to their pupils. Mosques became the principal meeting places of the nationalists, for they were out of reach of French authorities. Subsequently, the Moroccan monarchy has been using Islam to legitimate its authority based on its direct descent from the Prophet Mohamed.

Since November 2011, for the first time in Moroccan history, the country is governed by an Islamist party, the PJD, and although it has placed economic and legal issues at the core of its political programme, it also adheres to socio-religious conservative reforms, such as a reform of the media landscape in favour of Arabic programming and a slowing down of the implementation of the new mudawwana that increases women's rights. In recent years, Morocco has been increasingly confronted with religious extremism, intolerance and terrorist attacks. According to Intissar Fakir (2009), the radicalism that plagues Morocco is a product of the palace itself. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, she says, Hassan II embarked on an initiative to Islamize Morocco. Seeking both to solidify his position as Prince of the Faithful and to weaken the secular left-leaning opposition forces that had grown stronger in the 1960s and 1970s, she adds, Hassan II manifested a relentless effort to remake education and popular culture, infusing school curriculums with radical salafi teachings. The real feeding ground for Islamic fundamentalism today, however, is poverty and desperation, especially in the cities, which in 2003 led to a series of suicide attacks killing forty-three people and injuring hundreds in downtown Casablanca. Four years later, in 2007, a second series of suicide attacks hit the city, although causing less casualties. In April 2011, a radical activist blew up a well-known tourist café overlooking Jamaa-el-Fnaa Square in Marrakech, the most popular tourist spot in the old imperial city, killing fifteen people, of which eleven were tourists.

Furthermore, the introduction of Muslim fashion in Morocco has considerably increased in recent years. Although it is a fashion today that has gone global, it finds its origins — and therefore is strongly influenced by — in fashion identities from the Arabian Peninsula, the birthplace of Islam. Worldwide there is a growing trend of both men and women who wish to explicitly emphasize their Muslim identity over their national identity, which they usually consider either not ‘sufficiently Islamic’ or representing a type of Islam practised in their countries that is not ‘the right one’ (Moors and Tarlo 2007: 137). As explained in the introductory chapter of this book, contrary to Moroccan fashion that is used to express cultural identity, including Muslim identity, Muslim fashion is used to express a religious identity rather than a cultural identity.
Moroccan weddings

Islam is especially closely interconnected with socio-cultural life in Morocco, and weddings are by far the most important celebration for which Moroccan fashion is worn. Depending on the social status, circumstances and personal choice of the two families concerned, weddings can last for several days and require a number of outfits for both the groom and bride. In recent years, it has become an increasingly personal choice of two young people to get married, and less marriages are arranged in the urban areas. In general, young people choose to get engaged, je-mlak, relatively quickly because it is the only way to have some freedom of movement to get to know each other, and it can take several years before the actual wedding takes place. Also, there is a general tendency in the cities to get married relatively late because young people first want to finish their education, start a career and save some money to be able to afford a place of their own, so that they do not have to live with the parents once married. Also, Moroccan weddings take a long time to prepare because, besides deciding on a date, location, wedding planner (neggafa), caterer, band, etc., the bride needs considerable time to prepare the different outfits she is going to wear for the different festivities. She will usually prepare about four to seven outfits and, depending on her budget, she might rent some from the neggafa but at least some will be made by a tailor or fashion designer. The jewellery accompanying these outfits, on the other hand, is almost always rented from the neggafa.

Although a wedding now seldom lasts for seven days, a few rituals continue to be performed (or have been re-introduced), such as the visit to the hemmam prior to the wedding. It is far less ritualized than it used to be, and it is treated more as an opportunity to get pampered at a luxurious spa-type hemmam. The evening before the actual wedding is the evening of the henna ceremony, nbita, when the bride's hands and feet are decorated with patterns of henna. This is the occasion for the future bride to show the guests her dowry, which used to include self-made, hand-embroidered house linen, but today it is usually professional artisans who make them. The next day is the actual day of the wedding and the bride will spend most of the afternoon at the beauty salon, getting pampered and having her hair and make-up done. After that, she is taken to the location where the festivities will be held, either in a home or in a luxurious villa or hotel. The neggafa will assist her throughout the night to change outfits. Since the bride used to be taken from her father's house to the house of her future family-in-law in a cortege through the streets, she would be carried in a decorated carriage, completely hidden from view by curtains and protected from the dirt in the streets. This tradition has been re-introduced in some form in recent years and the bride makes her entrance on a decorated carriage, carried by four to eight men, but no longer hidden from view by curtains. The groom, in turn, still generally arrives in a cortege with all his relatives and guests,
preceded by carriers who carry the gifts offered to the bride, including women's accessories, textiles and jewellery. In some cases, he may still make his entrance on horse-back, which has also recently been re-introduced as a re-interpretation of old traditions.

At some point in the evening, the couple may sign the wedding contract in the presence of male relatives (if this has not already been done at a prior occasion). The bride will change several times into different outfits, while the groom will only change once or twice, according to the outfit of his bride. In between changes, the couple are seated on a wedding throne and guests have the occasion to congratulate them and be photographed with them. Towards the second part of the evening, which can be around three or four o'clock in the morning, the bride usually changes into the traditional fasi wedding dress, and for this occasion the groom will wear Moroccan fashion. Both persons are placed on decorated pallets and carried around the room. This again is a contemporary re-introduction of a ritual when the bride used to be carried around the courtyard to cast off evil spirits. Since the traditional fasi wedding dress is very heavy and the bride is already fairly tired, this ritual usually does not take long and the bride is changed into her final outfit, in most cases a European white wedding dress, while the groom puts on his final suit. This is where European traditions have clearly been adopted, for the couple usually exchange wedding rings and cut a wedding cake.

It is not unusual that the wedding lasts until seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and for breakfast guests are served a characteristic Moroccan soup hrira and dates. Previously, the couple would spend the wedding night at the parents' house, in a highly decorated room, but today it is more fashionable to spend the first night in a luxurious hotel, where the couple enjoy more privacy. The next day, the couple will generally have lunch with the parents and some close relatives. Not once, not even in the most remote village to which I was invited, was 'a proof of the bride's virginity' publicly displayed.

Ramadan

Another religious celebration in contemporary Moroccan urban society where Moroccan fashion plays a prominent role is the holy fasting month of Ramadan, which is celebrated during the ninth month of the Islamic calendar and is the fourth pillar of Islam. The month of Ramadan is considered holy because this is the time that the Prophet Mohamed received his first messages from God, and more specifically in the 'night of the decision', lailat al-qadr, which is the night between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh day of the fasting month. This is the most important night and the majority of Muslims spend this night praying, for all sins are forgiven in this night. In Morocco it is also a general belief that God
decides this night who will make the holy pilgrimage to Mecca (Buitelaar 1993: 24–5). During Ramadan, Muslims do not eat, drink, smoke or have sexual intercourse between sunrise and sunset. It is a time of spiritual and physical discipline, when people are more conscious of their spirituality and God. The fasting is also a way to show solidarity with the poor, who often do not have enough to eat to quell their hunger. According to Marjo Buitelaar (1993: 12), there are three values that play a central role during Ramadan in Morocco: `urnaa, ṭahaara and ajr. The first one refers to the unification of all Muslims around the world during the holy month of fasting. The second refers to the importance Moroccans attribute to purity: the purification of both the body and the soul is believed to be beneficial for society as such. Finally, fasting does not only accumulate religious merits but it is also the occasion to accomplish other acts that will give you religious merits. Even though this goes against the principle of fasting, which needs to be voluntary, King Hassan II introduced a law in Morocco that prohibits eating in public, and bars and restaurants are closed. People usually work reduced hours and the most important moment of the day is the breaking of the fast, ftur. This meal is taken with family and friends and often people wear Moroccan fashion for this occasion.

In recent years, under the influence of the Moroccan fashion industry, it has become fashionable to wear informal Moroccan fashion to go to the office as well during Ramadan (see Chapter 6). During the months before Ramadan, there is a large range of fashion events presenting the latest fashion trends, fashion magazines feature special Ramadan editions, and even the supermarkets offer Moroccan fashion for this occasion. The end of Ramadan is a reason for celebration and is called `id ʂ-ṣgir or `id al-fiṭr. On the morning of the first day, men assemble early for Morning Prayer. The end of Ramadan is the occasion to donate zakat l-fiṭr to the poor (Buitelaar 1993: 63-4). On the first day, it is men especially who go to visit family and friends, wearing Moroccan fashion. For this occasion, fathers often take their sons along, who are dressed likewise. The women, who stay at home to receive guests, also generally wear Moroccan fashion. It is on the second day that women go visit their relatives and friends and for this occasion they again wear Moroccan fashion. It is still the custom to wear new clothes for `id ʂ-ṣgir and so many people have a new outfit prepared for this occasion.
THREE GENERATIONS OF MOROCCAN FASHION DESIGNERS

This chapter analyses what I have come to categorize as three generations of Moroccan fashion designers. Although they can be, to a certain extent, differentiated chronologically, they are especially differentiated according to fundamental style changes introduced in Moroccan fashion following significant changes in Moroccan society. As John Flügel (1950 [1930]: 153) explains, very big changes in fashion can only be accepted if at the same time there is a corresponding change in ideal. As such, a first generation of Moroccan fashion designers in the 1960s found itself confronted with the consequences of the French Protectorate, the nationalist movement and a remarkable change in lifestyle. The first fashion designers consisted of women of the Moroccan élite, the schoolgirls of the independence movement who had grown up with new ideals. Some of them had gone to France to finish their education, adopting European ideas and lifestyle. Also, Casablanca, where they had moved with their husbands, represented a more cosmopolitan and free environment than the imperial cities with their high social control. Nevertheless, they inherited the decadence of fasi fashion, consisting of layers of heavy velvet and brocade, which made it substantial and impractical. Cuts were wide and long, combined with large brocade belts, which severely limited women in their movement. Therefore, these ladies no longer considered their vestimentary heritage suitable and re-invented Moroccan fashion to fit their cosmopolitan and active lifestyle by incorporating European fashion aesthetics and comfort based on notions of freedom.

However, it is only with the introduction of fashion schools in Morocco in the mid-1980s, Moroccan fashion magazines in the mid-1990s, and European fashion brands on a large scale at the turn of the twenty-first century that fashion was democratized in Morocco (see Chapters 4 and 5). This democratization process was crucial for the rise of a second generation of Moroccan fashion designers, which no longer consisted of members of the Moroccan élite and