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The Racialization of Morocco

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Introduction

This case study is an initial analysis of the racialization of Morocco using the theoretical methods within “The Racial Contract” by Charles W. Mills. This historical starting point for analysis is the reign of Sultan Mawlay Isma’il in 1672. With Morocco being under grave socio-political and socioeconomic stress due to previous historical events, Mawlay Isma’il order for the capture of all black people within Morocco to form an strong central army solely devoted to him that would alleviate much of the political tension, protect morocco from European invaders, and stabilize the government. Through political and religious manipulation, Mawlay Isma’il was able to enslave all black people in morocco, create a racialized caste system that stigmatized black skin and made synonymous with slavery and inferiority, and alter Islamic law to justify the creation of the racialized state. While there is a lack of literature on racism and slavery’s ramifications on modern Morocco, we will review its effects by analysing the cultural identity of the Gnawa people after, a black Moroccan ethnic group, post-slavery and the experiences of black Africans, specifically sub-Saharan migrant workers in Morocco.

Essential Literature

“*Black Morocco: A history of Slavery, Race, and Islam*” by Chouki El Hamel (2013) was an essential text within this case study. El Hamel provides the most conclusive historical foundation and structure for outlining the process or racialization in Morrocco. El Hamel’s work archives the journey, identity, experiences, and triumphs of black Moroccans between the sixteenth and twentieth century. El Hamel seeks to fill the missing areas in current scholarship regarding race, slavery, and gender in Morocco, critique familiar concepts regarding enslaved people under Islam and their relationship to race, gender, and power politics. El Hamel strongly argues that when analysing slavery and the racialization of black people we cannot only utilize Islamic ideology to explain the history and social ramifications of slavery in the Muslim world.

The second essential text is “*The Racial Contract*” by Charles W. Mills (1997). The Racial Contract outlines European imperialism within the last five centuries and how it resulted in the formation of a social contract which categorised individuals as “white” and “non-white”, full persons and sub-persons, and prescribed levels of humanity and morality to each category. Mills states that the outcome of the Racial Contract was a global political system of white supremacy or the establishment of global dominance culturally, economically, and socially of “white” people (Mills 1997). Through the Racial Contract the superior class status of the racialized ‘white’ person is fluid and can be a different group of set of people in different geographical locations (Mills 1997). Mills states the “whiteness” or the creation of “white” body is not a colour u a set of socio-political power relations (Mills 1997).

Mills offers a theoretical method for understanding racialization and racial domination as a global phenomena and aims to demonstrate how it can be applied to existing polities (Mills 1997).

The Racial Contract seeks to give a better understanding of the “non-ideal’ world and correct historical inaccuracies regarding other social contracts (Mills 1997). Mills’ states that the ideal social contract “explains how a just society would be formed, rules by moral government, and regulated by a defensible moral code, the non-ideal/naturalized contract explains how an unjust, exploitative society rules by an oppressive government and regulated by an immoral code comes into existence” (Mills 1997, 5). Mills believes the importance of acknowledging the non-ideal contracts are to have better understanding of lived logic within socio-political systems.

Mills’ work also illustrates that The Racial Contract as an historical actuality not just a theory (Mills 1997). We are able to apply this framework to Morocco through a historical analysis. While Mills’ work documents European domination and imperialism as global phenomena, it was an interesting journey to apply the principles and aspects of the contract on specific nation-states in internal Africa. Africa is primarily seen, as a continent of inhabited by people of colour, therefore documenting the socio-political privileging of the created “white” body is both a unique and difficult task. Once the process of racialization has been defined in Morocco through the use of the contract, we can analysis the current socio-political climate and document present racisms.

The Process of Racialization

El Hamel states that in order to investigate slavery in Morocco we must not only understand the role of Islam but also any secular influences (El Hamel 2013). Mawlay Isma’il manipulated the fundamental laws and practices of Islam to configure his army and enslave Black Africans. While it is true that slavery as a social institution predates Islam and flourished well after its establishment as an organized religion, it is not defended or supported in the Qur’an (El Hamel 2013). There are no verses that justify slavery or discrimination of any group of people based on skin colour or race. On the contrary, the Qur’an called explicitly for the liberation of enslaved people (El Hamel 2013).

EL Hamel states that with the adoption of the Hamitic curse by various Islamic scholars and historians that use the Hamitic myth to defend the subjugation and stigmatization of black skin with Islam as well as to justify negative social practices (El Hamel 2013). The basis of the Hamitic curse is that Ham, son of Noah, witnessed his father nakedness and was therefore generationally cursed with what is classified as darker skin and to serve his brothers lineage. By the fourteenth century these pre-existing social views on skin colour were accepted and used to justify slavery throughout the Islamic world specifically in the case of Sultan Mawlay Isma’il (El Hamel 2013).

The Mawlay Isma’il Project

During the 17th century, the Moroccan central government was in social and political turmoil (El Hamel 2013). There was weak central authority and lack of national political cohesion and identity (El Hamel 2013). Morocco was being taken advantage of by European countries due to the internal political divisions, which was hindering economic development (El Hamel 2013). In 1672, Sultan Mawlay Isma’il rose to power within the unstable political climate. The Mawlay Isma’il believed the solution to the political discord was creating a strong army completely loyal to him formed of exclusively black people (El Hamel 2013). After an alleged assignation attempt by white Moroccans, Isma’il vowed to only trust black people (El Hamel 2013). He knew that it would be impossible to consolidate his rule and unite the country without a strong army not for its military capabilities but for its political capitol (El Hamel 2013).

Sultan Isma’il initially issued an order to collect all black people that wanted to enlist as a salaried soldier within his army. There were many black Moroccan’s that took up his offer due to lack in employment opportunities and weaken political economy that resulted in rough living conditions (El Hamel 2013). The soldiers became quite loyal to the Isma’il because his mother was a black slave although he was raised free since patrilineal decent constituted

ones Arabic identity and freedom under Islamic law (El Hamel 2013). While there were many black people who took up Isma'il's offer the numbers were not sufficient (El Hamel 2013).

This order caused much social and political outrage by Moroccans. Socially, free black Moroccans were outraged at how they were being treated and solicited to work in the army (El Hamel 2013). Enslaved black Moroccans feared being taken away from their owners because there were well established kinships that had formed over time between the enslaved and their owners (El Hamel 2013). Politically, Isma'il caused controversy among Islamic legal scholars (El Hamel 2013). There were strict legal codes under Islamic law that forbid the enslavement of fellow Muslims regardless of lineage (El Hamel 2013). While Muslims were permitted to enslave non-Muslims, regardless of race or ethnicity, under Isma'il's rule he enslaved all black people (El Hamel 2013). Due to an "oath of investiture", Sultan Isma'il was required to gain the consent of Islamic scholars and acknowledge their concerns with his rulings (El Hamel 2013). Isma'il unsuccessfully attempted to influence the Islamic scholars of the legitimacy of his project. The Moroccan Islamic scholars declared his project illegal under Islamic law and rejected the project in its entirety (El Hamel 2013). The Moroccan Islamic scholars did not just oppose Isma'il's project because it went against the tenets of Islam. The legitimization of his project would have caused severe economic hardships for them (El Hamel 2013). Since most of the scholars were wealthy merchants and landowners, the enslavement of all black Moroccans into the army would take away their slaves and reduce their labour market since many of the utilized free blacks tended to their businesses.

Ignoring their opposition, the sultan continued to collect black people for his army. His use of the justification that black people were better to serve in the army due to their "Brave, gritty, competence, and patient" natures, unlike white Arabs (El Hamel 2013). He emphasized that their slave origins fostered these characteristics that could only be expressed through enslavement (El Hamel 2013). He believed that no matter how the black Moroccans were integrated into society there were still aware of their slave status and inferiority (El Hamel 2013). He also argued that while the Qur'an does not say anything explicitly regarding the treatment of slaves, it did discuss the proper way to do business and handle personal property as claimed all black people were descendants of slaves, therefore natural property (El Hamel 2013). When he could not convince them intellectually he began political integration (El Hamel 2013). He started to fine and imprison scholars that objected to his project (El Hamel 2013). Many scholars fearing for both their lives and finances escaped to nearby cities and mountains accompanied by black Moroccans in search of liberation (El Hamel 2013).

Since he was unable to convince the Islamic scholars in Morocco, he sought permission from Islamic scholars in Egypt (El Hamel 2013). His letters reiterated many of the justifications he presented to the Moroccan scholars. He also introduced a few new arguments. First, he claimed that the socio-political state of Morocco was in turmoil and Islamic lands needed to be protected from European invaders and the only way to do so was establishing the army (El Hamel 2013). Second, he introduced the idea of naturalized heathenism in black people (El Hamel 2013). He claimed that outside of enslavement they would return to a natural state of restless thieves and untrustworthy rebels (El Hamel 2013). Lastly, he falsely informed them that he had received full support from the Islamic scholars in Morocco. His efforts resulted in full support of his project from Egyptian Islamic scholars who even went as far as giving Isma'il permission to have as many black female concubines as he pleased (El Hamel 2013). Once Sultan Mawlay received full support from Egyptian Islamic scholars and successfully silenced the opposition of Moroccan Islamic scholars, his project went into full effect and an official legal document was drafted emphasizing that the acquisition of black Moroccans as slaves was completely legal and justified in Islamic law (El Hamel 2013).

The most intriguing aspect of racialization through Sultan Isma'il's project was the slave registry he created to classify the slaves. There were two techniques in identifying slaves. The first classification was based on lineage and the second on physical features that

differentiated them from the free Moroccans or ruling class (El Hamel 2013). Some registries detailed both paternal and maternal history as classification and others listed physical characteristics, primarily gradients of skin colour as classification (El Hamel 2013). Depending on the skin colour classification there were different rights and privileges given to each skin colour category (El Hamel 2013). These classification techniques created a racialized caste system that enforced the inferiority of black Moroccans.

Implementing the Racial Contract

El Hamel uses the reign of Mawlay Isma'il to deconstruct the racialization process of Black Moroccan's. El Hamel states that while this is not the only era of slavery within Morocco, Mawlay Isma'il's rule is the historical marker where we see the Racial Contract implemented. During Mawlay Isma'il's rule "religious principles were substituted by racial concepts and a racist ideology in order to establish and reserve the social boundaries that demarcate the identities and privileges of the Arabs and the Berbers (El Hamel 2013, 10)." After Mawlay Isma'il, black skin became synonymous with inferiority and began a venomous culture of racial hostility and discrimination in not just Morocco but the Islamic law (El Hamel 2012, Law 2014, Lewis 1990, Schaefer 2009).

The Racial Contract depicts that in order to create a racialized society you must first categorize people into subsets and shift into a racial categorization phenotypically, genealogically, and culturally, using these criteria to create a "white body" and the remaining subsets as non-white therefore inferior (Mills 1997). Mawlay changed the societal view of black people by first acknowledging their skin with the use of the Hamitic curse as the initial justification for enslavement. After correlating darker skin with enslavement the genealogy was altered because it was a common idea that since you were darker skinned you were the child of a slave regardless of the truth in that assumption (El Hamel 2013). Lastly the culture of black people were changed and seen as contrary to Islamic principles thereby making them heathens resulting in the inferiority complex. With the use of the contract black Moroccans were given sub-person hood therefore not being fully human you can do certain things to said sub-person that you could not do a "white" Moroccan regardless of religious affiliation due to their lack of rights as a full person i.e. enslave them (Mills 1997).

Mills states that The Racial Contract "explains how society was created or critically transformed, how individuals in that society were reconstructed, how the state was established, and how a particular moral code and a certain moral psychology were brought into existence (Mills 1998, 10)." There was of a racial caste system under Isma'il that critically transformed the social system within Morocco. Black Moroccans identities were reconstructed in ordinance with the slavery process. Even if black Moroccans were free or affluent, they were now seen as inferior due to their skin colour and new slave status. A new state was established in Morocco as Isma'il wanted to alter the political climate in Morocco by creating a racialized army and new labour system. Lastly, through campaigning his project he established a new moral code and psychology as it pertained to black people by convincing the Islamic scholars into writing their inferiority into Islamic law. The Racial Contract states "Whiteness is defined in part in respect to an oppositional darkness; so that white self-conceptions of identity, personhood, and self-respect are then intimately tied up with the repudiation of the black others (Mills 1999, 58-59)". Isma'il wrote to the selected Islamic scholars that the innate nature of black people was enslavement. He states that only under enslavement could they be tamed and any good characteristics be shown. He believed that outside of enslavement they would turn to crime and other deplorable social acts (El Hamel 2013). In doing this he began to create a moral ground for racialization and the legal justification of a "black other".

The main factor of enslavement during Mawlay Isma'il's regime was the physical characteristic of skin colour (El Hamel 2013). Mills states, 'the Racial Contract makes the white body the somatic norm, so that in early racist theories one finds not only moral but aesthetic judgments, with beautiful and fair races pitted against ugly and dark races' (Mills

1997, 61). The “white body” under Mawlay Isma’il ‘s created a society were Berber/Arab Muslims.

The Effects of Racialization

While slavery has been virtually non-existent in Morocco since the 1950’s, outside of black woman domestic workers in Arab and Berber households (El Hamel 2013, Law 2014), the nefarious social attitudes created through slave culture plays a direct role in the discrimination and marginalization of black people in Morocco (El Hamel 2013). Historically, academic literature and narratives describe Morocco as “racially and ethnically homogenous nation, defined rigorously by Islamic doctrine” (El Hamel 2013, 2). These narratives are problematic when attempting to analyse the racialization of black Moroccans because they describe Morocco to be free of the social woes of racism and colourism (El Hamel 2013). While there is not a denial that slavery existed in Morocco, the “culture of silence” regarding race and slavery belittles the lived experiences of black Moroccans as well as removes the space for a critical analysis of the correlation between slavery and the current social, political, and even economic status of black Moroccans (El Hamel 2013). However, the phenomenon of academically smudging cultural history to illicit that racism in any form is strictly western idea and concept is not exclusive to Moroccan and Islamic scholars.

The academic misrepresentation and lack of acknowledgment regarding slavery, or the “black others” as Mills would describe it, has produced major barriers within this research. The central issue regarding the literature available is that the narratives present are primarily written by Moroccan slaveholders and western observers, they focus on slave soldiers, the Moroccan army, or highlighting the mercy of Islam towards the enslaved people (El Hamel 2013). Also, due to there being no consistent abolitionist movement reported, lack of sources such as slave narratives outside of Gnawa oral traditions, and no existing or historical social movements involving black Moroccan’ it is challenging to gauge and report on the sociological effects of racialization on Black Moroccan’s.

The Gnawa People

The Gnawa people are a traditionally Muslim spiritual order that descended form enslaved sub-Saharan West Africans, including Senegal, Mali, Chad and Nigeria, who were able to retain many of their beliefs, traditions, and rituals through unique musical traditions (El Hamel 2013, Hell 2002, Schaefer 2009). Their music focused on their history, balancing assimilation into mainstream Moroccan society and maintains their ethnic solidarity. It is essential to discuss the Gnawa culture because they offer the most extensive narratives regarding the history and lived experience of black Moroccans.

Although the Gnawa have adopted the social identification of “Arabo-Berber-Islamic” (El Hamel 2013) there is a lack in academic literature and discourse concerning the residual effects of their slave lineage on the creation of their current prescribed identity. The term Gnawa in multiple languages had definitions relating to a darker complexion and skin colour (El Hamel 2013). El Hamel concludes that up until the twelfth century the term meant “the black people” and shows that all the writing of Northern Africans regarding generally used the term to describe blacks or darker completed people from West Africa therefore utilizing the term to create an “ethnic black” group in Morocco (El Hamel 2013, 276). By utilizing this term it made Gnawa the epicentre of “black” identity for darker skinned people in Morocco.

There are several cultural similarities between the Gnawa and the Black American racialization experience (El Hamel 2013, Schaefer 2009). Schaefer states “Within Morocco, three key distinctions separate the Gnawa from the other Moroccan sects: their Africanness, their strangeness and foreignness, and finally their low social status” (Schaefer 2009, 33).

Due to these understanding and connections of the Gnawa people scholars have questioned the presence of a “double consciousness”.

W.E.B Du Bois, a Black American scholar, coined the term “double-consciousness” to describe the internal identity crisis of Black Americans in relation to the majority White American society. Du Bois “an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Souls, Du Bois 1986:364-365.) The presence of “double consciousness” within the Gnawa people is debated by both El Hamel (2008) and Schaefer (2009). While El Hamel believes that Gnawa share similarities with the Black American experience he states “Unlike the African American double consciousness that Du Bois describes, black Moroccans perceive themselves first and foremost as Muslim Moroccans, and only secondarily as participants in a different tradition and/or as belonging to a specific ethnic or linguistic, real or imaginary, origin. Similar to the manner in which Berbers see themselves and identify with the collective consciousness of Arabo-Islamic historical experience, Moroccan blacks have found a way to reconcile themselves with, and to integrate themselves into, a Moroccan collective identity. (El Hamel 2008:258)” (Schaefer 2009).

In Schaefer’s work he does acknowledge the difference in the integration between Black Americans and the Gnawa, however he does pose questions that would defend the presence of both a “double consciousness” and the effects of White supremacy on black Moroccans (Schaefer 2009). He presents questions regarding the intent to enslave black Moroccans by Mawlay Isma’il’s instead of Berbers (Schaefer 2009). He furthers his argument by questioning as well as critiquing the similarity between Black Nationalist and Black Moroccans cultural presence and exclusion from mainstream society and the utilization of black slave labour to further capitalism in their respective countries (Schaefer 2009). While there is validity in both arguments the question still remains - is there a presence of a “double consciousness” within the Gnawa people and other black Moroccans? I believe a further analysis of the presence of a double consciousness as well the effects of White supremacy by utilizing Du Bois’ and Mills’ work is in order to further understand the racialization of Black Moroccans.

Sub-Saharan Migrant Workers

In reviewing the current racial climate in modern Morocco we reach an academic brick wall. There is virtually no literature on the sociological implications of racism on Black Moroccans. The current academic research being conducted on racism and discrimination focus on Black African migrant workers, specifically sub-Saharan Africans. The discriminatory social practices show the outlines current political and social views of Sub-Saharan Africans, which are likely to mimic the attitudes towards native-born Black Moroccans. Racism against Sub-Saharan migrant workers is outlined in the work of Ian Law in his book “*Mediterranean Racisms: Connections and Complexities in the Racialization of the Mediterranean Region*” (2014). Their research focuses on the interconnections of race and migration comprised of qualitative interviews with Moroccan civil society organizations, activists, over 300 migrant workers, refugees, and immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa and NGOs (Law 2014).

Law details several pieces of both qualitative and quantitative data that showcase racism against sub-Saharan migrant workers. In *Les Merocains et Les Migrants Subsahariens: Quelles relations?* (Law 2014), there was a survey of one thousand Moroccans in cities heavy populated with sub-Saharan immigrants. The survey results noted that only fourteen percent of Moroccans acknowledged the presence of racism. There is an historical “taboo” of discussing racism in Moroccan society due to their self-identification as a Islamic state, raceless, and hospitable to foreigners. These misleading ideals cause allow Moroccans to deny their participation in any racist and discriminatory practices against black Africans (Law, 2014). El Hamel (2013) describes this as a “culture of silence” amongst Islamic scholars as well as the general public. The greatest concept of the Racial Contract in regards to Morocco

is the “epistemology of ignorance”. The “epistemology of ignorance” is a concept that discussed cognitive dysfunctions in which white people do not understand the world they have formed due to their privilege as well as prescribe to a “structured blindness” in which the general rule is the “white misunderstandings, misrepresentations, evasion, and self-deception on matters of related to race (Mills 1997, 19)”. These discriminatory practices and ideas are seen as a result of the systematic security strategy against illegal immigration rather than a continuation of pre-existing racial ideologies thus denying the historical impact of the racialized caste system (Law 2014).

“Structured blindness” as Mills discusses is affirmed through the negative stereotypes held within Moroccan society and the denial of personal accountability for their racism. Although they attempt to make disconnect, seventy percent of the respondents revealed that they would not lodge with sub-Saharanans due to the presence of cultural differences, disease, and lack of hygiene and detailed persistent stereotypes that sub-Saharan migrant workers were unclean, poor, and carriers of disease (Law, 2014).

The result of this survey reopens the “double consciousness” debate for sub-Saharan Africans. When surveyed, seventy-four percent of the sub-Saharan African participants noted that Moroccans were racist (Law 2014). Unlike the Gnawa, instead of dual identity between race and nationality it is between their race and faith. The aforementioned racial stereotypes and thoughts cause for one to question the plausibility of Islam as belief system in creating a sense of religious solidarity among its followers if racial discrimination so prevalent.

The Moroccan media plays a major role in promoting racist stereotypes and furthering discriminatory practices against sub-Saharan migrant workers. There have been numerous articles and media campaigns throughout the years that have been blatantly racist against black Africans in Morocco. Most of the media promote the fear of the ‘African other’ and stereotypes of black Africans (Law 2014). The racist articles range from depicting black African migrants as “black crickets’ that set on invading the country in *Al-Shamal*, September 2005 to HIV/AIDS infested woman fleeing war torn country that will infect Moroccan men through prostitution in *Al Massaw*, January 2012 (Law 2014). The most recent media portrayal of sub-Saharan migrant workers in *Le Peril Noir* article (Maroc Hebdo 2012), which translates as ‘the black peril’ or ‘the black menace’ is seen as one of the most recent portrayals of racialization (Law 2014). The article showed a close up black and white image of a dark skin sub-Saharan migrant. The article was full of negative stereotypes and descriptions of sub-Saharan Africans as nothing but illegal crime ridden immigrants unhealthy for the overall Moroccan population. The significance of the *Le Peril Noir* article was that the process of racialization was undeniable on the cover and it opposed the culture of silence typical of Moroccans in recognizing the paralyzing effect of racial perceptions and stereotypes of black Africans to the forefront of Moroccan politics and societal discussion.

In opposition to the Moroccan medias racist news article it did get recognition for the Moroccan government and there was a call to action through reporting. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) is the primary international treaty for the eradication of racism and racial discrimination, and various forms of intolerance. CERD was implemented by the United Nations in 1965 and began reporting in 1969. Its purpose is to review governmental, national, and local policies, and to amend or repeal laws and regulations that have the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination, including those that affect indigenous people, women and non-citizens. The CERD report of 2006 publically condemned the *Al-Shamal* article causing the article to be removed from newsstands and bookshops as well as a formal written apology and fining mass media outlets for racist propaganda.

Reflection

The most interesting aspect of the racialization of black people in Morocco and Islam in my opinion is the integration of race and racist attitude in conjunction with faith principles. The

problem equates the battle between theory and practice. When studying and researching within social sciences, specifically in dealing with race and race relations, it is important to see how a created theory actually translates to lived experiences and explain the social structures behind said experiences. The Racial Contract is not just a theory, it is a matter of historical actuality that can explain and elaborate on current social ills plaguing society.

In relation to this case study, Islam, or organized religion in general, is meant to unify a people through the servitude and worship of a deity. There are specific principles and moral objections that should be applied to all that follow the religion making them one in the eyes of their deity. The only "other" that should exist are individuals that do not follow the faith. While the process of associating with the religious other may be different in every respective religion, the common goal is collective worship. In practice, we have seen this is not the case. It is not exclusive of Islam to for religious practitioners to racialize its followers, especially in regard to slavery as the same was done with Christianity in the Western world; however this concept illustrates the legitimacy of the Racial Contract. This solidifies every argument Mills makes in regards to the Racial Contract being the global political system that dictates every aspect of our livelihood. Race intertwines with every social structure that is currently in place and within each social structure promotes white supremacy.

In regard to the racial contract, white supremacy, anti-blackness, and colourism go hand in hand. While the conceptualization of whiteness is different in respect to the geographical location and the overarching concept is European domination, anti-blackness is always present. This case study focuses on Morocco and the historic creation of "whiteness" in these Islamic communities. In a global respect some could argue that Moroccans cannot be classified as white in terms of European domination, which would be valid in some regard. However, one cannot argue against the presence of anti-blackness regardless of who is socially constructed as "white". The main form of racialization that we have seen in this case study was the use of colourism, the oppression and justification of oppression due to darker skinned people.

In employing the Racial Contract and ideas of white supremacy to map out racialization of the world you cannot do so without acknowledging the presence of anti-blackness. In Morocco the negative effects of racialization always affected darker skinned Africans regardless of their religious affiliation. Migrants in Morocco are not stereotypes, met with systematic oppression and social violence unless they are considered black.

The conceptual value of Mills work cannot fully be appreciated or applied to the Moroccan case within this case study. This case study is simply an initial attempt. There is a need within the academic community to explore racism and the effects of white supremacy and the theoretical approach to racism that is detailed in The Racial Contract.

During this case study there was much difficulty in locating material that analysed race and racial relation in modern Morocco for natural born black Moroccans. In much of El Hamel's work on race in Morocco he discussed the lack of data available for researching including narratives of black enslaved people during Mawlay Isma'il's rule and the sociological implications of their enslavement on modern Moroccan blacks. Since there was no documents slave revolts, civil rights like movements, or current political discourse from black Moroccans it is difficult to gauge how the racism and the racialization process fully affected various ranges of their quality of life. There needs to be more research done on the current lived experiences of natural born black Moroccans to further analyse and document racism in Morocco.

Conclusion

This case study sought to highlight the historical ramifications of Mawlay Isma'il's reign on the racialization of Morocco and to document its effects on modern day culture by utilizing the theoretical framework presented in the Racial Contract. Mawlay Isma'il reign was substantial in the systematic oppression and societal devaluing of black people in Morocco.

Through the Racial Contract and global white supremacy we see can conclude that racialization of individuals, regardless of geographical location or culture, always creates privileged “white” body and stigmatizes black bodies although the methodology may vary.

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