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Migration Forms:
Contemporary Art in and out of Morocco, 1999-2012

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ABSTRACT

"Migration Forms" centers on the place where migration and Morocco meet to tell two stories. One argues for the centrality of migration to the projects of local, contemporary art making and postcolonial nation building, while the other examines the codification, circulation, and contestation through visual form of this North African nation's history and identity. Through a range of media that include photography, sculpture, video, and film, this dissertation considers how five artists and one filmmaker—Ahmed Bouanani, Yto Barrada, Younès Rahmoun, Ivan Boccara, Fadma Kaddouri, and Badr El Hammami—incorporate local and foreign representational strategies, archives, and techniques. I argue for how histories of migration and art making shape the present, differently inflecting the ways in which the here and now are articulated in contemporary Morocco. The five projects I analyze allow me to demonstrate how the aesthetic factors in assessments of the major societal, political, and historical factors that shape this still-young nation, as well as how these elements are experienced and remembered on the individual or community level. I venture that each project mines the representational movements, techniques, and modes that have made Morocco and its artistic production visible at different historic moments, for those within its shifting borders, for those outside of it, and for those whose migratory movements take them constantly back-and-forth, in and out of Morocco.

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INTRODUCTION

Cela fait dix ans que je travaille sur ce projet.
Sa forme change et s'adapte à aujou[r]d'hui.
Comment peut-on parler de la mémoire marocaine ?
Je cherche un espace au sein duquel s'intégrera cette mémoire.

Ivan Boccara, 2010[1]

"Migration Forms" tells two stories about Morocco: one argues for the centrality of migration to the projects of local, contemporary art making and postcolonial nation building, while the other examines the codification, circulation, and contestation through visual form of this North African nation's history and identity. Through a range of media that include photography, sculpture, video, and film, this dissertation considers how five artists and one filmmaker—Ahmed Bouanani (1938-2011), Yto Barrada (b. 1971), Younès Rahmoun (b. 1975), Ivan Boccara (b. 1968), Fadma Kaddouri (b. 1960s), and Badr El Hammami (b. 1979)—incorporate local and foreign representational strategies, archives, and techniques to argue that histories of migration and art making shape the present and differently inflect the ways in which the here and now are articulated in contemporary Morocco. The six projects I analyze herein allow me to demonstrate how the aesthetic factors in assessments of the larger structural issues that shape the still-young nation, as well as how these challenges are experienced, communicated, and remembered on the

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All translation by author unless otherwise noted.

[1] "I have been working on this project for ten years./Its form changes and adapts to today./How can one speak about Moroccan memory?/I seek a space in which to integrate this memory." Ivan Boccara, unpublished text presented at ESAV-Marrakech, November 24, 2010, p. 2.

individual or family level. To this end, I situate the aesthetic in dialectic relationship with the ways in which, for example, government policy produces the conditions that, for many families, necessitate migration, as well as with very personal responses to this all-but imposed movement. In its inherent emphasis on movement across time and space, migration offers a critical analytic that allows me to string together an unruly grouping of artists and artworks to assert that migration informs, if not explicitly forms, Moroccan art and its history. At the same time, migration provides a means of resisting the provincialism that a project centered on a single nation—or union of nations—might otherwise risk. I venture that each artwork mines the representational movements, techniques, and modes that have made Morocco and its artistic production visible at different historic moments, to those within its shifting borders and to those outside of it. The use of "forms" in the title of this dissertation bears elaboration in this regard. I depend upon both the nominal and verbal definitions of "forms." In the first instance, I mean to signal the ways in which migration manifests formally—as both topos and representational trope—in Moroccan art. In the second instance, I want to argue for the centrality of migration as a driving force not only in the formation of Moroccan national identity, but also in the art produced to address, express, and contest that formation. Migration, in other words, lies at the heart of the *forms* I analyze, and it *forms* their possibility.

The thematic focus, organization, and objects have shifted, as they always do, from the original proposal of June 2012 to the dissertation's completion in May 2017. After four years of trying to leave migration behind in an effort to resist what struck me as the persistent reduction of Morocco to migration and migration to those leaving the so-called Global South, I have moved away from my original questions of postcolonial nation building, identity defining, and minority exclusion. In retrospect, given my insistence in these pages that the back-and-forth

movements of people and goods across land and sea are crucial to the story of Moroccan nation building and my own geographic displacements in completing this project, a return to migration was perhaps inevitable. Despite these shifts, the project remains rooted in, and routed through, the anecdotes and stories I have accumulated since 2007, when I first lived in Morocco. The analyses of artworks that follow were forged in the oscillation between my conversations with artists, scholars, and curators in Morocco over the last decade and my varying success in finding written sources to substantiate information obtained orally. For example, while driving between Rabat's *ville nouvelle* and the bourgeois neighborhood of Agdal, I remember someone pointing out the long line of people applying for visas in front of the Spanish embassy, a gesture I have since repeated for others' benefit. I think it was in the Rif village of Beni Boufrah at the September 2007 groundbreaking celebration for Rahmoun's *Ghorfa 4 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 4, Now/Here)* (2008), the subject of Chapter 3, that someone mentioned that it is easier to get Spanish radio stations than Moroccan ones because of the village's proximity to Spain. While the origin of that information is fuzzy, I clearly remember being told during that trip that Rahmoun's cousin had taken an eighteen-hour bus from her public university in Oujda to Beni Boufrah that crossed the Rif, which is the mountain range that limns Morocco's Mediterranean coast between Tangier in the west and Algeria in the east (Figure I.1). Back in Rabat, in the seven years before the 2014 opening of the Musée Mohammed VI d'art moderne et contemporain (MMVI), I would joke with Habib Ferouani, the *grand taxi* driver who has spent the last decade ferrying artists and curators around Morocco, that its construction is so slow because workers build it during the day and take it down at night.[2] The curator Abdellah Karroum, meanwhile, once told me that while

[2] In Arabic: *Mathaf Mohammed As-sadis lil-fann al-hadith wa al-muasir*; in English, Mohammed VI Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art.

growing up in the Rif in the 1970s and 1980s, he was taught in school that he was from *Maroc inutile*, or useless Morocco. In trying to corroborate this idea, I learned the French Protectorate government, which officially ruled the central regions of Morocco between 1912 and 1956, employed the term *Maroc utile* to designate places that it considered "useful" for development.[3] It was easier to substantiate something artist Fadma Kaddouri told me at her home in Meyran, just outside of Grenoble, when I traveled there in September 2012 to meet her and Badr El Hammami. She explained to me that on her childhood trips back to the Rif from France, where her family had emigrated, you could see where the region began not because of some stark shift in geography, but because the roads stopped and cars driving into the Rif had to make their own tracks across the terrain. Often taxis refused to go, she explained, because of the risk of damaging their tires, and residents had to do the work of building roads. The years of Kaddouri's childhood correspond to the years during which the Moroccan monarch, King Hassan II (1929-1999; r. 1961-1999), refused to travel to the Rif and imposed an unofficial ban on state investment following his violent repression of a rebellion in the region in the winter of 1958-9. Decades of state divestment forced many Rifis, including the Kaddouris and El Hammamis, to seek their livelihoods elsewhere in Morocco and Europe. With Hassan II's death in 1999, his son and heir ascended to the throne as King Mohammed VI (b. 1963). Signaling a shift in Palace-Rif relationships from that of his father and inaugurating the transition from postcolonial to

[3] *Maroc utile* was often synonymous with *bled al-makhzen*, literally "the land of the central government." David M. Hart, "Spanish Colonial Ethnography in the Rural and Tribal Northern Zone of Morocco, 1912-56: An Overview and an Appraisal," *The Journal of North African Studies* 4:2 (1999), 112. For the origin of the word Makhzen, see Chapter 1 and Spencer D. Segalla, *The Moroccan Soul: French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912-1956* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009): 4.

contemporary Morocco, Mohammed VI traveled to the Rif in the highly symbolically charged first trip he made as king.[4]

I realize now that these anecdotes bear witness to migration's many forms: internal and external; temporary and permanent; elite and not; past and present. They also convey the subtle ways that migration forms contemporary Morocco and its history as well as the methodological challenges and material privileges I encountered in the dissertation's execution. While my primary objects are the artworks themselves, my ability to access them, their makers, and the state and private archives and collections in which they are housed required geographic mobility of the sort afforded me by my U.S. passport. This research also necessitated anthropological and sociological tools, such as participant observation, snowball sampling, and interviews, for which a wide array of linguistic, interpersonal, and practical skills proved fundamental. In the decade I have spent traveling to and through Morocco, I have been consistently reminded that the way I am perceived—as white, young, female, straight, and unmarried; American but rarely with other Americans; Francophone but not French; moderately and often comically Arabophone in Modern Standard Arabic (*fusha*) and Colloquial Moroccan Arabic (*darija*)—accords me privileges without which the project would not have been possible. How I am perceived grants

[4] This refusal gains texture in light of development scholar Natasha Iskander's study of Moroccan and Mexican migration policy in which she writes that no new roads were built in the Rif between 1958 and 1999. She describes how, beginning in 1985, Moroccan villagers and emigrants used remittances to construct and pave roads. Natasha Iskander, *Creative States: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2010), 153-5; 179. On Mohammed VI's visit to the Rif in 1999, see also Katherine Hoffman, "Administering Identities: State Decentralisation and Local Identification in Morocco," *The Journal of North African Studies*. 5:3 (Autumn 2000), 85. On periodization, see Brian T. Edwards, "Review of *Francophone Voices of the "New" Morocco in Film and Print: (Re)presenting a Society in Transition* by Valerie K. Orlando," *The Journal of North African Studies* 16:3 (2011): 493-496.

me access to the cultural and political Francophone elite as well as to both all-female spaces and to those that are predominantly male.[5] It also means that I court the danger of committing what strikes me as the paramount sin: non-reciprocity. Less immediately visible in these pages though traceable in their footnotes is an ongoing preoccupation with how I am to make a meaningful contribution to the conversation about art and history in Morocco so that my research there is not extractive and instrumentalizing even as it also serves as a means to an end—the Ph.D.—for me in the U.S. Doing so is particularly important because of the gap between my resources as a student at a private U.S. university and the situation of my Moroccan and European colleagues, including those with university affiliations. Unlike them, I have had immense financial support throughout my graduate studies, which has enabled me to stitch together a project centered on a group of artists and artworks formed by migration in and out of Morocco.

National Selection

The works assembled herein by Ahmed Bouanani, Yto Barrada, Younès Rahmoun, Ivan Boccara, Badr El Hammami, and Fadma Kaddouri share a commitment to the non-elite communities whom Morocco's governing institutions have historically excluded for reasons of ethnicity, language, religion, geography, and/or politics. Here, too, migration *forms*: members of these communities have disproportionately comprised Morocco's migrants, both internal and

[5] Although focused on Jordan and Yemen, where the author did her fieldwork, Jillian Schwedler's analysis of how female researchers in the region typically have greater access to interlocutors than their male counterparts is relevant here. See Schwedler, "The Third Gender: Western Female Researchers in the Middle East," *PS: Political Science Politics* 39:3 (2006), 425-8.

external, since independence. Although I do not interpret the artists' personal biographies as causal factors in the attention their various works accord to these communities, each has a connection to Morocco's margins. Born in the French Protectorate's newly constructed economic center of Casablanca in 1938, the filmmaker, author, and poet Ahmed Bouanani was the son of a police officer who was assassinated on a street near his home during the violence and anti-colonial riots that took place in the city in the years leading up to independence.[6] Bouanani dedicated much of his wide-ranging intellectual and artistic work to an investigation of memory and loss and to the valorization of what, in his time, was called the popular, or traditional, arts. For example, his films *Tarfaya ou La marche d'un poète [Tarfaya, or A Poet's Journey]* (1966) and *Les Quatre Sources [The Four Springs]* (1977) took popular mythology, history, and language as inspiration. Bouanani was committed to the sophisticated oral culture, material practices, and vernaculars of Morocco's predominantly rural and Amazigh—or Berber—communities, and he published articles and French translations of sung Amazigh poetry in the Francophone cultural journal *Souffles*.[7] During Bouanani's lifetime, the state repressed the culture and language of Morocco's ethnically Amazigh populations; its recognition of the existence of these communities hinged on consigning them to the distant past, a fact all the more striking because at least half of Moroccan nationals can claim some Amazigh heritage.[8]

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[6] On Bouanani's father's assassination and the state censor's destruction of his 1972 docu-fiction film *Sidi Ahmed ou Moussa* because of its celebration of Amazigh heritage, see Ali Essafi, "The 'Bouanani-esque' Turn in Moroccan Cinema," *Berlinale Forum* (February 9-17, 2017). Available online: http://www.arsenal-berlin.de/en/berlinale-forum/magazin/ali-essafi-on-ahmed-bouanani.html.

[7] Ahmed Bouanani, "*Introduction à la poésie populaire marocaine* [Introduction to popular Moroccan poetry]," *Souffles* 3 (1966), 3-9. This article is republished in *Nejma* 9 (spring 2014), 165-177 and translated in Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, 46-55.

[8] On the postcolonial state's repression of Amazigh language and culture, see Susan Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 194-6.

Bouanani's heavily censored 1971 montage film, *Mémoire 14 (Memory 14)*, is the subject of Chapter 1, and helps us to understand how politics, migration, and cinematic form shaped one another at the apex of the state-sanctioned violence during the postcolonial period.

Morocco's Amazigh culture and its predominantly Amazigh mountain ranges also thread together the works of Barrada, Rahmoun, Boccara, Kaddouri, and El Hammami. Yto Barrada, whose work is the focus of Chapter 2, was born in 1971 in Paris. Her parents moved to the French capital after the Moroccan state sentenced her father, the journalist Hamid Barrada, to death in absentia because of his leftist political activities. This birthplace accorded Barrada a French passport—a powerful guarantor of the international movement and access required by the contemporary art market—as well as her Amazigh name, which is sometimes rendered Itto.[9] Had she been born in Morocco, her parents would not have been able to name her Yto because throughout the 1970s, the monarch's fear of and need to control his population was so great that Moroccans living in Morocco were forbidden to give children non-Arab names. While Barrada grew up in an economically and socially elite, albeit politically exiled, family in Paris and later Tangier, Rahmoun, El Hammami, and Kaddouri grew up in working class families from the adjacent Rif Mountains. Rahmoun was born in 1975 in Tetouan, once the capital of the Spanish Protectorate. As discussed in Chapter 3, Rahmoun's extended family resides in the small Arabophone Rifi village of Beni Boufrah, an hour's drive from the coastal city of Al Hoceima where El Hammami was born in 1979. Kaddouri was born in the early 1960s in Algeria where her Amazighophone parents had immigrated from Nador, the Rif's largest city. Soon after, she emigrated to France with her family. Boccara, whose archive- and film-based project is

[9] Maurice Le Glay's novel *Itto : récit marocain d'amour et de bataille* [Itto: Moroccan story of love and battle] (Paris: Picon, 1939) made the name well known in the colonial period.

examined in Chapter 4 alongside El Hammami and Kaddouri's similarly themed video collaboration, grew up in a Francophone, upper middle class Jewish family in Marrakech, where he was born in 1968. Boccara has not yet worked in, nor has familial ties to, the Rif. Instead, the project analyzed in Chapter 4 centers on the emigration of the last Jewish families from the Middle Atlas village Ntifa (Tabia) in the early 1970s. Jewish Moroccans from rural Amazigh communities like Ntifa were religiously and ethnically marginalized by postcolonial definitions of national identity that elided Moroccan with Muslim and Arab. As Chapter 4 explores in more detail, for many Jewish Moroccans this exclusion, when combined with Zionist organizations' campaigns to encourage emigration to Israel, destabilized their sense of belonging to the newly independent state. What resulted was a form of migration that, while differently driven, nevertheless has much in common with the economically and politically motivated migrations that the families of Barrada, Rahmoun, El Hammami, and Kaddouri undertook in the 1960s and 1970s.

Beyond a shared connection to Morocco's ethnic and religious minorities and to the largely rural regions these groups historically inhabited and from which they emigrated, there is another reason for assembling works by these artists in a single study. Except for Bouanani, the careers of all the artists in this dissertation have intersected with and, in many ways have been mutually constituted by, that of the curator and museum director Abdellah Karroum. Karroum has played an important role in the history of contemporary Moroccan art as it has developed locally and internationally since the early 2000s. Born in 1970, he grew up in the eastern Rif as the sixth of seven children raised by a single Amazighophone mother who made her livelihood in

part by smuggling goods from the nearby Spanish enclave Melilla to the surrounding villages.[10] Karroum completed his B.A. and Ph.D. in Bordeaux, France, and then moved to Rabat where, on October 10, 2002, he opened the country's first independent, not-for-profit contemporary art space in his private, two-room apartment. While the exhibitions and projects at L'appartement 22 since 2002 highlight the Moroccan artists who have passed through its doors and programs, Karroum has consistently resisted choosing artists based on nationality and in its fifteen years, the space has hosted artists and curators from across Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas.[11] L'appartement 22's inaugural residency and exhibition featured Safaa Erruas and Younès Rahmoun, who at the time were recent graduates of the Institut national des beaux-arts de Tétouan (National Institute of Fine Arts, Tetouan).[12] Karroum and Rahmoun began collaborating in 2000, when they and the French artist Jean-Paul Thibeau traveled together to the Rif in the first in an ongoing series of what Karroum calls Les Expéditions au Bout du Monde, or Expeditions to the Edge of the World. Its title and inaugural journey suggests the degree to which the Rif was still not incorporated into a national "image," but remained marooned on the periphery of a world.[13] Karroum has since exhibited Rahmoun's work numerous times at

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[10] Karroum in conversation with the author, February 27, 2016.

[11] Karroum's professional biography can be found at http://appartement22.com/spip.php?article4. These projects are archived on the L'appartement 22 website as well as in Abdellah Karroum, *L'appartement 22 (2002-2008)* (Paris: Editions hors'champs, 2009).

[12] Karroum moved to France in 1989 to study art at the Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3, from which he received his Ph.D. in 2001. Abdellah Karroum, *L'appartement 22, 2002-2008* (Paris: Editions Hors'champs, 2008); Abdellah Karroum, *Sous nos yeux (Before Our Eyes)*, exh. cat. (Barcelona and Mulhouse: MACBA and La Kunsthalle Mulhouse, 2015), 16-17.

[13] In the years since, the expeditions have gone all over the world but the Rif is the only place which has been the subject of multiple expeditions. Karroum presents the project on the L'appartement 22 website: http://appartement22.com/spip.php?article72. See also Katarzyna Pierpzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); John Zarobell, *Art and the Global Economy* (Berkeley:

L'appartement 22, most recently in the summer of 2016, as well as around the globe, in Paris, France; Cotonou, Benin; Marrakech, Morocco; and Amman, Jordan. Barrada's career, while largely independent of Karroum's, also intersects with it: in 2010, she participated in a two-part exhibition Karroum organized in Marrakech and Palermo, Italy, in which Rahmoun also showed work; had a residency and solo exhibition at L'appartement 22; and, presented her 2009 video, *Beau Geste*, in the 2010 exhibition, *Sentences on the Banks and Other Activities*, that Karroum mounted at the Khalid Shoman Foundation-Darat al Funun.[14] Rahmoun participated in *Sentences on the Banks* as well, and that exhibition also marks the first time El Hammami and Kaddouri's *Thabrate (Face A) (Correspondence [Side A])* (2010-11), analyzed in Chapter 4, was exhibited. Kaddouri and El Hammami have both since had individual residencies and exhibitions at L'appartement 22, and participated in the June 2014 Expédition au Bout du Monde to Beni Boufrah with Rahmoun, Karroum, the artist Mustapha Akrim (b. 1981), and myself.

Boccara enters Karroum's circle a bit differently. He and Karroum met at the École supérieure des arts visuels de Marrakech (the Higher School of Visual Arts in Marrakech, or ESAV-Marrakech) where, in 2010, Karroum began a research laboratory entitled "Art, Technologie et Ecology (Art, Technology, and Ecology)."[15] Later that year, Karroum invited Boccara to present a part of his *Les maghrebim* project (ongoing since 2000) in a conference entitled "Activities and Vocabularies, discussing and sharing art projects at large."[16] Boccara's

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University of California Press, 2017). I thank John Zarobell for sharing the book's section on L'appartement 22 with me prior to its publication.

[14] Located in Amman, this private collection, research center, and exhibition space founded in 1993 is one of a handful of art centers responsible for grounding and promoting the work of artists from "the region."

[15] See: http://appartement22.com/spip.php?article239. Last accessed: March 5, 2017.

[16] Karroum co-organized the conference with Georg Schölhammer of tranzit.at, the Vienna hub of the tranzit.org art network of curators, artists, and spaces in Austria, the Czech Republic,

presentation prompted an invitation from fellow participants Charles Esche, the director of the Van Abbemuseum and a co-founder of the British contemporary art journal, *Afterall*, and Galit Eilat, an Israeli curator and the founding director of the Israeli Center for Digital Art. At the time Esche and Eilat were co-curating the 2011 exhibition, *Strange and Close*, at the CAPC Bordeaux and they asked Boccara to create a new work for the exhibition. Around the same time, Karroum recommended Boccara for the 2012 Paris Triennale for which the exhibition's artistic director, Okwui Enwezor, had appointed Karroum assistant curator. The two works Boccara produced for Bordeaux and Paris, *Mémoires d'archives* and *Mémoires de Ntifa*, are considered alongside El Hammami's and Kaddouri's *Thabrate* in Chapter 4.[17] As for Bouanani, he never worked with Karroum. By the time Karroum returned to Morocco, Bouanani rarely left Demnate, where he had moved after the 2003 death of his eldest daughter, Batoul Bouanani, in the family's Rabat apartment. But Bouanani's younger daughter, the artist Touda Bouanani, briefly worked for Karroum at L'appartement between 2012 and 2014, during which she made some digitized versions of Bouanani's otherwise difficult to find films available.

Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania. The conference took place between November 22 and 25, 2010, at ESAV-Marrakech. On tranzit.org, see http://www.tranzit.org/en. Last accessed: March 14, 2016.

[17] Rahmoun's *Jabal-Hajar-Turab #3* (2012), which is part of his Beni Boufrah and Rif-related works, was created for an adjacent space at La Triennale. Batoul S'Himi was also part of the exhibition. Okwui Enwezor, Ed., *Intense Proximity: An Anthology of the Near and Far* (Paris: Centre national des arts plastiques, 2012).

Responding to migration's increased prominence in art as well as in the news, the University of Chicago-based cultural theorist and *Critical Inquiry* editor W. J. T. Mitchell has sought to enumerate the relationship of migration to legal and aesthetic representation. In a lecture originally presented in Basel in 2009 and later republished in an anthology of essays on art and migration, Mitchell proposes mobilizing images of "illegalized immigration" to generate hopeful possibilities for the future. Mitchell embraces the "impossibly utopian and imaginary" nature of this proposal that positions images at the center of envisioning something beyond racist identity politics and militarized borders so that it becomes possible to conceive "a world of open borders and universal human rights" and move towards justice.[18] Although Chapter 2 explains my discomfort with an unqualified embrace of universalism and human rights, Mitchell's proposal—how might new images of (im)migration form other, more just ways of legislating the movement of bodies through space?—is provocative. It resonates with the French philosopher Jacques Rancière's theorizations of the relationship between art, politics, and spectatorship in *The Emancipated Spectator* (2008), a collection of essays that similarly began as lectures Rancière gave in the early 2000s on art and spectatorship. In "The Intolerable Image," the book's fourth chapter, Rancière criticizes two well-entrenched notions in art and media criticism: first, that the news inures viewers to horror through circulating an excess of images and second, that images of catastrophic events, or what Rancière calls intolerable images, make viewers aware of

[18] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Migration, Law, and the Image: Beyond the Veil of Ignorance," in *The Migrant's Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora* (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2011), 75.

an intolerable situation and, in turn, spur them to act.[19] Rather, Rancière contends, media outlets highly edit what they show such that the problem is not an excess of images of suffering people but rather the excessive number of anonymous figures who are always represented as the object, rather than the subject, of speech and sight.[20] Art's powerful potential, he proposes, lies in its ability to imagine the unexpected: "The images of art do not supply weapons for battles. They help sketch new configurations of what can be seen, what can be said and what can be thought, and consequently, a new landscape of the possible. But they do so on condition that their meaning or effect is not anticipated."[21] Highlighting art's capacity to change what is possible by changing what he elsewhere calls the distribution of the sensible—that which is seen, said, and thought and by whom—Rancière's cautious hopefulness about the potential of visual art to effect political change through aesthetically proposing other futures and ways of seeing aligns well with Mitchell's without falling into the latter's language of universality.

If, as Rancière argues, art can transform perception and by extension alter political outcomes in relationship to visions of a more hopeful future—characterized for Mitchell by open borders and universal human rights—both proposals lend a spirit of optimism to this project's focus on the intersection of migration and form in contemporary art in and out of Morocco. Rancière's emphasis on the "system of visibility" governing representation signals that imagining these possible aesthetic forms and political futures requires understanding what

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[19] Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (2008), trans. Gregory Elliott (London and New York, NY: Verso, 2009), 103.

[20] "The system of information does not operate through an excess of images, but by selecting the speaking and reasoning beings who are capable of 'deciphering' the flow of information about anonymous multitudes. The politics specific to its images consists in teaching us that not just anyone is capable of seeing and speaking. This is the lesson very prosaically confirmed by those who claim to criticize the televisual flood of images." Rancière 96.

[21] Rancière 84, 103.

presently comprises this system, particularly that of migration's visibility. I term this system migration's visual vocabulary, and it guides me to ask what motifs recur in contemporary artworks about migration. Foremost among a broad swathe of generally sea-related topoi, the small boats of migration have become, in the words of art historian Jennifer González, "an iconic sign and key metaphor for African migration."[22] Alongside these small boats, usually shown as overcrowded with unnamed brown and black men and women, are mapped journeys, border fences, detention camps, and bodies lying prone on beaches en route to, or at the edges, of Western Europe. If these motifs comprise migration's system of visibility, it bears asking what information is gleaned from them. What do they tell viewers about who migrates and the reasons for their migration? What places do migrants leave, where do they (hope to) go, and how do they get there?

The sharp focus on migration to Europe in artworks, exhibitions, and their critical reception points to a problematic yet frequent conflation of migration in general with one distinct form, that of south-to-north and east-to-west migration. There is a danger here, and I want to explicitly foreground it because it also helps illuminate why local context and history are critical to understanding the particular cadences of migration as represented and responded to in Moroccan art of the last half-century. It would seem an obvious point, but as the early reception

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[22] Jennifer González, "Sea Dreams: Isaac Julien's *Western Union: Small Boats*," in *The Migrant's Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora*, Ed. Saloni Mathur (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2011), 119. Here, González speaks specifically about the appearance of these boats in Spanish-language literature, but attention to migration in contemporary literature and cinema appears across Mediterranean languages. In addition to Manuel Martín-Rodríguez, "Mapping the Trans/Hispanic Atlantic: Nuyol, Miami, Tenerife, Tangier," in *Border Transits: Literature and Culture Across the Line*, ed. Ana Manzanas (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), 205-222, cited by González, see Pieprzak, "Bodies on the Beach," and Jonathan Smolin, "Burning the Past: Moroccan Cinema of Illegal Immigration," *South Central Review* 28:1 (Spring 2011), 74-89.

of Moroccan contemporary art within the global art market makes clear, migration as "topic," "content," or "theme" also frames this art's reception, often in divergent ways that categorize the migratory experience as a new universal rubric that might, even more broadly speaking, organize "global" art production. To some degree, this perception has been pivotal to determining which artworks migrate out of Morocco and translate into the exhibitions, publications, and classrooms of Europe and the United States. Take, for example, the two most well-known and oft exhibited artworks by Moroccan artists, Yto Barrada and Bouchra Khalili (b. 1975). Both Barrada's *A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project* (1998-2004) and Khalili's *The Mapping Journey Project* (2008-11) are analyzed in detail in Chapter 2 for the ways in which they address, or are interpreted as addressing, migration (Figures I.2-4). Although I return to the *Mapping Journey Project* in detail in Chapter 2, a brief analysis of it alongside *Sahara Chronicle* (2006-7) by the Swiss artist Ursula Biemann (b. 1955) (Figure I.5-6) effectively introduces the potential dangers of migration as a subject matter when history—that of both Moroccan migration and Morocco's imaging—is left out.

In *The Mapping Journey Project*, eight disembodied right hands hover over slightly creased maps projected onto a gallery wall or suspended projection screens (Figures I.3-4). With a red, blue, or black felt CD marker, each hand traces a journey from east to west or south to north. In different dialects of Arabic, the first three subjects tell of traveling from Annaba to Italy to France (#1), from Tunis to Italy to France (#2), and from Ramallah to Jerusalem (#3). The fourth, and the series' only female voice, describes a journey from Mogadishu to Italy before expressing hope of continuing to England. The fifth's journey, meanwhile, begins in Bangladesh when the speaker is just a teenager, ending years later in Italy. In both videos (#4 and #5), the narrators speak in Italian. The sixth hand traces a trajectory that also ends in Italy, but his story

begins in Afghanistan and he recounts it in English. The seventh speaks in Colloquial Moroccan Arabic of his journey from Beni Mellal to places in Spain, Italy, France, and Holland. The thick red marker of the eighth, meanwhile, draws his own unfinished journey, which began in Sudan and took him through Libya, Italy, and Turkey; his voice tells us he hopes it will end in the United States or Canada, far beyond the camera's frame.

Commissioned and co-produced by the Sharjah Art Foundation, *The Mapping Journey Project* was first shown in its entirety at the Sharjah Biennial 10 in 2011 and has since been exhibited in Europe and North America, including in Berlin (2012), Brest (2013), Toronto (2013), and New York (2014 and 2016). Although they are sometimes shown individually, the simultaneous projection of all eight *Mapping Journey Project* videos in a single gallery, as at the University of Toronto's Justina M. Barnicke Gallery, the New Museum, and the Museum of Modern Art, emphasizes the close visual and narrative resemblances that the individual videos share.[23] In each, Khalili's camera hovers close to the speaker's hand and to the map, capturing only the hand, wrist, and, occasionally, part of the forearm and casting a slight shadow onto the map's surface. White English subtitles appear at the bottom of the screen for each of the six videos with an Arabic or Italian voiceover. When the videos are exhibited together, the viewer must use the corresponding pair of headphones to listen to the speaker recount his or her journey. Except for *Mapping Journey #3*, in which the speaker describes traveling from his home in

[23] As part of the exhibition *Bouchra Khalili: The Opposite of the Voice-Over* (September 3–October 27, 2013), curated by Barbara Fischer, *The Mapping Journey Project* was shown here alongside Khalili's subsequent project, *Speeches* (2012–2013). *The Mapping Journey Project* was subsequently exhibited at the New Museum, New York, alongside photographs from Barrada's *The Strait Project*, in Massimiliano Gioni, Gary Carrion-Murayami, and Natalie Bell, Eds., *Here and Elsewhere* (July 16–September 28, 2014) (New York: New Museum, 2014), and again in the atrium of the Museum of Modern Art (April 9–October 10, 2016).

Ramallah to visit his girlfriend in Jerusalem, all recount what is meant to be a unidirectional journey from Africa or Asia to Europe, where Khalili met the unnamed speakers and recorded their stories.

Like *The Mapping Journey Project*, Biemann's *Sahara Chronicle* uses a documentary style to address migration from Africa to Europe in a multichannel video installation that critics, following Biemann's description of the project, interpret as successfully making visible previously invisible or clandestine migrants and migratory routes.[24] Although the exact form, layout, and number of videos change with each installation, *Sahara Chronicle* consistently includes a mix of videos projected onto walls, videos playing on TV monitors, photographs, and vinyl wall texts. However, unlike Khalili, who focuses exclusively on the journeys and paths of clandestine migration, Biemann connects these movements to the interrelated issues of border policing, Europe's neoliberal economic policies, and social networks that make migratory transit across the Sahara possible.[25] The videos range in subject and source matter, from the military aerial surveillance photographs that the Moroccan police shared with the artist to footage of an octopus processing plant and filmed interviews with both those who make the journeys possible

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[24] Biemann discusses this in "Dispersing the Viewpoint: Sahara Chronicle," *Mission Reports: Artistic Practice in the Field. Video Works, 1998-2008* (Umea, Sweden: Bildmuseet, 2008): 79. For discussions of Biemann's engagement with European mass media representations in *Sahara Chronicle*, see T.J. Demos, *The Migrant Image: The Art and Politics of Documentary During Global Crisis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 204-7. Biemann employs a similar strategy of media interruption in other video-based installations, like *Black Sea Files* (2005) and *X-Mission* (2008), discussed in Janet Stewart, "Making Globalization Visible? The Oil Assemblage, the Work of Sociology and the Work of Art," *Cultural Sociology* 7:3 (2012), 368-384, and Federica Timeto, "Tracing Women's Routes in a Transnational Scenario," *Feminist Media Studies* 9:4 (2009), 447-460.

[25] Biemann's focus on routes and borders aligns her work with that of artists like Emily Jacir, whose use of a conceptual art vocabulary to address Palestinian dispossession and exile T.J. Demos analyzes in "Desire in Diaspora: Emily Jacir," *Art Journal* 62:4 (Winter 2003), 69-78.

and those who tried, unsuccessfully, to cross to Europe in small boats. Although like Khalili, Biemann never appears in the videos, she asserts her editorial and aesthetic presence through post-production interventions, such as demonstrably visible cuts and frequent superimposition of voiceovers, subtitles, captions, and explanatory texts that crawl and scroll over the images (Figure I.6).

Widely exhibited and documented in U.S. and European art institutions and criticism, *The Mapping Journey Project* and *Sahara Chronicle* are important touchstones in what I term global contemporary art's migratory turn. The many migration-themed art exhibitions, publications, fellowships, and conference panels in the United States and Europe attest to migration's importance as a subject matter for cultural producers working throughout the Mediterranean and the Arabic-speaking world as well as those in other geographies of the "global South."[26] Yet despite migration's multiple forms—including internal migration, which is predominantly rural to urban, and migration to non-Western countries, such as the United Arab Emirates and Qatar—artists, curators, and scholars most often focus on clandestine movement

[26] Recent migration-themed and Mediterranean-focused exhibitions featuring artworks and essays addressing migration include Juliette Laffon, curator, *Ici, Ailleurs: une exposition d'art contemporain* [Here, elsewhere: an exhibition of contemporary art] (Paris: Skira Flammarion, 2013); Éric Mézil, *Mirages d'Orient, Grenades et Figues de Barbarie: Chassé-croisé en Méditerranée* [Oriental mirages, pomegranates and prickly pears: Mediterranean comings and goings] (Paris: Actes Sud, 2013); Renée Ridgway, Sonja Beijering, and Simon Ferdinando, *Migrating Identity–Transmission/Reconstruction* (Amsterdam: SEB Foundation, 2003); Niels Van Tomme, *Where do we migrate to?* (Baltimore: University of Maryland Baltimore County, Center for Art, Design and Visual Culture, 2011); and Tom Trevor, Ed., *Port City: On Mobility and Exchange*, exh. Cat. (Bristol: Arnolfini, 2007) In fall 2016, Princeton University and Harvard College both announced migration-themed one-year postdoctoral fellowships for scholars in the social sciences and humanities. At the 2017 College Art Association annual conference, I presented a portion of Chapter 4 on a panel entitled "Passages and Crossings: The Sea in Contemporary Art of the Global South."

from the "global South" to "Fortress Europe."[27] One way to explain the concentration on specifically Europe-bound migration is that many artists who address migration live and work, like Khalili and Biemann, in Western Europe. There, increased border security and catastrophic arrival scenarios and treatment of migrants attract media attention and galvanize anti-immigration policies and human rights groups alike. The public conversation about migration in Europe predates the so-called Arab Spring of 2011 and the Syrian Civil War but the fallout of these social movements and wars have exponentially increased the number of people displaced worldwide from 43.7 million, of which 15.4 million were refugees, in 2010 to 65.3 million, including 21.3 million refugees, in 2015.[28]

Exhibited on the same international art biennale scene as the artists whose works are at the center of this dissertation, artworks like Khalili's and Biemann's have become springboards for what I see as deeply troubling claims made by artists, critics, and art historians about the migrant as a figure for a new humanism or universalism, a problem foreshadowed by Mitchell and explored more fully in Chapter 2. Circulating at the very moment when art history is laboring to "globalize," claims about the migrant's universality that focus exclusively on non-Western illegal immigration to Europe provoke two questions that clarify the systems of visibility to which images of migration belong: Who and where does this focus on specifically

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[27] On "Fortress Europe" and its history, see Leila Simona Talani, *From Egypt to Europe: Globalisation and Migration Across the Mediterranean* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), esp. Chapter 3, "Fortress Europe," 45–63.

[28] UNHCR, "UNHCR Global Trends 2015," PDF (June 20, 2016), 2. Published online: http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/statistics/country/4dfa11499/unhcr-global-trends-2010.html; "UNHCR Global Trends 2010," PDF (June 20, 2011), 3. Published online http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/statistics/country/4dfa11499/unhcr-global-trends-2010.html. Based on the publication dates of the global trends report since 2010, the 2016 report should be published on June 19 or 20, 2017.

non-Western, illegal migrants in contemporary artworks and critical analysis privilege, and subsequently if unintentionally, who does it marginalize? And what problems does the migrant solve, or is the migrant asked to solve, for contemporary art and its institutions?[29]

If we were to replace "migrant" with "Morocco" in this last question—as per the way in which the celebrity of most contemporary Moroccan artists depends upon their embrace of this topos suggests we might—we grasp another motivation for this project and the reasons I chose to limit my analysis to a handful of artists and artworks from a single nation, even as I am determined to steer clear of the provincialism such a singular focus might provide. At stake is not only migration's system of visibility but Morocco's as well. While Europe does indeed feature as a major destination point for the Moroccans who make their lives there or travel across and within its borders, this dissertation is invested in understanding twenty-first century Morocco both with and beyond the topic of contemporary clandestine sea crossings. Reducing migration writ large to illegal, trans-Mediterranean emigration to Europe does more than re-center Europe. It also obscures how most Moroccan migration, which includes the massive and *legal* movements during what I call—and will explain subsequently as—the postcolonial period between 1956 and 1999, coexists with other historical issues, representational crises, archival negotiations, and aesthetic inheritances. These range from the various colonialist, nationalist, and touristic aesthetic regimes inherited and interrupted by Bouanani and Barrada that I discuss in

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[29] This question adapts that asked by Bonnie Honig in *Democracy and the Foreigner*, in which she considers the problems that foreignness solves for democracy and democratic theory. See Honig's *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 4. For discussions of art history's "global turn," see Grant Kester, *The One and the Many: Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Parul Dave Mukherji, "Whither Art History in a Globalizing World?" *Art Bulletin* vol. XCVI (96), no. 2 (June 2014), 151–155.

Chapters 1 and 2, to the seemingly obsolete technical and material forms of rural construction, communication, and memorialization that Rahmoun, Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri revisit and reconfigure as per my analyses in Chapters 3 and 4.

A Nation of Migrants

To return to the narrative in which migration *forms* Morocco and Moroccan art is *formed* by experiences of, metaphors for, and representations of migration, it should be noted that under King Mohammed VI, the government has increased efforts to officially acknowledge emigration and build relationships with Moroccans living abroad, thus paving the way for a more overt acknowledgement and historiciziation of these communities in public discourse. Here, I employ the terms migration and migrant to refer to both internal and external migration. I use emigration and emigrant when I specifically mean to refer to movement out of Morocco and internal migration or internal migrant for those migrants who relocate within Morocco's borders. Two additional terms that are useful for explaining the state's changing relationship to migrants are "demography" and "destination." The former term indexes the approximately four out of thirty-four million Moroccans who live abroad and who make Morocco one of the world's leading emigration countries, as well as the massive numbers of internal migrants, whose rural-to-urban movements affect a larger portion of the population than emigration.[30] Official names for

[30] In a study of the migration in the Todgha oasis located near Ouazazate in the High Atlas, by Hein de Haas and Aleida van Rooij, 15% of their sample were involved in international migration whereas 33% were involved in internal migration. Hein de Haas and Aleida van Rooij, "Migration as Emancipation? The Impact of Internal and International Migration on the Position of Women Left Behind in Rural Morocco," *Oxford Development Studies* 38:1 (March 2010), 47. See also Mohamed Berriane, Hein de Haas, and Katharina Natter, "Introduction: Revisiting

Moroccans living beyond territorial boundaries have changed over the years, and here I use the most common French acronym, RME, which the Moroccan government and press employ to designate "*Ressortissants Marocains à l'Étranger* [Moroccans Nationals Abroad]."[31] Between 1963 and 1989, the most intense years of emigration, Moroccans migrated not only to France, but also to West Germany, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Canada, and Israel. In choosing where to emigrate, they typically moved to places where members of their village or region in Morocco had already settled. The Moroccan population of northwest Europe is predominantly Imazighen who emigrated directly to Europe from rural areas of the northern Rif, southwestern Sous, and the southern oases. Meanwhile, Moroccans in Spain and Italy came from places that previously had been affected more by internal migration before they emigrated abroad; in this case, emigration succeeded internal migration.[32] One reason that emigration destinations corresponded to migrants' point of departure is because during Moroccan workers' annual or bi-annual leave, their European employers asked them to hand out work contracts to those in their village as a means of developing a labor force. The social and economic impact of these emigrations was enormous. For example, by 1974, the Rifi province of Nador was then

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Moroccan Migrations," *Journal of North African Studies* 20:4 (2015), 505; Iskander 92-3 for a detailed breakdown of Moroccan emigration trends.

[31] The 2014 government census counted the legal population at 33,848,242. See the report by the Haut-Commissariat au Plan. http://www.hcp.ma/Presentation-des-premiers-resultats-du-RGPH-2014_a1605.html. On the different official terms used by the Moroccan state to refer to members of the Moroccan diaspora, including the recent adoption of the terms "citizen" and "Moroccans of the World," see Nina Sahraoui, "Acquiring 'Voice' Through 'Exit': How Moroccan Emigrants Became a Driving Force of Political and Socio-Economic Change," *Journal of North African Studies* 20:4 (2015), 525.

[32] Berriane, de Haas, and Natter, 506.

home to just 3% of the national population, and yet accounted for 18% of Moroccan emigration.[33]

Throughout the postcolonial period, the Moroccan state facilitated emigration. Then as now, it saw the remittances emigrants send to family members in Morocco as a way to reduce poverty, unemployment, and discontent within its borders. The state especially encouraged migration from places with a history of political unrest and economic deprivation, such as the Rif and the Sous, a predominantly Amazigh region southwest of Marrakech.[34] At the same time, in what one could describe as the extraterritorial reach of the years of lead, defined below, leaders of the "Amicales des Marocains"—organizations the state established in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands in the 1960s—also worked for the Moroccan intelligence services.[35] Association leaders provided the state with the names of trade unionists and political activists who might subsequently be detained upon returning to Morocco for their activities abroad.[36] Understanding if not willing these migrations to be temporary, the state also discouraged Moroccans from integrating in their new communities.[37] In 1990, the state changed its emigration policy to make it easier for emigrants to transfer money to Morocco. To do so, it created the Fondation Hassan II pour les marocains résidants à l'étranger [Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad].[38]

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[33] Iskander 44.
[34] Sahraoui 524; Hein de Haas, "Morocco's Migration Experience: A Transitional Perspective," *International Migration* 45 :4 (2007), 54.
[35] Sahraoui 525; de Haas 63, n. 6.
[36] Sahraoui 525.
[37] Sahraoui quotes Hassan II's response to a question about integration on French TV in 1993: "They [Moroccan immigrants] will never be integrated. […] I discourage you, in relation to my people, the Moroccans, from attempting a misappropriation of their nationality because they will never be 100% French." Sahraoui 525; see also Berriane, de Haas, and Natter, 511.
[38] Not incidentally, by making it easier for migrants to transfer money to Morocco, the state also was able to tax remittances that it previously could not, when remittances arrived in cash brought by returning migrants.

Nearly two decades later, in 2007, Mohammed VI established the Council for the Moroccan Community Abroad. These policy changes were successful in increasing revenue sent through official channels, and in 2012—the year that Boccara exhibited *Mémoires de Ntifa* in Paris—migrants sent back $6.9 billion in remittances.[39]

By and large, the first generation of postcolonial emigrants believed that they would return to Morocco once enough money was earned or, at the very least, when retirement approached. This return has not taken place and Moroccan public discourse and scholarship on Moroccan emigration have increasingly shifted to using the term "diaspora" to refer to RME, a topic to which I return in depth in Chapter 4.[40] In my own adoption of this usage to understand postcolonial population movements, I am mindful of Krista Thompson's warning that the historical specificity of the term diaspora risks being erased when it is used as a condition synonymous with migration, exile, and cosmopolitanism. In her 2011 essay, "A Sidelong Glance: The Practice of African Diaspora Art History in the United States," Thompson argues that "[l]umping migration, exile, and cosmopolitanism under the term [diaspora] may render invisible and trivial the movement of people under the distinct conditions of force, removal, and dispossession, and their aftermaths that continue to shape African diasporas."[41] Without wanting to trivialize the historical conditions and chattel slavery that resulted in the creation of an African diaspora largely concentrated in the Americas, my decision to use the term diaspora when

[39] This figure, cited by Berriane, de Haas, and Natter was "equal to about 7% of Morocco's gross national product, and about six times official development aid," 511.
[40] Sahraoui, 523.
[41] Krista Thompson, "A Sidelong Glance: The Practice of African Diaspora Art History in the United States," *Art Journal* (Fall 2011), 30.

referring to RMEs is an effort to underscore the coercive nature of postcolonial Moroccan migration and the broader policies of state-sanctioned violence that attended it.

The shift from an intended return to Morocco at the time of emigration to the present permanence of Moroccan communities abroad is partially the result of nothing more sinister than the passage of time. As new generations of RME are born and raised in Western Europe, families become increasingly anchored outside of Morocco's geographic borders. Children and grandchildren often do not speak Arabic or Tamazight and in many cases identify as Belgian, French, Spanish, etc., even as persistent xenophobia targets those perceived to be Maghrebi immigrants and complicates identification with the Western European countries in which many second- and third-generation Moroccans are born. At the same time, Morocco both claims as national citizens and monarchical subjects all those whose fathers are Moroccan, regardless of a child's birthplace, while, paradoxically, counting RME who travel to Morocco towards the annual tourism statistics.[42] In conversation, Moroccans living in Morocco refer to the many RME who come each summer as migrants. For these migrant-tourists, the very notion of return is evidently complicated. Not only have RME spent multiple decades, if not their entire lives, away from "home," but many have a deeply ambivalent relationship to the Moroccan government that dates to their interactions with the state during the decades that Moroccans call the years of lead (1961-99). During these years, tens of thousands of Moroccans were imprisoned, tortured, exiled, and forcibly disappeared by Hassan II's regime for the vague crime of "plotting against the state."[43] Years of lead policies were another factor in decisions to emigrate, even as departure

[42] Given the number of RMEs who travel to Morocco each year, counting them as tourists greatly amplifies Morocco's tourism statistics.
[43] Susan Slyomovics, *The Performance of Human Rights in Morocco* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 2.

did not shield Moroccans from the state's repressive tactics. While the disappearance and presumed torture and execution of the opposition leader, Mehdi Ben Barka (1920-1965), outside of Paris' Brasserie Lipp on boulevard Saint-Germain is the most infamous example of the state's long arm, those much further from the centers of political and economic power were also affected.[44] Kaddouri remembers as humiliating her father's dealings with representatives of the Moroccan state in France, where the family had emigrated. These encounters were required to receive or renew important documents like birth certificates or passports. As a child, Kaddouri once accompanied her father to the Moroccan consulate in Marseille where she witnessed an episode that demonstrates the kinds of microaggressions that defined state-minority subject relations during the years of lead, both in and outside of Morocco. In Marseille, the Moroccan official not only insisted on speaking Arabic, a language Kaddouri's Amazighophone and Francophone father did not speak, but he reprimanded Kaddouri's father for not knowing the national language.[45]

Although usually studied separately from RME, the emigration of the majority of Jewish Moroccans who, like Boccara, now live outside of Morocco is an important part of the history connecting postcolonial nation building to the forcible exclusion and emigration of Morocco's ethnic and religious minorities. The migration patterns, experiences, and diasporic identifications of Jewish Moroccans nevertheless differ in important ways from RME whose emigration to Western Europe was initially understood as temporary and economically and sociopolitically

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[44] Slyomovics 47-51.

[45] Kaddouri shared this memory with me in Grenoble in 2011. Hoffman describes similar language-based exclusions in interactions with the state within Morocco in "Internal Fractures in the Berber-Arab Distinction: From Colonial Practice to Post-National Preoccupations," *Berbers and Others: Beyond Tribe and Nation in the Maghrib*, Katherine E. Hoffman and Susan Gilson Miller, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 42.

motivated. When the State of Israel was established in 1948, Morocco's Jewish population was estimated to be a quarter million; by the early 1970s, there were less than fifty thousand Jews still in Morocco.[46] Many Jewish Moroccans elected to leave, while others were pressured by Zionist organizations. In the early and mid-twentieth century, these organizations promoted religio-cultural identifications with Israel over and above Morocco, creating a hierarchy of national identification that encouraged permanent emigration to Israel while paradoxically feeding the creation of a Moroccan diaspora. At the same time, Moroccan immigrants in Israel—like other Jews from across the predominantly Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East—were often treated upon arrival as second-class citizens, prompting, in turn, an opposite identification with Morocco and with Sephardic Jews and/or Mizrahim ("Eastern" Jews, a term that is also used to refer to Jews from North Africa).[47] The question of how to situate Jewish Moroccans in Israel and Morocco is a critical theme for recent cinematic and scholarly efforts to address the history and experiences of these communities in the twentieth century, as becomes

[46] André Levy indicates that this estimation of the current Jewish population is "generous," 61. In 1952, the total population of Morocco, including foreigners was 9.3 million; in 1960, it was 11.6 million (with an increase in the Muslim population of 2.5 million and decreases in the Jewish (55,000) and foreign (395,000) populations). For population statistics, see André Levy, *Return to Casablanca: Jews, Muslims, and an Israeli Anthropologist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 4; S. M. "La population du Maroc : premiers résultats du recensement de 1960," *Population* 3 (1962), 557-560. http://www.persee.fr/doc/pop_0032-4663_1962_num_17_3_10184; Last accessed 16 March 2016.

[47] On these terms and for a brief overview of studies in Israel of Sephardic Jews, see Levy 33-41; Boum 100; Gottreich and Schroeter 5-11; Aziza Khazzoum, "The Great Chain of Orientalism: Jewish Identity, Stigma Management, and Ethnic Exclusion in Israel," *American Sociological Review* 68:4 (August 2003), 481-510. Khazzoum argues that "eastern" Jews were constructed by the Israeli state in the 1950s as "eastern, primitive, and uneducated" and suffered negative consequences in terms of compensation and state benefits. She sees this marginalization as indicative of Zionism's roots in colonialist ideology and its attendant orientalism.

relevant in Chapter 4.[48] Jewish intellectuals who remained in Morocco, meanwhile, felt pressured to assert an identity as Moroccan first and Jewish second at the very historical moment when nationalist discourse was increasingly defining Moroccan identity as Muslim and Arab. Whether in Israel or in Morocco, when identity was reduced to a singular ethnic, religious, or national articulation, Jewish Moroccans, much like their Amazigh counterparts, were seen by outside ideological forces as neither Jewish nor Moroccan enough.

The State of Many Fields

As alluded to above, in Morocco, the U.S., France, and Europe more generally, the last decade has seen a surge in exhibitions, publications, and market speculation in Moroccan twentieth and twenty-first century art. While there is not a hard line between modern and contemporary, in the context of this market and the categorizations it has produced, modern typically refers to the artists of Bouanani's generation. Born in the middle of the Protectorate period, between the late 1930s and the late 1940s, and educated in Europe, the U.S., and the Soviet Union, the visual artists of this generation returned to Morocco at the time of independence. Alongside colleagues in cinema and literature, they committed themselves to the work of cultural decolonization and postcolonial nation building.[49] The most intense years of modern production were, then, during the 1960s and 1970s before increased censorship as

[48] For an overview of these films, see Oren Kosansky and Aomar Boum, "The 'Jewish Question' in Postcolonial Moroccan Cinema," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44 (2012), 421-442.

[49] An exception is Mohamed Sijelmassi's important study published in 1989 which uses the term *l'art contemporain*. Sijelmassi, *L'art contemporain au Maroc* [Contemporary art in Morocco] (Courbevoie: ACR, 1989).

Hassan II's reign doubled down on the aforementioned years of lead during which many intellectuals were among those the state imprisoned, tortured, exiled, and forcibly disappeared. The artists Farid Belkahia (1934-2014), Mohammed Chebaa (1935-2013), and Mohammed Melehi (b. 1936) are the figureheads of this generation, representing both its aesthetic and political engagements. Like their generational peers, they pursued a studio-based practice in primarily abstract painting and sculpture (Figures I.7-8); were committed to the forms of nationalism, pan-Arabism, and Third World-ism analyzed in the Moroccan historian Abdallah Laroui's seminal books from the 1970s; and lived their entire lives in Morocco, except for their studies in Europe and the U.S.[50] While they began exhibiting their work nationally and internationally in the 1950s, wider recognition at home and abroad only began in the 2000s, concurrent with the monarchical transition and the rise of modern and contemporary Middle East and North African (MENA) art history as a distinct field in the U.S., detailed below. This early postcolonial generation now dominates the internal Moroccan art market, a dominance partly due to the ease with which these artists cohere generationally, aesthetically, and politically. Other reasons for their recent recognition are purchases of their work by museums in France, Britain, Qatar, and the United States and a broader interest in the news and culture journals *Souffles,*

[50] Laroui's most important books are *L'histoire du Maghreb: Un essai de synthèse* (Paris: François Maspero, 1970), published in English as *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretive Essay*, tr. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), and *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain, 1830-1912* [The social and cultural origins of Moroccan nationalism, 1830-1912] (Paris: Maspero, 1977). Key publications on the Casablanca School include: Rajae Benchemsi, *Farid Belkahia* (Milan: Skira, 2013); Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005); Toni Maraini, *Ecrits sur l'art: Choix de textes, Maroc 1967-1989* [Writings about art: selected texts, Morocco 1967-1989] (Casablanca: Al Kalam, 1990); *Mohammed Melehi: Recent Paintings* (Bronx, NY: The Bronx Museum of Art, 1984); Pierpzak, *Imagined Museums*.

Intégral, and *Lamalif* in which these artists participated and which today provide a rich source of material for historians.

The assignation of "contemporary," meanwhile, applies in Moroccan art circles, as well as in this project, to the younger generation of artists who came of age during the years of lead, many of whom have been associated with L'appartement 22. These artists grew up both in and out of Morocco and now live and work across a range of locations, from Barrada's residence in New York City to Rahmoun's home in Tetouan. In between the postcolonial generation of Belkahia, Chebaa, and Melehi and the contemporary one analyzed here are those artists born in the 1950s and 1960s. Although they do not comprise a tightly knit group or movement, they too have played a significant role in Moroccan art history. Foremost among them are Fouad Bellamine (b. 1950) and Mustapha Boujemaoui (b. 1952). Their careers also intersect with Karroum's: Bellamine lived in apartment 22 at 279, avenue Mohammed V before Karroum took over the lease and Boujemaoui, meanwhile, briefly taught Karroum at the fine arts high school in Oujda.[51]

This study contributes to the nascent but growing scholarly field of Moroccan modern and contemporary art. To date, most writing on the topic has been published in exhibition catalogues, monographs, magazines, and online publications by a mix of Morocco- and France-based curators, critics, writers, and journalists; international curators, who have included Moroccan artists in regional and thematic exhibitions; and scholars of Moroccan literature, film, and culture. Contemporary Anglophone scholarship on art and visual culture in Morocco tends towards two camps. On the one hand, the U.S. art and literary historians and curators Cynthia

[51] Karroum in conversation with the author, February 27, 2017.

Becker, Clare Davies, Apsara Diquinzio, T.J. Demos, whose work I engage more fully in Chapter 2, Katarzyna Pieprzak, Carol Solomon, and John Zarobell have contributed to establishing the centrality of Moroccan modern and contemporary artists in a global art market and highlighted the ways in which this art engages themes like migration, exile, globalization, and pan-Arabism. Except for Pieprzak, who analyzes how Moroccan artists and intellectuals creatively engineered exhibition spaces in the absence of public art museums, and Becker, who focuses on the carpets, clothing, and jewelry made and worn by Amazigh women in a southeastern oasis community, these studies are thematic and transnational in scope. As a result, they largely avoid a sustained engagement with Morocco's colonization and its postcolonial nation building project.[52] On the other hand, although attentive to national history, the studies of Moroccan cinema that I address in Chapter 1 by Sandra G. Carter, Kevin Dwyer, Peter Limbrick, and Valerie Orlando have largely privileged elite, Francophone production in the economic and political centers of Rabat and Casablanca.[53] Incorporating Arabic and non-elite sources, focusing

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[52] Cynthia Becker, *Amazigh Arts in Morocco: Women Shaping Berber Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006); Clare Davies, "Decolonizing Culture: Third World, Moroccan, and Arab Art in Souffles/Anfas, 1966-1972," *Essays on the Forum Transregionale Studien* 2 (2015), np; Demos, *The Migrant Image*; Apsara Diquinzio, *Six Lines of Flight: Shifting Geographies in Contemporary Art,* exh. cat. (San Francisco: University of California Press, 2012); Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums*; Carol Solomon, Nadira Laggoune-Aklouche, Rachida Triki, and Farid Zahi, *Memory, Place, Desire: Contemporary Art of the Maghreb and Maghrebi Diaspora,* exh. cat. (Haverford: Cantor Fitzgerald Gallery, 2014); Zarobell, *Art and the Global Economy.*

[53] Sandra Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema? A Historical and Critical Study, 1956-2006* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009); Kevin Dwyer, "Moroccan Cinema and the Promotion of Culture," *North African Cinema in a Global Context: Through the Lens of Diaspora,* edited by Andrea Khalil (Oxon: Routledge, 2008); Peter Limbrick, "Vernacular Modernism, Film Culture, and Moroccan Short Film and Documentary," *Framework* 56, no. 2 (Fall 2015), 388-412; Valerie Orlando, *Screening Morocco: Contemporary Film in a Changing Society* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011) and *Francophone Voices of the "New Morocco" in Film and Print: (Re)presenting in a Society in Transition* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

on marginalized and minority communities, and including sites in the former Spanish Protectorate, this dissertation expands these bodies of scholarship while contributing to the growing research in the U.S. on Maghrebi Arabophone and Amazighophone contemporary culture.[54] Chapters 1 and 2 also build on analyses of neo-Orientalism to trace the persistence of Orientalist and colonialist visual modes in Moroccan visual culture in the decades following independence.[55]

Although Morocco rarely if ever appears on U.S. art history syllabi and Algeria figures more prominently in French academies, Morocco is the primary destination for U.S.-based researchers in North African studies.[56] Linked through the professional organization, the American Institute for Maghrib Studies (AIMS), this community of anthropologists, sociologists, historians, literature and film scholars, and increasingly art historians has made my own intervention at the intersection of contemporary art history and Moroccan and Maghrebi studies possible. Seminal studies by Susan Gilson Miller, Susan Ossman, and Susan Slyomovics illuminate postcolonial politics and cultural history, writing the definitive historical account of modern Morocco, as Miller does; establishing the centrality of images to an urban imaginary, as

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[54] Ian Campbell, *Labyrinths, Intellectuals and the Revolution: The Arabic-Language Moroccan Novel, 1957-1972* (Leiden: BRILL, 2013); Mohand Akil Salhi and Nabila Sadi, "*Le roman maghrebin en berbère* [The Maghrebi novel in Berber]," *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 20:1 (January 2016), 27-36; Jonathan Smolin, *Moroccan Noir: Police, Crime, and Politics in Popular Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

[55] Since the publication of Edward Said's seminal *Orientalism* (1978), art historians have examined the relationship between Orientalism, colonialism, and modernism. Two key texts that focus on French North Africa are Linda Nochlin, discussed in Chapter 2, and Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). For a recent discussion of the persistence of Orientalist tropes and their new guises, albeit primarily in the context of Iranian literature, see Ali Behdad and Juliet Williams, "Neo-Orientalism" in *Globalizing American Studies*, Ed. Brian T. Edwards and Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010): 283-299.

[56] Eleven of the sixteen 2016-17 AIMS fellows are conducting their research in Morocco.

Ossman does; and elaborating the mechanisms of state-sponsored repression and forcible disappearance during the years of lead, in Slyomovics' work.[57] In addition to the scholars listed above, Aomar Boum, Brian T. Edwards, Emily Gottreich, Abdellah Hammoudi, Katherine Hoffman, Oren Kosansky, André Levy, Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, and Daniel Schroeter have variously examined the construction of national identity and history, the place accorded to Morocco's Jews and Imazighen, and the circulation of cultural forms and tropes, often through the lens of literature, language, and bureaucracy.[58] Others, such as Hamid Irbouh, Patricia Goldsworthy-Bishop, and Jonathan Wyrzten have centered art, visual culture, and educational institutions in writing the history of Morocco during the French Protectorate period.[59]

Attending to how the artists in this project use colonial and postcolonial archives to interrogate the ways in which visual culture and archival modes inform articulations of national identity and history, my research joins in conversation with art historical studies by Benjamin Buchloh, Hannah Feldman, Hal Foster, Rachel Haidu, Elizabeth Harney, Carrie Lambert-Beatty, and Chika Okeke-Agulu. Spanning a range of geographical contexts, their studies have examined

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[57] Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*; Susan Ossman, *Picturing Casablanca: Portaits of Power in a Modern City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Slyomovics.

[58] Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Brian T. Edwards, *Morocco Bound: Disorienting America's Maghreb, from Casablanca to the Marrakech Express* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter, eds., *Rethinking Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Abdellah Hammoudi, *Master and Disciple: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997); Hoffman; Kosansky and Boum, "The 'Jewish Question'"; Levy; Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to North African States* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

[59] Patricia Goldsworthy-Bishop, "Images, Ideologies, and Commodities: The French Colonial Postcard Industry," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 8:2 (May 2010), 147-167; Jonathan Wyrtzen, *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

how art and visual culture contest the histories and identities codified in official narratives, colonial and postcolonial inheritances, and archival forms.[60] This concern with how inherited images and archives determine what can and cannot be seen in the present, along with my proposal in the final chapter that Boccara's, El Hammami's, and Kaddouri's works trace a transformation from migration to diaspora, reflects an engagement throughout this dissertation with African diaspora studies. The archive has been a critical site of theoretical and methodological engagement for scholars in this field. The work of Huey Copeland, Brent Hayes Edwards, Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall, Michael Hanchard, Saidiya Hartman, Steven Nelson, and Krista Thompson has shaped my thinking about how artistic practice may challenge homogenous, hegemonic, and Eurocentric narratives of nation, modernity, and subjectivity.[61] African diasporic art history, Thompson argues, attends to the conventions and limits of visuality

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[60] Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*: The Anomic Archive" *October* (Spring 1999): 117-145; Hannah Feldman, *From a Nation Torn: Decolonizing Art and Representation in France, 1945-1962* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Hal Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer," in *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996); Rachel Haidu, *The Absence of Work: Marcel Broodthaers, 1964-1976* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010); Elizabeth Harney, *In Senghor's Shadow: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960-1995* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Carrie Lambert-Beatty, "Make-Believe: Parafiction and Plausibility," *October* 129 (summer 2009), 51-84; Chika Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth Century Nigeria* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

[61] Huey Copeland, *Bound to Appear: Art, Slavery, and the Site of Blackness in Multicultural America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) and "Flow and Arrest," *Small Axe* 19:3 (November 2015), 205-224; Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (*Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 1993; Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews,* Nicholas Mirzoeff, ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 21-42; Michael Hanchard, "Black Memory versus State Memory: Notes toward a Method," *Small Axe* 26 (June 2008), 45-62; Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 26 (June 2008), 1-14; Steven Nelson, "Diaspora: Multiple Practices, Multiple Worldviews," in *A Companion to Contemporary Art since 1945*, ed. Amelia Jones (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 296-316; Thompson.

as well as that which exceeds or elides visual representation.[62] For Nelson, diaspora is both a subject position and a tool for critiquing hegemonic nationalist narratives *and* modern art's universalist claims; it is a way to address not only the transnational movements of people, but their experiences as well.[63] The field of African diaspora studies enjoins scholars to interrogate how these movements and experiences transform those who move and where they settle as well as, I would add, the places and communities whence they depart. In bringing these fields to bear on Moroccan art history, I also implicitly question the place of North Africa within both African diaspora studies and African studies, which typically exclude the Maghreb.[64] As more and more individuals from sub-Saharan African countries make their homes in Morocco and increasingly transform Morocco into a country of *immigration*, it will be important to develop new ways of collaborating across the Sahara.

Adjacent to the growing dynamism of North African art, cinema, and visual culture studies is the emergence of modern and contemporary Middle Eastern art and architectural history as a field of study distinct from Islamic art and architecture. Wijdan Ali's *Modern Islamic Art: Development and Continuity* (1997), Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb's *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (1998), and Nada Shabout's *Modern Arab Art: Formation of Arab Aesthetics* (2007) are among the first studies in this field.[65] They demonstrate

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[62] Thompson 28-9.
[63] Nelson 297; 299; 314.
[64] On bringing sub-Saharan and North Africa together, see the Fall 2005 issue of *Critical Interventions*, Africanity and North Africa, guest edited by Jessica Winegar and Katarzyna Pieprzak.
[65] Wijdan Ali, *Modern Islamic Art: Development and Continuity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997); Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb's *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (1998) (New York: Monacelli, 2002); Nada Shabout, *Modern Arab Art: Formation of Arab Aesthetics* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007). The Aga Khan

the challenge of terminology and naming that scholarly work on the region faces. One reason I decided to focus on Morocco, a country where forty to forty-five percent of the population speaks an Amazigh language and which until the mid-twentieth century had the largest Jewish population in North Africa, is because I seek to pry open the elision between ethnicity, geography, and identity that the terms Arab and Islamic would suggest.[66] A group of countries that always includes Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia and that sometimes includes Libya and Mauritania, the Maghreb remains marginal in Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) art and architectural histories.[67] For example, recent studies of Moroccan artistic and cultural production in the 1960s by the literary scholar Olivia C. Harrison and the art historian and curator Clare Davies filter Morocco through the Middle East by focusing on Palestine rather than making a sustained engagement with Maghreb-specific histories and sociopolitics.[68] My study is also in dialogue with those by the art and architectural historians Shiva Balaghi, Talinn Grigor, Patrick Kane, and Liliane Karnouk, along with the artist and poet, Kamel Boullata, who have likewise concentrated on a single country's artistic and architectural production. Yet whereas they do so largely in the service of a general overview of a country's major artists, themes, and chronologies—Palestine for Boullata, Iran for Balaghi and Grigor, Egypt for Kane and Karnouk—this dissertation makes no claims to provide a comprehensive description of all or even most contemporary art in Morocco produced after 1999. Instead, akin to Jessica Winegar's

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Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and MIT supports research on the region's modern and contemporary architecture.

[66] Miller 194.

[67] On Libya, see Brian McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

[68] Davies, "Decolonizing Culture"; Olivia C. Harrison, "Cross-Colonial Poetics: Souffles-Anfas and the Figure of Palestine," *PMLA* 128:2 (March 2013), 353-369, 512.

2006 *Creative Reckonings: The Politics of Art and Culture in Contemporary Egypt*, it seeks to animate a conversation about how visual art, subject formation, globalization, and the contemporary intersect in a single North African nation.[69]

Complementing the emergent field of modern and contemporary MENA art and architecture are the wide-ranging exhibitions and institutions that, since the 1990s, have supported new productions across the region as well as exhibitions of existing artworks. In the U.S., exhibitions at the National Museum of Women in the Arts and, later, the Museum of Modern Art introduced museumgoers to some of the region's artists, while the exhibitions organized at Paris' Institut du Monde Arabe under the leadership of the Moroccan curator and art historian, Brahim Alaoui, did the same for French audiences.[70] These exhibitions of non-Western modern and contemporary art built on the now-canonical—as much for its deep flaws and essentialist impositions as for its ambitions—*Magiciens de la Terre* exhibition curated by Jean-Hubert Martin at the Centre Georges Pompidou and Grande Halle-La Villette in Paris in 1989.[71]

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[69] Jessica Winegar, *Creative Reckonings: The Politics of Art and Culture in Contemporary Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

[70] Salwa Mikdadi Nashashibi, *Forces of Change: Arts of the Arab World* (Lafayette, CA, and Washigton, D.C.: International Council for Women in the Arts; National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1994); Fereshteh Daftari, *Without Boundary: Seventeen Ways of Looking* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2006). Of the many exhibitions Alaoui signed at the IMA, the most relevant are *Regard sur l'art contemporain tunisien: Meriem Bouderbala, Rafik El Kamel, Jellel Gasteli, Ahmed Hajeri, Abderrazak Sahli* [Perspective on contemporary Tunisian art: Meriem Bouderbala, Rafik El Kamel, Jellel Gasteli, Ahmed Hajeri, Abderrazak Sahli] (Paris: Revue noire et Institut du monde arabe, 1995) and *Regards des photographes arabes contemporains* [Perspectives of contemporary Arab photographers] (Paris: Revue noire and Institut du monde arabe, 2005).

[71] Jean-Hubert Martin, *Magiciens de la terre* [Magicians of the earth] (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1989). On its reception, see Buchloh; Hans Belting, ed., *The Global Contemporary and the rise of new art worlds* (Karlsruhe and Cambridge, MA: ZKM/Center for Art and Media and the MIT press, 2013); Reesa Greenberg, "Identity Exhibitions: From *Magiciens de la terre* to *documenta 11*," *Art Journal* 64: 1 (2005), 90-94.

The French curator Catherine David's three-part exhibition series, *Contemporary Arab Representations*, constitutes a more recent benchmark in the codification of contemporary art from the region. Each iteration of her project centers on a different city or country—Beirut in 2002, Cairo in 2004, and Iraq in 2005-6—as corresponds with her goal to develop an interregional and international project.[72] The 2010 opening of Mathaf: Arab Museum of Modern Art in Doha, Qatar, which Karroum has directed since 2013, corresponded with the creation of the Association for Modern and Contemporary Art of the Arab World, Iran, and Turkey (AMCA), a professional organization whose membership is largely comprised of scholars working in U.S. and Middle Eastern institutions. The number of recently defended and soon-to-be-completed dissertations out of U.S. universities indicate that publications in MENA modern and contemporary art and architectural history will expand substantially over the next decade.[73] The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Guggenheim, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art are among the highest profile U.S. museums to host exhibitions of MENA contemporary art and add works from the region to their permanent collection.[74] At the same time, it is important to note

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[72] See David's description in Sandra Dagher, Catherine David, Rasha Salti, Christine Tohme, and T.J. Demos, "Curating Beirut: A Conversation on the Politics of Representation," *Art Journal* 66: 2 (Summer 2007), 109. Another important exhibition from the early 2000s was Gilane Tawadros and David A. Bailey's *Veil: Veiling, Representation, and Contemporary Art* (London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 2003).

[73] For example, one anticipates the publication of books based on the following dissertations defended in the last decade by the art and architectural historians Clare Davies, Nancy Demerdash, Chad Elias, Anneka Lennsen, Alex Dika Seggerman, Dina Ramadan, and Sarah Rogers. One of the few opportunities for funding for those not affiliated with U.S. institutions is The Khalid Shoman Foundation dissertation fellowship for modern and contemporary art of the Arab world that annually hosts a researcher for four to six months at Darat al Funun.

[74] Sara Raza, *But A Storm is Blowing Through Paradise* (New York: Guggenheim, 2016); Kristen Gresh and Michket Krifa, *She Who Tells a Story: Women Photographers from Iran and the Arab World* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2015). In 2016, the Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased Barrada's large installation, *Lyautey Unit Blocks (Play)* (2010), which was on display in a stairwell on September 21, 2016, when I saw it.

that exchange amongst artists and scholars living and studying in the Maghreb and Mashriq remains limited by visa restrictions and lack of financial resources for research and travel in the region.

Morocco's Art Institutions at the Turn of the Century

Within a few years of L'appartement 22's 2002 inauguration, other independent spaces opened and began hosting exhibitions and artist residencies. Like L'appartement 22, these new spaces represented the initiative of curators and artists. Although it did not occupy a fixed space until 2008, La source du lion, an artist collective started by Hassan Darsi and Florence Renault-Darsi, began organizing exhibitions, events, residencies, and workshops mostly centered on questions of contemporary creation and public space in Casablanca in 1995.[75] In 2005, Rahmoun's former INBA cohort member, Batoul S'Himi (b. 1974) and their former professor, Faouzi Laatiris (b. 1958), who is married to S'Himi, created Espace 150 x 295. Named for the dimensions of its footprint, it occupies a tiny storefront in Martil, the coastal town where Laatiris and S'Himi live and a fifteen-minute drive from Tetouan. Also in 2005, the Austrian immigrant to Morocco Elisabeth Piskernik opened Le Cube in the apartment on Rabat's rue Benzart. Other independently funded and artist-oriented spaces have since followed. In 2006, Barrada led the group that transformed the Cinéma Rif on Tangier's *souk barra* (Grand Socco) into the non-

[75] Pierpzak, *Imagined Museums* and "Nostalgia and the New Cosmopolitan: Literary and Artistic Interventions in the City of Casablanca," *Studies in Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Literature* 33:1 (Winter 2009), 47-69; Martine Derain, *Echo Larmitaj: Un chantier à Casablanca* (Casablanca: Le Fennec, 2006). Darsi and Karroum also collaborated in the early 2000s, with Darsi, Renault-Darsi, and Karroum doing the fourth Expedition au bout du monde together in 2003. See http://appartement22.com/spip.php?article38

profit Cinémathèque de Tanger.[76] Rahmoun and the French curator Bérénice Saliou established the artist residency Trankat in 2013 in Dar Ben Jelloun, an old house in Tetouan's *medina* (old city). A year later, Yasmina Naji opened Kulte Gallery & Editions, which organizes exhibitions, sells artworks, and operates as an art and culture publishing house, across the street from Le Cube. The recent acceleration of spaces opening across Morocco, especially in Marrakech, makes this list far from exhaustive.

These independent art spaces join a geographically dispersed and programmatically varied cultural landscape comprised of spaces run by the government through the Ministry of Culture (est. 1974) and, increasingly, the National Federation of Museums, created in 2011, those run by private corporations and businesses, and those run by the culture arm of foreign governments. Other ventures include commercial galleries, an auction house, two state-run art schools, and the joint public-private cinema school, ESAV.[77] Since 2006, this largely privately funded school has trained students in film and graphic design.[78] Although Tetouan's INBA is one of the two art schools in Morocco, the Casablanca Ecole des Beaux-Arts—previously the center of the 1960s Casablanca School of artists—is not presently operational. The INBA is thus responsible for educating Morocco's next generation of artists, designers, and illustrators. Each

[76] Khalili was also part of the Cinémathèque's founding. Omar Berrada and Yto Barrada, ed. *Album Cinémathèque de Tanger* (Barcelona: Institut de Cultura de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona and Cinémathèque de Tanger, 2011).

[77] See the FNM's presentation on http://www.fnm.ma/fondation/presentation-de-la-fnm/. Hicham Daoudi founded the auction house, CMOOA, or the Compagnie marocaine des oeuvres et objets d'art, in April 2002. The first sale took place on December 28, 2002, at Marrakech's Mamounia hotel.

[78] Boccara occasionally teaches documentary film workshops and courses at ESAV; Rahmoun and his former classmate S'Himi both continue to teach at the INBA.

year it enrolls thirty or so students from all of Morocco.[79] Other joint public and private initiatives whose origins date to the 2000s are the Musée des arts visuels et de la photographie (Museum of Visual Arts and Photography), originally slated to open in Marrakech in 2016 and which began exhibitions and programming at a temporary space in 2013, and the Marrakech Biennale. The latter started in 2007 as the Arts in Marrakech festival, an initiative of the hotelier, collector, and arts patron, Vanessa Branson.[80] The monthly contemporary art magazine, *Diptyk*, covers these exhibitions and events, as well as the Moroccan diasporic and Maghrebi and Franco-African modern and contemporary art worlds.[81]

The government arrived late on this scene. Since 2007, it has led or approved the construction of two freestanding, public museums. Designed by the king's preferred architect, Karim Chakor, the MMVI opened its doors on October 7, 2014, after seven years and 200 million dirhams spent on its construction (Figure I.9). A short walk from L'appartement 22, Kulte, and Le Cute, it occupies a prominent corner of avenue Mohammed V, the main axis and thoroughfare of Rabat, and avenue Annasr. As its name suggests, Mohammed VI was the driving force behind building Morocco's first state art museum. Spanning three floors and comprised entirely of loans by artists and private collectors, the inaugural exhibition celebrated a century of Moroccan artistic achievements. Contemporary art was not installed in the main galleries but underground, in the space originally designed to be the parking lot.[82] The official pomp and

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[79] That said, Moroccan artists also attend art schools abroad but doing so requires significantly more money as well as the other social and political resources required to get a visa to Europe.
[80] Branson, the sister of Virgin Group founder Richard Branson, co-owns the luxury hotel, Riad El Fenn, in the Marrakech medina.
[81] *Diptyk* began as the offspring of the CMOOA auction house and its short-lived Marrakech art fair, but has since become more independent, though still market-driven.
[82] Viewers entered the exhibition in a gallery that did not begin in 1914, the early bookend of the exhibition, which spanned 1914 to 2014, but rather, in a gallery housing recent photography and

circumstance that surrounded this museum's opening contrasts sharply with that of another institution for modern and contemporary Moroccan art, a year earlier, in Tetouan (Figure I.10). More modest in name, size, and fanfare, the Centro de arte moderno de Tetuán calls home what was once a functioning train station.[83] Unlike the Rabat museum, where all the works in the inaugural show were loans, the Tetouan Center has a permanent collection, which is installed chronologically. Although its collection is less impressive than the works initially on view in Rabat, the brief explanatory wall texts in Arabic and Spanish make its exhibition design accessible to a broad public. Focusing on the Escuela de Tetuán (Tetouan School), it begins with the early realist and figurative painters, both Spanish and Moroccan; continues with Moroccan abstraction; and concludes, finally, with the newest generation of Tetouan-trained artists, including Erruas, Rahmoun, and S'Himi.[84]

For all their differences in size and splendor, both museums spin a linear and progressive version of a hundred years of Moroccan art history as a march from figuration through abstraction to the mixed media of the contemporary. In Rabat, the narrative is national, whereas in Tetouan, it is local and centered on the INBA. As the opening of these two institutions attests, Morocco's twentieth and twenty-first century art has never been more publicly visible in

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video alongside work from the 1980s. The first-floor galleries wound back in time, continuing upstairs to the second floor. The viewer exited the exhibition from gallery of early twentieth century photographs of the Moroccan sultan. Although I did not attend the opening, I was in Rabat and several people who attended the opening described it to me in the subsequent days.

[83] *Markez Tetouan lil-fann al-hadith*, in Arabic; Tetouan Center for Modern Art in English. Today, no trains travel to Tetouan, which is only accessible by car or bus, but during the Spanish Protectorate, when this train station was built in 1918, it connected inland Tetouan to the city of Ceuta/Sebta, the nearby Spanish enclave on the Mediterranean coast. When the MMVI opened, some joked in conversation that it looked more like a train station than a museum for modern and contemporary art.

[84] Alexandre Aublanc, "*Tetouan: un centre d'art… et après?* [Tetouan: an art center… and after?]," *Diptyk* 22 (Feb-Mar 2014). The Tetouan museum opened on November 20, 2013.

Morocco. With Moroccan art gaining critical attention and market share at home and abroad, the question of how to write its history and how to historicize its more internationally mobile contemporary artists and artworks is urgent. In the four chapters that follow, I propose migration—as subject, frame, and form—as a way to avoid the flattening effect of both the strictly national/ist story that the state has begun to codify to the (re)exclusion of migrants and the global/ization narrative spun by Western art historians that recenters Europe and the U.S. as creating the conditions to which art produced elsewhere must respond.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 1, "The Censor's Scissors," begins with the state's approach to visual culture and how it adapted the cinematic forms, institutions, and archives that it inherited from the French Protectorate period during the years of lead. Based on research conducted at Morocco's national cinema archives and in the private papers of Ahmed Bouanani, I reconstruct the conflict between Bouanani and the Moroccan state over Bouanani's 1971 montage film, *Mémoire 14 (Memory 14)*. I argue that Bouanani's use of colonial-era film reels to narrate popular history and memory undercut the state's authorized version of national history and led Bouanani's boss, who was also the official state censor, to destroy two-thirds of the film. Inherited images are also the point of departure for the works discussed in Chapter 2, "Found Images." I examine the representation of migration and northern Morocco in Yto Barrada's *A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project* (1998-2004), the most internationally well-known artwork by a Moroccan artist of any generation. Focusing on the artist book iteration of the series, I present a critical analysis of Barrada's photographs that diverges from what I identify as the "migratory orientalism" characteristic of

the recent focus on the Europe-bound migrant as emblematic of a new universalism or humanism. Arguing against the standard critical reception of Barrada's photographs as representations of clandestine, Europe-bound migration, I contend that *A Life Full of Holes* riffs on the many tropes—what I call Morocco's found images—that have circulated in representations of Tangier and its surroundings since the city's International Zone days (1924-56).

Chapter 3, "A Building in the *Bled*," discusses Younès Rahmoun's site-specific sculpture, *Ghorfa 4 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 4, Now/Here)* (2008), located in the remote Rif village of Beni Boufrah. *Ghorfa 4* is the only permanent work in a series of rooms with identical interior dimensions that Rahmoun has built around the world since 2006. Based on interviews with the artist and visits to Beni Boufrah in 2007, 2012, and 2014, the chapter attends to the challenges of making and viewing this "strange hut" in the hills behind Beni Boufrah to emphasize the extent to which postcolonial migration forms the possibilities for making and viewing art in rural Morocco. The fourth and final chapter, "Disappearance Work," examines how three Moroccan artists now living in France incorporate family archives that date to 1970s and 1980s—color film reels and audiocassettes—into videos and installations that remember the postcolonial emigration of Jewish and Amazigh communities from the Rif and Atlas Mountains. I argue that, across the gap of a generation and a sea, Ivan Boccara's *Les Maghrebim (The Moroccans)* (ongoing since 2000) and Badr El Hammami's and Fadma Kaddouri's *Thabrate (Face A) (Correspondence [Side A])* (2010-11) recreate the forms of communication and encounter, or what I call the maintenance work of migration, that allowed migrants to maintain relationships across these gaps. In so doing, these artworks—and ultimately the dissertation as a whole—provoke intimate

encounters and collaboration between individuals and archives that, I propose, speak to the formation of a Moroccan diaspora over the last sixty years.

CHAPTER ONE

The Censor's Scissors

Je peux vous dire une chose, c'est que Moi
Je fais de l'information, les subversifs font de la propagande,
il est plus facile de faire de la propagande que de l'information.

Hassan II, 1980[85]

Jouer avec la censure : la subvertir en transformant
les interdits qu'elle impose en inter-dits.

Moumen Smihi, 1976[86]

Rarely are states primary-source material for representations of collective memory.
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Michael Hanchard, 2008[87]

Ahmed Bouanani's 1971 film, *Mémoire 14 (Memory 14*; hereafter *M14*), opens with a black-and-white drawing (Figure 1.1). Executed in thick outline, the drawing depicts the popular legend of Ali, the Prophet's uncle. The bearded Ali, identified here as *Sayyidna Ali* in Arabic,

[85] "I can tell you one thing, it's that Me, I make information, subversives make propaganda, it is easier to make propaganda than information." Interview on the French TV station Antenne 2 on April 8, 1980. Cited in *Citations de S.M. Hassan* II [Hassan II's quotations], ed. Mustapha Sehimi (Rabat: Imprimeries Mithaq-Almaghrib, 1981), 73.
[86] "To play with censorship: subvert it by *transforming* what it imposes as forbidden (*interdits*) into what is in between words (*inter-dits*)." "*Maghrébitude (Maghrebitude)*," in *Écrire sur le cinéma : idées clandestines I* [Writing about cinema: clandestine ideas I] (Tangier: Slaïki Frères, 2006), 43.
[87] Hanchard 47.

appears to have just thrust his double-pronged sword through the chest of an anthropomorphic horned creature (*ras al-ghoul*) with whom he locks eyes.[88] This creature's face scrunches in pain and his tongue flops out of his mouth. Blood pools at the center of his chest and then cascades out in one large, torso-size drip. As this drawing fills the frame, the film's careful and languorously spoken male voiceover begins in French: "*Heureux celui dont la mémoire repose en paix. Que la terre enfante ou n'enfante pas, que le ruisseau coule de miel ou de sang, que notre regard s'aveugle ou s'arrête, notre mémoire est longue. Puisse-t-elle retrouver la cadence de nos vingt ans.*"[89] With these lines—from an eponymous poem Bouanani penned in 1969—*M14* immediately plunges the viewer into the messy, often violent work of remembering and witnessing that the black-and-white film explores through a montage of new and archival film footage, drawing largely from Protectorate era newsreels and propaganda films, and enlarged still photographs that cut together new and old.

Bouanani was forbidden to direct films in 1967 under suspicion of being a communist. When he began *M14* two years later, it was out of necessity that he made a montage film in which he largely used pre-existing footage. While artists and writers could circumvent censorship to some extent in the production of their work, if not always in its distribution, the high cost of equipment and the strict regulation of audiovisual material made it impossible for

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[88] Thanks to Abdellah Karroum who assisted me with identifying the drawing (conversation with the author, February 28, 2017).

[89] "Happy are those whose memory rests in peace. Whether the land provides [lit. gives birth] or does not provide, whether the stream runs with honey or with blood, whether our eyes go blind or stop, our memory is long. May it rediscover the cadence of our twenty years." Ahmed Bouanani, "Mémoire 14" (1969) published in *Les Persiennes* [The blinds] (Rabat: Editions Stouky, 1980).

filmmakers to create and distribute a film of any length that bypassed government oversight.[90] At the time of his interdiction, Bouanani was employed as a film editor at the Centre Cinématographique Marocain (CCM), a position he held from 1966 to 1998. There, he had access to the CCM's archive of Protectorate-era films that the French left in Morocco at the time of independence, including newsreels, propaganda films, documentaries, and silent films on different Moroccan cities. At one point 108 minutes long, *M14* was so censored during its making that the final format which exists today lasts twenty-four minutes. According to the filmmaker's daughter, Touda Bouanani, it was the footage from the Rif, including Bouanani's decision to film people who had participated in the anticolonial Rif War (1921-6) against Spain, that caused *M14*'s censorship.[91] Because this censorship unfolded slowly, drawn out over a

[90] A writer could, however, be targeted for unpublished works, as Zakya Daoud recounts. Zakya Daoud (Jacqueline David Loghlam), *Les années Lamalif, 1958-1988, Trente ans de journalisme au Maroc* [The Lamalif Years, 1958-1998, Thirty years of journalism in Morocco*]* (Casablanca: Tarik Editions and Senso Unico Edicitions, 2007), 14. At the same time, the 16mm film reels that Henri and Cécile Boccara shot between 1970 and 1971 in the Atlas Mountain village of Ntifa that the artist Ivan Boccara inherited—the subject of Chapter 4—indicate that it was possible to film without going through the CCM if one had access to equipment and film for personal use, making their archives the exception that proves the rule.

[91] Touda Bouanani spoke about *M14*'s censorship at the Modern Heritage Observatory (MoHO) conference, organized by the former director of the Cinémathèque de Tanger, Léa Morin, at Rabat's Villa des arts, 12 October 2013. In a conversation with the author (Rabat, 4 March 2014), Touda explained that her father had shot footage for *M14* in the Rif, including filming those who had participated in the Rif War; they are the older people shown in the film. She maintains that the reason for the censor was the film's representation of the Rif. *M14* was not the only film to be censored in these years. Mostafa Derkaoui's *De quelques évènements sans significations (On several events without meaning)* (1974), in which several Moroccan intellectuals, artists, and musicians participated, including Mustapha Nissaboury, Mohammed Melehi, and Farid Belkahia, was banned until the 1990s. Its negatives were recently found and are being restored by Léa Morin and Jake Weiner in collaboration with Derkaoui. The film is listed in *Maroc 1973-1974*, 202, as is a note that a new Moroccan production company named Besma had started filming a feature-length film of the same name.

month-long period of screenings and snipping after which Bouanani would reedit his film, it is impossible to recreate its missing parts or even venture where and what cuts were made.

This chapter analyzes how Bouanani and, by extension, his colleagues in the national film industry of the 1960s and 1970s worked with and against the narrative sequencing of Moroccan history that the state codified and circulated through cinema, print media, and other forms of visual culture. Writing about *M14* requires toggling between the twenty-four-minute version of the film that has been screened with increasing frequency since Bouanani's death in Morocco and abroad and the archival material and cinematic history that comprises its extra-diegetic, multi-vocal context.[92] These archives include Ahmed Bouanani's largely unpublished writings, his daughter Touda Bouanani's memory, the Moroccan filmmaker Ali Essafi's rushes of interviews filmed with Bouanani at the end of his life, and the CCM's archives, where it is possible to view some, but not all, of the colonial and postcolonial films Bouanani describes in his unpublished manuscript "*La Septième porte ou Une histoire du cinema au Maroc de 1907 à 1986* (The Seventh Door, or A History of Cinema in Morocco from 1907 to 1986)." In so doing, I have also amassed a mostly digital archive of official colonial and postcolonial visual culture to substantiate the claims I make about how the state drew on colonial forms in its postcolonial representations of Moroccan history and identity, some of which are listed in the Appendix. My own process of collection is not unlike that undertaken by Bouanani both in making *M14* and in

[92] A filmography for Bouanani printed in *Nejma* notes that *M14* won a silver medal at the 1974 Carthage festival, suggesting it was screened at least once during the filmmaker's lifetime. That said, Touda Bouanani is still organizing the massive amount of papers, costumes, film reels, etc., that she inherited with the death of her mother, Naima Saoudi, in 2012, and it is likely that more information will surface in the coming years. The archive fills the two-bedroom apartment in Rabat, including materials that were partially destroyed by a fire on July 26, 2006.

his work at the CCM, where he, "*recueille et classe tout ce qu'il trouve dans celles, publiques ou privées, laissées pars les Français.*"[93]

In sampling both official archives of colonial and postcolonial past and popular mythology and memory, Bouanani produced a film that directly contests the cornerstones of the national narrative: history as linear, the Protectorate period as brief interruption, independence as historical rupture, the nation as natural, and the monarchy as benevolent. Because these elements are part of the standard repertoire of modern nation-state formation, it is not surprising that they emerged in a newly independent Morocco, nor that *M14*'s failure to toe the national line resulted in its censure. Instead, what interests me is how the making, censoring, and cinematic and textual remains of *M14* provide insight into how Bouanani and his peers worked within a context of intense censorship and political repression as well as the methodological challenges that such an analysis requires. How to analyze visually a film that was so heavily censored over the course of its production that it is impossible to reconstruct it in any "complete" version? Although *M14* is not about migration as such, the film—like the ensemble of works in this dissertation—works through the past and its representational modes to articulate how the past forms the contemporary in ways that go against the grain of official narratives and representations and, as such, *M14* stands as an important precedent to Moroccan artistic practice in the early twenty-first century. In attempting to recreate this moment of conflict between the centralizing aims of a postcolonial state and the divergent memories of its people, I see this chapter as accepting and adapting to the context of Moroccan postcolonial memory Michael Hanchard's invitation to scholars to explore

[93] "collects and organizes all that he finds, public or private, in what the French left behind." Ali Essafi, "*La merdersa Bouanania li cinéma al maghrebia* [Bouanani's School for Moroccan Cinema] [in French]," *Nejma* 9 (spring 2014), 56.

further the relationship between state memory and black memory.[94] As both montage film and object of censorship, *M14* gives shape to the contestation between state and collective memory—framed through a debate about history's contents, actors, and aesthetic representation—that was taking place in Morocco during the early years of lead.

The Monarch in the Moon

Born in Casablanca on November 16, 1938, Bouanani is one of Morocco's most significant filmmakers. Like many Moroccan filmmakers of his generation and like the Boccaras (Chapter 4) a few years later, Bouanani studied cinema (script-montage section) at the Institut des hautes études cinématographiques (Institute of Higher Cinematographic Studies, IDHEC) in Paris. His first film was the twenty-minute black and white short *Tarfaya ou La marche d'un poète (Tarfaya, or A Poet's Journey)* (1966), co-directed with Mohamed A. Tazi. It traces the journey of a young man as he travels south on foot to Tarfaya, a small fishing village just twenty miles from what was then the Spanish-controlled Western Sahara.[95] The following year, Bouanani, Tazi, and Abdelmajid Rechiche co-directed the eighteen minute black-and-white *6 et 12*, a film that playfully pays homage both to the city and people of Casablanca and to the Soviet avant-garde filmmaker Dziga Vertov's 1929 film *The Man with a Movie Camera*.[96] Following

[94] Hanchard 62.
[95] Limbrick discusses *Tarfaya* and its intersections with the work of French experimental filmmakers Robert Flaherty and Jean Rouch, 400. For Limbrick, *M14* and *Tarfaya* offer a radical and political critique of colonialism (401), but I argue below that *M14*'s critique also focuses on the violence of postcolonial modernity.
[96] In the original credits, Bouanani is only listed as the film's editor because, as noted above, he was forbidden to make films during this time. However, when the *Six et douze* was shown on

M14, Bouanani directed three more films: *Sidi Ahmed Ou Moussa*, a now-lost short film from 1972; *Les Quatre Sources (The Four Springs)*, a thirty-five minute color fantastical fiction film from 1977; and, in 1980, *Le Mirage (The Mirage)*, which, at one hundred minutes, was his only feature-length film.[97] Since Bouanani's death in 2011 and thanks to the efforts of Touda, the writer and curator Omar Berrada, and film scholars in Morocco and the U.S., his films have been brought out of relative obscurity and been screened in multiple venues and international exhibitions.[98]

M14 was Bouanani's fourth film and, had it not been censored, it would have been the first feature-length film he directed.[99] For Bouanani, as for other members of his generation dedicated to decolonizing culture in the wake of independence, literature, poetry, and film were crucial tools for wresting Moroccan history back from what they saw as the distorted version circulated by the Protectorate. Yet by 1966, when the Francophone cultural journal *Souffles* published a roundtable on Moroccan cinema, the films produced in the first decade after independence hardly provided a corrective. Historically themed films produced by the CCM, Bouanani later wrote in "*La Septième porte*," overlooked quite a lot of history. Citing as his example a short by Larbi Bennani, *Page d'histoire (Page of history)*, a seven-minute film from 1965, Bouanani notes how little history is actually conveyed, despite its historical theme: "*On y*

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national television in November 2014, Bouanani was properly credited. See also Limbrick's discussion of *6 et 12* and *Tarfaya*, 397-401.

[97] For a complete list of Bouanani's films and numerous writings, mostly unpublished, see the special issue of the Moroccan cultural journal, *Nejma*, whose spring 2014 issue was dedicated to the filmmaker and author: *Nejma* 9 (spring 2014), 199-202.

[98] Between 2010 and 2012, six tributes to Bouanani were organized, including at the Museum of Modern Art (2011), the Tate Modern (2011), and the Institut du Monde Arabe (2010). *Nejma* 200.

[99] Essafi 56; Limbrick 402.

montre, brièvement, des images du 'Maroc ancien', de la résistance contre l'occupation coloniale ; puis, très vite, nous nous retrouvons à l'indépendance."[100] In these pages, which frame his discussion of *M14*, Bouanani highlights the cultural and political events that were *not* included in Bennani's and subsequent films. Because Bouanani's text has not yet been published, it is worth citing him at length:

> *Aucune des activités culturelles du pays n'est enregistrée par le caméra, ni le premier Festival du théâtre amateur qui se déroule en 1957 sous la tutelle du ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports, ni la première exposition collective des peintres marocains à la galerie des peintres comme Ataalah, Belkahia, Chebaa, Hafid, Hamidi, et Melehi, exposent à Marrakech sur la place Jemaa el Fna, puis à Casablanca, place du 16 novembre ; ce sont des tentatives d'instauration de dialogues entre les artistes et le public qui ne fréquente pas généralement les galeries. […] Plus grave, certains événements sont occultés. Les troubles qui secouent l'ensemble du territoire marocain en 1958, la tentative de sécession du Rif, l'émeute à Casablanca du 23 mai 1965, ou les coups d'Etat militaires avortés de 1971 et 1972, sont purement et simplement gommés de l'Histoire marocaine—il en sera de même de la résistance de Moha ou Hamou en 1914 et surtout de la 'guerre du Rif' (1921-1925* [sic]*) dans la première monture de 'Mémoire 14.' […] Comme nous l'avons déjà écrit, il apparaît clairement qu'une politique non déclarée pourtant, ait décidé que la mémoire marocaine soit frappée d'amnésie et qu'elle n'ait conscience des événements—pas tous—qu'à partir de 1956.*[101]

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[100] "Briefly shown are images of 'old Morocco,' of the resistance to colonial occupation; then, very quickly, we find ourselves at independence." Ahmed Bouanani, "*La Septième porte ou Une histoire du cinema au Maroc de 1907 à 1986* [The Seventh Door, or A History of Cinema in Morocco from 1907 to 1986]," unpublished (Bouanani archives, Rabat, Morocco), typed version, 130. Efforts to locate this film in the CCM's archives were unsuccessful.

[101] "None of the country's cultural activities were recorded by the camera, not the first Festival of Amateur Theater, which takes place in 1957 under the supervision of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, not the first group exhibition of Moroccan painters at the gallery, painters like Ataalah, Belkahia, Chebaa, Hafid, Hamidi, and Melehi [who] exhibit in Marrakech at the Place Jamaa el Fna and then in Casablanca at the Place du 16 Novembre; these are attempts to establish dialogue between artists and the public who does not generally go to galleries. […] More serious, certain events are eclipsed. The troubles that shake the entire Moroccan territory in 1958, the Rif's attempt at succession, the riot in Casablanca on May 23, 1965, or the failed military coups d'état in 1971 and 1972 are purely and simply erased [*gommés*] from Moroccan History—the same is true of Moha ou Hamou's resistance in 1914 and above all the 'Rif War' (1921-1925 [*sic*]) in the first setting of *Mémoire 14*. […] As I have already written, it clearly appears that a politics—undeclared however—was decided such that Moroccan memory would be hit with amnesia and that it would only be conscious of events—but not all [of them]—after 1956." Bouanani, "*La septième porte*," 130-1.

Missing, in other words, were cultural events organized in public spaces by both official channels—the Ministry of Youth and Sports—and by individuals and groups, such as Bouanani's artist colleagues, that meant to connect artists with people who might not otherwise encounter their work. Also absent were violent episodes in colonial and postcolonial history, which Bouanani lists. For Bouanani, these omissions signal an undeclared politics of amnesia that not only erased everything that happened before independence in 1956 ("very quickly we find ourselves at independence") but that also excluded the many post-1956 events that were "purely and simply erased from Moroccan History."

From the beginning, Bouanani writes, *M14* was meant to be "*une somme ambitieuse* [an ambitious total]" of the Protectorate years (1912-1956) that redressed the glossing over of the Protectorate in official narratives with the titular fourteen referring to the fourteenth century Hijra (1882-1978 on the Gregorian calendar).[102] He envisioned the film as a cinematographic translation of the eponymous poem he wrote in 1969 rather than as "a scholarly restitution" of contemporary history.[103] At stake for Bouanani in his criticism of representations of Moroccan history in state-sponsored cinema and the corrective he intended *M14* to be is the tension between state memory and collective memory, or what he refers to as "*mémoires populaires* (popular memories)."[104] Moroccan popular culture, memory, and myth—and Amazigh culture in particular—formed the connective tissue of much of the filmmaker's creative work throughout

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[102] Both Limbrick and Essafi link the fourteen in the title to the Hijra calendar. Limbrick 402; Essafi 56.

[103] "*une restitution scolaire des événements de l'histoire contemporaine mais d'avantage une 'traduction cinématographique d'un long poème de même titre écrit en 1969.*" Bouanani, "*La septième porte*," 131.

[104] Bouanani, "*La septième porte*," 133.

his lifetime. In an article first published 1966, Bouanani identified popular memory as threatened by both the colonial and postcolonial governments that sought to relegate it to a "traditional" past.[105]

Without wanting to elide a postcolonial Moroccan collective memory with black memory—for as Hanchard notes in his discussion of Frantz Fanon and the Algerian Revolution, black memory is not equivalent to national and anticolonial memory—Hanchard's 2008 essay, "Black Memory versus State Memory: Notes toward a Method," is useful here for clarifying both the state memory and history Bouanani critiques and the popular memory and history he sought to foreground in *M14*. In "Black Memory versus State Memory," Hanchard argues that scholarship on diasporic populations must not lose sight of the importance of the nation-state, because histories of nationalism and nation-state formation differentially impact diasporic subjects. He writes, "While it has become chic in some circles to write and speak of diaspora populations—Africa, African descended, or otherwise—as communities defined by their traversal of boundaries, their seemingly borderless character, these same populations are nevertheless informed in some very critical and fundamental ways by the forces and consequences of nationalism."[106] Black memory for Hanchard functions as one kind of collective memory whose collectivity centers on "an ensemble of themes," including "racism, slavery, reparations, nationalism and anticolonial struggle, and migration."[107] Hanchard's essay is helpful for illuminating debates over history in postcolonial Morocco because of the tension he identifies

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[105] Bouanani, "*Introduction à la poésie populaire marocaine*," 3-9. See also Omar Berrada, "*Le monteur réticent (Ahmed Bouanani dans les labyrinthes de la mémoire)* [The Reticent Editor (Ahmed Bouanani in the Labyrinths of Memory]," *Nejma* 9 (Spring 2014), 32-33; Limbrick 399.
[106] Hanchard 61.
[107] Hanchard 47.

between state memory and black memory, the importance he accords to representation, and the potential of disruption he attributes to black memory. For Hanchard, black memory functions horizontally, in contrast to the verticality of state memory.[108] While Bouanani does not employ a language of verticality and horizontality in his discussions of the aesthetic representation of Moroccan memory and history, Hanchard's distinction nevertheless resonates with Bouanani's critique of Moroccan history as recounted on screens and in schoolbooks—two more sites to add to Hanchard's list of the places where states represent official history.[109]

What, then, comprised the official history that the postcolonial state promulgated at the time of *M14*'s making and censure? Who were its actors, its holidays and rituals, its central events? What role did visual culture play in disseminating this history? How, in other words, were state, nation, history, and image entangled? In Morocco, national history is tightly controlled and managed by the palace, which has employed a royal historiographer since 1961. The royal historiographer, in the words of Jamaâ Baïda, an eminent historian of Morocco and now the director of the Archives nationales (National Archives), "*n'est pas là pour analyser. Il est la mémoire des activités officielles, qu'il compile et conserve*."[110] Official and semi-official publications, from dozens of Ministry of Information publications to comic books, recount a teleological, hagiographical, and dynastic history that, participating in a long tradition of Arab

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[108] Hanchard 61; see also 46.
[109] Hanchard 57.
[110] "The historiographer is not there to analyze. He is the memory of official activities, that he compiles and conserves." Hassan II created the position of *historiographe du royaume* (historiography of the kingdom) in 1961. Fahd Iraqi, "*Maroc : les historiographes du royaume sont les gardiens de la mémoire royale, mais jusqu'à quand?* [Morocco: The kingdom's historiographers are the guardians of royal memory, but until when?]," *Jeune Afrique* (August 8, 2016). Available online: http://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/345762/archives-thematique/maroc-historiographes-royaume-gardiens-de-memoire-royale-jusqua/

historiographical writing, presents the history of the ruling monarchy as History *tout court*. The centrality of the monarchy in Moroccan historiography reflects the king's position as the Commander of the Faithful (*Amir Al-Mu'minin* in Arabic; *Commandeur des Croyants* in French). Morocco's ruling Alawite (Alaoui) family traces its lineage and ultimately its authority over a predominantly Muslim population to the Prophet Muhammad (570-632). The king's position as the Commander of the Faithful also places him above a civil society marginalized by the relationship between the monarch and the people that the monarchy promotes.[111] In the postcolonial period, the Alawite hagiography-as-history was repackaged as national history, with figures and dates from the nationalist Istiqlal movement folded in but kept under the umbrella of the monarchy as the nation's driving, unifying force.[112] The result is a linear and progressive official national history that treats the Protectorate period as a minor interruption in the existence of a united Morocco ruled since the fifteenth century by the Alawites. This history also hinges on positing a singular national identity, or *marocanité* (Moroccanness), that in Miller's words, "submerged [Imazighen] in a larger, Arabo-Islamic identity."[113] Until 2011, when Morocco replaced its 1996 constitution with one that officially recognized ethnic and religious minorities in response to the so-called Arab Spring, this national identity was defined as being Arab, Muslim, and pro-monarchy. It bears emphasizing that the state presents its official version of

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[111] For example, the independence movement in Morocco is officially commemorated as the "*Révolution du Roi et du Peuple* (Revolution of the King and the People)." In his seminal study of Moroccan authoritarianism and its historical roots, the anthropologist Abdellah Hammoudi calls this the "Alawist theory of monarchy," identifying the Amir Al-Mu'minin as a position that is "highly problematic and open to interpretations" (14) and "a recent slogan which has been transformed into an explanatory construct and a policy objective" (16). Hammoudi, *Master and Disciple*.

[112] Hammoudi 15-6; Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* 4, 184-6, 216-7.

[113] Miller 195.

history, which continues to be taught in Moroccan schools, as true and uncontestable. And the stakes of contestation are high: because national history is grafted so seamlessly onto monarchical history, to contradict this history is to question the legitimacy of the monarchy, which, along with proselytizing any religion other than Islam and questioning Morocco's territorial integrity, especially its claims to sovereignty over the Western Sahara, amounts to treason.[114]

During Hassan II's reign, the official narrative of Moroccan history centered on the royal family, minimized the impact of the French and Spanish Protectorates, and proceeded as a celebratory, forward march punctuated by commemorative events.[115] In these years, Moroccan historical discourse, the historian Susan Gilson Miller summarizes bluntly, was affected by several simultaneous problems: "silences that are politically motivated, myths about the sanctity of the nationalist cause, the inviobility of the monarch, the state monopoly over representations of authenticity, the violence of state-societal relations, the occultation of sources, [and] fears of retribution."[116] The key dates of official postcolonial historiography include the 1930 Berber Dahir (decree); the 1953-55 exile of then Sultan Mohammed V (later King Mohammed V and in

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[114] Because the monarch is the commander of the faithful, to attack the monarch, Hammoudi writes, "would be both a crime and a sacrilege—inseparable notions in this logic—at once a violation of divine law and the desacralization of a figure of Islamic piety." Hammoudi 13. For references in official media to national unity, see, for example, "Spotlight on Tangier" (Rabat: Kingdom of Morocco Ministry of Information and Tourism, c. 1958), 25. On recent shifts in the study and writing of history in Morocco since the political opening of the 1990s, see Miller 1-3.

[115] The Ministry of Information publication *Morocco: A Glimpse of History* (3rd ed, 1967) titles its first chapter on the Protectorate years "Colonial Interlude" (65). On the treatment of the Protectorate years as a "mistake" by postcolonial Moroccan historiography, see Miller 2-3. For a critical perspective on Moroccan historiography, see Abdallah Laroui, "*Introduction: histoire idéologique, histoire critique* [Introduction: ideological history, critical history]" in *Esquisses historiques* [Historical Sketches] (Casablanca: Centre Culturel Arabe, 1992), 7-18.

[116] Miller 2.

the words of his son in 1969, "the Hero of the Nation") and his family; independence in 1956; the 1960 Agadir earthquake; the death of Mohammed V and ascension of Hassan II to the throne in 1961; the two failed coups of 1971 and 1972 and their confirmation of Hassan II's *baraka* (divine grace); and the 1975 Green March, when Morocco asserted its sovereignty over the then-Spanish controlled Western Sahara.[117] Hassan II's 1976 memoir, *Le défi*, best encapsulates the elision between the monarch's life and the nation's history. *Le défi* recounts the history of Morocco since the late nineteenth century from the Palace's perspective.[118] Royal life events also set the national calendar. August 20—the anniversary of the Sultan's exile by the French—is commemorated as the *anniversaire de la révolution du Roi et du Peuple* (anniversary of the revolution of the King and the People) and other civic holidays include the sitting king's birthday and the anniversary of his ascension to the throne. The king's centrality is not merely symbolic: power, resources, and prestige converge around the monarch who occupies the center of a patronage system in which proximity to the palace has a direct effect on a person's place within society at large.[119]

Like the 1930 Berber Dahir, Mohammed V's 1953 exile provided a major rallying point for Moroccan nationalists.[120] Since the royal family's exile, images of the sultan and later the

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[117] *Discours du trône prononcé par Sa Majesté Le Roi Hassan II, le 3 mars 1969* [Throne speech delivered by His Majesty King Hassan II, March 3, 1969] (Rabat: Ministry of Information, 1969), 31.
[118] Hassan II, *Le défi* [The Challenge] (Paris: Albin Michel, 1976).
[119] Hammoudi 11-43, esp. 33.
[120] On May 16, 1930, the French adopted the Berber Dahir, a legal decree that created separate legal categories for Arabs and Imazighen wherein the latter were to follow what the French called Berber customary law instead of Islamic law. It quickly became a rallying point for Moroccan nationalists who viewed its removal of a large percentage of the population from Islamic justice as a threat to Islam and as part of French efforts to convert Muslims to Christianity. See: Hammoudi 15; David Hart, "The Berber Dahir of 1930 in Colonial Morocco: Then and Now (1930-1996), *The Journal of North African Studies* 2:2 (1997), 11-33; Miller 125-

monarch have played a foundational role in constructing Morocco's national mythology. According to a founding national myth, Moroccan women saw the exiled sultan's face in the moon, making the moon, in the words of the anthropologist Susan Ossman, "the first screen for projections of the national image" and the king its central figure.[121] This image of the monarch in the moon has become a key touchstone in postcolonial Morocco and it presages the role that a specifically royal iconography would play in codifying state power and authorizing its largely dynastic version of history as national history.[122] In her 1994 ethnographic examination of the wide-range of images that comprised the fabric of Casablanca during the late 1980s and early 1990s, Ossman focuses on the "switch from the moon to electronic screens." In identifying the monarch in the moon as one of, if not the first, national images, she illuminates how the national image cannot be disentangled from that of the monarch, whether projected onto an extraterrestrial surface or printed onto signs and banknotes. During Mohammed V's exile, for example, anticolonial protestors often carried signs featuring the sultan's likeness.[123] With

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9; Slyomovics, 37-8; Jonathan Wrytzen, "Colonial State-Building and the Negotiation of Arab and Berber Identity in Protectorate Morocco," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011), 230-3. For a literary representation of the nationalist view on the Berber Dahir, see Abdelkrim Ghallab, *Le passé enterré* [The Buried Past], Tr. Francis Gouin (Editions Okad, 1987), 115-126; 296. The novel was originally published in Arabic as *Dafana al-maadi* in 1966.

[121] Ossman, *Picturing Casablanca*, 17. Hammoudi also refers to this image of the monarch in the moon, 16. See Saint-Michel, 25-29, for an illustration of Mohammed V's exile and return.

[122] The Moroccan filmmaker Moumen Smihi included the image of Mohammed V in the moon in his 1975 film, *El Chergui, un silence violent (El Chergui, a violent silence)*, set in Tangier just before independence. See also the filmmaker's presentation of *El Chergui* in Smihi, *Écrire sur le cinéma*, 115; 118. In what is considered the first postcolonial Moroccan autobiography, *La Mémoire tatouée* [Tattooed Memory] (1971), Abdelkébir Khatibi—a sociologist and one of Morocco's leading intellectuals, authors, and cultural critics—also describes his mother contemplating the exiled king's figure in the moon (reprinted in *Œuvres d'Abdelkebir Khatibi I : Romans et Récits* [Works of Abdelkebir Khatibi I: Novels and Texts] [Paris: Editions de la Différence, 2000], 62).

[123] An undated photograph of one such march appears in Driss Basri, *Le Maroc des potentialités : genie d'un roi et d'un peuple* [The Morocco of potentials: Genius of a king and a people]

independence, the monarch's painted, photographed, or drawn portrait became ubiquitous throughout Morocco. Not only was the king's face placed at the center of coins and banknotes, putting the sovereign in every Moroccan's wallet, pocket, or purse, but it became mandatory to display the king's image in public places and businesses. His likeness also appeared at the beginning of every official publication.[124]

At the same time that the king's face was suddenly everywhere in post-independence Morocco, all forms of visual media, including cinema, print journalism, and television, were subject to heavy state censorship as well as to the self-censorship that accompanies top-down directives about what can and cannot be printed or screened. Representing social or economic ills or anything deemed to be unflattering to Morocco was considered to cross red lines. In a footnote of "*La Septième porte*," Bouanani describes what the censors found objectionable in *Wechma (Traces)* (1970), the feature-length film directed by Benani made at the same time *M14*. They had to re-film a flag in the first scene in order to have a flag with brighter colors (this despite *Wechma* having been made in black and white) and they had to remove a scene with a group of shoe shiners. The censor also told them that the women weeping in one shot were too ugly.[125] Daily French- and Arabic-language newspapers were no less partisan and subject to censorship: every daily was affiliated either with the state, the government, or the permitted political

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(Rabat: Ministry of Information, 1989), 216-7. On Basri's tenure as Minister of the Interior, see Miller 185-6. See also the top photograph (unattributed) showing a seven-story tall headshot of Mohammed V reproduced in Abdelkader Retnani, *Tanger Années 20* [Tanger in the 1920s] (Casablanca: Editions la Croisée des chemins, 2010), 55.

[124] Ossman 136. Ossman writes that plaster busts or photographs were displayed but today, photographs—often large and framed but of varying quality—dominate. It is still mandatory to display an image of the king in businesses and public places and he is often shown in a variety of outfits and situations. Until the 2012 redesign of the Moroccan dirham banknotes, Hassan II and Mohammed VI appeared together in profile on Moroccan paper currency.

[125] Bouanani, "*La Septième porte,*" 132.

parties.[126] Although no independent dailies existed at the time, the independent Francophone weekly, *Lamalif*, was published between 1966 and 1988 and there were a handful of independent cultural publications that printed several issues annually. They included *Souffles* (1966-1972) and *Intégral* (1971-1978) and, as with *Lamalif*, their printing schedules were often delayed due to censorship or lack of funds.[127] The sweeping extent of censorship, both real and threatened, reflected the centralization of military and representational power in the palace. Hassan II presided over both the police and the Ministry of Defense (first as Crown Prince, then as King). The Ministry of Information, which oversaw television, radio, and cinema, was part of the Ministry of the Interior and the Minister of the Interior was a position reserved for a close friend of the king.[128] The 1964 appointment of General Mohamed Oufkir (1920-72) as Minister of the Interior reveals the strong link between censorship and policing in these years. Although Oufkir would be convicted of orchestrating a failed coup against Hassan II in 1972 and executed, in the decades prior, he was Hassan II's strong man and he had previously served as the much-feared chief of police. He led the violent repression of the Rif uprisings in 1958-9 alongside the then

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[126] Smolin 5. When journalists crossed red lines, they could be imprisoned, as was the case on October 6, 1967, when the directors of the Istiqlal papers *La Nation* and *Al Alam* were jailed for an article entitled "La souvreraineté appartient à la nation (Sovereignty belongs to the nation)." See Kenza Sefrioui, *La revue Souffles, 1966-1973 : Espoirs de révolution culturelle au Maroc* [The Journal Souffles, 1966-1973: Hopes of a Cultural Revolution in Morocco] (Casablanca: Editions du Sirocco, 2013), 425.

[127] On *Lamalif*'s financial difficulties, see Daoud, 169; on the forbidding of *Lamalif* on February 1968 by order of the Minister of the Interior (Oufkir), see Daoud 179-83. The next issue of *Lamalif* appeared in April 1968. Daoud's book was published in France with the title, *Maroc : Les années de plomb, 1958-1988, chroniques d'une résistance* [Morocco: The Years of Lead, 1958-1988, Chronicles of a Resistance] (Houilles: Manucius, 2007).

[128] Hammoudi 26-8; 167, n. 89. Another example of power's centralization in the palace is that Hassan II's uncle ran the internal intelligence services until 1988. On the state's control of newspapers, television, and radio, including the Ministry of the Interior's management of the state-owned RTM (Moroccan Radio and Television), during the years of lead, see Smolin, 5-6; 240, n. 13.

Crown Prince and subsequently directed from his helicopter the repression of the 1965 Casablanca student riots, during which hundreds of people were reportedly killed.[129]

The foreword to the Ministry of Information's book, *Morocco Today*, published in English in 1977, conveys the progressive march of history that characterizes the official narrative as well as the celebratory tone that such publications employ. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Ministry of Information published an annual report on government agencies and their initiatives across all sectors, from national security, finance, and tourism to education, women, and press. The publication's release was timed to coincide with the annual Fête du Trône celebrations in honor of Hassan II's March 3, 1961 coronation.[130] The 1977 foreword is signed by Ahmed Taibi Benhima, then the Minister of Information and a former Minister of Tourism and Information under Mohammed V. After a six-paragraph ode to Hassan II and his accomplishments, the text concludes by identifying its purpose:

> This book aims at setting out objectively some of the achievements accomplished in twenty-two years. There may be some shortcomings in these achievements but the balance is positive. We have now reached a stage which allows us to avoid errors and

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[129] Slyomovics 50, Miller 157. On the 1965 Casablanca riots and the police response, see Miller 168-70; Hammoudi 26-8, 32-3. Official accounts declared that Oufkir admitted his responsibility and committed suicide. His wife and six children were subsequently imprisoned in several secret locations in Morocco for fifteen years. Slyomovics 54-6. None of these events are mentioned in the official publications consulted for this chapter, nor was there any reference to the 1965 Paris disappearance and presumed assassination of leftist leader Mehdi Ben Barka, an event in which Oufkir is reported to have played a determinant role.

[130] *Morocco Today* is also the name of a Protectorate-era publication, undated but likely published in 1952 (*Morocco Today* [Rabat: Editions Africaines Perceval, c. 1952]). In tone, claims of objectivity, and emphasis on the forward march of progress, its introduction closely mirrors Benhima's. See the Appendix for a list of Ministry of Information publications from the Hassan II years consulted for this chapter, all of which open with at least one photograph of the king. As this list indicates, the Ministry of Information annually published booklets that detailed the king's activities, visits, and travels in chronological order for that year. The publication's start and end dates correspond to the Fête du Trône and it typically begins with the text from the previous year's Fête du Trône speech. These celebrations and others were also occasions during which Ministers and those close to the palace presented such official publications to the king.

> defects. For the achievement of our aims we had the deep satisfaction of being able to count on the help of all strata of society which consistently responded to the appeals of our Sovereign to execute the programmes he had outlined for them. This unanimity was magnificently illustrated in the eyes of friends and foes alike when, in his great wisdom, His Majesty Hassan II chose to lead his faithful people to a new victory in 'The Green March,' and so crowned twenty years of achievements.
>
> The first ten years of independence will always be marked by the amazing zeal of its originator His Majesty Mohammed V, may God keep him in his mercy.
>
> The following years have all been to the glory of The King of Unity, His Majesty Hassan II, may God bless his reign.[131]

Morocco Today, as its title implies and as Benhima's foreword makes clear, offers a "where are we now?" that details Morocco's achievements in the two decades since independence.[132] Identifying Hassan II as *the* figure of national unity, Benhima characterizes these two decades of Moroccan independence as brimming with developments and achievements, all while highlighting the book's objectivity. He also implies that there is a consensus about where Morocco is today: "all strata of society," he writes "objectively," have lined up behind the king with "unanimity."[133] In reading this and the many other Ministry of Information publications from the Hassan II years, it is important to recall that this iteration of *Morocco Today* was published five years after the second of two back-to-back failed coups against Hassan II (in 1971 and 1972) led by high-ranking military and government officials and at a time when the Ministry over which Benhima presided was aggressively censoring magazines and newspapers.[134] It did

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[131] Benhima, "Foreword," *Morocco Today* (Rabat: Ministry of Information, 1977), 11.
[132] Benhima 10.
[133] Ossman too employs the term consensus, noting that in the time between beginning her research in 1987 and her book's publication in 1993, "Moroccan television, press, and radio have become bolder in revealing the rifts behind the thin veil of consensus" (114).
[134] *Souffles* and its Arabic-language companion publication, *Anfas*, were shut down in 1972 with the arrest, torture, and imprisonment, initially with life sentences, of Laâbi and Abraham Sefarty, an engineer and militant who joined the editorial board in 1968. That same year, *Lamalif*'s December issue was delayed due to censors objecting to their intention to publish an excerpt from a book on the army and the nation by Egyptian political scientist, Anouar Abdelmalek. In

so in complicity with the police and military, which were responsible at that time for managing secret prisons like Tazmamart and forcibly disappearing those who critiqued the regime or who were suspected of posing a threat.[135] Even with the enormous popularity of the Green March, any consensus in Morocco in 1977 was carefully manufactured.[136]

It is not surprising that the Minister of Information would extol the virtues of his king and disseminate an official message of progress that also denies the existence of dissent as part of efforts to shore up its power over a dispersed and diverse population. In thus instrumentalizing visual culture, the state called upon imagery, much as it did history, to play a role similar to what Roland Barthes called the "reality effect," ascribing a facticity to ideologically motivated images that Linda Nochlin argued is also at the heart of nineteenth century European Orientalist painting (see Chapter 2).[137] What interests me here is one way in which official publications in Morocco

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1975, Omar Benjelloun, a high up in the USFP, was assassinated in Casablanca by a young Islamist shoe repair man at the orders of the police. In 1976, there were "*arrestations d'étudiants à Casablanca, announces de disparitions chez les frontistes, retour de la censure sur la presse* (arrests of students in Casablanca, announcements of disappearances of front supporters, return of press censorship)*."* See Daoud 239; 276-7; 281; Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, 3; Sefrioui 122-3.

[135] Tazmamart was Morocco's most notorious secret prison. After the failed coups of 1971 and 1972, fifty-two men who participated and had been imprisoned in Kenitra were kidnapped in 1973 and disappeared until 1991. Their whereabouts gradually became known beginning in 1980. Those who survived have since testified to the brutal conditions which they endured while living underground in near total darkness for eighteen years, inspiring numerous French and Arabic language memoirs, novels, and newspaper serials. The prison has since been razed to the ground. See Slyomovics 56-64.

[136] Hammoudi writes that in Islam, God indicates his chosen leader "through the consent of the community" (13). Consensus is also consolidated through the ritual oath of allegiance (*bay'a*) to the monarch, the ceremony of which is "regularly presented to everyone by the media." The nationalist movement was effective in redirecting popular veneration to the king, in which the creation of the Fete du Trône played an important role (Hammoudi 13-4; 19).

[137] Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect" and "The Discourse of History," in *The Rustle of Language*, translated by Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient" (1983), in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 33-59.

regularly put these indexical images to work: they directed viewers to contrast and compare two photographs, drawings, or filmed sequences so that viewers would arrive at the state's message as if by their own powers of deduction. The two images or sequences are selected to emphasize through juxtaposition how much has changed in the space between images a and b and thus to convey the forward march of progress in which the present is a visible improvement on the past. This image-based contrast/compare approach continues to be employed today in Moroccan school textbooks for society, geography, and art where activities instruct students to identify differences between colonial-era black and white photographs and contemporary photographs of the same location or to recognize "good" Muslims from non-believers.

The 1979 comic book *Il était une fois Hassan II* provides an example of how official publications used the compare/contrast approach to advance the message of monarchy-led progress and modernization (Figure 1.2).[138] The page is divided into three rows that emphasize progress in agriculture and education. In the top row, a farmer tills his land with a wooden plow and two donkeys. He announces the next day's arrival of a tractor, telling a passerby that "*demain un tracteur de la centrale des travaux agricoles viendra labourer mon champ!*"[139] The imminence and importance of new modern farming equipment and techniques is further underlined by the second row in which a single drawing fills nearly half the page with an image of a giant dam seen from a bird's eye or aerial perspective. At the top border of this image, a caption lists the number of wells dug, canals built, and functioning or future dams. The final row shifts from industrialization of agriculture and water management to highlight improvements to

[138] For more on the transmission of colonial and postcolonial Maghrebi history through comic books, see Jennifer Howell, *The Algerian War in French Language Comics: Postcolonial Memory, History, and Subjectivity* (Lanham: Lexington Books 2015).
[139] "Tomorrow a tractor from farming offices will come to plow my field!"

education. On the left, a text declares that Morocco has effected "*une vraie revolution* (a real revolution)" in education, with increased enrollment and a fifth of the national budget dedicated to education. The center panel shows a male teacher at a chalkboard instructing his all-female students to take out their history books, while the last panel distills the contrast/compare approach into a single frame. Dressed in blue button downs, shorts, and shoes with a white book or folder tucked under their right arms, the drawing's two identical figures differ only in scale. The smaller figure stands on the left, dwarfed by the boy on the right who is twice his size. Statistics below each indicate that the difference in the scale of the two boys corresponds to the increase in numbers of students, from "*165.000 élèves en 1954*" to "*1.700.000 élèves en 1974*."[140] Contrasting the number of Moroccans educated during the Protectorate and under Hassan II's reign, the illustration encourages readers to identify as indisputable the progress in education that has been made since independence while implying that quantitative progress is also qualitative.

A contrast/compare approach to official visual culture, however, predates postcolonial Morocco. Its origins can be traced to the French Protectorate period and to French colonial ideology more broadly. To justify politically and economically its presence in Morocco, the French Protectorate government led a massive propaganda campaign that touted the many ways that the French improved and, in line with its larger imperial policy of *la mission civilisatrice*

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[140] The Ministry of Information's *Maroc 1974-1975* provides the following numbers for 1974: 300,000 students in Qu'ranic schools (169); 363,878 public elementary school students (173); and 374,847 public secondary school students (173). The MOI publication does not give a total number of students, but adding up these numbers indicates 1,038,725 students, well below the 1.7 million cited in the comic book. The number of private school students is not provided for 1974 but the previous year's record, published in *Maroc 1973-1974*, listed it at 90,000 students in private elementary and secondary schools (117).

[civilizing mission] and *Pacification*, "civilized" and "pacified" Morocco—euphemisms that, like the term "Protectorate," papered over the violence of occupation. In its propaganda, the French government adopted a strategy that juxtaposed the before with the after of colonization.[141] This juxtaposition typically depicted pre-colonial Morocco as wracked with violence, disease, and inefficiency, and as a place were effective governance was absent.[142] In photographs, magazines, illustrated diagrams and charts, films, newsreels, and colonial exhibition displays, the French celebrated themselves as having brought an end to the pre-Protectorate violence by putting into place a joint Moroccan and French government headed by the Moroccan Sultan and building a wide-reaching industrial infrastructure. Simplistic at first glance, this before/after juxtaposition was in fact a highly complex approach to representing Morocco and its history. It mapped the temporal before and after of colonization onto the spatial, ideological, and economic divides of traditional and modern, rural and urban, *siba* and *Makhzen*, useless and useful, to justify not only France's initial control but also what it intended to be its ongoing and future presence in Morocco.[143]

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[141] In a 1981 interview, Bouanani notes the "opposition [in the Protectorate cinema archives] between 'the peasant with his plow and the colonist with his tractor,'" quoted in Limbrick, "Vernacular Modernism," 402. An example from Protectorate-era archives is held in the Morocco vertical file at Northwestern University's Herskovits Library of African Studies: *Morocco Today* (Rabat: Editions Africaines Perceval, c. 1952).

[142] See Goldsworthy-Bishop's analysis of how colonial postcards depicted the violence of conquest.

[143] Originally, the terms *bled al-makhzen* and *bled as-siba* were used to differentiate between those tribes who paid taxes to the Sultan (*makhzen*) and those who did not (*siba*). On the division of Morocco into two, or what the historian Jonathan Wyrtzen, following Edmund Burke, describes as "a set of simplifying binaries lining up ethnolinguistic, religious, economic, and political divisions according to a reified antagonism between *makhzen* and *siba*," see Wyrtzen 230.

The 1937 newsreel, *Rétrospective sur le Maroc à l'occasion du 25ème anniversaire du Protectorat (Retrospective on Morocco on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Protectorate)*, now in the CCM's archives, is an important example of how the French colonial government used cinema to depict the progress brought by colonization. In it, footage from earlier newsreels, notably of the Rif War, is edited together with footage from the 1930s to present a silent narrative of progress from tradition to modernity, barbarity to civilization, 1912 to 1937, when the film was made. In the opening minutes, viewers see images of the Rif War, albeit without any mention of the war itself, showing Rifi men in chains and running as if to illustrate the French discourse of pre-colonial savagery that was invoked to justify colonization.[144] Next appear images of the French arrival, including shots of a smoking Marshal Hubert Louis Lyautey (1854-1934), the first resident general of Morocco, and the French flag as it is lifted over a battlefield. These are followed by sequences showing what are meant to be industries and infrastructure associated with modernity, such as trains, shipping, paved roads, agricultural machines, and bridges. French control of Morocco ended in 1956, after several years of widespread violence, but like the roads it paved, the train tracks it laid, and the Alawite dynasty whose power it largely protected, its contrast/compare approach persisted. Hassan II's Ministry of Information continued to circulate this form, particularly through the CCM, which is

[144] Of course the Rif War was not between "savages" but between two well-armed European powers—France and Spain—and Rif tribes resistant to colonial occupation and seeking to establish the Rif Republic under the leadership of Abdelkrim El Khattabi. For more on the Rif War, including the extensive use of modern warfare techniques like bombs and chemical weapons, see Sebastian Balfour, "The Secret History of Chemical Warfare against Moroccans," *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 123-56. See also Goldsworthy "Images, Ideologies, and Commodities."

the institution that was originally founded to create cinematic propaganda for the Protectorate and where Bouanani worked for three decades.[145]

CCM: Cinema Content Manager Since 1944

With its linear progression of indexical images, didactic potential of the voiceover, and potential for circulation, cinema was particularly well suited to both colonial French and postcolonial Moroccan desires to shroud an ideologically motivated vision of the before and after of colonization or independence in a veneer of realism. In postcolonial Morocco, all cinematic activity—from the editing of newsreels and the production of feature-length films to the censorship and distribution of foreign films—was centralized at the CCM.[146] This national institution houses film studios and a film laboratory; today it continues to manage the country's film production, distribution, and archives. The first film laboratory in Morocco opened in Casablanca in 1939 and the following year, a *Dahir* placed cinema under government control. The French founded the CCM in Rabat in 1944 with a January 8th *dahir* that read: "*Il est créé un Centre Cinématographique Marocain qui a pour l'objet la production, la distribution et la projection de films cinématographiques ainsi que la construction d'une Cinémathèque*."[147] A

[145] For a summary of the spread of the anticolonial, nationalist movement and the end of the French Protectorate, see Miller 151-3.

[146] This section synthesizes studies of Moroccan cinema by Ahmed Bouanani, Sandra Carter, Kevin Dwyer, and Peter Limbrick. When these sources contradict one another, I tend to privilege Bouanani's account since he was both a filmmaker and CCM employee who was a firsthand witness and actor in nearly the entirety of Moroccan cinema from 1956 until his death in 2011. Both his wife (Naima) and his younger daughter (Batoul) also worked in cinema in Morocco. Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*; Dwyer, "Moroccan Cinema and the Promotion of Culture."

[147] "A Moroccan Cinematographic Center is created whose goal is the production, distribution and projection of cinematographic films as well as the construction of a cinemathèque." Cited in

February 3, 1944 viziriel decree created Le Service du Cinéma (Cinema Service; previously Le Groupement de l'Industrie Cinématographique, founded in 1942) that was charged with everything related to the production of cinema in Morocco, including permission to practice the profession, the organization of film businesses, and the system of "cinematographic spectacles."[148] The establishment of a Cinema Service in Morocco was part of the broader colonial lobby's interest in the power of film to stimulate popular support for the empire in the hexagon as well as to "civilize" and "pacify" newly colonized populations. For example, in 1920-22, the Governor-General of French Indochina created the *mission cinématographique* for filming scenes of everyday life as well as tourist sites. Also during the 1920s, Haardt and Dubreuil filmed their *Croisière noire* ("Black Journey") across the Sahara and into West Africa in what was a huge publicity stunt for sponsors Citroën as well as for the French colonial project more broadly.[149] It is important to note that early colonial cinema and its success in French markets overlapped with 1920s *négrophilie* (Negrophilia) that characterized much of the cultural milieu and that was epitomized by the popularity of jazz and the American actress Josephine Baker, who played a number of French colonial "natives" on the silver screen, from the ambiguously Antillean Papitou in *Sirène des tropiques (Siren of the Tropics)* (1927) to the

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a letter sent by a group of Moroccan filmmakers to Hassan II, dated July 1, 1965, and reprinted in *Souffles* 2 (1966), 21. However, according to Dwyer's chronology, the first film developing laboratory in Morocco opened in Casablanca in 1934. Kevin Dwyer, *Beyond Casablanca: M.A. Tazi and the Adventure of Moroccan Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), np.

[148] Letter by a group of Moroccan filmmakers to the Minister of Information, dated July 20 1965, and reprinted in *Souffles* 2 (1966), 24. For a more detailed historical summary of French colonial institutions and organizations related to film, see Carter 45-6.

[149] A publication followed the journey: Georges-Marie Haardt and Louis Audouin-Dubreuil, *La croisière noire, expédition Citroën Center-Afrique* [The black journey, Citroën Center-Africa expedition] (Paris: Plon, 1927).

biracial French *Zouzou* (1934) and the Tunisian Alwina in *Princesse Tam Tam (Princess Tam Tam)* (1935).[150]

In Morocco, Lyautey saw film as a powerful tool for manipulating French and Moroccan public opinion as part of "pacification" and he supported early colonial filmmaking in the Protectorate.[151] Although the CCM opened nearly two decades after Lyautey's disgraced and Rif War-related exit from Morocco, the colonial government's establishment of the CCM institutionalized cinema as a crucial means for sowing French support for the empire and controlling local Moroccan populations.[152] The French intended for the CCM to serve as a means of countering the popularity of Egyptian cinema, which it saw as dangerous because it could stoke nationalist and Arabist sentiment, and as a site for editing local footage into newsreels, or *Actualités*, from France.[153] There was no comparable film institution in Spanish Morocco because the Spanish invested much less in the infrastructure and industry of their Moroccan territories than the French did. Nevertheless, the Spanish also produced propaganda films aimed

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[150] Of the significant body of literature on French Negrophilia and on Josephine Baker, see Petrine Archer-Shaw, *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000); Elizabeth Ezra, *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000); and Benetta Jules-Rosette, *Josephine Baker in Art and Life: The Icon and the Image* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007). See also David Henry Slavin, *Colonial Cinema and Imperial France, 1919-1939: White Blind Spots, Male Fantasies, Settler Myths* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

[151] In "*Qu'est-ce que le public?* (What is the public?)," an article first published in *Intégral* 11 (1976) and based on his 1967 thesis, directed by Roland Barthes, Smihi writes a short history of Moroccan film that begins in Fez in 1912 with the concurrence between the first screenings of films in Morocco and the establishment of the Protectorate in order to highlight the "*vocation impérialiste d'un certain cinéma* (imperialist vocation of a certain cinema)." Reprinted in *Écrire sur le cinéma* 35. See also Ossman, *Picturing Casablanca*, 1; David H. Slavin, "French Cinema's Other First Wave: Political and Racial Economies of 'Cinéma colonial,' 1918 to 1934," *Cinema Journal* 37, No. 1 (Autumn 1997), 23-46.

[152] Slavin, "French Cinema's Other First Wave," 32.

[153] On the influence of Egyptian film, including after independence, see Carter 44; 48.

at garnering support at home for the country's colonial project. Both Tetouan, the Spanish Moroccan capital, and nearby Tangier, then an internationally controlled city, boasted numerous movie theaters that, like their counterparts in French Morocco, were frequented almost exclusively by Europeans.[154]

With independence in 1956, Morocco inherited one hundred fifty movie theaters in addition to the CCM. The Moroccan government kept the CCM under the direct control of the Ministry of Information, which placed it under the de facto control of the King by way of the Ministry of the Interior, as noted above.[155] In her exhaustive study of Moroccan cinema and its industry, Sandra Carter writes that independence did not bring major changes in the CCM's personnel, policies, and procedures.[156] Like the French colonial administration that preceded it, the newly independent state identified cinema as an important propaganda tool. Now, however, cinema's role was no longer to sell European colonial ideology and the notion of a Morocco united under the Protectorate, but to sow national unity and educate Moroccans from Agadir to Oujda.[157]

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[154] The body of scholarship on French colonial cinema is far larger than that on its Spanish counterpart and the Spanish Moroccan colonial films did not find homes in Moroccan institutions after independence. For an analysis of Spanish cinematic propaganda from around the time of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), including a number set in Morocco, see Laura Miranda, "The Spanish 'Crusade Film,': Gender Connotations During the Conflict," translated by Dan Hamer, *Music, Sound, and the Moving Image* 4:2 (Autumn 2010), 161-72.

[155] On CCM being a wing of the Ministry of Information, see Sandra G. Carter, "Constructing an Independent Moroccan Nation and National Identity Through Cinema and Institutions," *The Journal of North African Studies* 13:4 (2008), 535; *Souffles* 2, p. 22. The theater count is taken from Dwyer's chronology in *Beyond Casablanca*, np. In "Moroccan Cinema and the Promotion of Culture" (9, n. 1) Dwyer provides information about the number of theaters and attendance since 2005. According to Campaiola, in 1956, Morocco also counted 500,000 television sets although the first Moroccan TV station (TVM) was not created until 1962. Campaiola 492.

[156] Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 50.

[157] Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 43. CCM's first post-independence production, meanwhile, signals this focus on education: *Notre amie l'ecole (School, Our Friend)* (1956) was an eleven

In these early years of Moroccan film and largely due to its reliance on government ministries' commissions, the CCM produced almost exclusively newsreels, short documentaries, and short documentary-like fictions. Newsreels were usually between ten and twenty minutes in length and divided, Ahmed Bouanani writes, into four parts: "*Les instantanés de la semaine, qui rendent compte des nouvelles nationales les plus importantes ; un magazine hebdomadaire ; des nouvelles mondiales*[,] *et les sports au Maroc et dans le monde.*"[158] Short films, meanwhile, were most often commissioned by government ministries, which Bouanani says explains their "propagandistic character": "*On ne peut donc reprocher à cette production son caractère de propagande à laquelle le Centre était assujetti, cet organisme n'ayant pas d'autre but que de mettre en images une politique du tourisme, de la Santé, de l'urbanisme, de l'artisanat, etc*."[159] Such films were commissioned to educate viewers as part of the postcolonial state's efforts to "modernize" a still largely illiterate, rural, and "traditional" population and they too paralleled the colonial regime's instrumentalization of the medium. For example, to reach audiences in remote parts of Morocco, the CCM continued the cinema caravan program that the French had initiated (Figure 1.3).[160] These caravans, which traveled to rural areas often without electricity or

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minute black-and-white film in *darija* directed by Larbi Benchekroun. See Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 65-6, for a summary of this film.

[158] "Snapshots from the week, which took into account the most important national news; a weekly magazine; world news, and sports in Morocco and worldwide." Bouanani, "*La Septième porte*," 102. In 1973, 59 copies of the weekly filmed news were printed, of which 36 were in French and 23 in Arabic (*Maroc 1973-1974* 200).

[159] "One thus cannot reproach this production for the propagandistic character to which the Center was subject, this organization having no purpose other than putting into images a politics of tourism, health, urbanism, handicrafts, etc." Bouanani, "*La Septième porte*," 105-6. When Morocco's first television station—Al Aoula (The First)—began in 1966, it too commissioned films from the CCM, Limbrick 391-2.

[160] The French ran a similar program of cinébuses in colonial Algeria to show propaganda and tourist films that celebrated France's role in the development of Algeria, see Sébastien Denis, "Les 'cinébus' dans la tourmente : Projections cinématographiques et montée de

paved roads, let alone movie theaters, persisted until the 1980s, when television and electricity became more widespread. Caravans typically screened silent short documentaries that a crewmember narrated in the local language. Details about where the caravans went and what they screened are sparse, but the wide range of terrain they covered suggest that villagers in the Rif and the Middle Atlas may have been familiar with cinema by the time Bouanani and the Boccaras (Chapter 4) began filming them in 1970. Films made specifically for cine-caravan audiences addressed subjects that government ministries deemed to be of public interest and educational value, such as agriculture and hygiene.[161] In less frequent cases, the films were private initiatives funded by multinational corporations like Coca Cola or popular films produced abroad.[162] The official statistics for cinema caravans in 1974 are 61 caravans that traveled 106,100 km and organized 497 showings for a total of 2,161,230 viewers.[163]

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l'anticolonialisme en milieu rural algérien (1945-1962) [The 'Cinébus' in Turmoil: Film Screenings and the Rise of Anti-colonialism in Rural Areas of Algeria (1945-1962)]," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 130 (February 2012), 201-14. Cinema caravans were also used in British colonies like Jamaica in the mid-twentieth century. See Krista Thompson, *Shine: The Visual Economy of Light in African Diasporic Aesthetic Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 134-6.

[161] *Maroc 1973-1974*, 194-5. Ministries that screened films in the cine-caravans included those of Agriculture, Information, Public Health, and Youth and Sports. For more on Moroccan cinema caravans, see Carter, "Constructing an Independent Moroccan Nation," 542; Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema*?, 62-4. With its emphasis on mass education, film paralleled the role ascribed to live theater during the Protectorate. For example, Moroccan nationalist theater companies in the Northern Spanish zone performed plays with morals about how to behave in modern Morocco and to raise national awareness. See: Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, "Representing Modernity: The Nationalist Theatre in Colonial Northern Morocco," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 23:2 (2012), 210-215.

[162] Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 63. Bouanani describes a screening of an unnamed Charlie Chaplin film during one cinema caravan in "*La Septième porte*."

[163] *Maroc 1974-1975*, 79. No details are provided about what films were shown, only that the caravans provided, according to the author, an effective means for promotion and education, particularly in places where there are no movie theaters or television.

Despite these outreach efforts and cinema's potential as a medium capable of reaching a geographically diverse and largely illiterate population, films hardly had mass viewership in Morocco. It was almost exclusively urban populations who had geographic and financial access to movies theaters and the difficulty of reaching a broad, non-elite public was a major concern voiced by Bouanani and other members of Morocco's first generation of filmmakers and visual artists.[164] Urban audiences for Moroccan films were also limited, largely because of the challenge Moroccan filmmakers faced in having their films screened in movie theaters at a time when there were very few feature-length films being made in Morocco. Although Moroccan shorts were sometimes shown after newsreels and before the feature film, the filmmaker Mohammed Sekkat noted in a 1966 roundtable published in *Souffles* that imported feature films typically arrived with an accompanying short, thus leaving little room for Moroccan shorts.[165] Moroccan shorts were eventually shown at screenings held by the handful of Moroccan cinema clubs, which were in urban centers and which also have their origins in the Protectorate period. Even though Moroccans presided over the meetings by the early postcolonial period, cinema

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[164] In this way, film-going audiences in the postcolonial period recall those of the colonial period, although colonial movie theaters were segregated (European and "mixed"). See Smihi, "*Qu'est-ce que le public?,*" 35, as well as Dieste 201 for a discussion of cinema audiences in colonial northern Morocco, which were comprised of Christians, Muslims, and Jews from the middle and upper classes and excluded all Muslim women until the 1950s. The problem of audience in the postcolonial period is discussed several times in the roundtable on cinema published in *Souffles* 2, p. 29, for example, when Bouanani notes that the public is primarily bureaucrats, students, and the European community living in Morocco's large cities. At the same time, others criticized filmmakers like Bouanani and Benani for making films whose references Jacques Lacan and Roland Barthes were largely inaccessible to Maghrebi audiences (Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 95). See also Pierpzak, *Imagined Museums*, 127-158.

[165] Sekkat in *Souffles* 2, p. 34. On the screening on short films before feature films, see Carter 535. That short films were screened prior to feature films has been confirmed anecdotally for me by Touda Bouanani, the daughter of Ahmed Bouanani, and Pauline de Mazières, the founder of L'Atelier, Morocco's first modern art gallery (1971-1991).

club members remained overwhelmingly French and clubs typically screened French or international films; they only began programming Moroccan films in the mid-1960s.[166]

Because there was no film school in Morocco at the time of independence, the CCM sent a cohort of all male filmmakers to Europe and the former Soviet Union to train.[167] Mohamed Afifi, Ahmed Bouanani, Hamid Benani, Abdelmajid Rechiche, Abdallah R'mili, Mohammed Seqqat, Mohamed Abderrahmane Tazi, and Mohamed Tazi BA all studied at IDHEC in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[168] Upon completing their degrees, these men returned to Morocco where they began careers in cinema and television. Many were also part of the same social and cultural milieus as other members of Morocco's intellectual elite. Bouanani, for example, published poetry and articles in early issues of *Souffles*, the thrice-yearly Francophone cultural journal co-founded in 1966 by the Moroccan poet, writer, and speculated author of the short film, *Chemins du Rif (The Rif's Roads)* (1967; discussed below), Abdellatif Laâbi, along with the poet Mustapha Nissaboury.[169] In addition to publishing short stories, poems, reviews, and translations

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[166] Carter mentions that in the 1960s, membership was 90% French. In 1960, Morocco had 11 cine-clubs, all located in urban or industrial centers. For comparison, around the same time, much smaller Tunisia, which also became independent in 1956, had about 100. For more on the cine-clubs, see Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 60-2; *Lamalif* 24 (November 1968), 58-9; Limbrick 407-9; Rasha Salti, "Speculative Revisions of Film History: A Curator's Notes," in *Sweet Sixties: Specters and Spirits of a Parallel Avant-Garde*, edited by Georg Schöllhammer and Ruben Arevshatyan (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), 83.

[167] The first Moroccan film directed by a woman was Farida Belyazid's *Bab As-Sama Maftouh (A Door to the Sky)* (1988).

[168] IDHEC is now called La fondation européenne pour les métiers de l'image et du son, or Fémis. On CCM's sending filmmakers abroad to study, see Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 54; Limbrick 391. Hamid Benani's name typically appears as Bennani in almost every film credit and publication. Nevertheless, I use "Benani" with one "n" because that is how Benani spells his name on his CV and current projects.

[169] Bouanani was also listed as a member of the journal's action committee for issues 3, 4, 5, and 6. *Souffles'* seventh issue was entirely dedicated to the visual arts. With its fifteenth issue on the Palestinian revolution, published in 1969, *Souffles*' orientation became more explicitly political, leading to a split between Laâbi and some of the other contributors, leading eventually to the

by a predominantly male cohort writers who would later become Morocco's and the Maghreb's leading voices, *Souffles* regularly ran articles about Moroccan visual art and cinema, including Benani's *Wechma*.[170]

Unlike the other forms of cultural production that Moroccan intellectuals generated and disseminated in these first decades after independence—namely, literature, poetry, and painting—the production and distribution of cinema and, beginning in 1962, television were fully controlled by the government. Until 1970, the CCM was the sole producer of all Moroccan films; thereafter, co-productions with non-government-run film studios became possible, as evidenced by the brief existence of Sigma 3, founded by Benani, Bouanani, Sekkat, and M.A. Tazi in 1970.[171] Nevertheless, even if filmmakers had been able to obtain enough outside support to fund their films, CCM cooperation was still necessary to obtain permission to film on Moroccan soil. Moreover, then as now, all Moroccan filmmakers needed to register with the CCM in order to start a production company and the institution controlled the distribution of *all* films, national and foreign, in Morocco using a visa system. The total control the CCM exercised

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founding of *Intégral* by Mohammed Melehi. The magazine's history, which is as rich and complex as its content, is beyond the scope of this chapter but it is painstakingly detailed in Sefrioui. See also Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, 1-12.

[170] *Souffles'* early contributors included Tahar Ben Jelloun, Mohamed Khaïr-Eddine, Abdelkébir Khatibi, and Mohammed Melehi. *Wechma*, for which Bouanani was an editor, is often referred to as the first Moroccan feature film. A handful of feature-length films preceded it, however, including *Le fils maudit (The Damned Son)* (1958), by the self-taught Mohammed Osfour (occasionally spelled Ousfour), whose legacy and contributions to Moroccan film history are currently being reevaluated after decades of marginalization, thanks to the research of Mohamed El Bouayadi. See also the short texts on Osfour by David Ruffel ("*Quelques lignes en marge du cinématographe* [Several lines at the margins of the movie camera]") and Ahmed Bouanani ("*Mohamed Osfour à la recherché du trésor perdu* [Mohamed Osfour in search of lost treasure]") in *Nejma* 9 (Spring 2014), 99-110. For more on *Wechma*, see Tahar Ben Jelloun, "*Wechma de Hamid Bennani* [Hamid Bennani's *Wechma*]," *Intégral* 2 (March 1972), 29.

[171] On Sigma 3, see Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 75.

over cinema in these years is evident in the four positions that the institution's director simultaneously occupied: as the members of the short-lived Association of Moroccan Filmmakers (created in 1965) noted in their letter to Hassan II dated July 1, 1965, the CCM's director was at once the head of cinema (*chef du service du cinéma*), director of the Moroccan newsreels (*directeur des Actualités Marocaines*), director of the Cinema Caravans (*directeur des Caravanes Cinématographiques*), and president of the censorship committee (*président de la Commission de contrôle des films*).[172] Censors reviewed not only the film but also public advertisements and posters and sought to control who was allowed into the movie theaters.[173] In these years, the CCM's mission was, in the words of the Ministry of Information, unmistakably one of "*contrôle de l'information filmée*."[174]

Last Seen on the Cutting Room Floor

Despite the constraints of censorship, commissions, and funding during the years of lead, Moroccan filmmakers nevertheless produced a small but important number of films that departed from the heavy-handed and didactic propaganda required of them for filling ministerial assignments. The 1960s were a particularly productive period for Moroccan filmmakers.[175]

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[172] On the Association, see Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 53; for the letter, as well as a text addressed to the Minister of Information and dated July 20, 1965, see *Souffles* 2, p. 21-7.
[173] Carter, *What Moroccan Cinema?*, 57-60.
[174] "control of filmed information." *Maroc 1973-1974* 199. For more on the state control of cinema, see Carter, "Constructing an Independent Moroccan Nation," 538-40.
[175] During the 1960s alone, seventy documentaries (excluding newsreels and reports) were made (Bouanani, "*La Septième porte*," 121). In comparison, four feature-length films were made between 1960 and 1969, and forty shorts were made between 1956 and 1962. The four feature length films are *Alerte à la drogue (The Kif Road)* [Mohamed B.A. Tazi and Zanchin, 1966, 50 min]; *Vaincre pour vivre (Struggle for Life)* [Mohamed Tazi B.A., Ahmed Mesnaoui, 1968, 105

Analyzing the early experimental cinema of Afifi, Bouanani, Rechiche, and Tazi, the film historian Peter Limbrick argues that these films, produced at the margins of the CCM, formed a kind of "vernacular modernism" with Bouanani at its forefront. Limbrick defines vernacular modernist films as ones that were both engaged with the international cinematic avant-garde and with Moroccan popular traditions.[176] Shorts like *De chair et d'acier (Of Flesh and Steel)* (dir. Afifi; 1959), *Retour à Agadir (Return to Agadir)* (dir. Afifi; 1967), *6 et 12 (6 and 12)* (dir. Bouanani; 1968), and *M14* featured jazzy soundtracks and forewent "pedagogical or informational exposition" in favor of montage, juxtaposition, and association.[177] Significantly, Limbrick shows that the cinematic modernism of these films moved along transnational axes beyond Morocco-France or Morocco-Europe. Afifi, Bouanani, Rechiche, and Tazi explicitly employed international avant-garde, essayist, and radical filmmaking techniques like montage as way to address cinematically the rapidly urbanizing society of independent Morocco and the place of popular culture and traditions therein. The resulting films, Limbrick argues, were at once international in scope and deeply rooted in local concerns.[178]

M14 is not a film meant to extol or condemn its present but to delve into the violence of the Protectorate's "pacification" program in a way that does not resolve in a neat linear history.

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min]; *Quand murissent les dattes (When the Dates Ripen)* [Abdelaziz Ramdani, Larbi Bennani, 1968, 90 min]; and *Soleil du printemps (Spring Sun)* [Latif Lahlou, 1969, 86 min]. English translations of titles taken from the CCM Filmography, published in 2009. Information about the number of short films made is taken from a handwritten page included in the chronology of Bouanani, "*La Septième porte*."

[176] Limbrick 399.

[177] Limbrick 393.

[178] Limbrick 399. Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948) and Dziga Vertov (1896-1954) were important reference points for Moroccan filmmakers in the 1960s and 1970s. See, for example, Smihi, "*Cinécriture d'Eisenstein (Eisenstein's cine-writing)*," originally published in *Intégral* 5-6 (1973) and reprinted in *Écrire sur le cinéma*, 31-5.

To make it, Bouanani combined colonial era films from the CCM archives—films like those used to make *Rétrospective sur le Maroc à l'occasion du 25ème anniversaire du Protectorat* in 1937—with new footage he shot in the Rif. Following the initial framing with the drawing of Sayyidna Ali spearing the Ras al-ghoul, the film begins peacefully. An establishment shot pans out from a mountain village, its mosque visible on the right side of the screen. Birds chirp as the camera shows eucalyptus trees and then segments of a richly patterned figurative painting, executed in the *naïf* style.[179] Already, viewers are cued into a different narrative than that proffered in *Rétrospective sur le Maroc*. If the history at stake in *M14* is, following Bouanani's statements about the film, that of the Protectorate period, the opening sequence depicts a pre-Protectorate Morocco that is a far cry from the French discourse of Moroccan savagery used to justify its arrival. Other scenes and sounds of rural village life and activity come next. A ticking clock is heard while the screen shows a fortified village or town, in front of which a group of men dressed in white accompany a bride astride a mule as she travels to her wedding. As the camera trains its eye on a rushing stream and then a woman nursing a baby, a single voice raises in song. It is the high, throaty call of Amazigh music sung by a woman. The camera cuts to the faces of two older people, first a woman and then a man, coming close enough that the tops of their heads are cropped out of view. A striped *fouta*—locating the scene in the Rif's sartorial landscape—draped over her head to frame her face on both sides, the woman holds a finger to her smiling lips (Figure 1.4). The camera cuts again, this time to a village with narrow cobblestone streets, accompanied by the singing voices of children. An adult male voice is

[179] When I saw this film in the company of Pauline de Mazières in Rabat in October 2014, she said that she thought the painting was by Ahmed Al-Ouardiri (b. 1928). On the term *naïf* and its different valences in the Moroccan context, see Maraini, "*Au rendez-vous de l'histoire la peinture* [Painting's date with history]" (1988) in *Écrits sur l'art*, 84.

slightly audible as if leading them in song. Outside of a small hut, a woman breaks bread, handing pieces to a group of young children in tattered clothing.

These social interactions, meals, and landscapes are abruptly interrupted when the sky fills with insects, an explosion is both seen and heard, and the images begin to cut frenetically back and forth. The camera now switches between close-ups of different old men and women, each standing alone and backed up against a stone wall, and archival images from the Protectorate period: a tank climbs over sand towards the screen, as if to run over the camera and by extension the viewer and the old man who appears in the next shot; troops arrive as dark silhouettes carrying weapons, running and leaping toward the camera as if moving just past the viewer to exit the frame; a European in uniform walks up to a sitting camel and shoots it in the head, execution-style, and the screen shows the camel's long neck and head fall to the ground. Dark smoke races across the sky, followed by details of destroyed buildings. Then, an urban area appears twice, as dark rain clouds roll in overhead, accompanied by the sound of thunder. The Sultan rides in on horseback, his signature umbrella overhead and surrounded by his men, but the thunder continues, menacingly, as if the sky were to open at any minute. Before it does, the camera zooms in on archival photographs of the caged Bou Hmara, executed in 1909 for being a pretender to the throne (*rogui*).[180] Shots of a blind storyteller surrounded by listeners come next, followed by other village scenes of public oral communication. Then: both European and Moroccan troops in uniform march in formation, accompanied by a triumphant horn section. The ticking resumes. Back in the Rif—identifiable as such due to the men's short *djellaba*-s—the

[180] *Rogui* comes from the Arabic al-Ruki. Also spelled Bu Himara, or "the man on a donkey," Jilali b. Idris al-Yusufi al-Zarhuni claimed he was the sultan's older brother and heir to the throne and he amassed a sizeable following in the Rif before his capture and execution in 1909 by Sultan Abdelhafiz. Miller 65-7.

villagers scurry into their homes and the shooting begins. A grating and noise-ridden soundtrack accompanies these images, the intensity of its aural assault on the viewer doubling that of the military interventions that appear on screen.

As the film continues, there are no characters per se, other than recognizable historical figures like Lyautey, the Sultan, and Bou Hmara and the anonymous older men and women who appear throughout, their expressive and deeply lined faces punctuating the colonial footage. Bouanani's camera hovers closely to their faces yet the deep contrasts of the black-and-white film and the bright natural light render their eyes too dark to see. These faces come to viewers not through the Protectorate archives but from Bouanani's travels to the Rif where he went to "*filmer en gros plan d'anciens retraités qu*[i] *ont participé à la guerre du Rif, des vielles femmes au visage masqué et bouleversant, des ruelles de Chaouen* [Chefchaouen] *ressemblant à des décors de théâtres, etc.*"[181] By cutting repeatedly back-and-forth from their faces to archival colonial footage, *M14* positions these few men and women as witnesses to the seemingly endless sequences of violence culled from the colonial reels. Even though we cannot see their eyes, their faces seem to register this violence: they flinch, as a viewer might, in what Bouanani's editing suggests is a response to the sights and sounds of gunshots and explosions. At the same time, the viewer must also face these faces and bear witness to the act of bearing witness itself. In this way, Bouanani reframes the colonial archives that he literally splices together in the editing room. He debunks the colonial myth of peaceful pacification and brings to the fore the at once

[181] "film in close-up elderly retirees who participated in the Rif War, old women with masked and moving faces, the small streets of Chaouen [Chefchaouen] that resemble theater sets, etc." Bouanani, "History of Cinema," typed version, 131. In a different section on the same page, Bouanani notes that there were "numerous scenes filmed in Chaouen and in Ouezzane with Rechiche as the camera operator."

ethical, aesthetic, and political problem of how to witness Morocco's violent twentieth century history and what it means to represent this history cinematically. He does so by literally assembling this violence on screen at a time of amplifying extradiegetic violence—including that of *M14*'s censorship—in Morocco during these leaden years.

Of course, the sequences and sounds described above correspond to the third of the film that was not removed by the censor's scissors. Writing in the 1980s, Bouanani described the film's censorship as a daily humiliation that unfolded over a month during which Omar Ghannam, then director of CCM and Bouanani's boss, "*tronqua impitoyablement le film ; durant plus d'un mois, tous les matins, le premier montage du* Mémoire 14 *était projeté (le directeur du Centre étant en même temps le président de la commission de censure) et j'étais obligé d'expliquer le moindre rapport des plans.*"[182] In an account informed by his filmed and as yet unreleased, conversations with Bouanani a few years before Bouanani's death in 2011, Essafi recounts the story of the film's censorship at length:

> *Après visionnage, le directeur du CCM rejette le film et censure d'emblée toutes les archives relatives à l'épisode de la guerre du Rif. Bouanani s'ingénie à remonter le film dans tous les sens, mais à chaque fois les ciseaux du censeur en défigure une partie.* Mémoire 14 *est réduit comme peau de chagrin à une durée de 24 minutes. Le directeur du CCM ne veut plus entendre parler de ce film. Il va jusqu'à menacer d'en détruire le reste et de virer son auteur s'il ne coupe pas ses longs cheveux ! Bouanani doit son salut et celui de ce qui reste du film au hasard d'un événement politique majeur. En juillet 1971, et avant qu'il n'exécute ses menaces, le directeur du CCM est invité à l'anniversaire du Roi. Il y meurt parmi d'autres convives, dans le sanglant coup d'état de Skhirat fomenté contre Hassan II.*[183]

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[182] "shortened the film without pity; every morning for more than a month, the first version of *Mémoire 14* was projected (the Center's director being at the same time the president of the censorship committee) and I was forced to explain the tiniest relationship between the shots." Bouanani, "*La Septième porte*," 132.

[183] "After viewing, the CCM's director rejected the film and immediately censored all of the archives related to the Rif War episode. Bouanani did his best to reedit the film, but each time, the censor's scissors disfigured some part. *Mémoire 14* is gradually reduced to 24 minutes. The CCM's director no longer wants to hear anything about the film. He went as far as to threaten to

Ghannam's drawn-out censorship of *M14*, during which the film was censored daily in a kind of dance between Bouanani and Ghannam, was uncommon. Typically, a filmmaker might make an entire film, which would then be subjected to the censorship committee, which might then point to certain scenes or sequences that would need to be changed or removed. Additional censorship could also take place once the film reels arrived at a theater, which might decide to cut—literally—certain scenes from the film. In the case of *M14*, however, there is no "original" to speak of, or to reconstitute, because after each screening with Ghannam, Bouanani would rework the film.

Compounding the impossibility of establishing an "original" version is the state of Bouanani's personal affairs. While Touda Bouanani, the filmmaker's elder daughter, inherited a vast archive of unpublished materials, a large amount of Ahmed Bouanani's work was lost during a fire in the family apartment on July 26, 2006, which severely damaged or destroyed unpublished manuscripts and papers, 16 and 35mm film reels that he rescued from abandonment by the CCM in the 1960s, and costumes and props related to his and his wife's decades of work in Moroccan cinema. Additionally, both Bouanani and Ghannam—the primary protagonists in the making and censoring of *M14*—are dead, as is Bouanani's wife and longtime collaborator, Naima Saoudi (1947-2012), and the younger of their two children, Batoul Bouanani (1969-

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destroy the rest and to fire its author if he didn't cut his long hair! Bouanani owes his salvation and that of what rests of the film to the chance of a major political event. In July 1971, and before he could carry out his threats, the CCM's director was invited to the King's birthday party. He died there, along with other guests, during the bloody coup d'état in Skhirat against Hassan II." Essafi 58. Essafi also notes that the censored material was destroyed and claims that the film is the first time, that he knows of, when a filmmaker from a former colony used colonial archives to recount another version of history. Touda Bouanani was kind enough to show me the as yet unreleased interviews that Essafi filmed with her father.

2003), who died in 2003.[184] What remains are the twenty-four minutes of *M14*, the eponymous poem dated 1969 and published in *Les Persiennes* in 1980, the collection of colonial film archives that are viewable as of 2014 at the CCM, rushes of Essafi's filmed interviews with Bouanani, the memories and knowledge of the filmmaker's daughter, Touda, and Bouanani's unpublished history of Moroccan cinema. The latter is the magisterial tome first drafted in 1984 that Touda is reconstituting from multiple handwritten and typed copies to arrive at a "final" publishable version and upon which I have relied for this chapter.

M14 adopts what Limbrick calls the "freer and more international, avant-garde, aesthetic style" of Bouanani et al, in contrast to the more common and straightforward CCM commissions.[185] Although not discussed by Limbrick, the two Rif-themed shorts that Larbi Bennani directed for CCM just before *M14*—*Chemins du Rif (The Rif's Roads)* (1967) and *Rif, Terre de légendes et de détente (Rif, land of legends and relaxation)* (1968)—demonstrate the didacticism adopted by the standard CCM commissions against which Afifi, Bouanani, Rechiche, and Tazi's experimental films pushed. Because both of Bennani's films are set in the Rif—the same region whose representation Bouanani, Touda Bouanani, and Essafi say provoked *M14*'s censorship—Bennani's films provide an important counterpoint for tracing what could be shown about the Rif in the absence of any archival traces about what ended up on the CCM's cutting room floor. Bennani's first Rif film, *Chemins du Rif* (hereafter, *Chemins*), uses a quasi-documentary approach to present what the narrator calls "*un tableau objectif*" but which turns

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[184] On the death of Batoul and the fire three years later, see Touda Bouanani, "*Mémoire sauvée du feu* [Memory Saved from Fire]," *Nejma* 9 (Spring 2014), 11-12. Saoudi began her cinema career with *Wechma*, doing décor, costumes, and makeup, and she went on to work on forty-seven films, including Hollywood productions. Her filmography is published in the same issue of *Nejma,* np, which is dedicated to Ahmed Bouanani.

[185] Limbrick 394; 392.

out to be a fictional story of forbidden love.[186] A twist on the fairytale genre, its happy ending is not marriage but rather a young shepherd's solo migration from "traditional" to "modern" Morocco after his beloved's forced marriage to a man who appears old enough to be her grandfather.[187] In the film's final scene, the unnamed shepherd arrives in the "*grande ville*" to pursue his presumably brighter future.[188] No details of the romance nor any notion of the girl's interiority are provided. Instead, what is emphasized throughout the film's twenty-three minutes is the distance between tradition and modernity, activating the division of Morocco into two, a well-entrenched trope by 1967. Far from being an objective portrait of Belyounech, as an opening intertitle claims, the film condemns the village's backwardness. With its rural traditions and the women who embody them, Belyounech is a village, the film suggests, that young Moroccan men are best advised to leave well behind.[189] In the final moments, when the shepherd hitches a ride from a van passing him on a dirt road, he turns his back on tradition and chooses modernity. As he climbs into the vehicle, the first piece of industrial machinery that appears in

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[186] It is important to note that *Chemins'* narrator's declaration that the film offers an "objective painting" of daily life in Belyounech and fairytale-like storytelling position it within a long history of French colonial and Moroccan postcolonial filmmaking that combined documentary and fiction. See Slavin's analysis of what he terms the "mythistories" and "anthrodramas" of French colonial cinema as well as Oren Kosansky and Aoumar Boum's identification of the "dialectic of the fictional and the documentary" in depictions of Moroccan Jews in films from the 2000s in Kosansky and Boum, 421-422.

[187] "*Telle est la loi rude, abrupte, comme la terre qui lui sert de décor* [such is the rude, abrupt law, like the land that serves as its décor]," the narrator explains during the marriage scene.

[188] Although the city is unnamed, the sea, coastal highway, and medina ramparts indicate that the closing show was filmed in Asilah, on the Atlantic coast just south of Tangier. Thanks to Mohammed Cherchaoui for his help in identifying the city.

[189] In so doing, Bennani's film demonstrates how the postcolonial state's discourse of modernity and tradition was mapped not only onto the geographical divisions of rural/urban but onto gender divisions as well that, in Morocco as elsewhere, identify women, and Amazigh women in particular, as the keepers of tradition while men are the bringers of modernity.

the film, the narrator offers these words to describe the village he departs: "*Un espace pour oublier, une autre planète.*"[190]

Released a year after *Chemins*, Bennani's second Rif-themed film, *Rif, Terre de legendes et de détente* (hereafter, *Terre*) is a Ministry of Tourism-commissioned short that traces a touristic excursion along the "vacation paradise" of Morocco's Mediterranean coastline. The journey begins with the European tourist's arrival in Tangier—referred to here as "the gateway to Morocco" (Chapter 2)—by boat or airplane and then traveling on winding roads by car the 420 kilometers (260 miles) east to Nador. Its soundtrack dominated by jazzy piano and saxophone music, the film frequently cuts to a map on which a white, middle aged man traces the following journey with a pencil: from the Roman yet modern Tangier inland to Tetouan and Chefchaouen, where Bouanani also filmed scenes for *M14*. The tourist then returns to the coast, where she visits, from west to east, Cala Iris, Al Hoceima's Club Med, and, finally, Nador. As the film cuts from the man and his map to the sights themselves, the viewer watches European families fill the beaches and nearby modern apartment buildings and hotel interiors of *Terre*'s Rif. Were it not for the few Moroccans who appear onscreen in the knee-length *djellaba*-s, pom-pom adorned straw hats, and striped *fouta*-s that comprise the Rif's sartorial identity in much of the Ministry of Tourism's official publications (Figure 1.5), it would be hard to differentiate the Mediterranean coastline on offer here from the tourism opportunities of its northern shore.[191]

At first glance, Bennani's two films provide markedly different representations of the Rif. *Chemins* shows the region as a backwards, even extraterrestrial place to leave and forget whereas

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[190] "A space to forget, another planet."

[191] When the occasional Moroccan does appear, the film clearly delineates which spaces are available to him or her: the outdoor market, the artisan's workshop, and the rural roads.

Terre depicts it as an accessibly exotic expanse of beautiful beaches, modern hotels, and bikini-clad Europeans. Unlike *Terre*, where European tourists greatly outnumber the few Moroccans who appear on screen, not a single European appears in *Chemins*. And while *Chemins* depicts a Rif one is best advised to hurry away from, *Terre* shows one meant to entice viewers to hurry towards. Audience certainly explains some of these differences. *Chemins* most likely would have been seen by a Francophone, urban audience in Moroccan theaters or cine-clubs, whereas *Terre* was produced by the Ministry of Tourism in multiple languages (French, Italian, English, Spanish, German), presumably to foster European tourism in the region.[192] What connects the films, however, is their shared point of departure: a fundamentally colonialist and orientalist characterization of the Rif and its people as being from an earlier historical moment or out of time entirely that reinforces the postcolonial state's discourse of modernity and tradition and its geographical association of modernity with Morocco's urban Atlantic coast and tradition with mountainous and predominantly rural regions like the Rif. The modernity/tradition discourse and its geographic associations were a cornerstone of Hassan II's reign and, like the contrast/compare approach used to "illustrate" the success of the French *mission civilisatrice*, this discourse too dates to Lyautey's associationist approach to colonizing Morocco.

Bouanani took a drastically different approach than Bennani to representing the Rif even as, at first, *M14* would appear to adopt the same format at *Chemins* and *Terre*. Like both *Chemins* and *Terre*, *M14* is a film set in the Rif and made at the CCM a half decade into what would later be called the years of lead. As with *Chemins* and *Terre*, *M14* has no internal dialogue and instead uses a male voiceover to convey the film's message. Like *Chemins*, this voiceover is

[192] As of March 2014, the CCM archives only have copies of the Italian, German, and Spanish versions, although the Spanish version was too damaged by mold to be viewed.

spoken by Abdeslam Sefrioui in a poetic French—Bouanani being a poet in his own right—another point in common with *Chemins* if Laâbi did indeed script the latter under a pseudonym as Bouanani writes in *La septième porte*.[193] Unlike *Chemins* and *Terre*, however, which represent the Rif either as a forgettable modernity- and European-free zone or as an ideal and relatively Moroccan-free destination for tourists from Europe, *M14* is not only replete with both Moroccans and Europeans, but it dwells in the violence of the encounter between these two groups. And although *M14*'s voiceover is poetic, it is neither explanatory nor narrative, nor does the film show a Rif recognized for its difficult terrain or abundant beaches. Instead, *M14*'s Rif is depicted as a place characterized by an army's disproportionate use of military force against a primarily poor and agricultural community. It is this representation of violence that most clearly sets *M14* apart from Bennani's two Rif films: from the colonial violence depicted in the images themselves and the aggressive soundtrack that accompany them to the film's literal cutting by the postcolonial censor's scissors and the humiliation of the filmmaker that only ended with Ghannam's violent death at Skhirat, *M14* is embedded in a veritable *mise en abîme* of violence that, spanning colonial past and postcolonial present, is physical, psychological, and representational.[194]

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[193] The credits for *Chemins* list Abdellatif Yacine as writer and Abdelslam Sefrioui as narrator. In "*La septième porte*," Bouanani mentions that the poet and *Souffles* founder, Abdellatif Laâbi, wrote the film's script using Abdellatif Yacine as a pseudonym (115). Laâbi denies any memory of this film and says Bouanani was wrong (email to author, 10 June 2014). But the film scholar and curator Léa Morin believes that Abdellatif Yacine was a likely pseudonym for Laâbi because Yacine is the name of his son (email to author, 17 October 2014). During the late 1960s, when *Chemins du Rif* was produced, Laâbi was certainly part of the same milieu as those working in the CCM, notably with *Souffles*. For example, *Souffles*' other co-founder, Nissaboury, appeared in Derkaoui's censored *De quelques évènements sans significations*.

[194] As Hammoudi's analysis of the master/disciple relationship makes clear, social divisions and power are maintained and perpetuated in Morocco through similar scenes of humiliation, humility, and obedience (42-3).

Rather than the Rif constituting a red line, as both Bouananis and Essafi indicate, I venture that the problem for Ghannam was how Bouanani represented twentieth century Moroccan history, both in terms of its contents and its cinematic rendering through montage. Bouanani's decision to splice together scenes from the CCM's archives of colonial-era *actualités* that depict the violence of the Rif war with the newly filmed footage of elderly Rifis were the means through which Bouanani's larger intervention into—and challenge of—official Moroccan historiography occurs. This is because in *M14*, Bouanani uses the basic formula of official representations of history not only to derail this history but to suggest that it is not as far in the past as the official line would have people believe. Like Morocco's state-sponsored media and its colonial precedents, Bouanani juxtaposes material from the past with new material from the present and he signals the past by including images of iconic figures from this history, like Lyautey, the Sultan, and Bou Hmara, who frequently appear in colonial visual culture as powerful leaders or abject political transgressors. The result, however, is a markedly different film. *M14* resists any unified narrative. It hardly represents a forward march through time that exults the modernization and progress Morocco has made since independence under its monarch. This monarch, it bears noting, is absent in Bouanani's version of history. Time in *M14* is organized, the voiceover announces, not by a progressive sequence of numbered years in which violence has been relegated to a (pre) colonial past, but into years named for animals, weapons, and good seasons: "*Années de la gazelle, années des sauterelles, année du sabre et du canon, année de la bonne saison*."[195]

[195] "Years of the gazelle, years of locusts, year of the saber and the cannon, year of the good season." Bouanani's commentary on this way of dividing up history is discussed below.

Bouanani saw myth and popular memory as the antidotes to official history, which he signals in his writing by capitalizing the word. *M14*, Bouanani wrote in "*La septième porte*," rather it sought to

> *traduire justement les caprices d'une mémoire volontairement et/ou involontairement oublieuses du temps passé, exprimer davantage par la voie du mythe que par celle de l'Histoire […] c'est à travers des mémoires populaires, des souvenirs, des blessures individuelles, des rêves ou des cauchemars, que « le bon vieux temps » est exposé.*[196]

By dividing time not into numbered years but rather into years of grasshoppers, canons, and good seasons, by locating its source in popular memory and mythology, and exposing the myth of the "good old days," Bouanani breaks with the highly codified and policed version of history then maintained by the Moroccan government and transmitted through its media outlets. He does so through a film that highlights the violence of modernity with its tanks, explosions, and execution-style killings. If we recall that Hassan II identified himself as the bringer of modernity, that it remains illegal in Morocco to insult or question the legitimacy of the royal family, and that tanks, bombs, and, in the case of leaders of the failed coups, gunshots to the head, were ways in which the state dealt with uprisings, the danger *M14* posed to the state censor becomes more clear. To propose a history of Morocco, as *M14* does, that not only veers from the official chronology but that also bases itself on popular myth, memory, and ritual is to bypass entirely the royal family; it is to posit that the history of Morocco and Moroccans is not entirely coterminous with that of the king. Moreover, Bouanani's film stages its intervention into Moroccan history through focusing on the Rif, the region with which the monarch had the most

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[196] "translate the caprices of a memory that voluntarily and/or involuntarily forgets the past, to express more through the path of myth than of History. […] it is through popular memory, memories, individual wounds, dreams or nightmares that 'the good old days' are exposed." Bouanani, "*La septième porte*," 132.

antagonistic relationship of all and whose inhabitants were well-poised to bear witness not only to the violent excesses of colonization *and* those of the postcolonial period. The titular fourteen, in other words, could also name the fourteen years between independence and when Bouanani made *M14*.[197] Taken as such, the violence that the film's older men and women witness should then be read through the filter of what were, in 1970, recent events: Hassan II's and Oufkir's campaign in the Rif in 1958-9 and the amplification of state-sanctioned violence throughout 1965, which included Oufkir's repression of the riots in Casablanca in March; Hassan II's declaration of a state of emergency in June; and Ben Barka's disappearance in October. Postcolonial life from the marginalized Rif to the economic center of Casablanca was, *M14* suggests, regulated not by the neat narrative of the forward march of progress with each new year but by the cyclical repetition of state-sanctioned violence. This cycle appeared in moments of explicit contestation and repression, as in 1958-59, 1965, 1971, 1972, 1981, and 1984, and in the long-term policies of economic divestment that targeted "dissident" regions, forcible disappearance and imprisonment without charges, and, finally, the censorship to which Bouanani was subjected for years.

M14 is a critical chapter in Bouanani's lifelong commitment to the project of collecting and preserving a national history and memory that was not written about and for the king alone. For all that is cut from *M14*, its intertwining of modernity and violence remains indisputable. *M14* renders the distinction between colonial past and postcolonial present murky and, in its focus on the Rif, casts this region's long marginalized inhabitants as actors in, and repositories for, this history. In assigning them a role that directly conflicts with their portrayal as backwards

[197] Limbrick 402; Essafi 56.

backdrops or tourist lures in state-sanctioned films, Bouanani, it bears emphasizing, risks displacing—and hence displeasing—the monarch as the centripetal, driving force of history. Assembled and censored during a critical period of nation building and contestation, Bouanani's film makes clear the extent to which debates about what could and could not be shown were also part of a larger and still unresolved struggle over Moroccan history and its contents, its actors and its authors. Cutting and splicing the archives of the recent past to recount history otherwise; centering the overt and covert forms of violence that accompany modernity, nation building, and the writing of history, Bouanani's *M14* sets the stage and stakes for the artworks that a new generation of Moroccan artists began to produce in the wake of Hassan II's death in 1999. In their works, the migrant—not the monarch—matters most.

CHAPTER TWO

Found Images

Qu'il soit chrétien, idéaliste ou rationaliste, l'orientalisme est solidaire de l'humanisme.

Abdelkebir Khatibi, 1976[198]

One of the most reproduced photographs from Yto Barrada's series of photographs, *A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project* (1998-2004), *Caisson lumineux – Lieu de transit (Advertisement Lightbox – Ferry Port Transit Area, Tangier)* (2003; Figure 2.1) shows two dark silhouettes framed by both the physical edges of the paper and the internal frame created by the washed-out sky at the top and the saturated black ink that limns left, right, and bottom. The dark figures stand in sharp contrast to the whites, yellows, and blues of the ferry advertisement that occupies the image's center. Turned slightly toward one another, both appear to keep their backs to the camera, ignoring or oblivious to this moment of photographic capture. The photograph's visual ambiguity makes it impossible to conclude definitively whether the two silhouettes are male or female, let alone whether they are Moroccan. Nor does the visible advertising copy, largely blocked by the silhouettes, provide any precise geographic mooring: the company's website appears partially in the bottom left, but uses the territorially ambiguous ".com" ending, while the

[198] "Whether it is Christian, idealist, or rationalist, orientalism is integral to humanism." Abdelkebir Khatibi, "*L'orientalisme desorienté* [Disoriented Orientalism] (1976)," *Maghreb pluriel* [Plural Maghreb] (Paris: Denoël, 1983).

use of French ("*Passagers*" appears in the lower right corner) and the green phone number would seem more signifiers of France than Morocco.[199] In fact, the only indication that this photograph was taken in Morocco and thus that those silhouetted may be Moroccan comes from Barrada's caption, in which Tangier is specified, albeit parenthetically: "Ferry Port in Transit Area (Tangier)." Yet, in his analysis of the image, the art historian T.J. Demos concludes that the two figures are would-be migrants whom he describes as "reach[ing] out to an imaginary distance, as if attempting to grasp the ship, even board it and depart from their reality." The photograph, he claims, "visualizes the becoming of the refugee."[200] Literary scholar Amanda Crawley Jackson uses almost identical terms to describe the photograph, writing that in *Caisson lumineux* "two girls, as they reach out longingly towards a backlit advertisement showing a ferry leaving for Europe, are reduced to nothing more than black silhouettes."[201]

In thus identifying these silhouettes and in their subsequent interpretations of this photograph, Demos and Jackson demonstrate the re-privileging of Europe and its consequences within the concurrent turns in contemporary art to migration and Morocco. Here, Demos and Jackson ventriloquize the silhouettes' thoughts. Their conclusions that they are would-be migrants desperate to depart Morocco projects a heavy psychological burden onto two figures that they identify as children. As *Moroccan* is elided with *migrant*; *Moroccan*, in turn, becomes coterminous with the *migrant*'s other collocations: refugee, to recall the term Demos uses in

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[199] These *numéros verts* (green numbers) appear on French consumer items and advertisements and are akin to toll-free 800 numbers in the United States.
[200] Note the collocation of migrant with refugee. Demos, "Life Full of Holes," 76.
[201] Amanda Crawley Jackson, "*Cette poétique du politique*: Political and Representational Ecologies in the Work of Yto Barrada," *L'Esprit Créateur* 51:1 (spring 2011), 59. Although Jackson does not cite Demos' discussion of *Caisson lumineux*, she does cite his description of a different photograph.

describing these two silhouettes; suffering; illegal; non-white; anonymous; and Europe-bound. Such an equation not only echoes European media stereotypes that pathologize Moroccans, but it falsely assumes Moroccan identity to be uniform and stable. This collocation of Moroccan with migrant and beyond positions the places and the Moroccan men, woman, and children whom Barrada photographs as straightforward signifiers of illegal migration to Europe. Such readings reinforce stereotypes of North Africa in which Moroccans are defined as Europe's subalterns, and they play to the Euro-American mythology of Tangier as a liminal place of criminality and excess.[202]

This mythology of Tangier is one of the found images that I argue Barrada scrutinizes in *A Life Full of Holes*, a series of square, color photographs Barrada taken between 1998 and 2004. She published a selection of thirty-one photographs in a 2005 artist book, but when she exhibits them in museums and galleries, the selection, arrangement, and size of the photographs varies (Figure I.2). Yet, as Demos's and Jackson's analyses of *Caisson lumineux* indicate, Barrada's photographs have largely been received as another kind of found image: that of migration. Behind this elision of Moroccan with migrant lies what I call *migratory orientalism*, which I identify as the dominant frame for representing and analyzing migration in contemporary art today. In coining this term, I am indebted to Edward Said's seminal book, *Orientalism* (1978), in which he defines orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[203] Said's argument focused on French and British literature, but in the decades since *Orientalism*'s publication, scholars, curators, and artists have collectively

[202] For an analysis of this fantasy of Tangier in Western literature and cinema, see Edwards, *Morocco Bound*.
[203] Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

furthered understandings of the relationship between power, representation, and the so-called Orient by expanding Said's analysis to visual art and popular culture across a wide range of geography.[204] Like migration, orientalism forms and frames debates about Moroccan contemporary art, with artworks often selected for publications and exhibitions in the U.S. and Europe because they directly reference orientalist artworks and stereotypes.[205] Migratory orientalism is proposed here to argue that contemporary art's recent turn to the Europe-bound migrant as a way to critique globalization and to posit a new humanism, universalism, or global citizenship in an effort to identify a common denominator shared by all humans largely repeats a move familiar to scholars of orientalism and colonialism. Namely, I contend that this turn to the migrant to define the human or the universal relies on the construction of a visibly marked yet ahistorical and interchangeable Other from the global South. I suggest, moreover, that focusing on the non-Western yet Western-bound migrant allows art institutions to signal their inclusion of "global" or "non-Western" art practices, broadly construed, while simultaneously neglecting the migrant's place of departure and its specific representational strategies and sociopolitical histories. In so doing, the turn to the migrant paradoxically risks re-inscribing the very Euro-American-centrism and colonial center/periphery model that it purports to disrupt. To put it bluntly: artists from the global South can and do make artworks about subjects other than how

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[204] The responses to Said have been enormous. Especially important to me here are Linda Nochlin's essay, "The Imaginary Orient," considered the first art historical effort to grapple with Said's *Orientalism* with regard to nineteenth-century European painting; Edwards's analysis of what he terms "hippie Orientalism"; and Behdad's and Williams' discussion of neo-orientalism. Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient" (1983), in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 33–59; Edwards, *Morocco Bound*, 247-301; Edwards, *Morocco Bound*; Behdad and Williams.

[205] See my review of Gresh and Krifa in *caa.reviews* (2017).

they and their compatriots try to get to the West (migration) or how the West has historically (mis)represented them (orientalism).

In what follows, I first address the universalist or humanist claims made for the migrant in recent art history and criticism, positioning contemporary art's migratory turn within a broader philosophical shift that political theorist Bonnie Honig terms "mortalist humanism" and that she argues is part of what Jacques Rancière has criticized as "the ethical turn" dominating contemporary cultural practice.[206] I then analyze migratory orientalism as it manifests in one of the two multi-channel video installations described in the Introduction—Bouchra Khalili's *The Mapping Journey Project* (2008-2011)—whose treatment of migrants and migration I contrast with that of Yto Barrada. Differentiating *The Mapping Journey Project* from *A Life Full of Holes* allows me to identify two sites where migratory orientalism manifests. The first site is located in the conception and execution of the artwork itself. Khalili employs traditional documentary filmmaking techniques in ways that invite viewing the videos as reflections of reality rather than as subjective artistic constructions. I argue that *The Mapping Journey Project* exemplifies migratory orientalism's collocation of the migrant with a subject that is always suffering, illegal, non-white, and Europe-bound, and that, as a result, the artwork reinforces the very mainstream media representations the artists claim to disrupt.[207] This collocation is masked, I suggest, by persistent assumptions about the neutrality and objectivity of the documentary and ethnographic approaches Khalili employs.

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[206] Bonnie Honig, *Antigone, Interrupted* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 17; Jacques Rancière, "The Ethical Turn in Aesthetics and Politics," tr. Jean-Philippe Deranty, *Critical Horizons* 7:1 (2006), 1–20.

[207] On collocation as it relates to mainstream media's representation of migration in the UK, see Terry Threadgold, "The Media and Migration in the UK, 1999–2009," *Migration, Public Opinion and Politics* (Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Siftung, 2009), 222–260.

Migratory orientalism's second site of appearance is in the critical reception of artworks that reduces a work's broader social, political, and visual engagements to illegal, Europe-bound migration *tout court*. This second point will be argued by analyzing the standard interpretation of Barrada's *A Life Full of Holes*. I contend that, far from being innocuous, this interpretation, which describes Barrada's photographs as making clandestine migration visible, reduces the individuals who appear in the photographs—and by implication, Moroccans in general—to nothing more than would-be illegal migrants. This move effectively criminalizes any individual who is or is perceived as Moroccan. Arguing that Barrada's photographs and their subjects look not only to a future in the north but also to Tangier and locations south, I contend that movements other than clandestine crossings into Europe are also at stake. Internal migration, rural exodus, and unequal development are just as present in these photographs that gesture towards the circumstances *inside* Morocco that determine an individual's decision to migrate or not. By way of Édouard Glissant's theory of opacity, my analysis proposes understanding Barrada's project as a reworking of the multiple image repertoires past and present used to represent Morocco: orientalist, colonialist, nationalist, touristic, and, increasingly, migratory.[208] In Barrada's photographs, these image repertoires—or what I call Barrada's found images—and the different ideologies behind them cannot be viewed in isolation but rather, following Glissant, as entangled and interwoven.

[208] Édouard Glissant, "For Opacity," *Over Here: International Perspectives on Art and Culture*, ed. Gerardo Mosquera and Jean Fisher (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 2004), 252-7.

The Migratory Turn

Building on a 1990s conversation about nomadism in contemporary art, migration's emergence in the 2000s as an increasingly common subject for artists has attracted the attention of art historians Saloni Mathur and T. J. Demos.[209] Their work points to the broader theoretical and cross-disciplinary conversations taking place about migration and its representation. Introducing a multi-authored collection of essays that examine the intersection of art and migration in artistic practice since the nineteenth century, Mathur writes that migration has become a "dominant subject matter of art," while mobility has "radically reshaped art's conditions of production, reception, and display." We are in "the migrant's time," she says, borrowing Ranajit Guha's term to refer to the "unsettling temporality of the experience of the migrant" and to name the present and future that we must learn to inhabit.[210] Whereas Mathur traces migration's manifestation in visual art practices to the social sciences' "mobility turn,"[211] Demos's *The Migrant Image* establishes a genealogy for contemporary art's migratory turn that begins with the diasporic and the postcolonial, moves to the nomad, and finally arrives at the migrant.[212] In order to illuminate the intersections of art, politics, documentary, and what he calls

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[209] James Meyer, "Nomads: Figures of Travel in Contemporary Art," reprinted in *Site-Specificity: The Ethnographic Turn*, ed. Alex Coles (London: Black Dog Publishing Limited, 2000), 10-26.
[210] Saloni Mathur, "Introduction," *The Migrant's Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora* (Williamstown: Clark Art Institute, 2011), vii.
[211] Mathur iix.
[212] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 1-20.

crisis globalization*,* Demos focuses on a selection of contemporary art practices, including Biemann's *Sahara Chronicle* (Introduction) and Barrada's *A Life Full of Holes*. *The Migrant Image* builds on Demos's engagement with nationalism, exile, and international mobility in the European avant-garde that he first developed in analyses of Marcel Duchamp and the Dadaists.[213] He has since expanded these lines of inquiry into an analysis of how colonialism haunts a body of contemporary artworks produced in and about the African postcolony.[214]

In *The Migrant Image*, Demos' discussion of migration largely hinges on the centrality he ascribes to Giorgio Agamben's theory of bare life in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1998), which has become a touchstone in contemporary art scholarship, exhibitions, and criticism.[215] For Demos, as for Anthony Downey, the influential critic and editor in MENA contemporary art who also references *A Life Full of Holes* in a 2009 essay on bare life and aesthetics, today's migrant embodies the condition of bare life as Agamben defines it, "life stripped of political identity and exposed to the state's unmediated application of power."[216] Demos finds the migrant useful because s/he embodies a possibly redemptive and revolutionary figure that can be universalized "as the condition of being human" and as the starting point for

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[213] T.J. Demos, "Circulations: In and Around Zurich Dada." *October* 105 (Summer 2003): 147-158; T.J. Demos, *The Exiles of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).
[214] T.J. Demos, *Return to the Postcolony: Specters of Colonialism in Contemporary Art* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013).
[215] Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. by Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[216] Anthony Downey, "Zones of Indistinction: Giorgio Agamben's 'Bare Life' and the Politics of Aesthetics," *Third Text* 23:2 (March 2009), 109-125. Demos, *The Migrant Image*, xiv. Here, Demos' definition of migration as "traveling abroad with the hopes of gaining citizenship or temporary legal residence" overlooks internal migration. In a paragraph taken almost word-for-word from his 2006 review of *A Life Full of Holes*, Downey mistakenly identifies Barrada as a "Tunisian-born photographer" (119). Downey, "A Life Full of Holes," *Third Text* 20:5 (September 2006), 617-9.

"determining a politics of equality."[217] Demos is careful to differentiate his migrant-based universality from the "false universality" he sees in the embrace of nomadism in art of the 1990s and its "contemporary neoprimitivism." What makes today's migration-themed artworks different, he argues, is that they employ "ethnographic procedures and documentary tactics to expose the living conditions … of actual refugees and the economic and political structures that produce those conditions."[218] My analysis of Khalili's *The Mapping Journey Project* below will argue against Demos' implication that "ethnographic procedures and documentary tactics" are immune to both contemporary neoprimitivism and its North African and Middle Eastern correlate, neo-orientalism. Here it is important to note Demos' conflation of migrant with refugee, which points to the web of terms in which the migrant is located and with which s/he is often labeled: exile, outcast, nomad, homeless, foreigner, traveler, cosmopolitan, stateless, refugee, bare life.[219] The frequent interchangeability of these terms in Demos' *The Migrant Image*, as elsewhere, collapses their different theoretical, sociological, and political meanings and risks reducing them to signifiers of an amorphous otherness.

Rather than providing the foundation for "a politics of equality," Demos' effort to universalize the migrant as a symbol for a new humanism by way of Agamben's bare life in fact risks stepping outside of politics. Bonnie Honig argues in *Antigone, Interrupted* that this new "mortalist humanism," which looks to finitude "to soften us up for the call of the other," locates the human *outside* the realm of politics by defining the human through a shared vulnerability to

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[217] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 19.
[218] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 15.
[219] Nearly all of these terms appear in the publication accompanying the 2011 exhibition, *Where Do We Migrate To?* See also Iain Chambers on metaphors of movement and migration in his *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London: Routledge, 1994), 3.

suffering and death.[220] Honig identifies Agamben's bare life as central to mortalist humanism's development: "Here [in *Homo Sacer*] we have precisely the de-civilized human celebrated by humanism, recast in devalued form—as bare life, the abject product of biopolitics."[221] The danger of the turn to an ethics-based mortalist humanism, Honig concludes, is in its "spellbinding assumption that suffering or lamentation get beyond politics to the stark 'human.'"[222]

Honig's primary concern in *Antigone, Interrupted* is not with migration but with interrupting the reception history of Sophocles' *Antigone* in order to reread the play and to argue for its "politics of counter-sovereignty [that] emphasizes equality in life," which she proposes in lieu of mortalist humanism's equality in death.[223] Nevertheless, her analysis of mortalist humanism challenges us to question artistic and art historical turns to the migrant as a locus for a new humanism or universalism and to attend to political claims made in the name of migrants and migration, particularly when migrants are described as embodying both bare life and the human. The dangers of mortalist humanism that Honig highlights—namely that it leaves politics behind and assumes that human finitude and vulnerability to suffering "soften us up for the call of the other"—suggest that similar issues are at stake in calls for universalizing the migrant and

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[220] Honig, *Antigone*, 17. A more extended discussion of mortalist humanism is found on pp. 26–27. For Honig, Judith Butler's recent work exemplifies this embrace of suffering and vulnerability. See Butler's *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2006).
[221] Honig, *Antigone*, 206, n. 8.
[222] Honig, *Antigone*, 19. There is nothing apolitical about vulnerability to death, as the political theorist Achille Mbembe's notion of necropolitics (government control over death) makes clear. Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 134; Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, eds. (New York, NY: Picador, 2003); Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15:1 (winter 2003), 32-51.
[223] Honig, *Antigone*, 10.

in statements, like Demos', that "the migrant names the potentiality of becoming other."[224] Moreover, identifying the migrant as other becomes all the more troubling in light of the focus on Africa and Africans in many migration-themed contemporary artworks.[225] Because, as scholars such as Paul Gilroy, Mary Louise Pratt, and Gary Wilder have shown, earlier European philosophic and scientific quests to define the human cannot be divorced from the colonialism and Transatlantic slavery that made them possible, we must also ask to what extent any new effort to define the human by looking to geographies outside of the "West" remains within this earlier frame in which the Other from the global South shores up the (white Western) human.[226] I would argue that they do, albeit with an important difference: today's Other *qua* migrant is now defined in positive terms. No longer signifying the non-human, s/he is exemplarily human.[227] What has not changed, as my analysis of Khalili suggests, is that this universalized migrant remains visibly marked as an ahistorical and interchangeable other from a generically southern elsewhere.

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[224] Demos, 246.

[225] I include North Africa and North Africans here.

[226] Gilroy 46–58; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), esp. Chapter 2, "Science, planetary consciousness, interiors." See also *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*, ed. Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Négritude and Colonial Humanism Between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[227] Art historian Hal Foster describes a similar reversal in theories of otherness, which "often assum[e] dominant definitions of the negative and/or the deviant even as [they] move to revalue them. So, too, [this work] often allows rhetorical reversals of dominant definitions to stand for politics as such." I discuss this essay in greater detail below. Hal Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer," in *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 179.

Migrant, Marked

At first, *The Mapping Journey Project* would seem to provide a textbook example of the kind of work for which Demos advocates in his argument for a migrant-based universalism (Figures 1.3-4). In a 2012 interview with art historian Dorothea Schoene, Khalili summarized the project in terms that resonate with Demos' exaltation of the universality underlying the migrant's status as "bare life." Khalili asserts: "All my videos aim to show that strange moment when the most peculiar [migratory] trajectory becomes universal."[228] In an earlier interview published in the artist's first monograph, Khalili explains that "[t]he question about *Mapping Journey* is how to represent an invisible route."[229] In the same volume, critic Philippe Azoury reiterates this characterization, writing, "Of course, [Khalili's] refugees are also ghosts, ghosts in our cities, invisible among the invisible."[230] For Azoury, the fact that the storytellers remain off-screen except for their hands communicates their bureaucratic invisibility, which he calls "Kafkaesque" and which he suggests is synonymous with ontological and political invisibility: "The exclusion from the [visual] field expresses the state of invisibility in which is held the one who has no

[228] Dorothea Schoene, "Absorbing Displacement: Bouchra Khalili in Conversation with Dorothea Schoene," *Ibraaz Contemporary Visual Culture in the Middle East and North Africa* (27 September 2012). Available online: http://www.ibraaz.org/interviews/40.
[229] Bouchra Khalili in conversation with Omar Berrada, "The Opposite of the Voice-Over," *Bouchra Khalili Story Mapping* (Marseille: Bureau des compétences et désirs, 2010), 75. Note that the title of this interview is also that of the 2013 Toronto exhibition, *Bouchra Khalili: The Opposite of the Voice-Over*.
[230] Note the conflation of refugee with migrant. Philippe Azoury, "Mobiles," *Bouchra Khalili Story Mapping* (Marseille: Bureau des compétences et désirs, 2010), 19.

employment, no identity card, no status, nowhere to go, no point of reference."[231] To follow these texts is to conclude that, in *The Mapping Journey Project*, the singular becomes universal, the invisible is made visible, and the heretofore unheard finally speak for themselves. Here, it seems, is an artwork which employs the very "ethnographic procedures and documentary tactics to expose the living conditions … of actual refugees" that Demos lauds for avoiding the "false universality" that compromised contemporary art's earlier focus on nomadism.[232]

There are three problems that I want to highlight here as emblematic of the migratory orientalism that dominates recent univalent representations of bodies moving across geopolitical boundaries.[233] First is the assumption that, when artworks like Khalili's increase the *aesthetic* visibility of their subjects, this increased aesthetic visibility translates into increased *political* rights for the individuals they depict. This assumption, which is indicative of the strong influence that Jacques Rancière's writings on politics and aesthetics have had on contemporary art criticism in recent years, overlooks an important problem: namely, greater aesthetic visibility is often a marker of *attenuated* political rights and power. It is the *unmarked* position, as performance art scholar Peggy Phelan has argued, that is the position of greater power. As she bluntly puts it: "If representational visibility equals power, then almost-naked young white women should be running Western culture. The ubiquity of their image, however, has hardly brought them political or economic power."[234] Second, as discussed in greater detail below, the

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[231] Azoury, 26. The Toronto exhibition reinforced this interpretation. The wall text read: "Based on eight clandestine journeys, the project confronts singular minorities' paths and the normativity of cartography, revealing an underground and hidden geography."
[232] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 15.
[233] A fourth, although it is beyond the scope of this paper, is that art criticism often ventriloquizes artists' own descriptions of their work, as evidenced by Azoury's text.
[234] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), 10.

focus on the migrant's invisibility in how Khalili and others have framed *The Mapping Journey Project* distracts from the ethical question of Khalili's active role in soliciting, representing, and circulating these eight journeys.

The focus on migrant invisibility points to the third problem: undergirding arguments for the political engagement of projects like Khalili's is, paradoxically, the presumed neutrality of documentary and ethnography whose modes Demos identifies as capable of avoiding "false universality." While visual artists have, since the 1960s, made prominent and pointed critiques of twentieth-century documentary photography, film, and video in ways that explode any presumption of technologically guaranteed neutrality,[235] it was art historian Linda Nochlin who, in 1983's "The Imaginary Orient," first analyzed how nineteenth-century French orientalist painters used documentary-like realism to mask the colonial ideology present in their depictions of the so-called Orient. In this seminal essay, Nochlin focuses on the work of French painter Jean-Léon Gérôme, whose *Snake Charmer* (c. 1879) appears on the cover of some editions of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, in order to identify two primary characteristics of nineteenth-century European orientalist painting. While the art historian Mary Roberts has nuanced Nochlin's essay by questioning the presumed veracity of the details in *The Snake Charmer* in her argument that such seeming veracity would have largely been contingent on the painting's audience, Nochlin's yoking of orientalist representation to the artist's self-erasure and, via Roland Barthes, the

[235] The works of Martha Rosler and Harun Farocki are exemplary in this regard. While the body of literature on both is vast, on Rosler, whom Foster also discusses in "The Artist as Ethnographer," see Allan Sekula, "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation)" (1976), in *Art of the Twentieth Century: A Reader*, ed. Jason Gaiger and Paul Wood (New Haven: Yale University Press and the Open University, 2003), 139–145. On Farocki, see Hal Foster, "The Cinema of Harun Farocki," *Artforum* (November 2004), 157–161; Tim Griffin, "Interview with Harun Farocki," *Artforum* (November 2004), 162–163.

authenticating detail is useful for characterizing the orientalism at stake in *The Mapping Journey Project*'s representation of contemporary migration.[236] First is "the absence of any reminder of the fact that it is really a question of art."[237] Second, she argues that the inclusion of minute details in orientalist paintings work to "authenticate the total visual field as a simple, artless reflection."[238] Nochlin's interest in Barthes' 1968 short essay, "*L'effet de réel* (The Reality Effect)," is grounded in his analysis of an author's inclusion of many, at times "*inutiles* (useless)" details in literary and historical narrative to convey a sense of realism.[239] In both "*L'effet de réel*" and an earlier essay, "*Le discours de l'histoire* (The Discourse of History)," penned in 1967 and included in the same collection, Barthes connects this interest in many useless details to the "regnum of 'objective history'" that reflects an "incessant need to authenticate the 'real'"[240] by repeatedly affirming that "*c'est arrivé (this happened)*."[241] *The Mapping Journey Project* contains similar details that serve to authenticate the scenes she films even as the artist herself remains absent. For each of the videos, Khalili uses one continuous take with no apparent image or sound editing and there are no visual or audible signs of the artist's

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[236] Mary Roberts, "Gérôme in Istanbul," in *Reconsidering Gérôme*, ed. Scott Allan and Mary Morton (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 119–134.
[237] Nochlin 37. Here, Nochlin quotes Leo Bersani speaking about realism. Nochlin is careful to note that "[i]n his own time Gérôme was held to be dauntingly objective and scientific and was compared in this respect with Realist novelists."
[238] Nochlin 38.
[239] Roland Barthes, "*L'effet de réel*" (1968), *Le bruissement de la langue* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984), 167-174, translated at "The Reality Effect," *The Rustle of Language*, trans. by Richard Howard (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1986), 141-8. Although Barthes uses the same word (*inutile*), Howard translates *inutile* first as "futile" (141) and later as "useless" (143).
[240] Barthes lists these events and technologies as "the photograph (immediate witness of 'what was here'), reportage, exhibitions of ancient objects (the success of the Tutankhamen show makes this quite clear), the tourism of monuments and historical sites" (146).
[241] Italics in the original. Barthes, "*Le discours de l'histoire*," 154-166, and "The Discourse of History," 127-140.

presence. Instead, ambient street and café noise is heard throughout the videos while the abundance of places named in each video threatens to leave the speaker breathless, the viewer overwhelmed, and the fact that "*this happened*" forcefully confirmed.

The same elements that formally align *The Mapping Journey Project* with nineteenth-century French orientalist painting also point to an artist who, mimicking the anthropologist of yore, works in the field locating and documenting her informants. Khalili's descriptions of how she finds the people she films and the fact that she refers to them as "participants" and "subjects" further invites a view of her method as one more closely resembling social scientific practices than the traditional artist/model relationship: "I'm often asked how I meet the participants in my projects," Khalili told Schoene. "It's a question I don't have a simple answer to, mostly because it's all mixed with life. I would not say that I find the subjects who participate in my projects but rather that I meet them and sometimes they find me, rather than I find them."[242] The Beirut-based art critic Kaelen Wilson-Goldie reinforces this image of the artist who does not solicit but is solicited by those whose stories she captures, much like an ethnographer engaged in participant observation and snowball sampling.[243] "To create *The Mapping Journey Project*," Wilson-Goldie explains, "Khalili travelled to Marseille, Ramallah, Bari, Rome, Barcelona and Istanbul …. She

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[242] Schoene, n.p.

[243] In participant observation, the anthropologist typically lives and works in the community she studies, observing the ins and outs of daily life in order to draw broader conclusions about the community or society being studied. In snowball sampling, she meets informants, or subjects, through a series of other people, such that person X recommends person Y who introduces her to person Z. However, unlike anthropologists, because Khalili works independently as an artist, her projects do not require approval from a university's Institutional Review Board (IRB), which must pre-approve research with human subjects. For more on participant observation and sampling, see C. Johnson, "Research Design and Research Strategies," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. H. Russell Bernard (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1998), 151–153; Karen O'Reilly, "Participating and Observing," in *Ethnographic Methods* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 84–111.

walked around each city with maps and a fistful of permanent markers in her bag. She didn't go searching for her subjects but rather waited for an occasion to meet them."[244] Read together, these statements generate a romanticized image of the artist, herself a migrant, who wanders through different Mediterranean cities, ready to receive—and film for a global contemporary art audience—the stories of the singular lives that approach her.

As such, *The Mapping Journey Project* should also be understood as participating in the new paradigm that the art historian Hal Foster first identified in 1996: the artist as ethnographer. Comparing the artist-as-ethnographer to Walter Benjamin's attempts to reconcile aesthetics and politics in his April 1934 lecture, "The Artist as Producer," Foster criticizes this paradigm's presumption "that the other, here postcolonial, there proletarian, is somehow in reality, in truth, not in ideology."[245] Like Nochlin, Foster grounds his critique of the assumed veracity of representation in Barthes' "reality effect." He argues that the artist-as-ethnographer's assumptions are often compounded by a primitivist fantasy. Although Foster focuses on the persistence of primitivism rather than on that of orientalism, his characterization of the "new ethnographer envy [that] consumes many artists and critics"[246] and his critique of how the new paradigm idealizes and visualizes alterity are nevertheless relevant to understanding how Khalili

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[244] Kaelen Wilson-Goldie, "Focus: Bouchra Khalili," *Frieze* 143 (November–December 2011), https://www.frieze.com/issue/article/focus-bouchra-khalili/. Wilson-Goldie is a major voice in MENA contemporary art and she plays an important role in bringing this art to a U.S. and Western European audience. She is a contributing editor for *Bidoun*, the Anglophone Middle East-focused contemporary art and culture magazine, and she frequently writes for *Artforum* and *Frieze*, among other contemporary art publications.

[245] Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer," 174. Foster's reference to the proletarian comes from his argument that the artist as ethnographer is akin to Benjamin's artist in "The Artist as Producer." It is worth noting that while Foster mentions postcolonial theory, he does not reference Nochlin's earlier essay.

[246] Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer," 181.

frames *The Mapping Journey Project*.[247] For, much like both the quasi-anthropological art that Foster criticizes and the mainstream European media representations of migration against which Khalili clearly positions her project, Khalili's choice of subjects for *The Mapping Journey Project* hinges, I would argue, on specific markers of racial, linguistic, and geographic difference.[248] In other words, despite Khalili's and others' claims about the migrant's ghostliness and invisibility prior to being filmed, at the practical level of its conception and execution Khalili's project relies on the migrant's *a priori* visibility as Other. Consider, for example, the fact that although many migrants living in Western Europe are white, none of the eight individuals Khalili taped is. Moreover, for the three lighter-skinned individuals, the fact that they speak different dialects of Arabic, which indicate that they are from Algeria (speaker #1), Tunisia (speaker #2), and Palestine (speaker #3), marks them as not European, at least according to xenophobic conceptions of continental identity for which speaking Arabic is considered a clear indication of non-European difference.[249] It is important to note that the nuances between the Algerian, Tunisian, and Palestinian dialects are lost for non-Arabic-speaking viewers when,

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[247] Foster defines the primitivist fantasy as that in which "the other, usually assumed to be of color, has special access to primary psychic and social processes from which the white subject is somehow blocked." Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer," 175.

[248] Khalili explicitly, if briefly, frames her project as countering dominant representations of the Arab world in her presentation "Whose Map is it? Artists in Conversation, Chaired by Simon Harvey," YouTube video of artist talk at Iniva at Rivington Place, London, 2 June 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EKuiQmCp8rA. Her invocation of counter-geographies and counter-cartographies in the same talk as well as titles such as "The Opposite of the Voice-Over," used for both the Toronto exhibition and her interview with Berrada, reinforce this interpretation.

[249] For example, in France, the term *français de souche* is used to differentiate individuals whose origins (*souche* meaning "descent" or "stock") have long been in France from those whose families immigrated to France more recently and who are often designated in media using the locution, *français d'origine X*, such as *français d'origine marocaine*, or "French of Moroccan origin."

as in the Toronto exhibition, the accompanying wall text does not differentiate between the dialects and instead lists all of the videos as being in "Arabic with English subtitles," effectively undermining Khalili's stated desire to convey the linguistic diversity of her subjects.[250] What's more, Khalili's videos literally depict her subjects mapping their Otherness, which has been visually and linguistically ascertained by the artist as quasi-ethnographer, onto the very geographical sites—Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia—that European colonialist discourses like primitivism and orientalism coded as dark. This is not to suggest that Khalili deliberately excluded white migrants, but rather that it should be considered whether her use of only non-white migrants who entered Europe illegally risks confirming, rather than contesting, the equation of non-white and Arabic-speaking with illegal Other. Consequently, rather than depicting "singular lives," as Khalili frequently frames the project, I would argue that these videos emphasize the very interchangeability and generalizability of these lives and journeys, offering little by way of context for what propelled the migrations and affirming the equation between non-white bodies in Europe and illegality. Even if Khalili is sincere in her claims of wanting to make the invisible visible, *The Mapping Journey Project* ultimately remains stuck in migratory orientalism's frame, circulating once again the image of the migrant as non-white, illegal, anonymous, and Europe-bound.

[250] Khalili, "Whose Map is it?"

Like *The Mapping Journey Project*, *A Life Full of Holes* is concerned with the catastrophic present of migration. The series takes its title from the eponymous 1964 novel by Driss ben Hamed Charhadi.[251] Barrada took the photographs in Morocco between 1998 and 2004, dates that encompass her return to Tangier, the city of her childhood, in 1999. Born in Paris in 1971 to Moroccan parents then living in exile, Barrada returned to Morocco with her mother in 1975. She left after graduating from the private American School of Tangier to study history and political science in Paris and, later, photography in New York City.[252] As Barrada and scholars of her work note, the artist's return to Tangier in 1999 came on the heels of the Schengen Agreement. This agreement, which dates to 1985 and which took effect in 1995, created an area within Western Europe—initially France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—wherein internal border checks would no longer take place. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, additional countries joined the Schengen area, and in 1999, with the Treaty of Amsterdam, the agreement was incorporated into the EU's legal system.[253] For Moroccans, opening the EU's internal borders made it impossible to travel anywhere within the Schengen zone without a visa. In Barrada's page-long artist statement, published in English and Grench at

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[251] Driss ben Hamed Charhadi, *A Life Full of Holes*, tr. Paul Bowles (New York: Grove Press, 1964). The main subject of Charhadi's book is not migration but rather the abuse of power—from sexual and physical to economic and social—in colonial-era Morocco.

[252] Barrada's father, journalist Hamid Barrada, was sentenced to death in absentia in 1963. See the introduction to this dissertation and Marie Muracciole, "Something New About Plants (Biographical Sketch)," *Yto Barrada*, (Zurich: JRP Ringier, 2013), 24–38.

[253] This history is culled from the page, "The Schengen area and cooperation," on the EUR-Lex site, the official database of the European Union. Available online: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Al33020. Last accessed: March 2, 2017.

the end of her 2005 artist book, she emphasizes the historical singularity of this European policy shift: "Before 1991 [when Spain entered into the Schengen area] any Moroccan with a passport could travel freely to Europe. But since the European Union's (EU) Schengen Agreement, visiting rights have become unilateral across what is now legally a one-way strait."[254]

Citing this artist statement and the artist's own migratory biography as support, the series' critics overwhelmingly describe Barrada's photographs as documents of contemporary clandestine migration from Morocco to Europe and as depictions of those longing to cross into Europe.[255] Because a critical study of *A Life Full of Holes* necessarily rehearses many of the terms and references as the above analysis of *The Mapping Journey Project*, it is a compelling companion piece through which to study migratory orientalism's second site of emergence: in the critical reception of an artwork. Unlike the wide swaths of land covered by Khalili's interlocutors, both Barrada's photographs and her oral and written presentations of the project

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[254] Barrada, *A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project*, 57. Morocco's current policies, however, are conducive to Western European and U.S. passport holders, who receive a ninety-day tourist visa upon arrival and do not pay any fees to enter or exit the country. That said, it is important not to idealize the pre-Schengen period as one during which a majority of Moroccans could travel easily to Europe. Not only were costs prohibitive for many Moroccans, but for many years the Moroccan government strictly controlled who could or could not get a passport and hence travel outside the nation's borders.

[255] Of course, Barrada's own movements between Morocco, Europe, and elsewhere are not clandestine. Critics typically do not mention her family's forced exile. For the work's early reception, see: T. J. Demos, "Life Full of Holes," *Grey Room* 24 (summer 2006), 72–88; Claire Guillot, "Yto Barrada photographie Tanger [Yto Barrada photographs Tangier]," *Le Monde*, 4 April 2006, 27; Claire Guillot, "La ville et les rêves d'Occident, vus d'Afrique [The city and dreams of the West, seen from Africa]," *Francophonie Cahier*, *Le Monde*, 27 April 2006, 6; Nico Israel, "Border Crossings: A Portfolio by Yto Barrada," *Artforum* (October 2006); Kristin M. Jones, "Yto Barrada (exhibition review)," *Frieze* 101 (September 2006), http://www.frieze.com/issue/review/yto_barrada/; Gérard Lefort with François Musseau, "Tanger imminent," *Libération*, 6 September 2007, 19; Rasha Salti, "Sleepers, Magicians, Smugglers: Yto Barrada and the Other Archive of the Strait," *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry* 16 (autumn/winter 2007), 104; Nadia Tazi, "The State of the Straits," tr. Lucy McNeece, *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry* 16 (autumn/winter 2007), 90–97.

focus on Morocco. Yet despite her careful attention in image and word to *Morocco*, the focus of subsequent discussions is most often *Europe* and Moroccans' desire to go there, as in Demos's and Jackson's reading of *Caisson lumineux*. This focus on Europe demonstrates the power of migratory orientalism to foreclose other interpretations through re-privileging and re-centering Europe as both the naïve dream of Moroccans and as the subject of Barrada's photographs.

Perhaps because its subject does not immediately conjure Europe or migration of any kind, the 2002 photograph *Issagen* (Figure 2.2) is rarely mentioned in the literature on *A Life Full of Holes*. Published in *A Life Full of Holes* with the caption "A cedar forest in the Rif mountains," *Issagen* exemplifies Barrada's use of a language of restraint to attend to the people and places migration leaves behind and to position Moroccan migration within its broader social, political, and economic contexts. The photograph shows a lone female figure standing in a cluster of tall pine trees. Low sunlight illuminates a patch of ground to the left, the branches and trunks of the trees, and the right side of her body and face, obscuring her gaze. The camera is positioned uphill from the woman. Behind her, the land slopes downward into another line of trees, before rising back up in the distance so that the sky is only visible in the extreme upper portion of the image. The sparse vegetation and landscape pictured here are emblematic of Morocco's mountainous rural areas. In the sequencing of *The Strait Project* book, Barrada placed *Issagen* between photographs of an abandoned construction site in Asilah and *Caisson lumineux* in Tangier. This juxtaposition emphasizes the visible absence of public infrastructure and commercial development in the Rif. Here, there are no signs of other inhabitants, nor are there visible villages, roads, or electricity. Only a few bits of trash dot the foreground and dramatize the remoteness of the Rif.

At first this image of rural isolation seems strange amidst *A Life Full of Holes*' many images of urban development and decay. *Issagen*'s inclusion in the series, particularly its placement within the book version between construction site and advertisement lightbox, function as a means of connecting rural exodus and urbanization, the Rif to Asilah and Tangier. The photograph does so by shifting away from the primary protagonists in histories of movement and relocation who are usually young men (recall the lovelorn shepherd in *Chemins du Rif* who abandons both his Rifi village and its women for a coastal city in Chapter 1). In *Issagen*, however, the figure's isolation, location, and gender indicate that she is likely *not* a migrant. *Issagen*, in other words, does not make the migrant's journey and presence visible, as Khalili seeks to. Instead, it proposes a shifting of the viewer's attention from those who migrate to the people and places migrants leave behind and to the social and political issues that propel their migration in the first place.

The costs of migratory orientalism's power to overdetermine interpretations of projects like *A Life Full of Holes* and the subjects depicted therein lie in its near-willful foreclosure of more expansive and culturally specific readings. This is all the more evident upon examining Barrada's series in its entirety and the different material forms it takes in the book and ever-shifting arrangement of framed photographs that are often hung salon-style. Together, they indicate far more singular and acute analyses of contemporary life in Morocco. Only six of the thirty-one photographs published in the book make explicit reference in either image or caption to crossing the Strait. Furthermore, none of these six, which include *Caisson lumineux*, show

individuals who are unequivocally migrants, clandestine or otherwise.[256] At the same time, these six photographs disproportionately comprise the majority of images reproduced in discussions of Barrada's project, which repeatedly render Tangier as abject exit, the Strait of Gibraltar as deadly path, and Europe as final destination, all the while obscuring the fact that Barrada's photographs look not just north, but also south. For, although the majority of the photographs were taken in Tangier, a number of other places appear in them as well: the coastal cities of Casablanca, Salé, Asilah, M'diq, and Ceuta/Sebta, as it is called in Morocco; the rural areas of the northern Rif Mountains and Mzoura; and the international, tax-free zones that lie between Tangier and Spain or even within Tangier itself. If Tangier is a portal in these photographs, it is insistently multi-directional and leads to many other places in Morocco.

Sites, Recites

Despite the repeated focus on Tangier as an exit, discussions of *A Life Full of Holes* nevertheless neglect to note that such designations of Tangier as port and portal activate a well-entrenched metaphor in Morocco's visual cultural history that has long identified the city in images and texts as the first threshold to colonial penetration.[257] Tourism publications dating to the International Zone (1924-56), many of which are now in the collection of the Tangier American Legation Museum (TALIM), characterize the city as a gateway serving as either the first or last port of call for European and U.S. travelers. In both its cover image and introduction,

[256] Barrada's early discussions of the project encourage this focus on migration, but more recent works, like her subsequent project *Iris Tingitana* (2007), have consistently moved away from migration and the Strait.
[257] An exception is Abdellah Karroum, "The Strait's Passage," in *Six Lines of Flight*.

An American Guide to Tangier The Golden Gateway, published by Tangier's Mediterranean American Press, in 1952, explicitly connects Tangier's status as gateway to its significance in Greek mythology (Figure 2.3). While the orange cover shows a winking, muscular Hercules separating Africa and Europe, wearing nothing but a flower crown, the introduction opens with the questions, "Why is Tangier called 'The Golden Gateway?' Gateway to what? Where is the gold?" Rehearsing the Herculean myth in broad strokes—he created the Strait of Gibraltar, found gold, slew dragons, and after beating Anteus, "the local strong man," married his widow Tingis—the guidebook declares that "this simple success story of the strong boy who made a fortune and won a beautiful girl" demonstrates the two reasons people go to Tangier: gold and pleasure.[258] Other guides that date to the Protectorate period employ similar language, declaring the city to be "the traditional gateway of Morocco"[259] and the "*portique de l'Empire des Chérifs*."[260]

In the years immediately following Morocco's independence, King Mohammed V's "*La charte royale de Tanger* [The Royal Charter of Tangier]" announced efforts to integrate the once-internationally controlled city within the national body. Government agencies like the Comité d'Initiative et de Tourisme de Tanger (Tangier Tourism Board) and the Ministry of Information and Tourism also employed this portal metaphor. The editorial for the April 1958 issue of *Tanger Porte du Maroc*, for example, declared the city the gateway not only to

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[258] *An American Guide to Tangier The Golden Gateway* (Tangier: Mediterranean American Press, 1952), 3.
[259] F.H. Mellor, *Holiday in Tangier* (Tangier: Marshways, Ltd., 1955), np.
[260] "Portico to the Cherifian Empire [Morocco]." *Tanger. Son site, son climat. Guide de Tanger* [Tangier. Its site, its climate. Guide to Tangier] (Tangier: Syndicat d'initiative et de tourisme de Tanger, nd), 9.

Morocco, but to Africa and the Mediterranean as well.[261] Meanwhile, the Ministry of Information and Tourism used the term "Open Gate" to emphasize Tangier's centrality to national unity and tourism development:

> The integration of Tangier in the life of the Kingdom will cause Tangier to act increasingly as the 'Gateway to Morocco,' or at least to Northern Morocco. This was greatly impeded by the former [international] statute. The geographical position of Tangier compels all those who have interests in Morocco to accept this as logical, as well as those for whom Tangier, rising as an outpost of the country[,] can only be the spearhead of development.[262]

The official postcolonial embrace of northern Morocco ended in the winter of 1958-9 with the military response to a separatist uprising in the Rif led by the Amazigh leader Mahjoubi Aherdane (b. 1921). Hassan II, then Crown Prince, and Oufkir, later named the "Butcher of the Rif," brought in an army of 15,000 to quell the uprising. They napalmed villages, arrested many, and confiscated the property of notables. Casualty estimates vary from two to eight thousand.[263] The central government's four-decade-long neglect that followed prompted a new iteration of the Tangier-as-portal metaphor, this time as a point of departure. Large numbers of the Rif's population migrated to Tangier and other Moroccan cities, as well as to European countries eager to recruit laborers to rebuild after World War II.[264] Nevertheless, even as the postcolonial

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[261] The editorial's headline reads: "*Tanger porte du Maroc, Tanger porte de l'Afrique c'est aussi la porte de la méditerranée* [Tangier Gateway to Morocco, Tangier gateway to Africa, it's also the gateway to the Mediterranean]." Comité d'Initiative et de Tourisme de Tanger*, Tanger Porte du Maroc* [Tangier Gateway to Morocco] 47 (April 1958), np.

[262] Morocco Ministry of Information and Tourism, "Spotlight on Tangier" [in English] (Rabat: Kingdom of Morocco Ministry of Information and Tourism, c. 1958): 35. Collection Tangier American Legation Museum, Tangier, Morocco.

[263] Slyomovics 50; Miller 157.

[264] As early as 1979, 70 percent of people in the Rif had an immediate family member living abroad and there was an average of 2.17 emigrants per patriarchal family. R. Bossard, "Un espace de migration: Les travailleurs du Rif oriental (Province de Nador) et l'Europe [A space of migration: workers from the Eastern Rif (Nador Province) and Europe]," (PhD diss., Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, 1979), 182. See also Iskander 44.

government's relationship to the inhabitants of northern Morocco shifted to one in which the state was largely absent, publications targeting Anglophone and Francophone tourists, including those published by government ministries, continued to employ the portal metaphor throughout the twentieth century. The metaphor's persistence indicates the extent to which the local tourism industry mimicked the vocabulary of both colonialist and nationalist descriptions of the city.

When Barrada began photographing her city in 1998, Tangier was on the brink of another renegotiation of this metaphor of the city as port/portal because of the concurrent strengthening of Schengen zone visa policies and the ascension of Mohammed VI to the Moroccan throne. This renegotiation resulted, in other words, as much from changes made externally in European policies as those internal to Morocco's political system that caused the government to valorize the North as a tourist destination and lucrative investment opportunity. When Mohammed VI took office in 1999, he chose Tangier and Tetouan as the destination for his first official visit as King. In a country where the monarch's travels signal his priorities and where public and private investment closely follow the Palace's lead, Mohammed VI's decision to inagurate his reign by traveling to the region that his father did not visit for four decades indicated a sea change in the Palace's relationship—and consequently that of the private sector—to the long-marginalized North.[265] Barrada hints at the consequences of this shift in a 2006 interview, noting that the

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[265] There is a vast, interdisciplinary body of literature on this historic shift from Hassan II to Mohammed VI. See Miller; Orlando, *Screening Morocco* and *Francophone Voices*; Pierre Vermeren, *Le Maroc de Mohammed VI: La transition inachevée* [Mohammed VI's Morocco: The incomplete transition] (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2009). The Moroccan history magazine *Zamane* (published in French) has devoted a number of articles to this transition as well. See, for example, "*Dossier: 15 ans sans Hassan II* [Dossier: 15 years without Hassan II]," *Zamane* 45–46 (August 2015). On the Rif's marginalization, see Dominique Lagarde and Mohammed el-Bakkali, "*Le Rif sort de l'ombre* [The Rif emerges from the shadows]," *L'express.fr*, 24 May 2004, http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/monde/afrique/le-rif-sort-de-l-ombre_489528.html.

Mediterranean became a closed border for Moroccans at the same time that the state expanded efforts to bring tourists to Morocco *en masse*.[266] The photographs that comprise *A Life Full of Holes* bear witness less to migration per se than they provoke a bringing into view of the nexus of movements into and out of Tangier at the moment when the region was experiencing these transformations in its relationship to the rest of Morocco. In other words, it is not migrants and migration that Barrada's photographs make visible, but rather the interconnectedness and mutual dependence of migration, tourism, development, and international travel.

Colline du Charf – Lieu dit du tombeau du géant Antée (Charf Hill – Site of the Tomb of Giant Antaeus) (Figure 2.4), taken in 2000, captures how this historical shift manifests in semi-urban Tangier by condensing the city's past, present, and projected future within a single, unromantic frame.[267] Here, the eye moves from the bright pops of purple and yellow flowers in the foreground along the thin, diagonal dirt road that cuts sharply across both photograph and landscape, accommodating, for now at least, the tree that stands in its path. Just beyond the hill lies a cluster of hard-edged, dusty red-and-white apartment buildings. Although the prevalence of red brick that has yet to be plastered and the uneven rooftops suggest that these buildings are still under construction, the satellite dishes, antennas, and laundry that populate the rooftops indicate that they are not empty. Beyond them, the built environment continues its sprawl. Potent symbols of the country's current urbanization, such housing developments are ubiquitous at the

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[266] Yto Barrada with Charlotte Collins, "Morocco unbound: an interview with Yto Barrada," openDemocracy, 16 May 2006, http://www.opendemocracy.net/arts-photography/barrada_3551.jsp. Earlier efforts to bring tourists to Morocco focused particularly on Marrakech, but that focus shifted to Tangier with the opening of the Tanger-Med port in 2012.

[267] The English titles for Barrada's photographs are her own. Here, the English translation loses the sense of the orality that accompanies the attribution of the tomb. A more literal translation would be *Charf Hill – Site said to be the tomb of the Giant Antaeus*.

peripheries of many Moroccan cities, and in Tangier in particular. Rather than presenting an attractive and enticing image of development, in Barrada's photograph, these homogenous cement and brick boxes whose shuttered windows and dark holes attest to their incompleteness anticipate the coming environmental consequences of such urbanization and real estate speculation: the road will be paved, the trees removed, and the wildflowers literally squeezed out of the picture. One all too apt caption for *Colline du Charf* and, indeed, for the ensemble of changes that Tangier has been undergoing in the last fifteen years, is the deeply ambivalent line in Charhardi's *A Life Full of Holes*, when the Moroccan male narrator muses: "People say it's better to have no life at all than a life full of holes. But then they say: Better an empty sack than no sack. I don't know. … I don't know how it's all going to come out, all this."[268] Barrada's photographs dwell in this ambivalence in which no life at all and an empty sack are, paradoxically, better than no sack at all and a life full of holes.

At the same time that a photograph like *Colline du Charf* offers an unflattering image of Tangier's development, it also engages thematically and formally with the ways in which photography and the documentary have been used throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to construct a very specific image of Tangier for Moroccans and foreigners alike. Herein lies the key to the entire project's engagement with the very possibilities of photographic representation in Morocco and of Morocco and Moroccans today. Steeped in visual representations that have been used to market Morocco—orientalist and colonialist, nationalist and tourist—Barrada's photographs put pressure on the frame of migratory orientalism by

[268] Charhadi 274.

simultaneously exceeding and exposing the overlapping image repertoires that have historically fixed the image of Morocco.

Whether depicting Tangier, the Rif, or Morocco's many destinations further south, tourism images appear to render Morocco beautiful and transparent to the exclusion of everyday life. The range of subjects Barrada photographs in *A Life Full of Holes* recalls the many stock characters and shots that dominate tourism publications from the colonial period and after: beachfront properties, sparsely populated green mountains, colorfully tiled fountains, and possible tourist attractions. *Colline du Charf*'s subtitle, for example, suggests its tourism potential by identifying the site as the rumored location of the tomb for the vanquished giant Antaeus. Similarly, *Landslip (Cromlegh de Mzora)* (2001) was taken near Morocco's little known megalith, though it is pointedly absent from the frame. Barrada's decision to exclude the megalith from visual representation even as she refers to it textually indicates that her concern lies more with interrupting such touristic touchstones than merely reproducing them.

A similar game is afoot with *Jeune fille en rouge – En jouant aux osselets (Young Girl in Red – Playing Jacks)* (1999; Figure 2.5) and *Baie de Tanger (Bay of Tangier* (2002; Figure 2.6). The former winks at orientalist and colonialist imagery, with its preference for North Africa's brightly patterned *zellig*, decomposing architectural grandeur, and inviting young women confined in a timeless past. In Barrada's rendition, the girl in red keeps her back to the viewer such that only the tips of her ears are visible. She appears entirely absorbed by the jacks indicated by the title, though the game is nowhere visible in the photograph. While the cut and flowered print of the dress she wears do not immediately align her dress with a specific time period, her slightly too small plastic Adidas (or Adidas knockoff) slides place her resolutely in a

contemporary moment of multinational brands, global capital, and oil economies.[269] *Baie de Tanger* too reimagines a popular subject for photographers from the earliest days of the city's photographic history.[270] As the bright new buildings that line the titular bay and its adjacent beaches attest in Barrada's photograph, this area is a site of major real estate and tourism speculation, with new hotels and condominiums springing up almost overnight in once vacant lots along the city's beaches. The natural beauty of the bay, surrounding hills, and Morocco's infamous sunshine co-exist with the modern amenities tourists desire in beachfront properties, including what viewers might imagine to be breathtaking views of the bay, the Strait, and the Spanish coastline just beyond. A few cars and *grands taxis*—those large, older model Mercedes that range in color from off-white to muted mustard yellow and transport passengers beyond the city limits served by the *petits taxis*—punctuate the otherwise empty street. Two rows of regularly spaced, comically squat palm trees divide the boulevard and frame the pedestrian zone at its center, while the mere handful of small dark silhouettes emphasize the limited presence of pedestrians on this sun-filled, shade-less stretch of asphalt. Pockmarked with patches of sandy dirt and the ever-present piles of trash, the grassy terrain that fills nearly half of the photograph's surface is adjacent to a construction site, bounded by a rippled tin fence. Its wooden scaffolding and red brick walls are visibly supported by concrete stilts. Then there is the hulking black and white nine-story building that dwarfs both its own shadow and the small brick construction at the bottom of the photograph. Its insistent verticality and reflective windows stand in sharp contrast to the horizontality that otherwise characterzies this overexposed photograph.

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[269] The German company Adidas was founded in 1949.

[270] For more early images of Tangier, including a reproduction of a color postcard from the 1920s of the Bay of Tangier shown from a similar height and angle as Barrada's photograph, see Retnani, esp. 123.

As with *Jeune fille en rouge*'s repurposing of Orientalist tropes, the empty streets and construction site ambiance of *Baie de Tanger* hardly cohere into an image of vibrant development or enticing tourist attractions, despite taking one of the city's key development sites as its subject.[271] With both of these photographs, Barrada chose the same seemingly straightforward approach as advertisers. What results is a carefully constructed and framed scene made to appear candid. But unlike the images Barrada mimics, neither photograph is inviting. They offer no opening to the viewer to project him or herself pleasurably into the space they depict, issue no invitation to tap the girl's shoulder or stroll along the city's boulevards and beaches. Rather, the *Jeune fille en rouge*'s pose—elbows close to her body, wide stance, and wholly absorbed in her activity—indicates that any interruption by the viewer would likely be unwelcome.

Barrada's photographs dwell in this gap between what the history of representations of Tangier suggest should be welcoming—beaches, sunshine, *zellig*, and young Moroccans—and its more ambivalent reality. Barrada cites but does not recite these tropes. Her photographs also point to another element that advertising imagery obscures, something that *A Life Full of Holes* evokes and Barrada's explicitly tourism-themed works from the same period (e.g., *Gran Royal Turismo*, 2003) address directly. Namely, that development and tourism photography in Morocco operates similarly to the orientalist paintings that, in Nochlin's argument, employed the reality

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[271] This summary synthesizes a number of guides consulted in the collection of the Tangier American Legation Museum from both the Protectorate and postcolonial periods. It was notably a bi-lingual French and English guide published by the national airline Royal Air Maroc in 1964 that focused on Delacroix, reproducing many of his Moroccan sketches and watercolors and emphasizing in its introductory text how today (1964) one can still find the Morocco that Delacroix visited in 1832. See also Mohamed Mansouri, "Moroccan Tourism Image in France," tr. Martha Wallen, *Annals of Tourism Research* 15:4 (1988): 558-561.

effect in order to deny the violence of colonialism. In contemporary Morocco, such photographs function literally and figuratively as a *cache-misère* for the political corruption and environmental indifference that make large-scale tourist development and real estate speculation so profitable.[272] For large building projects in Morocco, advertisement agency-generated images of a construction site's future appearance often decorate the construction walls cordoning off the site itself. It is fitting, then, that another photograph in the series—*Panneau – Publicité de lotissement touristique – Briech (Hoarding – Advertising for a Tourist Development – Briech)* (2002; Figure 2.7)—shows a detail of one such *cache-misère* used to advertise a tourist development between Asilah and Tangier. In both *Panneau* and on many of the walls themselves, the advertisements' increasingly dirty, sun-bleached, peeling, and rusted surfaces exist in sharp contrast to the advertisement itself. Barrada's photographs call attention to this visible rift between the site's projected future and its present state, between content and form, just as she extends the site in question from single construction site to Tangier as a whole.

While *Jeune fille en rouge, Baie de Tanger,* and *Panneau* use the visual vocabularies of orientalism and tourism to very different ends, other photographs invoke pregnant symbols of Moroccan nationalism and national identity to similarly denude them of their visual fervor and recognizability.[273] In fact, without their titles, these nationalist references would be all but illegible. Included in exhibitions of the series but not in the artist book, *Route de l'Unité (Unity Route)* (2001-2011; Figure 2.8) offers one example. In it, a narrow grey asphalt strip serpentines

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[272] The *cache-misère* here is a reference to the walls that Hassan II famously ordered to be built around the Rabati *bidonvilles*, or shantytowns, along the coast just south of Rabat so that he would not see them as he drove to his coastal palace at Skhirat.

[273] For an analysis of Moroccan nationalism, its history, and its symbols, see Hassan Rachik, *Symboliser la nation: essai sur l'usage des identités collectives au Maroc* [Symbolizing the Nation: Essay on the Use of Collective Identities in Morocco] (Casablanca: Le Fennec, 2003).

from bottom right to top left, snaking across the arid and mountainous landscape. It could be any road in northern Morocco, but Barrada's title choice anchors it within a hugely symbolic moment in Moroccan nationalist history. The *Route de l'Unité*, or Unity Route, was one of the first infrastructure projects undertaken by the newly independent Morocco under the leadership of Morocco's most famous years of lead casualty, Mehdi Ben Barka, with Mohammed V's support. Built during the summer of 1957, this sixty-kilometer-long road was to link Taounate, in the former French zone, and Ketama (now Issagen), in the former Spanish zone, and it was promoted as reuniting the nation that colonialism had divided into French and Spanish territories.[274] But in Barrada's photograph, this stretch of Rif landscape, with its few inhabitants and largely barren fields, hardly exudes the energy and excitement promoted in images from the route's construction. Similarly, *N du mot Nation en arabe – Tanger (N of the word Nation in Arabic – Tangier)* (2003; Figure 2.9) takes a national symbol—here, the motto *Allah, Al Watan, Al Malik* (God, The Nation, The King) as rendered in whitewashed stone on many a Moroccan hillside—and threatens to absolve the Arabic letters of their signifying power. Only the phrase's middle letter, *nūn*, is fully legible, its half-circle cradling a young boy in blue corduroys and grey tee shirt. He rests his right elbow awkwardly on the letter's *niqṭa*, or dot, and squints into the sun but avoids the camera's eye. No longer the middle consonant of an affirmation heard or read for the *n*th time, the *nūn* here appears in its three-dimensional materiality. The spiky tufts of thick,

[274] Ketama's renaming was part of the city's rebranding due to the associations of Ketama with marijuana. During the summer of 1957, to build the Unity Route, approximately eleven thousand Moroccans volunteered their time and labor. The majority of these "citizen-activists [*citoyen-militant*]," as Ben Barka called them, were between 19 and 30 years old and members of Istiqlal. On the Unity Route, see Maâti Monjib, "*Ben Barka veut révolutionner le Maroc* [Ben Barka wants to revolutionize Morocco]," *Zamane*, 17 December 2013. Available online: http://www.zamane.ma/ben-barka-veut-revolutionner-le-maroc/

yellowed grass reveal multiple cracks in its surface while grey splotches suggest the need for a fresh coat of paint. The faded paint and cracked surface, like the construction ad copy, provide an apt analogy for the kind of ideological maintenance work that nationalism requires of its citizens, the very kind of work that mottos like *Allah, Al Watan, Al Malik* aim to accomplish and whose visual symbols the photographs *N du mot Nation en arabe* and *Route de l'Unité* call into question.

In reworking these tropes—the elements that have long conspired to delimit the visual vocabulary of Tangier—Barrada's photographs do not counter the feigned transparency of orientalist, nationalist, or touristic documentary with what Demos identifies as its opposite, opacity. Arguing for what he calls an "aesthetics of opacity," a project with which he aligns Barrada's project, Demos proposes this aesthetic in his analysis of *Nervus Rerum*, a 2008 video made in a West Bank refugee camp by British artist collective, The Otolith Group.[275] Here, Demos is interested in how The Otolith Group, comprised of the two artists Kodwo Eshun and Anjalika Sagar, "experiment with cinematic opacity" as a way to grapple with the challenges of representation that Palestine—as an occupied people and place—poses for artists.[276] Using a Steadicam to wind through the camp's narrow streets and passageways, *Nervus Rerum*, Demos argues, counters the transparency of "documentary exposé" with the "blankness and disorientation" of opacity.[277] Like Eshun and Sagar who cite the Martinican philosopher and writer Edouard Glissant, Demos grounds his interpretation of *Nervus Refum* in Glissant's short

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[275] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 161. This chapter reworks material Demos first published in "The Right to Opacity: On the Otolith Group's *Nervus Rerum*," *October* 129 (Summer 2009), 112-128.
[276] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 151.
[277] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 145. Demos describes the camerawork in greater detail on 149-50.

essay, "For Opacity," which was published in an anthology by New York's New Museum in 2004. For Demos, opacity serves as "the reverse of transparency, […] obscurity that frustrates knowledge and that assigns to the represented a source of unknowability that is also a sign of potentiality."[278] Although Demos links opacity and transparency through a process of reversal, for Glissant, the relationship between the two terms is less clearly defined. Rather, the importance of opacity, Glissant argues, lies not in what it opposes but in its capacity to provoke modes of relational thinking, a way of thinking that eschews simple binaries such as transparent/opaque. It is an aesthetics, as Krista Thompson writes, that requires considering "that which is not easily revealed, made visible, transparently present."[279] Using textiles as a metaphor, Glissant proposes, "Opacities can coexist and converge, weaving fabrics. To understand these truly, one must focus on the texture of the weave and not on the nature of its components. For the time being, perhaps, give up this old obsession with discovering what lies at the bottom of natures. There would be something great and noble about initiating such a movement, referring not to Humanity but to the exultant divergence of humanities."[280] Opacity, in other words, is more than the opposite of transparency and more than a path leading to a new universalism or humanism. Instead, Glissant's aesthetics of opacity shifts our attention to the multiple ways of being in relation to one another, just as a fabric's texture and durability reflect the relationship of warp to weft.

Would *A Life Full of Holes* come into focus differently if, following Glissant's invitation, we step back from analyzing the photographs individually ("the nature of its components"), as I

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[278] Demos, *The Migrant Image*, 145.
[279] Thompson, "A Sidelong Glance," 20.
[280] Glissant 253.

have done thus far, and consider instead "the texture of the weave"? I ask this question not because I believe Glissant was one of Barrada's points of reference while making *A Life Full of Holes*, but rather to return to the contention that first prompted my thinking about these photographs. Because only six of the thirty-one photographs published in Barrada's artist book refer to the Strait and because no one in any of the photographs is unequivocally a migrant, the two terms with which Barrada originally frames her project—migration and the Strait—are unsatisfactory. If neither migration, nor the Strait, nor even Tangier, which is Barrada's most frequently photographed subject, links these photographs, what does? What, in other words, connects the sequence of photographs on pages 44, 45, and 47 which depict a Ferris wheel in M'diq, a sheep-filled vacant plot, and a man in jeans, windbreaker, and baseball cap who stands awkwardly within a graffitied window or door frame (Figures 2.10-12)?[281] And how do these images of leisure, development, or cheekily performing for Barrada's camera, alongside the nods in other photographs to orientalism, tourism, and nationalism, relate to illegal migration across the Strait of Gibraltar, the focal point of Barrada's artist statement? Taken together, the wide range of genres, topics, and locations covered in the series create a thick view of Tangier, one that reworks the multiplicity of images of and about the city and the many mythologies they invoke. Migration is but one thread in this fabric, woven together by Barrada with the other image repertoires that have long worked, sometimes in tandem, sometimes in competition, to

[281] Downey proposes a different and overwrought interpretation of *L'homme au baton – Tanger (Man with a Stick – Tangier)* (1999) that is rife with migratory orientalism. He writes, "the image of the plane [drawn above the man's head] carries with it unmistakable overtures of travel and, hence, emigration. The subject in this image would appear to be both conscious of the 'plane' above him and yet totally out of sync with its implications. He will never take such a plane and his interstitial fate—orbiting around the daydream of leaving and the base reality of staying—is emblazoned in the very *mise en scène* that he finds himself (figuratively and metaphorically) trapped within." Downey, "A Life Full of Holes," 618-9.

define this city. What results is a project that addresses the confluence of photograph taking and place making in Moroccan history and the ways in which imagery has been used to circulate and naturalize the ideologies behind these image repertoires.

This is all to say that at the same time that Barrada's individual photographs offer an unflattering image of Tangier's present development or try to picture the complex circumstances that lead to, ensue from, or converge with, migration, the series' foremost engagement is with the history of how Morocco has been made visible, by whom and for whom. In theme and in form, *A Life Full of Holes* works through the problem of how photography and documentary have conspired throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with those in power and those seeking power to construct a very specific image of Tangier. Barrada's photographs are, I believe, a working through of the urgent question of how to make pictures that exceed, even as they work to undermine, the visual tropes that continue to determine and delimit the representation of Morocco and its inhabitants, both within the Moroccan national body and in the reception of Moroccan artists around the globe. The tension between the found image—whether inherited stereotype or painted street mural—and its undoing through re-presentation and re-citation is another strong thread that weaves together this series. More than migration, the Strait, or the sea, Barrada's camera repeatedly lands on the found images of Tangier, showing us the photographs that have been framed and hung on walls, printed on peeling wallpaper, and enlarged and illuminated as advertisements, as well as the diversity of images that have been hand drawn, scratched, or painted in public places by Morocco's many other image makers. Taking seriously the centrality of visual representation to the construction of Morocco, as Barrada does, is one way to move beyond migratory orientalism so that we might arrive at a

nuanced understanding of migration, as it is lived and as it is pictured: with the holes of history, through the layers of photography, in all its messy multiplicity.

CHAPTER THREE

A Building in the *Bled*

How are you, how are you, ya Ghorfa of Koukouh's almond tree
How are you, you who are based on a traditional building and with a slab roof
How are you, ya Ghorfa, you who are in the lap of nature between the valleys and the slopes
And in general your door is always open
An artist designed you and the maâlem [master] planted the soul in you
Those who saw you from afar thought you the remnants of Noah's Ark
And those close to you saw the most beautiful shape and surface of all
And as you are, O Ghorfa, built neither in Rabat, nor Kaza [Casablanca], nor Chleuh

Marzouk Laghlid, 2008[282]

Younès Rahmoun's first *ghorfa* was the space under the stairs of his parents' house in Tetouan. In both Modern Standard and Colloquial Moroccan Arabic, *ghorfa* (singular; plural: *ghuraf*) means "room," but the word also refers to the space in a Moroccan house reserved for the educated family member—usually older and male—to study.[283] Rahmoun's *ghorfa* was an irregularly shaped space whose sides measure 214 x 236 x 150 x 190 cm with the ceiling height ranging from 65 to 185 cm. It served as his studio during his last year as a student at Tetouan's

[282] Marzouk Laghlid, "*Poème Ghorfa* [Ghorfa Poem]," Beni Boufrah, 2008. Published in Arabic in *Younès Rahmoun Ghorfa Al-Âna/Hunâ* (Paris: Editions hors'champs, 2009), 35.
[283] The Arabic letter that is rendered "gh" in English is pronounced more like a French "r," while the Arabic "r" is rolled. On the *ghorfa*'s use and function, see Abdellah Karroum, "'Tghoafat': Ghorfa du champ d'amandes," *Younès Rahmoun Ghorfa Al-Âna/Hunâ* (Paris: Editions hors'champs, 2009), 17.

INBA, from which he graduated in 1998.[284] This *ghorfa* underneath the staircase afforded Rahmoun the space and the privacy he needed to develop his BFA thesis and the artwork that followed over the next several years.[285] It was an analogous kind of space that Rahmoun sought to offer viewers when, in 2006, he began a series of freestanding, largely temporary *Ghuraf* constructed for biennales, exhibitions, and artist residencies. The *Ghuraf* took Rahmoun from his home in Tetouan, where he still lives, to Singapore, Douala, Aix-en-Provence, and Amsterdam, among other places. Open to all who would choose to use them, albeit one at a time, these *Ghuraf* are intended by the artist as three-dimensional invitations to facilitate an individual's reflection, meditation, or repose; her contemplation, as the last two words of each *Ghorfa*'s title—*Al-Âna/Hunâ*, or "now/here" suggests—of the here and now.

Mobile and site-specific, imported and localized, these *Ghuraf* would seem the quintessential migration form. Mapping the journeys Rahmoun undertook to build his *Ghuraf*, from Tetouan to Rabat, where the project was first developed at L'appartement 22 before it traveled to cities in Southeast Asia, West Africa, and Western Europe, would produce a trajectory akin to those Khalili filmed. Rather than analyze the mobility that characterizes the bulk of Rahmoun's *Ghuraf*, which he continues to build and subsequently dismantle around the

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[284] For a history of the INBA, which was founded in 1945 during the Spanish Protectorate and nationalized in 1957, a year after independence, as well as the importance of Rahmoun's mentor, Faouzi Laatiris, on his and subsequent generations of Moroccan artists, see *Volumes fugitifs: Faouzi Laatiris et l'Institut national des beaux-arts de Tétouan [Fugitive Volumes: Faouzi Laatiris and the Tetouan Institute National des Beaux-Arts]*, edited by Morad Montazami (Rabat: Fondation nationale des musées du Maroc and Kulte Editions, 2016).

[285] As is common in Morocco, Rahmoun lived with his parents until he completed the renovation of his house, to which he moved after marrying Laila Rahmoun in fall 2013. As a child, Rahmoun shared a bedroom with his brothers and would occasionally use other rooms in the house to work but only for short periods. Interview with the artist, Tetouan, 3 May 2014. My understanding of the importance of this space for Rahmoun benefits as well from conversations with Karroum throughout the years.

globe, this chapter examines the odd *Ghorfa* out: number four. Rahmoun built the permanent *Ghorfa 4 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Ghorfa 4 Now/Here)* (2007-2008; Figure 3.1) on a small plot of hillside behind Beni Boufrah, a village in the western Rif Mountains and the site of his earliest artistic experimentations. In the fall of 2007, when Rahmoun began adapting this series to Beni Boufrah, he embedded his mobile *Ghuraf* within one specific manifestation of mobility across borders: rural emigration. Unlike the other *Ghuraf* which evoke the modern migrant in their geographic mobility and shifting exteriors, *Ghorfa 4* addresses emigration from the perspective of the rural Rif. It shifts attention from *immigration* to *emigration*, from the place of arrival to that of departure, in ways that broach the psychological, social, and ecological consequences of emigration. In so doing, it brings together two distinct bodies of work in Rahmoun's artistic practice—the early Beni Boufrah interventions and the roving *Ghorfa* series—and builds on my analysis of how *A Life Full of Holes* weaves migration into a longer history of representing Morocco.

Rahmoun's permanent, site-specific *Ghorfa 4*, I argue, enmeshes the artist and his audience within three fundamental aspects of migration in contemporary Morocco: first, the back-and-forth movements across time and space undertaken by migrants and their families when they travel and send remittances and gifts; second, the informal networks on which this movement of people, capital, and goods depend; and third, the building practices and materials migrants use to construct homes in the *bled* (countryside) that have remade Morocco's rural built environment. Traversing the aesthetic, architectural, and ecological consequences of rural emigration, this chapter attends to the changes in the Rif precipitated by the departure of a large, predominantly male cohort of emigrants who, much like the young shepherd in *Les Chemins du Rif*, emigrated between 1956 and 1999. *Ghorfa 4* stitches these three aspects of emigration

together to propose, through mixing stone, straw, and concrete, an alternative material and aesthetic for these built promises of the emigrant's return. This promise also proposes an alternative to the Moroccan state's ethno-geographical application of the modernity/tradition binary. Rahmoun's Rif *Ghorfa* thus brings to the fore one of migration's many forms—here understood as the dynamic, multi-generational, back-and-forth movements of emigrants, their families, and their remittances—and how migration permeates every aspect of life in the Rif, including the making and viewing of art.

An Artist in the Rif

Ghorfa 4 is a squat stone building that sits halfway up a low, untilled hillside (Figure 3.2). Wider than it is tall, too small to be a house but too house-like to be anything else, the "strange hut," as the locals call it, is almost always empty. It rests on a cement base, which, like the building atop it, matches the dusty orange of the surrounding mountains.[286] In spring, patches of grass soften the ruddiness of the mountains' rocky soil, which is punctuated by spiky low plants, bushy pops of green, and a handful of short trees with thin branches. By summer's end, the greens have greyed, the grasses died off, and the dirt, now loose and difficult to traverse, has faded to burnt sienna. The building's walls are made from these mountains' richly textured stones, culled from a now dry riverbed a few steps away. The stones range in size from large rocks nearly a foot in length to thin, flat slivers no larger than the palm of a hand. Thick and pebbly cement applied in visible splotches splash and drip down from the bi-level, oppositely

[286] Bérénice Saliou, "Ghorfa #4, Al-Âna/Hunâ," http://en.younesrahmoun.com/portfolio/installations/ghorfa-4/.

sloping roof and bind the stones together. Impasto-like, the rough and doughy cement animates the building's surface, causing the dappled play of light and shadow and creating a contrast between the light grey of the cement and the stones it stabilizes, which appear almost yellow in comparison (Figure 3.3). Although not visible when facing the front, the tightly packed spindly branches that support the cement roof become visible upon circumnavigating the building, a task rendered difficult by the uneven hill and loose soil. The branches' rough-hewn edges stick out perpendicular to the wall, sandwiched between the inches of thick cement above and the stones below (Figure 3.4).

When Rahmoun broke ground on *Ghorfa 4* during Ramadan 2007, he relied on a network of community relationships in Beni Boufrah that he has nurtured throughout his life, first as a member of the village's Charchaoui family and beginning in 1996, as a young, possibly crazy artist. Rahmoun built this *Ghorfa* with the master stonemason, Mohamed Arrahmani, and his assistants, Abdelilah Gueddor, Nourddine Cherchaoui, and Samir Bouchaib, between September 2007 and February 2008. Upon its completion, a group of twenty-two elementary school students and the village's Youth Organization (Dar Al-Shabab) walked up a footpath to the 990 square meter plot of land that Rahmoun purchased from his uncle to celebrate the work's completion and its opening to the public. The students planted three trees—palm, olive, and fig—which Rahmoun selected because they are frequent sights in the Moroccan countryside as well as significant in the Qu'ran. In honor of the artwork's completion, Marzouk Laghlid, a poet in Beni Boufrah, composed the poem that serves as this chapter's epigraph.

A primarily Arabophone village, Beni Boufrah is an hour's drive from Issagen, where four years earlier Yto Barrada photographed a woman standing alone in the woods, and several hours from Belyounech, the setting for Larbi Bennani's 1967 short film, *Chemins du Rif*. It is far

from the hullabaloo of the global art market and biennale circuit and far from Morocco's contemporary art communities, which are concentrated in Marrakech, Casablanca, and Rabat. Even from Tetouan, a city that, thanks to the INBA, Trankat, and the Centro de arte moderno, has become a modest hub for contemporary art, the drive takes three hours. For those coming from outside of Morocco, the voyage to *Ghorfa 4* begins much like that advertised in *Rif, terre de légendes et de détente*, the Ministry of Tourism's 1968 film discussed in Chapter 1, with an arrival in Tangier and a drive along the Mediterranean coast past Cala Iris toward Al Hoceima. As I argued above, official cinema participated in the postcolonial state's stereotyping of villages like Beni Boufrah as backwards and ahistorical. Identified as the site of tradition that was absent of any modernity, these rural villages in the Rif were characterized in official media as simultaneously a place Moroccan men should leave and European tourists should visit.

Along with Barrada, Rahmoun is one of the most widely exhibited and collected artists of his generation. Because of this, Beni Boufrah has become a place for a modest amount of art tourism, despite the challenges getting to the village and its lack of tourism infrastructure. Although his work is in the collections of museums including Mathaf: Arab Museum of Modern Art (Doha) and the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA) and he has been exhibiting his work internationally since 1999, Rahmoun has yet to garner much attention in U.S. institutions of contemporary art.[287] Exhibitions of his work frequently include supplementary materials, such as photographs, drawings, preparatory plans, videos, or three-dimensional

[287] Rahmoun's first international exhibition was Jean-Louis Froment, *L'objet désorienté au Maroc* [The Disoriented Object in Morocco], exh. cat. (Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs, 1999). To date, Rahmoun's only exhibition in the U.S. were the group exhibitions *Memory, Place, Desire* (Haverford College, 2014) and *Earth Matters* (National Museum of Africa, Smithsonian, Washington D.C., 2013). His selection for the main exhibition of the 2017 Venice Biennale suggests this may soon change.

objects, that are connected to the work's place of production or that document artworks made outside the gallery or museum walls. As the artist discusses in interviews, his religious beliefs and his identification as a practicing Muslim inform his work. He repeatedly uses numbers that are significant in Islam, such as seven (the number of doors in heaven) and ninety-nine (the number of names for Allah), and often chooses to orient his installations in the direction of Mecca. Rahmoun's artistic practice cannot, however, be reduced to, or fully explained by, religious beliefs and their attendant symbolism. His long-term interests in Buddhism, meditation, and Sufism, the metaphysical branch of Islam with a strong presence in Morocco, are equally tangible, as are the basic shapes and materials of everyday life: cones, cylinders, and spheres; aluminum, plastic, jute, and clay (Figure 3.5). Rahmoun typically begins making artworks by collecting numbers, shapes, and objects from his surroundings. He then manipulates and activates these materials using repetitive, familiar gestures that give form to everyday, ephemeral, or barely visible activities, such as praying, rolling dough, and breathing.[288]

Although the *Ghorfa* series began on Rabat's avenue Mohammed V, Rahmoun developed many of the forms and techniques that now characterize his practice during summers spent in Beni Boufrah. In the twelve years between his second year at the INBA and the inauguration of

[288] Rahmoun's religious beliefs are almost always invoked in the literature on his work, and I will not dwell on them here. The attention to his religion is perhaps more a reflection of his coming to international recognition in a largely post-September 11th world and in France, which has long seen Islam as a marker of difference, than it is Islam's importance to understanding the works themselves. As Rahmoun makes clear in interviews when asked about Islam's role in his work, he means for his art to be legible and accessible beyond any one frame. This approach is one that many artists from Muslim-majority countries take as a way to push back against the reduction of their work to a single geographic or religious marker. For example, speaking at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago on December 10, 2016, the artist Basim Magdy responded to a question about how his work is received in the Middle East by stating his intention that the works be universally accessible.

the *Ghorfa 4*, Rahmoun created five artworks in the village. The early Beni Boufrah works lay the groundwork for *Ghorfa 4* and contain the foundational elements of Rahmoun's entire oeuvre: local, cheap, often natural materials organized in sparse compositions by repetitive, economic, and meditative gestures that respond to the surrounding environment in both material and form. During high school and INBA vacations, Rahmoun regularly spent a month visiting family in Beni Boufrah. In high school, he typically sketched or sometimes made watercolors. But after his second year at INBA, he decided to do something different and to take advantage of the nature and space to which he had access in Beni Boufrah.[289] Rahmoun remembers that as the family's invited guest, he was accorded special status in the village at the same time that villagers viewed him as an outsider urbanite from Tetouan.[290] The Rif simultaneously provided a space of liberty and vulnerability: here was a place where he could experiment in nature, yet to do these experiments in Beni Boufrah required him to defend his work before and after its completion to family members and villagers who were at once sympathetic and unsympathetic.[291]

These conversations with village residents began with Rahmoun's first Beni Boufrah work, *Temmoun* (1996) for which Rahmoun spent a week painting the stones that hang from haystacks in fields surrounding the village. Before he could do so, he needed permission from the hay's owners. Twenty-one at the time, Rahmoun's age meant that he could not directly approach many of the farmers whose hay bales he wanted to paint. Rahmoun thus requested permission via the farmers' sons, who were closer to his age. They served as intermediaries

[289] Interview with the artist, Tetouan, Morocco, 3 May 2014.
[290] Rahmoun was born, as he describes it, between the city and the country, because his parents lived in Beni Hassan, between Tetouan and Chefchaouen. Tetouanis, however, consider him Rifi, not Tetouani.
[291] Interview with the artist, Tetouan, Morocco, 3 May 2014.

between the young artist and the older generation of Beni Boufrah farmers. After obtaining permission, Rahmoun used white chalk to paint a total of 1322 stones on twenty-five hay bales (Figure 3.6).[292] Once painted, the normally barely visible stones stand out against the muted yellow-brown of the dried hay, their height varying according to the different rope lengths. Rising and falling in a sequence around the hay bales' circumference, their form echoes those of the mountains in the surrounding landscape while the matte white chalk links them visually with the nearby traditional houses, whose walls or window frames are similarly painted. The next summer, when Rahmoun returned to Beni Boufrah, he fielded questions from residents as to whether he planned to repaint the stones.

Rahmoun's process for obtaining the permission necessary to realize *Temmoun* signals his capacity to build interpersonal relationships and to communicate across generational lines in ways that respected the village's social hierarchies and customs. It would also prove critical to his ability to create subsequent works in Beni Boufrah and to make the permanent work—*Ghorfa 4*—accessible to an audience beyond his extended family and the village's other residents. In 1997—his second summer of making artworks out in nature—he adopted farming materials similar to those in *Temmoun* to make *Jedabiya* and *Aqboub*. For *Jedabiya*, he took the stones and ropes used in storing hay and wrapped the rope around each stone three times. He then tied the rope and suspended the stones from wooden branches inside his grandmother's house at varying heights so they hovered a few inches off the ground (Figure 3.7). Below each stone, he made a small dirt square whose ruddiness stood out against the house's whitewashed floor and wall. The branches from which Rahmoun hung the stones form an integral part of this traditionally built

[292] Interview with the artist, Tetouan, Morocco, 3 May 2014.

house's roof and are visible from the interior courtyard, which is open to the sky (Figure 3.8). While technically inside the four walls of the house, the wrapped stones were left exposed to the wind, rain, and sun of the outside environment. The artwork, which Rahmoun described two decades later as an exercise in bringing external elements inside, occupied a liminal space between inside and outside, private and public, and—in the context of this part of the Rif where gender segregation is frequent—places typically available to men and those that are available to women.[293] For *Aqboub*, Rahmoun created miniature hay stacks by covering with hay the cupola-shaped containers that farmers use to transport hay from the field to the stable. He remembers being satisfied with the repetitive process and results where he sat working indoors. But when he placed them outside in the field, he felt that they disappeared entirely: the colors blended too much into the surrounding space and Rahmoun's haystacks were dwarfed by the neighboring full-size haystacks. Because of how the works disappeared once thus placed, Rahmoun considers the work a failure and has largely edited it out of his oeuvre. He does not include it on his website and has destroyed the photographs he took of the haystacks, only keeping a photograph of him working inside (Figure 3.9).

Rahmoun made *Nadhm (Composition)* (1999; Figure 3.10), the last work he completed in Beni Boufrah during his student years, using one hundred orange bricks. In keeping with his previous Rif works and much as he did for his senior thesis (Figure 3.5), he used materials found *in situ*. The bricks were culled from a stack of those leftover from building his Uncle Hamadi's house, which sits across a narrow dirt path from the house that at the time belonged to Tama Charchaoui, Hamadi's mother and Rahmoun's grandmother. He arranged them on the courtyard

[293] Interview with the artist, Tetouan, Morocco, 3 May 2014.

floor of Hamadi's house in a five-by-five square grid. To make each square, Rahmoun placed four bricks long side down, the short edge of one bifurcating its neighbor and leaving a small square void at its center. He then filled the square voids with cinders, which he carefully shaped into twenty-five pyramids. For Rahmoun, the cinder pyramids visually reference the monumental ones in Giza, Egypt, but the form also recalls the bright, sculpted displays of spices in Moroccan marketplaces, albeit rendered here in miniature and in the muted color of ash. Despite its visual simplicity, *Nadhm* proposes a material mash up of seemingly opposed terms: minimal and monumental, horizontal and vertical, rectangular and triangular, hard and soft, "Western" and "(Middle) Eastern." Rahmoun arranged the bricks so that the darker, redder sides alternate with the lighter sides and emphasize the geometric patterning and color variations of his chosen material. *Nadhm* ("composition"), like much of Rahmoun's oeuvre, invites being placed within two different aesthetic genealogies. *Nadhm* could be historicized within the internationally known art movements of the 1960s: minimalism, land art, and *arte povera*. Meanwhile its geometric patterning and carefully shaped ashes read like a pared down version of the colorful *zellij* (tiles) that adorn lavish palaces and mosques in much of central Morocco and are a lynchpin of the country's visual vocabulary.[294]

Nadhm's locational and material liminality forms the conceptual and material crux of Rahmoun's Beni Boufrah oeuvre in general. On its surface and through its materials, *Nadhm* alights on issues of temporality and transformation but in its location, it invokes emigration and lays the groundwork for Rahmoun's more extended engagement with the forms of migrant architecture in the Rif. For Rahmoun, *Nadhm* is an exploration of how fire alters a material's

[294] For example, the *zellig* that appears in Barrada's *Jeune fille en rouge*.

form. Fire turns sturdy wood—historically a crucial material in the Rif for building and heating homes—into fragile, flaky ashes and, conversely, it transforms soft, malleable clay into the solid bricks used in much of the new housing construction in the Rif, including the house where Rahmoun made *Nadhm*. Like the previous summer's *Jedabiya*, *Nadhm* occupies multiple transitory spaces, from its physical location in an enclosed courtyard to its formal identity at the limit between temporary sculpture, found architecture, and documentary photograph. And it is this physical location that positions *Nadhm* within emigration: the house where he made it, like many new constructions in the Rif, was partially unfinished and sits empty most of the year because Rahmoun's uncle migrated to Spain. In other words, Hamadi's absence and the halt in completing the house's construction is what made the building and its bricks available for his nephew's formal experiments.

In between *Nadhm*'s completion in 1999 and 2004's *Mika*, his last Beni Boufrah artwork before *Ghorfa 4*, Rahmoun worked primarily outside of Morocco (Figure 3.11). He spent six months as an artist-in-residence at Paris' Cité des arts, a rite of passage for many young Moroccan artists of his and the subsequent generation, and he participated in exhibitions in Belgium, France, Lebanon, Morocco, and Spain. Like the earlier Beni Boufrah pieces, *Mika* is a temporary work produced *in situ* on a family member's property in Beni Boufrah using materials found nearby. This time, however, rather than using natural and biodegradable materials like cinder, stone, and clay, Rahmoun compressed hundreds of the black plastic bags (called *Mika* in Moroccan Arabic) that were used at shops throughout Morocco.[295] Rahmoun filled a four-by-four-by-one meter basin, normally used to store water for watering the nearby fields, with the

[295] Plastic bags were officially banned in Morocco effective July 1, 2016.

bags. Unlike earlier pieces in which Rahmoun used this readily available and cheap material, with *Mika*, he took the bags out of the contemporary art gallery space and placed them in a rural environment where they have, in recent decades, become ubiquitous.[296] These plastic bags appear scattered across the landscape, caught in tree branches or bushes, and in the toxic black smoke that billows from the burning garbage piles that are common in the Moroccan countryside where services for trash disposal are limited or nonexistent. Installed in a Beni Boufrah water basin, the bags in *Mika* are contained, certainly, but not meticulously analyzed or counted. Instead, what is emphasized here is how these seemingly disposable objects fill the space allotted to them and the connections between the finite resources of water, which this basin was built to hold, and the imported oil that now fills it, albeit transformed here into so much black plastic. Their placement in the water basin also signals their likely future disposal through burning, with its cement walls ostensibly providing a reliable way to contain the flames. In this way, *Mika* introduces another new dimension to Rahmoun's Beni Boufrah oeuvre upon which *Ghorfa 4* would expand. Not bound by the numerically and geometrically driven arrangements of rectangular or ovoid forms that previously defined Rahmoun's use of plastic, *Mika* instead privileges a local ecology to comment on the environmental impact of introducing new, non-biodegradable materials into the everyday exchanges and consumption patterns of places like Beni Boufrah.

[296] Rahmoun has used plastic bags in his art since 2001, when he made three works with inflated or compressed black and white plastic bags: *Kemmoussa* and *Nafas*, both for an exhibition at Marseille's Passage de l'Art, and *Baydaq/Loqma*, which was shown at Al-Rabita Al-Sakafia in Tripoli, Lebanon.

A Room of One's Own

When Rahmoun made the first *Ghorfa* for his 2006 solo exhibition at L'appartement 22, he used chalk to trace the floor plan of his Tetouan studio and he projected a 3D video of the space. He also made *Ghorfa I*, a three-dimensional terra cotta and enamel model measuring 55 x 50 x 35 cm. Later that year, he made his first to-scale *Ghorfa*—*Ghorfa 2*—for the 2006 Singapore Biennale (Figure 3.12).[297] Starting with the Singapore *Ghorfa*, the interior of each room repeats the idiosyncratic measurements of his Tetouani *ghorfa*. Rahmoun designs each *Ghorfa* specifically for the exhibition or residency that invites him. As a result, the materials, placement, and appearance vary substantially. Except for the permanent Rif *Ghorfa*, the *Ghuraf* are dismantled at the exhibition's close. The series negotiates the tensions between the seemingly opposed terms of fixity and mobility, consistency and variation, here and elsewhere. During an initial period of research into local building practices, readily available materials, and environmental and historical factors, Rahmoun chooses construction materials in conversation with the hosting organization or space. Because the building materials vary with each *Ghorfa*, the sculpture's appearance, exterior dimensions, and longevity vary dramatically, even as the interior dimensions remain the same. For example, when invited to participate in Doual'art's 2010 Arts Urbis project, whose theme that year centered on water and ecology, Rahmoun built a wooden *Ghorfa* (7) on stilts in a mangrove, using corrugated sheet metal for the roof (Figure 3.13). For the similarly ecologically minded and water-oriented Amsterdam *Ghorfa* (5, 2008-2009; Figure 3.14), Rahmoun responded to the prediction that, in the coming decades, the rising

[297] *Ghorfa I*, also 2006, was a three-dimensional model measuring 55 x 50 x 35 cm made of terra cotta and enamel.

sea level caused by climate change will significantly impact the low-lying Netherlands, where it is anticipated that water will rise six meters, or 19.7 feet. Unable to build a structure that was stable and fixed due to city administration, as he had originally planned, Rahmoun created a mobile *Ghorfa* on wheels that could be pulled by a bicycle. Riffing on Dutch bike culture, the Amsterdam *Ghorfa* created a portable space able to flee the rising waters without burning additional fossil fuels. This low-tech but labor-intensive *Ghorfa* contrasts with *Ghorfa 3*, in which Rahmoun used an electronic light system that changed the intensity of the light emitted in response to the viewer's movement or stillness inside the room. Rahmoun's decision to use this light technology was his way of engaging the strengths and expertise of Synesthésie, the media- and technology-focused space in Saint-Denis, France, which commissioned *Ghorfa 3*. He built a tenth *Ghorfa* in 2014 at the Musée des civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MuCEM) in Marseille.[298]

Rahmoun's *Ghuraf* are hard to characterize. Taken individually, each *Ghorfa*, like the Beni Boufrah works that preceded them, would slot well into art historian Rosalind Krauss's analysis of the seismic shift that sculpture undergoes in the U.S. and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe between 1968 and 1970 in her seminal 1979 essay, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field."[299] In order to differentiate between modern sculptors like Auguste Rodin and the work of those artists, including Richard Long, Mary Miss, Robert Morris, and Robert Smithson, whom she identifies as postmodern and whose coherence as a group she seeks to establish, Krauss traces a

[298] Rahmoun's work was part of a two-part group show and programs at MuCEM entitled *Des artistes dans la cite* [Artists in the city].
[299] Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," *October* 8 (Spring 1979), 30-44. See also her *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981).

transformation in the term sculpture.[300] While modernist sculpture, she argues, is defined by the "loss of site" that rendered it "functionally placeless and largely self-referential,"[301] postmodern artists redefine sculpture by yoking it to its site. Although like modern sculpture, postmodern sculpture is characterized negatively by what it is not, it combines these exclusions.[302] It is neither architecture nor landscape, nor is it not-architecture, nor not-landscape. Instead, it is different combinations of these terms that collectively produce what Krauss calls sculpture's expanded field.[303] For Krauss, at stake is the move away from "the modernist demand for the purity and separateness of the various mediums," (e.g., sculpture or painting) toward an artistic practice defined by the artist's frequent mobility across mediums. The work of these artists, she writes, is not defined by the medium in which they work but "in relation to the logical operations on a set of culture terms, for which any medium—photography, books, lines on walls, mirrors, or sculpture itself—might be used."[304] Three decades later, this same mobility across mediums also defines Rahmoun's practice, as well as that of many other contemporary artists.[305] And yet the *Ghorfa* series as a whole is structured around a principle of the artwork's movement and migration that for Krauss has no place in sculpture's expanded field. Like the modernist

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[300] For an equally important, if still France- and U.S.-centered, account of sculpture's transformations from the eighteenth century until the 1980s that focuses on the phenomenological experience of looking at sculpture, see Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).
[301] Krauss 34.
[302] Referring to Robert Morris's 1964 exhibition at the Green Gallery and his *Untitled (Mirrored Boxes)* produced a year later, Krauss writes, "In this sense sculpture had entered the full condition of its inverse logic and had become pure negativity: the combination of exclusions. Sculpture, it could be said, had ceased being a positivity, and was not the category that resulted from the addition of the *not-landscape* to the *not-architecture*." Krauss 36.
[303] Krauss maps this expansion using a Klein group, 37-8.
[304] Krauss 42.
[305] Rahmoun has also cited Long and land art as inspiration. Interview with the artist, Tetouan, Morocco, May 3, 2014.

sculpture from which Krauss differentiates the work of Smithson, Morris and others, Rahmoun's *Ghuraf* are placeless, self-referential, and "essentially nomadic." Moving across the historical rupture for which Krauss argues, they combine the features of Krauss's postmodernist sculpture and the modernism which it is not.[306]

The nomadic artist, and by extension, the nomadic artwork have a contemporary art discourse of their own, one that differs from the artwork's retreat into itself that Krauss describes. Nomadism, which Demos identifies as migration's neo-primitivist precursor (Chapter 2), gained currency in the contemporary art of the 1990s with the concurrent debates about new forms of institutional critique, site-specificity, and what the French curator and co-founder of Paris's Palais de Tokyo, Nicolas Bourriaud, termed "relational aesthetics." The art historian James Meyer identifies the artist of the 1990s as an increasingly nomadic figure who—like Rahmoun and his *Ghuraf*—moves between, and creates for, the contemporary art biennales around the globe.[307] Writing in 1998, Bourriaud describes "a set of artistic practices which take as their theoretical and practical point of departure the whole of human relations and their social context, rather than an independent and private space."[308] These practices were less about the creation of discrete objects by autonomous artists in their studios and more concerned with

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[306] Krauss 34. Krauss describes this break as a rupture on 42.

[307] James Meyer, "Nomads: Figures of Travel in Contemporary Art," reprinted in *Site-Specificity: The Ethnographic Turn*, Alex Coles, ed. (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2000), 10-26. On the shift away from the site as the artwork's physical location to the site as discursive, historical, or ideological construction in 1990s U.S. art history, see Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 61; Miwon Kwon, One Place After Another: Notes on Site Specificity," *October 80* (spring 1997), 85-110; James Meyer, "The Functional Site; or, The Transformation of Site Specificity," reprinted in *Space, Site, Intervention: Situating Installation Art*, Ed. Erika Suderburg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 23-37.

[308] Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* (1998) (Paris: Les presses du réel, 2002), 113.

generating relationships between people both inside and outside of the museum, gallery, or studio. Relational aesthetics was the term Bourriaud proposes to conceptualize the human relationships that artworks can generate or act upon. For the U.S. and Western European artists Meyer and Bourriaud analyze, such projects were as much enabled by the decade's multiculturalism as by the mobility many Americans enjoyed in the post-Berlin Wall era. In Meyer's telling, nomadic artists make works in response to their (seemingly) unfettered access to a post-Cold War globe, taking advantage of a mobility that is the privilege of a minority global elite comprised of Western passport holders and the very wealthy.[309]

While the *Ghuraf* provide Rahmoun a way to participate in an art world that requires international mobility, the series' movement and adaptability play with the relationship between a "global" art market and the multinational corporations that frequently underwrite contemporary art exhibitions and events, including those that have funded the production and exhibition of some of the *Ghuraf*. Like any strong multinational or global brand, the *Ghorfa* series is a project that retains its core structure—here dimensions, there brand—yet appears endlessly flexible and adaptable to new situations or markets. And yet, the series' open-endedness—the artist continues to produce new *Ghuraf*—complicates assigning a monetary value because the *Ghuraf* are not bought, sold, or collected.[310] The series also raises pointed questions about public and private

[309] One could argue that this serial, site-specific project makes it possible for Rahmoun to travel internationally, which is essential for a professional artist, while maintaining residency in Morocco, which requires Rahmoun to apply for visas to go to most places.

[310] Although the *Ghuraf* do not directly enter the art market as collectable objects in their own right, their inclusion in museum exhibitions and biennales affects the market for the more collectable artworks, such as drawings and videos, that Rahmoun does sell. Unlike a number of Moroccan artists, including Barrada, who have had success locally and internationally and who largely hail from socially and/or economically elite backgrounds, Rahmoun comes from a middle-class family. He supports himself and his family through his work as an artist and it would be a luxury to only create works that are deliberately hard to sell. Moreover, even as the

space and how to open what was once a solitary space in Rahmoun's family home to a public while simultaneously limiting that public to a single individual because the room can only comfortably fit one person at a time. Rather than an exercise in global brand strategy, another way to understand Rahmoun's *Ghuraf* is as a three-dimensional manifestation of how a person's internal sense of home takes on new and different armature at each point of arrival as she travels or lives elsewhere. In other words, the *Ghorfa*'s moveable presence provides a counterpoint to one's absence from immovable brick-and-mortar houses elsewhere. The different *Ghuraf* render sculpturally and materially the many kinds of code-switching with which humans engage, often subconsciously, as they change environments. As a migratory form, the series moves and adapts to new locations just as its maker must as he tries to balance the material realities of the new construction site with the project's non-negotiable elements, like the space's interior dimensions.

In an echo of Bourriaud's emphasis on generating relationships rather than objects, Rahmoun describes *Ghorfa 4* as a response to his desire to foster a dialogically-based relationship with the inhabitants of Beni Boufrah as well as with those from farther afield.[311] Rahmoun's understanding of the communication that *Ghorfa 4* makes possible reflects his

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different *Ghuraf* do not easily enter a buyer/seller model, they are embedded in the economies that make possible their production and maintenance, namely the combination of public and private support from primarily European museums, art schools, grant agencies, and foundations that underwrite the various exhibitions and artist residencies for, or during, which Rahmoun makes his rooms. Money from these institutions subsequently enters the very local economies that Rahmoun must navigate to acquire local materials, get building permits, and in certain cases pay those who build the *Ghuraf*. The predominance of European funding is true whether the *Ghuraf* are built in Europe or elsewhere as European governments—though their cultural institutions abroad (namely, the Institut français, British Council, and Goethe Institute)—regularly support contemporary art in Africa and the Middle East.

[311] On contemporary artworks centered around dialogue and community building, see also Grant Kester, *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

personal relationship to the men and women of Beni Boufrah and the ways in which these relationships were forged in the conversations that have taken place since 1996. Building on those that made the earliest Beni Boufrah interventions possible, these relationships are at the heart of Rahmoun's conception of *Ghorfa 4*. In a 2007-8 interview with French curator Jérôme Sans, Rahmoun emphasizes the centrality of meetings, conversation, and exchange to the artwork, then under construction, as follows:

> This version [the Beni Boufrah *Ghorfa*] is extremely important for me, because it is a pretext to address issues that are far from the concerns people from my village have, especially the issue of art and aesthetics. The construction of this ghorfa is, therefore, a vector of instants of sociability and exchanges, because I have to meet many people in order to get the materials. People ask me about the materials and many of them help me in one way or another in its construction. In that sense, we could even say that it becomes somewhat of a collective piece! Finally, this version of the ghorfa is more important to me as a means of communication than as a work of art. In this ghorfa, what makes the work is actually the meetings and the dialogue.[312]

Rahmoun describes the *Ghorfa*'s construction as a pretext for communicating with Beni Boufrah's residents about topics that range from the practical acquisitions of materials to philosophical questions about the nature of art and aesthetics. If we take him at his word, these "instants of sociability and exchanges" between artist and villagers are more important than the *Ghorfa* itself. Although only Rahmoun signs the work, the work's permanence, openness to villagers as a place where they may spend time, and the ways in which Rahmoun's family and the village collectively share in its maintenance, ostensibly in perpetuity, indicate that an ongoing collaborative element does characterize it. In making *Ghorfa 4* permanent, Rahmoun

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[312] Younès Rahmoun and Jérôme Sans, "Interior travel," http://fr.younesrahmoun.com/Interviews/Entrees/2009/12/16_Interior_travel_-_interview_with_Jerome_Sans.html. First published in Jérôme Sans, *Zahra*, trans. Lambe & Nieto (Murcia: Sala Verónicas, 2009). For a similar description of the piece by Rahmoun as a pretext for conversing with the people of Beni Boufrah, see Saliou, "Ghorfa #4, Al-Âna/Hunâ."

thus sought to generate two different conversations: first, the meditative conversation with oneself or, depending on one's religious beliefs, with a higher power, that all the *Ghuraf* solicit in their invitation to reflect on the here and now; and second, this ongoing dialogue between Rahmoun and the residents of Beni Boufrah. Envisioned by Rahmoun as a gift to the people Beni Boufrah, *Ghorfa 4* raises several questions. What is the significance of offering to a community what amounts to a non-communal space, a place that is only meant for one person at a time? How does *Ghorfa 4* engage with its two communities or publics, Beni Boufrah's residents and the few artists, art historians, curators, and collectors who make the journey to see it? And how to reconcile the temporariness and mobility of the *Ghuraf* with the permanence of *Ghorfa 4*?

Migration and material, I think, are helpful here. Built of stone, straw, and concrete on land Rahmoun owns but does not inhabit, *Ghorfa 4* is rooted in an aesthetic and ecological critique of migrant building practices, while its construction and access rely on the same kinds of networks, collaboration, and infrastructure as migrants do when they build in the *bled*. When Rahmoun returned to Beni Boufrah, the village his mother left for the semi-urban periphery of Tetouan and the village from which many others have emigrated, he too made a journey akin to that many migrants have made over the last four decades along a path that his artwork would subsequently require its viewers to retrace. The building process that Rahmoun initiated, managed, and paid for with the assistance of his family members and local networks in Beni Boufrah mimics that of emigrants who often rely on local proxies to manage building sites. Migrants or their family members build houses in their villages of origin with money earned elsewhere that they inhabit during their (semi) annual returns and/or in which they plan to live upon retirement. In so doing, they have remade the Rif's built environment. The majority of these box-shaped houses remain empty and shuttered much of the year to the extent that whole

town-like clusters of development resemble ghost towns outside of summer holidays. Ranging from modest to ostentatious, the houses' physical presence and visible emptiness signal the absence of the migrants whose paychecks built these three-dimensional promises of a future presence in the Rif. This future presence refers both to the temporary annual return and the hoped for, but unlikely, permanent return of the owner and his or her family.[313]

Yet even as the networks, process, and journey that make *Ghorfa 4*'s construction possible parallel conventional forms of migrant building, Rahmoun chose building materials that explicitly critique the ecological and cultural consequences of these concrete houses built with remittances to propose a modest alternative. *Ghorfa 4* combines so-called traditional building materials—straw, stone, clay, and tree branches—with the so-called modern material, cement. Rahmoun used cement for the roof and foundation in order to reduce the amount of regular maintenance that straw, stone, and clay houses require. In so doing, Rahmoun synthesizes two kinds of building, often seen as opposed, to explore a more practical and ecological way to build in the Rif. Straw, stone, clay, and branches appeal because they need not be imported or transported from afar and the incorporation of cement mitigates the upkeep that can dissuade builders from using them. Cinderblocks and metal, meanwhile, need to be brought to a village along the same transportation routes that individuals travel to get to Beni Boufrah, which substantially increases a building's cost and environmental footprint. Ecology matters in the Rif

[313] Such houses are not unique to the Rif, nor to Morocco; similar changes to the built environment of rural areas disproportionately impacted by emigration have been also documented in Mexico. On migrant building practices in rural southern Morocco, see Hoffman 939, 941, and 947. Although many intend to, the majority of Moroccans do not return to the *bled* upon retirement, in part because their children, born in Morocco's cities or abroad, have no desire to move there and in part because the rural areas make it difficult to access to medical care and retirement benefits (especially important for those living in Europe and who have access to state benefits).

as elsewhere in rural Morocco, because depopulation has amplified the early consequences of climate change. The Rif's untilled lands, including those that surround the *Ghorfa*, result in faster soil erosion and render an already difficult to farm landscape more so.

Natural materials are also more conducive to saving money over the long term. The multi-storied cinderblock houses built throughout the Rif and much of Morocco are hot in the summer and cold in the winter. The "traditional" materials used in *Ghorfa 4* are better suited to the climate because they keep the interior cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter. In thus taking what is effective from both building types, *Ghorfa 4*'s form and material transcend the false opposition of modernity to tradition that has long dominated political and cultural debates in Morocco and significantly altered its built environment. It redefines migrant building by producing a structure that is better suited both to the needs of migrants living elsewhere—cheaper to build, easy to maintain, and permanent—*and* to the local infrastructure and ecology of the village, where electricity is expensive and fresh water is precious. And it does so while also preserving the aesthetic form of older building practices coded in the region as "traditional" or "*beldi*," like Rahmoun's grandmother's house and the site of many of his early Rif works. Herein lies the crux of Rahmoun's material engagement with postcolonial Moroccan migration: activating both sides—movement and fixity, migratory and *beldi*—through building otherwise. *Ghorfa 4* brings to the fore migration's multiple temporalities in which a building in the *bled* marks the migrant's present absence and promises his future presence in the form of regular short trips back in advance of an anticipated permanent return.

In the Steps of the Migrant

Migration signals movement, but it also implies a place of departure. For Morocco, the place of departure—the *bled*, or the countryside, from the Arabic *bilad*—has a triple significance. It is at once the site of migrant's past departure, the place where his immediate and/or extended family presently resides, and the land where he plans to return. The notion of the *bled* is also romanticized in urban Morocco. Restaurants and shops, for example, use the adjectival form of *bled*—*beldi*—to advertise products that range from chickens and goat cheese to olive oil and black soap. Lest this characterization of migration suggest a linear progression of past-present-future, *bled*-abroad-*bled*, in the Moroccan context, it bears emphasizing that most migrants regularly return to the *bled*, both in person and through sending remittances and gifts. The migrants who travel back-and-forth include those who left legally for Europe during the first waves of post-independence and post-World War II rebuilding, as well as internal migrants. The ability of Moroccan migrants to return regularly is due to the geographic proximity of the Maghreb to Moroccans' primary immigration sites, such as in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, where vacation allowances permit migrants and their families to return annually or bi-annually, typically during July and August. While flying is the fastest route, regular ferries make it affordable for students and families to cross by car or bus and to bring gifts and other goods with them in both directions. As for the many migrants in Morocco who remain within the country as rural-to-urban migrants, their yearly return often takes place during Aid Al-Kebir festivities.[314]

[314] This back-and-forth movement distinguishes postcolonial Moroccan (and Maghrebi) migration from other South-to-North and rural-to-urban migrations as well as the related

Rahmoun's own travels to Beni Boufrah in the summers during his studies, when he visited his extended family, participate in this kind of migratory *aller-retour*. With *Ghorfa 4*, he transforms the *retour au bled* into a pilgrimage undertaken by artist and viewer alike. In accordance with the meditation the *Ghorfa* is meant to encourage in its viewers, Rahmoun proposes a circular trajectory for traveling between Beni Boufrah and the artwork.[315] Hence his decision not to build *Ghorfa 4* in the commercial and flat area of the village, which hugs both sides of a two-lane road and where shops, cafes, post office, barber, butcher, and taxi stand are located. Instead, he tucked it up and away on a hillside so that the *Ghorfa* is only accessible by foot or donkey, a location that would seem the penultimate space for quiet meditation and reflection and thus the culmination of the multi-year series. Visitors follow a thin dirt path that begins near houses belonging to Rahmoun's uncle and grandmother, the sites of his earlier Beni Boufrah works. They then climb a rough terrain of unused farmland. Although one walks uphill to the *Ghorfa*, the path is such that the experience is also of descending to it from above, with the building only becoming visible at the very end of the climb. Inside the *Ghorfa*, the visitor may act as she likes as long as it is in accordance with the artist's simple "protocol of use," which requires that the space be left in the same condition in which it was found. Once she has spent her desired time in the *Ghorfa*, she returns either by walking across the fields or by following the

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experiences of exile in which a future permanent return is perhaps dreamed of, but visits are not possible (e.g., Palestinians living in diaspora, political exiles, and migrants working far from their points of origin who cannot afford flights back). It also highlights the fact that the majority of Moroccan emigration to Western Europe has been legal, which not only allowed many migrants to have their immediate families join them but makes possible their annual visits and facilitates the sending of remittances and other goods.

[315] This framing device recalls that of Robert Smithson's *Sprial Jetty*, which as Jennifer Roberts convincingly argues, is only experienced through the nearby Golden Spike monument, which is the point of departure for visitors to *Spiral Jetty*. Jennifer Roberts, *Mirror-travels: Robert Smithson and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

path the artist suggests, which leads down to the main road by walking in a dried-up riverbed. In Rahmoun's words, this path provides the "free choice for the visitor to stop where he/she wishes, to admire the plunging view on the village, to touch the earth, to pick-up [*sic*] plants… and to have both a micro and a macro view on this place."[316] Implicit in Rahmoun's statement is the time the visit requires. Depending on how long one stays at the *Ghorfa* or how many times one stops to admire the views, touch the earth, or collect plants, the entire trip takes about two hours. The difficulty of the visit, like the desire to linger, depends on many factors, including time of year and day and how dry the region has been. Each of these affects temperature, sunlight, and whether the viewer's feet sink into loose spring soil or pound the dry, unyielding earth of late summer. Other contingencies include the presence of farmers and shepherds in surrounding fields along with that of farm animals, such as donkeys, goats, and sheep, and, depending on one's luck, roaming and sometimes aggressive dogs who patrol neighboring fields.

Contrary to Rahmoun's intent, location works against *Ghorfa 4*'s primary purpose of offering a space for meditative reflection and prevents it from becoming the solo retreat Rahmoun intended. This gap between artist intent and viewer experience, I argue, results from the very mechanisms that made its construction possible: because of the Rif's transportation infrastructure and the absence of any tourism in and around Beni Boufrah, seeing *Ghorfa 4* requires that non-local viewers, like Rahmoun before them, follow the movements migrants

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[316] Rahmoun quoted in Bourne-Farrell, "Ghorfa – Now, Here," in *Younès Rahmoun Ghorfa Al-Âna/Hunâ*, 5. In a footnote, Bourne-Farrell writes, "The Ghorfa's protocol of use consists in using the space as much as desired as long as it is left as it is found upon arrival. Only one person at the [*sic*] time can enter the Ghorfa. One can enter with objects that are important to one or that one considers useful to one's thinking (rug, computer, candle, … etc). A key to the place is to be picked-up [*sic*] and brought back at the Beni Boufrah Youth House, the other key being at the artist's grand-mother [*sic*], Tama Charchaoui." Bourne-Farrell 6, n. 3. By April 2014, however, the *Ghorfa* was left unlocked and no key was needed to visit.

undertake as they move back-and-forth between their new and *beldi* homes. The process of getting to Beni Boufrah and where one stays once there enmesh the artwork, artist, and viewer in what we might call a migrant epistemology. It repeats a form of travel—and requires a form of knowledge—that for many Moroccans would be familiar: that of the migrant's return to the *bled*. These logistical challenges result from decisions made by the colonial and postcolonial governments about which regions to valorize and invest in to the exclusion of others, including where to encourage tourism.[317]

In other words, well before the pilgrimage Rahmoun envisions from Beni Boufrah to *Ghorfa 4* can begin, viewers must undertake a journey that is distinct from the kinds of global art world journeys that have, since 1989, become banal for E.U. and U.S. passport holders, if elusive to the majority of Moroccans. Expenses aside, it is easier to go from New York or São Paolo to Casablanca—direct flights regularly link both cities—than between Casablanca and Beni Boufrah. This experience is what differentiates visiting *Ghorfa 4* from traveling to the contemporary art world's many preferred destinations, such as Miami Basel, the Venice Biennale, or even Dakar's Dak'art and Marfa, Texas. Like much of the rural Rif, neither Beni Boufrah nor nearby Torres, on the coast, has any hotels or guest houses, although signs advertising an abandoned hotel development are visible along the thin road linking Torres to the small fishing port of Cala Iris. Because the closest hotels are in Al Hoceima, sleeping in Beni Boufrah requires staying with a family in the one of the villages or camping in a tent or RV. The

[317] As noted in earlier chapters, northern Morocco lacks much of the infrastructure of central Morocco, largely because of the different approaches the French and Spanish took to their Protectorates. But even as the journey presents logistical challenges for the art tourist, it is easier and safer today due to improvements in infrastructure, including roads and buses, than it was in the 1960s and 1970s when many Rifis emigrated.

lack of even a basic tourism infrastructure outside of Al Hoceima or Nador, the Rif's two coastal cities, distinguishes the region from other parts of rural Morocco, like the Atlas and Merzouga. These parts of rural southern Morocco boast a sophisticated tourism industry with accommodations that range from Richard Branson's luxury hotel with a helicopter landing pad to modest *gîtes* where travelers can stay for a few euros.[318]

In the first published text on *Ghorfa 4*, the French curator Cécile Bourne-Farrell describes how traveling to Beni Boufrah affects the viewing experience. "Visiting the *Ghorfa*," she writes, "requires one to take the time to accept the Rif's winding mountain roads, a truly initiatic [*sic*] journey which predetermines one's mental state before even getting there."[319] The trip proceeds as follows: because there is no airport in Beni Boufrah, visitors must first arrive in one of Morocco's main points of entry by plane or boat. The closest air- and seaports are in Al Hoceima, 31 miles away, and Tangier, since 2010 the home of Africa's largest port, Tanger Med Port, 150 miles from Beni Boufrah. Morocco's main international airport and arrival point for flights not originating in Western Europe is 319 miles away in the Casablanca suburbs. Meanwhile, Tetouan, where Rahmoun lives and a city only accessible by car or bus, is a winding three-hour drive through the mountains. Because no public buses or trains serve Beni Boufrah, visitors must hire a driver, rent a car, or purchase a seat in a collective *grand taxi* to travel the

[318] As of December 2016, accommodations at Branson's Kasbah Tamadot, a forty-five-minute drive from Marrakech, range from $560 for a single room to $2600 for a master suite during the high season. According to the World Bank, Gross National Income in Morocco for 2015 was $3040. http://data.worldbank.org/country/morocco

[319] Bourne-Farrell 5.

harrowing mountainous, unlit, and narrow roads that link Morocco's transportation hubs to its rural countryside.[320]

While getting to Beni Boufrah emphasizes the infrastructural side of the networks required to access the work and staying in the village demands local connections to someone in the village environs, visiting *Ghorfa 4* once in the village further embeds the viewer within Rahmoun's interpersonal and familial networks. Because of the size and social organization of Beni Boufrah and the time it takes to get from the village to the *Ghorfa*, it would be impossible for an outsider to visit the *Ghorfa* without encountering a member of Rahmoun's maternal family. Visitors who arrive without contacting Rahmoun are likely to meet his uncle Mohammed Charchaoui, who would either spot them on the walk to Koukouh's field or be quickly alerted to their presence by someone in the village. Just as the seasons affect the viewing experience so too do the visitor's language and interpersonal skills, arguably somewhat within her control, as well as on the many contingencies she can plan for only to the extent that she can anticipate them: weather, travel delays, car trouble, snarling dogs, and encounters—positive and negative—with those in the village. These experiences are shaped by a person's gender, age, perceived racial and national identity, and travel companions.

When I first went to Beni Boufrah, it was during Ramadan in September 2007. Traveling with Karroum, we drove for three hours from Fez and arrived after dark. There, we met Bourne-Farrell, who had traveled from Cádiz, Spain, taking her SUV on the ferry to Tangier and then

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[320] To find a shared taxi that travels to Beni Boufrah, visitors would have to get to Al Hoceima and likely endure long waits (or hire the entire taxi), as *grands taxis* only depart when all six seats have been filled. The national highway, which only extended east from Fez to Oujda in 2011, is generally in very good condition: its four lanes are divided by a barrier and new, well-maintained rest stops are positioned along it. However, Morocco has high road fatalities and even on the tolled highways, drivers must be careful of pedestrians, bicyclists, and farm animals.

driving to Beni Boufrah. At the time that Karroum and Bourne-Farrell were collaborating on MultiPistes, a curatorial platform funded by Fonds BKVB in Amsterdam to support nine different projects, including the Beni Boufrah and Amsterdam *Ghuraf*, and a related series of publications between 2007 and 2008.[321] After a copious dinner with Rahmoun's extended family, during which Bourne-Farrell and I sat with the women in Rahmoun's grandmother's house while Karroum and Rahmoun joined the men in the courtyard of Hamadi's, we slept in Hamadi's house, the traces of *Nadhm* long gone. Because it was Ramadan, the month when many Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset, we awoke early the next morning and walked with Rahmoun and members of his extended family to the site where construction on the *Ghorfa 4* had just begun (Figure 3.15). I have since returned twice, both times by car from Fez, and never alone. During June 2012, I participated in L'appartement 22's three-day Expedition 10 with Karroum, Rahmoun, and the artists Mustapha Akrim, Badr El Hammami, and Fadma Kaddouri.[322] At that time, the artist residency that Karroum and Rahmoun built in Beni Boufrah with Charchaoui was not yet finished and the five of us stayed in Charchaoui's house in Torres while Charchaoui and Rahmoun stayed at Rahmoun's grandmother's house.[323] When I returned for a week in April 2014, it was with Maud Houssais, who was then L'appartement 22's project coordinator, and two artists, Sofia Aguiar and Tomas Colaço, a former studio mate of Barrada's in Tangier in the mid-2000s. We shared the two-bedroom artist residency. In the interval between my 2012 and

[321] For more on the project, see http://multipistes.org/. Last accessed: 7 April 2015.
[322] http://www.appartement22.com/spip.php?article342. Last accessed: 20 September 2015.
[323] The residency is no longer active. In 2012, on the drive to Beni Boufrah, car troubles resulted in an empty gas tank in a part of the mountains where there were occasional gas stations, but they were all closed because the black-market gas from Algeria that small shops sell is much cheaper. We flagged down a passing driver who took Akrim to buy gas.

2014 trips, Rahmoun's grandmother passed away and Charchaoui, his wife, and young son moved from Torres into her home in Beni Boufrah.

Although not unique to *Ghorfa 4*, this negotiation of familial, local, national, and international economies and histories required to build, preserve, view, and ultimately theorize this site-specific sculpture interests me because it parallels what Moroccan migrants must deal with as they move between, and communicate across, the distance of migration. For *Ghorfa* viewers, these elements manifest most immediately in the infrastructure that determines how to arrive and how to respond to any troubles that arise en route. I emphasize the process of the viewer's arrival in Beni Boufrah to highlight another component at the nexus of migration and Morocco that the Rif *Ghorfa* illuminates: the dependence of (art) tourism on migration and vice versa. Rather than conflate tourist or *Ghorfa* viewer with migrant, what is at stake in bringing these two terms together here is centering the knowledge and experiences of migrants and their families in the *bled*. Both migration and tourism rely on similar flows of capital (human, cultural, and material) that, like migrants and tourists, follow established routes made possible by infrastructure or exert pressure on government to expand routes and access. What's more, to increase tourism statistics, Morocco's government counts Moroccan emigrants as tourists, thereby institutionalizing this relationship.

Of course, the outside viewer's presence in the Rif is temporary, if possibly recurrent, while the *Ghorfa* itself is meant to remain in permanence. In its permanence and materiality, the Rif *Ghorfa* attests to one artist's way of working through the major sociopolitical problems—rural exodus, climate change, and a past that continues to haunt the present—that the Rif faces today as a result of the decades of migration that responded to the state's forty-year-long

embargo on investment in the Rif.[324] This tension between mobility and permanence also, I think, animates migration. My contention is that *Ghorfa 4*'s permanence and place align it with migrant building practices, thereby embedding the project fully within postcolonial Rif migration: migration as experienced by those who left but come back, by those who remain in the *bled*, and by the *bled* itself. Much as the viewer follows the routes of migrants returning annually or semi-annually when she travels to Beni Boufrah, Rahmoun's artistic process relies on the same local and highly individuated structures—informal networks, back-and-forth movements, and personal relationships—as Morocco's migrants do when they construct homes, both imaginatively and in reality.

Beni Boufrah has always been a place to return to for Rahmoun, both as artist and as a member of the Charchaoui family. With *Ghorfa 4*, it becomes for residents and outsiders alike a site to journey towards, a place that people from around the world—or at least France, Spain, Portugal, and the U.S.—want to see because of its "strange hut." At every stage, from conception to viewing, the project creates a way for Rahmoun and *Ghorfa 4*'s visitors to be in Beni Boufrah that moves beyond the tourist–migrant cycle. For Rahmoun, whose mother emigrated from Beni Boufrah to Tetouan, it provides a reason to come back to *work* and participate in the present life of the village. For those, like me, without roots in Beni Boufrah and whose passports likely render them part of the global elite, *Ghorfa 4* offers a way to spend time in the village as an invited guest rather than an exoticism-, thrill-, or "authentic Morocco"-seeking stranger. In both cases, *Ghorfa 4* centers on Beni Boufrah's present and avoids a romanticized view of past or future. With this small room on a modest plot of an untilled hillside, Rahmoun puts forward

[324] Iskander 179.

another way of seeing and being in the Rif as the project's title suggests, *Al-Âna/Hunâ*: now, here. Filtered through the experiences of one village, this new line of sight positions the knowledge and experience particular to migration at the foundation of a way forward for imagining the social and ecological futures of Morocco. These futures are the products of rural migrants' experiences and knowledge. Here, migration teaches us as much about what it means to make and consume art—among other things—as art can teach us about migration as movement in permanence.

CHAPTER FOUR

Disappearance Work

> *On s'est dit pourquoi ne pas reprendre la même façon ? Réactiver la même technique, avec un décalage.*
>
> Badr El Hammami, 2012[325]

A woman strides purposefully toward the camera. Her arms and knee length skirt sway, while the cherry red of her shirt and head scarf pops against a sun-saturated background and projected onto a gallery wall (Figure 4.1). A young girl walks alongside her, arms folded tightly across her chest. The terrain they traverse is rocky and hard to discern. Its color is diluted by the sun that, judging from the short shadows below the woman and child, shines directly overhead. In the far right, another figure, perhaps a teenage boy, prepares to exit the frame. Farther back, darkly clad figures gather outside of a close grouping of one- and two-floor, ruddy brown buildings behind which the landscape stretches upward, turning into a light, clay-colored mountain pockmarked with small green shrubs. In another similarly washed out shot, a woman stands against a textured mud and stone wall (Figure 4.2). Her face and the bright flowers of her shirt are partially

[325] "We said to each other why not take it up in the same way? Reactivate the same technique, with a gap [*décalage*]." Badr El Hammami and Isabelle Nguyen-Van, *Badr El Hammami :Vie privée et familiale* [Badr El Hammami: Private and Familial Life] (Bordeaux: Editions Mnémôn, 2012), 2-3.

obscured by the child she holds. Her head pitched forward slightly, the woman strains to look at the camera.

All within five seconds: *sabah al-khayr* (good morning in Arabic), spoken in a male voice, amid a string of other, barely audible words. Next, an energetic young-sounding woman's voice, a bit louder, in conversation with other women, says what sounds like *oui* (yes in French). Another female voice begins to talk over them. Her voice is much easier to understand than the voices underneath. She hesitates but speaks clearly. As she continues speaking, so do the young women, although certain words, sounds, and laughter are intelligible only in the pauses between the second woman's words or when the younger women speak loudly. *Ee-yeh* (yes in Colloquial Moroccan Arabic), they say, *cou-cou* (hi in French), *soleil* (sun in French). The audio track indicates the young women are at a social gathering. Male voices, while sounding farther away, are also audible. The louder, clearer voice confirms this conjecture. She explains in Tarifit (Rifi Berber) while French subtitles translate in yellow that she is talking over a *kasseta* (cassette tape in Colloquial Moroccan Arabic and Tarifit) and that "what you hear right now are the voices of my cousins during a walk in the forest in the Rif."[326] This hard-to-navigate layering of sound and language takes place ten minutes into a video that plays on a television screen. While it unfolds, the screen shows a gunmetal grey and black cassette player up close (Figure 4.3). The record light is illuminated and the tape inside turns slowly counter-clockwise.

Colorful silent film footage and fuzzy audio cassette recordings: together, these materials comprise the substance of two archives that the Moroccan-born and France-based artists Ivan

[326] The subtitle reads, "*Ce que tu entends en ce moment ce sont les voix de mes cousines, mes cousins lors d'une promenade en forêt dans le Rif.*" This translation is incomplete, as the speaker mentions *un congé dey Maghrib* (a vacation [French] in Morocco [Tarafit]).

Boccara and Fadma Kaddouri inherited from their families. These archives form the foundation of two artworks made between 2010 and 2012: *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)* (2012), a video installation by Ivan Boccara that is part of a larger, unfinished film project entitled *Les maghrebim (The Moroccans)* (in progress since 2000), and *Thabrate (Face A) (Correspondence [Side A])* (2010-11), a single-channel video collaboration between Fadma Kaddouri and Badr El Hammami. Although all the usual signifiers of migration—small boats, mapped journeys, border fences, and Mediterranean seascapes—that dominate contemporary art's migratory turn are absent, these artworks are constructed around personal archives generated in the context of Moroccan migration during the years of lead. Like Bouanani in *Mémoire 14*, Boccara, Kaddouri, and El Hammami structure their artworks around archives inherited from a recent past—the French Protectorate for Bouanani and the Hassan II years for Boccara, Kaddouri, and El Hammami—that the artists lived through as children. Yet while Bouanani used the Protectorate film archives as source material for creating an alternative history of Morocco that emphasized the violence of de/colonization, for Boccara, Kaddouri, and El Hammami, the tapes and reels they found in their parents' homes in Morocco do not provide the content of their artworks. Instead, they inform the approach the artists adopt. In this way, the inherited archives function for Boccara, Kaddouri, and El Hammami akin to the Barrada's found images of Tangier. Because the archives that the artists inherited attest to histories of the postcolonial emigration of Morocco's Jewish and Amazigh communities, these artworks, like Barrada's and Rahmoun's, participate in the migratory turn in a way that moves further still from the focus on a one-way journey out of Morocco to Fortress Europe at the turn of the twenty-first century.

The original concept for making *Mémoires de Ntifa* and *Thabrate* began with what appeared as a straightforward idea. Boccara wanted to find and film the people his parents filmed

four decades ago. Kaddouri and El Hamammi planned to exchange audio letters like their families used to do and record them in their shared native language, Tarifit. The artworks that they produced testify to the difficulty of these seemingly simple premises. *Les maghrebim* and the *Mémoires de Ntifa* installation emphasize Boccara's logistical struggles to track down the Ntifi Jews who were willing to talk about their emigration and memories of Morocco on camera. The troubles he encountered highlight the challenge of preserving the memory and histories of individuals who are resistant to the public visibility, memorialization, and/or historicization that participating in a documentary film or artwork enacts. Meanwhile, for El Hammami and Kaddouri, the strain of corresponding in Tarifit and ultimately their inability to sustain the language over the video's hour-and-a-half becomes the very subject of their correspondence; it provokes a conversation that touches as much on the labor of communication that migration requires as it does on the anxieties this communication produces.

The historical migrations that subtend *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate* date to the mass departures of predominantly rural Amazigh communities during the years of lead, when the artists were children. Specifically, they concern a Jewish community in the Middle Atlas Mountain village of Ntifa and Muslim communities living in or near the Rifi cities of Al Hoceima and Nador. As evidenced by the artists' use of archives that had previously been kept in the homes of their parents or siblings, these migrations directly involved the artists' families. This chapter thus poses the question of how to make art about postcolonial migration at a time when these migrations are now being officially acknowledged by the state and historicized within scholarship in Morocco, Europe, and North America as having produced a Moroccan diaspora. This official acknowledgement reflects the country's changing demography as a result of the postcolonial migrations documented in the artists' inherited archives. As of 2015, ten

percent of the total Moroccan population live outside of Morocco and the majority of Moroccans living in Morocco have relatives or know someone who emigrated abroad.[327] I examine how Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri address three questions: what aesthetic forms to employ in order to remember migratory journeys and the experiences that they engendered for individuals and their communities? How to understand the role played by recording technology in maintaining community bonds strained by distance, both in the immediate moments following migration and now, a generation later? And, to return to the question with which Bouanani also grappled, how to navigate the burden of the inherited archive? Questioning migration, its memory, and its material traces as brought into partial view by these three artists, the chapter explores how postcolonial Moroccan migration relates to contemporary diaspora formation. I conceive of diaspora formation as an ongoing, daily process that, in Morocco, began with the many migrations that, over several decades, altered the country's social and economic landscape, and resulted in the establishment of rooted, multigenerational communities in multiple countries several decades later. My emphasis on this process as one that unfolds slowly and the importance of representation in shaping identity takes inspiration from the cultural studies theorist, Stuart Hall. In "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," Hall proposes identity as a "'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" and in turn he characterizes diasporic identities as constantly being formed and reformed rather than fixed. [328]

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[327] Berriane, de Haas, and Natter, 505.

[328] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 21. See also Thompson's discussion of Hall and African diasporic identities as multiple and shifting, "A Sidelong Glance," 9-10.

In bringing together two artworks that address Muslim-Rif-Amazigh and Jewish-Atlas-Amazigh migration, I take seriously the question posed by the historians Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter in their introduction to the edited volume *Rethinking Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*. Referring to Morocco, which at the time of independence had the largest Jewish population in North Africa, Gottreich and Schroeter ask: "What does memory of the Jews consist of in a land now bereft of them, and what about the minorities who remain, such as the Berbers [Imazighen], who once coexisted with Jews but now help signify their present absence?"[329] In what follows, I argue that through their technical materiality and their dialogic quality, *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate* stage the different forms of remembering, forgetting, and exchange—the kinds of constant work—that migration and diaspora formation require. Whereas Boccara contends with subjects he first encountered in the archives but who today refuse to appear before his camera, El Hammami and Kaddouri employ the palimpsestic process of recording audio cassettes as a way to fight a disappearing maternal language. Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri have created two open-ended, archivally-grounded projects whose temporalities lurch repeatedly between, and layer on top of one another, past, present, and future. They treat their inherited archives not as sanctified, fixed objects but as invitations to re-record or re-create; invitations, in other words, to add new layers and form new interpretations. *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate*, I argue, address migration's propulsion and its wake by returning to the historical moment of migration's unfolding using the material traces that today bear witness to its memory. In so doing, they do not bring their inherited archives into full view for the viewer. Rather, these archives remain partially withheld in these artworks whose makers reenact

[329] Gottreich and Schroeter, 19.

what I call the maintenance work of migration. This migration work is comprised of the intimate encounters, communications, and collaborations that sustain migratory communities across the gap of a generation and a sea. I posit that whereas Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri sought to remember and transmit the memories of migration with *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate*, they instead reveal that the formation and future of a Moroccan diaspora requires the disappearance of migration's maintenance work.[330]

Migratory Returns and Archival Impulses

Les Maghrebim and *Thabrate* can be situated within both the migratory turn analyzed in Chapter 2 and a similar increase in archivally-based or –oriented projects in contemporary art. Scholarship on artworks that incorporate archival documents has intensified since the 1990s as artists who employ archives and curators who are interested in such artworks have become prominent on the art market. Writing in 2004, the art historian Hal Foster diagnosed this as "an archival impulse" in an essay that has become a primary reference in the expanding conversation on archive-based or archive-engaged practices.[331] Four years after the publication of Foster's

[330] The term "maintenance work" refers to the work of the U.S. performance artist, Mierle Laderman Ukeles, whose *Manifesto for Maintenance Art, 1969!* and subsequent artworks and actions since the early 1970s have focused on the labor of maintainance. Another way to describe this disappearance would be using Marianne Hirsch's term, "postmemory." Hirsch defines postmemory as the way in which children of survivors of trauma—Holocaust survivors, in her work—remember the trauma their parents experienced through the mediation of recollection and representation. Without wanting to conflate Moroccan migration with trauma, I would propose positioning Boccara's, El Hammami's, and Kaddouri's artworks as a hinge in the move from memory to postmemory. See Marianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14.1 (2001), 5-37.

[331] Hal Foster, "An Archival Impulse," *October* 110 (fall 2004), 3-22.

essay, the curator Okwui Enwezor would borrow the title of the English translation of Jacques Derrida's *Mal d'archive* for his now seminal 2008 exhibition, *Archive Fever: Photography Between History and the Monument*, at New York's International Center of Photography.[332] Held at New York's International Center of Photography, *Archive Fever* brought together twenty-five contemporary artists who engaged the archive "as an active, regulatory discursive system" whose institutions and modes of display shape the production of knowledge.[333] Whether diagnosed as fever or impulse, this interest among artists in archives can also be related to the specific form of institutional critique developed in the US in the late 1980s and early 1990s, notably in the work of artists such as Fred Wilson and Andrea Fraser. Wilson's *Mining the Museum* (1991) and Fraser's *Museum Highlights: A Gallery Talk* (1989) could be seen as inaugurating what has since become a widespread practice of archive- and collection-driven artworks and installations that interrogate the content and conventions of museum displays and historical narratives, with a particular eye to the ways in race, gender, ethnicity, and class limit the objects and histories typically exhibited in art institutions.[334]

In "An Archival Impulse," Foster analyzes how the artists Thomas Hirschhorn, Sam Durant, and Tacita Dean employ archival strategies as a means of uncovering narratives or

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[332] Okwui Enwezor, *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art* (New York: International Center of Photography, 2008). See also Jacques Derrida, *Mal d'archive : une impression freudienne* (Paris: Galilée, 1995); *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,* translated by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[333] Enwezor characterizes the archive following Michel Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 11.

[334] On Wilson's work, see Fred Wilson, *Mining the Museum: An Installation* (Baltimore: Contemporary, 1994); Copeland, *Bound to Appear*; Jennifer González, *Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008). On Fraser, see Andrea Fraser, "From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique," *Artforum* 44:1 (September 2005), 278-283; Sabine Breitwieser, *Andrea Fraser*, exh. cat. (Salzburg: Museum der Moderne, 2015).

histories that had previously been obfuscated, neglected, or marginalized within dominant accounts. Another way artists have sought to make visible gaps or erasures in the historical record is to adopt standard archival conventions in order to create new archives or documents. The art historian Carrie Lambert-Beatty analyzes one form that this inventive approach takes in her 2009 essay, "Make-Believe: Parafiction and Plausibility." Coining the term "parafiction" to describe a body of artworks largely produced within the context of the George W. Bush era of preemptive war and "truthiness," Lambert-Beatty focuses on artists who invent historical figures and their archives in ways that render such figures and their papers plausible.[335] This approach, as Lambert-Beatty rightly notes, can have negative consequences. Not only might artworks trick the viewer into believing a falsified version of history, but they risk dividing viewers into those who are duped and those who are in on the joke. The danger here, Lambert-Beatty explains, is deepening the social, class, and educational divisions that much contemporary art already amplifies, further differentiating between those who "get it" and those who do not.[336] Lambert-Beatty's choice of artworks, meanwhile, highlights the prevalence in much archival art of subject

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[335] Carrie Lambert-Beatty, "Make-Believe: Parafiction and Plausibility," *October* 129 (Summer 2009), 51-84. In her brief sketch of parafiction's history, Lambert-Beatty includes Andrea Fraser, Fred Wilson, Cheryl Dunye, and Zoe Leonard as important recent precedents, 57.

[336] Nevertheless, the parafictional and archival practices Lambert-Beatty discusses have, in recent years, become quite pronounced. One explanation is the influence of Rancière's work on contemporary art world, especially his concept of what he calls "the distribution of the sensible." In the eponymous essay, Rancière suggests that one role that the artist can play—and one place where she might have a social or political impact beyond the gallery walls—is to propose new ideas and to imagine other ways of being, doing, or thinking. When applied to making art, it seems that even if these ideas depend on, or put into circulation, false information or historical data, they have the potential to generate new means of relating to the world. In other words, whether grounded in real or imagined histories, these ideas may alter, or redistribute, the sensible, and thus change which elements, ideas, or histories are legible. Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, translated by Gabriel Rockhill (London and New York: Continuum, 2006).

matter that is limited to the people and places are typically seen as historically transformative, such as presidents, kings, wars, revolutions, etc.[337] The artwork Lambert-Beatty uses to introduce parafiction, Michael Blum's *A Tribute to Safiye Behar* (2005), provides one example. Blum created an imaginary historical figure—whom he named Safiye Behar—and insinuated a love affair with Mustafa Kamel Atatürk, whom Turkey claims as its founding father. While it could be argued that Blum's creation of a Jewish woman whom he identifies as a communist and feminist departs from a focus on historically transformative figures and events to center on someone whose gender and religion render her doubly "minor," Behar's historical significance in *A Tribute to Safiya Behar* hinges on the preservation of heteronormative gender roles and hierarchies in which a woman's historical significance depends on her relationship to a man.[338] Walid Raad's The Atlas Group, another project Lambert-Beatty analyzes, also ties its archival interventions and creations to a period of clear historical transformation: the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990).[339]

Like the artists whose works are exhibited and discussed by Enwezor, Foster, and Lambert-Beatty, artists working across the Middle East and North Africa have similarly engaged

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[337] There are, of course, important exceptions, such as Zoe Leonard's *The Fae Richards Photo Archive* (1993-96), created with the filmmaker Cheryl Dunye, which was included in *Archive Fever.*

[338] Thanks to Erin Reitz for encouraging me to think more about the Blum's invention of a woman as a historically significant figure.

[339] For more on Raad, see Chad Elias, "The Museum Past the Surpassing Disaster: Walid Raad's Projective Futures," *Dissonant Archives: Contemporary Visual Culture and Contested Narratives in the Middle East*, edited by Anthony Downey (London: I.B. Tauris & Col., 2015), 215-231; André Lepecki, "'After All, This Terror Was Not without Reason': Unfiled Notes on the Atlas Group Archives," *The Drama Review* 50:3 (fall 2009), 88-99; Eva Respini, *Walid Raad* (New York, NY: Museum of Modern Art, 2015).

with archival forms, materials, and questions in the last two decades.[340] In Morocco, there is a tangible interest in making artworks that use state archives in order to question history and its narration. In addition to Yto Barrada's reflection on the visual construction of Tangier and environs, as argued in Chapter 2, the Tangier-born and Paris-based artist, Mounir Fatmi (b. 1970), Morocco's other most internationally well-known artist, has regularly incorporated archival material into artworks that question postcolonial Moroccan history. For example, in his 2002 installation *Face au silence*, which was censored at the 2014 opening of the Musée Mohammed VI in Rabat, he used an archival photograph and a diagram as the basis for an installation that examined the disappearance of Mehdi Ben Barka and Hassan II's role therein. More recently, the INBA-trained artists Mustapha Akrim and Mohssin Harraki have used officially-produced postcolonial ephemera, such as paper currency, police manuals, and school textbooks, as the basis for artworks that question the state's representation of the Moroccan history and its population. Less archivally-rooted but equally concerned with historical omissions and narratives in Morocco are works by Akrim and Harraki's INBA classmate, Mohammed Arejdal, and the Casablanca-based artist Mohamed Fariji.[341] But more than establishing that

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[340] The 2015 publication of *Dissonant Archives*, an anthology edited by Downey on archives and contemporary art in North Africa and the Middle East by Ibraaz, the London-based publishing platform funded by the private Lazaar Foundation, further speaks to the centrality of the question of archives and their place within recent art from the region.

[341] On Akrim's paper currency project, see Abdellah Karroum, *Before Our Eyes* (Barcelona: MACBA, 2015); Emma Chubb, "On Currency," *Collective Memory 70-85* (Rabat: Kulte Gallery & Editions, 2015). On Harraki's use of police manuals and textbooks along with his interrogation of the gaps in royal genealogies, see *Mohssin Harraki: Graft, Trellis Tame*, curated by Emma Chubb at L'appartement 22 (Rabat) in 2014. http://appartement22.com/spip.php?article375&var_recherche=mohssin. Last accessed: 30 March 2016. On Arejdal, see *New Africa*, exh. cat., ed. Yasmina Naji (Rabat: Kulte Gallery & Editions, 2014). On Fariji, see *L'Aquarium Imaginaire (The Imaginary Aquarium)*, exhibition at Galerie FJ, Casablanca, 4-27 June 2014. Online: http://fatmajellal.com/laquarium-imaginaire-mohamed-fariji/. Last accessed: 1 April 2016.

there are omissions in the Moroccan official narrative or highlighting how personal archives contest their official counterpart, what interests me here is considering what, precisely, these works make present.

What differentiates Boccara's, El Hammami's, and Kaddouri's projects from those by Fatmi, Akrim, and Harraki is their representation of Amazigh communities of the Rif and the Middle Atlas far from the centers of international and national power through their use of personal archives and collections. Because it is hard to imagine a nation-state where one could *not* find gaps in the official record worth highlighting, the question—for artists as well as for scholars—becomes what aesthetic forms and stories can be generated out of the traces that remain and what new understandings do these forms and stories put into circulation. Thus, of all the artists analyzed by Enwezor, Foster, and Lambert-Beatty, it is Enwezor's discussion of Anri Sala's 1998 video, *Intervista*, that is most pertinent here. As Enwezor explains, Sala's video began when he discovered undeveloped, silent 16mm film from the 1970s in his parents' house that includes footage of his mother giving a speech to the Albanian Communist Party. The video cuts between the 1970s footage, which Sala subtitles thanks to the efforts of hired lip readers who transcribe the speech, and interviews he conducted with his mother. Given the political nature of Sala's mother's speech, this moving between past and present, Enwezor writes, requires that Sala "shift from the private world of familial affection to the arena of public confession."[342] It is a similar movement between past and present, familial and public, document and memory, 1970s reels and cassettes and 1990s/2000s video that Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri undertake. Rather than adopting the structures and forms of archival institutions that

[342] Enwezor 38.

work to render archives legible —the display mechanisms, ordering systems, or, in Sala's case, lip readers and subtitles, alongside the materials of an archive's physical constitution (notebooks, photos, papers, tapes, etc.)—*Les Maghrebim* and *Thabrate* recreate, multiple decades later, the technologically-mediated and open-ended exchanges that initially led to the creation of these inherited archives in the first place. Boccara's archives bring him back to the time leading up to a community's total departure and dispersal, while Kaddouri and Hammami return to how technology mediated communication and connected families separated by migration.

Inheritance Work

Henri and Cécile Boccara first traveled to Ntifa with a 16mm film camera and their three-year-old son, Ivan, in 1971, the same year that Bouanani finished *Mémoire 14*. Although they lived in Marrakech, the Boccaras were part of the largely Casablanca-Rabat centered Moroccan art world. In 1968, for example, they spent a month traveling with the Rabat gallerist Pauline de Mazières, her husband and architect Patrice de Mazières, the artist Mohammed Melehi, and the art historian and critic, Toni Maraini, who at the time was married to Melehi, to Mexico, where Melehi had been invited to make a sculpture for the summer Olympics. Cécile, an artist who worked with textiles, collaborated with a Marrakechi artisan studio to produce homewares and commissions for Faraoui and de Mazières architectural firm. She also exhibited in galleries in Casablanca and Rabat before pursuing a subsequent career in cinema decor. Henri made his living as a doctor, but is also a novelist. Both studied cinema in France, where Henri completed

medical school. It was through Henri's practice as a doctor that they met the members of Ntifa's Jewish community who would later take them to the village.[343]

By then, most of Morocco's Jewish communities had already left the country. In this Middle Atlas village also called Tabia, the Boccaras filmed the village's last seven Jewish families just before they too departed. Boccara explains that his father, who was the doctor for the Marrakech Jewish community, also had Jewish patients from the Middle Atlas Mountains and southern Morocco and his parents decided to accompany one of Henri's patients back to his village and film.[344] Shot in 16mm color without sound, the Boccaras' footage captures a range of people, places, and activities in and around the village. Men and women walk towards the camera or stand before it and blink into the sunlight. Others go about their daily chores: baking bread in an outdoor clay oven with the help of younger family members (Figure 4.4); shaking out tablecloths; repairing shoes; gathering on the banks of a stream to wash clothes or, for a group of boys, to fish. Although no one from behind the camera appears, the smiles of those filmed and the depiction of interior home spaces suggest a level of familiarity or intimacy with the camera operator (Figure 4.5). With their soft colors and over- and under-saturation, these images also bear the traces of the technology of their making.

Boccara found the unedited reels in his parents' home in 2000 and ever since, they have been the foundation for an ongoing exploration of the intersection of a rural, Jewish Moroccan community's memory and migration. Between 2001 and 2011, Boccara traveled to Ntifa/Tabia and recorded approximately thirty-five hours of footage that, as he described it in 2010,

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[343] This biography is based on conversations with the de Mazières and Boccaras in Rabat and Marrakech in May 2016.

[344] Ivan Boccara, untitled paper, p. 2. The Boccaras confirmed this history of how they arrived in Ntifa during a conversation with the author, Marrakech, May 16, 2016.

"question the absence of Jews as well as the presence of those who return to the village to care for the tombs of their ancestors."[345] In presentations of the project, Boccara has described feeling an obligation and an urgency to complete his parents' film with a film of his own that he calls *Les maghrebim (The Moroccans)* (in progress since 2000). His vision for *Les maghrebim* is twofold: he wants the film to recount the history of Jewish migration in postcolonial Morocco while also reflecting on his personal identity as Jewish. Playing on three languages—the Arabic word for Morocco, *Al-Maghrib* (spelled Al or El Maghreb in French transliterations), the French plural definite article, "*les*," and the Hebrew ending for a plural noun, "*-im*"—the title itself signals the linguistic, geographic, and ideological challenges of embarking on such a project. How to make a film that addresses the past and present of a migration that resulted in the departure of all of Ntifa's Jewish community? How to generate from the specificity a film that speaks to the fate of Jewish Moroccans, including those who still live in Morocco and thus comprise a community whose complete disappearance from Moroccan soil is unfinished and yet, to many within the community, appears inevitable?[346] How to do so within the limits of the inherited archive and the artist/filmmaker's own personal involvement, both as a member of the Moroccan Jewish community and the son of the people who made these films?

Even as *Les maghrebim* remains unfinished as a film, Boccara has publicly exhibited elements of it in contemporary art museums. For his two museum installations, he projected onto

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[345] Boccara, untitled paper, p. 2.

[346] Levy describes this dwindling of the Jewish Moroccan population, both numerically and as it is experienced socially, as a process of contraction. See esp. Ch. 3, "Contraction: Immigration and the Jewish Community in Morocco Today," 61-96. In a similar vein, Gottreich and Schroeter suggest that the recent visibility and historicization of Jewish Moroccans in scholarship and contemporary culture hinges on the perception of this community as being on the cusp of disappearance, 3-5.

a gallery wall fragments from the 1970s archives that he digitally transferred and edited together: *Mémoires d'archives (Archival Memories)* (2011), at the CAPC Bordeaux, the *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)* (2012), at the Palais de Tokyo in Paris as part of the 2012 Triennale, curated by Enwezor. He also envisions an installation entitled *Mémoires silencieuses (Silent Memories)*, begun in 2013.[347] To date, each component of the larger archival project has been characterized by efforts to find the "right" way to frame the inherited film reels. Taken together, Boccara's two installations and the unfinished film and installation raise important questions about how the past and present of a now largely, but not entirely, dispersed community can be represented and remembered. At the same time, the *Mémoires de Ntifa* installation brings to the fore the resistance to such acts of representation and remembrance. Boccara's installation directly confronts the challenge that even though t/his community is perceived as on the verge of disappearance and thus seen as in need of documentation, it does not always consent to such visibility.

Boccara's exhibition opportunities in Bordeaux and Paris resulted from his meeting Karroum at a time when both men were involved with teaching and programming at ESAV in Marrakech. At Karroum's 2010 conference at ESAV, Boccara screened a portion of the 1971-72 footage and presented his vision for its future cinematic *mise en scène*.[348] Previously, Boccara's career had been in documentary film although he had done camera work for visual artists and

[347] Ivan Boccara, "*Fragments Documentés, 1971-2013* [Documented Fragments, 1971-2013]," unpublished project proposal and description, 2013.
[348] The text cited above is one that Boccara submitted for an intended publication of proceedings from the 2010 Marrakech conference but the book was never published.

other filmmakers.[349] As a young adult, he moved to Paris where he studied cinema at the École Supérieure d'Études Cinématographiques (ESEC) from 1987 to 1989 and Amazigh history and civilization at INALCO from 1997 to 1998. To date, he has completed two long documentaries, *Mout Tania* (1999; 56 min) and *Tameksaout* (2005; 95 min). Both films, which have been screened in film festivals, conferences, and on television, are portraits of elderly shepherds—Hammadi in *Mout Tania* and Tahmiddoucht and her husband in *Tameksaout*—as they go about their daily lives in the same remote High Atlas village. Boccara is finishing his third feature-length film, *Pastorales Électriques*, on the electrification of the village where he made *Mout Tania* and *Tameksaout*. Together, Boccara's suite of films set in the High Atlas provide a cinematic portrait of an Amazigh village over nearly two decades of its transformation, which is symbolized most forcefully by the region's electrification (*Pastorales Électriques*) and deforestation (*Tameksaout*). Boccara's other films include the short documentary, *Affiche vivante* (2004; 9 min, 30 sec) and *Road Marine* (2009; 8 min, 30 sec), a short fiction shot on Super 8 film during a residency at the Cinémathèque de Tanger, the art cinema Barrada opened in Tangier in 2007.

Les maghrebim continues Boccara's longstanding interest in documenting Morocco's rural Amazigh communities at a time of their transition away from longstanding farming methods and resource management to greater connection to state infrastructure and technology. But whereas the subject of *Mout Tania* and *Tameksaout* are two shepherds who have remained in Morocco, to make *Les maghrebim* would require a form of mobility that mirrors Boccara's own,

[349] Bocarra has also worked as a cameraman for feature films and artist projects, including Ali Essafi's *Le Blues des Sheikhates* (2005) and Francis Alÿs's *Don't cross the bridge before you get to the river* (2008).

as well as that of the Jews who left Ntifa. At the 2010 ESAV conference, Boccara played clips from the inherited archives and spoke about his vision for making *Les maghrebim*:

> *Car ce bout de film est une archive, c'est la mémoire de mes parents. C'est un travail qu'ils ont amorcé, un héritage, une trace importante de l'Histoire ; mais ces archives ne valent rien si leur contenu n'est pas mis en relief par une forme cinématographique plus complète.*
>
> *J'ai alors aujourd'hui la responsabilité de faire exister ce document. Je dois transmettre cette mémoire car c'est de mon histoire et de ma culture mixte vivant entre plusieurs pays dont il s'agit. Ce film est l'histoire d'un espace progressivement déserté par la communauté juive.*[350]

In thus presenting the project to an audience of curators, artists, and art historians gathered in Marrakech, Boccara highlighted the historical importance of the inherited archives and indicated that these archives become valuable *through* their cinematic completion. Here, Boccara describes the responsibility he feels as someone living between countries to transmit the memory of his parents, who continue to live in Marrakech, and of Ntifa's now departed Jewish community, through turning the archives he found into a film.

To my knowledge Boccara's is the only artwork to address Moroccan Jewish emigration and its aftereffects. The sense of urgency and responsibility that he expresses, however, reverberates with that of scholars studying Moroccan Jewish history in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[351] Boum's research is particularly resonant with Boccara's: like Boccara attempts

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[350] "Because this bit of film is an archive, it is the memory of my parents. It is a work that they initiated, a heritage, an important trace of History; but these archives are worth nothing if their content is not brought out by a more complete cinematographic form. Today I thus have the responsibility to bring this document into existence. I must transmit this memory because it is about my history and my mixed culture of living between multiple countries. This film is the history of a space progressively deserted by the Jewish community."

[351] For example, those discussed in the introduction: Boum; Gottreich and Schroeter; Kenbib; Baida; Levy. Recent feature films that address Jewish Moroccan history in the postcolonial period, however, suggest that scholars of literature and cinema will increasingly join the conversation. On these films, see Kosansky and Boum. See also Edwards, "Marock in Morocco:

in the 2012 installation, *Mémoires de Ntifa*, Boum reconstitutes a rural Jewish community through assembling the material traces and memories of its inhabitants in his 2013 ethnography, *Memories of Absence*. Boum describes a historic shift over four generations from those who remember their community's Jews with nostalgia to, today, those who have no knowledge of the existence of an indigenous Moroccan Jewish community.[352] And yet the film *Les maghrebim* does not yet exist, even though for nearly twenty years Boccara has continued to return to the project. All the while he has made other films, taught film in Marrakech, set up a film production company in Tangier, and raised a daughter in Paris.[353] Throughout and in addition to the two museum installations, he has presented his project for the film, screened excerpts of the inherited footage, and drafted thus far unsuccessful proposals to find funding.[354]

Although both *Mémoires d'archives* and *Mémoires de Ntifa* included projections of the 1971-72 archives onto a gallery wall and other materials displayed in the gallery space opposite it, the Bordeaux and Paris installations emphasized different parts of the larger project. The archive, Michel Foucault argues in the oft-cited passage of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*,

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Reading Moroccan Films in the Age of Circulation," *The Journal of North African Studies* 12:3 (2007), 287-307.

[352] Boum 6-9. Boum also describes the challenges and stereotypes he faced as a Muslim, "native anthropologist" while researching Jewish Moroccans in his native region.

[353] Lest these perambulations echo the romanticization of the artist as nomadic globetrotter, it is important to note that they instead reflect displacements caused largely by economic (teaching) and bureaucratic (film company headquartered in Morocco) necessity.

[354] Over the years, three co-producers have expressed interest in *Les maghrebim* but each time the collaboration has fallen through. As Boccara explained it to me, potential funders have wanted to exercise more control over the content and format than he feels comfortable allowing, particularly by bringing the story back to the subject of Israel and Palestine, which is not the narrative that Boccara wants to emphasize. Although beyond the scope of this chapter, this issue highlights the challenge for artists who seek to address topics specific to Jewish history or present in which the present status of Israel/Palestine and the elision of Jewish with Israeli and Zionist threaten to eclipse other engagements or questions that might be at stake. Interview with the author, Paris, January 2016.

governs "what can be said."[355] In *Mémoires d'archives*, Boccara used a combination of text, objects, sound, and film projection to highlight how the material traces preserved in Bordeaux's city archives evoke a cacophony of largely forgotten lives and stories. Along the wall of a darkened room, Boccara placed an illuminated vitrine in which he arranged elements from his personal archives: folders, a box, and a bundle of notes. A wall text, written by Boccara in French, compared his experience walking through Bordeaux to digging through the kilometers of documents housed in the city's public archives.[356] On the adjacent wall, Boccara projected a looped selection of clips from the Ntifa reels (Figure 4.6). Boccara worked with a sound engineer to record and edit the sounds of archivists, librarians, and researchers working in Bordeaux's archives. The resulting recordings provided the installation's soundtrack. Viewers hear street noises, creaky doors, drawers opening, microfiche spinning, footsteps, and the whispers of researchers describing what they are looking for in response to Boccara's whispered "*excusez-moi, c'est indiscret de vous demander ce que vous cherchez*?"[357] Also audible are the

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[355] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 129. Enwezor cites this passage at the outset of his curatorial essay, 12. In an article that appeared in *Small Axe* soon after *Archive Fever* closed in New York, the literary scholar Saidiya Hartman proposes what she terms critical fabulation as a method for writing history beyond the limits the archive traditionally places on what can be said in order to imagine, following Lisa Lowe, "what could have been." Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 26 (June 2008), 11.

[356] The wall text read: "*Je marche dans Bordeaux, je cherche des traces… j'entends d'innombrables voix, des noms, des histoires de vies, amours, morts, meurtres, vols, déportations, migrations, actes de mariages et de naissances… sur des kilomètres de documents, des milliers d'êtres humains, connus, inconnus ou sans papiers, partageant le même espace à un moment de leur vie, enregistrés sur papier, traces, films, photos, classés, rangés, en lieux 'sûr.'* [I walk in the city of Bordeaux, I search for traces… I can hear many voices, names, stories of lives, loves, deaths, murders, robberies, internments, migrations, marriage and birth acts… on kilometers of documents, thousands of human beings, known, unknown, or undocumented, sharing the same space in a moment of their life, recorded on paper, traces, films, photos, all organized and put away in 'safe' places.]"

[357] "Excuse me, is it indiscrete to ask you what you are looking for?"

superimposed voices of predominantly female speakers, reading numbers or identifying their positions in the archives. While the audio recordings total eight-and-a-half minutes, the archival film clips Boccara looped together represent only thirty seconds of the hour and fifteen minutes of footage his parents filmed in Ntifa. Boccara's well-lit, document-filled vitrines did not so much render the inherited reels themselves legible as nod to their existence. Much like the artworks Foster analyzes in "The Archival Impulse," *Mémoires d'archives* instead emphasized the institutional and organizational devices deployed to contain and preserve archives.

With *Mémoires de Ntifa*, exhibited the following year in Paris, Boccara shifted his focus from archival mechanisms, institutions, and materials to the practical and psychological challenges he encountered in wanting to make the inherited archives public. Whereas *Mémoires d'archives* prompted a reflection on what archives do as institutions rather than what his inherited archive contains, *Mémoires de Ntifa* marks Boccara's first public attempt to find what, in 2010, he called the more complete cinematic form to give to the people and history contained within. *Mémoires de Ntifa* directly took up the problem, which has motivated *Les maghrebim* since the beginning, of how to use his parents' 1971-72 footage to create a film that weaves together the experiences of the Boccaras, the Jewish inhabitants of Ntifa, and the now largely dispersed Jewish Moroccan community. At the Palais de Tokyo, *Mémoires de Ntifa* was installed on either side of two weight bearing columns in an underground thoroughfare that served as a dark passageway for visitors who were either reaching the end of the exhibition or heading to the theater for the film screenings that (Figures 4.1-2; 4.7).[358] Once again, Boccara projected a looped, digital transfer of archival footage—this time eleven minutes—onto a large wall. On the

[358] Bouanani's *Mémoire 14* was screened in this theater during La Triennale's opening days.

other side of the space, he installed a television screen that played an eleven-and-a-half-minute video. Two rectangular benches allowed viewers to sit in front of either video (Figure 4.8). The accompanying wall label provided the location and origin of the projected images, identifying the village as "Ntifa, Moyen Atlas, Maroc (Ntifa, Middle Atlas, Morocco)" and the images as having been filmed between 1971 and 1972 by Cécile and Henri Boccara. It also labeled the video shown on the television, to which viewers could listen with headphones, as a "documentary work in progress."

Mémoires de Ntifa emphasizes the passage of time by calling attention, first, to the decades that separate the 2012 moment of display from when Boccara's parents filmed in Ntifa and, second, to the time and effort that Boccara spent to track down the people whom his parents filmed forty years ago. Boccara's difficulty locating and filming former Ntifis is the subject of the video shown on the TV. Viewers hear Boccara leaving telephone messages on answering machines and watch as Albert, who now runs a Kosher supermarket, informs Boccara he does not want to be filmed after all. As Albert closes a dairy case inside the store, he tells Boccara to turn off the camera. Boccara does so and the screen goes black. What appears next on screen is an archival clip of Albert as a teenager laughing and fishing in Ntifa. Only at the video's end does Boccara succeed in finding a former Ntifi named Yaacov who agrees to speak to him on camera. In juxtaposing a video documenting his difficulty finding people to appear on camera with the 1971-72 archives, Boccara sets up a comparison between his and his parents' access to the Jewish community of Ntifa. The emphasis in *Mémoires de Ntifa* falls on the refusal of individuals to be documented, archived, or filmed for public consumption by Boccara, including those, like Albert, who, forty years ago, laughed and smiled at Boccara's parents behind the camera. In this documentary in progress, Boccara depicts this refusal as logistically frustrating,

but it also suggests a resistance on the part of Albert and the others who refuse the kind of visibility and historicization Boccara initially described in 2010 wanting to cultivate through finding and (re)filming those Jewish Ntifis who appear in the 1971-72 reels.

The final minutes of Boccara's video show the path that finally leads Boccara to Yaacov, a former Ntifi who does agree to being filmed. The connection runs through Haim, Albert's brother. Haim and Boccara speak in a phone conversation recorded and included in the video. Haim tells Boccara the archival footage is excellent and that because he left in early 1970, he is not in it, but his grandmother is. Boccara calls Yaacov next and, in a mix of Moroccan Arabic and French, they make an appointment to meet the next day. Yaacov, Boccara implies through including an archival clip, is one of the boys who Boccara's parents filmed fishing. Like Albert, the supermarket owner who did not want to be filmed, he appears in both on TV and on the gallery wall. Today, Yaacov works in Paris's Belleville neighborhood not far from where Boccara lives. The final minutes of the video show Yaacov leaving work and then sitting in what appears to be his home, accompanied by another Moroccan man, who is unidentified in the video. Both men speak to Boccara and his camera in Moroccan Arabic, reciting the last names and many of the first names of six of the seven families that the Boccaras filmed in 1971-72: El Haddad, Torjman, Dahan, El Maleh, and Abitbol, which is Yaacov's family name.

Over the years, Boccara's understanding of the project and the direction he wants it to take have changed, alternating between a focus on the collective and on the individual. Between 2010 and 2016, he moved away from the documentary approach used in *Mout Tania* and *Tameksaout* toward making a film that is both a fiction and a personal reflection on his identity as someone who is both Moroccan and Jewish. Boccara hopes to return to Ntifa and recreate the set-up his parents used forty years ago by placing the camera on a tripod on the ground and

filming as people walk towards him to find out what is going on. As he described in a 2014 presentation:

> *La caméra est fixe, utilisant le même processus qu'en 1971, elle filme par successions de plans de dix secondes, les personnes qui viennent vers elle. Elle filme sept familles musulmanes qui posent aujourd'hui de plein pied devant leurs maisons anciennement juives. Je tente avec ma caméra de refaire ce que mes parents ont fait il y a environ quarante ans*.[359]

This new approach signals a move away from framing his inherited archives to restaging the encounters between people, camera, and camera operator that, four decades ago, led to the creation of these archives. Such a layered restaging—returning to Ntifa to recreate the situation that resulted in the production of the 1971-72 archives to make a fiction film that is also rooted in a true history—has obvious risks. Namely, that it will supplant the 1971-72 archives and, consequently, the stories it has the potential to record will in fact disappear. But there is a compelling potential payoff. For in planning a return to contemporary Ntifa to re-create the encounter between the camera and the place, between the camera operator and the residents, Boccara shifts the entire temporality of the project from past- to future-oriented. No longer chasing down a past whose characters are reluctant, resistant even, to participate, Boccara, according to this new vision, uses his parents' archives to set the stage for a future-oriented present encounter. This present encounter may, in the future, be apprehended as a document of the past, a trace from 2016 that has built into its existence the sedimented histories and visual traces of its making, built from layers of cellulose, digital files, phone messages, travel, and exhibitions that date to 2000-12 and 1971-72. To access any one of these layers—to get at any

[359] "The camera is fixed, using the same process as in 1971, it films in successive 10 second shots the people who approach it. It films seven Muslim families who stand in front of their formerly Jewish houses. With my camera, I try to redo what my parents did about forty years ago." Boccara, "*Fragments Documentés, 1971-2013*."

one memory—hence requires traveling across time and space. The past only becomes legible through the recreation of its memories and material traces in a present moment that itself looks towards shaping the future.

The final minutes of *Mémoires de Ntifa*'s documentary footage provides a preview of how Boccara (presently) intends to complete the film. While the rest of the *Mémoires de Ntifa* video contextualized the archival footage projected on the opposite wall within Boccara's family history and laid bare the challenges of finding interviewees, this concluding sequence shows his meeting with Yaacov, the one Ntifi Boccara's parents filmed whom Boccara was able to find and re-film. A stable camera is positioned in front of the halal butcher shop where Yaacov works, far enough away that the busy Parisian sidewalk is not obstructed. People walk by, ignoring Boccara's camera. Yaacov performs for the camera, visibly aware of its presence as he goes through the end-of-day routine of closing the shop's metal security gate and gives Boccara's camera a thumbs up. This bustling slice of sidewalk is what Yaacov must then cross in order to approach Boccara and his camera. As he does so, he is interrupted twice. The first time is by an unintentional collision with a passerby, shown in slow motion. Both men excuse themselves, and Yaacov continues his walk towards Boccara and his camera. He is then stopped by an acquaintance whose hand he gladly shakes. Finally, just as his fellow Ntifis did back in 1971-72, he walks off-screen, having traversed the time and space necessary to cross to the other side of both pavement and camera, to where Boccara and viewer wait.

Maintenance Work

"Maintenance is a drag; it takes all the fucking time (lit.)."

Mierle Laderman Ukeles, 1969[360]

The footage of Boccara's meeting with Yaacov ends where El Hammami and Kaddouri's video begins: an encounter in France that takes place a generation after the first waves of emigration between two Moroccans who are members of the same ethnic minority. While Boccara's meeting with Yaacov was the result of months of phone calls, Kaddouri and El Hammami's meeting in Grenoble was fortuitous. They met at the city's contemporary art center, MAGASIN, where Kaddouri manages the bookstore and where El Hammami was working as a temporary art installer. The two learned that they were both from the Rif, spoke Tarifit as their native language, and had similar stories of economically-motivated migration in their immediate families. In addition to these shared roots and routes, El Hammami and Kaddouri discovered another common ground: during the 1970s and 1980s, their families communicated with relatives in Morocco or France by exchanging letters recorded on cassette tapes.

Thabrate is the result of a chance encounter between artists who forged a friendship through collaboratively making a video about a shared history of trans-Mediterranean migration and communication, Much of it dwells on the artists' present anxieties about losing the ability to speak and transmit Tarifit, the Amazigh language spoken in much of northern Morocco and

[360] Mierle Laderman Ukeles, "Manifesto for Maintenance Art 1969!" (1969). A framed copy of the manifesto was included in the exhibition, *Mierle Laderman Ukeles: Maintenance Art*, at the Queens Museum (September 18, 2016-February 19, 2017).

which is referred to in the video as Tamazight. Morocco's three Tamazight languages—Tarifit, Tamazight, and Tashelhit—have long been exclusively practiced orally; Tamazight was only standardized and allowed as a written language in Morocco in 1994 and not adopted as a national language until 2011.[361] The work's title comes from the Amazigh word for "letter" but the artists translate it as "correspondence" for the video's French title. For two years, Kaddouri and El Hammami exchanged a total of three cassettes, sending them through the French postal service in padded envelopes. To date, *Thabrate (Face A)* has been exhibited in Amman and Bordeaux. Rhe intended second part of the project, *Thabrate (Face B) [Thabrate (Side B)]*, has yet to be completed.[362] Over the video's hour-and-a-half duration, El Hammami and Kaddouri take turns recounting how they came to live in France: Kaddouri with her family when she was a child, El Hammami to study art as a young adult. They describe returns to, and memories from, Morocco and make passing references to recent trips to Bamako and Cairo for exhibitions or research. The conversation takes place as a series of monologues, beginning with El Hammami, ending with Kaddouri, and with each speaking twice. Interspersed are recordings of voices, music, and ambient street sounds, including the voice of El Hammami's young son, who briefly appears in

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[361] Tarifit is spoken in the Rif; Tamazight, in the Middle Atlas; and Tashelhit, in the south and the ensemble of languages are also referred to as Tamazight. When Tamazight was standardized and allowed as a language for teaching in Morocco in 1994 (although not implemented until much later), it combined elements from the three different Berbers. The adopting of Tamazight as a national language in 2011 means that it appears on official materials, such as state buildings and road signs. It is important to insist that the adoption of Tamazight as a national language remains highly problematic because the newly adopted version of written Berber is a combination of the three different Amazigh languages and so still does not correspond directly to the language that people speak at home. Fatima Sadiqi, "The Teaching of Amazigh (Berber) in Morocco," in *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity: The Success-Failure Continuum in Language and Ethnic Identity Efforts*, vol. 2, edited by Joshua A. Fishman and Ofelia Garcia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 33-44.

[362] El Hammami and Nguyen-Van; Abdellah Karroum, *Sentences on the banks and other activities* (Amman: Darat Al Funun, 2010-11).

the beginning of his second letter. On screen the images alternate between long, fixed shots that show the artists at home listening or close-ups of a cassette turning slowly in a tape deck.

Through the exchange of these singular, slow, and monologically spoken letters that focus on the anxiety of speaking and forgetting Tarifit, *Thabrate* alights on the dialogic and polyglot quality of migration along with the technology and distribution networks that mediate communication across the space and time of migration. Migration, the video emphasizes, is experienced through the ongoing production of narratives and through the active reception—listening to—of these narratives; processes, in other words, that require constant work. There is the work of learning a new language or of speaking a language that no longer is on the tip of one's tongue, which also requires the work of listening closely and remembering what was said. This is the work of being in touch and it forms a key part of what I call the maintenance work of migration. The disappearance of this work, I propose, marks the transition from postcolonial migratory community to contemporary diaspora in Morocco. This transition developed over the decades between the artists' childhoods, when the Kaddouris and El Hammamis communicated by cassette, and 2010-11, when Kaddouri and El Hammami reperform the exchange; between the moment of the archive's creation and that of its re-creation. Through its focus on the preservation and loss of their native Tarifit, *Thabrate* stages the many anxieties, memories, forgettings, and intimacies that subtend the historical moment when the artists—inheritors of this maintenance work—feel the threat of its disappearance.

While the taped letters that comprise the video's audio track focus on the anxieties of language, the images largely show scenes of Kaddouri and El Hammami alone in their homes listening and close-ups of a slightly dusty, portable audio cassette player with a tape slowly spinning inside (Figures 4.3 and 4.9). Although these shots of listening and recording technology

comprise most of the video, they follow an initial eight minutes of grainy cell phone video, at times jerky and at others slowed down, that depict scenes of rural and urban Morocco. In these opening shots, which play as El Hammami recounts how he first came to France, people greet one another and shade their eyes under bright sunlight, moving across hills where a few buildings, some under construction, others in visible disrepair, populate the mountainous landscape (Figure 4.10). Other shots, clearly filmed on public city buses, show streetscapes and apartment buildings as the bus passes by, stopping occasionally for people to get on or off, while inside, the camera turns and viewers catch glimpses of the backs of riders' heads or passengers checking cell phones (Figure 4.11). The shift from jerky cell phone video filmed from a moving bus to fixed camera is abrupt. Kaddouri appears in her living room in Meyran, just outside of Grenoble, and pours herself a glass of tea from a large Moroccan teapot before sitting down on the white couch behind her (Figure 4.12) As she sips her tea and eats a few cookies, she leans forward, an arm crossed over her legs and her gaze alternating between down towards her lap and off into space. This too is a kind of reenactment of the ritual of the recording and listening sessions that the artists remember from their childhoods: before the ninety-minute recording session, the time required to record sides A and B, tea and sweets were prepared for the family.[363] Later, in the video's final sequence, El Hammami appears in profile, also listening. Seated at a desk near a window with a small cassette player in front of him, only his arms and torso are visible as he variously crosses and uncrosses them, and leans forward or sits back in his chair (Figure 4.13).

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[363] In El Hammami's experience, the children were not present for the entire ninety minutes. His mother would first record a message privately before inviting her children to record something for their father. Interview with the artists, Grenoble, September 2012. El Hammami and Nguyen-Van 2-3.

Throughout *Thabrate*, El Hammami and Kaddouri repeatedly express and respond to a shared desire to remember the Tarifit their parents spoke in letters, to speak to one another in Tarifit, and to transmit this language to the next generation, symbolized here by El Hammami's son. Yet the letters exchanged in *Thabrate* are almost exclusively spoken, recorded, and heard in French. At several points, El Hammami and Kaddouri recount the linguistic challenges they face traveling between France and Morocco, and they find common ground in the difficulties they have in trying to speak Tarifit when not in Morocco, as when speaking with family members on the phone. Kaddouri describes how her French accent surprises people in the Rif. Meanwhile, El Hammami worries that his son will not learn Tarifit, prompting Kaddouri to respond by singing a short Tarifit song for El Hammami to teach his son. When Tarifit is spoken, it too is punctuated by other languages: Arabic appears in El Hammami's references to *al-jami'* (the university) and the subject, *al-huquq* (law), that he initially intended to study there, while Kaddouri uses the Spanish *por que* (because) early in her first letter. As *Thabrate* continues, the predominance of French indicates how elusive speaking Tarifit proves in practice.

The discrepancy between the desired language, Tarifit, about which much is said, and the French language, which is employed in these discussions, adds another layer to the temporal and technological gap that El Hammami says inspired the project. At the beginning of her first letter Kaddouri makes an effort to speak Tarifit, acknowledging that she is uncomfortable doing so. This is the moment when the inherited audio cassette archives first appear. As Kaddouri talks, she plays the recording of family members speaking Tarifit in the background described at this chapter's outset. She explains to El Hammami that the tapes make her more comfortable because "it's rather surprising to speak Tamazight all alone in front of a cassette." But rather than being legible, these clips are hard to decipher. Instead they provide the literal background noise

underneath Kaddouri's speaking or singing voice. *Thabrate* makes the existence of Kaddouri's inherited archives public, but does not render their contents legible. In turn, their back-and-forth raises many more questions than it answers about what the inherited tapes contain. Revisiting a form of correspondence that kept families in touch across the distance of migration, *Thabrate*, in other words, points to a potentially vast archive of material that, because oral, familial, fragile, and located in private homes, has largely not entered scholarly accounts of migration but could significantly enrich understandings of this history.[364]

At the same time, *Thrabrate* highlights a form of technologically mediated communication across borders—audio cassette recordings—that has heretofore been largely overlooked in studies of migration and its literary or visual representation, even though such exchanges were a widespread, almost global practice that would seem to be an important precursor to more recent and instantaneous forms of contemporary communication. As El Hammami realized in speaking with a Peruvian friend, recorded letters kept families in communication in the Americas, often across a North/South migration axis although not exclusively.[365] Yet despite its widespread practice—touching families in at least four continents—only a few scholars have heretofore studied this kind of intercontinental or transnational exchange.[366] In Morocco, the Kaddouris and El Hammamis were not the only

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[364] On the ethnographic potential of the archives used in contemporary artworks, see Enwezor 39-46.

[365] El Hammami and Nguyen-Van 2. The artist Hamdi Attia, who grew up in southern Egypt, also remembers recording correspondence on audio cassettes. Conversation with the author, Evanston, IL, February 25, 2017.

[366] The existing scholarship has largely been done by anthropologists who have focused on transmission of religious material and sermons through cassettes. Karen Richman and Terry Rey, "Congregating by Cassette: Recording and Participation in Transnational Haitian Religious Rituals," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 12:2 (2009), 149-166. See also Bambi B.

families to use recorded letters and mailed cassette tapes to communicate with relatives who had emigrated. In these days before affordable and reliable telephone access in northern Morocco, the mailed or hand-delivered cassette tape provided an inexpensive and intimate, if slow, means of communicating with loved ones. Both artists remember the practice as being common. For example, El Hammami explained to me that because cassette players and batteries were expensive, families in his community would share a single cassette player but use their own batteries to operate it.[367] In addition to the different emotional registers and intimacies created by listening to rather than reading a letter, high illiteracy rates and the fact that the native language for most Rifis is an oral language are two reasons people communicated by audio cassette letters.[368]

Unlike the film used for cinema or still photography, audio and video cassettes are, technologically speaking, palimpsests because they can be erased and rerecorded. And unlike digital recording technologies that have since been developed, cassettes that have been erased and rerecorded slowly disintegrate with each play or new recording, such that the recording's quality noticeably diminishes over time, all the while retaining traces of the previous recordings layered underneath. Moreover, and as frequent shots of the recording or playing cassette remind viewers, the same machine can be used to both record and listen to an audio cassette. This ability to record, listen, and re-record all with the same tape and machine is part of what made video and audio cassettes more affordable than film. But their reusability also makes them fragile and

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Schieffelin, "Marking Time: The Dichotomizing Discourse of Multiple Temporalities," *Current Anthropology* 43:S4 (August/October 2002), S10.

[367] El Hammami, conversation with the author, Grenoble, 2011.

[368] Thanks to Carla Carlagé, who remembered cassette letters being exchanged between Lebanese families, for her insights on the appeal of cassette letters in terms of a personal preference rather than just a necessity prompted by limited literacy.

susceptible to loss or destruction and thus a fraught technology for archives and long-term preservation. Audio tapes like those Kaddouri inherited were often reused. This reuse necessarily erased the material previously recorded on the tape, well before it could be archived or otherwise preserved.[369]

Similar to Boccara's vision for *Les maghrebim*, *Thabrate* focuses less on preserving and circulating the artists' inherited archives than it does on the social and technological situation—migration and audio cassettes—that led to their creation. Migration and cassette-mediated communication are terms that, in different ways, evoke a situation of geographic separation. In bringing the two together, *Thabrate* highlights the intimate encounters with (near) strangers that such geographic distance often requires, and it includes the viewer in the loop of intimacy with strangers. Within the relatively short space of an hour and a half, the viewer becomes privy to a wide array of personal information about the artists. Like Kaddouri and El Hammami, the viewer hears the letters at the same, almost languorous pace with which they were spoken and recorded in real time. Passing mentions of when a letter was received, sent, or recorded make the viewer conscious of the time that has lapsed between letters, whether due to the artists' international travels or a French postal strike. Similarly, depending on where the viewer watches the video, she may find herself mimicking the artists' positions as they/she listen(s) to the tapes: legs crossing and uncrossing, leaning in towards the sound or sitting back in the chair (Figures 4.12-13).

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[369] As Kaddouri tells El Hammami in the final letter of *Thabrate*, the magnetic tape of some of her inherited cassettes has snapped but, as she muses in French, it should be possible to get someone to fix them. El Hammami bought the cassettes the artists used secondhand at a flea market and brief snippets of recorded music can be heard in the breaks between letters.

To return to the questions posed earlier: What role does the inherited archive of cassette tapes play in *Thabrate* and to what extent does *Thabrate* speak to the relationship between postcolonial migration and contemporary diaspora formation? Clearly, the existence of these family archives is what prompted the project in the first place. References to, and inclusions of, these inherited tapes are heard at various moments throughout the video. What distinguishes *Thabrate* from the many other contemporary artworks that use archives, however, is that *Thabrate*—more than *Les maghrebim*—is not a video that means to preserve these archives, nor does it use them as a means of pointing out the blind spots in official state archives, institutions, and historical narratives. Instead, El Hammami and Kaddouri do something different: they recreate, multiple decades later, the technologically-mediated and open-ended exchanges that led to the existence of these archives in the first place. The inherited archive of cassettes, then, does not provide the content of the artwork as much as it furnishes both the material form that the artists' twenty-first century correspondence takes—that of the exchanged audio cassette—*and* the aural/oral foundation on which these exchanges are subsequently, audibly layered. The inherited archives, in other words, should be seen as the base for the correspondence that Kaddouri and El Hammami build on top, resulting in an artwork that is at once palimpsestic and performative, composed of voices, memories, languages, pasts, and presents layered on top of one another on the cassette's magnetic tape and generated by El Hammami and Kaddouri's re-enactment of the exchange that led to the creation of the original cassettes. This is all to say that in *Thabrate*, the inherited cassettes are less used for what their content says about the past than for the kinds of presents and futures they might make possible. El Hammami's anxiety that his young son with not learn Tarifit and Kaddouri's sung response exemplify this future-oriented layering of past and present voices. Instead of singing a cappella, Kaddouri sings the song along

with, but also over, an inherited tape on which her female relatives can be heard singing the same song. Kaddouri's relatives originally recorded this song in the past to share it with relatives a sea away in what was then the present. Now, however, thanks to the idiosyncrasies of the archive, this song has been preserved for another present, that of 2010-11, even as the original recording is covered over by Kaddouri's voice. Its preservation hinges on its anticipated utility for the future, because Kaddouri shares it with El Hammami with the hope that it will shape his son's future.[370]

Audible if not necessarily decipherable, these inherited archives in Kaddouri and El Hammami's letters are present in a way that disrupts a sense of linear or progressive time even as the project covers a period of historical transformation in Morocco. *Thabrate* does not just span one generation; it cuts back and forth between past and present while looking towards the future. And, as with *Les maghrebim*, *Thabrate* differs from archival artworks that center on historical figures or moments deemed major; absent from its archives are the elements usually thought to cause historical transformations, like revolution, war, independence, and the predominantly male contingent that have been credited with leading them. The events preserved in Kaddouri's and El Hammami's family archives are decidedly more mundane. Listening carefully to the voices that Kaddouri and El Hammami layer over the inherited tapes several decades after their creation highlights the everydayness, perhaps even the banality, of the content of these recorded letters: the little song Kaddouri sings, the walk in the woods her cousins take, descriptions of the

[370] Interestingly, it is Kaddouri who takes on the mantel of language transmission here, for historically in Morocco (as in many other places), women have been cast as the bearers of tradition and thus responsible for the transmission of oral languages like Tarifit. Thanks to my audience at the Camargo Foundation in Cassis, France, in February 2016 for their comments on this re-inscription of "traditional" gender roles.

weather or what someone had for lunch, anxieties about childrearing. These details hardly seem like the stuff of historical transformation, and yet I think this is precisely what they signal: the shift from Moroccan migration to Moroccan diaspora. This shift has unfolded almost imperceptibly over the last half century through the ongoing, everyday work of community maintenance and generational transmission, work that is often the unrecognized labor done by those at the margins of society. What *Thabrate* offers viewers, then, is an invitation to wade through—to listen to—the layering, accumulation, and sedimentation of memories, voices, and noises past and present that are essential to the stories of migration, to what propels it and what follows in its wake.

Migration Work

The inherited films and audio cassettes that form the foundation of *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate* capture episodes from everyday life before or after the migratory journey, and yet what Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri do with these archives is not ethnographically motivated. If framed in these artworks as purely ethnographic documents preserved for the historical record as such, the family archives Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri inherited would certainly provide important source material for researchers. Boccara's inherited film reels could generate insights into the daily life of the last seven Jewish families of Ntifa and their relationships with their Muslim neighbors as well as, more implicitly, their relationships with educated urban Jews like Henri and Cécile Boccara. The reels could also be studied for what they communicate about daily life more broadly in the Middle Atlas in the 1970s: what kinds of clothing people wore (a possible index of local customs *and* the arrival of globalization); the foods they ate and how they

prepared them; architecture; the environment; the relationship between humans, livestock, and nature; and the presence (or absence) of modern infrastructure, like electricity. The few snippets that Kaddouri plays gesture to the wealth of historical information that could be gleaned from locating and preserving these and other cassette letters: the recordings could be mined for the use of language; for stories, proverbs, or songs like the one Kaddouri sings; for information about significant life rituals in the Rif and how they were celebrated at the time of recording; and for the experiences of migrants living abroad based on the topics under discussion.

But the past and its archives are not so easily dissected in *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate*, even as these works are constructed around documents that, through two different kinds of recording technology, capture a family or a community's private, everyday life on the eve, or during the early years, of a migration that, by the early twenty-first century, has largely become permanent. In broad strokes, this transition to permanence corresponds to the childhoods and early adulthoods of Boccara, El Hammami, Kaddouri, and those of their generation who raise children outside of Morocco. *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate* return to the early moments of migration but eschew a simple reframing of the archives that would place this past and its archives, whether in the context of a film, video, or a museum installation, within a linear narrative of a personal or collective history to which the discovery of these archives lends new texture or an expanded understanding. Instead, Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri return to the past through the process of re-performance or re-enactment: they re-create the very technological structures and the interpersonal exchanges this technology mediated between the people who produced the inherited archives in the first place. This process—of returning to the past via the archive not to re-narrate it but to re-enact the mechanisms that led to its creation—brings into focus the many kinds of work—its phone calls, house calls, and mailed letters—that

are required for maintaining community bonds across the geographies and temporalities of migration.

I began this chapter with three questions about the aesthetic forms and technological means employed to maintain community relationships across migration and, a generation later, to remember these movements through inherited, personal archives. There is another question that *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate* raise, one that connects postcolonial Moroccan migration more explicitly to the concurrent years of lead: What is the relationship between migration, diaspora, and disappearance? In other words, what role does disappearance—both real and anticipated, both official policy and aesthetic metaphor—play in transforming migration into diaspora and in catalyzing the recognition of these movements and the communities as historical? Taking archives from the 1970s and 1980s as their point of departure for projects undertaken in the early twenty-first century, *Les maghrebim* and *Thabrate* span not just the lives of the artists analyzed in this dissertation but also the years of lead during which tens of thousands of people were forcibly disappeared within Morocco and many more thousands migrated outside its borders for political and economic reasons. The artworks, like this dissertation, bookend and move back-and-forth across the decades during which a generation of short-term emigrants became a Moroccan diaspora that includes the artists and their children, who will inherit the archives, if not the languages, needed to interpret them.

Depicting the day-to-day lives of people, from the bread baking and shoe repairs shown in *Les maghrebim* to taking a walk in the forest, replayed by *Thabrate*, these artworks re-contextualize inherited family archives. They propose that migration and diaspora are not created by a singular historical event or rupture, but instead formed slowly, over days and decades. Migration is formed through the ongoing work of maintenance, generational transmission, and

everyday experiences that shape the lives of the now four million Moroccans who reside outside of its borders, as new homes are created and past homes are remembered, aspired to, and ever (re)imagined. And yet what *Les Maghrebim* and *Thabrate* also signal is that the transition from migration to diaspora may require letting go of this maintenance work of migration, such that memory becomes weaker and the bonds with "home" more tenuous. Of course, this waning also marks the beginning of another kind of work. It is at this moment—when a "homeland" must be actively pursued through intentional and, here, aesthetically driven returns to the past because it is felt to be on the verge of disappearance—that it becomes possible to identify the diasporic rootedness elsewhere that, with the passage of time, has followed the dispersal caused by postcolonial Moroccan emigration. In other words, at the verge of this disappearance of migration's maintenance work lies, however precariously, the appearance of diaspora and with it, the inheritance work that must in turn follow. Grappling with these oscillations back-and-forth across time and space, much like their family members whose bodies, letters, and stories moved between Morocco and France, Boccara, El Hammami, and Kaddouri illuminate the very open-ended and layered nature of history and of the archival documents upon which its authority is made to rest. They, like Bouanani, Barrada, and Rahmoun before them, give form to these many other histories, however small and incomplete. For together, their work—a film largely lost to the censor's scissors, photographs in which migration is just one of many found images, a strange hut made of concrete and straw, and two projects whose archives await their most complete form—are part of the material traces that speak of Morocco's past migrations and future disappearances. And it is this intertwining of migration and disappearance that forms the building blocks of contemporary Morocco at the edge of several national and disciplinary canons.

FIGURES

Introduction

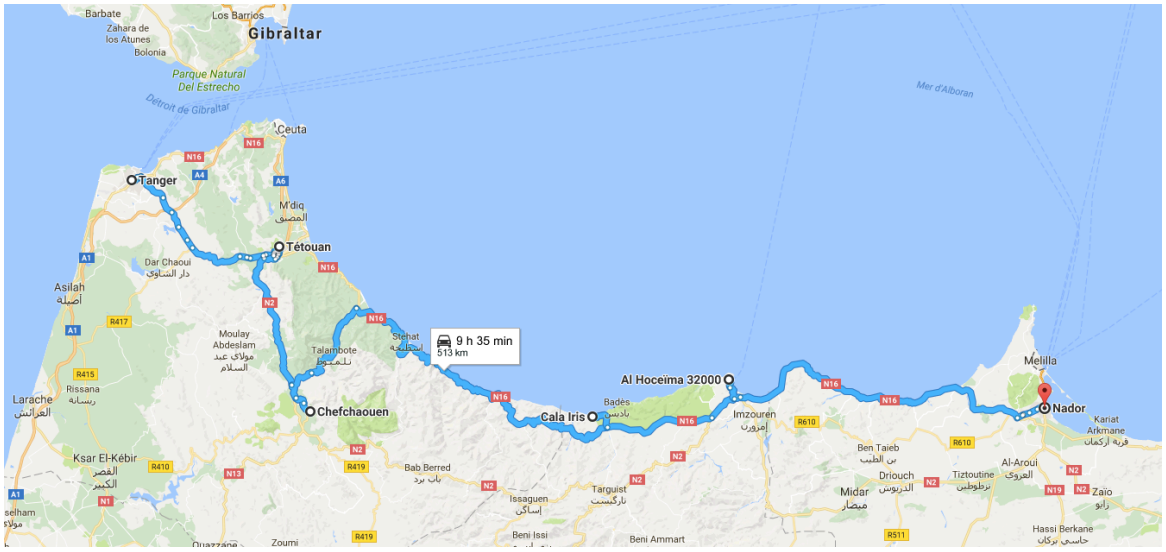

Figure I.1
Map of the Rif Mountains region of Morocco (via Google).
The blue line traces the tourist route proposed in *Rif, Terre de légendes et de détente* [Rif, land of legends and relaxation] (dir. Larbi Bennani, 1968).

Figure I.2
Yto Barrada, *A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project*, 1998-2004.
Installation at *Here and Elsewhere*, New Museum, New York, 2014.
Photo by Benoit Pailley.

Figure I.3
Bouchra Khalili, *The Mapping Journey Project*, 2008-2011.
Installation at *Here and Elsewhere*, New Museum, New York, 2014.
Photo by Benoit Pailley.

Figure I.4
Bouchra Khalili, *The Mapping Journey Project*, 2008-2011.
Installation of videos #6-8 (from left to right) at Sharjah Biennale 10, Sharjah, 2011.
Photograph by Haupt and Binder.

Figure I.5
Ursula Biemann, *Sahara Chronicle*, 2006-2007.
Installation at *Uneven Geographies: Art and Globalisation*, Nottingham Contemporary, Nottingham 2010.

Figure I.6
Ursula Biemann, *Sahara Chronicle*, 2006-2007 (video stills).
Courtesy of Ursula Biemann.

Figure I.7
Farid Belkahia, *Sensuelle (Sensual)*, 1968.
Aluminum and copper relief, 78 x 78 cm.

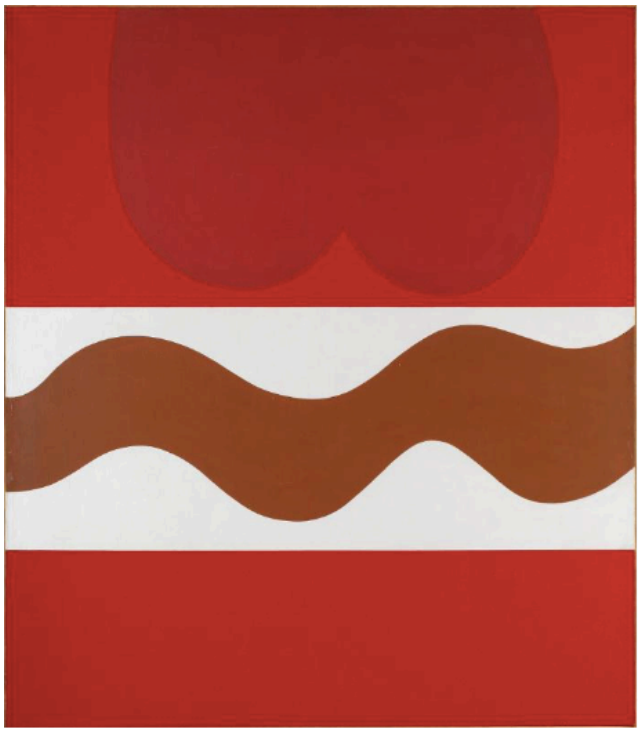

Figure I.8
Mohammed Melehi, *Pulsation*, 1964.
Acrylic on canvas, 152 x 131 cm.
Collection Centre Pompidou, Paris.

Figure I.9
Musée Mohammed VI d'art moderne et contemporain, Rabat.
Photograph published on the website of *Sortir: Art et culture à Rabat* on October 26, 2014.

Figure I.10
Centro de Arte Moderno, Tetouan.
Photo by author. May 2014.

Chapter 1: The Censor's Scissors

Figure 1.1
Still from *Mémoire 14 (Memory 14)* (dir. Ahmed Bouanani, 1971).

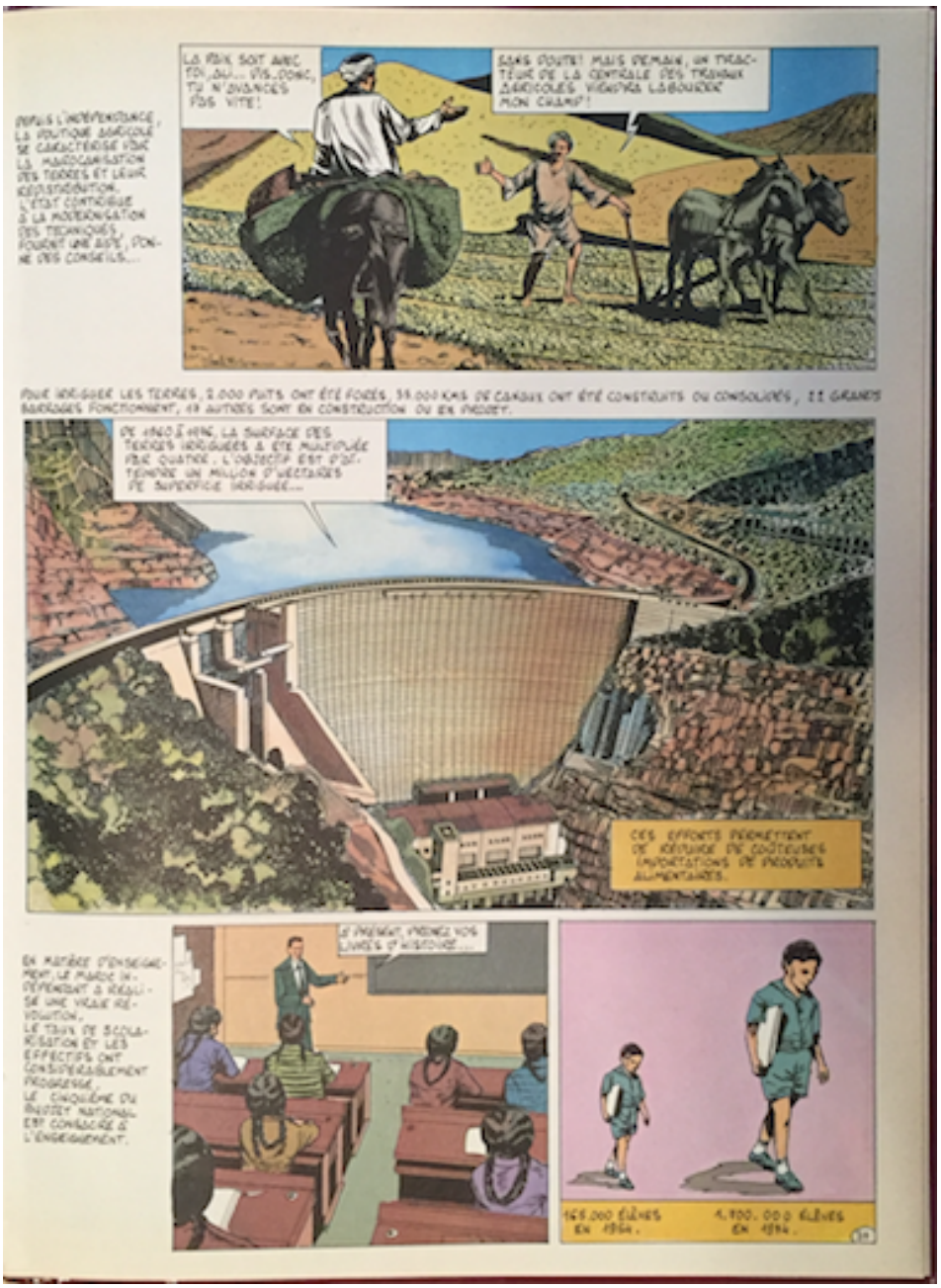

Figure 1.2
Serge Saint-Michel, *Il était une fois Hassan II* [Hassan II Once Upon a Time]
(Paris: Fayolle, 1979), 37.

Figure 1.3
Unattributed photograph, *Maroc 1973-1974* [Morocco 1973-1974]
(Rabat: Ministry of Information, 1974), 201.
Collection Melville J. Herskovits Library of Africana Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

Figure 1.4
Still from *Mémoire 14 (Memory 14)* (dir. Ahmed Bouanani, 1971).

Figure 1.5
Photograph published alongside Hassan Dehbi,
"En parcourant le Rif [Traveling through the Rif]," in *Maroc tourisme* (59), 1970.
Collection Tangier American Legation Museum.

Chapter 2: Found Images

Figure 2.1
Yto Barrada, *Caisson lumineux – Lieu de transit (Advertisement Lightbox – Ferry Port Transit Area, Tangier)*, 2003.
C-Print, 60 x 60 cm.

Figure 2.2
Yto Barrada, *Issagen – Dans la forêt de cèdres, Rif (Issagen – In the Cedar Forest, Rif)*, 2002.
C-Print, 80 x 80 cm.

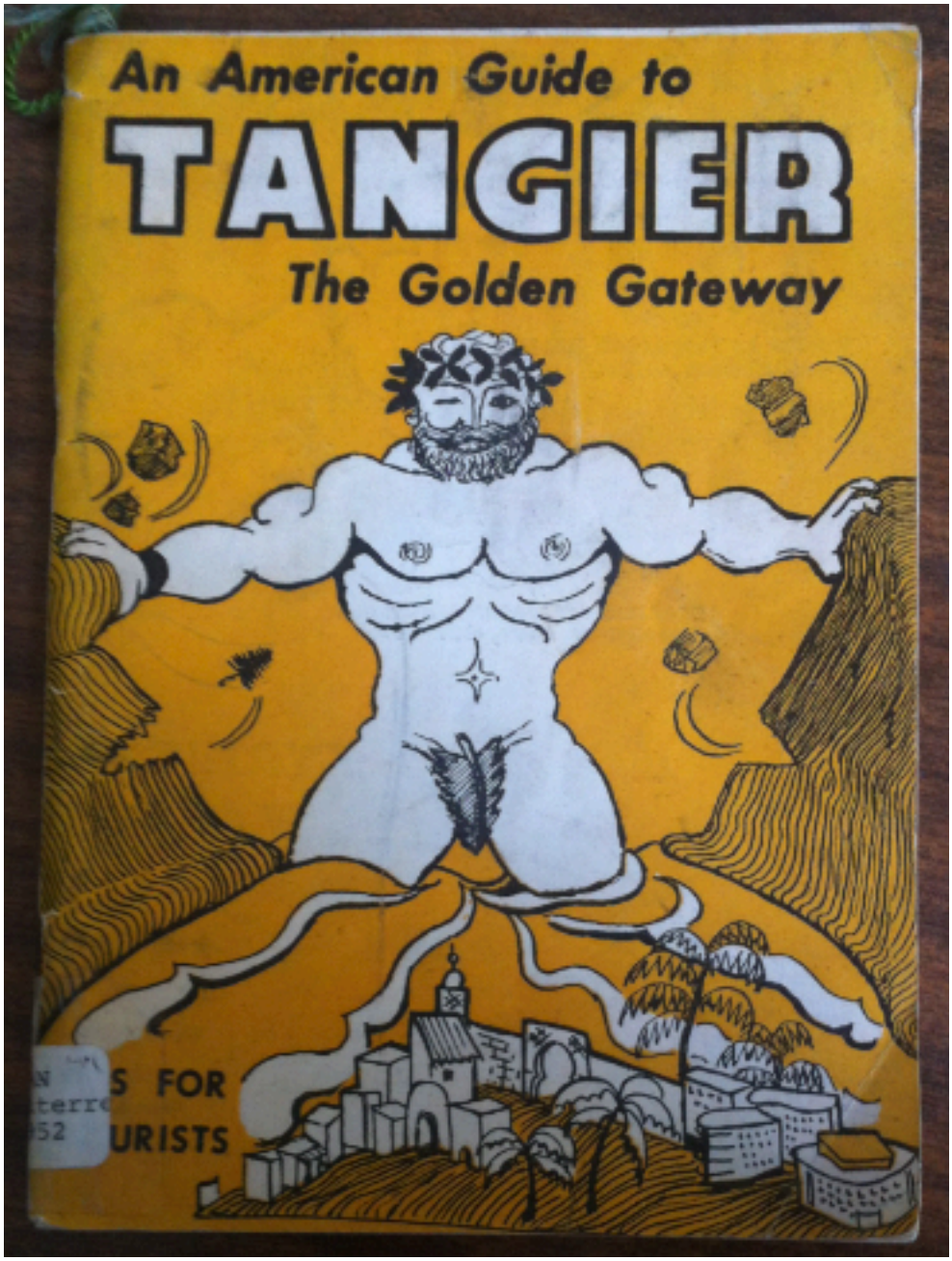

Figure 2.3
Cover of *An American Guide to Tangier, the Golden Gateway* (Tangier: Mediterranean American Press, 1952).
Illustrations by Robert McDonald.
Collection Tangier American Legation Museum.

Figure 2.4
Yto Barrada, *Colline du Charf - Lieu dit du tombeau du géant Antée (Charf Hill – Site of the Tomb of Giant Antaeus)*, 2000.
C-Print, 103 x 103 cm.

Figure 2.5
Yto Barrada, *Jeune fille en rouge – En jouant aux osselets (Young Girl in Red – Playing Jacks)*, 1999.
C-Print, 125 x 125 cm.

Figure 2.6
Yto Barrada, *Baie de Tanger (Bay of Tangier)*, 2002.
C-Print, 80 x 80 cm.

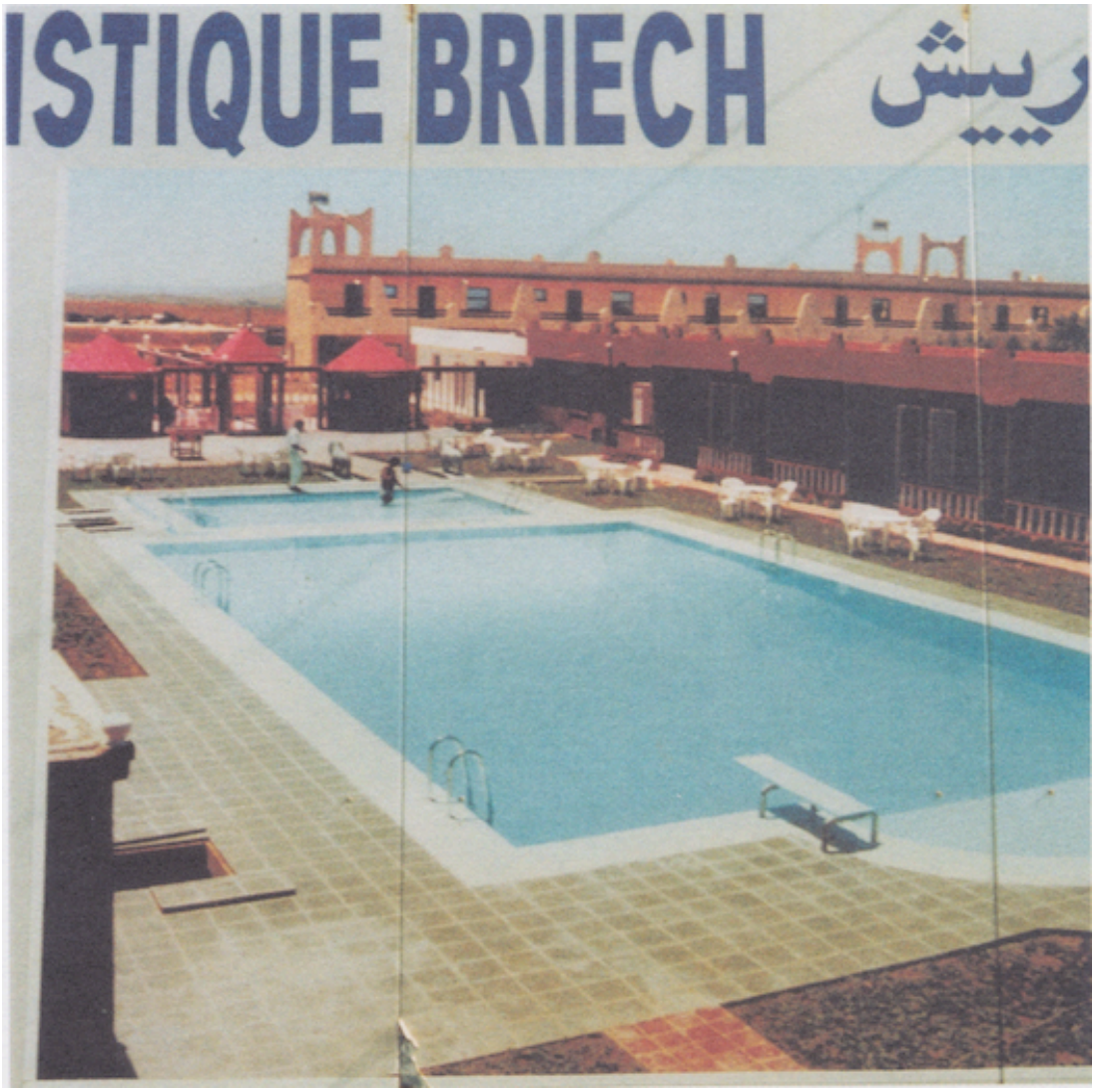

Figure 2.7
Yto Barrada, *Panneau – Publicité de lotissement tourisique – Briech (Hoarding – Advertisement for a Tourist Development – Briech)*, 2002.
C-Print, 80 x 80 cm.

Figure 2.8
Yto Barrada, *Route de l'Unité (Unity Route),* 2001-2011.
C-Print, 80 x 80 cm.

Figure 2.9
Yto Barrada, *N du mot Nation en arabe – Tanger (N of the word Nation in Arabic – Tangier)*, 2003.
C-Print, 80 x 80 cm.

Figure 2.10
Yto Barrada, *Grande roue – M'diq (Ferris Wheel – M'diq)*, 2001.
C-Print, 80 x 80 cm.

Figure 2.11
Yto Barrada, *Terrain vague – Tanger (Vacant Plot – Tangier)*, 2001.
C-Print, 60 x 60 cm.

Figure 2.12
Yto Barrada, *L'homme au baton – Tanger (Man with a Stick – Tangier)*, 1999.
C-Print, 103 x 103 cm.

Chapter 3: A Building in the *Bled*

Figure 3.1
Younès Rahmoun, *Ghorfa 4 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 4, Now/Here)*, 2007-2008.
Stone, soil, wood, and concrete. Interior dimensions: 214 x 236 x 185 cm.
Laouzat Koukkouh Field, Beni Boufrah, Rif Mountains, Morocco. Photo by author.

Figure 3.2
Younès Rahmoun, *Ghorfa 4 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 4, Now/Here)*, 2007-2008.
Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.3
Younès Rahmoun, *Ghorfa 4 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 4, Now/Here)*, 2007-2008 (detail).
Photo by author.

Figure 3.4
Younès Rahmoun, *Ghorfa IV Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room IV, Now/Here)*, 2007-2008 (detail).
Photo by author.

Figure 3.5
Younès Rahmoun, *M'wedna*, 1998.
Jute and sawdust, 240 x 70 cm.
House in the *medina*, Tetouan. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.6
Younès Rahmoun, *Temmoun (Haystack)*, 1996.
1322 stones painted with chalk.
Beni Boufrah, Rif Mountains, Morocco. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.7
Younès Rahmoun, *Jedabiya*, 1997.
Stones, rope, dirt.
Beni Boufrah, Rif Mountains, Morocco. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.8
Younès Rahmoun, *Jedabiya*, 1997.
Stones, rope, dirt.
Beni Boufrah, Rif Mountains, Morocco. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.9
Younès Rahmoun, *Aqboub*, 1997.
Branches, hay, stone, rope.
Beni Boufrah, Rif Mountains, Morocco. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

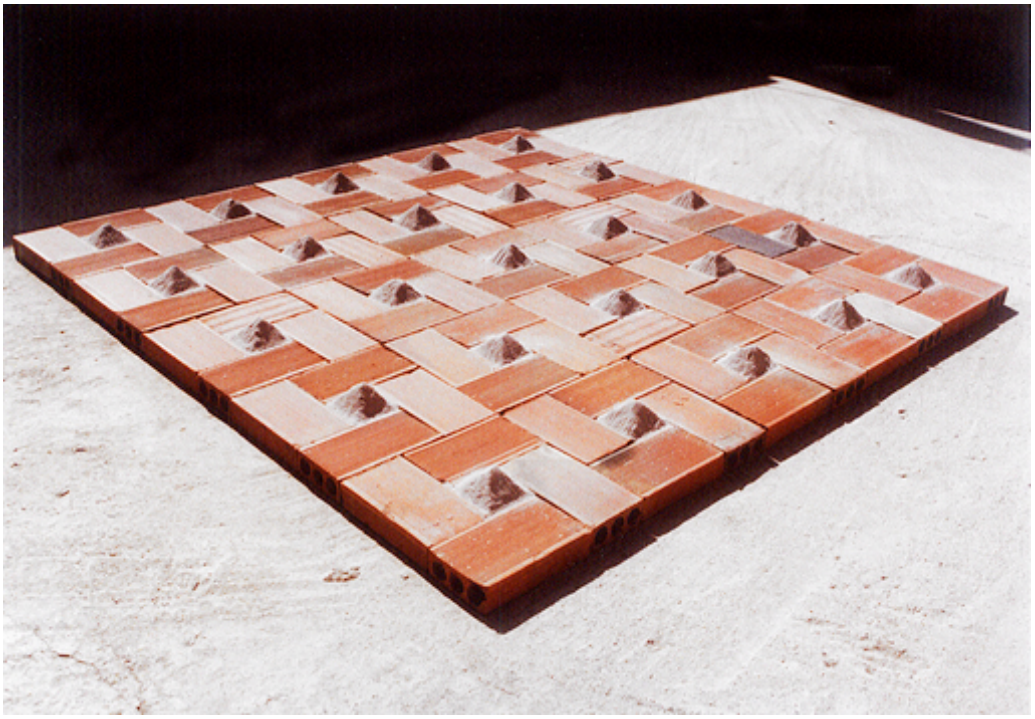

Figure 3.10
Younès Rahmoun, *Nadhm (Composition)*, 1999.
100 bricks and cinders, 200 x 200 x 15 cm.
House in Beni Boufrah, Rif, Morocco. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.11
Younès Rahmoun, *Mika*, 2004.
Plastic bags, 400 x 400 x 100 cm.
Intervention inside of a water reservoir, Beni Boufrah. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.12
Younès Rahmoun, *Ghorfa 2 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 2, Now/Here)*, 2007-2008 (detail).
Wood, light, sound, electric cable, electricity. Interior dimensions: 214 x 236 x 185 cm.
First Singapore Biennale, Tanglin Camp, Singapore. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.13
Younès Rahmoun, *Ghorfa 7 Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 7, Now/Here)*, 2007-2008.
Wood and corrugated zinc. Interior dimensions: 214 x 236 x 185 cm.
Mangrove in the Wouri River, Douala, Cameroon. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.14
Younès Rahmoun, *Ghorfa 5, Al-Âna/Hunâ (Room 5, Now/Here)*, 2008-2009.
Painted wood and wheels. Interior dimensions: 214 x 236 x 185 cm.
Park in Amsterdam. Courtesy Younès Rahmoun.

Figure 3.15
Construction of *Ghorfa 4*, September 30, 2007.
Visit with Rahmoun and his family. Rahmoun is on the left, three of his cousins are to the right. The stonemason is on the right with the light blue shirt and his back to viewer. His two assistants wear straw hats and dark t-shirts.
Photo by author.

Chapter 4: Disappearance Work

Figure 4.1
Ivan Boccara, *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)*, 2012.
Installation detail, Palais de Tokyo, Paris. Photo by author.

Figure 4.2
Ivan Boccara, *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)*, 2012.
Installation detail, Palais de Tokyo, Paris. Photo by author.

Figure 4.3
Badr El Hammami and Fadma Kaddouri, *Thabrate Face-A* (*Correspondence, Side-A)* (still), 2010-11.

Figure 4.4
Ivan Boccara, *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)* (still from 1971-72 footage), 2012.

Figure 4.5
Ivan Boccara, *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)* (still from 1971-72 footage), 2012.

Figure 4.6
Ivan Boccara, *Mémoires d'archives (Archival Memories)*, 2011.
Installation detail, CAPC Bordeaux. Courtesy Ivan Boccara.

Figure 4.7
Ivan Boccara, *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)*, 2012.
Installation detail, Palais de Tokyo, Paris. Photo by author.

Figure 4.8
Ivan Boccara, *Mémoires de Ntifa (Memories of Ntifa)*, 2012.
Installation detail, Palais de Tokyo, Paris. Photo by author.

Figure 4.9
Badr El Hammami and Fadma Kaddouri, *Thabrate Face-A* (*Correspondence, Side-A)* (still), 2010-11.

Figure 4.10
Badr El Hammami and Fadma Kaddouri, *Thabrate Face-A* (*Correspondence, Side-A)* (still), 2010-11.

Figure 4.11
Badr El Hammami and Fadma Kaddouri, *Thabrate Face-A* (*Correspondence, Side-A)* (still), 2010-11.

Figure 4.12
Badr El Hammami and Fadma Kaddouri, *Thabrate Face-A* (*Correspondence, Side-A)* (still), 2010-11.

Figure 4.13
Badr El Hammami and Fadma Kaddouri, *Thabrate Face-A* (*Correspondence, Side-A)* (still), 2010-11.

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APPENDIX

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