Amazigh culture and media: Migration and identity in songs, films and websites

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Chapter III: The City of Wait: Mobility and Immobility

Introduction

My object of analysis in this chapter is the documentary film Ciudad De La Espera (The City of Wait, 2004). This film highlights the level of mobility various individuals have access to, and how these disparities in access affect daily lives and identities. The City of Wait was released during a time of many Moroccan audio-visual productions addressing the issue of long-term mobility (i.e., international migration).¹

The City of Wait is a ‘city film’ directed by the Spanish filmmaker Juan Luis de No and released in 2004. The documentary accentuates various facets of mobility, mainly in Morocco. The filmmaker, in collaboration with the Amazigh artist Belkacem Elouariachi (Qosmit) and the Riffian migrant and anthropologist Dr Mohatar Marzok, explores the phenomenon of migration and its implications on the population in the Moroccan Northern city of Al Hoceima. The film is constituted mainly of a compilation of interviews conducted in the city of Al Hoceima. A tailor and his friends, university graduates, a feminist group, artists, a group of children, a homemaker, a businessman, a teacher, a taxi driver, and a wife of a migrant are examples of subjects interviewed in the documentary.²

¹ Since the early 1990s, films produced in Morocco tend to accentuate various facets of the phenomenon of migration. Yasser Ferhat’s Singing for Survival (2008), Mohamed’s Et Après (2002), Leila Kilani’s Tangier (2003), Mohamed Loffi’s Returnees (2004), Yasmine Kassari’s L’enfant Endormi (2004), and Hassan’s Testament (2004) are few works that draw attention to the experience of migration.

² Although the word ‘document’ entered English language as early as eighteenth century, it was the Scottish filmmaker and documentary theorist John Grierson who first introduced the word ‘documentary’ in a review in The New York Sun in February 1926. It emerged in his comments on Flaherty’s Moana (1926): ‘Of course Moana being a visual account of
Usually, the expression ‘city film’ denotes non-fiction films that revolve around urban areas. These films usually include scenes of buildings, streets, traffic, and people as individuals or masses circulating in the city. Yet, many filmmakers currently extend the codes of such films. They tend to use scenes of the city in combination with other scenes shot in rural areas, depicting countryside dwellers and their modes of life. In addition, filmmakers tend to use scenes outside the city, such as mountains, forests, and sea, throughout films classically categorised as city films. My object of analysis, The City of Wait, is one example in which such mixing occurs. The title may indicate that the film is about the city of Al Hoceima. Nonetheless, the filmmaker uses scenes shot in the villages and mountains surrounding the city. It is in this film that the poetic, the expository, the observational, and the interactive modes come together.\(^3\) Although the expository and events in the daily life of a Polynesian youth and his family has documentary value’ (Jacobs). Grierson used the word as an adjective in combination with the term ‘value’ and its meaning is somehow vague. Even if he later uses the term to denote some kind of film that he calls ‘the creative treatment of actuality’, he notes that it is an awkward word (qtd. in Rotha 70). Grierson’s interest in documentary can be described as his deep belief in filmmaking, especially, documentary as an art form, and his devotion to use media to educate and inform the masses. Even today the majority of film theorists face many difficulties when they try to articulate the word documentary. In a comment on Grierson’s remarks on documentary in the introduction to his book Documentary Display, the Australian film theorist Keith Beattie underlines the clumsiness of the term documentary. He describes it as an ‘awkward’ and ‘maladroit’ word (Beattie 1). Although Bill Nichols accepts the clumsiness of the word documentary, he cautiously ventures in a superficial outline of the term and states, ‘The definition of documentary is always relational or comparative. Just as love takes on meaning in contrast to difference or hate, and culture takes on meaning in contrast to barbarism or chaos, documentary takes on meaning in contrast to fiction film or experimental and avant-garde film’ (Nichols, Introduction 20).\(^3\) Despite the resistance of documentary films toward attempts of categorisation, theorists like Bill Nichols have tried to impose patterns on them, or what is known as modes of documentary film. He has identified six modes: observational, expository, interactive or participatory, poetic, reflexive, and performative (Nichols, Introduction 99). Nichols outlines the mode of observational as a documentary that is somehow neutral and objective in which the filmmaker tries to unfold subject matter as it is, without recourse to interpretive techniques such as voiceover and editorializing. The expository mode is a type that uses rhetorical techniques to construct a documentary. The voiceover is usually used in this mode to guide the viewer through the documentary and try to connect the scenes. The interactive mode is a documentary in which the filmmaker takes an active role within his film, interacting with the people and the material filmed. The poetic is an illusive mode because the filmmaker tends to focus on a mood in the documentary instead of making an argument. The reflexive is a mode in which the filmmaker uses methods of filming and editing to make the viewer question not only the film in particular, but also the category of documentary in general. The performative mode is a type of documentary that highlights the idea of performance and raises questions regarding the role of the filmmaker in such a
observational modes are dominant in the film, the filmmaker utilises the interactive and the poetic modes as well. Seldom do we hear the filming crew interact with the interviewees. Throughout the entire film we do not see the crew behind the camera. Nevertheless, for instance, when the taxi driver drives through the city and speaks to the crew behind the camera, we can hear their answers. The taxi driver asks the crew about their destination, and they respond, ‘go to the mosque’. It is important to note that the difference between these modes is sometimes important, since they create other dimensions in a film. For instance, in the interactive mode, the audience have the chance to see the levels of access to mobility of the characters and of the filming crew.

In this chapter, ‘The City of Wait: Mobility and Immobility’, I investigate how this film approaches the idea of mobility and immobility in light of Kaufmann’s concepts of motility and mobility.\(^4\) Importantly, it highlights the idea of ‘wait’ as another stratum related to low levels of mobility that generates uncertainty. The film shows that this uncertainty is not only characteristic of Imazighen living in diaspora—as revealed in the first chapter—but also of their waiting relatives, friends, and compatriots living in the Moroccan Rif region. The film draws attention to the struggles of several subjects attempting to acquire motility and transform it into mobility, as well as how these struggles affect these subjects’ existence and identity. While migrants are depicted as more mobile than their compatriots in Morocco, the film draws attention to the scarcity of possibilities that render the transformation of motility into mobility a difficult process in Al Hoceima. That is to say, low levels of acquired motility added to the scarcity of possibilities not only complicates the process of mobility but creates uncertainty. Vincent Kaufmann argues that mobility is social, spatial, and virtual and that there are people who have access to mobility and others who do not (29). I contend that irregular levels of motility in The City of Wait, and in the light of scarce possibilities, considerably transform into wait and low levels of mobility that affect subjects and their identities.

This chapter includes four topics. ‘People’s Restricted Free Movement in The City of Wait’ is the first. This section examines the movements of people in the film, the performance. Given that there are many documentaries where these modes overlap, the emergence of new hybrid modes is not infrequent.

\(^{4}\) Vincent Kaufmann has defined the term motility as the way a subject makes use of the available possibilities in the field of mobility and put this potential to use for her or his activities and projects.
obstacles that hinder it and how the film manages to make of this (im)mobility a noteworthy occurrence. It also reveals the levels of mobility of various subjects with highlights from two other Moroccan films, Ten’ja (Testament, 2004) and Returnees (2004). ““Waiting people” in the Cafès of Al Hoceima’ is the second topic. Here, the focus is on the juxtaposition between waiting and intention to be mobile in the city of Al Hoceima in general and its cafès in particular. Additionally, this topic draws attention to the role of cafès in the (im)mobility of their visitors, with highlights on the same topic from the films Et Après (2002) and Tanger, Le Rêve des Brûleurs (Tangier: The Burners’ Dream, 2003).

The third topic is ‘Women’s Mobility in The City of Wait’. Here, the focus is on women’s mobility in Al Hoceima, the division of male and female spaces, and women’s resistance to patriarchal values. In effect, the emphasis is on the representation of the issue of gender and (im)mobility in The City of Wait in the light of the film L’enfant Endormi (2004). The final topic in this chapter is ‘Amazigh Identity and The City of Wait: Crave for social fluidity in Morocco’. This final section reveals how The City of Wait draws attention to the association of the idea of freedom with mobility (namely, immigration to Europe). Here it highlights the kind of freedom that the interviewees dream about, and the reasons that push them to seek to immigrate in light of Ferhat’s documentary Singing for Survival (2008).

People’s restricted Free Movement in The City of Wait.

The presence of the theme of mobility in the film The City of Wait is momentous. To shed light on the various connotations of mobility, I will look at The City of Wait in light of Legzouli’s film Ten’ja (hereinafter Testament). The latter is a fiction film in which the emphasis on the theme of mobility is notable. There are three main aspects of mobility: spatial, social, and virtual; in fact, it is in mobility that these three elements are interrelated. They are in constant interactions that yield different categories. At least some of these categories can be observed in the films The City of Wait and Testament. For instance, the majority of interviewees in The City of Wait avow their desire to become more mobile. However, to have access to mobility requires motility. Therefore, we shall look at

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5 Spatial mobility has different meanings depending on context; it can refer to physical movement and metaphorically it can allude to movement of goods, information, ideas, etc. Spatial mobility of people refers, among others, to residential mobility, migration, travel, and daily mobility, such as commuting (Kaufmann 35). Therefore, virtual mobility is usually used under the category of spatial mobility in its broad definition.

6 Indeed, motility is one of the most complex concepts in Kaufmann’s Rethinking Mobility (2002). He explains that motility has three constituents: access, skills, and appropriation.
the struggles of these subjects to transform motility into mobility in a setting where possibilities are limited, and see how these struggles affects them. Before examining the various categories of people and their levels of access to mobility in the two films, I will consider these films and how cars are depicted in them as a potential motility and symbol of freedom.

Auto-mobility

Early in *The City of Wait*, we can see that the camera focuses on migrants’ cars. The documentary begins with a sequence of fifteen short, static shots. The sequence can be seen as an enthusiastic introduction and a journey into a world that consists of panoramic views of the mountains and sea that surround Al Hoceima city. After the sequence we see the outside of the city that appears as one mass or block of buildings. The shots that follow are taken from within the city. Even the sounds accompanying the first images are overwhelming. We can hear sounds of chatter in streets, a whistle, bird sounds, and a song from the singer Qosmit. In fact, the initial shots seem promising as far as the idea of mobility is concerned. The short consecutive shots, added to the filmed scenes in which we see traffic jams and crowds of people wandering in parks and streets, indicate that the film is going to present nothing but mobility. Given that the first part of the film occurs in a summer period, the presence of migrant vacationers, driving their luxurious cars, is obvious in *The City of Wait*. Viewers can see the cars of migrants as they drive along crowds of passers-by. The colourful registration plates of migrants’ cars are easy to distinguish from the white registration plates of locals. Interestingly, in almost all the shots in which cars of migrants are present local people are always shown nearby. Locals stand or walk and migrants drive or park their cars. This fact highlights the scale of migration as far as the city of Al Hoceima is concerned.

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Access means a range of possible choices in a place. This includes networks and flows, such as means of transport, information, and communication technology, and the ability of a person to have the sufficient knowledge, time, and money to utilise these networks and transport. In addition, this range of choices vary between one place and another. For instance, the possibilities available in a big city close to other big cities are not like small remote villages in the middle of nowhere. Skills means: first, the physical ability to walk to see and perform an activity; second, acquired skills like a driving licence and learning languages; third, organisational skills like researching information. Appropriation is the way a person interprets access and skills, and this appropriation is shaped by aspirations, plans of individuals, values, perceptions, and habits.

Moroccan registration plates are white and include Arabic letters, while European registration plates are of different colours and use the Latin alphabet.
In *The City of Wait*, migrants’ cars are symbols of migration and liberty. The first voice we hear in the film belongs to a person who works as a tailor in Al Hoceima. In a voiceover he speaks of migrants and their sacrifices and successes. In the images that accompany the voiceover we see cars circulating in the city. Here cars are associated with migration. Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, who leads the research group ‘Migrations’ in the International Association for Sociology, underscores the symbolic value of Western goods throughout the world especially, in poor countries and writes, ‘The circulation of Western goods, far from being an alternative to migration, encourages people to move. The more Western goods circulate, the more they create a desire to acquire these symbols of freedom and prosperity, and to travel to the countries that produce them’ (54). There are two significant elements in this quote: the circulation of Western commodities throughout the world and the impact of such commodities on people especially in poor countries. Wihtol de Wenden attributes people’s aspirations to move from their poor countries to the West as a desire to acquire commodities they cannot afford in home countries. She emphasises the symbolic value of Western products circulating in other countries and describes them as emblems of freedom and prosperity. Yet, the meaning of the term freedom is too broad and can have various readings.

The freedom many locals in Al Hoceima attribute to migrants’ cars is principally about a freedom of movement. Regarding the meaning of cars Vincent Kaufmann argues that automobiles are expressions of values like speed and privatization, and are also symbols of liberty (67). Local people regard cars as products of migration and a means that may enable them to leave the confinement of their city. Importantly, cars facilitate autonomous mobility and this automobility is usually regarded as the ‘Avatar of mobility’ (Thrift 272). In the first comments from the tailor in *The City of Wait* we see the link between cars, mobility in general, and migration in particular. In his off-screen remarks regarding migrant vacationers who return to Al Hoceima during the summer, he says, ‘Migrants started their journey from here…now they come back from Europe with their families and their own steel [cars].’ An image of an unsuspected migrant vacationer closing the door of his parked convertible car accompanies these comments. The car has a Dutch registration plate. In the shots that follow, the camera zooms in on two young boys who stare at the car, highlighting the aspiration of local people to acquire this means of

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8 Here I use the term of automobility to evoke autonomous mobility.
9 *Steel* is the term that many Riffians use as synonym for cars.
mobility. According to the tailor, owning a car is a difficult dream to achieve unless one immigrates to Europe. Here we see how locals perceive a long-term mobility like migration to Europe. In another shot we see a car driving at night blaring pop music. Then we see three bystander girls who turn their heads and stare at the European-plated convertible as it drives by. The film presents European cars, with their colourful registration plates in Al Hoceima, as enmeshed in a discourse of mobility, while the stares of locals as part of a discourse of immobility. That is, European registration plates are symbols of migration, journeys, and mobility, while the close-ups of frozen stares of ordinary local people represent their sense of immobility. Here, cars are depicted as owned by migrants and few local people, while the majority of people have no other choice but to stare at those cars as they drive by.

In the Moroccan fiction film, *Returnees* (2004), cars are similarly depicted as a means of mobility, symbols of international migration, and prosperity. In a long take at the beginning of the film we see a Mercedes laden with luggage driving on a highway. This shot takes almost a minute. The car’s owner is Sadia (performed by Amal Tamar), a migrant widow and a mother of four. She decides to return to Morocco and settle permanently. Once in Morocco, and when confronted with financial problems, she sells her car to sustain her family. A ‘lack of an automobile drastically restricts potential everyday activities’, argues Kaufmann (82). Indeed, a person must adjust his or her schedule when he or she loses a car. Sadia’s automotive loss comes at a time when she realises the loss of her status as migrant too. Consequently, she also loses her money, car, and a great deal of her daily mobility. To highlight the consequences of losing her migrant status and car, the film introduces the character Ali (Farid Ragragui), who is the fiancé of Sadia’s sister, Fatma (Souad Khouyi). Unlike Sadia, he decides to immigrate to Spain, purchases a car, and improves his economic condition. He becomes socially and spatially mobile. The contrast between Sadia and Ali underscores the symbolic value of cars within Moroccan society.

In *The City of Wait*, the only interviewee depicted owning a car is a businessperson. In his first interview, the camera is placed in the passenger seat next to him as he drives alongside Al Hoceima beach. The camera captures the left side of his face and the beach in the background where people sunbathe. The movement in the background emphasises the mobility of this person, while the camera itself remains static. In addition, the act of filming the businessperson as he drives alongside the golden beaches of Al
Hoceima indicates the wealthy of the city: his ownership of various businesses, including hotel resorts, restaurants, and travel agencies, gives him access to spatial, social, and virtual mobility. Unlike the businessperson, many Al Hoceima dwellers are either unemployed or perform temporary jobs and have limited access to mobility.

Character motility and im-mobility

Fadailla, in *The City of Wait*, represents a part of Al Hoceima society without sufficient skills or enough access to be mobile. Fadilla is the example the film depicts in order to highlight the sense of immobility many dwellers of Al Hoceima experience on a daily basis. Although there is large flow of migrants from the Rif region to Europe, and this category enjoys a relatively high level of mobility, that does not mean all the people from the region are mobile and have the means to be mobile. Kaufmann argues that faster transport and new information and communication technology create great potential for mobility, but this does not mean an automatic increase of mobility (14).

Not everybody in Al Hoceima has the required skills and access to enjoy this potential. Fadilla is a widow and a mother of four. In her first encounter with the camera she is filmed in her small apartment house as she prepares breakfast for her children. We hear loud Spanish songs coming from her daughter’s room. Here, the film makes use of the hand-held technique to create movement in the shots. In less than a minute, we see fifteen short cuts, with many trackings and close-ups on pictures, furniture, and individuals. These filming techniques in combination with continuous Spanish music create a continuity and movement in the shots. Importantly, by using this technique the film empowers Fadilla by showing that she has a space of action although limited. Regardless of the compactness of Fadilla’s apartment, the camera expands Fadilla’s space of movement by using trackings and close-ups. Similarly, in her second encounter with the camera, she is filmed while walking to the market. Unlike the static shots in which we see the camera filming from the passenger seat of the businessman’s car, the camera and the crew here walk behind the woman to a market. This is depicted in the movement of the camera as it tries to frame Fadilla. Once in the market, the camera tours the marketplace and zooms in on Fadilla as she buys vegetables and other products. Here again the movement created by the hand-held technique compensates for Fadilla’s sense of immobility and confinement in Al Hoceima, even if she tours the streets and markets of her city. In a diegetic off-screen voice, Fadilla
begins to narrate her life story. She reveals her illiteracy and how her socio-economic condition is dire. She has neither the financial means to travel outside Al Hoceima nor the necessary knowledge that enables her to have access to virtual mobility. She is a hard-working woman who tries to survive and raise her children. Her daily mobility consists of few trips on foot to the houses where she works and the market.

The condition of the artist Ali in *The City of Wait* is somehow better than Fadilla’s. Ali starts his story by claiming that he is an artist, owns an artshop, and has a university degree in English Language and Literature. Throughout the film we see that Ali speaks fluent Spanish, and, as an artist, he is able to attend festivals and travel around Morocco. Due to his education and artistic activities Ali accesses virtual mobility. Ali enjoys a high level of motility, but whether he is able to transform it to mobility is another issue. He laments the limited possibilities available in his city and as a Moroccan citizen. He hopes to travel outside the country but he cannot. Fadilla on the other hand, has low level of motility and she also laments her situation. Both characters are frustrated because their plans are not congruent with the possibilities available. One can imagine the uncertainty this condition causes for these subjects, since they live in continuous psychological torment. In effect, the extent of mobility realized through motility depends on the possibilities available for a person to access, and on this issue Kaufmann writes, ‘the degree of congruence between motility and mobility is always the expression of the more or less restrictive nature of the range of possible choices to which the person in question has access’ (45). Kaufmann underscores the idea of choices and access to them in deciding what becomes mobility. Like Ali, who has high level of motility, he is able to transform only small part of it to mobility due to a restricted range of possibilities. The combination of narratives with images of Al Hoceima and its surroundings in *The City of Wait* draws attention to the level of mobility of few subjects.

Ali is an individual able to move outside his city, yet he cannot travel outside his country. Ali is visually introduced in the film while he is working on one of his paintings in

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10 Bordwell and Thompson highlight the term diegetic (291-23), as well as Patricia Pisters (*Lessen* 161-64).

11 Here the idea of choices applies to personal choices as well as ‘external’ possibilities available. For instance, the businessman, like Ali, has a high level of motility, but transforming it into mobility remains his personal choice. Unlike Ali, who cannot travel to Europe because of restrictions out of his control, the businessman has no problem travelling outside Morocco (whether he wants to make use of that privilege is up to him). These two individuals have high levels of acquired motility, but different possibilities.
his small art shop. The shots are initially taken from behind, and the viewer can only see Ali’s back. Then, Ali turns to face the camera and starts to speak off and on screen of his academic career and his current works. While he explains the details of his works and his acquired experience, the camera shifts and zooms in on his paintings and the objects he has recently created. When Ali begins to complain about his inability to attend festivals outside Morocco because of European visa obstacles, the camera zooms in on a pack of cigarettes in his hands. In this shot the film tries to draw attention to Ali’s frustration with the restriction imposed on his movement outside Morocco. The frequent use of close-ups in Ali’s encounter with the camera is to highlight his sense of frustration and uncertainty. When he tries to describe his mobility the camera zooms in on his hands as he nervously turns the pack of cigarettes. While he recounts his unsuccessful attempts to participate in an art festival in Madrid, the camera zooms in on a flyer for a Spanish festival. Ali tries to explain his inability to travel to Spain and says, ‘I cannot travel. They [Spanish authorities] think that I want to immigrate and not attend the festival’. In another shot we see that the camera is tracking the inside of Ali’s shop. Here the emphasis and use of images of Ali’s small studio demonstrates analogically his sense of confinement within his country. In addition, the close-ups are used to visualise Ali’s frustration as far his spatial mobility is concerned.

Qosmit is another artist whose congruity between his motility and mobility is limited. In a sequence of shots we see both Ali and Qosmit walking a long distance from Al Hoceima to a nearby village together. The two do not own a car and they have to walk far to arrive at the friend’s house in a neighboring village. The focus of the camera on the two artists walking and not driving is significant because it highlights the limitations of transport possibilities. In another shot in the film Ali strangely repeats an unedited question and says: ‘what do I like in Al Hoceima city? I like the scenery when the fishing boats leave the seaport…and I like the beaches of Al Hoceima’. Ali’s off-screen voice is accompanied with images of the fishing boats in the sea and images of Al Hoceima’s scenic beaches. Ali’s repetition of the unedited question reflects, to a degree, his irritation and sense of confinement. He feels unable to explore the rest of the world or ‘the small balloon’, and compensates for his confinement by cherishing the view of the fishing boats leaving the seaport of Al Hoceima each afternoon. Ali and Qosmit have some access to

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12 Ali repeatedly uses the term balloon to refer to the globe.
virtual mobility, but their spatial mobility in general is limited and does not match their hopes and plans.

Unlike Ali and Qosmit, Nourdine (Roschdy Zem) in the film Testament (2004) is represented as a migrant who enjoys more access to mobility. Testament is a scripted film that revolves around the character Nourdine, the son of a Moroccan migrant in France. Nourdine wants to realise the wish of his deceased father. The father’s testament is that his coffin should be transported in a car from France to Morocco. In effect, the testament becomes the riddle of the entire film. No one knows the reason behind the father’s testament. The events of this film begin in France, the place where Nourdine has to initiate his journey. Then he makes a trip to Morocco to the hometown of his father, a small village situated in the Atlas Mountains. From the beginning, the film depicts Nourdine as someone mobile. In his first encounter with the camera, Nourdine is presented sitting in his car as it is automatically dragged through a carwash. The camera is placed in the passenger seat next to the driver, and we can see the gigantic brushes in the carwash cleaning the window behind Nourdine. Here the camera occupies the same position as the car in the sense that they are both means of mobility but at this point they are static and dragged in the carwash. That is, they do not need to generate any mobility because the dragging machine and the brushes are creating movement in the shots. Nourdine then receives a phone call from his mother who notifies him about the death of his father.

This first scene shows the levels of access by migrants. Access to potential means of mobility typically broadens the spectrum of possibilities and consequently access to social mobility. This idea, as I mentioned above and as highlighted in The City of Wait and Returnees, reflects the perception of many locals to means of mobility. The focus on the car and the mobile phone at the beginning of Testament reflects the range of possibilities that migrants have access to in comparison with their compatriots in the country of origin.\textsuperscript{13} Importantly, these means generate spatial and social mobility. These new means of transport and communication may generate new possibilities that affect one’s social status; Kaufmann argues that more means of transport and communication are currently available and that these means are possibilities and accessing them creates factors for social distinctiveness (19). Moroccan and diasporic films usually depict migrants as having more access and possibilities than the majority of their compatriots in Morocco. After exchanging

\textsuperscript{13} Although a mobile phone was owned almost by everybody at the time of shooting The City of Wait, we do not see any mobile phones in the entire film.
condolences at his mother’s house, Nourdine immediately places his father’s coffin in his car and begins his journey. The trip through Europe is summed up in few shots of French highways and road signs. The majority of the events of Testament revolve about Nourdine’s drive through Morocco.

The camera highlights Nourdine’s mobility by focusing on the sense of immobility of locals in Morocco. The camera constantly places Nourdine’s car in the spotlight. The first glimpse viewers have of Morocco is filmed from within a ferry. The camera is placed behind Nourdine’s car and films gigantic, slow door of the boat opens completely. Immediately, a Moroccan border officer, dressed in a blue uniform, comes into sight. The shot that follows is of Nourdine’s car moving out of the boat, and the camera is placed in the traveler’s seat as the car descends from the boat. The first events of the film focus mainly on the character of Nourdine and his high level of mobility. The introduction of the character of Mimoun (Abdou Elmasnaoui) in the film comes to highlight Nourdine’s mobility and underscore the sense of immobility among many Moroccans. Mimoun is an illiterate young man who lives in Tangier and has a low-paying job as a cleaning employee at a morgue near the seaport. He has neither a driving licence nor an automobile. At work he comes to know Nourdine. I interpret Mimoun’s character as representative of a large group of Moroccans who feel imprisoned in their own country and dream of immigrating to the West.

Spatial mobility is part of Nourdine’s daily routine and identity, and for Mimoun a dream beyond his reach. Kaufmann argues that the most mobile people are the ones who have a high level of congruence between their motility and mobility (56). Nourdine is a young French-Moroccan man born and raised in France, and he has a career, speaks at least two languages, has a driving licence, and owns an automobile. The film Testament portrays this character as being constantly mobile. Here we see that his level of motility is congruent with his mobility. On the one hand, Nourdine represents the high level of motility a few international migrants have acquired in congruence with their mobility. On the other hand, Mimoun represents the low level of acquired motility among many Moroccans and the difficulties they face as they try to transform it into mobility. Given that Nourdine can travel between cities, countries, and continents he does not pay much attention to his spatial mobility. Ironically, the film depicts him as an individual frustrated by being constantly mobile. In one scene we see him asking Nora (Aure Atika), whom he picked up on a Moroccan highway, to drive him to southern Morocco. From that point we see that Nora
drives all the time. The character Mimoun, who is indeed aware of the limitations of both his motility and mobility, feels imprisoned in Tangier, and has only one dream: to leave his city and join the girl of his dreams in Australia. For Mimoun migration abroad becomes the main purpose of his life. As revealed in the film, Mimoun witnesses the arrival of corpses of illegal immigrants to the morgue on many occasions. The remains belong to Moroccans and sub-Saharans who attempted to immigrate illegally to Spain and drowned. Yet, the lifeless bodies of those migrants do not deter Mimoun. Mimoun and Nourdine’s second meeting takes place at a sidewalk café in Tangier. They sit together and drink mint tea. When one of the customers at the café makes fun of Miomoun, he responds: ‘drink your tea and let me dream’. Mimoun’s dream is of living with a beautiful Australian girl whom he has never seen except in a photo. To achieve his dream he hopes that one day he might get enough money to pay for his illegal exit from Morocco. Mimoun wants to immigrate, but his level of motility is low.

In Testament the movements of the camera underscore the idea of (im)mobility. Mimoun appears to be an eccentric figure in the city and is known for his Australian dreams. At the beginning of the film we see Mimoun and Nourdine walking in the streets of Tangier and the camera walks with them as well. The camera’s walking movement in Testament, as also demonstrated in The City of Wait, reflects the limitations of mobility of a large part of Moroccan society, particularly spatial mobility. As a member of that society, Mimoun seeks consolation in his daydreams. Nevertheless, at the end of the film Nourdine invites Mimoun to accompany him in his car. As they travel around, the camera accompanies them in the car. The dissimilarity in the shots of walking at the beginning and driving at the end of the film evokes a sign that some changes are going to occur in Mimoun’s life. Indeed, the sum of money he receives later is going to be his ticket out of Morocco.

The emphasis on spatial mobility is apparent in the final shots of the film Testament. When Mimoun and Nourdine approach the borders with Spain, the camera zooms in on their faces. On the one hand, the close-up expands the space Mimoun occupies as his face fills the frame; on the other hand, the sadness apparent on his face reflects his awareness that his space of movement is diminishing as the Spanish border comes closer. Nourdine then stops the car, and gives a large sum of money to Mimoun, who steps out. Mimoun, inspecting the sum of money, becomes excited and starts to dance and jump for joy. The shot highlights the contrast between a Moroccan immigrant, who has the means
and ability to travel around freely, and locals like Mimoun who cannot enjoy the same privileges. In addition, this shot brings to light the solidarity of migrants with their compatriots who live in Morocco. Even if free movement of people is something articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the statement remains impractical in reality. The declaration states that ‘Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own and to return to his country’ (UN). Here Mimoun represents a group of Moroccans who want to leave Morocco but face closed Spanish borders. The right to leave one’s country, which is guaranteed in the declaration, is ineffectual as long as the right to enter another country is not certain.

The film reveals two important points. First it highlights how migration, which was in the past a big step into the unknown, is gradually changing. The theme and experience of migration is currently discussed on a daily basis among students, colleagues, relatives, and families in various settings and spaces. Candidates for immigration usually regard migration as an experience or a process that may improve their livelihood. Second, locals regard the high level of mobility enjoyed by many international migrants as freedom. This idea is not accurate because this freedom is always constrained by structures. On this issue, Kaufmann argues that means of transport and telecommunication do not provide freedom that goes beyond social constraints (100). Nourdine has financial means and an automobile but his mobility is chained by social norms. That is, he makes the trip to Morocco because he cannot reject the request of his mother and the wish of his father. At the beginning of the film we see that he struggles for a while with the idea of taking the coffin in his car and making the voyage to Morocco, but he eventually succumbs to his mother’s insistence. Mimoun represents a large category of people in Morocco still waiting in their villages and cities to acquire motility and get the chance to leave Morocco.

‘Waiting people’ in cafés of Al Hoceima

*The City of Wait* simultaneously depicts cafés as spaces of hope and of despair. People use these spaces to gather on a daily basis in order to kill time, plan for immigration, and escape the shabby streets of their city; yet, the idea of cafés among many of their patrons are negative since they are associated with social and spatial immobility. That is, people find

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14 It should be noted that this familiarity is perceived by local people in Morocco vis-à-vis migration, because as I show in the next chapter, the experience of migration itself is still a complex journey that can have disastrous consequences on migrants themselves and their families.
solace in these locales as they escape the streets of their city and hope that one day they might acquire enough motility to transform it into mobility. Then they can cross the sea and arrive in a European paradise where they might enjoy unlimited access to social and spatial mobility. Waiting for that moment, they remain immovable in these cafés.

*The City of Wait* reflects an important aspect related to identity: wait becomes part of the identity of the inhabitants of this city. The title *The City of Wait* is indicative as it draws attention to the condition in which the inhabitants of this city find themselves. It is not a city of opportunities or mobility; it is a city of wait, the film argues. Two questions then arise. One addresses the nature of the places or spaces where people wait and the other deals with ‘what’ it is for which they are waiting. The entire film is an attempt to answer these two questions. Kaufmann writes, ‘all mobility has repercussions on identity and, increasingly, that an identity is built on mobilities’ (21). Kaufmann argues that mobility affects the identity of a subject. In fact, the various levels of mobility differently affect a subject’s identity. For instance, nomadic people are constantly on the move; these people are categorised as a group in constant movement, and therefore, ‘nomadic’ becomes part of their identity. The inhabitants of Al Hoceima, however, are depicted in the film as people confined to their city with hopes to access the world of high mobility. That is to say, in the case of Al Hoceima, it is a lack of mobility that affects the identity of its inhabitants. They are not mobile but ‘people in wait’. Here the idea of wait becomes part of their identity: they are waiting to become mobile. Importantly, the idea of wait is usually associated with uncertainty. For instance, people wait for a train and are not certain whether it will arrive on time; others wait for their exam results and are not sure about their outcome. Similarly, people of Al Hoceima wait for an opportunity that may or may not materialise; consequently, they continuously live in the agony of uncertainty. Then comes the second question which concerns the settings where these people wait.

The idea of wait is apparent throughout *The City of Wait*, and even the audience is forced, on many occasions, to wait in order to make sense of the shots. At the beginning of the film there is a sequence of five shots in which we see a figure walking at night in dark streets and ascending stairs. The final shot in the sequence is shot from a low angle. The camera tracks the street and ends up framing the top of a building, which appears as a dark block with a blue sky in the background. In the next shot the audience gets to see a door through which thin light comes, and a figure enters the door. It is only in the following shots the viewers discover that the door is to a café. The audience can then see people
sitting around tables, with a Spanish-league football match on TV placed high at one of the corners of the café. Only then that the audience learns about the figure who has been walking in the dark and eventually enters the café. He is a tailor, and he walks to a table and sits in front of the camera. Interestingly, the film always uses the hand-held technique to shoot this subject on the street, at work, or in a café. There is no need to use an automobile to follow this character as he performs his daily routine, because his space of mobility is limited to a small triangle. That is to say, his daily mobility consists of a short trip on foot to work, then another walk to a café, and eventually a third trip back home.

In *The City of Wait* the tailor has his first interview in a café. The interview is mostly in voiceover. He starts to describe the café and its customers. At the beginning of the interview we see many close-ups that reveal the details of the café and its customers. As the tailor starts to speak of international migrants, the images we see are shot in the main avenue of Al Hoceima city. There are people walking, cars driving, and streetlights. These images indicate that the world of migrants is a lively atmosphere in which people are active and mobile. Nonetheless, when the tailor starts to speak about locals, the audience sees nothing but shots taken in dark, quiet streets. These images are shot at night in the suburbs of the city where streetlights are scarce. These images represent the world in which locals live. It is an uncertain world in which there is nothing but inactivity, darkness, and immobility. These gloomy images and their presentation at the beginning of the film serve as an early indication of the condition in which many local inhabitants feel entangled.

The importance of cafés in the livelihood of the people of Al Hoceima is reflected in the filming techniques used and in the filmmaker’s devotion to filming within and outside cafés. The largest part of the process of filming takes place within cafés. Various interviewees, such as a tailor, two university graduates, the singer Qosmit, a homemaker, and a waitress, are all interviewed in different cafés in Al Hoceima. In addition, the audience can also notice that the camera captures unsuspecting customers who are drinking coffee, watching TV, or just sitting in the terrace of a café. Bill Nichols argues that the aim behind the technique of filming unsuspecting subjects is ‘to film things that would have occurred if one had not been there’ (Nichols, *Ideology* 278). Nichols emphasises the advantageous aspects of filming unsuspecting subjects. It is a technique that can yield astonishing images and the results of this technique remain the same as those of hidden camera. In *The City of Wait* the audience can see how people perform their daily activities unaware of the presence of the camera. Here the idea of filming unsuspecting people is an
attempt to understand the act of frequenting cafés in Al Hoceima and to depict the inhabitants of the Rif region in their ‘undisturbed’ daily routines. Importantly, the process of filming repetitively within and outside cafés reflects the centrality of such places to their users. In addition, not everybody gives permission to be filmed, and if the filmmaker of *The City of Wait* would have asked permission from all the customers, more than half would likely refuse and leave. Besides, once customers are aware of the presence of the camera they may behave differently, and those shots might not reflect the ‘reality’ of crowded café terraces in Al Hoceima.

The inhabitants of Al Hoceima have formed meaningful relationships with cafés. Many interviewees in *The City of Wait* regard cafés as a refuge from the shabby streets of their city. They also see them as places where they inspect possibilities of immigration. In his first on-screen comments about the café where he was interviewed, the tailor claims, ‘It is in this café that I meet my friends, have a talk, watch football, and speak of next attempt to immigrate’. In another excerpt, a jobless university graduate, who shares a table with the artist Qosmit at a café, speaks enthusiastically about the café he frequents on a daily basis and states, ‘After my graduation, it is in this café that I spend each day, luckily I am not yet bored’. On the one hand, this interviewee is happy that there is a café where he can take refuge every day from the shabby streets of his city; on the other hand, he does not hide his concern that one day he might get frustrated with the limitations of his social and spatial mobility. In the film we see that the majority of the interviewees feel they are in ‘prison’. They struggle to understand their own condition and the available possibilities in their city and plan their future accordingly, and cafés become spaces in which such contemplation occurs. In this film we notice that for many inhabitants of ‘the city of wait’ visiting a café has become a daily ritual.

In Hakim Sahraoui’s *Et Après* (2002), another Moroccan fiction film, cafés are portrayed as places that play a vital role in the process of immigration. Ironically, these spaces, which are part of the daily routine of the inhabitants of many Moroccan cities, towns, and villages (and which are usually associated with immobility), play a major role in generating long-term mobility. In this film Lamallam Taher (performed by Mohammed Miftah) is the owner of a café in Tangier where many illegal immigrants arrive. He negotiates with them the price of the trip and then takes them to another smuggler who gives them shelter and food while they wait for their crossing. A sequence of shots filmed within Taher’s café demonstrates the role of cafés in the process of illegal immigration. The
first shot in the sequence is of a bearded man (Mohammed Albastaoui) sitting at a table watching television and smiling. The second shot is of the TV screen accompanied by the voice of a person in the TV. A close-up of the TV reveals a Moroccan man (Salaheddine Benmoussa) driving a convertible car accompanied by a Western woman. The man speaks to the camera about his excitement to return to Morocco to spend his summer holiday. The shot afterward is of the bearded man looking startled by the images shown on TV. The camera captures the bearded man from a high angle as he watches TV. The technique of filming from a high angle is to enhance and show the feeling of the smallness this bearded man experiences vis-à-vis migrants who return from Europe to spend their summer holidays in Morocco. The shot afterward is of Lamaalam Taher standing next to the man. Taher lets the bearded man know that if he decides to immigrate his condition might get better than the person on TV. Here again we see that the film underscores the common idea circulating in Morocco that associates spatial mobility—especially international migration—with social mobility. The shot that follows zooms in on the bearded man as he answers Taher confidently, saying ‘I am ready’. In the last shot in this sequence we see Taher moves to another table where two individuals are sitting. The two are also candidates for illegal immigration.

_Ét Après_ depicts low levels of acquired motility as the main reason people seek refuge in cafés and consider illegal immigration. In a long take in the film we see the three friends Mustafa, Laarbi, and Khalid sit at a table. They request a glass of tea to share and a game to play. Mustafa (Rachid Elwali) addresses his friends and states that the person who loses in the game should pay for the tea. Mustafa is a small drug dealer, who still lives with his widowed mother, who supports him, his young sister, and nephew. Laarbi and Khalid are unemployed most of the time. Laarbi endeavors to gather enough money to pay for his exit from Morocco. In a long shot, which spans more than a minute, a young man approaches Mustafa and asks him for drugs. The young man seems desperate and Mustafa, unwilling to give him anything, and constantly makes excuses. At the end of the shot Mustafa gives him some drugs and insists that it is the last time until he pays his debts. Then, the three friends start to play the game. The three friends do not have any diplomas, careers, skills, or financial means. Their level of acquired motility is indeed low. They consider illegal immigration the immediate solution that will solve all of their problems and change their existence drastically. Kaufmann argues that long-term movement like migration shapes the identity of subjects, since migrants have to live in a new place, with a
new routine, new social networks, and perform a new job. These new things drastically shape subjects’ identity (25). Kaufmann emphasises the negative side of international migration, since migrants must completely rearrange their condition in the new setting. However, the three friends consider migration abroad a positive step that will enable them to have access to spatial and social mobility. Like many characters in *The City of Wait*, the three friends in *Et Après* meet at the café to kill time, think about their conditions in Morocco, and wait for a chance to immigrate.15

In Leila Kilani’s documentary film *Tanger, Le Rêve des Brûleurs* (*Tangier: The Burners’ Dream*, 2003) the idea of wait among candidates for illegal immigration is indeed current. The first voiceover of a local resident of Tangier describes the ambiance in his city and sums it up in a local saying. He says, ‘A Tangawi is always sitting on a rock and watching the sea’. A crowd of people sitting in a café terrace at night looking at the sea accompany this voiceover. The local saying describes how the inhabitants of Tangier are always in wait and in a state of anticipation. They observe people arriving or leaving Tangier. As the events in the documentary unfold, the saying becomes more apparent. Tangier is a city of contrast: it has a high level of mobility, as people from Europe and Africa transit from this city continuously, and, at the same time, it is a city of wait, since candidates for illegal migration remain waiting for the right opportunity to ‘burn’ (i.e., cross illegally to Europe). *Tangier* films the population who have nothing to do but wait to leave for Europe illegally. In fact, most of those who wait are not local inhabitants of Tangier. They are either Moroccans from other cities or sub-Saharan migrants who wait to immigrate illegally to Spain.

Many events and shots in *Tangier* and *The City of Wait* are similar. Near the end of *Tangier*, a group of Moroccan candidates for illegal immigration sit in a café and smoke cigarettes. They recount their failed attempts to immigrate and discuss their plans for a next try. This sequence, when compared to the interview with the tailor in the café in Al Hoceima, seems remarkable indeed. The experiences depicted in cafés are almost identical in *Tangier* and *The City of Wait*. Some shots seem identical in the two films, too. For instance, a shot taken from the entrance of a café shows the backs of customers who watch

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15 The idea of killing time among candidates for migration is not limited to migrants in Africa or Asia, but also in Europe. For instance, it is common to find people killing time in the Albanian city Vlore, waiting for the right time and good weather to cross into Italy (Ribas-Mateos 319).
a Spanish TV channel. This shot is identical in the two films, except that the subjects in the two films are dressed differently. The similarities between these two films indicate the similar role that cafés play in many Moroccan cities, especially in coastal cities on the Mediterranean. They accommodate waiting candidates for immigration who want access to long-term mobility.

In *The City of Wait*, visits to cafés are depicted as parts of a vicious circle many inhabitants of Al Hoceima hate but cannot escape. Importantly, these spaces represent the state of immobility of many Moroccans waiting to become a migrant (i.e., mobile). In several excerpts interviewees portray cafés as places frequented by unemployed and failed persons. In a shot in the middle of the film, when asked about his idea of migration, the tailor responds: ‘I want to immigrate, to go there [to Europe] to work. I want to leave to support my family and not to go there to cafés’. To highlight his deep desire to immigrate, the tailor says: ‘look at those who have not been able to immigrate’. The camera then zooms in on a group of adult men around a table in the café. They smoke cigarettes and drink coffee. The tailor continues: ‘they are in their forties and fifties…they have not achieved anything…they have neither a job nor a family…nothing’.

Here the film underscores the idea that many inhabitants of Al Hoceima believe that having access to the process of migration leads to social fluidity. That is to say, the interviewees in the film regard access to spatial mobility, especially international migration, as a ticket to access social fluidity. In another shot, one of the two university graduates interviewed in the café on the seaside, responds to a question regarding his social life in the city of Al Hoceima: ‘Men wake up in the morning and come to a café, there is nothing to do in Al Hoceima’. We see that this comment vis-à-vis Al Hoceima is the same as Ali’s. In addition, both the tailor and the university graduate associate the idea of café with unemployment, failure, and immobility. Yet, both are filmed several times in cafés, which are part of their daily routine and mobility. The irony lies in the fact that these people, especially unemployed graduates, leave their houses in the morning to go to cafés where they spend long hours. Here the trip to the café is part of their daily mobility. In effect, the contrast between verbal narratives and the physical presence of these subjects in cafés highlights the vicious circle these places represent. That is to say, the presence of these subjects in cafés bears witness to their attachment to visiting these places, while their verbal

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16 Kaufmann defines social fluidity as ‘the dream of a classless society guaranteeing equal chances for all’ (4).
narratives bear witness to their dislike of cafés. Therefore, many customers of Al Hoceima cafés are waiting to leave in locales they hate but cannot escape.

Throughout *The City of Wait* we can notice the repetition of many shots, especially, shots taken within cafés. The use of this technique considerably affects the audience’s experience of time. The repetition of shots in *The City of Wait* allows viewers to experience the feeling of being confined in the cafés of Al Hoceima. Given that the filming of *The City of Wait* takes more than one year, the filmmaker has been able to understand the feelings of local inhabitants, especially of those who feel tired of visiting cafés. Importantly, he has successfully achieved visualising those feelings. His use of large sequences to film within cafés and also his close-ups on the faces of interviewees in cafés draws attention to the sense of boredom, monotony, and uncertainty that mar the livelihood of these subjects.

Many women in Al Hoceima opt for virtual mobility—the Internet—to substitute their lack of other forms of spatial mobility within their city. In her interview in *The City of Wait*, the waitress at the women’s café draws attention to the cyber café within the same building. It is a cyber café exclusively for women. Women visit cyber cafés to escape the confinement of streets, houses, and their city for a moment. While many large European cites try to make use of virtual mobility to reduce traffic jam on their roads, the inhabitants of ‘the city of wait’ make use of virtual mobility to compensate for their lack of physical mobility.¹⁷ In both cases virtual mobility originates from a necessity, but the purpose behind the use of such mobility by people in European cities and women in *The City of Wait* are indeed paradoxical.

There are dozens of cyber cafés in Al Hoceima where people of different ages and sexes are active and mobile. Visitors gather in these spaces to socialise and discover the world. They are involved in all kinds of activities online, such as discussions in chatrooms, forums, online dating, listening to music, watching films, interacting on social media, writing e-mails, reading online books and other materials, and searching data. These cyber cafés, unlike ordinary cafés where people are almost passive except of few attempts to plan for immigration, represent activity and virtual mobility. There are many visitors who regard cyber cafés as a means to help to realise their dream of immigration. That is, people try to find jobs that may allow them to immigrate, a girlfriend or boyfriend who may help send a

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¹⁷ See Glogger et al.
visa, or just browse the immigration laws of different countries and try to find a gap in those laws that may allow them to acquire a visa somewhere else.

**Women’s mobility in *The City of Wait***

Regardless of the association cafés may have with the idea of immobility, women in *The City of Wait* use these spaces to generate mobility or at least increase their level of acquired motility. In fact, women in Al Hoceima generally have lower levels of acquired motility in comparison with men. That is to say, many women in Al Hoceima are confined to houses; only few have careers or access to education and other skills. However, the film shows that women struggle to acquire more motility that may allow them to access social and spatial mobility. Kaufmann argues that the process of fluidification affects only a ‘few social categories in the western world’, and what can be said about big population centres or mega cities cannot apply to rural areas or small towns; between northern countries and countries in the south, gender and race inequalities demonstrate that social fluidity is still a dream beyond the reach of many (33). Indeed, *The City of Wait* draws attention to such inequalities between men and women in Morocco. The idea of a café in the film is there to generate discussion regarding gender and access to spatial and social mobility.

Despite the fact that there are cafés in Al Hoceima visited by both male and female customers, *The City of Wait* avoids these spaces. Emphasis in the film is on the mainstream, and that is sex-segregated cafés. Most scenes in the film depict women and men separately. While many mixed-sex cafés and cyber cafés exist in Al Hoceima, the only idea the audience assumes regarding the existence of such places/spaces is deduced from the verbal narrative of a young girl interviewed at a women’s café. She claims that she regularly visits cyber cafés where both men and women are welcome. Yet, she emphasises the difficulty she encounters as a single young woman when she visits cafés alone. Single women find it difficult to venture into cafés alone, since their presence is usually interpreted suspiciously. In *Patriarchy and Pub Culture*, Valery Hey reports a similar attitude of suspicion against single women in London pubs, and Anouk de Koning conveys a comparable patriarchy in Cairo cafés (Hey 4; De Koning 126). Valery Hey states that it is indeed difficult for single women to go alone to a café in London, because men assume that cafés are a male territory. Similarly, during her fieldwork in Egypt, Anouk de Koning observes that some cafés have exclusively male customers, such as Ahawi Baladi, or the sidewalk cafés of Cairo. She notes that there are cafés single women cannot visit unless accompanied by female friends.
or a male family member. *The City of Wait* seems to document that a similar sexism has contributed to the creation of Al Hoceima’s café for women in order to allow local women to socialise.

*The City of Wait* depicts the women’s café as a place where women acquire motility. The café in Al Hoceima is situated in a compound that includes a cyber café and other facilities where women enjoy access to computer tutorials, and other skills like learning foreign languages and needlecraft. While men’s cafés serve as places where men plan to immigrate, the women’s café is a space where patrons acquire motility that may allow them to access the world of virtual mobility in particular and spatial mobility in general. In addition, the depiction of socializing women in the café is one aspect of their challenge to patriarchal values dominant in their region. The film exposes the events that take place within the women’s café and reveals the significance of this space to its female customers and the reactions to it from men. The film provides the audience a tour inside the café. We can see a bar attendant making coffee, pressing orange juice, and serving women customers. We can also see the café customers and their activities: reading newspapers, watching TV, and making conversation. The act of filming within this café is a precedent in itself, since this place is normally beyond the reach of men. Yet, the women in the café open the door for the camera and the male crew who accompany it. The women’s participation in the film can be seen as the ultimate challenge to the power paradigm that dominates the city of Al Hoceima. It is a paradigm that is based on keeping women at home and excluding them from public social life. It is the first time that men in Al Hoceima realise that there is a ‘public’ space that they cannot access. In a patriarchal society like Morocco, men usually believe they are powerful and can have access to whatever they want. The film’s focus on the exclusiveness of women’s café is to highlight the sense of exclusion the majority of women experience on a daily basis in Al Hoceima. Importantly, the film draws attention to and generates discussion of the issue of women’s exclusion from many public spaces.

In the film, female café customers make use of the camera to generate mobility in their immobile world. In effect, the film succeeds in generating mobility in issues that are

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18 Although there are mixed-sex cafés in Al Hoceima, these spaces remain exceptions, and local women who visit these spaces are indeed few. The idea of café is always associated with men in Moroccan society. Therefore, the creation of a women’s café is to question the idea of exclusion.
significant for women of Al Hoceima (such as their equal rights with men vis-à-vis access to social public spaces and media). Despite the asymmetric relationship that exists between the filmmaker and the filmed subject, both parties not only share mutual interests but form an alliance as well. A psychoanalytic reading might forward that the protagonist in a documentary film fulfils his or her ‘need to be heard, a need to be seen, a wish for mirroring, a wish for sympathetic ear, for an admiring eye, for an interested eye, for an empathic eye/ear combined’ (Berman, Rosenheimer, and Avid 221). Regardless of whether the filmmaker has the privilege to select the topic of the documentary, manage the process of filming, and control editing, the filmed subject has advantages when filmed as well. The women interviewed in The City of Wait use the camera to send their message, making use of this communication system to acquire symbolic power. That is, the camera enables these women to have a voice, and encourages them to share their stories and beliefs with an audience. For instance, the interviewed waitress makes use of the camera to describe the social condition of Riffian women, the difficulties they face, and the significance of having an exclusive café for women in Al Hoceima. Women utilise the camera, which becomes an empathetic ear and an admiring eye, to challenge patriarchal values.

Interestingly, the camera sometimes becomes more than an eye and an ear. Michael Chanan states, if ‘people behave differently in different social spaces, then as the documentary camera enters spaces that were previously inaccessible to it, it encounters the subject in situations where they are not used to being under scrutiny’ (218). For instance, the remarks and behavior of the youngest girl interviewed at the women’s café are significant. In The City of Wait, as the camera films two women at a table, we suddenly hear the voice of another woman who interrupts the interview. The camera about-faces to frame the person who interrupts: a young girl who wears a T-shirt and blue jeans. The interruption occurs when the two interviewed women begin to discuss cafés and cyber cafés outside the compound. The two claim that men mostly frequent cyber cafés in Al Hoceima. The young girl interrupts and starts to speak fast and firm. She does not want to miss the opportunity to express herself and give the chance for the two to interrupt her. She says, ‘Indeed there are cafés that are reserved only for men…but I always visit gender-mixed cyber cafés outside this compound, I visit other places where men go too…there is no difference between men and women, we are equal’. The young girl speaks fluent Spanish, she is a student, regularly visits cyber cafés, and does not hesitate to defend her beliefs.
Here, the motility of this young girl is depicted as a valuable capital, and at the same time, as an indicator of social inequality. It is a form of capital because she has acquired many skills, means of access, and appropriations that enable her to defend women’s rights. At the same time this shows that women’s rights in this country are not that robust, because she represents the few women who have gained such privilege among a majority who have extreme low levels of motility. The young girl perceives the complaints of the two women in front of the camera as belittling women. Consequently, she tries to emphasise and defend the idea of equality between men and women. Based on the tone of her voice, which is high, and the speed of her speech, it appears the camera has triggered the young girl interrupting the two female interviewees.

The women’s café in *The City of Wait* is more than a place where local women gather. It is a space where the position of men’s power is questioned and disrupted. The female bar attendant comments on her job at the women’s café and the idea of a café designated exclusively for women in Al Hoceima and says: ‘Men are shocked by this idea… women’s café! They do not believe that it exists in Al Hoceima… and a female bar attendant handling a coffee machine and serving female customers is beyond men’s understanding in this city’. This comment is partially on-screen with the rest voiced off-screen. In the middle of this sequence of shots, filmed within the women’s café, there are shots inserted that show the typical male sidewalk cafés in Al Hoceima. The film shows to its audience another face of Al Hoceima. It is a city that does not include only cafés for men, but women’s cafés as well. The women of Al Hoceima have succeeded to erect a building that they call their own café in the midst of hundreds of cafés for men. It is their first spot on a map that used to be dominated by men. The comments of the bar attendant in combination with the shots of the two different cafés underscore women’s endeavors to produce changes in their own society. *The City of Wait*’s juxtaposed images of sexed cafés draws attention to the struggles of women in Al Hoceima, in particular and the Rif region in general, against the dominance of men. The images emphasise the idea that women’s struggle are beginning to yield results. Women start to rearrange and mark spaces—classically men’s territory—as theirs. This applies to urban women. In effect, rural women usually work harder than men and also live in harsher conditions than their compatriots in cities.

Leila Kasari’s feature film *L’enfant Endormi* (2004) depicts rural women, particularly the left-behind wives of migrants, as a forgotten immobile populace. In his
approach to the concept of motility and the contexts in which it can transform into mobility, Kaufmann argues that people’s endeavor to be mobile depends on the structural and cultural dimensions in which such acts take place (38). Shot in a village in the Atlas Mountains, the film draws attention to the condition of left-behind women, who are illiterate and live in a conservative society almost isolated from the rest of the world. When one of the main characters, Zineb, discovers she is pregnant, she decides to freeze the fetus in her womb. The act is tinted with magic, since no one can freeze a fetus in a womb and then reactivate it when needed. However, this act is symbolic as it highlights the degree of uncertainty in which left-behind women are entangled. Zineb has just married, and her husband is an immigrant living in Europe. The act of refusing to have children is indeed common among left-behind women in Morocco, especially women who live in rural areas. Speaking of this phenomenon in Migration and Gender in Morocco (2008), Moha Ennaji and Fatima Sadiqi argue, ‘Newly married women left behind often refuse to have children because of the insecurity; having no guarantee their husband would return or would want to start a family’ (173). The insecurity Ennaji and Sadiqi illustrate is reasonable, given that 17 per cent of left-behind women of migrants are divorced and many more feel that they are neither married nor divorced (160-71). The film draws attention to these women’s condition and low level of motility. Given the isolation and cultural environment in which they live, their chances of having access to spatial and social mobility is negligible.

Many left-behind women refuse to have children as a symbolic act against patriarchal values that dominate the Rif region and Morocco. The desired mobility of many women is not congruent with their motility, and marriage in the eyes of these women usually means more confinement and immobility. The City of Wait illustrates a particular case of a woman who owns the house where a feminist group gather to drink mint tea. The film makes use of this subject to express the view of many left-behind women vis-à-vis mobility, marriage, and having children. She states: ‘They [Riffian men] lock up women in houses and ask them to fabricate children’; the women in her house together add, ‘To become a children’s factory’. These comments not only emphasise the women’s sense of confinement, but also allude to the unwillingness of women to have children. The owner of the house has children, but her attitude reflects an aversion to childbirth synonymous with patriarchal society.

The women’s use of the terms ‘fabricate’ and ‘lock up’ underlines their understanding of how their bodies become the centre of contest. In her article ‘Refusal of
Reproduction: Paradoxes of Becoming-Women in Transnational Moroccan Filmmaking’,
Patricia Pisters writes about the paradox surrounding Riffian women’s refusal to reproduce:

As the reproduction of the body is refused, the reproduction of dominant and patriarchal history is refused. The paradox is that reproduction is refused not in order to extinguish the nation, but precisely to open it up to the future, creating new possibilities for a less constrained life. (81)

Pisters highlights the paradox of refusing to have children in order to create hope for future generations. Many Moroccan women, especially in the Rif region, regard childbirth a reproduction of the same patriarchal values that dominate their society. Refusing reproduction is not aimed at annihilating society, but a gesture against repressive men. The women’s rejection of the idea of ‘fabricating’ children in the film’s scene is an example of symbolic objection to men’s tyranny. The use of the term ‘fabricate’ in combination with the term ‘lock up’ by the left-behind wife in the film reflects her deep sense of immobility, and injustice inflicted on her by ‘Riffian men’. Women feel deprived of their humanity and degraded to machines merely for fabricating children. Importantly, women in The City of Wait wisely use the camera to send a message of discontent about their conditions. They protest and rebel against imprisonment and subjugation and they aspire to allow the next generation of women to have a better life than theirs.

Yet, the conditions of left-behind women in The City of Wait are slightly better than those depicted in the feature film L’Enfant Endormi. In the documentary film the owner of the house where the women’s meeting takes place is a left-behind wife of a migrant. Unlike Zineb, she has children and receives remittances from her migrant husband. Nonetheless, emotionally she is depressed, and questions the meaning of marriage in the light of the absence of her husband. She is left behind in the city of Al Hoceima imprisoned in her own house with the task of bringing up her children alone. Allowing the camera in her house seems to be her only way of protest against not being able to go out (i.e., to access spatial mobility). It is a risky act that might seriously affect her marriage. The camera in this scene frames what used to be The Hurma (the forbidden/inaccessible), which is the privacy of the inner house. The woman uses the camera to break the walls of confinement. In her comments on the imprisonment of women in their houses, she claims, ‘Men think that by providing their women with potatoes and bread they earn the right to imprison them’. This woman and many others come under extreme pressure from society,
and they are more isolated and confined to their houses. In the absence of the husband a woman becomes careful about her acts and movements, because of fear that relatives and neighbors might regard her acts as a misuse of the absence of the husband. Added to the pressure of society, these women have the task of raising their children alone. In fact, in *L’Enfant Endormi*, one of the reasons pushing Zineb to stop her pregnancy is to avoid the burden of raising her baby alone. It is a burden her friend Halima struggles against, since her husband has abandoned her. The women in *L’Enfant Endormi* are confined to their small village. Except from the few letters and home videos they receive from their migrant husbands, they are almost disconnected from the rest of the world.

*L’Enfant Endormi* depicts women’s access to media differently than *The City of Wait*. The former draws attention to rural women while the latter focuses on urban women. In *L’Enfant Endormi* women live in extreme poverty, isolation, and have limited access to media. In a sequence of shots we see women walking in the dark and then entering a house. Within the house a group of women are gathered to watch television. It is an old TV set, and the women watch home videos sent by their migrant husbands who live and work in Europe. In a shot we see that the camera focuses on the old TV set and video recorder. The film wants to show the scarcity of the media in the village. There are few people in the village able to afford a television or a video recorder. In another scene we see the two main characters, Halima and Zineb, sitting at a corner of a house and excitedly examining photos. The act of meeting in one house to watch the home videos and the scene of the two women hungrily inspecting the photos demonstrate that rural women can hardly have any access to media.

*The City of Wait* depicts urban women as having ‘considerable’ access to information and communication technology, mainly virtual mobility. Through a combination of images and verbal narratives *The City of Wait* portrays Al Hoceima’s women as having substantial access to media. The poorest woman in the documentary, Fadilla, owns a TV set. In the sequence shot within the women’s café we can see a TV set behind the interviewed women and we can also notice that there are women reading newspapers. We have also learned from the interviews of the women that they visit cyber cafés and use the Internet. The women in *The City of Wait* make use of media and the

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19 Urban women have considerable access to media in comparison with rural women in Morocco, because if we compare the access to media of Moroccan urban women with their compatriots in Europe, it is indeed low.
Internet to learn about the outside world, especially the condition of women worldwide. Kaufmann argues our fluid world is the result of a compression of time and space generated by the current widespread use of transportation and telecommunication systems (1). In comparison to the high level of women’s access to mobility in the west, women’s levels of access to mobility and its use in *The City of Wait* seem minimal. This minimal access contributes to uncertainty among these women, especially in light of their awareness of a higher level of access for their compatriots in Europe and elsewhere. It is somehow paradoxical that women in the west have little time to take a breath in their fast-moving world, which provokes a sense of uncertainty, and women in southern countries like Morocco are uncertain because they are aware of the high flux in the northern countries while their world seems static.

In addition to their access to media, urban women generally have more levels of motility than women in rural areas. That is, urban women have more chances to have a job, acquire education, and improve their overall socio-economic condition than rural women (Ennaji and Sadiqi, *Migration* 76). These socioeconomic disparities not only affect their daily lives but their way of struggle against patriarchy. On the one hand, urban women tend to use their education, access to the Internet, and other means of communication to form networks that collaborate in their struggle against patriarchy. These networks are constituted mainly of small groups of women pertaining to various socioeconomic strata. They combine their efforts, knowledge, and ideas to form a united front against patriarchal values that dominate Moroccan society. On the other hand, rural women, given that they rarely have any skills and access to means of communication and transport, cannot use the same means as urban women to try to gain mobility and face patriarchal values in their society. They usually visit saints, and use superstitions to try to resist and counter the oppression of men. Many groups and individuals in Moroccan society in general and in the Rif region in particular try to improve the economic, social, cultural, and political condition of Moroccans.

**Amazigh Identity: Craving for change in Morocco**

To show the factors behind the mass migration from the Rif region to Europe, *The City of Wait* includes a number of causes contributing to the exodus. Many subjects in the film...
argue that their Amazigh culture and identity are marginalised. The interviewees also claim that their city is socially and economically underdeveloped. Throughout the film, and as the interviewees recount their stories and express their views, we see images or visual proof of their arguments and claims.

*The City of Wait* interviewees agree that many people immigrate because they see their culture marginalised. In the first encounter with the singer Qosmit, the camera inspects the place where he lives. It is a small room situated on the roof of a house. We can see that he lives in dire conditions. Although he never attended a music academy or received any help from the state, he strives hard to make Amazigh music. Near the end of the film Qosmit stands in front of the camera and explains his ordeal, while the camera zooms on his bearded face: ‘Look at me, you may wonder why I do not have a band. Every time I make up a band, the artists immigrate and leave me behind alone’. His situation is somehow paradoxical: many Amazigh artists leave the Rif region to democratic countries in Europe in order to find space to promote Amazigh culture. Nonetheless, they leave behind destitute solitary artists like Qosmit, whose only dream is to have a band with which to create and develop Amazigh music in its native Rif area. Another artist, Ali, in response to an unedited question about cultural life in Al Hoceima, says, ‘cultural life in Al Hoceima is zero or almost zero… there are no festivals, no workshops, nothing… we do not get any help from the state… we survive relying entirely on ourselves’. Indeed there are few cultural activities in the city of Al Hoceima in which Amazigh artists can participate. The majority of local artists chose to migrate to Europe where they have the chance to develop and refine their talents. They see migration as the only way that enables them to gain some freedom.

Indeed, the link between migration and freedom is not only current among Amazigh artists in *The City of Wait*; it also occurs among all the other interviewed subjects. The tailor and his friends are another example. When Mustafa asks the tailor about his reasons for wanting to immigrate to Europe, the latter responds, ‘tarzzuɣ ŋehna’ (‘I want peace /freedom’). The tailor then continues to elaborate: ‘I want to lead a decent life, I want to live in a country where I would be respected and my rights guaranteed’. Like the tailor, many people in Morocco believe Amazigh identity is neglected. Therefore, they prefer to live in countries where human rights and freedom of speech are respected rather than stay in Morocco. On the issue of mobility and freedom, Kaufmann writes, ‘Mobility gives new freedom to those people who would not otherwise have any’ (58). Kaufmann tries to underline the nature of acquired freedom through being mobile. It is a freedom that
broadens the possibilities of subjects, and enables them to have access to previously inaccessible spaces and other potentials. The status of Amazigh identity in Morocco is an important issue for Imazighen decisions to immigrate. Many Moroccan Imazighen immigrate abroad to escape oppression, especially cultural subjugation. They believe that they are labeled as secondary citizens in their own country. Evaluating the position of Imazighen in Morocco, Moha Ennaji and Fatima Sadiqi state:

The Moroccan population is basically Berber (Amazigh), in spite of the fact that this ethnocultural heritage is only very recently evoked at the official level. The Arab population, though numerically limited, is culturally important. Through Islam, the Arabic language has gradually been imposed to the point that Amazigh has been relegated to a secondary position. (Migration 49)

They go on to elaborate that Imazighen consider migration as a response to their ‘secondary position’ in Morocco. Through mobility (particularly internation migration), Imazighen want to be able to express their cultural identity without fear.

In the documentary Singing for Survival (2008), the main protagonist draws attention to the link between fear and the decision many Imazighen make to immigrate. Almakhzan creates this fear, he argues. Singing for Survival is a documentary film created and presented by the Al Jazeera Documentary Channel. The documentary revolves about the life story of legendary Amazigh singer Hassan Elfarissi, whose stage name is Hassan Thidrin. Elfarissi describes one of the major reasons that has pushed many Imazighen to immigrate to Europe as follows: ‘People prefer to die in sea rather than stay here, not because of the city of Al Hoceima itself, but because of the dreadful ambiance created here by Almakhzan’. In the past, the ruling system in Morocco tried to slow down or stop the flow of migrants from the Rif region to Europe. The anthropologist David M. Hart argues that, initially, Almakhzan tended to block Riffians from leaving the country by denying them Moroccan passports, because Almakhzan realised that Riffian migration proved a kind of rejection of the system (97). After lifting the blockade on passports a great deal of the Riffian population left for Europe. The flow of migrants from the Rif region is still active.

The film Singing for Survival, by using a combination of music and images, tries to highlight the origin of fear among Riffians. In a series of shots taken at dusk we see graves at one of Al Hoceima’s graveyards. The tombs are marked by white paint near a forest, and the singer Hassan Thidrin walks nearby. The graveyard is there as a reminder of
the fate of the people who tried to defend their land, culture and identity. The music that accompanies these shots is a song performed by the band Thidrin. The lyrics of the song, like the images, depict a gloomy picture of Almakhzan: ‘who would forget you, you were murdered by the bullets of Almakhzan’ (“Wa ya yettun”). It seems as if the song addresses those lying in those marked tombs near the forest. In fact, the song, ‘Wa ya yettun’ (‘Who Would Forget’, 2002), revolves around all Riffian victims murdered by agents of Almakhzan in the past. The film depicts the atrocities committed in the past by agents of Almakhzan in the Rif region as the origin of people’s fear and the dreadful ambiance Hassan Thidrin initially describes.

The song, which accompanies the images of the graveyard, reminds the audience that migration—though a complex and difficult journey—can provide some form of freedom. The band Thidrin itself has acquired some freedom through mobility and is able to sing freely in Europe. Importantly, it shows how Amazigh identity, against all odds, has prospered in Amazigh diaspora. Early in the documentary Hassan Thidrin remembers his career and says, ‘because of my songs I spent half of my artistic career in prison’. However, the song ‘Who Would Forget’ proves there are positive aspects related to migration and one of these aspects is freedom of speech and expression. Artists who have migrated to Europe are able to make songs that speak openly of the crimes committed by agents of Almakhzan.

Characters in both The City of Wait and Singing for Survival believe that members of the Moroccan regime try to eradicate Amazigh culture and homogenize the Kingdom. In a meeting at Mustafa’s house in The City of Wait, Aziz and Mustafa are both disturbed by the restrictions the Moroccan regime impose on Amazigh culture. During this meeting the audience can notice that the camera focuses on the body language of the interviewees as they express their annoyance regarding the regime’s conduct toward Imazighen. The camera regularly zooms on the movements of their hands and their facial expressions. Aziz irately describes his unsuccessful attempt to register his newborn nephew under an Amazigh name. Aziz sees the rejection of Amazigh names by the government as a way of trying to arabise the Rif region in particular and Morocco in general. Likewise, Mustafa complains about the prohibition to speak Tamazight in official institutions like the courts, public schools, and city council halls. In Singing for Survival, in which the interviews are

21 Hassan Thidrin created the band in the 1970s. Now the band has changed and includes new, young artists and is located in the Netherlands. It still makes Amazigh music and includes Amazigh as well as Dutch artists.
masked, Hassan Thidrin responds to an unedited question about the relationship between Imazighen and Arabs in Morocco and articulates,

> We love the other [Arabs], we want to embrace the other, but Arab-nationalists want to send our culture to hell. … Amazigh culture is part of this country, those Arab-nationalists who claim that they are nationalists … in fact, they have nothing to do with this nation … they try to abolish Amazigh culture … they are ignorant, because they do not know that undermining Amazigh culture means undermining the country all together. (my trans.)

In both films subjects see Morocco threatening their Amazigh identity because the regime includes Arab-nationalists who do not want a multicultural society for Morocco.

Regardless of the lure of long-term mobility, Amazigh associations in the Rif region work hard to promote Amazigh culture and encourage students to continue their study instead of considering immigration. In a sequence of shots in *The City of Wait* a school teacher allows the camera to follow him into a building that turns to be an Amazigh Association. In a heading in the middle of the image we see ‘Association Thanout’. Once in the building we hear the voiceover of the teacher, who describes the association, the date of its creation, and the many tasks the association performs. Although the association has financial problems it tries to fulfil multiple tasks in society. Its main purpose is to promote Amazigh culture, but it organises free extra courses for students from the region as well. In a shot we see a room where a teacher who stands next to a board teaches a group of children. By organising free courses the association tries to discourage students from dropping out and eventually leaving (illegally) for Europe. The teacher explains to the camera, ‘look around you, there are young men at street corners everywhere, they have nothing to do and nowhere to go, they are waiting … almost fifteen individuals leave to Europe every year … and that is only from this neighbourhood’. As the teacher speaks in voiceover, the viewers see images of young people at street corners. Association Thanout, like many other associations in the Rif area, organises many activities for young students, including free schooling, to discourage them from immigrating.

In *The City of Wait* and in *Singing for Survival* many interviewees express their disappointment in the social fluidity of the Rif region and Morocco. Aziz, at the house of his friend Mustafa, expresses his frustration with the promised changes in Morocco and states, ‘It [*Almakhzan*] speaks of freedom of speech, human rights, democracy … etc, but
we see nothing of that on the ground, they are just words or lies’. In *Singing for Survival*, Hassan Thidrin describes the changes he has noticed in Al Hoceima and says, ‘The only change I can see in Al Hoceima is that it [Almakhzan] builds more military bases, nothing else positive’. Mustafa, another friend of the tailor, expresses his discontent with Almakhzan and sums up his feelings in the word *injusticia* (‘injustice’). In their survey, Moha Ennaji and Fatima Sadiqi found that many university students mentioned social injustice, unequal opportunities, and corruption as major reasons for considering international immigration (Ennaji and Sadiqi 132).

Corruption and injustice are two main elements that prevent change and provoke frustration and antagonism among the inhabitants of the Rif region. At the end of the interviews in Mustafa’s house in *The City of Wait*, the group laugh as Aziz portrays the ambiance that dominates the city. He sarcastically says, ‘Almost all the inhabitants of Al Hoceima would leave the city if they get the opportunity to immigrate to Europe … only Almakhzan would be left here behind’. Therefore, leaving to *Alxarij* (‘the outside’) seems the only hope left for many inhabitants of Rif. Many Imazighen have left Morocco out of despair for change and after suffering political, economic, social, and cultural oppression. They have left the country with mixed feelings, such as fear, discrimination, discontent, and bitterness. The tailor’s response sums up the major reasons that push many Imazighen to immigrate or consider immigration. That is, he wants to improve his socio-economic condition and lead a decent life. He also wants respect for his cultural identity.

**Conclusion**

*The City of Wait* implies long waits and little mobility. Throughout the film, the audience can see that the majority of the inhabitants of the city of Al Hoceima are waiting. While they wait for their chance to immigrate to Europe, they hope to see social fluidity in their country to persuade them against immigrating. Many left-behind women in the city also wait, either for the return of their migrant husbands or a visa that might allow them to become mobile and join their husbands in Europe. Likewise, many countryside women endlessly wait to hear or see news about their husbands working overseas. The films I

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22 In the Rif region and throughout Morocco the local inhabitants call migrants *S’hab Alxarij* (‘people of the outside’). Yet, the use of the term *Alxarij* (‘outside’) in the Rif Region and in the rest of Morocco does not carry a negative connotation.
address in this chapter depict local people’s views on international migration in terms of mobility, prosperity, and freedom.

The mobility of the camera itself in *The City of Wait* is noteworthy. Symbolically, it succeeds in breaking walls as it enters previously unfilmable settings. The film is able to generate some mobility and highlight issues, such as gender, access to spatial and social mobility, freedom of speech, and discrepancy between wealthy northern and poor south countries. It draws attention to this discrepancy by focusing on the level of access to means of mobility in southern countries like Morocco.

Through a reading of the film *The City of Wait*, I seek out how irregular levels of motility transform into endless waits and low levels of mobility in the Rif region. These low levels of mobility and long waits considerably affect the identity of Al Hoceima’s inhabitants. The inescapable presence of waiting contributes to the feeling of uncertainty among the Imazighen in the Rif region and becomes integrated in their identity: waiting subjects. Some wait for the return of loved ones from Europe, others wait for the opportunity to immigrate, and the rest wait for changes that may or may not occur in their country, Morocco.

*The City of Wait* depicts Morocco as a country where time is almost static and where only a few individuals—migrants and the wealthy—are mobile. These low levels of access to mobility significantly contribute to creating uncertainty among the majority of the inhabitants of the Rif region. In this condition they must articulate their identity. They become waiting subjects who think highly of Europe and hope to acquire enough motility to possibly become a migrant living ‘happily ever after’ in European paradise. Unfortunately, it is a paradise where many illegal immigrants from the Rif region are lost and hope for salvation. The next chapter will investigate this aspect of illegal immigration.