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Los Angeles

Clandestine Mediterranean: Arab-African Migrant Literature

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Comparative Literature

by

Nahrain Al-Mousawi

2012

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2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Clandestine Mediterranean: Arab-African Migrant Literature

by

Nahrain Al-Mousawi

Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Saree Makdisi, Chair

Professor Gil Hochberg, Chair

Clandestine migration from North Africa across the Mediterranean has been explored widely as a topic in the fields of social science in the past decade, but representations of undocumented migration in literature have not been subject to significant attention and analysis. Moreover, in comparison to French, Italian, or Spanish literature, Arabic clandestine migrant literature has barely been subject to recognition or discussion. Even though this dissertation includes some Anglophone literature, by and large, its main attention to Arabic literature addresses the dearth in scholarship on contemporary Arabic literary representations of clandestine migration from Egypt and Morocco, as well as trans-migration from sub-Saharan Africa. My analysis of literature charting journeys from the Mediterranean's southern shores and rendering clandestine existence in the global North attempts to contribute to not only the discourse on migration literature but on conceptualizations of the Mediterranean as both a dividing border and unifying contact zone, especially vital to the contemporary recurrence of the study of seas and particularly the Mediterranean. My discussion encompasses Arabic literature by Moroccan author Rachid Nini and Egyptian author Khaled Al-Khameesy, as well as Anglophone literature by Moroccan-American author Laila Lalami and Nigerian-American author Sefi Atta.

Themes of invisibility, nostalgia, transience, paralysis, mobility and immobility in secret Mediterranean border crossings are analyzed alongside themes traditionally capturing a mythic Mediterranean space, like cosmopolitanism, cultural interaction, and adventure. I explore and demarcate the dual imaginaries of the Mediterranean space and attempt to retrieve migrant narrative along these meeting points and dividing lines. Because the dissertation attempts to address an imbalance in the research literature by focusing literary analysis on Arabic and Anglophone African narratives and poetry that chart migration from the homeland, across the Mediterranean frontier, to the European shore, it focuses on journey narratives, which often show migrant characters representing an interdependent relationship of uneven development that connects the northern and southern shore. Thus, this dissertation reflects the authors' investment in how distinct nations map the journey across the Mediterranean, casting the literature as both national and diasporic, emergent *from* and part *of* the African Mediterranean rather than *about* it.

The Dissertation of Nahrain Al-Mousawi is approved.

Negar Mottahedeh

Gil Hochberg, Committee Co-Chair

Saree Makdisi, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

To my mother,
Seham Al-Mousawi,
and in memory of my father,
Abdul-Hussein Al-Mousawi

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I thank my amazingly patient and kind partner and husband for his consistent love and support and for always keeping me motivated. I thank my best friend Karla Stine for always being generous, supportive, and inspiringly graceful in the best and in the most difficult circumstances. I would like to offer my gratitude to my family, especially my mother who returned to Iraq nearly 10 years ago and continues to thrive there despite enormous obstacles. She remains an inspiration, and she, along with my amazing father who passed away my first year of PhD studies, are to whom I dedicate this project and this life-long undertaking.

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(Spring 06) *Algerian White*: Djebar's Meditations on Death, *Ethnic 3rd World Review of Books* 6
Official & Nationalistic Art in Africa, *World History Encyclopedia, 1900-1945,* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2011

Chapter 1

Introduction: Clandestine Mediterranean—A Useful Fiction

In recent years, the study of seas has come to be seen as a methodological and discursive tactic displacing nation-centered frames of cultural and historical studies, extending focus to global circulations of people and goods capable of surpassing the limited prism of the nation-state. In light of this shift, scholars have been attracted to the idea of a presumably borderless world of oceans and seas. From the unprecedented flourish of scholarship dedicated to the Atlantic, we would then witness a renewed outburst dedicated to Mediterranean studies. Inspiring a scholarly chain of transmissions in Mediterranean studies, French historian Fernand Braudel's history of a unified Mediterranean in the sixteenth century (1976) centralizes the timeless "constants" of a geography that produced civilizations that linked its shores.[1] While Braudel-inspired histories in Mediterranean studies critique his totalizing view of history as a deterministic "landscape of time"[2] that effaces human agency, they still hinge on apprehending the Mediterranean in light of a preconceived unity. For example, Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000) recent revised history displaces Braudel's geographical determinism, diachronic particularities, and metropolitan centers (in favor of neglected rural margins). Individual will is no longer subsumed within a Braudelian framework of particular geographic conditions and temporal limits, but foregrounded as the basis for "communications" on which Mediterranean unity is dependent.[3]

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[1] By "constants," I am referring to Braudel's focus on ahistorical geographical and environmental continuity and determinism through the *longue durée* perspective of historical time, wherein he privileges the unity of the Mediterranean: coherence of [this] history, the extent to which the movements of boats, pack animals, vehicles and

[2] Miriam Cooke, "Mediterranean Thinking: From Netizen to Medizen," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (1999): 292.

[3] Peregrin Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (London: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 25.

Although *The Corrupting Sea's* relational "analysis of the whole by way of its components"[4] in capturing minor everyday interactions and reciprocal exchanges, which make up the sea's dynamic networks, contact zones, and microregions, attempts to define a Mediterranean local heterogeneity defying totalization, the text still operates toward fulfilling a predetermined unity among Mediterranean societies: simply supplanting nationalist integrity with regional integrity as a way of foregrounding the margins against the hegemony of the metropolis does not necessarily lead to de-essentializing frameworks (the authors devote an entire chapter on the paradigm of shame and honor as essentially Mediterranean)[5]. According to Horden and Purcell, in the modern period the "history of the Mediterranean" ends amidst the transformation of the sea into a "European lake" for the flow of global trade and becomes "history in the Mediterranean."[6] In line with other Mediterranean historians, Horden and Purcell close off inquiry into the Mediterranean as antithetical to modernity, when they present Mediterranean history as a mere manifestation of (non-Mediterranean) hegemonic superpowers at work in the region.

Resurgent Mediterranean scholarship in the modern era, however, is intent with not only positing the Mediterranean as a common space for cultural and economic exchanges but struggling with integrating into a modern Mediterranean history the way the sea's present routes, ports, and coastal cities impose their own borders and frontiers.[7] For authorities distant from the sea itself oftentimes determine its most valuable resource—connectivity. Literary critic Miriam Cooke has entered this engagement with the fraught study of the Mediterranean in the modern era through a geo-cultural perspective. She proposes a Mediterranean "way of thinking" for building an epistemology of "cross-oceanic arenas of culture and knowledge" to rid Mediterranean study of its inclination toward essentialisms, while acknowledging it as a highly multicultural, multilingual area whose people have represented a broad array of religious, ethnic, social and political difference.[8] On one level, one can see in her notion of the Mediterranean as a template for a cross-cultural contact zone resonances of earlier approaches to the Mediterranean as a cultural mediation model, which historian David Abulafia who conceives of the Sahara desert through a Mediterranean template shares (chapter 4). However, Abulafia's conception of the Sahara as Mediterranean functions as a heuristic device to convey a geo-historical crossroads of traders, scholars, artisans, and nomads that *already* set the stage for the emergence of richly diverse aesthetic expressions along North to South and East to West routes across the Sahara. Cooke appropriates the Mediterranean space, as historically infused with past crossroads, exchanges, and contact zones, to posit an ideational and discursive Mediterranean "way of thinking," a philosophy and epistemology based on the sea's connective properites, to imagine *possible* cultural links and identities unmoored and limited by the nation-state's particular prisms. While Abulafia[9] depicts the Sahara through a history of human and cultural movements that contextualize it both spatially and chronologically as a Middle Seas of sorts in its own right, Cooke's Mediterranean stands as an imaginative dynamics for potential fluid identities that would preclude material realities of citizenship, exclusion, and nation-state affiliations. Although

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[5] Chapter 12.

[6] Horden and Nicholas Purcell, 2-3. Claudio Fogu, "From Mare Nostrum to Mare Alorium: Mediterranean Theory and Mediterraneanism in Contemporary Italian Thought," *California Italian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010): 3.

[7] Horden and Nicholas Purcell, 722.

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[8] Cooke, 291.

[9] In "Mediterraneans" Abulafia uses the Mediterranean as a template to be applied to the "Middle Seas" in other parts of the world, like the Sahara which he characterizes by an ease of contacts between very diverse cultures. He not only puts to task the divide separating North and sub-Saharan Africa and the tendency to view the Sahara Desert as an impenetrable barrier dividing the continent into the northern "white" and sub-Saharan "black" Africa, but he explores the shared history and culture among the regions of Africa linked by the Sahara Desert through centuries of continued exchanges and interactions. Contact among the Sahara and its peripheries continue to this day to be platforms of interconnected peoples and cultures. Despite trans-Saharan cultural contact spanning centuries, this inaccurate perception of Africa as two distinct zones separated by an empty wasteland of desert continues to influence the way people think about this region and the continent as a whole. In *Rethinking the Mediterranean,* ed. William Vernon Harris, 64-93 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Cooke's essay is cautious about the context of such a stance and critical of a romantic Mediterranean consciousness espoused by authors in the past (like Durrell which this chapter will discuss, it still has the potential to reinforce the material and discursive divide that often undergirds Mediterranean studies in its eagerness to assume the potential of aquacentric thinking and language for exploring alternative identities, which are in-flux, fluid, and unbound to national ideologies. By this I mean that even though Cooke recognizes Mediterranean consciousness as problematic, her epistemology has the potential to replicate the problems inherent to assigning recuperative power to the discursive practice of space particular to the study of the Mediterranean, meaning the theoretical, abstract, metaphoric aspects of social and spatial categorizations, while neglecting the material. These divergences between the historical-material and the discursive in apprehending the Mediterranean need to be engaged through a contextual discourse that considers the constitutive elements of the nation-state and their borders. Thus, one begins to wonder if this is a wishful, anti-nationalist sentiment of a scholarship marked by romantic longing for an age of regional cooperation, yet one not attuned to this era's nationalist frameworks of intensely policed migration and violently patrolled borders.

Apart from Mediterranean scholarship, literary reconstructions of mythical Andalus[10] by authors like Aamin Malouf and Assia Djebar,[11] testify to the allure of a history of cooperation. Sometimes, these recuperative imaginings of the Mediterranean reframe identity through mobility, exile, diaspora, to oppose and undercut nationalist ideologies still determining much discourse on European frontiers. But, as has been noted, the resurgence of Mediterranean studies and its characteristic abundance of metaphors of fluidity and exchange emerge as a "refuge" to compensate for the asymmetrical power relations that characterize its northern and southern shores.[12] I take on the constructivist view of Mediterranean-ness as that which is not based on an originary moment or a culturally distinct essence, but as the repetition of symbols that accumulate to represent identity, which revert back to notion of the its origin and uniqueness. Literary and cultural historian Predrag Matvejevic has highlighted the North-South divisions troubling notions of Mediterranean unity and connectivity, arguing that it is not even possible to consider the Mediterranean a single sea without accounting for the conflicts and ruptures in its "meeting points."[13] This project attempts to retrieve these troubled and troubling "meeting points," which not only problematize the unity of the Mediterranean, but lie like splinters within, agitating against, contesting, de-authorizing recuperative imaginings of migration across the Mediterranean, which have figured the coming generation of migrants as "pioneers," crossing physical, cultural, and aesthetic boundaries to rejuvenate old Europe and to ultimately prefigure a new Mediterranean supranational space: "'another promise, another dream, the opening of another space: the Mediterranean community."[14] This supranational space promoted by official papers, speeches, programs, and scholarship, through ideals of mobility residing within globalization, theoretically lies at the end of a global capital flow and circulation of labor, products, ideas, people, but has not been materially or pragmatically attuned to transforming the figure of the migrant to cultural "pioneer"—mobile, free, able enough to dissolve the boundaries that obstruct a utopic Mediterranean community. This project attempts to retrieve these submerged and un-authorized "meeting points" that agitate against and discompose the official chain of transmissions that have made up Mediterranean literary and cultural imaginaries. It does so not only through analysis of literary accounts of migration whose crossings come to define the sea by its North-South axis, but through an intersection of un-authorized travel imaginaries—clandestine migration literature—and their oft-skeptical de-authorization of absolute, unquestioned, transmitted Mediterranean narratives of unity, timelessness, cooperation, and identitarian fluidity. Moreover, the texts' polarized apprehensions of the Mediterranean have compelled a problematization of the Mediterranean as a frame of analysis rather a call to assume it as the frame itself. Free from this chain of transmitted knowledge, authors open up the space of articulation for various, mutually contradictory, compossible Mediterraneans—but without losing sight of their divisive "meeting points," in this era.

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[10] Al-Andalus refers to the Arab rule over parts of Southern Europe over seven centuries.

[11] Amin Maalouf, *Leon L'Africain (Leo Africanus*) (Paris: JC Lattès, 1986); Assia Djebar, *Vaste est la prison (So Vast the Prison*) (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995).

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[12] Anna Botta, "Predrag Matvejević's Mediterranean Breviary: Nostalgia for an 'Ex-World' or Breviary for a New Community?" *California Italian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010): 5.

[13] Predrag Matvejevic, *Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape.* Translated by Michael Heim (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 25.

[14] Azouz Begag and Abdellatif Chaouite, *Écarts d'identité* (Paris: Seuil, 1990), 18.

The image of African migrants washed up along one of these "meeting points," southern Europe's picturesque beaches, has become a recurring and shocking representation in the visual archive of clandestine migration. One such image of emaciated and exhausted migrants washing up against pale fleshy tourists on Spain's Canary Island, typically conscripted in a story line about "collision of worlds", emerged in 2006.[15] While the meaning is never made explicit, we are to understand the image's collision of worlds stems from the contrast between affluent Westerners, interrupted in their leisure activities, and relatively poorer Africans, who undertake perilous journeys driven by a desperate desire for a better life. While the migrants survived and disappeared largely from public attention as soon as story coverage stopped, their entry into a carceral system for refugees and migrants alike was certain. The 2006 image followed a controversial photo of a European couple sunbathing on the beach in Tarifa, Spain, indifferent to a migrant who lay dead a few feet away. Another image surfaced in 2008 of a European couple enjoying their holiday at an Italian beach, utterly unmoved by the sight of two drowned Roma girls, aged 12 and 13, covered by a beach towel.[16] The drama of the images resides in the implication that two worlds, usually divided from each other, collide within the same frame. Perhaps this collision can be attributed to the distinction between Northern tourist and Southern pilgrim.[17] But really, one does not need to look further than the migration-tourism nexus of south European beaches' leisure service industries to apprehend an existing contact zone.[18] The beach-border dramatizes a two-tier ontology that organizes subjects along a North/South axis where tourists from the North and migrants from the South are subject to dichotomous experiences of *the same space*: the beach as holiday space and the beach as prison or cemetery. And, whereas tourists experience dead time of tranquil holiday inertia and inactivity, migrants experience a dead time of decomposition/detention. While these bodies in the same sand leave similar imprints, they by no means are subject to the same experiences of the beach border's space or time. In essence, even though the media terms "collision of worlds" apprehend a contact zone between migrant and tourist, the beach-border encompasses two orders of space-time where in one single place festive holidaymakers in repose and exhausted migrants huddled under blankets experience different modalities of living, moving, even dying—the European coastline's border. So while the media story repeatedly gets reframed in terms of collision, what the beach-border dramatizes are two modes and experiences of space and time that unfold in the same site but neither meaningfully mix nor collide.

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[15] "Two Worlds Collide as Tenerife Sunbathers Rush to Help Migrants," *The Telegraph* (August 5, 2006) http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1525663/Two-worlds-collide-as-Tenerife-sunbathers-rush-to-help-migrants.html "Africa's Shifting Population: When Two Worlds Collide … on a Tenerife Beach," *The Independent* (August 1, 2006) http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/africas-shifting-population-when-two-worlds-collide-on-a-tenerife-beach-410077.html

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[16] "Italian Sunbathers Ignored Drowned Gypsy Girls," *Herald Sun* (July 22, 2008) http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/story/0,21985,24059338-661,00.html

[17] See Chris Gilligan and Carol Marley, "Migration and Divisions: Thoughts on (Anti-) Narrativity in Visual Representations of Mobile People." Center of Social Research, Freie Universitat Berlin, *Forum of Qualitative Social Research* 11, no. 2 (2010): http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1476/2981 The authors, in fact, also refer to the collision of worlds: "Part of the drama of these images is in the way that two worlds, which are normally divided from each other, collide within the same frame." Moreover, they attribute it to the distinction between migrant and tourist: "In Bauman's terms travel, for most of those who live in the West is the travel of the tourist, in which 'his or her curiosity, need of amusement, will and ability to live through novel, pleasurable, and pleasurably novel experiences ... appears to possess a nearly total freedom to structure the tourist's life-world.' Those from the global south most often travel as pilgrims; they travel with distant goals, life-long projects, lasting commitments' in mind".

[18] Klaus Roth and Jutta Lauth Bacas, eds., *Migration In, From, and to Southern Europe: Ways and Strategies of Migrating*, (Münster, Germany: LIT Verlag, 2011), 178.

Clandestine migrants and capsized boats washing up on European shores are the dramatic images by which the European border repeatedly features in news. The media suggest that these images communicate the essential meaning of the border in its most climactic form, yet there is no defining image that can narrate the multiple stories of inclusion and exclusion along what has become Europe's borderlands along the Mediterranean. Even though the migrants are identified by various names—clandestine, illegal, undocumented, *clandestine, sans-papiers, harraga*[19]—undergirding the irony that they are identified as suspect transgressors lacking a proper name, proper identification, there is no single violent icon to which the event and process of crossing can be reduced, only a plurality of passages with myriad articulations. Shifting focus from simple acts of trespass onto diffuse, multiple movements across the current sharply demarcated frontier aims to bring us closer to what has been described as a "collision of worlds," resonating in impact with the Mediterranean as a key "faultline in the clash of civilizations."[20] What ultimately gets coined "collision of worlds"—the border's violently dramatized disjunctive experiences of space—is often attributed to the beach's position between what have been represented as two incommensurable spaces and civilizational models of the Mediterranean: Northern shore, Christian and European, and Southern shore, fundamentally non-Western. However, it has been noted that the instrumentalization of the Mediterranean toward narratives of Western modernity has tended to blur this division. For example, the south and east Mediterranean are both "recuperated as discursive origins of Western modernity (birthplace of Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian civilizations, from which Western modernity supposedly derives) and as the Other against which Northern European identity could be constituted (against regions formerly part of the Arab/Ottoman empires, i.e., North Africa, Turkey)".[21] The theoretical constructions of the Mediterranean as Self or Other to the West are not exclusive but have had a mutually constitutive relationship, particularly informed by colonial relations. The view of the Mediterranean as cradle of civilization and birthplace of philosophy and democracy has also aligned with a view of the Mediterranean as birthplace of rationality undergirding European modernity and validating colonial efforts that have since established global hierarchies and inequalities.[22] This theoretical construction of the Mediterranean contact zone, on which current definitions of the southern borders of Europe are determined, has been intertwined with the development of European modernity, defined by Mediterranean scholar Iain Chambers as "nationalist in its form and imperialist in its reach".[23] As colonial power relations determined representations of the Mediterranean in the modern period, the region was imagined as starkly divided between two incommensurable spaces and civilizational models. It is these links disturbing the binaries of North and South (Europe and Africa) that this project subjects to retrieval. Instrumental in the process of retrieval is analysis of a representational, cultural, and political ecology that reveals traveling cultures' multi-directional influences (not unidirectional with the south of the Mediterranean serving as mere staging ground for Western civilizational roots) and North participation in putting in momentum a hierarchy creating the need to migrate in the South, as we will see in Arabic and Anglophone clandestine migration literature from North Africa, specifically Morocco, Egypt, and Sub-Saharan transmigration in Morocco, along its Mediterranean shores. It is these connections that evoke the denial of participation and responsibility of a common ecology—global "relational interdependency … of unevenly negotiated relations which disrupts the inside/outside binary of contemporary Western geopolitical imaginaries"[24]—wrought by beach-border scenes that distinguish two separate worlds and wherein travelers from the South are represented as the world that is alien, uncanny, unfamiliar, and—not merely without documents—but without any legitimate claim of belonging.

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[19] The various terms by which migrants without legal documentation to travel are identified depends on region and language: clandestine, illegal, undocumented, in English for Africa to Europe migrations. The *sans-papiers* (without papers) is a recognizable term and movement in France. In Maghreb North Africa, the clandestine are referred to as *harraga*, burners, or those who burn, referring variably to the sea, IDs, or identities. In Egypt, the migrants are referred to as illegal migrants or *muhajireen ghayr shari'yeen.*

[20] Thomas Christiansen, Fabio Petito, and Ben Tonra, "Fuzzy Politics Around Fuzzy Borders: The European Union's 'Near-Abroad'," *Cooperation and Conflict* 35, no. 4 (2000): 401.

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[21] Edwidge Tamalet, *Modernity in Question: Retrieving Imaginaries of the Transcontinental Mediterranean*, PhD Dissertation (San Diego: University of California, 2009), 8.

[22] Tamalet, 2009.

[23] Iain Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 15.

Yet, however much the instrumentalization of the Mediterranean has blurred the division along the North-South axis, the Mediterranean's mark of alterity, its construction as Other, since the colonial period cannot be ignored. Periodized analyses of Europe's accelerated marginalization of south and east Mediterranean countries range from the colonial period to the post-Cold-War era,[25] but they predominantly attribute to the post-9/11 era a marked resurgence of marginalization of these Mediterranean countries as a security threat subject to policies of containment, securitization and anti-immigration policies. Since 9/11 and other attacks of targets in Europe, America, and Africa, EU security policies have gone hand-in-hand with anti-immigration policies. Post-9/11, the European Council issued the *Hague Programme*, an agenda to counter terrorists and "illegal" immigrants (conflated as a common threat to Europe).[26] Moreover, although Spain has had a decades-long struggle with the Basque "terrorist" movement ETA, as well as a substantial body of law and institutional capacity to fight terrorism, perhaps more than some European countries and the US have had in the past, US involvement in Spain and its immigration monitoring bloomed post-9/11—but beyond recognizable info-sharing counterterrorism strategies. Thus, inhabiting a reinvigorated spatial representation as Europe's Other, the Mediterranean has been reinscribed in European policy and the public imaginary as a "zone of conflict," against which European identity has been constructed and refined. 9/11 features not only as altering the intensity of the Mediterranean's threatening image, but rather as a form and genre in a symbolic geography that positions the Mediterranean, constituted now more by Arab cities, in opposition to Europe, "the other side of the shore". As Hein de Haas and Ali Bensaâd have argued,[27] the number of African migrants coming to Europe is relatively small in the context of global migration trends. However, the "paranoid Eurocentric vision" of

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[24] Amanda Crawley Jackson, "'Cette Poetique du Politique: Political and Representational Ecologies in the Work of Yto Barrada,'" *L'Esprit Createur* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2011), 66.

[25] On criticism of the EMP, specifically the EU-Med positioning the Mediterranean as Europe's Other, see: Hein De Haas, "The Myth of Invasion: The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe," Third World Quarterly 29, no. 7 (2008): 1305-1322; Isabel Shafer, "The Cultural Dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Critical Review of the First Decade of Intercultural Cooperation," History and Anthropology 18, no. 3 (2007): 335-352; Pinar. Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civilizational Geopolitics' in the Mediterranean?" Geopolitics 9, no. 2 (2004): 269-291; Thomas Christiansen, Fabio Petito, and Ben Tonra, "Fuzzy Politics Around Fuzzy Borders: The European Union's 'Near-Abroad'," Cooperation and Conflict 35, no. 4 (2000): 389-415; Nikolaos Tzifakis, "EU's Region-Building and Boundary-Drawing Policies: The European Approach to the Southern Mediterranean and the Western Balkans," *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 9, no. 1 (2007): 47-64; Stephan Stetter, "The Politics of De-Paradoxification in Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Semantics and Structures of 'Cultural Dialogue,'" *Mediterranean*

Politics 10, no. 3 (2005): 331-348; Paul Balta, *La Méditerranée Réinventée. Réalités et Espoirs de la Coopération* (Paris: La Découverte, 1992); Abdullah Turkmani, "Ishkaliyat Al-Hijra fi Itr Al-Shiraka Al-Euro-Mutawasatiyya," ("Migration Problems in the Framework of the Euro-Med Partnership"), *Dirasat Dawliya* 100, no. 3 (2006): 36-45; Jean-Claude Tourrett, "Les Regions Actrices et Partenaires de la Construction Méditerranée," *La Pensée Midi* 21, *Quelles Régions pour Dmain? L'Example Méditerranée*, eds. Bruno Etienne and Thierry Fabre (Aries, France: Actes Sud, 2007).

[26] European Council, *The Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security, and Justice in the European Union.* 2005/C53/01, OJ C53/1, 3.3.2005(a).

[27] Hein De Haas, "The Myth of Invasion: The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 7 (2008): 1305-1322. Ali Bensaâd, "The Militarization of Migration Frontiers in the Mediterranean," in *The Maghreb Connection: Movements of Life Across North Africa*, eds. Ursula Biemann and Brian Holmes (Barcelona: Actar, 2006).

migration has led the EU to transform relations greatly in the Mediterranean, not only by limiting inward migration but also investing substantially in the policing of its boundaries.

Is this the new Mediterranean? On one hand, the Mediterranean's place narrative has traditionally hailed opportunities of liberatory escape for international tourists, newcomers, and migrants-—rather than, in the currently binarized construction of mobility dramatized by the beach-border images, as a liberatory site of holiday-making for tourists and a carceral site for migrants. As recently as the 20th century, western writers were comfortably ensconced in North African cities along the Mediterranean, like Alexandria and Tangier, confessing reprieve from their own societies. Greek poet Constantine P. Cavafy, born in Egyptian Alexandria, demonstrates the impression Alexandria left on his work—but only insofar as he explored it as the site where Western civilization and its Hellenistic influences originated—that is, Hellenistic Alexandria, the Alexandria of antiquity, the Alexandria of an ancient Greek past, the Alexandria named after Alexander the Greek. From his entire work was absent the Mediterranean where he wrote and spent most of his life—Egypt, or the *Arab Mediterranean*.[28] Lawrence Durrell's most well-known work remains the *Alexandria Quartet*, a series of novels set in 1930s and 1940s Alexandria, where he lived and enjoyed a dynamic social life rife with locally notorious figures that made it to his novels.[29] In his narratives he maps a divided Alexandria: one is the

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[28] See Beverly Butler, "Egypt: Constructed Exiles of the Imagination," in *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile, and Place*, eds. Barbara Bender and Margot Winer, 303-318 (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001). Also, see *Essential Cavafy*, translated by Raymund Keele (New York: HarperCollins, 1996). Born in 1863 (-1933) to a Greek merchant family in Alexandria, Constantine P. Cavafy wrote in Greek, and his work has been widely translated. Cavafy's poetry, like "Ithaka", explores the figure of the traveler always seeking a lost homeland in exile. Likewise in "Exile", he explores the exiled figure cast out of the homeland and prevented from returning. Even though Cavafy was born and lived in Alexandria of the nineteenth an twentieth century, his work reveals a persona of an exile of the ancient Greek Mediterranean, a specific heritage of ancient Alexandrian myth and history. He, thus, envisaged his poetry as memory work that would return him home not to ancient Alexandria but to the country that, in his view, gave Alexandria its ancient heritage, Greece.

[29] For more information on Durrell, see Julius Rowan Raper and Melody Enscore, eds, *Lawrence Durrell: Comprehending the Whole* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1995). Lawrence Durrell (1912-1990) is an expatriate British writer, born in colonial India to British colonials. Even though he was known as an expatriate

"Mediterranean" city where his foreign minority elite cohort—most Alexandria-born but European self-identified—live and socialize; the other is a poorer, less cosmopolitan city that he designates as "Egyptian", replete with what he describes as native African and Arab quarters. Early twentieth-century cosmopolitan foreign elites, like Cavafy and Durrell, considered Alexandria not part of Egypt so much as a part of a larger refined Mediterranean, a more European Mediterranean. Although they lived in Egypt, which was considered culturally Arab, they considered "Alexandria … not in Egypt, Alexandria … not in Africa. [But] Alexandria … on the Mediterranean,"[30] a place deemed more global, more universal, more intercultural (European-wise, at least), but distinctly set apart from the natives. Both Cavafy and Durrell exhibit "this elite poetics of Alexandria, initiated as a form of revialism, re-inscribing Alexandria's literary identity almost exclusively with reference to the city's ancient origins and/or through the lens of a privileged Western genealogy … birthplace of cosmopolitanism and universalism"[31] Like Cavafy, Durrell likewise denied a cultural and representational ecology in which South of the Mediterranean bore influence beyond its shores and saw Alexandria as simply a site for a Western "homecoming,". Both Durrell and Cavafy experienced Alexandria as a site of loss and nostalgia where a great Western culture was lost, as echoed even currently in Durrell's description of the modern city as "Capital of Memory." Alexandria is dealt with by

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British writer, he resisted affiliation with Britain and preferred to be considered cosmopolitan. Educated in England, he convinced his family to move to the Greek island of Corfu, his wife, first wife, mother, siblings, in order to write poetry. He wrote novels, poems, plays, essays, and his Alexandria Quartet became his most famous work. *The Alexandria Quartet* is of a series of novels, *Justine*, *Balthazar* (1958), *Mountolive* (1959) and *Clea* (1960), set before and during the Second World War in the Egyptian city of Alexandria. The first three books tell the same story but from different perspectives, a technique Durrell described in his introductory note to *Balthazar* as "relativistic".

[30] Durrell's friend Gaston Zanarini, on whom the character Balthazar in the series *Alexandria Quartet* is believed to be based, is quoted to have said, in Michael Hagg's *Alexandria: City of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 256.

[31] Beverly Butler, "Egypt: Constructed Exiles of the Imagination," in *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile, and Place*, eds. Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001), 305.

both Durrell and Cavafy not necessarily in their entire work but often as a repository of cultures that belonged to not only the present but multiple eras, time periods, and their accompanying subsequent cultures—i.e., Cavafy's accessing this imagined repository of cultures including prominent Byzantine and Hellenistic cultures.[32] Durrell, in fact, referred to the city as a "matrix of civilizations," but only past civilizations that set the stage for his own re-imagining of Alexandria as a cosmopolitan city for its European minorities.

In Moroccan Tangier, writer, literary renegade, and expatriate Paul Bowles, who eventually settled in Morocco for 53 years of his 83 years of life since the 1950s, became a figure—a figure which has come to displace his own writings on Morocco—of a bohemian lifestyle for expatriates, those who leave the West for Morocco looking for a simpler, more exotic, authentic lifestyle. Morocco was already a tourists' destination by the time Bowles settled in Tangier, but he and his cohort (like William S. Burroughs) increased the legend as a writer's haven where one can "drop out of society" and experience a liberating frontier of escape, simplicity, drug use, creative inspiration, spiritual immanence, transcendence.[33] The desire of western writers to "drop out" suggests that Morocco lacks society, organization, structure, infrastructure, of which the writers can be a part or engage.[34] The writers suggest a lack of order in which one can throw oneself, a desert, a frontier, a wilderness, to seek a purifying reprieve for the purpose of recreating both self and work. The themes of lawlessness, lack of order, chaos depicted in Bowles' work[35] reveal a disorienting landscape that he engages often, regardless of the length of his residence and knowledge of his environs, but with some ambivalence: in his autobiography *Without Stopping*, he refers to Tangier as simultaneously cloaked in urban-planning fantasy, a potentially deceptive mystery, a "dream city," but also one made efficient, orderly, and crime-free by the International-Zone administration.[36] Although Bowles has been criticized for his Orientalist cultural sampling to appropriate Moroccan culture for a presumably voyeuristic Western audience but does not actually engage in it, his life and work in Morocco for half a century did show an engagement with Moroccan writers and intellectuals, as he partnered with Moroccan writers to transcribe and translate their work, and also worked to transcribe oral compositions of local music.

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[32] Robert Ilbert explains the transformations of the city in the 1960s by citing literary works that define the era: "it is 1966," he writes, "and the Alexandria of Lawrence Durrell has become that of Naguib Mahfouz. The writers and their works function as a synecdoche for Alexandrian culture and society during the years in which they were written, and which they depict. Thus, Durrell's *Alexandria Quartet*, published between 1957 and 1960, represents cosmopolitan, *Mediterranean*, polyglot Alexandria of the 1940s and 1950s, and Mahfouz's *Miramar* represents the *Egyptian*, Arabophone Alexandria of the 1960s, following the mass migrations of the foreign-minorities. See Robert Ilbert, "International Waters," in *Alexandria 1860-1960: The Brief Life of a Cosmopolitan Community*, eds. Robert Ilbert and Ilios Yannakakis (Alexandria: Harpocrates, 1997), 10.

[33] In Brian Edwards' *Morocco Unbound*, he discusses the American expatriate society locating in Tangier (an International Zone from 1925-1956) an "Internationalism" as an appealing cosmopolitanism and also relying on domestic referents to understand foreign spaces, seeing foreign spaces as within American reach or dominion, a practice of American exceptionalism. Many saw the Maghreb as a place for elaborating and defining American identity, an empty tabula rasa of the desert, the wilderness, the frontier. See Brian Edwards, *Morocco Bound: Disorienting America's Maghreb, from Casablanca to the Marrakech Express (*Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

Of course, Cavafy and Durrell's colonial cosmopolitan Alexandria has a different historical trajectory than international cosmopolitan Tangier, at the time an expatriate haven for

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[34] Some American writers were criticized for their escape to Morocco from disillusionment with American politics and foreign policy, without ever linking with Moroccan political movements, as though they were "dropping out of society" straight into an apolitical wilderness.

[35] On Bowles's themes of lawlessness and chaos in Tangier, see *Without Stopping*, Orig., 1972 (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999); "Monologue (Tangier 1975); *The Threepenny Review* 12 (Spring 1983): 11-12; "Hugh Harper," *The Threepenny Review* 21 (Spring 1985): 3; "In Touch: The Selected Letters of Paul Bowles," *The Threepenny Review* 56 (Winter 1994): 5-7.

[36] In his autobiography *Without Stopping*, orig. 1972 (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999), Bowles writes: "If I said Tangier struck me as a dream city, I should mean it in the strict sense. Its topography was rich in prototypal dream scenes: covered streets like corridors with doors opening into rooms on each side, hidden terraces high above the sea, streets consisting of steps, dark impasses, small squares built on sloping terrains that looked like ballet sets designed in false perspective; as well as the classical dream equipment of tunnels, ramparts, ruins, and dungeon cliffs … The city was self-sufficient and clean, a doll's metropolis whose social and economic life long ago had been frozen in an enforced perpetual status quo by the international administration and its efficient police. There was no crime; no one yet thought of not respecting the European, whose presence was considered an asset to the community" (125).

Americans. But, whether they engaged in a representational ecology of the places they lived, these writers and their work became Western synecdoches for Arab Mediterranean cities—multinational, polyglot, liberating cultural "frontiers"—during the eras in which they were written and they depict. Their work simultaneously creates place signification and builds upon it, not simply reflecting upon but producing place affects in a double movement of "ascription-appropriation". [37] This movement consists of the imaging of the Arab world and its culture as "Mediterranean" and the development of cities as "Mediterranean" converge on the grounds of literature and literary criticism in a related, oft-symbiotic relationship. While this convergence of Arab culture and urban development as Mediterranean is reflected in literary work, it is also the case that literary work develops and circulates what has come to be identified as a "symbolic geography", the Mediterraneanization of Arab culture and city.

The current place narrative of the Mediterranean still maintains it as a liberatory site, but now also reveals migration northward as a paralyzing trap rather than a liberating process. This is the new Mediterranean—a globalized project to be read in conjunction with the shifting self-construction of the EU, whose security initiatives, anti-immigration policies, and even Euro-Med Partnership projects aim to discipline diverse ethnicities, cultures, affiliations in the southern and eastern Mediterranean into a fixed space and monolithic heritage model, by re-inscribing the Mediterranean as Europe's Other.[38] The Mediterranean construction is currently transforming and in-flux, determined by the creation of new anti-immigration policies and erection of new borders being reworked back into the EU to monitor the flow of undocumented migrants across them, in the service of the EU's construction of its Self in relation to its Other. However, the binarized optic of the Mediterranean amidst the EU's policy transformations, whether post-9/11 or much more recently post-Arab Spring, has only grown exponentially.

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[37] See Nigel Thrift, "Literature, the Production of Culture, and the Politics of Place." *Antipode* 15, no. 1 (1983): 21. He writes, "Places have meanings and meanings are always produced, never simply expressed, as part of a wider process of cultural creation. Literature is one way in which such meanings are produced within a culture and ascribed to place, just as place is often appropriated to produce meanings in literature. This double-sided process of ascription-appropriation is not neutral... Representations of space are not unmediated, but are inextricable from construction of social space. See Michael Keith and Steve Pile, *Place and the Politics of Identity,* (New York: Routledge, 1993). Keith and Pile explain that Walter Benjamin's cities were not only "real and metaphorical works," but they were also acts of "representation that were consciously, cognitively, and politically marked rather than the evocations of a purely aesthetic spatiality" (33).

[38] On criticisms of the Euro-Med cultural dialogue initiatives, see Isabel Shafer, "The Cultural Dimension of the

This project explores and retrieves the new trans-Mediterranean clandestine migrant literary figure from the Arab, and particularly Afro-Arab, world through a terrain embodied by this period's paradox: what I refer to as both an attraction of cosmopolitanism and a repulsion of containment. After all, it is only after reading the novels wrought through perspectives of clandestine migrants that I have apprehended this double Mediterranean between which the figures always seemed to be navigating. My arguments regarding this paradox are based on the premise of the Mediterranean as an invention, performative in the sense that it is less about shared traits than the play of "claims and knowledges about those shared traits." I take on the constructivist view of Mediterranean-ness as that which is not based on an originary moment or a culturally distinct essence, but as the repetition of symbols that accumulate to represent identity, which revert back to notion of the its origin and uniqueness. This constructivist view of regional identity formation is shared by Judith Butler in her description of the social construction of gendered identity: She claims that gender, rather than being constituted, by a "founding act" is constituted by a "regulated process of repetition."[39] In this shared post-structural genealogy, regional identity takes on its natural form through a repeated performance of presumed "norms."

Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Critical Review of the First Decade of Intercultural Cooperation," *History and Anthropology* 18, no. 3 (2007): 335-352. Also, see Raffaelia Del Sarto, "Setting the Cultural Agenda: Concepts, Communities, and Representation in Euro-Mediterranean Relations," *Mediterranean Politics* 10, no. 3 (2005): 313-330.

[39] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 185.

In terms of its cosmopolitanism, I contend that its essentializing properties have long ago made up the Mediterranean narrative in a "history of travel culture attracted by freedoms, by different and dangerous mores associated with the region",[40] which has identified it as a liberating escape and a cosmopolitan utopia for the appealing disorder of its diversity.[41] That is, it is associated with the idealized dynamism and flux of the cosmopolis, marked by the incessant arrival and departure of the "stranger."[42] The ideal narrative of the Mediterranean's attractions continues to this day, but a polarizing narrative emerges alongside it: the repulsion in the containment of the Mediterranean. While the attraction of the Mediterranean is associated with an appealing disorder of diversity, summoning its cosmopolitanism, the repulsion of the Mediterranean comes from identifying it as a "zone of conflict", demanding its containment. While this binarized construction of the Mediterranean is apprehended by various theorists on whom the irony of its mythic connectivity, despite its current reconstruction as a frontier, is not lost, the attraction and repulsion of the contemporary Mediterranean narrative in juxtaposition through its heterotopic literary forms has yet to be analyzed or theorized as such.

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[40] Mike Crang, ed., *Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), 160.

[41] Herzfeld urges us to treat attributions of Mediterranean culture not as literal statements but as performative utterances in J. L. Austin's sense (as explained in *How To Do Things with Words*): "they do not so much enunciate facts as create them." Herzfeld suggests that in this way we can discern claims of Mediterranean unity as "excuses expressive of, and enmeshed in, a global hierarchy of value in which 'Mediterranean' comes somewhere between 'modern' and 'primitive.'" See Herzfeld, Michael. "Practical Mediterraneanism: Excuses for Everything, from Epistemology to Eating." In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. William Vernon Harris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

[42] The cosmopolis is an urban utopia characterized by its ability to well-receive the "stranger." It is a model of a pluralistic, open society unbound by the exclusions of nationalism. The openness to the stranger makes explicit the notion of hospitality as a cosmopolitan virtue. While there are different conceptions of cosmopolitanism that assign differences of the stranger to a group and the host to another, I take on understanding of the relationship between strangers and urban life as one in which "strangeness is a condition shared by everybody rather than a property of some-bodies." (76). In "Strangers in the Cosmopolis" Kurt Iverson writes: "Every individual is a 'partial stranger' because arrivals (and departures) are incessant, with these displacements calling forth a never-ending series of responses and adjustments" (76). Kurt Iverson, "Strangers in the Cosmopolis" in *Cosmopolitan Urbanism*, ed. Jon Binnie (New York: Psychology Press, 2006).

Clandestine migration and its cultural productions do bear on the resurgence of the Mediterranean, or what has been called “Mediterraneanism”, in academic fields. There is sometimes a disjuncture between representation of Mediterranean places in modern literature and transformation of Mediterranean places into a singular topos in studies of the Mediterranean, which endangers turning place into a site of memory disconnected from the present, into a spectacle. For example, in Franck Salameh’s recently published *Language, Memory, and Identity in the Middle East: The Case for Lebanon* (2010), Mediterraneanism is cast as a form of identitarian resistance to the confines and reductionism of Arabism, but in fact it simply urges supplanting one identity for another, in that Mediterraneanism has its own identity “obligations”. Mediterranean identity is positioned as a more authentic, primary identity, with a longer lineage, which liberalizes, loosens the straw man of a purported Arab identity that is essentialized as inhospitable to free thinking, as opposed to the intellectual hospitality of the cosmopolitan Mediterranean. The representations of the Mediterranean as contented multicultural utopia and the sea as connective force and a zone of encounter have been sustained and have resurged in contemporary Mediterranean Studies, but the grand narrative of the Mediterranean has worn itself out. By locating the frontier that the Mediterranean has created, intellectual work that challenges the resurgence of Mediterraneanism, locates its irony, and explores motivations and strategies of its culturally deterministic and essentializing resurgence. For example, research that takes to task Mediterraneanism and apprehends the binarized construction of the current-day Mediterranean includes Driessen’s ethnography of clandestine migrants that counters the romantic image of the Mediterranean; Shafer’s contrast between the EU-created frontier in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea and the EU-Med cultural initiatives to create a cultural dialogue and find commonalities; and the Mediterranean’s grand narrative of tourism and marketing, undergirding stock clichés of "homecoming" and "bridges", as well as current reiterations in the form of "partnerships" and "unions", which suggest true engagement with a sea crossed by thousands escaping persecution and seeking a better future rather than belie its actual "self-folklorization" in the service of developing the Mediterranean brand.[43]

Engaging Foucault's conception of utopia as controlling, disciplining, and restrictive, I assert both narrative claims of the Mediterranean are utopic, not in the idealizing sense, but in a restrictive, controlling, disciplining sense of the utopic[44]: the order of containment projects a desire for a place and time to come, to be discovered, to be exposed and explored through the partition of the sea, the regimentation of mobility flows. To enforce the order of the ideal society, "the utopic perpetually verges on the dystopic, the dysfunctional utopia, the more modern these utopias become,"[45] thus, in its very conception utopia is inherently rigid, authoritarian, hierarchical, restrictive, and exclusionary. Foucault's utopia contrasts with conceptions of utopia, such as Henri Lefebvre's, as positive, productive for criticism and self-reflection, in perpetual process as a counter-hegemonic force.[46] Utopia's disciplinary gaze of a Mediterranean inscribed as the Other to the EU is particularly Foucauldian: "They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces."[47] Utopia is imposed upon a social space severing its links with history, tradition, and the disorderly patterns of the everyday—abstracted as a non-place. We can see this de-substantialization and de-historicization with conceptions of enduring heritages of the Mediterranean wielded by grand narratives of EU-Med cultural dialogues. The utopic compulsion to order and decontextualize (deplete of history and social relations) the Mediterranean has resonance with Thomas More's *Utopia* and its interconnected themes of territory and exclusion—mapping a perfected social order onto an artificial island. The tightly organized spatial form was the means by which potentially disruptive forces could be excluded in order to maintain social order and stability. Its relations with the outside world were closely monitored or surveilled but it largely functioned as an isolated coherently organized space. The internal socio-spatial ordering of the island stringently regulates a disciplined, stabilized, immutable society. But in the case of the newly ascribed "Mediterranean" territories, the spatial isolation is not "self-regulated" by the Middle Eastern (east) and North African (south) countries that it now strictly signifies, but rather the call for isolation and containment into a transparently and coherently organized space is the fantasy of the other, the "zone of peace", the EU. As the EU names, contains, surveils its Mediterranean Other, might we not consider it open visually, perspectivally, for surveillance like a panorama, and closed, isolated, cordoned off, contained, territorially? This openness and closure, not so much an ambivalence of utopia but its complementary parts, constitute Foucault's conception of the totalizing vision and disciplinary power of the panopticon, that "utopia of the perfectly governed city", as he referred to it.[48]

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[43] For works that apprehend the binarized construction of the Mediterranean, see: Henk Driessen, "A Janus-Faced Sea: Contrasting Perceptions and Experience of the Mediterranean," *MAST/Maritime Studies* 3, no. 1 (2004): 41-50. Thomas Christiansen, Fabio Petito, and Ben Tonra, "Fuzzy Politics Around Fuzzy Borders: The European Union's 'Near-Abroad'," *Cooperation and Conflict* 35, no. 4 (2000): 489-415. Shafer, Isabel. "The Cultural Dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Critical Review of the First Decade of Intercultural Cooperation." *History and Anthropology* 18, no. 3 (2007): 335-352. Adrian Grima, "The Melting Pot That Never Was," in Africa and the West, ed. Badra Lahouel (Oran, Algeria: Dar El Quds El Arabi, 2009).

[44] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces" ("Des Autres Espaces") *Diacritics* 16, no.1 (1986): 22-27.

[45] Elizabeth Grosz highlights the main point of Meg Whitford's work on utopia in "The Time of Architecture," in *Embodied Utopias: Gender, Social Change, and the Modern Metropolis*, eds. Amy Bingaman, Lisa Sanders, Rebecca Zorach (New York: Routledge, 2002), 268.

[46] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday* (London: Verso, 2002), 241.

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[47] Foucault, 1986, 24.

[48] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977; New York: Random House, 1979), 198.

But in what ways has the Mediterranean as a seductive, rather than a strict authoritarian, utopia emerged through literary itineraries? It flashes a seductive monolithic narrative of travel adventure, sensuality, spirituality, diversity, and authentic heritage that has traditionally encompassed a remarkably diverse number of nations and cultures occupying the three continents that surround the Mediterranean Sea. Cosmopolitanism, particular in its branding of the Mediterranean as frontier of travel and escape for its "sensual pleasures," its "authentic heritage," its "mythical vices", is also controlling, disciplinary in the sense that it too is based on discovery and exploration for the purpose of ordering—and, tourism's retrieval of these properties. Utopias are used as a *heuristic* device, as an exploration of what might be possible or impossible, and the Mediterranean is the site wherein desire of exploration is projected: cosmopolitanism as a means of exploring or becoming familiar with something known in the past and containment being the means of re-making familiar something now unknown.[49] For example, one of Cavafy's depictions of the Mediterranean—as a unit—is composed like a list, fluid and logical, but with the sensual and sensuous juxtaposed with the civilizational, humanistic, and classical: "The whole Mediterranean---the sculptures, the palms, the gold beads, the bearded heroes, the moonlight, the winged gorgons, the bronze men, the philosophers---all of it seems to rise in the sour pungent taste of these black olives between the teeth. A taste older than meat, older than wine. A taste as cold as water."[50] The recitation of the list of totems or familiar objects reduced to an enduring and universal taste almost resists inquiry or interrogation, implying not only a sensual connection to the Mediterranean's ancient past but also suggesting that all one would need to know about the Mediterranean lies in its reassuring, but disjointed, narrative rendered like a formula or an incantation. Taking on its putatively "natural" form through a repeated performance, the erotic Mediterranean is likewise delivered by Bowles and his literary circle, Tennessee Williams and Williams S. Burroughs, as sexually permissive especially for gay litterateurs, but not due to an ideological connection to the Mediterranean's ancient past of a free, open sensuality, as expressed by Durrell, but due to sexual commerce sustained by material desperation and colonial beliefs about a simultaneously permissive and virile Arab-African sexuality, especially during the Interzone period. A fantasy of origins also applies to the Mediterranean by way of its discursive potential to order language, of attaching narrative coherence to a place that not only no longer exists, but might have never existed, and finally integrating properties that may not belong to it that would ultimately function as a site of return—for authenticity, spirituality, sensuality, classical humanism, rationality.

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[49] While Foucault's focus is on conditional utopia's connection to the potential of language, as opposed to "real" spaces, in "The Language of Space", it too suggests a literary recourse to convention, a predetermined order of discourse, which is fruitful in considering the means of ordering the Mediterranean, discursively: it is a "fantasy of origins" to which one returns, it permits an ordering of speech, while heterotopia desiccates speech. Utopia as a site of memory that promises regimentation of both discourse and movement is figured by ancient Alexandria, Foucault's site for classical thought, origins, authenticity—a predetermined order to which one is "bound" to return. Foucault refers to a binding, repetitive return and an adherence to chronological formalism and narrative coherence to demonstrate the discursive effects of utopia: "Homeric return … Alexandria, which is our birthplace, has mapped out this circle for all western language: to write was to return, to come back to the beginning to grasp again the first instance; it is to witness anew the dawn. Hence, the mythical function of literature to this day, hence its relation to the ancient: hence, the privilege it has granted to analogy, to similarity, to all the marvels of identicality. Hence, above all, a structure of repetition which indicated its very existence. (24)

The paradox of the Mediterranean between which migrants are caught is conveyed in clandestine migrant literature through the journeys' integration of distinct utopias: a counter-nostalgia that debunks Mediterranean romanticization and nostalgia; exposure of a tenacious colonial, orientalist archive through revisited performances; a tradition of European tourism colliding with the carceral mobility of African migration; a utopic place-narrative undermined by its heterotopic re-signification to convey counter-sites that simultaneously represent, contest and invert all other places within society by acting as a mirror to society; the depiction of sites contradictory and disturbing spaces conflicting to utopias as they represent not an ideal utopian picture but the ambiguity of the situation to contest the Mediterranean's homogenous figuration; heterotopic resignification becomes disruptive, disturbing, because it undermines the language used to perform the Mediterranean, because it shatters or tangles its common names and familiar properties, because it destroys "syntax" in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to hold together—the Mediterranean as a liberating frontier for "dropping out" takes on new meaning for clandestine migrant figures, whose lives and stories are plunged and submerged into anonymity, when faced with exponential obstructions of travel as the Mediterranean Sea itself becomes more recognizably a fortressed frontier between the North and South. The intertextuality that the literature establishes is often guided by the journey's trans-Mediterranean boat and its passengers to convey and to connect two Mediterraneans operating simultaneously: the migrants' flimsy boat maneuvers between spaces as diverse as homeland, sea, (non-Mediterranean) Europe on the other shore to reveal the different processes that link together different kinds of topoi. "The ship embodies the desire that produces heterotopia," writes Cassarino of clandestine wandering that as it manifests the desire to escape the social while at the same time representing it in Foucault's "Of Other Spaces". The ship, according to Foucault, is the "heterotopia par excellence," dissatisfaction with the socially dominant released into a desire embodied to wander the seas, both a closed system, a microcosm, upon itself and an open system "penetrable" to the society around it as it docks from shore to shore in pursuit of "treasures" and "adventure" that redeem the isolation. The paradoxical desire of this open and closed system, that is, to escape and simultaneously represent, contest, and invert the social, represents heterotopia and maintains it.

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[50] Lawrence Durrell, *Prospero's Cell: A Guide to the Landscape of Manners of the Island of Co*rfu (London: Faber & Faber, 1945), 1/14/38.

Just as Bowles and Durrell created a Mediterranean with place signification as part of a larger cultural work, revealing the Mediterranean city as an example of the extent to which place-narrative contributes to producing its built environment, the writers of today's North African clandestine migration literature have sought to write back a different Mediterranean. The construction of the Mediterranean not only counters and negates the region's ubiquitous romantic imagery, but integrates it, as my chapter title indicates, as a useful fiction that contemporary accounts of trans-Mediterranean routes often put to task. Mediterranean land and sea motifs are subject to an archaeology of techniques of representation[51] that have been analyzed for their ideological and political representational effects in Arabic literature. Writers not only articulate a politics of space and culturally produce space, but they also integrate an "archaeology of knowledge" into their work: their texts are not just a narrated place, where the place forms the context of the plot, but rather a place narrative, an inherited system of literary representation of the Mediterranean.[52] The writers narrate their new Mediterranean experience by engaging and juxtaposing an existent system of representation through its defining modes of operability—mobility. In some narratives it is wrought through intertextuality: the use of literary inventions of the Mediterranean within overlapping traditions of twentieth and twenty-first century colonial and postcolonial literature to invent and theorize subjectivity in relation to the new space of the Mediterranean, to undermine fantasy of Mediterranean freedom of movement and adventure and create a larger transnational space of identification. It also emerges through elements of globalization experience as narratives in this project embody the uneven development of globalization by articulating both space and time compressions and displacements: their formal organization is defined by discontinuity, accelerated velocity and confinement, and chance encounters and collisions.

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[51] See Meyer's discussion of the different treatments between land and sea in Arabic literature as mediated by the political colonial and presumably postcolonial (transcolonial) understanding of the sea and port as the gateway of the violence and transgressions to invasions and occupations of Arab land. Stefan Meyer, *The Experimental Arabic Novel: Postcolonial Literary Modernism in the Levant (*Albany: SUNY Press, 2001). Also see Richard van Leeuwen, "The Narrative of the Ship." In *Intertextuality in Modern Arabic Literature since 1967*, eds. Luc-Willy Deheuvels, Barbara Michalak-Pikulska, and Paul Starkey (Durham: Durham Modern Languages, 2006).

[52] See Frederik Tygstrup's chapter "The Literary City: Between System and Sensation," in *Babylon or New Jerusalem: Perceptions of the City in Literature*, eds. Valeria Tinkler-Villani. New York: Rodopi, 2005.

Migrant protagonists in Arabic Moroccan works relatively unknown to Anglophone readership, like Rachid Nini in his memoir *Journal of a Clandestine* (2005) and a series of clandestines in Ahmed Al-Jalal's vignettes *Al-Harraga* (2003), wander Europe recording displacement while trying to keep it invisible. Nini's wandering through Spanish territory imbued with the historical memory of the lost paradise of Andalus is a bitterly rendered counter-nostalgic aesthetic. The counter-nostalgic aesthetic of wandering, associated with the tradition of voyage and the ubiquity of mobility as a constitutive Mediterranean trait of the universal figure of the exile, is deemed discontinuous with the a productive concept lying at the source of encounters between cultures in the Mediterranean contact zone. Wandering in pursuit of invisibility and stability actually leads to homelessness for Nini. Like *Journal of a Clandestine*, recent Egyptian novels, like Khaled Al-Khameesy's *Noah's Ark* (2010) and Ayman Zohry *Roman Sea* (2008), charting clandestine trans-Mediterranean journeys planned in small villages far from the sea but still susceptible to the adventures of physical and social mobility it carries, are also invested in the discontinuity between the material and discursive construct of the Mediterranean that migrant movements put in sharp relief. This dissonance can also be seen in Egyptian writer Fouad Qandeel's short prose piece "The Sea's Tragedies" (2007) and Farooq Gouweida's poem "My Land Is No Longer Mine" (2009), wherein the sea is rendered both as socially constructed site of trespass and natural barrier, through an intimacy of human practice and as an elemental wild zone, disconnected from human agency. The texts situate the tradition of the voyage and the imaginary genealogy of exile at the center of intersecting and uncontrollable flows of capital, goods, and ideas marking (and marketing) the Mediterranean's global modernity. But despite the texts' glimpse into a trans-Mediterranean circulation of migrants, stowaways, smugglers, diaspora narratives, and capital, (non-controllable mobility), they foreclose on narrations of displacement on the other shore, calling attention to the unevenness of mobility between the proximate North and South. But, moreover, focus on the South points to the ways the North already participates and insinuates itself in the South despite tendencies to fortified societies. It focuses on an unevenness and hierarchy of mobility in which the North participates in structures producing poverty and disenfranchisement, while occluding its own responsibility for—and participation in—the very structures that produce in the global South the poverty, political disenfranchisement and sense of injustice or exclusion that give rise to the maligned and feared will to migrate. Lying at the source of encounters in the current-day Mediterranean contact zone, the interconnections between North and South, is not only the mobility of people, but the mobility of commodities, employment, disenfranchisement, commodification, and poverty. Even though the narratives appear intent on setting up an opposition between the North and South, Africa and Europe, their intertextuality, scenes conveying multidirectional influence, a political and representational cultural ecology revealing a past and present of not only Europe in Africa, but Africa in Europe, are just as intent on deconstructing them as binaries. Thus, in a deconstructivist mode, they undermine the binaries of North and South, Africa and Europe, by demonstrating how one route of "antithesis secretly inheres within the other."[53]

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[53] Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory (*Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 115.

The archaeology of representation in Arabic texts on trans-Mediterranean clandestine migration differs from Western and diasporic literature because they reveal an engagement with a political and cultural history prevalent in Arab and Berber North Africa, such as the Spanish military conquests of Tariq Ibn Ziad and Moroccan traveler and scholar Ibn Battuta's ethnographically documented travels across Africa, Europe, and Asia. Arabic texts, like Nini's, do reveal some engagement with these figures in their work, revealing knowledge of the south of the Mediterranean's influence (across to Europe) beyond its shores. More well-known Moroccan writers in the diaspora, like Laila Lalami in *Hope and Other Dangerous Pursuits* (2005), do engage with this history but very briefly, but like Tahar Ben Jelloun in *Partir* (2009), she limits her archaeology of representation to Western writers that lived in and visited the Maghreb and whose histories are then engaged intertextually. Although one can say that readership (Francophone, Anglophone) in the diaspora determines how intertextuality plays out in terms of a writer's attention to cultural referents, the eclipse of history succeeds in achieving exactly what those writers critique in their work—asymmetrically drawing the south Mediterranean as a passive stage and playground (in the manner of Cavafy and Durrell), leaving no impression or influence beyond its shores. Arab commentators, as well, are especially attuned to a semblance of symmetry in terms of traveling cultures across the Mediterranean to Europe, rather than merely representing it as a stage for western thinkers to retrieve a western civilizational grounding. And, they do so in light of the division proposed by the European Union, the Mediterranean Union, Euro-Med cultural partnerships, that have created frontiers in the Mediterranean making migrants and their movements across "illegal."[54]

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[54] See Izzat Al-Qamhawy, "Which Migration, Which Legality?" *Alawan* (February 7, 2010). http://www.alawan.org/%D8%A3%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%87%D8%AC%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A3%D9%8A%D8%A9.html The longue durée[54] cultural perspective is assumed by Egyptian commentators on the subject of the contemporary North-South Mediterranean divide. For example, in interrogating the tenability of

The past few years have seen a rise in cultural and literary critiques addressing clandestine migration from Africa. However, with the exception of a few analyses, most address how European texts, films, and discourse reflect on the hospitability of Europe to African migrants, becoming part of Italian, French, Spanish national literatures.[55] The texts and critiques are

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the criminalization of Egyptian migration to Europe, Al Qamhawy contrasts it against as the welcome and hospitality with which European migrants were treated in the 19th and 20th century. He writes, "Egypt had been a popular destination for Italian and Greek job seekers throughout the nineteenth century and until the mid-twentieth century. These immigrants became associated with the work and travel that they shifted in a migration that Egypt embraced with tolerance and which produced many authors and poets, like Cavafy, Ungarretti, and Marinetti, among others. Theirs was a heavy and self-segregated presence, in essence and value, to the point that we almost do not notice the presence of Egyptians in the Alexandria narrated in Lawrence Durrell's *Quartet*." His work the gap between what I refer to as the dual discourses of the North-South divide, a naturalized divide intently voiding the history of multidirectional migrant flows between Egypt and Africa. He refers to groups commonly referred to as Alexandria's "foreign minority elite" and commonly attributed with its long-mourned cosmopolitanism as "job seekers" in an attempt to restore the gap of meaning and to redefine the transnational flow with a sense of equivalency, symmetry. This article mirrors other voices critical of EU's North-South divide in that it takes a longue durée historical perspective of the mobility of not only people but of mobility's cultural effects, i.e., the literature of the "foreign minority elite" produce by Cavafy and Durrell, or what is now known as Alexandrian or cosmopolitan Mediterranean literature. The Mediterranean Sea has not always been a borderscape, but rather a sea of connectivity. The significance of this naturalized divide is that its forceful amnesia appears so untenable and baffling to Egyptian writers who situate it within Egypt's history of not only migration of people but also migration of culture by way of the Mediterranean's connectivity. Also, see Helmy Abd Waheb, Mohamad. "Al-Itihad al-Mutawasatee: Hal Ba'eed li Misr Huwayatha al-Auromutawasitiya" ("The Mediterranean Union: Is Egyptian Identity Distant from the Euro-Mediterranean One?") *Bab al-Mutawasit*, 12 July 2008. http://www.arabicbabelmed.net/societe/49-egypt/226-euro2008egypt.html In Abd Wahab Helmy's article, contemporary cross-border movement is juxtaposed against its cultural effects, syncreticism, in Egypt as a sign of past traveling cultures which attest to its "Mediterranean-ness". He also attests to a south Mediterranean that bore influence beyond its shores, across to Europe, rather than functioning as a stage for European thinkers to retrieve western civilizational identity established by Hellenistic cultural lineage. He writes, "Culturally, the roots linking Egypt to the Mediterranean civilization stretch back to the era of Mohamed Ali the Great, founder of the renaissance of modern Egypt, who sent many on intellectual missions to Europe… According to the narrative of history, the civilization of the Mediterranean not only extended to the civilization of ancient Egyptian and disappear there, but reproduced a dozen of times in Karnak and Heliopolis, through Alexandria, Florence, Medici, and also did not end with the achievements of the European Renaissance. Thus, the return of consciousness of civilization of the nation of Egypt, according to the foundations of the philosophy of its ancient civilization, traveled to the West philosophically and spiritually from Alexandria, and then returned again to its cultural and geographical place [Egypt], wherein the Khedive Ismail placed it again on the map of European world…"

[55] There is an emerging body of work on clandestine migrant European literature, specifically French, Spanish, and Italian national literatures: Hakim Abderrazek, *"Burning the Sea: Clandestine Migration Across the Strait of Gibraltar in Francophone Moroccan "Illiterature."* Contemporary French and Francophone Studies 13, no. 4 (2009): 461-469; Lars Eckstein, "Three Ways of Looking at Illegal Immigration: Clandestine Existence in Novels by Salman Rushdie, Christopher Hope, and Caryl Phillips." In *Territorial Terrors: Contested Spaces in Colonial Writing*, ed. Gerhard Stilz, 141-157 (Würzburg, Germany: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007); Derek Duncan, "Loving Geographies: Queering Straight Migration to Italy," *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 6, no. 3 (2009): 167-182; Graziella Parata, *Mediterranean Crossroads: Migration Literature in Italy*. Rutherford, NJ. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999. Aine O'Healy, "Mediterranean Passages: Abjection and Belonging in Contemporary Italian Cinema," *California Italian Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2010). http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2qh5d59c Cristina Lombardi-Diop, "Ghosts of Memories, Spirits of Ancestors:

disproportionately dedicated to the immigration experience after Europe's fortress has been "breached" and shores reached. Moreover, while the binarized construction of the Mediterranean is apprehended by various non-literary theorists, the dual Mediterranean as reality and trope motivating the symbolic geography, microtopographies, and mobility of the characters and narrative do not feature in literary analyses of clandestine migration, excluding the topos of south of the Mediterranean. Integrating into a project on trans-Mediterranean clandestine migration texts that engage the Mediterranean topos and its multiple frontiers as a trope of mobility, mobility through space and time, with a contemporary historical referent on Mediterranean border-crossing is integral. First, it reveals that one contemporary historical moment of the Mediterranean sparks a range of narratives, from the utopic to the abject. Second, the totality of the Mediterranean as a cultural topos allows us to think of the utopic and the abject, both determined by border thinking, as unified and mutually constitutive. Third, and paradoxically, it also demonstrates that the utopic and abject figure of the Mediterranean resides in its connectivity and mobilization. Even though this project focuses on modern productions of the southern Mediterranean, it takes into consideration the performative Mediterranean's compressions of space and time, many regions and periods, conveyed by one historical and cultural referent, resurgent in iterations of Mediterraneanism. The totalization takes in the disjunctures of time and space in the Mediterranean as part of a developmental narrative and sublates them into a fiction of resolutions.

The large body of work on the *sans-papiers* in France has been extremely valuable in apprehending intersections of Eurocentricism, citizenship, and subjectivity as they align to

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Slavery, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic," in *Recharting the Black Atlantic: Modern Cultures, Local Communities, Global Connections*, eds. Annalise Oboe Anna Scacchi, 162-180 (New York: Routledge, 2008. Hoffmann, Claudia. *Subaltern Migrancy and Transnational Locality: The Undocumented African Immigrant in International Cinema.* PhD Dissertation. University of Florida, 2010.

construct a modern-day migrant identity, particularly since I discuss the nascent identity of undocumented migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa in Morocco since the recent and unprecedented period of intense migration policing and border patrolling within the continent (chapter 4). Focus on the *sans-papiers* is also nationally, historically, and movement-specific, but it also limits the exploration of literary narratives to a European site, excluding the legitimacy of itinerant narrations from homelands south of the Mediterranean.[56] This asymmetrical and unbalanced perspective often eclipses the migration narrative itself, a journey that cannot be reducible to arrival. Concerning diasporic identity, Hamid Naficy observes that people in the diaspora have an identity in their homeland before their departure, and their diasporic identity is

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[56] The *sans-papiers* (undocumented, paperless) movement began after the enactment of the Pasqua laws in 1993 at the instigation of Interior Minister Charles Pasqua, whose strong support of "zero immigration" set the tone for recent French policy in refugee, asylum, and migration issues. Deemed by supporters as an effective tool against clandestine immigration, the legislation encompassed new severe measures: toughening of visa requirements, reduction in number of visas, increase in police enforcement powers, expansion of detention period, and narrowing of administrative review scheme. These and other provisions caused a significant number of legitimate migrants to become illegal. The *affaire des sans-papiers* (*sans papiers'* affair), or *lutte des sans-papiers* (struggle of the sans-*papiers*) began when on March 18, 1996, three hundred undocumented African immigrants occupied the Saint Ambroise Church in Paris. Forced by police to withdraw on March 22, they moved into the Jappy gymnasium. In Abdoulaye Gueye's "The Colony Strikes Back: African Protest Movements in Postcolonial France," he writes of the forced movement of the sans-papiers' protest that garnered media attention: "Forced to move repeatedly, they were first hosted in the Théâtre La Cartoucherie at Vincennes. Then a closed-down warehouse owned by the Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer (the national railroad company) on Pajol Street in the eighteenth arrondissement was put at their disposal by members of the union, the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT). Eventually, on 28 June, on their own, they occupied the Saint-Bernard Church in the eighteenth arrondissement. In order to draw public attention to their cause, unannounced sit-ins in public places like the eighteenth arrondissement police precinct and hunger strikes took place. On 26 August, using axes and rams to tear down the door, the French police forced their way into the Saint-Bernard Church before news cameras, helping the *sans papiers'* cause to gain the media limelight" (231). See *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 26, 2 (2006).
For further critiques focusing on the sans-papiers movement and identity in France, see: Davide Panagia, *The Poetics of Political Thinking* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Mireille Rosello, *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Mireille Rosello ,"Fortress Europe and Its Metaphors: Immigration and the Law." *Working Paper Series in European Studies* 3, no. 1, 1999. Center for European Studies, University of Wisconsin; Mireille Rosello,"New Sans-Papiers Rhetoric in Contemporary France" in *Immigrant Narratives in Contemporary France*, eds. Susan Ireland and Patrice Proulx, 187-200 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001); Didier Fassin,"'Clandestin' ou 'Exclus'? Quand les Mots Font de la Politique." *Politix* 34 (1996): 77-86; Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetic,* translated by Steve Corcoran (New York: Continuum, 2010); Jacques Derrida, "Derelictions of the Right to Justice," in *Negotiations*: *Interventions and Interviews 1971-2000,* ed. Elizabeth Rottenberg, 133-146 (Stanford: Stanford Press, 2002); Christian O'Connell, "Plight of France's *Sans-Papiers* Gives a Face to Struggle over Immigration Reform," *Human Rights Brief* 4, no. 1, The Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at Washington College of Law, American University *http://www.wcl.american.edu/hrbrief/v4i1/pasqua41.htm*

"constructed in resonance with this prior identity."[57] Naficy argues that the diaspora is a collective, in both its origination and its destination, and thus the collective memory of the homeland is required in its narration.

The unbalanced body of critiques and texts, albeit with exceptions, often achieve the equivalent of the European media archive of photographs to which I alluded earlier. The images undergird the discourse on clandestine migrants —it is the migrants who do not belong rather than the beachgoers, whether they are tourists or nearby residents. Images not only expose the migrants but reveal them as the "detritus" and excess that should have remained hidden; they were once seen as merely working bodies, but now those working bodies are no longer contracted or sought out in European metropolises, they are advised to stay where they are. They portray migrants as out of place, unfamiliar, unexpected, unrooted, alien strange arrivals without a journey or history, a "prior identity," which would at least render a representational ecology or what Ursula Biemann has called "sustainable representation", practices that convey

> the story of how everything we do around the world is interconnected here and now, i.e., how the western lifestyle, known to have an effect on climate change, also has an impact on herdsmen in the Sahel. […] Images are not excluded from this process. As social relations, representations that constitute meaning in one place are locked into the signification of another.[58]

Localization attempts to not only give the characters "roots", a nation, a locale, but it also individuates them rather than presenting them as a disembodied, abstract mass, part of a distant, spectacular scene on the news. This project's main purpose is to contribute toward addressing the imbalance in the research literature by focusing literary analysis on Arabic and Anglophone African narratives and poetry that charts the migration from the homeland, across the Mediterranean frontier, to the European shore. The chapters are dedicated to national literatures that chart the African trans-Mediterranean clandestine journey from Morocco (chapter 2), Egypt (chapter 3), and well-known transit locales in Mali and Niger (chapter 4). The last chapter explores Sefi Atta's short story "Twilight Trek" (2010), which is set in Morocco but draws its characters from various parts of Africa, including Nigeria, Niger, and Mali, and reflects on the way the EU's border anxieties are inscribed onto African territory determining how the characters' mobility and identities re-inscribe themselves along these ruptured meeting points that cast not only the Mediterranean Sea as a border but another African country, Morocco.[59] I have found that journey narratives often show migrant characters not as "out of place," an embodied unfamiliar excess on a European shore, but part of a journey, with roots and a "prior identity," allowing for the mapping of an interdependent relationship of uneven development that connects the northern and southern shore. This project reflects the authors' investment in how distinct nations map the journey across the Mediterranean, casting the literature as both national and diasporic, emergent *from* and part *of* the African Mediterranean rather than *about* it.

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[57] Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exile and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 14.

[58] Ursula Biemann, "Dispersing the Viewpoint: Sahara Chronicle," 58. http://www.geobodies.org/books-and-texts/texts

The ecology of an interconnected global capitalism is illuminated by the provocative notion of "human waste" (Baumann) and "detritus of globality" (Spivak) to describe migrants catapulted from the margins of the South to seek livelihood North, the center of exploitative global capitalism, a neocolonialism that has given rise to uneven development and a hierarchy of mobility. Spivak writes:

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[59] Clandestine migrant literature from Tunisia and Algeria were left out due to my own desire to focus the research.

> In the new diaspora . . . the new scattering of the "seeds" of "developing" nations so that they can take root on developed grounds means: Eurocentric migration, labor export both male and female, border crossings, the seeking of political asylum, and the haunting in-place uprooting of "comfort women" in Africa and Asia.[60]

Spivak also urges us to acknowledge that migrancy is a result of the margin wanting to be a part of the center: "[we] cannot use 'cultural identity' as a permission to difference and an instrument for disavowing that Eurocentric economic migration . . . persists in the hope of justice under capitalism."[61] In other words, cultural identity cannot be used to grant different rights to different people, as is the case in migration policies of most, if not all, nation states. Spivak also urges acknowledgment of South-North migration as the result of a desire to become part of the dominant for both the intellectual and the "subaltern" migrant. According to Spivak, migration is the attempt of the margin to enter the dominant. In the same vein, Zygmunt Bauman argues that the modern period is constituted by boundaries between the normative and the disposable, giving rise to policies dedicated to policing borders between citizens and refugees. Our "liquid modernity", according to Baumann, is "a civilization of excess, redundancy, waste and waste disposal",[62] one producing refugees as "the waste products of globalization".[63] Although border crossing is often depicted as a clandestine activity occurring in the mythologized "borderlands," research highlights interconnectedness between migrant crossings and larger political-economic forces such as EU migration policies and security measures, global markets, and North-South inequalities.[64] Research also clarifies the way in which the process of migration has been commoditized and exploited to serve various interests, where migration to Europe is one form of exploitation of labor by capital within the global economy. Migration benefits capital on a global scale—its maintenance depends on its “use value” for global capitalism.[65]

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[60] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 357.

[61] Spivak*,* 395.

[62] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*: *Living in an Age of Uncertainty (*Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 97.

[63] Bauman, 66.

Inasmuch as the Mediterranean has been undermined as an invention—less about shared traits than a play upon claims and knowledges about those shared traits—the heterotopic narratives of the Mediterranean wrought by clandestine migrant accounts also show how their mobility, or its suspension, constructs the Mediterranean with every obstruction, every drowning, every undocumented step on “the other shore”. These moments of transnational (im)mobility are represented by the characters as a dynamic dialectical relationship between the inside and outside of destination sites, or ways of heterotopically being both internal to, a part of, norms regulating the cultural spaces that they other, and external to them. Although the Mediterranean has been described, in a legitimate backlash against its utopic politics of erasure and forgetting, as a

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[64] While I discuss the violent asymmetry in globalization practices in Chapter 3 on Egyptian migration, I would like to point out the ways that this plays out in Morocco. Using investment and government data, Jackson discusses the flow of tourists, images, narratives and products into Morocco post-Schengen, an agreement which has restricted the travel and migration of Moroccans to the EU. She writes, “If, since Schengen, Moroccans have been largely unable to travel to the West, the West continues to flow into Morocco, bringing with it images and narratives of wealth and opportunity that will always remain beyond the border, frustratingly close but always out of reach. For example, the satellite dishes and information technologies (which, ironically, emerged around the same time that Europe closed its external borders) have enabled an unprecedented circulation of images, information, and dialogue across national boundaries, streaming the West more than ever before into the homes of Moroccan nationals.” (60). Moreover, the “volume of international trade passing through Morocco’s factories and ports and the numbers of Western businesses locating to Morocco have grown substantially”, since Morocco ‘s promotion an attractive host to international investment. Lastly, the growth of tourism and the settlement of Westerners in Morocco has been and continues to be a key motivator for domestic growth. More generally, the asymmetry and hierarchy of mobility can be discerned in globalized labor practices: “local communities, particularly those in the global South, provide a static and stable source of labor” for the “cosmopolitan tastes of Western consumers, who are able and free themselves, for the most part, to circulate across the globe.

[65] David McMurray, *In and Out of Morocco: Smuggling and Migration in a Frontier Boomtown* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 131.

"fiction,"[66] I maintain, through a double movement of "ascription-appropriation", that while the Mediterranean has been appropriated as a performance, an invention, and a "fiction," it is also the construction, the invention, ascription of the clandestine migrant figure, in a broader context of place signification and cultural creation: "Places have meanings and meanings are always produced, never simply expressed, as part of a wider process of cultural creation. Literature is one way in which such meanings are produced within a culture and ascribed to place, just as place is often appropriated to produce meanings in literature".[67] Representations of space are not unmediated, but are inextricable from construction of social space: the literature of clandestine migration exposes spaces of the border—the detention center, checkpoint, fence, blockade, boat—creating their own place-narrative of the Mediterranean, not one of vague and unified multicultural contentment, but one of division, fragmentation, and irregular mobility. The migrant figure constructs the Mediterranean, by showing its simultaneous seductive and abject utopias, its past and present depiction, its unitary and divided qualities, its aestheticized and material constructions, its dissonance between the spaces he occupies and the spaces occupied by "legal", documented travelers.

In Chapter 2, "Utopia Undone: Morocco's Clandestine Migration Literature," I argue that clandestine migrant characters make the Mediterranean a heterotopic space: the Mediterranean and its towns on "both sides of the shore" are not inherently heterotopic, but it is rather migrant routes that make them heterotopic by creating a dialectical relationship between the inside and outside of their destination sites, simultaneously internal to, a part of norms regulating the cultural spaces they other, and external to them. I also explore how the clandestine migrant's contemporary optic of the Mediterranean journey is juxtaposed against a predominant and ubiquitous view of an enduring Mediterranean that is utopic and nostalgic. One of the main vehicles of performing the Mediterranean is the retrieval of a lost paradise, a cosmopolitan and liberatory frontier for "sensual pleasures," "authentic heritage," and "mythical vices". Nostalgia is about reclamation of a time and place and a place in time, and thus concern with a suspended future stuck in the past. I demonstrate how nostalgia operates as a vehicle for territorialization—a commemorative landscape in service of a reclaimed future. Thus, the clandestine migration literature's counter-nostalgia is driven by the Mediterranean's nostalgic associations with travel, adventure, leisure, multiculturalism, authenticity, escape, and seductive danger. Counter-nostalgia in the literature allows for an intertextuality that sets up older familiar tropes of Mediterranean adventure and carefree tourism with newer unfamiliar tropes of a Mediterranean increasingly fragmented, increasingly Other to Europe and the West, despite the caché that the sea's connectivity once earned and continues to represent up to this day. The importance of heterotopia in the "Mediterranean narrative" is not about its how its past and present places compare. But rather it is about how unfamiliar, marginal places of clandestinity perform in relation to familiar, visible, sites of nostalgia. The unfamiliar and liminal are not only effects of central and visible sites but (re)construct these sites upon which they reflect and form the dynamic heterotopia of the "Mediterranean narrative" in lieu of a suspended narrative that looks backward.

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[66] Gil Hochberg, "'The Mediterranean Option': On the Politics of Regional Affiliation in Current Israeli Imagination," *Journal of Levantine Studies* 1, no. 1 (Summer 2011): 57.

[67] Thrift, 33.

In Chapter 3, "Mediterranean Frontier, Mediterranean Circuit: Clandestine Migrants in Egyptian Literature's Double Imaginary", I explore Egyptian clandestine migrant literature through an ecology of globalization. The texts reveal a circulation of capital, products, and ideas that have become "liberated," as a result of globalization, at the same time that the movement of people, and certain categories of labor in which they engage, have become more subject to control. The globalized Mediterranean has become a place designed to encourage free circulation of capital *and* a blockade discouraging human mobility. I liken the current dual Mediterranean to geographer Doreen Massey's notion of the double global imaginary where space is imagined as free and unbounded but subject to material controls.[68] These anomalous, incompatible images of the Mediterranean in the double global imaginary have been captured in Egypt's clandestine migration literature. While not as extensive as the Maghreb's, where the phenomena has a longer history, Egyptian clandestine migrant literature has sought to intervene in the Mediterranean narrative by showing culture, even in remote villages, to be far from atemporal and preserved but rather an effect of an already violently dynamic globalization. Utopic cultural tourist sanctuaries are also exposed as staged mirages dependent on a network of global capital manipulation. These works reveal the Mediterranean's globalized spaces through material processes of control and marketplace practices, concealed behind the finished product of ancient, enduring culture. Unlike Maghrebian clandestine migrant literature concerned with the outsider migrant figure in Europe, Egyptian literature focuses on homeland and journey, revealing the aspiring migrant as outsider in the privileged spaces of his society—nationally symbolic sites marked by concentrations of wealth and power—and revealing global participation in the structures that produce in the global South the poverty, political disenfranchisement and exclusion that give rise to the will to migrate. But like its Maghrebian counterpart, this body of work shows clandestine migrants creating heterotopic spaces by undermining the binary of the inside/outside their societies, navigating between the imagined and the real place, between the fantasy and a geographical entity, between absolute utopias and the places where outsiders dwell—city slums, Delta villages, flimsy crafts on the Mediterranean. Lastly, because these works draw the parameters of migration around the homeland and journey, as opposed to a European state, they subvert the dominant discourse of globalization celebrating flows, streams, circulations, by equating it with limited and suppressed movement.

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[68] Doreen Massey, "Imagining Globalisation," in *Global Futures: Migration, Environment, and Globalization*, eds. Avtar Brah, Mary Hickman, and Mairtin Mac, 27-44 (Basingstoke, UK: MacMillan, 1999).

In Chapter 4, "Across the Sahara, Toward the Mediterranean—Transits: Impossible Arrival in Sefi Atta's 'Twilight Trek'" I explore how Atta's short story centralizes issues of citizenship, subjectivity, and self-representation around the exodus trope. The trope's perpetual deferment of arrival, liberation, and survival (a nightmare of marginality and discrimination) sets the parameters for the figure of the clandestine, analyzed as occupying a limbo state in between worlds and nations, gesturing toward an unfinished citizenship. My research locates the identity of clandestine migrants in a discursive gap of subjectivity in the context of democratic rights and equality. Political accounts are structured by aesthetic modes of representation, the "mimetic economy" which evinces a political reality through acts of representation. Theories of representation, engagement with reading and writing, are in circuit not only with epistemological commitments but political thought. But within the realm of the legible/intelligible, what has once been "pre-discursively sanctioned" has been preempted into the discursively unrecognizable, inscrutable, illegible, a signifier without a referent, effectively locking down the circuit between the discursively pre-sanctioned in schemas of representation and the politically and juridically recognizable. The interrupted circuit of the mimetic economy, political action and representation of people without a signifier, the anomic, the nameless are then caught in the construction of fear when it comes to media signifiers such as immigration flood, or deluge, of the nameless.

Chapter 2

Utopia Undone: Morocco's Clandestine Migrant Literature

In the summer of 2005, the long-standing metaphor of "fortress Europe" besieged by a mass of desperate and poor gained a literal quality when European news coverage showed hundreds of West Africans forcing their way into the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the Moroccan mainland. Western television screens flashed surveillance images of illegal migrants crossing at night: the wire-razor fence separating Europe from Africa showed off Europe's fortified walls; immigrants wielding homemade ladders represented an alien force storming Europe's fortifications in scenes evocative of medieval conflict.[69] What momentarily captured the European public's attention was not the fate of the migrants (who were shot or herded into a Moroccan detention camp in the desert). After all, the migrants disappeared largely from public imagination as soon as coverage ended. Rather, the focus of attention was on nightly images, shot through surveillance cameras, emblematizing fortress Europe's clandestine mass invasion—already a staple of European political rhetoric. In other words, the images took over almost autonomously from the human reality they were supposed to be representing.

Migration across the Mediterranean has not escaped a binarized depiction along the North-South divide. On one side of the divide, migration is depicted as an assertion of subjectivity, a right to escape, seek refuge, or simply to decide to live elsewhere. The spectacular quality of the Ceuta and Melilla event in 2005 is emblematic of the depiction on the other side of the divide; it showed migrants not as individual human beings, but rather as disembodied specters, whose presence in Western discourse was already aligned with a vaguely defined and quasi-spectral terrorist threat. A rhetoric of intrigue warns of those who "live among us," conflating the threatening imagery of shadowy, criminal, clandestine nodes in a terror and espionage network with the imagery of the new wave of undocumented migrants: the *clandestine, harraga, sans papiers*—those who live among us, visible but unseen.[70]

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[69] "Africans Die in Spanish Enclave," BBC, 9/29/2005.

This chapter explores trans-Mediterranean migration from Morocco through a reading of clandestinity as a mode of mobility and immobility; one that alternates between visibility and invisibility; one that is not only designed by national migration policies and border controls—as the Ceuta and Melilla incident shows—but organizes the spaces around it. Although the clandestine migration literature I analyze is current, it gestures back to Arab and Maghrebian narratives of an ideal Mediterranean as well as to familiar Western narratives of the Maghreb's halcyon days, whereby authenticity, transcendence, and exoticism are showcased strongly as Mediterranean identity markers. Writers reflect on incompatible and paradoxical sites of the Mediterranean, from clandestine migration to tourism, to resist nostalgic tropes. By allowing for the juxtaposition of clandestine and tourist scenes invested in legends of the past, the novels put in stark relief how these spaces interact with and reflect upon each other. They not only undermine reclamation of a glorious past that reduces the Mediterranean to a site of memory but show fantasies of the past aimed at controlling its future. Both the incompatible clandestine and tourist spaces in the novels are considered part of a Mediterranean fantasy in this chapter—ends of the utopic continuum of ordering and disciplining Mediterranean territory, mobility, and identity.

How do clandestine migration novels handle images of a content multicultural

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[70] The various terms by which migrants without legal documentation to travel are identified depends on region and language: clandestine, illegal, undocumented, in English for Africa to Europe migrations. The *sans-papiers* (without papers) is a recognizable term and movement in France. In Maghreb North Africa, the clandestine are referred to as *harraga*, burners, or those who burn, referring variably to the sea, IDs, or identities. For rhetoric attached to migration, particularly clandestine, as those who secretly "lve among us", see Alassandro Dal Lago, *Non Persons* (Milan: Ipoc Press, 2009); Salvatore Palidda, *Racial Criminalization of Migrants in the 21st Century* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2011).

Mediterranean? In what ways does the literature of the checkpoint, the fence, the blockade, the boat, and the identities it produces create its own place-narrative of the Mediterranean? How are the sites of vague and unified multicultural contentment juxtaposed against the disjunctive spaces of immobility?

This chapter is most concerned with the emergence in literary and political writing of the Mediterranean as a heterotopic site along the lines described by Foucault: a "contact zone"[71] for travelers, a disorderly theatre for violence and killing as well as for commerce and leisurely escape, an ideal catalyst for new lives and new languages that holds the promise of a cosmopolis displaying multiple identities. In Ahmed al-Jalal's *Al-Harraga* (2003) scenes revealing differences in ease of mobility between *harraga* and European tourists initiate each tale of the book. The collection features first-hand-accounts by Moroccan clandestine migrants, or *harraga*. The term means "those who burn" in Moroccan Arabic: burning, or crossing, the Mediterranean Sea, or burning IDs before embarking on a voyage (so as not to be identified and returned). While the process of crossing is painful, frightening, and humiliating for *harraga*, European tourists that migrants describe move about with ease, celebration, and adventurousness. Rachid Nini's *Journal of a Clandestine* (2005) is the journalist's account of his time as an undocumented migrant in Spain, Italy, and France. Although a journalist by training and profession in Morocco, Nini works as a laborer when not unemployed in Europe. And, like the migrants in *Al-Harraga*, he is simultaneously immobile due to lack of documentation and trapped in frenzied hypermobility to escape detection. Frenzied hypermobility, by virtue of the migrants' "illegal" status, confounds the Mediterranean myth of borderless seas, resurging globalization, and metissage cosmoplitanism. The Mediterranean city rendered through this scope of illegality and desperate hypermobility not only undermines the notion of a thriving cosmopolitanism but reveals the city's fragmentation. The city breaks into potential sites of police raids, such as the restaurant where the migrants seek work, the villages where hiding out in groups and evading police detection seem possible, and the charitable centers for clandestines that appear like a place in between. The city also fractures into sites of the real Moroccan and Mediterranean experience for tourists who shuttle from shore to shore, segregated by the itinerant's spectatorship. As with the two main Moroccan texts I address in the chapter, *Hope and Other Dangerous Pursuits* and *Partir*, novels by Moroccan diasporic writers, also show a fragmented and divided Mediterranean. When some of the migrants get to the other side, they also experience a fragmentation of the city through boundaries far from Spanish national border—cultural borders in which they confront how Morocco is fantasized by the West. So while the national border is crossed in concealment and secrecy, a dispersed cultural border that opens up the possibility of its concealment and camouflage in other forms, such as culture, race, class, and gender in the formation of borders. In order for borders to be delineated, a line must be drawn between the inside and the outside, between the Self and the Other.

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[71] In the perspective of Fernand Braudel's *longe durée* (a panoptic perspectivism), the "unity" of the Mediterranean is considered within the historical conditions of heterogeneous networks stretching from North Africa through the Middle East to the Indian Ocean. These networks have been disrupted in the last two and a half thousand years, each time through the Punic wars, the Crusades, and European modernity. These are considered traumatic moments in which networks were torn apart by the imposition of the unities and hierarchies of Rome and Europe. Arab conquests in the seventh and eighth centuries reopened and revitalized the possibility of potential "unity," permitting Europe to establish contact with the Middle East and subsequently with a world system of commerce and culture that centered around Baghdad and Cairo.

Transformed from an adjective to a noun ("the clandestine"), the term suggests a dispersed presence, productive of reticulated networks (networks of networks). The fascination with the image of illegal migrants captured on the very edge of Europe arises from the paradox of "clandestinity" itself in social consciousness: the desire to know about clandestine activities coincides with the desire to witness a resolution to the transgressions they involve. (It is a paradoxical presence, both visible and obscured.) This desire can be seen in the way the images of the Ceuta and Melilla event were rendered into a spectacular event that provided to viewers a symbolic ending, at least (by virtue of having been captured both materially and visually).

"Clandestines" embody the kind of boundlessness that thrives on concealment because they create a liminal zone in an otherwise rationally mapped-out order; hence the fascination and anxiety produced by the image of captured immigrants. Arguing against interpretations of clandestinity bound with chaos and disorder, Achille Mbembe indicates that migrant clandestinity functions on an ordered, practical cosmopolitan plane. "The cosmopolitanism of migrants," Mbembe argues, "has entailed the proliferation of illegal or clandestine spaces" through spatial strategies of varying networks, flexible practices, and a straddling of identities.[72] This interpretation of a pragmatic cosmopolitanism does not suggest a recuperative model of clandestinity powerful enough to transcend authority. Rather, it points to the complexity of organizing new forms of community in a carefully constructed but always uncertain obscurity. "Illegal immigrants," Mbembe points out, "generate material and cultural resources in conditions of permanent instability and quasi-absolute uncertainty."[73] They do not simply remain aimless outsiders once they cross the border, but rather integrate into different networks, provide linkage between country of origin and reception by way of commute, and mobilize between different local identities while negotiating "traffic with the global."[74]

Clandestine migration has been on the rise since 1995 when several European Union nations enacted the Schengen Accords to soften internal EU borders and fortify external ones.

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[72] Achille Mbembe, "Ways of Seeing: Beyond the New Nativism," *African Studies Review* 44, no. 2 (2001), 11.

[73] Mbembe, 11.

[74] Mbembe, 11.

Spain ended Moroccans' privileged status of entry into Spain without a visa in 1985.[75] But, with clandestine migration, entry into Spain guaranteed passage to nearly any other EU nation—hence, the appeal for many Moroccan migrants. Migration to Spain is attempted either through Ceuta and Melilla enclaves on the North African Mediterranean coast or the Strait of Gibraltar between Morocco and Spain. Albeit on different routes, those passing through the Strait of Gibraltar are often threatened with the same fate as migrants in the 2005 Ceuta and Melilla event—the passage has captured headlines as the "sea of death" after several thousands of "boat people" drowned crossing it.[76]

Before gaining notoriety as the "sea of death," the Mediterranean and its dynamic cities were celebrated for openness and utopic cosmopolitanism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and art. From Lawrence Durrell to Albert Camus and Paul Bowles, the Mediterranean featured as the model of a cosmopolis—an urban contact zone able to well-receive the "stranger"; a pluralistic, open society unbound by exclusions of nationalism. The cosmopolis is where every individual is a partial stranger because arrivals (and departures) are incessant; hence, openness and hospitality constitute the cosmopolitan virtue. Paul Bowles' Tangier-based travelogues, short stories, and novels represent the Mediterranean narrative *par excellence*—replete with travel narratives and multicultural encounters. Although Bowles wrote on Tangiers' picturesque qualities for tourism magazines, his stories described an urban contact zone that was far from tame—a border town at the crossroads of diverse nationalities and cultures with a seductive lawlessness.[77] Criminality and chaos abound in his stories, but there is safety in permissibility, an order in the disorder, a comfort in knowing that its bustling cosmopolitanism, the flow of people coming and going, made it possible to hide out, lose oneself, become "clandestine" without legal repercussions. Bowles's towns represent a liberating frontier for escape and criminality, as well as places of simplicity, spiruitual immanance, transcendence, and creative inspiration for those seeking to "drop out" of society. Bowles's "contact zone"[78] for travelers, the disorderly theatre of violence and leisurely escape, is part of a narrative archive traced to the Middle Ages. Mike Crang has written that the Mediterranean is essentialized not only by a "history of travel culture attracted by freedoms," a contented freely mobile cosmopolitanism, but in the social vice and visceral experience that "dangerous mores associated with the region" offer.[79] The Mediterranean is performative in the sense that it is less about shared traits than the play of "claims and knowledges about those shared traits," a utopic catalyst for new lives and languages in a cosmopolis welcoming multiple identities.

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[75] The requirement was not implemented until 1991. For more information on Moroccan migration to Spain, see *Belghazi, Taieb, "Economic Martyrs: Two Perspectives on Lahrig", in The Cultures of Economic Migration: International Perspectives,* eds. Suman Gupta and Tope Omoniyi, 87-100 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2007).

[76] The "sea of death" has become a common description for the Mediterranean, which has recently seen many deaths of migrants attempting to circumvent border controls by traveling on flimsy crafts. The phrase has been common in journalism, see "Sea of Death Claims At Least 1500 Lives," *Times of Malta*, 2/1/12; "Over the Sea to Spain," *The Economist*, 8/10/00.

Apart from Western literature, Maghrebian discourse has been a space of lamentation for a lost history of adventure and triumph on the Mediterranean Sea. In the newspaper *al-Arab* (2007), Tunisian poet and columnist Al-Musbahy laments the loss of the sea's connectivity to yield "cultural dialogue"[80] and cosmopolitanism. Nostalgia for the shores' connectivity (the Mediterranean's "southern shore" and "northern shore") is deeply tied to the philosophers who straddled them, according to al-Musbahy: Ibn Rushd, Ibn Araby, Ibn Hazm, Ibn Tufail. Attributed to this connectivity between the shores are exceptional cultural developments, like Andalusian poetry, Ibn Khaldun's intellectual exploration and migration, Taha Hussein's inscription of Egypt into Mediterranean history, 20th century poets who drew on this connectivity, like Cavafy and Ungaretti.[81] By reconstructing Maghrebian triumphal legends sailing the sea, he expresses longing for the shores' connectivity that made cosmopolitanism and its arts thrive. In the end he mourns the transformation of cosmopolitanism, the connectivity of the shores, and adventurous masculine intellectual triumph into poverty, terrorism, and clandestine migration, and finally the sea itself, now transformed into a site of death and conflict.

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[77] See first chapter.

[78] In the perspective of Fernand Braudel's *longe durée* (a panoptic perspectivism), the "unity" of the Mediterranean is considered within the historical conditions of heterogeneous networks stretching from North Africa through the Middle East to the Indian Ocean. These networks have been disrupted in the last two and a half thousand years, each time through the Punic wars, the Crusades, and European modernity. These are considered traumatic moments in which networks were torn apart by the imposition of the unities and hierarchies of Rome and Europe. Arab conquests in the seventh and eighth centuries reopened and revitalized the possibility of potential "unity," permitting Europe to establish contact with the Middle East and subsequently with a world system of commerce and culture that centered around Baghdad and Cairo.

[79] Mike Crang, ed., *Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), 160.

Today, the familiar touchstones of the Mediterranean narrative have been set aside. Instead, the Mediterranean has been reinscribed in the Northern/European public imagination as a "zone of conflict" to be ordered and contained. Even as the European Union has worked to integrate newly joined East European states (to which it exports security-building expertise), it has been distancing and marginalizing the "Mediterranean" into a security threat, subject to a policy of "containment" in the aftermath of the Cold War.[82] This movement of alterity involves reinscribing a new form of European identity through the construction of a new Mediterranean Other as a zone of conflict. Thus, inhabiting a reinvigorated spatial representation as Europe's Other, the Mediterranean has been reinscribed in European policy and the public imaginary in altogether new terms, reversing much of the cultural and political energy—and sense of promise and openness—of that earlier era of, say, the 1950s and 1960s. The Mediterranean has been, and is still being, ordered and partitioned through new frontiers, regulations, and increasingly rigid identities tied to specific forms of passage: touristic, trade, military and otherwise. Initiatives by the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership increasingly aim to reconstruct the "Mediterranean" as a site of potential contamination from the Other.[83]

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[80] All Arabic translations from hereon are mine. Hasoona al-Musbahy, "Min ajil hiwar thiqafy bein bildan thufatee al-bahr al-abayath al-mutawasit," *Al-Arab* (3/5/2007): 9.

[81] Al-Musbahy repeatedly conceptualizes the Mediterranean in terms of the connectivity of shores, as exemplified by his use of the word "rabt", or connection.

[82] See Pinar Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civilizational Geopolitics'" in the Mediterranean?", "A *Geopolitics* 9, no. 2 (2004): 272. Bilgin distinguishes between the security-building initiatives born of the EMP subject to exportation to the Eastern European countries and the distanciation of the "Mediterranean" into an othered zone of conflict: "To help maintain security in the southern periphery, EU policy makers initiated the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) scheme in an attempt to encourage inter-state cooperation and increase regional interdependence as a means of maintaining stability in the Mediterranean … in the EU discourse the former Warsaw Pact countries are presented as 'returning to Europe'– Europe being a 'zone of peace' – whereas the Mediterranean is presented as a 'zone of conflict'—an area that should be contained" (271-272).

The New Mediterranean is a globalized project that must be read in conjunction with the shifting self-understanding of the European Union, whose Euro-Med Partnership projects aim to discipline diverse ethnicities, cultures, affiliations in the Maghreb (and the Eastern Mediterranean) into a fixed space.[84] In addition, the current rhetoric of illegal immigration, which has made of "clandestine" a preferred name for the undocumented migrant, is inspired by the rhetorical style of the War on Terror. In an effort to secure the porous borders of Europe from North Africa, post-9/11, the European Commission issued the *Hague Programme*, a five-year plan designed to "protect the field of freedom, justice, and security," driven by an agenda to counter terrorists and “illegal” immigrants (whom the document conflates into a common threat to Europe).[85] However, measures taken to determine the Mediterranean’s unitary and dividing qualities have sometimes been transgressed and re-appropriated by trans-Mediterranean travelers and migrants. Concealed from the cartography of permissible routes are the unauthorized itineraries of illicit passage.

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[83] On positioning the Mediterranean as Europe's Other, see: Hein De Haas, "The Myth of Invasion: The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 7 (2008): 1305-1322; Pinar Bilgin, "A Return to 'Civilizational Geopolitics' in the Mediterranean?" *Geopolitics* 9, no. 2 (2004): 269-291; Nikolaos Tzifakis, "EU's Region-Building and Boundary-Drawing Policies: The European Approach to the Southern Mediterranean and the Western Balkans," *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 9, no. 1 (2007): 47-64; Stephan Stetter, "The Politics of De-Paradoxification in Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Semantics and Structures of 'Cultural Dialogue,'" *Mediterranean Politics* 10, no. 3 (2005): 331-348; Paul Balta, *La Méditerranée Réinventée. Réalités et Espoirs de la Coopération* (Paris: La Découverte, 1992); Jean-Claude Tourrett, "Les Regions Actrices et Partenaires de la Construction Méditerranée," *La Pensée Midi* 21, *Quelles Régions pour Dmain? L'Example Méditerranée*, eds. Bruno Etienne and Thierry Fabre (Aries, France: Actes Sud, 2007).

[84] Recently, there has been a rise in conferences held on the topic of Euro-Med cooperation initiatives that reinforce disciplinary paradigms operative in establishing the Mediterranean's North-South divide.

But, the Mediterranean Maghreb as familiar site through tourism, escape, adventure, and “metissage” (hybrid, multicultural) cosmopolitanism still remains unaffected by its current reinvention as unfamiliar site of obscure networks, criminality, and terrorism. Both are different ends of a utopic continuum for a precise ordering of Mediterranean land—one a nostalgic retrieval of an “authentic” past, the other containment for future governmental reterritorialization.

Through uneven modalities of space, mobility, and visibility, the contemporary Mediterranean is captured between fantasy of fluid, in-flux, disorderly cosmopolitanism and fantasy of order and self-containment. Foucault’s classic essay “Other Spaces” on heterotopia provides one framework for analyzing “incompatible” sites making up the Mediterranean today. Foucault sees in the ship all the freedom offered by a culture of travel and adventure, ease of movement, economic activity, and imagination:[86]

> ...the ship is a piece of floating space, a placeless place, that lives by its own devices, that is self-enclosed and, at the same time, delivered over to the boundless expanse of the ocean, and that goes from port to port, from watch to watch, from brothel to brothel, all the way to the colonies in search of the most precious treasures that lie in wait in their gardens, you see why for our civilisation, from the sixteenth century up to our time, the ship has been at

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[85] European Council, *The Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security, and Justice in the European Union.* 2005/C53/01, OJ C53/1, 3.3.2005(a).

[86] Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces” (“Des Autres Espaces”), *Diacritics* 16, no.1 (1986), 22-27.

> the same time not only the greatest instrument of economic development …
> but the greatest reservoir of imagination.

The culture of mobility is promised by the "placeless place" of the ship, a paradoxical term capturing, on one hand, the fact that the ship is locatable and fixed in place by virtue of where it is going, and, on the other hand, the fact that it is simultaneously unfixed by virtue of its mobility, its relentless roll over coordinates. Thus the "place" of the ship is a self-enclosed system sustainable by its "own devices"—rolling forth in the "boundless expanse of the ocean." On the one hand, Foucault's "placeless place" provides a theoretical framework for understanding the potential of the heterotopic: the ship as metaphor of the heterotopic is itself a disruption of "place" while being the "other" place. On the other, it also views the heterotopic as a real place in which several different spaces are juxtaposed, "several sites that are in themselves incompatible" to one another, where "many spaces converge and become entangled."[87] Yet Foucault's essay on the spaces of alterity purposefully elides historical moment or regional specificity. In fact the passage on the culture of travel and adventure figured through the ship is altogether trans-historical, referring to continuity between the 16th century and the present time. The "placeless place" of the ship, as theorized by Foucault, is fully out of place in time and history; heterotopia becomes in this sense utopian.

The term "clandestine" is the label designating undocumented migrants, rather than their own form of self-identification. The use of the term cannot be considered without its affective charge of modality of an unknown Other, as well as the attendant connotations of duplicity, desire for dissimulation, fear of infiltration, contamination, denaturalization and filth, and confusion of borders and differences. Within a regime of surveillance wherein he or she is already suspect, the clandestine strives for obscurity through, to borrow Michel de Certeau's military analogy, a "tactic" of mobility (what de Certeau also refers to as the "art of the weak," for, unlike "strategy," tactics are put into momentum by the absence of a proper place of power).[88]

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[87] Elspeth Probyn, *Outside Belongings* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 10-11. Cites Edward Soja, *Third Space: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Spaces* (Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996. 1996), 15.

To follow de Certeau's notion of the everyday tactic as embedded within what it opposes—not exterior to it but working within it, clandestine mobility also suggests resistance to persecution as well as operability. It is not that "clandestines" are bound by a single ideology or a set of ideologies, but rather the affective charge of the term itself strategically evokes ideology, and attempts to collapse the role between clandestines and security threats. It suggests not only interiority within a society but a heterotopic space that resists capture, as the clandestine is present when both presence and belonging have been suspended by the state. The clandestine predicament presents itself as an existential doubling. In an ontological sense, to live as a clandestine means to exist as someone who moves in and across the controlled spaces of an exponentially globalizing world. In an epistemological sense, it means *not* to exist, insofar as quotidian existence in controlled space is based on documentation and identity papers that the clandestine lacks by definition.

Different levels of migrant mobility in the literature reveal the extent which the Maghrebian Mediterranean is suspended between cosmopolitanism and containment, between image of an open place of escape and encounter and a place in need of enclosure, containment, securitization. In Al-Jalal's *Al-Harraga*[89] the tour buses in which clandestines hide below while

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[88] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Translated by Steven Rendall. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 37.

[89] Ahmed Al-Jalal, *Al-harraga: al-mawt li mawajih al-hayat.* (Qenitra, Morocco: Gharb Media, 2003). The term "harraga", or "hrig", and the singular "harrag" originates from the colloquial Moroccan for those who burn – their ID cards, their passports, their papers in order to ensure untraceability.

Europeans relax and celebrate above is a means of escape for the impoverished migrants and part of a web of global mobility characterized by unequal freedom of movement and lack of access to space. The buses that the tourists take are called *hafilat;* in Arabic, the term *haflat* connotes celebrations. While the Belgian, Spanish, German *hafilat*, tour buses carried on ships, dock on the Mediterranean shore, its partying tourists remain on board as clandestines sneak in near the engines, ultimately grateful to land on Spanish soil. This is the only "encounter" with foreigners in Morocco, a mediated one of the spectator interacting with the myth of Mediterranean cosmopolitanism in different ways: the co-existence of different cultures that cosmopolitanism defines is nowhere to be found; however, the spectator sport of tourism is inverted since the migrant below secretly watches the tourists on the cruise. Ironically, the Mediterranean in its ordered form of tourist travel, a regimented form of escape and freedom, reveals itself through the *haflat*, an "unreal place," a utopia, a contained order. Through juxtaposition of sites of order and regimentation in the tourist itinerary (ironically considered carefree and leisurely) and clandestine migration sites in violation of the order and regimentation of borders, the friction of the Mediterranean as both tourist fantasy of escape and migrant reality of material need and desperation—real and unreal sites of mobility and immobility—comes into focus.

Because of the disjunctive, episodic, accelerated carceral mobility demonstrated in works like *Al-Harraga*, a hypermobility emerges as a kind of placelessness, in fact an actual material homelessness at times. Escape to remain undetectable and search for work, home, and network create a hypermobile trap where migrants are highly mobile but placeless. Even though hypermobility evokes the paradoxical and incongruous placeless ship of Foucault's "Other Spaces," it does not suggest migrants are embodiments of heterotopia, but rather emphasizes the link between identity and place, specifically the heterotopic. Hetherington explains the anomalous nature of heterotopic sites: “Heterotopic relationships unsettle because they are out of place, their juxtaposition to a settled representation makes them appear anomalous and uncertain.”[90] Because of the uncertain conditions of heterotopias, they “facilitate such sites as being used in liminoid acts of transgression that serve in the making of other forms of identity.”[91] The uncertain quality of the heterotopic, as well as the paradoxical and incongruous nature of its surroundings, is taken on by those in the process of constituting it.

Clandestine migration literature reveals how the heterotopic site of closure and openness in clandestinity and mobility represents today’s paradoxical Maghreb Mediterranean. Both non-literary discourse and literature conceive of clandestine migration as a heterotopic mirror: it functions as a dialogic site that reflects upon the utopic regimentation of containment and cosmopolitanism due to its illicit, unpredictable, disorderly, spontaneous intervention in the orderly, permissible, legal flows of mobility. Foucault’s conceptual continuum between utopia (unreal space) and heterotopia (a dialogic space) is useful in conceptualizing, the “joint experience” of the Mediterranean image and relation of self to the Mediterranean image in the figure of the mirror:

> In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy. From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed toward me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I

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[90] Kevin Hetherington, “Identity Formation, Space, and Social Centrality”, *Theory Culture Society* 13, no. 4 (1996), 38.

[91] Hetherington, 1996, 38.

am.[92]

Foucault conceives of the mirror as an instance of heterotopia, which exists in reflective dialogue with "real-world"[93] cultural sites: it is a mirror that co-exists with and comments on the real. Through a gaze that passes through a virtual and unreal space, the position of the viewer is reconstituted. This concept is productive in thinking of the way clandestine characters both perceive space and perceive themselves in a given space. This perceptual and material process of "counteraction" speaks to the friction, the movement, between sites of clandestinity and both utopic sites of cosmopolitanism and regimented surveillance in the microtopographies of crossing. I refer to "friction" because it is in the process that heterotopias are formed. As Hetherington explains, the power relations constituting the movement between heterotopias and other socially central sites, "Heterotopias do not exist in the order of things, but in the ordering of things".[94] That the subject both re-interprets the space of the Mediterranean and takes on the space to re-interpret themselves, allowing for a position that is mutually constitutive, highlights the impact of re-fantasizing the Mediterranean on the clandestine characters in the novels and vice-versa. Like mirrors, clandestine spaces create an unreal space, sites where Mediterranean fantasy is enacted, and in turn, force a definition of the self in relation to that image.

The Mediterranean and its towns on "both sides of the shore" are not in and of themselves heterotopic, but rather migrant routes make them heterotopic: spontaneous and disorderly spaces of crisis borne of a fear of detection and created by an illicit panicked, constant movement porous to institutional order and vigilantly closed to it. In a discussion of the relational quality of Foucault's heterotopia, Andrew Thacker argues,

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[92] Foucault, 1986, 24.

[93] By "real-world", I mean that which is both different from the virtual and having a presumed coherence and authenticity in opposition to the fragmentation, ad-hic, disorderly quality of heterotopias.

[94] Kevin Hetherington, "Identity Formation, Space, and Social Centrality", *Theory Culture Society* 13, no. 4 (1996), 38.

> Certain commentators have interpreted heterotopias as simply sites of resistance to the dominant ordering of socio-spatiality found in marginal places and locations … Heterotopias are not sites of absolute freedom or places where marginal groups always resist power … the importance is not the places themselves but what they perform in relation to other sites."[95]

The interpretation of heterotopias as sites of ambivalence, by virtue of their relational quality, rather than inherent sites of resistance, influences readings of migrant flows in clandestine migrant literature. They are not only effects of other sites but (re-)construct the sites with which they interact. Thus, heterotopic spaces are not inherently out of the bounds of institutional surveillance and uniform flows of mobility, but are relational paths *constructed* from the friction between nodes of surveillance and sites of escape.

In *Hope and Other Dangerous Pursuits*, the first section "The Trip", featuring a transit zone set apart from the rest of the novel's individual character narratives, suggests an isolated event and site with no connections to its surroundings. From the middle of the sea, Mourad identifies site-crossing markers: "Tarifa", "fourteen kilometers" between the shores, "the cargo ship," other "harraga" swimming past.[96] The sea is not without geopolitical specificity. Literary critic Alwy opposes the sea to the land, which moors characters with "papers" and surveillance. The sea, however, emerges in his critique as a sublimating abstraction, an individual mirror into the desiring self that reveals a "sensual relationship" removed from any web of historical or cultural relations.[97] This ahistorical reading of the sea is echoed by other critics who absent it of any national borders and territoriality.[98] The clandestine site in the novel is constructed by migrants yet unexposed to government detection that might wipe the site clean of connections to surroundings or human identification. This migrant-constructed transit site contrasts against the Guardia Civil detention center where migrants are hauled after washing ashore. It is marked by the non-place, because it shows no relation to the coast marking the 14 kilometers across the Strait of Gibraltar, the beach upon which the migrants wash ashore, nor the hotels and houses watched by the Guardia Civil. The only continuity between spaces is the familiar appearance of boatmates; the rest of the space discourages human interaction as it is regulated by a clock on the wall, doctors wearing masks, and police officers wordlessly hauling migrants from points within, to shore to van to center to cell.

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[95] Andrew Thacker, *Moving through Modernity: Space and Geography in Modernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 2003), 29.

[96] Lalami, 2-3.

Border practices of surveillance and ID verification open up sites of "security" far removed from international borders to infiltrate the "everyday" lives of characters. To endow a materiality of place or place identifiers to Agamben's "zone of indistinction",[99] the spatialized zone of indistinction can apply to the whole of a nation: the distinguishing traits of borders are undermined or minimized by their diffusion throughout. The zone of indistinction exerts unbounded law in spaces far removed from national borders for new forms of control, evident in the interminable escapes of Nini's and Al-Jalal's characters far from the border. We can also read in Al-Jalal's *al-Harraga* a suspension of everyday certainty—even the already uncertain everyday of clandestine migrants—when a Spanish policeman urinates on detained migrants without fear of recourse. But the zone of indistinction, like the detention center, is spatialized in another sense: cut off from surroundings and sterilized of human identification and interaction, it seeks to impose its own indistinctness upon detainees. Undistinguished by topographical markers, the transit zone transfers its indistinctness to detainees. Lack of topographical markers (detachment from historical and regional connections) and lack of human identification are linked. Subjects then both constitute and are constitutive of sites.

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[97] Abdallah Madghary Alwy, "Al-bahr al-abyath al-mutawasit wa al-muhajir al-sirri fi al-adab al mughraby al-yom". In *Al-adab al-maghraby al-yom: qira'at maghribya.* (Rabat, Morocco: Itihad Kutab al-Maghrib, 2006), 70-71.

[98] William Walters, in discussing the "institutional territoriality" within which stowaways are regulated, references Schmitt to reinforce the common equation between territoriality and the political, with disregard to maritime activity's politicization. He claims that in the "itinerant figure there remains a trace of that most ancient conception of the sea: an open space beyond the terrestrial power of states, a place where 'there were no limits, no boundaries, no consecrated sites, no sacred orientations, no law, and no property" (Schmitt 2003: 42).

[99] Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). Agamben's zone of indistinction can reflect upon the construction of geopolitical space for the clandestine migrant as the logic of inside/outside has disappeared when it comes to the border. Agamben claims the concentration camp is the hidden matrix of the modern, its nomos (166). The camp was originally an exceptional, excluded space, entrenched and surrounded with secrecy. However, the production of "bare life" surpassed the walls of the camp today as the inside/outside distinctions disappear. Both common, everyday spaces and transit zones today are often regulated by the logic of the camp, in essence, extended throughout society. (20, 174-175).

Taking Foucault's heterotopic mirror as a model, reinterpreting space and having space re-interpret the self are linked. The mirror highlights the impact of sites upon subjectivities. In the detention center, Mourad's stream of thought turns from land- and seascape to the only connections to the outside world—his boatmates. His thoughts also turn to objects characteristic of a regulated, closed site: the clock, the metal chair, the blankets, the surgical masks, the moldy mattress. In defining the heterogeneous site, Foucault states, "we don't live in a kind of void, inside which we could place individuals and things".[100] The jail is indistinguishable from any other detention site but distinguished from its surroundings by an order maintained through manipulation of space consciousness. The placement of objects and people within this site, a historically and geographically stripped void, demonstrates the regimentation of the utopic in which clandestines are placed and regulated along with other objects in the center, like the ticking clock, the line of chairs, the neglected mattresses.

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[100] Foucault, 1986, 23.

Literature of clandestine spaces is heterotopic in its reflection on a city's divisions as safe spaces. In *Journal of a Clandestine*, Nini explains how clandestine migrants organize themselves in different places, and so organize the Spanish landscape they inhabit. As opposed to other migrants, Moroccans often tuck themselves in Spanish villages away from the police. However, Nini shows these spaces to be quite un-isolated due to the migrants' constant movement from remote villages to central sites, like Parisian cafés or Italian development sites. In the movement they weave a network across national, professional, and class lines—a cosmopolitan network, as described by Mbembe. Nini reveals these spaces as far from inherently ordered but made in the ordering, that place is practiced and lived rather than simply inhabited. Even on the cruises, the relationship between spectator and spectacle is overturned, gesturing to historical power relations of tourism, travel culture, and Mediterranean pleasure exploration. The literature shows clandestine sites to be part of a web of historical and cultural relations., rather than non-places with void of topographical connection.

The Mediterranean city seen through this scope of illegality and desperate hypermobility reveals a fragmented city, but these fractures by no means remain isolated spaces; they flow into each other. A microtopography of clandestine migration and its transit spaces does not always reveal migration to be marginal and closed to a whole society. The transit space is not strictly a non-place, because it is more fluid to the larger society. Rather than being removed from a topographical web of relations, the transit space actually reflects on Mediterranean towns and their cosmopolitan leanings. Once on Spanish soil, the clandestines in *Al-Harraga* are put into momentum to search for shelter, food, employment—a network. This microtopography of frenzied and hyper-mobility for both basic survival and un-detectability "on the other side" demonstrates the border experience does not end at the national border but continues across spatial, cultural, linguistic, and network borders. Certainly the transit zone can suspend the certainty of the "everyday" and the sense of normalcy it brings: in *Al-Harraga,* when the migrant is arrested and detained in a Spanish cell, he seethes with disbelief and frustration upon witnessing a Spanish policeman urinate on a cellmate.[101] However, the transit zone is fluid because migrants manage hidden spectatorship, vigilance over surveillance, and a survivalist hyper-mobility within national borders. Soja claims that heterotopias are linked to the "clandestine or underground side of social life" that holds a "partial unknowability … mystery and secretivenes."[102] It is through porous sites of "real cosmopolitan" Mediterranean experience to the "secretiveness" and vigilant "unknowability" of clandestine mobility that the sites become heteroptopic so that the "real" ordered landscape of the Mediterranean is shown more of an illusion than any fantasy.

The ambivalence attached to the heterotopic inform its relations and strategies of power for the clandestine migrant protagonists: in some sense, transit zones are "non-places", what Marc Augé designated as sites with no topographical relations, no historical connections to other sites, and no human identification because the human presence therein is designed to be random and circumstantial.[103] In another sense, some of these transit zones are part of a topographical web of relations, meaning that there is a historical and cultural connection to the surroundings of these zones. That is, the transit zone and border, as revealed by clandestine migrant sites, often represent a fluid and also indefinite sense of social space as the border is often implemented in everyday spaces.

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[101] Al-Jalal, 93.

[102] Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Spaces* (Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), 67.

[103] Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (New York: Verso, 1995).

As I mentioned, the transit zone in *Hope* is partitioned off in the first section, "The Trip", while the following sections "before" and "after," are separately marked off by the identity of the migrants. This form suggests that the space of clandestine migration as a transit zone is disconnected from a web of topographical and historical relations—the stories and histories of travelers making the voyage. But, border practices constitute the materiality of the border by making a border out of a fence, wall, blockade, and ditch, thus their ephemeral quality.

The spatial and temporal constant of borders resides in the logic of statist and territorial governmentality, which in turn borders are drawn to embody. But this logic also reveals the ways a wall, a fence, and a blockade can be mobilized to mark identities. Lalami reveals how the border manifests as a dispersed zone, exerting its rules in spaces far removed from its physical location and opening up other spaces for further pervasive forms of control. So while we have this idea of the national border being crossed in concealment and secrecy, there is a dispersed cultural border that opens up the possibility of its concealment and camouflage in other forms, such as culture, race, class, and gender in the formation of borders. Never announcing themselves as borders are cultural, racial, class, gender fences, walls, and blockades. In order for borders to be delineated, a line must be drawn between the inside and the outside, between the clean and proper self and the abject other. Lalami's religious character in the Maghreb survives the perilous trip to Spain to become a clandestine made more illegal as a prostitute. Nostalgia for the Other, or the sensation that the Mediterranean disappeared under the influence of forces that had pieced it together in the European traveler's imagination,[104] is demonstrated by one of her clients who coaxes her into fulfilling his Maghrebian fantasies—by *re-fantasizing herself*.

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[104] In *Belated Travelers*, Ali Behdad refers to the lamentation associated with "the disappearing Other" as a sense nostalgia exhibited by Western travelers in the Middle East for an orientalism effaced by forces of modernity. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994.

Although unwilling at first, Faten concedes to re-fantasizing herself through a “repertoire” of “odalisque dreams” familiar to both:

> “Where did you grow up?” Martin asked.
> “In a Moorish house.”
> “With your parents?”
> “I didn’t see much of my father. I spent all my days in the harem.”
> “With your siblings?”
> “With my six sisters. They initiated me into the art of pleasing men.” [105]

Faten’s client recreates the cultural border wherein she is located on the other side as Other, inscrutable, unknown, mysterious. He locates her on the other side of this cultural border by asking her to recreate a stereotypical fantasy of Arab women he has in his mind. Just as national borders utilize the fantasy that on one side of the border a nation exists in one phase of temporal development while on the other side another functions in a different stage of temporality, Faten’s client fantasizes her, and forced her to re-fantasize herself to him, as having traveled from the 19th century, still backward, un-modern, simple. She re-fantasizes herself by providing a theater of representation molded to conform to characteristic tourist itineraries. Faten draws upon familiar global imagery, known as “odalisque dreams,” to localize (“Moorish house”) and authenticate (“harem”) herself in creating a stabilizing “repertoire” familiar to her client. She learns this repertoire when she migrates to Spain. The liminal quality of the border in separating border crossers from a sense of “place” is re-enacted by Faten: she re-fantasizes herself as someone separated from the real lived space of her Moroccan home; she uses her body to act out the tourist theater of representation wherein familiar imagery is a nostalgic touchstone for Otherness. Within her body resides the promise of return to immanence, authenticity, and heritage promised by the Mediterranean Maghreb. Moroccan literary critic Abd al-Naby Thakr, who has written the central critique on clandestine migration Moroccan literature, conceives of clandestine migration as a brutal “shedding of skin”, a skinning connoted by the painful wandering of exile and the ID burning that necessitates it.[106] However, the allegory of ID burning suggests permanence that dispersal of the border undermines. For instance, the performance of sexual tourism expected from Faten on the other side of the Mediterranean represents another border; it is a liminal zone wherein re-fantasization involves separation from the lived space she remembers and the burden of an imagined place she carries from shore to shore.

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[105] Lalami, 148.

Yet clandestine spaces do more than appear side by side with scenes of travel distractions; they reflect upon them as utopic excursions into a Maghreb of heritage, wilderness, nature, authenticity, and roots in a rootless world. Ironically, the idea of travel is a stabilizing force since it becomes a touchstone for the “real”, “unifying”, “traditional”, and “authentic”. Uncertainty, isolation, joint immobility and hypermobility rendered through disjunctive episodes of clandestinity in the literature shatter the myth of the restorative Maghreb. Restorative nostalgia not only attempts to “reterritorialize” time, but also a place in an imagined time. As Legg has stated regarding Boym’s argument, “restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time.” Nini’s reconstruction of his days as a clandestine migrant are marked by places where he is caught in a cycle of carceral hypermobility that reflects disdainfully upon a nostalgic mythologized past. The same disjunctive structure can be found in Al-Jalal’s *al-Harraga*, which is partitioned into sections identified by the storytellers, who recount similar episodes of immediate, necessary, and uncertain mobility when they arrive in Spain. Both texts are structured episodically and disjunctively, conveying uncertainty, immediacy, and an incapacity to withstand a unified narrative.[107] At one point, Nini, who is without papers, wanders from orange groves in Spain to Parisian restaurant kitchens to Italian construction sites, concluding the "wandering" narrative has passed from Jews to Arabs: "The Jew is no longer wandering. The era of wandering for the Jew has ended, and the era of wandering for the Arab has begun."[108] In referring to the legend of Tariq Ibn Ziad, the military leader who burned his ships to instill in troops bravado and courage born out of desperation for the impossibility of return:

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[106] Abd al-Naby Thakr. “Adab al-hijra al-sirriya: tajarib maghribiya mu’amara.” *Al Majala Al-Arabiya Ll’alum Al-Insaniya* 27, no. 5 (2009).

> Now I know why the migrants burn their passports/identity papers once the lights of al-Andalus/Andalusia are illuminated for them and they toss them away at sea. They do this so they don't return to the other side alive. So it's death or the spoils of victory. Burning a passport isn't much different from burning a ship of return. It appears that the lessons of history persist through the ages in a miserable/tragic way. But what's really laughable in this story is that there are no spoils of victory.[109]

A signifier of Mediterranean claims to political authority and cultural prominence, constructed from impressionistic, repetitiously circulated images, is the mythologized object of dreams and desires that Nini counteracts with the emblematic *harraga* story. A jarring present of burned passports and fruitless wandering displaces past legends of adventure. Authors like Nini resist nostalgic tropes of past Mediterranean travel and mobility by undoing its glorification and transforming nostalgia into a source of historical reflection—to proclaim that this is the present, not to be glorified via past foils of loot and booty but to be seen for what it is: episodes of homelessness, panic, anxiety, and unmooring of ties. Opposition to nostalgia transforms into a wrenching into the present—describing what it means to cross the Mediterranean today rather than remembering a past Mediterranean as though pieces of it could be regenerated into the present. Nostalgic conquest and regional heritage is turned on its head as the reality of clandestine migration, the numbers who escape from Africa to the other shore, is rendered as a lesson in sacrifice. It is a return to a time and a place that cannot be restored but in commodifiable artifacts, relics, and snapshots for national memory and tourist culture. The certainty of this nostalgic reterritorialization is countered by the deterritorialized uncertainty of the clandestine passage, as it is set apart as a time "lived" rather than a commodified abstraction.

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[107] One critic perceived Nini's sped-up, disjunctive episodes of frantic wandering, working, evading detection as the results of a literature uncrafted, as though written on discarded scraps, "napkins", on his sojourn.

[108] Rachid Nini, *Yawmiyyat Muhajir Sirri* (Morocco: Manshoorat 'Akadth, 2005), 115.

[109] Nini, 170.

The Maghrebian lamentation for a lost history adventure and triumph on the Mediterranean Sea (represented by military hero Tariq Ibn Ziad and traveling scholar Ibn Battuta) is countered by the literature's fragmentation of space and time, a structural fracture paralleling a disjointed, broken Mediterranean history.For example, Bin-Yunis Majin in the poem "Li Matha La Yamoot al-Bahr?"/"Why Doesn't the Sea Die? laments the wave of clandestine migrants to the north, who bury their "oars and sails" and leave behind nothing but shirts for the "historians, poets, and bloggers" at home. He mourns "burying" history that is yet xto be made in the Maghreb by "escapees" to "the other shore."[110] By contrast, when asked to describe how his generation will be remembered, author of the short-story collection *Escape,* Abd al-Wahid Asteeto, eschews lament with a brutal allusion to a fragmented migrant identity—"schizophrenia":

> We are a generation of escape and confrontation. Succeed to fail. Fail to succeed. Illegal immigration, for example, is not a solution, not a confrontation. It is an escape. But the escape of a later confrontation, and conflict, and finally unexpected success, without going into details of the term "success." This in order to make some money and to try not becoming "human wreckage." Despite all this, many are transformed in the blink of an eye to bodies enjoying the Spanish channels, proving to us that those channels are preferred and we are just insects

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[110] Bin-Yunis Majin, "Li Matha La Yamoot Al-Bahr? Why Doesn't the Sea Die?" In *Minwarat fi Kawalis al-Samt* (Cairo: Dar Al-Ishtar, 2002).

> escaping toward the light … Schizophrenia and migration and flight and confrontation.[111]

In shattering a generational and national identity that is averse to collectivization, Asteeto displaces lament with mockery, reducing the hopeful image of the shores' connectivity to "human wreckage": bodies washed ashore, people conflicted by the potential of migration, escape that does not elude "confrontation", whether death, arrest, or ambiguous "success." The short story collection *Al-burtaqala al-waheeda lil-mawta/An Orange Alone to the Death* (2006) mocks cultural memories of Moroccan adventure and travel as symbolized by the legend of Ibn Battuta. In one of the stories, the renowned nomadic explorer Ibn Battuta is reimagined taking part in the less-than-glorious nomadism of clandestine migration. Ibn Battuta is transformed into a clandestine migrant and back, suggesting the contemporary national emblematization of the adventurous and triumphant Ibn Battuta is a lie. He mockingly fuses the rarefied cultural memory and image of the "voyage"[112] with his arrest at the airport: he is cuffed and humiliated, where he finds himself with his family watching a show discussing "the link between clandestine migration and the literary genre of the voyage."[113]

Lalami's and Ben Jelloun's suggest there are no strictly "liminal" zones in tourist or clandestine sites. They are sites deeply incorporated into the region's topographical web of relations and the cities in which they are plotted. In "The Trip", the first voice from the boat crossing the mere fourteen kilometers between the Tangier and Tarifa shores, contextualizes the trip in terms of a "return of history":

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[111] The passage is my translation from the interview in Arabic. Interview with Abd al-Wahd Asteeto by Said al-Khayat, *Hespress* (12/28/09). http://www.hespress.com/?browser=view&EgyxpID=17622.

[112] The genre of the voyage, or *rahla*, is central to Arabic and Maghrebian literature, as exemplified by the prolific critiques on Ibn Battuta, Ibn Khaldun, etc.

[113] Abd al Qadr Al-Tahari, *Al-burtaqala al-waheeda lil-mawta* (Morocco: Manshoorat el-Diwan, 2006), 33.

> Mourad can make out the town where they're headed. Tarifa. The mainland point of the Moorish invasion in 711. Murad used to regale tourists with anecdotes about how Tariq Ibn Ziad had led a powerful Moor army across the Straits and, upon landing in Gibraltar, ordered all the boats burned. He'd told his soldiers that they could march forth and defeat the enemy or turn back and die a coward's death. The men had followed their general, toppled the Visigoths, and established an empire that ruled over Spain for more than seven hundred years. Little did they know that they'd be back, Mourad thinks.[114]

As in Nini's diary, the historical figure of Tariq Ibn Ziad and his legendary burnt ships emerge as testimony to a national memory of bravery. While Nini directly derides the national legend as nostalgia incommensurable to the defeat and tragedy of contemporary boat crossings, Lalami resignifies collective memory into an ironic statement regarding today's hidden "return" and theater of tourism.

Nostalgia for a distant, mythologized past, referencing Mediterranean claims to cultural significance and centrality, is juxtaposed against a tragic present. But, nostalgia in the literature is a double movement: reclamation of cultural and national memory and reclamation of the Other, both pieced from impressionistic, circulated images. While the secretive nature of clandestine migration and fantasy for the Other suggest these sites to be marginalized and subdued spaces belonging to the past, their porosity to central city spaces, combined with their uncertainty and immediacy, undermines the "shattered fragments" of the past, with its nostalgic certainty of the Other as it becomes resignified in the present.

In Ben Jelloun's *Partir*, sexual tourism is also a prominent theme. Eager to escape his impoverished life, re-fantasizes himself to Miguel, a wealthy Spanish Maghreb-ophile sampling the country's art and sexual industry. Indeed, there is a silent, subdued, repressed quality to clandestinity that designates it to a liminal zone wherein it is possible to re-fantasize the self to provide the imagery required of sexual tourism: the body and its performance of the sexually exotic become sites of tourism, stabilizing through heritage, community, authenticity, and distraction from the material and mundane. Incorporated with central urban locations, like neighborhood cafés, state offices, schools, clandestine sites in *Partir* prevent them from becoming liminal. The movement between the clandestine and central sites allows for reflection upon the liminality of clandestine migration and tourism fantasy.

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[114] Laila Lalami, *Hope and Other Dangerous Pursuits* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books, 2005), 2-3.

Clandestine migration in the novels undergirds a mutually constitutive relationship between performance of sexual fantasy and nostalgia for an imagined Mediterranean. Harvie Ferguson claims that consumerism is not "founded upon the regulation (stimulation) of desires, but upon the liberation of wishful fantasies";[115] re-fantasization of the Mediterranean as a resuscitated pleasure site through past tropes and commodification succeeds in re-territorialization. Re-territorialization refers to the mutually constitutive relationship between Western reclamation of body, regional memory, and place. Attempts to reclaim territories into national memory leads to resignification of these sites through nostalgia for the Other. Re-territorialization is established through nostalgia for the Other in fulfilling sexual fantasies. Nostalgia pieces together "shattered fragments" of history in order to "reterritorialize" not only *time*, but *place*—transforming everyday sites into liminal zones of sexual fantasy. The novels reveal the Mediterranean Sea and its towns as sites of sexual nostalgia for regulation and liberation of desires founded on the enterprise of clandestine migration. While the secretive nature of clandestine migration and sexual fantasy suggest their sites to be marginalized—"liminal" sites of tourism and heritage —their porosity to central city sites, combined with migration's uncertainty and immediacy, reveal how "shattered fragments" of the past, in its nostalgic certainty, are resignified in the present. Although clandestinity is "liminal," counter-nostalgic novels also show sites of clandestine migration and resuscitated Mediterranean fantasy to be porous to central everyday locations—the neighborhood, the café, the school, the home, the state—from micro- to macro-level.

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[115] Harvie Ferguson, *The Lure of Dreams: Sigmund Freud and the Construction of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1996), 205.

Diasporic writers like Laila Lalami and Tahar Ben Jelloun demonstrate intertextuality with familiar Western tourism and travel narratives otherwise absent from Maghrebian clandestine literature. Familiar Western sojourn narratives in Morocco yield currency in the American literary imagination: Ben Jelloun's references to known American writers in search of sexual exploits,[116] as well as their fictional reincarnations; Lalami's depiction of tourist quests for an American Beat poet past in Tangier. Western cultural narratives of a "wishful liberation of fantasies"[117] are created in remote places and times, sites of great religions and cultures in ruins that are inhabited by exotic natives. Clandestine migration's demand for silence and secrecy suggests continuity between "liminal" sites—socially marginal and transgressive. In fact, its reincarnation in the new Mediterraneanism re-plays the perception of spatial and temporal remoteness, distant mythologized object of desire—but paradoxically ever more available to Europeans: at first hand, in travel and tourism, and then through literature, scholarship, and art. It is a new Mediterraneanism because its contemporary symptoms have generated new effects on migration, tourism, and mobility. Within clandestine sites are recollections implicating it in a long history of Maghrebian travel and conquest that resignifies the history into tourism's theater of representation.

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[116] In *Partir (Leaving Tangier)*, one of Ben Jelloun's characters recalls the American writers, perhaps recalling Bowles or the Beat poets, isolating themselves in hotels and venturing out to the city to arrange for sexual exploits.

[117] Ferguson, 205.

What Ben Jelloun and Lalami's work reveals is the continuity of these power relations into the present. The novels demonstrate nostalgia as not only a national memory resignified into the present by nationals, but also by those who Other them. Nostalgia preserves the distance of the past as an object of fantasy and desire resignified through discourse, monuments, memorials, and practices of fantasy fulfillment: clandestine migration provides space for secrecy, which is hidden, enclaved, and isolated. The resignification of nostalgia into the present rests on the Maghreb's "immateriality"— immanence, escape, a spiritual frontier for stripping down to essentials. Yet the literature of immobility, regardless of isolation and remoteness, necessarily inscribes itself into this nostalgic power relation as one of materiality, of material need and material identification—through the document. The document enforced reflects legality, traceability, relationality, a relation of place to a history of other places (rather than a non-place, space) land, as well as a mode of surveillance, capture, immobility, traceability. It is important at this point to not conflate a philosophical or cultural or national identity with the need for papers/IDs/documents establishing existence, settlement (permanence), mobility to ensure national identification (whether the end of this mobility is direct settlement/permanence or a temporary mobility to establish a settlement/permanence).

These novels explore landscape fantasies through a resignification of nostalgia for the bizarre and fantastic—as in the theatrical representation of sexual tourism. In the beginning of Lalami's *Hope*, the transit zone features different sides of historical national memory: recollection of its global impact and theatricalization as tourism site and imagery marketplace. Tourist itineraries are part of an artificial theater of representation offering nostalgic narratives in a marketplace of familiar global imagery. Tourist sites share with clandestine migration sites a limnality because they are subject to the transgressive by virtue of their marginalization, a sense of inhabiting the periphery of central places. But Lalami's and Ben-Jelloun's novels are counter-nostalgic because they undermine the liminal quality of migrant sites to show them as porous to, reflective of, and ironically inversive of, more central sites. They are neither isolated geographically nor temporally; they are emplotted in a global marketplace of imagery, which makes them fantastic when literalized and fetishized.

The violence of nostalgia for the Other acknowledges the secrecy and silence required from clandestine migrants to perform the Mediterranean in impressionistic, repeatedly circulated discourse and images. At the end of *Hope*, Mourad seals the novel with a promise never to attempt migration again, and resuscitates the image of marketplace tourism that he first brought to life in the transit zone. He decides to settle in Tangier and sell crafts to tourists. Sensing frustration over tourist nostalgia for an American history they never experienced, Mourad tells them a story from his childhood that conveys the danger of circulated imagery when perceived in an absolute void as visually manipulated objects: Ghomari the rug-weaver meets a beautiful woman, Jenara.[118] The king's midget sees her face one day and informs the Sultan that the beloved of a mere rug-weaver is the most beautiful woman he has ever seen. Outraged that another man has a more beautiful mate, he arranges to have her stolen. Ghomari weaves a tapestry with Jenara's image wielding a knife. The Sultan decides he must have it and have Ghomari executed. The day before his execution, Jenara wakes up the Sultan with a knife to his throat. While he is screaming for help, she manages to hide herself against the tapestry of her own image to escape detection. Members of his court conclude the Sultan has gone mad because

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[118] Lalami, 181-184.

Jenara is nowhere to be found, much less found wielding a knife to his throat. She escapes and reunites with Ghomari.[119]

The tapestry on display transforms into a real hiding place. The stolen girl hides in the image for protection from consumer, thief, and a Sultan who takes without asking. The real and imagined spaces become fused, and power relations are re-infused with life—the stolen girl and her image, in the form of a rug, come to life to reclaim her freedom. Her most powerful tool is her ability to go undetected, to become clandestine. In one sense, this is a play on the Maghreb Mediterranean so infused with storytelling and mystery that tales set there, particularly for tourists, often have an air of the fantastic without invoking the impossible. Within the story featuring Maghrebian fantasies comes to life a jarring cautionary tale: the utopic image is perceived powerless and immovable, while the story of the image is told to impact tourist consciousness heterotopically. Heterotopias rob us of our nostalgic certainty and trust in utopian (or dystopian) narratives, revealing how spaces are created and manipulated and thwarting societal efforts (like those of politicians like the Sultan) to construct narratives that make them feel in control.

By definition, heterotopias exist in reflective dialogue with the real-world existence of cultural sites: they are mirrors that co-exist with and comment on the real. Like mirrors, they create an unreal space and force a definition of the self in relation to the image. Places, regions, cities, towns proliferate in our imagination, and even more so in the fantastic imagination, where they offer more detail, more inhabitants who are more bizarre, and more hidden enclaves that exaggerate the operation of the city in the unconscious.

The Mediterranean is conceived a place preserved in ruins because it looks to the past to build a future. But in the West this nostalgia also aims at the history of the Other, the

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[119] Lalami, 189-192.

Maghrebian, so ruins are not exclusively national, but rather for international consumption. In terms of utopian Mediterranean narratives, commitment is not to national boundary thinking that excludes a menacing virtually unknown. But rather commitment is to making familiar a past Mediterranean, wherein as new as it seems upon observation, it is still meant to convey a sense of the familiar. Therein lies the preservation of place as a site of memory.

The polarity of attraction and repulsion projected toward the Mediterranean is a form of "reterritorialization"—a desire for a place and time. Both cosmopolitanism and containment project a utopian order, both operate on a desire of the familiar to come, to be discovered, to be exposed through partition of the sea, regimentation of mobility flows, on one hand, and retrieval of a familiar Mediterranean (marked by authenticity, exoticism, spirituality), on the other. Both project realizable desires, to become familiar with what is known in the past and to re-make familiar what is now unknown. Nostalgia in its restorative form, according to Boym, is not only capacity of memory to reclaim the past but to reclaim space in time: "restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time".[120] This reclamation, or the effort to "conquer and spatialize time," is determined by a utopic ordering of territory, in the past and future Legg explains, "restorative nostalgia focuses on *nostos* and aims to reconstruct the lost home, often in association with religious or nationalist revivals."[121] A commemorative landscape in service of a reclaimed future reflects the utopic regimentation and ordering of the Maghreb Mediterranean. Clandestine spaces, including migration sites and flows, feature in scenes of tourist fantasy, on one hand, and xenophobic paranoia, on the other. But clandestinity unravels our trust in utopian narratives by showing how spaces are made and manipulated, thus frustrating narratives fantasies of control—whether for a unified Mediterranean historical memory or a future territorial identity.

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[120] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 49.

[121] Stephen Legg, "Memory and Nostalgia," *Cultural Geographies* 11 (2004): 100.

Chapter 3

Mediterranean Frontier, Mediterranean Circuit: Clandestine Migrants in Egyptian Literature's Double Imaginary

Intellectual trends in the early twentieth century emerged from Egypt asserting its historically continuous Mediterranean cultural alliance with Europe. Both Egyptian and Western intellectuals maintained there was an enriching continuous, natural orientation toward the Mediterranean without historical disruptions, with the colonial cosmopolitan city of Alexandria at the center of their assertions. For example, cultural reformer Taha Hussein argued that the culture of Egypt was historically Mediterranean and part of Western culture:

> *How can this sea create in the West* an outstanding, superior mind and at the same time leave the East without any mind or with one that is weak and decadent? There are *no intellectual or cultural differences to be found among the* peoples who grew up around the Mediterranean and were influenced by it. Purely political and economic circumstances made the inhabitants of one shore prevail against those of the other. The same factors led them to treat each other now with friendliness, now with enmity. Egypt has always been part of Europe as far as an intellectual and cultural life is concerned.[122]

Affinity is naturalized via the sea. Embrace of Western culture, according to Hussein, was a homecoming, a return to roots, due to its historical legacy of Greek philosophy and Pharaonic, Roman, Byzantine, Ptomelaic roots—in short, an authentic composite of Mediterranean culture. Other Egyptian intellectuals, like literary critic Yahya Haqqi and Salama Moussa, have likewise effected a Mediterranean affinity via deployment of Egypt's geographical proximity to Europe. "The cultural similarity among the peoples of the Mediterranean basin," claimed Haqqi is one such naturally predetermined, eternal cultural “bridge.”[123] This claim of a Mediterranean cultural affinity with Europe has been criticized for its un-historicized alliance with the West, for its elision of Arab-Islamic identity, and for its polarization of Western and Eastern identities into monoliths.[124] But, most significantly, this geographical continuity between ancient and modern Egypt, immune to cultural and historical interruptions, has been criticized for its revivability—its resilience: it “lends itself readily to this recurrent ideological attempt at (re)orientation, especially when packaged in the soothing nomenclature of a (re)invented and reified Mediterranean cultural space.”[125]

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[122] In *Mustaqbal al-Thaqafa fi Misr* (*The Future of Culture in Egypt)* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1928). Taha Hussein advocated a curriculum aligned with building a secular, modern nation-state and put forth the theory that Egyptian culture was more closely linked to a wider *Mediterranean* civilization.

The grand narrative of the Mediterranean is again under construction, in line with national monuments, buildings, urban centers wrought from imported generic concrete to lay claim to a specific ancient Mediterranean past. In the last decades, Egypt invested in revivalist projects in homage to a glorified Mediterranean history owed to a classical, scholarly Graeco-Roman tradition. Mediterranean affinity preached by Egyptian intellectuals in the early twentieth century resonates in the re-orientation of Egypt toward Europe in the discourse of globalization today. Today’s architectural, cultural, and literary revivalist projects range from the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, rediscoveries of the ancient city through the Pharos Lighthouse and the Royal Harbour, to a variety of memoirs by worldly Alexandrians recapturing the city’s past chronotope.[126] Return to Mediterranean identity is also represented by a plethora of cultural initiatives, like the Cairo Mediterranean Literary Festival, Farah El-Bahr, the Anna Lindh Annual Cultural Festival,[127] in the service of "bridging" contemporary Egyptian culture to its Mediterranean "roots". So intertwined is Egypt's Mediterranean revival, culturally in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership's creative programs, architecturally in developments gesturing toward ancient Alexandria, and politically in the form of the Union of the Mediterranean that it has been referred to as the "return of Taha Hussein."[128] In aspiring toward becoming a global city tasked with development of transnational cultures, Alexandria self-Mediterraneanizes through revivalism projects that optimize a transcultural heritage.

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[123] In *Fajr al-Qissa al-Misriyya* (*The Dawn of Egyptian Fiction*) Originally published in 1960. (Cairo: al-Hay’a al_Misriyya al-Amma lil Kitab, 1997). Haqqi connects the influence of European literary models to the aesthetic sensibility of the first generation of Egyptian fiction writers by way of a naturalizing metaphor: “The winds blowing from Europe carried into Arab society an unfamiliar seed, that of the story.” Muhammad Siddiq, *Arab Culture and the Novel: Genre, Identity, and Agency in Egyptian Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 28. Salama Moussa, more a contemporary of Taha Husssain, also advocated Egypt’s Mediterranean affiliation. The “bridge” as a cliché to represent relations between Mediterranean countries across the shores has centralized past and current discourse on affiliations and “cultural dialogue.”

[124] Siddiq, 170.

[125] In his critique of early 20th-century Egyptian intelligentsia’s Mediterranean affinity, Siddiq identifies a similar cultural revival today: “Recently, not only the novelist Amitav Ghosh, but also the mightier European Union seems to have (re)discovered the topical relevance of S. D. Goitein’s *A Mediterranean Society*: the former in his novel *In An Antique Land* (1992), then later in the (1995) *EU–Mediterranean Partnership*” (170).

The library entered this narrative by seizing on Alexandria's composite heritage, Greco-Roman, Ptolemaic, Pharaonic, Islamic. It also entered the narrative by embodying the Mediterranean's mediating role on a global hierarchy of values—between Eastern and Western, Southern and Northern, particular and universal, primitive and modern. The library became another monument to a narrative privileging Mediterranean cultures for hybridity, mixture, syncretism: situated between the universal and particular in criticisms, it signals a Eurocentric return to origins identified with Western "ethno-philosophy," on one hand, and a universal rather than ethnically specific claim on Hellenistic heritage, on the other. [129] Its mix of "ancient mimicry and futuristic illusions" produces the composite effect of a return to Alexandria of Hellenistic foundational civilizations and progression toward a futuristic hypermodernism of global cities.[130] The Mediterranean region, its cities, and cultural productions, like the relatively new library, have become interchangeable with métissage, fusion of heritages, hybridization of forms.[131] The Mediterranean caché in Egypt and Alexandria Library would not hold without a gesture toward syncretism of Western and Eastern, European and Arab, cultural markers—this perception of mixture alarmingly signals *development, progression, mobilization* toward a softer international, inclusive identity. Mediterraneanism is used to mobilize a telos of progress wherein the Arab world's incorporation of European cultural values is key to development, globalization, inclusivity—eclipsing the current globalization to which the region has been subject.

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[126] Hala Halim, "On Being Alexandrian," *Al-Ahram* 581, April 11-17, 2002.

[127] Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures is a €7 million EU-funded project which aims at bringing people and organisations of the region closer and promoting dialogue, by offering them opportunities to work together on projects in the fields of culture, education, science, human rights, sustainable development, the empowerment of women and the arts. The Foundation is the first institution to be jointly created and co-financed by all member countries of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

[128] See Muhammad Salih, "Taha Hussayn wa Al-Itijah Nahu al-Mutawassat," *Al-Ahram* 44381, June 6-10, 2008. I've translated this as "Taha Hussayn and the Orientation Toward the Mediterranean."

[129] Beverly Butler, *Return to Alexandria: An Ethnography of Cultural Heritage* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 81. Butler refers to Perniola who considers the West's identification with a "Greek origin and a cultural, metaphysical identity" defined within an "ethno-philosophy" not rooted in Black Africa and Islam, for

While the Mediterranean bridge narrative is still mobilized today, another narrative has emerged alongside it. Whereas Mediterranean métissage is still privileged and romanticized for its cultural transgressiveness (crossing cultures and languages), the more material migrant crossing from the southern to the northern shores of the Mediterranean has become more controlled and censured than in the past. Central to current inventions of the Mediterranean have been initiatives from the EU organization Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, which relies on the contradictory notion of opening up cultural exchange while sealing shut the gates of Europe, in

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instance, but Greek.

[130] Butler, 91.

[131] For examples of the extent to which the Mediterranean has become interchangeable with a celebratory hybridization: Iain Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity (*Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Nabiha Jerad, "From the Maghreb to the Mediterranean: Immigration and Transnational Locations," in *Places We Share: Migration, Subjectivity, and Global Mobility*, ed. Susan Ossman, 47-64 (New York: Lexington Publishers, 2007).

the political and security domains.[132] The EMP's cultural initiatives have sought to sustain a "dialogue between cultures" in service of a Euro-Mediterranean identity by invoking a common cultural heritage while at the same time pursuing policies on security, migration, and enlargement that draw a clear frontier in the middle of the Mediterranean.[133] Projects focusing on the Mediterranean's preservable heritage include the Euromed Heritage Programme focusing on material and immaterial heritage preservation, the Euromed Audiovisual Programme, concerned with enhancing media audiovisual heritage. On the cultural dimensions of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, Isabel Shafer writes, "The establishment of a cultural partnership creates an artificial prestige seeking reinvention of a Mediterranean limited to its historical past while leaving aside the realities of a present-day unevenness of mobility."[134]

On one hand, in fixating on the Mediterranean's cultural past and aesthetic value to the point of eclipsing present material realities, the EMP's cultural programs render a socio-historical decontextualization of the Mediterranean narrative, reinventing it as an untouched, unchanged idyllic utopia. The aesthetic value attached to the Mediterranean detracts from the actual territorial regimentation and control to which it is subject by the EU. On the other hand, the EU's own self-invention is partly established by constructing "the Mediterranean as distinct from, and even opposite to, Europe," so much so that, "to speak of or to deal with the

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[132] The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership or the Barcelona Declaration, initiated in 1995, is composed of three chapters. The first concerns political and security partnerships, seeking to establish regional stability; the second focuses on economic partnerships, seeking to establish a free-trade zone; the third is concerned with the social and cultural domains.

[133] In addition to Shafer, for criticisms of the Euro-Med cultural dialogue initiatives, see, see Raffaelia Del Sarto, "Setting the Cultural Agenda: Concepts, Communities, and Representation in Euro-Mediterranean Relations," *Mediterranean Politics* 10, no. 3 (2005): 313-330. Also see Emanuel Adler, ed., *The Convergence of Civilizations: Constructing a Mediterranean Region* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

[134] Isabel Shafer, "The Cultural Dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Critical Review of the First Decade of Intercultural Cooperation," *History and Anthropology* 18, no. 3 (2007), 342.

Mediterranean has come to refer to the ensemble of issues and problems between Europe as a whole and non-European Mediterranean countries (Arab countries, Turkey, Israel).”[135] Part of Europe’s own identity construction hinges on a counter-image. The construction of Europe’s Other has come to signify both an unchanging, familiar, culturally valuable Mediterranean rooted in the past and a volatile, unfamiliar, politically charged Mediterranean present.[136] Shafer addresses the way the EMP’s cultural-dialogue initiatives treat culture on the southern Mediterranean shores as immutable, as though immune from the free-market principles to which it is subject:

> There is agreement on the idea that the ultimate objective of cultural cooperation is not to change peoples’ ways of life, but uniquely to understand one another better (European Commission 2002), forgetting that the Barcelona Process has effects in both the mid term and the long term on societies to the south and east of the Mediterranean and neglecting the fact that the introduction of a free trade zone will in any case change peoples’ ways of life.[137]

This reification of the Mediterranean assures separation of culture from neoliberalism’s present-day material realities, in which deterioration of human rights becomes facilely attributable to a culture still undergoing civilizational developments, rather than to one being altered by the EU-

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[135] Claudia Fogu, “From Mare Nostrum to Mare Alorium: Mediterranean Theory and Mediterraneanism in Contemporary Italian Thought,” *California Italian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010), 11.

[136] On criticism of EU-Mediterranean partnerships, specifically the EU-Med positioning the Mediterranean as Europe’s Other, see: Hein De Haas, “The Myth of Invasion: The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe,” *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 7 (2008): 1305-1322; Pinar Bilgin, “A Return to ‘Civilizational Geopolitics’ in the Mediterranean?” *Geopolitics* 9, no. 2 (2004): 269-291; Nikolaos Tzifakis, “EU's Region-Building and Boundary-Drawing Policies: The European Approach to the Southern Mediterranean and the Western Balkans,” *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 9, no. 1 (2007): 47-64; Stephan Stetter, “The Politics of De-Paradoxification in Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Semantics and Structures of ‘Cultural Dialogue,’” *Mediterranean Politics* 10, no. 3 (2005): 331-348; Paul Balta, *La Méditerranée Réinventée. Réalités et Espoirs de la Coopération* (Paris: La Découverte, 1992); Jean-Claude Tourrett, “Les Regions Actrices et Partenaires de la Construction Méditerranée,” *La Pensée Midi* 21, *Quelles Régions pour Dmain? L’Example Méditerranée*, eds. Bruno Etienne and Thierry Fabre (Aries, France: Actes Sud, 2007).

[137] Shafer, 341-342.

Mediterranean free trade. Discourse on the Mediterranean simultaneously acknowledges and conceals the globalization that the region has undergone.

Since the 1990s the re-emergence of the term "Mediterranean" from different international organizations was a result of the growing perception of the south and east Mediterranean as a security threat. The increase in migration from Africa, in particular, has added another dimension to the Mediterranean narrative. Despite the revived narratives to invent a globalized Mediterranean space, a globalized economy is already in place. Whereas capital, products, and ideas have become more "liberated," as a result of globalization, the movement of people, and certain categories of labor in which they engage, have become more subject to control, renewing border restrictions, challenging the celebratory notion that denationalization of economies leads to the deterioration of the nation-state. Already globalized, the Mediterranean has become a place designed to encourage free circulation of capital *and* a blockade discouraging human mobility.[138] I liken the current dual Mediterranean to Massey's notion of the double global imaginary where space is imagined as free and unbounded but subject to material controls:

> There are two apparently evident self-truths, two completely different geographical imaginations, which are called upon in turn. No matter that they contradict each other because it works. And so in this era of globalization we have sniffer dogs to detect people hiding in the holds of boats, people die trying to cross the Rio Grande, and boatloads of people precisely trying to "seek out the best opportunities" go down in the Mediterranean. That double imaginary, in the very fact of its doubleness, of the freedom of space on the one hand and "the right to one's own space" on the other, works in favour of the already powerful. They can have it both ways.[139]

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[138] See Natalia Ribas Mateos, *The Mediterranean in the Age of Globalization: Migration, Welfare, and Borders* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005).

[139] Doreen Massey, "Imagining Globalisation" in *Global Futures: Migration, Environment, and Globalization*, eds. Brah, Hickman, and Mac (Basingstoke, UK: MacMillan, 1999), 39.

The dominant discourse, championed by business and political elites, characterizes globalization as an inevitable process of growing interdependence—an intensification and deepening of social, political and economic relations based on “free market” trade policies and realized through technological developments in transport and communication. For Massey, this definition obscures dramatic imbalances in the global political economy and disingenuously conflates free market economics with democratic processes. So while the Mediterranean narrative and its attendant bridge clichés continuously get re-accessed and circulated as if re-inventing the Mediterranean as a globalized space, the free-market’s inherent restriction on people’s movement has created two competing narratives: the past’s cultural shore connectivity and the present’s division into two culturally incommensurable spaces—the Northern shore, Christian and European, and the Southern one, Muslim and fundamentally non-Western.

These anomalous, incompatible images of the Mediterranean in the double global imaginary have been captured in Egypt’s body of work (oeuvre) on clandestine migration. While not as extensive as the Maghreb’s, where the phenomena has a longer history, Egyptian writers have sought to intervene in the Mediterranean narrative by showing culture, even in remote villages, to be far from atemporal and preserved but rather an effect of an already violently dynamic globalization. Utopic cultural tourist sanctuaries are also exposed as staged mirages dependent on a network of global capital manipulation. These works reveal the Mediterranean’s globalized spaces when its material processes of control and marketplace practices are concealed behind the finished product of ancient, enduring culture. Concealment of displacement’s violence to preserve an image of sanctity is integral to “utopian organization”: the double movement of securing and obscuring undergirds capitalism's deliberate process of creating distance between product and its site of production. Unlike Maghrebian clandestine migrant literature concerned with the outsider migrant figure in Europe, Egyptian literature focuses on homeland and journey, revealing the aspiring migrant as outsider in the privileged spaces of his society—nationally symbolic sites marked by concentrations of wealth and power—and revealing global participation in the structures that produce in the global South the poverty, political disenfranchisement and exclusion that give rise to the will to migrate. But like its Maghrebian counterpart, this body of work shows clandestine migrants creating heterotopic spaces by undermining the binary of the inside/outside their societies, navigating between the imagined and the real place, between the fantasy and a geographical entity, between absolute utopias and the places where outsiders dwell—city slums, Delta villages, flimsy crafts on the Mediterranean. Lastly, because these works draw the parameters of migration around the homeland and journey, as opposed to a European state, they subvert the dominant discourse of globalization celebrating flows, streams, circulations, by equating it with limited and suppressed movement.

In Ayman Zohry's *Bahr al-Rom* (2005), the first Egyptian novel on clandestine migration, this paradoxical vision of the Mediterranean both as utopia of aesthetic spectacle and utopia of globalized hyperborders is conveyed through the eyes of the protagonist, an aspiring migrant. Before the protagonist Saber is smuggled across the Mediterranean from Egypt, he moves from his Delta village to Alexandria to earn a living as a fruit vendor. Upon arrival in Alexandria, he and his friends head to the beach: "We walked from the Alexandria train station to the Ramel station. Then we pondered the sea for a while. This was the Mediterranean Sea, the one you learn about in Social Studies at school."[140] Once he is settled, he deviates from his usual route from his vending location to the slum he occupies and unexpectedly spies the Mediterranean again: "… as we got nearer to the beach and the slums got further behind us, beautiful Alexandria, the one that we had seen on television appeared before us."[141] The next time the Mediterranean waters feature is after he embarks on a flimsy, overcrowded boat to Italy where he suddenly notices a sea of floating dead bodies surrounding the craft:

> After a painstaking trip in the face of rough wind and waves and fourteen hours of sailing in the Mediterranean Sea we saw several bloated floating bodies on the waters of the sea. Black and white bodies, bodies of men, women, and children, all on a quest on the sea in search for a better life …[142]

The first view reveals Saber's lack of familiarity with the sea—second-hand knowledge from a school textbook is his only means of orientation. The second view is consciously filmic, spectatorial, "unreal", iconically touristic—for him, an image of the sea evocative of slick movie scenes from Alexandria's carefully maintained shores, jarringly different from the slums he occupies. The last reveals the product of the utopic limits of exclusion, frontiers, hyperborders—the site of floating dead bodies. The dead bodies at sea not only signal proleptically the thin border between life and death for migrants on the boat, and the limits of dispossession, poverty, social repression at home, but they are markers of the frontier drawn in the middle of the Mediterranean. The site of dead bodies appears to the migrants as the final border between their fantasy of the Mediterranean and its diffusion into reality. If, like Saber, we turn our gaze from the reassuring trope of an aestheticized Mediterranean heritage on Alexandria's manicured shores towards the sea's unfolding modernities, the social, economic, political and cultural characteristics of the Mediterranean, the composed and pacified images fall apart before our eyes. That Saber renders incompatible representations—unfamiliar, culturally familiar, and then deadly—of one place in sequence rather than all at once demonstrates the distance required to construct today's geographical imaginaries of the Mediterranean.

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[140] Zohry, 22.

[141] Zohry, 22.

[142] Zohry, 68.

The concept of utopia shares common elements (even though the "ideal society" varies and fluctuates depending on political ideologies): "the utopic is always conceived as a space, usually an enclosed and isolated space—the walled city, the isolated island, a political and agrarian self-contained organization, and thus a commonwealth."[143] The Southern Mediterranean is "isolated" and "enclosed," in the manner of a utopia, inasmuch as bounded and fortified Northern European shores impose an impasse on the sea's frontier. The utopian is not exactly what would be identified as "positive" but what does inhere to a severely controlled spatial organization, whether of a fantastic, carefully maintained cultural idyll symbolic of Alexandria's Mediterranean shores or an effect of disciplined borders and bodies on the Mediterranean Sea. Saber's second view of the Mediterranean Sea reveals one effect of utopia: decontextualization—a material, touristic, privileged site is reduced to a site of memory—the filmic image is deployed as a phantasmic, evocative, discursive site, accessible as any familiar image, but just as frozen. As iconic as the site is, it is not particularly as instrumental as Saber's work route or his smuggling route out of Egypt. Zohry calls attention to the protagonist's awareness of the protected, fantastic spaces of the iconic Mediterranean of blue shores, white beaches, clean, homogenous order, and moreover, the "messiness" it attempts to displace. The viewer is both privy to this filmic, unchanging, frozen space, but also excluded from it, insofar as his movement is restricted by economic necessity to a route between the slums and his fruit vending location. He observes a particularly artificial, scenic Mediterranean-Egyptian identity where he, as an Egyptian, is supposed to be reflected, but from which he is absent. He thus occupies a double position, one of being heterotopically internal to the society regulating the cultural spaces that it "others" but also external to them.

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[143] Elizabeth Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside: Essays on Virtual Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 134.

The utopian paradox of the current Mediterranean narrative, which Zohry deploys in incompatible images conveyed through his protagonist, highlights the shocking discrepancy between an aestheticized representation of the Mediterranean from iconic and touristic Alexandrian shores, as *conceived* and captured on film, and a representational space of the "sea cemetery,"[144] as *lived*, experienced, changed by those who encounter it. But this paradox is inherent to utopian visions in that "the utopic perpetually verges on the dystopic, the dysfunctional utopia, the more modern these utopias become."[145] That is, in order to enforce the order of the ideal society, utopia becomes necessarily rigid, authoritarian, hierarchical, restrictive, exclusionary. The images of the Mediterranean Sea in *Bahr al-Rom* precisely call attention to the limits of exclusion through the eyes of the excluded from the privileged spaces of the nation and the protected spaces of international borders. Moreover, the utopia of the Mediterranean Sea emerges as a site of memory (a cultural idyll evocative of a familiar film) that promises regimentation of both discourse and movement, thus immutability, a dead-end to potential, newness, change. Elizabeth Grosz identifies the foreclosure on future potential in utopic thinking:

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[144] The transformation of the Mediterranean Sea to a "cemetery," due to the many deaths caused to evade detection, is mentioned in texts on recent Mediterranean clandestine migration. For example, see: Jørgen Carling, "Migration Control and Migrant Fatalities at the Spanish-African Borders," *International Migration Review* 41, no. 2 (2007): 316-343; Grace Russo Bullaro, ed., *From Terrone to Extracommunitario: New Manifestations of Racism in Contemporary Italian Cinema* (Leicester, England: Troubador Publishing, 2010), 51; Alassandro Dal Lago, *Non-Persons*, translated by Marie Orton (Milan, Italy: Ipoc Press, 2009), 246.

[145] Grosz, 135.

> While a picture of the future, the utopic is fundamentally that which has no future, that place whose organization is so controlled that the future ceases to be the most pressing concern. These utopias function as the exercise of fantasies of control over what Foucault has called "the event," that which is unprepared for, unforeseeable, singular, unique, and transformative, the advent of something new."[146]

From the image of place as a dead cultural artifact, preserved cultural idyll, to the scene of dead floating bodies, blockade to human mobility, the Mediterranean Sea emerges in its affective dimension as the dead-end to potential, possibility, newness, change—a future—what has ultimately been reduced in its new coinage to "a sea cemetery."

Although Mediterranean static utopias—one culturally immutable, the other materially bounded, fortified—feature in *Bahr al-Rom*, the latter utopia imposing a human blockade is connected to another in the novel—the utopia of unbounded freedom, sustained by global "flows"—of capital, narratives, and styles coursing down from the Northern shore. The beginning of the novel gestures toward the circulation of all three around the story of a local migrant's burial, drowned in the Mediterranean in pursuit of the "Euro":

> The village was blanketed in black and its homes in grief, for it lost four of its youth. And, I won't say it is because of their fine young people, because everyone was really concerned with one thing and one overriding tragedy. Their means of livelihood had greatly narrowed. Only a few families in the village had managed to release the hold of deprivation and reach European Paradise through their children who "immigrated illegally" to European countries and were sated after all the hunger, and got rich after all the poverty, and married once finances permitted, and planted in farm lands concrete columns and towers in the colors of the Italian flag.[147]

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[146] Grosz, 138.

[147] Zohry, 7.

At first, the currency of the "Euro" and the territory of "Euro," referring to Europe, become interchangeable in the novel, evoking circulation of wealth in a territory of unbounded freedom and beyond—all the way to Egypt in the form of remittances. But, Zohry cynically reveals how the villagers have come to adopt the inevitability of their bodies being capitalized and traded to sustain the community's construction and consumption. Global "flows" of the free market, communication, and culture stream into the small, neglected Delta village, promising the utopic exponential bounty of unfettered freedoms on the Northern shore. Despite village fears that "dreams" of abandoned poverty have been buried along with the drowned man, in the same soil rooting remittance buildings, towers, and houses, the circulation of stowaways, smugglers, capital, and journey narratives do not come to a halt. In fact, the burial initiates the narrative of *Bahr al-Rom*, feeds meta-narratives, fosters further journeys, suggesting local construction, and the global flow of capital, commodities, and the greater number of drowned bodies it demands, rests on the withdrawal of the village's "own."[148] Zohry establishes a predatory globalization in opposition to a utopic mobility of capital and commodities from Europe's "paradise"[149] imagined by the village, wherein mourning is not for the dead as much as for the village's loss of resources and deprivation from linkage to the global economy. With the opening scene, Zohry reveals the double imaginary of globalization, a conflicting prism of open transnational markets and closed, bounded territory, through which the villagers have come to see themselves (in the flow of remittances, construction, development and the blockade in the middle of the Mediterranean deflecting migrants back in caskets). This is a far cry from the celebratory discourse of globalization that locates liberatory potential in cross-border "hybrid" subjectivities relatively free from the constraints of nationalism wielding power over its subjects, imagined not only by economists but postcolonial theorists in redemptive utopic narratives.[150] Zohry displaces the mobile imagery of "flows" and "routes," villagers associate with an ascent of social mobility, with arborescent, rooting, and consuming counter-imagery of descent: the fruits of migration and capital are rooted in the same "soil," a plain "casket" and "houses" and "towers,"[151] demanding exponential growth in the form of further journeys, narratives, bodies, and capital. In fact, the village's self-objectification, subsumed under a commodifying ideology, in which bodies are "withdrawn" in exchange for commodities resonates in the manner in which the protagonist Saber subjects himself to starvation to fit on a flimsy smuggler's boat, to sustain this "flow," to maintain the village's ascent of social mobility, in essence—to keep it afloat. Zohry shows the village to be *already* "suffering" from capitalist globalization in that Saber's treatment as a shrinkable object of transport for smugglers is an extreme extension of the village's self-commodification—erasure or displacement of the human behind the surface of (future accumulated) objects mourned (instead of the dead) at a migrant's funeral.

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[148] Zohry, 7.

[149] Zohry, 7.

As in *Bahr al-Rom, Safinat Noh* (2008), translated to *Noah's Ark*, by Khaled Al-Khameesy, also shows migrants' bodies objectified and reterritorialized along a network of unregistered vessels, secret camps, trafficking routes. *Safinat Noh* is sectioned off into eponymous chapters of migrant narratives whose "exodus" routes out of Egypt intersect. On a sinking clandestine boat en route to Italy, a Delta villager Wihdan falls dead not by drowning but heart failure. His boatmate realizes at once his death sentence began at home: “When I saw Wihdan drowning before me, I said, ‘Oh God, was the operation where they removed his kidney the reason?’ Wihdan was the first on the boat to die. The man holding the water container opposite me said, ‘He didn’t die because of drowning, he died because his heart stopped.’ His heart, so dear to his mother, couldn’t handle it.”[152] He becomes involved in an organ trafficking ring and sells his kidney to afford the cost of boarding a flimsy boat to Europe. If exploitation of migration to Europe is considered to benefit capital on a global scale—its maintenance depends on its “use value” for global capitalism—then Wihdan’s exploitation quite literally becomes the commodification of the migrant body. Whether in Egypt or Europe, his use value transcends borders in the same way his value is seen as a transcendent commodity based on potential labor, body parts, and, finally, exportability.

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[150] For utopic conceptualizations of transnationalism, see Bill Ashcroft, "Outlines of a Better World: Rerouting Postcolonialism," in *Rerouting the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millennium*, ed. Janet Wilson, 72-85 (London: Routledge, 2010).

[151] Zohry, 7-8.

Like Zohry, Al-Khameesy allows for no room to romanticize the predicament of clandestine migrants as even at least undermining the Mediterranean’s commercial routes in a global economy. Al-Khameesy depicts “remote” villages already linked to the global economy, which is rooted in their soil as much by way of towers and columns “painted colors of the Italian flag”[153] as by a global smuggling network: a large group of village men gather for an introductory meeting in a café to discover how they can sign up with the smuggling ring upon payment. Both are invested in unpacking the material and networks that enter into the production of the clandestine migrant inasmuch as global capital and its discourse obscure social relations upon which this production is contingent to continue enacting the violence global capitalism produces. The production of the migrant exemplifies the absolute height of alienated labor in that his concealment, his clandestinity as an object of the labor that goes into his production, constitutes his primary identity. In order for his identity to survive, the labor of his production as a clandestine cannot be fully erased: indeed, his “old” identity, his passport, ID cards, smuggling networks and resources are discarded, so that entry into the labor market on the other shore can be ensured, but actually, to remain clandestine and “pass,” he must remain simultaneously committed to his identity (and its concealment of labor contributed to its creation) and alienated from the labor that produced it.

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[152] Al-Khameesy, 199.

[153] Zohry 7.

Al-Khameesy incorporates the scriptural myth of Noah’s Ark to allegorize the dialectic of alienation and recognition (being different but the same) required in clandestine crossing—Noah also creates a new world which seems to erase its context of origin, but actually holds remnants for future reconstruction. Al-Khameesy draws comparisons between the figure of Noah and the clandestine migrant who jumps on the boat and drifts to escape the catastrophe to which the nation has succumbed—a flood of poverty, desperation, stark inequality, lost potential. Noah is at once a remnant from a system that preceded the decreation of the world and the only person entrusted to create another one. The migrant is poised to assume a role heterotopically internal to the society regulating the cultural spaces that it “others” but also external to them.

The novel’s scriptural allusions, from the Great Flood, to Noah’s Ark, to the covenant rainbow in the sky, and the Arabic letter *nun* associated with Noah, all transfer a sense of familiarity from the archetypal story of familial sacrifice and triumph to a clandestine migration narrative, a phenomenon associated with criminal, shadowy trespass. Wihdan’s father uses the construction of an elaborate dovecote tower to keep his son occupied and close to home.[15] The son spends years building the ostentatious tower, gets married, and eventually yields to the desire to migrate, leaving his frustrated father in the village. The construction of the dovecote tower, a domestic Tower of Babel, ends in the attempted dispersal of son and friends (other village sons) in a diaspora of sorts—literally scattered across the Mediterranean Sea after the boat capsizes. The tower becomes useless once an owl becomes its sole squatter and drives the doves away. This local and domestic scenario mirrors the Babel narrative of striving toward a community in which one language and the same words are the basis for unity and ascent toward the heavenly, or in the case of Widhan's father, unity based on family settlement and signifiers of social mobility, subject to confusion and abandonment. If the entire narrative is allegorized by its title referent Noah, then why in the middle of the text do we get a glimpse of his future descendants attempting to ward off the disaster that befell their forefather by building the heaven-ascending tower? Once Al-Khameesy depends on recognition from the reader by locating the clandestine migrant in an archetypal story of familial sacrifice and triumph, once familiarity with the scriptural narrative and its sequence are established, he immediately confuses sequence, transforms the conclusion, drowns the descendant, stifles triumphal closure, limit. The sacred merges with the mundane, the ordinary with the extraordinary, the realist with the metaphysical, and the crisis with the status quo. The narrative both taps into our recognition and estranges us from its reassuring familiarity. It aims to duplicate the disorientation of the ambivalent position which the migrant is poised to assume. On the northern shore, his position would be ambivalent, discrepant, poised to expose the weaknesses of the dominant discourse on globalization

The clandestine migrant represents a remnant, a reminder of the ambivalence plaguing globalized modernity in spaces of incommensurability. It is neither a calcified, preserved, continuous heritage from which the village boys escape and drown nor a deluge of global modernity—streams and flows of communication, transportation, commodities and commodification—but an incommensurability and unevenness of mobility ultimately reduced to popular Mediterranean narratives of utopias as atemporal idyll or as globalized space (of free spaces of trade across a human blockade).

In *Safinat Noh*, as in *Bahr al-Rom*, a cultural sanctuary and a system of globalization feature as utopias not in conflict but rather in harmonious collaboration of the sign (the grand monumental space) and its vehicle (fluid economy of immaterial production in financial services, tourism, culture). The site and the villager in this context (as opposed to his location on the northern shore where this value would plummet) are valued for embracing “dead time” (where not much happens) in lieu of an accelerated modernity, in the eyes of both national and international foreigners. He is simply acting out the role befitting this atemporal sanctuary. To them, there are no contradictions, discrepancies, ambivalence because the Nubian territory stands as a sanctuary against an accelerated global invasion homogenizing culture displacing heritage. *Safinat Noh* produces another site of otherness, Aswan Nubian territory, as Egypt’s (and Egyptians’) other. Although Aswan is not continuous with Mediterranean identity in Egypt, it has resurged in cultural revivalism projects from “Aswan’s soil to Alexandria’s soil,” places interpolated as tourism heritage sites, highlighting an instrumentality merely reduced to site of memory.[154] In *Safinat Noh*, both Egyptians (non-Nubian) and British tourists visit Aswan and impose upon it a utopic social order immune to change. On an organized tourist boat trip, juxtaposed against the novel’s violent and chaotic clandestine boat trip, an Egyptian migrant who returns home expresses his approval of the area’s historical continuity and its absence of “foreign,” outside forces, global commodities he disdains in Egypt’s cities. To him, revival of Alexandria’s and Aswan’s development into tourism sites signifies retrieval of authenticity, heritage, continuity, return to “simple living”:

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[154] Butler, 111.

> He felt for the first time in his life that he was on his own land. He felt that he possessed everything he laid his eyes on. This overwhelming feeling was filling his heart. For even in his village, all the tools were foreign, as were the cars, the cement, the iron, and even his clothes. But here, the boat he is on was made by the Ancient Egyptians, the clothes of Hasoona (the tour guide) were made by an Egyptian as they had been for thousands of years. This island, the Nile, and the houses made from stones in the area, all are ours, made in the historical Nubian way, and the colors we created, as with the ropes, the people, the statue.[155]

The Nubian village tour guide displaces the romantic notion of enduring, continuous culture grown and nourished on one's "own land,"[156] a national inheritance belonging to all Egyptians. The Nubian territory is actually parceled off to real-estate speculators and appropriated by the government, notwithstanding the flooding caused by the Aswan Dam erected by the state. The Nubians no longer own their land, he explains, and the tourism company that hired him is now sold and laying him off. Behind the mirage of enduring continuity, integrity of lineage, and authority of inheritance of Nubian monuments, relics, ancient sites, lie expropriations, displacements, and transfers conjointly managed by transnational companies and the state.[157] So now the village tour guide aspires to go forward as a clandestine migrant. Global capital conceals its mechanisms in an idyllic untouched cultural heritage space even as it achieves a violence of displacements, deterritorialization, expropriations. But Al-Khameesy is intent on locating and exposing its momentum, especially in tourism sites—infused with religious, metaphysical symbolism—but in reality manipulated by capital machinations. Inasmuch as Al-Khameesy challenges the dovecote tower to fulfill its Tower of Babel trajectory yet ultimately deprives the narrative of integrity of genealogy, authority of inheritance (by killing off its inheritor), he disrupts the fantasy of a Nubian heritage surviving as a collective, local project. Its genealogy was disrupted and appropriated decades ago and now its global production team of speculators, buyers, managers conceal themselves behind a repertoire of authenticity and continuity—indigenous local workers, ancient props, sacred monuments and statues—that they have actually expropriated and capitalized upon by separating them from the rights to the land that was once theirs.

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[155] Al-Khameesy, 290.

[156] Al-Khameesy, 290.

[157] On the various and gradual displacements of the Nubians, see Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Jennifer Derr, "Drafting a Map of Colonial Egypt," *Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa,* eds. Diana Davis and Edmund Burke, 136-157 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011). On displacement and the tourism in Nubia, see Derek Gregory, "Colonial Nostalgia and Cultures of Travel: Spaces of Constructed Visibility in Egypt," *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism,* ed. Nezar Alsayyad , 111-151 (London: Routledge, 2001). On the Nubian heritage campaign, see Butler, chapter 3.

Ironically, disrupted genealogy and severed links to heritage and inheritance locally feature in the novels as means of consolidating a national heritage site, a utopic cultural idyll, to signify civilizational continuity, endurance, for transnational appeal. Sites of memory are inextricably linked with deterritorialization and dislocation, an exponential loss of place. In these novels we see cultural preservations, as put forth by EMP initiatives and national actors, effect deterritorialization not only when sites (as memory and discourse) move across space and time in the form of reproductions in different socio-spatial contexts. But we see that whether on Zohry's scenic and spectacular Alexandria's shores or Al-Khameesy's tourist sanctuary of Nubian territory, these culturally preserved sites actually displace their inhabitants onto a neighboring slum, in the former, or sever the indigenous' historical connection to the land, in the latter. Bounded and hierarchalized spaces, they are managed through artifice and subterfuge. Concealment of displacement's violence to preserve an image of sanctity is integral to "utopian organization": securing spatial orderings requires "disruption, misery, poverty, exclusion," part of the "interplay between securing and obscuring processes of utopian organization."[158] The double movement of securing and obscuring undergirds capitalism's deliberate process of obscuring of its production. A discipline of spaces, borders, and bodies is the effect of not only "illegal migration" but tourism in the novel, producing both the desire for the ideal and the repulsion of unwanted forces. Tourists and clandestine migrants come to represent utopia's desires and fears on both ends of the cross-border spectrum in the novel itself, a heteroropic composition in which clandestinity of migration comes to dialogically reflect on and interact with the visibility of bodies and spaces expected in tourism.

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[158] Martin Parker, *Utopia and Organization* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publications, 2002), 120.

Clandestine migrant narratives locate in landed utopias and their exclusionary strategies the same process of securing and obscuring effect the Mediterranean Sea's desubstantialization as the exclusionary border par excellence. In fact, much of Egypt's clandestine migration literature subverts a celebratory globalization discourse by projecting imagery of trans/nationalist controls onto the journey. The sea is represented both as "liquid wilderness," elemental wild zone, disconnected from human agency and in the intimacy of human practice. The literature vacillates between capturing wild natural spacings of the Mediterranean and its historically constructed fluid contours to reflect its rendering as global double imaginary, both natural barrier and socially constructed site of trespass. For example, in novelist Fouad Qandeel's prose piece "Ahzan al Bahr"/"The Sea's Tragedies" (2007) on a migrant boat adrift at sea, a vast liquid wilderness surrounds the migrants to the point of horror once they succumb to contemplation at the immensity of its depth: "The rough sea extends out … Vast spaces of hot water … Fifty young men ride [one boat] and their fear at the scene of high waves rising and falling violently does not abate … When their eyes fall on the dark heart of the sea, they begin to fathom the horror of its depths and the gravity of the end …"[159] The sea is a raw, terrifying domain the migrant averts contemplating until he is about to die: only after he has surveyed the shrinking “horizon” and contemplated the failures of his nation does he describe the sea as it swallows him:

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[159] Fouad Qandeel, "Ahzan al-Bahr" ("The Sea's Tragedies"), *Al-Ahram* 44188 November 30, 2007.

> The horizon was shrinking, the sky gloomy/ Behind the clouds I could see the dark mountains/ The waves washed over our heads/ And the winds gave the rocks the power to strike/ Our bodies hugging in farewell rather than welcome/ The sea had no mercy on the innocence of our lives/ The crush of closely packed body after body…

The boat surfaces in the midst of “nowhere,” the waters around it are nothing more than a void: the sea is an encompassing, consuming abyss, devoid of Egyptian and Italian maritime “territorial” markers. The piece is shot through with reference to the sea’s water that functions as a barrier, subsuming the men, wiping out traces of the sea’s national-territorial parameters, unmooring any other physical markers of national belonging. The physical drowning as a central preoccupation in the literature is structurally and formally constituted to effect a drowning out of national belonging, association, affiliation, subjectivity in the border’s waters. The water appears to wipe out the boundary between inside and outside, meaning that one can be located within the territorial waters, but disconnected or excluded from the larger place of the nation, its terra firma double in the literature.

The study of seas, particularly the Mediterranean, has been recuperated primarily because the sea is perceived a methodological and discursive tactic displacing nation-centered frames characteristic of historical and cultural studies.[16] However, the sea’s routes of connectivity, its ports, and coastal cities actually impose their own national borders, often determined by authorities distant from the sea itself. Thus, however much space is designed for inherent

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disconnectedness like the transit spaces of the border waters, narratives of the everyday and the exceptional formally position these spaces, whether conceived as a site of memory disconnected from the present or an extraterritorial space disconnected from the larger place, in a topographical web. DeLoughrey shows the ocean's vastness emerged in18th-century British popular culture as a figure of sublime immensity and gothic terror.[160] The oceanic sublime is linked with emergence of global economies functioning from then until now as capital's myth element, where oceans are placed under a logic of erasure and desubstantialized.[161] Margaret Cohen, writing on the Romantic emergence of the sea in art and literature, contends that 18th-century Romantic sublime treatment of the sea as elemental and wild had displaced earlier depictions attuned to its social labor and construction.[162]

In the same manner, today's sheer visceral response to the "horror" and "gloom" of the sea displaces national, state-centered construction of the waters as territorial, bordered, subject to illegal trespass. The emergence of what I refer to as a necroscape in literature and journalism, the ecology of dead bodies evoking horror, is effected by a topographical rupture, a fracture between the real place of land, governed by laws, history, relations, and the imagined place of the sea, a natural sublime. Thus, Qandeel's overwhelming wilderness is wrought through interminable disorientation wherein the sea is rendered through impressions of empty sky, vigilant clouds, depthless water, a fluid non-place that appears disconnected from the topography that encloses it. "The crush of closely packed body after body," littering an otherwise empty sea, emerges not only in poetry and prose but in widely circulated news images worldwide. Both images and text project forth an uncontained wild dominion, abstract vacancy, liquid wilderness of raw natural power that shoots forth, producing and naturalizing the tragic necroscape of "illegal migration."

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[160] Elizabeth DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 151.

[161] DeLoughrey, 101.

[162] Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Poetic narratives are not only concerned with depicting the clandestine journey on the Mediterranean waters from within one of its boats, but are concerned with the way dispossession constitutes the journey: laments of purposeful, designed social dispossession from Egypt expose the façade of the naturally chaotic, wild, unpredictable sea journey from the boat. Stripping the self of identification is considered part of the process of clandestinity, as the passage of the non-place is achieved by way of "passing", divestment of markers of identification. Qandeel alludes to the "passing" required in the "passage" that many accounts of clandestine migration in Egypt express: the traffickers order the migrants to give up their "ID papers" so as not to be easily identified and arrested. In the way the non-place effects a "non-identity", the piece divests the migrants of specific identifying marks beyond the journalistic style of mass-anonymity by repeatedly referring to them as "fifty young men". Not only do migrants strip themselves of IDs, but they are also instructed to deny their Egyptian identity upon encountering Italy's border guards.[163] At the end of the short piece, the migrants are deported as they "didn't deny they were Egyptians".[164] As I have mentioned, the non-place is not only a space but the effect of the space, a double movement that traces the points of itinerancy and its effects on the itinerant, so that the passage is constitutive in erasing any trace or memory of the migrant's identity. Thus the boat trip achieves a mass Despite the stripping of identity required in clandestine sites, "Ihzan al-Bahr", or "The Grief of the Sea", like other literature on clandestine migration in Egypt, mournfully emphasizes the connection of a collective national identity to clandestine migration by equating the repression of all Egyptians with that of the Egyptian migrants:

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[163] Qandeel, 2007.

[164] Qandeel, 2007.

> There was neither will nor choice or even a preference of best over good at home …. There was nothing but the trip … To unlock the chains that bind and rush outside the court of law that permits nothing but despair, anguish, blindness, the opacity of the horizon, and always the uncertainty of day breaking … How has the fate of Egyptians become nearly the same … This fate of being held between the hammer and the anvil …

While the passage of the boat is narrated to give clues about the stripping of identity required of the passengers, indistinction, indeterminacy, anonymity, a form of "passing" regulated by trafficking in creating a place as well as a people unmoored from a topographical web, the text reclaim the migrants' national identity back within a history of state repression. If the non-place effects a "non-identity" upon its migrants who have surrendered their "ID papers" in an effort to pass through the border, the Qandeel's piece reinserts them back into a larger national Egyptian narrative of a repressive, disciplinary, carceral governance. The impartial elemental void of the sea and the chance morbid abstract vacancy it conveys are shown up as illusion by the resolute impoverishment and disappearance of the migrants and their social value at "home." Well-known Egyptian poet Farooq Gouweida's "My Land Which Is No Longer Mine"[165] (2009) is a boat-passage poem replete with national imagery disorienting the sea migrant. Neither fully alive nor dead, the migrant faces his "executioner" and laments the homeland's deterioration driving him to take the dangerous trip:

> As long as I have lived I asked … Where is the true face of my country?/ Where are the palm trees and the warmth of the valleys/ Nothing appears in the sky above us/ Only the sky and the image of the executioner./ He does not disappear from my sight like he is my fate/ Like the day of Judgment and the day of my birth.

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[165] Farooq Gowueida, "Hathee Biladee Lam Ta'ud Biladee" ("My Land Is No Longer Mine"), *Matha Asabak, Ya Watn?* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorooq, 2009).

Far from home on the border waters of the Mediterranean, the migrant's voice wavers between life and death at the same as it wavers between the site of the boat and the homeland. He shifts between performing his own and dying Egypt's eulogy, mourning the loss of Egypt's "days that have lost their magic/ The noise of horses, the joy of holidays" as he mourns the loss of his own life: "I hoped that one day my country would return/ But it has disappeared just as we have disappeared." His mother in "mourning clothes", the migrant calls into question whether his voice is that of the dying imagining his funeral or the dead whose spirit returns home to witness the scene he left behind. But that there seems to be no distinction between the dying and the dead is taken for granted, as his death on the boat seems to already be a "fact", in that the homeland has already decided on his life and death. In the beginning, he catalogs his surroundings on the boat and spots the executioner: "Nothing appears in the sky above us/ Only the sky and the image of the executioner./ He does not disappear from my sight like he is my fate/ Like the day of Judgment and the day of my birth." Further on in the poem, he reveals that he has already faced the executioner "at home": "On every corner of the homeland/ I have seen the image of the executioner ...": the image of the executioner on the ill-fated boat he sees is the same one he has seen "on every corner of [his] homeland …" The executioner on the boat re-appears later in the poem as the executioner glimpsed at home. The distinction between the dying and the dead is ambiguous insofar as condemnation puts into momentum the "threshold life", insofar as exclusion from a political community is a "living death" sentence.[166] At the executioner's condemnation to a "living death" through exclusion of political rights by way of "oppression, corruption, antagonism" at home, "his life is no longer his own." This threshold existence at home is merely continued on the border waters. Moreover, by extension of the executioner's presence above the homeland and the migrant's boat, the nation and the migrant, both having glimpsed the executioner, have been sentenced to drowning descent, their "lives" no longer theirs, given that death has become inescapable and they remain only alive while awaiting "execution." The border waters and the homeland merge in the migrant imagination, the only link between the two, showing the exceptional space of the boat to be as fluid, chaotic, and deadly as the homeland.

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[166] In *Politics, Metaphysics, and Death*, Andrew Norris presents the figure of the "living dead man" to illuminate the threshold life both inside the legal order as its death can be allowed by that order and outside as its death can constitute neither a homicide nor a sacrifice. Threshold lives lack "almost all the rights and expectations that we characteristically attribute to human existence, and yet were still biologically alive … situated at a limit zone between life and death, inside and outside, in which they were no longer anything but bare life." Using the prisoner under medical experimentation as a contemporary *homo sacer* figure, Norris explains that once condemned, he has

This boat both open to and closed to a web of political and historical relations resonates with the drift of Foucault's ship, the "heterotopia par excellence": "the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea ."[167] The ship, according to Foucault, is the "heterotopia par excellence," dissatisfaction with the socially dominant released into desire to wander the seas, both a closed system, a microcosm, upon itself and an open system "penetrable" to the society around. The boat is precisely heterotopic to the Mediterranean as both frontier and circuit, its passengers have been integrated into the high commercial routes of the Mediterranean in a global economy and thrust out. These poems continually stress the relations between the trans/national order of dispossession, corruption, repression and the dangerous, life-threatening disorder of the boat journey, and the boat's mediating function here is precisely heterotopic in navigating the sea's double global imaginaries. Both of these imaginaries of the Mediterranean, aqua nullius

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already lost his life: "his life is no longer his own, and in that sense he is a 'living dead man'… Indeed, it is precisely insofar as he awaits execution that he remains alive" (11).

[167] Foucault, 27.

and cultural bridge, are reflected in the texts to demonstrate the way the poor and disenfranchised must navigate these imaginaries in the literature, even as the process of globalization, writ by the powerful, continues to write and conceal itself on their passage across the sea.

As opposed to a literature of burning (the sea, identity cards, national identity) in Morocco, clandestine migration literature captures deterritorialization by representing Egypt as a site of drowning. Not only does deterritorialization imply the loss of a wandering subjectivity driven from the homeland on a boat adrift, with the deterritorialized nation forming a diaspora, but it expresses grief for a drowning nation. The sea does not feature as a maritime border in which migrants are suspended between the old and the new world, as national imagery is interpellated into the journey, but a continuous process of global displacement and disorientation. Egyptian literature divests the migrant trajectory of the other shore, drawing the parameters of the journey and global flows to the homeland, and its allegorical extension, the sea. Moreover, despite the texts' glimpse into a trans-Mediterranean circulation of migrants, stowaways, smugglers, diaspora narratives, and capital, they foreclose on narrations of displacement on the other shore, calling attention to the unevenness of mobility between the proximate North and South. The Mediterranean Sea and land are contiguously represented in the novels through processes of globalization not rooted in one place: in *Bahr al-Rom*, Saber describes Egypt's cities in terms of population excess, and then boards a boat packed in excess of its capacity; the national allegory of flood in *Safinat Noh* is substantiated into the abyss of the migrant's "boats of death" and "journey of death"[168]; the "living death"[169] characters experience at home transforms to real death at sea.[170] Removed from a fixed geography, the ship is suspended like the tide, between the shores of the sea. Doomed to shipwreck, its raison d'être lies in the crossing itself, in its passage through the cracks of the policing system of global modernity. The ship is voyage, never destination. Thus, we come to envision the migrants' Mediterranean, what Iain Chambers calls "the new middle passage across the Mediterranean",[171] as more a *process* than a place.

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[168] The "boats of death" to describe in Arabic the flimsy crafts in which many die clandestinely crossing the Mediterranean each year has become common. See "Al-Bahr al-Mutawassat Tahawala ila Maqbara Jimaiyya Tathum Rifat Thihaiyya Zawariq al-Mawt" ("The Mediterranean Sea Has Transformed into a Mass Grave Holding the Remains of Victims in the Boats of Death"), which also refers to the sea's transformation into a cemetery in the Egyptian publication *Al-Ahram*, June 20, 2011, Yassir Shamees, "Qa'warib al-Mawt: Malta Tanqith 16 Masriyan Min Gharq fi al-Bahr al-Mutawassit" ("Boats of Death: Malta Rescues 16 Egyptians from Drowning in the Mediterranean"), in the Egyptian publication *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, 9/20/2010. Describing the trip as a "journey of

Zygmunt Bauman characterizes our era as one of "liquid modernity," as "a civilization of excess, redundancy, waste and waste disposal,"[172] one that produces refugees as "the waste products of globalization"[173], constituted by boundaries between normative and disposable. In *Safinat Noh*, if the scriptural figure of Noah represents a remnant from a system that preceded the decreation of the world and the only person entrusted to create another, his literary

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death" has also become common. See Sabry al-Haw, "Al-Hayat al-Ta'iha Fi al-Bahr al-Abayath al-Mutawassit, Min al-Mass'ool," in the Moroccan publication *Hespress* May 15, 2012. http://hespress.com/writers/53912.html ; Fathila Mukhtary, "Journey of Death Captured on Tape the Night of the Algera-Egypt Match", in the Algerian publication *Djazairess* (Algeria Press), 12/19/09.

[169] A recent USAID study estimates approximately 40% of the Egyptian population live below the poverty line. The study also reveals that Egypt suffers from a high chronic unemployment rate of 15-25 % and a lack of public participation in political life. According to the World Bank's World Development Indicators for 2006, 43.9 per cent of all Egyptians live on less than $2 a day while prices continue to rise at unprecedented speed. See USAID, *Egypt Economic Performance Assessment*, 2008. Also, on reasons for Egyptian migration due to poverty, unemployment and standard of living vs. risks involved, see for interviews, Gihan Shahine, "Dying to Live," *Al-Ahram*, 2/21-2/27/2008.

[170] The widely circulated tragic reference to Egyptian migrants choosing between a living death at home and a real death on the sea or an Italian prison is symbolized in the prose piece by their place between the hammer and the anvil, the tool used to violently strike and the tool used to absorb the shocks of the strikes. Moreover, this symbolism of violent migrant carceral immobility in the place between "hammer and anvil" is appropriated as a collective national struggle, allowing the writer his prose to counter the non-place of the boat with the image of an Egyptian national space and the non-identity with a collective Egyptian identity. The integrated topos of the nation and the migrant emplot the non-place of the boat in a web of historical and political relations. But also the workers' symbol of practical and political (re)construction of the nation is subverted into a symbol of destruction wherein the migrants in having "unlocked the shackles" of its juridical hold have been heroized rather than criminalized back into the national narrative. The "non-place" and its complementary "non-identity" emerge in contrast to the writer's affirmation of national identity to critique the failures of the nation driving the desire for death over a "living death".

[171] Chambers, 9.

[172] Chambers, 97.

[173] Chambers, 66.

descendants represent a modern remnant, what Spivak calls provocatively the “detritus of globality,” one signifying the ambivalence plaguing globalized modernity, of spaces of incommensurability.[174] He would emerge to expose the contradictions of his intellectual ascendants, the antinomies of the Mediterranean bridge “between cultures,” an orientation toward a Mediterranean space in Egypt based on promotion of flows between Western and Eastern scholarship, culture, and information that remains utopic in organization—securing and concealing within its re-invented Mediterranean cultural package global participation in structures that produce poverty, political disenfranchisement, and exclusion that give rise to the much feared will to migrate in the southern Mediterranean.

As a clandestine migrant on the northern shore, he would emerge as a figure from the globalized margins infiltrating the smooth surface of global development at the center. He would be a reminder of dead young people at sea, of migrant internment camps. His position would be discrepant by pointing to the unevenness of the dominant discourse on globalization. He would come to embody sites of contradiction from which he hails, a village already globalized, thus threatening the stability of modern representations of global European identity against which migrant identity is apprehended.

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[174] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 87.

Chapter 4

Across the Sahara, Toward the Mediterranean—Transits: Impossible Arrival in Sefi Atta's "Twilight Trek"

In the short story "Twilight Trek," Nigerian-American writer Sefi Atta charts the journey of an unnamed migrant from an unknown African country across the Sahara desert only to end up in Morocco—an informal encampment on the mountains encircling Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla on the Moroccan Mediterranean coastline. The narrator initiates the literary itinerary with one word, a mid-point on a journey that has already begun: "Gao".[175] The narrator has already traveled alone to Goa, Mali, in order to link up with other migrants and smuggling networks that take him north. What follows are the defining marks of the clandestine's journey—false ID (papers): "An agent hands me a fake passport—my name is not Jean-Luc. I'm not from Mali and I'm definitely no Francophone". Still in Africa, he is willing to identify his location, but never his name nor his origins. That the story of the journey depends on resistance to self-identification to continue reveals the extent to which secrecy and invisibility are crucial to the clandestine's route and literary journey. The story henceforth is marked by obscurity in vigilance of detection—everything is set in motion so as to escape static attribution and identifiable location. The nonchalance with which the narrator maintains the secrecy of his name throughout the story is matched by the detachment which he integrates his secret past of familial exploitation—he reveals casually that his mother had tried to sell him off to one of her clients: "'He'll only touch, she promised.' I ran away from home after that, lived on the street, played football with a group of louts and discovered just how professional I was at the sport. In fact, for a while before I warned them to stop understating my talent, my football friends were calling me … What's his name? Pele?"[176] His nonchalance, a distancing tactic, to his past and present perilous journey reflects a desire to keep moving, in fact speeding, barreling over his emotional landscape, to maintain a prized agile and speedy mobility. Therein psychological distance, separation from the past, is mutually constituted by the physical, geographical. The detachment of his narrative style almost belabors the mindful position of filiative/filial detachment devoutly incanted in postcolonial intellectual circles as integral to the modern anti-nationalist condition of exile (estranged from the multitude, nation, collective group). Yet still on his journey and not yet in exile, his detachment merely functions as preparation, or exercise, in being exiled while still in transit; but, this traveler is not looking for roots and ground, but speed until the journey is safely considered over.

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[175] Sefi Atta, "Twilight Trek," *News from Home* (Northampton, MA: Interlink, 2010), 81.

The lack, the condition of negativity and absence, has been noted to mark the identity of the undocumented, illegal, sans-papiers, the *without*.[177] Atta's attribution of anomic stature to the narrator still in transit, throughout the story, functions both to reflect the narrator's journey within the story and to gesture proleptically toward his illegibility, both discursively and in terms of political recognition and subjectivity, once he reaches his destination, the European shore. On one hand, Atta's construction of the anomic is a reflection of the migrant-in-transit, cautious of revealing his identity amidst dangerous elements of the Sahara and its smugglers and the mountain on the Mediterranean and its rag-tag group of migrants desperate to reach Europe. On the other hand, the absence of the narrator's "real" identity is highlighted in the beginning of the story, in Gao, before he even crosses the Sahara. Moreover, he does reveal much about his identity including his personal history, like his mother's manipulations, her prostitution, her attempts to prostitute him, and to have him follow in her path. Since the narrative structure follows an itinerary, the narrative concedes that the journey does not end in the Moroccan mountains (since the group still harbors the hope of crossing the Mediterranean to Europe), so within the narrative space of the in-transit route, the story submits a preemptive strike of illegibility on its narrator. By "preemptive strike", I mean the pre-discursive, epistemological closure on migrant identity and political representation before it arises in public consciousness and perception. The anomic in the story is not just a reflection of the journey's chronotope but an anticipation of the post-narrative-journey when the narrator as a clandestine in Europe, undocumented, will most likely continue to be "nameless" without the referent of ID documents, illegible in the mimetic economy of political representation.

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[176] Atta, 82.

[177] For an interrogation of the status of being "without", see Jacques Derrida, "Derelictions of the Right to Justice", *Negotiations: Interventions and Interviews 1971-2000*, ed. Elizabeth Rottenberg, 133-146 (Stanford: Stanford Press, 2002).

Atta's mode of storytelling, in effecting an epistemological closure of political recognition for migrants before the other shore is reached—her own story's preemptive strike—is further illuminated by her appropriation of the African "exodus".[178] Her appropriation of the exodus does not function as a parallel to the media-generated apocalyptic scenario that delivers redemptive closure or the post-apocalyptic scenario that offers mournful retrospectives—the end of the narrative is not the end of journey time, *as the migrants know it*, where migrants assuredly arrive or are intercepted (and another journey temporality must be reset in motion). The apocalyptic stance generated by the media and EU policy invokes the End, of European civilization, but Atta assumes the eschatological framework, integrating the Exodus trope and topography. She subverts their exclusively redemptive potential, as the characters become locked in a double exile in North Africa and then potentially in Europe. She also shows, rather than migration's destructive effect on Europe, the EU's apocalyptic optic effect in the reconfiguration (and implicit destruction) of African territory and mobility, as it is continually rendered unauthorized from Africa to the EU.

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[178] Atta, 93.

In regards to the EU's externalization of its borders on African territory, French philosopher Etienne Balibar analyzes the intersection of the EU's own border and identity management in Africa, where it has erected a fence reinforced by "fortifications, including ditches, roads, towers of observation, the cutting of trees, and leveling of hills, *on both sides of the border* separating the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the Moroccan side of the Strait of Gibraltar." In "Strangers as Enemies: Further Reflections on the Aporias of Citizenship," Balibar briefly discusses the historical transformation of border management from within to its current displacement to the "other side":

> [The fence is] located on the South Bank of the Mediterranean and divid[es] from its environment a European (or more generally Northern) enclave, whose existence results from complex colonial processes and vicissitudes, and [acquires] now a broader function. My hyperbolic suggestion is that [it] can be viewed as [a] section of a "great Wall of Europe" under construction, except, and this is very important, that the Great Wall of China was built over the centuries *inside the Empire*. The great Wall of Europe is built *on the other side* (but in fact what this shows is also that we find ourselves in a geo-historical situation in which the location of the border, and therefore also its concept, is a complex and equivocal notion).[179]

Balibar's focus on Fortress Europe remains on the revitalization of European identity against a generalized Other, on how the erection of Europe's borders produces the identity of the stranger in counterstance to the citizen. Current analyses of Fortress Europe are rooted primarily in the construction of the identities of subject and citizen that reinforce the prospects for what Balibar calls the "re-colonizing" of migration. Balibar's concept refers to both the way national migration policies are generated under European directives and the transformation of the migrant entering the European Union into a second-class citizen. He claims that since the "fortification" of the notion of "European citizenship," individuals from the member states are no longer "fully strange" to one another in the sense that individuals from "third states" ("extra-communitarian residents") are strange to them. But what Balibar does not explore and which I hope to explore in discussing the transformation of Morocco into a borderland and more broadly the reconfiguration of territorial and mobility in Africa is how the dissolution of "strangeness" within Europe has had the effect of accentuating the concept of "strangeness" within Africa, that is across Sub-Saharan and Arab Africa, by virtue of the European Union's enlistment of Morocco in the Schengen agreement and into what has been referred to as the role of collaborating *gendarme* in Africa.[180] Etienne Balibar has described the African-European border as '"a normalized state of exception,"' in which "the violent police operations continuously performed by some European states (with the help of neighboring non-European subject states, such as Libya or Morocco) on behalf of the whole [European] community, including the establishment of camps, amount to a kind of permanent border war against migrants."[181] As Bensaâd explains, Europe has increasingly tried to "deport" migration controls, "mustering the Maghreb countries into the role of a sub-contractor for repression delocalized far from European borders."[182] Morocco in particular has become a "deterritorialized site of filtration," coerced through agreements and financial aid into acting as Europe's gendarme.[183] The Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, Europe's only land border with Africa, have been transformed into what have been described as "aggressively defended fortress cities, enclosed by security fences that are patrolled by the Moroccan army and Spain's Guardia Civil"[184] and reinforced with "infrared cameras […] as well as tear gas canisters, noise and movement sensors and control towers."[185] In 2005 hundreds of migrants from the Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa rushed the fences around Melilla, eleven died in the ensuing violent repression.

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[179] Etienne Balibar, "Strangers as Enemies: Further Reflections on the Aporias of Citizenship," Working Paper no. 06/4 (Hamilton, Canada: Institute on Globalization and the Human Condition, McMaster University, 2006).

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[180] See European Council, *The Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security, and Justice in the European Union,* 2005/C53/01, OJ C53/1, 3.3.2005(a). To secure Fortress Europe during the "Age of Terror", the European Council issued the *Hague Programme*, a five-year plan designed to "protect the field of freedom, justice, and security" that is driven by an agenda to target terrorists and "illegal" immigrants. The polluting, degenerative, contaminating figure with which I opened this chapter operates centrifugally in terms of symbolizing the extent to which the conceptions of a nation's purity are bound in the discursive construction of national communities. Morocco's position in monitoring the borders against the illegal migration of its own citizens as well as citizens from the sub-Saharan states inscribes it in international politics as a *gendarme* and at the same as a security threat capable of importing Islamist terrorism into the European Union. This occupation of both the figure of threat and security determines that Morocco as collaborator be both "compromised," or contaminated, and thus potentially "compromising," or contaminating.

The EU's borders dynamic and discourse have had resonance in Morocco. In the Arabic-language Tangier newspaper *Al-Shamal,* a 2005 article describing sub-Saharan Africans trying to scale the security fences separating Morocco from the Spanish-ruled enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla featured the following alarmist headline: "'Black locusts' are taking over Morocco!"[186] Moroccan authorities banned *al-Shamal* for using racist language, but the European and North African press continued to use terms like "massive invasion" and "plague" to describe migrant attempts to travel from Africa to the European Union.[187] The headline highlights two dimensions of emergent borders and exclusion that come into play: while the headline draws a connection between sub-Saharan African migration and a threatened, infested, and degenerated sense of community within Morocco, it displaces contemporary migration discourse in the EU onto the border anxiety of Morocco, a North African state. Through the locust symbol, discourses of migration "invasions" and "swarms" in Morocco convey apocalyptic visions of nation-state obsolescence: the well-organized military advance of swarms emerging from the biblical Abyss leave utter irrevocable devastation in their wake activated by the Apocalypse. Yet, EU's own fortress anxieties, often expressed through apocalyptic images of migrant "exodus" and "floods," have transformed Morocco into an outsourced EU border-patrol nation.[188] While Morocco's transformation into a "borderland" widens the periphery around Europe in anticipation of migrant "swarms" and "invasions," public consciousness in Europe is allayed by replayed media affirmations of deferred migrant crossings, reduced to filmed interceptions of flimsy boats on the Mediterranean, displaying the preserved integrity of European borders by military operations.[189] This apprehension of migrant mobility constitutes different means of European space production—one anticipatory, policy-based, and preemptive of territorial invasion by migrant masses, and the other retrospective, media-staged, performative, and redemptive of territorial integrity from invasion.

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[181] Etienne Balibar, "At the Borders of Citizenship: A Democracy in Translation?" *European Journal of Social Theory* 13, no. 3 (August 2010): 315.

[182] Bensaâd, 18.

[183] Jackson, 54.

[184] Jackson, 55.

[185] "World's Barriers: Ceuta and Melilla," *BBC News* (5 November 2009) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8342923.stm

[186] *Al-Shamal*, September 12, 2005.

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[187] Elie Goldschmidt, "Storming the Fences: Morocco and Europe's Anti-Migration Policy," *MERIP* 239 (Summer 2006). http://www.merip.org/mer/mer239/storming-fences

[188] Analysts of African migration to the EU, like Hein de Haas and Collinson, have pointed out the "apocalyptic imagery" (de Haas, 1305), including "exodus," "plagues," and "floods," in discourse of migration to the EU. See De Haas, "The Myth of Invasion: The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 7 (2008): 1305-1322. See Sarah Collinson, *Shore to Shore: The Politics of Migration in Euro-Maghreb Relations* (London: RIIA, 1996). Collinson discusses the "paranoia complex … which centered on apocalyptic images of a Europe under siege" (40), where the threat of Islam, combined with the rising North African demographic, was deemed most serious. Also, Jean Raspail's 1973 French novel *Camp des Saints* (Paris: Laffont, 1973), *The Camp of the Saints* (trans. Norman Shapiro, Petoskey, MI: Social Contract Press, 1994), which warns of an approaching apocalypse in the form of non-European migration floods, is a precursor to contemporary apocalyptic migration discourse.

[189] Biblical references to the military characteristic of locusts advancing like a well-organized army, their concentration in numbers as they swarm and congregate to the point of eating their own weight in food, and, subsequently, transforming the Garden of Eden into desert waste, their plague-like effects, are plentiful. In Exodus, the Lord brings a powerful east wind to carry locust swarm from the desert into the developed areas, destroying and

Popular discourse centered on an archive of visual representations displaying the breaching of Fortress Europe typically harnesses the trope of containment that posits those *within* borders as expressing acute anxiety over encroachment of outsiders. While Morocco has been enlisted by the EU to monitor its borders, it is clearly not a member, but rather one of its outsourced border-patrol countries. Since Morocco, as well as Tunisia and Libya, have been enlisted in the management of European borders and, implicitly, European unity and identity, European borders project their influence beyond the EU territory.[190] While the Moroccan press may express racist anxiety over the encroachment of its own national borders by transit migrants, border anxiety may also reveal Morocco's position as Africa's *gendarme*, a policing arm, in the invasion drama.[191] In the EU, migration panic and anxiety are simultaneously generated and

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ravaging pastureland and agricultural fields See John Beck, *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2010), 158.

[190] EU member states have arranged several pacts with African leaders to stem the flow of migrants. In July 2006, at an EU-AU (African Union) joint summit, EU delegates made African migration to Europe a central issue. The EU has delegated migration management of trans-Saharan movements to Maghreb states (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya), out-sourcing border control where the free flow of people had been practiced up until recently in Africa. Under the agreements, the EU would provide aid, financial support, etc., to countries that increase monitoring of undocumented migrants. Because of their proximity to Africa, Southern EU member states are most affected by migration issues. So in addition to the agreements between EU and North African states, states like Italy, Malta, and Spain, have equally concluded agreements with some African states. The Spanish government, for instance, sponsors advertisements on Senegalese television on the risks and the dangers of migration to Europe. In 2003, Libya and Italy entered a pact to stem African migration, since Libya is a key transit point for illegal migration. In a visit to Italy, Gaddafi warned that Europe would turn "black" unless it was more rigorous in turning back immigrants, and said the bill for sealing crossing routes would be at least €5bn a year. The Libya-Italy pact yielded immediate results for Libya: Berlusconi strongly lobbied among EU member states to lift the embargo against Libya for the Lockerbie bombing. In 2006, Spain and Morocco, like Italy and Libya, signed pacts for joint border surveillance efforts.

[191] Pacts between the EU and North African states have given rise to a general anti-immigration stance. Mass border charges occur at Ceuta and Melilla involving the loss of lives. Moroccan authorities have intensified internal anti-immigration campaigns, deporting migrants and abandoning others in the Saharan desert. Libya has also come under severe criticism for playing the EU's police in Africa. Xenophobia has fuelled strict internal measures against

contained within recurring media images intent on delivering an endpoint to the clandestine journey narrative through a perpetual loop of stranded migrants captured in the process of interception, showing apprehended transgressors never reaching their destination. Video artist and theorist Ursula Biemann refers to this media event-compression in clandestine migration imagery's "fixed spatial determination" as a cinematographically staged "shot," wherein "reality is no longer represented but targeted … [and] this particular shot becomes the symbol that encapsulates the meaning in the entire drama" of EU territorial redemption.[192] The staccato of western media images capturing intercepted migrants simultaneously evokes European anxiety in discovering migrant "invasions," yet also brings satisfying spectacular closure to territorial transgressions by showing them resolved—migrant "tides" and "floods stemmed, an "exodus" averted. These apocalyptic projections of EU obsolescence in the midst of migrant plague-like "tides", "floods", "exodus," and the ensuing disorder ironically function in the media also as a means of ordering and disciplining the coming "invasion" and its inevitable destructive influence. So while western media images replay the "end" of migration, endlessly deferring arrival beyond European shores for migrants and the apocalyptic end, the closure, of a world of securely bounded EU territory, they displace other points in the journey, absenting Africa and African-EU cooperation, from the border-fetishizing frame, the theatrically staged "shot." In the shadow and background of the "shot" preserving European borders and identity's integrity, a preemptive migration policy has come to deconstruct and reconstruct African territory and identity—which had in previous decades enjoyed freedom of movement across the continent—in

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illegal immigrants. In 2005, the Egyptian police killed 20 Sudanese refugees, who marched to protest the conditions in their improvised camps in Cairo.

[192] Ursula Biemann, "Dispersing the Viewpoint: Sahara Chronicle", 79. http://www.geobodies.org/books-and-texts/texts

new ways, namely illegalizing access to what people had once considered their legitimate zone of mobility, so much so that freedom of mobility within Europe has come to hinge on the containment of mobility within Africa.[193] The construction of the Self through the Other (that had previously represented colonial relations in Africa)[194] now assumes a particular territorial dimension in the EU's formation as a borderless zone dependent on African nations to restructure their border governance. Despite EU policies of re-mapping African territory and its contingent mobility in an ever-mutating proxy border monitoring system to anticipate and preempt the breaching of EU borders from migrant "exodus," "tides," "floods," "invasions" and "locusts," the repetitive media imagery of Europe redeemed from the brink of migrant plagues at the edge of its shores simultaneously opens up the horizons of apocalyptic discourse for a preemptive and a redemptive project of statecraft.

At first, the distinction between a preemptive and redemptive project of statecraft appears to point to the distinction between the panoramic and the spectacular archive or documentation of the panoramic—the difference between the EU's unbroken view of surroundings through anticipatory extra-territorial control in proxy-nation migration-management and its retrospective record of interception, one that attempts to evoke a cognitive panorama, at least.[195] However, unlike the open panoramic view imposed by the EU and even the US to monitor mobility, the compulsive, repetitive media loop of interceptions (and sometimes intensely documented arrivals) is a closed-circuit retrospective that is not productive of a difference in outcome, which in its recursivity offers only suspense. So, although proxy means of preemptive salvation are put into effect from the possibility of an interminable wave, flood, and tide of migrant "invasions," in the apocalypse-encoded migrant discourse, the *eschaton*, the providentially mandated moment of salvation, appears to never arrive. This is because the closed loop of images only offer exponential risk, a recourse or return to the moment of "invasion," rather than a final closure to or salvation from the coming migrant "swarm," an "invasion" that cannot be documented, reported, contained, thus representing an everlasting apocalyptic moment. That is, even though the discourse's imagery appears apocalyptic in the media disclosure, revelation, or unveiling of migrant "floods" and "exodus", radical transformation in the form of redemption inherent to apocalyptic processes is ultimately absent. Rather than providing an apocalyptic optic of the

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[193] For a discussion on migration within Africa, see Ninna Nyberg Sorenson, *Mediterranean Transit Migration* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2006). Also see Biemann, "Dispersing the Viewpoint: The Sahara Chronicles". Migration is a long-term feature of Africa and closely linked to local development in some areas. Rural-to-urban migration and cross-border migration into neighboring countries still constitute the bulk of sub-Saharan African migration, even though international migration is on the rise. Sorenson provides figures showing the relatively small number of international/inter-regional migrants from sub-Saharan Africa: "In 2004, an estimated 20-50 millions migrants were thought to be residing in Africa, whereas the estimate for international migrants of African origin was 16.3 million. Of these, the majority are refugees. By 2005 it is projected that one in ten Africans will be living outside their countries of origin. Out-migration from African is still relatively small. Of the 3.3 million Africans estimated to be living in the EU, the majority (2.3 million) are North Africans: only about one million came sub-Saharan African."

[194] In "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa", Terence Ranger identifies the growth of European invented tradition in the late 1800s as coinciding with the advent of European settlement and colonization in Africa, indicating that ideologies of imperialism in Africa were integral to the construction of tradition within Europe, which is based on the Hegelian notion of seeing the self through the construction of the other in framework of the master/man or the master/servant dialectic. See Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in *The Invention of Tradition,* eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 211-262 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

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[195] In fact, this panorama assumes a more material form since leaked US embassy cables from Spain reveal globalized counterterrorism assumes a new, further embedded stance than suggested by "multilateral cooperation" info sharing, in its surveillance of Moroccan "mobility", and by extension, the rest of Africa. The proposal for an American counterterrorism and intelligence center in Barcelona, leaked in a 2005 US embassy cable in Madrid, sets new precedents for control of Mediterranean transit nodes and control of Maghrebian and African mobility. The proposed counterterrorism surveillance center signals a more localized embeddedness in global counterterrorism operations, but, to be clear, not in the suspect nation—Morocco or parts of the Maghreb. That is, it is neither restricted to policing from a post within a suspect nation nor is it restricted to policing that movement that goes on within a suspect nation. Rather, the US's transnationalized surveillance seeks to straddle EU's African entry gate, Spain, with one eye toward Africa and the other toward Europe. While the center seems small, its aims are panoramic. Explicitly, it ambitiously proposes to unify "resources and expertise of Spanish and regional authorities in a more focused campaign" as a "force multiplier for [their] joint fight". Implicitly, it attempts to stage itself on a center platform of border policing between the EU and a migrant Morocco that yields the illusion of a full panoramic view. The panorama displays all "sides" of war on terror by stitching and assembling multiple images of a view: Moroccan "immigration", "drug trafficking", centers of "jihadist" susceptibility into a single wide image with terror-vulnerable EU on one side and terror-suspect Africa on the other with the US purveying all at its center. WikiLeaks, "Subject: Spain: An Active Front in the War on Terror," US Embassy in Madrid, cable #05MADRID3260 http://www.cablegatesearch.net/cable.php?id=05MADRID3260

EU's disintegration "under siege" or drowning from the "floods", the discourse and imagery are repetitively locked in the *post-apocalyptic* mode, which rather than orienting toward "the sharp moment of death" (as well as the glorious European rebirth it prefigures), lingers on "the interminable duration of dying".[196] While the discourse is constatively apocalyptic, it is, through the closed media loop that interminably lingers on the "exodus" and "invasion" of the EU, performatively post-apocalyptic.[197] The post-apocalyptic moment, according to James Berger, is oriented toward the past, toward trauma, and perpetually backward-looking, thus the closed circuit of media retrospectives is only invested with a binding, irrevocable regret.[198] The closed circuit of retrospective moments of interception do not gesture toward or add up to a deferred project of salvation, redemption in the form of a world of securely bounded nation-states in the EU. The time for that appears to have come and gone, because rather than progress toward the death/end of a world of securely bounded EU nation-states before opening up the horizon to sequentiality, migrant discourse keeps reproducing itself in the recursive loop of Europe of erasure and death (of identity and values).

The closed-circuit imagery directs the audience gaze backward toward the endlessly deferred "endpoints" of a clandestine African "exodus," intercepted on the edges of an already endangered Europe, which still implicitly (since the eschatological analogy still stands) views itself as the "Promised Land." The media aesthetic's elusive "endpoint," the cinematographically recursive foiled border crossing, assures that appearances remain as they are in a "timeless time"[199]. This—the continuity of "appearance" generated by the media—is the power of circulation itself, in Rancierian terms. According to Jacques Rancière in his exploration of aesthetic politics, the "policing" power of circulation assures a continuity of appearance, scene, aesthetic, a paradigm of visuality that orients the attention in such a way that what emerges as relevant is that which makes "sense", what is available to sense perception, what is already sensible (as what is available to bodily sensations and comprehension).[200] For Rancière, politics is what interrupts the index of knowledge/sensible, what he refers to as a dissensus that entails a "discomposition" of the "correspondences of signification" that disrupts the assignation of value, identity, or reference to an object.[201] I bring dissensus up in the field of visibility and audibility established by the circuitous loop of interceptions because although the objects are made visible/audible in the shots, they only emerge therein as subjects (demanding political subjectivity) at the border of the EU, as *border subjects*, clandestine, un-ID'd, undocumented, and unnamed, whose anomic stature also render reigning modes of perceptibility to be suspended at the border. By "border subjects," I do not mean subjects who inhabit and traverse territorial and cultural borders as part of the everyday, but I mean subjects who are identified with the border as frontier, the border's excluded, those who attempted to disrupt the circulation of appearances as they were in a mobility-media regime, the consensus, by not only crossing the border but the "partition of the sensible." But for *migrants*, those who cross the border and enter without "proper" identification, the possibility of perceptual attention as a condition to political subjectivity is also suspended, internally, within borders. It is not just their anomic stature that complicates (the part-taking of crossing), which I will discuss further in terms of the anomic's perceptibility and representation. The temporality of border subjects in the media closed-circuit loop of interceptions (also policing reassurance that things appearances remain as they are, a consensus of an uneasy, dying Europe) is a temporality of deferral, waiting, an elusive endpoint, that reproduces itself in the condition of clandestine migrant existence even after arrival, a limbo between perceptual attention/sensible/partition of the sensible, political representation, and citizenship. The power of circulation, to keep things appearing as they are, consensus, on the border is continuous within, not collapsing the border dynamic, but releasing the border dynamic within, to seeing migrants as borders.

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[196] Elana Gomel, "The Plague of Utopias: Pestilence and the Apocalyptic Body," *Twentieth Century Literature*, 46, no. 4 (2000), 408.

[197] In John Austin's 1955 Harvard lectures published in *How to Do Things with Words*, he differentiates between "constative" utterances, which describe an action, and "performative" utterances, which perform, or institute, the action to which they refer. See Austin, *How to Do Things with Words (*Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

[198] James Berger, *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse (*Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

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[199] Manuel Castells, *End of Millennium* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

[200] This "partition of the senses" is discussed further in Jacques Rancière's *Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible,* trans. Gabriel Rockhill (New York: Continuum, 2004). Rancière asserts that "politics" arise as the *dissensus* that disrupts the flow or circuit of the sensible, that which is counted as sensible (audibility and visibility of new political subjectivities is the source of a fundamental *dissensus*). But *dissensus* is not quite reduced to dissent or antagonism. For Rancière, aesthetic acts are "configurations of experience that create new modes of sense perception and induce novel forms of political subjectivity." Thus, political subjectivity is understood in terms of actions, silences, thoughts, dreams, perceptions, or enunciations, not in terms of social content, but as the production of formal arrangements and forms of sense distribution, which are aesthetic. Rancière provides a historical example of the plebeian secession on the Aventine Hill in Ancient Rome in 1830, when the plebeians demanded a treaty with the patricians which was denied on the basis that plebeians did not have human speech, to illustrate *dissensus* as simultaneously the disruption of the sensible/perceptible and the emergence of a political subjectivity: Rancière, 2004, 9. in order to be audibly understood and visibly recognized as legitimate speaking subjects, the plebeians must not only argue their position but must also construct the scene of argumentation in such a manner that the patricians might recognize it as a world in common. The principle of political interlocution is thus disagreement; that is, it is the discordant understanding of both the objects of reference and the speaking subjects. In order to enter into political exchange, it becomes necessary to invent the scene upon which spoken words may be audible, in which objects may be visible, and individuals themselves may be recognized. Jacque Rancière and Davide Panagia, "Dissenting Words: A Conversation with Jacques Rancière," translated by Panagia, *Diacritics* 30, no. 2 (2000), 116. In Rancière's example, the narratological demand to justify right to speech begins not with an argument but a mandate to "invent the scene upon which spoken words may be audible", and this in his formulation is politics-as-dissensus: the emergence of a subjectivity whose appearance, determined by their own construction of a scene for "political interlocution," is insensible because, according to phenomenological preconditions they do not possess human speech, so it cannot register according to the reigning modes of perceptibility.

[201] Davide Panagia, "The Improper Event: On Jacque Rancière's Mannerism", *Citizenship Studies* 13, no. 3 (2009), 299.

While western media point to the exodus in apocalyptic terms to signal migrant invasions ultimately leading to the EU, providing a narrative of redemptive closure, Atta and other writers also link the journey within and out of Africa to an exodus. This initially suggests a liberatory identification with slaves escaping oppression.[202] But, Atta shows African migration to the EU's Promised Land allegorically drawing and redrawing the map of Africa into chaotic rather than redemptive zones—redemptive as signaled by the original exodus narrative. Atta undermines the currently redrawn African territory—be it the Sahara, the North African Mediterranean coastal cities, or the cites south of the Sahara—as passages of potential captivity to the ultimate space of liberation (from poverty, war, familial pressure), drawing back to the original exodus referent. The original exodus narrative ends in triumphal return—a return from history's exile, but for clandestine migrants in the story, triumph in the form of liberation or arrival is absent. Because the journey narrative does not "end" with the anticipated destination (the EU), but rather another transit point, the Moroccan coastal encampment, the narrative does not provide redemptive closure—for either the migrants or for the western media narrative of migrant invasions. The migrants are figured into an uncertain, unlocatable, volatile process where transience could very well end with the closure of the story, marking the end of the story not as closure but as further, exponential transience, an intermediary space.

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[202] *I Am Justice: A Journey Out of Africa* (Preface Digitial, 2009) is Justice Amin's story of migration from Ghana to Libya, where he settles for some time, before traveling to Europe on a flimsy fiberglass boat. Transmitted to

The exodus trope is prefigured during the desert crossing when the narrator meets a woman on the same journey who begins to read to him the story of Moses from a pocket Bible.[203] Patience, the woman who reads from her Bible in the desert becomes the narrator's camp companion where she continues to transmit verses of future salvation obsessively to block out the devastation around her ("she says it's only God that can save us now").[204] When he realizes the proximity of the sea and their means of escape to Europe, he tries to tell Patience, but she halts the exchange with a verse from Exodus: "I have heard the complaints of the Israelites.

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journalist Paul Kenyon, the story reveals in its title a resonance with its literary predecessor (*Out of Africa*) if only to "wash up" on the Mediterranean shores as its material other.

[203] Atta, 86.

[204] Atta, 90.

Tell them at twilight they will have meat to eat, and in the morning they will have all the bread they want …"[205] Within the scriptural exodus narrative the desert wilderness functions for the exiled as the passage to the real and final salvation via return to homeland and from history's exile. The wilderness/desert functions not only as a site of punishment but also salvation where God transforms the barrenness into a Paradise, or rejuvenation of the spirit through recognition of God.[206] Salvation is often identified with desert imagery, because the wilderness-desert operates as the testing ground of morality in the face of adversity and danger that would ultimately deliver the eschatological moment. But after crossing the desert (the wilderness), the eschaton, the providentially mandated moment of salvation, does not arrive. The migrants are dumped off at the foot of a mountain encircling Ceuta and Melilla where they climb up to an informal encampment set up by long-entrenched clandestines who have been waiting to cross the Mediterranean, some for years. Emerging through the desert-wilderness, the characters do not become liberated, politically recognizable, or even assume their real names—the migrants retreat further up the mountain to hide from police and the narrator never reveals his real name, becoming further illegible, discursively, perceptually, and politically.

The topographical division that the story presumes to set up from Goa to Sahara desert to Moroccan mountain encampment through an optic of redemption from the desert's seemingly interminable wandering and loss of identity disintegrates as Atta sets up a continuous zone of limbo, hiatus, and retreat, suggesting that eschatological preparation of suffering for salvation is not bound by place, namely the fearful desert. Because the narrator's mother has embedded herself in his consciousness, he imagines her horrified reaction to the transit camp as a type of limbo, purgatory, wherein migrants wander between worlds:

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[205] Atta, 93.

[206] In *Paul and Apostasy, Escahtology: Perseverance, and Falling Away in the Corinthian Congregation* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2000)*,* B.J. Oropeza discusses the centrality of the wilderness to ideas of retreat and eschatology: In opposition to Paul, who saw the desert as a place of danger, the wilderness was interpreted differently as a place of retreat, or "hiatus between the 'historical' exodus … and the eschatological conquest of Jerusalem and the Land of Israel: "the wilderness was seen in terms of a purification which would culminate in the conquest of the land of Jerusalem … Eschatological preparation in the desert was a means to that end" (122).

> This place is no stop, my mother says; it is the anteroom to hell. It is where spirits wait to pass to another world. It is the only time left for those who have stopped living and are yet to be pronounced dead; the ground between madness and reason; the Mountain of Babel, where Africans speak in foreign and nothing they say makes sense, so I need not listen. How is it possible, she asks, that I be denied asylum in Spain when this place resembles the aftermath of a war zone?[207]

The narrator imagines his mother saying that the camp appears as "the anteroom to hell", but this purgatory does not feature as a limbo between African hell and European heaven, African heaven or European hell, or in exodus terms, dangerous exile and salvational return. Atta forecloses on the eschaton despite the biblical inevitability of salvation offered by the exodus trope and the integration of its narrative (read by Patience) into the larger transit migration narrative when the Sahara desert crossing (associated with the suffering of the scriptural wilderness) does not end in redemption, but rather exponential wandering—the desert crossing is replayed without relief on the mountains around the Mediterranean where migrants are interminably crossing back and forth without "stop" between heaven and hell, life and death, discursive reason (intelligibility) and madness ("babbling" upon "Babel"). Even the Tower of Babel loses its name, its identity, its ability to be recognized and is jarringly renamed (like the narrator) the "Mountain of Babel," and like the clandestine separated from his proper name becomes less discursively recognizable, less immediately associated with the original referent, The "Mountain of Babel" is not exactly an incoherent reference, yet it does bear the imprint of a past story's theme of incoherence but in its present form. The theme of incoherence and unintelligibility in a biblical narrative is revisited upon the contemporary, present analogy and its analogue. A consequential, punishing incoherence in a past story being described is revisited on its present analogy, suggesting not only the "partition of sense" emerging between the narrative and the exodus story, clouding the correspondences between the signifier and its referent, in the omission of the Sinai Mountain, but also an incommunicability and illegibility of the mountain and its encampment, effectively linking the anomic stature of the mountain with the reconfiguration of Africa and its relation to the exodus trope as disorienting. The renaming of their mountain as Babel Mountain indicates they are far up Babel, nowhere near Mt. Sinai, exiled to incoherence itself—the "apex" (so to speak) of the clandestine or *sans-papiers* juridical and epistemological predicament.

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[207] Atta, 89-90.

The elusive "endpoint" temporally reflects upon the negative, absent, deferred condition of clandestines' subjectivity, toward which clandestine migrant narratives proleptically gesture. Perpetual deferment of arrival, liberation, and survival (a nightmare of marginality and discrimination) as characteristic of clandestine existence has been analyzed as a limbo state in between worlds and nations, gesturing toward an unfinished citizenship. In analyses of the clandestine, or *sans-papiers* in France, the limbo, or in-between status, is defined by lack of belonging to any nationality, an inability to cross borders, thus an undecidable status since the *sans-papier* finds himself excluded from his country of origin but can only remain in his host country as long as he doesn't reveal his origin.[208] In *The Poetics of Political Thinking,* David Panagia further locates the identity of clandestine migrants, *sans-papiers* in France, in a discursive gap of subjectivity in the context of democratic rights and equality:[209] "Literally lacking a name (because without papers and hence without a fixed signifier), they exist in a mimetic economy that denies them currency."[210] According to Panagia, influenced by Rancière's aesthetic attention to the political, political accounts are structured by aesthetic modes of representation, the "mimetic economy" which evinces a political reality through acts of representation. Theories of representation, engagement with reading and writing, are in circuit not only with epistemological commitments but political thought.[211] But within the realm of the legible/intelligible, what has once been "pre-discursively sanctioned" has been preempted into the discursively inscrutable, illegible, a signifier without a referent, effectively locking down the circuit of the discursively pre-sanctioned in schemas of representation to the politically and juridically perceptual.[212] [213]

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[208] See, for example, Anne McNevin, "Acts of Contestation: The Sans-Papiers of France," in *Contesting Citizenship: Irregular Migrants and New Frontiers of the Political,* 93-117 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011). Also, see Peter Nyers, "Abject Cosmopolitanism: The Politics of Protection in the Anti-deportation Movement", *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 6 (2003): 1069-1093.

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[209] I would like to re-assert that Panagia's Rancierian perspective suggests that democratic rights and equality, rather than being elements of government institutions, function through appearances (in the sense of perceptibility, or phenomenological preconditions that make political subjectivities at once visible, audible, and available to perceptual attentions).

[210] Davide Panagia, *The Poetics of Political Thinking* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 120-121.

[211] The mutually constituted discourses of the juridical and the popular through literary conventions are also analyzed in terms of the construction of clandestines' identity in Mireille Rosello's "Fortress Europe and Its Metaphors: Immigration and the Law" in *Working Paper Series in European Studies* 3, no. 1, 1999, Center for European Studies, University of Wisconsin. The discursive origin of juridical and social practices for clandestines is articulated by Didier Fassin: "Words do not only name, qualify or describe. They found actions and orient policies. By calling 'clandestins' those foreigners who are on French soil and in an irregular situation, we place them in a category that conjures up certain images—for example, that of the worker who has illegally entered the country—and justifies policies preventing or repressing such acts of transgression. These images and policies are in some way fashioned after our process of naming" (Fassin, 77, quoted in Rosello's "Fortress Europe and Its Metaphors"). For original, see Didier Fassin, "'Clandestin' ou 'Exclus'? Quand les Mots Font de la Politique," *Politix* 34 (1996), 77.

[212] The interrupted circuit of the mimetic economy, political action and representation of people without a signifier, the anomic, the nameless are then caught in the construction of fear when it comes to media signifiers such as immigration flood, or deluge, of the nameless. He writes: "In the case of the *sans papiers* … the possibility of part-taking in crossings becomes further complicated by their anomic stature: without papers, the *sans papiers* are also without names. Thus it's not only the case that they can be denied entry, they are also unaccounted for as sensual intensities worthy of perceptual attention, and hence insensible within the current system of mimetic representation that could afford them their human status."Panagia, 2009, 301.

[213] Jacques Lacan, *L'Angoisse*, *Le Seminaire, Livre X* (Paris: Seuil, 2000). : Lacan has argued that the construction of fear is to be explicated from a feeling of being deluged by the *unnamable*, potentially immense hordes, masses

In this domain of what I call “pre-emptive strikes” against legibility and political representation, Atta links topos and topography, or clandestine self-erasure and its location: clandestine-narrative-as-itinerary links the anomic stature of the narrator (and, by extension, the other unidentified migrants on the journey) as unnamed, undocumented, un-ID’d migrant with the reconfiguration of Africa and Exodus topographies as newly unknown, unrecognizable, disorienting. At one point, the Nigerian leader of the encampment, Obazee, who had lived in Morocco for some time, explains to the narrator how its transformation into a heavily policed migration borderland has driven him from the Mediterranean city of Tangier to the camp: “When I first came here, I used to stay in Tangier, in a guesthouse near Petit Socco. It’s not like that anymore. The security forces, if they find you, they will deal with you; then they’ll send you back to Algeria”.[214] The governmental imposition of discursive unintelligibility upon the migrants, without that which makes them even pre-discursively sanctioned to have access to right of settlement or movement, is structured within the journey narrative, so that the journey places themselves become, if not unintelligible, then as story signifiers not correspondent with their referents.

But topographical dissociation does not end with naming, since the reconfiguration of the desert and sea into one contiguous secreting passage, a covert conveyor, a dangerous exilic “wilderness” stretching interminably ahead for the migrants, subverts the exodus trope

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and streams of “others” who threaten to negate the existing and familiar world, or even, to make it disappear. This influx of “others” is considered overwhelming in the face of a perceived shortage of space for identity construction. The influx of the unnamable is imagined to be dangerous for the fulfillment of “European” in authority, citizenship and identity, and for the economic well-being and public safety of Europeans. Moral panic incited by the media is the factor for the imagined lack of space, which makes people feel uncomfortable and the familiar alienated. The erection of a border is an often used strategy when the sequential “threat” of the unnamable increases.

[214] Atta, 92.

temporally—by seeming to loop the journey in rotation and in suspension. The narrative journey begins with a transit point and ends in a transit point, suggesting one continuous limbo, but as inhospitable as the Sahara seems to those crossing, it offers a mobility that the encampment at the edge of the Mediterranean, a site offering paralysis and immobility, does not. So even though transit points frame the story, they reveal different temporalities: the temporality of the first transit point offers and fulfills mobility, while the temporality of the last transit point offers immobility and paralysis for the encampment on the Mediterranean. This convergence of the desert/sea and simultaneous divergence does two things: the narrative keeps undermining not only the reconfiguration of Africa in the present but it also overturns the conceptual configuration of Africa in the past up to the present—namely with the fearful, inscrutable Sahara Desert. Historically, the Sahara has featured as Africa's Other, as Ann Mcdougall discusses

> the perception that would see the Sahara as "other than" the real Africa, as home to those who perpetuate violence on it. It accentuates, by inference, the concept of the Sahara as "enemy" to that real Africa, providing an ideal canvas on which to play out any number of scenarios.[215]

Mcdougall locates this construction of the Sahara as Africa's Other in a colonial historical knowledge that continues today in the academy, tenaciously embedded in the archaeology of knowledge on African-centered topics:

> Why this history of how Europe came to understand the Sahara between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries should resonate with us today, brings us back to academic representations of knowledge … it is ironic how central the "imaging" of the Sahara has remained to the process – given that the ultimate aim is to disengage it from "Africa" proper, and how integral a part of that process this

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[215] Anne Mcdougall, "Constructing Emptiness: Islam, Violence, and Terror in the Historical Making of the Sahara," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 25, no.1 (2007), 25.

> earlier history of “knowledge creation’ remains even today as we seek terrorists in the depths of the desert.[216]

She discusses the reverberations the Othering of the Sahara has had not only in contemporary academic discourse, but in political discourse and governance:

> If, as seems to be the case, the Sahara conceptually lies outside Africa yet is understood to be a “conveyer” of Islam to variously defined sub-Saharan African “areas”, by extension that conveyance can be associated with any number of moments in Saharan history: early anti-European hostility, violent Arab slave-raiding, fanatical *jihads*, anti-Christian and anti-colonial resistance. Islam is at once external and exploitative with respect to Africa and Africans, *even though those Africans are themselves Muslim*. This sleight of hand that creates an external Saharan, “Arab”-related Islam to Africa’s “real” domestic variety is more insidious than most scholars realize (or intend).[217]

According to Mcdougall, the Sahara as Africa’s Other, inhospitable “chaos,” gap, a chasm, abyss, in its evacuation of meaningfulness and coherence, is at the same time in its emptiness subject to be filled with meaning, to be inscribed with the potential imposition of order. McDougall traces this archaeology of knowledge, construction of emptiness and its (re-) signification as Africa’s Other, to the current imposition of order in the form of War Against Terror campaigns now targeting the Sahara desert.[218] But in Atta’s rendering of the Sahara, it is not inhospitable and not emptied of meaning—abject Other, expelled from Africa for its lack of trustworthiness, its criminality, its fearsomeness. The most criminal aspect of the desert crossing—*besides the desert border crossing itself*—is the Tuareg smuggler who demands extra funds mid-journey across the Sahara. The desert, typically theorized as a homogenous pure space of possibilities for traveling, hiding, smuggling, wandering, "losing oneself"[219] to the point of disorientation, a space engulfed by the real place of the surrounding territories, is depicted in "Twilight Trek" as a production of histories of African and African-Arab border control, monitored by members of the surrounding nations, corrupted by power struggles, and overlaid with a transnational smuggling network. The traditionally theorized fantastical "void" of the Sahara desert is realistically conveyed as a "worldly" place. Moreover, the desert offers and fulfills its promise of movement, because it is here rather than the Mediterranean Sea where the migrants are able to move freely, despite fear of restrictions by border police. And, it defies the void and chaos constructs—even when the fearsome natural elements (sand and heat) seem to overcome the characters, they are able to have a voice as much as they feel choked by heat and sand. It is here where signifiers and their referents correspond, in opposition to the confusing and jarring site, and its name "Mountain of Babel," by the Mediterranean Sea.

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[216] Mcdougall, 23-24.

[217] Mcdougall, 25.

[218] Mcdougall notes the conceptual alignment between the Sahara and a site, home to “terror” and ”terrorists”, not to mention the “war” launched upon them. The current coup in Mali to create a Tuareg state, Azawad, is evocative of this construct, since the developments of the overthrow are too couched in terms of “chaos”. Linking “Islam” with the Sahara (both contemporary “ambivalent” topics, Mcdougall claims) ensures that both Islam and the Sahara will “continue to have an uneasy, potentially threatening relationship, with the area defined as ‘Africa’.”

The transient temporalities linking the Sahara and the Mediterranean (at least, the encampment on its edge) suggest a conceptual parallel evocative of David Abulafia's notion of the Sahara Desert as a "Mediterranean" construct. He writes:

> The Sahara was a true Mediterranean in the sense that it brought very different cultures into contact, and across the open spaces they brought not merely articles of trade but ideas, notably religious ones, and styles of architecture appropriate to the Muslim culture they implanted on the northern edges of Black Africa. We talk of the Mediterranean and of the Mediterranean Sea, and we often assume we mean much the same thing. But here lies the root of a significant confusion.

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[219] See Lidia Curti's reading of the Sahara Desert from a "westerner's" perspective in Bowles's The Sheltering Sky as a path to "losing oneself" or "going native," the ultimate sphere of "zeroing the ego" (125) in "Death and the Female Traveler: Male Visions" in *The Postcolonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, eds. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti, 124-140 (London: Routledge, 1996).

> 'Mediterranean' means that which is between the surrounding lands. Yet histories and geographies of 'the Mediterranean' may concern themselves mainly with the lands that surround the Mediterranean Sea and the peoples who have inhabited them, to the extent of paying rather little attention to the bonds that have linked the opposing shores of the Mediterranean world …[220]

The Sahara as a structural "Mediterranean" in itself is evocative of the desert networks of mobility allowing people and cultures to travel across Africa in the story, effectively undermining the emptiness, void, and chaos of the Saharan-Desert-as-Other that captures and subsumes networks and their movements. Despite the mythical mobility of the Mediterranean, it is the desert that offers meaning in the journey, a correspondence of signifiers, and moreover, movement, which the Mediterranean and its encampment lacks in the story. The temporality of the last transit point in the story, the encampment on the Mediterranean Sea itself, mythologized as the center of movement and travel across eras, ends up offering immobility and paralysis for migrant characters, who live there for years waiting for the right moment to cross, waiting to gather enough money.

Reconfiguration of territory through the erection of borders has given rise to the undocumented, the unnamed within Africa, suspended not only between places but between perceptual, epistemological, and juridical "sanctioning". They could be seen but not seen *as bound by laws to political representation*. Atta's pre-emptive closure of epistemological recognizability for migrants who have yet to reach a future shore is not a typical foreshadowing because the story closes not at the expected destination but at a transit point in the journey. Atta embeds in the story's chronotope the speculative figure of the unnamed narrator as a reflection of a possible, future scenario—exponential divestment of recognizability (in the EU) after the story ends.

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[220] David Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," in *Rethinking the Mediterranean,* ed. William Vernon Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64. Abulafia uses the Mediterranean as a template to be applied to "Middle Seas" in other parts of the world, like the Sahara which is characterized by ease of contacts between very diverse cultures. This not only puts to task the divide separating North and sub-Saharan Africa and the tendency to view the Sahara Desert as an impenetrable barrier dividing the continent into the northern "white" and sub-Saharan "black" Africa, but he explores the shared history and culture among the regions of Africa linked by the Sahara Desert through centuries of continued exchanges and interactions. Contact among the Sahara and its peripheries continue to this day to be platforms of interconnected peoples and cultures. Despite trans-Saharan cultural contact spanning centuries, this inaccurate perception of Africa as two distinct zones separated by an empty wasteland of desert continues to influence the way people think about this region and the continent as a whole.

The story begins and ends at transit points, with the journey sustaining a transience that leads to exponential transience. However, while the initial transit point in Goa promises mobility—across the Sahara Desert and north to the Mediterranean—the final transit point at the edge of the Mediterranean offers nothing but immobility. Insofar as the narrative encapsulates the journey, the story does not even gesture toward an end, since narrative and journey reach their end not at the destination but another transit point, the camp. Before the story ends, the unnamed narrator realizes his new friend, Patience, had taken the money he gave her to reserve both of their "spots" for the trans-Mediterranean journey and fled, leaving her pocket Bible behind. Stranded at the encampment on the edge of the Mediterranean, he flicks through it furiously, from "Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus" up to "Revelation," without finding the biblical sign as to why she fled. The narrator was never attentive enough to realize that Patience had never read up to Revelation. The unnamed narrator's speedy reading *ahead* of Exodus up to Revelation, before the story ends, reveals that in his anxious and eager attempt to capture a sign in the past, he missed the sign and read up to what was written ahead. But the eschatological book of Revelation, as explicitly future-oriented as it is, ironically does not reveal much to him, as he remains both perplexed and paralyzed in the encampment. Inasmuch as Patience's readings fail to impress upon him what she had done (essentially betrayed him) and his inability to recognize it *in retrospect*, toward the end of the story, he remains unredeemed by this inability to recognize the relationship between the plotting of history and his present predicament. Yet between the animated-desert and suspended-Mediterranean temporalities framing the story comes the remainder of time, that which is not divisible into those categories, in Agambinian terms, the messianic time "that is left us"[221] toward redemption, just as the story is ending. In Agamben's use of Paul's epistles to outline a theory of messianic time, Agamben repeatedly points to a doubleness, as two things seemingly distinct but in relation, a division in which there is always a remainder, not divisible into existing categories as an effect of the messianic on works of law. The story's temporalities emerge as, rather than the effect of an apocalyptic scenario, a messianic one—both in its spatial and mobility effects. The messianic dictates that salvation has been achieved, but additional time is needed for it to be fulfilled, hence the messianic as the stretch of time remaining, the intermediary, toward fulfillment. In theological terms, crossing the desert is the salvation that has been achieved in the story, but in order for it to be fulfilled, additional time is needed—the messianic—the remnant of time geared toward salvation of the crossed sea to fulfill the initial redemption. But this remnant in the context of the story has yet to be reached, as the narrator has no "recognition" of the way the past is becoming fulfilled in the present, for the messianic to be set in motion.[222] But the end anticipates this possibility of recognition from the narrator, since the desert winds of the past "clash" with the sea winds of the present, converging on the encampment where he shivers and struggles to make sense of his abandonment. This spatio-temporal unity converging on the narrator's consciousness frames the story and only hints, at its ending, at the coming remnant of time, the messianic in which the meanings of the past journey may be recognized and fulfilled in the present.

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[221] Giorgio Agamben, *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 68.

[222] This signals a moment from the past that must be recognized as the "typoi" of the messianic now. Agamben 2005, 142.

The end of the story is where Atta overturns the EU optic of the apocalyptic, the closure of time in the closed-circuit media loop of "invasions," "plagues" "floods," "exodus", into the openness of Messianic time, to potentiality, as the narrative ends at a "pause," poised/paused on the brink of a transition point, temporally, on a path toward a Mediterranean "cliff", spatially.[223] In his essay on the function of messianic time "The Time That Is Left," Giorgio Agamben distinguishes between apocalyptic and messianic time as the stream of time before The End:

> The apocalyptic dwells in the last day, the Day of Wrath; he sees the end and describes what he sees…. If I were to define (in a formula) the difference between the apostle [who is present after the arrival of the Messiah] and the visionary [who announces the coming of the Messiah], I would say that the messianic is not *the end of time, but the time of the end.* The apostle's concern is not the last day, the moment where time reaches its end; it is the time that contracts itself and begins to finish—or, … the time that is left between time and its ending.[224]

Agamben recovers Walter Benjamin's messianism[225] as, rather than one of deferral, one that overturns a "life of deferral and delay"[226] to grasp the potential in every moment. Atta overturns the optic of interminable apocalypse, characteristic of EU discourse, a closure of the future distilled to an "end", to an open narrative journey—where the end is left un-closed, open-ended. Atta makes the "end" of the journey "inoperable"—she does not even follow her narrative and guide its characters to the inevitable conclusion—since the end imagined through EU media and discourse is simply an arrival at a destination, a spatial end, a mere border crossing. I am not suggesting that inoperability of a spatial end obliterates the purpose of the narrative and journey, but rather it orients the story toward the "Messianic"/operational time that requires vigilance, thus projecting the potential of a future to "grasp and accomplish," before "time reaches its end."[227]

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[223] Atta, 98.

[224] Giorgio Agamben, "The Time That Is Left," *Epoché* 7, no. 1 (2002), 2. In *The Time That Remains (*2005), Agamben echoes the distinction between the apocalyptic and messianic: "The most insidious misunderstanding of the messianic announcement does not consist in mistaking it for prophecy, which is turned toward the future, but for apocalypse, which contemplates the end of time. The apocalyptic is situated on the last day, the Day of Wrath. It sees the end fulfilled and describes what it sees. The time in which the apostle lives is, however, not the eschaton, it is not the end of time….What interests the apostle is not the last day, it is not the instant in which time ends, but the time that contracts itself and begins to end (1Cor 7.29), or if you prefer, the time that remains between time and its end" (62).

[225] Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, translated by Harry Zohn, 253-264 (New York: Shocken Books: 1960).

[226] Gershom Scholem, *Judaica*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1963), 73–74. Quoted in "The Time That Is Left."

Because the story is reality-based, in some parts "ripped from the headlines," the hints of a post-narrative journey yet unfulfilled, not divisible into the categories of desert transient temporality of mobility and Mediterranean transient temporality of immobility, can be traceable to the typos of headline moments from the past awaiting recognition in the present, where the Messianic as history attempts to plot structures and systems to bring out a new future in the present through the *typoi* (in this case true stories from the past plucked from headlines and recounted as warnings of the future). Atta establishes this remainder of time[228] yet to be born, a prefigured redemption yet to come, until recognition of the past arises, by recalling stories of migrants who have encountered the "end" of the journey, on the shores of the EU. The voice of the narrator's mother travels along with him in his conscience wherein she urges vigilance to past headlines that point to a discrepancy between the future arrival, in terms of a spatial end, arrival, in terms of citizenship, documentation, legal names, political representation. She begins, “Here are real stories from a modern African exodus”:

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[227] See James Berger, *After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999). Berger's conception of the "postapocalypse" as a discourse of "aftermaths and remainders" (xii) in which the "text does not end, nor does the world represented in the text, and neither does the world itself' (5), but is rather a narrative of trauma, invested with an orientation toward looking back at the past, aligns with the notion of the messianic as the time remaining or the remainder of time. Thus, both are bound by the logic of continuity, in which the end is never final.

[228] Messianic time can also be described as a time between the chronological time of bios (the recording of great events in the history of the polis) and the end of time.

> … man from Rwanda, came by truck with his family. This was long before the barbed wire was erected around Ceuta. The family got into Ceuta all right; then they were kept in detention for months, waiting for their lawyer to prove that they were really from Rwanda.
>
> What about the Sierra Leonean who, shortly after the barbed wire went up, tried to scale it several times, until his skin was practically shredded? He decided to swim the sea to get to Spain. He had only one hand, by the way. The saltwater stung his skin; he still made it to shore. His missing hand was there to prove that he was fleeing a civil war.
>
> What about the Nigerian who secretly regretted that her own homeland was not war-torn, and hoped that the baby in her belly would be considered worthy of asylum …[229]

In the way that the Messianic as history attempts to plot structures and systems to bring out a new future in the present, the narrator’s mother emplots, in the present narrative, stories from the past to open a window into the future. Ultimately, she urges vigilance to the difference between a spatial end and a future end of the clandestine collective identity, whether it will be of illegibility, insensibility, deferment, documentation, citizenship, or unfinished citizenship. This messianic-inflected interlude offers a vigilance that overturns the conception of the clandestines as exclusively surveilled, hunted, pursued, to those in active pursuit.

The messianic has been hailed as the revolutionary time of action, of the present and its place, but in the story, the place is not actually present: a current Morocco in which the story is set but whose social topography is obliterated from the story's chronotope signals an absent presence to which the narrator and other characters can only allude, but do not engage. Beyond the encampment, Morocco does not exist or feature. Current Morocco as a perceptual place, perceived, sensed, engaged, by the characters, does not exist, but the microtopographies and their boundaries marking the trip *ahead* feature prominently as obstacles: "the barbed wire fence," "Ceuta," "Melilla," and the Mediterranean's "saltwater".[230] Because transit migration is more of an uncertain process that introduces the possibility of a "continuum between emigration and settlement", it is perceived as a "contingency",[231] which explains the lack of perceptual engagement with Morocco as an uncertain locale. But the absence of a present topography orients the reader back to the microtopography of passages to a future, the fence, the water, the Spanish-occupied enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, separating the migrants from their destination/destiny—essentially, features that mark Morocco as the EU's externalized borderland. Whereas in the EU's proxy patrol space, Morocco on the Mediterranean, all the undocumented migrants are considered "illegal", the political refugee merged with the economic migrant, a division between the two is on the horizon in the EU. That is, the location of the present simply keeps deferring to the future for the clarity required in vigilance. Since the present averts reflection of a present place, the future at least can be constructed through its material, concrete passages (obstacles and conduits on the Mediterranean) and information passages (the headlines and stories of those who crossed recalled by the narrator's mother). The narrator's mother in his conscience reinforces this orientation toward this future and place of the future, as a messianic voice that recalls the past stories of crossing migrants as figures, typos, of what is to come, a short-circuiting of the boundaries between the past belonging to public discourse, the present belonging to the narrator's conscience, and the future belonging to those on the other side of the Mediterranean. As a messianic voice, she reveals the immanence between this world and a future world.

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[229] Atta, 93.

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[230] Atta, 93.

[231] Sorenson, 21.

The immanence between this world and a future world is not only the revelation of figures divided into undocumented, illegible, pre-discursively unsanctioned to refuge, and those that become documented, legible, sanctioned to "refuge" and its contingent human rights, as indicated by the policed passages of migrants on European shores. This is what will await the migrants on the other side, it is suggested, the scene of a repressed, surveilled, policed sociality to come. But the messianic time of action that challenges, or even renders inoperable, the hierarchal divisions between the documented and the undocumented is not really an assigned, discrete portion of time. It is reproduced daily by the unknown figures who cross, like the traitorous Patience, the narrator's friend who took his money and crossed to the other side unnamed, unpapered, undocumented, unsanctioned. The messianic time produced a real "state of exception" in which there is an indiscernibility to the law in that the law ceases to operate in relation to an outside and an inside. All of the migrants, whether encountering officials on the other side, take matters in their own hands rather than waiting for orders to travel from the sovereign/the state, bringing forth a radical redistribution of African territory, eliciting a break with the consensus that divides the documented and undocumented. The story structure in creating a rupture between time and tradition, disrupting a linear chronology, call attention to the messianic potential in the disruption of a reign of law based on a mythical, monolithic, absolute, unchallenged, authority rather than justice.

A radical rethinking of mobility beyond the logic of the sovereign decision and consensus laws of documentation, IDS, circulation, and un/finished citizenship are deactivated through clandestine border crossings and informal settlements themselves. The clandestines are not the harbingers of the end of politics but rather by virtue of their appearance, or for the remainder, even non-appearance, indicate rather the beginning of a new and emergent political subjectivity. Their emergence in an unmappable circulation interrogates and interrupts the consensus or consensualist logic that demands "circulation," the closed-circuit loop that dictates things remain as they are, but at the same time excludes them from it. This is politics-as-dissensus: the emergence of a subjectivity whose appearance, determined by their own construction of a scene for "political interlocution" intervened in a consensualist closed-circuit loop, for it is an emergent politics set in motion by those for whom a right to articulate their presence has been suspended, made illegible, insensible, unsanctioned. This is dissensus, politics, itself —the articulation of a presence when all platforms and scenes of political interlocution and articulation have been made inoperable.

Conclusion: Burning Borders, Re-creating the Mediterranean

Clandestine migration is characterized by inability to travel across borders, creating a third transitional space between homeland and host country. The most secretive aspect of the clandestine migrant experience remains the journey itself, during which transitional spaces are produced and reproduced. While the last chapter focuses on Sefi Atta's "Twilight Trek", a narrative of transmigration, or transit migration (from Nigeria to a Moroccan encampment en route to a final European destination), it must be noted that all of clandestine migration literature is marked by a transit space that demands an erasure of identity, not necessarily national like Morocco, but microtopographical in scale—the flimsy craft stuck at sea, the detention center on the other shore, the camps bordering the Mediterranean. Stripping the self of identification is considered part of the process of clandestinity, as the passage of the non-place is achieved by way of itinerancy, "passing through," and "passing", divestment of marks of identification.[232] If this project's focus on Arabic and Anglophone literature from Africa has reinforced the significance of recreating the narrative journey and its transit spaces to literary renderings of a diasporic identity, across the Mediterranean, other cultural endeavors (film, art installations, graphic novels, songs) have emerged in engagement with a collective imagination of a prosperous and accessible North, positing migration, *hrig* or burning in Maghrebian dialect, as a more sustained incineration of identity or as an explosion of a hierarchy of geographic and social mobility in the border zones.[233] Most poignant of all have been popular rap songs from Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, amateurish in production and conveniently circulated online, anxiously reflecting in the temporary journey motifs of transit, limbo, and rootlessness a scarring, permanent internal landscape of alienation. Like literary works I have analyzed, the music represents migration as a result of imaginations put into momentum by dominant and globally circulating images and frozen with paralysis and suspense by the contemporary realities of a hierarchy of global mobility. Albeit with low-budget productions and distribution efforts, the circulating songs and videos agitate against more dominant, ubiquitous satellited images in a conflicted mediascape.[234]

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[232] According to Augé, the non-place is characterized as a subject's propulsion or projection forward, in the individual's relation with "moving on," "passing through," "passing over," a mobility that aims to suppress the difference that place contains. Orientation is one effect of the non-place: mobility, speed, and spectator position mediate the experience of passing through or passing over "places" to authenticate the identity of the traveler as spectator by "partial glimpses" of terrain, "landmarks, a "sequencing" of landscapes. One aspect of this orientation is displacement: this double movement can also be identified as the non-place experience and its effect of placelessness. The non-place is not only a space but the effect of the space, a double movement that traces the points of itinerancy and its effects on the itinerant, so that the passage is constitutive in erasing any trace or memory of the migrant's identity. The stripping of identity required of the passengers, indistinction, indeterminacy, anonymity, a form of "passing" regulated by trafficking in creating a place as well as a people unmoored from a topographical web.

Although this project has attempted to convey how clandestine Mediterranean fictional narratives intervene in official, governmental, and scholarly scripts of a dynamically transcultural, diverse, open Mediterranean, I think hip-hop and rap songs reinforce through lyrical refrain that cannot always be conveyed in texts the limbo and paralysis of a transit space of migration that exponentially grows around Fortress Europe's own growing physical and cultural border. Repetitively and compulsively, the lyrics close in on a series of images, like the coffin and the small boat that sinks before it reaches land, disengaging migration from its association with mobility, a contradiction that cuts across recuperative imaginings of migration across the Mediterranean, which have figured the coming generation as "pioneers,"[235] crossing physical, cultural, and aesthetic boundaries to deliver old Europe a new trans-cultural and transnational infusion that will ultimately prefigure a new Mediterranean supranational space: "'another promise, another dream, the opening of another space: the Mediterranean community."[236] This supranational space touted by official papers, speeches, programs by the Schengen Convention and Euro-Med Partnership missions, through ideals of mobility residing within globalization, lies at the end of the global capital flow and circulation of labor, products, ideas, people, but does not necessarily make the figure of the migrant a cultural pioneer (chapter 3), that is, mobile, free, and able enough to dissolve the boundaries that obstruct a utopic Mediterranean community from forming. Like literary texts, the songs agitate against a unified Mediterranean model imposing identitarian "fluidity" and mobility. The boat, primary vehicle for undetected, cheap crossings, suggests, on one hand, it is invested with a desire to escape and seek fortunes elsewhere, as in the song "Partir Loin" wherein Algerian rapper Reda Taliani lovingly croons to the boat, "Oh boat, my love / take me out of my misery." Yet, the mocking tone also gestures toward and undercuts the infinite hopes and desires that migrants invest in the flimsy but beloved boat as metonym of the journey. The metonym turns out to be as stable as its referent since the metonym of the journey, by the end of many songs, transforms into the human debris of "fish food" or a "coffin," thus coming to symbolize thwarted desires and dreams, a place of longing that is never fulfilled, destinations never reached, and hopes drowned whether it reaches shore or not. In many of the songs, the boat is not a vehicle for cultural pioneering and unrestrained navigation and triumphal conquest in another land, but rather it is appropriated as a permanent symbol of limbo, suspension, paralysis, and ultimately death since the journey is projected on to its inevitable stages, “coffins” and “fish food.”[237] The chronotope of the boat in motion across regional spaces does not convey to the listener and reader, as with Paul Gilroy, a "transcultural, international formation”[238] where ethnic and national boundaries become transgressed, blurrier, more fluid, but rather the product of a deathly desire—but one within which resides the desperate hope of re-birth.

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[233] Although there is no way to document the extensive artworks, films, journals, even Websites that have emerged in the last decade, Claudia Hoffman's dissertation, *Subaltern Migrancy and Transnational Locality: The Undocumented African Immigrant in International Cinema***,** provides a filmography on undocumented migration from sub-Saharan Africa, for example. For North African films, Merzak Allouache's film *Harraga* reflects on the clandestine boat journey from Algeria across the Mediterranean. See Moroccan artist Yto Barrada's *A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project* and her website (ytobarrada.com). Web sites like Fortress Europe (fortresseurope.blogspot.com) often provide information on emergent cultural productions about clandestine migration.

[234] Arjun Apparudai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture* 2, no. 2 (1990): 1-24.

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[235] Azouz Begag and Abdellatif Chaouite, *Écarts d'identité* (Paris: Seuil, 1990), 18.

[236] Begag and Chaouite, 18.

Indeed, the dialogical engagement with clandestine migration as a deathly desire or a triumphant re-birth in the songs reflects the ambivalence with which transcendence of boundaries, conceptualized as their burning, *harg*, as explored in anthropologist Stefania Pandolfo’s research on religious subjectivity and clandestine migration’s confrontation with death, is treated either as heroic transcendence toward freedom, from poverty, dispossession, death, or a morbid transcendence toward suicidal death.[239] But in the literature and songs, reaching the European shore does not lead to an ambivalence that blurs distinctions between “guests” and “hosts”, the stable and the nomadic, as described in Mireille Rosello’s *Postcolonial Hospitality*. Certainly, the global circulation of images that feed into clandestine migration imaginations enable staging a European encounter, but not one based on a future vision of cultural “pioneer[ing]” or postcolonial reconciliation of colonizer and colonized but rather on a global circulation of imagery that is one-sided, non-reciprocal, closed, and thus not subject to a process of Mediterranean metissage, creolization, or cultural hybridity. In these texts and songs, global culture is less a question of interactive cultural hybridity and more of distanced, elevated, and alienating cultural commodities. In Karim Kamkam's "Kamkam the Harraga", Madonna and Jennifer Lopez, global rather than specifically European icons, ricochet through the song as desirable subjects, indicating the fulfillment of migrants' desires as likely as their desires for the social mobility associated with the global stars, in the West.[240] The song's saturation with the commercial imperatives of a visual global commodity culture and its elevated icons that the song references seem to distance the migrant figure from, rather than connect him, to any potential engagement with European culture, which in further becoming an inscrutable object of fantasy and desire, are aptly (mis-)identified with American global (rather than European) icons. The hypermediated spaces, featuring Madonna and Jennifer Lopez, that permeate the trajectory of the migrant's desires only call attention to the migrant's alienation from the real, mundane, and potentially tangible scenes and spaces of belonging and settlement.

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[237] Karim Kamkam, “Kamkam the Harraga,” Unlisted label and album, 2012. Balti and Samir Loussif, “Mchaou,” Unlisted label and album, 2010.

[238] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London and New York: Verso, 1993), 4.

[239] Stefania Pandolfo, “‘The Burning’: Finitude and the Politico-theological Imagination of Illegal Migration.” *Anthropological Theory* 7, no. 3 (2007): 329-363.

The songs sometimes display a confluence of French and Maghrebian (dialect) lyrics, indicating a mediation, an in-between-ness that pre-figures the permanent sense of transience for settled migrants that surpasses the stage of the journey: "Partir Loin" switches from Algerian Arabic to address the boat as object of desire and homeland Algeria as source of desperation and poverty, to French in the first-person, addressing no one, to tell a story of escape and frustrated dreams.[241] The two voices discussing the same trip remain distinct, one in first-person French (by an aspiring Algerian migrant), the other in second-person Algerian Arabic (also by an aspiring Algerian migrant), proleptically gesturing toward divergent identities that throughout the song never mix, interact, dialogue, while occupying the same narrative space. This persistent linguistic divergence emerging in a display of border aesthetics foreshadows a potential cultural divergence on the social spaces surpassing the border of Europe's guarded physical fortresses and within its collective identitarian fortresses. If cultural "pioneer[ing]" suggests "another space," a third space,[242] in the way that an ideational, discursive re-working of the transits that mark the journey have offered an alternative creative, fertile diasporic imagination unconfined either by homeland or migrant land, the songs evoke the possibility of an in-between that, rather than capturing the liberatory allure of a "third space", is alienating. Any possibilities for a productive transcultural third space in the musical narrative is impeded by culturally, linguistically distinct and divergent voices, suggesting that this polarizing border aesthetics is potentially reproducible for the migrants beyond the border's divide. The song's divergent voices foreshadow an alienating alternative space for the migrant figure whether he is socially and juridically authorized or not, the predicament of all those who have not found a place in their homeland or abroad, who will continue to drift in transit, in limbo, permanently destabilized and condemned to a stranger's silence and invisibility between the "stable" Algerian or a French "voice", figure, consciousness.

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[240] Karim Kamkam, "Kamkam the Harraga," Unlisted label and album, 2012.

[241] Reda Taliani and 113, "Partir Loin," *113 Degrès* (France: 2005).

The songs are also the most contemporary, timely cultural markers of clandestine migration during the Arab Spring, the series of uprisings that began in 2010 in North Africa with the ousting of Tunisian president Ben Ali, and his government, and continue today across the Middle East. The state of clandestine migration has transformed significantly since the uprisings that have transformed North Africa in the past year (2010) and spread across other parts of Africa and the Middle East.[243] As I was writing the dissertation, the exhilaration that followed the ousting of decades-entrenched presidents Ben Ali of Tunisia and Mubarak of Egypt was tempered first by the news of Tunisian clandestine migrants turned back on Italy's shores, then more significantly by news of Libya's revived attacks against Sub-Saharan African migrants.[244] The uprisings left an imprint on the music created in its wake. For example, in the song "Yammi"[245] ("Mother"), Tunisian hip-hop artist Balti takes on the voice of a boat migrant in a musical letter to his mother and reveals fears of succumbing to the desperation to self-immolate like the street vendor Mohammed Bouazizi, who sparked the series of protests in the small town of Sidi Bouzid that spread to other parts of Tunisia: "I do not want to end up like Bouazizi / lighting the match." In the same song, Balti refers to the president's economic devastation of the country after fleeing to Saudi Arabia as a motive to migrate: "Ezzine[246] has run away with the money / and we are left with debts, / work has stopped, mother / where can I get you money from?" The song not only traces the fears of a country's economic uncertainty post-revolt, but it is also crisscrossed with crisis travels in which a deposed president leaves the country relatively safely while the protagonist must anticipate drowning on a flimsy boat. Moreover, the epistolary musical narrative functions as the only document linking the migrant to his past and identity, once he boards a clandestine boat and sheds his identity cards and identity. Because this piece of correspondence, a trace of his personal life and story in private letters—linking the anonymous migrant figure to his past, his family, his lineage (his mother)—is made public and memorialized

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[242] I am referring here to a "third space" as an alternative space of resistance to a politics of polarity, defined by Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge,1994), 53.

[243] ICPMD estimates that 100,000-120,000 clandestine migrants cross the Mediterranean every year. In the first months of 2011 alone when uprisings in North Africa were well under way, reports emerged that more than 2,000 migrants did not make it to a European coastline and died crossing the Mediterranean from North Africa. Boats

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from Tunisia crossing the Mediterranean toward Lampedusa, vehicles escaping Libyan cities and villages under siege, and various Egyptian return migrants to Cairo to join Tahrir Square protests are instances of the ways in which migration has intersected with the uprisings dubbed the "Arab Spring."

[244] The most commonly used route for illegal migration is from Libya to Sicily, Malta and nearby islands and carries over 80,000 migrants per year, making Libya the primary departure and transit country (ICMPD 2004).

[245] Balti, "Yammi," *Baltiroshima* (Tunisia: Raw Poetix, 2011).

[246] "Ezzine" is a nickname for former president of Tunisia, Zine el Abidine Ben Ali.

through popular music, the song performs the fictional letter left behind as though attempting to rescue and preserve a personal story amid the official, recorded narratives: this official narrative encompasses not only the media's impersonal renderings of the drowning victims as nameless, un-individuated masses, but also of the dominant Arab Spring narratives intent on state-level politics, such as Ben Ali's departure and absence, rather than on submerged personal narratives that do not end with "lighting the match." The singer's role, then, is as preserver and teller of a personal history of individuals not usually found documented in official versions of the crossing. The song reveals that the migrant loses more than his life if he drowns, but he loses the story of his life, a private document in which he relates to his mother the motives for risking his life to migrate, including his shame at his own inadequacy to provide for her. Thus, this song, like others relating a cautionary trans-Mediterranean migration tale, functions as an act of recovery evoking personal stories retrieved from the silences left in newspaper articles and broadcasts about dangerous boat crossings.[247]

Yet, whatever the songs and literary texts recover can only be an invention, but unlike dominant Mediterranean imaginaries, it is a self-defined invention, a "fiction." Against the political reality and official histories scripted by laws, declarations, and wishful scholarship, wherein, for example, the metaphor of the Mediterranean as a cultural bridge is naturalized into the sediment of the Mediterraneanist imaginary, clandestine migration works stake out an oppositional and creative space. Through retrieval of stories drowned at sea, cultural creations also redefine the meaning of the Mediterranean space. In these works, the fictional space of the Mediterranean Sea also becomes an archive of narratives, identities, documents, IDs, a fluid repository of submerged lives, where official scripts of a unified Mediterranean and banal clichés of cultural bridges interact with distinct narratives of borders, transgressions, and a contested global hierarchy of mobility.

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[247] While this song overtly incorporates elements of the uprisings, other songs, like the Tunisian "Kamkam the Harraga" (2011), reflect on migration more pessimistically, revealing a shift in the value of crossing, considering EU's ailing economy and the fortification of its borders since the uprising.

The increase in literary and other cultural accounts that capture a transgressive diaspora through its clandestine journey narratives from Africa across the Mediterranean have increased since the 1990s. The narrations conceptualize a transnational space of the Mediterranean with its existent distinctive mythology and historical dynamics, displacing it as a singular entity that the resurgence of Braudel-inspired studies of the Mediterranean as a unified space has inspired. These cultural productions constitute fictionalized, narrated, lyricized imaginations of globally circulating narrations and images released back into the global flow of images that inform discourses of crossing the Mediterranean, in its North-South divergences and crossroads. These transnational productions, at once vehicles and embodiments of traveling images and narrations, then symbiotically represent and construct the imaginations that give rise to a new Mediterranean and its coming migrations.

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