

MEDITERRANEAN ETHNOSCAPES:

MIGRANT MOROCCANS

AND THE GIBRALTAR QUESTION

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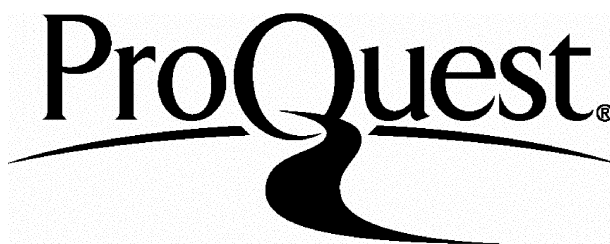
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INTRODUCTION

By *ethnoscape*, I mean the landscape of persons who make up the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest-workers, and other moving groups constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree (Appadurai, 1991: 192).

Arjun Appadurai's efforts to shift the focus of anthropological attention firmly onto the totality of social life serves as an integral organising strategy for this thesis. The shifting world under consideration is the Mediterranean. More central is the British Colony of Gibraltar, but in introducing such a focus I have at the same time been obliged to look further afield, both in time and space. Underlying the thesis is the basic proposal that there are a number of ways of writing anthropologically influenced accounts of the Mediterranean. The majority of these tend to privilege the northern shores and construct a victor's history. My objective here is to destabilise such visions, to attempt, in the words of the Russian formalist critics, to make such histories strange. In this sense my objective is not simply to point out how it is a question of excluding the 'Other' of the southern littoral. For, in fact, they are there, even in the histories which the North has bothered to record. They appear in various guises, not flattering often, but then not invisible either. Here we must look hard, and be broad in our view of histories. Travel accounts, literature; all such work provides a hunting ground for clues. By focusing on Gibraltar we further complicate the picture for, in the eyes of the British Empire, the northern banks of the Mediterranean have little to distinguish them from the southern fringes. Here different histories intersect, generating different constellations of the real. These too, need investigation; they need to be confronted with these other histories in order to highlight their partiality. In outline then, this is a study of migrant workers in Gibraltar, but these workers are themselves part of an 'ethnoscape' of great complexity and the thesis attempts to delve into the areas which in their turn impinge on the

lives of migrant Moroccans on the Rock. In doing this the narrative thread of migration holds the thesis together.

It should be said that the original design of the thesis was more modest than this. Initially, the themes selected revolved around Morocco. Morocco was chosen because it seemed, in 1982, that there was a developing interest and some good studies were appearing. The initial research proposal centred on the ethnography of Morocco, more specifically on the divergence in interpretation between the work of the 'culturalists' and those who were adopting perspectives based on the principle of 'segmentarity'. I felt, at the time, that the answer to their incompatibility lay in their failure to adequately incorporate the various structural transformations that usually get subsumed under the rubric 'social change'. One group tended to work in cities while the other studied the tribal periphery of the Moroccan state. By looking at the rural-urban exodus 'somewhere' in Morocco it might be possible to unite what was valuable from each approach.

My sustained first experience of North Africa was studying Arabic in Tunis. While there I had been able to refine ideas about the topic of my research and acquaint myself with the bibliography. I also developed an interest in the pre-Sahara after visiting the towns of Nefta and Tozeur in southern Tunisia. This interest gelled on reading the remarkable study of French colonisation in the Oued R'hir region of Algeria, *Structures agraires et decolonisation* by Jean Jacques Perennes (1980). His thesis traced the development of French plantation agriculture in the oasis and its effects on the 'traditional' sector. It was the classic tale of the introduction of a monoculture - in this case a specific variety of date, the *deglat nour*, the one we eat at Christmas - the restructuring of the local economy and the reallocation of primary resources such as water. In short, the creation of the 'marginalised traditional'. As the bore-holes dug by the French to irrigate the plantation sector got deeper, so the water table dropped and the 'anarchic' - visually and spatially in the view of the French - world of the 'traditional' oasis, now deprived of water, began to fall apart. The complex social relations of production based on arrangements such as the *khammes*

(a form of share-cropping) and other forms of bonded labour were destroyed to be replaced in the colonial records by the alarming spread of *msakin* - the destitute victims of the French presence.

This summary of a detailed study gave me the framework with which to approach the Moroccan pre-Sahara. Unfortunately the strategy was overtaken by the cyclical sociology of Ibn Khaldoun. The Tunisian bread riots of the mid-1980s originated in the small oasis of Kebili and the demands for action spread to Tunis. To a certain extent this influenced the mood in Morocco and there too rioting broke out following the Islamic conference at Casablanca. My arrival in Morocco coincided with these events. The School of Agronomy was closed down - sociology had been closed long since, but continued here in a disguised form - and *Le Monde* was absent from the news-stands for a month. By the time things had cooled down it became obvious that research would need more time. The regions where I wanted to work were still deeply affected by the continuing conflict between the Moroccan government and the Algerian backed forces of the Polisario. The dominant feature of many southern towns was now the military barracks and local movement were circumscribed by a system of roadblocks and travel permits. In Rabat I was constantly being told that the research would pose no problems, but actual permission to actually go and live in the south never came. The circumstances forced me to reformulate my proposed study.

I had visited Gibraltar briefly in order to renew my tourist visa for Morocco. While I was there I had been struck by the numbers of Moroccans working on the Rock. Given my general interest a worthwhile project seemed to be here. Moreover, as a British Colony my presence would pose less of a problem. While some distance from my original intentions many of the issues remained the same. Thus it was that I came to be in Gibraltar, studying Moroccans.

I soon found that Gibraltar posed a different set of problems in terms of fieldwork in the 1980s. It was with a wry smile that I came across the following paragraph:

We had been given a letter of introduction to the Governor and because we did not intend to stay long in Gibraltar, I decided to get it to him as soon as possible...

The Governor must have been surprised at the dishevelled object which entered his sitting-room...[...] He had an engagement in a few moments, he said, but he told the orderly to put a guest room at our disposal, so that we could wash and brush up.

The guest room was palatial and we luxuriated in the comfort of the hot baths, after which the batman served us a mammoth tea (Clarke, 1959: 23)¹.

I arrived in Gibraltar with a field-grant based on Moroccan prices to find that the one cheap hotel had closed down and that I would face hotel bills of fifteen pounds a night until I could find cheaper accommodation. I did not go and see the Governor, but things are not what they were. After a month I was able to rent a box-room in a flat occupied by British nationals. The contrast between the two situations illustrates what has become of Britain. Gibraltar is the most appropriate place for such a comparison; as a metaphor for the British Empire it has entered popular language- 'as solid as the Rock of Gibraltar'. While the Empire was crumbling in the 1950s the situation in Gibraltar was as follows:

The dominant social pattern...was on the English upper middle class model, and of a rigidity hard to find now, in England herself. [...] A cast-iron system had been imposed upon the community even more obdurate than that of the Mother-Country (Stewart, 1967: 28).

The author of these lines, John Stewart, proposed an elaborate 'order of precedence' to describe Gibraltar in the 1950s. It is worth duplicating because it shows where the Moroccans will fit in some twenty years later:

1) The Governor, senior officers and officials, all of them expatriates, with a select few of the English educated Gibraltarians. The latter paid their way in the rarefied social atmosphere by lavish entertaining. They were politely, but

¹This is an extract from his book, *Berber Village*, the story of the Oxford expedition to the High Atlas Mountains in 1955. By a strange coincidence, the group met a young anthropologist on their journey, one Ernest Gellner.

never intimately accepted in it.

2) Less senior ex-patriate officers, with selected, English educated rich Gibraltarians or members of the liberal professions there.

3) Non-commissioned officers and Gibraltarians of moderate means.

4) Soldiers, sailors and airmen and most Gibraltarians, including the local working class and small shopkeepers.

5) The Spanish commuting workers, the hewers of wood, and the Indians (Adapted from Stewart, 1967).

As the Empire decayed the facade was maintained on some levels in Gibraltar. This had deep consequences for the civil population, the Yañitos. A belligerent Franco was slowly starving the Rock of its labour - the fifth category in Stewart's list. Then in 1969 the border was closed completely. The rapidity with which it happened had serious repercussions. It was not simply a question of making up the labour deficit. Families were torn apart. It could be said that it was, for the Gibraltar civilian population, one of the most significant events in recent history. In a real sense it was the first siege in Gibraltar's history that targeted the civilian population. It was the moment to make certain choices.

In basic terms the arena of attention for my work shifted from southern Morocco, which would have meant a certain grounding in the rural studies of Morocco itself, but I had also been interested in the processes which undermine rural economies and cause the shift of population from the countryside into the towns; the rural exodus as it is frequently termed in the literature. To this extent there is some congruence between a focus on the Moroccan migrants working in Gibraltar and my original research plans in that in terms of process the movement from rural to urban areas is matched by the movement of workers from Morocco itself to, by and large, western Europe. So in many respects the connection remains between the two areas of enquiry. It is equally interesting to reflect that my own displacement mirrored that of the workers I have followed and this fact has

served to condition the presentation of the thesis.

As I indicated initially, this thesis is an attempt to engage certain hidden agendas of Mediterranean and North African history. The stage is set by Pierre Bourdieu's early work on Algeria; not so much the celebrated structuralist analysis of the Berber house and his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), but more the work he conducted with rural migrants to Algiers. The period which took him from writing *Le Déracinement* (1964) to his compelling essay 'The Disenchantment of the World', translated tardily in *Algeria 1960*. His work plots the changes taking place in what Frantz Fanon (1970) termed a 'dying colonialism' in the 1950s. There is some evidence to suggest that Bourdieu felt that his research could lead to certain generalisations; an Algerian *bidonville* could be, at a theoretical level, the counterpart of a Brazilian *favela*. Thirty years on such generalities take on a less convincing visage and contemporary researchers are seeking to establish particularities rather than produce general statements. This is a necessity but it must be understood as a way of reassessing what has gone before. In the context of North Africa, the questions addressed by Bourdieu's work could have been broached decades before. In many senses intellectual discourse lagged behind socio-economic reality and corresponded to political agendas which, in the case of Algeria, were indeed dying. This death, it seems was a necessary concomitant to the realignment of research interests to a reality which had become troublesome. The meaning of rural exodus and urban squalor had been a fact of life to many of *les indigènes* for decades. This fact accounts for the historical nature of much of this thesis and provides the justification for counterposing modern and historical evidence.

This rift is brought home all the more strongly in the case of a town such as Biskra which had long been transforming in the wake of the appearance of Europeans. Ernest Gellner (1981) has addressed the religious aspects of life for the town's inhabitants in his percipient article 'The Unknown Apollo of Biskra: the social base of Algerian puritanism'. His account of saints helps give voice to one aspect of the town, but there are others which need

some exploration. In the days before the advent of the package tour in its modern form Biskra was a place of pilgrimage for European tourists. The Biskra package sought to encompass native life: the old town, exotic dancers and so forth. While the inhabitant of Biskra was fixed at the level of European discursive practice his body was migrating to the towns of the Tell to find work in order to comply with the demands imposed by French colonialism. The changes described by Bourdieu in the late 1950s had been occurring even in the nineteenth century. It is simply the case that only traces of them remain, but it is important that this history is revealed. I shall trace this process in the opening chapter of this thesis. Much of the North African literature shares this absence and from Biskra the chapter visits two sites in Morocco, Casablanca and Tangier, in order to illustrate some of the ways in which European regimes of representation were already determining versions of the North African 'real'.

As I have suggested the interest in rural exodus does lead to the topic of international migration which became the final focus of my doctoral research. However, the change of direction naturally threw up a new set of problems. My personal starting point in terms of orientation was Fanon's (1967) article 'The North African Syndrome', but the special nature of the Gibraltar situation makes for a marked difference between the historical situation of North African migrant workers in France and other northern European countries and the workers in Gibraltar.

Here it is necessary to reiterate the complexity of the social situation on the Rock in order to situate the Moroccans. Gibraltar, of course, started out its life under British control as a military garrison, but slowly in the 18th and 19th centuries a civilian population grew up to service the garrison. These people came from a variety of backgrounds: in the main Genoese, Maltese and Moroccan Jews. Not surprisingly they were engaged in various trading activities. In the contemporary period this civilian population numbers well over twenty thousand. While these *Llanitos*, as they now style themselves, served the garrison, their own labour needs have, in the post-World War Two period, been met by Spaniards migrating across the border

on a daily basis. Franco, however, used the political wrangle over the status of Gibraltar for completely closing the border in 1969 and thus cutting off what was essentially Gibraltar's supply of manual labour. Rather than taking up their own brooms, so to speak, the Gibraltarians looked across the Straits and imported five thousand Moroccans to fill the void left by the exclusion of the Spanish labour force. To situate the exact meaning of this for the Moroccans in question we have to understand twentieth-century developments in Gibraltarian ethno-nationalism. Around the turn of the century the civilian population stood in a relation with the military personnel which was essentially one of coloniser to colonised. Indeed, local newspapers of the day refer to them as 'natives'. This difference had its own cultural markers; the civilian population were Catholic and Spanish speaking while their British overlords - lords in the ironic sense used by Victor Kiernan (1969) is appropriate here - were largely Protestant and the language of command was English. In other words, the Gibraltarians were much closer to their Spanish neighbours than to the British in some respects and yet it is British identity which they now emphasise. These are the factors considered in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Another dominant sociological influence on the ethnoscape of Gibraltar has been the military presence of the British and this has always been closely linked to Gibraltar's position within the political economy and iconography of British imperialism. Indeed, these factors have strongly influenced the ways in which Gibraltar's history has been written. This very 'Britishness' has meant a corresponding neglect of the 'Spanish' influence on Gibraltar which has been considerable and which has certain consequences for the Moroccan migrant workers. These are areas explored in Chapter 3.

Part of my thesis concerns the role of the Moroccan worker as a symbolic carrier of difference in the process of the creation and fixing of Gibraltarian self-identity. The *Llanitos* now looked down on workers who could not possibly remind them of themselves, which enabled them to focus on their own 'Britishness' without exploring the contradictory nature of their own historical relationship to the British Empire. In a specific way in this

instance, the Moroccan worker in Gibraltar stood at the bottom of the social ladder - and shared as a result many of the disadvantages alluded to in Gunter Wallraff's (1989) chilling account of Turkish migrant workers in Germany. The work in Gibraltar is thus an attempt to record some of their response to this situation and thereby leave a lasting account of their presence - the border with Spain is open once more and the Moroccan population is on the decline as a result of their disadvantaged employment prospects in relation to those workers from member countries of the EEC. Pondering these general conditions of life for Europe's migrant workers, many of who come from Muslim countries leads to the discussion of Chapter 4 which examines general theoretical questions surrounding the literature on migration and the role it has played within ethnographic portrayals of North Africa and Morocco in particular.

Benedict Anderson (1983), in his provocative book *Imagined Communities*, speculated on the relationship between pilgrimage - in the sense employed by Victor Turner - and the growth of Third World nationalisms. In his account the 'administrative pilgrimage' to the colonial metropole was of crucial importance for the political birth of national identity. Certainly, in the North African context, Paris was the site for much activity and there is a close fit with his model - which was also based largely on French colonies. It is interesting, however, to consider subsequent developments in the light of his work. While the states of North Africa have achieved independence, the pilgrimages undertaken by migrants looking for work continue and the influence on these journeys and the experiences encountered will have a profound role in shaping the future of both migrant 'emitter' countries and those states in Europe which have relied on migrant labour in the second half of the twentieth century. For migrants from the Islamic world the formation of new ethnic minorities in Europe which are perceived as unassimilable because of religious difference (and increasingly viewed with some hostility as Islam comes to rival more traditional religious practice in terms of sheer numbers) has important consequences. After all, Islam is a global political phenomenon which has been the subject of western

attentions for centuries (Said, 1978). Now we are seeing the growing up of a generation of European Islamic youth which this chapter attempts to explore. In this sense the chapter represents a shift in tone for the thesis as a whole, but it serves to provide a further frame for the encounters recorded in Chapter 5.

The discussion in Chapter 5 looks specifically at the situation for Moroccan migrant workers in Gibraltar and seeks to analyze some of the difficulties which they face. In doing this I concentrate on a number of particular environments such as certain areas of leisure and within the arena of the Gibraltarian courts. Such studies provide greater insight into their condition in Gibraltar as a whole. Unlike the general situation discussed in Chapter 4, however, Gibraltar is a very specific venue for such migrants and this point is also brought out in this chapter.

Much of the work on this thesis coincides with the 1980s, for U.K. citizens, the Thatcher decade. The period has seen the development of a welter of ideas concerning the nature of the modern world (see David Harvey (1990) as an example of the many different forms of analysis which the period has spawned, especially concerning the slippery question of 'postmodernity'). This fact finds echoes in its pages and, indeed, in some senses provides an agenda for the treatments given. In anthropological terms the decade of the 1980s has seen the growth of various forms of self-conscious anthropology which, although the influence is not direct, give some authority (to use the term against those who would try to undermine it) to the eclectic nature of the thesis, when viewed from the tradition of more perfectly formed monographic efforts. Self-conscious is a euphemism here; a number of alternative terms have been used: reflexive, post-modern, the literary turn and so-forth. Their appearance has affected the growth of this work and challenged many of the more straight forward postulates upon which it was originally based. There is some need, therefore to outline these recent developments in order to see how they have become incorporated into the body of this thesis. The movement - I use this term as a shorthand only, it embraces too disparate a cast to be viewed as a school in the classical

sense - is American. We can witness its early struggles in the pages of *Dialectical Anthropology* and follow its later flowerings into the form of the Texas based, George Marcus edited journal *Cultural Anthropology*. Canonical texts can now be cited - and are with increasing monotony- as evidence of the new movement. While some see this 'anti-rationalism' as little more than bluster (e.g. Kapferer (1988); Polier and Roseberry (1989)) it is impossible not to see similar developments in other disciplines associated undoubtedly with what Clifford Geertz long ago referred to as the blurring of genres.

I have not been untouched by these developments and the thesis is evidence of this fact. Beyond this, however, lies a broader concern with the nature of the modern world and its rhythms. Walter Benjamin (1973) suggested that there were two types of story-teller, those who travel and those who stay at home. Such a breakdown feels increasingly simplistic as, in many parts of the world, it is migrant workers who are obliged to travel in ever increasing numbers. Their 'imaginings' are creating new forms of 'home' and 'homeland' and generating new ways of story-telling. It is these narratives which have to compete with those that are generated by the increasingly uniform world of the tourist industry, an industry that it is estimated will be the world's largest employer of labour by the new millennium (Urry, 1991). Disciplines such as anthropology must come to terms with these changes and seek to understand them rather than issuing outraged dismissals such as Levi-Strauss's (1976) notorious initial remarks in *Tristes Tropiques* where he complained about travelling and explorers. It is the migrant workers who will have the most interesting new stories, for their world is not one tamed by an American Express card.

Chapter 1

The Oriental City: a North African Itinerary

Introduction

This chapter will focus on a number of 'views' of North Africa seen as an object of European knowledge. Much of this writing comes from the 'genre' travel writing - one which can be associated strongly with forms of representation which arise in the context of a modernising 'West'. To underline this connection I have included a number of postcards in order to illustrate the text. This visual element will also form an important element of later chapters. Writing concerned with the 'Orient', 'Orientalist discourse', groups together a universe of different cultures and brands them as one. The world it describes is said to be a fiction (Said, 1978: 1). The tradition of the Orientalist had been open to criticism before the advent of Said. Anour Abdel-Malek (1963; 1968), for example, criticised the orthodoxies erected within the cozy groves of western academe by Orientalists. Said's work, however, has had an enormous impact and has been almost sufficient in itself to give rise to a whole new sub-discipline within literary studies, colonial discourse theory. These days it sometimes seems enough to pick on a series of 'texts' and dismiss them for the evidence of the 'Orientalism' they exhibit. To view, for example, such a work as Elias Canetti's (1978) *The Voices of Marrakesh*, however, as no more than a prurient catalogue of 'Marrakesh's supply of miserable animals, destitute natives, and decrepit "creatures"' (Kabbani, 1986: 129) is not, necessarily, the most constructive approach to adopt. The critic remains tangled in the myth; to say, for example, that 'Orientalism' represents no more than certain sordid manifestations of the effects of bourgeois repression means that the political and economic dimensions of the power and knowledge

equation alluded to by Said (1978) are lost. Nonetheless, much ink has been spilt on dismissing works *tout court* when there is perhaps cause for closer attention; criticism must move forward to dismantle the monolith of 'Orientalism'. The very scope of Said's formulation - stretching from the ancient world to modern times - makes 'Orientalism' a cumbersome entity and, as some have pointed out, no real alternative visions have been proposed. Criticism such as Kabbani (1986) has tended to rely on Said's original formulation rather than attempting to refine it. What seems like a development, i.e. her consideration of the other side of power and representation by introducing Arab chronicles which indicate a sort of inverted 'Orientalism', is simply to fall into the trap set by Bernard Lewis (1982) in his vitriolic attack on Said in *The New York Review of Books* (Lewis, 1982)).

This chapter will draw parallels between what has been written about certain North African towns and villages and the historical forces operating at the era. It will consider features of the 'Orientalist' complex within a specific framework and relate them to developments in cultural history - especially those surrounding the birth of the 'modern'.

1.1 Orientation

Whereas Abdel-Malek (1963; 1968) was a plea for an elegant sociology of civilisations viewed in the light of independence movements and the eclipse of the colonial period. That is to say, the reinstatement of 'lost' civilisations in the roster of human history. This account will be located firmly within the context of a form of cultural history which recognises important changes in the ways in which people see and live the world around them, and the various influences of new productive techniques (both on the imagination and in its service). The objective is not to produce a 'truer' version of the 'Orient' - which, anyway, is something of a logical impossibility; if knowledge and power are conceived instrumentally the very act of communicating automatically implies a series of relative hierarchies. Rather, it is an effort to fit the pieces together within the ever expanding constellation of modernism - the amalgam of those forces which conjured up the industrial cities of nineteenth-century Europe and generated the urban vision which Saisselin (1984) calls the new 'physiognomic genre' (p.22) of the modern city. Many commentators have seen only horror in these new landscapes of the city and have fretted over the colonial bequest of the modern city to lands under the colonial yoke. This is the ambiguous side of the Western psyche, a self-critical reflexivity which bemoans the arrival of the modern. This is a theme that will haunt the pages which follow. One example will suffice for now. A book written about Tangier in 1907 contains a dedication to the 'little children of Morocco'. This moving thought is followed by the wish that they 'may never know what "civilisation" means as we understand it in our crowded English cities' (Waltham, 1907: x). Underlying this sort of paternalism is of course another element of modernism. European cultural reaction to industrial growth was initially positive, but it eventually spawned a yearning for the past ways of life allegedly embodied in the rural idyll and which have been dissected with precision by Raymond Williams (1973). This hermetic division in the field of the imagination

belied the fact that these regions, town and country, were processually linked in intimate ways. Nonetheless, these visions of the social world were used as a template for viewing the rest of the world and exported alongside the cheap cloth and gin. Non-Europe was conceived on the basis of categories used for thinking Europe. As population movement increased with the new forms of transport which heralded the advent of the 'culture of time and space' (Kern, 1983), venues of Victorian life, the holiday resort for example, were imagined into these new worlds.

In his study *Touring in 1600* E.S. Bates (1911) describes the guidebooks of that time, exemplified by the work of Gruberus and Plotius, "the very guidiest of guide-book writers", both of whom drew up a series of questions for the erstwhile traveller which would not have been unfamiliar to the British anthropologist of the nineteenth century armed with a copy of *Notes and Queries*. They are advised to question the inhabitants of the lands they visit on all manner of topics. This form of guidebook is unknown today and corresponds to a past vision of travel. Mystery has already been possessed and the role of the guidebook is to access and catalogue the world in the form of a sensible itinerary (with people, as distinct from landscapes or monuments, this is a more difficult task, but it can be done if they are objectified as 'dancer', 'snake-charmer' or 'woman from the south' and, in the mind of the tourist, the essence of their whole being is captured in this role playing). The French critic Jean Cassou (1967) discussed the displacement of 'voyage' by 'tourism' in the nineteenth century. At this time the growth of travel agencies made it possible for the masses to travel, but it was travel with a difference:

the tourist agency brought the voyage to the masses as a denatured experience, stripped of the possibility of discovery. The modern tourist was locked into a collective consciousness of the group and saw everything passively, according to a preconceived itinerary that excluded the possibility of error and adventure. He experienced only what the tour guide had already experienced (Kern, 1983: 352n).



Figure 1: 'Algérie - Bedouine du Sud'

Of course travellers had recorded their experiences prior to the nineteenth century, but with an increasing technical sophistication it was possible to reproduce and proliferate visual images of these far-off lands. Early travellers, if not themselves artists, might make a few sketches that, upon return, would be handed to someone more competent to produce drawings. In some cases the artist took a companion who would compose a text to complement his/her vision. The work of Etienne Dinet appeared in a

popular book form with a text written by Sliman Ben Ibrahim (Dinet and Ben Ibrahim, 1928). A Mozabite from southern Algeria, Ben Ibrahim, had seen through 'certain errors' in the way the Koran was commonly interpreted and reassessed the role of painting and representational art, coming to view them as forms of prayer. Kabbani would have made much of the irony of Léonce Bénédite's preface to their collaboration in which he calls for an edition of the book in Arabic to enable the Arabs, themselves, to appreciate the high regard in which their customs and beliefs are viewed in the West (Dinet and Ben Ibrahim, 1928: 19) and the book does indeed conform perfectly to most 'Orientalist' stereotyping.

Pictures and Postcards

Increasingly, however, travel books came to be recognised by the presence of photographs. For Malek Alloula (1981) it was the photograph that superseded the work of men such as Dinet as the receptacle of European phantasms about the East, but in time it succumbed to another product of the new age- the postcard:

...it became the fantasy of the poor- filling shop-stalls with cheap dreams- encountered by members of the military, tourists and colons alike, it was all pervasive in the colonial world; serving to fix and perpetuate the lyricism and glory of the colony alongside its fake knowledge of Algeria (p. 19).

The rapid expansion of new forms of communication in the western world was what enabled the postcard to figure so largely on the cultural horizon. Turning to figures for England and Wales we can gauge the scale of the increase:

When the penny post was introduced in 1840, 132 million letters were delivered in England and Wales. By 1870 this had risen to 704 million; in 1913 it stood at 2,827 million. This was in addition to the 1,069 million postcards delivered in the same year (Walvin, 1988: 82).

Alloula's (1981) study of the ways in which the colonial postcard functioned to project a view of Algerian women demonstrates clearly that the images manufactured are by no means innocent of intent. Despite their pretence at illustrating the world, the 'ethnographic alibi' masks *un regard vivisecteur*. Alloula continues, for the people subjected to it, 'photography steals the soul; the "savages" who will pay the price of a less symbolic and more ferocious spoliation sense this fact intuitively' (p.61).

These old cards, which knew their golden epoch in the first thirty years of this century, can, in some cases, be traced back to individual photographers. Early postcards of Palestine were the work of Bonfils (Moors and Machlin, 1987). In the images displayed sometimes the explicit mark of events can be seen. Dreissen (1987) has argued that changing images of the Riffians in postcards was a direct result of their pacification by the Spanish. Riffian notables in Melilla complained about caricatures introduced in 1916. These:

were displayed in shop-windows and became very popular amongst the conscripts who sent them home to family and friends. Spanish officers considered these postcards morale-boosting (Driessen, 1987: 61).

After pacification the Riffian appears more frequently in bucolic scenes. Why should these objects, these particular artifacts of colonial iconography, have known their greatest popularity at a period corresponding with the most intense period of European colonialism? Here we must examine the nature of the postcard.

Postcards partake of the same world as 'popular' literature. They have, however, a different function: to convey a message, a greeting. They are the product of a world where access to communication has become 'democratic'. This is not to say that they communicate a great deal, they are not the direct descendant of the bourgeois tradition of letter writing on the grand tour, rather they are formulaic, a duty, an incantation. Historically they flow in one direction alone; backwards in space and symbolic time; back to the people who still live in a world we might term 'Before Voyage', before

the necessity to travel; they return to the metropoli of European expansion. The plain postcard spawned the picture postcard. The message enlivened with a visual image meant more than the few words it was possible to squeeze onto the card (in the early days of the picture postcard one entire side had to devoted to the address and the message written on the picture side). The soldier-son could now be imagined strolling down the dusty street or stretched out amid the ruins of other worlds; the emigrant pictured in the verdure of the colonies, successful at last. The 'social death' of migration to the Americas in an earlier period is now ruptured by missives from the afterlife (Berger, 1975).

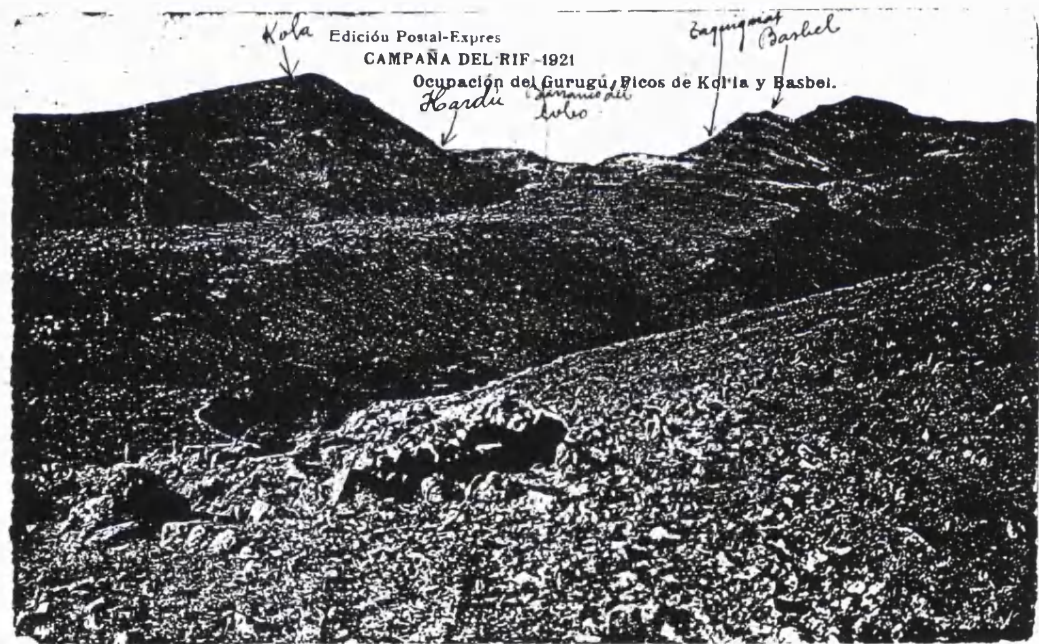


Figure 2: The Rif campaign. A soldier writes home to his mother.

All these images, however, conveyed other meanings: not only did they herald the arrival of modernity by representing the new towns constructed by the colonizers², they also helped to reduce the population to the level of the natural landscape. A process which Laroui (1977) has described as the 'general regression of the dominated society...toward an objective and absolute negation of its historic past' (p.369).



Figure 3: Types Arabes

In this chapter postcards are used as illustrative material for a more general set of transformations of which they themselves are a part. Section

²This process is clearly seen in David Prochaska's work on colonial Bône, 'Reconstructing Algérie française', in J.R. Henry (ed.), *La Maghreb dans l'imaginaire français: la colonie, le désert, l'exil*, Aix-en Provence: Édisud, 1985 (See also Prochaska, 1985b).

1.2 deals with the development of tourism in the Sahara, specifically in the small town of Biskra and relates this to a more general set of European visions of idyll. Sections 1.3 and 1.4 examine two Moroccan cities, Casablanca and Tangier, and their representation in certain forms of popular writing and travel literature, and asks to what extent they were formed out of the same imaginative clay and shaped by the same forces which sent tourists to North Africa in exchange for labour - that is those forces which, in nineteenth-century Europe, are often referred to as modernity.

1.2 Biskra: Dancers, Painters, Writers and Guides at the Mouth of the Sahara

Do you know why we have gone as far as Biskra, among the Oulad Naïl? To open our commercial routes to the interior. We have copied the English and waged a war of self-interest; we have marched with a sword in one hand and a measuring-stick in the other.

Maréchal Bugeaud, speech to the Chamber, 24 January, 1845 (quoted by Perennes, 1980: i).

Don't talk to me about Matisse...
the European style of 1900, the tradition of the
studio where the nude woman reclines forever
on a sheet of blood
Talk to me instead of the culture
generally - how the murderers were
sustained by the beauty robbed of savages:
to our remote villages the painters came, and
our white-washed mud-huts were splattered
with gunfire.

Lakdasa Wikkramasinha (quoted by Ondaatje, 1984: 85-6).

South of the Aurès mountains in Algeria at the turn of the century the

village of Biskra, chief settlement in a group of oases known as the Ziban (the plural of Zab, a village), was the haunt of Bohemian artists. They came to Biskra to taste the desert; its smells, the light, the sheer scale. Their overdeveloped creativity, cramped and etiolated in the darkened artists' garrets of Paris and London, could roam free and, unfettered by the piety and philistinism of their fellows, they could bask in the urgency of sunlight or lie sleeping, massaged by the frigid fingers of cold desert night.



Figure 4: Environs de Biskra. Foum as-Sahara (mouth of the Sahara)³.

³In some form or another this image, the gorge of Alkantara, appears in almost every 'travel' account of Algeria. Many early twentieth-century travel books contain a photographic record and the 'scenes' and 'types' which they illustrate are close relations of the postcards.

Before this could occur, however, the dream of Biskra had to be born. In 1880 Paul Bourde wrote: "O Biskra! who, once having seen you, could ever forget!"(p.133). Such enthusiasm was of recent mintage. Initially it was not so:

On the 4th of March 1844 Biskra was occupied by the Duke of Aumale who left behind him a company of native soldiers commanded by five French officers and junior officers. The massacre of these men by miserable fanatics was quickly avenged and a better organised occupation made us definitive masters of Biskra the following 18th May... (Piesse, 1862: 463).

Within two decades of the first occupation of Biskra, thirty-one years since the French first set foot in Algiers, a comprehensive guidebook is available to those free spirits bent on exploring the new land. Apart from the details of conquest Piesse's guide, quoted above, reveals only formal notes on Biskra: circle of the subdivision of Batna; indigenous population numbering some four thousand (excluding the garrison and the few Frenchmen installed in the Fort-Saint-Germain). That those using the guide were more than mere sightseers is suggested by the following remark:

It has not yet been possible to grant land in the Biskra district. That will only occur when dams and artesian wells have made the good quality land which is currently sterile through lack of water financially viable (Piesse, 1862: p. 437).

Most of the information the guide provides deals with the plant which produces the region's most precious commodity: the date palm.

An Englishman, Rev. J. Blakesley, travelling in the 1850s had very little to say about Biskra (Blakesley, 1859) but, by 1875, the situation has changed remarkably. No longer are the few Frenchmen cooped up in the military fort, writes George Gaskell:

Biskra, which may be called New Biskra, to distinguish it from the original Arab village about a mile from it, is a pretty little town which has sprung up under the auspices of the military... Many of the Arabs, appreciating the advantages which the modern town possesses over the mud-built capital of the Ziban, or finding it in their interest to live amongst Europeans, have abandoned their former quarters, and their numbers now greatly predominate in Biskra proper (Gaskell, 1875: 302-3).

Gaskell was also an Englishman and there would be many more. He notes, with approval, the proposals to establish a winter station for invalids at Biskra: 'Medical men admit that Biskra possesses all the climatic advantages that nature can unite in one delectable spot' (Gaskell, 1875: 316). By 1881 Knox, another Englishman, Piesse's guidebook in hand and in need of rest, is enjoying a pilgrimage of health to Biskra. *From Pimlico to the Palms* is the whimsical title he adopts for his journey. Piesse alone, however, proves inadequate for the great task of discovering Biskra:

After coffee... we began to consider how we should employ our time in the desert, and sent for and secured the services during our stay at Biskra, of Abd-el-Kader, and I can, with a good conscience, advise all who come after me to employ him. Clean and neat in his person and dress; civil attitude, always at hand when wanted, and not boring you when you had rather be alone; familiar with everybody and everything at Biskra; not only your guide during excursions, but your confidential servant and interpreter all the day through (Knox, 1881: 306).

By the 1880s French writers were already surveying the massive changes which had occurred in Algeria. Turning to Biskra, Bernard (1887) wrote: 'Biskra is such a civilised oasis! It's the Sahara on the doorstep of even the most timid tourist; a desert for the photographers. There are far too many Europeans here' (p.373). What exactly was attracting this excess of European visitors? Certainly French railway building had made it possible for most tourists to visit Biskra and the pre-Sahara, but wherein lay the appeal and what further attractions awaited?



Figure 5: Biskra- Le Marché

THE NAYLETTES

The model and that which it signifies (the Algerian woman) fades away to become no more than the prop for a carnivalesque orgy (Alloula, 1981: 42).

A French artist, living in an Arab house, has arranged a delight of the Orient - a dance. The dancers are girls belonging to the Ouled Nail tribe, who live in the Sahara, far south (Fraser, 1913: 14).

The Ouled Nail dancing girls, known familiarly as naylettes, represent, like the gorge of Alkantara, another common image of Biskra. Their fame has even extended to the realm of sociology where they appear in Fernando

Henriques' (1962) study, *Prostitution and Society*⁴. In both visual and written accounts they undoubtedly embody the strongest symbol of what Alloula (1981) terms a 'carnavalesque orgy'. Their presence makes Biskra radically different from Europe. Here, writes F. Hautfort (1891):

vice seems to be unknown and recklessness reigns as if the place were another Eden before the Fall, good and bad have no definition and the naivety of some past golden age lingers on (p.26).

He continues his uninhibited eulogy for Biskra by praising the beautiful dancing women and the passions they inspire:

Embarka's peasant good-looks have even made victims of colons; and, finally, Maryam, who receives writers and painters and in whose company the dilettantes of Albion encounter the neurotics of Paris (p.40).

The Ouled Nail were described at the time as belonging to a nomadic tribe which occupied the desert between Bou-Sada and the M'zab. The group, it was held, made an exception to the traditional Muslim rule of jealousy over female virtue, as Bourde (1880) puts it. The situation has sometimes been described as 'dowry prostitution'; the women leaving the tribe and working as dancer/prostitutes until they accumulate a sufficiently large dowry. Then they would return to the tribe to marry making, to the great surprise of many Europeans, good wives and mothers.

Their dancing was an event sought out by many, but responses to this voyeuristic spectacle were ambivalent:

it's a pantomime which could only be found in a people whose women play no part whatsoever in public life and, in consequence, have not the least moral refinement. The name given it, the belly dance, tells us enough of what it contains: a gross parody of brutal love-making, executed with the impassive face of the Muslim woman, whose greatest glory is to ignore pleasure. It is wholly indecent (Bourde, 1880: 145)

⁴What Henriques actually has to say is of no value - he even quotes the sensationalist German writer Fuchs as an authority. The plates 38-40, however, provide further examples of the harem syndrome.

Here is Knox's (1881) description of such a scene:

Presently a woman, one of the professional dancers, neither young nor well looking, made her appearance, and wriggled herself up to the open space very slowly; she would pause every now and then, and appear to be taking aim at some one as with a gun, with a stick which she held in her hand. I suppose her wriggles and twistings of the head seemed to imply general fascination; they did not fascinate me. It seemed, however, to satisfy the Arabs, who I dare say saw more in the wriggling than I did. The women were most fantastically dressed, with an abundance of what was, no doubt, sham jewellery, with a head-dress which looked like a large stool with silver ornaments hanging from it. They had many chains of silver, with a silver kind of breast plate, and a silver belt. There was only one that had the smallest pretension to decent looks, and even in her case one had to "make believe" a good deal... Perhaps the less said the better about the dancing women, who are, if I remember right, called "oulad nail". They inhabit a street apart in Biskra, and come from some distant part of the desert. I can only say they seemed to me very unattractive, not to say hideous (pp. 323-4).

Gaskel (1875) was similarly distressed by the performance. "In large cities the world over", he wrote:

in spite of civilisation, or perhaps in consequence of it, a certain class of society follow the same course and...amuse themselves in much the same way; but we did not expect to find the social evil amongst the daughters of the desert in the quiet and distant oasis (pp. 304-5).

Most accounts, however, resemble Tripp's (1903). He found the dancing girls 'remarkable for the grace of their persons and the gorgeous costumes and jewels they wear', even if 'their complexion is darker than gipsies, and most of them are tattooed like savages' (p. 39). The Nailians became central to the Biskra 'package'. So much so that by 1913 a cynical observer, John Fraser, wrote:

Everybody goes to the Street of the Ouled Nails, the professional courtesans. It is a naughty experience, and quite nice ladies saunter through the sordid lanes, and sip coffee in the dancing-saloons where the attraction is the indecent posturing of fat females- and they excuse themselves for going because it is the custom of the country, and they are

witnessing a phase of life prohibited elsewhere. As a matter of fact, there are not half a dozen real Ouled Nails in the street - most of the girls are tricked-out strumpets from Algiers and Constantine. They are brought to Biskra for the amusement of Europeans and Americans (pp. 129-30).



Figure 5: Biskra - Une Rue des Ouled-Nayl

Authenticity, if ever there was, is no longer central to the performance. The dancers constitute the country in the eyes of visitors and, as the self-styled Hafsa (1928), described by his publisher as an American citizen of distinguished Arab and Spanish descent, wrote, 'the Walid Nails are too profitable to the owner of the individual dance-hall, who is not always "native", and too much a part of the country's picturesqueness as a whole' (p.94).

Sidi Saouarr (Mister Painter)

On our arrival several brother artists and friends of ours left the dinner-table and rushed out of the hotel to welcome us in a manner that none can appreciate who have not experienced a cordial reception under similar circumstances... Young Arabs squeezed their noses against the window-panes outside, winked and smirked at us to obtain our confidence as a preliminary to getting an engagement as cicerone. The arrival of other saouarrs was a great event for them... (Bridgeman, 1890: 201).

Painters, professional and amateur, poured into Biskra. They were required to point out the physical beauty of the land, because, as the American *saouarr* Bridgeman (1890) puts it, 'The lack of appreciation of a picture, photograph, or any representation of nature is wanting in the Arab mind to an incredible degree, more so perhaps than among the most ignorant of the European peasants' (p. 230). The artists set about putting things right, but they needed 'authentic' props: 'From time to time we bought second-hand costumes either at the market-place or directly from the back of whoever was willing to sell his garment and strip on the spot' (Bridgeman, 1880: p204-5). How convenient it is that people will sell the clothes off their very back for the furtherance of art. In this emporium the dancing girls will sell their jewellery, 'but they make a great favour of doing so and demand exorbitant prices. Ornaments are best bought from the husbands or brothers of less fashionable ladies' (Hilton-Simpson, 1906: 79).

To these painters the water tasted sweeter in the desert and the air was purer. They came and stole the sunsets, they turned the people into dreams. Some took their names, wore their clothes and drank their hospitality, but they always left. The Biskris waited for the next Sidi Saouarr to paint pictures in their staring eyes, to give them a life, to tell their stories. The dream they were given, however, was not their own and they were unable to live up to the power of brushes or the magic of paint-boxes:

The ruses for getting sitters to come, and the fruitless rendezvous given; the assistance of neighbours to whose house the suspicious and half-frightened feminine natives could first go, then sneak round the corner or through a hole in the roof by passing over the terraces, would be as confusing a record to offer my reader as the incidents were amusing and more frequently exasperating to us. Then the halt, the maimed, and the blind, to say nothing of the healthy, ugly specimens of humanity, who pounded at our door, beseeching us, 'Saouarr, Saouarr nee! Saouarr nee!' (Artist, paint me; paint my portrait.) (Bridgeman, 1890: 221-2).

Biskra came to consist of old and new. For some, the journey to new Biskra was hard because, although the route was flat, dusty rags were heavy. In the opposite direction the journey had long been assured with guns and dust was only the veil masking the ages which rolled by with every step taken towards old Biskra.

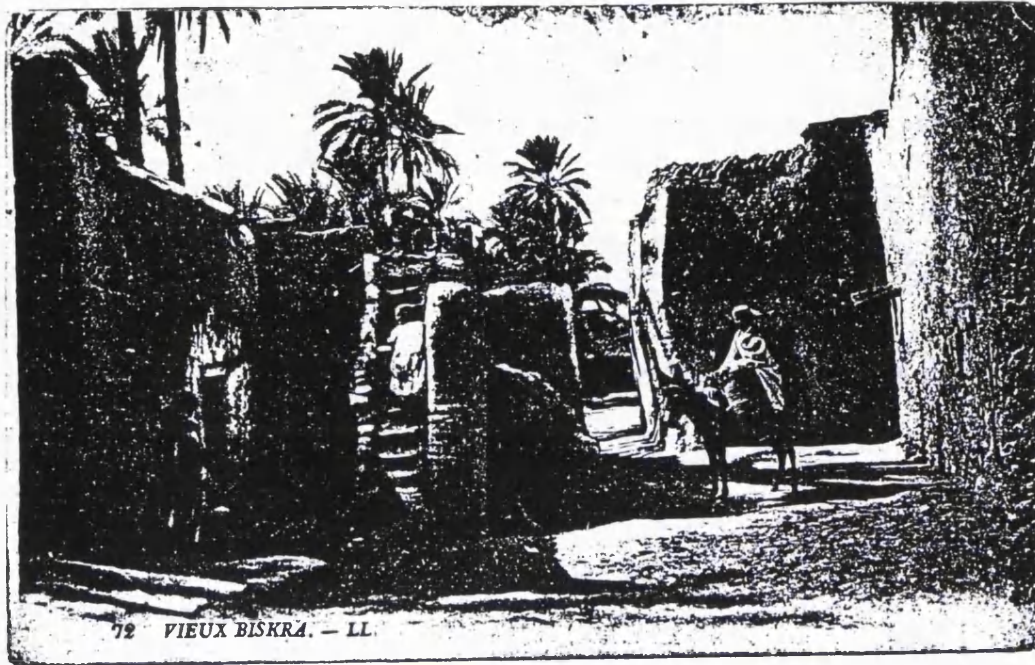


Figure 7: Vieux Biskra

Writers and Guides

Biskra, the present terminus of the railway, is the Mecca of the casual tourist, who, with little trouble, and without wandering from the region of large hotels, without, indeed, changing his train, may wish to believe he has seen the desert. And because at Biskra the tourist is largely represented, it follows that the guides are numerous also. "Guides", indeed, there are of every description, pleasant companions generally; as a study of Oriental life, a varied experience of them is both interesting and amusing (Grant, 1919: 360).

The guide alone becomes sufficient evidence of Oriental life. C.F. Grant goes on to elaborate the varieties of this exotic breed:

There is the guide who is nominally attached to the hotel... There is the smart good-looking, youthful guide, who borrows lustre from an alleged descent from the Prophet, and is always appearing in gorgeous new clothes, obtained, it is whispered,

from the shops for the purchase of supposed "clients", worn for a day, and then returned as unsuitable. There is the quiet, reliable, studious young guide, who is too proud to ask for employment, and perhaps has no need; for he seems to be a general favourite, and to be employed by the same people when they return to Biskra year after year... Occasionally they are a little supercilious in their remarks, as, for instance, one of the Arab guides who had been employed by an English writer, whose rapid motor tour through the country had resulted in a book - 'I know how these books are made; I tell them five words, and they make ten pages.'

All this takes place in the modern Biskra of the tourist, and the French Government, and the Hôtel de Ville, and the European shops and hotels (pp. 360-1).

And yet, for the writer, these guides are not enough. Oriental life requires a richer, more picturesque and colourful backdrop - one not to be found in Biskra. Outside the town there is a garden, pitched on the burning edge of the Sahara; in reality the garden of Château Landon, designed and executed by Count Landon de Longueville. For the English tourist this was to take on an added significance in 1904 when the Biskra industry went into top gear with the publication of a novel, Robert Hichens' (1904) *Garden of Allah*. Beni Mora of the book is Biskra and it was to Biskra, and the garden, that thousands of tourists came looking for evidence of the book. Hichens (1864-1950) was a curate's son and the book - the story of the sophisticated Domini travelling in the Sahara where she meets the man she marries who, it transpires, is an escaped trappist monk - was his greatest success. It was adapted for the stage to popular acclaim and no less than three film versions were made, the last in 1936, directed by Richard Boleslawski and starring Charles Boyer and Marlene Dietrich. For Biskra the writing of the book was to mark a new phase in its touristic development and the guides, in some measure, were to exact a Pyrrhic revenge on writers and their ilk. The desire to be guided through strange worlds. Perhaps there is something important in this, however displaced whatever we may find. The guide is the organiser of our imaginings, presenting them back to us in their best light. Performing a role similar to the museum, to de-historicise, repack and sanitise the confusion of the past.

Guides found their way into the fiction; showing the characters of the book round the 'oriental' garden; unveiling 'their' town to the tourist; fabricating an imaginary city in the desert to comply with European expectations. In this game of mirrors Biskra becomes 'the market, the negro village, the mosque, the casino, the statue of the Cardinal, the bazaars, the garden of the Count Ferdinand Anteoni' (Hichens, 1904: 47). This is the selection of sites offered to Domini by her guide in the novel. The real guides were soon following this lead, 'My mistress was introduced to Safti who had been Robert Hichens' guide. He took her to the famous garden in which Domini spent so much time, and explained how he had given the author most of the data concerning that story' (Hoyt, 1914: 137-8).



Figure 8: Village Nègre⁵.

⁵ Black slaves had been liberated by the French in 1848: 'The Village Nègre is worth a visit, and if a horrible curiosity appeals to one, the dervishes who eat scorpions and glass and pierce their faces with nails can be seen without difficulty' (Bodley, 1927: 231).

Here, however, the European imagination is impoverished and within little more than a decade of the book's publication the romance of Biskra had finished. Grant (1919) complained that the garden:

is invaded by matter-of-fact, unimaginative people, anxious to prove the identity of certain spots, and to connect them with the characters in a novel; these meet you at every turn. Vendors of carpets and miscellaneous wares dodge and follow you, successfully eluding all your efforts to escape them, finally settling themselves on the ground at your feet, hoping by sheer importunity to drive you to an undesired bargain (p.37).

Writing in 1906 M. Hilton-Simpson was shocked to find in the market 'a vast crowd of hangers-on whose business it is to scrape acquaintance with a stranger, offer to show him the sights, and, in short, to swindle him in every imaginable way: a truly motley throng' (p. 81). The authorities, he further noted, had decided to act and all those wishing to act as guides had, by this time, to register with the police and receive an official number. Another writer, travelling in 1911, put the influence of the novel even higher: 'Biskra of the tourists, *orbs circum currentum*, is in a fair way to rechristen itself Hichenstown' (Thomas-Stanford, n.d.: 209). In similar vein, Bodley (1927) remarked that with the aid of a railway an English novelist had made Biskra what it was, a kind of 'Dieppe-on-sand': 'The town has an air of fat prosperity unknown in the other places we have visited. Arab guides are paid the wages of colonels and the hiring of camels is as expensive as a motor-car' (p.277). Another writer, March Phillips (1909), also uses the comparison with a more usual holiday resort. Biskra, he says, is a 'mixture of Brighton and Aldershot' (p.76).

Guides, like sheikhs, betray their portraits, their difference is linked to the rural/urban division in an interesting remark made by another author:

The typical Arab sheikh of modern fiction (if he does not turn out to be an Englishman) is a young, dashing, handsome and intensely fascinating individual, well mannered and well washed; but in real life one rarely meets such a person- I myself have never seen him. The typical sheikh at Siwa or on the Western Desert was elderly, bearded and only moderately clean. Some of them were certainly very fine-looking men, but

utterly different to the personage that one would expect from the descriptions in a certain style of popular novel. The "guides" who swindle visitors in Cairo are much more like the sheikh of fiction in appearance than are the real sheikhs whom one meets and has dealings with in the desert (Dalrymple Belgrave, 1923: 243-4).

Is this any great surprise? As Peter Brent (1977) has pointed out, there was an element of luxury involved here. In his discussion of the 'spell of far Arabia' he makes several points. Views of the desert and the lives and qualities of its inhabitants have changed over the centuries:

For the early travellers, there was no doubt- those flats and dunes were nothing but an abomination, a wilderness that had almost destroyed the Children of Israel and was liable to prove as destructive to anyone else venturing into it. By the eighteenth century, however, the desert had become the necessary condition creating the nobility of the savage who lived within its borders (Brent, 1977: 21).

By the time of Sir Richard Burton a further transformation had taken place; the desert had become a challenge. With the increasing efficiency of modern travel it became possible to drive across the 'empty quarter', but the challenge is then vitiated. Herein lies the luxury, 'to chose to brave its most demanding wildernesses is, in these circumstances, to opt for the ultimate luxury. It is a course open only to the members of a society rich to superfluity, to satiation'(Brent, 1977: 22).

A stylised desert had its stylised inhabitants. By the mid-thirties of this century 'the image of the desert sheikh had already impressed itself upon a million minds, his features those of Rudolph Valentino, of Ramon Navarro, his language and his passions devised by such writers as Edith M. Hull' (Brent, 1977: 20). Hull's book, *The Sheikh*, went into thirteen printings within eight months of its publication, but that is not to say that its storyline of the Englishwoman kidnapped near Biskra by a sheikh who miraculously turns out to be the son of the Earl of Glencaryll was not mocked. The great American satirist S.J. Perleman devoted a piece to the

book entitled *Cloudland Revisited: Into Your Tent I'll Creep*⁶, but authors had already commented on the discordance between what they saw on their travels and such portrayals. Is this comparison between guides and the fictional representations, such as that noted by Dalrymple Belgrave, simply fortuitous? The dream of 'Orient' gave way rapidly to other sentiments. For some writers disillusion was already present before Anthony Wilkin(1900) wrote:

Biskra was to us a great disappointment. It is like Cairo in the season - full of big hotels, tourists, and more or less corrupted (if it were possible) Arabs, who assail the visitor with a mixture of French and English, the proportion being varied according to his supposed nationality (p.52).

Wilkin also noted the 'guide problem' elaborated here by Fraser (1913): 'Touts - alleged guides - make life unbearable. All the young lads and young men of Biskra, instead of earning a decent livelihood, seem to spend their time touting amongst the visitors; and they are the most impudent of blackguards' (p.129). The guide is an important locus which connects the Orient of the dream with disappointment; counterpoints seduction with deception. The often mentioned duplicity of the 'Arab' may well lie in the impossibility of fulfilling this dual role: 'Most travellers in the East find sooner or later that the Arab, at least the settled Arab, is an incorrigible thief and rascal, often without even a smiling countenance (Wilkin, 1900: 72). Does this 'duplicity of the East' lie here - the projection of modernity onto a world which has no choice but to struggle with and adapt to the new rules posed? The young learn fast how to play such games. Paul Bourde (1880) notes a conversation he had with a young boy in Biskra. The child claims to be without parents, he sleeps in one of the cafés - cleaning it in exchange for a place on the floor:

⁶This piece can be found in *The Most of S.J. Perleman*, London: Methuen, 1978. The cinematic equivalent was looked at by Wyndham Lewis, see 'Faking a Sheik' in his *Journey into Barbary*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, (1932 [1987])

- What do you want to be when you grow up?
- I want to go to France.
- Good heavens, what will you do?
- I'll shine shoes. And then I'll be a soldier (p.140).

Bourde and the party with whom he travels are so touched by the young Biskri, who exactly fits their vision of the street urchin, that they club together and buy him the new shirt he has demanded. Subsequently, with the exception of a brief glance, the boy is seen no more. Bourde and his party are informed that he had lied. The normally effusive Hautfort (1897) bemoans the irritation children cause the innocent tourist:

They have only one cry with which they torment the stroller:
 - Sordi? macache sordi? ...sordi barca? (a copper?, won't you give me a copper?, just one?)

If the gift is slow to arrive the kids carry on; if the knowing roumi [European] replies with the traditional, ironic phrase. "Return tomorrow, Allah will provide!", they become annoyed and chant in unison:
 -Un-sor-di, Un-sor-di! (p.56).

Having left Biskra, Grant (1919) visited Tolga where he commented on how the people were 'unspoilt' and had not learnt to look upon the stranger as their natural prey. The children did not beg and the tourist was free from the annoyance of being pestered for 'sordi' which had become the norm at Biskra.

Despite its increasing spoilation Biskra occupied a central place in the iconography of exotica. A book which has weathered the ravages of time rather better than that of Hichens is André Gide's (1902 [1960]) *The Immoralist*. In his notebooks of 1896, the writer claimed that the earth of Biskra spoke a different language, but one which he had come to understand. He ridicules the other tourists for their gullibility and dancing girls. He had witnessed many real musical gatherings:

And I was always the only Frenchman to see them. I don't know where the tourists go; I fancy the paid guides show them a trashy Africa in order to protect the Arabs, who like calm and secrecy, from intruders... Yet the hotels are full of travellers, but they fall into the trap set by the quack guides and pay dearly for the falsified ceremonies tricked up for them

(Gide, 1967: 149-50).



Figure 9: Biskra - Quartier de Bab Darb

But Gide of the novel, Gide the self-confessed pederast, is also deceived in Biskra:

I do not recognize the children, but the children recognized me. They have heard of my arrival and come running to meet me. Can it really be they? What a shock! What has happened? They have grown out of all knowledge - hideously. In barely two years! It seems impossible... What fatigues, what vices, what sloth have put their ugly mark on faces that were once so bright with youth? What vile labours can so soon have stunted those beautiful young limbs? What a bankruptcy of hope!... I ask a few questions. Bachir is scullion in a café; Ashour is laboriously earning a few pennies by breaking stones

on the roads; Hammatar has lost an eye. And who would believe it? Sadek has settled down! He helps an elder brother sell loaves in the market; he looks idiotic. Agib has set up as a butcher with his father; he is getting fat; he is ugly; he is rich; he refuses to speak to his low-class companions... What! Am I going to find the same things I hated so at home? Boubakir? Married. He is not fifteen yet. It is grotesque... He is, I expect, an utter waster; he has taken to drink and lost his looks... So that is all that remains, is it? That is what life has made of them? (Gide, 1902 [1960]: 149-50).

This is deception of a different order, but ultimately it bears the same stamp as Fraser's (1913) lament:

Years ago Biskra must have been redolent of the Orient... It was truly Arabic.

Then the French built a railway, so that it was easily reached. Then doctors discovered the air was so dry it was just the place for invalids. Then Mr Hichens wrote his novel, "The Garden of Allah", and that did the mischief... He is the maker of Biskra today, and has brought much gold to the town. But I wish "The Garden of Allah" had never been written.

For Biskra is spoilt- irrevocably spoilt. It has become the shrine of the galloping tourist, here today and gone the day after tomorrow. The East is overlaid with the West. Instead of a natural town it is a fake Eastern town (pp. 128-9).

Increasingly this is the shrill message of the writer/traveller. When Wyndham Lewis (1932 [1987]) envisaged travelling to the Sahara he chose to enter 'at its Atlantic extremity, rather than approach it via Biskra, or the 'loop' Beni Abbes- Timimoun- Guardaïa- with all the stupefying squalor of Anglo-American tourism about one, poisoning the wells and casting its Baedekered blight' (p. 25). 'I did not stay in Biskra', wrote Turnbull (1940), 'it seemed to me that...it was so intensely touristic that despite the beauty of the surroundings it was unbearable, I carried on' (p.231). Finally the Midas touch of modern tourism works its ultimate transformation and even those who continue to dream the vision are repelled physically by the town: 'We visited all the hotels of Biskra from the largest to the smallest, and not a vestige of interest in us did any of them betray' (Collier, 1940: 85).



Figure 10: Hôtel du Sahara, a first class establishment, entirely new.

Strangers of Uncommon Strangeness

Behind the story of the tale of touristic development in the Sahara lies another history, a bleaker economic reality which undermines the foundations of idyll. The *saouarr* Bridgman (1890) remarked of the first artesian wells constructed by the French in 1856:

The hearts of the inhabitants as well as the water-field were tapped, and the rejoicings they manifested in "fantasias", dancing, and singing, in gratitude to the French for their enterprise, can be better imagined than described... It would be difficult to understand how a nation, however fanatical, could rise in insurrection against such benefactors as their conquerors have been (p.207).

But arise they eventually would. One background to the situation is portrayed in an all together different light in the study by Perennes (1980; see also Marouf, 1980) for *The Garden of Allah* is his in name alone. It was, rather, the product of new intensive forms of irrigation which were to destroy the entire economic balance of the region and result in the impoverishment of many of the local population.

Perennes' study is based on the Oued R'hir region, south of the Zab, but it serves as a model for some of the changes taking place there. In the early nineteenth century the area's dynamism was based on the trans-Saharan trade in slaves, gold, salt and other commodities. At this time agricultural production was destined for local consumption and there was only limited exchange between neighbouring oases; it lay outside the dynamic of long-distance trade and producers themselves were subordinate to the enriched members of the merchant class. The feeble development of agricultural production was directly linked to the complex social stratification in the oases which involved the complementary and conflicting relations between nomads and sedentarists, the parasitic nature of the local *chefferies* (those groups claiming descent from the prophet) and the near non-existence of interference from the outside. The development of a system of sharecropping known as the *khammesat* and which became widespread in the region during the colonial period must be located within the context of these relationships.

After the French intervention the order of things was altered and 1880 saw the establishment of a European date producing enclave by a group of colons (the comments of Piesse's guide should be recalled). This upset the normal function of date production in the area, it was no longer simply for exchange and family consumption but had become involved in a 'process of generating surplus-value necessary to a dynamic of unequal development' (Perennes, 1980: 292). Three factors need to be singled out: the constitution by colons of a sector responding to the criteria of capitalist development; an articulation between this sector and the rest of agriculture through labour demands; and the unseen effects which colon production would have

physically on the 'traditional' oasis.

The growth of plantation-style production dates from this time and increased markedly after the turn of the century. By this stage it contained all the elements typical of monoculture for export: rationalization of the production process to realise gains in productivity (aligning trees in view of mechanization, for example, which had the effect of displacing the picturesque 'anarchy' of the traditional oasis); an exclusively waged labour force; and articulation through a commercial centre in the metropole - the date processors of Marseilles. The colon sector contained no more than ten percent of the trees in the region, but it predominated economically.

Although some local Algerian owners were able to increase the size of their holdings this does not obscure the upsets brought about by the new production methods introduced by the colonists. Destructuration, Perennes (1980) argues, was occurring on 'a multiplicity of levels' (p. 293). The effects on the physical balance of the oases are very clear here. Modern techniques of pumping and drilling assured colons and their allies an advantage in terms of irrigation while at the same time having a detrimental effect on water levels in wells dug by the *ghettas* (local specialists in the digging of wells) who Dinet had been painting since his first arrival in the country. As the colons' capacity to utilise water increased through more powerful pumps and deeper bores so the artesian well supplying the 'traditional' oases became exhausted. Marsh cultures grown by the fellahs at the base of the palm began to rot and the salt content of the soil increased dangerously. What was described by the *Commandant Militaire* of Touggourt as the 'hydraulic anarchy' of the 'traditional' oases was the result of such changes, as were the considerable social problems of the period (see Perennes, Ch. 4). The appearance of the word *mesquine* (pauper) in the military documents of the epoch reflects the proletarianization of the fellahs. The development of financial transactions and the monopolization of hydraulic resources combined to 'free' a labour force. The imposition of the logic of the dominant system- the monetarization with the corollary of increased fiscal pressure and the 'speculative' nature of the market in

dates brought about the ruin of small-holding fellahs and their transformation into *khammes*, sharecroppers.

This then is the background to the tourist saga. From the Anglo-American tourist/writer there was the occasional pat on the back for the French authorities and their benevolent drilling, but the mystique of the 'Orient' prevented them looking any further. Reading their books the myth of Biskra eventually devours itself, its very success brings about its downfall, but the children of the dream will not simply go away when the reverie is over. Rather, they have moved on:

But the Biskra tout has come to El Kantara. There he is - three of the breed - standing beyond the gates of the inn, and whilst we have our coffee he babbles, "Geed (guide); ver nice; ver good; ver expensive, yes." That was the range of his English. He would not be shoo'd away; he would not be cursed away; the threat of a bucket of water only made him grin (Fraser, 1913: 137).

The French naturally took their technological achievements more seriously. They are encoded into the doxic form of the 1927 *Guide Bleu* which, in the words of Denise Brahimi (1984), speaks 'emphatically of the artesian bores made by our drilling teams, which have increased the number of wells from 200 in 1856 to 800' (p.100). The Oued R'hir south of Biskra spawned its own novel in the shape of *Aïchouch la Djellabya: Princesse Saharienne* (1933). The authors, René Pottier and Saad Ben Ali, encapsulate in their romance, Brahimi suggests, all the major themes enacted in the colonial history of the region: the battle of old with the new; the jaundiced French theme of Arab and Berber (now usually ascribed to the divide and rule motive); exotic sexuality and so-on. Although this vision of the pre-Saharan areas was common, Bernard, even in 1887, had discussed how the Biskris were migrating to the large towns of the Tell to find work, but always there is some romance ascribed to the fact and the dream returns; Biskris aren't allowed to exist in the real world of the modern, they are fixed in some permanent archaic state and, no matter what they do it is seen as further evidence of this condition. After 'saving hard and living off nothing', the Biskri always manages to 'amass a little

nest egg, and he returns, a man of means, to cultivate the native date, that is to say, by the grace of God, to watch it grow' (Bernard, 1887: 374).

Not all travellers, however, were completely taken in by the situation. Touring the Tunisian pre-Sahara - not greatly distanced geographically from these regions - Norman Douglas was inspired to write:

That witchery of Orientalism, with its immemorial customs, its wondrous hues of earth and sky- it exists, chiefly, for the delectation of hyperborean dreamers. The desert life and those many-tinted mouldering cities have their charms, but the misery at intermediate place like Gafsa (and there are hundreds of them) is too great, too irremediable to be otherwise than an eyesore (Douglas, 1912 [1986]: xx).

What remains after the plague has ravaged the land? The eclipse of Biskra saw tourism broaden out its base in the Saharan regions. Hafsa (1928) notes a conversation with an Arab companion in the town of Bou Saada - a rare voice in the travel books:

'Yes', he replied, 'soon we shall have as many visitors here as go to Biskra.' There was a suggestion of displeasure in this answer, and I asked him why...

'...know you, what I say is not unkindly; yet you may observe that our roofs are no longer the unseen windows of our houses. They who come, we often feel, view our mosques as if to reckon how better minarets could be made, or admire them as if grown there like palms. Sometimes we ourselves feel like strangers, strangers of uncommon strangeness (p.132).

1.3 Into Unknown Lands

To step on board a steamer in a Spanish port, and three hours later to land in a country without a guide-book, is a sensation to rouse the hunger of the repletest sight-seer... There is no guide-book to Morocco, and no way of knowing, once one has left Tangier behind, where the long trail over the Rif is going to land one, in the sense understood by anyone accustomed to European certainties (Wharton, 1920 [1984]: 21).

By 1927 Edith Wharton was able to write in a preface to the new edition of her book:

In the interval since my visit this guide-book-less and almost roadless empire has become one of the most popular and customary scenes of winter travel...[...] Since my book was written Monsieur Ricard's Blue Guide has done for the traveller's curiosity what the beautiful new 'national' roads have done for his motor wheels.[...] Morocco has been made comprehensible, accessible and inviting... (p.21)⁷

By 1936 readers were treated to the spectacle of Marise Périale's (1936) book, *Le Maroc à 60 Kms à l'heure*. There were now all the guidebooks required to the dream of Morocco. What is the counterpoint to the guide through revelry? I think it is the explorer, but there is a bipolarity here. Many people have pointed out the metaphor of exploration often adopted in the Victorian era to describe the journey into the industrial slums in search of the tribes of the poor⁸. Naturally the 'great' explorers had their guides but a characteristic amnesia covers up the fact. In our imaginary topography of the North African landscape the city too has a prominent image. It is the opposite of the rural idyll. The shocks of the Victorian explorer fuel the expectations of the modern tourist exploring the cities of Morocco. Paradigmatic here are Casablanca, a 'modern' city, and Tangier, where the 'very worst' becomes possible.

1.3 Casablanca / Dar al-Beitha

It was not long before French efforts had generated Morocco's largest city. The growth of Casablanca has been documented in detail by André Adam (1972). Here, however. I shall focus on its imaginary other. To many,

⁷Although this is not quite true; there was a guide published in Tangier in 1888 - Kerdec-Cheny's *Guide du Voyageur au Maroc*.

⁸A sample effort being Deborah Epstein Nord, 'The Social Explorer as Anthropologist: Victorian Travellers among the Urban Poor', In *Visions of the Modern City*, edited by Sharpe, W. and Wallack, L., Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1987

Casablanca evokes no more than a film of that name and the film, for many, is the only reason for the existence of the city. What then is this mythical city? What are the vital clues that tell us this is Casablanca? A few shady characters wearing tarbooches? These do no more than indicate that the Casablanca of the film is simply a metaphor for a particular set of foreign locations; the film extras are as superfluous to the cinematic representation of the city as they are to the colonial vision of its history. This is yet one more 'Oriental city of the mind', but unlike many of the others - Bagdad, Tunis, Damascus, Cairo - this is one city which embodies the modernising impulse of colonialism most completely. Here modernity and colonial economics are fused because if Casablanca is anything it is the dream of rational economics. When, in 1912, the French began their occupation of one of the last independent polities in Africa, Casablanca was no more than a small fishing village. Fifty years later it was one of the largest ports on the African continent. Because of its natural harbour it was selected by the French as the focus of their economic policies in a reorganisation of the country's infrastructure. The shift was from the inwardly looking world of the old imperial cities to that of an economy based on the extraction and exportation of primary materials - predominantly phosphates - back to metropolitan France. Casablanca was the linchpin in the process.

Today the city still bears that legacy, both in its spatial and social organisation. Many would have us believe that the unbridgeable gap which still exists between life in some of the town's bidonvilles and the smart downtown hotels is fortuitous. But the dynamic of the city's rapid growth and the factors that conditioned it gave rise to both faces of the city. Lyautey, first Resident General and 'pacifier' of Morocco, admired the work of the British in India and with his group of urban planners sought to maintain the strict separation between the 'natives' and the colonial rulers which was so dear to the Raj. Casablanca, however, could be created *ex nihilo* as a modern European town transplanted onto African soil but, in this very process, the requirements of labour generated an urban proletariat

out of the anthropological vision of Morocco as a country of distinct tribal units. In the 1930s, the orderly workers' compounds created by the French for the indigenous workforce slowly transformed into the shanty towns that now blight this and other North African cities. Beni M'Sik, at one time the largest bidonville in North Africa, was a prototype. The message of modernity holds its grip and Casablanca is living proof that Europe can happen in Morocco. In some senses the message is captured in the packet design of one of Morocco's leading cheap brands of cigarettes, *Casa Sports*: a sports stadium, fast car and frantically saluting spectators. Sport has become pivotal in the presentation of national identity and, in this post-independence vision of modernity, the city and the future become fused in a cheap cigarette.

The Modernism of Underdevelopment

Perhaps more than any other North African city Casablanca is, like Marshall Berman's (1982) characterisation of Petersburg, an 'archetypal "unreal city"' (p.176); born out of nothing and built by the labour of those in the population who constitute the inevitable historical losers in the race for modernization. In the building of Petersburg:

The human sacrifices were immense: within three years the city had devoured an army of close to 150,000 workers - physically wrecked or dead - and the state had to reach into the Russian interior, inexhaustibly, for more (p. 178).

This sounds not only like the construction of Casablanca, but the very building of 'modern' Morocco - the sacrifices continue in the forms of migrant labour which still pertain today for many North African workers.

In Berman's (1982) description it was the Tzar Nicholas, through:

a policy of enforced backwardness in the midst of forms and symbols of enforced modernization [who] made Petersburg the source and the inspiration for a distinctly weird form of modernism, which we might call the 'modernism of underdevelopment (p.193).

Here, in Morocco, it was an oppressive colonial regime that played the role. The cosmopolitan nature of Casablanca in its colonial heyday was more intense than that represented in the bilinguality of shop signs in the Nevsky Prospect - the main street in Petersburg - but one thing is excluded from representing itself in anything other than an archaic form: the local population. The emotions generated in the young Moroccan *flâneur* in the town, fascinated by the bourgeois villas under construction in the 1940s and 1950s, are impulses to destruction:

Adolescent dreams where I walked about at night with dynamite. I connected the houses with a long fuse and when I got to the edge of town I blew the whole lot up. No more red villas! (Ben Jelloun, 1976: 16).



Figure 11: Groupe d'ouvriers arabes

Sexual domains

A similar sort of antagonism had been noted in the sexual domain, and this was generally true for North African cities:

The walls were covered with obscene graffiti. The physical and moral world was divided between male and female. The constant reference to notions of activity or passivity in describing people, situations or behaviour illustrated the exuberance of the masculine symbol (Berque, 1967: 304).

Berque talks of the colonial experience intensifying the 'traditional sexual ardour' of the Maghrebi peoples, but on the whole he remarks that 'relations were only possible on the horrible fringes of the two worlds':

The Casbah of Algiers combined African brutality with the prostitution of Marseilles. With its shadowy and squalid cul-de-sacs, seductive and yet blatant, it spread over the upper part of the town. For all its hideousness, it inspired descriptions by Louis Bertrand and Lucienne Favre, and a romantic film, *Pépé le Moko* (p.304).

The resonance of the word *casbah* in French is perhaps lost to an English reviewer; Graham Greene (1972) saw simply:

the story of a man at liberty to move only in one shabby, alien quarter when his heart is in another [which] widens out to touch the experience of exile common to everyone (p.144).

The world of prostitution, however, was not a free-for-all. Often the advances of the foreigner would be rejected and forms of segregation operated even in the brothel areas. Berque (1967) goes so far as to suggest that prostitution, 'far from being anarchical, thus provided an illustration of civic order...it confirmed and protected the established order' (p.305), much in the same way as the colonial architectural policies had generated their own 'urban apartheid' - a process documented for the city of Rabat with this very concept in mind by Abu-Lagoud (1980). Prostitution represented one of the many forms of individualism arising from the destruction of the 'archaic' order, the same individualism that the anthropologist David Hart (1976) locates in the transition from 'bloodfeud'

to labour migration as a value of male worth among the Riffis, and Berque (1967), ignoring the essentialism of the categories he adopts, goes on to note that prostitution and pederasty functioned only on the 'rejected fringes of ethnically separate societies' (p.305). These communities:

Cut off from one another, at the very moment when an embrace might have ended strife, the two antagonists sought and discovered explanations for this mutual fiasco. One of these was syphilis, the importance of which became exaggerated to the proportions of a myth. Thus the European's fear of contagion frustrated the Muslim's sexual revenge, but at the same time kept the Muslim out of his reach (p.306).



1360 CASABLANCA - Porteur d'eau

Figure 12: Casablanca - Porteur d'eau

Labour and the modern

Labour migration is a cruel necessity of the modernising process which rings the death knell for corporateness and traditional authority. Another anthropologist who worked in the Rif was Carleton Coon. Moved by such changes he composed a novel in the 1930s to mark the passing of a different world; two Riffians enlist in the French army during the First World War, but true to Coon's romantic view of them they turn their long-barrelled rifles on the trenches of the French and kill their commanding officer (Coon, 1934). Even before the Protectorate, however, tendrils of the new world to come were spreading over Moroccan soil. The 'archaic' sultanate was providing labour for French concerns in Tunisia and Algeria even in the first decade of the century. In 1912 Norman Douglas (1912 [1986]) described the miners employed by a French phosphate company in far-off Metlaoui in southern Tunisia:

The workers are chiefly of three races: Tripolitanian: Khabyle (Algerian), and Moroccan; they live in separate clusters among the rocks, each with their particular national traits and modes of building; there is hardly a woman among them (p.77).

In the Rif at this period 'tribesmen' were migrating on a seasonal basis to work on the mechanised farms of the French colons in Algeria. The anthropologist Van Gennep (1914) encountered one of them and he relates his story:

He came as a harvester for the first time at the age of sixteen, when he had worked near Sétif. One day something went wrong with the steam-powered threshing machine and he had helped repair it. The mechanic, a blond Frenchman, had kept him on with him. Now he himself is a mechanic attached to a vast farm; he wouldn't say where. Every year, before the harvest, the owner has him go back to his mountain tribe in Morocco to recruit the necessary labour, and, once the work is completed, it is his job to get them safely back over the border (pp.27-8).

This fact is underlined by René Gallissot's suggestion that 30 per cent of the workforce at the phosphate mines of Khoribga in 1930 came from then unconquered territories in Morocco (Gallissot, 1964: 67). Nevertheless, only in the early 1950s did the French begin to conduct serious sociological studies of the 'Moroccan worker', and then it was because of political expediency; they were worried. In one of the first studies on Moroccan miners a disturbing phenomena was noted; in certain cases workers were ceasing to remit money to their families who saw in this calamity a new sickness, 'the night eats what the day has made', they remarked sorrowfully using a language normally reserved for the *razzias* or raiding parties of the sultan descending like a plague and devouring the world (Trystram, 1957).



48. SCÈNES ET TYPES — Jeunes Mauresques

Figure 13: Scènes et types: Jeunes Mauresques

Having cast doubt on the parentage of his enemies and questioned the honour of their female relatives, R.B. Cunninghame Graham wrote that the Moroccan would add finally that he hoped the sultan would pay them a visit (Cunninghame Graham, 1898 [1928]). This idiom of despotism integral to understanding of the 'Orient' was one of the keys to Europe's modernising influence. While the young sultan Abdul Aziz was being wooed by the intricacies of European mechanical toys and putting on expensive displays of English fireworks in his palace at Marrakech, European liberal opinion was denouncing the Moroccan prison described here by Anatole France:

From the windows of the block, he told them, bronzed arms stretched out holding their wicker baskets. It was the prisoners who, from their prison, offered, for a piece of copper, the product of their indolent labour... Locked up haphazardly in a vast room they fought for a place at the opening where they all wanted to display their baskets. Too loud a quarrel would attract the black soldier to quell it with blows of a stick making the baskets with their pleading hands withdraw back within the walls. But soon other hands would reappear, brown and tattooed in blue like the first (Quoted by Herber, 1925: 277)⁹.

Perhaps there is a foreshadowing of Foucault in the remarks of the socialist Cunninghame Graham when he comments witheringly on the reforming ladies and gentlemen who wished to replace the brotherhood of the tribe in bondage with something more 'humane'; never before had the Scot seen such proud prisoners, but perhaps he saw something of his own history in the spectacle. The French aimed to change such conditions; their 'humanitarian' conscience was as highly attuned as any other in the gaze of the 'Moroccan Question'. Their efforts are described by the French folklorist Jean Herber (1925). Modernism and imperialism went hand in hand and by 1925 Herber could boast that:

Casablanca has a modern prison constructed according to the latest penal principles; Rabat has very hygienically transformed an old casbah; Meknes and Marrakech have kept

⁹Herber is an interesting character seen in historical perspective. His work is now almost entirely forgotten.

their old prisons, but you no longer see or hear the coming and going of vermin (p.277).

Thanks to such efforts Herber was able to conduct his research into Moroccan tattoos, for they were the identifying marks used in the *fiches anthropometric* of the French gaolers. Located here is a hypocrisy. By a sleight of hand a criminal sub-proletariat had been created out of what would previously have been described as communal resistance to despotism. In modernising the prisons the French had criminalised a body of people whose 'crimes' had been no more than asserting their communal identity in relation to the sultan. The point is more striking if we consider the remarks of Jacques Berque (1967) who maintained that for the period between the two world wars 'judiciary repression had we believe, no particular criminality to subdue' (p.305). As the Protectorate's economy got into gear labour demands increased. Initially there was some reluctance to employ *les indigenes* on a large scale, but when supplies of migrants from southern Europe - who, rather than the French, constituted the bulk of immigrants into French North Africa - dried up there was no longer room for scruples. The question of how this shift of opinion was achieved resolves itself in the work of Herber. In his study of figurative tattoos he argues that we are observing a process similar to the spread of imported goods. The benefits and evils of civilization spread like ripples from the points of most intense contact: 'in classing the tattooed prisoners according to their origin... they mark the successive steps of conquest and colonization' (p.280). They also demonstrate something else: the absence of tattoos in prisoners from the Rabat sub-division is attributed, by Herber, to the presence of ferocious Berber tribes with only indirect links with the coast. That is to say, tribes providing only a small number of recruits for the urban workforce. The argument is quite clear. Tattooing, the mark of the beast and criminal according to the contemporary criminology, identified the Moroccan labourer in the booming Atlantic towns of the French protectorate as a criminal and it is only as such that he can escape the tribal world and enter the modern. When the French began to study the bidonvilles of

towns such as Casablanca in the 1950s Montagne (1950) was able to demonstrate that each had separate criminal identities and specializations.

The popular consciousness had already assimilated this fact and, for the *petit blanc*, versions of supremacist ideology made life possible in a proximity with Moroccans which was the opposite of the ethos behind the official policies of segregation¹⁰. Such views were reinforced by the institution of the *Quartier Reservé Aux Femmes Publiques*, and, to the stigma of criminality, could be firmly fused whatever dark sexual phantoms came to hand. Here, as in Biskra, poverty could induce some form of conformity which, in the minds of visitors, only served to convince them of what they had already heard from other sources. When Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre made the obligatory pilgrimage to the notorious Bous-bir district of Casablanca, the former describes meeting:

an Arab woman who was heavily tattooed and swathed in long flowing robes, over which she wore masses of heavy clashing jewellery. She took us to a bistro, and then to her room, where she undressed, did a belly dance, and smoked a cigarette through her vagina (de Beauvoir, 1960 [1965]: 329).

The Bous-bir was an almost self-sufficient walled city in miniature built on the outskirts of a 'new native town'. Its building was financed privately, but it had full public approval. Constructed originally in 1923, the travel writer Norman Lewis remarked that by 1935 it 'had become a tourist attraction; a curiosity worthy of visit with its coy paragraph in the official guide-book' (p.266). On his visit Norman Lewis (1935) notes the curious behaviour of the 'French speaking sophisticates' among the women when confronted with a camera:

these are excessively eager to be photographed and formed the habit of automatically adopting lascivious poses whenever we hove in sight. This extreme camera consciousness usually took the precise form of suddenly uncovering the breasts and agitating them with a violent lateral motion. If these manoeuvres failed to produce results, one of the girls would occasionally attempt more potent publicity by parading before us with her skirts held aloft (p.273).

¹⁰This is much clearer in the Algerian urban context (see, Sivan, 1978).

These particular women Lewis describes as being of mixed blood. The 'pure arabs', however, refuse to be photographed despite all his entreaties and bribes. From one of the 'sophisticates' he elicits the reason for their bashfulness. It was, she said, 'a horror of appearing on picture postcards' (p.276).

The Moroccan worker, male or female, could only be conceived within this 'orientalising optic' and this served to mask the real nature of relations within the country. So powerful was this power to 'think' that no lesser an authority on the subject of workers than Joseph Stalin (1936) was writing 'there are countries like Morocco which have no proletariat or almost no proletariat' (p.216). Obviously there is an inadequacy in the categories used here and the situation is more complex, but we can trace one path in the transformation from 'traditional' to modern indicated by Cunninghame Graham in 1898:

As Mazagan is distant only three days from the city of Morocco [Marrakesh] it may be destined some day to a glorious commercial future, with railways, docks, smoke, pauperism, prostitution in the streets, twenty-five faiths instead of one, drunkards, cabs, bicycles and all our vices (p.28).

His prediction was not far wrong, for he could not have predicted the growth of Casablanca, where, he might have come to say:

the emaciated faces are no longer human, they have been made gnomish by work, drink, and east wind, like the poor Christian scarecrows of Glasgow, Manchester, and those accursed 'solfataras', the Yorkshire manufacturing towns (p.126).

Thirteen years later, on the other side of the Maghreb in Tunis, Colette (1911 [1973]) made the following observation:

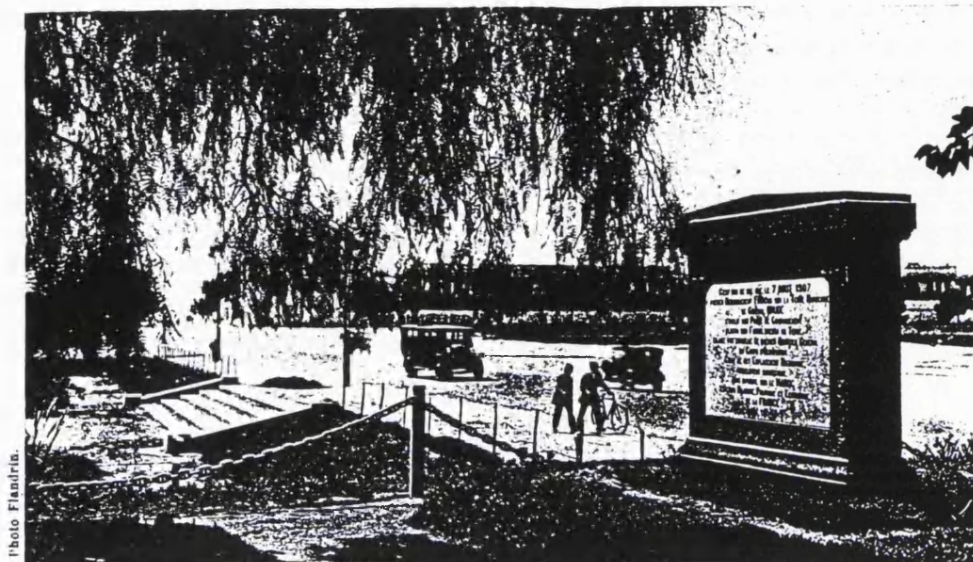
With a feeling of discouragement I catalogue this "Tunisian" home. Beige woollen damask curtains hang crooked across the two windows: there are endless calenders with coloured lithographs, zinc pin-trays, tambourins painted with Louis XVI landscapes... A thin pinkish carpet covers a quarter of the floor, but by the bed a fairly attractive Turkish carpet has been nailed along the wall... Above the piano, two large photographs smile at each other; a young woman in a tailored suit, a sunshade open above her large beach hat, and a man

with glossy hair...

"We might be in my concierge's place!" cries Lulu. "I'll give her a fine surprise, my concierge, when I go back, I'll tell her she's got a Tunisian home" (p.83).

Race and class merge in this remark; a fact that has been pointed out, in other contexts, by populist sociologists such as Jonathan Raban (1975) and Jeremy Seabrook (1985) looking at the nineteenth-century explorers of London. Somehow the feeling is that this is inherent in urban life, especially where the nineteenth-century gaze creates the city's inhabitants, because while on one hand, city identity can be multiple - to be modelled and abused by psychopaths as in Raban's (1975) description of the Kray twins- on the other it can also be replaced by anonymity. Apocryphal country bumpkins, assured of their identity in a hierarchic world, become disenchanted by their confrontation with the indecipherable multiplicity of the city. In Bourdieu's (1979) early work on Algeria a 'peasant logic' of the concrete confronts modernity; goats are kept in the bathrooms of tower blocks; *piston* is conflated with *baraka*¹¹. In these circumstances the world is reconstituted on the basis of the particular; individual interaction generates meaning for the actor/peasant playing out a new role, without a script, on a stage cluttered with unknown objects. The only audience is a team of sociologists who log the actor/peasant's movements - generating their own orders of meaning out of the chaos. For Marshall Berman this chaos is the hall-mark of literary modernism - epitomised by a remark from Dostoevsky; 'that apparent disorder that is in actuality the highest degree of bourgeois order'(p.88). 'Oh, do not trust the Nevsky Prospect', Berman quotes Gogol, 'The Nevsky Prospect always lies' (p.201).

¹¹Concepts from two different cultural universes blend here, *piston*, the French equivalent of 'string-pulling', is fused with the religious notion of *baraka*, roughly translated as holiness (but in the Moroccan context also carries the sense of 'enough').



35.-CASABLANCA. — Monument commémoratif du débarquement des Français à Casablanca.
Monument erected as a commemoration of French troops' landing at Casablanca.

التشال التذكاري

Figure 14: Monument erected as a commemoration of French troops landing at Casablanca.

1.4 Tangier

The corsairs of Morocco have long since discovered that there are less dangerous, and far more certain, ways of obtaining all they want from Europeans than by making wild dashes across the sea, at imminent peril of their lives, in unwieldily boats. The most daring of them now put on badges, signifying that they are porters, or guides, or perambulating shopmen; and effect their object without danger or over-fatigue (Lowth, 1929: 28)

George Borrow (1843 [1907]), who visited Tangier early in the nineteenth century, was charmed by what he found and had kind words for the man who showed him round and refused any offer of payment for the service. The town is the third, and final, site in this topography of North Africa. Here forms of Orientalist imagining will be explored and their

transformations traced in relation to the city and its 'native' inhabitants. For many years Tangier was not even considered Moroccan in anything except a nominal sense. Officially it was an international city until the time of Moroccan independence and inhabited by a vast variety of people¹². This tumult infected the minds of many with exotic ideas about life in Tangier; a dangerous town filled to the brim with smugglers, spys and renegades from justice. Popular fiction responds to such a venue and there are a large number of thrillers which use Tangier as a means to heighten their excitement: A.E.W Mason's (n.d.) *Miranda of the Balcony*, Carter Dickson's (1952) *Behind the Crimson Blind*, Edgar Wallace's (1926 [1961]) *The Man from Morocco*, Van Vyck Mason's (1955) *Two Tickets for Tangier* and Rupert Croft-Cooke's (1958) *Barbary Night*, to name but a few. But such interest itself has its own curious history.

¹²For a general introduction to the city, see Stuart (1955) or Landau (1952). Several recent books have explored the literary community and expat life in Tangier (Finlayson, 1993; Green, 1991; Sawyer-Lauçanno, 1989).



Figure 15: Tanger (Maroc). Une rue de la Casbah
Tanger (Marruecos). Una Calle de la Alcazba

Early Modern Morocco: British Gentility

In 1899 this seems not to have been the case. Budgett Meakin, editor of *The Times of Morocco*, a paper established by his father allegedly in order to publicise the plight of the sultan's citizens - speculated on Morocco's place

in fiction:

So many a distant land has come to be a hackneyed stage for the imaginative writer, that it is remarkable how rarely Morocco has served as a scene for drama, poetry or fiction (Meakin, 1899: 519).

Meakin surveys the various work published at the time and, of the few which existed, claims that none give a reliable conception of Moroccan society. Therefore he took it upon himself to utilise fiction as 'a medium for the presentation of a picture of Moorish life and thought, more complete than would have otherwise been possible...' (p.519). The product of this labour was his novel *Sons of Ishmael*. Rather than reviewing his work, I shall turn to the two books he praises. The first of these is Hall Caine's (1891) novel *Scapegoat* which Meakin described as being wonderfully accurate in its depictions of 'local atmosphere'. The novelist had 'in the course of a few weeks...secured marvellous grasp of the typical features of his surroundings (p.526). The second work he praises is Dawson's *Bismillah* (1898), but the author apparently gave the work 'a Biblical, if not an Oriental, flavour - the scenes described are not Moorish' (pp. 527-8). The resemblance to Moorish life is felt to be purely imaginary in comparison with Caine's more serious effort, but even the latter comes in for criticism. The tenor of the criticism is very straightforward; Caine is upbraided for such sins as describing a wandering Arab using a tripod (this he simply never does!). Such criticisms set the limit to Meakin's knowledge of the 'Moors', for it is very much a generic understanding of a paternalistic kind - although not without respect. He corresponds to an era of British gentility in Tangier. Urbane British sophisticates began to build villas in Tangier in the late nineteenth century. Often they were ex-diplomats, who themselves had spent time in the Middle East, or English eccentrics (such as Walter Harris¹³). This was a time of idylls, picnics in the countryside,

¹³Harris was a central figure in the Tangier scene and wrote many books on Morocco. See Thursfield's introduction to Harris's book *Morocco that was*, London: Eland Books, 1983 (orig. 1921).

a celebration of the climate. From this vantage point a slow penetration of the country was possible, even if motives were questioned, both by the Moorish administration and rival colonial powers. The French regarded Walter Harris, for example, as no more than a spy and, in as much as he was opposed to their interests, the assessment was probably just. As Parsons (1978) has pointed out the quality of information available on late nineteenth-century Morocco was low. Outside the coastal towns and the imperial cities visited by diplomatic missions little was known. Travel was difficult in the interior and often called for disguises and protection. The hostility to the European stemming from the times of Portuguese coastal incursions centuries before still existed and the Portuguese themselves had attained near mythical status for tribes of the interior. The first detailed account was not to appear until de Foucauld, who travelled disguised as an Algerian Jew, published his *Reconnaissance au Maroc* in 1888.

Budgett Meakin's various works on Morocco stem from this time and must be set against this background. The earliest professional 'ethnographic' material not linked to the French military effort appears in the work of Westermarck early in this century. His was an anthropology which presaged that of Malinowski in its emphasis on fieldwork, even if the focus of attention for Westermarck was Morocco as a whole. One could still talk of the 'Moor' and be understood to mean an inhabitant of Barbary, an entity that could then stand in for any 'Moor'. The teleology of such an assertion is, on a linguistic level, similar to the process of 'Orientalisation' described by Edward Said (1978) and some of Westermarck's work bears comparison with Lane's (1836) *Modern Egyptians*. Westermarck did his best to ascribe tribal groupings to the sayings that he collected for *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco* (1930), but their organisation is thematic and deemed to be representative of a 'Moorish psychology'. To return our focus to Tangier, where Westermarck himself owned a villa, it is interesting to note that one of the sayings he collected reappeared in Munson's (1984) *The House of Si Abd Allah*. The durability of the 'folk wisdom' inscribed in Munson's informant Haj Mohamed's observation that 'if a rich man farts it is though

a canary had sung' does pose certain problems when one bears in mind that creative lyricism is one of one aspect of versions of Orientalism. In the classic of British Orientalist theatre, Flecker's *Hassan* (1922 [1948]), this is made plain:

In that great school, the Market of Bagdad. For thee, Master of the World, poetry is a princely diversion, but for us it is a deliverance from Hell. Allah made poetry a cheap thing to buy and a simple thing to dream by day. Men who work hard have special need of these dreams. All the town of Bagdad is passionate for poetry, O Master! Dost thou not know what great crowds gather to hear the epic of Antari sung in the streets at evening? I have seen cobblers weep and butchers bury their great faces in their hands! (p.68).

Westermarck's work on Morocco often belongs to this school and seeks to lay out in detail the 'poetic spirit' of the Moor. This stream of romanticism, which I call British gentility, continued to bear fruit in the Tangier context; the work of Croft-Cooke (1956), Margaret Lane's (1965; 1968) novels about ex-patriot life in Tangier and Stewart's *Tangier: A Writer's Notebook* (1977) all tread this well-worn path. But what is this Tangier? Increasingly the city of Tangier is displaced simply to be pillaged occasional - in the search for 'local colour', but it is tempting to suggest that the relation between the dream city and the other Tangier is not a dialectical one; the natives when they become visible wear the clothes of homogenising 'Orientalism'. The academic interest in native life of a Budgett Meakin or a Walter Harris slowly dissolves into the self-aggrandizement of ex-patriot life:

Tangier is interesting, intense, eventful, but it must always be a place of expatriates. The Moors themselves are not often natives of the city, and the Europeans are all migrants, even if some of them have been here for a generation or two (Croft-Cooke, 1956: 206).



Figure. 16; Tangier: Moorish Beggars (*Union Postale Universelle, Gibraltar*)

A second look

Harrouda has returned to
the scene of betrayals
site of contraband and
kif

(Ben Jelloun, 1985: 179)

In the backdrop to this shadow-play more dangerous themes were welling up. Their guilty suppression was to add new dimensions to the mythic city. In 1912 and fresh out of Oxford, Selous (1956), classmate of the playwright Flecker, was to experience the 'flesh-pots' of Tangier en route for duties

duties which took him to Fez. Meakin (1899) made reference to strange notions concerning Morocco when he described the contents of *Ida: An Adventure in Morocco*, a romp composed under the name of Mabel Collins. On her arrival in Tangier, the autobiographical heroine 'pants with pleasure' as her 'keen sensuous susceptibility' leads three local residents to instantly fall in love with her. 'No wonder', Meakin comments, 'people have strange ideas about Morocco, if they read such stuff' (pp.526-7). On a symbolic level, this anonymous brand of sensationalism - its themes summed up in books such as *Turbulent Tangier* (Lilius, 1956) and treated more circumspectly in Rom Landau's portrait of Tangier (Landau, 1952) - was to displace gentility and become part of other modern myths. Stewart (1977) sadly hands over his room to the 'young American' William Burroughs. The British writer with his pet tortoise is replaced by Burroughs' alter-ego, Jones: never been so low, strung out, staring at his boots. The power of myth is demonstrated by its transformations. This is the same room in the same city, but it now has a very different tale to tell. The egoism of the British optic which increasingly celebrated the environment - colour, light, shade - and tried to ignore the swarming humanity George Orwell¹⁴ noted in Marrakesh, became a subjective near deification of native life that centred largely around drugs- especially kif.

¹⁴'When you walk through a town like this... it is always difficult to believe that you are walking among human beings. All colonial empires are in reality founded upon this fact. The people all have brown faces- besides there are so many of them!', from Orwell's essay 'Marrakech' in *Collected Essays*, 1961, p.24.

Tangier A Moorish boy



Figure 17: Tangier: Moorish Boy

The idle hedonism of the Costa del Sol in the 1950s and 1960s was being displaced south by the incessant expansion of European tourism. When Gerald Brenan wrote *South from Granada* (1957) this was not what he meant, but he caught the mood of nihilism on the Costa during this period in his novel *The Lighthouse always says yes* (1965). The subsequent 'parasitic'¹⁵ development of the Costa, its transformation from *Costa del Hambre*¹⁶ into *Costa del Sol*, bears out Brenan's vision, indicates the

¹⁵An expression used by a disillusioned Laurie Lee in *A Rose for Winter* (1955).

¹⁶See Ronald Fraser's account of the development of a village on the Costa from whence this expression is drawn (Fraser, 1973).

hollow centre of mass-tourism in its infancy and vindicates him against the critics who claimed that his novel was too grim¹⁷. Around this movement south were based some of the elements of the hippy myth. The revellers of the Costa crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and turned on. Morocco, Timothy Leary (1972) declared, was the society of the future (p.138). A view curiously opposed to the images used as standards for the mass-marketing of the country; a place still steeped in the Middle Ages.

Tangier is a privileged locus for representation. The specific facts of its history account to some extent for its unique position in certain literary genres, but their individual threads are distinctive. Indeed some seem opposed. Witness the admonishment Anthony Burgess (1968) puts in the mouth of his creation the poet Enderby - speaking of the artistic community in Tangier (European, that is) he comments that there is not a real artist among them. A dig at the 'beat' authors perhaps; Burroughs and his fellow pioneer of the cut-up technique, Brion Gysin, author of *The Process* (1969), and others. Jack Kerouac (1964) describes Burroughs at work: 'Meanwhile mad genius Burroughs sat typing wildhaired in his garden apartment the following words: 'Motel Motel Motel loneliness moans across the continent like fog over still oily water tidal rivers...' (meaning America.) (America's always rememberable in exile.) (p.127). Burroughs, like any good anthropologist, 'knows' Tangier: 'I said to Bill: 'Where do I get a woman in this town' (Kerouac, p.124).

Not everybody approves of this sort of aesthetic:

These hippies are like rats; they don't hurt anyone but they ruin everything. The Moroccans are becoming like that. The young are all going astray... These youngsters don't know anything about their origins. They don't even know the names of their grandfathers.

So Morocco is becoming modern, but I'm pessimistic. There's

¹⁷See his autobiographical account of this time contained in, *A Personal Record*, 1974, London: Jonathan Cape.

been a terrible regression in morality.¹⁸

The link between the Western visions lies perhaps in their definition of freedom. For many of these exiles life in Tangier is defined in opposition to the constraints of their own societies; sexual, social, and in a naïve sense political ('absence of')¹⁹. Croft-Cooke (1956), for example, justifies his residence because of the turn for the worse 'culture' was taking in Britain:

I knew of the appallingly standardized pattern of life that was emerging, the neat little homes and gardens built around a television set, and the mechanical hee-haws of radio audiences, the hasty suppression of individual tastes or emotions for the sake of uniformity (p.14).

Some of these features were facets of an 'Orientalist' perception of North Africa in general. The 'Tangier' of André Gide and Oscar Wilde was Algiers, another 'Wicked City' (McCormick, 1956). In Tangier these various strands have become congealed and it represents a nodal point in an imaginary 'topography' - used here in the sense designated by Said (1978). For those who haven't reached the point charted by Kafka ('from which there is no turning back'), and used by Paul Bowles as an epigraph to his novel *The Sheltering Sky* (1949), the city is to be read in terms of the imaginary and regarded with the fear and loathing some writers reserve for their own society. On the outer limits of such an appraisal we find the likes of Hendrik de Leeuw (1954), an American journalist, who, in a sensationalist account of prostitution - which centres largely on North Africa, 'the hell-roaring debauchery of the Moors' comments the dust jacket - entitles a chapter on Tangier 'The Maricones of the Barbary Coast' (De Leeuw, p.83). He goes on to investigate in more depth, putting the higher cause of journalism before his own moral rectitude. Once in the lair of a

¹⁸This is the voice of a Soussi trader, Hadj Brahim, as recorded in John Waterbury's *North for the Trade: The Life and Times of a Berber Merchant*, University of California Press, 1972, p.107-8

¹⁹We shall see that this is a theme which reoccurs for the latter day migrants who are the subject of later chapters in this thesis.

maricon he takes on the role of spectator:

What a pair these two actually made. The *maricon*, preening his eyes and making fantastic motions with feminine body, sighed with passionate yearning, while the Moslem, a gigantic figure, powerful neck, head with short frizzled hair, his face set in a vicious grin as he gazed upon his *amoureux* at times looked at me suspiciously from under his drooped eyelids. When assured that the *maricon* had not been for me, he changed expression and his deep-set eyes gleamed like funeral lamps in a sepulchral chamber.

And then followed what turned out to be the orgiastic apotheosis of *maricon*-Moslem undertaking (p.85).

Stewart (1977) wrote that in Tangier tourism reaches its extreme:

specializing in the westerner taking two weeks annual holiday in Tangier for one purpose only.[...] Girls cost from five dirham to fifty; boys from one to ten; youths from ten to twenty(pp.184-5).

Joe Orton, on holiday in Tangier, was to reflect ruefully on being asked by a young Arab, 'If he was English and if he did things' (Quoted by Lahr, 1980: 180). Escape had already been transformed into a trap. More recently the novelist Paul Bowles, a resident of Tangier since the 1940s, remarked on how the city has closed in on him like 'an insect eating flower' (Quoted by Griffin, 1988). It is to this writer, commonly held to be the spiritual father of the 'beat' generation, and his vision of the city which we now turn.

Which delicate prey?

Bowles' work frequently rests on the ethnographic. David Hart (1976), the American anthropologist, describes Bowles in the introduction to his vast monograph *The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif* as the man who guided him through Tangier. In short, he 'knows' Tangier and, by extension, Morocco - even to the point of fulfilling the dictates which anthropologists set for themselves. As one reviewer in *The Observer*

expressed it: 'Paul Bowles has spent many years in Morocco and understands it better than most Moroccans' (French, 1986). Eric Mottram (1976) sets the scene for a discussion of Bowles' work by locating it within the context of a 'confrontation with the inhuman regions of the Earth, or...the collision of a man's customary, and largely unquestioned supportive society with a culture which finds him alien and which he finds inimical' (p.1). In Bowles, the individualism at the heart of American life is a trap which ultimately may lead to 'those existential extreme situations where a man never recovers from the knowledge of utter loneliness on Earth, in the Cosmos' (ibid). Mottram describes Bowles' first novel, *The Sheltering Sky* (1949), as raising tourism to a metaphysical level. Quoting Bowles' remark that 'tourists will go anywhere', he adds, but 'to be an a-social egoist in the world is to be an anti-social tourist, and that condition opens you to the predations of any other person or culture' (p.1).

In Bowles' novels characters lose themselves, both literally and metaphorically, in alien worlds: in the Sahara in *The Sheltering Sky*; in Tangier and northern Morocco in *Let it Come Down* (1952). Once lost they become victims - of the culture, of the people, of themselves. This theme of predation is extended to his short stories; his first collection was called *The Delicate Prey* (1950). These short stories nearly all confront the western and urban with alternative society in a way with which we are familiar, but Tangier colours his vision and there is a macabre sense of horror in them. The atmosphere Bowles creates finds an echo in the words of Peter Mayne (1953 [1957]): 'I am a stranger in these parts and Tangier feeds on the flesh of strangers' (p.1).



Figure 18: Tangier - Une rue du quartier Arabe

Much of Bowles' later work consists of translations from Moroccan dialectal Arabic and it relies on the notion of 'storytelling' and its role within an 'archaic' culture. It would seem recently, however, that he has reformulated his own position. In a preface to a new edition of his only 'political' novel, *The Spider's House* (1951 [1982]), he wrote: 'What I failed to understand was that if Morocco was still a largely medieval land, it was because the French themselves, and not the Moroccans, wanted it that way' (p. i). The intimacy he has with the subject: the town, its people, is the projection of those seeking guidance through the unknown. But the city

now has him in its grips. He once wrote:

I have no political ideas to speak of. I don't think we're likely to get to know the Moslems very well, and I suspect that if we should we'd find them less sympathetic than we do at present... Their culture is essentially barbarous, their mentality that of a purely predatory people (Quoted by Mottram, 1976: 4).

Michael Griffin remarked rather aptly, 'How Bowles achieved the fluency that makes possible such vivid miniatures of Moroccan life is mysterious for...he has always kept to himself' (Griffin, 1988). Bowles himself admits, 'I never knew many Moroccans, four or five by name' (Bowles quoted by Griffin, 1988).

Nonetheless his representations are privileged, but it takes only a change of clothing to reveal another world. Witness the remarks of the Dane, Knud Holmboe, who crossed North Africa in the early 1930s. Himself a convert to Islam he made the journey in 'native' dress thus effecting a change in his position within the power nexus of the colonial hierarchy:

This was going to be my last day as a European, my last day for a long time in an elegant, civilised hotel, and my last day with the people I so much wanted to know and whom one can only get to know by living among them (Holmboe, 1936: 20).

He quickly realised that he was forgoing rather more than the comforts of a hotel:

At that moment two Spanish officers arrived. I had spoken to them the day before and they had been very pleasant. Now they did not know me. I was occupying the space at the counter which they evidently wanted. With a movement of the hand they swept me aside. I understood that I was déclassé. I was now un Moro and could be treated anyhow (p.21).

This event took place in Ceuta, the Spanish enclave east of Tangier, but it can be assumed that things were not altogether different. Indeed, in some of the oral fiction, glimpses of this world do penetrate the fascination with distancing the 'other' with a coat of magic. The classic case in point is *For Bread Alone* (written in 1972), Bowles' translation of an autobiographical account of childhood in Tangier, written by Mohammed

Chokri, a one-time street kid who had learnt to read and write in his twenties (Chokri, 1972). Describing this work Bowles (1978) later wrote:

Had I known how difficult it would be to make English translations of Mohammed Chokri's texts, I doubt that I should have undertaken the work... After Chokri it was a relief to return to the smooth rolling Mrabet translations... He has no thesis to propound, no grievances to air... He is a showman; his principle interest is in his own performance as virtuoso story-teller (p.8).

Chokri has some right to his grievances and the Tangier he shows us is all the more shocking because of the autobiographical nature of the work. Writing in 1980 in a preface to the French edition of Chokri's work, Moroccan writer Tahar Ben Jelloun comments that the book had still to appear in Arabic, 'It is therefore worse to write about misery and poverty than to live them. Censorship is already utmost in people's minds' (p. 9). It is this process which Ben Jelloun challenges in his own work and the phantoms of past 'visions' are invoked in parodied form. Harrouda, prostitute and mystical central character of the novel of the same name, returns to Tangier to be engaged by the owner of a fair to play a dozen surprising and extraordinary roles in a mildly pornographic story. The author imagines the scene. Harrouda, in the guise of Sherazade, and high on kif:

distributing aphrodisiacs to the crowd, an old woman talking with her belly, a snake-woman defying all symbols, a queen conducting illicit business under the influence of hashish, a dancer in drag brandishing a plastic penis, a spider-woman invading adolescent dreams (Ben Jelloun, 1985: 179).

Tangier is the site of all betrayals, it is also the stepping stone towards Europe and the ultimate betrayal:

'I was also strong', interrupted a neighbour. 'After wearing me out, yes brother, wearing me out, they sent me away without any insurance money, nothing. I'm finished ... I worked in the mines. I'm an old man at 46! France, what misery my brother. The lies must stop. People must be told the truth. Make your fortune in France! You must be joking, it's death' (Ben Jelloun, 1980a: 105).

The line of immigrants has not ended with Morocco's independence and Ben Jelloun has written at length on the subject of labour migration and the lies which perpetuate the system²⁰. The name of Tangier's greatest betrayal is finally recorded - its proximity to Europe, but already it is too late and voices are whispering, 'I hear that my country, disguised and made-up, offers itself to tourists' (Ben Jelloun, 1976: 28):

We speak of bodies you tell us our destiny is epic so why evade bodily pain we have already heard the notables of Fez talk of cafés and men: cafés are the hideout of *zoufris* (bastardization = thuggish insult = unmarried = worker), therefore they must be closed or razed to the ground; perhaps they could be gathered together in the same district (a bidonville or somewhere); secure the area; get rid of the *zoufris*...(Ben Jelloun, 1973 [1985]: 174-5).

1.4 Journey's End

The inward gaze, back to the Orient of the mind, is a response to the world reconstituting itself in closed orders that even the mighty imperialists cannot penetrate. The veracity of the ethnographic eye is held in doubt. A century of 'science' is viewed with suspicion. The academic science of Orientalism becomes no more than myth building. When it was powerless an Orient was born, given names and tales to tell. Domination spawned the ethnographic - the detailed reworking of this naming process. The ethnographic now looks to itself and erects another grail to its own memory under the rubric of 'reflexivity'. As the inward focus takes over a new popular version of the Orient is re-invented. This new 'primitive irrationality' we call fundamentalism - an expression initially coined for 'western' religious idiosyncrasies - or terrorism: powerful names for

²⁰See my 'Introduction' to the English translation of his short novel about migrant life, *La réclusion solitaire*, translated as *Solitaire*, London: Quartet, 1988.

banishing fear and restoring colour to a greying world view.

Bowles and the unique position he holds among European portrayors of Morocco represents the apogee of a certain European vision. That is not to reflect on Bowles the individual. Latterly his work has become more gnomic; *Points in Time* (1982) is a short, but nuanced commentary on Moroccan history, an attempt to convey the feeling of crucial events without exposing them to a hagiographic treatment. In this sense it reads very much like a 'dry academic history' in certain respects. It has a distance which the oral translations attempt to reduce despite the fact that they introduce us to specifically folkloric elements of life: spells, ceremonies, foods - the quintessential forms of difference. Why do the two separate approaches seem so irreconcilable? How do they translate into the reality of lived experience? The remark of Elias Canetti (1978) warns us of the danger of the translation metaphor:

What is there in language? What does it conceal? What does it rob one of? During the weeks I spent in Morocco I made no attempt to acquire either Arabic or any of the Berber languages. I wanted to lose none of the force of those foreign-sounding cries. I wanted sounds to affect me as much as lay in their power, unmitigated by deficient and artificial knowledge on my part. I had not read a thing about the country. Its customs were as unknown to me as its people. The little that one picks up in the course of one's life about every country and every people fell away in the first few hours' (Canetti, 1978: 23).

This repudiation of folklore - while it still basks in the exotic - is based on his own recognition that while he watched the blind marabout sucking the coins he had been given 'The astonishing creature was myself, who stood so long uncomprehending'(p.29). Still, Canetti cannot conceal his annoyance when somebody informs him that the marabout puts the coins in his mouth to feel how much he's been given and, thus, shatters the author's illusions.

In Bourde's (1880) book Biskra is addressed in the familiar 'tu' form which the colonizers and settlers in North Africa generally used when addressing the 'natives'. The images of North Africa that are left behind have the same familiarity - the stamp of the age of mechanical reproduction. But in this

new age the staged intimacy of the postcard - the naked Algerian, smiling at the camera, inviting - is a fraud. Truth proclaimed in the towns is also false. In the last line of *Harrouda* (1973 [1985]) Ben Jelloun leaves us to ponder the following message: 'Wash your left hand and beware for everything is a lie'.

Overview

This chapter has traced the way in which certain locations in North Africa entered the European imagination during the 19th and 20th centuries. To that end much of the reading has highlighted travel accounts and other forms of documentation, such as fiction, which anthropology has often avoided. It has been possible to demonstrate, however, that such accounts do reveal a great deal about the process of the emergence into modernity on the colonised periphery of Europe and the accompanying dissolution of the 'traditional'. This movement is a complex one and it is necessary to take the analysis a step further by studying similar developments on the northern shore of the Mediterranean. This will enable us to breakthrough a number of contrasts which restrict the historical understanding of the Mediterranean and enable us to demonstrate that the simple dichotomy developed/underdeveloped is inadequate to describe what has taken place. What is clear, however, is that we can trace the development of an economy structured along lines which we are more familiar with today back to the nineteenth century. It is the spread of the phenomenon of the guide in the pre-Sahara, it is the tattoos analysed by Herber and the displaced citizens of Tangier who are the forerunners of the modern migrant worker. They will remain spectral figures for the next two chapters, but their history is like that of all those others implicated in this Mediterranean ethnoscape.

Chapter 2

Gibraltar: no other place on this Earth

Little islands are all huge prisons: one cannot look at the sea without wishing for the wings of a swallow.

Richard Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa* (Quoted by Brodie, 1967: 255).



Figure 19: Gibraltar, view across the Straits towards Morocco

Introduction

As I outlined in the introduction to this thesis, there is no way of grasping the situation of migrant workers in Gibraltar without understanding the complex issues which determine Gibraltar itself. There is a real sense in which Gibraltar constitutes a unique site for all of its successive migrants, for the Moroccans are not the first to come. Indeed, they are not even the first people to cross the Straits from Morocco and come to reside in Gibraltar in the period since the British captured it. This chapter will look at the manner in which Gibraltar has been constituted as a locale and the way in which its multifarious inhabitants have evolved into the Gibraltarian. In Chapter 3 other important factors which have played a role in the Gibraltar story will be considered. The first is to look in detail at the military presence, while the second will be to consider the 'Spanish connection' in more detail.

2.1 A National Fiction

The Rock of Gibraltar²¹ has come to have a meaning distinctly separate from the reality of the place. It has become a metaphor for solidity and permanence which, by extension, stands in for the British Empire itself - of which Gibraltar is a glorious outpost. The Rock is even equipped with its own myths of apocalypse cast in animal form. The Barbary apes function in a similar fashion to the ravens in the Tower of London. In the febrile imaginings of school history texts, their disappearance would spell some sort of ending: to Empire, to Britain, to England.

At times of national danger such stories become paramount in the national consciousness. During the Second World War it was brought to the attention of those in high office that the ape population had suffered a dire

²¹For many residents simply the Rock.

reverse. In a secret telegram, Churchill ordered that the ape numbers be boosted, and maintained in future at higher levels. Britain and her allies emerged victorious in that war, and the telegram was celebrated in fiction on at least two occasions in the years that followed: in Warren Tute's (1957) novel, *The Rock*, and in a book by Paul Gallico (1962), *Scruffy*. These apes are part of the myth or fiction of Gibraltar.

The myth of Gibraltar, as I shall call it, would appear to stretch back a long way, back in fact to the fashion in which resistance to certain military sieges in the eighteenth century was perceived by the population at large back in Britain. In 1757, Pitt considered the idea of returning Gibraltar to Spain in return for a pledge of alliance against France. The *Gibraltar Directory* of 1948 records the popular reaction to these political manoeuvrings:

The gallant defence during the last siege was a military achievement that excited the popular imagination, and Gibraltar became valuable in the eyes of the public when its name was associated with British gallantry and blood (p.11).

The story of Gibraltar and Empire is like many of those stories told when the map was red, and while we can now see the hollow centre in many Empire yarns the tenacious Rock endures. The Empire has all but passed and this empty space has been sympathetically unravelled in James Morris's *Pax Britannica* trilogy²². Let us examine briefly a denuded version of the Empire myth, stripped down to the bones of popular history and chewed upon, in its time, by the young seeker after fortune. *Outposts of Empire*, written by John Lang early this century and part of the 'Romance of Empire Series', makes no attempt 'to write a history of any of the places touched upon; the endeavour rather has been to extract from their history a portion of the Romance with which it is saturated' (Lang,

²²While not the work of an academic, Morris's history (Morris, 1968, 1973, 1978) strikes me as very 'modern' not to say 'post-modern' in its concerns; his sensitive use of illustrative anecdote and his [her] sense of the way in which Empire was able to inscribe itself in buildings, song and general language is reminiscent of the work of Walter Benjamin.

p.vii). To set the scene the author admonishes his reader:

To us in this twentieth century, who are wont to consider no part of the globe as being very far distant; who have, as a general rule, but little knowledge of the sea beyond what may scantily gleaned from a more or less brief sojourn on some huge steamship, it is hard to realise that one hundred years ago a voyage to Gibraltar probably took longer time than it now does to reach Bombay (p.1).

Lang's description of the sieges of Gibraltar is prefaced with the heart-warming story of the 'little English privateer cutter, the *Buck*, of Folkstone', running the Spanish blockade against all odds in 1779 and delivering much needed victuals to the beleaguered Rock. The privations of the garrison and the bravery of the men who surmounted them then follow before we depart for other outposts: Malta, the Caribbean and beyond. The exact content of this romance is something I wish to examine in the Gibraltar context. This is in line with the general project of this thesis: an investigation of representations at various levels, and the power they have come to exercise in specific sociological circumstances. The British Empire was a romance, it was in love with itself. Meaning in Gibraltar is still struggling with the weight of this love and finds itself transformed and deformed by it. ^{I aim} to look at the story of one group of migrants, the Moroccans who came in the late 1960s, but in isolation their story would be featureless and impossible to differentiate from the story of exile for many of their compatriots, the story of all those exiled to work 'partly because they wanted to, partly of necessity', to paraphrase the Moroccan novelist Tahar Ben Jelloun²³. The romance that draws them on is what this author brands a lie, and the many myths which surrounded Empire; all linked, more or less to concepts of racial superiority and notions of divine providence, have the self-same singular quality. In some quasi-mystical sense Gibraltar came to represent, for the British, the beginning of the

²³Specifically in his novella, *Solitaire* (1988). But the theme is dealt with in his non-fictional account of migrant life in France, *Hospitalité française* (1985).

Empire and its mission of Empire. The Gibraltar Diocese, in the words of Bishop Collins, ranged 'from the Rock of Gibraltar to the Golden Horn and the mountains of Kurdistan.'²⁴

Empire too had its exiles. It was the romance that drew the British forth from their hive-like island redoubt to swarm around the world bearing images of their Queen. Britishness and Empire are crucially linked, articulated through the notion of monarchy, but time began to change them in the end. At the turn of the century:

Britishness itself has become a debatable condition. In Victoria's day it had been embodied above all in the Monarchy, the distant, unfailing source of power and justice. The Crown was the gauge by which a man could claim himself to be British. It was the one abstraction that could unite the loyalties of disrespectful Australians, half-American Canadians and distinctly un-English South Africans. It was very, very grand, surrounded by a mystical sheen of tradition: even the Viceroys, Governors, Captains-General and Commanders-in-Chief who represented it in the field were but suggestive reflections of its splendour (Morris, 1978: 319).

It is not far from monarchy to nationalism and here I want to trace some features of nationalism in Gibraltar, its early stirrings, its sponsors and, latterly, its catalysts (that is to say specific events which led to the arrival of the Moroccans and their presence there). Like the Gibraltarians the Moroccans too have made their journey from native to nationalist. These journeys are also described by Benedict Anderson (1983) as pilgrimages. But the journeys' of modern migrant Moroccans, rather than those of clerks, intellectuals and students which are Anderson's concern, will come to change the world is not certain, but the truth remains that all such journeys are dreams of community: a community of Empire or Nation, or

²⁴Quoted by H.J. Buxton (1954), *A Mediterranean Window: Fourteen Years in the Gibraltar diocese*, Guildford: Biddles, p.2. Despite fourteen years as Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar, Buxton's own brief account of the time spent there makes no specific mention of the Gibraltarians themselves. They were, largely speaking, of a different flock or else, more likely, his concerns, like those of his predecessor, F.C. Hicks, author of *The Fullness of Sacrifice*, were set on higher, more spiritual matters.

exile with the dream of a return to simple community - the postponed return to the family and homeland. In France now some of the keenest collectors of the types of postcards used to illustrate Chapter 1 are, themselves, of Maghrebi descent. The myths of the colony take on a new role. Firstly, however, we must return to Gibraltar and unravel its peculiarities for, as Macauley (1949 [1986]) once wrote, 'Gibraltar is, in fact, so far as I know, like no other place on this earth' (p.184).

Gibraltar in the mid-1980s

The standard definition can be found in innumerable guides and histories of Gibraltar²⁵: the British Crown Colony of Gibraltar with a civilian population of less than 30,000 and an area of only 5.82 square kilometres. Some may be more precise and state that much of this area is the Rock itself and that the habitable area is much smaller: *Punch* magazine, now a victim of modern times, described Gibraltar as 'two square miles of underdeveloped limestone, partially covered with tarmac and souvenir

²⁵Many books deal with the martial aspects of Gibraltar's history. Of books taking a more general line, the best contribution is that of Hills (1974). The contribution of an ex-governor, who, indicatively set out to correct the alleged pro-Spanish bias of Hill's work is something of a disappointment (Jackson, 1987). The most quirky, however, and perhaps the richest in human insight, remains the contribution of Stewart (1967), *Gibraltar: the Keystone*. The first work to really be interested in the civilian conception of Gibraltar is Howes' 1951 book, *The Gibraltarian*. From an anthropological perspective, the particular trajectory taken by this thesis would not have been possible without the research undertaken by Janet Martens (1987) in her own work on Gibraltarian ethnonationalism. Martens documents the extensive literature on the diplomatic battles between Britain and Spain for control of sovereignty of the Rock. The most recent contribution to the literature is the survey carried out by D.S. Morris and R.H. Haigh (1992), but the analysis gives us very little from the anthropological perspective. Finally, nobody researching subjects which touch upon Gibraltar can do so without giving thanks to M. Greene for her extensive bibliographic researches (Greene, 1980; Greene, 1981).

shops'²⁶, but who are the inhabitants of Gibraltar? A visitor from the UK in the mid-1980s might first have been struck by the military presence on the Rock. The constant coming and going of jeeps, the preponderance of uniforms of one sort or another. Prior to this the traveller might have been struck, as Rose Macauley was in 1949, by a certain linguistic anomaly:

The Gibraltar frontier officials (not the La Linea ones) are, like the police, all bilingual; they speak English with a queer, clipped accent, rather like Eurasians (Macauley, 1949 [1986]: 183).

In more recent times the day-tripper from the Costa del Sol would be able to distinguish at a glance the fellow tourists drifting aimlessly up and down Main Street, but the others would appear an indistinguishable mass. Certainly the Hindu traders who have taken over most of the electrical goods shops would appear foreign, as would the groups of Moroccans drifting back and forth - to and from work - but the tourist would be hard pressed at first to distinguish the rest with real certainty: the Gibraltarians proper, that is, and the British 'ex-pat' and other foreign nationals. Going into a bar for a refreshment, the tourist might have struck up a conversation with one of the bar staff who, should they turn out to be British - rather than Gibraltarian British which is quite likely - might provide some answers and shed light on the *Gibos*, as the *Brits* call the Gibraltarians. In such a situation the judgements are sometimes harsh: the *Gibos* are always on the make; childlike; don't do anything for themselves; arrogant; hard headed; very thick. Gibraltarian skilled workers are often viewed as irredeemably incompetent by their UK counterparts. The chief interests of the Gibraltarian are his or her family and money.

These sorts of remark reflect a dented pride. The ex-patriot British are often structurally in a weak position, often they are escaping their own pasts or failure to find work 'back home'. They have come to somewhere which is British, but can find no place for themselves. Their scorn for the

²⁶The remark was republished in the weekly local paper, *The Gibraltar Democrat* (25/2/85).

Moroccan workers or *Rockies*²⁷ as they call them is even greater. They emphasise outright rejection. The Moroccan workers are strange, stupid, untechnical, exceedingly lazy: 'Moroccans and work? Are you joking? I'll tell you what, they work at two speeds, dead slow and stop...'

The Spaniards are the *Spicks*. They live in a dirty country, eat greasy food, but the booze is cheap. Some venture the opinion that there is little to choose between them and the *Gibos*. Indeed shorn of the derogatory connotation of the term, this was also Franco's opinion:

There are no English people in the place except the families of the garrison and the employees of the administration and the warehouses. The *Llanitos* (Gibraltarians) are entirely Spanish, though they take advantage of their British citizenship, and the rest, the Jews and aliens, can live as well under one flag as under another (quoted by Jackson, 1987: 301-2).

These are not the views of all Britons in Gibraltar, but they are more likely to be those articulated by the British ex-patriot or when off the record, some military personal. The tourist might conclude that this is not the ideal place to settle. Indeed, the modern tourist, drawn by a vision of Gibraltar, is often as disabused about the place as Macauley was on her visit:

The Rock bristles with regulations, bayonets and guns, and casual explorations about it are let and hindered. The climate is tiringly hot in summer, often with an exhausting wind, and in winter beaten by the Levanter and by chilly and damp Atlantic gales. "Gibraltar is with reason called the Montpellier of Spain," one reads; but with what reason is not clear. [...] Could there be, has there ever been (I enquire without dogmatism, pre-judgement or enough information), art, letters or music created in Gibraltar, by any race or mixture of races? One imagines not (Macauley, 1949 [1986]: 193).

Even the modern package tourist fails to flourish. In 1987 worries surfaced over the threat of one of the big tourist carriers to Gibraltar

²⁷This might seem slightly confusing, but the derivation is simply a contraction of Morocco. I shall return to this question of British migrant labour in Gibraltar in Chapter 3.

withdrawing their hotel-inclusive holidays. The company, Marshall Sutton, claimed that 50 per cent of their complaints concerned Gibraltar, while the Rock accounted for only 4.4 per cent of their trade. The main problems, a company spokesman told *The Gibraltar Chronicle* rather blandly, lay 'in the state of the town and the environment' (21/9/87).

A Chance Encounter?

At a historical crossroads the English writer, Charles Doughty, met someone who might himself, had he too been born British in the 19th century, have been described, like Doughty, as a great explorer. He was the custodian of a *caravansarai* on the road to Mecca, a Moroccan. The Maghrebi knew Doughty's people, the *Engleys*, occupying *Jebel Tar*, and deemed them a fair race in their dealings with others (Doughty, 1983: 29). The official histories of Gibraltar play down the links between Gibraltar and Morocco in the same way that anthropological portrayals of Morocco have often played down movement and eschewed history. Here I want to breakdown these separations, to use a different optic that sets the particular in relation to the movements of history and not the dictates of theory.

Morocco has always been a real presence in the history of Gibraltar, and there would be no voices of dissent in this respect, but its influence has always been regarded with some suspicion. In fact, it would probably be fair to say that many of the historical hangovers which exist in Spain and Portugal²⁸, not only from the period of Arab rule in the peninsula, but also relating to the Spanish Protectorate period in northern Morocco and the

²⁸This inheritance is surveyed in an accessible form in Jan Morris's (1979) celebrated travel guide, *Spain*. Nicholas Luard (1984) discusses some of the cultural hangovers in Andalusia in his book of that name. Such books, however, no more than scratch the surface. The relevance of this material for anthropology in the region is highlighted in Corbin (1989).

domestic problems which the Rif war posed²⁹ are to a limited extent shared in the image which Gibraltar projects across the Straits. There is a sentiment in this approaching xenophobia, a real fear of pollution. Howes, in his pathbreaking book on Gibraltarian identity, *The Gibraltarian* (1951 [1982]), is at pains to point out that while the Gibraltarians might be something of a mongrel race in origin, their sires did not figure among them any Muslims. In rejecting Tangye's 1944 contention that 'Now the population is a mixture of Italians, Genoese, Maltese and Moors, in addition to some Spaniards', Howes (1951) writes:

Those who have spoken and still speak of the Moorish element in the Gibraltarian, have been shewn [sic] to be completely in error. The Moors seen in the streets were nearly all visitors from North Africa, engaged in the cattle and poultry trades (p. 160).

He reiterates his point further on in the book. While the 1891 census figures gave a figure of 133 'Natives of Morocco', he argues that they were not necessarily Moors. 'The 133 Natives of Morocco meant that practically all were people of European race having been born in that land' (Howes, 1982: 187). In substance his claims are probably true, once an effort has been made to separate the Moroccan Jews who settled in Gibraltar from their Muslim compatriots, but there remains some place to examine the historical evidence to be garnered on the relationship between Barbary and the British military presence on the Rock.

²⁹This whole point could be explored in greater depth and indeed, it could be argued that the view of the Moroccan in the Spanish mind was given a new twist with tales of the ferocity of Franco's Riffi troops, although this links to imagery and forms of representation which developed during the period of the protectorate and have been described, as discussed in Chapter 1, by Dreissen (1987).



Figure 20. Gibraltar from Atunara c. 1840

2.2 Gibraltar and the Moors

Gibraltar has a long association with matters 'Moorish'. The very name itself is derived from the Arabic *jebel tariq* - Tariq's mountain - named after one of the early Arab conquerors of the Iberian peninsula. Remains of the 'Moorish' occupation still form an important part of Gibraltar's rather dubious tourist attractions, while part of the 'Moorish' castle is still used as a prison. With the thrust of the *reconquista*, Gibraltar was finally retaken from the 'Moors' on St. Bernard's day 1462 and, to mark the great victory, the mosque in what is now Main Street was converted into a church. The existence of the 'Moors' while Gibraltar was under Spanish occupation was signalled by the raids of corsairs, such as that which occurred on 10 September, 1540, following which the infamous corsair Carmani (Barbarosa)

and his captain, Dahi-Harat, were both killed.

The British flag was raised over the Rock in 1704 and it seems that soon after this date Jews from 'Barbary'³⁰ arrived set on solving the problem of provisioning the newly formed Garrison. It is suggested that Gibraltar was originally given the status of a free port as a result of pressure from the Moroccan *makhzan* and Moulay Ishmael, first of the Alouite sultans. Roger Elliot, gazetted governor in 1707, devised a system of differential taxation for traders (Benady, 1979). If they were Spanish, of whom there were no more than seventy left on the Rock - most having fled to the Campo region - the charge was one *postole* per month. For a Genoese trader the rate was a *moeda* of gold per month and for a Jew it was two. Moreover, when it was seen fit to raise additional revenue from the Jews simple extortion was practised. They were ordered to pay up or leave. Elliot's behaviour led to Moulay Ishmael cutting off essential supplies to the garrison. Benady suggests that his interest was aroused by his treasurer, Moses Ben Hattar, a man of business and *nagid* (leader) of the Jewish community in the seaport of Salé³¹. This man had important business interests in Gibraltar and purchased European products for the Sultan via his agents there. The English were forced to send a representative, Bennett, to Morocco to negotiate the resumption of trade. Following this incident, Jewish traders and workmen from Morocco continued to arrive and settle; after a few years forming half the civilian population. This was to change in 1712 with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht. Article ten of the Treaty cedes Gibraltar to the British:

but without any territorial jurisdiction and without permitting any Moors or Jews to reside within its limits, nor allowing Moorish ships to enter its ports (Kenyon, 1911: 46).

Generally the British have tried to encourage the settling of English

³⁰All writings on Gibraltar use an archaic vocabulary: 'Moors', 'Barbary' and so-forth.

³¹For an anthropological account of the organisation of this community at a later date see Brown (1976).

Protestants, but they have not been very successful. As for the 'Moors', Lieutenant-Governor Congreve, reporting to the Secretary of State on article ten stated that, 'of the Moors, seldom, or ever any have been here, and then, only just come and go' (quoted in Benady, 1979; 90). Many of the Jews previously expelled from Gibraltar reestablished themselves in Tetouan. Their resettlement in Gibraltar was agreed by the 1721 treaty with the *cherifian makhzan*. An account of the adventures of the negotiating entourage is contained in John Windus's (1725) book, *Journey to Mequinez*.

The influence of the Salé Jewish traders was important throughout the decade until the death of Moulay Ishmael and the outbreak of succession *siba*³². In 1728 a Spanish edict prohibited all communication between Spain and the Barbary states in an effort to make Gibraltar commercially useless. In fact, Gibraltar seems to have had little commercial value in the eighteenth century. During this period, Conn (1942) suggests that most of the trade was handled by Moors, Jews and Genoese. Around 1748 the Spaniards relaxed some of the trading restrictions and from Morocco Gibraltar received wax, hides, brass and leather. The anonymous *A Description of Gibraltar*, published in 1782, gives an account of this trade which, in effect, represents the beginning of the entrepot trade in Gibraltar.

The 1753 census figures show a small civilian population, but there is no evidence of any 'Moors' resident in Gibraltar at that time. The link with Morocco came through the Jewish population, many of whom came from Morocco. Here is how Howes (1951 [1982]) describes the situation:

In the case of the names of the Hebrew civilians born in Gibraltar before the Great Siege, Morocco, or Barbary as it was known, was the land from which most of their parents originated, or at least had resided for some period (p.28).

³²*Siba* is an expression common to much of the anthropological literature on Morocco. A very rough gloss would be 'disorder'. I shall return to this in Chapter 4.

Hamalos

The 1791 register of population shows that 'foreign Jews', which generally means those from Morocco, and Genoese supplied most of the male servants. It was these two groups that formed the élite of the labour force - the porters. George Borrow (1843 [1907]) has left a description of these men:

On either side outside the door, squatting on the ground, or leaning indolently against the walls were some half dozen men of similar appearance. Their principle garment was a kind of blue gown, something resembling the blouse worn by the north of France, but not so long; it was compressed around the waists by a leather girdle, and depended [sic] about half way down their thighs. Their legs were bare, so that I had the opportunity of observing the calves, which appeared unnaturally large. Upon the head they wore small scull-caps of black wool (p.299)³³.

On enquiring as to their profession Borrow receives the reply *hamalos*, the Arabic for porter. It was in Arabic that Borrow now addressed their leader:

He however answered very pertinently, his lips quivering with eagerness, and his eyes sparkling with joy, though it was easy to perceive that Arabic, or rather the Moorish, was not the language in which he was accustomed either to think or speak (p.300).

His companions also knew Arabic and referred to Borrow as *wakhud rajil shereef hada, min beled del scharki*, a holy man from the east (this is Borrow's transcription). It was the Jews of this class who, as Benady (1979) relates, tended to congregate in the centre of the town, around the parade, when they were not working. They behaved we are told in a noisy, quarrelsome and aggressive fashion which was an embarrassment to the

³³Borrow was a fascinating character and a philologist of some accomplishment. He was also, by all accounts, a rather loquacious man - so much so that his audience often didn't get the opportunity to respond. Thus, Macauley claims, Borrow never had his attention drawn to the fact that his audiences had often not understood his harangues (see Macauley, 1946[1985]).

more wealthy members of the community. As a result, in the 1750's, Governor Bland was moved to establish regulations to control such behaviour. They took the form of devolving power onto the Jewish community itself. This, according to Benady (1979), enabled it to become essentially self-governing and instilled a 'strong sense of solidarity' necessary to cope with immigrants arriving from central Morocco, known as *foresteros* and an unruly bunch. Such an organisation would have been a truer reflection of the Jewish communities in Morocco itself. These were allowed a relative autonomy in their own affairs.

The period from 1755-77, was one of relative prosperity for the merchants. There was considerable trade with Morocco, especially the export of beeswax. The Great Siege (1779-1783), however, saw the evacuation of a great part of the civilian population and an obvious disruption of life although Kenyon (1938) does remark that: 'Until December 1780 occasional vessels from Morocco brought fresh provisions to the Rock, but in that month the Sultan of Morocco declared against the English' (p.58). Shortly after the siege, in 1783, events took a different turn and the first boat loaded with bullocks arrived from Morocco and the Sultan professed undying friendship for the English.

The number of retailers recorded in 1791 was 106, nearly half of whom were foreign Jews, chiefly from Morocco. By 1814 this figure had increased to 182; an indication of increased prosperity. This prosperity was related to Nelson's victory at Trafalgar in 1805, which was crucial for trade in Gibraltar because it meant that the British merchant fleet suddenly had a virtual monopoly over trade. This fact meant a decrease in trade with Morocco. By 1814, Howes remarks, Gibraltar was becoming as much a colony as a fortress. It now had a civilian population numbering 10,136. This figure includes 12 Muslim 'Moors'. Their presence was in part related to the 'butchery trade' which had grown up with the increase in numbers: 'The live cattle were brought over from Morocco with Moors in charge and it was natural that some of the butchers were Moors (Howes, 1951 [1982]: 78). The other 'Moors' present were occupied as dealers, a clerk and 3 male

servants.

Impressions of the Moors

By 1816 there were workers on the Rock from Spain, Minorca, Portugal, Sardinia, Genoa, Italy, Sicily, Ragusa, Malta, France, Germany, Austria, Morocco, Greece, Denmark, Majorca, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, Naples and Russia. The number of 'Moors' had increased from six to ten and the census indicates the presence of a female servant. For some reason by 1834 this concentration of Moroccan butchers had been greatly reduced leaving only one, but we do see the appearance of two tobacconists, one vendor of fowls (an important trade with Morocco) and three cooks. The other surprise is the appearance of five Algerians (that country having been, only three years previously, occupied by the French): one dealer, two ironmongers, one merchant and one butcher. We also find a solitary Egyptian watch-maker.

Howes, as always, is anxious to point out that the number of Moroccans was always minimal during this period:

We are given the impression that numerous Moors of Gibraltar were to be seen in various parts of the town, whereas in the period 1814- 1834 there were only ten at the most. In fact, the Moors the writers saw were members of vessels going backward and forward to North Africa bringing cattle and provisions for Gibraltar, but as a fixed element in the population the Moors cannot be considered (Howes, 1982: 135).

While the figure of ten is not in line with the census figures the actual numerical difference is not so great as to warrant any dispute. Yet, it is worthy of mention that virtually all accounts do mention the presence of 'Moors' and that they invariably figure in engravings of the Rock³⁴. The

³⁴An assortment of relevant prints are displayed in the Gibraltar Museum

apparent contradiction could be linked to other factors such as the perceived or inherent exoticism provided by the presence of 'Moors'. Hort (1839), for example, refers to 'Moors in their stately dress of various hues' (p. 19). In a similar vein, Sayer (1865) describes the commodious market:

The Spaniard in his quaint costume, the Moor, sleepy and abstracted, wrapped in his burnous and scowling on the infidel, whose money he grasps with greed (p.462).

Whatever the truth of the matter the statistical appearance of 'Moors' in prints of the period belies the census figures.

By 1844 there were 240 'Barbary Jews' and nine 'Moors' (although, by religion, ten 'Mohamedans' are listed). At this time all fruit and vegetables were provided by the Spaniards from the Campo region. Meat, however, was supplied by the Moroccans who were allowed to send two-thousand head of cattle annually across the Straits³⁵. This period saw the slow introduction of steam which allowed for direct trade between Great Britain and Morocco. Gibraltar's function as an entrepot was gradually undermined, although China tea was being sold into Morocco from Gibraltar in the 1880s.

The census of 1891 records the civilian population as being 19,011. This figure includes 133 'Natives of Morocco' to which allusion has already been made. Howes's grounds for the certainty with which he refuses to grant them Muslim status remain obscure, but the 1871 census figures would give his assertions some support. At that time there was only one resident Muslim on the Rock, although there were 23 males on temporary permits and a further two listed under the category 'consuls and their families'.

³⁵See the account given by 'An Old Inhabitant' (1844).



Figure 21: The Market, Gibraltar. Note the 'British bobby' in the right foreground.

The census taken in 1921 seems to indicate the presence of 42 Moroccans, or, rather, Muslims who are foreign subjects (the information given on religion seems the surest way to identify Moroccan Muslims). By 1951 there were no Muslims whatsoever listed in the census. This is a sure indication of the stagnation in local trade after the Second World War resultant on the falling off of the trans-shipment trade and the opening up of the Moroccan ports as the French, notably, increased their grip of the country's infrastructures.

The census of 1961 indicates the presence of 15 Moroccans, but little more can be said about them. The next census, that of 1970, shows 2,095 Moroccans resident in Gibraltar. This increase forms the original impulse for this study.

2.3 Further accounts of the Moor

Naughty Moslem, 'twas agreed
And as you utter, so decreed;
Yet though perforce I must obey
The oath that holds my evil sway:
And though I shield from present ill,
You Moorish maid, against my will;
From this dread moment, Moslem band
Shall ne'er hold sway o'er Christian land (Hort, 1838: 122).

Having briefly outlined a general history of the relations between Gibraltar and 'Moors' I shall look at a 'second reading' of some of this literature; places where authors have gone further than simply indicating the presence of 'Moors', 'Mohametans' or whatever description has been utilised. Lucette Valensi (1969) has performed a similar task for literature relating to the Maghreb. She notes the general contours of the growth of European knowledge of the Mediterranean. The initial phase she characterises as encyclopedic; a brief description successively plagiarised over the centuries. In fact, these descriptions are based on very little certain information because North Africa at this time was largely *terra incognita* from the point of view of the burgeoning European sea powers. This phase was followed by an obsession with the 'Barbary corsairs'; tales of capture, ransom and, for some, escape. One of the best known of these accounts is that of the Cornish mariner Thomas Pellow who was captured, converted to Islam and subsequently served in the Sultan's army allegedly taking part in missions to the far south and the Dra' valley³⁶. All these accounts are packed with rapaciousness and sensuality - the motifs of sexuality in 'Orientalism'³⁷

The accounts relating to Gibraltar reveal the same hallmarks when discussing the 'Moors', although there are certain odd exceptions. They also

³⁶M. Morsy (1983) has written a critical study of Pellow's account of his captivity.

³⁷Said (1978) makes much of such writings. He also draws on the wonderful study by Marcus (1966).

exhibit similar confusions. Arabs, Moors, Turks, and Algerians are either merged into one or counterpoised in Manichaestic fashion³⁸. By the beginning of the twentieth century this trend had crystallised out. Thus it is that Kenyon (1911 [1938]) comes to write:

The history of the Mohamedans in Spain is largely made up of the incessant feuds between the highly cultured Arab race and the comparatively savage, but very warlike, Africans or Moors (p. 23).

Some seventy years earlier, discussing the final defence of Gibraltar by the 'Moors' in the fifteenth century, Hort refers to them as 'the bravest, the most intellectual and refined race of the age' (1839: 24). Kenyon's subsequent efforts to make a golden age of Spanish Islam compatible with the fear of Barbary mirrors in certain respects French efforts to reinterpret Maghrebi history³⁹ with the obvious reversal: the 'noble Arab' is synonymous with the French 'noble Berber'. Hort, on the other hand, represents a romantic trend schooled in the Spanish picaresque and little concerned with history's finer delineations. Sayer, writing in 1862, makes a further interesting distinction. In his description of some iniquitous connivance on the part of the Spanish and the Moroccan Sultan - during the siege of the 1780s - he comments on its outcome; British subjects were ordered to leave Moroccan dominions. The arrangement:

was followed by acts of great indignity and cruelty to the English residents in the Moorish ports... every kind of atrocity was perpetuated by the savage barbarians (Sayer, 1865: 341).

The author alleges that this savage conduct owed its origin to the instigation of the Spanish - as was deemed the case for their actions during the first Spanish siege discussed below - but it contrasts markedly with the

³⁸The literary critic, Abdul JanMohamed (1983), following the work of Frantz Fanon, argues that all colonialist literature is premised on such a radical opposition. See his book *Manichaen Aesthetics: the politics of literature in colonial Africa*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

³⁹See notably in this context the work of Edmund Burke III (1973).

behaviour of the Moroccans resident in Gibraltar. In this instance Sayer (1865) remarks:

The Moors, so lawless among their native wilds, are here, strange to say, the most orderly and obedient of the whole population. They invariably conform to the laws and regulations, are always decent and respectful, and, in fact, set an example to their neighbours (1865: 461).

The author, as one time civil magistrate, was in a good position to judge here even if his remarks about lawless native wilds are constructions with little solid documentation to support them at the time they were written: Leo Africanus was available as was the account of Marmol, but de Foucauld was yet to make his celebrated journey and ambassadorial and mercantile reports were limited in their content (Parsons, 1978). Contact with Europeans was kept to a strict minimum.

In Gibraltar itself there was greater scope to witness the behaviour of visitors from across the straits. Indeed, it was possible to visit Tangier as George Borrow did in 1838. At this time Europeans did have reasonable access to certain of the Moroccan sea-ports. Borrow left a favourable account of the town and was deeply impressed by the behaviour of his friendly local guide who, on refusing the silver piece proffered by the writer, suggests that should he see him in the market one day with an empty basket he might place some food in it. Such apparent open-mindedness on the part of Borrow does not prevent him from suggesting that 'there is not a thin, crouching, liver-faced, lynx-eyed Jew of Fez' capable of outwitting, the Gibraltar hostelier, Griffiths, in a bargain (1843 [1907]: 298).

The case of Borrow demonstrates how careful we must be before rushing to judgements. His presence in Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar and Tangier was related to his calling: an essentially religious one directed against the evils of 'popism'. In contrast with Catholicism, he held Islam in high esteem.

As we reach earlier writings from Gibraltar ignorance, truth and expedience become increasingly blurred. Thus an anonymous writer can claim, in 1782, during the so-called Great Siege and just after the event

referred to by Sayer above:

...and it is likewise known, that all along the sea coast of Barbary, Algiers, Tunis, &c, the English are preferred and esteemed among the Mahometans before all other nations (Anon, 1782: 24-5).

Here it is important to point out that such documents served highly political ends. This particular document was written in support of retaining Gibraltar which was referred to by Pitt at the time as the 'most inestimable jewel in the British Crown' (an expression used previously by Charles II in reference to Tangier which was then in the hands of the English and the subject of a similar campaign of publications). The audience that such books was aimed at is best exemplified by descriptions of an incident which took place during the first Spanish siege of Gibraltar. One account, written by 'An Officer' in 1728, tells of how what the Spaniards could not achieve by force they attempted by 'faud' (sic). On finding their batteries ineffectual '...they had Recourse to Engines of a more Silent nature: to Artifice, Treachery, and the Moors' (An Officer, 1728: 28). Two 'Moors' acting for the Spanish were found guilty of attempting to betray the town into their hands. As a deserved reward for their villainy they were put to death and subsequently 'flead' (flayed). Their skins were nailed to the gates of the town:

...where they appear'd in the same proportion as when alive; and being gigantic fellows, as the Moors in general are, they were horrid gastly spectacles (An Officer, 1728: 37).

These 'dusky hides', little transformed by the intense sun, suffered great depredations at the end of the seige. This was due to the 'curiosity of our people', who cut pieces out to take back to England. One of these pieces we are informed, 'to gratify our Readers', could be seen at the publisher's office in London.

Moorish Vice: Orientalist revisited

This particular document contains as a postscript an account of the 'Morocco ambassador' who, on returning from a trip to England, was stopping off at Gibraltar. Although it demonstrates a minimal knowledge of Moroccan administration, it does show evidence of a wide range of Orientalist stereotypes and amounts basically to a castigation of Moorish vice:

...and nothing sticks in any of the Publick Offices among them, when money is moving: the Moors, are from the highest to the lowest most intensely Covetous: 'tis their darling, the reigning Vice of their Country (An Officer, 1728: 46).

Commenting on the fact that the ambassador was bastinadoed on his final arrival in Morocco the author reiterates his point:

And the last may be wholly owing to the Covetous Temper of the Moors, mentioned before, who are so excessively in Love with Money, that tho' they know they must part with it, in this Case, or be beat to death, will endure the Bastinado 'till their Backs and Buttocks are almost Mummy, before they'll give it up (An Officer, 1728: 49).

Vice and depravity are among the elements singled out by Valensi (1969), but all in all these early accounts combine pragmatism - on both foreign and domestic fronts - with ignorance and a certain amount of imperial aggression. This is summed up by the comments of General Bland who was Governor in the mid-eighteenth century. He remarked that friendship with Barbary, as opposed to treaties, was of great consequence to England both in terms of supplying the garrison and protecting merchant ships from the predations of Barbary corsairs. The Moors, 'a Treacherous Knavish People', do not respect treaties if there is something to be gained in breaking them.

We are dealing here with what we saw in Chapter 1 has been tagged 'Orientalist discourse' by Edward Said (1978). His by now familiar argument suggests that the Orient is systematically denied 'history', that its representations are constantly distorted. Western authors it is claimed, negate the Orient, but as Bernard Lewis (1982a) points out the inverse can

also be true:

The feeling of timelessness, that nothing really changes, is a characteristic feature of Muslim writing about Europe - as, indeed, it is of their writings about other times and places (p.297).

Turbulent Mediterranean

In Chapter 1 it was demonstrated that the themes heralded by Said could be read to yield a new itinerary, one which emphasised the arrival of the modern world, with its new movements of peoples, both tourists and migrant labour. In a certain sense the questions involved are moral ones. In contemporary discussions of racism it is the immorality of denying equal opportunities - generally the corollary of some materialist argument - that is in question. Orientalism, by such a logic, is a form of failed genocide, but, as critics of Said have remarked, by stating it in its extreme form it loses its validity. Its ahistoricity cannot account for people like Borrow or for the complexity of a given historical situation. The Orient is not privileged in being the subject of malign discourses⁴⁰. The words of Defoe's attack on xenophobia and the general intolerance towards migrants in *The True-Born Englishman*, written in 1701, remain salutary:

These are the heroes who despise the Dutch
And rail at new-come foreigners so much!
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived!⁴¹

The majority of writers discussed until this point are English and, as such,

⁴⁰Said's work has generated a vast amount of critical appraisal. See Mani and Frankenberg (1985), Porter (1983), Clifford (1988), Ahmad (1992), Young (1990) for a selection of views. Of all of these reviews it is Ahmad who poses the most strident attack. Young's argument suggests that it is impossible to escape the traps posited by 'Orientalism'.

⁴¹Defoe, D., (1701), London.

proposed a vision of the world that was essentially English⁴². Before beginning to look with any precision at a 'Gibraltarian' outlook we must generalise and look briefly at the whole context of the Mediterranean, 'its rugged contours and oppressive reality', as Braudel (1982) describes it. This is the reality of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Mediterranean world reaching a peak and slowly moving into decline. This is a world of movement, the movement of people. Overpopulation in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century necessitated population redistribution. The expulsion of diaspora communities was one form of redistribution, but:

the commonest way in which the islands entered the life of the outside world was by emigration. All the islands (like the mountains, and many Mediterranean islands are mountains anyway) exported their people (Braudel, 1972: 158).

Thus it was that at this time a city such as Algiers sprang up on the 'American pattern'; it was peopled almost entirely by immigrants (Braudel, 1972: 416). Who were these migrants? More likely than not they were from the large sections of the community who were either poor or very poor. Those who 'formed a huge proletariat whose existence historians are gradually beginning to recognise...' (Braudel, 1972: 459). This then was the Mediterranean. A turbulent world of expulsions and migrations which, a century later would contribute the germ of the civilian population from a ragbag of wanderers and traders. It is to the various descriptions of this group to which I shall now turn.

⁴²To the extent that the one frequently collapses into the other. These points have generated a good deal of debate in literary and cultural studies. Two key texts are John Lucas's *England and Englishness* (1990), and Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (1985).



Figure 22: The Europa Lighthouse, Gibraltar.

2.4 Descriptions of Gibraltar: the riff-raff of various nations

Most of the early descriptions of Gibraltar are arresting in their sense of otherness. In many cases the assessments are truly damning in character. General Bland, who governed from 1749 to 1754, wrote of the civilian population:

Jews, Genoese, Spaniards, Portuguese, Irish Papists, Scotch pedlars and English bankrupts... The riff-raff of various nations and religions ready to commit any fraud in their power (Quoted in Jackson, 1987: 143).

Of course there is something in the aloof quality of such a description which instantly fixes the author as being of that establishment which constitutes the Garrison, by which I mean the officers. There is also present the eulogising which belies an unwritten superiority. Flora Calpensis was the *nom de plume* adopted by female relative of one of the Garrison establishment. Her description neatly highlights such a spirit:

The population of the town is of a very miscellaneous description, and people of every nation under the sun almost, may be met with in its markets, on the Exchange square, and on the quays.

The variety of costume may be imagined, for we meet in these places turbaned Moors (who are among the cleanest and best behaved men on the Rock); Barbary Jews in Fez caps, and fearfully dirty brown and black burnouses, without under garments of any sort beside dirty 'pyjamas' (or drawers); the handsome and manly Spaniard in 'majo' costume; the lively Genoese fisherman in long red night-cap; then we stumble on a sharp-featured and elegant Greek in his native dress; the sturdy beef-eating Englishman, together with his dark-looking sons, the fruit of his union with some Spanish 'Hija de aqui' (or daughter of this place) (Calpensis, 1880: 14).

There is romance in this scene - or, indeed, mystery, to borrow from Nairn's (1988) discussion of British monarchy - for this is Gibraltar. Though the Spaniard in Gibraltar may be manly, his compatriot on the other side of the border, however, is described by Calpensis in an altogether different light. It was customary among the officers and ladies of the Garrison to picnic in the cork wood some ten miles from the Rock:

But now is seen a most ugly collection of beggars and deformities of all sorts, ugly and dirty to a degree - such an assemblage as only can be equalled by the "lepros" of Mexico, with their unclean blankets and "rebosos".

Ignorant are they, too, and dull as the pigs and sheep they are supposed to be tending. They quietly seat themselves at a respectful distance, and have evidently come to see the English "feed" (*a ver comer los Ingleses*). As ice has been brought out for the purpose of cooling the various beverages we indulged in, these beggars "see a sight they never beheld before", and do not know what it is; on a piece being thrown to them, they eagerly seize it, but as quickly drop it again,

screaming out that they are "burnt" (Calpensis, 1880: 63).

There is no notion here of a Gibraltarian and the transformation undergone by Spaniards, simply by virtue of crossing the border, is astounding. We will see that this has important consequences for later definitions. Gomez (1986) argues that much of the population of La Linea is founded on the same population mix as what came later to be called the Gibraltarian civil population⁴³.

The Spaniards, for their part, if the historian Ayala can be taken as representative, saw mainly Genoese and Jewish residents on the Rock:

The Genoese are traders, but the greater part of them are fishermen, sailors, and gardeners; and these, as well as the Jews, speak a language compounded of Spanish and English, and a dialect, or jargon, common to all southern nations, not excluding the Africans (Ayala, 1782 [1845]: 175).

Galt's description of the Rock's inhabitants is similar to that of Calpensis, but a little more forthright:

The motely multitude of Jews, Moors, Spaniards, & c. at the Mole, where the trading vessels lie, presented a new scene to me; nor was it easy to avoid thinking of the odious race of the Orang Outang, on seeing several filthy, bearded bare-legged groups huddled together in shady corners during the heat of the day. The languor occasioned by the heat appeared to have increased the silly expression of their faces; particularly the Jews, who, notwithstanding the usual sinister cast of the Hebrew features, seemed here to be deplorably simple animals (Galt, 1813: 5).

For Galt the facilities of the town reflect its population:

In Gibraltar there is a contemptible theatre, where strolling Spanish comedians sometimes perform. The garrison library is the only place of rational amusement for strangers, and there are few towns which have anything comparable to it. The inns are mean, but the rate of the charges is abundantly magnificent. A dollar here passes under the name of a cob; and it is but a small matter that a cob can purchase (Galt, 1813: 5).

⁴³This point will be considered in more depth in Chapter 3.

E. Dyne Fenton, an army officer stationed in Gibraltar, took the ferry to Tangier for a period of rest leave. He described the scene on the foredeck:

crowded with Moors of every caste and shade of colour, lantern-jawed Barbary Jews, and several varieties of the strange non-descript race produced only at 'Gib', by the blending of nearly every nationality beneath the sun, which, swarming and spawning under the protection of the British flag in that "Alestia" of Europe, produces the hybrid brood known as "Rock Scorpions" (Dyne Fenton, 1872: 29).

This power of the flag is invoked in an interchange described by a female traveller, Amalia Perrier (1873). Anxious to ascertain the nationality of the boy working in her hotel, she asks young Louis whether he is Spanish. His face registers a mixture of surprise, displeasure and disgust:

"No, madame-sare," he replied coldly, but politely still.
I hastened to correct myself.
"Oh, I beg your pardon; French, of course!"
"No, sare-madame," almost angrily, "I am *Ingleesh*,"

Proudly elevating his chin the boy goes on to elaborate:

"My fader he was Spanish, and my mother she was Maltese; de fader of my moder he was Italian, but *de moder of my fader*, she was Ingleesh; and I am Ingleesh too; I was born under the Ingleesh flag... (Perrier, 1873: 18-19).

Perrier writes in the sardonic knowing tone of the Victorian traveller, 'Everyone now - who had never been there before, - began to call Gibraltar "Gib", particularly the knowing old men of seventeen or thereabouts, who drank brandy and soda-water, and ate devilled bones for breakfast' (Perrier, 1873: 6-7). Her steamer had to coal and went right alongside the New Mole thus doing away with the necessity of dealing with the Gibraltar boatmen. There were, however, what appeared to her 'unsophisticated brigands disguised as porters'^(p.7) who descended on the luggage. These she finally shook off before reaching the hotel. To her credit she gives a rare description of the living quarters of the Gibraltarians, on the slopes of the Rock above the Garrison library:

...our road for a quarter of a mile led through steep narrow lanes, linked on either side by the dwellings of the poorer inhabitants. Like the poorer quarters in most towns, this one of Gibraltar is most prolific in children. They swarmed in the streets like ants; the dark-skinned, Murillo-looking little Spaniards fraternizing admirably in their play with the sandy-haired, freckled "bairns" of the Highland soldiery (Perrier, 1872: 34).

Others, however, did have to deal with the boatmen:

In character with the antecedents of the spot we did not step ashore without a fierce argument, our enemy consisting of four Gibraltar boatmen, who modestly demanded twenty-one shillings, and were more than doubly paid by receiving in the end five...we hustled through groups of Moors, black, white, and tawny, in flowing robes and bright turbans, Spaniards in fringed leggings and sombreros, soldiers, sailors, goats and donkeys... (Emeritus, 1857: 264).

In 1884, John Lomas wrote that such practices were current at all the 'southern ports':

Now for the bargaining! Hitherto there has been but little of it, and the inexperienced traveller will probably have been rejoicing in the thought that the always imminent dread of being cheated is one of the many bogus scares of Spanish Here, however, and at all the southern ports - Gibraltar, Tangier, Malaga, Cartagena, etc- he will have to gird up his loins for the fray; and, if he has a knowledge of the vernacular, he will receive wondrous enlightenment upon the nature of an excuse and an extortion (Lomas, 1884: 232-3).

Throughout the nineteenth century then there is a detectable birth of something which might be termed a distinct 'native' entity inhabiting the Rock as opposed to the ragbag which had arrived. Slowly this identity of native was to shift towards something else, but only slowly. One episode which sheds some light on developments was the removal of Governor Gardiner. His somewhat ham-fisted attempts to stamp out smuggling had resulted in Spain imposing various restrictions, which proved irksome to both the inhabitants of Gibraltar and the authorities in Whitehall. In his opinion, as expressed to Palmerstone, the population was as 'Spanish in habits, connections, family predilections, language and religion as on the

day when Gibraltar was ceded to England' (Quoted by Jackson, 1987: 238-9). He feared for the security of the Rock and noted the dangerous (and powerful) links between the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and the Manchester Commercial Association with the Gibraltar Exchange and Commercial Library. This latter institution was founded as the result of the fact that members of the civilian population were excluded from the Garrison Library which had been founded after the Great Siege. As a result this alternative institution was founded:

The men of substance and public conscience decided to form their own club that they called the Exchange and Commercial Library, the committee of which gradually assumed the role of unofficial, yet necessary, representative body of the civilian population. It was to act as the mouthpiece of the local community in public and political affairs until the City Council was established in 1921 (Jackson, 1987: 229).

This group largely overlapped with the Sanitary Commissioners, a group of local people which had been formed at the end of the nineteenth century to advise on sanitation and such matters. If power could be said to have been held by any of the civilian population at this time it lay with these groupings.

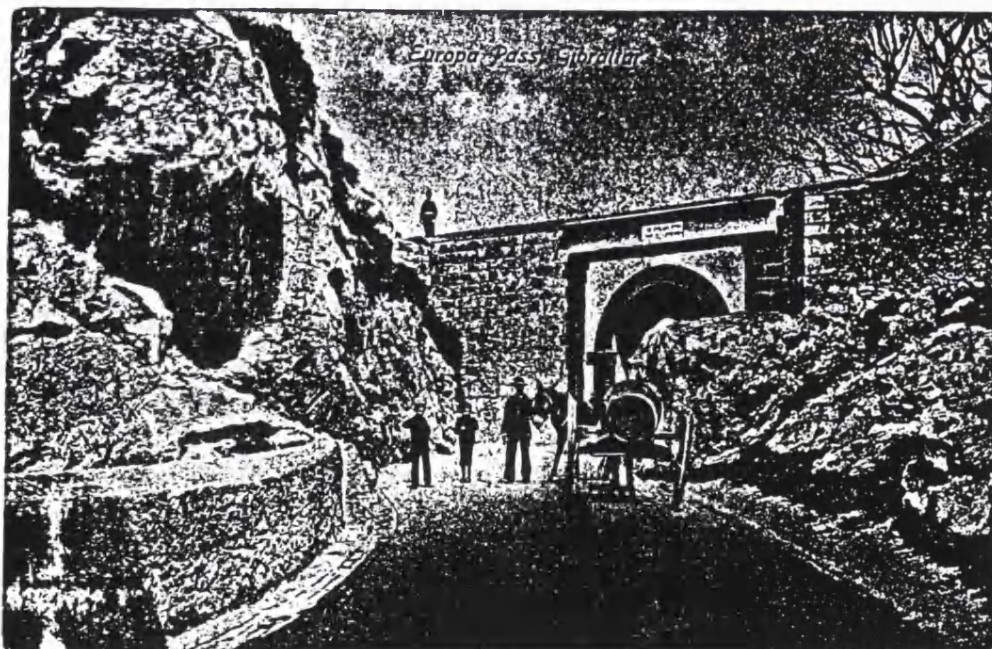


Figure 23: Europa Pass, Gibraltar. Delivering the water.

The Stirrings of Nationalism: 'native' to Briton

We do not seek to unnationalize the aborigines
whether men or monkeys.
(Ford, 1845 [1966]: 518)

Already by 1855, as we have seen, there was a civilian presence in Gibraltar capable of maintaining what the British authorities considered dangerous links with the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and being desirous of culture in the form of admittance to the Rock's symbolic centre of power, the Garrison Library. All this despite the derogatory and dismissive descriptions provided by various travellers and military observers. Governor Gardiner considered the 'natives' Spanish, but who exactly did he mean and why all the confusion? Surely not these powerful merchants engaged in economic intercourse with the grandees of Manchester? By way of commencement it is possible to review the question from the perspective at its height in the early 1970s- that is the perspective of 'British Gibraltar' (this may seem anachronistic, but I refer here to the majority of the residents). Here, however, some clarification is required, British in the sense that Gibraltar is British; the 'Gibraltarians' are British too, but they are also *Manitos*, a special branch of Britishness. For the British establishment the evolution from generic 'Spaniard' or 'native'⁴⁴ to Gibraltarian in this last sense, has only occurred over the last forty years. Such recognition culminates in ex-Governor Jackson's eulogy:

I hope I have not been too pro-British or too anti-Spanish, just pro-Gibraltarian because I am unashamedly attached to the thesis that Gibraltar is the *Rock of Gibraltarians* (Jackson, 1987; 13).

This zenith, characteristically, has been reached at a time when British

⁴⁴Here we have to be very careful to examine the exact content and resonance of the use of the term 'native' in the British colonial context. Adams (1985) gives one version in her admirable study of Sylheti migrants to Britain. It was the natives who, when death occurred at sea, were noted as lost under this simple expression, without the benefit of names.

support for the whole notion of Gibraltar is realistically and objectively at its lowest point in recent history.

Stirrings from Within

Those Gibraltarian businessmen excluded from the citadel of the Garrison Library - the site of Empire's cultural capital in Gibraltar - and thus, nominally, also excluded from wielding any power, were not the only members of the civilian population who were beginning to sense the true colour of their own interests. The story behind these other stirrings remains obscure, but by 1921, when Gibraltarians were allowed to vote representatives on the newly-formed city council, they represented a coherent voice and the merchants found themselves with some opposition.

To look through a back issue of *The Gibraltar Chronicle*⁴⁵ can help us assess the spirit of the place in the post-1918 period. Turning to 1921 we discover certain incidents which underline the status of the Gibraltarians at the time. The 28 August edition of that year, for example, informs us that 'Juan Villa, a native boy, was cautioned for throwing stones in Line Wall Road in the 17th instance.' The issue on 30 September reports an unusual offence for the time, but one which would reappear in later years, 'Ali Macawi, a Moor, was fined 3 shillings for drunk and disorderly conduct in Market Street on the 27th instance.' The use of such terms, 'native' and 'Moor' and the ethos behind their usage is given further clarification by a dispute documented in the paper's letters page. In a communication headed 'Municipal Politics' by the paper's editor, the correspondent, one Arthur C Carrara, writes:

Dear Sir

As I am not eligible as a city Councillor I may perhaps

⁴⁵A complete run of *The Gibraltar Chronicle* is held by the Garrison Library in Gibraltar. Although it began life as the mouthpiece of the military establishment it is now in the hands of a Gibraltarian editor.

be permitted to comment on the speeches made at the Theatre Royal on Sunday 23 Oct by Snrs Bellotti and Huart.

Carrara was especially offended by the comments of Snr Bellotti, who had reportedly stated in his oration delivered in Spanish that 'the Gibraltarian has only one opponent, a single common enemy and it is against this enemy that he must struggle'. Carrara is in no doubt that the general public understood these utterances to refer to 'what is generally described as "*los Ingleses*" which included the Naval and Military Authorities and Colonial Officials.' It is his avowed opinion that the British try their utmost to aid the Gibraltarians and that 'to consider them our enemies is to start our political life on a false basis and I think it is hightime that the idea that because a person is 'English' therefore he is anti-Gibraltarian should disappear.' Carrara's blustering was doubtless brought on by Bellotti's own remarks on the formative phase of Gibraltarian participation in the local democratic process:

We must search for as representatives for the Municipal Council men who are independent and who have no wish to cultivate elevated friendships or relations with the upper orders.

The horrified Carrara thinks that the foolish public will be persuaded by this remark not to vote, as City Councillors, those who are friendly with high officials under the misguided impression that such friendships will 'prevent them from acting with complete independence.' Huart, the other recalcitrant speech maker, went even further than Bellotti. When voting, he warned, people must be careful of those who have JP, OBE, MBE or any other letter after their names.

This interchange seems to demonstrate that when the voice of the Colonial authorities, *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, is still speaking a language of 'native' and 'Moors' which has its roots back in the eighteenth century, the Gibraltarians as they enter municipal politics are divided into essentially pro- and anti-British factions (even if they choose the term English). This would appear to be mirrored in the subsequent careers of two of the participants in the above exchange. A.C. Carrara esq., OMG, KC, JP was

appointed to appear as Attorney-General at the Criminal Sessions in March 1927. By 1948, in addition to his legal work, we find he is also on the Board of Visitors to the cemetery, the Board of Visitors to the Colonial Hospital and the Board of Visitors to the Mental Hospital. He is also Chairman of the Gibraltar Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (founded 1874). It was this same A.C. Carrara who, in his capacity as Chairman of the Hospital Board of Visitors, proposed in 1932 that the female ward of the Colonial Hospital should be called 'Godley' ward in honour of Governor - Sir Alexander Godley. His proposals, we are told, 'met with general approval (*Gibraltar Directory*, 1948: 62). Huart, we find, has let the side down slightly in becoming a Justice of the Peace, but his name is yet to be sullied with colonial honours and he is, in fact, union organiser of the TGWU in Gibraltar.

Certainly in Britain in the 1920s the majority of people believed in the British Empire and viewed Gibraltar as one of its chief bastions. There was also another factor:

There was something else which no politician was prepared to state openly. Gibraltarians were not expected to be troublesome as it was feared the Maltese and Cypriots would be, and indeed were already in the mid-20s. It was felt in Britain in 1923 and even as late as 1938, that the population of Gibraltar was 'so small, so cosmopolitan, so parasitic that it could not develop a real nationalist movement (Hills, 1974: 407)⁴⁶.

By the time the border closed in 1969, almost fifty years on from 1921, we find that almost everybody was convinced of a distinct Gibraltarian identity and the events surrounding Franco's move served to crystallise it - as well as, inadvertently, sponsoring a whole new phase of public debate on the subject. Let's now look at these developments, the long-term effect of which was detrimental to the Spanish cause in their effort to regain the Rock.

⁴⁶The internal quotation is taken from Garratt's *Gibraltar and the Mediterranean* (1939).



Figure 24: Typical water vendors, Gibraltar.

2.5 Gibraltarians: a closer look

On the face of it as the population has become more homogeneous in the sense that there are no obvious markers setting off a *Llanito* from anybody else working or living on the Rock, an ethnonationalism has begun to assert itself. We have witnessed the dissolution of the category 'native' and seen the appearance of the Gibraltarian British. But in examining this question we must be careful not to confuse a number of disparate factors. The designation 'native' used in the sense that I am using it here is ascriptive and not reflexive in the way that *Llanito* identity is constructed. This, however, is not to suggest that the relationship between the two is not dialectical. We must attempt to identify the critical moment in this transformation; the point at which a people with no name - and who'd been living in this condition for many years - feel the need to define themselves in relations to the world around them. We must, of course, bear in mind

that it is ludicrous to suggest that a people 'as one' suddenly in its disparate individuality defines itself 'as one' using exactly the same characteristics. In this sense we must look to the actions of individuals and groupings for whom some sense of identity becomes a necessity. The process of the growth of an ethnic identity must be viewed as a process whereby social actors carve an identity within a blank space and 'colonise' those others who, like them, have been denied an existence except in relation to something else - in the case of the Gibraltarian 'native' this was in relation to the Garrison establishment. Looked at in this way the original distinction I made becomes illusory and for many social actors *Llanito* becomes ascriptive in the same way that 'native' was.

In many senses *Llanito* identity is still inchoate and up for grabs, its essential core is still in the process of being defined (the mystificatory nature of all so-called nationalist ontologies is well known). As I have already suggested an event that is given some prominence in discussion of the 'birth' of Gibraltarian identity was the publication of Howes' study *The Gibraltarian* in 1951. Such an assertion, I would argue, is false. It represents the modelling of an historical genealogy that will give credence to a currentist *Llanito*ism. Although it represents the logical starting point for such a crusade it is a warped logic. Howes' work is the last gasp and finest statement of the 'native' phase of British rule. Nowhere is this clearer than in his introduction where he makes it plain that his book is an attempt to establish the humanity of the Gibraltarian civil population and not to create a new nation. This could be a District Officer talking fondly about his 'Africans' for whom, after years administering them, he had developed a grudging affection incongruent with the anonymity of the category 'native' - an interchangeable category that does not confer identity. Looking at Howes himself this becomes clearer. The book was written after he had served in Gibraltar as Director of Education in the Colonial Department and was finally published in Colombo, in what was then still Ceylon. Its contemporary impact on the bulk of the civilian population he describes must have been minimal. The second coming of the book was its

republication more recently by the Gibraltar publishers MedSun. By this point the stage was set for the debate on Llanito identity and the book 'universally' acknowledged as the bedrock for the cause. Many writers on nationalism (for example, Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1983) recognise the importance of publishing and literacy.

Here is another small example. MedSun have also published a work which must be regarded as a watershed in Gibraltar nationalism, if we are to set the discussion in relation to more general debate on the topic. Manuel Cavilla, OBE, published in weekly instalments for the paper *Panorama* his Llanito wordlist. It proved popular enough to merit collation and was published in 1978 as the *Diccionario Yanito* (Cavilla, 1978). All this strongly recalls the vast lexicographical labours described by Donald Horne (1984) in *The Great Museum*. The powerful role played by language in forging identity finds its echoes in 1984. Here is the Gibraltar journalist Christopher Pitaluga:

What will really establish the language at least socially and culturally is obviously literature. Someone, somewhere must *write* in Gibraltar. That at least may make us take it seriously and prevent one aspect of our uniqueness from being swamped by any further political changes (writing in the weekly, *Panorama*, 22/10/84).

But what is this worried note creeping in? Are people not taking being Gibraltar seriously? Testing out words at random from Cavilla's dictionary on young Gibraltarians I found that very few of them understood the meanings of the words and had not heard the expressions previously.



Figure 25: Main Street, York, St. Michael

Gibraltarian Culture and Language

When Pitaluga refers to 'our uniqueness' what does he mean? There is no disputing that the *Canito* dialect is one aspect. For some there is a distinct pride taken in it. This is especially clear in relation to 'official' Castilian Spanish. 'We do not speak Castilian, that is not our language.' Is a common response. That then is not the spoken uniqueness of the Gibraltarian, it is not bilinguality that represents the resource - although it must certainly be regarded as such - but the distinctiveness of the dialect. As Pitaluga laments, its written expression is through the medium of Castilian, but like the Andaluz dialect to which it is closely related, its oral expression distinguishes it from Castilian. Cavilla himself sees the distinctiveness

strongly in relation to the constitution historically of the Gibraltarian civil population. One of the features that serves to separate it from the regional dialects of the Campo region is the strong Italian component:

Early in the nineteenth century the Italian immigrants who had established their homes in Gibraltar were so numerous that they came to constitute more than half the population. The point was reached when public ordinances, major and minor, were published in both Italian and English. Over the first two decades of the century the dialect spoken by these Italian immigrants, in the most part from Liguria, came to serve as the common language of the population (Cavilla,1978: 3-4).

There is, however, some confusion over such matters. The *Gibraltar Directory* of 1948 notes - in its historical survey of the Rock - that in 1741, in an effort to preserve silver coinage on the Rock certain steps were taken. The order, it is noted, was 'translated into Spanish and copies in Spanish and English put up in the most public places of the town'(p.106). Certainly this could predate the arrival of the Italian migrants, but the assumption that Spanish should at this early stage be the second language on the Rock is in itself not self-explanatory given that the Spanish inhabitants of the Rock fled after it was originally taken.

Nevertheless, these various traces can be found in some of the words which are unique to the Yañito dialect. In the case of Italian this is evident in words derived from the Italian which bear no similarity to their Spanish counterparts:

- * *tana*, (Spanish) *Escondrijo*, (Italian) *Tana*

- * *tapete*, (Spanish) *Alfombra*, (Italian) *Tappeto*

- * *pillar*, (Spanish) *Atropellar*, (Italian) *Pillare*

- * *picar*, (Spanish) *Llamar a la puerta*, (Italian) *Picchiare*

But it is not only Italian words which have been absorbed into the lexicon of Yañito dialect. Many words are Hebrew in origin:

* *bizims*, (Spanish) *Huevos, valor, cuajo*, (Hebrew) *B'zims*

* *ha ham*, (Spanish) *Sabio*, (Hebrew) *Ha ham*

The large number of words that are derived from English are little more than the English pronounced as if it were Spanish. Thus ginger beer becomes *chinchibia* and so forth. Some words, however, have been adapted: a pension becomes *penshi* or periwinkle becomes *periwinki*. There are also Arabic derived words some of which are traceable specifically to Moroccan dialectal Arabic and which are not part of the Spanish lexicon (naturally, Spanish contains a large number of Arabic words. A fact deriving from the Arab occupation of the Iberian peninsula). The *Llanito* expression *majandush*, someone who has little or nothing has its counterpart in Castilian. Both derive from the Arabic, **معندش**, he has nothing. The *Yañito* word *bicef*, however, has no equivalent in Castilian and derives from an expression which is unique to Moroccan dialectal Arabic, **بزاف**, meaning many. It would of course require more detailed research in order to be certain that this particular expression is not of recent introduction. Such linguistic details tell us about the diversity of the population in its origins, but we cannot say very much more on the basis of such evidence, but the point must be made that it would be a very shaky starting point. As Cavilla's remarks make all too clear the dialect has undergone rapid change. Even its metamorphosis from 'Italian' into a dialect of Castilian must be regarded as swift. The fact that young Gibraltarians have little grasp of these words indicates that the situation is still one of flux. So we must go on to look at other factors which are used as elements in the construction of Gibraltarian identity and culture.

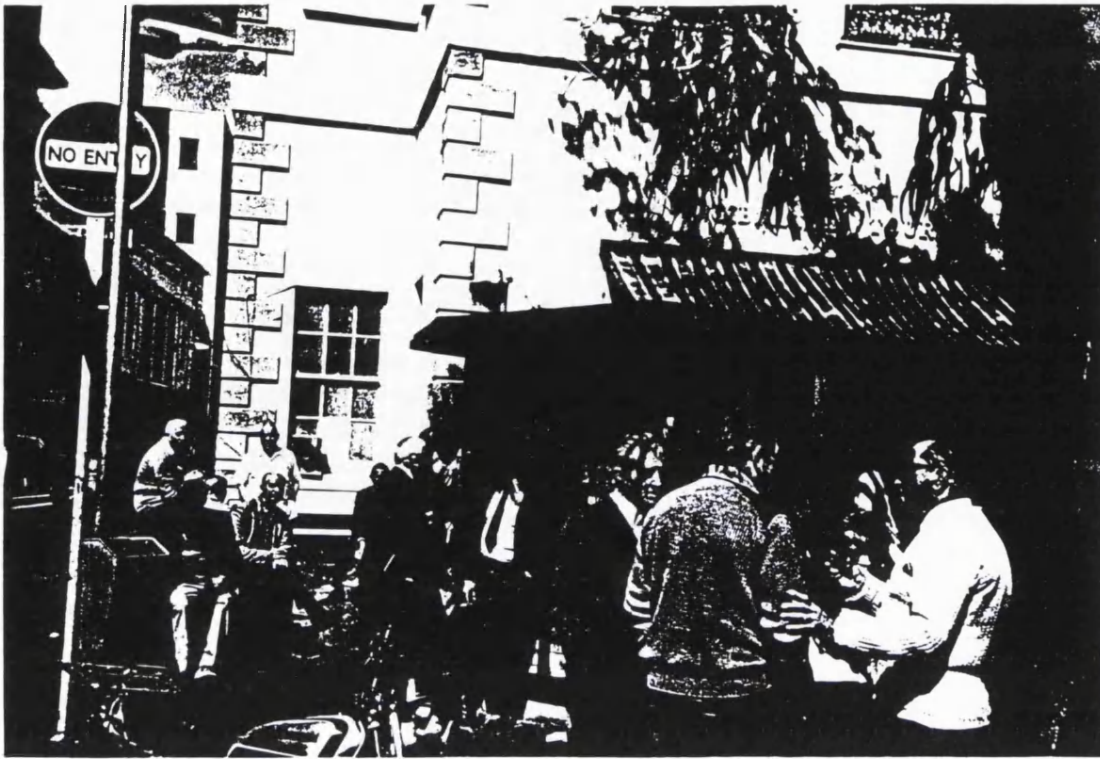


Figure 26: Main Street, Discussion

Whilst one would not wish to place too heavy an onus on this linguistic evidence, the mere fact that a place has opened up in which Gibraltarian culture can be recognised is important (in the sense that these words have presumably existed for some time). That in itself is a political act and it is around this question of recognition that many important questions hinge. A space for the recognition of Gibraltarian culture has been created with the decay of the military grip as the determinant facet of life in Gibraltar; a factor which has overshadowed the class differentiation which has taken place within the civilian population. A transfer of power is in the process of being affected. The claims for a unilateral Gibraltarian culture and identity mask the fact that this transfer of power is not between the British military establishment and the civilian population as a whole but, rather, between certain segments of the Gibraltarian population who have enriched themselves in the shadow of the garrison and who now hold important posts within the Gibraltar House of Assembly. This is a contentious statement and represents a more confused reality, but it is the crux of the

contradictory nature of *Canito* identity as it is currently expressed. This alliance of wealth with power is a slow process, but, not surprisingly, its chronology parallels that of the transformation from 'native' into Briton. In reality many Gibraltarians are still in the grips of what Erving Goffman (1968) described as a 'total institution'¹⁷. The army, an archetype of the concept, subsumed a large portion of the civilian population, but the exact nature of this subsumption is nuanced by the fact that while the 'native' was portrayed as the antithesis of discipline and all other virtues which composed British identity, they were still influenced by residual 'cultural' factors of army life, factors that are identical to Britishness. This is a point which will be elaborated in Chapter 3 where the concept of a military Gibraltar is explored.



Figure 27: Irish Town

¹⁷Goffman (1968) develops this concept in his book *Asylums*. I shall return to this point in the next chapter. The parallel was drawn to my attention by Prof. Bruce Kapferer to whom I am grateful.

The First and Last Siege

The suddenness with which the border closed had deep repercussions. It was not simply a question of making up the labour deficit. It could also be said that it was, for the Gibraltar civil population, one of the most significant events in recent history. In a real sense it was the first siege that targeted the civilian population. It was the moment to make certain choices. Past strategies for the defence of the Rock tended to emphasise removing the civilian population to a safe distance but, in this instance, it would not only have been impracticable but also have represented a capitulation to the Spanish pressure - during the Second World War many Gibraltar youngsters had been sent away to Morocco prior to Vichy control and even as far as Jamaica. If ever they were to forge a specific historic identity and corporateness it was the moment. It is in this light that we must judge the unprecedented levels of hostility generated by the 'Doves' in the late 1960s⁴⁸. Their anti-British, anti-colonial stance was a direct refutation of Gibraltarian identity at a time when it was most seriously in question.

There was very little that could be done about the Spanish moves, but the traitors at home could be combatted with the blind fury that the border closure had generated against the Spanish government and, as we shall see, contradictorily, the Spanish people. In order to understand the hostility it must be appreciated that closure of the border hit at the heart of one of Gibraltar's most sacred institutions: the family. Not so much the families of the ruling commercial, professional elites, whose cosmopolitan interests had long crossed frontiers - not only into Spain, but to Britain itself - but rather the true *Llanito*. Closure of the frontier generated an absolute

⁴⁸This was a group who supported the idea of drawing closer to Spanish positions on the Rock. Their views resulted in a day of rioting during which their property was singled out as targets for this alleged betrayal of communal values. See Martens (1987) for a more detailed account of their activities.

opposition between us and them, but such an opposition was illusory. The way in which it was manipulated by Joshua Hassan's political regime gave a lie to the fact that often there was very little to distinguish the Gibraltarian working class from its poorer cousins in La Linea and the surrounding Campo region. While this has not been his objective, one Gibraltarian writer, Chipalino⁴⁹, makes this point clearly in his writings. As he puts it there was traditionally a certain amount of snobbery in La Linea based on the degree of affinal relatedness with the *Llanito* population. While this was bound to have certain objective economic consequences in an area of Spain that has for a long time been neglected by the Spanish regime based in Madrid. An area that had traditionally furnished labour not only for Gibraltar but internally within Spain for construction industries in the north in larger cities such as Barcelona and Madrid - the industrial investment programmes for the Algeciras region, lovingly termed the *Costa del Boveril* by some wags on the Rock, postdates the closure of the frontier. It was also a reflection of the tendency of certain segments of the Gibraltarian population to practice exogamy. La Linea was a source of wives. To the predominantly Catholic Spanish-speaking, working-class *Llanito* this does not seem unnatural. The choice to ally with the Protestant English-speaking identity prototype offered by Britishness is a much more unlikely outcome. Thus it was that when the frontier was closed whole families were separated from each other with communication limited to letters which would travel via London and shouted conversations across the no-man's land at the frontier. The absence of people to sweep the streets and difficulties that initially occurred in even the most basic of provisioning - stories circulate concerning these days and the blackmarket that existed even in basic commodities such as toilet paper - were nothing when compared with this inhuman assault on the family. It was this event more than any other that formalised the equation of the British and civilisation

⁴⁹Chipalino's work appeared in a series of articles published in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* in the late 1970s.

and explain its pervasive impact on the Gibraltarians, their politics and worldview - points developed in Chapter 3.

Gibraltarian Identity, 1987

By 1987, with Spain now a member of the EEC and the frontier open, the major inconveniences of isolation from the mainland were over. Gibraltarians had been subject to minor irritations such as go slows by the Spanish customs officials at the weekends. These could result in massive tailbacks of traffic on both sides of the frontier, but for those on foot the border crossing was straightforward. It was in 1987 that an official version of Gibraltarian identity was proposed in a statement from a mixed delegation from the House of Assembly visiting the European Parliament in September 1987. It is worth quoting at some length:

Gibraltar, although the smallest territory in the community, is keenly European in its attitudes... Gibraltar has a strong and flourishing Branch of the European movement of which all the elected members of the legislature are members... Gibraltarian representatives have attended a meeting of the Union of European Federalists. Gibraltar has an ancient shrine dedicated to Our Lady of Europe and Europe Day is celebrated annually, with guest speakers invited from abroad.

Gibraltar's strong sense of Europeanism perhaps derives, in part, from the nature of its population and, in part, from its geographical location.

The population of Gibraltar, now numbering some 30,000 of who about 20,000 are Gibraltarians, has developed over the centuries from a mixture of British, Genoese, Spaniards, Portuguese and Maltese. Thus, while we have a very strong sense of our separate identity as a people, distinct both from Britain and Spain, that identity has grown out of a mixture of nationalities.⁵⁰

Essentially the communique is keen to distance itself from any Spanish

⁵⁰The text was quoted in full in the weekly *Vox*, September 19th, 1987.

claims to the Rock based on notions of territorial sovereignty, now it is the 'democratically and freely expressed wishes of a people' which must be taken into account.

Claims that had been made by certain sections of the Gibraltarian labour movement with regards to Gibraltar being effectively a colony - voiced especially strongly in the early seventies, these hark back to the Huart and Berlotti type remarks heard in 1921 - had also been dropped in the face of Spanish pressures:

Anyone who has visited Gibraltar will know that it is not a colony in the sense that it requires liberation from oppressive British rule by the neighbouring Spanish State. Gibraltar is a flourishing community which enjoys all the rights and freedoms of the European Convention on Human Rights and is, for all practical purposes internally self-governing.

This particular claim was thrown into some confusion at exactly this time by reports which surfaced in *The Sunday Mirror* at the end of August of that year. There it was claimed that contingency plans had been considered to airlift UK riot police to Gibraltar should the strike at Gibrepair continue. Hassan, the Chief Minister, claimed not to have been consulted over the issue, but there was certain scepticism voiced concerning his professed ignorance over the situation⁵¹. Perhaps the biggest omission is the Jewish presence, but the desire to play this down might have been related to the terms laid out originally in the original Treaty of Utrecht⁵².

The complicated nature of the various options was put to a poll at this time⁵³. The options offered in the poll, however, were straightforward

⁵¹In, for example, the weekly, *Panorama*, September 14th, 1987.

⁵²Under the conditions of which 'aliens' such as Jews were forbidden residence rights.

⁵³The range of possible solutions are outlined by Martens (1986) in her discussion of the political constellation in Gibraltar in the early seventies. For the fullest statement of this and an account actually endorsed by Joe Bossano, Chief Minister in the Gibraltar Government, see Morris, D.S. and Haigh, R.H. (1992).

enough: should the Rock remain British, be ceded back to Spain or become 'Gibraltarian'? The answer too was fairly clear-cut: 62 per cent of Gibraltarians wished the Rock to remain British, while 37.5 per cent plumped for the Gibraltarian option, with a tiny minority of dissenters going for the Spanish option⁵⁴. Sadly, as the author of the report states, the two most popular options are not really options at all. The British government has never accepted the principle of integration with Britain, 'indeed', he writes, 'their attitude has over the years has been to hang on to the Rock because of its strategic value and because of political consideration for British public opinion'. The Gibraltarian Rock scenario is the most unlikely of all the options because of the Treaty of Utrecht and given Spanish hostility towards developments within her own autonomous regions. Naturally this leaves the situation at something of a stalemate but it also demonstrates the failure of Joshua Hassan, the then Chief Minister in the Gibraltar Government, who, despite his own alleged preference for the Gibraltarian option, had in his forty years in politics 'never shown any attempt even to start to achieve the once AACR aim of "the right to our land"'. This particular writer feels that the poll result would be reflected in the next election, as indeed it was by the election of the GSLP and its leader Joe Bossano in 1988, but there is still some room to dispute the contention that: 'In many respects the polls show up that little has fundamentally changed in practical politics in Gibraltar since the Referendum was held over a quarter of a century ago'.

An alternative sentiment was expressed in a letter written by Fanny Serruya and published in *Panorama* after the Gibraltar contingent had returned from their 'snubbing', as much of the local press saw it, by both British and Spanish representatives at Strasbourg. It is also worth quoting at some length because it represents a new turn of thought:

In his interview on TV with Sir Joshua Hassan and Mr Joe Bossano on the 18th September 1987, Clive Golt, obsessed by

⁵⁴These figures were reported in the weekly newspaper, *The Democrat*, 14/9/87.

the famous Gibraltarian identity and the famous sense of its own importance, tried feverishly to extract from the two leaders, the admission that Gibraltar had been humiliated in Strasbourg. They tactfully and sometimes very painfully tried to avoid the subject.

In my view "humility" would be a word more suited to the insignificance of Gibraltar, geographically and otherwise. Gibraltar is a wee territory of 25,000 inhabitants with no particular merits as opposed to two great European nations, England and Spain... [...] Let us not forget the fact and learn a lesson of humility (Serruya, 1987).

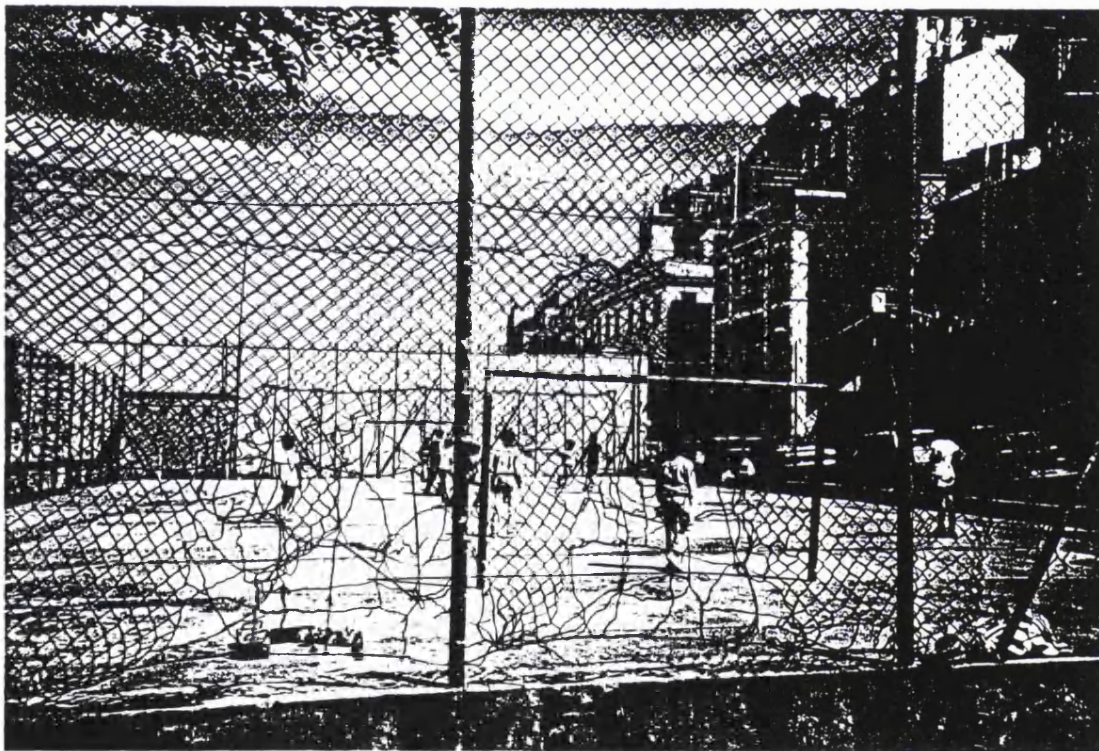


Figure 28: Children playing

Fanny Serruya's comments put in some perspective the demands of the Gibraltarian population. As I have suggested, the Gibraltarian is a recent creation in its present form. What has been created reflects the complex historical forces which have been at play. The Gibraltarian is the creation of a new world order. That is to say, the decay of the economic strength of the British Empire. In this short section I simply wish to illustrate a number of indicative factors which contributed to Gibraltarian identity in the 1980s. In part, this is to correct the view that I might have given that the Gibraltarians are simply determined by the fact of the relationship with Britain. As with Homi Bhabha's (1994) complex picture of the colonised subject, so the coloniser too has a complex determination⁵⁵.

Here I shall discuss seemingly small cultural issues which are indicative of the Gibraltarian character. As the section heading indicates, these matters coalesce around the jingoistic motto faith, hope and charity. Stewart (1967) wrote of the 1950s on the Rock that, "The scale and persistence of public charity in Gibraltar is Roman, almost oriental(p.167). The extent of such charity he traced back into the Rock's past:

⁵⁵In response to work detailing the complex hybridity of the colonial subject, Bhabha in particular, some literary critics are calling for a more nuanced approach to the colonizing subject. David Trotter (1990) provides an interesting case. He gives us the example of G.F.G. Masterman, an Edwardian journalist and liberal politician, who recognised in the institutions grouped around a London suburb - prison, workhouse, fever hospital, lunatic asylum - a principle which could be identified abroad:

From the turnip fields of Tooting I apprehended the British Empire and something of its meaning: why we always conquered and never assimilated our conquests; why we were so just and unloved![...] For the spirit of Empire - clean, efficient, austere, intolerably just - is the spirit which has banished to these forgotten barrack-prisons and behind high walls the helpless young and the helpless old, the maimed, the restless and the dead (Quoted by Trotter, 1990: 6).

In 1829, to celebrate the end of yet another epidemic, they [local merchants] raised \$27,000 Spanish, 'for relief of the poor encamped on the Neutral Ground'. The King of Spain gave 10,000 fanegas of his wheat [...] In 1865 they set up soup kitchens. In 1901, to celebrate a visit by the Duke and Duchess of York the Chamber of Commerce felt it wise to give to the poor of Gibraltar 1,000 pounds of meat and 2,000 pounds of bread. A year later, to celebrate the coronation of Edward VII, Messrs. Bland and Co. went it alone and distributed 3,000 lb of beef, 6,000 lb of potatoes and 6,000 lb. of bread (p.168).

Such demonstrations of largesse continued and Stewart cynically remarks that in this fashion the wealthy merchants of the town 'saved their souls, stalled off taxation, and got their money back as well' (p.168). A meeting of the Sanitary Commissioners -mostly local merchants and lawyers- were able to inform the Governor that a Poor Law was not needed in Gibraltar. In the same year, 1829, the Emergency Food Supply Committee which had been issuing food was discontinued. Stewart notes that it went on record that 'so obvious and dire was the need, [that] some grocers continued the issue of cheap food at there own expense (p.169). Somewhat surprisingly it was the army which eventually sponsored the provision of public amenities despite the wealthy of Gibraltar's 'long rearguard action against such public enterprise and expenditure' (p.170).

Naturally things have changed since Stewart wrote. Some aspects, however, remain similar; Gibraltar's collective response to the famine in Ethiopia in the mid-1980s indicated a throwback to the Victoriana often invoked by Stewart. The ladies of the *garrison* still stalk Main Street on every possible occasion forcing the innocent passer-by into the street in their efforts to elicit charity. Recent appeals in Gibraltar have recorded pro capita records for Europe as a whole (Martens, 1987). Closer examination, however, suggests some change. In the nineteenth century the wives of Governors were not adverse to holding knitting parties for ladies of the *garrison* where underwear would be manufactured for the poor and needy of the Rock. But this was not abnormal at the time. As Prochaska (1988)

has written, 'At the heart of female culture in the nineteenth century, sewing was crucial to women's philanthropy' (p.48). Nowadays the charitable impulse is more widely diffused. Charity requires generosity, as a writer on the subject such as Prochaska himself admits, but it is not as simple as mere generosity. Charity, as he observes, the impulse to organise oneself and one's neighbours in a cause 'is one of Britain's most distinctive traditions' (p. 6). Prochaska goes on to note that 'in the 19th century charitable work served as a principle occupation of bored middle-class women'(p.10). In Gibraltar, charity has its roots in this same boredom but now, however, the Gibraltarian is no mere spectator, but an active participant in all this; no longer resentfully puzzling over the irony of reviving flagging donkeys, but part of the spectacle⁵⁶. This giving, in some mysterious way, validating their identity globally, providing it with substance.

We must, however, regard the giving as even more complex than this brief exploration would indicate. Empire, rather than simple class division comes into play. Acts of public charity directed to the causes of Empire listed in the *Gibraltar Directory* for 1948 are as follows:

26th Oct 1857 - £670 raised for the sufferers^{ar} of the Indian Mutiny.

The Queen Victoria Memorial, the bust by Italian sculptor Lazzarini, was erected by public subscription in 1910.

18th January 1936 - an appeal was made on behalf of the Quetta Earthquake Fund. £700 was obtained.

⁵⁶This is not to be flippant. The RSPCA were represented in Gibraltar long before the Gibraltarian crossed the threshold from 'native' status. Animal welfare and charitable works have dual links with the world of Empire.

Constant public subscriptions are listed: Belgian Flag Day, the British Merchant Marine and so-on.

Many institutions were founded on the basis of private bequests. St John of God's Orphanage for boys was founded in 1889 on the basis of money left by Joseph Benso: 'It is kept up by voluntary subscriptions and amounts collected by the Brothers of this Religious Order, who go begging through the town' (Gib. Dir., 1948: 63). Gavino's Asylum was founded in 1950 by the Trustees of the late Juan Gavino of Gibraltar 'who devised all his large property for charitable institutions (ibid, p.64). The Sailor's Home in Engineer Lane was opened in 1871, 'supported by voluntary contributions' (ibid).

Prochaska takes an open view on charity and sees it in general terms as helpful simply to view it as kindness. Referring to the nineteenth century he suggests:

With few restrictions placed on charitable enterprise, it may be seen as the human face of capitalism, addressing the social and individual ills which capitalism often created or exacerbated. Competition for sinners and distress was a feature of nineteenth-century philanthropy. And, in a society splintered by class, religious and local allegiances, charities proliferated and competed (Prochaska, 1988: 24).

While such a position might well be dismissed in the Gibraltar context, as it was by Stewart, there is something of some merit in Prochaska's observation:

Arguably the most important theme running through the history of philanthropy is the desire of the charitable to protect and to elevate the family and to extend the blessings of an idealised home life into the wider community (1988: 27).

Following this notion we might see the current Gibraltarian emphasis on charity and the family as part and parcel of a reaction to their dependent status in the context of nineteenth century Gibraltar and the British Empire. The British offered charity in the Gibraltarian context, but they had family - of breeding, class and extended genealogy - while the 'natives'

had none, in the eyes of the colonizers. Perhaps the modern emphasis on the family is something of a chimera. The 'typical' Mediterranean family in the Gibraltar case stems from the need to 'create' an 'imagined community' of common lineage in mimicry of the British.

This can be explored in relation to two areas:

1) Aspects of Gibraltar remain somehow preserved in time, be it Victorian or whatever. This is something which comes over very strongly from Stewart's (1967) accounts of the hotels in the 1950s. On his arrival he suggested that the decor of the hotel in which he first stayed made him feel that he had travelled far, 'not only in distance...but also in time' (p.11). Indeed, in the 1980s, the feeling was still there, although diluted.

2) Certain Gibraltarians, historically, have shown a tendency towards mimicry of things British. Stewart and Martens have commented extensively on this fact in the realm of fashion:

Sartorially, he is impeccably British, will buy nothing but British cloth and shoes, and used to go - three men out of four - in the dark double breasted blazer and flannel trousers which form the off-duty uniform of the Royal Navy (Stewart, 1967: 69).

This choice of dress codes is echoed in the detailed knowledge of military life and performance which is the average inheritance of many Gibraltarians. As Martens (1987) suggests:

Gibraltarians are well informed about regimental uniform differences as well as the differences in band performance styles and competence in the marching, speed, and patterns specific to each particular regiment. The status of such things as general knowledge amongst Gibraltarians illustrates the way in which British military performance is incorporated into the rhythms of the local community (p.181).

Stewart puts his finger on these questions when he describes his initial encounter with a certain class of Gibraltarian: 'The English was what I

would call 'babu', as used by the book educated Hindus. It is 'anglo-English', more English than the English themselves...' (p.5). This is very much the Gibraltarian as Babu, 'More British than the British' and it calls to mind very strongly the comments of Nandy (1988) to the effect that the only true Englishmen left in the world are to be found in India (p.35).

Does this identity not have its roots in alienation? Some clues can be gleaned from Gilbert Adair's (1986) comments on the place of the Barnardo boy in Victorian society:

...the social specificity of a nineteenth-century orphan was contingent upon an uncompromisingly normative conception of society, from which he [the Barnardo Boy] was therefore - if in this manner alone - not alienated, since he had been assigned a codified place within it, however luckless (p.95).

Orphans, like natives, had a part written for them in Victorian social life, but while the former have now 'lost' their status in Adair's words, the latter are taking on a new role compounded, however, of elements of the old definitions combined with an outsiders view of Britishness. The pride in giving takes them back to the rigid coda of the days when they were natives too and need not have dealings with far-flung spots such as Ethiopia.

Hope on the Rock is childish and there is a special savour to the Gibraltarians as they try to justify their existence in the world, without realising the odds which are stacked against them. This hope is best seen in the Miss Gibraltar competition. The pages of *The Gibraltar Chronicle* are given over to photos of all the competitors arranged in their bathing costumes - provocatively high-cut, but evoking no comment in this censorious place. Miss Gibraltar is not about sex, just as the eight-year old girls fawning in Catalan Bay in the self-same costumes emphasise virginity, but utilise an idiom which in other contexts would be construed as sexuality. For a week the people of Gibraltar can focus upon themselves in their most alluring guise - our women. In a small community such as this everybody is part of the contest and fictive kinship spreads through the

Rock like convolvulus; if not distantly related, then linked by common schooling, the same workplace or the mere fact of having seen a contestant in the street. Fuelled by this orgy of *communitas* the Gibraltarian is ready to stand against the world and the competition's eventual winner is dispatched to London to take part in the Miss World event. Gibraltar's womanhood stands the equal to that of all the nations of the world. Back on the Rock the papers follow the girl's every move: she is sharing a room with Miss Spain, has talked to Miss Mexico, is well liked by the other contestants because of her out-going friendly nature. In short she is Gibraltar. On her return the interest continues for the year of her reign, at the end of which she is suddenly dropped and becomes the secretary she once was and everything seems like a dream. In Gibraltar people have their fifteen minutes over and over again, but by this very fact it becomes unreal or else there is a touch of the home video to everything, lives governed by the family photo album. By the usual canons adopted in such contests many of the girls stand no chance of winning, but still they strut the catwalk in their skimpy swim wear, encouraged by nearest and dearest and in the end it's the taking part which counts.

All the more surprising, given its apparent role in the community, comes the news that the Miss Gibraltar competition is a relatively recent arrival to the Rock and was initially devised by a young Liverpoolian entrepreneur, the Baron (who in 1987 was rumoured to be languishing in a German jail on drug smuggling charges). Something about the show hit a nerve and for a decade it was an important feature of the seige world. With the reopening of the border I detect that it has had its day and more serious matters are impinging from the outside world. Increasingly now there are difficulties getting enough girls to sign up for the event.

Perhaps this seige world, with events such as the Miss Gibraltar has effectively seen off the *babu*-type Gibraltarian. Their's was not an invented identity or tradition such as those postulated by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) or Samuel (1989). They did not see anything odd in their appropriation of the dominant signifiers of British status, the blazers, the

up-right bearing; they could not reconcile themselves with the laughter in the voice of a commentator such as Stewart. But now, in any case, there are fewer and fewer of them. They were frozen in a museum for the years of the seige, but they grew older. Now they occasionally don their blazers to visit the restaurant at the Monoprix supermarket in Spain on a Sunday. But such a sight is somehow pitiful. These visits cannot regenerate the very sense of identity which subjugation to hierarchy gave, the very strength of the British presence, the rigidity of the military gave substance to their identity. Now there is no spine to the British presence, there are too many of the home country's ordinary products to maintain these illusions and even the military is slowly but surely quitting.

Very few of the young will tread this path, the fading traces of which are being covered by the bombardment of television waves from across the border (a rather superior product to the output of the Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation, if in Spanish). Youngsters are in thrall to the less parochial call of international youth culture in its various guises - although it has the allure of its own parochialism here, as it would in a small west-country market town (or across the border in La Linea). Theories of consumption no longer point to the specific make-up of the Gibraltarian psyche in the twentieth-century form, but the old memories live on in some heads: the tearooms, the 'bull', the bands, the regimental codes, pre-modern types when there were such things as certainties.

The British way of life or an abstraction called the British way of life is as prevalent as ever, but underneath there are other rustlings. Tinned *callos* (tripe) from Spain were allowed to be imported into Gibraltar for Christmas 1987. The Chief Environmental Officer, Alex Almeda, has been 'under considerable pressure from housewives campaigning for pork reform', reported the Chronicle. So what has this faith now become? How have the system of features which it describes been transformed and disturbed by changes in the world outside Gibraltar?



Figure 29: Dockyards Workshops and Waterfront, Gibraltar.



Figure 30: Dockyards Workshops and Waterfront, Gibraltar (1987)

Overview

In this chapter the birth of the Gibraltarian, the inhabitant of the Rock recognised by modern history, has been analysed. Attention has been paid to the historical relations with the Mediterranean region in general and the historical Moors in particular. This strategy has been necessary in order to re-introduce the influence of the southern Mediterranean, and Morocco in particular, on the development of Gibraltar in various guises. As in Chapter 1 a variety of sources have been utilised. In many cases it has been possible to read a tone which is very close to that of the voices cited in Chapter 1. This is no accident as it links to the world view of the Victorian period which divided space in a very strict fashion. Gibraltar actually gives us an insight into the dissolution of this world view. In Chapter 3, I shall consolidate various histories which have been eclipsed by the birth of the modern Gibraltarian, an exercise that will add to our understanding of this process.

Chapter 3

Military Rock: heirs of Empire

...it was decided in 1830 to classify Gibraltar as a colony and give it a colonial administration under the Governor. So as to make it clear, however, that it was still primarily a fortress, and to ensure that military requirements took precedence over civilian interests, it was laid down that the Governor should always be a serving soldier (Ebsworth, 1952: 109).

A man one degree removed from idiocy... may make a distinguished soldier (Thackeray, quoted by Dixon, 1976: 173).

This garrison is one of the strictest in the world (Ford, 1845 [1966]: 508).

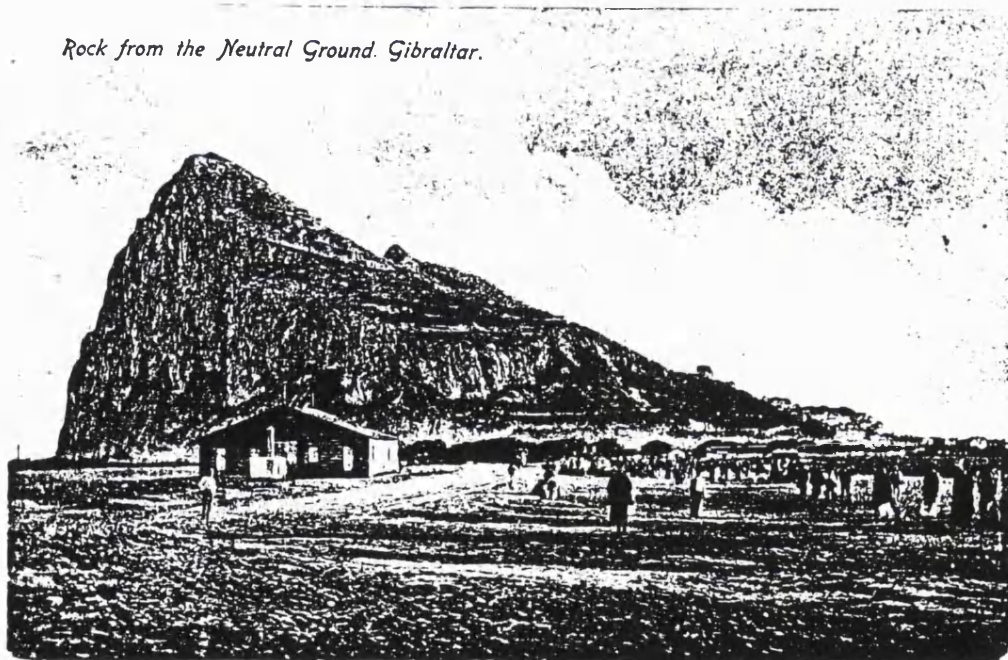


Figure 31: Rock from the Neutral Ground, Gibraltar

Introduction

In this chapter I shall consider a number of related themes. The first of these is that of the military; a subject which immediately conjures up notions of Empire in the British context. Empire is an ambivalent entity and in Gibraltar we can observe something of the complexity which it carries. Many travel writers have seen in Spain a version of a 'premodern' world - one antithetical to the trials of war. Imbued since birth with notions of Gibraltar's great glory, they have been doubly horrified when visiting the place in person and expectations have given rise to disappointment. The 'natural' qualities of Spain being posed against the military atmosphere of Gibraltar's Garrison where, as Richard Ford noted in 1845, 'Civilisation and barbarism clash' (p.512). This history has left telling marks across the Rock. The traces can now be read from the lives of migrant British workers who have arrived since the closure of the frontier, living out the twilight of Empire on the Rock. The heart of the dilemma of Empire is the ambivalent value of military affairs. The glorious military history of Gibraltar, composed of dramatic sieges and naval battles, that makes its way back into school books and the curricula of Empire, is a far more complex entity than we might expect. Building on this insight, it is possible to look at Gibraltar in the light of Erving Goffman's (1969) work on 'total institutions', and attempt to follow the appearance of elements of 'institutional life' which filter through from historical military dominance to the very patterns of daily life of the civilian population in their own individual pursuits of 'Britishness'. Ironically, the original 'other' to the brooding presence of the Rock is precisely the 'Orientalised' Spain which both military and civilian regard as 'primitive' and 'other'. This is the second area to which I turn in this chapter. While Gibraltar is frequently described as an island and the Gibraltarians can give the

impression that Spain doesn't exist, this is not the case. When a seige is not in progress the connections between Gibraltar and the Campo region can be extensive; with La Linea serving as a dormitory town for the Rock's labour and the surrounding countryside as the natural domain of the Royal Calpe Hunt and the riders, both Spanish and English, who have ridden to hound. The chapter ends with an ethnographic description from La Linea which suggests that while we attempt to unravel the past, new forces are already making a considerable impact.

3.1 Empire's Last Straw: a strange survival in an age of abandonment

A Canadian tourist arrived in Gibraltar, booked into his hotel room and was later found dead. This was the early 1970s. Gibraltar was still suffering under the yoke of the latest seige imposed by Franco in his efforts to wring concessions from the British government regarding the status of the Rock. Naturally there was an inquest where it was announced that among the evidence was a suicide note. The man in question, it was revealed, had listed a number of misfortunes he had suffered in his life - enough, perhaps, to account for his suicide. But the magistrate seemed puzzled by one section of the note, the Canadian added that Gibraltar had been the last straw; he had been driven to do what he did by ending up in Gibraltar. What, the magistrate asked, could he have meant? Unable to figure the strange reaction of the foreigner, the usual verdict was recorded for suicide and the doubt, at least juridically, put to rest.

Gerald Brenan (1957) quipped that Spain became modern when Barcelona witnessed its first trunk murder in the 1920s, prior to this it occupied another time. It was only with the arrival of this new form of death, previously only ever heard of in tales of America where corpses regularly appeared unannounced in trunks and similar receptacles, that Spain joined the modern. While many anthropologists would now refute this position

and argue that it smacks of the colonial arrogance anthropology adopted in Africa and other places - an anthropology which denied to its subjects any notion of coevalness (Fabien, 1983) - the arguments involved appear to me to be more complicated than they seem at face value. One of the first foreign ethnographers of Spain, Julian Pitt-Rivers, attempted to adapt Evans-Pritchard to Andalusia and in doing so created that classic of early European ethnography *The People of the Sierra* (1954). I shall not replay the debates surrounding such recent critical reformulations of European ethnography - notably in the Mediterranean region⁵⁷ - but I do want to pick up the theme of time, and a period when people took responsibility for enforcing their own moral codes and regimes, in the form of what Pitt-Rivers calls the *vito* (Pitt-Rivers, 1954: 170).

Corbin (1989) notes that Pitt-Rivers has been wrongly accused of viewing village society in Alcalá as archaic, but Corbin himself argues for a more nuanced view: 'The myth of primitive Spain is thus a negative version of the myth of modernity' (p.17). Even at the time of his fieldwork, however, Pitt-Rivers suggests that the *vito* was a thing of the past, outlawed in official discourse, but bursting through occasionally due to the weakness of central state power and the ineffectual nature of the Civil Guard, stretched to their limits in rural Spain. His descriptions, it is true, hint at what once was, an aspect of another time ruled by the brash crudity of the people's verdict. A time of organic, natural living. It was this that attracted the

⁵⁷This is of course an extensive set of debates. Indicative of the general tenor of such issues is the series of responses to Llobera's (1986) provocative article in *Critique of Anthropology*. See issues VII: 1-2. For a more Hellenic perspective, see the arguments of Hertzfeld (1987): 'This assumption of local archaism with the modern nation-state belongs to a long, Eurocentric tradition' (p.9). Hertzfeld's contention is an important one, rather than seeing the honour and shame complex often invoked in the past by anthropologists, he suggests this is in fact an importation - Mediterranean 'pudicity' (p.11) owing more to the colonising great powers and their ideological structures of Empire (that is to say, for example, the classic structures of Victorian morality as laid down by the builders of Empire). This could be linked to my comments on the family in Gibraltar in section 2.6.

likes of Gerald Brenan or Norman Lewis⁵⁸ to Spain. Brenan was fleeing the memories of the first modern war - as was Robert Graves - to another part of the Mediterranean which seems almost a leitmotif of much modernism in exile in this period⁵⁹ - with its sheer waste and incomprehensibility. The small-scale nature of Spanish village life was a foil to this displeasure. Here lay innocence, here lay truth - even if it was the harsh truth of the *vito*:

The vito is an outburst of aggressive ridicule on the part of the anonymous pueblo against one who transgresses[...] There is no violence attached to it, and it is done under the cover of the night. The mocking voices rise out of the darkness, but when the infuriated man rushes from his home to confront his assailants there is no one there; only the sound of scuffling, cow-bells, cat-calls and distant laughter (Pitt-Rivers, 1954: 174).

Pitt-Rivers invokes the bucolic world of Thomas Hardy's Wessex, the 'skimmity-ride' as Hardy describes it in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*⁶⁰. Laurie Lee's writing, too, suggests a direct link with the people of Spain, and especially Andalusia, and the rural world of childhood as he describes a land still peopled by the picaresque with the same loving detail as his

⁵⁸See his *Voices of the Old Sea* (1984). Although not set in Andalusia, his account is very much of a certain vision of pre-modern village Spain.

⁵⁹This exile, it would seem was very characteristic of a certain period in literary modernism. See Paul Fussell's book, *Abroad* (1980). Brenan's own autobiographical account is also interesting on the question of motives for such writers (Brenan, 1974).

⁶⁰This reference is only brief, but alludes to perceived sexual misconduct. Mrs Cuxsom reflects, 'Tis as good a ground for a skimmity-ride as ever I knowed; and it ought not to be wasted' (Hardy, 1974, orig. 1886). The editors of this edition, *The New Wessex Edition*, append the following gloss: A skimmington ride, known also as 'riding the Stang', was a public demonstration of disapproval with the conduct of a couple. The effigies of the couple were tied to a horse and paraded, while the crowd makes a hideous din outside the offenders' house all night (Hardy, op. cit., p.347n).

childhood haunts in the Cotswolds in *Cider with Rosie* (1959)⁶¹.

In Gibraltar what the disappointed writer seeks is the Spain of the village image portrayed in such works as these. Evelyn Waugh sums up, perhaps, the sheer sense of contempt for Gibraltar that some who value certain manifestations of 'Britishness' have placed upon this deeply symbolically loaded locale:

I will not say that I did not know any town could be so ugly as the town of Gibraltar [...] but I will say that I had forgotten much, and that Gibraltar was a shock... (Waugh, 1930 [1974]: 193).

In Gibraltar military discipline reigns. The *vito* here has long gone, extinguished by new regimes of time, its passing recorded in later histories as the stamping out of something primitive. The people were in the throes of being 'de-latinized', the process described in Chapter 2 as their transformation from 'native' to Briton under the dimming gaze of the colonial/imperial eye. Here, perhaps, are recorded its last gasps in Gibraltar. The *Gibraltar Directory* of 1948 records an historical incident to divert its readers. On December 8th, 1834:

Manuel Donato was not prosecuted at the General Criminal Sessions for creating a nuisance by blowing a horn at night time in the streets upon an admonition from the Judge that the practice of mobbing the house in which a second marriage had taken place could not be tolerated and that if it occurred again the guilty parties would certainly be prosecuted to extremity (p.116).

This part of Spain was out of kilter with the rest, so much so that its residents did not think of themselves as Spanish at all. Here other forms of authority, equally harsh, were in the ascendent. In Gibraltar the first colonial police force was established. In fact, the Gibraltar police force, formed in 1830, is only slightly younger than Sir Robert Peel's original London force (Stewart, 1967: 174). The lovers of the bucolic saw clearly in

⁶¹Lee has published three volumes dealing with his experiences in Spain: *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning* (1969), *A Rose for Winter* (1955) and *A Moment of War* (1991).

Gibraltar the betrayal of an ideal. Croft-Cooke (1964) sums up this theme, which shoots through much of the travel writing connected with Gibraltar:

In theory Gibraltar is a romantic place, an outpost, a fortress and a last fragment of the colonial empire. In fact the only Gibraltar seen by the public is a hillside on which cluster a few flea-bitten Barbary apes and a street of shops many of them displaying the shoddy bits of ill-carved ivory, the Japanese cotton goods and valueless souvenirs which are the stock-in-trade of Indian commerce everywhere abroad... It is a strange survival in an age of abandonment (p.6-7)

This shoddy hole was neither one thing nor the other; the worst product of the colonial world. A *mestizo* of a place stuck in its own time - a different time. This has been noted by some commentators who caught a whiff of a different epoch. Anthropology has long abandoned such 'diffusionist' concepts as 'survivals' but some brands of Marxism still come to our aid when attempting to grapple with this strange world. Ernst Bloch's concept of 'non-contemporaneity' will perhaps serve as a beginning:

"Non-contemporaneity" is Bloch's belief that many individuals, whole classes in fact, are not entirely contemporary since they contain within themselves residues from earlier eras (Geoghegan, 1992: 42).

In Gibraltar, it might be the military that has generated this effect. The army is static, time in the total institution is abolished.

Hills (1974: 288-305) describes Gibraltar in the period 1733-78 as 'a sad place' with the officers of the Garrison visiting various forms of torment upon their men. A flogging here did not require a court marshal, the word of an officer sufficed. Of the civilian population of the time there was even less respect. As one Colonel Thomas James noted:

The few remains of the Spaniards are greatly addicted to gross idolatry and rank superstition [...] They keep the carnival, a season of mirth and jollity... (Quoted by Hills, 1974: 290).

Such carnivalesque elements needed to be expunged as we saw in the early

attempts to suppress the Gibraltar *vito*⁶². The Spanish historian Ayala paid tribute to the British in respect of their strictness in dealing with the migrant civil population on the Rock. Discussing the possibility of acts of violence amongst such a mixed bag he remarks 'The strictness of the military government had obviated them' (quoted by Hills, 1974: 290). But it is not so simple. In 1798, when half the garrison were engaged in the capture of Minorca, members of the civil population, outraged by the behaviour of the soldiery, bribed some of those left to take part in a plan to allow the Spanish to recapture Gibraltar. They were, however, found out and captured and some 1,100 people were expelled from the Rock. This military is a complex beast. And this history has a strange resonance.

Thus far in considering Gibraltar the focus has been concentrated mainly on the civilian population and questions revolving around its historical constitution. Occasionally the dark determining force which lies behind all this - the military presence- has been touched upon, but beyond descriptive instances this facet of Gibraltar, which, in many respects, has been the strongest element in the Rock's development has not been looked at closely. Perhaps deeper consideration of this issue will give us further insight into the question of 'Victorian atmosphere' so often noted in Gibraltar, most strongly by Stewart. He outlined his views as follows:

But bad as the Victorian street scene is at home, in Britain, it is far worse abroad, in British colonies. Gibraltar never saw a fully professional architect until recent years.[...]

The final result is that Gibraltar gives the visitor an impression of fustiness, of backwatered Victorianism, of the shabby genteel, and of unjustified pretentiousness (Stewart, 1967: 158).

Stewart writes of the 1950s and 1960s. Let us now move on and consider a scene from the 1980s.

⁶²On the general concept of the carnivalesque as a feature of the pre-modern world see the wonderful Bakhtin-inspired analysis of Stallybrass and White's (1986), *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*.

Lapidary Empire

In the backroom of a pub on a Saturday night people are dancing to music and drinking. During the day the bar is fairly quiet and the backroom is used by a tattooist. His customers are soldiers and sailors who cover their arms and shoulders with the usual gamut of the artist's range: symbols of ferocity, paeans to maternal love, troths of never-ending fealty to mothers and girlfriends. Sometimes one of the girls might materialise and have something done; more delicate and discrete than the boys she plumps for a dainty flower or a swallow swooping across the bare expanse of her naked buttock. The door is shut and the boys sit huddled round their lagers, giggling intemperantly. Keith, the tattooist, is like a doctor, his moral probity is beyond reproach; skin is skin, what counts is artistry. Others, however, might try and take a sneak preview - hence the closed door. The boys who spend thirty pounds for a small tattoo, rising into the hundreds for a more elaborate piece, executed over several days or weeks, are not in the back bar this evening. The fixtures are made of split bamboo, seemingly held together by a generous layer of dirt. The effect is of a shabby shack on a Caribbean shore. The faces, in the main, are black. Manning the sound system, at the control tower, so to speak, are members of the Gibraltar posse⁶³. The bass is pumped up high and *I Roy's* lyrics pulse out across the room:

Calling Jah, oh Jah, he is I rock and I saviour.
Calling Jah, oh Jah, he is the Rock of Gibraltar⁶⁴.

The representatives of Her Majesty's forces dance to declarations of war on vile Babylon, but the khaki they don during the day is not that habitually worn by the Rasta brethren back in Britain. They fight on the side of Babylon, and Babylon is strong enough to let them keep their songs and

⁶³For a more detailed understanding of this idiom in a more 'conventional' setting, see Back (1988).

⁶⁴Jordan River, I Roy/Twinkle Brothers (Virgin records).

even provides them with two hours per week of reggae music broadcast over the services network, BFBS (British Forces Broadcasting Service). David Rodigan, the man dubbed 'that parasite Rodigan' by more 'radical' members of the black musical community in London, is popular here. His 'revival'⁶⁵ shows are especially in demand, but the ferocity of the lyrics in some of the heavy rockers stuff, bands such as *Culture*, seems strangely insipid. For the black British who have taken the Queen's shilling, the prospect of chanting down Babylon seems far off and the Rock endures.

That these soldiers are black is no surprise and nor should the fact that they are in Gibraltar come as a surprise. The army holds Empire together and links its subjugated elements in a rigid hierarchy which, in an ideal sense, is the model for Empire itself. Thus it is the army which models the alterity of working-class difference at the same time as it accommodates ethnic and cultural differences, even if, at the level of actual practice 'racism' in the armed forces remains a real issue.

In relation to Empire these are interesting positions - army and non-combatant, native and other - where army is a concentrated symbolic and material pressure, its power to dominate overflows, as in Gibraltar - the purveyors to and servicers of the garrison are literal adjuncts to the military presence, symbolically forever cast one layer down, one step outside, but amenable to the rules of military surveillance and discipline, observed in the same way. But to what degree are they tamed? How can outbursts be accommodated within the structure of army discipline. What is to be made of the binge fantasies of squaddies and how are these conditioned by the total institution which is Gibraltar?

⁶⁵These were shows where Rodigan dedicates the entire programme to playing old favourites.

Squaddies on the piss

There is an irredeemable arrogance which marks all levels of military life. From the snobbery of nineteenth century Governors it stretches down to the present to hold hands, in a sacred communion over history, with certain brutish elements of the military presence. But is it their fault?:

How uninstructed the typical British soldier was came home to an officer in charge of three hundred raw hands, mostly from the slums of Manchester and Liverpool, going out to India during the Mutiny. 'Some of them were so ignorant that they were actually not aware of the reigning Sovereign.' 'He is a perfect Yahoo', the 'Subaltern' wrote of one of his men, 'just caught from the wilds of Ireland, and can speak very little English...but as we only want hands, not heads, it's no matter (Kiernan, 1982:136).

The squaddies in Gibraltar in the 1980s were still treated as though they were children. 'My men, they have to be taught how to wash and you have to watch them, supervise them ', I was told. Living in Brixton, south London, after my return I met a young officer who had served in Gibraltar. Brixton was not imposing, he didn't see it as threatening (as he supposed most did); he announced, 'Some of my men came from around here.' Joshua Hassan, then Gibraltar's Chief Minister, had eaten in his mess, he told me, but he slurped his soup and generally behaved in an unsuitable fashion.

The scene repeats itself in a minor key every Saturday night, but on some occasions - when a large ship has docked - there is a palpable feeling that fear stalks the street. Residents hustle up to the video shop that little bit earlier, their movements are a little more agitated. Suddenly, they have no claim on the streets. In truth, it can start earlier in the day, the young men hunting in packs up and down Main Street, drifting off into Irish Town, whistling at women, meandering from pub to pub. If it is summer, some of them will find their way to the beaches and scare the tourists at Catalan Bay - those less judgemental, may reflect on their own military careers and forgive them, 'well, no they're just lads really'. The summer 'uniform' actually does feature the Union Jack shorts so beloved of soccer hooligans -

so the image has it - and sunglasses, anything else optional.

Come the evening many will be completely drunk, staggering down the street holding on to each other. By this time any of the pubs are best avoided -especially when the boys hit the spirits - a Tom Collins by choice for the naval lads. This is the time for displays of drinking prowess: on one occasion I witnessed a young man order a pint of mixed spirits, which he drank down in one. Shortly afterwards, he was sick and passed out. Out of such moments memories are woven. They all shout and boast, but then some will tell you they hate the army and only joined to escape the dole.

All this, now and historically, has conditioned Gibraltarian responses. The military has many heads. There is something organic about this. In December, 1802, two regiments became disaffected owing to HRH the Duke of Kent having reduced the number of wine and spirit houses from 90 to 40 and broke out in mutiny. The mutiny was quelled quickly, as was a second some days later. Three soldiers concerned were executed, on the Red Sands in January of the following year, in the presence of all troops. Afterwards, so the *Gibraltar Directory* of 1948 informs us, the Duke of Kent was presented 'with an address from the merchants and other inhabitants of Gibraltar, conveying sentiments of most ardent attachment and loyal duty' (p.111). Such sentiments might bear comparison with more recent notes in the local press calling for an end to these intrusions. From the French perspective of the historian Halévy it was simply a manifestation of the congenital idiocy of the Hanovarians (Halévy, 1913[1961]: 6), but Hills is nearer the truth when he emphasises the debauched nature of the soldiery, officers included, prior to the Duke of Kent's reforms - he himself was recalled. *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1757 claimed that on the Rock there was 'nothing to do... [but] the lawless diversions of drinking, dancing, revelry... worse than Sodom or Gomorrah (quoted by Hills, 1974: 288-9). Hills describes how being drunk was considered 'glorious'; as long as junior officers were sober enough to stand unsupported, at the one full-dress parade at six o'clock in the evening, their seniors were not concerned (Hills, 1974: 360). Something of all this lives on.

Gibraltar: the town

If we take time off from considering the human occupants of the social space called Gibraltar, and start once more to interrogate the physical landscape of the city itself, we can get some idea of the way in which Gibraltar's history is inscribed in the features and layout of the town. These are the things that at first glance appear the most striking but after prolonged residence fade into normality. The first thing that some notice is the 'un-Britishness' of much of the architecture. As a Spanish writer described Main Street in the early fifties:

A pretty and attractive street like any in Algeciras, La Linea or San Roque. So alike is it that nobody could believe that it is English... (Arques, 1954: 80).

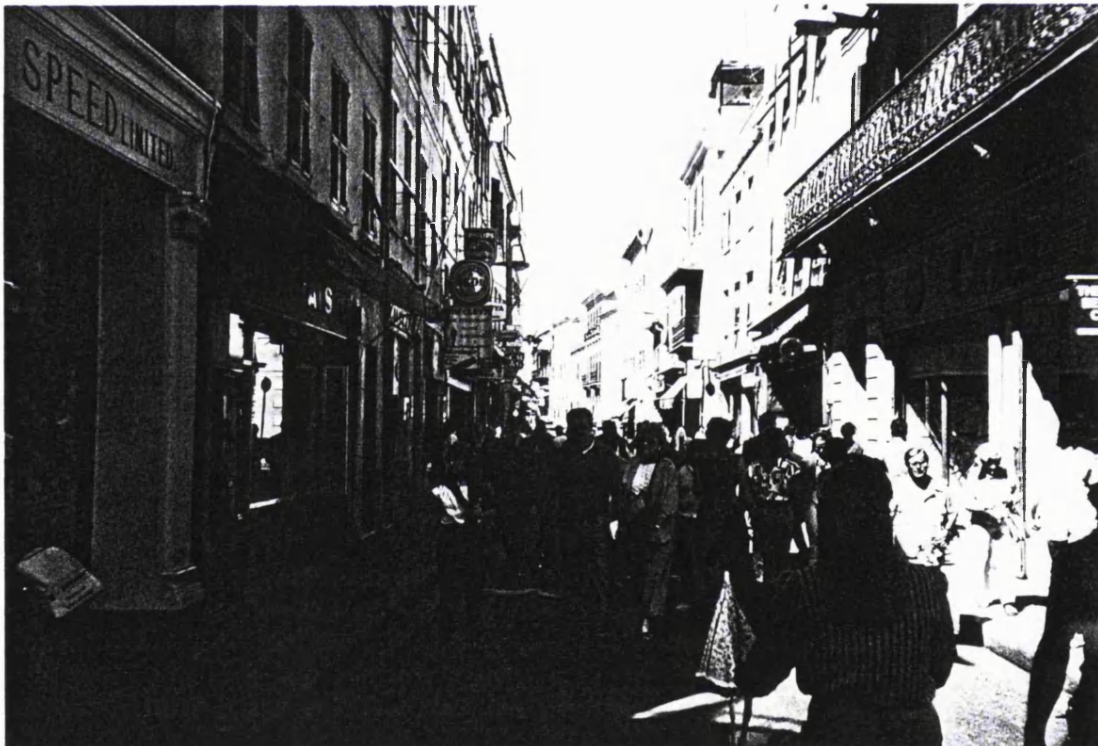


Figure 32: Main Street

The historian Hills echoes the pro-Spanish view of Arques:

Beyond the flags and the uniforms of the soldiers and the sailors, past the policemen who are dressed like English policemen, there was little about Gibraltar that was British even in aspect (Hills, 1974: 391).

By the 1980s, another layer had been added to the 'Mediterranean' air in the form of the duty-free shops run by Indian traders who, since the closure of the frontier, have come to dominate certain sectors of the retail trade. One of them had dubbed his shop *Pepé Indio* as if to maximise the commercial capital of such a diverse melange of nationalities.

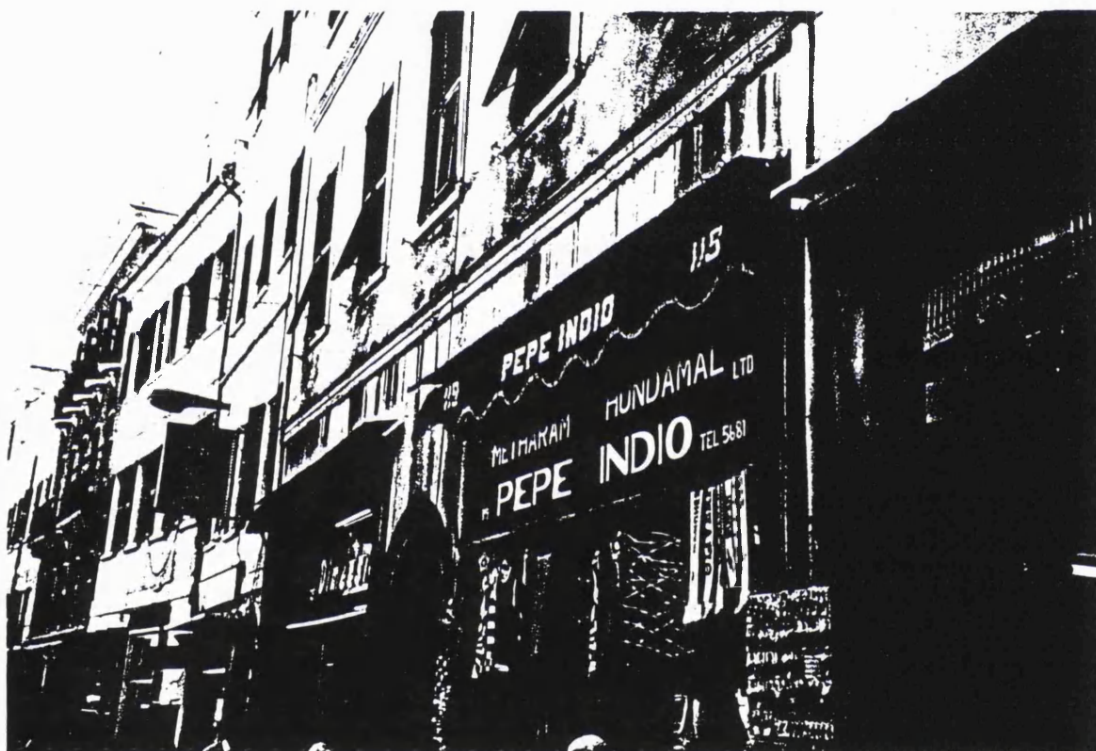


Figure 33: Pepe Indio, Main Street

Gibraltar was once a walled town and some of the heavy wooden gates still exist to recall those days: Casemates Gate, Southport Gates. This history, the history of the Garrison, is recorded in the names of the streets; Governor's Street, Trafalgar Road, Engineer Road, Irish Town, Secretary's

Lane, Cannon Lane, Bedlam Court, Cooperage Lane, Victualling Office Lane. These names are reminders of a time when the Governor might issue a notice instructing the soldiers of the Garrison not to powder their hair with flour in order to conserve supplies. There is another important aspect to many of them. They are all suggestive of ownership and possession: Elliott's Way, Gowland's Ramp, Booth's Passage, Cornwall's Parade, Turnball's Lane, Lynch's Lane, Crutchett's Ramp, Morello's Ramp, Smith Dorrien Avenue. Who then are these symbolic owners of Gibraltar's streets and alleyways? Lieutenant-General George Augustus Elliott (late General the Lord Heathfield of Gibraltar, K.B.), General Sir Horace L Smith-Dorrien, GCB GCMG DSO. Military men and Governors, the heroes of the official histories, this 'ownership' is more than symbolic. The military-dynastic structure of British class society, its historic myths and heroes are reproduced in microcosm in the street names of Gibraltar no matter how Mediterranean those actual streets might appear to some eyes.

3.2 The British worker

...some military organisations cultivate the psychology of snobbishness as a substitute for merit (Dixon,1976: 201).

One recent group of migrants form an interesting bridge between military life and the other occupants of the Rock and link the trajectory of Britishness and Empire and for this reason they are worth examining in some depth. They are the British migrants who work on the Rock. Admittedly, they are a mixed grouping, but some factors are shared by the majority. On the whole they come from working-class backgrounds and it is this, as much as anything, that sets them apart from the Gibraltarians who aspire to be British (their version of British does not involve this unpleasant anomaly - the working class). They are also important because they form the higher of two rungs amongst the migrant population on the

Rock. Below them metaphorically, and literally separate in different hostels, are the Moroccan workers whose lives form the focus of Chapter 5.

Kiernan (1982: 75) describes the general disdain felt by army officers for settler populations, in this case it extends often to Gibraltarians, and informs the attitudes of civilian Britons. It could be argued that there are deep roots to this. During the Great Siege there were incidences of Jew baiting. Spilsbury, in his *A Journal of the Siege of Gibraltar* noted that on 6 September 1780, 'The officers riot a little and break the Jew's doors and windows' (Quoted by Hills, 1974: 319). But, speaking of the eighteenth century, Hills suggests that 'The civilian population of Genoese, Jews and Spaniards kept itself aloof from the military except in the course of trade or occupation' (p.290).

Historically, the axis of interaction between the Gibraltarian and the British has been that with the military. Britain has been the military. Since the border closure in 1969, however, a different variety of Britain has come to the Rock, the British worker. Who are they and why do they stay? This question is difficult to gauge: some are contract workers but there are substantial numbers who have decided to stay on for an indefinite length of time. They 'like' it in a nebulous sort of way. They've caught the 'Gib bug'. Others say that they are merely in a rut.

'Know how' in the material sense is something which filters down from army life and inflicts itself upon the ranks of the British workers. This quality has a double-edged power. Some, indeed, are capable of feats of engineering which their relatively inexperienced Gibraltarian colleagues, who have spent their entire working lives on the Rock, would find baffling but it works both ways and these men can be heard criticising the state of the Government dockyards once they fell into civilian hands and how, when called upon to cooperate with the military, found that their counterparts had rank but not competence. In this sense 'know how' is limited power in this context, another psychology of snobbishness, but still they are mere vendors of their skills.

At first glance it would seem that there are two distinct British

communities, one military and the other civilian. This could be explained simply in relation to the long-standing military presence and the more recent introduction of UK skilled labour after the closure of the frontier. The link with the military is often very strong for a large part of the civilian population. Many of the Britons actually working in Gibraltar have, at some time or another, served in some branch of the British military. It was through this connection that many of them came to know about Gibraltar and frequently it was while still serving that they first visited the rock. Thus they do not feel that the military presence, which pervades all aspects of life in Gibraltar, is in any way anomalous and, indeed, for many it provides a link with their own pasts. A link that can constantly be reinforced through conversations with short-stay servicemen and among themselves as they reminisce about past postings in Germany or Belize or the horrors of tours in Northern Ireland. Even alone they are generally surrounded in the bars by the paraphernalia of the Garrison town - regimental crests and stickers extolling the virtue of this or that ship and that sure sign of cosmopolitan military existence, the rows of foreign banknotes plastered around the bar. It is this shared past that gives them a certain cohesive appearance as a group. In fact, in certain senses, it defines the group; in the sense that the military experience is somehow taken as a sign of goodwill, the thing that links them together and gives credence to anybody's membership of the British community. Absence of a military pedigree can be overcome by regionalism; a strong accent will go a long way to asserting the bona fide credentials of the Briton, albeit in the Geordie, Taffy, Scouse, style of bonhomie that develops out of military life and helps to make it bearable. Those who have been in Gibraltar longest and have managed to establish themselves outside the sphere of the government hostels have developed a lifestyle, which accommodates their long work hours, and view the younger workers still sharing rooms in the hostels with a certain sympathy. This paternalism stems from a more general arrogance that grows out of military life, but which, in their case, is reinforced by the added self-esteem of money and work. They are what

makes 'Gib' tick (in their estimation) and they reserve a certain amount of scorn for the workmanship of both the 'Gibos' and the 'Rockies'- a feeling that often extends to higher management levels. They are very serious about work, but they play and drink hard in their time off by way of recompense. Though they see themselves as central to the entire community through their efforts they, are also, in effect, marginal in that they have limited power in relation to Gibraltarian society. Despite their military connections they have no voice in the military and in some sense they are those who escaped service life to go on and earn a living on Civvy Street. Gibraltar represents something of a compromise: it's neither one thing nor the other. The utmost scorn with which they regard the political struggles of the Gibraltarians serves, in reality, to illustrate their own lack of involvement in civil society except as factors of production and consumers. For many of them, as is the case with many of the squaddies, the Gibraltarians are no more than English- speaking 'Spicks'.

This description captures one extreme of the British worker; the dominant constellation of factors - military, work related, age and so-forth - which has become fused as experience for those whose travels with the services have meant they've 'seen the world'. But who are they and why do they chose to stay? This is actually difficult to gauge past the common factors which link them together discussed above. Beneath the self-confident facade the situation is often more complex than many of the stated reasons would give one to believe. Much revolves around such factors as work opportunities, sun and good-living, coupled with the feeling of belonging that the community develops for some people and which translates, I feel, into the expression *tranquil o*⁶⁶. The constant flow of familiar faces in the street is the direct antithesis of big city anonymity and a much closer relative of the military life with which many of them were familiar on first leaving home. By looking at the biography of one such worker we can see

⁶⁶Even those Britons who make a great point of never learning any Spanish are familiar with this expression and its application to Gibraltar.

the complicated set of factors that are involved in fixing some people in Gibraltar. John is in his mid-thirties and has been living on and off in Gibraltar for the past eleven years. He was born in Liverpool and like his father before him and his brother after, he joined the army when he left school. He spent seven years in the army before buying himself out. During this time he served in Germany, Northern Ireland, Belize and Gibraltar in the capacity of bandsman. During his stay in Gibraltar he met and married a Gibraltarian girl. It was at this point that he brought himself out of the army and decided to settle in Gibraltar. Initially he lived with the parents of his wife while he found work as the manager of a local supermarket. When they had sufficient savings they bought up the lease on a small hotel and laundry where they lived and which they managed jointly. During this time they had a child. The marriage did not last and they separated, selling off the lease on the hotel and business. At this point he left Gibraltar and using his training as a musician in the army he went 'on the road' as a session drummer with the 1960s pop group Wayne Fontana and the Mindbenders, touring the club circuit in northern England. After eighteen months as a Mindbender he returned to Gibraltar wearing the mantle of a pop star. The reasons he gives for returning are various, but he's a firm believer in the fatal attraction Gibraltar allegedly holds for all those who have lived there before. You always return. The touring life had lost its attraction, but the alternatives were limited. The 'Pool', he claims, no longer offers anything for anyone. Anything, that is, apart from violence and depression. Gibraltar offers you the opportunity to work for yourself and be your own man. Returning to Gibraltar also meant that he would be able to see his daughter occasionally and give her presents. On his return he was not able to find suitable accommodation so he stayed in one of the government hostels for nine months. He was, however, able to find work as a painter and decorator and eventually found a room in an apartment with three other British nationals. By this stage he was working for a small decorating firm set up by a couple of other Britons. His was one of their skilled men specialising in artex finishes. He works an average

fifty-hour week, but is happy with the financial rewards and enjoys working. He claims to be saving up the money in order to set up his own business and constantly reminds people that he has had a business of his own before. This desire is closely connected to his being 'his own man'. In the mid-1980s John advised his younger brother to come out and find work in Gibraltar. He too had served in the army and upon leaving had worked, briefly, as the manager of a bar. On his arrival John found him a room and a job with the same firm for whom he worked. Their interaction with one another demonstrated some important aspects of John's appreciation of Gibraltar. His increasing annoyance with his brother's rowdy behaviour was a threat to him which he expressed in the following terms:

You can't do that here. Someone'll get you. It's not like the Pool where no one cares. It's too small, there's no room to behave like that. He'll see.

His remarks reflect his long-term investment in living in Gibraltar. It is also an indication of the power of reputations, once formed, to be binding among such groups of people, for whom stability is important. John talked of the tattoo which his father had had done in Hong Kong when he was in the army. It was a complex dragon, but it was only inked in in outline, since he had not been able to afford to have it coloured. John likes to think that his life gives the dragon some colour.

There are other groups of Britons who ignore the tacit constraints which John detects in Gibraltar. They do not view Gibraltar in terms of any long-term personal strategy. At this end of the spectrum was a character known simply as 'Bunker Bill'. This epithet derived from the fact that he used to live in one of the old gun emplacements on the north side of the Rock. This is not as unusual as it might sound and during the summer months there would be a fair number of people defying the regulations against camping. One Moroccan even went as far as to construct a shack for himself. Bill was finally apprehended on a theft charge and spent some months in the local prison, the Moorish Castle. His out-and-out criminality is an extreme, but other members of the British community maintain certain aspirations

in that direction; usually linked with the trade in drugs, across the frontier into Spain or bigger deals from the Moroccan side.

Mel was such a person. He was from London, but had spent three years in Gibraltar. He had rather a tarnished reputation on the Rock. He was, however, undistressed by this. For some years, he claimed to have been working in England in the summers as a labourer, but had since decided that the shovel and pick were no way to earn a living. During his time in Gibraltar he had had odd jobs and was, when I met him, managing a late-night bar. Like John, however, he had other plans for himself. As he put it succinctly, 'Once you've done the big one and had the money in your hand the nine to five don't make no sense.' His last effort in that direction - a drug deal - had not been a success and he claimed to have lost his savings which he estimated to be some three-thousand pounds. This was due to the involvement of other people in the scheme; an unfortunate necessity.

The case of Mel represents an extreme. In some respects he might be seen as a type. He'd done the hippy thing; sold fake student cards in Calcutta when his money ran out, lived like an Indian, he said, but it was all hard to believe interspersed with tales of sexual conquest past and present and stories of violent friends. He was a waste product of the counter-culture washed up in Gibraltar. In between those who'd been in the army and the likes of Mel are the young travellers, abroad for the first time and themselves battling for the service sector jobs, competing with the Moroccan migrant workers. Here we find both men and women- and even the daughters of the lower-ranking members of the military who themselves have a tenuous grip on life in Gibraltar, but are more likely to attach themselves to a young soldier and return to some anticipated married bliss in Britain. These presences lead the Gibraltarian to sneer and to develop an alternative, schizophrenic picture of England and Britishness which contradicts the previous view. Stewart once more will help us to comprehend the level of their disillusion. Writing in 1967, he suggests, 'The class structure in Gibraltar, like most other Victorian institutions there, remains intact to this day, a living museum for sociological display

(Stewart, 1967: 202). This is no longer quite the case as history is unravelling the Victorian even in this outpost. And history moves fast now, here.

Nelson's Legacy: Museum of Imperial Artifice



Figure 34: Ministry of Defence, Gibraltar

The military are constantly mapping out their pasts, incessant compilers of lists, documenters of the world that their disciplinary regimes will into being. As we have seen in this version of the world Gibraltar is glorious, but as we have also seen others view it differently. In his study of the British army, military historian Corelli Barnett belittles the seizure of Gibraltar. Its actual significance, he claims, is minimal:

The conquest of Gibraltar in 1704 proved an empty glory, for

the British fleet continued to base itself on Lisbon, or, later, Minorca, which proved the one valuable European prize gained by the maritime operations during the war (Barnett, 1974: 149).

Nonetheless the Nelsonian component of the imperial *pax Britannica* found a focus in the Rock. James Morris wrote of Britain's sea power:

In the years since Trafalgar the Navy has enjoyed a prestige so mystic that its power was taken for granted [...] The Royal Navy had a Nelson fixation. It talked in Nelsonic terms, it practised Nelsonic tactics, it examined every situation through Lord Nelson's blind eye... (Morris, 1968: 411).

Even in 1987 in the Gibraltar Museum there was a reliquary of sorts, wherein resided: one piece of sail from H.M.S. Victory; a brass nail and a piece of timber from same; Nelson's cheroot holder and shoe buckles. Nelson, himself, of course, only called in briefly after the Battle of Trafalgar, to have the brandy in which he had been hastily embalmed replaced by something a little more suitable. The Trafalgar cemetery is still in the heart of British Gibraltar, but it beats with a faltering rhythm. This is perhaps the bequest of Nelson's blind eye, but the rose-tinted spectacles of Empire masked even more sordid realities. James Morris again:

Gibraltar, topographically the most splendid British possession of all, turned out to be, when you landed at the docks, only a flyblown, dingy and smelly barracks town, haunted by urchins fraudulently claiming to be Cook's guides, or Spanish hawkers wandering from door to door with straggly flocks of turkeys. The lady of legend was right when, told her ship would be calling at Gibraltar, she exclaimed that the one thing that she wanted to see there was the Rock (Morris, 1973:212).

This very fact was borne out by the state of the Trafalgar cemetery on my last visit in 1987; it was swimming with litter and the weeds threatened to take over. To cap it all a large sign had fallen into the graveyard - a spinning arrow indicating assorted prizes on offer to the listless young men killed long ago by ague, fever and shot. This is the very end of Empire and now Gibraltar stands as a monstrous spectacle, a dedication to imperial decadence. The military stupidity of the eighteenth century army (see,

already stated, the Gibraltar police made an early appearance, adding another layer to the technologies of surveillance present on the Rock. Until 20 June 1885, the strict surveillance of the civilian population continued. Until this time, in order to circulate after midnight civilians required permits. As recently as 1985 sunrise was defined as 'such a time as may from time to time be fixed by the Governor, by notice in the Gazette, for the opening of the frontier gates of Gibraltar' (JCWI, 1992: 3). Such facts give us ample room for treating Gibraltar as a 'total institution'.

3.3 A Gibraltarian Institution

A number of elements have, at this stage, been introduced into sociological discussion of Gibraltar. In connection with the original intentions of the thesis, one point is that the Moroccans themselves form only a contingent part in this particular cultural history. From the perspective of the Gibraltarian they are catalysts to the later development of that very identity. The point to be made here is that the Moroccans themselves have gone through many of the same transformations in the world of discourse as the Gibraltarians and, in all probability, the time-scales are very similar. The difference between the two groups hinges ultimately on the position of Morocco within the world economy and the nature of colonialism in that country. Political economy alone, however, cannot be employed to set this difference in context. Here we must adopt a deeper understanding of cultural process in western Europe since the eighteenth century. There are many elements which we might wish to evoke: the development of a culture of conspicuous consumption, strict notions of time keeping associated with the development of industrial capitalism which enable the concept of a 'holiday' to become possible. These themes will be developed in depth in Chapter 4. In many respects they are not questions which can be studied at close quarters, but anthropological insight gained from a prolonged association with the area can aid our further understanding.

As we will see, the Moroccan arrives in Gibraltar in modern times as a result of a specific set of circumstances connected with the closure of Gibraltar's land frontier with Spain. The circumstances of their existence on the Rock bears many similarities with the general situation of Europe's migrant workers in the phase outlined specifically by John Berger (1975). The onset of the second phase in this modern process; that of the formation of new ethnic minorities signalled by Castles *et al.* (1984) will not occur in Gibraltar. Here there are a number of factors at work. The first is the very nature of their precarious position within what is, after all, a very small town with only limited housing and general facilities for an influx of, what are largely, men. The second is linked to Gibraltar itself, back to its function as a military post and the historically dubious presence in military eyes of any of the civilian population. The third factor, of course, is the reopening of the border which will ultimately result in only a token Moroccan presence on the Rock; those who have married into the community, gained British citizenship or who are retained by grateful employers for the skills which they possess and, finally, those working in trades which have implanted themselves firmly on the Rock - such as that of vegetable provision. At this point it must be reemphasised that while the Moroccans in Gibraltar suffer from the more general features associated with migrant life, those which I will touch upon in the following chapters, there are still factors specific to Gibraltar which have had an influence on their experiences⁶⁷. The Moroccans represent one more recent aspect of the constructedness of Gibraltarians, but in order to understand their migrant perspective they themselves must be situated within the complex flux of Gibraltarian history.

By Gibraltar I mean the nexus of facts which have been discussed but which need to be drawn together in a more systematic sociological

⁶⁷The point is illustrated at a most basic level by comparison with the Moroccan community resident in the UK (estimated at some 10,000 in 1983). Here there is clear evidence of settlement taking place, of families being called over and so forth (see, for example, NKMRPR, 1979).

discussion. At the outset it is necessary to recap a number of salient historical observations. The very first is the physically unpleasant nature of the place itself. The hyper-inflated sets of meaning which now grace it are the product of factors divorced from the climatic or situational attributes of the Rock. Early Spanish settlers had to be induced to live there and in some senses it was a mini-Australia, a land of banishment for those who had sinned against the mores of the day. In the meantime, however, politicians and military and naval men have been to work and meaning has been set loose from the moorings of reality. Out of the military discipline of the early days grew a world in miniature. In effect, a scale model of the Empire itself. In these early days the Empire's 'natives' were the Gibraltarians themselves. The analogy or model used here owes itself to Erving Goffman (1969), but his notion of a total institution is used in a more general sense. As an ideal type Gibraltar and its sociocultural situation do not conform to the original typology outlined by Goffman - there are, however, enough similarities to make the exercise of comparison a useful one.

The quotation from Richard Burton used as an epigram at the start of Chapter 2 is doubly revealing. The classic imperialist explorer and, later, serving the cause in the capacity of Ambassador to Fernando Po, Burton found himself stifled. The metaphor he adopted was that of the prison; the small outpost, an island, was like a prison. Gibraltar, physically small and, despite the abundant myths, somewhat unprejudiced, shared in being effectively an island (isolated not physically, but culturally and socially from its surroundings by the historical legacy of British military occupation). It was also in a real sense a total institution in the early days. For in reality there are several sets of total institution interacting. Both in the sense of there being a number of separate military units making up the imperial presence and by the simple fact that the relationships between these separate units has necessarily changed over time. In this sense, the rather clumsy neologism of a 'total institutional complex' will be employed to acknowledge that while the factors which Goffman associates with a

physically discrete and unified institution are found in Gibraltar, they actually stem from a complex interaction of several forces. Goffman looked at various institutions such as prisons, hospitals of various sorts and military-camps and tried to isolate their structural qualities without any reference to their historical context. This gave him a certain understanding of the ebb and flow of power within the total institution without any real insight as to its genesis, but I would argue that the historical moment is a necessary counterpart to the complete understanding of the total institution. It is all very well trying to see the development of Gibraltar nationalism, for example, in terms of a metaphor based on the inmates taking over the asylum, but until the historical nature of its walls are laid bare we will only comprehend a fraction of what being Gibraltar is all about. And because that identity is so close to home, it cannot help but expose some painful aspects of what being British is all about. Goffman's use of literary sources - memoirs and such like - to build up the picture of a sociological reality, marks him out from many of his contemporaries within sociology. Nowhere is this more clear - or relevant to the argument being advanced here - than in the case of T.E. Lawrence (1973) and his book, *The Mint*, cited by Goffman. In a loose sense Lawrence links us back to Burton and in some respects they were driven by the same devil; the prison house of British class structure. This is not to mark them out as heroes for this, but merely as indicators, canaries in the deep mine shafts and meandering tunnels of what Tom Nairn (1988) calls Ukania. I prefer to think of Empire as being the final and ultimate forger of the qualities to which this refers. Gibraltar is their ultimate museum.

Norman Dixon (1976) has used many of the features which a Goffman would read as the result of the institutional structure of the situation in terms of something which seems familiar at first glance, but reveals itself as different on closer analysis. He puts the facts of military life, such as that all pervasive and apparently meaningless 'bullshit', down to the general incompetence of military life and most of the examples he uses come from the period of greatest jingoism and greatest blindness to the fact that,

as James Morris (1978) points out, the trumpets had already sounded and would never play the same tune again.

All this links to discussion of the Gibraltarian. The comments made by Stewart (1967) should make us aware of the extent to which the Gibraltarian of today is a product of British imperialism and its decline. The degree to which this is the case, however, is tempered by the peculiar essence of the colonial experience which has taken place. In reality, this is not a subject people in the classic sense; they were not reduced to bondage by force of arms but within the homogenising spirit of the British imperial ethos in its heyday the non-British soon became the native, albeit a 'white' native (note that prior to the Second World War the popular view of the Gibraltarian is not that of a 'colonial' in the sense that this word would have been applied to Canadians or Australians say). To some degree all psychology of colonialism involves forms of mimicry (Bhabha, 1994) but the Gibraltarian takes this to a peculiar extreme: basking in all the symbolism of Britishness, dressing up in navy-style blazers, propagating an arcane folklore concerning the symbols of the regiments (forms of knowledge long forgotten by all but those directly involved in such matters back in the mother country). This, in Goffman's sense, is the psychology of the mental hospital, that most extreme of total institutions. Why has it endured for so long? Probably the suffocating presence of the military is part of the answer, but there is something else. The Gibraltarians have absorbed something of the arrogance of the military and it is perhaps for this reason that the military personnel detect it in them and resent it. Their insularity is by no means total but there is something in the way in which the Rock projects itself in the world that is faintly unrealistic. British arguments about the significance of Gibraltar were never meant to extend to the civil population, yet they have seen themselves at the centre of struggles between nations, thinking themselves the catch, but they have not even been pawns in the game until recently when it became apparent that traditional British arrogance no longer washed on the international stage. Some realise this, as witness the letter which was quoted towards the end

of Chapter 2, but the snub received by the Gibraltar party in 1987 when they went to put their case before Europe was no more than a reflection of the decline in the things and values which the Gibraltarians have modelled themselves upon. Britain is no longer Great.

So far this chapter has analyzed the military factors which have been dominant features of life for all those living in Gibraltar. Another important influence, and one which would be missed if we were to limit ourselves to Gibraltar alone, is that felt from the other side of the land border with Spain, and, in particular, with the small town of La Linea. It is here that I wish to turn my attention now.

3.4 La Linea: Gib's ugly sister and Labour for the Rock



Figure 35: La Linea, *La Iglesia*

Up to this point I have suggested that the role of La Linea, and by extension, Andalusia and Spain, is important in several respects in terms of the development of Gibraltarian identity. Here, however, we must distinguish La Linea as physical locale from the people occupying it.

In 1833 new military dockyards were constructed in Malta and as a consequence Gibraltar's usefulness in this regard was seriously undermined. By this time, however, it became important as a re-coaling stop on the routes to the East. To this end several hundred Spaniards were employed in the carrying of coal, then a simple matter of baskets on the head. The convict labour, which had been used in Gibraltar, was finally brought to an end in 1875 for economic reasons. Free Spanish labourers were twice as productive as the convicts and the wages that they received amounted to less than the cost of keeping the convicts. This additional Spanish labour force, like the coal carriers, came from the town of La Linea on the other side of the frontier. As historian George Hills points out, 'Gibraltar was not devoid of slum tenements, but La Linea was the working-class proper of Gibraltar' (Hills, 1974: 381). This fact is reflected in the size of the town's population; between 1830 and 1900 it quadrupled, whereas in Gibraltar the corresponding increase amounted to no more than twenty per-cent. Labour had also been imported from Malta towards the end of the nineteenth century, but local opposition finally put an end to this source of labour power. As a result further Spaniards were recruited. By 1900, 2,200 Spaniards were working on a new dry-dock and the extension of the 'new' mole alone. The wages these men received were roughly one fifth of corresponding levels in Britain, but were nonetheless good by the standards of the region being some three-times higher than the usual rates for farm labour in Andalusia.

Spaniards came to refer to the Rock as *la piedra gorda*, the fat rock, in tribute to this source of wealth. Over time, however, the actual composition of the town came to reflect its relationship with the Rock. Stewart, talking of Gibraltar, writes that:

Many of the poorer citizens used to live in Spain before the Civil War drove them back to the Rock. Many of them are actually half Spanish. They are as much the products of Spain as the members of the upper classes are the products of England (Stewart, 1967: 78).

Conditions in Gibraltar led naturally to the expansion of La Linea. Overcrowding on the Rock had always been a constant feature of life for the civilian population since the earliest days of the settlement. The 1814 census records that there were 1,657 houses with 5,804 rooms. With 10,136 civilians Stewart estimates about 2,500 families, which gives the average family two rooms, but it is assumed that there were many families with one room only' (Stewart, 1967: 159). Even as late as 1955 there were hundreds of families in single rooms on the Rock with many more housed in two-room Nissen huts - a situation which had been exacerbated by the influx caused by the upheavals of the Civil War in Spain. To quote Stewart's views once more:

The government has never done more than begin to play with the provision of houses, and the home life of the Gibraltar citizen has always been, typically, one of crowded squalor (p.172).

This squalor was exported to La Linea which only really existed as a satellite of Gibraltar:

There in La Linea in 1953 the very essence of squalor lay everywhere in the ill-lit streets- broken bottles, nettles, ashes, excrement, the all-pervading odour of urine and rancid oil and rotten fish and cabbage. There were unpaved streets flooded with filthy water or, in the hot summer, swept by dust storms. Beggars, cripples, children and stray dogs begged at every cafe table. Boot-blacks and little boys pimped at street corners, and there was a district full of formidable harlots leering from their white-tiled dens with paper flowers in their hair (Stewart, 1967: 206).

But the close links between La Linea and Gibraltar can be traced at least back to the turn of the century. As MacMillan (1915) wrote:

Many of the leases belonging to the Crown are not renewed, and houses that are rebuilt are adapted for the better class of tenant, with the result that the poorer people are gradually swelling the population of the Spanish town of Linea[sic], which at present contains about 40,000 inhabitants, and is practically a suburb whence about 10,000 workers come into Gibraltar daily (p.6).



Figure 36: La Linea, *Un Pozo en los Alrededores*

Calle de Gibraltar

Indeed, the traffic was not just one way across the frontier. Already in the early 1920s the Gibraltar branch of the National Council for Combatting Venereal Disease had been meeting to discuss the advisability of the total closure of brothels in Gibraltar, these, at the time, being confined to Serraya's Lane. Some people were opposed to such moves. Carrara and Huart, who were encountered in Chapter 2, at least agreed on this issue - the proposed measures, they suggested, 'would result in driving the civil population to the brothels in Spain with disastrous results to health, and would lead to prostitution and soliciting and to the offers of insults to virtuous women and girls of Gibraltar'⁶⁸. Nevertheless, by the 1930s Gibraltar had become the only whoreless port in the Mediterranean. The girls moved to La Linea where they took over a whole street pointing at the

⁶⁸*The Gibraltar Chronicle* in 1921.

Rock. Some claim this to be the reason for its name, *Calle de Gibraltar* - others blame nostalgia. The reasons are probably more complex, the street received this name in 1903, but nostalgia may play a part in the fact that, unlike many other streets in La Linea, its name has never altered since that date. The name Gibraltar, Gomez (1986) suggests, was simply easier to remember for visiting sailors and foreigners. Some of the atmosphere of this part of town is conveyed in Anthony Burgess's (1965) neophyte novel, *A Vision of Battlements*.

In many respects, however, La Linea, is a mirror image of Gibraltar and its existence is the result of very similar forces: the provisioning of a garrison. As Gomez (1986) suggests in his critical account, the first civilians on the Spanish side of the border only appeared with the appearance of the fortified 'lines'. In addition, as in Gibraltar, the nascent civilian population was by no means 'pure' Spanish. Those Spaniards who were chased from the Rock in 1704 had not chosen to stay in the close vicinity, but, rather, had set themselves up in San Roque some kilometres away. People were attracted from deprived regions of Spain, but there were also many foreigners: Genoese, Maltese, Portuguese - who even had a consular agent in La Linea in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The coexistence of the two towns can be recognised in the similarity of both the surnames to be found in the two towns and indeed, if Gomez is correct, certain aspects of the particular dialect spoken in La Linea. Historically, one is tempted to suggest that, ultimately, the Genoese and other foreigners who settled on the 'wrong' side of the Lines lost out. This general aspect of the situation is not covered by Martens (1987) in her detailed account of political factors related to Gibraltarian ethno-nationalism, despite her particular emphasis on the development of working-class politics in Gibraltar itself (this may well be a reflection on the radical change in attitudes towards Spain occasioned by border closure). Here it is important to consider another aspect of life for the civilian populations of both Gibraltar and the Campo region. The matter is smuggling, but this is also linked to the secret economies of the region; it also is a factor which has

linked up the entire region from the fall of the Rock to the British and their allies until almost the present day. A La Linean man working in Gibraltar in the 1950s told Stewart:

We all work for the British, man. We have to do so. We do a bit of smuggling to supplement our wages. The British like us to do it because it helps trade. The authorities let us carry it in, because we give them a share of it. Even when we get fired we still go to work in Gibraltar everyday on our passes, pretending to seek work, and living on the contraband. Look at their building industry over there. See those blocks of flats? Every brick of them laid by Spanish hands. Yes, every brick. Without us, their building trade would stop at once (Stewart, 1967: 206).

Smugglers

Pitt Rivers (1954) in his classic account of Andalusian life provides some detailed evidence for the importance for smuggling in the region. Indeed, smuggling had long been recognised as a problem in Gibraltar and for certain of the British witnesses of life there it had coloured their vision of the civilian population of the Rock. Even other European travellers in the region were infected by the impression. The Marquis de Custin wrote in 1838:

The dregs of the Mediterranean make up the population of Gibraltar...riff-raff no state no family acknowledge theirs, a gathering of bandits...in consort with highwaymen and pirates... The officers of the garrison warned me to tell no one, our innkeeper least of all when I would be leaving, or my route, or the weapons I would be carrying (Quoted by Hills, 1974: 377).

By the later half of the century even the British Government was beginning

to acknowledge the scale of the problem (with frequent Spanish prodding)⁶⁹. By 1876 evidence was available that four times as much tobacco was coming illegally into Spain from Gibraltar than was being legally distributed by the Spanish government. It was claimed at the time that the introduction of a tobacco tax in Gibraltar would be an effective means of combatting the smugglers. But the tobacco industry generated some 1,450 jobs in Gibraltar, at the time, and any measures directed at tobacco smuggling would effectively end the industry itself. The extent of the economic linkages on the two sides of the border are hinted at in a document penned by the, then, Bishop, Dr Scandella. Hindering the small smuggler and his shore supporters, he wrote:

would cause deep irritation throughout the great neighbouring towns... whose inhabitants depend, in a very great measure, on their trade with Gibraltar... It is questionable that the Lines, Campamento, San Roque, Algeciras, Marbella and Estapoeña will be almost ruined (Quoted by Stewart, 1967: 135).

More powerful voices, however, were able to decide the issue. When, finally, revenue men were sent out from London to impose the tax:

The Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Liverpool, Glasgow merchants and the British shipowners stepped in: the tobacco trade was only part of a whole; if it was inhibited by taxation, they argued, Gibraltar's position as a centre for British trade in the Mediterranean would be ruined; such taxation was in any case contrary to the principles of Free Trade... (Hills, 1974: 384).

There is an interesting aside to this particular episode, one which few writers seem to have picked up. These events surround the replacement of the Bishop on his death and demonstrate to some extent the class alliances

⁶⁹It could be argued that smuggling and the problem of trade in contraband was, in general, integral to British imperialism given the predominantly 'trading' nature of British capitalism. In this respect this situation could be seen as an example of more general ones encountered elsewhere in the world such as China and Latin America. Smuggling is also the expression of cross-border class alliances which are played down in the 'official' histories.

which were exposed by the smuggling issue.

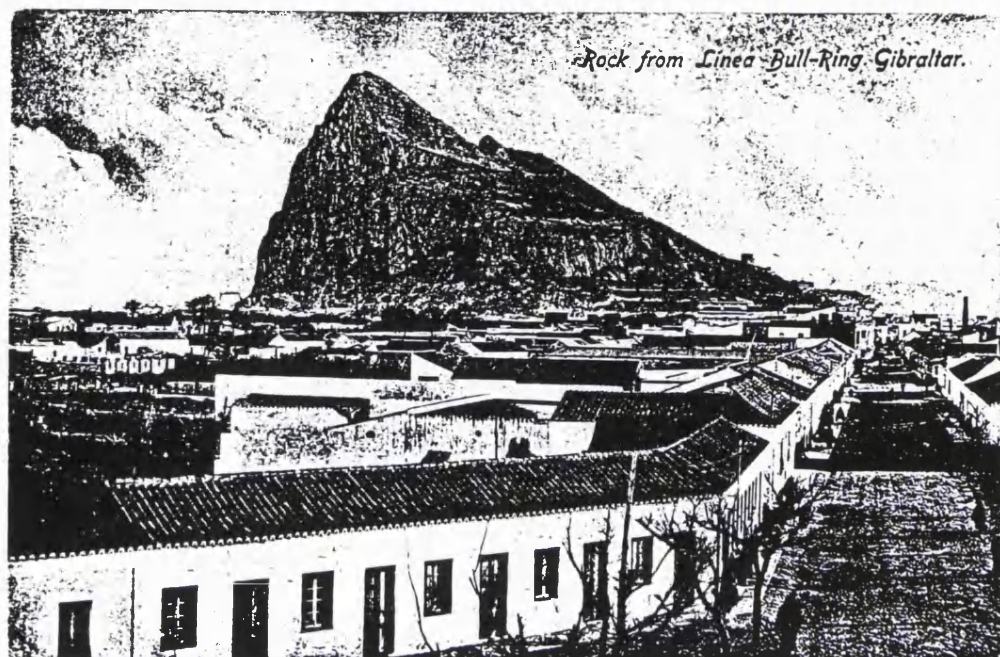


Figure 37: The Rock from Linea Bull-Ring

Religious Rock

As a result of the Napoleonic wars the Bishop at Cadiz had lost all real contact with his parish in Gibraltar. In 1839 Rome had appointed a Bishop *in partibus* to Gibraltar. The first man to fill the post was Irish, but his successor in 1855, Dr Scandella, was a Gibraltarian of Genoese descent. His intervention on the question of smuggling was essentially a defence of the Rock's poor who would in, large part, have lost any form of livelihood if the tax had been imposed. Scandella is also remembered as the founder of schools in which the wealthy parents, in effect, financed the schooling of poorer members of the community. On Scandella's death in 1880 there were a series of disturbances over the choice of his successor. This man, Dr Canilla, had been closely associated with Scandella. He was an unpopular

man with the wealthy of the Rock because of his constant criticisms of their lack of generosity. These parties, led by a merchant, Luis Imossi, conducted a press campaign against Canilla. Constituting themselves as a 'Committee of Elders' Imossi and his followers tried to prevent Canilla occupying his post. As wealthy men and employers of labour the 'Elders' had at their disposal a mob, drawn largely from their employees and various anti-clerical groups from La Linea. This mob, on several occasions, prevented the Bishop from entering St Mary's church. Meanwhile the authorities had distanced themselves from the trouble, but finally the time came for them to act. On the 3 April 1882 Governor Napier made a move. Soldiers were stationed at the frontier to prevent any trouble from La Linea and two further companies were mobilised to prevent any threat 'from the upper part of the town from whence the roughest of the crowd came' (Quoted by Hills, 1974: 396). Police and soldiers took up positions around the church, but they found that it had already been occupied by some two hundred men who had barricaded themselves inside. The police forced their entry into the church and 48 arrests were made. Canilla was finally able to enter his church and resistance to his appointment was broken. Hills has pointed to the rather anomalous situation here; the Colonial Office had been fairly active in giving support to the Catholic Church at a time when, back in Britain, there were still occasional outbursts against papists (Hills, 1974: 379). This must have left many ordinary Gibraltarians in somewhat of a dilemma. Catholicism could not be used as a rallying cry against the British and, indeed, an active clergy was defending the rights and interests of many poor Gibraltarians. Imossi and his renegade Catholics were powerful men who clearly wanted to use the church in Gibraltar to further their own interests which, only by coincidence, were, on the smuggling issue, the same as those of the Gibraltar poor. These are perhaps the first germs of the schizophrenia which has marked Gibraltarian politics in later years. Conditioned by respect for both the Catholic Church and the British many Gibraltarians failed to see the trick played on them by the Rock's merchant classes when they joined the political bandwagon and started

playing opportunistically with sentiments of class and religious loyalty.

Stewart puts it as follows:

The Gibraltarian worker was conditioned by submission to generations of autocracy; he was misled by his 'popular' party, the AARC⁷⁰. He was told not to rock the boat, to be patient, to eschew 'class hatred', and so forth (1967: 209).

When Stewart was working in Gibraltar in the 1950s he claimed that Gibraltarian labour contractors refused to employ Gibraltarians and waited until the official employers took them off the lists of unemployed. Then they would employ Spaniards. Earlier in the century, older Gibraltarian informants told him how they had spent the days as navvies on the works and the whole night heaving coal. The coalmen did form a rough association and had struck repeatedly (on one occasion strikebreakers had been imported from Morocco), but as we have seen many of the coal heavers were themselves Spanish. When the Transport and General arrived in Gibraltar in 1919, its members were by no means all Gibraltarian. As a correspondent wrote to the *Chronicle* in 1921:

Can any of your readers supply me with information as to the exact percentage of Non-British subjects who are members of the local worker's union? If current rumour is correct it appears that Gibraltarians and therefore British subjects form rather less than one-fifth of the total membership of the union, the remainder being Spanish.

La Linea after border opening

These days La Linea is changing fast. The Spaniards who go dewy-eyed at the thought of the good old days working on the Rock (and they were still to be found in 1987) are increasingly few in number. The broken English of some of those who left for work in England to try their hand when

⁷⁰The Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights. For further details consult Stewart (1967: 223-6).

Gibraltar was no longer an option sounds just like the English of some of the poorer Gibraltarians, but who would dare use a description such as 'Eurasian' in this context, as Macauley did?⁷¹ In the 1980s talk was of *heroína* and there were darker streets where men who have worked illegally in London for years on end tell you not to go for fear of the drug addicts and their vicious knives. Spanish workers are returning to the Rock (labourers registered as 'managers', in some enterprising cases to circumvent certain of the immigration restrictions). Gibraltarians are returning to their old abodes in the town and up the Costa - away from the oppressive Levanter⁷². The 'lumpen' Brits flood across the border in the morning from the rented flats they share or the cheap hotels. Executive types drive down the avenue leading to the border, from villas in the surrounding towns and countryside.

⁷¹As quoted in Chapter 2. Macauley's choice of word is key to some of the arguments being made here.

⁷²The mist which hangs over the Rock and, allegedly, drives people to despair and madness.

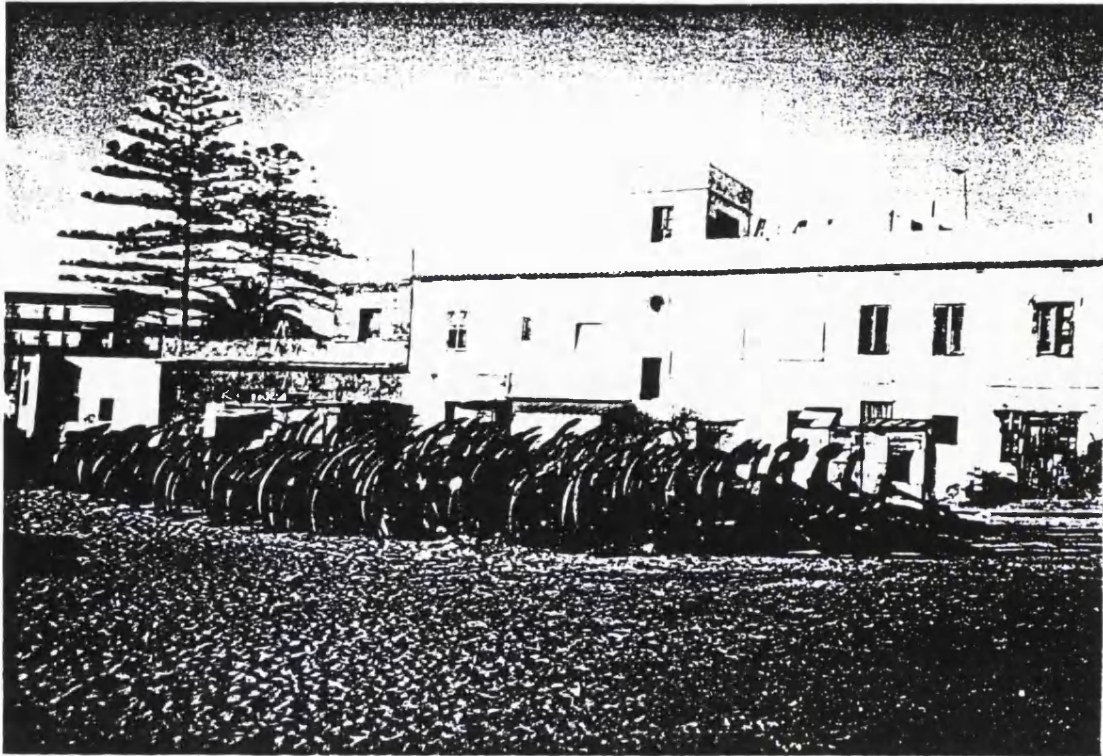


Figure 38: Anchors, La Linea

Chino Sur (From end of Empire to New World Orders)

Chin-Chin asked me to enquire about the rates for putting an advert in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* advertising her Chinese restaurant in La Linea, *Chino Sur*. It also rented out rooms quite cheaply and that was where I was staying. The establishment was the most southerly Chinese restaurant in Spain and the Andalusians had not fully come to appreciate the subtle qualities of Chinese cuisine. The people in Gibraltar were much more likely to come she believed. A good night out over the border in Spain, Chinese food. I'm reminded of an episode of *The Virginian* seen long ago. A Chinese emigrant to the States explains how he manages to cook when he can't get all the ingredients that he needs. 'I adapt, I adapt' he responds. Chin-Chin too is adapting. She left Shanghai just eighteen-months ago. Chinese women make good wives she tells me, very hard working. It's the morning and I'm sitting with her shelling tiny prawns. The day previously the

restaurant had been shut. Health inspectors had called and discovered a cockroach infestation. We knew about it, but Chin-Chin's normal response was simply to spray the insects and allow them to crawl under cash registers or into crevices and die.

In the evenings I sometimes sat in the restaurant and ate a meal. Watching what was going on, the passers-by. One night I was talking to a Moroccan who turned out to be customs official travelling in Spain as a tourist. He discussed how expensive Spain was for tourists, and the odd manners of the Spanish. Then another Moroccan arrived and drank a bottle of red wine at the bar. I recognised him as one of the Moroccan workers on the Rock, a grocer. He attempted to join our conversation, the customs official looked none too pleased to be addressed by a drunken compatriot, nor did he like the obvious joy on the other's face when he found he was dealing with a customs official. When you cross borders regularly it's good to know customs officials. He had not come on holiday in Spain to get embroiled with a migrant worker. So you work for the King, *makaan mushkil*, no problem, good old King Hassan. The two men seemed worlds apart.

Mr Lu, Chin-Chin's father, would come over. He was seventy-years old. He'd show me pictures. He spoke a very basic fractured English, interlarded with German. Occasionally he slipped completely into German. He talked and talked. He had his photo album and he showed me the pictures. Mr Lu opening his six million DM restaurant in Hamburg. His Hotel. His other restaurants, in Vienna, in Barcelona. Mr Lu entertaining one of Chang Kai-chek's Generals in his Hamburg restaurant. A newspaper cutting this, from a German newspaper. They all look as though they're having fun. The bar in Mr Lu's house in Hamburg is bigger than the one in the restaurant. Mr. Lu tells me about his three Mercedes. He shows me pictures of his other daughters and, as Chin-Chin puts it, his *novias*, German and Italian women smiling at Mr Lu. Chin-Chin gave me a beer. This night is a strange one, but many seem so to me. *Chino Sur* is in the street adjacent to *Calle de Gibraltar* and the women who work

there (and the men) and their clients drop in for a quick beer, for cigarettes. Early on that night a druggy couple had come in and tried to change a counterfeit £50 note. It had no metal strip and no watermark. Chin-Chin asked my advice. I had to say no and the drug addict asked me if I was English or a Gibo. I said English and he tried to explain that the Gibraltar notes were different, didn't involve watermarks, didn't have metal strips. A corpulent Spaniard came in and ordered a meal. He was extremely drunk. When he finally left he asked Chin-Chin how to say good-night in Chinese. He then repeated it twenty times, bowing on each occasion. Then he shouted out to everyone in the restaurant '*buenos noches, cojones*', rushed out to his car which he reversed into the one behind. He shot off, but returned ten minutes later, only to drive off again at speed. A strange ending to the evening.

In the room opposite my window is the old man. For about two weeks I knew the room was occupied, but there was hardly any noise, hardly any movement. Occasionally, I would hear the sound of troubled breathing. The old man is a retired sea captain who has no where to go and no relatives. He is very old, has *mucho dinero* - so it is rumoured - and British. The old man has promised that he will marry Chin-Chin, she jokes with me. Later I met Chin-Chin and Mr Lu at the frontier. She's not been admitted to Gibraltar. The problem seems to be her passport. She asks me to find out about the UK adoption laws. Is it possible for the old man to adopt Chin-Chin in order that she can obtain a British passport? Is there a lawyer in Gibraltar who can do this for her? I thought back to the Moroccans in the restaurant. The irony of the Moroccan tourist meeting the Moroccan worker. But what creates such a bridge between them? It is not true to say simply class and education. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the Moroccans working on the Rock come from a variety of backgrounds and they are not simply the helpless victims of inexorable economic forces. But in some sense, they are victims or, rather, victims of their circumstances. Mr Lu wanted me to phone the Moroccan consulate in Cadiz, he wants to open a Chinese restaurant in Morocco.

Overview

This chapter has explored the sense of disappointment which has frequently been engendered when writers and travellers have encountered Gibraltar for the first time. This sentiment is best understood within the framework of British imperialism and imperial identity which itself is linked to martial concepts and military discipline. All these factors, it has been suggested, have contributed to certain facets of life in Gibraltar and can be analyzed in the first instance through Goffman's concept of the 'total institution'. Such an analysis has been counterpoised by a second 'history', that of Gibraltar's relation to its hinterland. While Gibraltar may appear to be nothing more than a stepping-stone to more far flung spots within the itinerary of Empire, it has exercised a considerable local influence drawing in both labour and goods from the surrounding countryside and thereby creating a complex historical set of links. Links which continue to evolve in the present.

As we have already seen migration is nothing new to Gibraltar and Gibraltar itself has even had periods of significant out-migration. Indeed, as we have also seen, Gibraltar has had significant historical links with Morocco in the period of British rule⁷³. As I have already indicated, the structural appearance of Moroccan workers on the Rock in large numbers stemmed directly from the political actions of Franco and the nature of the organisation of labour in Gibraltar which meant, in effect, that the 'totality' which allowed or enabled Gibraltar to function economically and socially had come to include the Campo region and especially the border town of La Linea which had evolved in the shadow of the Rock.

A small number of Moroccans found their way to Gibraltar in the sixties. After all, it was close and employment is not an easy thing to find in Morocco. The main movement of migrants was beyond Spain and into

⁷³For a British government narrative governing Anglo-Moroccan relations see Rogers (n.d.).

northern Europe: France, Belgium, Germany and Holland. This movement of people was already a fact, but the diversion of a fraction of the stream into Gibraltar needs to be understood in relation to Gibraltar's complicated and anomalous history. The place and role of Moroccans in this world was directly conditioned by the many strands of the past which influence Gibraltar's recent history. Not least of these is the long standing Anglo-Spanish dispute over the status of the Rock. This, of course, implies other factors: the eclipse of Spanish power and the turmoil of the Peninsula Wars and the Napoleonic invasion, the Carlist struggles and the civil war, the development of the British Empire and the power structures it engendered; the 'habitus' of those relations which linger on in Gibraltar, the flavour of Empire and high-Victoriana. All these factors leave a mark and the history of Moroccan migrants in Gibraltar cannot be written without casting the net wide and seeing them as part of myriad developments over three hundred years - albeit with important qualities of their own - their paths crossing and recrossing. Sociological 'truths': 'ethnicity', 'class', nationalism, all have a part to play in the strategies required to present such a history. Chapter 4 will look in detail at the literature surrounding modern migration before the actual situation of the modern Moroccan migrant in Gibraltar is considered in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4

Migration and the Maghreb: the route to work

Introduction

Having looked at Gibraltar as historical and sociological 'ethnoscape' - paying particular attention to the framing factors of Empire, coloniality and Britishness - this Chapter will examine the more recent phenomenon of Moroccan migrant workers on the Rock; this will make it possible to develop the themes of 'Orientalism' and representation explored in Chapter 1. The intent being to see, through two sets of analysis, the Mediterranean region as the tableau on which world historical forces are simultaneously at work. In one sense, this could be said to represent a regional archaeology of the phenomenon now being referred to in the academic literature as 'globalization' and the restructuring of the global economy⁷⁴. The whole field of migration studies cross-cuts a number of more well-established disciplinary domains. Not unnaturally, it is often the case that modern migratory movements are compared with earlier population movements, notably with those which occurred as Britain itself transformed from a largely rural realm into the powerhouse of the Industrial Revolution. Such comparisons undoubtedly generate certain insights. For example, Stedman Jones's (1976) observations regarding 'Outcast London', help to warn us immediately as to the ideological distortions involved in much professional comment on the worth of migration and the desirability of migration. I shall return to this point in Section 4.2. At the level of literate cultural

⁷⁴The literature is large here, but the name of Roland Robertson features extensively. See his book *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (1992). For an overview see Waters (1995).

expression, these broad vistas of change have been explored for industrialising Britain by Raymond Williams (1973) in *The Country and the City*. Indeed, some of the literary material reviewed in Chapter 1 gave similar expression to a society racked by the strains of migration - strains which were recognised in the remarks of R.B Cunningham Graham quoted in Section 1.2. Such historical comparisons, however, mask some important differences at the level of the reorganisation of the global economy. Writers from various disciplines have attempted to address aspects of these changes. Here some key points will be isolated.

Initially, Section 4.1 will examine some of the ways in which anthropology has updated its understanding of the topic of migration. This coupled with a review of aspects of the sociology of migration makes it possible to unite the two sites which necessarily comprise any sensible discussion of migration - the venues of both departures and arrival. Starting out from this basis, Section 4.2 will look at the work of some political economists who have tried to tie their discussions of migratory movements in with theories of the development of capitalism on a global scale. Some of these theories bring into focus certain aspects of theories of underdevelopment. They also begin to raise the question of tourism which, as I suggested in the introduction to this thesis, I regard as a crucial factor in these historical equations. Introducing tourism makes it possible to transcend the general underdevelopment model and demonstrates the complex set of links between migration and tourism at a multitude of levels. The calculations here are not simple questions of figures, of fiscal exchange. There are far deeper exchanges at the level of 'desire', at the level of culture. These are facts which are only now beginning to be recognised and they are the factors explored in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

While it is not uncommon, for example, to suggest that literature of the American migrant experience is well developed by the turn of the nineteenth-century and that it might be argued that much twentieth-century American literature is composed out of the unique experience of migration, few have attempted to broaden the implications of such a fact.

Said's (1993) book *Culture and Imperialism*, while it may be open to criticism (Gellner, 1993), is an effort to develop this insight in the sense that culture is here allied, albeit in an ill-defined manner, with imperialism and its economic corollaries. In respect of the relation between 'culture' and movement even more fluid and process-based formulations could still be offered. This is the thrust of recent work by James Clifford (1992; 1994) as he has attempted to theorise the 'diasporic' and delineate 'travelling cultures'. At this point, however, we must beware of flying off into that universe described by communications theorists such as Meyrovitz (1985) where individuals no longer have any 'sense of place' - a strange world of signifiers divorced from signifieds, of imploded meanings and 'simulacra' (Baudrillard, 1983), where social actors, tourists or migrants, employ *bricolage* to fashion out of an undifferentiated world of signs a semio-scape that bolsters their own particular post-modern subjectivity. We must return to our own archaeology and search once again for clues to the historical and geographical specificity of the subjects of this study. To this end I go on to review some of the literature on North African migration in Sections 4.6 and 4.7. This serves as a springboard for some more specific case studies of migration in Morocco which comprise Sections 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10. The purpose of these is to demonstrate that, as David Seddon (1981) has argued, a good deal of ethnographic work on Morocco exhibits a static quality which detailed case materials seriously challenge.

Before developing the theoretical approaches and the case studies described above, I offer a number of vignettes derived from my own experience of the journeys taken to and from work by migrant workers from the Maghreb. This is done in order to capture something of the semiotics of travel as migrant and not tourist⁷⁵. As John Berger (1975) has written of the migrant:

Every day he hears about the metropolis. The name of the city changes. It is all cities, overlaying one another and

⁷⁵The semiotics of tourism is a well developed branch of the science of signs. See Culler (1988), for an introduction.

becoming a city that exists nowhere but which continuously transmits promises (p.23).

4.1 Journeys

Paris to Rabat by Train

The summer months are the worst for those who wish to visit home. The trains and ferries are very crowded, creating hectic rushes at all the important points of transfer: from the swift French train at the border town of Irún to the snail's pace of the Spanish train meandering its way southwards. Drinks and food can be shared, but provision is best made beforehand as there is only a small buffet car on the train, with a limited stock. Alternatively one can dash from the train at the innumerable stops on the way and attempt to make your purchase before the train moves off. At the transfer to the ferry, a hike with your baggage is required from the train station at Algeciras down to the port. Then, if you are lucky, an eternity of queuing. Those who sought to economise or to make their lives easier and have brought their cars, driving the length of Spain, find themselves having to wait for days on end before getting onto a ferry. Makeshift camps develop in Algeciras to accommodate these unfortunates who are then prey to the unscrupulous, as they often are driving through Spain. Tensions have become such that rioting has occurred in these camps. For the lucky foot-passengers armed with their suitcases and tickets after some pushing and shoving a space can be found on the deck if the weather is good and the fresh sea air of the Straits of Gibraltar can be enjoyed after the confinement of the train. They will be relieved to have escaped Spain and the claustrophobia of the train and the sheer insanitary conditions, the toilets long since having overflowed and the fresh water a memory. They will be glad to have escaped the hostile stares of the Spaniards. Richard Ford (1845 [1966]), travelling in Spain in the eighteenth century, described how the Spaniards described the area around

Tetouan as being full of monkeys and nothing else⁷⁶. Whether or not this was a reference to the human population is perhaps debatable, but if it is so the situation remains similar and the monkeys have become this trail of human ants.

Casablanca to Paris by Coach

The coach leaves late from down-town Casa, but firstly the baggage has to be checked in so that it can be loaded on the roof of the old coach that will take the passengers as far as Tangier. When the baggage check-in finally opens there is a stampede of people who seem to consider that by getting their luggage checked in first they will somehow speed up their journey. Five dirhams waved hopefully at the man behind the desk might help the whole process or at least get your bags on the right coach, but there is no way of knowing. Everybody is an expert on which is the right coach but until it actually leaves, with you on it, nobody really knows. Ignorance simply generates a space where something might just be created out of nothing, and there is no shortage of people trying to create. A coach materialises and people get on only to be told that it is not the right one. Pushing and shoving serves some purpose here. It's already obvious that there are too many people to fit on a single coach. Finally, two coaches are laid on and the journey begins. The cramped vehicles move into the night accompanied by the blaring of transistor radios. This part of the journey takes about seven hours including a stop at one of the all-night cafes that are a feature of many Moroccan roads. People buy a piece of meat from the make-shift butcher if a treat is in order and pass it on to the bar-b-que man who will cook it over his brazier for a small fee. The coach arrives at Tangier at six in the morning, but the port does not open until ten, so

⁷⁶The Spaniards despise the Moors; being utterly ignorant of their real condition, they fancy Tetouan to be a wilderness of monkeys; hence the proverb, *se fue a Tetuan para pillar Monos* (p.522).

people have to amuse themselves as best they can for the next four hours. Some try to sleep on the coach, while others go for a cup of tea. The waiter doubles up as a *bureau de change* offering Spanish *pesetas* at twice their value. A selection of Tangier misfits are hanging around the coach abusing the odd long-distance lorry driver and smoking cannabis. More hanging around awaits once the port is open; it is clear that failure to queue represents a struggle against the constant waiting and the overbearing monotony of being badly regimented. Once the customs formalities are dealt with and people are on the ferry there is an air of relief and slightly more space. As the ferry moves off Tangier fades into the distance, the sun glinting off the medina perched on the hill side. The arrival in Spain is the occasion for more rushing for position in queues. Another hour waiting to be sneered at by a Spanish customs officer, but there is a certain effort made to recognise this trade in bodies; one of the customs officers speaks Moroccan dialectal Arabic learnt in one of the Spanish outposts on the other side of the Mediterranean, Ceuta or Melilla - Spain's last outposts of Empire. A number of coaches are waiting outside the ferryport, their destinations marked on the windscreens: Lyon, Paris, the labour-hungry heartlands of France. The difference between this new coach and the one which carried everybody as far as Tangier is the difference between the dream and the reality. The jocularly of the two French drivers brings to mind a school outing and in some ways they do treat their charges like children. With the comfort of the seats and the coach's stereo system - which after some initial resistance will play Omm Khalthoum - a certain camaraderie is born, one common to long coach journeys. The atmosphere survives even the crossing into France where zealous border guards strip search a polio afflicted student returning to Paris to continue his studies.

From Tunis to Marseilles

For the Moroccans the sea crossing is relatively short, but from Tunisia or

Algeria the night must be spent at sea. The crossing of the Mediterranean is more expensive, a fact which is acknowledged in reduced tariffs for migrant workers. The boat itself is not particularly overcrowded, but the strictly separated second-class areas are more so than the well catered for first class. In the second class cafeteria people are huddled round a transistor radio awaiting an announcement from Tunis to say that the day's fasting is over and that they can eat. There are a mixture of people in second class, largely Tunisians heading to Europe for work. Those whose age betrays some experience in the job markets of Europe are listened to attentively by the young for whom this is the first trip. The cabins are utilitarian, with eight bunks in each. The odd cabin contains a young French co-operation family economising, but the majority of them are in the first-class bar, drinking alcohol and comparing notes. Here there is a sit down meal in a table-clothed dining room, but special vouchers are required. There are only two ways to traverse the barrier to first class. One is by mounting to the top of the ship and climbing a small fence before creeping down to the first class area. But, unless you look the part, the consequences of this are probably not worth it. Better wait until the evening when, if you are young, you can don your smartest outfit and bribe some of the ship's younger staff into letting you into the disco in the first class lounge for a taste of the luxury to come in France. In the morning the ship docks in Marseilles and everybody pours forth, losing themselves in the old port and surrounding areas or heading for coaches and trains to take them further.

Cultural exchange

These brief and cursory accounts omit a series of important facts⁷⁷. After

⁷⁷Reading of Moroccans being suffocated during attempts to smuggle them into Spain in shipping containers prompts me to say that these journeys are easy ones - others have no return and no arrival.

all, obtaining a passport in itself is by no means an easy task ⁷⁸. As an American anthropologist stated in a study of a family from north Morocco:

a primary factor in al-Hajj Mohammed's political activities in the early 1960s appears to have been his desire to obtain a passport so that he could go to work in Europe. He states that "all Moroccans dream of getting a passport and working in Europe". Although this may not be true of all Moroccans, it is certainly true of all the young men in the house of Si Abd Allah (Munson, 1984: 13).

This is before we start to discuss the difficulties involved in securing employment, the crooked labour contractors, lousy accommodation, endemic racism, body and soul destroying work. But the dull brutality of these journeys is a preparation for what lies ahead.

Some might go on to ask what relation does all this bear to a question once posed on the sides of London's buses; where does the sun go in Winter⁷⁹? Those places where a blue sea laps a golden beach bordered by medieval ramparts to which we can be transported not only in space, but also, allegedly, in time. Those tourists who feel that their holiday in Tangier did not match up to their expectations and grumble about the poverty are only deceiving themselves. We, in our own ways, are parasites. Sucking dry the exotic imagery from a reality which we pretend to describe but studiously ignore⁸⁰.

⁷⁸This dilemma for the rural aspirant is wonderfully illustrated in the Moroccan film *Al-Yam al-yam (The Days, the days)* directed by Ahmed El Manouni in 1983.

⁷⁹For a number of years this was the advertising copy-line for the Moroccan tourist board.

⁸⁰The Moroccan poet and activist Abdellatif Lâabi (1988) puts this more pointedly in describing his country as 'A zone of ill-repute in the bright sun of independencies for Occidental voyeurism, its arrogance and its impotence, its ultimate fantasies' (p.117).

Casualties of the voyage

At 11.30 at night in central Malaga a Moroccan is wearing carpet slippers. He's standing alone in a seedy bar opposite the *mercado central*. Intermittently he talks to himself and dances a few steps from a dream he can barely remember. An old Spaniard tells me not to speak to the Moroccan saying that he's *muy malo* in the same way that some of the Moroccans in Gibraltar described me as *muy malo* because I spoke some Arabic. The sentiment is echoed by the two transvestites who come into the bar. Both are over six-foot tall with black roots showing in their dyed blond hair and stubble protruding through their powdered faces. Don't talk to the *Moro*.

At 10.30 in the morning on a rainy Sunday three Algerians are standing in a small bar at the Gare du Nord in Paris. Throughout Europe migrant workers find that the desolate railway station is their only meeting point (Berger, 1975, p.182). Two of the men are talking together loudly in Arabic. One is inviting the other to come to his room where he has more to drink. 'We can drink until tomorrow', he says. The third man, who is alone, laughs and the speaker rounds on him and shouts in French, '*c'est mon frere*'. The third man laughs again and makes an obscene remark in Arabic. The other continues to assert his fraternity in French. He calls to the barman, 'he's my brother', the barman tells him to keep his voice down. They are not brothers except in drink.

I was in a small Algerian-run hotel near the *gare routier* in Paris filling in the *fiche*. A drunken Algerian pushed past me and demanded a room. I asked him in Arabic to wait for me to finish. He looked at me in disgust and said two simple words: '*Ana Americani*' - I'm American. The dream of merchandise is achieved by some migrants, but there is one cargo that very rarely arrives - the cargo of a new identity.

Morocco to Gibraltar

The journey from Morocco to Gibraltar is not on the face of it as arduous as the longer journeys further north. But the sense of displacement and the historical reasons for the movement are the same, as are many of the problems faced by the workers. Naturally, however, Gibraltar is not France or Belgium and there are certain specificities to the Gibraltar position, not least the small scale of the place. These factors will be explored, and, where possible, will be integrated with the experience of the Gibraltarian and Gibraltarian history. Before this, however, it is necessary to review some of the general literature regarding migration, as well as paying some attention to the evidence of another 'anthropology' of Morocco which emphasises the question of movement and historical flux.

4.2 Migrant Studies: anthropology and sociology

In spite of all the uncertainties of the theories of migration, there are some bases for an explanation of migration even though the form the migration takes is so idiosyncratic and culture bound that it can only be catalogued. (Richmond and Kubat, 1976: 11)

A comment as convoluted as this one goes some way to indicate the confusion which has reigned in the past in relation to discussions of migration. In anthropology, Malinowskian tenets of holistic ethnography have had the tendency to isolate social systems from the real world of change and social movement. The French Structural-Marxists did much to reorientate anthropological discussion - introducing many of the concepts of political economy into a functionalist void which, when it came to discussions of migration, emphasised such factors as the 'motivation of migrants'; distinguishing a series of facile notions such as 'target migration'.

Old hands in the colonial labour game bemoaned the instability of migrant workers; their desire to come and go without respect for the tenets of capitalist production. This was theorised as a kind of infantilism, a failure to comprehend the rationality inherent in the modernising impulse. Migrant workers were viewed as desirous of the manufactured wealth of capitalism, its consumer durables and so-on, but refused to refashion their 'traditionalistic' outlook of backward peasantries. Target migrants worked until they had earned enough to buy a bicycle and then returned to their village with blatant disregard for the interest of the employer to spend the rest of their days cycling around a yam patch returning to work only when overcome by the need to have a fridge, radio or whatever.

Colonial urban planners formulated other theories more germane to their particular interests; the growing ranks of the urban proletariat constituted a problem. Too many people were foolishly giving up the life of the countryside, drawn and deceived by the bright lights of the city. In South Africa, for example, the 'demoralised Bantu' of the Rand mining belt was heading for Igoli:

the Golden city, the dazzling magnet attracting Africans from all over the vast sub-continent of Africa, has provided the biggest problem that Africa has to face today, namely, the African projected into an urban, industrial environment (Longmore, 1959 :17).

Other 'theories' informed such writings - the same author notes that 'Change for the European is generally a process of evolution, a speeding up of an understood development. Change for the African is a cataclysm and a complete disintegration' (p.19). A similar moral tenor has been adopted in previous epochs. Debates about nineteenth-century London spawned a similar theory of urban degeneration. Writing in 1875, a London doctor reported that native Londoners finding themselves at a disadvantage in competition with the immigrant go through many stages before they are finally eliminated:

Irregular labour, odd jobs, sweater's dens, prostitution, subsistence on charity, agitation, 'demonstrations', and riot are only some of the struggles of the dying Londoner before he

pays the debt of nature, whose laws he has no power to obey
(Quoted by Stedman Jones, 1976: 16).

Apparently such ideas received institutional expression in various commissions of enquiry into the causes of distress in London: the vitality of the city was sustained by the provincial immigrant and against the sturdy countryman, the born Londoner could not compete. But there were other aspects to these debates on the innate superiority of the country immigrant. Stedman Jones notes the remarks of one employer of the period: 'We are much afraid of London men. They are shuffling, lazy and know too much' (p. 16). Such remarks in reality reflect not the debility of the urban Londoner, but the preference of employers for a docile and pliable labour force which they naturally associated with the countryside. Stedman Jones further documents that such arguments were further developed by one Llewellyn Smith, a doctor, who put forward his demonstration of a general inverse relation between poverty and immigration in the manner of a bio-sociological law of urban existence. He backed his conclusions with extensive statistical data relating levels of poverty with the proportion of London born in each registration district in the city.

Commenting on such work, Stedman Jones suggests that the theory of urban degeneration provided a mental landscape within which the middle class could recognise and articulate their own anxieties about urban existence. The real significance of immigration is perhaps then something separate from its mythological aspects. We can see an ideological inversion at work - immigration is not the issue, rather it is labour in the process of organising itself that constitutes the problem. Such an inversion gives us some clue as to where we must situate discussions of migration if they are to go beyond individual motivation and push-pull theories.

Eric Wolf (1982) writes that:

The trajectories of the 'people without history' on the various continents of the globe dovetail and converge within the larger matrix created by European expansion and the capitalist mode of production (p.355).

One significant aspect of this dovetailing is labour migration. Wolf outlines three principle waves of migration in the development of capitalism. Each of which, he claims, being a response to critical changes in the demand for labour. Firstly, he distinguishes movements associated with the initial period of European industrialisation, movements which began in England, but covered only short distances as industrial development was still itself localised and limited. Secondly, the massive movement of labour to the Americas. Thirdly, a wave of migration that carried contract labourers of diverse origins to the expanding mines and plantations of the tropics.

Returning to Africa, it was the development economist, Samir Amin, who noted in a collection entitled *Modern Migrations in West Africa* (1974) that nobody would dare explain European migration to North America solely by invoking the motivations of the migrants without adding that they were 'peasants chased from their land by the impetuous development of capitalism' (Amin, 1974: 16). Yet they continued to do so in the African case. The French Structural-Marxists reorientated discussion by emphasising the role of colonialism in breaking down indigenous forms and opening them up to capitalism. Any explanation of the migratory process had to account for both sides of the colonial coin.

Let us look at one such explanation of what in effect should be called a fourth phase in Wolf's periodisation. Pierre-Philippe Rey, in his *Capitalisme négrier* (1976), argues that in all types of submission of a precapitalist mode of production to capitalism there occurs an intensification of the exploitation of the direct producers which is obtained through the action of the 'traditional' ruling class itself (wishing to obtain its own revenues) or by the direct intervention of the bourgeoisie across the colonial relationship (especially in the case where the indigenous elite is too feeble). When a social formation comes under the influence of capitalist domination it undergoes a transformation from a 'traditional' pre-capitalist mode of production to a new mode of production which itself is not capitalist. There is a strong intensification of exploitation since the mutation is the result of the initiatives of dominant classes and, therefore,

done to their advantage and not to the benefit of exploited classes. Faced with this intensification of exploitation and surplus extraction the peasants, in general, organise resistance. Among possible forms of resistance, flight is one of the best. At the debut of the colonial period, Rey argues, such flight took place in the direction of territories not yet controlled by the colonizers. As colonialism spread and consolidated its control this solution became more and more difficult and was substituted by 'the flight towards capitalism itself'. Labour migration then becomes the sale of labour power in order to escape an even greater exploitation - that of remaining a peasant. For Rey, it appears to be 'a substitute for class struggle within a non-capitalist mode of production when the domination of capitalism becomes solidly established over that mode of production' (Rey, 1976: 60). In as much as it is a substitute for class struggle it prevents its development, hence the lack of great peasant disputes among people, like the Irish in the nineteenth century, who have migrated massively under the domination of capitalism. In this sense migration could be viewed as a form of 'resistance' appropriate to certain times and places⁸¹.

Such a view, schematic though it is, shows an effort to place migration within a wider historical context - that of the spread of capitalist world domination or, in the words of Wallerstein (1974), the development of a world capitalist system. The migrant, here, is conceived of within the nexus of pre-capitalist class relations prior to migrating. Sociologists on the other hand have attempted to conduct similar exercises trying to situate the migrant in relation to the class structure of the host-country. Robert Miles (1982), for example, has outlined three such approaches:

- 1) The Unitary Working Class Thesis: this holds that immigrants share with the indigenous working class the dependant conditions of exploited wage labour and that they

⁸¹One analysis of such forms of 'everyday peasant resistance' is provided by Scott (1985).

form an integral part of the working class.

2) The Underclass Thesis: this suggests that processes of discrimination are crucial in allocating 'immigrants' to a specific class position apart from the working class. They constitute a class beneath the working class by virtue of their inferior circumstances and life chances.

3) The Divided Working Class Thesis: although 'immigrant' and indigenous workers constitute the working class by virtue of their identical position in production relations, the working class itself is divided into two distinct strata. Because of their lower incomes and inferior social conditions 'immigrants' occupy a distinct position within the working class and this is paralleled by a subjective division within the same class.

Miles himself argues that all these three positions are flawed. The claims made for a unitary working class are empirically false. They are partially based on claims which are contradicted by the available evidence and it is mistaken to assume that discrimination creates no 'special disabilities' for 'immigrants'. The underclass thesis simply assumes that discrimination is the sole factor determining the position of migrants in what are defined as the three different markets which come to constitute the determinants of class position (employment, education and housing). It therefore attributes no explanatory significance to the status of being 'immigrants'. The divided class hypothesis makes the unwarranted assumption of there being a homogeneous working class which is 'divided' only by immigration. For Miles, it is only by starting the analysis with the production process and by simultaneously acknowledging racial categorisation, as an ideological process with its own determinant effects, that one can identify the dimension of class fractionalisation which exists as a result of labour migration. Yet even such an explanation is only partial in that it fails to

explain those groups who do manage to assimilate into the host society. Indeed, it fails to account for the varieties of migrant experiences observable throughout the world. That groups which were once stigmatised become acceptable suggests that racial categories need not serve as the basis for discrimination, although there is no arguing against the obvious potential they exhibit for ideological mobilisation.

With the development of the capitalist mode of production the geographical migration of people across national boundaries has become integral to its continued existence. In this sense there is nothing new about the labour migration into western Europe which postdates the Second World War. The dominant capitalist economies experienced a major labour shortage and were unable to resolve that shortage by creating a new 'reserve army of labour' from segments of the population within the national boundary. He has developed these arguments in a number of directions in more recent work (Miles 1987; 1989) to which I shall return.

The obvious solution to these labour shortages was to encourage labour migration from outside: the colonies, in the first instance. International labour migration then has become a special characteristic of the capitalist mode of production. Central to this growth has been an uneven development which has led to the accumulation of capital and the concentration of productive resources within the boundaries of certain social formations and a growing economic dependence on these economic formations by others which have come to be defined as peripheral. A measure of this uneven development is the failure of certain 'peripheral' formations to provide full employment or wages comparable to those of the core countries. Thus uneven capitalist development is both a precondition and a cause of the internationalisation of the labour market.

Modern large-scale migratory movements to and within western Europe were stimulated by demands for labour in the metropolitan centres. But the process does have certain characteristics setting it apart from earlier population movements such as the movement to North America. This modern phase involved direct intervention of the state on the behalf of

capital; state agencies recruit labour directly from the periphery. There have been greater efforts to control the use of this labour by making specific contracts, etc. Thus, when the demand for labour at the 'core' fell, the persons providing that labour power could be returned to the periphery. This use of contract labour, like the indenture system that preceded it, ensured that capital at the 'core' did not have to meet the cost of its original production and reproduction. It is through the political economy of migration, then, that one is able to establish the material dynamic for the geographical movement of people across national boundaries, and the terms on which these people enter production relations in the country to which they migrate. It is then possible to go on to conceptualise their class position in relation to the capitalist economies of the core - taking into account the importance of distinct political and ideological relations. While it is the core that calls this labour into being, this very act cannot fail to have very distinct restructuring effects on peripheral economies especially where this recruitment is accompanied by trade, arms or aid deals. The effect of these influences may be crucial in explaining the actual composition of transnational population movements. It is easy to imagine how the machinations of a repressive state bolstered by foreign capital might result in large scale migration in situations where core economies need the labour power.

4.3 Migrant studies: political economy

Having reviewed some broad anthropological and sociological perspectives this section will look in more detail at some further work on migration. Amongst political scientists debates on the subject of migration tend to be more developed for sub-Saharan Africa, especially South Africa itself. Stichter (1985), in a broad survey, discusses what she terms 'circular labour migration'; a distinctive feature of Africa's development:

Temporary labour migrants shuttle between two different

modes of production, capitalist wage employment on the one hand, and some form of pre- or partially capitalist subsistence or peasant production on the other. Return migration is a phenomenon of the incomplete separation of the worker from his or her means of production (p.1).

With increasing development, she argues, this form of migration is seen less and less. In Africa, however, the general level of industrialisation is such that it persists - and this persistence is maintained by the lack of capital penetration into agriculture. As to the origins of this migration, she believes, unlike many writers, that:

conditions specific to African pre-colonial social formations themselves...contributed to determining that migrancy would be the predominant form of wage labour for the first half-century of capitalist development (p.2).

It should be said that this form of argument has the advantage of crediting these societies with some historical agency - Rey (1976), for example, offers us a more restricted sense of agency. In this respect Stichter argues against the omnipotence of capitalism in the face of African societies; the logic of capitalism had to be imposed by force and 'it took some time for capitalism to establish the low-wage tradition' (ibid: 8). The factors which she isolates to help explain the final victory of migrancy over other labour systems are varied and include:

- 1) ecological conditions - where it concerns groups with unstable agriculture which makes migration attractive in years of failure.

- 2) the division of labour and social roles which were broadly characteristic of African society; after conquest young men were structurally underemployed and therefore amenable to migration and some features of migrant life were similar to men's traditional roles.

3) the strength of patriarchal control by elders; the extent to which they commanded or controlled the labour of dependent males.

On the whole, however, Stichter suggests, the lineage mode of production as outlined by the Structural-Marxists, in most of its variants and under most conditions, failed to generate a great deal of free labour even when this labour was in great demand. In the end, employers were saved by the various colonial governments imposing a variety of labour coercive measures and, all-in-all, 'direct coercion and state-engineered rural underdevelopment played a far greater role in the creation of an African labour force than they did in European or American labour history' (p.28).

While Stichter is helpful in outlining some factors which are pertinent to African labour migration, her definition of 'migrant labourer' is actually quite restrictive; pertaining only to those who move spatially between wage work and some other mode of production. The most important aspect of the phenomenon in this view is the turnover between wage and non-wage work. This makes her work impossible to generalise to other modern migratory contexts, particularly those with which form the focus of this thesis.

A fuller survey is provided by Robin Cohen in his book *The New Helots* (1987). In essence, he takes his starting point from Wallerstein in arguing that 'capitalism has always survived and even thrived, by deploying substantial numbers of unfree or semi-free labourers' (p.3). That is to say that capitalism has historically co-existed with a combination of labour regimes. With the end of slavery in the Caribbean, planters turned to the law to keep their workforce in effective bondage, but still they were short-handed and were forced to turn to indentured labour. While nominally free, indenture was not unlike the previous condition, 'with the legal termination of slavery, there came no end to bondage on the tropical plantation' (Tinker, 1974: 383). Cohen does, however, feel that Wallerstein's assertion that unfree labour is confined to peripheral zones is somewhat tendentious and that 'unfree labour is far more common in the history of metropolitan

capital than Wallerstein would lead us to suppose' (Cohen, 1987: 16). The international division of labour occasioned by the capitalist mode of production has been characterised by a combination of free and unfree labour regimes. Contrary to Wallerstein and world systems theory, however, Cohen argues that the actual international mix of free and involuntary labour is best set within the context of a more restricted definition of a 'regional political economy' (p.25). Unlike modes of production theorists, he feels that after initial settlement and conquest of peripheral zones there is no question of articulation of modes of production but, rather, the subordination and encapsulation of a pre-capitalist *form* of production/reproduction. He also insists on regional political economy and the overseeing role of the state in the structuring of the division of labour. It is this centrality of the state which provides one of the most important reasons, in his eyes, for viewing the bulk of international migrants as involuntary labourers in some sense; the political restrictions placed on post-1945 migrants distinguishing them, in this respect, from migrants from Europe to North America in the nineteenth century. In this particular he comes close to the specific point concerning state intervention in the migratory process made by Stichter.

As Cohen notes, when reviewing the literature on migration one is confronted with a vast array of theories and propositions of a bewildering variety. With this in mind he suggests, 'The development of migration theory must, however, be predicated on a holism: sending and receiving areas being treated as a unit with causative structural features operating on both sides' (p.39). This holism, however, is not that of the world systems theorists. The spread of world capitalism is, he suggests, not as unproblematic as they think. The process of incorporation and transformation of pre-capitalist societies can engender different outcomes as well as flatten historical specificities. Cohen chooses a number of case studies to illustrate his contentions and one of the geographical zones which he singles out is Europe, or more specifically, western Europe.

This case study is worth looking at because it serves as a background to

the thesis as a whole. As Cohen points out, the statistical data on European migration are often inaccurate and hard to use as definitions of migrant, immigrant and so forth vary considerably across the states in question. There are, it is suggested, some fifteen million foreigners in a loosely defined western Europe. In relation to their legal status these can be sorted into four groups: 'community workers', 'foreign workers', 'ex-colonial workers' and illegal migrants (Moore, 1977).

What, we might ask, is the historical basis for this particular region's migratory system? As Cohen reports, Kalecki (1971) stated that the problem faced by European capital in 1945 was that the employers' ability to deploy or discard labour according to movements of technology and capital was threatened by the increased class organisation of European workers. This left them with a number of choices, one of which was the employment of migrant labour. What might be considered the reasons for relying on migrant labour, that is to say, what are its advantages over other possibilities? Cohen cites four:

- 1) a general association between a large population and economic development
- 2) savings in the cost of reproduction of labour power
- 3) a labour force which is cheaper, less well organised, easier to hire and fire and lower in economic and social expectations
- 4) introducing a racial and national division of labour and therefore fracturing the class composition of metropolitan workers.

Certainly in the period after the Second World War there has been heavy in-migration of foreign workers into Europe. By 1975, commentators such as Piore (1979) suggest, foreign workers had come to constitute 10 per cent of the labour force in western Europe as a whole. On the basis of this movement of population, Piore (1979) has been able to suggest that a good theory of migration between developed and underdeveloped regions must recognise four basic characteristics of the process. These Cohen outlines:

1) the jobs that migrants hold in different countries and at different historical time periods seem to be of a piece.

2) the strategic factor in initiating the migrant streams to fill these jobs is active recruitment on the part of the employers or their agents from the *developed* region.

3) the ease with which employers are able through recruitment to initiate a new stream of migration suggests that, for all practical purposes, the supply of potential migrants is completely elastic or, in other words, is inexhaustible.

4) the migration process, once underway, is extremely difficult to halt as the mendacity and greed of employees and the self-organising nature of migrant networks perpetually outstrips the state's ability to regulate the process.

There is an amendment which I should like to make to Cohen's position in general. While recognising the specificity of movement within certain local regions he does omit a factor which, if we are to talk about holism, must be included: tourism.

4.4 Tourism: economic perspectives

In adopting certain insights from development studies to the study of Europe, Dudley Seers (1979) calls for two basic alterations to be made to the view of a basic world structure. The first of these is that certain European countries exhibit basic elements commonly found in the world's periphery. This first point is connected to his second assertion that 'the core-periphery metaphor for the world as a whole is non-geographical' (p.xiii). In western Europe, he suggests, core-countries are grouped together in the centre, partially surrounded by less developed countries which lie to the south and the west. Such systems, and here there seems to be agreement with Cohen, he terms 'core-periphery systems' and, like Cohen, he suggests that they exist elsewhere - in his list, for example, he cites the western hemisphere, with the USA as core surrounded by a ring of

countries with close economic, political and cultural ties - and that they share some features in common, 'One is that... much labour has migrated to the core. Another is that tourists tend to flow in the opposite direction, in great and growing numbers' (p.xiv). While he points out that this particular relationship is only established after certain other differences have come into existence, it is interesting that he established this equivalence between tourism and labour migration which is such a factor of the European system in the twentieth century. Interestingly, he singles out an East Asian system based around Japan where this equivalence cannot be found, claiming in addition that Japanese tourism skips the peripheries of the system. Given the complicated historical relationship between Japan and Korea, and the aggressions in Manchuria, coupled with the intense out-migration of the Japanese themselves in the early phases of that country's recent history, this assertion in itself might be a little simplified; but this only goes to highlight the initial problem we are faced with if we want to use such rough indicators as 'migration' or 'tourism' as meaningful guides to shifts within a complex world system. Having made this proviso, however, the general point he makes will still be examined because there is something of importance to be understood in this simple equation of tourists and migrants.

In seeking to establish why hierarchies between neighbouring countries establish themselves, Seers resorts to simple questions of distance, which he suggests, control price. When a core country is in a position of proximity in relation to one which is less well developed, this factor alone is enough, once any sort of trade relationship is established, to transform economic, political and cultural links in a direction which leads to dependency of some form or other. This he argues, understandably, is tentative speculation, but he does add that there are other effects of proximity in the modern world which bind regional systems together: these are precisely migration and tourism. In the case of migration, as we have seen, the arguments are fairly familiar and hinge on the utility of migrant labour for many elements of the model - a utility which itself generates increased dependence. This shift of

labour is, in fact, prior to the advent of tourism, and tourism is spawned by the increasing relations of dependence which makes 'emitter' countries somehow open to mass tourism. Once the cycle begins it consumes all before it and the *Costas* spread exponentially, so to speak, cut off from any locally exercised control.

In applying the underdevelopment model to Europe, Seers singles out two countries in particular as forming peripheral regions of the European system: Portugal and Greece. Discussing their historical development, he notes that by the 1920s southern Europe as a whole had fallen some way behind the rest of Europe in economic and social terms, 'Social structures remained partially pre-industrial, and parliamentary institutions were weak and precarious' (p.6).

Of the countries discussed by Seers, he notes that the 1960s and 1970s have seen them become increasingly dependent on migration and/or tourism. It should be stressed, however, that other countries, because of their proximity, show similar patterns while at the same time they are not geographically part of Europe, notably Turkey, Cyprus, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco⁸². These countries, he suggests, should be considered as an outer periphery to this particular system:

Culturally, the core is fairly homogeneous, sharing similar lifestyles, especially the universal ownership of cars and the main household durables. Much of the same consumer brands and architectural fashions can be found everywhere: a parachutist landing among the concrete blocks of an urban area of the core would probably take some time to recognise which city it was. There is a dense network of railways and motorways, and the horse is used only for sport' (p.9).

Within the same collection of essays, the general link between tourism and underdevelopment is challenged by Boissevain (1977). Tourism, in Seers' European periphery, this writer notes has brought with it mixed benefits.

⁸²Berger (1975) shows clearly that all migrants from the southern European periphery have undergone a similar type of migrant experience. Ronald Fraser (1973) quotes at length the account given by a young Andalusian migrant to Germany in the modern period (pp.227-30).

While the growth of tourism in the area has been spectacular - linked by Boissevain to 'pollution' as a result of industrial development in the European core creating a desire to 'escape', linked to greater consumer power which makes the dream of escape a possibility - coupled, of course, with a multi-million-pound industry, he argues, the pessimism 'of north European experts is generally not shared by many on the periphery' (p.131).

In short, he concludes:

The progressive, debilitating dependence of a less developed periphery on its metropolitan core, predicted by so many development experts, does not seem to hold for the tourist connection between northern Europe and its less developed southern periphery. Tourism has established a relation of greater interdependence between north and south. Both have benefitted but in different ways. It is not possible to speak of the development of underdevelopment in this case. Access to the Mediterranean by means of an annual holiday is increasingly being viewed by metropolitans not as a luxury but as a necessity, not as a privilege of a wealthy few, but as the right of all workers. Like the automobile, the fridge and television, travel to the Mediterranean has become part of the European way of life (p.134).

Of course, it should be noted that this pessimism in some quarters runs even deeper than Boissevain would give credit. Operating out of a tradition which has certain similarities with a core-periphery model, Herbert Schiller (1976)⁸³ has argued - in an even more damaging way than Seers - that tourism is part of a larger process. In Schiller's view of the world the development process is seen as a way in which the class structure of the core is replicated in the periphery. One of the most effective ways of doing this he suggests is through tourism. Tourism benefits the dominant order in several ways:

- 1) It provides a relatively cheap diversion to the middle and lower classes of the industrialised core nations.

⁸³Schiller himself writes within the tradition of critics of 'media imperialism'. See Boyd-Barrett (1977) for an early formulation of this train of thought. For a more recent overview, see Tomlinson (1991).

2) It is a source of profit to the monopolistic enterprises that service the traffic, most of these being based in the core countries.

3) It enlists and develops a small, though parasitic, entrepreneurial segment in the targeted country.

Another crux of his argument is the commercialisation which tourism wreaks on its destination⁸⁴. Schiller writes that, 'In pure "tourism", everything - people, customs, ceremonies, food, clothing, art, household ornamentation - is for sale. The community itself becomes one huge market' (p.15). Interestingly, however, Schiller does discuss one facet of tourism which few others touch upon. This is the comparative speed with which touristic influence is felt in many areas, the collapse of the time dimension, as he puts it. This is an expression mirrored in the more recent work of human geographers such as Doreen Massey (1994) who uses the expression time - space compression (*see also Harvey, 1990*). Tourism, for Schiller, forms part of the mechanics of contemporary cultural imperialism:

The world system is the theatre, and the action moves from the centre to the edge. It is undertaken with the mutual consent, even solicitation of the indigenous rulers, either in the core, the semiperiphery, or the periphery. These rulers strive eagerly to push their people and their nations into the world capitalist economy (p.16).

In effect, this is the model employed by Grillo (1980) who poses the movement of aid and tourism against the migrations of peripheral countries and regions, but he adds an important doubt:

The dependency model of centre - periphery relations says everything and nothing. Even if we allow that a general process of this kind is at work, within countries and between countries, the impact of this process on particular localities may be very different (Grillo, 1980: 16).

This worry is also implied by Wolf (1982). But by situating migration in the

⁸⁴As a matter of balance, Bossevain argues that the 'commercialisation of culture theme has been grossly overplayed by sympathetic outsiders' (p. 132).

labour process within a developing world capitalist economy I am not trying to suggest that all things can be reduced to a standard interpretation. As Wolf (1982) suggests:

the characteristics of particular working classes show wide variation. They differ in origin, in point of entry into the labour force, in composition, and in the ways they relate to other groups and social categories (p.359).

But ethnic heterogeneity must itself be located in the organisation of the labour process - to quote Wolf once more:

Capitalism did not create all the distinctions of ethnicity and race that function to set off categories of workers from one another. It is, nevertheless the process of labour mobilization under capitalism that imparts to these distinctions their effective value (p.380).

4.5 Migration: beyond dependency

There are a number of significant stages in the migratory process which are masked by the dependency model when applied to the migratory process. Evidently this was the major theme of Castles' (1984) early work. More recently (Castles and Miller, 1993), he has sketched a four stage model of the 'age of migration':

- 1) Temporary labour migration of young workers.
- 2) Prolonging of stay, development of social networks.
- 3) Family reunion.
- 4) Permanent settlement.

Naturally, this schema raises a number of issues which the dependency model or some of the more economic frameworks, such as those championed in Robert Miles's early work, cannot deal with. In effect, Miles (1982) threw out the cultural baby with the racist bathwater. Berger's (1975) view that as far as the economy of the metropolitan country is concerned migrant workers are immortal, 'immortal because continually

interchangeable' (p.64) is somewhat overdetermined. As Castles's work suggests, genuine cultures of settlement are emerging which are increasingly dynamic and deep-rooted within their host-societies. In the case of Britain, for example, it has been argued the sub-cultural styles have long developed in reference to themes and elements in the culture of black immigrants (Hebdige, 1979). In fairness to Miles, his later work, *Racism* (1989) has attempted to register the real effects of perceived difference and address the notion of 'otherness'. It is perhaps at this level that anthropological analysis comes into its own because of its sensitivity to the universe of culture and ethnicity. A standard definition of ethnicity is provided by Sandra Wallman (1979):

Ethnicity is not, therefore, the same as culture or 'race'. It is not simply difference: it is the sense of difference which can occur where members of a particular cultural or 'racial' group interact with non-members. *Real* differences between groups of people are no more (and no less) than potential identity markers for the members of these groups. This potential is taken up and mobilised only where it suits the purposes of a particular encounter (p.ix-x).

Ethnicity, then, is something to be invoked by migrant groups or, indeed, by hosts, often in an unpleasant fashion. Culture, however, if we take the broad anthropological remit for the word⁸⁵, has a very real materiality, and can provide the ability, for example, to refashion the host landscape in a vast variety of ways: from, for example, the development of 'Chinatowns', to the remodelling of the national diet. This is a rich and complex area of study which generates an array of questions. In addition, because culture is material in its manifestations, does not mean that it is somehow fixed. Taking a concrete example: Adams (1987) gives an account of the emergence of what might now be regarded as something of an institution in Britain, the curry house. These were first established in Britain by enterprising

⁸⁵Not to say that this is not all deeply contested territory in a number of ways. See Williams' (1959) seminal early work *Culture and Society*.

merchant sailors from the province of Sylhet, in what is now Bangladesh. These men jumped ship and set out to establish businesses of their own. The cuisine of those who started out in the catering trade was, if anything, pure invention. The first time that these pioneers had cooked in their lives was on board ship. The flock wallpaper of the 'classic' Indian restaurant - these days held to be the embodiment of tackiness in some quarters - is, in fact, an ambivalent parody of the 'glories' of the Raj. Students of migration are becoming increasingly aware of these factors, as indeed they must. One recent survey (Bottomley, 1992) demonstrates clearly the rewards to be gained by paying attention to the cultural aspects of migration. Bottomley uses Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, a form of embodied history, to shed light on the processes of ethnic identity among Greek migrants to Australia.

Without extending this discussion further the fact remains that it is in the study of migrants and cultural identity that anthropology, and the now vogueish cultural studies, tread the same ground and, occasionally, pose the same questions. One issue in particular has been raised within both disciplines. That is the question of identity and nationality. This issue was posed by Paul Gilroy in his book "*There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*" (1987). It is, of course, at the heart of Norman Tebbit's notorious identity test. The issue, in fact, is more deeply charged than even Tebbit realises, but for very different reasons. Accustomed to the western European concept of nation, which implies fixed boundaries to the nation-state, we can easily miss what Glick-Schiller (1994) and her colleagues have described as deterritorialised nation-states. Some migrants do partake in 'transnational projects' and as migration shows no sign of decreasing or going into reverse - far from it, Castles and Miller (1993) suggest that the next twenty years are likely to witness both increasing globalisation of migration and its acceleration - such transnational agendas are set to be more important as we find ourselves in an increasingly diasporic and creolised world, enmeshed in what Hannertz (1992) has called the 'global ecumene'.

4.6 Maghreb / Morocco/ Migration: anthropology and its object in North Africa

Having looked at some general approaches to the question of migration it is time to turn to the specific case of North Africa in an attempt to understand how the fact of migration and social change has been poorly represented in the bulk of the anthropological accounts. In particular, the case of Morocco will be looked at in some detail. Firstly, however, it is necessary to consider some of the specifics of the situation encountered by North African migrants in France, in order to use this as a comparative backdrop to the empirical detail which follows concerning migrant Moroccans in Gibraltar.

In this section it will be possible to look more closely at the forms of process which have been discussed at a more general level earlier in this chapter. The analysis thus far demonstrates that a number of perspectives are necessary in order to arrive at an overview of the migration process.

The economic factors that drive people to migrate are frequently mediated by power relations. These can be located, formally, at two junctures: that of the socio-cultural formation itself; and those relations which impose themselves over time as a result of the historical fact of colonial intervention or the play of abstract global economic forces. Neither of these facts are static, but, rather, show constant flux. While the colonial moment, in terms of its concrete effects, cannot be dated precisely in this respect- it imposes itself slowly in real terms - there is a tendency for the dominant power relations in the old society to be disrupted until new power relations come to exert themselves. Such an insight is central to much of the classical ethnography of 'tribal' Morocco. In a well known article Ernest Gellner (1969) has typified the Moroccan state as a political structure undergoing a constant process of evolution and decline as it becomes decadent and is overwhelmed by the arrival of desert hardened and vigorous warriors from the land of dissidence (*bled as-siba*). This view of

the Moroccan state is ultimately derived from the work of Ibn Khaldoun⁸⁶ who was the inspiration for another great work of Moroccan ethnography, Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc* (1930). This work describes the appearance of small republics out of the bedrock of Berber society - another cyclical process - and their relations with the central state or *makhzan*.

Without summarizing the entire corpus of Moroccan ethnographic literature we can point to a number of failings in these elegant models. Firstly, as Edmund Burke (1973) has pointed out, they rest on certain composite stereotypes generated by the early military ethnographers of Morocco (the 'pacification' of Morocco was as 'political' as it was military). One of these was that of a weak, but despotic, central state unable to control areas of anarchy with its domain - this view, of course, was the original French excuse for military intervention in Morocco. A second point, as David Seddon (1981) has suggested, is that the emphasis of these models on political forms fails to take into account the underlying economic and social relations. In effect, such views have tended to generate an impression of the moment of colonisation as a sudden lightening bolt hurling a ramshackle archaic state into the world of the modern. One can understand why the French would want to project this view, but it fooled ethnographers too who, until the 1970s, tended to concentrate their gaze on rural areas where they could still find seemingly intact remnants of the anarchic segmentary societies that the stereotypes endorsed. When American ethnographers such as Clifford Geertz (1979) turned their attention to the urban world, they generated a picture of the social world based on individualism and complex webs of meaning, a far cry from the views of the segmentary theorists. Indeed, as Gilsenan (1982) has pointed out, they might as well be models fashioned on different planets⁸⁷.

⁸⁶For a detailed analysis of Khaldoun's writings, see Lacoste (1984).

⁸⁷This debate rumbles on periodically, see, for example, Munson, Jr. (1989).

This general failure to acknowledge underlying economic and social change has led people to misinterpret certain features of Moroccan ethnography. The exotic, despotic picture of the likes of Thauri Glaoui, one of the 'Lords of the Atlas'⁸⁸, was seen as an odd quirk of the Moroccan/'Oriental' psyche, but the truth is far removed from this position. Such men were able to build up such positions of power and authority because of their appeals to European aid and assistance - in some cases prior to 1912. In fact, the entry of the European powers into the Moroccan political game distorts the whole dynamic leading to the creation of powerful figures such as Glaoui who otherwise would have been unable to come to such prominence. The whole dynamic has some strong parallels with Ekholm's (1977) analysis of the appearance of coastal kingdoms among the ba-Kongo during the slave trade. What have been considered to be strictly local phenomena are, in fact, triggered by the process of Morocco's increasing integration into an increasingly global world economy⁸⁹. Anthropologists have failed to address questions such as migration, a phenomena which even in Morocco was appearing in new forms in the nineteenth century in response to pressures from outside Morocco itself.

There is also an historic dimension to the process of migration. The temporal instant of one migrant's decision to go is but a slice of a long-term trend which, in the Moroccan case, can be seen at various levels - and read from the basic structures of rural and urban life in the twentieth century. This history takes on a special political hue - for the urban planners, migration is the result of a simple calculation based on the carrying capacity of the land and the fecundity of its inhabitants. There are, however, other readings we might expect. In order to illustrate this three ethnographic examples will be used, each focusing on migration: the Rif, the Souss and the Dra' valley. Before such a discussion, however, it is

⁸⁸This being the title of a popular account of such individuals embroidered with suitable Orientalist flourish by Gavin Maxwell (1966).

⁸⁹These processes of integration do find strong echoes in more historically oriented work, see Schroeter (1988).

necessary to look more generally at the relationship between French colonialism and migration from the Maghreb.

4.7 North African Unity: the colonial link

The colonial impulse in all three of the Mediterranean Maghrebi states, with the exception of Northern Morocco which was made a Spanish protectorate in 1912, was French⁹⁰. This is an important consideration, but one which can result in compression, a denial of specific difference. Nevertheless, this fact of French control does provide some unifying elements to the colonial experience in the three countries. The French took effective control of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Prior to this Tunisia and Algeria had been under Ottoman control. Morocco was an exception having remained an independent Empire into the twentieth century. Nonetheless the fact that all three countries came under French influence explains the economic ties between North Africa and metropolitan France. Further considerations lead to certain distinctions but, on the whole, French colonialism was similar in form.

In Algeria, however, it was deeply felt, both in the severity of the conquest and the violence of the independence struggle. In this respect it represents something of an extreme. In Algeria the disappropriation of tribal groupings was not masked by legal technicalities. The 'ethos' of settler colonialism which followed conquest did not call for indigenous labour until the later development of large-scale cultivation and as Bennoune (1976) points out, it was received knowledge that the 'native' population would eventually die out. At this point the country was considered 'virgin

⁹⁰For a good general history for the period until 1900 see Morsy (1984). A standard historical reference is Abun Nasr (1971). A critical view of the colonial historiography is contained in Laroui (1977). The colonial period in Morocco is dealt with extensively in Julien (1978).

territory' to be claimed by the enterprising *colons* who had themselves migrated from the other side of the Mediterranean.

In Morocco, chronologically later, but structurally at a similar time in relation to the colonial process, a similar view was being put forward. Resident General Lyautey remarked in 1927:

The indigenous population, despite the general benefits in hygiene and the progress brought by French peace, has only been able to grow slowly (Quoted in Trystram, 1957: 32).

Trystram (1957) notes, even in the early days of the Protectorate there were worries expressed about, and measures taken to prevent, the then small industrial labour force from returning to the countryside at the time of the harvests. Up until the late 1920s there were complaints about the lack of a labour force. 1928 saw a massive injection of capital into the Moroccan economy and a commensurate increase in the demand for labour. At this point appeals were made for increased immigration 'and some even went as far as to suggest a massive influx of Asiatic labour' (Trystram, p.31). Recruiters were forced to go to the tribes to get the necessary manpower (as recruiters from France would do after the Second World War). Little more than twenty years later, however Chevalier (1947) was to write of *foudroyante* demographic expansion.

The ideological apparatus for describing the *indigenes* was well developed in Algeria by the turn of the century (Sivan, 1974; Calmes, 1984; Lorcin, 1995). It was little more than a total denial of their existence. Popular comics of the time - provided largely for the 'white' urban working classes - portrayed Algerian Muslims simply as 'Mohammed' or 'Fatima'. Both were ascribed a series of derogatory characteristics. Their lives were totally separate from those of the European working classes, both spatially and socially. This pattern was to repeat itself in Morocco in a fashion that Janet Abu-Lagoud (1980) has described as urban apartheid, referred to in Chapter 1. In the Algerian context the Muslim urbanite lived in the dark labyrinthine *casba*. Epitomised by the *casba* of Algiers itself. The social space described by the term came to have a deep resonance indicating a

harbour for criminals and mystery summed up in films such as *Pepé le Moko*⁹¹.

This spatial separation was more clearly developed in Morocco where the colonial authorities built new towns beside the existing urban settlements. The *medina* or old town was kept separate from the *ville nouvelle* by a 'Sanitary cordon' as they were termed; the distance between the two sufficient to prevent the spread of contagion. These essentially restrictive measures were to be challenged by the development of huge shanty towns or, as the French termed them, *bidonvilles*. As the industrial economies of the colonies got on their feet - here we are talking especially of primary extraction industries such as mining - the shortage of labour became pressing. Whereas prior to the 1930s in Morocco 'natives' were generally considered unsuitable for such work, demands from certain sectors of the European economy called for the use of local labour. Sites of some of the largest shantytowns were initially 'workers' quarters'. But, as Bennoune (1976) points out, this labour was not just 'there' waiting to be called into action.

In Morocco, as in Algeria and Northern Tunisia, extensive appropriation of land by Europeans dispossessed large numbers of people. The rearrangement of the agricultural sector had other results. In Morocco there had long existed an internal labour migration based on harvesting. Workers from the impoverished regions of the south would work their way north as the harvest ripened. With the large-scale consolidation of land and the introduction of mechanised agriculture such economic cycles were fatally disrupted and areas of the south became primary sources for large-scale migration of a different nature: termed in the general literature the rural exodus.

The important point to be noted in this context is that describing such a

⁹¹I touched upon this film briefly in Chapter 1. Directed by Duvivier in 1936, it has some excellent documentary footage of the *casba* in an early sequence (as well as Jean Gabin). The contrast with Pontecorvo's 1965 classic *The Battle for Algiers* is instructive.

movement as rural - urban does not explain its real significance. French economic intervention in Morocco centred around primary extraction industries and especially phosphate deposits. The urban structure that grew up during the Protectorate period reflected this fact. This new structure was not congruent with the nineteenth century urban order based on the imperial cities of Fez, Marrakesh, Meknes and Rabat all of which, with the exception of Rabat, were centrally situated in the geography of the old 'Barbary' as it was often called in the 19th century literature. The colonial urbanisation concentrated on opening up the ports. The rapid growth of Casablanca from a small fishing village to one of the largest towns on the African sub-continent is the direct result of French moves. The flow of resources out of the country was followed by the flow of people. The labour which fuelled the growth of Casablanca was housed in the shantytowns, the growth of which mirrored that of the expanding city. In the north of the country, the situation was the same and the inhabitants of the Rif and Jbali highlands who had themselves migrated on a seasonal basis to the large estates of European colons in Algeria prior to 1912 streamed into the Mediterranean ports of Tangier and Tetouan.

In this context any distinction between internal and international migration is meaningless. Some of this proletariat called into being by French colonialism did not stop at the coastal towns. Labour also flowed back to the metropole; both as workers and as soldiers. This was especially so after the Second World War. National reconstruction in France was only possible with cheap labour, much of which was recruited in the North African colonies. These workers were recruited with certain jobs in mind. Their unequal distribution in terms of employment was no accident. Older branches of industry outstretched technically by rivals could continue to operate using cheap labour; that is labour paid at lower rates than the French working classes themselves - therein lies the danger of positing an abstract demand for 'labour' in general; only certain types of labour were in demand - cheap, unskilled and pliable, in fact.

As was suggested in Chapter 1, the appearance of the 'modern' city of

Casablanca⁹² coincided with the birth of the *bidonville* as what were originally worker's compounds swelled in size with the dispossessed of the countryside flowing into the cities. As we saw, the ethnographer Montagne (1950) was, at this point, to start a series of investigations of the rural exodus and the specific profiles of various *bidonvilles* which had sprung up in Casablanca. But, as Khatibi (1983) has suggested, good colonialist to the last, the great ethnographer was by this stage trying to devise a strategy to convert the newly developing proletariat to the French cause in a frank acceptance of the fact that, by and large, the intellectual élite of Moroccan society were already as good as lost to the nationalist cause. With hindsight, this was a strategy bound to failure, but with Moroccan independence in 1956 ties with France nonetheless remained. Those features of the colonial situation isolated by development theory stayed in place. Primary products continued to flow to the once imperial metropolis, and among these products continued to be labour.

As indicated, because the colonial relationship with Algeria was far deeper in respect of time-depth and extent, it was Algerians who first found themselves in France itself. It was at the beginning of the twentieth century that this emigration really started, preceded by the arrival of *colporteurs* and ambulant salesmen, the '*turcos*'. The first workers who arrived around 1905, were principally Kabyle, and settled largely in the Marseilles area where many of them worked in the mines (Minces, 1973). By 1912 there were between 4-5,000 and on the eve of the First World War the figure had risen to nearer 30,000. The war greatly changed the situation and by its end North Africa had furnished 175,000 soldiers and 150,000 workers⁹³. Most of these returned home after the war, but in the

⁹²Just how 'modern' can be seen from the recent publication of Susan Ossman's (1994) book, *Picturing Casablanca*.

⁹³Waterbury (1972) speculates that when the French completed the process of pacification in the Souss region of southern Morocco in 1934 using planes, the Moroccan fighters were not surprised by this sudden intervention of the modern world as many had in all probability helped build them in France.

early twenties there was again demand for labour and some 120,000 North Africans returned (roughly 100,000 Algerians and 10,000 Moroccans and a similar number of Tunisians). This led to something of a backlash with a xenophobic campaign waged in France and pressure from the colons in the colonies themselves which led the French government to place general restrictions on this movement (Minces, 1973: 46).

During the Second World War the movement stopped completely and most North Africans returned home once more. After the war the movement recovered on a government sponsored basis but, for Algerians at least, this soon gave way to an open door policy. By 1950 it was estimated that some 200,000 Algerians alone were present in France. Naturally, because their numbers have been the greater, the Algerians have been subject to far more sociological attention than the Moroccans and Tunisians who themselves have migrated to France in large numbers. Indeed, Abdelmalek Sayad (1985) has gone as far as to describe the Algerian migration to France as an '*exemplaire*'. There is a considerable literature devoted to the topic (*see* Zehraoui, 1971; Hifi, 1985; Costa-Lascous and Temime, 1985). The Moroccans and Tunisians tend to be covered in more general accounts of migrants in France are those dealing with the North African migration as a whole (for example, Granotier, 1970; Minces, 1973; Alouane, 1979; Bentahar, 1979; Benoit, 1980; George, 1986; Mestiri, 1990), although Manneville (1952) did publish an account of Moroccan workers in France in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

The boom of the 1960s and the early 1970s has been followed by recession. In the years since the Second World War the lower echelons of the labour market became dependent on immigrant labour - they are still, in some respects. Arguments that simply exchange immigrants for the French unemployed are unrealistic. In the French case it has been argued that migrants represent different sectors of the labour market. Such a distinction some maintain is not made on grounds of competence. That is the thrust of Robert Linhart's (1981) description of the job classification in the Citroën factory at Choisy:

There are six categories of nonqualified workers. Starting at the bottom: three categories of labourers (M1, M2, M3); three categories of semiskilled workers (OS1, OS2, OS3). The distinction is made in a perfectly simple way: it's racist. The Blacks are M1, right at the bottom of the ladder. The Arabs are M2 or M3. The Spaniards, Portuguese, and other European immigrants are usually OS1. The French are automatically OS2 (1981: 49).

A similar position seems to have existed elsewhere. Another intellectual fleeing the disappointments of May 1968 and taking refuge, like Linhart, in the world of real work was Jacques Frémontier (1971). In his case it was with the firm Renault at their Billancourt factory where at the time they employed some 38,000 workers of whom 12,000 were migrants working on the assembly lines, *les chaînes*. He employs similar language to Linhart, arguing that the migrants spare French capitalism the costs of having to automate⁹⁴. They constitute a new reserve army of labour, harassed by the police, often illiterate and 'dumped in sordid ghettos' (Frémontier, 1971, p.85). In some respects the language employed is what Ben Jelloun (1985) came to describe as *misérabiliste*. Here is a typical example:

No matter what you are, qualified or illiterate; no matter what you know how to do; electrician or labourer; if you have the misfortune to be foreign, you'll find yourself on the assembly line (Frémontier, 1971: 85).

Such distinctions are duplicated in the social realm - the realm of non-work. Migrants are not diffused throughout the population, but huddled into immigrant quarters, '*ghettos incroyable*'; the *bidonville* of the colony is reproduced in the metropole⁹⁵. This fact applies to most migrant groups in

⁹⁴In relation to the general discussion of theories of migration there is a tendency to focus on the demand of the core. In this instance, we can see that it is availability of supply which can have potentially profound effects on the evolution of the metropolitan economy.

⁹⁵Some of these factors have been analyzed in an interesting work, *Situations Migratoire* (Allal et al, 1977). The authors of this book trace what they term the '*l'archéologie du rapport*' of migrants and French

France but the North Africans who, perceptually, form for most of the French an undifferentiated block - *les arabes* - rather than Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian and the whole range of more subtle distinctions which could be made⁹⁶, have the added colonial connection and a ready made proscriptive imagery based upon this in the minds of many of the French - stemming in large part from attitudes formed in Algeria. In polls conducted by French papers it is invariably the 'Arab' migrants who constitute the 'problem'. A survey conducted by the magazine *Le Point* in 1985 illustrates the situation:

What the survey confirms clearly is that in the 'hit-parade' of antipathy the Arabs clearly come on top. And the difference is marked compared to figures for Muslims (the figures demonstrate that it is the racial character that is considered a priority) (5/5/85, p.46).

Such a situation can only be understood in relation to French colonial history and the kinds of representations which it generated.

This problem is, of course, rather different when viewed from the North African perspective. While we can document the unequal financial exchange going on between countries (or between ruling elites of countries) the fact remains that people do migrate to work. The subjective meaning of that experience might well be as important as the economic perspectives. Economically the argument is as follows: country A supplies healthy mature adults (i.e. pays the cost of their upbringing) to country B. In country B these people are badly paid, work long hours, live in conditions of fragmentation and instability, are forced to make such things as pension contributions to the state for which they will receive no benefit, working

society. They suggest that migrants partially escape the '*circuit hégémonique français*'. It is this fact, it is argued, which gives rise to unpredictability, the '*fantasmatique*' quality of the relations between migrants and the host population, where a small incident can generate a reaction out of all proportion to its nature.

⁹⁶The same failure that occurs in the U.K. in the inability to distinguish the various islands of the Caribbean. For a subjective account of these distinctions see George Lamming's instructive novel *The Emigrants*, 1954.

conditions are poor, fatalities frequent and industrial injury inadequately compensated. They are then returned when used up to become a further burden on country A. Money earned and sent back through remittance simply acts to maintain unproductive sectors of the home economy such as keeping people alive (more a responsibility of the state in recipient countries) or non-productive investment in conspicuous consumption (building a house) or the service sector (buying a taxi or small shop). The only benefit to the state is a political one; potential agitators are less dangerous abroad than at home.

John Berger's 1975 book, *A Seventh Man*⁹⁷, is an important attempt to describe the subjective price paid for these economic calculations, but there is a whole science dedicated to it - so-called ethno-psychiatry which seeks to delimit the unique traumas of the migrant situation under the guise of ethnic differences⁹⁸. A excellent account of the position of the North African migrant in France from the clinical perspective - and very much an up-date of Fanon's (1967) essay 'The North African Syndrome'- is provided in Ben Jelloun's work *Le Plus Haute des Solitudes* (1977). It was this material that Ben Jelloun reworked to produce his novel of migrant life in France *La réclusion solitaire* (1976). Literature is one way of capturing the migrant experience and, in fact, it was another Moroccan novelist who produced the first genuine Maghrebi novel of the migration. The author was Driss Chraïbi and his novel was *Les boucs* (1955). This title is, of course, ironic as goats were among the terms of address employed by the French when they came to characterise the North Africans resident in

⁹⁷It should be remembered that when Berger won the Booker prize for his novel *G* he infuriated a large number of people by donating some of the prize money to the Black Panthers. To Berger, this was fitting given Booker's connection with plantation economies in the Caribbean. With the rest of the money he financed his study of Europe's migrant workers. See Geoff Dyer's account of this period in Berger's life in *Ways of Telling* (1986)

⁹⁸A standard critical text is Roland Littlewood and Maurice Lipsedge's book *Aliens and Alienists* (1989).

France. A new generation of Maghrebi's born in France has similarly taken up part of the racist repertoire in declaring themselves to be loudly and proudly *beurs*⁹⁹.

In the remainder of this chapter three case studies of migration within Morocco will be investigated in order to compile evidence for the flux and movement in Moroccan society which much of the anthropological literature hides.

4.8 Migration from the Rif

For the first case the literature relating to migration in the Rif in northern Morocco will be examined. David Hart (1976) discusses this phenomenon in his work on the Ait Waryaghar. Rifian labour migration began in 1880 or even earlier; soon after the initial penetration and subsequent establishment of the French in the Orania region of Algeria. The movement thus antedated Spanish and French pacification of the Rif. Indeed, Seddon (1981) notes, by this period 'labour migration was already sufficiently important to provide most of the cash with which the local farmers purchased the imported goods appearing in the local market' (p.58). Hart comments that the most striking feature of this migration, which the Spanish were to describe as *emigración tipo golondrina*, was its tribal organisation (Hart, 1976: 90). Even the message spread westwards through

⁹⁹The expression *beur* is a piece of *verlan*, a sort of underground argot which could be compared with cockney rhyming slang - only *verlan* operates by inverting the first and last syllables of words. *Beur* is derived in this way from the expression *arabe* which, as we have seen, carries a distinctly derogatory connotation in the French context. This is totally subverted by this linguistic transformation:

Beur has roots in both a cultural and geographical region, the Maghreb; and a social space, that of the working-class districts of France (Kettane, quoted by Hargreaves, 1991: 29-30).

Hargreaves' (1991) book is the first detailed account of *beur* fiction to appear in English.

the Rif along tribal lines:

...the opportunity to profit from this type of migration was first extended to the Aith Iznasen 'cousins' of the Eastern Riffians, and afterwards to the Central Riffians, particularly those of the Iqar'ayan (Hart, 1976: 90).

From its beginnings this movement was to have its effects on the local political structures of the region:

Men of the Aith Turirth subclan, for example, who became powerful *imgharen* or council members during the late *Ripublik* period immediately prior to the rise of 'Abd al-Krim had previously served as labourers on French Algerian farms before returning to the Rif to carry on their blood feuding (Hart, 1976: 89).

Seddon (1981) has described the huge quantities of arms that were being traded along the Northern Moroccan coast during this period and, presumably, a large portion of the money earned in Algeria went to this end - facilitating the development of the ethos of the blood feud and the rifle, that was to become central to both anthropological discussions of the Riffi¹⁰⁰ and the view of the Rif as violent and unpredictable in the eyes of other Moroccans¹⁰¹. If the earnings of the seasonal migrant to Algeria is implicated in the arming of the Rif then it is pivotal in many senses. But the exact relationship in the early phases is not certain. Hart (1976) remarks that, although in normal years 35 per cent of the adult male population was migrating the principle determinant of migration was the harvest obtained in the Rif itself. Thus the Spanish protectorate authorities sought to explain it in economic terms. Overpopulation had resulted in a disequilibrium between inhabitants and the available arable land, furthermore the agricultural economy was unstable. As Hart sums it up, 'Labour migration was thus the absorption of an excess of Riffian energy by

¹⁰⁰Embodied in the novel of Riffi life written in the 1930s by American anthropologist Carlton Coon and mentioned in Chapter 1.

¹⁰¹This comes across clearly in Chokri's autobiographical account of growing up in Tangier, *Le Pain Nu* (1980).

a far richer and more developed agricultural land of western Algeria' (Hart, 1976: 89).

It is easy to see that these forms of explanation are of a different order from the statements which privilege the tribal nature of the migration. In Hart, there is perhaps some suggestion that the economic and tribal aspects of the migratory process in the early 'swallow' phase meet in the institution of the blood feud and thus the evolution of political forms in the Rif, but the chronology militates against this. More recent forms of migration are no longer seasonal. The migration to Europe is annual, based, Hart suggests, 'on the notion, new to Riffians, of a steady job. Moreover, it no longer has the group character of Algerian migration: today, it is every man for himself' (Hart, 1976, p.94). Somehow tribal organisation and the interactive arena of the blood feud are replaced by the individuality inherent in the later forms of migration¹⁰², but the consequences for the ontological status

¹⁰²It has been hinted in other arenas that labour migration replaces some 'traditional' element which came before. Samir Amin claimed, for example, that in Ghana the Zarma go to Kumasi as they made war in the past. This was not however as the result of some spirit of adventure. Rather, they were obliged to do so:

Just as the same colonial system forbade them to wage war, migration inevitably replaced military adventure in their ideology. A necessity became an ideal. Questioned as to the reasons for their migration, certain Zarma replied that they go to earn money to pay the taxes, and others for adventure. The survey of motivations, by which some sociologists believe they can separate economic from extra-economic motivations, is in reality useless because the economic reason is there in every case and its ideological guise is equally general (Quoted by Stichter, 1985: 5).

Similarly in Kenya, Stichter discusses the Luo referring to wage work as 'raiding' the white man's economy and the case of the Ovambo in Angola where, when raiding and trading were increasingly precluded by the colonial system, migrant labour came to be viewed in a positive cultural light (Stichter, 1985: 12). In a discussion of 'adaptive ideologies and social practices', Cohen makes a similar point:

One that has attained an almost mythological status is the story that Africans go to the mines as a form of initiation into manhood. Tourist guides to the mines tell their clients that mine work has become a functional substitute for killing a lion.

of the tribe are, in fact, rather serious:

Labour migration has become such a deeply rooted pattern of economic behaviour that one can indeed say that it has in effect become the socioeconomic institution that has replaced the bloodfeud (with which, until 1921, it co-existed) (Hart, 1976 94).

Has it then replaced the tribe as the theoretical locus for explanation? There are some theses which might be worth exploring concerning the tribal nature of these early migrations. The most obvious lies within the realm of recruitment itself. The Algerian colons had no direct access to recruitment in the Rif, rather it was carried out through the medium of intermediaries who would recruit kinsmen and themselves be paid slightly more for having done so. Such a situation has important consequences for the political status of *imgharan*¹⁰³ and their role as migrants described by Hart. Presumably during the later protectorate phase the benefits, both in terms of power and wealth, of an alliance with the Spanish authorities would have been far greater for an *imgharan* and would tend to produce a freezing of a more fluid political organisation. The patronage of an Algerian colon would not have the same result. This seems to be demonstrated by the case of *el merid* as described by Seddon (1981).

The anthropologist, Van Gennep, who was quoted in Chapter 1, has described his meeting with a typical party of Rifis en route to work in Algeria early this century:

One day a great band of harvesters from the Rif appeared all skinny legs and bronzed faces, wearing yellow burnouses... Leading this work-group and with a good command of French was a stocky fellow in the blue overalls of a mechanic (Van Gennep, 1914, p.24-5).

His account indicates that, in this case, recruitment had taken place on the basis of one man who had been befriended by a colon and had come to be trusted by the man and encouraged to bring other people like him to work

¹⁰³A term meaning, in effect, leader.

as the quotation in Chapter 1 illustrated.

There are strong structural similarities to the phenomena of the 'swarms' among the Shleuh that Adam (1973) and others have described for industrial migration in the Moroccan protectorate. And like that movement, the general situation is to some extent conditioned by the attitudes developed by employers themselves to the indigenous labour force. Hart (1976) comments that in the 1930s 'Riffi labour was so much in demand that it commanded half again that received by Algerian labour' (p.92). Seasonality, frugality and stability - the latter assured by the mechanisms of recruitment that themselves were based on the make-up of political power within the tribal grouping - made them a more dependable workforce than the local Algerians who had nowhere to go to when the work was over and presumably had been dispossessed by the very colons that were reluctant to employ them.

Such statements, however, rest at the level of surmise. Riffi history is more complicated than some of the anthropological accounts would have us believe. The work of Paul Pascon and his colleagues (Pascon and Wusten, 1983) demonstrates clearly the complex makeup of the population groups in the valley of the Beni Bou Frah and their historical constitution over the last three centuries. They themselves comment on the debate surrounding the questions of vendettas and the bloodfeud. In contrast to the anthropologists of the region, such as Hart, who claim it is a characteristic of Riffian and, more generally, of Mediterranean society, writers such as the Moroccan historian Ayache state, in the words of Pascon: 'we are talking here of a construct developed by anthropological folklorists who have highlighted certain marginal cases' (Pascon and Wusten, 1983: 75).

On the basis of his data Pascon claims that conflicts between lineages and tribal groupings clearly had some reality, but that the position described late in the nineteenth century by Mouliéras (1899) is excessive. The relation here between work and political power is revealed by the statement of one informant discussing the formation of alliances. He claims that the 'tribe' (*qbila*) consists of the two opposing factions and the *berraniyine* of

of one informant discussing the formation of alliances. He claims that the 'tribe' (*qbila*) consists of the two opposing factions and the *berraniyine* of foreigners who do nothing other than work for one group or the other:

Anyway, the poor can work for either group, successively or at the same time, without getting involved in the quarrels of the "*grands*"; nobody bothers with them (Pascon and Wusten, 1983: 83).

As Pascon suggests this remark seems to indicate that at this time - prior to the appearance of Abd el-Krim - wage labour was a sign of exclusion from political power which itself depended on rifles and voices in the assembly. Seddon (1981) would seem to agree with this point of view. As he writes:

There is no detailed information on the social and economic background of migrant workers at this period [the 1920s and 1930s], but it seems highly probable that migrants tended to come from poorer households and were drawn, by and large, from the emerging class of landless labourers in the eastern and central Rif (p.157).

Obviously here we have to consider the constitution of political power in order to make meaningful remarks about the transition from the bloodfeud to labour migration. This would lead us to consider external sources of accumulation, most notably forms of piracy, and relations with the *makhzan* in periods referred to as *siba*, but locally termed the time of the *refoublique* in relation to Abd el-Krim. In fact, as Seddon's work demonstrates, we would need to frame any study within a far greater economic context.

4.9 The Berber 'swarms'

The Berbers have long practised, and sometimes still practice, temporary masculine emigration; a man departs alone, leaving wife and children in the village, and returns after a certain length of time - periods of absence were longer in the past, when travel was slow and costly - being meanwhile replaced by a brother or cousin in his shop or occupation (Adam, 1973, p.327).

Adam, among others, has attempted to explain some of the cultural/ethnic differences in the early phases of Moroccan migratory movements - we have to be cautious about our periodisation - in the more distant past, sultans were known to relocate whole tribal groupings under a variety of pretexts. The particular form of cyclical migration he is referring to here manifests itself in one of the most striking economic phenomena in twentieth-century Morocco: the remarkable growth of the indigenously controlled grocery trade and virtual monopoly that one ethnic group, the Soussi Berbers (or some of them), hold over it. There is an obvious similarity with other Berber groups in North Africa: the Kabyles, Mozabites and Djerbans. Groups which have all shown a distinct aptitude for trading. Adam locates the distinctiveness of these groups in the 'specific social and juridical structures' (Adam, 1973: 328) of the Berbers in general and, in particular, the need to maintain an undivided patrimony, the long-term loss of which would have been a dishonour.

In his work *The Commander of the Faithful* (1970), John Waterbury discusses the role of the Soussi within Moroccan politics. This has a direct relation to questions of migration because here, in effect, we have the same pattern of migration based upon commerce which can be identified in other groups in North Africa. In Morocco, as Waterbury suggests petty trade is of crucial importance. He writes that 'there are now throughout Morocco elaborate networks of small shops run on a rotational basis by members of the same extended families or tribal factions' (p.133). In the opinion of André Adam (1973) such patterns of trade and residence have been maintained over decades, but, as Waterbury suggests, petty trade has increasingly become an alternative to inactivity in an unstable job market marked by high levels of unemployment. This actually creates a demand for this sort of trade. Older ways of life have been slowly eroded as the century has worn on and the growing body of salaried agricultural labourers increasingly abandon the local *suq* for the grocer. This process, Waterbury suggests, is encouraged by the fact that, in many cases, the grocer is also a source of credit. In the city they perform even more functions:

...the Soussi grocers of the bidonvilles are a source of contraband goods, credit buying, how to handle the place, social advice - in short, the Soussi is the man who knows the system and is sought out by the confused...of the 'big city' (Waterbury, 1970: 136n).

What Waterbury had picked up on had been noticed by earlier generations of ethnographers who had delineated the essential features of much of the labour migration from the Moroccan Souss region. E.A. Alport (1964), for example, outlined the group he called the Ammela; a grouping to be found when he was writing on the northern and the southern slopes of Jebel Lkest, centred on the Ammela depression.

While a number of Swasa from the Sus and the Anti-Atlas are to be found in a large range of occupations in the cities, some however specialise in commerce. The process has long historical roots, starting out from the latter half of the nineteenth century when some men from the Ammela valley ventured out to trade in Meknes and Fez. The reason for this, Alport suggests, is that 'the ecological basis for human settlement is very slender' (p.162). Thus it was that they were well prepared for the Protectorate and adapted easily to the urban conditions. In the urban environment, Alport reported, the arrangements of the store were of a striking originality, detached from general business practice. He outlines their basic differences as follows:

- 1) The shop is run for the benefit of the extended family.
- 2) Capital employed is not expected to bear interest.
- 3) Profits normally used to enlarge and improve patrimony at home or start up new shop.
- 4) overall aim is to live as prosperously as possible in the place where the trader's place of birth
- 5) The shop is not regarded as a business/firm.
- 6) Cycles of vending are conditioned by the calendar of the family year.

- 7) The patrimony remains strictly in patrilineal succession, but in the shop agnatic and cognatic relations mix freely
- 8) The shop does not form part of the individual patrimony.

While Alport's sociological insights are useful in studying this particular commercial phenomenon, they remain essentially static in as much as that the commercial cycle simply repeats itself over time as if it were somehow immune from the forces of history. In order to go beyond this it is necessary to examine the second monograph which Waterbury was to write based upon his time in Morocco, *North for the Trade* (1972)¹⁰⁴. As we saw, he had already attempted to make links with the political hierarchy in Morocco and the new class of Soussi tradesmen, but this new account went on to demonstrate the historical development of the cycles described by earlier writers such as Alport and to show their constantly evolving character. While the Soussi retail phenomenon originally might have had an impulse in the barren character of the Soussi homelands, there was another important factor which Waterbury suggests are the competitive instincts to be found within local villages. While Soussi traders in the north might have been renowned for their spartan lifestyles and extreme thrift, back in the south they would build large ornate villas. It was these villas which demonstrated the success of their owners to other members of the village. This account is given further depth by the analysis of the crucial contents of the average Soussi *baqqal* (small grocery stall). Absolute staples, without which no such operation could be a success, were tea and sugar. Tea drinking was introduced into Morocco by the British and, from early days, Soussi poets understood the potentially destructive nature of this trade. Waterbury quotes a poem collected among the Ait Ba'amrane by the French military ethnographer, Justinard:

But as for tea, make no mistake

¹⁰⁴This work can be seen in retrospect as a forerunner of later 'reflexive' ethnographies which appeared in the Moroccan context, such as Rabinow (1977) and Crapanzano (1980).

The Christian, he who knows well that you are his enemies,
He strikes you with his cannons loaded with charges of tea
He ambushes you with his scales
The enemy strikes you in the stomach
The Christian strikes. He aims well. He brings the sugar
cone.
If it were good for you, he would not bring anything (Quoted
by Waterbury, 1972: 80).

In the context of the Soussi grocery the connection to be made is between sugar, tea and poor diet related to poverty. For the increasingly impoverished urban masses which grew up during the colonial period the very sweet Moroccan tea was a cheap and accessible source of energy which enabled people to cope with their work on poor diets¹⁰⁵. It was sugar and tea which were the groundrock of the urban grocery trade and which, in effect, acted as distribution points for those wholesalers who controlled the production of sugar and the import of tea. The most popular form of sugar cone was, during the colonial period, produced by a French firm, COSUMA. Much of the tea importing was under the control of the Jewish traders who had for many centuries served as Morocco's élite trading squad outside the country. As Waterbury describes the situation 'In short, Jewish tea importers and French sugar manufacturers fostered the rise of the Soussi big men in the postwar years' (Waterbury, 1972: 81). Further to this, however, the expansion of the Soussi trading networks has been built on the changing demographic situation in Protectorate Morocco. As Waterbury suggests:

Soussi trading has been a direct function of the expansion of European sections of Moroccan cities and the appearance and growth of a population of salaried consumers in urban areas. As such, their trading history goes back at best sixty years; many of those who started the Soussi 'tradition' are still alive today in 1971 (Waterbury, 1972: 176).

¹⁰⁵ Sidney Mintz's magnificent study of sugar, *Sugar and Power* (1986), paints a more general picture of the importance of sugar for the expanding European core in the modern period, but does not quite isolate the sublime quality of sweetness.

All in all then, Waterbury gives a much more complex picture of the Soussi trading 'tradition' as he calls it and demonstrates how the locus of Soussi politics is moving out of the Sous itself as the bigmen shift their sights from local politics to the national political arena which is played out in the urban environment. The trading cycles by no means repeat themselves in timeless fashion. Hadj Brahim, Waterbury's chief informant, is bringing up his children in Casablanca. He understands the changing nature of the trading phenomena. The once all conquering Ammiln are being challenged in the Sous by the building of a new tribal grouping, the Ida ou Gwagmar. As Hadj Brahim remarks, 'They are becoming very prosperous but not in trade. Their men go off to work in industries in Europe. They go for long periods of time, and work overtime and never spend any money' (quoted by Waterbury, 1972: 45).

4.10 Migration from the Dra

The phenomenon of political power among the Berbers¹⁰⁶ prior to the Protectorate period was to have a profound effect on the Dra valley in southern Morocco. One of the heirs to this power, the Glooui family, through a combination of foreign bankloans¹⁰⁷ and ruthless local accumulation, had consolidated their power to such an extent that Thami, one of the brothers, was to come to be called the Pasha of Marrakesh. He held sway over the city and the surrounding region until Mohammed V was returned from exile in Madagascar and the Pasha was publicly disgraced. It was this family who were enlisted by the French as agents in the pacification of the valley. The expansionist tendencies inherent in the social

¹⁰⁶An accessible account of Montagne's theories of Berber political power is given by David Seddon in his introduction to Montagne's *The Berbers* (1973).

¹⁰⁷For fuller details see Paul Pascon's (1977) monumental study, *Le Houaz de Marrakesh*.

organisation described by Montagne were used by the French for their own long-term purposes.

It was just over fifty-years ago that the French military machine was perfecting a new technique in its armoury. The military anthropologist, Spillman, and the aviator Capt. Pennès combined to fly down the valley in order to map the region's settlements and thus render less tortuous the slow process of pacification¹⁰⁸. Nowadays a great deal has changed and the dangers facing a communal taxi ascending the valley from Zagora to the provincial capital of Ourzazate come from the risk of being edged off the road on a tight bend by one of the leviathan tourist coaches descending the valley in their hundreds in the peak season.

This region, like the Rif, was frequently beyond the control of the *makhzan*. But social organisation was based not on the principles adumbrated by Montagne, but rather on another classic opposition: the sedentary agriculturalists of the *ksour*¹⁰⁹ and the nomadic pastoralists which ranged over southern Morocco¹¹⁰. A picture further complicated by the seat of the Naciri brotherhood at Tamgrout¹¹¹. One classic account of the relation between nomad and *ksar* dweller is provided by de la Chapelle's description of the *ksar* of Nesrat, situated 30km south of Tamgrout in the district of Lektawa (de la Chapelle, 1929). The impression is of a well organised social space. The 'tribe' or *taqbilt* of Nesrat (Ait Insrat) comprising roughly 200-500 homes inhabited mostly by *harratin* and a significantly smaller number of *harrar*. Camping on the territory were also 80 tents of the Beni Mhammed grouped into three separate *dours*. This

¹⁰⁸This was considered to be an efficient way of population mapping. See the joint article they wrote (Spillman and Pennès, 1929).

¹⁰⁹This is the plural form of *ksar*, which can be roughly translated as castle.

¹¹⁰For further detail see Hart's (1981) ethnography of the Ait 'Atta or the historical account of the region given by Ross Dunn in his book *Resistance in the Desert* (1977).

¹¹¹More detail to be found in Hammoudi (1980a).

population of some 2,500 people is divided into seven factions each of which has representatives in the two assemblies which govern the *cit *: that is the senate (*jem'a el kebira* in Arabic or *ljem'at tameqran* in Berber) and the inferior assembly (*jem'a el 'amma* in Arabic or *ljem'at Tamziant* in Berber). Places in the senate are the property of the 'big families' of each faction. Two presidents (*imgharan*) were elected by the senate to act as representatives of the state in relation to those of other states. The city also had its own public establishments and functionaries. There was a well stocked permanent market with 10 butchers, five iron makers, a potter, two merchants of leather objects, a *baqqal*, five sellers of sugar and salt, 10 or 11 bakers, one seller of cooked meats and one of coffee. On the land held by the city all inhabitants participate in the labour of irrigation and harvesting under the guide of notables (*'adoul*). Such an organisation, de la Chapelle claimed, was characteristic of all the large *ksour* of Lektawa, with social life presenting numerous analogies with other oases where you find *harratin*. The urban character of the tribe when compared with the dispersed nature of neighbouring Berber groups of the High and Anti-Atlas, he argues, stems from the fact that in the palmeries every little state, shut up in its ramparts, could not live without developing its 'traditional institutions' to such an extent. Only in this fashion could they survive without being destroyed by 'parasitic warrior Berbers'. The dwellers in the oasis *ksar* would be in a relation of protection with the most dominant local nomad group in order to allay their depredations. The relation entered into through sacrifice (*debiha* or *tighersi*) gave the nomads the right to a fourteenth of the harvest - a twentieth in the case of marabouts. Such a situation would not have been static over time and de la Chapelle propounds a micro-Khaldounian doctrine whereby 'the greater part of the errant tribes were unable to resist the charms of the oasis for long and gradually abandoned their camps to become fixed to the soil' (p.30). Thus, in time, themselves becoming victims of nomadic depredations and extortions.

Again, as in the Rif, we can detect the uneven distribution of power in the

political sphere. Again the play of political power has frequently been linked to the social structure and especially to the concept of segmentarity. Ait 'Atta segmentarity, for example, representing an especially pure strain. Here the fluidity of the Rif, however, is absent and there are groups who are never incorporated in the segmentary system. While there exists change on the axis nomad/sedentary which is constantly emphasised - indeed throughout pre-Saharan North Africa - *harratin* remain outside the political process. Here the additional fact of colour must be introduced. As Hart remarks, for the Ait 'Atta 'any degree of colour is almost automatically considered *ihartan* or *Harratin*... there is no question but that these people are held to be of inferior status' (Hart, 1981: 213). Indeed, the situation is even more complicated. In the eyes of the Ait Atta themselves, Hart suggests, there are four more dimensions to social status to be considered:

a low-status dimension (*asuqi*) 'habitué or frequenter of markets', implying inferior status both through shamelessness and through lack of ancestry; a clientage dimension (*u-tumart*), the dimension of *ra'aya* or protection in which the *Haratin* are held, as well as the option to switch patrons through sacrifice of a sheep if one 'Atta patronage group should become too onerous; a labour dimension (*akhammas*), 'sharecropper' denoting in this instance anyone who contracts to work another's land on an annual basis in exchange for one-fifth of the harvest; and a territorial dimension (*u-Dra* and Arabic *drawi* 'native of the Dra), for among the *Haratin* territorial considerations are an overriding determinant of social structure... (Hart, 1981: 213).

In the post-protectorate period the purely economic side of this relation has been reversed as Hart interestingly points out, or, rather, there has been a transformation in the local political scene with increasing state centralisation; political subordination did not coincide completely with economic subordination and the nomads now seem to be losing out. It must however be remembered that this marginalisation had a number of historical dimensions. There seems to be some dispute over the historicity of protection relations prior to the appearance of the Ait 'Atta in the Dra valley. The three decades of what Ross Dunn (1977) describes as 'Berber

imperialism' coincide with Laroui's designation of 1880 as marking the date after which 'the Moroccan state had ceased to be anything more than a fiction...' (Laroui, 1977: 312). There is also an economic angle as Henri Terrace (1938) and others have remarked of the southern oases, 'In fact, under their appearance of regions of sweetness and joy, they were lands of struggle and misery'¹¹² (p. 72).

The documentation is not good for the Dra', but we can get some indications from the descriptions of two other southern oases: Skoura, at the head of the Dra', and Figuig, to the east.

As early as 1936 Capt. Tuder was to write about migratory movements in the Skoura region:

Emigration to richer lands is the traditional way by which the inhabitants of mountainous, desert or barren lands manage to survive and bring to those they left behind the means by which to supplement that which an ungrateful earth has refused them (p.45).

There was no reason, he claimed, that this constant of human geography should not apply to Morocco. Indeed, he notes, 'The surprise upon realising that almost all the porters in the houses of the wealthy in Tunis originated from the Dra' (ibid). As he suggests, the exodus from the south was not a novelty, even at this time, but its character was in the process of changing. Ancient migration patterns found in Skoura were being coupled with more recent movements which echoed involvement in more evolved industrial and agricultural activity. Economic development in Morocco gave these migrants, in Tuder's opinion, '*un champ d'action très vaste*'. Realistically though, this seems an exaggeration given '*Ils sont manoeuvres, ouvriers, crieurs de journaux, porteurs, livreurs, conducteurs de voiteurs, maraîchers*.' Tuder was clearly taking a stand in the more general debate going on at the time. His position as an administrator could provide fresh support for the arguments of men such as Mazoyer (1935). For Tuder, migration to France

¹¹²This misery is not directly reducible to the biological factor of the date palm disease byouth- *Fusarium oxysporum*.

and Algeria provided an invisible import of capital that 'helps to maintain life in inhuman lands', lands such as those he administered. There is, he suggests, an interdependence between the indigenous and European economy. The increase in the European population will make this clearer; the installation of new means of production in Morocco is the only way to give the hope of survival to the growing indigenous masses.

Twelve years later, Thibert (1948) was to describe the situation in Skoura in more detail. By this time the sedentary population of the region was estimated to be roughly 13,000. In analysing the crude population breakdown, he notes the preponderance of adult women (out of the total 13,000 in the age group 14-60 3,045 were women and 2,302 were men). He further notes that this is not important given that women do as much work as men, if not more; rather, it is an index of '*un aspect annexe du genre de vie*' - i.e. seasonal migration:

In both normal times and periods of drought men are unable to work the land because of lack of water and as a consequence make for Marrakesh or the cities of the coast, Casablanca notably, in order to work and procure the necessary resources (Thibert, 1948: 31).

In demographic terms this migration seems to have corresponded with a strong increase in natality with a preponderance of children in the 0-6 age group over those aged between 6 and 14. The average household size is given as 5.2, a surprisingly low figure. The village of Lahbabya however provides an exception. Here the average size is 9; a fact due to the presence of the *Khalifa* of Skoura whose wealth and importance in the area enabled him to maintain more people. All in all, Thibert remarks that the population is not entirely stable:

It shows signs of a permanent movement of landless peasants towards the coast. Leaving their wives in the oasis they return after a few years or a season. In periods of hardship, this movement takes in more of the population to the point where half the men have migrated temporarily (Thibert, 1948: 31).

Far to the east in Figuig a similar pattern exists. Bonnefous (1952) wrote, 'Without water Figuig would never have existed, without its emigrants the inhabitants would live miserably' (Bonnefous, 1952: 4). At the time of his writing some 4,000 people were either permanent or temporary migrants; 40 per cent of the sedentary population. But these are the young and the fit, '*Figuig se meurt d'hémorragie démographique*' (p37). Bonnefous notes that in the early 1930s people leaving permanently were relatively rare and that the temporary migrants felt some form of symbolic attachment to their home. This latter form of movement was more common, but at the time it was an annual phenomenon with everybody returning for agricultural work. By 1952, seasonal migration no longer existed and of the 1,481 temporary migrants none were agricultural workers. Agricultural wages were markedly lower than those for industrial workers and 'those who go do so to earn money' (p.39). Previously one member of the family would go off and work as a harvester, return and, in the manner of Soussi cyclical migration, another would take his place but everybody would return for the *Aid*. However, '*De nos jours, la plupart des ouvriers se sentent dépaysés à Figuig*' (ibid, p.78).

These bare facts left other marks on the life of the oasis. From the 1920s onward there had been a slow reduction in the number of small traders. In 1921 there had been 298. By 1933 this number had dropped to 244 and by 1952 it had reached 217. These losses represent, in the word of the author, 'the economic decline of the palmerie, abandoned by its rich or active citizens' (p.68). There had also been a reorientation of commercial activity. In 1933 the number of traders in any one *ksar* had been roughly proportional to its number of inhabitants, but by 1952 they were virtually absent from the smaller ones, whereas Oudaghir at Ouled-Slimane could count a proportionally higher number of small shops and had taken on the air of the region's commercial centre. The changes also disrupted political organisation in the region:

In some of the smaller *ksour* the men who remain and own more than a small piece of land automatically become

'notables' because there are so few men left to conduct the business of the tribe (p.79).

The general direction of these transformations are made clear by the author when he sums up:

The class of small landholders in the South is transforming into a reserve working-class, a sort of pre-proletariat.(p.80)

Most of these voices represent the voices of colonial authorities and it could be argued that the collective lament of a lost golden age of perfected tribal society is, in some sense, the mirror of the anthropological production of the pastoral in text¹¹³ by ignoring the changes which are viewed with alarm by the colonial official. Indeed, it seems difficult to reconcile the drift of much anthropological discussion with facts such as these. It seems in retrospect that the attention given to the Ait Atta within anthropological circles is because they remained the most 'anthropological' thing about parts of the south, though they have in truth become increasingly marginal within the region:

The fact that the *Hartani* sheikh, non-tribal and coloured, at Taghbalt had probably never sacrificed a sheep to those of the 'Atta *mqaddim*, tribal and white, made the latter retort bitterly to the *mkhzani*, when he said he would throw them both in jail, that the Ait 'Atta were as good as in jail already. For the guiding hand of their Customary law, admirable though it certainly was in other respects, had not adequately prepared the descendants of Dadda 'Atta's 40 grandsons for post-Independence (Hart, 1981: 216)¹¹⁴.

These three case studies are sufficiently indicative of the range of changes sweeping Moroccan society throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century to give us cause to read much of the anthropological literature in a rather different light and pay greater attention to such

¹¹³In the sense used by Renato Rosaldo (1986).

¹¹⁴This event occurred in 1962.

factors as labour migration. Chapter Five incorporates this vision of Morocco with the earlier work on Gibraltar in order to give us a feeling for the complex density of this particular Mediterranean ethnoscape. This will be achieved by embarking on a case study of the Moroccan migrant worker population on the Rock.

Overview

This Chapter began by examining some of the approaches adopted by anthropology and sociology towards the topic of migration. It also used the works of political economists in order to develop a useful framework from which to consider migration as a global phenomena. Highlighting some of the weaknesses of any view which remains tied to strict notions of dependency, some of the economic and cultural consequences of tourism were introduced. This was followed by a more specific discussion of aspects of the historical movement of people when applied to North Africa. This led to the examination of a series of case studies taken from the ethnographic literature dealing with Morocco. These themselves form one background to the case study which is to follow in Chapter 5, that of the Moroccan migrant workers who came to Gibraltar in the 1960s and 1970s.

Bentahar (1979) describes the Maghrebi migrants' attitude towards working in France as being, at one and the same time, hell and a salute. Tahar Ben Jelloun (1985) describes the part the migrants play in perpetuating the whole system and castigates the lies of the workers abroad who, in their own way, become sellers of dreams thus complementing the parasites who live off their labour and the people disarmingly called sellers of sleep, who rent out beds in shifts to migrant workers in France. It should be pointed out that the dreams of these sleepers are also the dreams of Moroccan migrant workers in Gibraltar who, in their hours off, stroll up and down Main Street staring fixedly at the gadgetry on display in the electronics shops.

Chapter 5

Introducing the Migrant Moroccans (the final siege)

Saracen's Head: When our countrymen came home from fighting with the Saracens, and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible faces (as you see the sign of the Saracen's Head is) when, in truth, they were like other men. But this they did to save their own credit(Hindley, 1875).

Introduction

As indicated in Chapter 4, migration from Morocco to Gibraltar shares some similarities with the more general phenomenon of Moroccan migration to western Europe. It does have, however, its own specificities given the historical and social development of the Rock. Against this background, this chapter will map the arrival to work in Gibraltar of Moroccan migrants and their period supporting the colony in the days of its last siege - the economic clampdown imposed by General Franco. Spanish restrictions on access to Gibraltar began in the 1950s. In 1954 the Spanish government prohibited Spaniards without work permits from visiting Gibraltar and stopped issuing new permits - at this time 13,000 permits were in force. In 1965 restrictions were placed on passes making it possible for Spanish workers only to pass through La Linea. Roughly 1,000 non-Spanish residents of the Campo region, who had previously commuted to Gibraltar for their work, were forced to move; they were placed in temporary accommodation in Gibraltar. The serious housing difficulties, which would become manifest when Moroccan labour was later introduced, began here. In 1966 Spanish female workers were prohibited from moving

through La Linea and 1969 saw the complete closure of the border gate.

By this point Gibraltar was no longer as dependent on imported labour as it had been in the early 1950s when the Spanish workforce had been as large as 15,000. From this figure it had fallen to less than 10,000 by 1963 and by the time of the frontier closure in June 1969 it had reached 4,600. Even before the closure of the frontier some foreign contract workers had been imported - mainly from Morocco.

This Chapter will analyse this new phase in Gibraltar's labour history. It will also raise some questions concerning the nature of an anthropology of migration and the problems involved in attempting to 'study' migrants who find themselves in an insecure environment and spend most of their waking hours at work. Of such a situation, Frantz Fanon (1967) wrote:

I want to show in what is to follow that, in the specific case of the North African who has emigrated to France, a theory of inhumanity is in a fair way to finding its laws and corollaries (p.3).

Part of the account of this thesis is to search for these theories in the context of Gibraltar and to attempt to understand how a 'law of inhumanity' comes to be 'normalised' into everyday life. That is to re-pose Fanon's question: 'Who are they, in truth, these creatures, who hide beneath the attributes of *bicot, bounioule, arabe, raton, sidi, mon z'ami?*' (p.3-4).

Much of the anthropological literature suggests that ethnicity is reactive¹¹⁵. The 'reactive ethnicity' most highly valued in Gibraltar might be said to be war: the history of the place is written in terms of sieges and conquests, bombardments and battles. Within such a history there has been little space for the civilian population, whose very existence has only been taken seriously in the last 30 years or so. As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, prior to this the 'natives' were treated as natives were elsewhere in the British Empire. In the words of Lawrence Durrell this was an 'Empire which has never cared to condescend to its subjects by the exercise

¹¹⁵The classic account is Barth (1969). Williams (1989) provides a useful overview of the literature.

of understanding' (1948 [1978]: 88). In the modern period this has contributed to the uncertainty of Gibraltarian ethno-nationalism, the hedonism of youth and the bellicose assertiveness of the parents in respect of their nationality - 'More British than the British' as they are wont to remark. The civilian population has been, and in the minds of some still are, simple adjuncts to the military presence, despite the striving to be viewed otherwise. The idle natives of the military historians still haunt the Service mind; it was from a serving British officer that I first heard the expression 'Grab-all-tarian'- indicative of the 'child-like native' forever demanding to be fed. Into this dynamic - itself nuanced along lines of class and ethnicity - have been added some 3,000 Moroccans: a group of aliens about whom many will already have fixed beliefs, inherited from the past and the residue of the sorts of histories which were referred to in Chapters 2 and 3. As was shown there, the real academic beginning of interest in the 'civilian concept of Gibraltar' was marked by the publication, in 1951, of Howes' study *The Gibraltarian*.

Making extensive use of the census figures Howes traced the growth and development of the civilian populations, the Yañitos while simultaneously playing down any possible links with Morocco and the 'Moors'. From this history it is possible to tease out a few further threads which have implications for the arrival of the Moroccans. Firstly concerning the complex attitude towards work which exists as a result of the Gibraltar dockyards having once been dependent on convict labour and, secondly, in relation to class development on the Rock.

It was in the early 1840s that it was decided to develop the dockyards using convict labour and in 1842 the first 200 convicts arrived. Their task was to construct buildings to receive convicts from all over the Empire. By 1866 there were 710 convicts at work and at one time there had been accommodation for 1,000. On the basis of this use of convict labour, Howes remarks, there grew up on the Rock a tradition that dockyard work was associated with convict labour. In 1860, following complaints about the behaviour of the convicts, it was suggested that a saving of £1,000 would be

made using Spanish labour. The convict establishment survived until 1875 before hired labour was employed and it already seems that by this time native Gibraltarians would not work on the dockyards. In fact, 'it would appear that some would do anything rather than work in the dockyards' (Howes, 1951: 176).

The historical existence of poverty, or a poor stratum of the civilian population, is in little doubt. As the population on the Rock increased the situation deteriorated. The Police Magistrate's census of 1860 lists 4,994 unemployed and 60 paupers. This amounts to just over one third of the civilian population. The situation is reviewed and embellished upon in remarks made by Sayer in 1865 and which were quoted in Chapter 2. Sayer, it will be recalled, regarded the natives as 'idle and dissolute'. He also remarked that the admission of foreign labour into the town was jealously watched by the 'natives'. Even at this time it seems that house rent was high and 'the poorer labouring classes are compelled to occupy dwellings more fitted for animals than human beings' (Sayer, 1865: 477).

Overcrowding on the Rock has always been a key issue and no less so during this period. The Colonial Secretary of Gibraltar issued a statement on 15 September 1866 relating to the question of aliens; the chief object being the prevention of overcrowding. The shortage of housing for the growing civilian population finally led to the introduction of the controversial 'Aliens Order in Council' of 1873. This stated that as a fortress - although its official status had been altered to that of a colony in 1830 as noted in Chapter 3 - no one could claim right of residence and that children of alien parents could not be permitted to be born there. Some of the documents dealing with the 'alien' question are very revealing. One such was a memo presented to the Governor, Lord Napier of Magdula, in 1875 by a groups of local citizens. The text consists of a tirade against the Maltese who, at the time, had relatively easy access to Gibraltar. The Maltese residents in Gibraltar are described as scum and criminals:

the greatest number of said Maltese live clustered together in the greatest indigence in caves unfit for animals, and are filthy in their dwellings, in their dress and in their food (quoted by

Howes, 1951: 179).

These remarks contain the classic components of xenophobia, the 'other' is denied humanity and deemed bestial, but are revealing when compared with later attitudes to 'alien' labour on the Rock. The contradiction would appear to lie in the coupling of both manual labour and aliens as defiling in the eyes of many of the civilian Yañito population. Spanish labour, operating on a daily pass, resolved this contradiction to a certain extent; Maltese in the nineteenth century and Moroccans in the twentieth required accommodation and, therefore, did not. The Spaniards did their work and then were gone. For the Moroccans and the Maltese there was nowhere to hide in a highly constrained and policed public space. This chapter will explore the general perception of migrants in respect of the modern Moroccans who have come to the Rock: from the earliest responses to their presence; through aspects of their working life and leisure pursuits; to the way in which they are represented and constructed in the Gibraltar courts.

5.1 Border Closure: accommodating new labour

When the frontier first closed there were already Moroccans working in Gibraltar, but, with the total withdrawal of Spanish labour, their numbers increased rapidly and their presence took on a new symbolic significance. Private initiatives and Government-sponsored recruitment drives targeted Tangier and Tetuan as sources of labour: the two largest towns on the Moroccan Mediterranean seaboard and part of the area of the country which came under the influence of Spanish colonialism during the period of the Protectorate.

Initially conditions in Gibraltar were crowded, as might have been expected given the long-standing housing shortages. At the time, allegedly, some people were to be found sleeping under lorries and, in some cases, even in caves on the Upper Rock - just like the nineteenth-century Maltese

migrants. Slowly the Government got round to providing hostel accommodation for some of the workers. Of these hostels Casemates, an old army barracks, was the largest. But the standard of housing it provided often came under attack, and not just by its occupants - even the *Sunday Times* criticised conditions in a report published in October, 1973. At Casemates, which housed up to 900 workers at any one time, there were 28 former barrack rooms which contained bunk-beds flanking both side walls. Fourteen of the rooms were occupied by 33 workers per room and another 13 by 43 occupants. One larger room contained enough beds to sleep 97 men. There were communal showers and kitchen facilities for the use of the residents. Cleaners came everyday to tidy the place and the bedding was changed regularly. In 1975, the dormitories were run by the residents themselves, the charge was £1.50 and all residents had a locker for their belongings. Each room elected its own *chef de chambre* to take charge of the room for a fee of £3 per month with the privilege of sleeping in a single bed, as opposed to a bunk, and having a desk. These men passed on complaints to a general caretaker who dealt with any problems that might arise. Among the complaints people had generally about conditions the most persistent was the very nature of barrack-like arrangements and the lack of privacy resulting from so many people sleeping together in the same room. In general, there was never enough hostel space to meet demands so it was not possible to partition off the rooms, which would inevitably have resulted in a loss of bed space.

If things were bad at Casemates at least the rent was low - when first opened it stood at only £1 per week. Such was not the case in private sector accommodation, which housed some 1,000 Moroccans as well as members of other migrant groups who wished to escape the confines of life in the hostels. The Government abolished laws regulating the sub-letting of subsidised council properties in an effort to release more property for renting, but there were frequent abuses of the system. Already in 1970, a spokesman for the Moroccans, Khomsi, had pointed to 'exploitation, abusive rents and inhuman conditions' in the private sector. One such example

came to light in *The Gibraltar Chronicle*. It concerned a woman who was sub-letting a room in her flat to a Moroccan for a weekly sum that exceeded her own monthly payments. As the newspaper correspondent suggested 'there are some unscrupulous people in Gibraltar'. Throughout the entire period since 1969 accommodation has been a major problem facing the Moroccan workers, they have lived in old stables and, in one case witnessed in the summer of 1984, built their own shacks on more secluded areas of the Rock¹¹⁶.



Figure 39: Casemates, front

¹¹⁶In February 1974 the then Minister for Labour and Social Security, Adolpho Canepa, responded to allegations that the non-utilisation of the Devil's Tower Hostel by Moroccans smacked of discrimination. He argued that the hostel had been constructed to provide accommodation for 'skilled' craftsman to be imported by contractors. While half-full at the time an influx of such workers was expected. Some forty beds, he claimed, were on offer to skilled Moroccans but there had been reluctance on their part to take a place, possibly, he thought, because of the higher rent of £3.



Figures 40: Casemates, back

Border Spirits and the New Spaniards

On the closure of the border everything was waged as if a siege was in progress; exalting rhetoric called for greater effort, community spirit, mutual aid - all action was heroic. On 17 September 1969 the front page of *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, 'the paper with no political bias', announced that the firm of J. España had held a topping out ceremony at Upper Sandpits House where work was completed only one month behind schedule despite the serious labour shortages in the building industry. The firm had employed some 60 Spaniards when the border was closed and labour withdrawn: 'That was a Sunday; the following day, left with three storeys yet to complete, Building manager Elio Valerga and brother-in-law Pepe España were already organising a Moroccan labour force.'

Now, the paper reported, the firm employed 45 Moroccans. This report gives some idea of the urgency of the situation at the time. Gibraltar's

labour problem was such that it brought about talks with the, then, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Lord Shepherd. The immediate problem of accommodating an imported workforce was frequently invoked, but there was felt to be another problem regarding the most readily available source of labour: Morocco. In a meeting with the opposition the Gibraltar Government claimed that 'it is clear that Moroccans cannot supply the numbers of skilled labour required and that great difficulties are being encountered in recruiting skilled tradesmen from elsewhere'. The solution was thought to lie in the increased recruitment of UK labour.

By 26 September 1969 there was a new Government in Gibraltar. The new Minister for Labour and Social Security - which had suddenly become one of the most important posts in the Government - issued a statement on the labour situation. The main deficiency, he claimed, was in the construction industry but, despite this, the influx of 'alien' labour following Spanish withdrawal had enabled all industries to continue to function. The two issues stressed were, firstly, the recruitment of workers from Morocco which had been decided upon by the previous Government and, secondly, workers' accommodation. With regard to the first issue the new Government's policy was to honour previous commitments, which were concerned mainly with construction workers for the official employers. Here, already, 'administrative and medical requirements have been carried out promptly, more will arrive shortly'. In relation to UK workers, he announced the opening of the North Pavillion, a hostel with room for 80 workers - four to a room. Within the new government-thinking was a trend in favour of a general restructuring of the Gibraltar economy with an emphasis on 'productive labour'. The statement claimed that: 'the basic idea underlying all our thoughts on accommodation is that eventually the type of labour which we will get will largely depend on the type of accommodation provided.'

Thus it was felt that by improving the quality and efficiency of the labour force its numbers could be reduced. This had also been the conclusion of an

earlier *Report of the Manpower Mission to Gibraltar* which had recommended raising the economy from the level of low wages and low productivity to a level of high wages and high productivity. The obvious assumption here is that the Spanish labour force combined the quality of low productivity with the just reward of low wages. A cartoon published in *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, some months before the final withdrawal of the Spanish labour force, sums up widely-held attitudes. In it a man wearing a beret talks to a seemingly sleeping worker who, one assumes, is taking a *siesta*; the remains of lunch, an empty wine bottle and some bread are evident at his side. 'Pedro', the caption reads, 'don't take things so personally. The rumour does not suggest that the withdrawal of your individual labour would upset the Gibraltar economy.'

This is an important point to make as the Moroccans have, by and large, inherited the position of the Spanish workers - as distinct from the Spanish in general - and have been saddled, as a result, with many of the stereotypical elements ascribed to the Spanish workers. In short, they became the new donkeys of Gibraltar. One writer refers to them almost as a 'lumpen' element in Gibraltar society (Hills, 1974). This is not strictly accurate. Like the Spaniards before them, they are marginal¹¹⁷. One might use Bourdieu's (1979) expression 'sub-proletarian', in the sense that he applies it to his study of Algiers, but even this seems to belong to a different epoch - that of the first uprooting of the peasantry, the first drift into the towns. While the Moroccans, for the most part, perform menial tasks in Gibraltar, they have a certain limited cohesion and can act together as a group. They constitute a proletariat in the classic sense that they sell their labour power and, in relation to workers in Morocco, they could be deemed to constitute the equivalent of Lenin's European workers enriched by the crumbs falling from the imperialist's table. The difference, of course,

¹¹⁷'Marginality' as a concept has some disputed connotations within the ethnographic literature. Janice Perleman's (1976) analysis is more applicable here than anything springing from the writings of the 'culture of poverty' theorists such as Oscar Lewis.

is that they are far more mobile than the workers of the core and form a truly international proletariat for whom the site of their labour transgresses purely national class formations. This has a double meaning in that class status in Morocco does not necessarily translate directly in an international context although, as we have seen in Chapter 3, certain class factions from within the core itself are increasingly impelled to cross national boundaries to seek employment. The British workers in Gibraltar are *de facto* superior to the Moroccan workers not because of any arguments concerning skill levels, but simply because the cultural capital which accrues from their British status outweighs other arguments. For the Moroccans common markers of class status can easily become meaningless in the international context. This point is illustrated by the Gibraltar census of 1981. Looking at the educational achievements of the Moroccan migrant population we find that they come out rather badly in comparison with other workers on the Rock. This is, however, hardly surprising as the criterion used is the number of 'O' levels. Naturally this does not reflect their individual educational attainments, where the 'O' level does not feature.

Colonial Education

The function of education is manifold, but within the colonial context it can be stated, beyond reasonable doubt, that it was constructed in such a way as to be of service to the coloniser. The first recipients of a European-style education could have expected some form of position within the state bureaucratic structure. The post-independence situation is changing rapidly. As in many countries higher education is no longer a universal panacea or meal ticket. Where access to bureaucracy is premised on preordained skills in literacy it is bound to function as a filtering device. In this sense, it is no surprise that much emigration takes place via the major urban centres which are more likely to serve as resource bases for the collection of information necessary to even obtain a passport, let alone

migrate. This fact is borne out by the fact that in the past the major industrial concerns chose to recruit *in situ* if possible. Simca, for example, shifted their recruitment base from northern Morocco to the south because, as one version goes, it seems that the people from the north had started to 'reflect too much' (Bentahar, 1979). Berger's (1975) emphasis on the crucial transformation from peasant to migrant worker fails to take account of the true diversity of forms through which coercion can manifest itself. By viewing international migration as some form of original sin, he underestimates the interlocking nature of the modern world system. In the current climate, where education no longer offers the benefits it once held, it is often only those with 'education' who can hope to escape their domestic misery and chance their luck in the international arena. Migrants are among the young and these days the young have had some form of education; indeed, early on some begin to regard it as their ticket to migrate. Thus it is in a community such as Gibraltar that we have a cross-section of educational achievements amongst the migrants. Some of the younger ones working as waiters and bar-staff have Moroccan qualifications of a standard far in excess of the meagre 'O' level or GCSE. In this sense the migrant community in Gibraltar is bound to be mixed and heterogeneous, with the aspirations of individual migrants reflecting their own personal biographies and family situations. Nonetheless, with or without 'educational achievements' their dependents in Morocco form a significant constituency. In August 1969 official statistics released in Rabat gave as over 40,000 the number of relatives being maintained by the Moroccan labour force working in Gibraltar. Roughly translated that gives a ratio of 20:1. This, reported the *Istiqlal*¹¹⁸ paper *L'Opinion*, was one of the reasons why Hassan II rejected Franco's offer in June of that year to help Moroccan industry if Morocco supported Spain's campaign against Gibraltar and withdrew the Moroccan labour force from the Rock.

¹¹⁸This is the leading pro-government party in Morocco.

Initial Responses

It might have been expected that there would have been wide-scale public debate concerning these tumultuous events and notably, concerning this new group of workers. However, exploring copies of *The Gibraltar Chronicle* for the year 1969 reveals remarkably little relating to the Moroccans, with the exception of 'brave' initiatives such as that of J. Españas. More prominence is given to the arrival, by sea, of numerous Portuguese shortly after the complete closure of the frontier. They had rowed in open boats all the way from Portugal - a feat that, in the case of one small boat, had taken four days and nights - and were feted with egg and chips while immigration formalities were being studied. It does seem that the Young Christian Workers (YCW), a then recently formed ecumenical group, were active in the promotion of human rights following on from the closure of the frontier. They express solidarity with the community at large, but are reportedly anxious as to the dangers of exploitation of young people and strongly opposed the importation of foreign labour without adequate provision of housing, medical inspection and hygiene. Housing shortages were of great concern to all and mention is made of the construction of new hostels; notably to fill the accommodation requirements of skilled British labour. The Government, as we have seen, went as far as to lift the restrictions temporarily on the sub-letting of Government housing. Such housing was heavily subsidised by the Government and available, in theory, only to Gibraltarians. This move opened the way to serious exploitation in private sector housing which is impossible to assess with any exactitude.

In fact, Gibraltar had been preparing itself for some time before Franco finally closed down the frontier. Public debate had been going on in certain restricted quarters as early as 1968. The initial reactions of the Gibraltar community to the prospect of some 3,000 Moroccan workers are interesting. Let us look firstly at editorial comments which appeared in the paper

published by the YCW, *Social Action*¹¹⁹, for here we find an honest assessment of the range of possible reactions to the new migrants, expressed by a body which was particularly concerned with their welfare. Certainly the whole situation was viewed as a problem, or to be more specific, a social problem. The article goes so far as to state, 'It is essential to expect social problems and to understand their nature.' Their worries are somewhat assuaged by the projected formation of a local Moroccan Association by Moroccans already resident in Gibraltar. This move is greeted with hearty approval in the following terms. 'Our Moroccan residents have shown a remarkable sense of maturity and civic consciousness by forming this association.' The association, the commentary adds, must combat the danger of people exploiting immigrant workers, for example, by using them 'as merely another tourist attraction'. Exactly what the author had in mind here is unclear but it does indicate, in an unconscious fashion, certain preconceptions about Morocco being simply a venue for tourism incidentally populated by Moroccans. The task of the local community is to give its support to the activities of the newly-formed association and to combat any possible prejudices some of which can be summarised as follows:

- i) They are of a different race (i.e. the Moroccans), in fact an 'uncivilised' one and might be considered people [who need] to be 'civilised' (a prejudice also levelled at the Spanish by some).
- ii) They have come to eat our bread and accept any sort of working conditions.
- iii) They put the local workers' rights at stake.
- iv) They play into the hands of the employer: "These men and women always mean more production and profit for the enterprise"(*Social Action*, 1968,no.19: 3).

The commentary concludes that the primary task is to affiliate the association with the local workers' union, the TGWU, and in this way avoid

¹¹⁹Details of the particular political machinations of the period can be found in Martens (1987).

exploitation and generate dialogue. The extent to which a dialogue has occurred, the role of the association and the role of the Moroccans within the important developments of the Gibraltarian labour movement in the early 1970s will be discussed in Section 5.2. These sentiments represent the most thoughtful to address the fact that massive numbers of workers were to be brought over to Gibraltar. For most people it was a question of expediency and calling once more upon that old siege spirit.



Figure 41: Moroccan Handicrafts Bazaar

5.2 Modern Moroccans in the Gibraltar workforce

As we have seen, for reasons of size and history Gibraltar is not a productive centre and nor has it ever been - with the exception of the one-time flourishing secondary industry of cigar making. The agricultural and

industrial sectors in Gibraltar are of negligible importance with the exception of the construction industry and the shipyards. For this reason the territory has had to import almost all of its requirements in consumption and capital goods. Very little is produced for export. The export of services is more important given the substantial tourist industry and the importance of naval ship-repair work.

In the 1970s and 1980s, in terms of employment, the largest employers on the Rock were the ship-repair industry and the building and construction trade. These together accounted for roughly 50 per cent of all employees. In 1976 Gibraltar was dependant on non-Gibraltarian labour to the extent of 31.8 per cent. This foreign labour was controlled. Quotas specifying the maximum numbers of non-EEC nationals that could be employed in the various sectors were recommended by the Director of Labour to the Manpower Planning Commission and varied from year to year.



Figure 42: Grocery, Gibraltar.

The Gibraltar Economic Planning and Statistics Office publishes an annual report which, in a very general sense, offers a guide to the earning powers of migrant workers, their distribution in various branches of industry, and their constitution in terms of sex. A brief discussion of these figures taken from the 1983 Employment Survey Report will give a rough guide to conditions during the period of my fieldwork. The survey as a whole reflects the general downward trend in employment which had affected the ship-repair industry in the naval dockyard and the building industry generally.

The total number of employees listed in the *Employment Survey* is 11,490. The total figure of Moroccan workers employed on the Rock was 1,906, 37 of these in part-time employment, thus Moroccan participation runs to some 16.58 per cent of the total workforce. The major group of employees is naturally made up of Gibraltarians; some 8,238. Third, in terms of numerical importance are UK nationals - 1,065. The remaining 284 are a mixed group of Spaniards and others - probably largely Portuguese.

The Moroccan population consists of 1,779 males and 127 females. They are distributed roughly equally between the official and private sectors of the economy. The analysis of average weekly earnings indicates that Moroccans are relatively less well paid than Gibraltarians - by the sum of roughly £14 per week. This is related to the difference in wage levels between the official sector, in which there is a concentration of Gibraltarians, and the private sector. The average weekly earnings being £130.09 for the former and £105.01 for the latter. The figures do not indicate that Moroccans work longer hours than other groups. This honour goes to the UK nationals who work a longer week, put in more overtime and receive a higher wage than any other group.

Wage levels for women are considerably lower on average than those for men with average weekly earnings of £90.28 in the official sector and £65.32 in the private sector. The only distinguishing factor in terms of nationality appears to be the number of hours worked. A UK national puts in 48.1 hours per week compared with 42.8 for a Moroccan and 36.2 for a

Gibraltarian female worker.

Moroccan workers are concentrated in ship-building (446), building and construction (765), hotels (271) and the wholesale trade (113). Of particular note is their almost total exclusion from white-collar jobs which are relatively better paid and thus tend to distort the real wage differentials. Most Gibraltarians earn considerably more than most Moroccans. The 1981 census gives a similar (though more accurate) picture of the employment distribution of Moroccan workers indicating that, for a couple of years, the situation remained relatively stable. This changed with the closure of the government shipyard and the subsequent labour policy of the Government in relation to Spanish workers, when Spain joined the EEC in 1985 and border restrictions were relaxed.

As negotiations for Spain's joining the EEC developed, the status of Gibraltar became increasingly central from both the British and Gibraltarian point of view. Britain demanded the lifting of frontier restrictions while Spanish demands included rights of residence and, one assumes, an employment situation equivalent to that before Franco made his move. Since the beginning of this last siege the Gibraltar economy did, as commentators urged, undergo a curious involution - with emphasis on high unit productivity, the actual size of the workforce substantially declined; from some 16,000 in the early 1960s to some 6,300 full-time male and female workers in 1983. Many of these, as EEC citizens or British nationals were unaffected by Spain joining the EEC; this is guaranteed by the Treaty of Rome. This was not the case for the Moroccan workers who stepped into the breach when Spanish labour was originally withdrawn. In this respect a Gibraltarian journalist, Hector Licudi, pointed out that the Gibraltar Government of the day had its 'knickers in a twist' over the matter. To lay off the Moroccan workforce would 'call down the wrath' of the Moroccan Government (*Panorama*, 22 October, 1984). Indeed, many Gibraltarians felt that this would be no way to treat their allies in the siege, but the alternatives few and expensive. Even at the time it seemed likely that a benign policy of attrition would operate allowing individual

firms to pursue their own policies of employment while the Government maintained a no discrimination stance. Good relations with the Moroccan Government were not going to be as crucial if the *raison d'être* for their maintenance was withdrawn. With the wind-down and closure of the military dockyard many Moroccans realised this and job applications were reportedly flowing to another British military base - the Emirate of Brunei. Would they be sacrificed to a larger Europe? The Moroccan workers viewed the whole situation with trepidation and had done so for some while. As early as 1977 they neatly summed up their understanding of the situation in one expression: '*Juan Si, Mohammed No.*' While the phrase seems to take on board uncritically the absurd proposition that all Spaniards are called Juan and all Moroccans Mohammed the meaning here is very clear.

Perhaps it is within the context of work that the question of Moroccan ethnicity might be raised. Martens (1987) has suggested that the Moroccans had all the characteristics of an ethnic group, but somehow did not constitute one. This is perhaps the general reflection of the weakness of their position within the Gibraltar environment, but it also highlights some of the problems involved in their generally circumscribed position. With some exceptions there is no situation that might be said to replicate anything such as the chain migration or the regional solidarity, which is witnessed in other situations of international labour migration; recruitment has simply taken place on a far too *ad hoc* basis for this to be a real factor. Nevertheless, informal groupings can be found, especially among the younger members of the Moroccan workforce. In some cases, this means actively seeking work together, thus effectively maintaining all-day contact with friends. In many contexts, of course, this is hardly possible - the fragmented nature of the service sector, waiting jobs for example, except perhaps in the larger hotels, demand shift work which is hard to coordinate without the express permission of the employer.

Once more we are faced with a series of very different angles on the question of work. The employment survey tells its own story to those who

chose to read it in a certain way. The mere fact of being Moroccan automatically condemns the majority to jobs of low status, low wages and minimal job satisfaction. In this sense the range of responses given by other observers, whether British or Gibraltarian, are likely to coincide with those attitudes held towards the original Spanish workers on a daily pass and, indeed, attitudes to manual labour more generally. Such attitudes might initially be seen as class-based but, in the case of the Moroccans, they interact with a general ethnic/racial angle. Here we might read the chance remarks made by tourists regarding inept waiters, or more general beliefs in the wider community in respect of the Moroccan capacity for working at two speeds only: 'dead slow and stop'. But such attitudes are contradicted by those who complain about the frugality of the Moroccans - while simultaneously berating their 'lack' of work ethic. This position represents, surely, something admirable from the perspective of the capitalist ethic but, in breaking the bounds of the nation, it here transcends the commonly-held views of decency. The contradictory nature of all this was highlighted, after the border opened, by the numerous comments one heard regarding the frugal nature of Spanish visitors. Here, of course, is a structuralist delight. One time workers returning as tourists and, yet, betraying the role by adopting the frugal habits of the Moroccan workers and spending no money.

There are other perceptions of the Moroccans which abound in Gibraltar. One such is of the Moroccans being, in some sense, automata. They work steadily throughout the day with no recourse to the usual strategies which 'normal' people adopt to avoid the pressures of work - again this perception can be held simultaneously with that suggesting Moroccans do no work. They just keep going, they don't think for themselves and so forth. On the part of the Moroccans, if there is an element of truth to it, this may simply be a strategy to escape the boredom of the tasks they are allocated. To establish a rhythm might help to pass the time, again, it could be related to some perception of the traditional rhythms of agricultural labour. It was, as we saw in Chapter 4, this which appealed to the French labour recruiters when they switched their recruitment strategies to the south of Morocco.

All this goes to indicate certain misapprehensions. As noted, the Moroccan workforce is by no means 'unitary' and it finds itself divided in many ways: by age, by place of origin, by attitude or outlook, etc. In their interactions with other workers Moroccans are frequently dismissed as if they were children. But these children are also regarded as interchangeable units because of their lack of grasp of Spanish or English. With the English workers this is made worse as while many Moroccans, from the region of the ex-Spanish protectorate, do often have some grasp of Spanish their English counterparts do not and fail to conclude that it is they who are at fault in this regard. In this sense, the situation is more complex than that which pertained over the dyadic relation between the Spanish and the Gibraltarians, in the days before the closure of the frontier. Seen in such a light the actual physical confrontation with work might be an escape from the more hostile and often painful attempts at social interaction with non-Moroccan fellow workers. Even in the past some of these varying strategies have been adopted by the Gibraltarians, and this fact further complicates attempts to analyse the variety of work situations and interactions which occur in the social space of Gibraltar. One example here to demonstrate this point: a Public Works Department work party in Almeda Gardens shifting piles of leaves from one spot to another. The Gibraltarian foreman remained in the van (asleep). Two young Gibraltarians on a job creation scheme hid behind a tree (smoking), while the majority of the workers, who were Moroccan, played with the piles of leaves. Who can blame young Moroccans in such situations? They are simply 'learning to labour' (Willis, 1977) in the appropriate local manner and for them it might well seem that work is, locally, regarded as something to be avoided. A young English worker, hired at the lowest levels as a brush hand in the dockyard, reported with some horror the lack of concern which some of the Moroccans had for their work. Taking part in a ship refit he was instructed by a Moroccan co-worker not to sand down the rails surrounding the ship's helicopter pad and was told instead to simply to paint over the rust. For a ship destined for the South Atlantic,

he remarked, the procedure was hardly worth doing. Superficially such stories appear to partake in the various myths regarding the Moroccans but, in reality, they point to the complex situations which are involved when we consider specific local cultures of work and the manner in which specific categories of migrants are incorporated into local cultures of class relations. Nevertheless, even serious commentators can partake of them. Hills (1974) writes that the Moroccans were not generally liked by the Gibraltarians:

the differences in ethics, culture and way of life were too marked for what the Gibraltarians called, in the language of their hearths, *convivencia*. Social problems arose more serious in the constricted space of Gibraltar than they might have been in more spacious surroundings. Serious breaches of the law increased by 50% in the three years 1969-71. The Moroccans, rightly or no, acquired a reputation for unreliability whether as dock labourers, construction workers or hotel staff. Certainly as hotel staff they were singularly inept (pp. 469-70).

One is left wondering whether or not some unfortunate Moroccan waiter spilt Mr Hill's cornflakes, for it is held by others that, of all the Moroccans working on the Rock, it is those employed as hotel staff who have proved the most loyal employees and stood the best chance of retaining their positions in Gibraltar for as long as the hotels remained open.



Figure 43: PWD van, Gibraltar

5.3 The Moroccan Workers Association - work, politics and suspicion

The Moroccan Workers Association (MWA) was born in order to combat a number of abuses but the extent of its success, in lobbying for change has to be read alongside other factors. As we have seen an association was projected as early as 1969 and praised by some Gibraltarians as a 'mature act', but it was not until a couple of years later that it developed a constitutional form, based on the Gibraltar House of Assembly itself. This move was largely the result of the initiatives of a younger group of Moroccans and, especially, a man who was to become leader of the MWA, Alami Abdullah. He saw such a system as a safeguard against incumbents who did not act on behalf of the members and himself declared that should

he lose the support of the members he would stand down. Things, however, did not come to this and although he was re-elected without opposition his demise as leader was to come unexpectedly - not as a result of moves by the members but, instead, due to the efforts of the Moroccan, Gibraltarian and British authorities. The exact circumstances surrounding the episode are difficult to fathom, but by looking at other contemporary events and subsequent developments some guesses can be made.

Alami's Expulsion and the Wider Context

The early 1970s saw a number of assassination attempts¹²⁰ on Hassan II, the Moroccan King¹²¹. After the second on 15 August 1972, a Moroccan Air Force helicopter landed in Gibraltar with five passengers, two of whom asked for political asylum. The two men were middle-ranking Moroccan Air Force officers and had been directly involved in the plot against the King. The Moroccan authorities made representations to London and, despite the lack of any formal extradition treaty between Britain and Morocco, the two men were deported back to their homeland within 15 hours; unprecedented haste given the circumstances. There was a storm of protest in the British press at the time and talk of exchanging 'life for lettuces'. This was a reference to the official British Government responses to the situation. The presence of the two men in Gibraltar, it was argued, was not in the interest of national security and, besides, the Rock was 'dependent' on Morocco for labour and supplies - especially fresh fruit and vegetables- hence the reference to lettuces. On being returned the two men were duly executed and Britain was subsequently taken to the International Court of Human Rights by Rosemary Amekrane, the widow of Lieut. Col. Amekrane. In the political backlash, which followed a third assassination attempt, the

¹²⁰Notably the putsch of July 10, 1971 at Skhirat (see, Waterbury, 1973).

¹²¹The 'sultan' became a king in modern Morocco.

left-wing *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires* was heavily implicated and many of its members arrested - some of whom were also later executed.

It was against this background that Alami was asked to leave Gibraltar. On a trip to Morocco, Alami was arrested and detained by the Moroccan authorities for two months. He was accused of spreading anti-Government propaganda among the Moroccan workers in Gibraltar- the author of the accusations was never revealed. There was concern in Gibraltar, but no certainty as to his fate. Moroccans in the hostels confirmed that they believed he had been detained, but they all refused to comment any further on the issue. Before leaving for Morocco, Alami had stated that he was intending to visit the Royal Palace and the ministries responsible for foreign affairs and labour. He hoped to tackle the question of rumours, at the time, suggesting that the Moroccan labour force in Gibraltar was to be recalled; a rumour, in part, generated by the fact that passports sent to the Moroccan Ambassador in London for renewal were being sent back untouched. To these ends he had taken a week off work. Whether or not it was his concern over these matters which led to his arrest in Morocco or other unknown factors is uncertain but, in the end, it was decided that he was innocent. He was finally released and headed back to Gibraltar. On his return, however, he was taken to the Central Police Station where he spent the day being interrogated by the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Fred Llambias. At the end of the audience Alami was told to leave the Rock and never return. He himself received no explanation for his expulsion and was at a loss to explain it. As he told *Chronicle* reporter Francis Cantos:

I have been living in Gibraltar for five years and have never got into trouble or got mixed up with politics but the Deputy Commissioner has always been on my back. Maybe it is because it is convenient to have an Association of Moroccan workers here without a leader.

Indeed, the situation does appear bizarre. Alami seems to have been a popular figure for many people. On his detention in Morocco many were concerned about his whereabouts and well-being. His employers, the DOE,

had acknowledged that his absence from work was not his fault and offered him re-employment. Nonetheless, on 5 September 1973 Alami's passport was returned as he boarded a plane bound for Morocco. Before departing, however, Alami claimed that his expulsion order was not the only one to be given to Moroccans working in Gibraltar. Others before him, he claimed, had been asked to leave, without being given a valid reason. In cases where the men had been members of the local branch of the TWGU, they had sought protection from the union but all enquiries received rebuttals from the authorities concerned. The Principle Immigration Officer - who is also the Deputy Commissioner of Police, the same man who questioned Alami - would go no further than say that the expulsions were ordered on the grounds of security. In one case the Union had appealed directly to the Governor, but he had simply replied that he was quite happy with the reasons which he had been given. The men themselves had simply been discharged from their jobs. Their discharge notes had stated that their dismissal was based on 'information received from the Immigration Department'.

Migrant Insecurity, Suspicion and Spies

The intrigue and suspicion surrounding these events reflects the general anxiety of the Moroccan workers in Gibraltar at the time. Their insecurity was doubled by the seeming interest taken in their activities by the Moroccan authorities. This is not the first time such experiences have been recorded.



Figure 44: Nationality and Passport Office, Gibraltar

In the early 1970s the Dutch authorities introduced measures to restrict the number of guest workers in the country. Again in 1975 the regulations were tightened. This led the Moroccan immigrants in Holland to form the Committee of Moroccan Workers in Holland (KMAN). Their struggle crystallised around the case of 182 Moroccans who faced deportation. The workers faced not only the hostility of the Dutch authorities, but also surveillance by the Moroccan authorities and the refusal of the Moroccan

Embassy in Holland to renew or validate their passports. As part of the campaign some of the workers went on a series of hunger-strikes. Statements by some of the hunger-strikers indicated clearly the difficult position they faced if they were made to return:

If I go back to Morocco I would certainly expect trouble. I am politically active in Holland and as this is a punishable offence in Morocco I'll probably be imprisoned.

In all countries where Moroccans are employed you find members of the *Amicales*, a group formed by the Moroccan government with the aim of keeping a check on compatriots abroad... These *Amicales* check whether one becomes a member of a trade union or a political party. If this happens, he can then be picked up by the police when he returns to his country (Johnson and Bernstein, 1982: 157).

The situation in Gibraltar bore a close resemblance, then, to the Dutch situation. While there was no indication of the presence of *amicales* in Gibraltar, the silence in the hostels over the fate of Alami suggested a high level of mutual suspicion. Just how extreme this had been was unveiled in a curious court case which took place slightly after Alami's deportation. Mohamed Benomar, the caretaker at the Devil's Tower Road Moroccan hostel was acquitted on seven counts of obtaining property by deception. From the witness box Benomar claimed that he had been the victim of a conspiracy led by the deported leader of the MWA. He alleged that Alami had wanted him and the 90 residents of the hostel to join the Association, but stated that he would not become involved in 'politics'. Six prosecution witnesses claimed that Benomar was charging extra money for beds and demanding a fee for obtaining accommodation permits. They denied any knowledge of Alami or the Association when giving their evidence. The defendant, however, stated that 'Alami used to come to the hostel everyday to ask for news. He was an informer. Every hostel has its spies.' He then went on to claim that he had been approached by the Moroccan police who wanted the names of all those associated with Alami, a request which he didn't comply with because he 'knew nothing about it'. Later he alleged that the Moroccan who had made the original complaint to the police -

Alami had accompanied this man to the police station - had 500 kilos of hashish in Morocco and the caretaker feared that he would bring it to Gibraltar, hide it in the hostel and then denounce him to the authorities, 'I feared such trouble, that's why I wouldn't give him a bed'. The evidence is so full of contradictions that it is difficult to state with any authority what exactly was going on. The court found Benomar not guilty, but the defending counsel did suggest that the case fringed 'a little on Moroccan politics'. Another scenario is that Alami was, in fact, the man who lost out in the end and that the caretaker was extorting extra money from some of the hostels residents and Alami was trying to put an end to this abuse of position. If Alami was a spy it seems highly unlikely that the Moroccan police would want to know the names of his associates, but he failed to reckon with the power of denunciation and intrigue. In all probability the Moroccan community in Gibraltar lost a person who was committed to their cause, but whose commitment was too great an irritant to the Gibraltar authorities and too much of a threat to the Moroccan Government for him to be allowed to continue occupying the position he had held. This saga suggests very strongly, as does the 'life for lettuces' episode, that some degree of consultation and harmonisation was operating between all the authorities involved. The losers, despite formal protestations to the contrary, have consistently been Gibraltar's Moroccan workers.

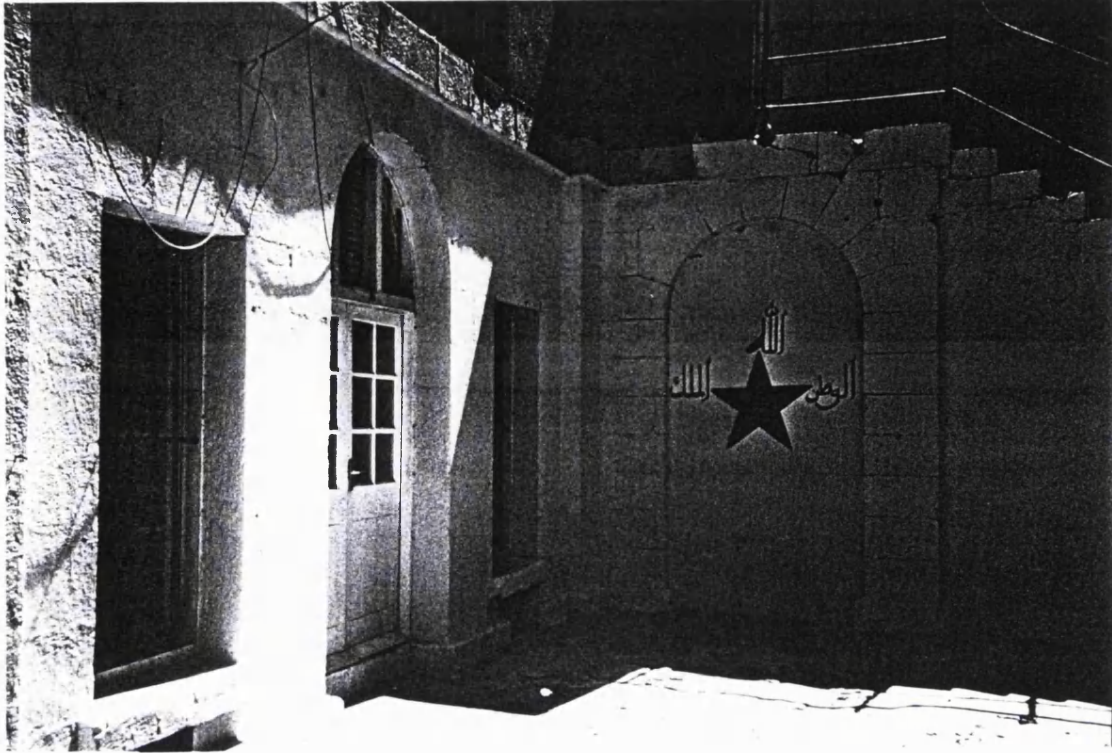


Figure 45: Casemates mural. Allah, the nation, the king.

Links with the Local Unions

One name in particular is associated with union attempts to defend Moroccan workers on the Rock in the early years. Bernard Linares, one time chaplain to the Young Christian Workers, was the person in question. While he held that position he was active in raising the awareness of the group - we have already seen the pronouncement they made on the immigrant situation in 1968. The role he played caused acute anxiety for the rest of the church hierarchy. Summing up the achievements of Bishop Healy who died in 1973, Msg. Caruna (*Panorama*, 18 November, 1985: 4) writes, 'There was anxiety about the about the YCW and the awareness aroused in them by an active intelligent young priest, Father Bernard

Linares.' Linares was to leave the Church and become a full-time executive for the local branch of the TGWU - taking a particular interest in matters arising from the problems facing the Moroccan migrants in Gibraltar, the themes which had interested him while Chaplain to the YCW.

This was a period of intense in-fighting in the Gibraltar workers' movement, to which we shall return, and Linares was to form a breakaway union comprising many of the Moroccans. When this collapsed, the TGWU was to set up its own 'section' for immigrants, but by this time it seems that the Moroccans in Gibraltar had largely ceased to take an active part in labour politics. This may reflect the developments in their homeland because, on the whole, the middle to late 1970s were relatively quiet times for the Moroccan unions. The Green March and the annexation of the Western Sahara had reinforced nationalist sentiments in the country. This had a profound effect on union militancy:

Beginning in 1975, the country was sunk in a state of hysteria and war. At a time when strikers were condemned as traitors, neither workers nor unions could risk a militant stance (Clement and Paul, 1984: 24).

On the whole this has been the case in Gibraltar, despite the hard-line sometimes taken by the Gibraltar unions, and the Moroccans have increasingly tended to be neutral and they have followed the instructions of their 'leaders' within the community.

5.4 Accidents at Work

For the tree ripped from the ground comes the further danger of an ignominious death¹²²; the industrial accident, what Tahar Ben Jelloun describes as the work of the Abstract, or simply death. Capital requires labour but, divorced from the necessity to provide for its reproduction, can

¹²²This is the metaphoric expression for migrants used by Tahar Ben Jelloun in his novella *Solitaire*.

view it strictly in terms of an input. Human considerations can be cast aside like moral conventions in time of war. In a certain sense this is war - an economic war declared by capital. Union involvement with the Moroccans in the early days often focused on death. It was a death at the Holiday Inn in Gibraltar which had the direct consequence of politicising a large number of the Moroccan labourers on the site.

A branch of *Credit Populaire du Maroc* opened in September 1971. The bank offers the Moroccans in Gibraltar the same services extended to those in Holland, France, Belgium and Germany. These include transfer of funds to families in Morocco. Deposit accounts also carry a type of life assurance whereby in the case of account holders meeting with a fatal accident their next of kin will receive double the amount deposited in the bank.

A roll call

* 24 July 1969

23 year-old Moroccan, Mohammed Smaiki, was reported dead, electrocuted, after having volunteered to help investigate an electrical fault in some kitchen equipment. He was employed as a dish-washer.

* 11 October 1969

Rohavico Haj Mohammed died after falling 80 feet in the quarry at Europa Pass when his safety spike pulled loose. He had only just arrived in Gibraltar and it was his first day at work.

* 3 February 1970

Report on the inquest into the death of Abdelhamid Mohammed R'kaina. He died of asphyxia due to regurgitation of vomit into trachea and lungs. He had been in Gibraltar for

five months and lived in the hostel at 62 Devil's Tower Road.

* 19 January 1971

31 year-old Moroccan, Abderslam Jelchbibbi fell to his death while drunk.

* 18 August 1971

A Moroccan worker died following a roof collapse.

* 10 October 1972

The previous day a Moroccan fell to his death from the sixth floor of the Holiday Inn. He was named simply as Hajji by the local paper. He carried a Tetuan issued passport.

* September 1975

Two Moroccans died from the burns they received while working in the Calpe garage. At the inquest the verdict was one of accidental death, 'they'd been draining a petrol tank in the same room as a blow torch was being used'.

* September 1975

A 55 year-old Moroccan carpenter fell to his death from the fifth floor of building works at Veryl Bagg.

* September 1978

Accidental death was the verdict recorded in the case of Mohammed Rounin, aged 34. He was a leading sewerman for the PWD and had gone down to help a colleague who was in difficulty, but had himself been overcome by fumes and died.

No Holiday Inn

The accident at the Holiday Inn led to a number of moves by the Moroccans on the site to join a union. The TGWU became involved, asking the foreman of the site to reinstate two men who had been dismissed following the incident. The foremen denied that the reason for the dismissal of one of the men was the fact that the previous day he had been unanimously elected shop steward on the site; the Moroccans having joined the union after the fatality. He claimed instead that there had been a scuffle. The Moroccans employed at the site - working for a Moroccan firm, Nassar - had signed a petition regarding the dismissal of their shop-steward. The men were, in fact, reinstated following a decision taken by the director of the firm, Mr Nassar, who had come to Gibraltar to sort out the problems. A spokesman for the Union announced that: 'Mr Nassar has expressed his desire to establish good relations with the Union and is grateful for the concern of the TGWU for the workers in his firm.'

At this time the MWA was also active campaigning for Moroccan rights on the Rock and a delegation of seven men, the MWA committee, were preparing to visit Morocco to make an official complaint to the Moroccan authorities concerning conditions in Gibraltar. They were to voice grievances about employment and residence issues and also what they felt was the continued trend of discrimination which existed between them and other workers.

The TGWU continued to act on behalf of those working in the private sector of the building industry, many of whom were Moroccan. At the end of October 1972 a large meeting of some 400 workers was convened to discuss a pay award which had been offered by the Gibraltar Master Builders Association. The offer meant that parity with the public sector would be achieved by 1974. The meeting rejected the offer and the union Resident Officer, Jose Netto, made a speech concerning his recent visit to Morocco where he had been in contact with Majoud Ben Seddiq, leader of the

UMT¹²³, which had pledged friendship and support for the TGWU in Gibraltar.

The inquest into the death of Mohamed al Hajji, aged 25, revealed that although Gibraltar had a Factory Ordinance there had been no inspector to enforce it for the previous eighteen months. The coroner recommended the reappointment of an inspector and offered sincere condolences to the family who were represented in the court by Bernard Linares in the capacity of union negotiator.

A year later, in the aftermath of the deportation of Alami there was another dispute involving Moroccans and mediated by negotiators of the TGWU. A young pastry cook at the Caletta Palace Hotel, Ben Hamou Zimmi, had been sacked after staying off work for too long after illness. Workers had given the hotel management 24 hours to reinstate the man, but they had been ignored and there had been a walk-out by fifty members of staff. The man was soon reinstated in what the hotel manager and the TGWU negotiator, Bernard Linares, described as a victory for common sense.

In October 1973 *The Sunday Times* took up the fight on behalf of Moroccans in Gibraltar. The correspondent, William Jones, wrote a long and detailed condemnation of conditions under which Moroccan workers live in Gibraltar, claiming that the Moroccans are kept in cramped and filthy accommodation and drew a comparison with the luxury hostel for skilled European workers. Reaction to the article in Gibraltar was swift. Although here was no attempt made to claim that living conditions were good, it was argued that the Times' man had drawn a biased picture, when compared with conditions in Morocco itself they probably weren't too bad.

In January 1974 there was a long strike at the Holiday Inn over the dismissal of six Moroccans whose contracts had expired. In February there was a further walk out by Moroccans on a building site. Again these incidents were brought to a successful conclusion by union negotiators.

¹²³*Union Marocain du Travail*

A Breakaway

In April of 1974 rumblings within the TGWU came to a head when a meeting was allegedly stormed by Bernard Linares, who was carried on the shoulders of his supporters (2,000 men), many of whom were Moroccans. Netto, the Resident Officer, suspended Linares forthwith. In May, Joe Bossano was elected to a TGWU post, which prompted 774 members to hand in their cards. These men included Linares and 60 per cent of them were Moroccans. Linares claimed the Moroccans were being discriminated against within the Union and floated the idea of setting up a rival union. In August of that year the Gibraltar Workers Union was officially opened. Its first industrial action took place at the end of that month at the Holiday Inn. Sixty employees of the hotel came out on strike over backdating of a pay award. Linares again was negotiating on behalf of the workers. In the face of initial deadlock the GWU intensified the action by calling on its members in other firms to black the hotel. After five days the dispute came to an end.

The rest of the year was marked by continued sniping between the two unions. Independently the GWU negotiated an agreement with the Master Builders Association on behalf of construction workers. The TGWU promptly called a meeting of Moroccan construction workers at the Catholic Community Centre. A spokesman claimed that it was a success, attended by 500 workers who, after listening to an explanation of the deal reached by the GWU, rejected it. The GWU meanwhile was claiming a victory and stated that everyone was satisfied with the agreement and that, anyway, the TGWU had hardly any members among the construction workers. A statement was issued disputing TGWU claims. The GWU said none of its Moroccan members had resigned over the matter. They claimed that the meeting had been attended by only 200 people, most of whom were Moroccan workers in the public sector and, therefore, not affected by the deal. Meanwhile the TGWU announced that construction workers employed by two firms, Barton and J.G. Jomeris, had rejected the deal and requested

the TGWU to open negotiations on their behalf¹²⁴.

By January 1975 the dispute between the unions had reached fever pitch. Linares alleged, as previously mentioned, that the TGWU was poaching members by bribing them:

The TGWU have now launched an intensive recruiting campaign amongst workers in different construction firms (including GWU members). The method used is to present them a form and saying if they sign it they will get a payment of £60...

The forms, Linares claimed, were statements in English of resignation from the GWU and affiliation to the TGWU. In February the GWU successfully negotiated for damages on behalf of a Moroccan worker injured at work.

The GWU was to face problems other than the rivalry of the TGWU. It was having difficulties getting official recognition from Britain. In April it drafted a memorandum to the Governor:

That the British should so flagrantly discriminate against a Gibraltarian trade union and support the monopolistic aims of a UK based union (the TGWU) must be condemned as an intolerable form of colonialism.

History, however, was not to be on the side of the GWU and it was finally disbanded. The Moroccans were left once more to content themselves with the various declarations of intent and support offered by representatives of both their own and the Gibraltar Government. In August the Moroccan Minister for Labour and Social Affairs, Larbi Khatabi, was on holiday in Gibraltar. He made clear the full support given by the Moroccan Government to the continued presence of Moroccan workers in Gibraltar, and spoke of increased efforts to cooperate and liaise with the Gibraltar authorities on issues affecting them. On the question of conditions facing Moroccan workers in Gibraltar, he made the surprising statement that prior

¹²⁴The whole situation was a strange inversion of an event from the 1920s. In 1921 there had been a long strike by the coal heavers working in Gibraltar which had finally been resolved with help of the intervention of Rev. C. Gresh. During the strike Bland and Co. had used workers from Tangier to coal their vessels engaged in bringing supplies to Gibraltar.

to his arrival on the Rock he had not heard a single complaint; in contrast, he pointed out, he was always receiving complaints about the treatment of Moroccan workers in other European countries¹²⁵. He did, however, state that during his stay a number of grievances had been put to him individually. The minister said these would be looked into and hoped to conduct a study in collaboration with the Gibraltar authorities. He also expressed his desire for training programmes in Gibraltar to help young Moroccans to gain skills which would serve them on their return home.

In January 1979 the TGWU finally announced the formation of an 'immigrant committee' to study the social problems affecting immigrants. In March, the Tangier newspaper, *Le Journal de Tanger*, reported that workers in Gibraltar were grateful to the Governor of Tangier for his efforts on their behalf. The Gibraltar Government also announced plans to renovate the Casemates hostel and Canepa said £250,000 had been laid aside for this purpose. In April, Minister Canepa was interviewed in the *Le Journal de Tanger* by Mohamed Lahyan, himself a leading member of the Moroccan community in Gibraltar and Drinks and Food Manager at the Caletta Palace hotel. On the question of wage differentials the Minister claimed that, generally speaking, there was no difference in wage levels between Moroccans and other workers - despite the Government's own figures - although he suggested that there may be isolated cases of small private employers paying lower wages to aliens. Once a permit is issued, he said, it is up to the individual worker to bring any failure to pay agreed wage levels to the attention of the labour department. Moroccans, he continued, are covered by the Social Insurance Ordinance in the same way as everybody else and receive the same benefits. On the question of family settlement Canepa outlined the Gibraltar authorities position:

As a matter of general policy because of the impossibility of meeting greater demands for housing, education, medical and other social services and because of Gibraltar's acute physical limitation of space, foreign workers other than nationals of the

¹²⁵This may simply be a reflection of the numbers involved.

member countries of the E.E.C. who have the right of free establishment in Gibraltar under the Treaty of Rome, are not allowed to have their families living with them in Gibraltar except on holiday for short periods (Quoted in *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, 6/4/79).

It would seem that despite early efforts to organise along what might be described as 'normal' political lines the Moroccan migrant workers became increasingly neutral in terms of their involvement. This may be as a result of developments in Morocco, but it also undoubtedly related to the nature of Gibraltar itself, and the long-term struggles of the Gibraltarians which are only very recently beginning to bear any fruit. It is also the case that organisation is very difficult in the small-scale conditions which Gibraltar offers. Here we find no huge factories such as those of the French car giants. In the end, as the case of Alami suggests, oppositional tactics of an overt nature lead to exposure and expulsion. There are, of course, other ways in which the Moroccan migrants can express themselves. Devotion to work and its rhythms is one form of escape, but there are other areas of activity to which these migrants have access. Certainly, they are not great, but they offer another perspective on the lives of some of the migrants in Gibraltar. Leisure, in particular, is an area from which they are not excluded as completely as in some spheres of life and in the next section certain aspects of nightlife will be considered.

5.5 Drinking and leisure, bars and clubs: the night eats

what the day has made

Wine and Spirits are little used by the Moors, and the only intoxicating article of which they partake is the hemp-seed and flower, which they smoke as an opiate, in pipes as small as thimbles (Beauclerk, 1828: 274-5).

The genuinely new forms of urban entertainment in the big city were by-products of the tavern or drink shop, which became an increasing source of secular comfort for the labouring poor in their social disorganisation...(Hobsbawm, 1977: 325).

Perhaps it is no accident that two of the poems selected by Jacques Berque (1983) as representative of a new life - a rebirth - of means of expression in the Arab world should contain the following stanzas:

We walk aimlessly.
Today is for wine and dice.
And after wine there is pain.
And after dice there is boredom.
(Mahmoud Darwish)

Time like sin.

and I, I tried to make the innkeeper talk
by dint of drinking
but he remained so unaffected as to finish my wine
and it is I who was slipping from the table: to vomit
up the defilement of my years...
(‘Abd-Al-Mu’tii Al-Hijaazii.)

For it is alcohol and its consumption which marks out the ‘modern’ Moroccan migrant in some respects. Particularly given the assumption often made that alcohol has no place in the lives of Muslim migrants. Nevertheless, the questions which are addressed here are essentially aimed at the sociological imagination. Can we go too far in our efforts to construct meaning out of ephemera?

The Moroccan migrant outside Morocco is confronted with ways of life which are, on the whole, unfamiliar. One aspect of sociality in western Europe in the consumption of alcohol which accompanies much leisure. Alcohol is outlawed in Islam. Whether this is because, as some say, drunkenness in the prophet's army was undermining the cause or not is of no importance. It is forbidden - *harum*. Despite this there are Muslims who drink alcohol and there are places in Morocco where - except during Ramadan - alcohol can be consumed. The bar, a legacy of the French, is another example of the public space recaptured from the colonists. In the same way that different parts of the city-scape have been differentially occupied along lines of social hierarchy, so have the bars - providing, in the larger cities, a spectrum of prices and clientele. The bar is here, by definition, the scene of a certain amount of deviance and subject to public approbation by way of occasional letters in the press calling for the closure of this or that bar and complaining of the nuisance caused by drunks - especially, in the Moroccan case, in the left-wing press like *Al-Bayanne*. The consumption has its own lore, ill-defined but discernable. Sometimes, with wine, the glass is filled and drunk in one, the object being to get drunk as quickly as possible on as little drink as possible; a bottle once opened is generally finished. Although drinkers would not normally consume alcohol in front of their families, displays of public drunkenness in the bars are common - as they are elsewhere. For some, it is argued, the first meeting with drink takes place as a migrant worker in Europe. In Gibraltar too, small numbers of Moroccans inhabit the bars and clubs.

There is, however, another aspect of the situation which needs to be addressed here. If you wish to study migrants, but do not want to be identified in any way with the authorities that govern their lives you find yourself in a dilemma. As a British researcher looking at Moroccan migrant workers in Gibraltar the problem is especially bad. Simply being British is quite enough to arouse suspicions without even mentioning your specific endeavour. There are very few spaces in Gibraltar where the appearance of the researcher will not immediately pose questions about his or her

presence. As the figures from the Social Services census indicate most of the Moroccans work long hours at menial tasks. Their life is spent at work or trying to snatch some sleep in the barracks. Where is there a space for the researcher to fit in here? The work situation is strictly demarcated, both officially - in the sense that, for example, on the docks the Moroccan workers are provided with a separate canteen - and unofficially - Moroccans prefer to work with Moroccans, British with British and so forth; the positions occupied within the labour market act to reinforce this segregation. The barracks for Moroccan workers, such as Casemates, are for that purpose solely; British workers have a separate hostel - as we have seen, the official position is that the hostel is for skilled workers but, despite a limited overlap, the distinction is one based on nationality. In real terms the difference is that between sharing a room with one other person or upwards of twelve people. While relations may build up between British and Moroccan workers in the workplace it is unusual for these to be carried over into periods of leisure. As suggested, leisure is not really the lot of the majority of Moroccans. For them leisure is the trip home; Gibraltar is a purgatory without leisure. There is, however, a small fragment of the Moroccan population who do attempt to carve out for themselves a social space which is coterminous with other members of the Gibraltarian population and, yet, outside the official circles of organisations, such as the Union. This occurs in a number of small bars and is invariably accompanied by heavy drinking. One such bar is Lotti's Beer Keller.



Figure 46: Lotti's Beer Keller

Lotti's Beer Keller

Lotti's Beer Keller was considered by some to be the seediest bar in Gibraltar - especially those people who had never visited it. It was situated in a dark backstreet and, as the name suggests, is in a cellar. To enter, there is a flight of stairs leading down to a large room that houses the bar, video machines and a pool table. The ensemble was presided over by an old German woman - Lotti. She was very frail and sat, during opening hours (10 p.m. until 4 a.m.) in the corner fussing. The place had seen better days, but it retained a sort of cult following among the Fleet. Young sailors don't like change and Lotti has been presiding over various bars in Gibraltar for

over 15 years. Her name has attained the status of myth in some quarters and she's acted as a surrogate mother for generations of young sailors - at least in her opinion. Lotti herself lived a luckless life in some respects and was to remain lonely in death - her body was not discovered for some days.

Lotti's is one of the few bars where Moroccans congregate in any number in their spare time. The reasons for this are fairly simple: times are hard and the bar needs any customers it can get. The Moroccans are not Lotti's favourite customers but she has the stoical attitude of someone who makes their living out of customers. The Moroccans are noisy and unpredictable, she would say, and they put other customers off with their rowdy behaviour.

The bar was at its busiest on Friday and Saturday nights. For a while I worked there as a front-man collecting glasses and generally being on hand in the event of trouble. This provided some legitimate reason for being there and asking stupid questions while at the same time creating a space to simply observe. What follows is a typical Friday night's interactions.

Friday at Lotti's¹²⁶

The bar doesn't start to get busy until well after midnight. At that point the pubs close and Lotti's became the place with the cheapest drink in Gibraltar. On this particular evening there were a few customers early on. Hashak, a tall Moroccan of about 35, was sitting in the corner with two Spanish women who people stated were prostitutes who had come to Gibraltar for the day. Hashak spent the evening embracing one of them passionately in the corner of the bar. Lotti knows most of her customers and considers it part of her role to have some sort of biography for each of them. Hashak, she said, had been in Gibraltar for about 12 years. She also

¹²⁶In relation to expected norms of behaviour this heading is an instant giveaway. The weekend of the European work calendar dominates here and for these workers the religious rhythms of Morocco are ignored.

said that he was a violent trouble maker and was prepared to use any object in a fight. He nearly started one later on. Towards midnight a large group of Moroccans arrived and things began to get busy in the bar. Three arrived together. Carefully they deposited one of their number on a chair. Lotti muttered "Oh my Gött not him" under her breath. She was not talking about the drunk, but his friend who bounded up to her and started apologising profusely for some incident a few nights earlier involving the acting manager of the bar, a dipsomaniac from Hackney, who had, he claimed, attacked him for no reason. Martin, he declared, was a serious madman who despised all Moroccans. He seemed considerably scared of Martin. I had met the Moroccan previously and when he saw me he came over and shook my hand, *sahabi*, my friend. He was very drunk. He likes to show me off. "Talk to my friend in arabic *Tunisi*", he requested - he referred to me as the Tunisian because of my accent. The incapable friend slowly became less so and kept blinking his eyes at me as if I was an apparition. Finally he muttered in English "why you spickin Arab?" I told him he had imagined it but he was not having that. He seemed to sober up appreciably and asked me where I had learned Arabic. I shot off what had by then become my best speech in Arabic. He was impressed and proceeded to explain to me about the *farq*, difference, between Tunisian and Moroccan dialects. The main difference seemed to be that in Morocco people speak *Barbaria*, a rather derogatory way of describing his own tongue with connotations that are strictly the opposite of civilisation. I asked him if he spoke classical Arabic, but he did not. He seemed to be ashamed and left the bar.

At this point in the evening trouble flared up in the corner where Hashak was sitting. I was directed to go and sort it out. All the Moroccans I know pat me on the back and tell me that there's no problem and that they will sort out the non-existent problem. I don't know what the argument's about, but there's a lot of shouting - *y'amalu hess*, people used to say in Tunis, just making noise. Luckily Hashak is sitting down so he's not in a position to be grossly violent. Most of the shouting is the pacifiers. Everyone wants

to be part of the action and everybody is drunk. It's a drunken argument anywhere. Finally I shout at them in authoritative English that they will have to leave if they don't stop. They don't stop, but pat me again and tell me there's no problem. At this point Mohammed interceded. He's a large man, but essentially solitary and can frequently be found drinking a beer on his own in various of Gibraltar's pubs. He's about 45 and has worked in Gibraltar for some 15 years. He lives alone in a rented room, full of finches, which he quiets down by blowing hashish smoke into their cages. In his estimation the Rock is '200 per cent'. Assuming the role of mediator he started to berate the others in Spanish as if his mastery of the language of authority, punishment and retribution would confer power to his words. This is ironic in Gibraltar given that, as we have seen, it was not so long ago that upper class Gibraltarians affected not to understand Spanish to distinguish themselves from the Yañito speaking masses and ally with the Garrison establishment. The shouting finally stopped after the forceful intervention of another Mohammed. This one had one night stood at the top of the stairs charging people 50 pence to get in. He did not seem too drunk when sorting out the quarrel. Afterwards he came over to Lotti and asked in Spanish if he could work for her as a bouncer - having just given evidence of his consummate skill. He then asked me in Spanish the same question. I tell him in Moroccan Arabic that I don't speak Spanish; he repeats his question in Spanish. He is very drunk. Lotti tells him she will think it over. When he has gone she says he starts more fights than he will ever sort out.

Mohammed Alouite is standing at the bar swaying and laughing like a hyena. He too is in his mid-30s with a moustache and goatee. At first I thought he was drunk; he is, but there's more. He punctuates every sentence with a mad howl. I call him *afreet* - a sort of demon - and he howls again and shakes his head. I say he's a *Saharoui* which results, not surprisingly, in exaggerated interrogations from other Moroccans standing listening - why you say that? Why you say that...? Mohammed Alouite is from Tangier, but his father was not, howl, grin. I am reminded of a phrase

from Ben Jelloun: 'All we have left is the power of laughter. And we laugh in bursts. But that scares people...' (Ben Jelloun, 1976:57).

A similar sentiment can be found expressed in another novel of migrant life in France, *beur* writer Mehdi Charef's *Tea in the Harem* (1987):

This is the place where the town's immigrants - the bachelor workers, as they're known - come to drown their homesickness in beer... The air is heavy with a thick pall of smoke, which rises to the ceiling like a dancing shadow. The place is dimly-lit and noisy (p.33).

Robin arrives in the bar. He's one of the footloose Britons who exist on the periphery of Gibraltarian society; working as bar staff, shop assistants and labourers¹²⁷. Robin's main pursuit in life are thrills of one sort or another. He knows Mohammed Alouite and claims to have stayed with him in Tangier. Mohammed has a couple of young daughters and his nickname is 'moustache' - not particularly unusual in a country where almost everyone could be called *buhya* - father of the moustache. Robin claims he spent 24 hours in a Tangier brothel free of charge after saying he was a friend of 'moustache'. He also tells me that if you go to Tangier with Mohammed you'll be stoned 24 hours a day. Perhaps this explains the howling; more evidence of the harmless effects of hash. Mohammed starts elaborating on the contradictory nature of his identity. He's from Africa, but not black - howl. I'm white like you.

Lotti's is also one of Gibraltar's gay hang outs. There are not a lot of outrageous characters. It seems that the days are gone when the transvestites living in Main Street would emerge from hiding in their finery when the fleet docked. Some of the men have come over from Spain for the day. Others are Gibraltarians. Charles, who ran Gibraltar's only specifically gay bar - where the Sex Pistol's 'Anarchy in the U.K.' could be found on the juke-box - is present with his dog. In his more flamboyant moments he claims to have 'had' three-quarters of the British navy. As a

¹²⁷By far the majority of female bar-staff working in Gibraltar at any one time are British. Most Gibraltarian girls would not be allowed to work as a barmaid although work as a shop assistant is admissible.

group they laugh and joke with the Moroccans. There is a certain sexual tension in the air which on a previous occasion manifested itself physically when a drunken Moroccan gave a Gibraltarian transvestite a five-minute French kiss at the bar; much to the disgusted amusement of everyone else.

No More Orders

Slowly the evening runs down and I talk mostly to Lotti who intimates to me the terrible things she had become accustomed to doing in order to get bread for herself and a young sister when they'd been orphaned in the Second World War and become refugees in its aftermath. The Moroccans are impossibly drunk. They keep apologising for being drunk, but ordering more beer. I feel awkward as they mutter to me '*samahalia sahibi, shrubt bezaaf*', 'sorry my friend, I've drunk a lot'. By this point in the evening everyone is speaking Arabic even to Lotti who doesn't understand a word. It's my turn to say no problem, but really they're beyond caring. We try to close the bar. I'm sweeping the floor and it's four in the morning. A few of the Moroccans refuse to leave; 'Sorry, sorry, tomorrow I'll be good, but please give me one more beer, just one, I'm sorry friend. One more beer.' Like all drunks they're boring and pathetic. I lose my patience and tell them to leave in French. Some understand and look bemused - damned *Nasrani* spikin' Arab and won't give us another beer. Finally they go and I finish clearing up before locking the doors. There's a noise on the stairs and I'm sent to check up. Three of the Moroccans are attempting to sneak back in. I tell them nicely to leave, but they ignore me. I'm forced to escort one of them physically to the door. He rounds on me and informs me that after 12 years in Gibraltar he knows the law and that I'm personally obliged to sell them another beer. I tell him he has not learnt very much in 12 years and he starts to shout at me in Spanish. He tells me that I'm a racist and no better than *mierda*. I had become immune to such abuse in Morocco- it's very common with the 'guides' in Tangier and Marrakesh:

'You wan guide?' No thank you.' 'You fuckin racist English pig' - and was able to ignore him. His friends are grinning at me as if that way they could cancel out their friends insults and somehow get another beer.

When we leave the bar 10 minutes later they're still outside sitting on some cardboard boxes. Another of the three tells me that he's been in Gibraltar for 16 years and knows the law. I'm no longer listening. I ask him if in that case he knew Abdullah Alami, the ex-leader of the Moroccan Workers Association deported in 1973. He looks surprised: "Yes, he's my uncle and now he's in prison in Switzerland." I'm confused by this and he goes on to tell me that I'm not much of a *sahib*. They seem to think that I'm taking them somewhere with more drink. I walk away quickly and disappear up a small side street.

Kenneth Read (1980) wrote in his study of a gay bar:

Superficially, it seems as chaotic as first impressions of any of the unfamiliar ways of life that have provided most of the source material for anthropology; but in these distant and exotic situations, the investigator expects to discover an order eventually; a 'system' within which people move in relationship to one another, in which there are certain standing rules, shared affects and cognitions, symbols and ritualized expressions of common understandings. However remote and unconventional the situation may be, this is the basic hypothesis; and, with perseverance, the initial chaos yields to it, as it does in the Columbia tavern (p.66).

The search, it would seem, is for some sense of order, but the question that must be posed is what exactly does this order represent? In the Gibraltar case it seems somewhat of a distortion to talk of order without resorting to some form of moralising. In a sociological study of bar culture Sherri Cavan (1966) remarked that the regulars were biographically blemished. On the individual level such blemishes presumably represent a failure to achieve an order and, indeed, what order can we impute to those Moroccans who have died as a result of excessive drinking? In short, we must beware of the danger of fetishising order.

Statistical approaches are by their very nature guilty of this crime. Such questions as the relationship between sample size and regularities are

posed and answered independently of the human groupings they purport to shed light on. Despite this, the statistical mode is the most highly favoured in discussing migration. Let's look at one such treatment of alcohol in the case of Moroccan migrants in France. Such discussions are not common for the simple reason that they are not readily assimilable to discussions of order. The consumption of alcohol contravenes the religious order proscribed for all believers by the *Koran*. Thus Boudoudou (1983) takes this as a starting point for his discussion. His stated objective is to examine religious practice in an attempt to establish to what extent the stay in France has altered these practices. To this end he asked a sample group of 84 Moroccan migrants what their feelings were about Moroccans who drank wine. Forty considered that it was acceptable, 22 deemed it unacceptable and the same number considered it to be a sin (p.142-3). In order to understand the significance of these figures he considers it necessary to establish a series of points that make a nonsense of the way in which the whole question was initially posed, i.e. in relation to religious prohibitions. Morocco produces a lot of wine and its consumption is not forbidden in civil law. The only limitation is that Moroccan Muslims can only drink inside bars, but in practice this depends on who you are. He goes on to suggest that the proportion of people who consume wine is not inconsiderable. Those who claim it is acceptable for others to drink in all likelihood do so themselves. The drinking of wine, he claims, is no stranger to the Moroccan migrant in France. He goes on to suggest that all those who drink wine invoke the state of necessity in which they find themselves with regards religion. They work in a milieu where alcoholic drinks function to help them forget and be happy at the end of the week. Besides, there are not many places they can go in the evening. Many migrants define liberty in relation to consumption of alcohol and the social control exercised in Morocco is not as strong in France and, in this sense, as Allal et al. (1977) suggest, they escape certain hegemonic circuits operating within French society. In Gibraltar the whole situation is different, the Moroccan workers here do not have the possible solution of a focus on the

private space of 'family life' which is available to other migrants in capitalist metropolises¹²⁸. In this respect they are forced to lead 'deviant' lives in the eyes of those for whom the privilege of 'home' is readily available. As we have seen, 'home' and 'family' are already heavily loaded symbolic categories for the Gibraltarians. Whether it helps some Moroccans to forget their problems or not, alcohol can and does lead to trouble, and other factors too can lead the Moroccan migrant in Gibraltar to put in an appearance at the local courts.

5.6 Courtly images of Moroccans: text and sub-text

For a long time the ordinary people demanded socio-political rights and struggled to obtain them. When they had been won, they were conferred exclusively upon nationals. Law-makers today still refuse to entertain the idea of elaborating a specific status for foreigners, and in law there exists only the status of aliens. The nuance is an important one (Thomas, 1982, p.243).

Selective traditions are conditioned by constellations of power. The link between the following description and my discussion of the Gibraltarian in Chapters 2 and 3 is British colonialism in its historical multi-determinacy; in economic terms and through the complex mediations which describe, classify, identify and name what the current inconvenient shorthand of 'anthropological reflexivity' naively describes as the 'other'.

Often, it is claimed, a single image, a critical image, can be more revealing than a conventional narrative. Sometimes those abiding facts of existence normally concealed by their own visibility stand starkly revealed in a single frame giving a brief sense of the enormity of it all. Within this section certain images of Gibraltar, all derived from one source will be used to build

¹²⁸Although here there can still be problems. The Moroccan sociologist, Bentahar (1979: 127) describes how, in a period of a year, the Moroccan consulate at Strasbourg dealt with more than 1000 cases of families abandoned under the pressures of their 'unification' abroad.

up a fuller (relative to bar life) picture of aspects of life in Gibraltar for the Moroccan community. The 'images' in this instance are cases from the Gibraltar Magistrates' Court as preserved by the court reporter for the local daily paper. Taken in isolation these 'cases' lead nowhere. They are partial and fragmentary. Expediency in the reportage gives free rein to the informed imagination. There are no conclusions and no postscripts. Eventually the names become completely meaningless as they accumulate in a file. Judges preside over faceless Moroccans, administering fate to the genus Mohammed. One defendant claimed to be called Mohammed Ben Mohammed, John son of John, fined £10.

We are dealing with various forms of 'crime', petty or otherwise. Crimes against society have long had their classification the ins and outs of which are embodied, variously, in law. But such law is always class and nationally specific. Thus, *mutatis mutandum*, the imposition of a body of law upon an alien community should say as much about the masters of the law as the criminality of its subjects.



Figure 47: Gibraltar Chronicle building

The Gibraltar Chronicle constitutes a text, and the sub-text focused upon here is the 'voice' of the court reporter. This initial database consists of reports which have been by no means consistent. The format is that of a small provincial paper and reports from the Magistrates' Court are often no more than fill-in during local journalistic silly seasons, reproduced because of bizarre or humorous qualities. For the infinitesimally small, local papers are irreplaceable. Reading such a newspaper is, as Benedict Anderson (1983) has remarked, like reading a novel whose author has abandoned all thought of a coherent plot. Like anthropologists the provincial newspaper is interested in the small details of everyday life, but like its larger counterparts it embodies a good deal that remains unstated as studies of reporting and race have demonstrated in Britain¹²⁹. Furthermore, the reports are themselves judgemental, not so much in their tone, but in their 'topography' within the paper. They maintain the sombre air of the court and convey its judgement, but their relative detail and position reveal the mutual dependence of the paper and the expectations of its audience. In the main, crime-reporting is no more than a background noise of petty offences: employers robbed of tins of paint, drunks found asleep in the street. The occasional 'events' give the impression of a radio station that keeps drifting off frequency. And yet, in comparison with bare police figures, it has some life and potential to explore. The reports give no figure of gross criminality within the 'alien' community, but they indicate its form.

The Gibraltar Yearbook for 1984 describes the judiciary in the following way:

The Courts of Law in Gibraltar consist of the Court of Appeal, a Supreme Court, the Court of First Instance and the Magistrates' Court. The Criminal practice of the Supreme Court of Gibraltar follows that of the English Crown Courts (Garcia, 1984: 48).

All the courts are situated in the same building at 277 Main Street.

¹²⁹For an overview see Van Dijk, 1991.

Somehow the building represents the last bastion of sunny colonialism. The black iron railings in Main Street enclose the edifice neatly. It has an impressive frontage, but it's the garden of banana trees, palms and datura that declare this is no English court, despite all the other features. Passing through the garden we arrive before the main arched entrance to the court building itself. A large entrance hall decorated in green and off-white is effectively open to the elements. Leading off from the hall are corridors and offices. A main staircase leads upstairs to other offices. At the top of the stairs is a portrait of the Queen. People drift around, perhaps a group of Moroccan women in *jellaba-s* are seated on the bench or old Gibraltarian men are filling time in discussion. With the traffic barely visible in Main Street the overall impression is one of calm; a suitable backdrop for the due process of law. The only dissenting voices are to be found in the toilet scrawled on the wall: CID war pigs, CID *maricones*, *Hijo de puta*.

This is Wednesday afternoon in late January and the Supreme Court is in its Hilary session. The morning paper announced that the trial of Abdelouhid Ftouh continues today. In the entrance hall the charge sheet is pinned up. The man, a 31 year old shop assistant, was charged on 23 August 1984, with indecent assault on a girl under the age of 13. On the sheet the name is typed Abel Wahid Ftuh then crossed out and written in biro:- Abdelouhid Ftouh. It's late in the day and the jury of Gibraltarian men is out considering its verdict. Interested members of the general public are waiting to be admitted to the court room for the summing up and sentencing. Finally the doors are opened. There is a screen shielding the seated defendant from the prying eyes in the spectators gallery at the back. In truth there are no more than six spectators. Most of them are old men looking for the possibility of entertainment, a heavy sentence, who knows? The courtroom is much the same as any other recalling episodes of 'Crown Court' and a thousand other TV dramas. Directly behind the magistrate's bench is the coat of arms: *Honi soit qui mal y pense* and *Dieu et Mon Droit*.

The jury shuffle back in and the foreman is asked for their verdict on the charge of indecent assault. The proceedings are conducted in English. The

answer he gives is 'Not Guilty', but he proffers the alternative of common assault. The work of the jury is over and now it is left to the two counsels and the magistrate to wind things up. The prosecution counsel gives a potted life-history of the defendant. Born in Tangier in 1953 he has worked in Gibraltar for 14 years. He earns £60 a week as a shop assistant. £50 of this he sends home to his mother. There is a slight confusion over a previous drug-related offence, but finally this is not taken into consideration. The magistrate states that, for the purposes of the court, the defendant has a previous good record. Counsel for the defense pleads that the trial has already done enough harm to the defendant. His only mistake was to take the law into his own hands. The defendant is asked to rise or, rather, is gestured to do so in order to hear the verdict. Standing next to the prisoner is another young man who translates inaudibly the magistrate's remarks. In this instance he translates into Spanish. The verdict is explained, a conditional discharge, and the Moroccan nods nervously looking suitably admonished and humble. In fact, it is clear that the original charge was absurd. The young girl had been causing a nuisance in the shop where Ftouh worked. In attempting to prevent her he had resorted to striking her. This affront against 'Mediterranean honour' was translated into an indecent assault charge and some four months of waiting before the trial. Outside on Main Street one of the local misers, Peter, greets people exiting with a grin. Mad through alcohol or destiny he reserves the biggest smile for those who look as though they have not been on the dispensing side of justice. And yet justice is dispensed painstakingly. Gibraltar has no room for a Jeffries and here the machinations of the law betray a certain patronising objectivity.



Figure 48: Gibraltar Courts, entrance

Drugs On trial: mirrors with a few cracks

In 1865, as we saw in Chapter 2, the civil magistrate, Sayer, remarked that the Moroccans in Gibraltar were exemplary in their behaviour. Now, their numbers increased, their names appear with a deceptive frequency in the court reports. Deceptive because next to the Garcias, Mors, Chipalinos - Gibraltar names par excellence- they stand out as being different, marked by their names (not though in the sense of Geertz's (1979) discussion of *nisba*). An English military man stationed in Gibraltar in the early nineteenth century was not in accord with the civil magistrate quoted above. He wrote in the introduction to James Richardson's (1860) *Travels in Morocco*: 'civilisation cries out aloud for retribution on a race whose religion teaches them to regard us as "dogs".' It is this latter attitude that reports in the *Chronicle* can help to flesh out in various ways in the contemporary situation. By discussing their major features it is possible to generate the negative stereotypes that are common. One of the first

involves drugs. The remark of Munson's informant, Hajj Mohammad, 'We muslims have kif to make our heads fly', is not strictly true (Munson, 1984). All forms of intoxicants, with the exception of pure religion - unless it degrades into the disdained ecstasy of bidonville proponents of the Hamadsha sect (see Crapanzano, 1973) - are forbidden to the moral community. To the Moroccan urban sophisticate, kif smoking was another dirty habit of the labouring classes, to sustain them in their toil, or else the preserve of the ignorant *bledi*, better known to anthropologists as the peasantry. And yet, some of the commonest crimes reported in Gibraltar in relation to Moroccan defendants relate to drugs, cannabis to be more specific. These days drink and dope often go together. The kif smokers are the drinkers of the Europeans' whisky. Reading the ethnography of Northern Morocco it is difficult to recognise the fact that in some valleys of the Rif 75 per cent of all income is derived from cannabis production. Anthropological discussion of the topic was usurped in the 1960s by the post-beats and hippy trailers. Now the Moroccan Government hardly wishes to advertise the extent of its production when American arms aid is at stake. A visit to Tangier or Tetouan is sufficient to convince most people that the unemployed youth and not so youthful have extensive networks, familial or otherwise, linking them to the cannabis-growing areas around Ketama. The tourists call it a hassle, the polyglot street kids say *y'malu beezneez*, 'doing business' - business here having the mystical connotations of a millenarian cult.

The social history of the Rif and Jbali highlands is the past for most of Gibraltar's Moroccan migrants and Gibraltar is implicated in the flow of Moroccan cannabis into Western Europe. Hundreds of Moroccans have been convicted on charges of possession and importation. The *Chronicle* reported in 1973 that the police sniffer dog Tara had been awarded more meat on her bones for good work. In Gibraltar the drug is indisputably associated with the Moroccans. Furthermore, it is corrupting as a story from the *Chronicle* entitled 'The Hashish Apprentice' demonstrates. A Moroccan prisoner convicted for importation told at the Magistrates' Court

how he had arranged with a young apprentice at the dockyard to acquire cannabis from Tangier. When defence for the youth spoke in court it was the voice of Gibraltar's parents:

It is more probable that the youth was persuaded by the Moroccan to start on drugs and that he was to bring him a small amount of the drug. When apprehended R'Bitou [he] attempted to shift the blame for the whole of the marijuana onto the youth.

In 1973 the Stipendiary Magistrate expressed his alarm at the incidence of cannabis 'which appeared to be widespread and uncontrolled in Gibraltar'. The general formula that emerged was one kilo equals three months at the Moorish Castle where, it must be noted, the majority of prisoners are Moroccans serving sentences on drug related charges.

The defence voiced through the paper frequently refers to 'attitudes': 'in mitigation the Magistrate was asked to take into account that the attitude towards marijuana was different in the defendants own country' or 'the defendant has used the drug for a number of years because marijuana smoking has been a customary feature of his family upbringing.' One Moroccan was reported as having said 'I didn't know it was not allowed in this land...it is allowed in Morocco'. If the number of children or wives is high enough to warrant some attention this, too, is used in mitigation and reported by the paper.

After cannabis most of the offences concerning Moroccans that come to appear in the paper are minor drink related episodes. That's not to say that the Moroccans drink more than anyone else, but their comportment under the influence of drink is certainly histrionic. There is a general feeling that they 'hold' their drink badly, as is illustrated by this incident reported from the court. A woman had been attacked and her boyfriend had formed a search party, more correctly a lynching party, to search for a group of Moroccans who had been seen 'running around in circles as they always did when they got drunk.' Less serious, but essentially the same in terms of content was a story that appeared on the front page under the heading 'Moroccan drunk at Christmas understandable.' The magistrate

remarked that making the mistake of getting drunk and driving was understandable, 'but trying to break up the police cell was taking the seasonal spirit too far.'

Such reports are frequent and the image that they generate is similar to that of the more 'lumpen' elements of the Gibraltar population who are, almost by definition, drunks and so forth. Naturally there is a certain segregation of drinking haunts, as we saw earlier in this chapter, and the Moroccans share the run-down bars with these people: Toby's, Lotti's Beer Kellar, Antonio's, bars in which dispute settlement is distinctly unanthropological. Tahar Ben Jelloun caught the feeling of these bars in his novel of migrant life in France, *La réclusion solitaire*:

When we shut ourselves up in these sad bars (they say they're sordid) to drink, it's not to forget, but to give ourselves the impression of existing a little. To discover ourselves, mirrors with a few cracks. Sadness, that's it, friend. Bodies breaking themselves up. Bodies full of cinders. At the bottom, right at the bottom, there is fire (Ben Jelloun, 1976: 51).

Even in Gibraltar gesturing to the dirty bar the migrants express themselves in the language of French republicanism, 'here one is more free'. But this liberty has no explicit political content. Under the headline 'Freedom Song' the *Chronicle* reported the case of yet another Moroccan found drunk and disorderly. On being ordered to stop singing he reportedly said: "This is a free country and I can say what I like and sing as much as I like." He obviously had not read the prominently displayed '*prohibido el canto*' signs.

Friends and Foes

Stereotypes, as we have seen, are contradictory - the Moroccan workforce is unitary - homogeneous, 'one is much the same as another' in the eyes of many. And yet, reading the *Chronicle* it seems that they are constantly fighting among themselves. A headline read 'Slit your throat'. During a dispute over money between two Moroccans the plaintive was told 'he'd get

his throat slit in Morocco'. The assailant claimed to have drunk a bottle of whisky. '£5 costs each for friendly knife fight' read the paper. A conditional discharge was recorded against two Moroccans after a scuffle involving a knife at the residence. They had been drinking. They asked the court to forgive them, they had forgiven each other and were now the best of friends.

Abdullah Ali pleaded not guilty to creating a disturbance. He claimed that he was beaten up by others who had followed him when he was taken to the police station and who were insulting him. The police officer concerned could not verify this, 'They were shouting at each other in Moroccan', he said. The defendant said that the others were from Tangier, he was from Ceuta so was a foreigner to them. They had attacked him.

What some reports tell us is even more informative. In a front page story, 'Head on Clash', the defence counsel cross-examining the plaintiff asked him if he remembered saying that all Arabs who work in Gibraltar are ignorant. He proceeded to ask if it was the 'custom' to fight with the head in Morocco. The man replied that some do and some don't, 'I'm a business man, I don't see fights'. 'I'm a lawyer', retorted the defence counsel, 'and when in Morocco I have seen fights in the street where heads were used'. The suggestion being made to the court was that the injury was the result of an attempted head butt. The defendant himself claimed he had been insulted and called 'one of those donkeys' who worked in Gibraltar. A word frequently used to designate a worker in Moroccan dialectal arabic is *zoufri*¹³⁰. It is distinctly pejorative, the Arabic root covers a range of meaning: to pant, to groan, to exhaust, to soil with grease; *zafir*, a related word, means grimy, unclean, filthy, rank. In another incident a Moroccan was given a month's suspended sentence for hitting a fellow Moroccan worker with a broom while they were both sweeping. The Magistrate commented that 'he was satisfied the defendant was trying to keep

¹³⁰This word also appears in the quotation from Ben Jelloun's novel *Harrouda* used in Chapter 1.

Gibraltar tidy and that he'd been provoked', as if he was on trial for not working hard enough.

Another case of a dispute between Moroccans, this time not involving violence, demonstrates again the court's ability to comment on what it is to be a Moroccan. Abdeslam Bacin Hmine was fined £15 for being in possession of cannabis. It transpired that he had planted the drugs in the bed of a fellow worker at the Casemates hostel and then gone to the police station with a note reporting where they could be found. In court it was stated that both men were friends and both came from Kenitra. In mitigation the defence counsel asked that 'the mental attitudes of the accused, a countryman, not able to realise what harm can be done, was not forgotten'. The obvious conjecture to be made here is that this is odd behaviour for a 'friend'. Presumably there was some dispute to which the court was not party. This is a familiar theme. Internally divided, the 'community' attempts to project an image of unity to the outside world to which it is opposed. The remarks of the defending counsel are illuminating, especially if one ignores the fact that Kenitra is a town with a population larger than that of Gibraltar itself¹³¹. One is almost led to suppose that the defendant appeared in court wearing his battered *selham*. The implication is that the man in question had no notion of the workings of 'city justice'. To me his course of action, however, suggests exactly the opposite. Perhaps 'city justice' is better discussed within the framework of attacks on the Moroccans by other members of the Gibraltarian community. Here we might find aspects of what Ben Jelloun has described for the French context as '*un racisme profond et epidermique*' (Ben Jelloun, 1985). Indeed, this will give us grounds to rethink Hills' (1974) version of the increase in crime in Gibraltar during the early years of the Moroccan workforce.

In 1756 it was announced that 'an orderly Sergeant is to attend regularly

¹³¹This could reflect a propensity to name the nearest large town as the place of origin.

on the Moor who is Secretary to the Alcalde of Tetuan to prevent the sailors or soldiers abusing him or the rest of his countrymen now in town' (*The Gibraltar Yearbook*, 1917). Reading the *Chronicle* the impression is often that a few more 'orderly sergeants' could be required. Members of the Moroccan community are by no means simply the authors of crime. They are also the subject of thefts and attacks. The piety of enlightened middle-class attitudes to the Moroccan workers does not necessarily influence the attitudes of those who come into closer contact with them; whether at work or during moments of leisure, in bars and on the street. This particular form of enlightenment allows them to deny fundamental rights in the name of humanitarianism on the basis of the assumption that all Moroccans and their families would soon starve unless they could work in Gibraltar.

In a general sense Gibraltar is considered to be *tranquilo*, an expression which even the most ardent monoglots among the British expatriot community have absorbed into their lexicon. As we have seen, often they will put this forward as the reason why they stay - along with the fact that they have caught the 'Gib bug', a metaphorical justification that people use for remaining in Gibraltar which I introduced in Chapter 3. This peace is occasionally shattered when ships are in port and they disgorge their crews of matlos in search of drink and excitement. At such times many people just don't go out. Confronting a video on television is more convivial than a drunken sailor. Some feel that the situation is getting worse and draw a direct link between drink and violence. Samuel Benady QC in his address at the opening of the legal year in 1971 claimed that it was no longer safe to walk the streets after 7 pm: 'The situation,' he claimed, 'can't be helped by the existence of no less than 234 licensed premises in a space of less than 2½ square miles.'

Even the neighbouring Spanish paper *Area* wrote of growing claustrophobia in Gibraltar. The theft, in Gibraltar, of 10,000 contraceptives triggered off a piece on fast declining moral standards: "which are most apparent since the Spanish labour force was substituted by another, in the number of violations, infidelities and the use of drugs."

The choice of not confronting violence on the street by avoiding it is not as simple for the Moroccans. Retiring to crowded dormitory for the night is not very enticing. Watching the Moroccans at night as they stroll, their gestures and so-on it seems that some of them are scared - although alcohol certainly allows some of them to overcome this fear. For those who forgo the dubious support of drink other strategies exist. Strategies which can be read in gestures of submission and forms of invisibility. This semiotic of self-defence is often interpreted by others in a different way and viewed as shady, suspicious or the like.

Street violence, like racist attacks, is notoriously indiscriminate within certain limits. Reports of attacks documented in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* illustrate this point. Some of those which occurred in the years 1970-73 are listed below. The attacks were not sufficient in themselves to merit pieces in the paper, only in the context of sentencing in the court.

* January 1970: Charles Cartwright already convicted and sentenced to one month in prison had gone to the police station to apologise for previous behaviour. As he was leaving he saw a Moroccan in the guard room. He attacked the Moroccan and had to be restrained. He claimed the Moroccan had been grinning.

* June 1970: Under the front page heading 'Intimidation of a Moroccan' it was described how Abdeslam Mrabet had left his job and was going back to Tangier. The court said 'it was obvious that he'd been intimidated'. He had been laughed at and beaten up by some Gibraltarians who had received sentences of one-and-a-half months in prison.

* April 1971: Under the front page heading 'Nine months for violence against Moroccan' it was described how two squaddies had beaten up a Moroccan late at night in a public toilet and extorted 10/-. They claimed that the Moroccan had given them a dirty look. Both were drunk.

* August 1972: Graham Ian Johnstone was fined £10 for being drunk and disorderly and had a conviction recorded against him for wilfully causing damage to a pair of spectacles belonging to Ahmed Lhatifi. The Moroccan was on his way to the Piazza when confronted by two men who asked him the way to a certain bar. Lhatifi tried to explain that he didn't

understand. The two men asked him if he was 'English, Indian or what?' and the defendant took off Lhatifi's glasses and stepped on them, carefully breaking them.

* November 1970: Horace Golt was fined for assaulting Abdeslam Hamuda night watchman for the Sunrise Co. The Moroccan had been called a 'squeeler' the court revealed. The Magistrate commented 'I believe the Moroccan, his whole evidence- he is a witness of truth.'

* October 1972: John Hancock pleaded guilty to assaulting Mohammed Zagdad who was walking down Main Street with his brother when the defendant went up to him and for no reason hit him in the face.

* January 1973: The case against Mario Baglietto of wounding Mohamed Ahmed Aboude was dismissed. Two foremen had issued contrary orders and engaged in a struggle on the building site. The magistrate, 'anxious not to inflame racial differences', stated 'it was a case of a mason not wanting to take orders from a steel fixer'.

Further Lectures in Difference: Moral Standards

There is one instance where the paper does radically alter its presentation of events. That is in the case of sexual harassment and assaults: 'In a state of sedation Ahmid Elamri must have vaguely heard last night as a nine man jury convicted him of having attempted sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of thirteen.' Such stories have powerful news-value and when they concern 'outsiders' the full extent of the sexual imagination can be vented. When he appeared 10 days later to be sentenced Elamri was still under sedation. The defence counsel asked the court to consider his age (only 22) and his background (in Morocco, he states, girls of twelve are of marriageable age) as well as his good record during four years working in Gibraltar. In his opinion no more than a severe reprimand was necessary 'to bring home the point that here in Gibraltar we have different moral standards which he must find out and observe.' Elamri received a nine-month sentence. A few months later a Gibraltarian was sentenced to

one year for unlawful intercourse with a consenting minor. The defence brought up Elamri's nine-month sentence, but the Chief Justice pointed out that had concerned a Moroccan!

'Twelve months for indecent assault' read a frontpage banner headline in 1972:

...'I cannot be guilty...I am working for my six children...who can work for them now, are they to be left to die? I have been six months without being home to see them...I came to this country to work for my children...I couldn't do anything like this...I am not a young thing...I am a man of 35 who works for his children', sobbed Abdelaziz Ben Mohammed Sabaa when the jury unanimously found him guilty.

We might ask what sort of impression this form of dramaticisation can be expected to have on the reader? The defendant was identified despite the fact that he had shaved off his hair and moustache and grown a beard which, he claimed in the court, was 'customary' on the death of a mother. The prosecution felt it was an attempt to disguise himself. Miss Hughes, the paper reports, having experience of these things as she had lived in Morocco for twenty years, gave evidence for the defence. She claimed that this was not a religious habit, but may well be one of hygiene 'as the condition many of them live in are grim' and she mentioned - lice.

Here the work of 'scientific anthropology' means that terms like 'custom' can be used in official discourse to override its own normative rules and regulations. The court appointed authority on 'custom' is an authority by dint of the 'participant observation' of having lived in Morocco, although what Miss Hughes happened to have observed in twenty years is transparently irrelevant to the case.

The detail of these cases involving sexual assaults is reminiscent of the aura of 'sexuality' that haunts all 'orientalist discourse'. Another common theme is so-called 'deviant sexual practice', buggery, sodomy, prostitution. Such things also come in for enthusiastic treatment in the *Chronicle*. One story discussed a knifing at New Passage. A 17-year-old sailor had slashed the face of a Moroccan with a knife alleging it was in self-defence. He claimed he had gone back to the Moroccan's room where, he had been told,

there were women. He had been 'intimate' with one of the two present. Afterwards, while dressing, the Moroccan along with two others had attempted to assault him. He had waved the knife in order to get away. The Moroccan's version was substantially different. He claimed that the 'Englishman' had turned up at the flat demanding a drink. He'd had several and then asked for women. The Moroccan had replied that his was a decent house and the young man had then behaved indecently and threatened to knife the Moroccan unless he too indulged in indecencies. To add some spice the report states that the police found a small bottle of lubricating oil. A conviction was recorded, but the magistrate stated that the evidence of the victim was unreliable.

The final reality of the Gibraltar situation is that the Moroccans are here to work. This fact too finds its expression in the court. Mohammed Ben Ahmed Rahali received a two-month suspended sentence for the theft of 250 metres of nylon line. He worked at the docks and had been searched on leaving claiming not to know of the presence of the line in his bag. He stated in court that he had been working for three days and nights and his wife was sick with heart trouble. His firm claimed he was a good worker, the court was lenient and he didn't lose his job.

Ahmed Amri was found not guilty of handling stolen goods, he had simply delivered a package for an old workmate. He had worked for three years at Acmoda. The manager of the store testified on his behalf: 'he was a country boy, simple, very industrious, very honest, very friendly and would do a favour straight away.'

Larbi Soussi was fined fifty pounds for driving offences but, it was revealed in court, he was a 'good man', an employee of the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club who 'would retain his services no matter what the outcome of the trial'. The magistrate understood, 'a good servant is worth his weight in gold', he said.

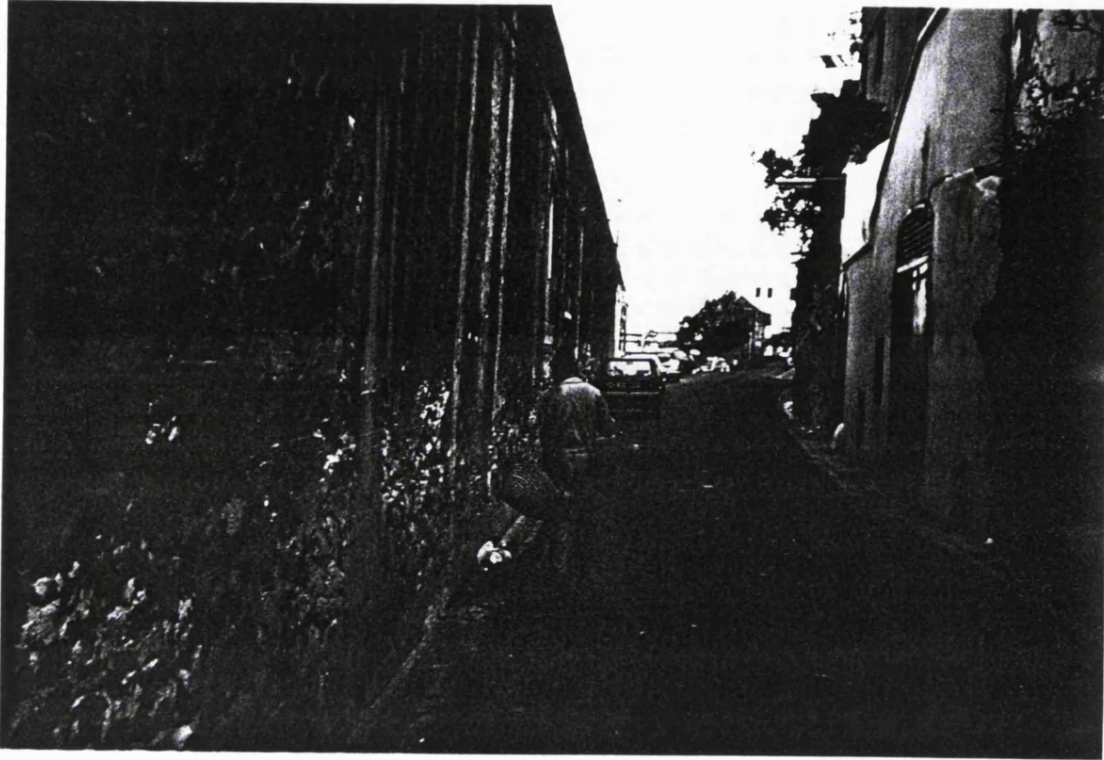


Figure 48: Sweeping the Street, Gibraltar

End of Session

Several levels of reality which have been distorted and manipulated in various ways are being dealt with here. In this sense I am not interested in questions such as 'is the court a locus of migrant oppression?', but have sought instead to explore the complex interplay between certain attitudes - historically and in a given social environment - and their presentation and expression. The fact that it is so complex makes a notion such as 'discourse' inoperable. A monolithic, ahistoric entity such as Said's 'Orientalism' dissolves under close analysis. In this concrete case one thing is certain; the powerful images arising out of the court reports only refer to a small fraction of the Moroccans in Gibraltar. The others in their invisibility are

tarred with the same brush. The situation in Gibraltar is atypical of the European migratory situation. In such a small place it is a question of the occupation of limited 'social space' which is paramount. Most of the work they do has never been performed by Gibraltarians, but by the excluded Spanish labour force. The question of 'proletarian unity' and 'Gibraltarian working-class identity' was tragically put to the test when the naval dockyards were being wound down prior to their transfer into commercial hands. Skilled workers were the first to be laid off while unskilled labour was retained. The majority of unskilled labourers were Moroccans while the majority of skilled workers were Gibraltarians. A certain bitterness was expressed by the Gibraltar branch of the TGWU at this irony.

The law is no longer overt and public. The various devices for public humiliation of offenders that popular history dwells upon are long obsolete. In law the body has become inviolate, but it can be contained. Beatings are doubtless administered but, curiously in some ways, this too is now an abuse of the law and not its application. Ftouh was not convicted, others are less fortunate. For them prison awaits, *el hebs*, and afterwards deportation. In an effort to refurbish the Moorish Castle Moroccan artisans were shipped in from Tetouan. A cartoon in the *Chronicle* bewailed the absence of the castle's original inhabitants and offered as solace these artisans. Equally Moroccan inmates of the prison could have been chosen because, at the time, a number of Moroccans were serving sentences of varying lengths. They were also involved in the prison riots of 1979 making specific demands for the alteration of parole arrangements for Moroccan prisoners. This, however, is another story. The Howard League for Penal Reform report of heavily sedated 'zombies' was pooh-poohed locally and the prison threw open its doors to the local press in an effort to clear its name (Blom-Cooper, 1982).

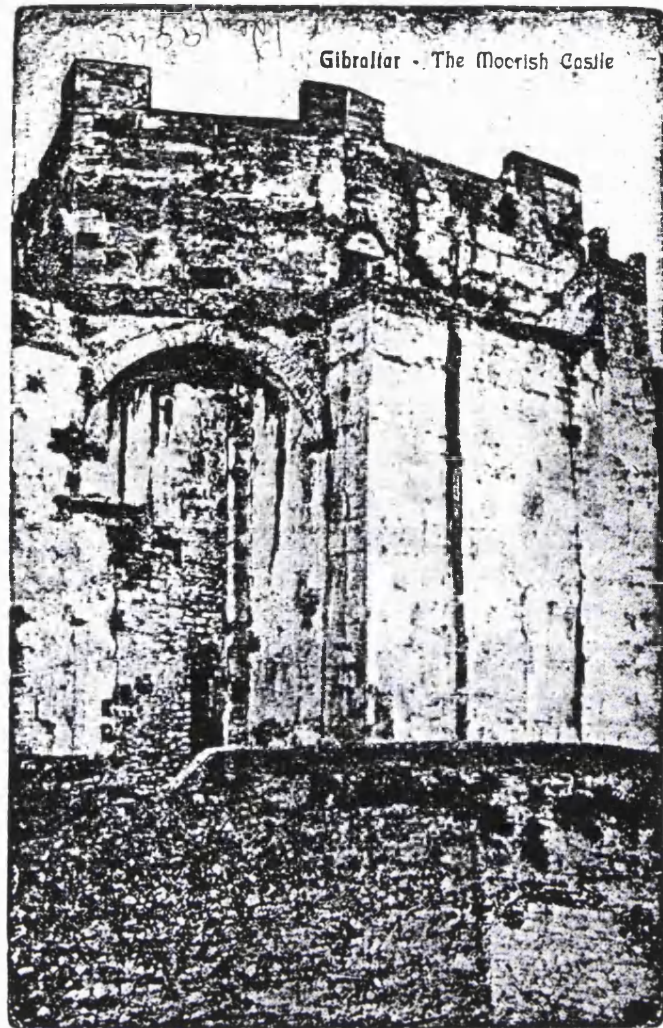


Figure 50: The Moorish Castle

5.6 Border opening: moderation unbound

The border opening had been threatening since the late 1970s and Moroccans had voiced their concern then. When it did occur they were met with immediate discriminatory measures from the Spanish. On the first day they claimed that 150 Moroccans had crossed from Gibraltar, but only 46 had returned. Fearing a massive influx of Moroccans they introduced entry requirements specific to the Moroccans. In order to cross into Spain they were required to be in possession of their passport and work permit as well as 75,000 pesetas (roughly £375). Evidently the moves were intended

to stem the movement of Moroccans totally. The head of the MWA, Mohammed Sarsi, claimed that this move was intended to make life difficult for the Moroccans, speed up their departure from Gibraltar completely and, thus, open the way for Spanish workers. Sarsi talked explicitly of the part played by Moroccans in Gibraltar:

We came over after the Spanish labour had been withdrawn at a time when we had a bargaining position. We could have insisted on all sorts of privileges and protection and we could have got it. However we did not use that strength. Our reward is manifesting itself not only now with the Brussels agreement but with the many conditions attached to our working here which Moroccans employed in England itself would not suffer.

His tone however remains conciliatory:

We do of course understand the difficulties Gibraltar faces. It is a small place and so we do not ask the impossible. Housing is a problem and unemployment a new phenomena. We do not ask for the right to bring our families and establish ourselves but at least we should feel sure of having employment after investing years of work here.

The threat was, of course, very real. The immigration office claimed that two weeks after the frontier opened no work permits had been issued to Spaniards, but it was only a matter of time. The Moroccan who became unemployed, regardless of his or her period of residence in Gibraltar, was entitled to six months unemployment benefit. If a new job was not found within this period then the Moroccan worker no longer had priority over the Spaniard and effectively this would mean leaving the Rock. For their part the Spanish authorities withdrew the requirement to have money, but they introduced a new order forbidding Moroccans entry into Spain from Ceuta, a common route to Gibraltar for Moroccans from the Tetouan region.

Paper Voices

Omar Sanhaji, a regular Moroccan correspondent to *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, wrote complaining about the original regulation:

The funny thing is some people when they go over there don't have to show any money. So why make it different for the Moroccan race? Is it because they've been supporting Gibraltar for the last 16 years? We the Moroccans, we can't see our neighbours in suffering so we came to help as we have done since time began. We the workers, we have nothing to do with politics.

Here again we see the Moroccans' denial of any political involvement. Sanhaji has a pivotal role as an 'independent voice' of the Moroccans. His English is good (unlike Mohamed Sarsi, current leader of the MWA in the 1980s and 1990s, who speaks no English) and he is an assiduous correspondent to *The Gibraltar Chronicle*. The matters he broaches are usually immigrant questions, but they are worth considering in the light of other facts concerning Sanhaji. In a letter written in November 1985 he condemned the effective 'apartheid' operating in Gibraltar. The specific issue on this occasion was the non-eligibility of Moroccan workers for family allowances and other benefits, despite their payment of taxes. The issue had arisen before, but the Gibraltar Government had recently agreed to start paying pensions and allowances to Spaniards and their dependents who had worked and paid taxes in Gibraltar before the closure of the frontier. Sanhaji writes that he:

did not realise that Gibraltar was a 'mini South Africa', one law for us and another for them. What is the difference between a Moroccan and a Spaniard? Both pay taxes but only the Spaniard is entitled to family allowance!

The apartheid system in Gibraltar is not black and white; it appears to be Arab on one level and European on the other!

When a Government Press Officer replied that the important point was EEC membership and that Australians, for example, faced the same restrictions in Gibraltar as Moroccans. Sanhaji again put pen to paper,

'Perhaps the honourable gentleman would accept the offer of two weeks residence in Casemates Hostel. Perhaps then he will realise why someone has to speak up for these people!'

The tone of these letters seems quite adamant, but there is a twist. Sanhaji is felt to be the marker within which Moroccans can act in Gibraltar; his comments illustrate the outer limits of action. He has 'strong links with the Monarchy' in Morocco, it is said, so what he says is felt to be fair enough to repeat. If he takes a critical stance on an issue, the others know it is safe to do likewise. All in all things have not changed greatly since the early 1970s. There are still said to be lots of informers among the Moroccans and everything gets back sooner or later. As a result most people toe the line and keep their frustrations to themselves. The early dynamism and hope of the MWA in the days of Alami have died. On the whole it is those who are fairly safe and secure economically who take charge of the running of the organisation and, as a local journalist remarked to me, it exists in a state of 'despondency', coming to life only for Throne Day or the visit of some VIP. All this means that militancy in any form is kept well under control; nobody wants to rock the boat and the general line is to await instructions from Morocco before making a stand on any issue. All this is in stark contrast to the small Hindu Workers Association (with about 30 members) which took the Gibraltar Government to court over the status of their wives. The fear afflicting the Moroccans infects their behaviour within the local branch of the TGWU. Although many of the Moroccans have joined the Union (indeed one, Ahmed Boulaish, sat on the executive as a representative of the construction workers) they tend to be more or less manipulated, but they connive for the aforementioned reasons - no one wants to stand out and be branded a trouble maker so they always vote with the majority, no matter what the issue at stake. In the month-and-a-half following the opening of the frontier there were 349 vacancies notified at the job centre. 221 of these had been filled, 85 by Gibraltarians and other E.E.C. nationals, 19 by Spaniards, 95 by Moroccans and 23 by others.

Nonetheless, the Moroccans continued to be moderate; even over the issue of family allowances, which they had good reason to feel aggrieved about. This came to a head in December of 1985. Sarsi claimed that the Moroccans had been tricked by the Gibraltar government on the issue. He even went as far as to state that he regretted the moderate stance he had always taken over Moroccan problems, even, sometimes, he claimed, losing support of other members of the MWA committee. His mistake, he opined, was his preference for negotiation over action. When the MWA came to re-elect its president, however, Sarsi remained popular, but only two-thirds of the Moroccan workers on the Rock were expected to vote at the meeting.

Accommodation problems persisted despite the constant complaints. In July 1986 the Environmental Health Department carried out an investigation of the renting of illegal dwellings to Moroccans. In Cathedral Square Moroccan workers were found to be living in a one-time stable and paying up to £20 a week. One man, who worked as a transport scaffolder, had been living in the stable for three years. In September, however, the Government did make a concession to non-EEC nationals living and working on the Rock. Immigration policy which required non-EEC women to leave Gibraltar before giving birth was revised:

In future non-EEC alien women who are employed and living in Gibraltar with their husbands will be able to give birth here. Similarly non-EEC alien wives who are in Gibraltar for the purpose of visiting their husbands will be able to do so.

When I interviewed Sarsi in 1987, at his office in the Victoria stadium where he works, he was pessimistic over the future of Moroccan workers in Gibraltar. He was very civil, but refused to be drawn on any matters outside the 'official' line. The problems facing the Moroccans which he outlined were essentially the same as they had been since 1969. The prime concern was the housing question; overcrowding in Casemates and abuses in the private sector. In second place, he listed the ambiguous status of Moroccans and their wives, then the non-payment of supplementary benefit to Moroccans and finally the absence of pensions. This latter, he pointed out, is linked to the question of residence. Even after 20 years a Moroccan

remains a temporary resident. Once a Moroccan's work permit is withdrawn he is no longer a resident and is obliged to leave Gibraltar. Sarsi was very keen to point out that these were not questions of race, but the question of residence did seem to be the one he was most concerned about. He claimed to have discussed the question with many of the Moroccan residents over the years. In his own case he claimed to have paid £44,000 in tax and felt it rather unfair that he still had no residence rights after twenty years. There are ongoing discussions between the Moroccan and Gibraltarian authorities, but the whole issue is a *problema bastante dificil*. For someone who had paid out so much money for nothing he seemed very restrained. He knows that delegations and representatives have been crossing the Straits on visits of one sort or another to discuss these questions for two decades, but not one of them has provided any substantive answer for the Moroccans actually working and paying taxes in Gibraltar.

The situation for the Moroccan workers now the border has opened is one of slow attrition. The main dividing line amongst them is on the question of housing, which remains of central importance as a problem. Those established workers - very often skilled men in their trades and a loss to Morocco herself - who have managed to get out of the hostels will probably remain and be more or less accepted as a permanent feature of life in Gibraltar. The others, notably the 900 housed at the Casemates hostel, will slowly be lost which would leave a kernel of about 600 Moroccans. Over the period of their stay in Gibraltar many workers have significantly bettered their lot. Some indication of this is the number who now catch the plane back to Tangier rather than make the more arduous, but cheaper, sea-crossing. The wastage will be slow but, given the position of EEC workers and the advantages they have in terms of getting employment, the process seems inevitable. Another factor which is acting to speed up the departure of Moroccans from Gibraltar would seem to be the new drug legislation introduced in January 1987. Searching is now much more stringent at the customs and some four or five permit holders are being

stopped every month. These men are deported and hence the number of Moroccan workers dwindles further. Many of those who remain have more than one job and are effectively moonlighting - even Moroccans who are the voices of the community. Prominent among them is none other than Omar Sanhaji, who works by day as a translator for a shipping company and in the evening as a chef at a small bar/restaurant in Catalan Bay.

Overview

This chapter has looked at certain aspects of life for the Moroccan community in Gibraltar and thus it has addressed the field of migration studies and has relevance there. In addition, it has demonstrated the very singular features of the Gibraltarian situation for Moroccan migrant workers. Paramount here is the residence status of the Moroccans. This has effectively prevented them from following the more classic patterns of migrant community evolution outlined in Chapter 4. In this respect the general findings and the factors which have been highlighted here were borne out in the early 1990s when the Moroccan Workers Association commissioned the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants to produce a report documenting the dilemma facing the Moroccan community in Gibraltar in the aftermath of Spain joining the EEC. As Jose Netto, the district officer for the Gibraltar TGWU, comments on the resultant work: "The reader of the document will observe the discrimination, humiliation and lack of social justice to which this group of people have been subjected ever since they arrived in Gibraltar" (JCWI, 1992). In addition, however, I have attempted to capture elements of being a migrant which do not appear in other literature dedicated to migrant studies. This is not to say that such studies are not in themselves valuable, but, rather, that, migrants live complex lives - the very problems that they face force this complexity upon them. They too are ethnographers in a sense, struggling to comprehend alien systems of order and discipline. What the detail in this

chapter also indicates is that we should maintain a strong sense of the multilocality of migrant situations. Even within Gibraltar the migrant situation varies - as much as the individual migrants themselves. At the level of generality, however, Gibraltar is a peculiar site, both for the Moroccan migrants and for all those others who inhabit or pass through the Rock. This chapter, and the thesis as a whole, has been an effort to demonstrate this salient fact.

Chapter 6

No Journey Home (conclusions)

The predicament of private life today is shown by its arena. Dwelling, in the proper sense, is now impossible. The traditional residences we grew up in have grown intolerable... (Adorno, 1992: 107-8).

This thesis has taken a journey itself, one which has led from overbearing nineteenth century accounts of North Africa up to the condition of modern migrant workers from a nominally Third World country with a tenuous grip on a peculiar fragment of Empire in a Europe which is becoming increasingly insular and protective - the fortress Europe of some political commentators. Their experiences in some respects replay those of the Gibraltarians themselves who made their own transition from 'native' to Briton at a time when the British Empire was becoming a memory and the powers of nostalgia were beginning their work of magnifying its glory. These processes are becoming ever more important in a world where movement and migration are often the only viable economic option for large segments of the world's population. Identity is increasingly unteathered from the moorings of fixed histories and geographical boundaries, and yet it was many years ago that Ernest Gellner (1968) suggested that these fixed identities which we call national have no fixed law of nature. Rather, they themselves are recent inventions called into being by the very turmoil of uneven modernisation. It is tempting to suggest that the ethnoscaples which we choose to examine in this twentieth century have specific dynamics, that the changes which we can chart are of a new and radically profound nature, but we should be somewhat careful in our judgements. In one of the most remarkable ethnographies of the migratory experience

written in recent years, Amitav Ghosh (1992) demonstrates with a remarkable clarity the complex of historical flows, indeed the global flows, which were in operation centuries ago. The historico-literary work of Amin Maalouf, the Lebanese author, notably his *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (1984) and *Leo the African* (1988) should alert us to much the same caveat. Nonetheless, the residences of Hadj Brahim in the south of Morocco have blossomed and, then, increasingly declined as the social base shifted and the pioneers such as the Hadj relocated to the urban arena in this period. The home he created may have constituted the type of dwelling Adorno would have included on his list should he have chosen to construct one, but there is reasonable room for doubt. Adorno's pessimism, however, shares something with that of the Hadj.

Arthur Koestler, in his autobiography, *Arrow in the Blue* (1952), relates how already in the late 1920s, prior to his American exile, Adorno was lodging in the same guesthouse in Vienna as the young Arthur. Koestler describes the philosopher as aloof, austere and patrician - definitely a man whose idea, whose memory of home would have encompassed the grandiose structures of the German-Jewish bourgeoisie. As with many of his near contemporaries, such as Walter Benjamin, it would have taken Adorno some pains to cross what Benjamin himself described as 'the threshold of class' and identify with the proletarian 'other' of the Weimar period. Necessity, however, forced him to confront the 'low other' embodied in American commercial popular culture. Perhaps in an American trailer park, where German filmmaker Werner Herzog takes his anti-hero Stroszek¹³², we can see Adorno's vision made real - described in the idiom of dirty realism - the short stories, for example, of Raymond Carver. The sacred space of the bourgeois home is replaced by a prefabricated box with no history, no memory, a mere repository of commodity fetishism and mobile to boot, trailing after the elusive entrails of the American dream, but failing and fracturing. In some senses this is the life of the migrant, because, if

¹³²In the film of that name which was released in 1977.

anything, the ideals of American life are the ideals of movement untrammelled by tradition, here, in this ethical thicket, the mass worker and consumer meets the mass traveller. The migrant experience is a curious inversion of Adorno's own journey. Another German filmmaker, Wim Wenders, noted that in America when the discussion turns to mobile homes:

"Mobile" is said with pride and means the opposite of being "bogged down" ... (or) "stuck". "Home" means "at home", "where you belong"... (whereas) what makes it a home in the German language is the fact that it is fixed somewhere (Quoted in Morley and Robins, 1990:10).

One direction for anthropology to look is at post-modern geographies of the home (Soja, 1989). The cultural studies journal, *New Formations*, has devoted an entire issue to the question:

Home can refer to the place you grew up..., the mythic homeland of your parents and ancestors that you yourself may never have actually seen, or the hostel where you are spending the night in transit (Bammer, 1992: vii).

In this sense it has an indeterminate referential quality, and begins to encompass both our tourists and migrants:

On all levels and in all places, it seems, 'home' in the traditional sense (whether taken to mean 'family', or 'community', or 'homeland'/'nation') is either disintegrating or being radically redefined [...] hardly anywhere is it stable and untouched by the seismic changes that local and global social economies are undergoing or have recently undergone (Bammer, 1992: viii).

Of course, this sense of placelessness that, as Bammer puts it, 'we' experience - by which she means 'postmodern intellectuals on the transnational circuit of information exchange' - is a predominantly white/first world take on things. But we might pause to ask what is new in all this talk. As Doreen Massey points out:

for working-class people and peasants forced to migrate to where there was work, and for colonised people who found themselves displaced, culturally, economically and politically, within or on their own land- the fragmentation and disruption of 'home' is neither new nor, in terms of scale, unprecedented (quoted in Bammer, 1992: viii).

In an essay entitled 'A Global Sense of Place', Massey (1991) examined some of these changes - referring in the process to the new and violent phase of 'time-space compression' which is forcing us to rethink the meaning of 'home'. What she suggests has been destroyed in the process is its aura of uniqueness; the home is no longer 'singular and bounded'. In a later article (Massey, 1992) she tones down some of this:

For amid the Ridley Scott images of world cities, the writing about sky scraper fortresses, the Baudrillard visions of hyperspace... most people actually still live in places like Harlesden or West Brom. Much of life for many people, even in the heart of the first world, still consists of waiting in a bus-shelter with your shopping for a bus that never comes. Hardly a graphic illustration of time-space compression (p.8).

We might want to turn against some of the postmodern posturing for other reasons. bell hooks, for example argues that the very meaning of the term 'home', in terms of a sense of place, has been very different for those who have been colonised. She writes of how, at times of estrangement and alienation:

home is no longer just one place. It is locations. Home is that place which enables and promotes varied and everchanging perspectives, a place where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontiers of difference. One confronts and accepts dispersal and fragmentation as part of the constructions of a new world order that reveals more fully where we are, who we can become (Quoted by Massey, 1992: 15).

For the historical Gibraltarian it was still possible to fabricate a sense of home, to create a solid base in a world of exile. For the world's modern migrants this process is more difficult and for the Rock's migrant Moroccans it is impossible. That is their bitter legacy for an intervention in a complicated and confined social space. A space, what is more, conditioned by the hangover of Empire and the British state. In this sense their predicament is a peculiar one. For other migrants there are still strategies which have some effectiveness. Roger Rouse (1991) argues that with the shift to transnational capitalism we have all moved towards a new kind of social space - 'the social space of modernism'. This thesis has been an

attempt to grapple with this shift. He argues that the way we define who, what and where we are must be recast in the light of the new social and psychological spaces that we create for ourselves. He suggests we look for 'the raw material for a new cartography.. in the details of people's daily lives where we'll find the emergence of new forms - for the Mexican migrants he studies 'home' is no longer just 'the rural Mexican township that they create, in the multiple and constantly changing links between there and here. 'Home' for the migrants , has become a moveable concept, plurilocal - a single community spread across a variety of sites' (p. 64).

We might wish to develop some of this by looking at the work of Stuart Hall (1990). He talks of new post-colonial subjects and new forms of representation which now have the black subject at their centre. He suggests that we change our perceptions of identity, we should not view it as a transparently clear object, we should rather think of it as 'production'; something that is always constituted within representation. By doing so we automatically problematise the very concept of 'cultural identity', its authority and authenticity. Hall suggests that one approach to cultural identity is to look at it in terms 'of becoming' and 'of being' - identities have histories, but undergo constant transformations, they are not eternally fixed: identities are what we call the diverse ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within 'the narratives of the past' and only from such a position can we understand the traumatic character of the colonial experience - not only did they construct us, he suggests, as different and other (*pace* Said) - they also had the power to 'make us see and experience ourselves as 'Other'. In this conception cultural identity is not a fixed essence, it is something, but it no longer addresses 'us' as a simple 'factual' past - always constructed through memory, fantasy, and myth. It is, he announces, a 'positioning' - hence there is always a politics of position. Identity, then, does not proceed in a straight line, but, as this thesis has attempted to demonstrate, it is a complex formation.

The displacements of Hall's subjects mirror those of the tourists with whom I started this thesis. The general development which recent work on

tourism demonstrates, shown in the work of Boorstin (1962), McCannel (1989, 1992) and Urry (1990, 1994) and, ultimately, in the pronouncements of writers such as Baudrillard, links into this process of identity generation. Images too link into this process, as I tried to demonstrate in Chapter 1, but new information and leisure technologies make these processes increasingly more profound and complex. Let me look briefly at a more recent example than the North African itinerary outlined in Chapter 1, Elizabeth Torp's (1992) study of Greece.

Tourism came relatively late to Greece. In 1958 tourist arrivals stood at 227,340. Twenty years later, Torp informs us, the figure stood at 4,573,410. Figures for 1988 stand at over eight million. Greece, however, needed to be marketed to the world and the country itself needed to be warned of the tastes of tourists. In the very early days guides would go in advance in order to give the Greeks lessons on how tourists liked things to be, their food requirements and so-forth. Thus in a general sense 'Greece' was already changed before the mass tourists even arrived. The way was also prepared by the image of Greece which was served up abroad in three distinctive, but related forms: films, music and dance. In the early 1960s two films appeared which, as Torp suggests, were the first films 'to present the image of the modern Greeks and the Greek spirit to the world film-audience' (p.207). The first *Never on Sundays* (1960), directed by Jules Dassin, was based on urban life in Pireus. The second, perhaps better known film, was *Zorba the Greek*, based on a novel by Nikos Kazantzakis. The film was directed by Michael Cacoyannis, with music by the well known musician Mikis Theodorakis. The plot of the film, loosely involves an English character, played by Alan Bates, who tries to set up a mining concern on the island of Crete and Anthony Quinn (himself of Mexican extraction, as the wily Greek who sets out to assist him. Zorba is a transitional character, himself something of a rogue who ignores local conventions, but is in a position to explain them to Bates. In this way several versions of Greece are portrayed and allowed to blend to form the 'Greek package'. The Cretan villagers represent a Greece of 'tradition',

living by codes stepped in history, brutal too. Zorba is an archetype, irrepressible, irresponsible, a Dionysian figure who drinks and dances. These films, and especially Zorba, have come to stand in for 'the typically Greek' and, Torp argues, 'neither the Greek tourist industry nor travel agents abroad have missed the great touristic value embedded in this material' (ibid). The fact that Zorba dances is an important one for the argument here. At the end of the film there is a dance sequence that became famous as Zorba's dance and which became the symbol of the film as a whole. The dance itself, however, is nothing like any Greek 'traditional' dance, rather it is the invention of the film-makers.

The popularity of the film was to be exploited commercially. The soundtrack was recorded many times, an Italian version was in the UK top 50 for 16 weeks in 1965. By the end of the 60's Torp argues international folkdancing had become popular in a number of places and people would request to be taught Zorba's dance. As Torp points out, by 1976 'the image of men dancing with a shoulder-hold and snapping their fingers is enough to symbolize Zorba's dance and to create a pseudo-Greek atmosphere even to those who never saw the film' (p.209). The offspring of Greek migrants in Australia could themselves relearn their own Greek 'authenticity'. As Thorp notes, 'The commercial exploitation of Theodorakis' music... and the image of Zorba as the personification of the Greek spirit have paved the road for the beautiful illusion of Zorba's Dance as dance' (p.209). The Greek 'home' here has become a free-floating signifier within the global ecumene - as do so many other constructed identities. It is, Morley and Robins (1990) have argued, precisely the undermining of geographical 'place' that has led to the centrality of the metaphor of 'home'/homeland in debates surrounding contemporary European culture- and, indeed, the contemporary discussions of roots, the past, the heritage industry, the nostalgia boom - how can we have any sense of home or identity in the new and disorienting 'global space' which surrounds us? It is in this direction that Appadurai urges anthropology with the expression he coined to act as a counterpart to that of the 'ethnoscape' - the 'mediascape'. For it is within this world of global

media and communication technologies that all the actors in this thesis will live out their futures.

Such talk, however, should not make us lose track of certain important issues. As I have demonstrated in this thesis such conclusions are by their very nature historical, the so-called postmodern is predicated on the modern, it is not created *ex nihilo*. In our analyses we must not forget such objects as states, classes and national boundaries. While many transmigrants escape the limits of bureaucratic and state structures in some instances this is a far cry from suggesting that they are delivered of some new sense of freedom. The structures they create in order to deal with their transmigrant situation do bring into being new sets of relations, new social structures and, even, new expressions of identity. We should not, however, rush into a situation where discourses of 'identity become reified and detached from their context in history and politics (see Rouse, 1995). Rather, it is the relation between such discourses as well as their articulation with state and suprastate structures which, along with a focus on ethnoscares and mediascares, that should form the focus for anthropology in the new millennium.

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APPENDIX

Mediterranean Ethnoscapes: afterwords.

There is another, wider problem of incoherent representation, and the representation of incoherence.

(Gilsenan, 1986: 20)

History, n. An account mostly false, of events mostly unimportant, which are brought about by rulers mostly knaves, and soldiers mostly fools.

(Bierce: 1958 [1911]: 57)

Ambrose Bierce, great American ironist; from a land allegedly bereft of irony, penned his sardonic masterpiece, *The Devil's Dictionary*, before disappearing into the maelstrom of revolutionary Mexico. His definition of history, quoted above, demonstrates an awareness of the fact that the way in which the past is written about and refashioned is frequently conditioned by the whims of rulers and soldiers. In Gibraltar this has always been the case and the rulers and soldiers have had it in their power to forge the 'truths' of what Gibraltar actually represents. Their agenda has been that of the British Empire, a peculiar institution in itself with a world-wide reach and which replicated itself in very particular ways in various parts of the world. Its own legacy as an institution lives on in places such as Gibraltar, as this thesis attempts to demonstrate. On a grander scale this same truth can be seen in the legacy of the Raj on the Indian sub-continent. Indeed, work by writers such as Ashis Nandy has played a large part in informing the analysis of the Gibraltarian here. As he wrote of the Indian context, 'in the colonial culture, identification with the aggressor bound the rulers and the ruled in an unbreakable dyadic relationship' (1983: 7). Other work on India could be cited as providing models for considering Gibraltar: the 'imagining' of India described by Ronald Inden (1990) or the research of the subaltern studies historians (see especially Chakrabarty (1989)). This, however, is a vast area with a huge scope for research as is demonstrated by Bayly's (1990) *The Raj: India and*

the British 1600-1947. This latter work also demonstrates clearly the importance of examining the visual evidence spawned by Empire - from the attempts of the British to elaborate photographic techniques for 'framing'¹ the Indian population, to the ways in which the Indian nationalists manipulated and developed images and symbols in their struggles against the various 'repressive apparatuses' of Empire. While this latter expression is overblown, with its resonances of Foucault and Althusser, its jarring clumsiness serves to underline the point that such seemingly base objects as postcards or photographs in travelogues are not simply innocent² and it is for this reason that the thesis gives over a great deal of space to such images which themselves serve as an important counterpoint to the text³. The images reproduced from old postcards serve as a bridge between areas of the thesis which on the face of it might seem to occupy somewhat distinct worlds. This requires careful elaboration. In the first instance, it is necessary to say that the thesis is not specifically about Gibraltar, although Gibraltar occupies a lot of its attention. Gibraltar serves rather as a site of contrast and it is approached in such a way as is intended to undermine the histories of Bierce's rulers and soldiers⁴.

¹ This is an expression developed by Timothy Mitchell (1988) in his excellent *Colonizing Egypt*, a work which shares with this thesis a somewhat unorthodox structure. He derives the term from the deconstructionism of Jacques Derrida.

² While anthropology has only relatively recently paid systematic attention to such objects, the possibility of a specific field is emerging. I have alluded to photographic essays appearing in the journal *Critique of Anthropology*, but the work of Sarah Graham-Brown was pioneering in relation to some of the images used here, notably her work on Palestine (Graham-Brown (1980) and her more recent book, *Images of Women* (1988). Equally important is Edwards' study *Anthropology and Photography* (1991). From a different perspective, however, is the Foucaultian analysis of John Tagg (1988) which examines the relationship between the early usages of photography and attempts to control and police the working class of the Yorkshire town of Leeds.

³ Unattributed photographs, however, are all the author's own.

⁴ Which is why more conventional approaches to, say, the current political arrangements in Gibraltar are relegated to footnotes or to references in other work. The title of the thesis is perhaps confusing here. Read on one level it suggests that I am somehow attempting to link Moroccan migration to some diplomatic discourse between Spanish and British governments on Gibraltar. This is a possibility, but I was meaning to be less precise and had a sense of Gibraltar

So what are the contrasts which need to be pinpointed more clearly? The first and most simple axis is that between the northern and the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The historical dimension blurs even this opposition as the Iberian Peninsula carries the legacy of a highly complex Islamic occupation. Something which still remains in British Gibraltar too, with its Moorish Castle (now, historical ironies aside, a prison with many Moroccan prisoners) and Moorish baths. The quotation from Hort's muse of the cave (p.104) reflects this with its 'Moslem band shall ne'er hold sway o'er Christian land'. That is to say, Gibraltar is of the 'history' of the northern Mediterranean and yet, maintains a series of links, both historically and sociologically with the southern shores of the Mediterranean. This point is one among the many reasons for which I adopted the expression *Mediterranean Ethnoscapes* for the thesis as a whole. But I shall allude to several others which contribute to the considerable complexity of the region.

Gibraltar, of course, has its own contrasts on the other side of the Mediterranean in the histories of the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla⁵ which share some of the characteristics of Gibraltar in respect of border predicament and heterogeneous population. Their links with the political economies of north-western Morocco are more obvious than those of Gibraltar, but those modern Moroccan migrant workers in Gibraltar share in the same background and the same common fact of Spanish colonialism in the region. On a larger scale, and in a broader geographical sense, this region slots into the economies of the Mediterranean as a whole. This world as I suggest, following Braudel, was a turbulent one, but it also had its historical continuities. One can only wonder, for example, at the extraordinary research conducted on the Jewish trading communities of the region and alluded to by Ghosh (1992). They really

'as enigma' in mind.

⁵Two recent works of ethnography have given fascinating insight into these cities. Rosander (1991) gives an account of Muslim identity in Ceuta, whereas Driessen (1992) looks at Melilla. Interestingly, in respect of the structure of this thesis, Driessen suggests that he was prompted by 'both the peculiarities of the place and by questions of a pan-Mediterranean nature' (p.ix). As a result he felt that the book was neither a conventional monograph nor a study with a sharply demarcated argument. Something of the same might be said for this thesis.

demonstrate a sense of its vitality. It was the Jews of the region who serviced the interface between Christendom and the world of Islam. The traditional balance between these two forces, however, was in evolution, as increasingly the seaborne Empire of the Spanish (Parry, 1966) fell into decline and its trade routes to and from, and possessions in, the Indies were picked off with the emergence of new dominant European Empires of the Dutch, French and British which came to eclipse not only the power of Spain, but also that of Islam. The appearance of these new powers also eclipsed and changed for ever the nature of the Mediterranean world. It is in this context that the British Gibraltar which occupies the central portion of this thesis comes into being. And it is out of this new ordering of space that new maps of the world were born. The competition between the European Empires gave birth to new division of the world. North Africa was to be largely the domain of the French (the French venture in Morocco was altogether more intense than the Spanish activities in the protectorate of the north). The British were busy elsewhere, but they did keep their Gibraltar interest in southern Spain. This provides a final contrast for the thesis as a whole, one which is contained within the words of Tahar Ben Jelloun quoted at the conclusion to Chapter 1 (p. 82-3). The contrast is with the city of Tangier where the 'British gentility' of an earlier period has become something more sinister. Something which Ben Jelloun associates very clearly with the fact of its proximity to Europe. The issue to which Ben Jelloun refers is what this thesis is really about - labour migration. The subject of the lies to which Ben Jelloun refers, making reference to the way in which Moroccans and, indeed, other Maghrebi's who construct their own imaginary cities of the West, paved with gold and the source of wealth in the new world of the modern, is one of the most pressing issues of the current age. This discourse of optimism is now the subject of indigenous critique both in the literature of francophone North African and the musical traditions of the Maghreb⁶. Indeed, as I note in Chapter 4, a second generation is now growing up

⁶Algerian Raï is particularly indicative in this respect. In relation to the final concluding remarks of the thesis, see Poulsen's (1993) analysis of the lyrics of one song which commences, 'you haven't founded a home, you haven't had children, you prefer Ricard and walking down the boulevards' (quoted on p. 263).

in northern Europe and making its own presence felt in very particular ways.

If the thesis is about migration then why Gibraltar? The most obvious answer is that there are Moroccans working there and I attempt to give a portrait of aspects of that life in the final chapter of the thesis. A final contrast that Gibraltar provides, however, is the fact that the inhabitants of Gibraltar itself are immigrants, who, over time have moulded their own sense of identity into something which is, to them, whole and transparently obvious. This contrast between two sets of people, who have at one time both occupied the discursive space of the native, forces us to think critically about how we conceive of the migrant and slowly brings out the utility of a concept such as ethnoscape which works to incorporate all the historical forces of the thesis under one rubric. In fact, the discussion of migrants forces us to think more widely into the spaces which Appadurai names ethnoscapas.

Yet if we reconsider the abbreviated list provided by Appadurai at the start of the thesis we can see that the figures he invokes are not all equally trans-historical. There may always have been exiles, those who would fit into more traditionally anthropological categories such as strangers, but what of tourists and guest-workers? These are more strikingly 'modern' categories and they replay the shift of world power to the northern countries of Europe. It was they who, in their colonial dominions and territories, introduced the ideals of the modern West into other parts of the world. In the process the new categories such as tourist and migrant-worker were created. It is in this general sense that Chapter 1 approaches the issue, hoping to provide clues and pointers that lead to the presentation of Chapter 4. Chapters 2 and 3 attempt to provide an alternative view of these processes at a slightly earlier period, before Chapter 5 gives us a glimpse at the culmination of all these different forces from the perspective of one group who are the embodiment of them all.

Ambrose Bierce had his own definition of ethnology: '**Ethnology**, n. The science that treats of the various tribes of Man as robbers, thieves, swindlers, dunces, lunatics, idiots and ethnologists' (p.37). In this definition he went astray, but anthropology and ethnography must increasingly seek for new ways to represent the actors encompassed within Appadurai's original definition of ethnoscape, albeit

without lapsing into 'incoherent representation'.

Chapter 1: This chapter seeks to introduce a number of themes which will set the agenda for the thesis as a whole. These are, in the first instance, questions of depicting the 'Other'. That is to say lines of thought which derive from the work of Said and which, despite the often reasoned objections of critics, have, under the rubrics 'colonial discourse theory' and 'post-colonial criticism' expanded exponentially over the last decade (for a recent statement see Williams and Chrisman (1993)). More specifically, initially, I hope to point out the way in which modern techniques of representation serve to depict the 'Other'. Within the North African context I felt that these processes were brilliantly illustrated by the case of Biskra. In the first instance the town became one of North Africa's prime tourist venues in an almost modern idiom. This was a complex process, but it was all recorded in the postcards that the tourists sent home: from the portraits of dancing girls to the 'modern' hotels. It is the Biskra section of the thesis which seeks to give some precision to the sense of 'othering' and link it to the economic and political facts of colonialism. For it was colonialism which enabled the extension of railways and the appearance of tourists of all nations - including the British, who were able to 'define' something of what Biskra would become through another relatively 'modern' product - a novel. The section hopes to disrupt the voices of the travel books. Not only by outlining some of the economic developments surrounding the colonial introduction of date monoculture in the region, but also by repeating the moments of doubt that are still present. That is to say, those encounters with 'natives' who do not fit the visions of 'otherness', who won't stay fixed and fail to conform to the canons of the exotic. For here lie the roots of the opposition posed by the thesis between tourist and migrant worker. These people are already on the move, 'the Biskra tout has come to El Kantara... He would not be shoo'd away' (p.52). This note of disgust will become, with time, the condition of the migrants in the metropolis.

The chapter is set in the form of an itinerary, but it has for its model Gilman's (1986) Oxford inaugural lecture *Imagined Cities of the East*. The journey taken here, however, moves on into 'unknown lands' as Edith Wharton describes them.

All this means that the tourists are on their way into Morocco and soon that country will experience the debased 'exotic' of the Biskra commentaries; such as Norman Lewis witnessed in the Bous-bir district of Casablanca. The *bidonvilles* will make their appearance as peasants leave the land and join the swelling ranks of a city experiencing what the literary critic Marshall Berman terms the 'modernism of underdevelopment'. Colette's concluding remarks (p.65), albeit from Tunis, mark a sudden recognition - the debased 'exotic' here in the Maghreb is like the working-class at home. The point is that as modernity advances it will become **just that** through the process of labour migration.

Finally we move on to Tangier, the city of expatriates which is slowly lost, its cosmopolitan inhabitants increasingly swamped by the demographic pressures unleashed within independent Morocco. Its 'gentility' drowned out first by the extraordinary boom of mass tourism in one direction, then by the flow of bodies from the other. Long-term Tangerines such as Paul Bowles are increasingly ill at ease in the city. Here is a specific example, Bowles feels ill at ease as a result of the anger of the ex-street kid Mohammed Chokri. Chokri, who himself was driven from the Rif by poverty into the hunger of a European fantasy city coming to the end of its dream. Now it is a different city occupied by different dreams, dreams of the imagined cities of the West, of Europe - the dreams of the *zoufris*. Across the Straits lies *Jebel Tariq*, the Rock of Gibraltar.

Chapter 2: The figures in Chapter 2 echo the various tropes which operate in those which depict aspects of North Africa. For example, Figure 2: the market, Gibraltar, refigures Figure 5: Biskra - *la Marché*. In a similar fashion Figure 24: Typical Water Vendors can be viewed in relation to Figure 12: Casablanca: *Porteur d'eau*. It also looks forward to Figure 36: La Linea, a well in the surrounding countryside. In this sense Gibraltar is exposed to a similar 'gaze' to those regions looked at in Chapter 1. There Biskra, for example, becomes literally a fiction, 'Biskra... is in a fair way to rechristen itself Hichenstown' (p.42). A similar point of departure opens Chapter 2 where Gibraltar is described as a 'national fiction', yet one which embodies 'Britishness'. The purpose of the chapter is to displace these fictions by posing alternative 'histories' or 'readings' - precisely those which

do not appear in the 'standard' versions. By doing this it becomes possible to open the investigation in other directions. One is towards similar deconstructive practices as those employed in Chapter 1. What could be more telling in terms of deflating the 'national fiction' than Perrier's 'knowing old men of seventeen or thereabouts' who begin to call Gibraltar "Gib" (p.114). More importantly, however, is the room this strategy offers for turning the focus towards connections with the southern shores of the Mediterranean. After displacing the 'fictions' with a truncated description of the Rock in the 1980s, this movement hinges on the symbolic weight of Doughty's encounter (p.94). Encapsulated within six lines are a number of important points. Doughty himself, of course, is the great anti-modernist, using the background of Arabia in a desperate attempt to breathe life back into what he saw was a dying English language. He was also the hero of later generations of 'Orientalists' who, along with Doughty, have become the object of scorn for writers such as Said. And yet, Doughty's account here seems fair. It is simply the case that the Moroccan had no cause to record his own for posterity. In fact, Doughty seems reasonable in comparison to some of the later accounts which the chapter examines. However, it is possible to detect within both these sets of texts - those dealing with the 'Moors' and those treating the emerging civil population of Gibraltar itself - a similar critical economy in operation. For one group, however, it is possible to emerge into history with a 'modern' Gibraltarian identity, some facets of which the chapter also explores.

The chapter's final section serves the same linking role as that which ends Chapter 3. 'Charity, Hope and Faith' are impressionistic portraits of aspects of the Gibraltarian character in its modern form. The focus on charity attempts to look forward to Chapter 3's more detailed reworking of the military legacy of British Empire. 'Hope' I've chosen as a way to represent the recent 'invention' of the Miss Gibraltar competition which, during the siege period actually served to cement a version of Gibraltarian identity for world-wide consumption. In contrast, 'faith' is a punning link to the material in the second half of Chapter 3 and the discussion of La Linea.

Chapter 3: Chapter 2 sought to establish the fact that forms of representation

which were applied to North Africa found their echoes in the context of Gibraltar. Lomas (p.115) sums it up, at all the 'southern ports', Tangier and Gibraltar included, the tourist/traveller will be cheated - there is a connection here with the 'lies' of the migrant workers (p.82), and with Berman's categorisation of certain versions of modernity, 'The Nevsky Prospect always lies'(p.66). Chapter 3 seeks to explore some of the less acknowledged aspects of the battleground for Llanito identity. While Chapter 2 opened with the notion of 'national fiction' and 'Britishness', here the exploration is more systematic and focuses on Empire and the military and attempts to weave together both historical and contemporary accounts in order to further challenge the 'fiction' of Chapter 2. This argument is set up by recourse to more recent British travel accounts which themselves reject the notion of 'Britishness' proposed by 'Gibraltar' and focus upon rejection. The migration theme, however, is continued. The black squaddies dancing to their reggae doubly inscribe the fact that 'Empire too had its exiles' (p.90). While the British workers on the Rock are themselves migrant workers - albeit workers who, in Gibraltar at least, still benefit from Nelson's legacy (unlike the Moroccans).

In relation to the battleground for Gibraltar identity the exploration of La Linea becomes important for a number of reasons. Historically, this border has been porous and the Gibraltar population has spread into Spain. When the border closed there was a new impetus to consolidate a Llanito identity which, however, erased the earlier historical traces. The episode generated fresh migrants workers. Many of the Spanish workers excluded from the Rock sought illegal work in the U.K. The chapter ends with 'Chino Sur (From end of Empire to New World Orders)'. Chino Sur, in 1987, was the name of a newly opened Chinese restaurant in La Linea. It is representative of a new age, a new series of shifts in the global economy - hence the punning sub-title 'New World Orders'. It is almost five hundred years since the *reconquista* and Spain is now itself a venue for migration. In the restaurant I witnessed a symbolic encounter. One of Morocco's migrant workers on the Rock meets a Moroccan tourist, himself a customs official. The scene is set for Chapter 5. Meanwhile, Mr. Lu, the restaurant's owner, is planning his strategic expansion into Morocco.

Chapter 4: Up until this point the thesis has to a certain extent 'refused' theory, but its inclusion is a necessity if a general claim to investigate 'migration', albeit within an 'ethnoscape' is to seem anything other than oddly mystical. For this reason I have attempted to review some of the more general literature regarding the topic. The opening sections are premised on the assumption that there is something to be explained about 'migration', that is to say that it is by no means a random phenomenon. They are deliberately of a wide-ranging nature and seek to place some boundaries on and suggest some pointers to the processes which have been described in more literary and historical style in the preceding chapters. Some of the material is simply illustrative of the forms of approaches which have been adopted from the various perspectives of anthropology, sociology and political economy. It is with Cohen's discussion of a European migratory system that the material begins to approach the concerns of the thesis. Writers such as Dudley Seers' have come up with similar proposals, and he is used as an example because in his work he too notes the existence of an exchange taking place between migrants and tourists. I have tried to move these discussions on, but the situation in Gibraltar for modern migrant workers, is in some sense an anomalous one in relation to the general developments outlined by writers such as Castles and Miller (1993). Nonetheless, I have attempted to look at some of the more general literature regarding Maghrebi migration into Europe, because it serves as a general background to the examination of Chapter 5. The final ethnographic accounts are designed to illustrate how the process of the 'production' of migrants has been taking place in Morocco for many years. They serve, notably the discussion of the Rif, as a background to Chapter 5. However, they also highlight a more general problem with the general discussion of the following chapter. While most migrants to Gibraltar come through Tetuan and Tangier it is hard to establish any detailed figures for their provenance as no such figures were available from the Gibraltar immigration authorities. This failing points to a larger problem, one which lies with the whole concept of an 'ethnoscape'. In short, the investigation of such sociological objects is, perhaps, best conducted by teams of researchers each assigned their own niche in the complexities of such potentially global networks.

Chapter 5: Chapter 5 attempts to trace some of the efforts of Moroccan migrant workers to earn a living in Gibraltar. By looking at the development of their presence on the Rock and the more general conditions under which they labour I have tried to convey both what makes their experience similar to that of their fellow nationals in other parts of Europe. In some of the more detailed portrayals of their lives I hope I have also been able to demonstrate what makes working on the Rock a distinctive experience.

This appendix has been added in response to the questions of my examiners. I would like to thank them for their detailed readings and challenging questions.

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