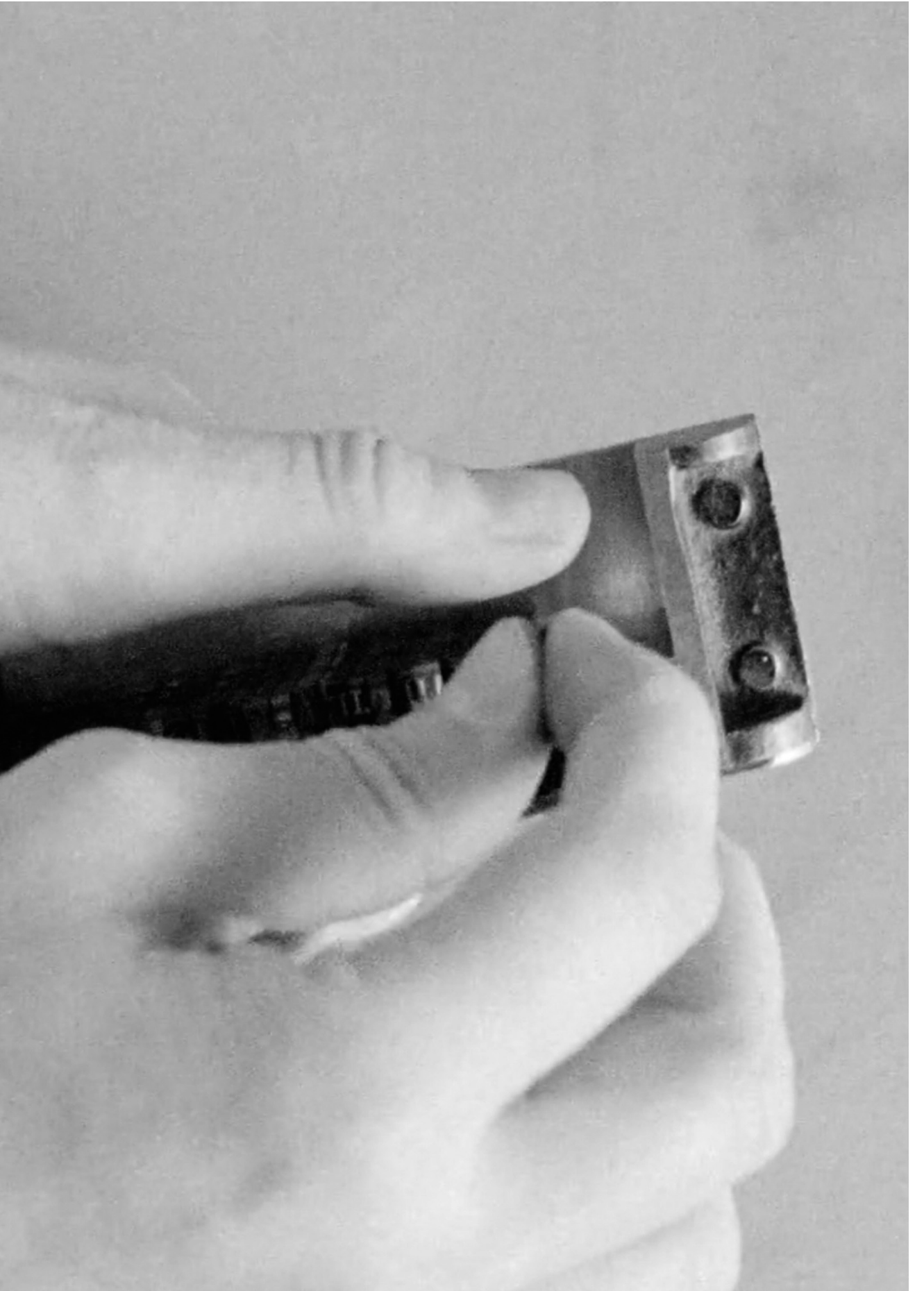

Bouchra Khalili in Conversation
with **Joachim Ben Yakoub**
With an Introduction
by **Joachim Ben Yakoub**

A Proposal for a Method

In the same way as the majority of Bouchra Khalili's artworks, *An Audio Family Album* (2020) begins with a series of personal encounters, this time with members of a new generation of Maghrebi artists and activists in Brussels. Offering a sonic iteration of her visual praxis, she forms a living online family album of voices, reestablishing stories of resistance, acoustically repairing memories of rebellion. In her search for voices produced by the persistence of history echoing in the present, she decided to close her eyes and listen to the voiced murmurs circulating and resonating in the diasporic *al-halqa*[1] of Brussels. To convey these family stories to her audience, Khalili's proposition for *The Diasporic Schools*, an exhibition by Kunstenfestivaldesarts held in 2020, returns to the collaborative methods central to her oeuvre, reconsidering the figuration of the civic poet as a *hlayqi·a*, a public storyteller.[2]

The title of Khalili's 2017 video installation *The Tempest Society* refers to the legacy of Al Assifa, a self-organized autonomous theater company created in 1973 by Maghrebi workers, partisans of the Movement of Arab Workers, in Paris. Both the journal of the movement and the theater company were named after the armed revolutionary wing of Fatah, Yasser Arafat's Pales-

tinian National Liberation Movement, highlighting the workers' allegiance to their origins in the French Palestine Committees since 1967. The group engaged in new forms of improvised action theater and agitprop, playing during factory strikes and in community spaces and occupied public squares. Simultaneously, they were active in a variety of demonstrations against rampant racism and police violence, and in defense of dignified working conditions, continuously acting in a spirit of internationalist solidarity. In the constructed narrative of *The Tempest Society*, stories of anticolonial struggle and internationalism intertwine with tales of civic becoming.

For *An Audio Family Album*, Khalili reestablished a precise link with the various ways in which Al Assifa created the conditions for stories and information to circulate in the diaspora. In response to low literacy levels among Arab workers in Paris at the time, members of Al Assifa chose to read aloud the most important news items from the daily newspaper in cafés where workers congregated. The group also set up Radio Assifa and distributed cassette recordings of their chronicles to keep the community up to date, vocalizing the state of affairs of different social and political conflicts and mobilizations. Most importantly, Al Assifa applied the endangered art form of *al-halqa*, once a widespread and subversive performing art in the Maghreb, in order to reflect on the ambiguity of the power relations shaping current events around them; in particular, the racist murder of the young Djellali Ben Ali or the murder of Mohamed Diab at the hands of the police. In *al-halqa* – to paraphrase Philippe Tancelin, one of Al Assifa's founding members – the storyteller does not have the authority of the author; as the conveyor of a collective and historical discourse, he or she is subjected to real and equal questioning by the public and can thus be challenged by the audience at any moment during any public performance.

The reemergence of *al-halqa* as a circular performative form in the diasporic context of the Arab workers' movements in Paris in the 1970s is intricately linked to the various ways in which the anticolonial struggle seeped through the Maghrebi theater landscape. Discussions arose here about different strategies for decolonizing the dramatic repertoire and its canon. The return of both the device of the storyteller (*hlayqi·a*) and the circular arrangement of the performance made space for hybrid theatrical forms. These forms were characterized by the hybridization of languages reflecting the Maghrebi linguistic diversity and traversed by fantastic, mythical and historical tales, with characters and figures anchored in the translocal histories of the Maghreb, and theatrical modalities borrowed from Amazigh and Islamic traditions, as well as Brechtian aesthetics and documentary theater.

This hybridization strongly influenced the work of a new movement of theater makers, represented by figures such as Kateb Yacine, Abdelkader Alloula, and Tayeb Saddiki, each of whom, in their own way, combined different performative approaches with popular forms, wielding experimental and politically engaged poetics with a certain sense of ceremoniality.[3] Theater regained its function as a distant, interactive but always critical mirror, questioning and subverting what can

be said or heard and what should remain silenced, reconsidering what is visible and what is indiscernible, and reinstating the oral narrative as a powerful form of resistance to hegemonic discourse and ways of knowing and sensing the world.

In *An Audio Family Album*, Bouchra Khalili relates to the endangered circular form of *al-halqa* central to Al Assifa's practice in order to rearticulate the uncanny intricacies of diasporic family stories.[4] In doing so, she taps into the contemporary need to tell forgotten stories of resistance and liberation, but also to generate new oral forms, and through these forms to reinvent new tales and myths. Together they have the potential to constitute what Stuart Hall called a living archive or, in this case, a living family album. Through their performed orality, the family stories told in *al-halqa* remain in a permanent state of suspension. Like diaspora itself, the animated form of *al-halqa* is inherently unstable, nomadic, and always moving in different directions, so the family stories told and the relations formed never fully crystallize, surpassing the scriptocentric limits of the written world. By doing so, Khalili holds space for the possible resurgence or reemergence of silenced and erased memories, to re-world the divided world we inhabit today, adding another stone to the edifice of a decolonial history of the voice, to quote Ana María Ochoa Gautier.[5]

In *The Tempest Society*, Khalili invited three Athenian students to summon the presence of the Al Assifa group through the performance of first-person accounts of diasporic experiences of struggle against racism and xenophobia in Athens, alternated with readings of Al Assifa's manifesto *Les Tiers-Idées* (Third Party Ideas, 1997) and selected excerpts from the 2017 novel *My Name Is Europe* by Gazmend Kapllani. In her proposal for *The Diasporic Schools*, however, Khalili invites a new generation of Maghrebi artists and activists to read exhumed family stories of liberation that have influenced their past and retain the potential to inspire current forms of diasporic resistance, all the while becoming part of a newly constituted family album. Inspired by the legacy of Pier Paolo Pasolini, Khalili calls on these artists and activists to embody the figuration of the civil poet as a *hlayqi·a*, oscillating through free indirect speech in an intertextual play between historical citations and personal narratives, speaking through concerned and involved individuals to reassemble and render audible a conversant collective voice – not giving voice to but speaking near those who are absent or silenced, so as to bear witness to the various ways in which historical injustices can be continuously resisted. Going beyond the representational restriction of time and space in the fabulation of a family album, a people to come is invented that prefigures a world to come, where the diasporic would a priori be inscribed in every school, remembering the ancestral lineage of resistance that made a free and dignified life possible.

JBY: As a starting point, could you tell us about the genesis of *An Audio Family Album*?

BK: The work refers back to the legacy of Al Assifa and continues some of the lines I already drew in *The Tempest Society* – a film that premiered at documenta 14 in 2017 and a publication about the project published in 2019.[6]

I have known the story of Al Assifa and the Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes (Movement of Arab Workers, MTA) for many years, because it is also the story of my parents' generation. But it is only from the early 2010s that I remember it. Maybe because it so accurately resonated with the 2008 economic crisis: those years were also years of protests and popular assemblies. But who knows why stories suddenly reemerge from the past where they were buried? My method is based on long investigations that can last months or years. And just as for the invitation extended by documenta, the invitation by the Kunstenfestivaldesarts came at the right moment, as the idea of *A Family Album* had been on my mind for more than ten years, but in a completely different way.

JBY: How did it come about?

BK: In 2007, I cofounded, together with Yto Barrada and a collective of Moroccan artists, the Cinémathèque de Tanger. It started from the need to prevent the oldest cinema in town from turning into a parking lot. At first we were intimidated by the word *cinémathèque*. For us, *cinémathèque* referred back to the French one in Paris. I received my higher education in Paris, and during my years as a student, I used to go almost every day to the French *cinémathèque*. It is nothing original, but like several generations of movie lovers, I consider the *cinémathèque* to be my film school. However, we did not want to replicate the French *cinémathèque*. What we wanted was a "film house" truly anchored within the context of northern Morocco, and in this strange place that is Tangier. We were also very much conscious that our means were very limited.

JBY: So, I guess you were looking into the possibilities of developing it in a more modest form?

BK: We wondered what purpose a *cinémathèque* within the context of Tangier could serve and what it could look like. We quickly started collecting amateur movies, family movies, home movies, and short documentaries, and some of them literally from trash bins and the flea market. We also found support among movie lovers who donated to our archives early films shot in Morocco, like the ones of Gabriel Veyre. He was a Lumière brothers camera operator hired by the Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz, in the early 1900s. He established himself in Morocco as a photographer and conducted a film tour of the country in 1935–36 after retiring. He must have been the first cinematographer filming the country in color. The first time I saw those short silent films, the everyday life scenes on the streets of Tangier, Ouazzane, and Fez fascinated me. I don't have any pictures of my relatives and parents until the independence of Morocco in the mid-1950s. So each time I saw a little girl in these movies, I thought, "my grandmother could've looked like this." I also realized that our family albums are made of many holes, the holes left by colonial history, and that opening up a *cinémathèque* could also be a way to fill those holes, collectively and individually. So the idea of the empty family album stayed in my mind. Since then, each time I'm asked what the vocation of the *cinémathèque* is, I answer, "to have a collective family album of our own."

An Audio Family Album operates at the intersection between the investigations around Al Assifa and my own practice as a cultural activist, looking at archival material from a different perspective. The truth is that I'm not an archive collector, and to be honest, I'm very skeptical toward works relying on archives and/or their aura. When looking at archives, it is more like going through a family album where photos are missing: I look at the holes and wonder how to fill them. That's why in many of my filmic works you see the participants playing with only a few photo materials but constantly assembling and reassembling them. It is a way to ask: How do we fill the holes of history? And this is also a sort of method for montage – film editing – as a potential form of historiography based on combining techniques of storytelling.

JBY: You also found inspiration in Radio Assifa, the cassettes produced and distributed by Al Assifa, the theater group of the Arab workers in France that was central to *The Tempest Society*?

BK: Indeed, Al Assifa was a group of activists, members of the MTA, one of the first autonomous groups of North African immigrants organizing themselves in France. The theater group originated from one of their main challenges: reaching out to their community members. Responding to the illiteracy amongst North African workers of that time in France, they distributed not only a newspaper, but also radio cassettes. When I came across these cassettes ten years ago, they reminded me of the old practice among North African immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s of exchanging recorded audio letters. Just as a lot of my neighbors in Paris, I used to receive audiocassettes recorded by my grandmother. Like the vast majority of women of her generation, she was illiterate, but nevertheless a fantastic storyteller. And she was literally the "historian" of our family. Sending us audio letters was her way of keeping alive the stories, as well as a strategy for maintaining communication, for exchanging news across borders.
From the newspaper and the recordings of audiocassettes, Al Assifa decided to engage with theater and to reconnect with *al-halqa*, the oldest tradition of performing arts in North Africa. It was still very vivid in the 1970s, but now it is literally dying.

JBY: Today grandmothers send voice messages through the Internet via social media instead of cassettes by mail. Radio Al Assifa apparently brought the medium of the cassette to a new level. These cassettes not only shared factual information about the ongoing struggles in occupied factories or about solidarity with international revolts, but they were also playing with different theatrical forms within the cassette, correct?

BK: The cassettes were a sort of montage, a combination of various types of material. It could be information, as well as excerpts from one of their plays. Their plays did not belong to a repertoire but evolved depending on the current circumstances; and, even more importantly, they were responding to specific struggles in very specific locations. For instance, for their first performance, *Ça travaille,*

ça travaille et ça ferme sa gueule (One works, works, and shuts up, 1973), Al Assifa incorporated, while touring, the news of the killing of Mohamed Diab, by the hand of the police in Paris. They invited his sister Fatna to explain what happened, to contradict the official police account around the death of her brother.

Police brutality has a long history in France that is tied to colonial history. For decades, Brown and Black people in France have been submitted to specific forms of policing and brutality that goes back to strategies of "pacification" and control of colonial subjects. This dramatic event became part of the play along the way, and most importantly a platform for Fatna to address a call to the population about her search for truth and to raise public awareness of police brutality. As such, the play was not a performance in the strict sense, but a public form of making visible the working and living conditions of immigrants, showing what the community was going through at that specific moment. If any kind of strike, such as a hunger strike, was taking place somewhere, then it would immediately become part of the play.

There are very few cassettes circulating today. They were distributed by IM'media, an agency that still exists and is doing fantastic work to preserve the archive of the struggles of immigration in France, as early as the 1970s.

JBY: In his introduction to popular poetry in the literary Moroccan journal *Souffles*,[7] the artist and filmmaker Ahmed Bouanani looks into the ancestral and immemorial oral tradition of Morocco. He focuses on the importance of its performative character, and the improvised aspect of narrated forms, popular songs, stories, sayings, and proverbs. He said, "a story is nothing but the way it is told," referring to the circular form of the *al-halqa*. Maybe you could tell us a bit more about the revival of *al-halqa* in the 1970s in the Maghreb, but also in the diaspora in Paris and France? The narrative structure also seems to play a pivotal role in your work, particularly in *An Audio Family Album*.

BK: I wouldn't speak of a revival of *al-halqa* in the 1970s. It's dying today, but this was not yet the case in the 1970s. I have attended *al-halqa* performances many times. The contributions in *Souffles* and the roundtables they hosted, transcribed, and printed were examining the same set of questions: "Now that we are independent, what should a decolonized art form be like?" and "How could it exist in Morocco?" It also started from the question of language, after the forced Arabization that followed the independence of North African countries: "What is the language that we speak?" Amongst those newly independent artists were native Amazigh speakers, and most of them had Darija, unwritten Moroccan Arabic, as a mother tongue. But many of them were also French speakers. The history of *Souffles* mirrors this complex question of diglossia and triglossia. It is often forgotten, but *Souffles* had a sister magazine – *Anfas* – entirely in Arabic, and its group of editors and contributors produced its own editorial content almost autonomously.

It is also not by chance that the protagonists of *Foreign Office* (2015) speak in their mother tongues: Algerian Arabic (Darija) and Kabyle, an Ama-

zigh language spoken in Algeria. The piece refers to the decade from 1962 to 1972 during which Algiers hosted dozens of headquarters of anticolonial movements in the aftermath of independence. Ines and Fadi, the two protagonists, speak in those languages. The reality is that it is unlikely to happen that a Darija speaker and a Kabyle speaker would interact fluently, as both languages were marginalized immediately after independence. So the simple fact that such a linguistic situation is staged in the film emphasizes one of the failures of the independence situation: the nation-state model as epitomized by a hegemonic language suppressing North African diversity. Not to mention that Darija and Kabyle are oral languages that transmitted – for centuries, not to say thousands of years – the oral heritage that Bouanani refers to in his essay.

JBY: The text by Ahmed Bouanani is also a strategic piece then?

BK: It was written at a time when Arabization was imposed as the canon of the new post-independence cultural identity, and when popular culture was labeled as folklore at the very beginning of mass tourism. The storyteller, just as the *hlayqi·a*, is the living archive of the people: one operates at the individual level, while the other calls for the collective: s.he tells the many stories of the people to the people.
To talk about *al-halqa*, the stories play with various languages, like the stories narrated from the Sunna in classical Arabic, but others could be parables and jokes delivered in Darija, the Moroccan oral form of Arabic. Within these stories they make very subtle and hidden comments on the social and political context. So the format of *al-halqa* itself is extremely heterogeneous. Stories are told within stories, within stories, within stories. This narrative structure of telling stories within stories within stories is also key to understanding the editing mode of the Radio Assifa cassettes: the stories mirror each other and dialogue with each other. *Al-halqa* is known as a very popular performance for illiterate people, but it has a great sense of sophistication, in a very simple way.

JBY: When we look at your oeuvre, in works like *Twenty-Two Hours* (2018), *The Tempest Society*, or *Foreign Office*, you invite those who are concerned by an issue, often youth, to relate to past stories. The figure of "the civic poet" and Pier Paolo Pasolini's cinema of poetry are a major inspiration. At times you compare it with Jean Genet's figure of "the witness" or Serge Daney's figure of "the passeur." Could "the civic poet" also be "the *hlayqi·a*" or the storyteller in *al-halqa*?

BK: I hold the work of Pier Paolo Pasolini close to my heart. The first time I encountered the word "civic poet" in his writing twenty-five years ago and read about the civic function he assigned to the poet, it immediately reminded me of the performances of the *hlayqi·a* – the one standing in the public space talking to and forming the community through storytelling. In *al-halqa*, the audience does not exist prior to the performance. The audience is invented through the performance. The storyteller stands in the public space and literally calls the passersby: "Stop and listen!" The audience grows gradually. Eventually,

a temporary community is formed by the dialectical relationship between the storyteller and the audience who depend on each other to exist.

It is not very well known, but Pasolini's first published works in writing were in the Friulian language. In 1942, he founded, along with his cousin Nico Naldini, L'Academiuta di lenga Furlana (The Institute of Friulian Language) and published a literary magazine devoted to preserving this language and its oral heritage. Just as Ahmed Bouanani did in Morocco in a post-independence context, Pasolini handled the task of collecting the oral and popular poetry of his mother's native Friuli, to transcribe, edit, and publish it, all the while improving his knowledge of Friulian. The language belonged to the working and peasant classes, untouched by Italian, as a symbol of the centralized language of the nation-state. Friulian, as Pasolini's chosen mother tongue, was therefore also a language that resisted linguistic, cultural, and political uniformity as imposed by the ruling power.

When I first encountered Pasolini's conception of oral tradition, I immediately identified with it, not as something from the past, but rather as something that speaks to the future. Tradition is almost the prescience of a potential future, but also of a potential community. The civic poet, like the *hlayqi·a*, relies on the community s.he can form around him or her, and on the stories that are being shared in public space. The narrated stories may belong to the past, but in the moment they are performed they speak to our present time and to our potential future; in the same way that the community formed, though it may be temporary, nevertheless allows us to picture a new collective coming into being.

The Tempest Society, *Twenty-Two Hours*, and *Foreign Office* indeed rely on a duo or trio of young people, who are not performers but who perform themselves and are conscious that they speak for absentees, for the ones who can no longer speak, but also for the ones who may speak from the future. What they are addressing is the potential future itself, as much as the potential community they are forming. Although still very small in the beginning, it always has the potential to grow. Similarly, within the context of an exhibition, the community already starts to exist: it is made by the viewers, who are witnessing these stories from a revisited past that speak to them in the present time and are already addressing a potential future.

JBY: Maybe it's a good moment to close our eyes and listen closely to the stories of the civic poets that you invited to be a part of *An Audio Family Album*. Some stories are located in Brussels and others in the Maghreb, but all interconnect through the positionality of the narrators, sharing a certain locus of enunciation. There are different poetic references to Amazigh heritage, but also to anticolonial struggle and ways of resisting through poetry, songs, and dance. I was wondering, taking into account the uniqueness of each story, can you distinguish different threads you noticed while listening to the civic poets of the family album?

BK: I find all of the contributions absolutely beautiful and very moving. They speak about us, about those living in the diaspora. *An Audio Family Album* departs from personal stories, but they

eventually belong to our collective family album because they bear witness to our experiences and our political imagination, personally and collectively.

JBY: *An Audio Family Album* is not only a unique civic platform, but an important infrastructure of hope in very dark times. I am touched by two opposite threads. On the one hand, I feel the weight that Abdellali Hajjat describes in his contribution, continuously overcoming the curse or malediction that immigration can be. On the other hand, I feel pockets of faith and promise for a brighter future in the stories of resistance and remembrance.

BK: It is true that the collected family stories operate at multiple levels, also when approaching the question of knowledge. The contributions by Radouan Mriziga and Ikram Ettarrah, for instance, both play with the delivery of knowledge almost at an academic level, but only to immediately contradict it with material that is considered non-academic, or that does not have the necessary dignity to be taught in classrooms. Radouan says it in a straightforward manner: "this knowledge is not meant to be taught in classrooms."
In the same way, Ikram also contradicts the position of the scholar, engaging with the work of professor Fatima Sadiqi. Abdellali takes a major piece of sociology of migration by Abdelmalek Sayad as a point of departure.[8] He approaches the question not through the words of Sayad but through the words of Sayad's interviewee Abbas. So the object of sociological investigation becomes the one speaking for himself. And while speaking for himself, he also speaks for the one who could not speak. In a very subtle and poignant way, Abdellali starts talking about the silence of the fathers through the words of Abbas; he speaks the silenced words of our fathers, those who came to Europe at the same time as Abbas in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. He talks of their anger and the need to protect their children from that anger. Abdellali warns us that the truth can hurt, but it needs to be said. Abbas speaks exactly about that, about how he had to deal with the pain of the truth.

JBY: Abbas was indeed speaking about the double shame of being here while not being accepted as being here, all the while not being able to be there either, feeling ashamed for having left his country. Somehow, this resonates with Fatima Zohra's contribution, as she looks at her family's story through the story of the Zoufri. Phonetically, the Zoufri is *l'ouvrier*, the worker, but also the one who "suffers" from leaving his family. A lot of fathers left Morocco and their families in the hope to find better working conditions here in Belgium. But Fatima is focusing on the often overseen contrechamp of the Zoufri, by listening to the stories of the kids who were left behind.

BK: Yes, but it also speaks about something else. It starts from a personal experience, a personal memory and a story that was inherited, but it talks about all of us. Our experiences also form our political subjectivities, even those stories that were often untold or silenced or that one would feel ashamed to tell. When Abdellali talks of double shame, he is speaking about the fact that we did not allow ourselves

to tell those stories because we were ashamed or forced to feel ashamed about them. But it is those very same stories that also define diasporic political subjectivities. The curse, then, is not the curse of migration, but the curse of still feeling similar shame today, forty or almost fifty years later.

JBY: Your engagement with a fundamental presentness of the histories you are collecting makes it possible to reimagine possible futures. Could you envision *An Audio Family Album* as a form of critical fabulation in the sense of Saidiya Hartman's work, retelling past stories going beyond the gaps and holes in our collective memory, or rather in a Deleuzian sense, with fabulation as an artistic practice fostering the invention of a people or maybe a world to come?

BK: Before answering that question, I have to clarify that *An Audio Family Album*, as it is now, is a pilot project that shows what it could potentially become if it was extended to include multiple stories from multiple locations, if multiplicities of members of the diaspora would be willing to engage in that collective family album. I thought from the beginning that such a platform could be appropriated by anyone who is willing to engage with it and contribute to its growing. I don't see it as an art project of mine, but more as a proposal for a method that could become a collective work of many individuals, literally across borders. I maybe plan to collect stories in Paris, Rome, Berlin, London, and Amsterdam, but honestly I shouldn't be the only one doing it; we could be many people fulfilling that task.

To answer your question, I can relate to the Deleuzian conception of "fabulation." In *Time-Image*, Deleuze articulates an examination of the Bergsonian notion of the "fabulation function" and Pasolini's proposal for a *Cinema of Poetry* originating in the use of free indirect speech in film. I won't enter into the details of Deleuze's fabulation, so I'll simply summarize it as such: storytelling is at once a poetic and civic act, and through fabulation artists and authors "fabulate" in their works *the people to come* (*le peuple à venir*). It is not by chance that Deleuze refers to filmmakers working in colonial and postcolonial contexts: Jean Rouch, Pierre Perrault, and Glauber Rocha, among others.

I have been meditating for almost two decades on a set of simple questions: When someone speaks, who speaks? When we speak, do we speak alone? Who is standing behind us speaking with us? So in that fabulation, there are multiple voices, the silenced voices, the ones from the past, the ones from the present-time, but also the ones calling from the future. It doesn't mean speaking on their behalf or speaking for them or giving them a voice. But in that encounter, in that mixing of the multiple, a potential vision emerges for a collective or community to come into being. That's the reason why I often define my projects as ghost stories. The ghosts that are haunting us are not the ones calling from the past – they are calling from the future.

This conversation was originally recorded for Kunstenfestivaldesarts on October 31, 2020. It is published here with the kind permission of Daniel Blanga-Gubbay. Thank you to Naima Moldenhauer who transcribed the conversation.

1. *Al-halqa* means "The Circle" in Arabic and is the oldest form of public storytelling in Morocco, probably from the ninth century.

2. For *The Diasporic Schools*, the Brussels international arts festival Kunstenfestivaldesarts commissioned and presented six new artistic projects in 2020, by Tania Bruguera, Otobong Nkanga, Christian Nyampeta, Yael Bartana, Samah Hijawi & Reem Shilleh, and Bouchra Khalili. The projects were based on new forms of knowledge circulation in diasporic contexts. The resulting work of Bouchra Khalili is presented on www.audiofamilyalbum.com, a dedicated website.

3. Kateb Yacine, Abdelkader Alloula, and Tayeb Saddiki are three major figures of the postcolonial Maghrebi theater, conceptualized by Abdelkrim Berrechid as "ceremonial theater"; see Abdelkrim Berrechid, "Le théâtre cérémoniel (al lhtifaliyya)," *Horizons Maghrébins* 58 (2008), pp. 75–81. See also Khalid Amine and Marvin Carlson, *The Theatres of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia: Performance Traditions of the Maghreb* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

4. To read more on the influence that the concept of *al-halqa* had on the visual praxis of Bouchra Khalili, see for instance "Twenty-Two Hours: Bouchra Khalili in Conversation with Hendrik Folkerts," *Mousse Magazine 64 (2017)*.

5. Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

6. Bouchra Khalili, *The Tempest Society*, artist's publication (London: Book Works, 2019).

7. Ahmad Bouanani, "Introduction à la poésie populaire marocaine," *Souffles* 3 (1966), pp. 3–9.

8. Abdelmalek Sayad, *"La malédiction,"* in Pierre Bourdieu, *La misère du monde* (Paris: Seuil, 1993).