"BEING A GOOD MUSLIM IMMIGRANT?"

"An anthropological study into the Moroccan immigrants in Barcelona"

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Sources: Interviews, Fieldwork diary, Personal photos, Audiovisual sources, Newspaper articles, Internet sources, Maps, Bibliography

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1.Introduction

1.1. Presentation and the research questions

The aim of this thesis is to research the lives and immigrant histories of Moroccan immigrants living in Barcelona. By finding personal processes and life histories inside the huge phenomenon of immigration and compare these life histories with the processes and factors affecting international migration. To do this I have chosen a community of Moroccan immigrants in Barcelona where I was living for almost two years. In this time, I have been able to establish contacts with the immigrants as well as the native Catalan people. Now I was living in El Raval where a large proportion of the immigrants live and where almost 40% of the population are immigrants, for example from Morocco, Pakistan and the Philippines. During my studies I have been really interested in the immigration as anthropological phenomenon and also because I started studying Arabic there, I decided to focus on Moroccan immigrants in my thesis.

The questions investigated within this presentation are the following; What is the relation of individual and communal immigration histories to the wide immigration reds and network? How is the Moroccan immigration in Spain and Catalonia? What are the most typical characters of the Moroccan communities and immigrants in Barcelona? How are the immigrant life histories of the individual Moroccan immigrants living in Barcelona?

Sources in my thesis include literature from Finland, and

from the University of Barcelona. There is also material from several archives/research centers like "Instituto Europeo Estudios de Mediterraneo", CIDOB, and municipal archive of the district of Raval and from the centre of the statistics of Barcelona. There can also be found some audiovisual material which have been used as a reference for the analysis and those are from the archives of the CCCB, Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona. Also there are some source material from the immigrants association of Bayt Al Thaqafa. During the past spring 2005 I was also following the discussion about immigration in the El Pais newspaper. The most important part of my thesis are the theme interviews which I have done in the past spring 2005, as of course I have collected other material like personal photos and I have kept a fieldwork diary recording my observations concerning the immigrants lives there. All the pictures in this work are taken by the author.

The main themes in my thesis are the history and processes of immigration in Catalonia and, the role of the migrant sending countries; these issues I will observe on the micro level through the immigrants histories and life stories. I will also study the everyday lives of Moroccan immigrants here: cultural relations, development and the socio-cultural life of immigrant communities, their organizations and businesses, these peoples' views on immigration and their roles in the international network of migration. The idea is to view both immigration and the immigrants' lives social and cultural characters, and as well to analyse the psychological and political processes that affect on the immigrants.

Some of the important themes in my thesis are migration, illegal immigration, socio-religious relations, neighbourhood, integration, urban relations, multiculturalism, religion, Muslim, Morocco, work, business, country of origin, community and intercultural relations. At the end of my thesis there can be found the questions which have been used as a basis for the interviews. These questions have not been needed so much as I have preferred to encourage the informant to speak freely about his life and then ask more specific questions at the end. This has worked really well in most of the cases. I have done all the interviews in Spanish, which almost all the Moroccan people there speak really well. Sometimes there has been some words mentioned in Arabic or French but the general language has always been Spanish. For practical reasons I have then translated all the interviews into English

1.2. The challenges, difficulties and successes in the fieldwork

When I decided to write my thesis about the Moroccan immigrants in Barcelona I could never imagine the things and the situations that I would face during my fieldwork. In the beginning time went mostly on searching for literature, statistics and beginning to observe the immigrant population with a more analysing look. After time I got to know the basics about Moroccan immigration population and started looking for contacts; I visited so many associations and organisations of the immigrants but nothing really seemed to work. All the people were too busy or then they were afraid of getting involved in researches so that their privacy etc would be violated,

or they were already too tired of explaining their situation having lost their hope that things could be affected.

In my thesis I have changed all the names of my informants about whom I am talking in my thesis and the names of the immigrant people I have interviewed, this is to protect their privacy and to avoid them getting any problems because of my work.

My first and also the longest contact during my entire project was one group of Moroccan men working in one craft shop in central Barcelona in one neighbourhood with really high percentage of Moroccan population. I was following their lives and meeting them almost weekly since the November 2004 until the May 2005, usually our meetings were just short discussions about the daily life but sometimes on less busy days I would stay around one hour in their shop drinking mint tea with them and talking. During these discussions we went through all the themes from immigration, marriage, family life, our neighbourhood, studying, Islam, and languages all the way until Moroccan and also Finnish cultures.

Four men formed this group, but sometimes there were also other friends of them who participated in the discussion. These four men are Abdullah, Mohamed, Ahmed and Rajid; three of them are the age of about 55-65years, and Rajid who is son of Mohamed is 26years old. Ahmed is the one who helped me mostly, as for example with making the map of Moroccan services (shops etc.) of Raval (see chapter 3.4). Almost always I have met them in their shop and discussions have been situated there, only to do an interview with Ahmed and to check the Moroccan services

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and business in the neighbourhood we went for a walk
around the area, and the other one of these times we
almost ended in police stopping us on the street to ask
for our DNI's from us as we accidentally passed a police
check on one street.

One part of my fieldwork was a short trip to Morocco to
get to know the origin and the culture little bit better,
as I think it was very important for the formation of my
image of the Moroccan and of their culture. This trip
also helped observe the immigration process starting from
its origins until the receiving location, and to get more
specific information about the special migration
connection between Morocco and Spain. For example,
anthropologist Pumares has used this method in his
research about the integration, families and community of
Moroccan immigrants in Madrid. "With an object to get to
know better the locations of origin I stayed in two
locations in the North of Morocco. This technique
produced lot of information." (Pumares 1996: 31.)

During most of my fieldwork, there were great
difficulties in getting people for interviews, especially
from women, so the amount of the interviews stays quite
low. I met many Moroccan people during my fieldwork on
different occasions. However, I often met them in crowded
situations, which were unsuitable conducting an
interview. Nevertheless, these situations have been
extremely important for observing the social relations,
collective religiosity and for getting other information
about the daily life of Moroccan immigrants there.

Sometimes the best and most interesting information would
come when someone started telling story about something

that had happened earlier during the day. Or also when people got totally excited and started to explain something about their culture, costumes or their origin regions in Morocco. The atmosphere was most relaxed and open when people spoke surrounded by other Moroccans. It was in these moments, when topic was chosen by them, that they seemed most confident and trustful of me. The most confidential moments were the ones when someone would invite you to sit down for a mint tea. This was a sign that the person was willing to take the time to explain something important to me. During the busy days, you would just change the couple typical phrases of politeness.

Upon meeting people for the first time, most of them would ask me where I was from, how long I had lived in Barcelona and what I was doing there. Later there would come a lot of questions about my family, our culture, costumes, religion and so on. The family always seemed to be the most important theme. They would also ask about living alone without family support in foreign country, and how the family was doing in the home country. Many times, being a foreigner like them, would help me to get contact with the people, it may have arose some sense of connection and similarity. It may have also been curiosity of a person who clearly was not local either but would probably not be an "typical immigrant" because of her physical appearance.

All the people knew the neighbourhood of El Raval where I was living as the neighbourhood of the immigrants and living there gave me a special opportunity to get closer to their daily lives and becoming "one of them". I mean being someone who had voluntarily chosen to live in the

same neighbourhood with them and being in continuous contact with the immigrants. The local population mostly avoided the neighbourhood because of the immigrants, criminality, prostitution and all the other images that were usually connected to the neighbourhood.

Pumares also found the establishing of habitual contacts, sharing the daily lives and observing all these situations as most important part of his fieldwork. "Which really was important was to establish a habitual contact with the Moroccan immigrants in which the most important wasn't to make interviews but to be with them, share the daily life and observe how they act in these situations" (Pumares 1996:30).

In participant observation, there are many different ways of collecting material. Examples include observation of daily life, looking for archival documents; interviews, collecting life histories and doing social network analysis. These can be very useful in finding more variable information. Explaining the character of my work and what I was actually doing was one of the most difficult things. It was mostly easier to tell that I was a student and interested in their culture, traditions and so on. Moreras refers to this problem on his work, as he had experienced that immigrants often mixed the roles of a researcher, journalist and police (Moreras 1999b: 271). So sometimes it was much easier just to be a neighbour or a foreign student living in town.

2. Immigration and urban anthropology

2.1. Urban anthropology, and research into multicultural societies and neighbourhoods

After the Second World War, the term "complex society" became more used in urban anthropology referring to societies with a developed division of labour and with sizeable populations. For example, urbanism and social inequality became popular themes in community studies, which were done in the towns and villages in Europe and North America. Since the 1970's, urban anthropologists have been dedicated to research in different types of informal organizations in the complex societies where they worked. These days professional anthropologists study supplementary and parallel structures in complex societies and expose their relation to major strategic institutions. Especially characteristic to this, has been the increasing interest in friendship, patrons and clients, social and cultural brokerage, the management of information and network analysis. (Sanjek 2002: 555-557.)

Micro-sociological researches into complex societies are usually about groups whose ways of life for some reason diverges from whatever is considered as the mainstream. These groups are usually defined by means of ethnicity. One of the biggest dilemmas that follow is whether to focus on ethnicity, on culture or maybe on social analysis. Studies of ethnically distinct, and maybe subordinated groups, may also attract anthropologists because they include both the culturally different

"other" and the possibility of developing social understanding. The contemporary era of globalisation and large-scale migration processes seems to demand more fundamental reanalysis of cultural and social thinking.

Although the majority of the studies of complex societies have been mostly concerned with the social relationships, there has been a growing ethnographic interest in culture. This has meant looking for the detailed meanings and forms of neighbourhoods, communities, work settings and other smaller units of face-to-face interaction within which the fieldwork has been carried out. In these studies, culture has usually been taken as more or less un-problematically shared by the members of the group. But to understand the culture in a more macro-anthropological manner, it is essential to consider it as an organization of diversity. There are subcultures, and that a cultural apparatus and a division of knowledge in large part accords with the division of labour (Hannerz 1992). These contexts demand also a historical awareness, which often comes from the anthropologist's personal involvement with the complex society, for quite often this is anthropology at home.

Urban anthropologists have traditionally documented the micro-terrains of daily life in studies, for example, about migration, social networks, street corner cliques, neighbourhoods, patron-client relations or voluntary associations. In these works, they searched for holistic view on, for example, transactional social orders, marketing networks and the cross-cultural domains of urban life; there has been anthropology in the city as well as of the city (See ex. Sanjek 2002.) Richard Fox focused bottom up on urban subcultures in his studies of

western cities, particularly about poor and racialised groups; studies of this category also include ethnographic descriptions of closely-knit urban neighbourhoods, which were sometimes confusingly treated as urban villages (1997: 86).

Finally in the 1990´s, the focus on the poor and migrants was balanced with studies of working and middle classes and policy makers. Anthropologists became more interested in the residential settings and related themes like gender, sexuality, life cycle and learning processes. Urban politics, religion, health care and popular culture also became interests for longer duration fieldwork. With the rapid expansion of urban spaces, huge numbers of people will be displaced from familiar places and be attached to new ones. The psychological, political and symbolic processes involved in this deculturalization and culturalization of space and place are very fertile soil for urban anthropology. (Rodman 1992: 24.)

It is important to understand that culture refers to a complex system of symbols and ideas that human beings use in their communication. On the other hand, it also refers to comprehensive ways of life or to societal communities, whose members have a system of symbols and ideas. In short, we could see culture as a language and as a community. Cultural anthropologists consider societies as communities having their own different cultures. Especially these days thresholds of cultural differences where communication breaks down cannot simply define the boundaries between ethnic communities. (Barnard and Spencer 2002: 137-142). Each cultural community must itself define its boundaries and special characteristics itself is an essential task for.

Most contemporary societies are multicultural, and those cultural variations and contrasts exist in any social setting and are embedded in the development of and marking of collective boundaries (for examples, see Sankoff 1980 and Halliday 1979). "The complexity of multiculturalism resides in the fact that individuals simultaneously convey different sets of symbols that express their various allegiances, both as members of their groups and as members of the wider society. Any multicultural setting witnesses, in this vein, continuous interactions between dominant culture and "non-mainstream" cultures". (Ben-Rafael 1996: 133.)

Those non-mainstream cultures consist for example of such groups as immigrants, minorities or religious communities. Ben-Rafael specifies that there is subtractive multiculturalism where individuals are influenced by the mainstream culture and tend to neglect and lose their former cultural resources. Additive multiculturalism occurs when individuals, who adopt the mainstream culture, still tend to keep a strong allegiance to their original culture. It is to be noted of course that the original culture is influenced by the dominant culture and other non-mainstream cultures. This leads to the development of so-called inter-cultures. (Ben-Rafael 1996: 134.)

Multiculturalism is a fashionable term and also a highly politised one, but still it has been widely accepted among many socially committed intellectuals and researchers. In the political context multiculturalism had been long seen only as a liberal, leftist or progressive position. This resulted in sceptical

attitudes towards multiculturalism, which were
conservative, right-wing or even racist. Agnes Heller
sites Gombar when she states that multiculturalism is
often seen as a wide and multiple concept to avoid
getting distracted by the multiculturalism ideals. We
also have to keep in mind the space where
multiculturalism appears, the origins of those cultures
and their manifestations (Heller 1996: 25).

Understanding a holistic phenomenon like culture needs a
contextual approach but this usually fails in the
political discourse of multiculturalism. To avoid this,
Heller proposes that one should discuss the various
spheres of culture separately to deconstruct the term
multicultural to distinguish different types of multiple
cultures and to depolitise multiculturalism in general
discussion. De-ideologised multiculturalism still holds
strong connotations of preservation and promotion of
multiplicity of cultures within a certain context. Still
as de-ideologised multiculturalism does not make any
complete generalizations about specific themes concerning
the coexistence of cultures, for example about
immigration laws or culture's claim to political
autonomy. (Heller 1996: 26.)

Nothing can guarantee that all cultures would be equal as
they cannot be measured in any way. Heller refers to
Charles Taylor specifying that in a liberal democracy one
can not live together in friendship and peace with groups
of people whose lifestyle, customs, language, sexual or
religious practices differ from one's own, unless one
recognizes that the other way of life is equally valuable
(1996: 27). As a cause of increasing emigration and

immigration the pluralisation of cultures has become typical in Europe.

There are more specific types of multiculturalism. Heller takes up protective multiculturalism, which defends each culture against discrimination, and protects the right of all groups to public assembly and self-articulation. Protective multiculturalism also supports the idea that multiplicity of cultures develops country into a more colourful and a more interesting place to live. However, protective multiculturalism can easily change to an offensive one if it requires. An example if this would be defence against racism manifested in attacks against the immigrants. (Heller 1996: 37.)

In a protective multiculturalism, a person's identification with his or her native culture is an open and respected option, but so is the option of identification with the new country. One is free to assimilate or not, because protective multiculturalism and integrationalism can go hand in hand. Defensive and protective multiculturalism also want to promote the ideal that members of different cultures can simultaneously maintain their roots, religious practices, patterns of family life and their cuisine etc, and that all this is regarded as attractive and interesting. (Heller 1996: 38-39.)

Picture1: Street view from Barcelona (Barcelona 04/2005)

2.2. Cross-cultural encounters and immigration as a source of diversity

Immigrants must also cope with the pressures that come from the part of the culture and society where they have immigrated. These external pressures usually appear in the form of everyday situations. The most frequently used term in analysing these encounters is culture shock and it is best found out in the study of situations. The constant demands of coping with differences of climate,

housing, transportation, food and social norms often leads to frustration and sometimes creates a sense of worthlessness. This condition is a normal part of cross-cultural contact and therefore should not be seen as any kind of failure. Culture shock has also positive aspects including a motivational character, which encourages and helps people to learn from their feelings so that the frustration is reduced. (Akhtar 1999: 8-10.)

Brislin explains that these situations are marked by external factors. The situational factors together with individual variables determine people's behaviour because different people naturally behave differently when faced with similar situations. As an example, there are individuals who spend much of their time coping with the climate instead of working on task-oriented activities while others will get their work done efficiently regardless of their personal discomfort. Another important factor is the number of other people with whom an individual must interact because naturally it is easier to deal with a smaller number of people. (Brislin 1981: 138-139.)

These cross-cultural encounters are often difficult to describe because of the lack of appropriate terms. However, terms used by laypeople such as social presence, tolerance, self-acceptance and flexibility can also be used by researchers when discussing behaviour. But of course, the lack of a common vocabulary makes it more difficult for researchers and informants to talk about cross-cultural contacts, especially in the case of immigrants when language skills and vocabulary in general may sometimes be quite weak.

Brislin takes up the term "niche" when referring to a clear and valued role in the host society. He maintains that a sojourner or immigrant can find his place within the host society by identifying and filling their niche within that society. While occupying this role, the sojourner becomes appreciated by the hosts and gains satisfaction from doing work that is valued by others. When newcomers are able to use their special training and where the hosts can take advantage of their skills, these people will possibly face a relatively easy cross-cultural adjustment. The concept of finding one's niche is the ideal situation for immigrants. (1981: 146.) However, in most cases, this ideal is not reached because of problems ranging from difficulties with the new language and culture to the lack of education or professional skill. This usually means that coping with these problems and finding their niche can take quite a long time.

Talking about confronting cultural differences Brislin refers to Mishler who has explained that the sojourn situation is inevitably a situation in which the individual is confronted with the culture of his own. That is true in terms of customs, values, standards and expectations. There is also other factors which play an important role for the interaction between host and visitor, and that is the degree of cultural differences between the two societies and the way how these differences affect the contact and interaction. (Brislin 1981: 151.)

Contemporary international migration is a social phenomenon crossing the national borders. It connects a large number of sending countries to a large number of

destinations. The majority of these countries are in Western Europe, as it has recently become a single continent of immigration. The long-term immigrant communities build family and ethnic networks that extend to their countries of origin as well as all across the other countries of immigration. (Zolberg 1996: 68.)

During the last decades immigrants from all over the world have settled in Europe in considerably large numbers. This has raised discussion concerning cultural differences and liberal democracy. In which should the receiving states recognize the cultural commitments and group identities of the immigrants. Questions such as these concern the political and social integration of immigrants of Islamic faith, and this have been seen as urgent. The questions concerning Muslim immigrants and their relation with the states in which they have settled have sparked public debates. These debates concern the citizenship alongside the requirements of liberal democratic principles. This has especially been seen in the last years during discussions concerning the clash between Islam and the West. In this conflict the Muslim immigrants are often put in the middle as presenting a threatening and alien way of life. This has even gone as far as "demonising" the Muslim immigrants. During these debates, additional questions have been raised concerning what should the receiving states demand from the incoming immigrants. (Carens& Williams 1996: 161.)

In contemporary societies, ethnic diversity is usually the result of immigration whereby in the past, plural societies were mostly developed as a consequence of colonialism or urbanization after the industrial revolution. Currently, the increasing size and amount of

immigrant groups arouse negative reactions in the receiving population. This also contrasts earlier plural societies, which during colonialism, mostly owed their societal development and increasing prosperity to the work contribution of the arrived immigrants. Zolberg quotes Alba by stating these new immigrant waves arouse different reactions such as closing the borders to undesirable groups, but also to absorbing the newcomers to the mainstream of the receiving society and maybe there developed new ethnic categories like the European Americans (Zolberg 1996: 45).

In the 1930´s, France was a unique immigrant country in Europe with 7% of the population being foreigners. Because of reasons such as zero population growth, the French political and business elites came up with immigration as a mechanism to manage from the population decline. France was also the first country to develop an forceful assimilation policy and to change its nationality law to give nationality for all the children born in France. After the Second World War, the biggest groups of immigrants came as a source of decision to employ foreign workers as temporary labour in the factories and especially in the farms during the harvesting. (Zolberg 1996: 48).

In the 1970´s, the energy crisis and post-war economic boom came to an end, and most of the worker immigrants from the Third World were unwilling to return to their countries of origin where the economic situations were even worse. Forcible expulsion was not accepted anymore as a consequence of the growing human rights movement. Finally most of the European receiver countries allowed for family reunion as the majority of the immigrant

population in Europe consisted of young adult males of Turkish and North-African origin - this was done partly for humanitarian grounds and partly as a strategy for social control. The birth of immigrant communities fostered further immigration including the beginning of illegal movement and also produced a second immigrant generation. (Zolberg 1996: 47-48.)

The other bigger source of immigration in the post-war era were the refugees and later with the founding of The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the member states took responsibility of protecting the refugees left without home during the struggles for national liberation and the civil wars. Even if the number of political refugees exploded totally during 1970´s and 80´s, most of them stayed close to their region of origin and they were tried to help there. Only small part came to Central or Western Europe. (Zolberg 1996: 50.)

3. Immigration

3.1. Immigration in Spain

In the period 1850-1950, 3.5 million Spanish, mainly temporary workers, left for the Latin America. However, there was also Spanish emigration to North Africa, though less well known. Algeria was the chosen destination of 94,000 Spanish emigrants in the last years of the 19th century, later this flow shifted to Morocco after the establishment of the Spanish protectorate there in the period 1916-1919. During that period, some 85,000 Spaniards were counted, a number that rose to 250,000 when taking into account the residents of Ceuta, Melilla and Tangier. During these years, as much as six million Spaniards emigrated. In the beginning they mostly left for Latin America, then after 1950´s, the current changed to Northern Europe. Spain had traditionally been a migrant sending country and only as late as in the last third of the 20[th,] a transit country for migrants heading north. It became a receiving country for foreign labourers, mostly from Northern Africa and Latin America. The country was also receiving country for well-to-do immigrants from other EU countries, such as retirees. (Ortega Pérez 2003.)

Spain's development into a country of immigration was part of a larger regional phenomenon. In the late 1980s, faced by economic crisis and the accompanying high unemployment, Mediterranean countries such as Spain, Portugal, and Italy - being earlier mostly "way stations" or "waiting rooms" - became migrant receiving countries. This change was a consequence of several factors,

including the end of guest worker programs, the closing of the borders of traditional receiving countries, such as Germany, Switzerland, and France. Also, the situation in many migrant sending countries had strong affect; the political evolution from authoritarian regimes, their proximity to the sending countries in the Maghreb, and the intense historical and economic bonds between both shores of the Mediterranean. Other contributing factors include the poor performance of the labour markets in the sending countries, the extent of the underground economy in the European countries (that relied on illegal immigration), and the admission of Portugal, Spain, and Greece into the European Community, making them "gateway" countries as well as frontline states on Europe's southernmost border. (Ortega Pérez 2003.)

Europe's migration frontiers have moved to south and east since the 1980´s and are now strongly characterized by the frontiers of the European Union. There is new geopolitical immigration question as well as the new forms of state responses in those new immigration countries. Immigration in the South Europe began in the mid-1970's, these Southern European countries are easily accessible because of central cities such as Athens, Rome or Barcelona to global networks. Many "illegals" enter legally as tourists and then over-stay taking employment without holding the appropriate permissions. Colonial links also connect Spain, Italy and Portugal to these countries where the migrants are usually coming from, these newer migration flows hold strong political-historical structuring factors and have led multiplicity of national origins of migrants in Southern Europe. (see Zolberg 1996 or Collinson 1993.)

The fast economic growth of Southern Europe countries has created labour market shortages. Changes in the domestic labour markets have meant that immigrants are needed to do the jobs that native workers are no longer willing to do. This phenomenon means that unemployment can co-exist with immigration. There is also sharp demographic frontier with the low-birth rate of Southern Europe countries on one side and high-birth rate of North African countries on the other side. Geddes refers to Sciortino, who finds reason for the immigration flow from "the southern Europe exceptional school of thought" which patronizes weak border controls. This leads to toleration of illegal immigration and creates heavens for illegal immigration (Geddes 2003: 150-152).

Geddes explains the so-called King's model, in which its main point is that the economic informality is a characteristic feature of Southern European migratory processes and creates spaces for irregular immigrants. This tackling informality through labour market regulation raises issues that go wider than immigration, and concern state-society relations and social control. Economic informality is formed from income earning activities that are not controlled by the state in situations where similar activities are normally regulated. It often concerns people working on a building site or as domestic workers who are employed informally without taxes and social contributions paid. It is important to remember here that immigration did not cause informality. In the case of Spain, it can be said that informal employment has revitalized old traditions. "The irony is that this occurs when immigration could be seen as indicative of Spain's entry into a more advanced stage of capitalist development" sums Geddes. (2003: 150.)

Spain's first attempt at immigration legislation was under the then Socialist Party government in 1985. Spain's first law, the *Ley de Extranjería* (the Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain) was meant to control the ways of admission, residence and working of non-EU foreigners. This also created the legal category of immigrants, which then in turn created the category of illegal immigrants because most of the immigrants were unable to regularise their situation. The Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain approached immigration mostly as a temporary phenomenon, and focused primarily on control over the immigrants already in the country. They were treated foremost as workers who required regulation by the Ministry of Labour. The focus on control of immigrant access to the labour market hindered family reunification and proved to be an obstacle to stable residency of the foreign born population. This law resulted in three legal ways to enter the country; it could be done by applying for a visa from abroad with evidence of a job offer, coming with a quota system for new immigrants or in the form of regularisations moving from the informal to formal economy. (Geddes 2003:165&Ortega Peréz 2003).

Spain has adopted a quite liberal approach to immigration. In the 1991 it finally recognised that it was a country of immigration because between 1985 and 2000, the number of immigrants in Spain increased fourfold (Geddes 2003: 163-164). Finally, in January 1998, came new "Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners" in Spain and their integration. This law is notable for its clear focus on integration and the political and social rights extended to non-EU

foreigners, and for its recognition of the permanent dimension of immigration. Most importantly, this law marked the transition in Spain from policies focused on controlling immigration flows (*política de extranjería*) to policies that looked more broadly at immigration and integration (*política de immigración*) for Spain. This is not so much because of the law's acknowledgement of immigrant rights but because of its conception of immigration as a permanent phenomenon, with political and administrative instruments devised to regulate it.

The 2000 law was the starting point for the emergence of the Global Program to Regulate and Coordinate Foreign Residents' Affairs and Immigration in Spain. The so-called Plan Greco is a multiyear initiative initiated in 2001 and expected to run until 2004. It is designed to address four key areas: global, coordinated design of immigration as a desirable phenomenon for Spain, integration of foreign residents and their families as active contributors to the growth of Spain; admission regulation to ensure peaceful coexistence within Spanish society, and management of the shelter scheme for refugees and displaced persons.

From 1985 to 1991 (which included the enactment of the *Ley de Extranjería*, the national immigration law, and the first extraordinary regularization process) the foreign population rose an average of 7% annually. As of 1992, this figure had climbed to 10% annually. From 1992 to 2000, the numbers of people from developing countries increased 214% annually, much higher than the 60% increase in the number of foreigners from industrialized nations. In the year 2001, Moroccans (234,937) and Ecuadorians (84,699) had become the two largest

nationalities. The first group has seen the largest and most sustained increase over the last 25 years, to the point of becoming the most largest foreign nationality in Spain. There are two points, which should be specially noted with respect to the settlement patterns of foreigners in Spain; immigrants have little mobility and tend not to move once they have settled (Ortega Peréz 2003).The regions with the largest numbers of resident foreigners have remained the same during the last decades; the "Mediterranean Autonomous Communities" of Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia, as well as Madrid continue to host the largest numbers of immigrants (Rodriquez Roca 2005: 3).

Map1: Map of Spain (www.sheboyganfalls.k12.wi.us/.../ spain/main.htm)

The advantages of illegal immigration and informality are in the trade of lower cost for employers who avoid tax and social costs, and for the immigrants the possibility to find employment and earn more than they could in their country of origin. So for the countries like Spain tolerating of some illegality can be less costly than strict controls and tight social regulations. This is especially the case in economic sectors like construction, household economy, agriculture and tourism where there is often high level of informality because of the continued demand for temporary migrant workers and the difficulty to regulate these sectors. This is often the case in agriculture in Andalusia, or for example in construction works and household economy in Barcelona (see Quand les homms pleurent 2000 or Living in Barcelona 2002).

The disadvantages of informality are that these workers remain outside of the tax system but they still use welfare services causing these workers to often pass those workers going through the official channels. Lacking papers is not reason for expulsion neither for not allowing the use of public health services or accessing basic education. Illegal migrants are more open to abuse in terms of pay and working conditions, and therefore they can fall into the hands of traffickers who exploit them by offering them risky entry to Spain. With the regularization and "giving papers" to the irregular immigrants state seeks a way to control the formal to informal sector. Although there have also been cases where the employers will blackmail their workers if they help them get the papers necessary for the regularisation. (Pérez-Díaz 2004: 219& El Pais 24th of February 2005.)

Legal and illegal immigrants increasingly play a role in Spain's economy. Alongside economic factors, social networks have played a role in shaping labour market outcomes. Together with the segmentation of the Spanish labour market and a quota system that recruited workers by sector and province, these factors make for a visible labour-based stratification by ethnic group, thus creating labour-market niches. The service sector captures nearly 59% of all work permits for non-EU workers, followed by the agricultural sector (21%). Unlike other countries where immigrant labour has been mostly in construction and on industry, these sectors account for only 9% and 7%, respectively. By continent of origin, Africans comprise the largest group. They account for 50.5% (100,768) of all non-EU labourers, the majority (80,441) of whom are from Morocco. (Ortega Peréz 2003.)

Regularisation of the status of immigrants is a really important factor. But, the regularization can also be seen as increasing immigration. But then again, preventing regularization can lead to an increasing of the illegal and uncontrolled immigration. Migration and security are both a threat to borders as well as to internal cohesion of the states concerned; the connections between international migration, foreign policy and international migration relations affects the policy within states and between states (El Pais 20th of January 2005.) In recent year especially, there have been several protests concerning the regularisation of the immigrants and the Spanish immigrant policy. These have affected the Spanish-Moroccan diplomatic relations as well as the stability of domestic policy. In Barcelona there was a big public immigrant protest on the summer

2004 in two of the main cathedrals of the city. The
spring 2005 also saw several demonstrations with the
intent of improving the living conditions of the
immigrants and gaining the papers (See for example El
Encierro en la Inglesia del Pi 2004&Fieldwork diary
24/4/2005).

**Picture2: Moroccan immigrants in demonstration for
improving the immigrants rights (24/4/2005 Barcelona)**

Subsequent extraordinary regularization processes were
initiated in 1991, then with the help of immigrant
support organizations, more than 110,000 immigrants
applied for legal status. However, after three years, 50%
of those immigrants that had legalized their status under
the 1991 procedures, had fallen back into an illegal
status. Additional regularization programs have taken
place in 1996, 2000, and 2001 to compensate for
ineffective and restrictive admissions policies. These
programs have granted initial residency permits valid for

one year, but the limited duration and the difficulties
in renewing such permits has forced many immigrants back
into an back into an irregular status. A special
regularization procedure on grounds of family
reunification took place in 1994. Although the official
goal was to unify families, many unauthorized immigrants
with family members legally in Spain used the opportunity
to legalize their status. (Ortega Peréz 2003.)

Just recently, there came again government response for
the problem of the regularisation of the immigrants.
Since the Monday 7th of March until 7th of May 2005, the
immigrants working are encouraged to apply for the papers
all around the Spain. They are demanded to present
identification papers from their origin country, then to
prove that they have been in Spain at least since 7th of
August 2004, and that they don't have crime register in
their country of origin. Then, they are required to show
a working contract for at least the following six months,
or for three months in agriculture. They have to come to
the office together with their employers and there have
been big queues in front of these offices since their
opening on 7th of March at 4pm. (El Pais 8th of February
2005& Fieldwork diary 7th February 2005.)

There has also been good amount of critique against the
regularization, claiming that gaining those needed papers
is almost impossible, especially if they haven't made an
announcement of their living there. Nonetheless, it is
well known that several institutions report their lists
to police who then make controls in case of illegal
immigrants. After the regularization, several immigrant
groups have reported employers who have been demanding
money for providing the needed papers. But so far, these

cases haven't been examined. During the 2nd of April 2005, there was a large demonstration in Barcelona, which resulted in several immigrant groups closing themselves in churches and other buildings. Part of them also started a hunger strike. Also in other parts of Spain, there have been public protests, in which claim have been giving papers for everyone or at least making getting them easier. (Avui 3rd of April 2005, El Periodico 3rd of April2005.)

Picture3: Immigrants on hunger strike in Barcelona (25/4/2005 Barcelona)

In addition to regularization programs, and paralleling Spain's work permit system, the country has experimented with a labour quota system to respond to short and long-term shortages in the labour market. These quotas have been used in 1993-1995, 1997-1999 and in 2002 onwards. The quota system also had the following effect: many illegal immigrants viewed it as a way to gain legal status in the country. Most applications for a position within the quota system came from undocumented immigrants already in Spain. In 2002, the quota system was reformed. To ensure continuity and stability, the government is now required to establish annual quotas for foreign workers. In particular, before work permits can be granted, Instituto Nacional de Empleo (the National Employment Institute) must issue a report on the nation's employment situation. If it determines that there are no unemployed workers available for open positions, then foreign labour can be considered. Secondly, in an effort to reduce illegal immigration, the government now only hires foreign workers from their countries of origin and through bilateral agreements with sending countries so that the undocumented immigrants in Spain can no longer use this channel to seek work.

Spain is trying to align itself with common European policy on immigration and asylum. The law addressed access and control measures, reflected an effort to ensure integration of legal immigrants and limit illegal immigration, and paved the way for the signing of cooperation agreements with the main sending countries to manage inflows from the point of origin. Spain has signed several bilateral agreements of this kind, for example with Morocco; these agreements are focused on negotiating administrative formulas for access to Spain and its

labour market. These agreements regulate labour opportunities and, as such, provide for the communication of employment offers, the assessment of professional requirements, travel, and reception. They also work to enhance migrant labour and social rights and the work conditions of the immigrant workers. In addition, the agreements special provisions for seasonal workers and the measures to facilitate their return to their home countries. (Ortega Peréz 2003.)

There are measures aimed to secure the external frontiers of southern European countries, which now are the external frontiers of the EU. The Spanish police, for example, has received 200million euros of EU financial support for building of "electronic wall" that would cover about 600km of the Spanish coastline in the south. This system would be able to detect boats containing illegal immigrants as far as 10km out to sea and then send police to arrest them. This comes from the concern that small boats packed with illegal immigrants are coming from different parts of Africa. They are trying to enter Spain from North Africa, where the minimum between Spain and Morocco in Gibraltar is only 14km. In the year 2003, about 4,5million people crossed the border there legally in the tourist cruisers, paying around 45euros for return ticket. During the same year approximately 25 000 illegal immigrants crossed Gibraltar paying something between 1200euros and 4000euros. Of these people, 6700 were arrested on the Spanish coast. It is likely that these people would try crossing again (Paralelo 36 2004.)

3.2. Role of the immigrant sending countries: the case of Maghreb countries

In public discussion as well as in research about immigration, there is always strong focus on the receiving states and their problems in integrating immigrants. But we should not forget the important role of the migrant sending countries' emigration policies and the situation in these countries. The big variety of causes, impacts and responses to migration in different sending countries mean that making generalizations is very difficult, so the main focus has been on searching of the macroeconomic consequences of emigration on these countries. Morocco was one of the main post-war labour-sending countries, as it still is concerning the current and also the future migration flows into Western Europe. (La ciudad de la espera 2002.)

A very important part of the immigration process is the public image of receiving countries like Spain. The satellite channels, returning immigrants and also the image of "European paradise" developed among the potential immigrant groups are very important factors behind the processes of immigration.

> "*However it is, they(immigrants living in Europe) return with their cars and wives.. their children have been able to study well.. and for us here, nothing..*"

> "*Life is not only about being able to eat and drink, you also need a flat, education etc..*"

> "*One is looking for a future, for a new life, because of this they want to go.. there is nothing here.. here all the people just wait.. I only think about crossing the sea (to Spain)..*"

> *"Here in the neighbourhoods they organise and they leave.. there are those mafias in Tetuan and Tanger who help.."*

> *"Spain.. there we will go to live if only God wants (Insha-allah).."*

> *La ciudad de la espera 2002.*

Collinson points out the main idea behind the immigration; the coincidence of interests between labour scarce and labour-surplus countries that gave rise for both organised and spontaneous migratory flows. Several post-war sending countries developed emigration policies, which reflected domestic labour market and national development interests. The post-war economic boom and disappearance of national boundaries created a niche for moving of labour according to the temporary needs in certain countries. For the sending countries it was also a way to incorporate into world economy, and the potential sending countries saw emigration as a truly promising possibility, and they started developing emigration encouraging policies. (Collinson 1993: 64-65.)

The North African sending countries also began to support emigration and made several bilateral labour-exchange agreements. Morocco also promoted emigration through a national development plan to reduce the problems caused by under- and unemployment. Morocco created a Central Emigration Service to control the emigration but they achieved no more than the negotiation of labour agreements with the European receiving countries. In the 1970's, then became the Oil Crises and an economic recession faced the sending countries with a sudden flood of returning migrants. Since that the interests of the sending countries have moved to the challenges caused by the return migration, and also to the treatment of the

migrants and their families in the receiving countries. (Collinson 1993: 68-69.)

The sending countries hoped to profit from the immigrants money transfers, and also from the return of skilled and motivated emigrants. Because of this, their main interest was in promoting long-term migration rather than permanent migration; they hoped that this would develop a cheap way to train workers. For example, Morocco had an emigration policy, which was meant to mostly remove barrier to emigration rather than to control or regulate it. The 1968-72 Moroccan Development Plan recommended organising the Central Emigration Service which was to coordinate the emigration processes but mostly emigration followed the schemes and routes which had developed without the government control. Moroccan policy was unique in the early 1970's because the labour export was also promoted in official development plans. (Collinson 1993: 71-72.)

After 1973, there was seen a strong decline in return migration, as instead the migrants hurried to bring their families to Europe before further restrictions for family reunification would be imposed. Restriction of the family migration conflicted with the sending countries concern about the social and economic rights of the immigrants in the receiving countries. On the other hand, family migration was against the sending countries' interest in profiting from the money transfers made by their emigrants and promoting return migration. Instead of this, family migration meant permanent residence and settlement, and migrants orientation away from their countries of origin; of course the earnings were then mostly spent in the receiving country for the family

consumption and this meant strong decline on the money transfers. (Collinson 1993: 73.)

The sending countries have been trying to introduce measures to maintain a stronger connection between the motherland and emigrants. However, some of these countries have become strongly economically dependent on the money transfers of their emigrants; this is risky because these transfers are very unreliable. They are very subject to international economical changes and also increase income differences. The money is also usually used into consumption rather than invested, so therefore, also reinforcing inflation. In several sending countries these money transfers present a very important source of foreign currency which makes them even weaker to fight against inflation and economic depressions. In Morocco, emigrants' money transfers now present the most important source of foreign-currency after the fall in world phosphate prices. (Collinson 1993: 76.)

On the 1970´s Morocco also started to look for new countries where to direct the migration flows, they for example signed a contract with Saudi Arabia to transfer 50 000-100 000 Moroccan workers there, but these contracts didn't work really well. Nowadays the official access to external labour markets for the sending countries like Morocco are very limited, but despite the decline in official migration, the undocumented worker migration continues on notable levels. (Collinson 1993, 77). For the migration going through and from Morocco, the neighbouring Spain was the closest target. According to "Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, there was at least 800 000 undocumented migrant workers in Spain who could be able to gain documentation on the

regularisation process during the year 2005 (El Pais 6th of February 2005).

Just recently, there has been growing interest for migration issues - not only for controlling or limiting it - but for seeing it from new wider perspective meaning solving economic and demographic problems in the sending countries. This prevented the rise of new uncontrolled migrations into Western Europe. Collinson refers to Bimal Ghosh: "…migration is no short-cut to enduring development.. Problem of development, or the absence of it.. measured in terms of unemployment, underemployment and absolute poverty in the labour-sending developing countries should drive home the point… juxtaposed against the relevant migration statistics such as the annual outflow of migrants from developing countries.. The absurdity of looking to migration as a short-cut to effective development becomes even more clear" (Collinson 1993: 79).

The main concern for the policy-makers on the both sides of Mediterranean is to incorporate the existence and persistence of migration into their proper migration policies. Another concern is to maximize the potential benefits of migration for both sending and receiving countries. Clearly, there is no solution that would solve all the problems of underdevelopment in the today's sending countries. Rather, there should be an active policy with respect to international migration and with a comprehensive development strategy in which international migration is given a specific role represents the most promising direction. (Collinson 1993: 80.)

3.3. Muslim immigrants

The current relations between the Muslims and the West
are characterized by long history of colonization,
cooperation, fears and misconceptions. Just recently,
these relations were strongly affected by the "war
against Muslim terrorists". For example, in Spain the
Christians freely borrowed from the Islamic sciences,
philosophy, medicine, arts and language during more than
eight centuries of Muslim conquests in Spain. The legacy
of colonialism still affects on the relationships between
Muslims, and citizens of Europe and Asia. The reality is
that Islam is now the second largest religion in almost
every western country after Christianity.

Remarkably, Muslim immigration to Europe began much
later. It was encouraged by the European countries to
answer to their labour needs, and it was expected that
the reason was mainly economic and that Muslim immigrants
would soon return to their countries of origin of
origins. Europe was not prepared for the permanent
intrusion of Islam into their cultures – Islam was seen
as some kind of temporary cultural baggage. In many
countries the situation changed rapidly as many Muslims
stayed as permanent residents becoming citizens in their
new home countries. (Smith 2001: 4.)

New immigration laws made it more difficult for the new
migrants to come. At the same time, many governments were
faced with new a kind of challenge; the immigrants were
mostly young, single male workers who needed to be united
with their families. This challenge was met by creating a
new legislation that would allow families to move and
reunite. Many more immigrants and political asylum

seekers came throughout the 1980's and 1990's because of revolutions, wars and civil unrest in several Muslim countries. Also, the former colonies saw their former colonialisers as their new economic hosts and these ex-colonies often became the biggest senders of immigrants, and of course already existing contacts in the forms of economy or language also helped them to immigrate. (Smith 2001: 4.)

The recent immigrants are more educated than the first groups who came as temporary workers; Presently, there is also a visible group of Muslim students in European universities. Many of them also return to their countries of origin to use their education for the economic and social benefit of these societies, and also to have an influence on the development of Islamic thought and democracy in their homelands. After the arrival of the political asylum seekers, quest workers, students and other Islamic immigrants has become visible in the West – it has taken up new educational, social and legal issues which have to be solved in the receiving countries. (Smith 2001: 5.)

Western perceptions and often fears of Islam are mostly based on media reports about Muslim fundamentalists activities in other parts of the world that often show the image of all Muslim immigrants belonging to these "terrorist groups". They are shown as being a severe threat to the "liberty and democracy" of western countries and neighbourhoods. The recent Islamophobia on political, societal and personal level is a severe threat against the democratic rights and liberty of Muslim immigrants living in Western countries (See ex. interview of Ahmed and El Pais).

For Europeans, the main concerns for the stability of their mainly homogenous societies come from the presence of Muslim population in their countries. Earlier very homogenous Scandinavian societies have especially become conscious of the new situation. One consequence is that there will be growing sense of "us" and "them" as a former homogenous society changes to multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious one. Most of the European receiving countries have separated the church and the state, and introduced a freedom of religion; several countries also have a special statement that "all religious denominations and groups are to be given equal opportunity (Smith 2001: 7). This is also stated in the Spanish Constitution that, "guarantees ideological and religious freedom to all people, so that everyone can have or not have their religious beliefs and practice them, if they want, privately, or in the heart of their community. Nobody can be discriminated against because of their beliefs, nor can they be obliged to declare them." (BCN diversa.)

But after the presence of Muslims, who are "increasingly verbal in their requests to practice their faith publicly", the situation is changing and this is seen as reactions to wearing Islamic dresses and other visible forms of religious or cultural symbols in public. Muslims are fighting for the official recognition of their faith. In several cases, this would bring badly needed public financing. According to Kari Vogt for example in Norway, the moneys are paid directly to mosques but then for example in Sweden financial support is targeted only to three major Muslim confederations recognized by the government. Not all the Muslims practice their faith

actively neither do they want to practice it publicly. (Smith 2001: 7-8.)

The most important demands that Muslim communities present to their host societies are the building of mosques, which are proper for the use of local Muslim community, cemeteries, which are specifically designated as Islamic cemeteries or reserved sections on the existing, and the availability of Islamically acceptable (halal) food. Muslim communities also have rightly demanded to gain employment for their members, without suffering from racial or religious discrimination, although so far this has meant that the immigrants are given only the jobs which the westerners are not willing to do. Respecting the right of Muslim immigrants to appropriate practice of Islam, this means providing proper facilities for washing and preparation for the prayer, a clean and private place for the prayer itself. (Smith 2001: 8-9.)

Picture4: Islamic halal-meat shop in El Raval (02/2005 Barcelona)

This also means taking into account Islamic religious holidays or participation in the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the special attention of Muslims who are fasting during the Ramadan (El Periodico 10th of November 2004). Another more publicly visible element is the appearance and dress. Discussion has been about the Muslim women wearing the headscarf, as there has been several difficult cases concerning the discrimination of women wearing "hijab" or head covering at their work places, or girls wearing headscarf in the school. Appropriate appearance for men may also mean wearing a beard or small cap, which many believe, is essential to following the practice of the Prophet. (Smith 2001: 9.)

Recently, there has also been great debate among the Muslims concerning how to conduct business and handle negations according with Islam. This has led to establishment of Islamic banks and alternatives for Muslims who want to be financially successful and also to follow the religion. Inside of the Muslim communities, there been many discussions about the correct manners concerning how to handle businesses following Islam, and there has also arose critique towards other Muslims breaking the rules for example by selling alcohol or cigarettes in their shops (see interview of Ahmed).

Following the birth of the second generation of the Muslim immigrants, there has been concern among the Muslim communities that their children are taught secular values in the school. This has lead many parents to send their children to private Muslim schools or to teach them at home. As this is not always possible - for economic or other reasons - many Muslim children remain in public schools. This has meant recognizing several special requirements for these children. For example, girls wearing appropriate dress in the sport classes, and not mixing the girls and the boys during these classes. Another request was to create an opportunity for Muslim children to celebrate and tell their schoolmates about their religious holidays. The so-called "myth of return" for long time served to prevent the integration into the host society neither searching solutions for the issues explained earlier. This has created challenges in the school world which are faced by the concern of how to prepare teachers to be sensitive to the cultural differences and to degree which differences should be beard, or if the Muslim children should be encouraged to go to the public schools. (Smith 2001: 10.)

Picture5: Young Moroccan immigrants doing theatre (11/2004 Barcelona)

One of the major items is also continued conversation and exploration of new roles and opportunities for women. As the first generation of immigrants coming from rural or traditional Muslim countries often found it difficult to face the western women's active participation in all the spheres of the society as in their countries of origin women were mostly expected to stay in private, domestic sphere. This had often led to severe debates inside of Islam, for example between the members of more modernized Arab countries and the conservative Islamic parties in these countries. Economic factors have also played an important role for the public participation as for example there is often a need for a double income for the family which forces the family to rethink the traditional roles of women and to consider the also the women to be working outside of the home in paid labour. In Europe, women have also become more active in mosques and Islamic organizations, like for example in associations like

Insha Allah or Ibn Batuta in Barcelona. This public involvement can sometimes be challenged by the arrival of new and conservative immigrants, or Imams who are accustomed to having women play important roles in mosques or Islamic organizations. (Smith 2001: 11.)

Picture6: Immigrant women (04/2005 Barcelona)

The question of leadership has been very difficult for the new immigrant Muslim communities as the Muslims are trying to understand questions of faith, practice and identity in a new culture and society. The Imams are mostly educated in the traditional Muslim societies, and they assume to have leadership in mosques and Islamic organizations without having very much knowledge about the society where they are. This can especially raise discussion with second and third generation immigrants, who are used to living in the West. The appropriate educating of Muslim leaders who would have sufficient knowledge of the both traditional Islamic sciences and of

the western society and culture is one of the important
issues to be solved by the Muslim immigrant communities
in the close future. New converts to Islam are often
playing important parts because of their knowledge of the
language and culture, and they are often active in
helping Muslim communities adapt to life in the west and
in interpreting Islam to be relevant for the time and
place. (Smith 2001: 12.)

All this leads to a question about immigrant Muslim
identity; whether it is better to maintain a separate
identity; to stay as unassimilated as possible, or to
intent integrate as well as possibly but also affirm the
importance of Islam. The earlier customs that the Muslim
immigrants have used to define themselves either as
Muslims or by their nationality, rather than their
adopted country has led to stigmatisation. This raises
identity questions such as: Is it possible to be Finnish
or Spanish but also a Muslim? The struggle for identity
is not all about Islam; it also had to do with national
and ethnic association. Immigrants have multiple
identities that depend on the context in which they are
operating. For example, depending on the context, a
Moroccan immigrant living in Barcelona can see himself as
a Muslim, Moroccan, Arab, Spanish or Catalan, or as an
immigrant. (Modood 2001: 100-101 and Smith 2001: 15.)

3.4. El Raval – an example of a multicultural immigrant neighbourhood

The neighbourhood of El Raval is one of the great and
most visible immigration phenomenon in Barcelona; the
high immigration rates, a huge ethnic variety and the
great amount of subcultures are the clearest characters

defining El Raval. El Raval carries along more than five hundred years of history with several decades as a neighbourhood which was home for all the people who from one reason or another were not accepted to live inside the city walls. It was once a neighbourhood of the sailors and merchants on the side of old harbour and particularly during the last century it has strongly developed as some kind of receiving neighbourhood for immigrants coming first from different parts of Spain. Later on, during the last decades it has become an arrival point for the big immigrant flows of non-European immigrants coming mostly from Pakistan, Morocco and Philippines. For the last few years almost half of the registered population of El Raval has been foreigners. The faces of El Raval have experienced a radical change in the last years; as the ethnic composition has become impressively plural, there have also been several improvements in the infrastructure and social situation of El Raval. (see El Raval.)

Close to the zone of El Raval, central El Raval has long been occupied by the business of Muslim immigrants. They have been the only ones who in the last decades were interested in buying the real estates and opening business in the area. First, bigger immigrant groups outside of Europe settled down in El Raval in the 1980´s. Since then, they have also been the major group investing in the development of the area. Most of the negotiations in the area are small shops of alimentary products, textiles or small articles, Islamic meat shops or then international call centres/internet cafes ("locutories"). There is also a huge variety of ethnic food restaurants and bars.

El Raval is home of the modern art museum Macba, the centre of contemporary culture CCCB, and the base for several theatres such as Romea. These places of culture display art from contemporary and interdisciplinary themes and ideas, as well as from the creative work of the small workshops, or artists and artisans. Cultural and sonic variety is also transferred to the music composed and performed in the huge variety of scenes in El Raval. This is perceived everywhere from the world-famous opera house of Liceu, and spreading everywhere to the small bars and still beating its rhythm in the performances of the street musicians. The library of Catalonia, along with the public library of Santa Pau-Santa Creu has been functioning in the neighbourhood. The university of Ramon Llull followed this and an upcoming faculty of Geography, Philosophy and History. Culture can not be seen as an isolated or casual phenomenon. Indeed, the culture in El Raval is seen from a wide and distinctive perspective; it is the conjunction of all persons and entities, which make up the everyday life of the neighbourhood. In the re-conquest of El Raval, culture has been used as its motor and source of inspiration.
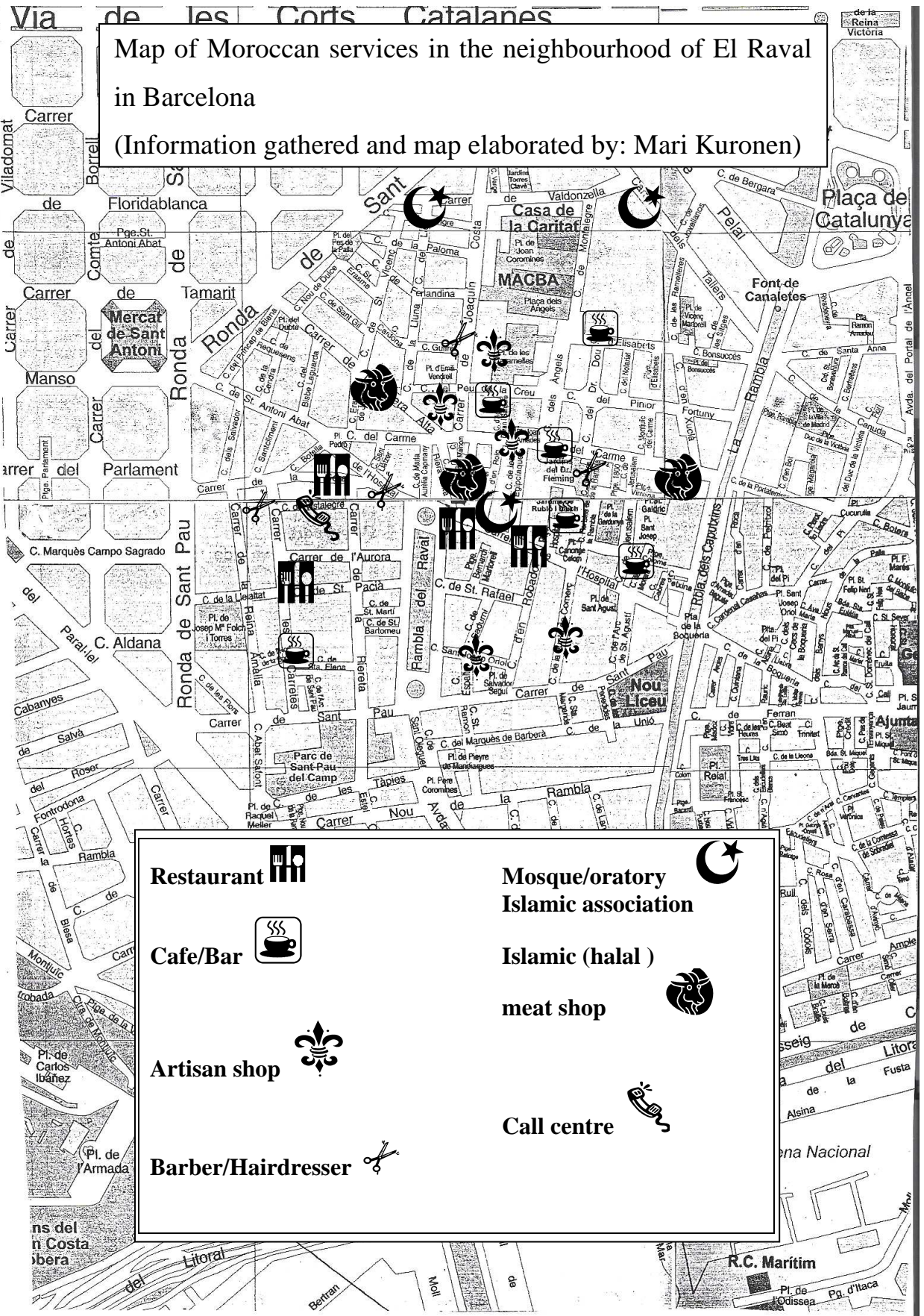
Map of Moroccan services in the neighbourhood of El Raval in Barcelona

(Information gathered and map elaborated by: Mari Kuronen)

Restaurant

Cafe/Bar

Artisan shop

Barber/Hairdresser

Mosque/oratory Islamic association

Islamic (halal) meat shop

Call centre

The immigrant people of El Raval have taken an active role in developing and improving the area. In the last few decades, the immigrants have occupied a large share of public space in El Raval and have dedicated themselves to cultural and social life there. The people have established many kind of projects and organisations. Examples of these would be the "El Casal dels Infants del Raval", which is focused on immigrant children and youngsters, and the "El Forn de Teatre Social Pa'Tothom", which is involved in making interactive theatre by the people of Raval. More examples of cultural organisations would be the "la Asociación Cultural Camí de Pau", which maintains one of the mosques, "la Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta", dedicated on the matters of Moroccan people and "el Mirador del Inmigrante", which publishes Urdu-language newspaper.

Concentration of the immigrants in El Raval is a result of migratory flows and succeeds from different processes of immigration; Barcelona and to a greater extent El Raval, have become a very popular "pass" of these flows. In the scale of Catalonia, El Raval can be seen as a place of connivance and space of socialisation (Moreras 1999b: 126).

In the life of El Raval, we can easily see the different layers of culture; culture of everyday life, high culture and level of cultural discourse, as they in modern world are usually separated. In the contemporary anthropological sense, the world is divided into cultures that are all equally valuable on their own ways. A particular person would be a product of the culture in which he or she has lived. The differences between human beings should be explained by the cultural differences

rather than by the race or religion. Franz Boas defined culture as a system of symbols and meanings, as he was also one of the first ones to speak about cultures in plural - instead of one supreme abstraction of culture- and using culture as one of the methods of classifying mankind - as language and physical characters were other major factors (Boas 1898).

Edward Sapir stated that culture did not lay in a society but in the interactions of specific individuals and in the world of meanings which guide those interactions; according to him every individual is a representative of at least one subculture which may be abstracted from the generalised culture of the group of which he is a member (1949: 151). Therefore, we can say that all the people living in El Raval - apart from their ethnical or cultural background - are perpetually creating and presenting the subculture of El Raval as they are interacting with the different people of the neighbourhood and re-enforcing the world of meanings guiding those interactions.

The area of the neighbourhood of El Raval occupies some of 1,09 km² in the central Barcelona. Sometimes it is considered to form the "old town" (Ciutat Vella) with the areas of Barri Gotic, Barceloneta and Parc de la Ciutadella. In the year 2004, the population was 40.973 persons and it had been growing clearly during the latest years. The population density was 37.589,9 persons per km². Life expectancy in El Raval was 74,7 years (as in Barcelona in general it is 78,6years); for the women in specific 80,0 years (82,7years) and for the men 69,7 years (74,7years). Middle age of the population is 44 years.

Women form 50,5% of the population of El Raval as their share in all of Barcelona is 53,5%. Under 14years old children make up 10, 4% (11,6%) and the people over 65years constitute a little bigger part in El Raval with 24,2% compared to the 21,9% in all the Barcelona. From the people of El Raval only 47,7% were born in Catalonia (66,6%) and as many as 27,6% were born abroad (7,2%). Birth rate was 0,91% (0,83%) and the mortality was as high as 1,33% (1,03%). The immigration rate of the neighbourhood was 21,6% (15,7%) and the emigration 30,2% (25,9%), this shows that the turnover and the changing of the population was quite high. (See table in the end of this chapter 3.4.).

As much as 48,8% of the population of El Raval were immigrants; the biggest groups were Pakistanis with 4237 registered habitants, followed then by Moroccan with 2211 persons and Filipinos with 3309 habitants. Even if statistics sometimes showed large immigrant percents for some other neighbourhoods, El Raval was the one where the large majority of these specific immigrant groups were living; from all the Moroccan in Barcelona 17% were living in El Raval, and from the Pakistanis more than 42% and from Filipinos even 56%. This was quite interesting because among the immigrant population of El Raval, there was the biggest difference between the sexes as 59,8% were men and only 40,2% women as the same numbers from all of the Barcelona were much more equal with 52,3% being men and 47,7% women. The middle age of the immigrant population was only 31years compared to the middle age of all the Raval being 44years. So we can see that the majority of the immigrants of El Raval are young adult males, which is quite a common phenomenon in

immigrant communities all over the industrialized world (See for example Zolberg 1996).

Moroccan and Filipinos were among the fastest growing immigrant groups in Barcelona during the year 2003-2004 with the annual growing rate of 19,7% for the Filipinos and 13,4% for the Moroccans. For Pakistanis, the rate was only 2,6%, which can be explained with the fact that the most active period of Pakistani immigration was in the years 1999-2004 during which the relative growth was as high as 637%. The relative growth during the years 1999-2004 for the population of Filipinos was 146% and for Moroccan 172%.

	El Raval	Barcelona
Surface-area	1,08km²	100,95 km²
Population	40973 persons (2004)	1,3millions
Foreigners of the population	48,8%	12,8% (2004)
Population density	34445 habitants/km²	15667 habitants/km²
Expectancy of life	74,7 years	78,6 years
-for women	80,0 years	82,7 years
-for men	69,7 years	74,7 years
Middle age of the population	44 years	45years
Women of the total population	50,5%	53,2%
Children (0-14 years)	10,4%	11,6%
Elderly people (65-> years)	24,2%	21,9%
Born in Catalonia	47,7%	66,6%
Born abroad	27,6%	7,2%
Birth rate	0,91%	0,83%
Mortality	1,33%	1,03%
Immigration	21,6%	15,7%
Emigration	30,2%	25,9%
Cars /1000persons	224	410
Academic degrees	9,4%	16,5%

Source: Ajuntamiento de Barcelona 2004

4. Moroccan immigrants

4.1. Moroccan immigrants in Catalonia

Spain became an immigration country quite recently. The
first big group of Moroccans migrating to Spain were the
Moroccan Jews in the 1970´s (Peréz-Díaz 2004. 211-212).
The biggest part of Moroccan immigrants who came to Spain
during the first years of immigration flow had already
been in some other country. A majority of them came from
France where they had been illegally or had insecure
temporary employment. These people expected to find more
available jobs and specially to face less control in
Spain. (Martinez Veiga 1997: 106.)

The majority of Moroccan people enter the Spain through
the protectorates of Ceuta and Melilla which have for
long been the most important links to the peninsula.
Since the 1990´s, Moroccan have been in the centre of
public debate concerning immigration control. A large
part of this had to do with illegal crossing of the
Gibraltar with fragile small boats, although there have
also been a large number of immigrants from Sub-Saharan
countries trying to cross the frontier illegally to get
to Europe. (Pérez-Díaz 2004: 222& Martinez Veiga 1997:
87.)

This resulted in tense relations between Morocco and
Spain, as they have been discussing the controlling of
the immigration and about the situation of Moroccan
immigrants in Spain. For example, in the year 2003,
Morocco and Spain finally reached an agreement of
returning the unaccompanied minors caught in the frontier

immediately back to Morocco. In addition to this, minors caught from the Spanish territory will be handed to the Moroccan authorities so that they will take care of their returning. Also, there are now also the special circumstances caused by the terrorism of Al Qaeda and the attendants of Madrid, which have suddenly created an urgent need of reforming the co-operation between Morocco and Spain. (Pérez-Díaz 2004: 223.)

During 1960's Barcelona remained mainly as a passing location on the way to other European destinations. Most of the visas admitted by the consulate of Morocco in Barcelona were passing permissions. During the 1960's, there were thousands of Moroccans registered in the pensions and hotels in Barcelona. These people were here only for a short time. They were mainly waiting for a transport to continue their travel to other destinations. In the 1970's, economic situation got worse in Europe and immigrants from the older immigration countries started to come to Catalonia. In the beginning, Moroccan immigrants concentrated in the neighbourhoods or El Raval and Barceloneta, mainly in the pensions of the area. (Moreras 2004c: 305.)

Later when the immigrants found more stable jobs, they moved to more distant neighbourhoods and to the municipalities of the industrial belt developed around Barcelona – for example to Sta. Coloma de Gramanet, Hospitalet de Llobregat or Maresme. They were working in road or housing constructions, or in agriculture. They were living in the shared flats with fellow workers. Until the year 1991, still bigger parts of the Moroccans arrived to Barcelona but later immigrants have arrived preferably to the other municipalities. According to

their geographical distribution, they are the widest spread group of immigrants in all the Catalonia. The most important origin regions of the Moroccan in Catalonia are Nador, Tanger, Larache, Yebala, Rif, Casablanca and Beni Mellal. (Moreras 2004c: 310-311.)

In Catalonia Moroccan are the immigrant group with the longest history and biggest representation in all the area. Recently they have also been the ones in the middle of discussion about the integration of the immigrants. The are more Moroccan babies born in Catalonia than babies from any other group of foreigners and the community has much bigger percentage of children under 15years than the native Catalan population. In the year 2000, 31,70% of the Moroccan population were women in Catalonia and in Barcelona the percentage was even as high as 42,90%. Recently, the Moroccan population is gaining visibility in the schools, sports and in public life, now there is also a first Moroccan representative in the Parliament of Catalonia. (Moreras 2004c: 305& 312.)

The Moroccan collective still holds strongly migratory related definitions, although it would be too early to define them as diasporas. However, Moreras notices that there are already developing post-migratory identities. In the recognition and public presentation of the Moroccans they are always referred as immigrants. For example, the first Moroccan represent in the Parliament, Mohamed Chaib has all the time been shown as representative of the Moroccan and immigrant communities, although he has declared clearly being a representative of the socialist party in which he belongs. (Moreras 2004c: 306& Chaib 2004: 59.)

There exists "market of immigration" working between the immigrants and there is a ranking of the European countries, which already have Moroccan immigrants. Spain has long since been one of the most popular options along with Germany, France and Holland. Since the older immigration countries have tightened control, Spain has really become popular destination, particularly for immigrants coming from North Morocco. The region of provinces of Uxda, Nador, Alhucemas and Tetuan, along the province of Agadir, is marked by the most external mobility. The neo-urbans in these areas are the biggest candidate group for external immigration. (Martinez Veiga 1997: 105-107.)

Map2: Map of Morocco (www.eurosun.com/ moroccomap1.htm)

In the end of year 2003, Catalonia had 389.949 immigrants which were 23,3% of its population and it was the highest percentage in all the Spain - the biggest group being Moroccans with 117 752 persons (with the residence permit). The biggest characteristics of immigration in Catalonia are the great heterogeneity with the immigrants presenting as many as 164 different countries. The fact is that they are scattered all over the area, as the highest immigrant percentages are shown in a relatively small locations. Most of the immigrants are occupied in factories, construction, agriculture, and in service sector. (Rodriquez Roca 2005: 3.)

From the Moroccan employees in Catalonia, only 32% informs that their employer has asked about starting an official employment to gain the regularization. As much as 69% of the Moroccan employees believe that they earn less than the native employees. Also, 48,5% believe that they work longer than natives with 36,4% saying that they are not paid equally as the natives. (Pajares 2004: 39-43). Also many of the informants mentioned that they and many other Moroccan were working a lot and that their salaries were not very good, or at least not equal as for the Spanish employees or at least had a higher professional status- compared to the status of for example being illegal or/and unemployed in Spain. (See the interviews of Ahmed, Mohammed, Idir, Rajid.)

4.2. Moroccan communities in the municipal area of Barcelona

Many parts of Barcelona have experienced an "urban trauma" in last years. This most prominently happened in

the neighbourhood of Raval (see chapter 3.4., El Raval and Moreras 1999), which has been a receiver of great immigration flow during the last decades. El Raval has become the most important centre of the Muslim immigrant communities' social, religious and commercial life in Barcelona, particularly this is the case with the Moroccan and Pakistan immigrants who run most of the religious and social associations, as well as commercial services in this neighbourhood. For this reason, it is important to analyse the Moroccan community from the perspective of El Raval. El Raval has become a location of great variety of immigrant-handled commerce and other services that are meant for the needs of their own immigrant communities and for the other people living in the area. For example, the owner of one Moroccan artisan shop in El Raval clarifies that 70% of their clients are Moroccan and the rest 30% are other nationalities (see Fieldwork diary 19th of April 2005).

In the process of placing a structure onto the Moroccan community, we can find a kind of diaspora and plural cultural forms that are expressed through the punctual events and celebrations like such as "id al-fitr" or "id al-kebir (Moreras 2004a). How immigrant community presents or is presented in the public gives an excellent opportunity to observe how the Barcelonese society and public opinion sees them, and how the leadership issues or social recognition issues are handled in the community.
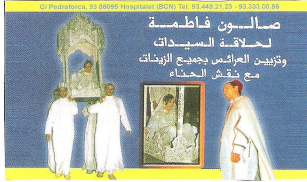
One of the mosques/oratories is lead mostly by the Moroccans, that is the one of "Consejo Islamico y Cultural de Catalunya" which is located in Calle Tallers. Barcelona's oldest mosque is "Tariq ben Zyad" also

located in Raval, on Calle Hospital. This mosque is lead by an international group of Muslims, and recently it has one Moroccan and one Pakistani Imam. It is one of the most important mosques in Barcelona, gathering Muslims also from the other cities to the "salat al-juma'a" (the prayer of midday on Friday). (Moreras 2004a: 3-5.)

The Muslim immigrant communities are often analysed only from the perspective of Islam, as it is very important also to see the ethnic, social and political references affecting on the identities and composition of these communities. Of course, Islam is one of the definers of these communities but is neither the only nor the final definer of them. For example, the Muslim communities of Barcelona and the Catalonia in general are very characterized by their transnationality and multiculturality. Although the mosques and oratories in Barcelona (neither in other parts of Catalonia) are not very well known or visible to the other people, just recently they have been becoming recognized by the surrounding society as a result of their organization as associations.

Services aimed to Moroccan and other Arabic speaking people living in Barcelona

4.3. Moroccan immigrant business, associations and mosques

The opening of Moroccan immigrants shops and companies allows them to become as economically active part of the society. This has allowed the immigrants to become owners of the businesses, as oppose to simply being a passive workforce for the native populations business and companies. The support from the ethnical group and family as a workforce is often a base for these businesses, and for many immigrants, opening their own business is one of their most desirable goals (Moreras 2004c). The commerce one might open is often focused on special products coming from the origin countries or traded with the other immigrant communities in the other countries.

The most visible form of Moroccan immigrant commerce are the Islamic(halal) meat shops scattered all around the Catalonia, followed by the mostly immigrant owned call-centres/internet cafes (locutories). In all Catalonia Moroccan managed most of the call-centres. Of course there are also many ethnic alimentary and artisan or craft product shops which are often used by the both foreign and local population. The small bars and restaurants are also very important, as they were often also the centres for communitarian life.

These places are not just spaces for economic action but also for interchanging information about the available jobs, the praying hours during the Ramadan or about the communitarian projects. This interaction is also very important for personal promotion. The leadership of the community is strengthened and developed in these social and economy concerning relations. (Moreras 2004c: 20.)

Working as an independent makes it possible to follow the rules and hours of Ramadan, and generally gives more liberty than for example industrial work. The markets are very important for the community, and especially for the interaction of the large single-male immigrant population, for example the market of Canovellas is gathering 80% Moroccan clientele. [1] The most preferred product among the Moroccan population are the Islamic (halal) alimentary and meat products, which nowadays have quite good availability all around the Catalonia. (Ribas Mateos 2004: 315-317.)

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[1] Canovellas is a weekly market the community of Granollers in Catalonia.

Picture7: Moroccan call centre and craft shop (05/2005 Granada)

The Magrebian are the most individualist group in concern of their relations with the other immigrants. They relate to them in more informal ways and participate very little to the collective associations.(Sole 1991: 73). In Catalonia (compared to the other immigrant groups), the number of Moroccan immigrant associations is very small, and the majority of these are oratories, which are registered as cultural associations or something else.

The Moroccan immigrant associations are often labelled as Arabic, Berber, Muslim, Islamic, immigrant or worker; this also shows the principal characteristics of Moroccan associationism – the heterogeneity and the instability.

These structures can be seen as mini-societies reflecting cultural, ethnic and socio-demographical characteristics of the origin society. In Catalonia, the first ones have been the cultural-Islamic, which were founded after the 1960´s. But then on the contrary, the assistant associations have been built up only since 1990´s. (Veradas Muñoz 2004: 407.)

In Barcelona, you can find a great variety of associations offering social, artistic, religious and other activities for the Moroccan immigrant population. Some of these are projects that work with children or young people. One of these is *"Casal d'Infants del Raval"*, which offers a nursery and different kinds of activities for the children when they are not in the school. In the end of the last year, there was also a small-scale theatre project where a mostly Moroccan group of young people prepared a successful theatre play.

> *"Finally today we went to see that theatre "El somni de Shirine" on Forn de teatre, it was interactive short play made by immigrant youngsters from Casal d'Infants del Raval, actors were between 15-25years and were mostly Moroccan originated. Play took up a story of Shirine who came to Barcelona to look for a better life, to make her dream come true. She was taken care by her cousin and his wife, she was working in a restaurant with his cousin and finally she started to look for her own destiny and got work as dancer which her family of course never would have accepted. There were also some conflicts with their Catalan neighbour and finally the story was left open for a solution made by the public, lot of discussion followed..Discussion ended in positive atmosphere and I really think that making theatre had given a lot the youngsters"(Fieldwork diary 21st of November 2004.)*

There are associations that organise activities such as alphabetisation, juridical assistance, education,

teaching of Arabic or Islam to the children, or women-oriented work shops. These are sometimes organised by the immigrants' province of origin, by the political-cultural objectives of the participants or by the gender of the immigrant-participants. The public and private financiering has been one of the main issues, and as a result of the lacking tradition of associationism (and the lacking financiering) the immigrants have had to learn new working policies and adopt to the associative culture in the new country. (Veradas Muñoz 2004: 408.)

The participation in the activities of assistant-political associations remains low. They are mostly the worse doing immigrants who use their services and many of these associations are dependent from the economic support of the state or municipality. These are led and founded from the initiative from the upper levels of society. The average immigrant population and especially the Berber people often see these ones mostly as spaces for personal promotion of the leaders. This is often the case also with the immigrant assistance associations in Catalonia (see Fieldwork diary and interviews of Ahmed and Kamal). On the contrary, most of the cultural-Islamic associations are founded from down upwards; they gather much wider and more active participation – and also greater trust from the side of the immigrants (Veradas Muñoz 2004: 409).

Darretto, for example takes up the mosques as expressions of collective identity and as a very important space for structuring the Muslim community. Mosques and oratories can be seen as fruits of migratory trajectories, the creation of these places has turned into a mean how the

collectives with Muslim origin can reconstruct the social order proper to the society of origin. The migratory trajectory reinforces the importance of Muslim oratories as places where the religion and communitarian identity appear. For Muslims, the mosque acts not only as a place for religious practices, but more importantly, it is there where they gather as a community and meet the fellow Muslims. One of the principal functions of the oratories in the migratory context is to redefine the territory in new time and space, following the Islamic principles. (Daretto&Conrad 1996: 181-182.)

Picture8: Stand of immigrant association in market (04/2005 Barcelona)

4.4. Immigrant crisis and relations in the community

In the last five years, Catalonia has become a stage for xenophobia against the Moroccan immigrant population and there have been clear signs of the increasing social racism. The conflicts connected with the openings of new mosques have become frequent and this conflictivity has raised preoccupation even in the local administrations. In the European context Islamophobia, has increased clearly and the attempts to demonise Muslims have made it difficult to consider the valuation, which have happened in the European Muslim communities. The old, false argument says that when there is immigration, then there is racism and when the immigration disappears the racism will disappear too. This statement suggests that presence of immigration is problematic, especially when it involves Moroccan immigration. (Ramadan 2002: 159 and Moreras 2004b: 444.)

From the perspective of receiver's -as well as the newcomers- some encounters are more problematic and conflictive than others. Zolberg takes up an idea that this risk is affected by the quantity of the immigrants as well as the dissimilarity or similarity of the immigrants with the receiving population (1996: 51). How are these kinds of similarities or dissimilarities measured, or which would be the criteria for defining "the easy adaptors" or "less problematic immigrants"?

Moreras takes up the theme how the models of integration or of the integrable collectives are constructed, if they are from the part of Catalan opinion or from the part of the politician. He also makes it clear, that one element

of more integrability is to have language similar to Catalan or Spanish. "So the Latin American doesn't have any problem because they speak Spanish.. it is not only the culture from different origin but that they are Muslim and we are Christian.. and that the Moroccan collective opens a Mosque, that is contra-integration.."(Moreras Jordi 28/4/2005.)

The adaptability or integrability a picture builds by the receiving community, the researchers or media. There are characters, which seem to make adaptation easier, as for example similar language or religious background. But then, dissimilarities from the receiving ones, such as religion, language or culture can make it adaptation more difficult. Is this contra-integration then as Moreras refers (28/4/2005). Can expressing your own culture, speaking your native language or willing to gather with the fellow immigrants be seen as being against the adaptation or integration?

Moreras gives some examples how the receiving community defines the immigrants as foreign and strange, that even though they are concretely present in the society they are from the outside and never seen as ours. "Some are more integrated than others. The Filipinos are more integrated than the Moroccan, primarily because they are Christian and secondly because they have names similar to ours, and some speak Spanish.. and they always say yes.. it is Asian tradition, not Arabic." (Moreras Jordi 28/4/2005.)

The integration of immigrants depends also on the internal structure of the host society. It is important to analyse how the national traditions of countries

determine the ways in which they receive and integrate immigrants. In traditional immigration countries, there was a trust that the immigrants would be culturally absorbed within couple of generations. Some believe that new groups are inassimilable but instead the pro-immigrant groups suggest that the receiving nations have them become multicultural which is a totally new aspect. (See ex.Zolberg 1996.)

Sojourners as well immigrants are forced to change their behaviour to cope with cultural differences. This constant coping with unfamiliar situations can compel them to question their own competence; this self-doubt is the primary symptom of culture shock. People have to learn different methods to satisfy their everyday needs and to become accustomed to new housing, food, shops and people. The inability to face situations in familiar ways and continually need to cope with new behaviours leads to fatigue, discomfort and frustration. Concept of culture shock has been used to analyse the experiences of people who live for longer times in another country. Individuals who are in contact with foreigners in their own country may also experience culture shock.

Grinberg and Grinberg tells, that immigrant must give up part of his individuality, at least temporarily, in order to become integrated in the new environment (Grinberg and Grinberg 1989: 90). Volkan explains, that moving from one location to another involves different kind of loss– loss of country, loss of friends, and loss of previous identity. This kind of dislocation experiences may be examined in terms of the immigrant's ability to mourn and/or resist the mourning process. The extent to which the individual is able intra psychically to accept his or

her loss will determine the degree to which an adjustment is made to the new life. (Volkan 1993: 65.)

The circumstances and motivations of immigration play a significant role in which these kind of psychological reactions will follow. Firstly, the planned duration of the immigration, secondly the degree of choice and the time available for preparing oneself to leave the place. Thirdly the possibility of revisiting the home country and finally treasons for leaving one's country. (Akhtar 1999: 6-7.)

The possibility of revisiting the home country is a very important theme for the Moroccan immigrants in Catalonia. It leads us to the discussion about the regularisation/ legalisation of immigrants and the position of illegal immigrants. The percentage of illegality varies greatly between the different immigrants groups. According to some speculations, there is over one million illegal Moroccan immigrants in Spain (see El Pais 7th and 8th of February 2005). The rights and possibilities of these people vary greatly from their immigrant brothers having the papers fixed, and they don't have the possibility of revisiting their country although it would be very close – this can have great significance for the mental and physical health of the immigrants (see the interviews of Mohammed, Hamid, Nasir and Ahmed).

The possibility of revisiting the home country makes the emotional refuelling possible, although also the phone calls or letters to relatives left behind are part of this process. The red of other emigrated relatives and larger network of a homo-ethnic community then instead bring intramural refuelling. Visiting ethnic markets,

watching ethnic television shows through satellite, celebrating one's original festivals and participating services at religious centres offer the immigrant an ethno-psychic rejuvenation. Especially satellite television seems to form a strong connection to the origin country and with the native immigrants, it was very common for most of the informants to gather watch Moroccan and Arabic channels with their friends. (Akhtar 1999: 10 and the interviews of Miriam, Najat, Rajid, Kamal.)

Picture9: Satellite dishes in the neighbourhood of El Raval (04/2005 Barcelona)

The age at the time of migration is also very important factor. The immigrants of different age groups face different problems. For example, children are never voluntary immigrants as they usually migrate because of

the choice of their parents, and they tend to develop
fantasies to deal with the process. During adolescence,
the individual experiences kind of a second individuation
and they are faced with double-mourning. An old person
normally doesn't want to move, it is very painful to
leave the entire familiar behind, as his past is greater
than his future he always loses much more than he wins.
Older immigrant generation can also be affected by the
acculturation of their younger generation. (Akhtar 1999:
13.)

Akhtar takes up Carlin's list of problems which
especially elderly immigrants face. Examples of these
include the loss of old friends, problems in making new
friends, fear of failure to learn the new language and
not having anything useful to do. They can also suffer
from limits on independence, feeling unneeded and
unappreciated, and medical illnesses. (1999: 14.) These
can also be problems of the younger and middle-age
immigrants, for example, when they suffer from
unemployment, have problems in learning the new language
or suffer from psycho-somatic symptoms.

There are also big differences between the different
immigrants communities, and crisis situations can be
found from inside and between them. It should be clear
already that the problems or conflicts are not just to be
found from the relations of the immigrants with the
receiving community or from the integration process of
the individual immigrants. All the Muslim immigrants
cannot be seen as homogenous group neither can be thought
that all the Moroccan immigrants would for example hold
same opinions concerning religion or the everyday life.
(See interviews of Idir, Kamal and Rajid.)

Moreras has found many differences and variety among the immigrants Muslim in Barcelona. "Pakistani Islam and Moroccan Islam are not the same, but more than to describe them with national characters you should see contemporary perspective, there are so many ways to interpret it, for me it doesn't seem so interesting to distinguish what's ethnic and what religious, because in the religious there are doctrines and juridical schools.." (Moreras Jordi 28/4/2005).

There are certain characteristics that describe each one of these communities, but of course there are some similarities too. For example, in choosing living locations, there can maybe be seen a kind of pattern among the Pakistanis now as happened with the earlier immigrated Moroccans. They first stayed in central parts of Barcelona but later they have settled down to smaller towns and also rural villages all around Catalonia.

Material found in different anti-immigration pages on internet(Source: Atlas de inmigracion marroqui 2004)

5. Nine Moroccans and their immigrant histories

5.1. Personal background of the interviewed people

The personal backgrounds of the people I interviewed varied quite greatly. However, one common aspect is that they are all originally Moroccan and they are now living in some village or town in the municipal area or Barcelona. They are from different parts of Morocco (See Map2).

> *"I was born in Rif and lived all my childhood there"*
> *Kamal*
>
> *"I am from Tetuan, and my family is lives there"*
> *Ahmed*
>
> *"I was born in Tanger on year 1977.. most of the family lives there" Rajid*
>
> *"I was born in little berber village.. in High Atlas, it is situated between Marrakech and Meknes"*
> *Idir*
>
> *"I´m from Tanger, my parents still live there" Najat*
>
> *"Beni Mellal, from close to Sahara" Nasir*
>
> *"I´m from Nador" Mohamed*
>
> *"From Tetuan" Miriam*
>
> *"I´m from Beni Mellal, from the mountains" Hamid*

My informants were mostly younger male immigrants (Nasir 24years, Rajid 27years, Idir 28years, Hamid 33years, Mohamed 34years) and then two little older ones (Kamal 41years, Ahmed 55years). The female immigrants who I interviewed were very young (Najat 26years, Miriam

25years). This fits quite well to the common picture of Moroccan immigrants being young single male persons (see attachments).

> *"I'm 34years.. But imagine with 40years, with so many years working hard.. that's it.. "* Mohamed

Their education level also varied. Some had studied in Morocco before they migrated (Najat, Kamal, Mustapha, Ahmed) and three of them were also continuing studies at the moment (Najat, Kamal) or planning to start studying again soon (Mustapha). The rest of them said that they didn't have any special education but some of them mentioned that they had passed the obligatory classes in the school (Rajid, Miriam).

> *"No, we (me, Hamid and Nasir) don't have any education, we have learned in the work"* Mohamed

> *"I have not studied anything but I have passed the obligatory classes"* Rajid

> *"Then I went to study to Meknes, where I finished four years university diploma.. Now I'm working but I want to make other diploma here"* Mustapha

> *"I was studying Arabic literature, art and history, now I study informatics here"* Najat

> *"I have studied couple years when I was young, then I studied German when I was living there"* Ahmed

> *"I've got university diploma from technology and biology, then I'm also translator or Arabic and French."* Kamal

Most of the interviewed had biggest part of their families living in Morocco, but only in two cases (Mohamed, Nasir) they were the only ones from their close family who had migrated. Considering this perhaps you could say that immigration concentrates on certain

families and of course it is easier to immigrate when you can get help from someone in the destination; this family network can be very important for example for finding the apartment, getting help with the new language and finding job. The stories of the already immigrated relatives and friends also affect on the choosing of immigration destination, or the immigration destination might be chosen together with the immigration minded relative or willing receiver in the destination. (Hamid, Miriam, Ahmed, Idir, Kamal and Rajid).

"I have five brothers and one sister, sister has five children and is married. One of my brothers lives in Madrid and other one in Almeria, then one cousin lives with me in Terrassa, then the rest of the family lives in Tanger(in Morocco). " Rajid

"My brother lives also here but the rest of the family lives in Morocco" Idir

"Many of my family live abroad, like my father he has lived in France since 36years, also my brother lives in France and then one cousin in Norway, and one friend in Finland. The rest of the family lives in Rif, Agadir etc. in Morocco." Kamal

"I have a cousin in France, he is married with a French, then one sister here in Barcelona.". Hamid

"I live here, but my parents and my family lives in Tanger" Najat

"My family live in Tetuan, I have many sisters and brothers, one brother lives close to Paris.. I have a daughter of 19years, and boys of 10 and 15years, they are all still at school" Ahmed

"I live with my son and my husband, my parents and some brothers also live close here" Miriam

5.2. Immigrant histories

Most of the interviewed people had already lived couple years in municipal area of Barcelona or lived in some other place outside of Morocco for several years.

> *"I´m living in Barcelona since four years"* Idir

> *"I have lived now here for one year.. earlier I have lived 9years in Germany.."* Ahmed

> *"Two years.."* Nasir

> *"I´m living here since 10months"* Kamal

> *"I have been living three years now in Terrassa.."* Rajid

> *"For me, more than three years.."* Mohamed

> *"I was eight when we migrated here (17years ago)"* Miriam

> *"More than three years.."* Hamid

> *"I moved here three five years ago"* Najat

The reasons for migrating are of course as many as the immigrants but there are some which can be heard in most of the immigration histories. Getting the better life, salary, education and better democratic rights are the most common ones; there are many who have migrated to get better education for their children or to support for example their elderly parents economically.

> *"Because of this we came here, here are the possibilities to work..you can work, have pension,social security..To work, to get better life..because in Morocco you work until you become old, you don´t get.. the pension..to see our*

families, yes.. and to help them, because salary here is a lot in Morocco.." Hamid

"Yes who come from there (Europe), they say that life is better there..what you hear is that in Europe worker have rights, all the rights.." Mohamed

"I was not working in Morocco because I was a student there.. yes I´m planning to stay here in the future, I would like to study here.." Idir

"(I came here) from the business recommendation of an old friend--, --wanted to open a shop here in Spain and asked if I would come to help him.. So couple years ago I talked with my wife and we decided that I would go to Spain to work 2-3years, to earn money to build a house for the family, earlier we had bought a building site for it..and to pay the children´s school fees in private school" Ahmed

"My parents are quite old already, and I send them money quite often to help them" Rajid

"I came here to study, all of my brothers and sister are studying abroad, I´m studying informatics and now I´m working here too" Najat

Family reason have also sometimes been important factors for the migration decision, as was already mentioned in the chapter 5.1 that many of then informants had earlier immigrated family members staying in the same place with them or living in some other locations around the Europe. For one of the informants (Kamal) a marriage and long relation before that was the strongest reason for migrating. Then one of them (Miriam) was so young when she migrated that she didn't decide for her migration but it was a decision made by her parents.

"I came here to live with my Catalan wife, the being together was the most important reason for migrating" Kamal

"Why? I didn't decide, I was a little child then, only 8years old. My father had migrated earlier to

prepare everything for Us and then after couple years we followed with my mother" Miriam

Among my informants there were also couple who had been living in other country or other part of Spain before arriving to their contemporary living locations. Most of them had also already moved couple times in the close area when they had changed their jobs. Part of my informants live in quite small villages and some of them in Barcelona capital, so this also tells about the wide spreading of Moroccan population to all the parts of Catalonia.

> *"I have been living in Terrassa since three years..before I was living in Granada and Malaga for one year, and I was also working two years in Germany "* Rajid.

> *"I live in small Catalan village with my Catalan wife"* Kamal

> *"First I was living in Cornella in community of many Moroccan people from my area, then I moved to Hospitalet de Llobregat where I am working.."* Idir

> *"I live in one village close to Barcelona because I work here"* Najat

> *"I was travelling a lot around Europe in the seventies and lived nine years in Germany, then I returned to Morocco and got married.. Before that I have been living in Tetuan and Granada, now I live in central Barcelona"* Ahmed

> *"I live in Vic with my son and my family"* Miriam

> *"I have worked in Terrassa, Vilafranca, Barcelona..first I was in Granada working in agriculture"* Hamid

Most of the people were not willing to tell how they personally had arrived to Spain, some of them clearly had their papers fixed when they came here (Miriam, Rajid,

Kamal, Najat), they came here with job contract or with studying permission, or by family reunification. The rest of them probably used some less legal ways to enter to the country or then they arrived with tourist visas and overstayed –because at the moment of the interviews they didn't have any papers and they were staying illegally in the country.

> "*I have all my papers fixed, I already had them when I arrived, I had a visa with job contract*" Rajid

> "*We had been married (with my Catalan wife)two years already when I moved here*" Kamal

> "*My father had migrated earlier to prepare everything for Us and then after couple years we followed with my mother*" Miriam

> "*There are people who come through the sea with the small boats..*" Mohamed

> "*.. when I came here I was two days in Canaries before I took the plain here, I got to know many people and really they are good people..*" Hamid

> "*(To come here they pay) even 6000euros.. there Sub-Saharan ,Algerian, Moroccan. There are people who cross the sea, some who come in the cars or trucks. Every week, month there is more people coming.. no one can stop the immigration.. maybe three times that they´ve come here, then police stops them and they will come again..*" Hamid

Talking about the future almost all of the interviewed people want to stay in Spain; they want to continue living, working or studying there. One of the interviewed wants and is planning to return to Morocco (Ahmed), and one would like to move for example to France (Kamal). There is difference between the people who have papers, of course they are much more sure about their future and what they are going to do. The illegal ones also express their wish to stay in Spain, but with conditions of

getting their papers, job and all the rest concerned with normal life organised.

> "*No one knows about tomorrow, we are here now, if there is something..But I want to live here, I like a lot about Spain*" Hamid

> "*Me too, here (in Spain)*" Nasir

> "*But here with those papers we could live here working..*" Mohamed

> "I want to return to Tetuan to be with my family, I´m getting old and I´m planning to return after couple years.." Ahmed

> "I have applied to work in France" Kamal

> "Yes, I'm planning to stay here in the future, I would like to study here.." Idir

> "I want to stay in Spain, preferably here in Terrassa if I can continue in my work, I don't want to return to Morocco.." Rajid

5.3. Everyday life of a Moroccan immigrant

The types of work which immigrants do are quite multiple, but the changing of works happens quite often and the working periods in one place are sometimes very short. The unemployment and underemployment are severe problems for the Moroccan immigrants, and even more for the

immigrants without papers. In the chapter three there was already discussion about the regularization process and it has also had it's affects for the working and living conditions of my informants.

> "We have worked earlier in construction, in harbour, in stores etc..since the regularization we are not working.. Mohamed and Hamid

> "Nowadays I´m working as an electric mechanic" Idir

> "I´m working in one international company..and also working as a volunteer in intercultural mediation to get more working experience" Kamal

> "Sometimes I work as intercultural consult in the schools" Miriam

> "In construction and then in one market.. (now)I´m not working" Nasir

> "I´m working in a small construction company, we are five people working there, me and my cousin, others are Spanish. We are working in different parts of Catalonia. Earlier I was working in a factory, also in Morocco." Rajid

> "I´m giving classes of Arabic.." Najat

> "I´m working as a merchant of artisan products in one small shop. Sometimes only the young men stay there and I go to fairs. I´m good in my work, not like the young men, they don´t know anything about the business, they don´t know how to sell.." Ahmed

There are many immigrants who are staying or working illegally in the country, so there is also police control to caught them. This is one of the themes which makes the great difference between the legal and illegal immigrants, but of course we can only imagine the consequences of being illegal.

> "..but if you want to live here..to get the papers..you have to work a lot to maintain your

*family.. people who came here to look for a job,
when they found a job, they get contracts of one
week, 15days. To this person who works a lot, who is
this person and he doesn't speak very good Spanish
so far, they don't make longer contracts.. The
majority of people have things like this..without
the papers it's difficult to attain those people
here, and then if you are listed somewhere, you can
get problems.." Mohamed*

*"I was working until the regularisation started in
April, then my boss threw me out, he didn't want to
give me papers" Hamid*

*"Life is quite difficult here as it would be in
general for the immigrants in Spain, because there
is lot of problems with the papers and living here
for many is only working and gaining money.." Ahmed*

The being of illegal affects a lot for the everyday life
of these immigrants, as also for the lives of their
families and to their working situation. One of the most
difficult things is that these people without the papers
can't go back to their country to visit their families
and this situation often lasts for many years.

*"No, I have not visited my family since I have
migrated.. I have been here for more than three
years.. There are people who have been here for a
long time, in 2001 they could not get social
security, they can't do anything, their children
can't go to school, there are families too and they
are all without papers, but mostly they are young
men.." Mohamed*

*"No, if we had the papers we would want to see our
families, yes..Everyone has their luck, sometimes
police stops you and asks for papers, I say I don't
have any papers, and maybe they let you go, that is
luck, that is luck..No one knows about tomorrow, we
are here now, but if there´s something.." Hamid*

*"I have been 3months here, nothing..but in the south
yes, they (police)caught me many times in the farm,
I told that I forgot them (papers), but it doesn't
work many times.." Nasir*

"There had been lot of helicopters above the Raval all the day, and when I was coming back home I saw police check in the street of Carmen. There was a African man walking with bag of dvd/cd-staff (for sure!),and suddenly group of Pakistanis screamed something for him and he started running. But there was a civil police in front of him and they took him inside. So there seems to have been more police checks now in Raval.." (Fieldwork diary 27th of November 2004)

The everyday life of those of the immigrants who are working seems to follow a quite strict routine, the days can sometimes be quite long as many of them mentioned that they don't have any free time for example to study or to have some hobbies. For most of them, cooking together with their flatmates, talking and watching the satellite television are the main activities outside of their works. Specially the connections to Morocco through phone, internet and satellite television seem to be very important for them. Most of them also mentioned meeting their friends as a very important thing.

"I go to work at 8am and finish at 6pm, in the midday I have break from 1pm until 3pm. Our boss always drives Us home with his car, I like my job..After work I go home, then we cook with my flatmates, in the evenings we watch the television and talk, my days are just working, eating and sleeping, I don´t have any special hobbies." Rajid

"I work in a shop usually from 10am to 2pm, then I go home to eat during the siesta when the shops close, then I return to work in the evening from 5pm about until 9pm. On my free time I´m almost always at home, we watch the Arabic and Spanish television. Every day I go to phone box to listen to a message which my wife and children leave for me, when there is something more important to talk about I call them." Ahmed

"There are people who don´t speak any word of Spanish. They are people who work 12hours. Like that people think that people who don´t speak Spanish,

they are people who have just come, but it´s not the truth, they just don´t have time to learn..” Mohamed

Some of them mentioned that they participate in the activities of some immigrant associations, for example in associations where they meet people from the same region and celebrate their own festivities. Or in some organisations which are making intercultural or integrating projects.

> *“..Then I meet my friends in the evenings, I don't have any other hobbies than participating in the activities of one Berber-association, I was participating in similar association already in Cornella” Idir*

> *“During the weekends I meet my friends.. I have visited several associations of immigrants like—but I didn't like them, now we are planning to start our won association with my friends” Kamal*

Most of the informants talked Arabic and Spanish in their daily life, they for example used Spanish in their work, in the school or with some Spanish friends. Then they spoke Arabic or Berber with their flatmates, Moroccan friends and their families. Most of them had studied Spanish or Catalan, and most of them already knew some Spanish when they came to Spain. Still most of them live with other Moroccan people and they admit that it can make it more difficult to learn the new language or to integrate.

> *“There are some who live with other people, but almost all the people live with Moroccan, with the ambient like at home, with people from there, there are people who don't speak any word of Spanish..” Mohamed*

> *“I have learned Spanish with my friends, nowadays I speak Spanish in my work and with my neighbours, with my flatmates I speak Arabic” Rajid*

> *"I speak Spanish with my friends and my family, and also in my work, although sometimes I speak Spanish with some clients..I also speak German, English and some Berber"* Ahmed

> *"I have Catalan friends who teach Catalan for me, I have studied Spanish on my own and of course also learned it from my friends, most of my friends are Berber so I speak Berber with them"* Idir

> *"At the university I speak Spanish as also with some friends and in my work, with my family and some friends I speak Arabic"* Najat

The family background has of course big difference for choosing of communication language, so there are also two kind of exceptions who use Spanish or Catalan also in the most intimae family sphere. For example with his wife (Kamal) or with her son (Miriam).

> *"With my wife we speak Spanish,in my work I speak Spanish too and some French..On weekends I meet my friends and then I speak Arabic"* Kamal

> *"To my three years old son I speak Catalan, with my other familiars we usually speak Arabic. I the town I speak Catalan or Spanish, first I learned Catalan when I was in the school and then later I studied Spanish. In my work I speak Spanish, Catalan or Arabic, depending of the people with whom I´m working"* Miriam

5.4. Being a good Muslim immigrant?

The visible presence of Moroccan Muslim immigrants is quite new phenomenon compared to the long tradition of the immigration in the area. There has been also good reasons for this, as for example the first Muslim immigrants were only passing by Barcelona on their way to their main immigration destinations and they didn't

settle down for a longer time. The nature of their was mainly concerning organising their papers and transportation, so they didn't yet look for places where to practise their religion, where to build oratories or where to celebrate their religious festivities. Most of these people where from the countryside so their religious expressions were of course different and for example often more concentrated on the home sphere. (See interviews of Moreras and Halhaul.)

So it was only in the 1980´s and 90´s when Barcelona became as an important settling point for the Moroccan immigrants (see ex. Moreras). Then the immigrants who had already solved the basic necessities of food, housing and daily surviving, started to look for places where to practise their religion and to meet their fellow Muslims.

"This is when a settled immigration started- Spain became an attractive country for the immigrants.. relation of Maghrebian immigration, of the Muslims.. the first immigrants, their religiosity was not so visible, they were also not so many. Since the 1990's and the regularisation they came more, and they started to bring their families etc. So this can be seen as visibilisation of the Islam. Moroccan, as well as Sub-Saharian, other African. The openings of the mosques, Islamic and cultural associations .. more expressions of Islamic religiosity.." (Halhaul Mohamed 19/5/2005.)

Roots of the person tie him on specific meanings, the birth of social red is based on ethnicity and otherness. So you can say that there is also otherness among the immigrants or Muslims.

"There are some people who don't behave like Muslims are supposed to and they don't follow the rules of religion. There is lot of people who don't go to mosque, also lot of Moroccan people. Worst is that Pakistanis for example sell alcohol and cigarettes in their shops, and also do more business which would not be allowed according to Islam. They only think about one thing, it's the only thing they want, to make money, they don't think what's good or what is important for the religion.. there are many Muslim who eat food and specially meat which is not halal(allowed by Islam)" Ahmed

"I have faced problems here for example because of drinking of beer, I drink it sometimes and smoke although these things wouldn't be allowed according to Islam.." Kamal

Three of the informants (Ahmed, Kamal, Rajid) told that they go to mosque quite often and celebrate the religious festivities there. Both of the women also celebrated the religious festivities but that usually they didn't go to mosques but preferred to pray at home or with some female friends.

"In our village there are three Islamic "halal" meat shops and also a oratory where people gather specially during the Ramadan, on the last year we organised a dinner in the end of Ramadan in our home an invited friends here. I go to sometimes to mosque in our village.." Kamal

"We have a big mosque in Terrassa, I go there when I can, at least on Fridays at midday and in other days during the lunch break.. We only buy halal-meat.. I don't drink or smoke.." Rajid

"I go to mosque sometimes, at least on Fridays when it is the most important day." Ahmed

"We celebrate (the Muslim festivities) at home.." Miriam

Three of the interviewed people mentioned religion very briefly, they were those ones who were unemployed and without papers (Mohamed, Hamid, Nasir). So you can

clearly see that they had too many problems in organising their daily living so that they couldn't follow the religious rules at the moment although they referred to being Muslim. They talked about the goodness or badness of the people but they didn't use religion as main definer for it.

> "*People are not the same, you can not find two persons who would be the same, even the people who came from the same place, there can be one good and other one very bad, there are differences in everything..There are different kind of people, there are good Moroccan and very bad Moroccan.." Hamid*

There was also person who made it very clear that he doesn't want to be considered as a Muslim, he told that for him being Berber fills the biggest part of his cultural identity and that he defines himself first and foremost as a Berber, not for example as Muslim, Moroccan or Arab.

> "*I don't go to mosque, I don't have any need for that, I don´t consider myself as a Muslim. AS it is often shown in the media, they always show that we are all Muslims but it's not true..Our Berber culture is very important for me and my friends, we celebrate our annual festivities here.." Idir*

Picture10: A Berber activist in an immigrant demonstration (24/4/2005 Barcelona)

So there are many different kind of Moroccan immigrants when we consider their relation to Islam; among the ones interviewed for my thesis there are active Muslims (Ahmed, Kamal, Rajid, Miriam, Najat), passive ones (Mohamed, Hamid, Nasir) and non-Muslim ones (Idir). Among them who consider themselves as Muslims there are of course several different ways of interpreting and following Islam; it depends for example from the ethnical background of the person, his possible religious education, his family background and about the religious-social community in which he belongs. Also the phase and situation of his personal immigration history makes a

difference for his following of religion as we can see in the interviews.

Moreras says it clearly, that Moroccan Islam is not a complete packet, in the Moroccan collective there are movements, that come from the origins and rural backgrounds. These relate the popular Catalan Islam with the Islam in Morocco. "Among the Muslim it is not that someone is Moroccan or Pakistani but how they interpret the Islam, the ideas etc.. in a European context which doesn't have anything to do with it's origin." (Moreras Jordi 28/4/2005.)

Picture11: Scene from one Muslim oratory in Barcelona (05/2005 Barcelona)

5.5. Culture and integration

The interviewed people were always eager to tell about their culture and their origins in Morocco. It was clearly one of their favourite themes and also a way for changing the interview from normal everyday chatting to a deep interview. All the informants told about the differences between the Moroccan culture and the culture which they had faced in Spain, they all had some things which they would not be ready to change and which they were missing from their origin culture.

> "*I have good neighbours, they are all Spanish and they are friendly..Difference of the life between here and Morocco is very big, here we mostly work, but in Morocco we have our families and traditions.. here too we only buy and cook Moroccan food..I'm not interested to start dating Spanish girls, I don't like them, there are lot of Moroccan girls living— (here) too, but they all live with their families. But our dating culture is also changing and after some years things will change more liberal, and it would be for example possible to live with your boy- or girlfriend without being married*" Rajid

> "*The biggest differences between life here and in Morocco are in social structure of the society, the families are bigger in Morocco and family connections are very important, taking care of all the family members is very important. I was shocked to see the old people homes(in Spain) where there are grandparents abandoned there although they have children etc. In Morocco there is much more collectionism and here all the people just think about themselves, individualism is the most important value here*" Kamal

> "*You could get married with a foreigner, but it's different costumes etc, I have seen many people (to do that), it is not a game..but there many people(married with foreigners) and they have children too*" Mohamed

Picture12: Young immigrants in Barcelona (04/2005 Barcelona)

There are of course differences between the generations too, and the age when you have immigrated is also one important factor. The earlier knowledge, rumours or self-build image of the receiving country, society and people can make big difference for the integration and for the adaptation in the beginning.

"I went to Catalan school, it is my culture, I am Catalan too, my son is Catalan..of course my family is from Morocco, but I don't remember anything from there, I see all those things like a tourist when I go there.. my parents think very differently, they are Moroccan..but I'm a Muslim too, I like the Moroccan food and the culture" Miriam

"Many Moroccan people see Europe as a paradise, but I already knew that it wouldn't be so because I had been here before.." Kamal

"For me it was a great change when I came here, my life started then, I was 20years old, there were so

many new things and possibilities here, but now I know that there are many bad things too.. But here I'm free, I can study and work, I can meet my friend, I have my own life" Najat

"It was like part of the journey to come here, I just came to work in my friend's shop.. I'm not interested about integrating to Catalan society or culture, neither to be part of the Moroccan community here..I have my friends here, and my family in Tetuan.." Ahmed

Moroccan immigrants have very different kind of opinions about integration and the general situation in Spain; these opinions differ from depending their family background, origin area and their education. There are quite many of them who told that integration happen much more in personal than in societal level (Kamal, Idir, Rajid, Hamid, Miriam, Nasir, Najat); and that because of this the individuals´ attitudes and actions would make a difference for his or her integration. There were also some who didn't have greater interests to integrate to the receiving society (Ahmed, Mohamed).

"I would like to pay more attention to studying the language and to learn about the receiving culture, but the most of the Moroccan immigrants are from the countryside and they are uneducated. So they don't necessarily have capability to integrate so well or to start studying for example..all their life is in the work and at home with the native Moroccan flatmates..My model of integration is to learn about the culture, to study the language and to integrate to the parts of the receiving culture which I find positive.." Kamal

"The immigrants who come here now, they are educated, intellectual. There are people who don't want to integrate, but these people can integrate easily to the life here.." Hamid

"I think that you can integrate here quite easily if you want, but there are those people who bring everything along with them and they don't want change anything. Then they always say in public that

our Moroccan women go out with the veil and use the traditional "Muslim" clothes, but then the other immigrant people they wear so beautiful and colourful clothes. There has to be different looking and kind of people so that society will be colourful. It is important, and the immigrant people have to be ready to change something but also receiving people have to be willing and open to take them..There are so many immigrants who have problems here because they look different and they want to show that they are different.." Idir

More than half of the informants had personally faced racism in some everyday situation, perhaps most often in the street or in some other public places. But many of them mostly told about the general racist or integrational problems which Moroccan people face in Spain, or in some other immigration destinations.

"There are big problems specially here, because of the papers and negative attitudes towards the Muslim people..Many time immigrants were doing much better in their origin countries than here, or at least they were happier there, they had higher life quality..here I´m living without family and Moroccan society, here I am alone..My life was very good in Morocco, I was sometimes earning more than here and I owned a big shop.." Ahmed

"I has been six months here.. a racist.." Nasir

"Yes, in the market..There came a Catalan girl to buy fruits from there, she stopped (him, Nasir)there and said to him "if you want to eat you have to return to your own country" Hamid(explaining the story of Nasir)

"For me too, in the market(I experienced racism).." Hamid

"We are fighting until we get the papers, to get our rights, we are human, we don't want anything more. Immigration started long time ago, since the war, people wanted better life, people came here for it..What can we say, that we are in a situation that we have come to work and to get rights, nothing

more. These people(in protest) just want to fight for the papers.." Mohamed

Picture13: A scene from a small Muslim oratory in Barcelona (05/2005 Barcelona)

6. Discussion

There is continuous migration of immigrants going on. As some people leave, others are arriving. Although a great amount of factors cause these movements, there is no concrete way of actually controlling them. It is very important to analyse them deeply, try to understand them and possibly even to predict their future. There are the well-known factors and reasons that lead people to migrate. For the most immigrants arriving to Barcelona, these reasons have been poverty, unemployment, and lack of educational or economic possibilities, demographic problems or political circumstances in the origin country. Biggest factor for is then the great difference in these factors in the different parts of the world. One of the most concrete boarders where these differences are seen in extreme is the border of Europe and Africa in Gibraltar.

In Gibraltar you can see the situation very concretely. The supervision and control of immigrants arriving or trying to arrive to Spain is most concentrated there. A Moroccan travelling with all the papers and permissions in order pays 50euros for a return ticket, travels by ferry to Algeciras, and arrives safely within two hours while travelling on a comfortable ferry. There is a great contrast between this Moroccan and the one travelling without any permissions or papers. These less fortunate people wait for the darkness to take a fast boat and attempt crossing Gibraltar before entering Spain illegally. This is after having paid 1500-6000euros for a one-way travel without any guarantees of arriving alive to the Spanish side. (See fieldwork diary 3rd until 12th of March 2005.)

There are much more people willing or thinking to migrate than there are who actually do migrate. This means, that there are certain factors which make some people seem more like potential immigrants than others. Looking at the majority of the Moroccan immigrants being young, single male persons; it can be said that being male and young are the basic characteristics of a migrating person. Being unmarried also makes it easier. It is also easier to get the permissions, or arrange the expensive and difficult journeys to only one person rather than to an entire family.

Most of the interviewed people already had some family members or friends who had migrated. The migrants in close social network also increased the potential. This also made the practical matters easier. The person could use the same contacts and the earlier immigrated one could receive the new one; and help him or her in finding an apartment, job and organising the everyday life in the destination. This could be also seen as the beginning of larger immigration reds covering all the Europe. This could be seen concentrations of people from certain parts of Morocco in certain immigrant destinations.

The majority of the Moroccan people I met during my fieldwork in Catalonia and in South of Spain are from Tetuan or Tanger. On the contrary, all the Moroccans I'd been talking to in Finland are from Agadir or Marrakech. One could easily find quite logical reasons for this. For example, in North of Morocco (Tetuan and Tanger), there are many people who know Spanish and they watch Spanish television there, so if you add the extremely small geographical distance to this picture, the immigrational

red seems to be ready. For the case of Finland, it is quite strongly Agadir and Marrakech based Moroccan immigration. This could be because of the fact, that Agadir had been one of the most popular destinations for Finnish tourists since the end of the 1980´s, and part of these people have also visited Marrakech. This may indicate that Moroccan immigration to Finland started because of this tourism connection. (See ex. Fieldwork diary 3rd until 12th of March 2005.)

As was stated above in this work, the phase of settling down in an immigration destination can be difficult to analyse. This has to do with the fact that integration is impossible to measure and that the goals of integration also depend on the analyst. Both receiving society and its individual immigrants have their own goals. Both parties are often aware of the things to which they are willing to adapt to and also of the things which they are not willing to adapt to. These people usually know what can help their integration; knowing of the language, job, daily life, social contacts or having the papers fixed. There objectives reflect the expectations of the receiving society. For the individual immigrant, these elements do not always have the same integration significance; learning the language can mean more social contacts, getting a job means earning more money and getting the papers means more secure future- and the possibility to visit Morocco whenever you want.

The papers and permissions have great importance even for the daily life of the Moroccan immigrants. Those ones living without papers were suffering from unemployment, insecurity, and from the missing of rights and possibilities which the legal immigrants have. One of the

most important things is that they can't visit their origin country or meet their families there before getting their papers in order.

The formation of these immigrant collectives has been one of the most interesting themes for the researchers, but for example those Moroccan who I have interviewed don't even mention belonging to some bigger immigrant collective. The small social network of close friends or family with whom they interact daily is the most important reference for them. These are the people who form the support group, and also a kind of reflection mirror for the ethnical and cultural identity. With these people, the religious or annual festivities are celebrated, or with those people the decisions of buying "halal" food or not are made; those people make up the model of living as Moroccan immigrant in the receiving culture and society.

The greater reference is made up of all the Moroccan immigrants in general, and this seems to form a distant group which gives insight into how well or how badly Moroccans can live there as a immigrants. But perhaps because of the huge number of this group, it doesn't seem to function as an important social or controlling force. In the case of religious collectives or associations, these are mostly formed among immigrant people who have already settled down quite well and have developed some kind of daily routines already. Once they have settled in, a Muslim immigrant enters this phase in which they may start to look for a larger reference, for "umma"(a collective of Muslim people). (See ex. Halhaul Mohamed 19/5/2005.)

Brettell refers to Ralston when she talks about the role of religion in the formation of personal and social identity among immigrants: "In the absence of residential concentration, it is the collective activities that provide the context for ethno-religious consciousness, religious activities may be more prominent as markers of identity abroad than they are at home" (Brettell 2000: 117.)

Most of the interviewed Moroccan occasionally went to mosque and attending the celebrations and religious festivities formed an important part of their lives. These special events form the most visible markers of their religiousness. Being a good Muslim immigrant often seemed to be one of the primary objectives for them. Religion also acted as a kind of ethnic guideline for their lives. In different and sometimes confusing circumstances, religion would act as a source of guidance, providing answers and offering the right decisions concerning daily life. At least it would be kind of confirmer of these decisions.

The idea and ideology behind being a good Muslim immigrant was to let this presentation act as a tool to differentiate between good and bad people. It could also be seen as a critique towards other immigrant collectives or other parts of the Moroccan immigrant collective. Also, perhaps, it could be seen as a motor for some business started by the Moroccan and other Muslim immigrant people in their immigration destinations. Since the beginning of large scale immigration, there have been services both targeted to and provided by the immigrant populations. Examples of these businesses would be the opening of "halal" meat shops, barbershops, tailors

specialising in ethnic clothing, shops of ethnic
decorative items, and music shops specialising in Arabic
"rai" music. In addition to these, small grocery stores
opened to provide proper ingredients that immigrants may
need to prepare for example their own Moroccan food.

Brettell refers to Mandel who has found this ethnic
business phenomenon among the Turks in Germany: "They
have used the fear of "haram" (forbidden according to
Islam) as well as that which is permitted, "halal", to
their advantage, the result being a proliferation of
shops that cater exclusively to Turks, this commercial
self-sufficiency is another way how the migrants have
recreated the place for themselves, and in their own
terms" (Brettell 2000: 116.)

Migration is a source for urban growth. Currently, people
from different cultures share cities. However, in many
cases, just because these different cultures live in
close proximity to one another, it does not mean that
they are social close in proximity. The correcting of
these separative dynamics has become one of the main
concerns of political administrators all across Europe
(Moreras 2004d: 12). There are presently many issues and
conflicts in political and governmental level, which have
been caused by immigration, although these processes of
immigration have already been developing at least in the
last part of 20th century.

The historical relations between the immigrant sending
and receiving countries still affect the flow of
immigration. Although the immigration destinations and
origins are moving all the time, there are some patterns
which have been the same already for decades. As one of

the informants said, "no one can stop the immigration" (Hamid). It's a phenomenon that will definitely strengthen and become increasingly unpredictable in the future. Immigration is not something coming to an end soon.

Sources

Interviews:

	Sex	Age	Origin area in Morocco
Ahmed (20/2/2005)	Male	Ca. 55-65years	Tetuan
Rajid (17/4/2005)	Male	27years	Tanger
Kamal (26/4/2005)	Male	Ca. 40years	Rif
Mohamed (26/4/2005)	Male	34years	Nador
Hamid (26/4/2005)	Male	33years	Beni Mellal
Idir (7/5/2005)	Male	28years	Marrakech
Najat (30/4/2005)	Female	25years	Tanger
Nasir (26/4/2005)	Male	24years	Beni Mellal
Miriam (19/4/2005)	Female	26years	Tetuan

-HALHAUL MOHAMED 19/5/2005 (Interview of Halhaul Mohamed, the chairman of the Consell Islamico de Catalunya, Barcelona)

-MORERAS JORDI 28/4/2005 (Interview of Moreras Jordi, an anthropologist and researcher, Barcelona)

Fieldwork Diary: Fieldwork diary 19th of November until 19th of May 2005 from Barcelona, Spain (Kept by the author)

Personal photos: A collection of 167 personal photos taken by the author in Barcelona and in Granada between the November 2004 and May 2005 (All the photos used in this work are taken by the author and kept by the author)

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-Map2: Map of Morocco. www.eurosun.com/ moroccomap1.htm (10th of October 2005)

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Attachment 1: Interview questions (Translated into English and later the original in Spanish)

Interview questions

Living in Barcelona& Immigrant history:

-How long have you lived in Barcelona?

 -Where have you lived earlier?

-How did you decide to move exactly to Barcelona?

-What do you like about life and people in Barcelona?

-Are you working here; what do you do and where do you work, do you like about your work? Is it the same work as you were doing earlier in Morocco?

Everyday life:

-How is your typical day (when do you go to work, what do you do during the day etc)?

-What do you do on your free time and do you have some hobbies; for example do you do some sports or study something?

-When do you meet your friends and where you meet them usually?

-Do you study Spanish or Catalan?

-Do you go to mosque sometimes, to which one you go?

Map question:

-Show me from the map where do you usually go shopping, meet your friends etc?

Personal background:

-Where were you born and when?

-How is your family; and where do they live?

-What kind of education you have?

Language:

-Which languages you speak usually at your work, with your friends and family?

Culture and identity:

-What are the biggest differences between your life here and your life before in Morocco?

-How was it to come to live here in Barcelona and get used to living here?

-Are you planning to stay here in Barcelona also in the future?

        -if not, why do you want to move and where?

-Tell me about the things in Moroccan culture which are most important for you?

-Do you think that you are part of the Catalan/Spanish society, or do you prefer to be a part of Moroccan immigrant society here in Barcelona?

-Do you think there is a big difference between Moroccan and Spanish/Catalan culture and people; Which are the biggest differences?

-How do you think is the life of Moroccan people here in Barcelona and in Spain in general?

Las preguntas para las entrevistas

Vida en Barcelona y historia de inmigración:

-Desde cuando vives en Barcelona?

-Como decidiste venir a vivir exactamente en Barcelona?

-Que piensas sobre la vida y la gente en Barcelona?

-Trabajas aquí; de que trabajas y donde? Te gusta tu trabajo? Es el mismo trabajo que hiciste antes en Marruecos?

Vida cotidiana:

-Como es tu día normal (ej. cuando vas a trabajo, que haces durante el día)?

-Que haces en tu tiempo libre; tienes algún hobby o por ejemplo haces deportes?

-Cuando ves tus amigos y donde os veis normalmente?

-Estudias algo, por ejemplo catalán o castellano?

-Vas a la mezquita a veces, a mezquita vas?

Pregunta de mapa:

-Puedes indicarme mas o menos donde vas normalmente a comprar, para ver tus amigos etc?

Profil personal:

-Donde has nacido y cuando?

-Como es tu familia y donde viven ellos?

-Que educación tienes?

-Donde has vivido antes?

Idiomas:

-Que idioma hablas normalmente en tu trabajo, con tu familia y con tus amigos?

Cultura y identidad:

-Cuales son las diferencias mas grandes entre tu vida aquí y en Marruecos?

-Como ha ido a venir a vivir en Barcelona y adaptarse a la vida aquí?

-Piensas quedarte a vivir aquí en Barcelona en el futuro?

        -Si no; porque quieres ir y donde quieres ir?

-Que son las cosas mas importantes de la cultura marroquí para ti?

-Piensas que ya eres parte de sociedad catalana o prefieres estar parte de sociedad de inmigrantes marroquíes aquí?
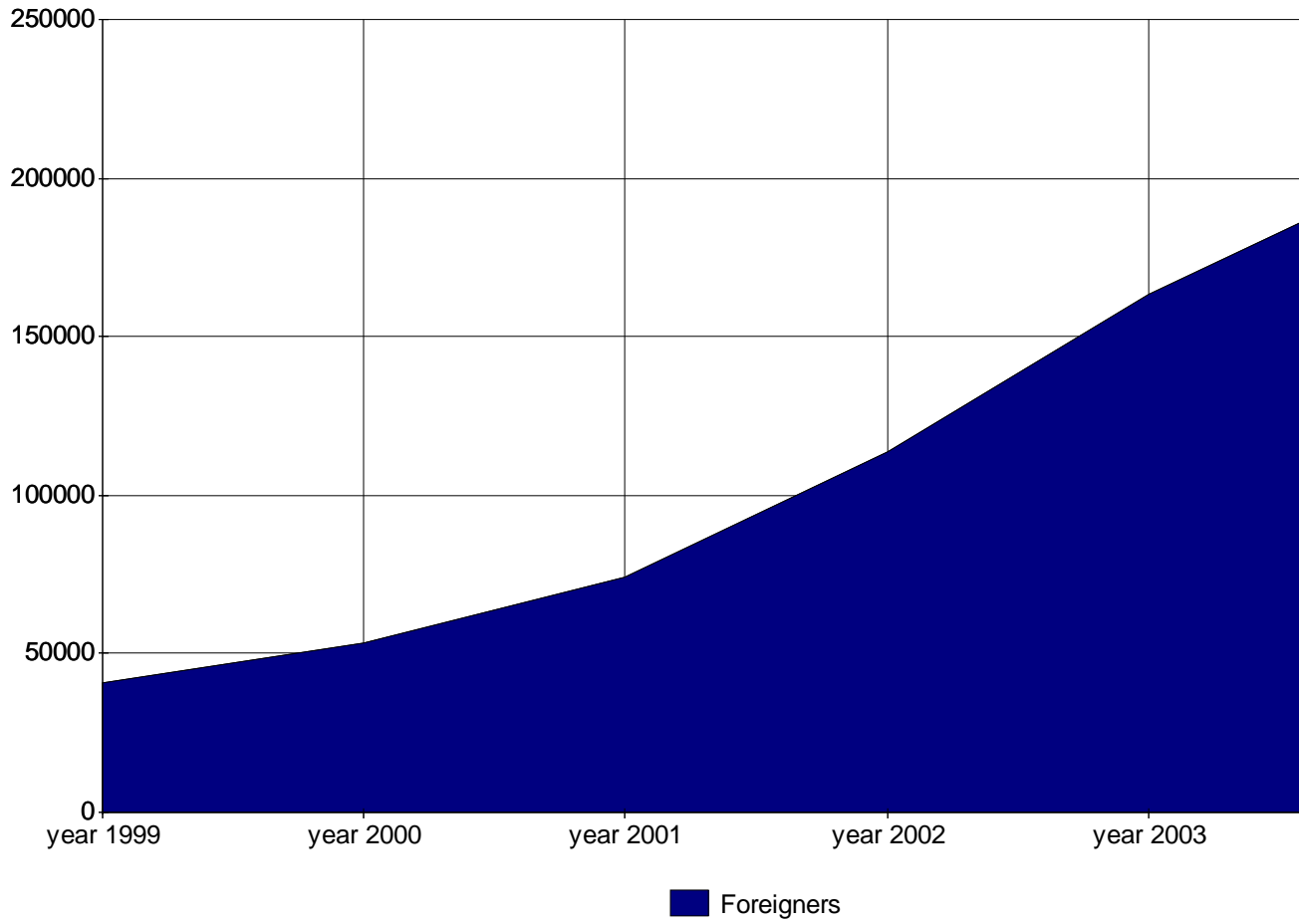
-Que son las diferencias mas grandes entre la cultura marroquí y española?

-Que piensas sobre la situación de los marroquíes aquí en Barcelona y en España en general?

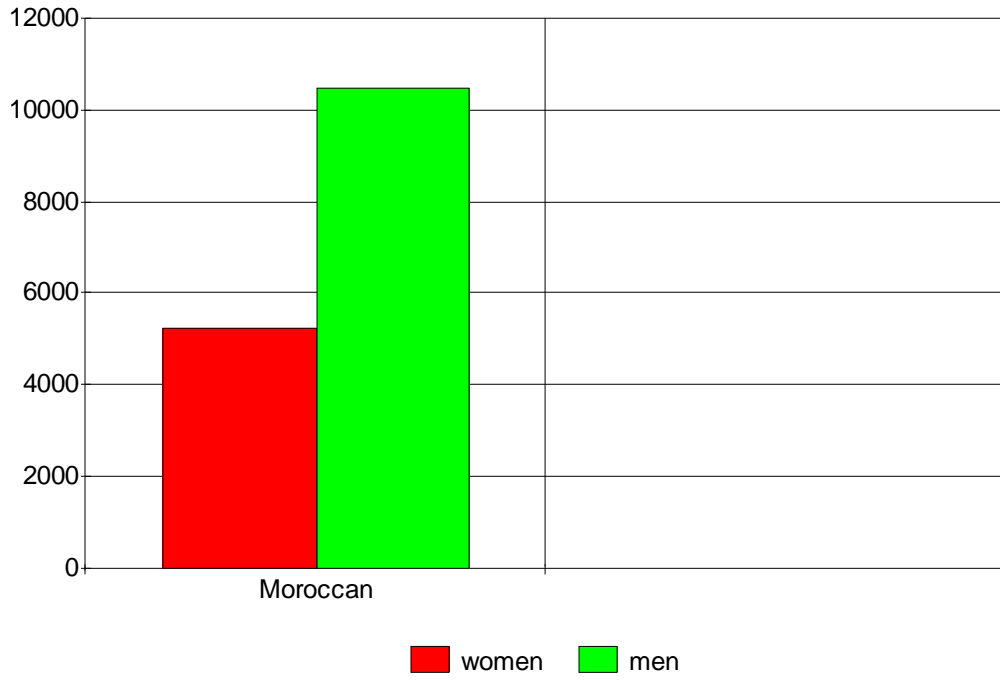**Foreigners in Barcelona 1999-2004**

source: Ajuntamiento de Barcelona

Attachment 3:

Moroccon by the gender 2004

Source: Ajuntamiento de Barcelona

Moroccan by the agegroups 2004

source: Ajuntamiento de Barcelona