GERMANY - MOROCCO

An Ethnography about Migration, Networks and Experienced Discrimination

von

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to Alice and Karl

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Abstract

This work portrays the Moroccan diaspora community in Frankfurt, Germany and investigates the reactions to challenges in the diaspora, the structures of social network relations and the handling of experienced discriminations in everyday life. Methodologically it is based on stationary ethnographic fieldwork in Frankfurt and the Northern Moroccan Rif lasting fourteen months in total. Theoretically the study refers to assumptions on the interrelatedness of emigration and immigration, the detailed insights into personal embededness through social network analysis and the impacts of unfulfilled needs and experienced discriminations. Resulting in the fact that the struggles of migration, the character of social networks and experienced discriminations can lead to recollection, disinterest, retreat, segregation, illness and/or uprising it serves as a contribution to the research on the challenges any immigrant society needs to deal with.

Contents

I. Introduction

I closed the windows to shut out the clamor of ringing church bells. It was late November and there was a perceptible chill in the air. Working at my desk no longer seemed in stark contrast to outdoor activities. I was happy to be inside, to be warm and to contemplate future projects.

The submission deadline for my Ph.D. was now just a few days away. I was applying for research funding to which end I was drafting the outline for my research field. I had already read a substantial amount of literature and was now ready to put pen to paper. “The projected field of research seeks to clarify the kind of social structures that support and encourage fundamental movements” was a key proposal statement. I gave a brief outline on aspects and recent developments in the theory of social networks and political and religious fundamentalism and concluded by stating that more research, especially stationary ethnographic research, needed to be done in order to identify indigenous perspectives on radicalization and uprising. To achieve an adequately comprehensive view, I argued, multi-sited research was essential. The focus of my proposal concentrated on Moroccan’s views and perceptions both in Morocco and in Germany. I planned to conduct preliminary studies in Morocco, including lessons in Moroccan colloquial Arabic (Darisha) to prepare stationary fieldwork in both countries, Morocco and Germany, which was to be carried out for the period of one year.

A few months later, in February 2004, I flew to Fez, Morocco. The new project was in full progress. However, after initial conversations with people in Fez, with teachers and members of the family with whom I was staying, doubts as to my ideas began emerging. Would the project, focusing as it did on indigenous perspectives on fundamentalism, work out? People were reserved about discussing such issues. I had just arrived in my field and could not expect high quality responses from the outset. However, I perceived already that the problems I was now encountering were more than just the regular difficulties with which all ethnographers are confronted in the first months of fieldwork. Fundamentalism, so it appeared, was a topic treated much like a taboo. It could not be addressed directly. Moreover, whenever broaching the

subject I would sense an encroaching fear among the people, which would then crawl across my body like an ominous insect.

I suspected that discussion of the topic with foreigners was considered unsuitable. And during the conversations I did manage to have on the subject, many people would behave in a way that suggested a deep-rooted fear. While talking with me they would begin to shift around in their chairs irritably, looking around at regular intervals as if to make sure that nobody was listening to what they were saying. I began to be infected by these anxieties and wondered whether I was beginning to both jeopardize my interlocutors and myself.

Once back in Germany after a month in Fez, the necessity for redesigning the project became clear. I realized that in addition to the difficulties I faced, I was unwilling to work in such an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. A one-year stint of fieldwork would thus be difficult to carry out to its conclusion. Besides, the Graduate School[1] I was part of was far more interested in the perspective of Moroccan migrants in Germany. Hence, the redesigned project outlined stationary ethnographic fieldwork in Frankfurt, with extended stays in Morocco that were to be realized with the help of informants[2] with whom I would become acquainted in the diaspora[3] communities in Germany. The focus of the work became increasingly multi-sited, embracing questions of migration, belonging, family, networking, and of perceiving oneself as a migrant in the diaspora - in Muslim and minority contexts in a transnational area. While broadening the research arena, I still hoped to gather more information on my earlier set of questions elaborated in the field. The changed design of the research was thus an adjustment to the prerequisites of the field, and the outline was well adapted to address the topics about which people were willing to discuss.

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[1] The Graduate Research School "Group Focused Enmities" located at the Universities of Bielefeld and Marburg, Germany supported my Ph.D. project.

[2] Since all anthropological work is based on information, „informants" have a key position in the field. However, the concept was critiqued within the last decades as the people anthropologists are talking to and working with are more than just passive providers of information. I am aware of this problematic and still chose to use the term. While using it I do not intend to declassify anybody, I am rather highly thankful to all the people who shared their histories and insights with me and without whom this work would not have been possible.

[3] For a discussion of "Diaspora" as an anthropological term see Vertovec (1997), Vertovec & Cohen (1999), Brubaker (2005), and Soekefeld (2006).

The following questions guided the research process:

- What are the strategies Moroccan migrants utilize to overcome the challenges they face in the diaspora?
- What are the impacts of migration on family and social network structures?
- How do personal relations and experiences influence people's views and perceptions?

These three questions are as much mirrored in the general structure of the work as they are in the focus of chapters III to V.

During fieldwork and when analyzing the data it later became evident that I had in fact by then collected considerable information on fundamentalism and the way it was perceived. People revealed substantial information about their attitudes towards the phenomenon, even though my questions had not explicitly requested it. However, the subject would be broached regularly in discussion since it was something that affected peoples' everyday lives and evidently preoccupied them. In retrospect, I may well have been too impatient, not trusting that the course of time would provide answers to many of the questions I had to the field. Furthermore, by adopting a strategy, which entailed a broadening of the arena, and by commencing fieldwork with questions that concerned most people in their everyday lives, I had constructed a solid foundation for gathering further information. The most valuable data appeared in the last phase of fieldwork. By this time, I had been carrying out fieldwork for about a year and was sufficiently familiar with the families to have established a trusting relationship.

Content and Structure

In writing a book about Moroccans living in Germany I adopted the metaphor of a funnel structure: the chapters are purposely ordered so as to begin with more general information and initial insights into the Moroccan community in Germany and to conclude with the essence of my research results. I attempted to penetrate to the core of the stories people related to me with the aim of allowing the reader feel what

Moroccan life is about in Germany. Chapter V, the final chapter on perceptions and enmities builds on the information provided in foregoing chapters.

The first parts of the text serve to guide the reader to the context of Moroccan migration in Germany. Like the rest of the work, it is cast in narrative form. This style further enabled the reader to immerse himself/herself in the experience I had in Frankfurt and Morocco and to gain an impression of the way people think and feel there. The text oscillates between ethnographic report and theoretical analysis and reference.

My overall intention is to help readers understand the personal experiences triggering the emotional processes underlying all behavior and perception. The work is predominantly descriptive, while the ethnographic material is analyzed with the help of three major theories each of which function like a roof for the chapters. The theories in question were elaborated by Sayad's (Sayad 1973; 2004) integrated approach to migration which requires the inclusion of both emigration and immigration, actor-centric social network theories (Schweizer 1996; Jansen 2003) and the theory of human dignity needs (Burton 1990; 1997), which states that conflict and group focused enmities are based on unfulfilled needs. Human needs theory is linked to all the ethnographic material provided in this study and is used as an overall explanation. This theory has long remained on the periphery of discussions in social scientific research. The following work explains that conflict and societal tensions can be adequately identified by means of this theoretical structure. I also go on to explain how the above theory is rooted within the collected data itself as an inherent aspect of the ethnographic material.

Chapter II "Methods and Scene" serves as a detailed introduction into the ethnographic field of Moroccan migration. It portrays the methods applied during fieldwork and while analyzing the data. It provides insight into the research conditions and describes the setting in which fieldwork took place. Informants are introduced, and my own position as a fieldworker in a setting of anthropology at home is discussed.

Chapter III "Migration and Movement" deals with migration, travel and movement. Focus is placed on relations between Morocco and Germany and the difficulties of

positioning. In a multi-sited sense it is argued that migration can only be understood when analysis accounts for both sending and receiving communities. Consequently, most ethnographic data used in this chapter stems from research in Morocco and portrays the migrants and their relations to 'home', something, which is often foreign and overloaded with high expectations. The chapter aims to provide insight into the migrants' sense of being torn between Morocco and Germany, a condition that helps to explain various phenomena in later chapters. That migration has had a remarkable impact on the resurrection of Berber identity is also shown.

As mentioned in the above, the chapter as a whole draws on Sayad's theory of migration. Sayad's chief argument focuses on the interconnectedness of emigration and immigration.

> "Any attempt to construct immigration as a true object of science must, finally, be a social history of the reciprocal relations between these societies, of the society of emigration and the society of immigration, of relations between emigrants and immigrants, and of relations between each of those two societies." (Sayad 2004:2)

Chapter IV "Family and Social Structure" concentrates on family and personal network relations. It shows the connectedness of family members throughout Europe and across the Mediterranean. It is argued that personal network strategies differ depending on gender and generation, length of stay in the diaspora and educational background. Outstanding results of social network analysis are presented and the overall impact of family and social networks on everyday life in the diaspora is discussed. The chapter is rooted in social network theory and discusses integration and isolation with the help of data stemming from network analysis conducted during fieldwork. The network approach to migration itself is actor-centric and is used to explore connections and interactions among individuals (Massey 1993, Smart & Smart 1998). By identifying social network structures, the flow of perceptions, of gossip, of views and stereotypes within the Moroccan community is investigated.

Chapter V "Perceptions and Enmities" refers to the themes discussed in foregoing chapters. It represents an inherent summary of the conditions under which Moroccan migrants live in Germany and analyses these conditions in the light of human needs

theory. Additional ethnographic material illustrates the major issues with which people are confronted: the longing and search for recognition, security, identity, belongingness, personal fulfillment, freedom, fairness and participation. In the beginning of the chapter the focus is on theory, as the human needs approach is used as an explanation for all behavior and struggles as outlined in previous chapters. It is argued that unfulfilled needs are the cause for certain negative perceptions and enmities, and are, in the final analysis, the motor for fissions and societal upheavals (Burton 1997; Rubenstein 2001).

Chapter VI "Conclusion" is a summary and recapitulation of the work as a whole. It refers to the three major questions that were asked before and provides the results of this work in condensed form.

Prerequisites

Picture 1
Geographical focus of fieldwork

The collection of data on which this book draws was carried out during fourteen months of stationary ethnographic research in Frankfurt, Germany and Annual, Morocco. Pre-Studies were conducted in Fez and Marrakech, Morocco, which took a total of three months. During stationary fieldwork certain trips to other places of importance, such as Brussels, Utrecht, Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Offenbach, Rüsselsheim, Nador, Al Hoceima and a number of

small villages in the Moroccan Rif supplement the results. The study is positioned in a transnational field roughly between Germany and Morocco, including European locations as listed above.

The transnational research setting and the way I became acquainted with the field led to meetings with a great variety of informants. Most of those I met were of Moroccan origin, coming from families in the Moroccan Rif.[4] Depending on context they refer to themselves as Moroccans, Berbers, Imazighen, Rifians or use their tribal affiliation to indicate where they are from.

Picture 2
Places of Research in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands

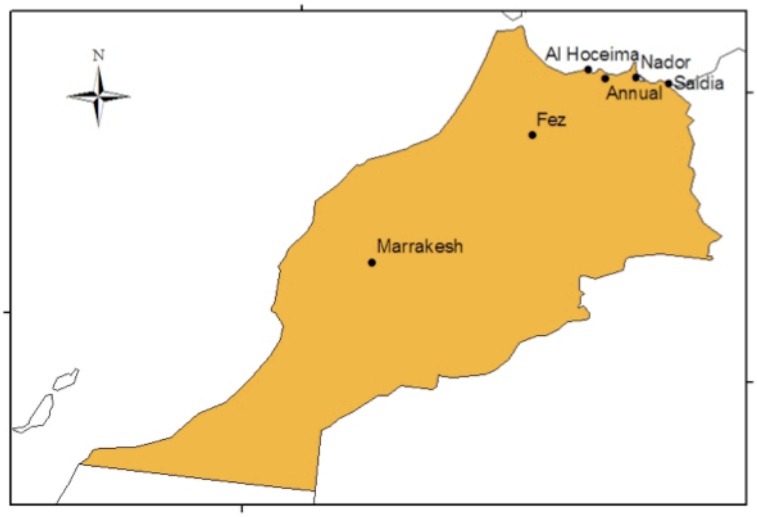
Little has changed with respect to the processes of identification since Mikesell conducted research in Northern Morocco in the late 1950s.

> "When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (farqa). He will announce his tribal affiliation (qabila) only when he is away from home. [...] It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad." (Mikesell 1961:V)

In the present work I use the classification 'Moroccan', 'Berbers', 'Imazighen' and 'Rifians' interchangeably as most of my informants used the same designations.

[4] More than 70% of Moroccan Immigrants in Germany are from the Eastern Rif Region, particularly from the province of Nador, Oujda and Alhoceima (Maas & Mehlem 1999:88).

However, in that the term 'Moroccan' refers to both Berbers and Arabs, this can cause difficulties. Twenty percent of Moroccan citizens are of Arab[5] origin and are keen to differentiate themselves from the Berbers (representing 40-45% of the population) who they perceive as primitive illiterates and uneducated farmers (Maddy-Weitzman 2006:72). The remaining 35-40 % comprises Arab Berbers, the language of which is the Moroccan colloquial dialect Darisha. While this group is unable to trace their decent from Arab conquerors, its members are keen to distinguish themselves from the Berber inhabitants and identify themselves as Arabs. Moroccan Arabs form Morocco's elite class, rule the country and hold most key positions in science, economics and the administration (Maas & Mehlem 1999). When indicating the explicit distinction between the groups, I refer to Arabs or Arab Moroccans and to Berbers, Imazighen or Rifians. In the German diaspora, the relations between Arabs and Berbers are reversed. Berbers are the absolute majority, whereas only few people refer to themselves as Moroccan Arabs. Many important positions in the communities are held by Berbers. This has its causes in the history of Moroccan migration to Germany. Labour migrants were mainly recruited from rural regions in the Rif, Northern Morocco, and were followed by their families at a later date. It was rare for Moroccans from other regions to migrate to Germany. Colonial history prompted them rather to migrate to France.



Picture 3
Places of Research in Morocco

[5] It seems that the distinction between Arabs, Berbers and Arab Berbers is hard to achieve. Percentages differ depending on the source of information. Besides, there has been substantial intermarriage among the various groupings within the population making precise classification impossible.

The denotation Amazigh (singular) or Imazighen (plural.) refers to the growing pride in Rifian identity. The term is the self-designation in the Berber language Tamazight and is mainly used by politically active individuals within the Amazigh/Berber movement.

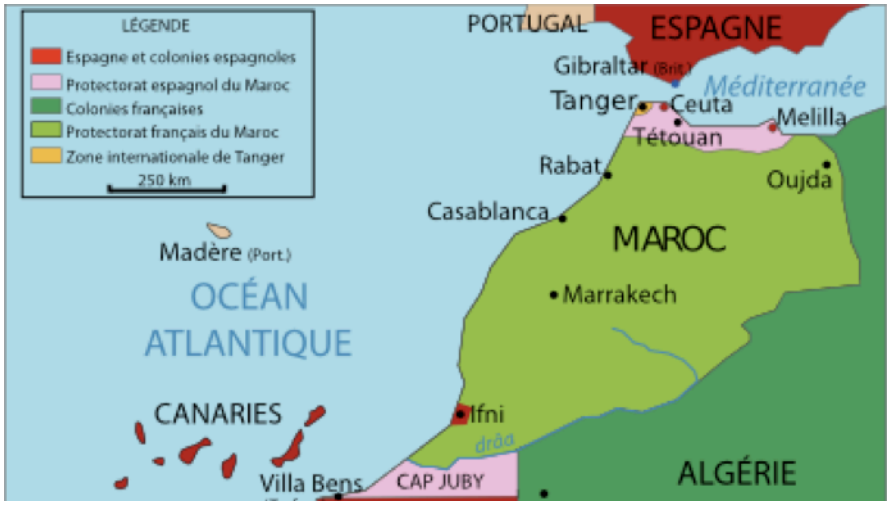
The Berber language itself requires further differentiation into three major dialects (Maas&Mehlem 1999:75):

I. *Tarifit* (in the Northern regions of Morocco, i.e. the Rif)

II. *Tamazight* (in Moroccos' central regions, i.e. the Atlas)

III. *Tashelhit* (in the Southern region of Morocco, i.e. the High Atlas and the Sous)

The designation Tarifit and Tashelhit are of Arabic origin. Tashelhit is connected to the Arabic verb shalaha (to rob, to steel), meaning the language of the robbers (Wehr and Kropfitsch 1985). The growing awareness among the Imazighen with respect to their ethnicity, led to the rejection of the term Tashelhit, which is why Tamazight then became the predominant designation for all Berber dialects (Sroub:8).



Picture 4
Morocco under colonial rule (around 1912)

In the present work, all terms in Tamazight or Arabic are set in Italics. Each translation of the word follows in brackets. A proper English transliteration was hard to achieve. English, French, Spanish and German transliterations differ, as well as the classical Arabic and Tamazight. I decided to use the transliteration coined by Mahmut, a Moroccan student resident in Frankfurt, who had assisted me in the translation of the interviews and with ordering all manner of archival material. His method was phonetic: He would

articulate the words out loud before deciding how to write them. This technique also illustrates one major problem of Tamazight and of Moroccan colloquial Arabic (Darisha): There is still no standard spelling, and in the case of Tamazight even no standard script[6] (see also III.II Politicizing History for more information). Hence, Mahmut's technique mirrors the current situation in Morocco as well as among the Moroccan diaspora groups.

In the present work all names of informants have been changed. Many places have not been directly named so as to prevent identity with real persons. All ethnographic information offered was recorded during fieldwork, and was either provided by informants or else observed and noted by myself during participant observation. Clearly, it has not been possible to include everything reported to or observed by me in this book. Thus, the ethnographic material offered in the following serves as an example and illustrates how the Moroccan community in the diaspora and in transnational space was shaped during the period I was in the field. Besides, the validity of my results is based on a comparative assessment of my own data with that of other ethnographies as well as with qualitative and quantitative studies.

[6] During an involved discussion in 2002 and 2003 on the subject of which script to use while writing Tamazight, the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture proposed using Tifinagh (an ancient script only used by Touareg groups in the Sahara/Sahel regions, and which is no longer in use). Many other Amazigh groups however favored the Latin script for practical reasons, while Islamists wished to see Arabic in use for all languages in Morocco. The debate was finally concluded by the King's decision to install Tifinagh as the official writing system for Tamazight (Maddy-Weitzman 2006:80). However, those who are able to speak Tamazight are by far always able to write the Tifinagh script and use either Latin or Arabic to write their language. In practice, there is still no standardization.

II. Methods and Scene

II.I Doing Fieldwork

The following chapters describe how fieldwork in Frankfurt and in the Moroccan Rif was possible. The difficulties of working as an ethnographer in an urban and multi-sited research setting, as well as methodological preliminary considerations and revised foci, will be described. The chapters discuss the major ethnographic prerequisites including all methods that have been applied during fieldwork. For the purposes of introducing the particular field site of Frankfurt and Northern Morocco and to illustrate how different methods have been used, ethnographic data has been incorporated into the text. One of the major arguments for the book is laid out as based on this field data, namely, that of marginalization and its importance for explaining the different aspects of life between Germany and Morocco.

Arriving and Escaping

"Seeking roommates in the Bahnhofsviertel[7]." I found the Internet advertisement appealing. Somebody was looking for roommates for a four-bedroom apartment. I had just finalised preparations for research of the Moroccan community in Frankfurt and was ready to move into the field. From the literature I had studied, I considered important to move into certain quarters of the city with high immigrant population. The Bahnhofsviertel was certainly one such quarter. A few days after I had had read the advert, I took a three-hour train ride to the place I would be living for the good part of a year. It was a hot summer's day in late June. The workday was almost over; people in suits and ties were on their way back home, buying groceries for dinner and catching trains into the suburbs. The streets were full with honking cars, taxis lined the walkways, and prostitutes waited for business. I made my way through the busy crowd, left the train station and turned down one of the side streets. I straightaway

[7] Area around the train station in Frankfurt.

felt I had arrived in a different world. It was even busier here; people, mainly men, were in the streets carrying huge plastic bags. Vendors were begging loudly for people's attention; men, smoking and chatting, were hanging around in front of stores. Boutiques and shops displayed all sorts of flags from North Africa, and from the Middle and Far East, indicating the national roots of the shopkeeper and hinting at what could be bought at the store. Intense aromas of spices and sweats, meet and fish slowly decaying in the summer heat wafted out into the street. The walkways were overcrowded. Somebody jostled against me. Men clicked their tongues when I walked by. Walking around in the area alone as a woman felt out of place.

It was ten to four and I had to wait at a street corner for my future flatmate to come and show me the apartment. When standing next to a tele-boutique people in the streets were observing me. Expensive cars with dark windows passed, slowed down and headed on. Two men became embroiled in a scuffle, one of whom pulled out a knife. I had just arrived in my field, but felt like immediately turning on my heel.

The sense that the quarter around train station was one to be feared had engrained itself in my mind months before I began looking for accommodation. Family, friends and colleagues kept telling me that choosing such an area for my research was not the best idea, insisting that I exercise extreme caution. Such were the worries that guided my behavior during the first weeks of fieldwork.

I signed the lease a few days after having viewed the apartment. I was on a grant and had spent five months reading and preparing for the project; there was no way back now. However, my doubts persisted, and the Moroccans with whom I initially became acquainted kept asking the same questions. A young Moroccan man in his mid-20s enquired:

"Why, of all places, did you choose this one? You could have moved to a nicer area; you can afford to do so." It was hard for him to believe that someone would voluntarily decide to move into such a run-down area, which anybody who had saved enough money would leave as soon as possible.[8]

[8] See also Crivello 2003:1,2 for similar observations at the beginning of fieldwork.

The quarter around the train station in Frankfurt is a hub: an economic, social and religious nerve centre where people gather to shop and chat, and to pray. One street especially, which runs parallel to the river Main, is almost synonymous with the centre of immigrant life in the city. Here, one may purchase the freshest *halal* meat (correctly slaughtered meat according to Islamic precepts) and the best *Nana* (mint). Even people who live outside the district are regular customers. As the red-light district begins right next-door, one block further to the North, it is considered morally inadequate to live in such a place. An older, widowed Moroccan woman unable to find an apartment elsewhere in the city regularly complained about the hostilities of others. She felt ashamed of having to live in the Bahnhofsviertel as a *hajja* (Mecca pilgrim).

Throughout my stay, I realized that all the bad talk about the district stemmed from the German majority and was based on rumor about the high rate of crime, drug abuse and prostitution. Germans would avoid going there. Thus, their knowledge of the area was not based on their experiences.

In the case of the Moroccan community, it was about social status. Where one lived within the city was an indication of one's financial status, something symbolizing success in the diaspora. However, for the first and second generation this is strongly connected with the display of their relative wealth back in their home country of Morocco. I was often shown pictures of big Rifian houses under construction and beautifully colored concrete blocks typical of the architectural innovations of the migrants when showing their wealth.

Picture 5
Dawn in the Bahnhofsviertel

Where people invest their money depends on social embeddedness. Thus, Moroccans of a younger generation who somehow feel themselves part of Germany would try not to live in the quarter around the train station and but instead choose an apartment in a nicer area in Frankfurt. Older Moroccans, by contrast, try to save as much money as they can, which they then transfer to Morocco. Hence, the location of their German apartments is often in more

run-down districts. For me, moving into the area around train station was the first major step to starting my fieldwork. My informants appreciated my choice of living in the quarter and of becoming their neighbor.

Strategies and Methodological Considerations

I knew I had still not arrived in the field even after the first few weeks. I had been seeking to establish contacts to one of the Moroccan mosques. My intention was to forge links to a closed circle of people organized in some form of group, which would enable me to mark my field. Colleagues had been advising me, with the result that I felt it necessary to conduct participant observation within some kind of formal or institutional network. Before moving into the field, I had drafted a method-plan, which sketched out the methods I aimed to adopt. My plan was to talk to gatekeepers of the respective institutions as an initial way of gaining permission and access into the field. Several days passed during which my telephone calls remained unanswered or else the people I contacted asked me to call again. All my efforts at establishing contact evaporated in the hot summer air. Bernard's advice, advocating that one use personal contacts to gain entry into the field site, was the approach I adopted at the time (Bernard 1995:149). One of my fellow students at university had been working as a German language teacher in a Moroccan mosque in Frankfurt and had offered to introduce me to the community. The mosque in question had just a few weeks earlier prompted intense media coverage. The authorities were investigating the religious association, which had been accused of having shown videos propagating *jihad* (struggle, combat, holy war). The disputes surrounding the event interested me. While substantial newspaper articles had been written on the subject of the accusations, little, if anything, had been written about reactions among the faithful. It seemed that this incident would prove good occasion to talk to the people. I wanted to learn about their anger and disappointment. Later, during fieldwork, my suspicions were born out: the video-scandal was of great importance to many of my informants. For an entry into the field however the issue was worthless.

Time passed and I kept trying to contact my fellow student from university. As she was very busy privately and professionally, an introduction through this channel did not materialize. I recall this period as being particularly frustrating. By this time it was the summer break, and many Moroccans were on holiday in Morocco. The presidents of the mosques could not be contacted; services were reduced to a minimum. At one point, after having been in the field already for some weeks, I decided that I needed to go through other channels to get the research underway. By this time I had become impatient and consequently doubtful about the project's success. My plan to gain access to a formally organized group of people, such as a religious community, had failed. Colleagues sought to convince me that this was a very natural process and that it usually takes quite a while to 'get the thing going' and to be successful in mapping one's field. I sat down, went through my notes and recapitulated my activities of the previous weeks. I had spent a noticeable amount of time at Moroccan stores in the quarter. I had talked to my Moroccan neighbors on an almost daily basis, would visit their shops as a customer and engage in conversation about the products they sold. As it turned out, the summer holiday was an advantage as the stores were less busy, and so the vendors would have time to talk. My position as a new neighbor meant that I could be trusted. I made friends with a young cobbler and a greengrocer. In time, relationships evolved. As a neighbor, I spent time in the shops and it became normal that I was around. By the end of summer holiday, people in the stores had accepted me as the 'one from university writing a book about Moroccans living in Germany'. From the initial contacts in the stores others then began springing up. During the course of my stay, I was researcher, student, friend, employer, client, teacher, adopted family member and, most of all, a direct network source into German society. The more I became involved, so the more I began to see the area around the train station through different lenses. My fears and doubts disappeared as I now felt myself as having finally arrived. I had found my field, without even noticing it; within my neighborhood around the traders and dealers and their families and friends.

The first contacts were not with women but with men. The employees of the shops, mainly young men, were willing to elaborate at length about their angle on life, perceived differences of Morocco and Germany and their experiences in Europe. I had had similar experiences during an earlier stay in Fez, Morocco, where it was also

young men who were willing to talk to me. In Morocco it was then only a small step away from being introduced to their families, to meet their mothers and sisters. Within the Moroccan community in Frankfurt, a few months would yet have to pass before being introduced and invited home.

It makes a big difference whether the fieldworker travels a long way to do research somewhere abroad, or whether he or she belongs to the majority in a country of immigration. In the first case, a long journey seems to give the researcher credit. He must have a real interest when coming all the way from Germany to, let's say, Borneo. In Frankfurt it was different. As a perceived representative of the German majority, I was suspect; I may well have been an undercover agent collecting information on tendencies in religious and political fundamentalism. After 9/11, at least, relationships between Muslim immigrants and Christian-European majorities generally declined and suspicions on both sides increased. Reflecting on my unsuccessful telephone calls and conversations with mosques and associations during the first weeks of fieldwork, I am now convinced that such fears were part of the reason for my unsuccessful access to the sites.

Being an anthropologist and working at home in Germany, I carried out what one calls 'anthropology at home'. Classically, ethnographical research was carried out in exotic and remote places throughout the world. As an academic field, anthropology originated during the colonial period of the 19th century, when Western European countries set out to explore the world. Ethnographers researched small-scale societies, perceived as being culturally homogenous, on site. In the 1940s and after World War II, anthropologists working in Latin America and Central Africa followed migrating peasants into the cities and realized the importance of the folk-urban continuum (Ackermann 1997:2). Especially in Africa, such movements of people were caused by colonial impacts and rapid changes of the socio-cultural structure. It became clear that societies are not as static and closed as had been formerly understood. Since then anthropological research has focused on processes, movements and change. By the 1960s at the latest, it was noted that informants no longer only migrate from the village to the city, but also from the world periphery to the centre. Europe and the US faced tremendous immigration processes, which soon afterwards became the subject of new anthropological research. Community studies

evolved, which meant that research was conducted on economic and social structures among a group of migrants (examples: Kritz et al. 1992; Hoerder and Moch 1996; Eades 1988; Werbner 2002). Studies such as these can be subsumed under the rubric 'anthropology at home' as the anthropologist is able to do research 'around the corner' on any group of migrants. However, anthropology at home is often conflated with native or indigenous anthropology. The latter two meaning that "those who diverge as "native", "indigenous" or "insider" anthropologists are believed to write about their own cultures from a position of intimate affinity" (Narayan 1993:671). Early critics of this dichotomy (Aguilar 1981; Messerschmidt 1981) have been ignored and until today, it appears that an unofficial separation of "native" and "non-native" anthropology persists.

Whether anthropology at home is an adequate way to carry out ethnographical research is the object of ongoing discussion (Jackson 1987; Cerroni-Long 1995; Labaree 2002). Senior anthropologists, in particular, maintain that studying at home is a difficult task and should only be carried out by researchers who have gained experience elsewhere (Dumont 1986). Were this not be the case, according to Dumont, the anthropologist would be unable to adequately deal with the assumed close affiliation between informant and researcher making an objective perspective unlikely if not impossible. In addition to all the concerns, very little research has been conducted on the subject of the power relations, which can evolve in home-anthropology settings. Römhild, who carried out fieldwork among Russian re-settlers of German extraction in Germany, points out that her research experience compelled her to challenge the dichotomy of 'anthropology at home' and 'anthropology abroad'.

> "Of course, I have been working as a German among other Germans, and my main research site – the provisional homes of Russian-German immigrants – was just around the corner of my stationary home. Superficially perceived, this should have been a research site as closely as it could be. Still, the presumably common ground of being born German and now being part of the same German society dissolved the more I traced our different histories of being a made German, theirs and mine being subject of and object to different identity politics." (Römhild 1999:101)

The article claims that the researcher is not necessarily closely affiliated to the informants and that cultural knowledge requires that trusting relationships must first be acquired in the field. If 'anthropology at home' is located in a context of immigration, the researcher, being part of the majority, does indeed represent a stranger in the field. As Römhild states, anthropology at home always operates on the margins of identity formation.

In my case, this had implications on how I was considered. For the anthropologist in the field, knowing how others perceive one and how this perception influences the process and quality of research remains an open question. Part of anthropological methodology involves a shift in the relationship of proximity and distance, a process referred to as "reflexive anthropology" (Davies 1999). The practice of ethnographic fieldwork entails the act of "stepping in and out of society" (Powdermaker 1966:19) and establishing a balance between involvement and detachment. For the anthropologist to reflect effectively on his position in the field situation he must distance himself from the subjects of his study. Being a German ethnographer and conducting research on migrants in Germany provided me with several roles. My fieldwork activities were initially perceived with skepticism. "Be careful", people would tell each other, "she wants to know everything." As the research process continued, I became a network source into German society, and those with whom I had contact sought to maintain contact with me. It was as if I was one cause of the development of peoples' social status.

In spring, after having been in the field for more than half a year, one of the trader's families invited me to a big Moroccan wedding in a Frankfurt community hall. A young Rifian woman was to be married to an Arab Moroccan man from *dchelia* (central Morocco). I went with a Moroccan family I already knew well. We had spent the whole Saturday afternoon dressing for the occasion, having our hair done and applying colorful makeup. The girls were dressed in beautiful *kaftans* (long traditional robes worn on special occasions). I was given one that was baby-blue colored, my dark hair was pinned up and my eyelids and brows were decorated with colorful eye shadow. The girls made sure that I was perfectly dressed and nobody could have guessed that I did not stem from a Moroccan family. Akila wore a new, embroidered, green–colored *kaftan* with heavy jewelry around her neck and hips, a clear symbol of her status as a

married woman and mother of many children, a veritable representative of the community. Everybody knew her. We were seated at a table close to the dance floor and right next to the throne of the bridal couple. Occasionally, people who were not from Frankfurt and the majority of whom I did not know would come over to greet us. After a formal exchange of greetings, Akila then introduced me as her 'possession'. She made it clear that I belong to her family as the "Moroccan-German sister". Judging by the responses it was clear that people did not believe her, and would again enquire as to my origins. "She came to us as a gift of God", Akila replied, indicating her privileged position.

There were times when such situations would reassure me feel that fieldwork was going well. I had really arrived in the field and was accepted by the people. There were other times, though, when the social mechanisms of control were hard to tolerate. I had become part of a social setting with the consequence that I began gradually giving up my former individualistic lifestyle of a young Western woman. However, I was not expected to behave, as did other women in their late twenties. People knew that I was accustomed to a different way of understanding what counted as respectful behavior. This did not imply that I was not judged by "Moroccan diasporic standards". The mistakes I made while interacting with others were clearly pointed out, especially when such mistakes were perceived as typically German. People did not conceal their general dislike of German moral conduct and would comment openly on what they perceived to be the negative attributes of Germany and the Western world. This openly voiced criticism was only possible because I was not perceived as being a "normal German". I demonstrated genuine interest in their lives, which alone meant that I was held to be an extraordinary German person. The status of outsider made it possible for me to circulate in male and female spheres. I was able to ask all sorts of questions and people would patiently explain historical and social aspects of their lives to me, albeit that these were often self-evident to them.

Fieldwork at Different Locations

The emergence of reflexive anthropology and shifting formations within societies prompted anthropologists to once again change their methods in the mid 80's. Fieldwork became multi-sited as researchers realized the importance of ongoing relations between people's former homes and their current places of residence (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Marcus 1995; Olwig and Hastrup 1997; Welz 1998). It became clear that informants did not operate exclusively within one site and so researchers accordingly saw the need to adapt. Until then anthropological research had been stationary and confined to a single site. Even the first researchers who showed interest in the urban-folk continuum placed their fieldwork in a single site only. Multi-sited ethnography however made it possible to shift emphasis to transnational flows of people, to things and activities as it rejected the assumption that 'local knowledge' is constructed in a single, geographically bound site (Marcus 1995:111-12). The multi-sited research perspective has advantages especially in the context of migration: people's social network relations and the flow of goods and ideas can be traced.

> "Multi-Sited fieldwork […] involve[s] the following: 1) the movement of people; 2) the circulation of material objects – commodities, gifts, money, works of art, and intellectual property; 3) the circulation of signs, symbols, and metaphors; 4) the plot, story, or allegory; 5) the life history or biography of a specific person or a group of people; 6) the conflict; and 7) the strategically situated (single-site) ethnography that focuses on the interaction between the local subjects and the world system." (Kurotani 2004:202), in reference to (Geertz 1995:106-11)

Prior to commencing fieldwork in summer 2004, I had been to Morocco for more than four months for the purpose of studying the language and to establish first contacts to returning migrants. During fieldwork, I followed my informants through Europe and across the Mediterranean to their home country of Morocco. Social network relations of Moroccan migrants in Germany are spread over a wide area. Moroccan relatives and former Rifian neighbors now living in Belgium, France, Denmark and the Netherlands, play an important part in people's everyday life. Within Europe I travelled with my Moroccan friends to visit other families or to go shopping in

Brussels or Utrecht. As the number of Moroccan Immigrants in Belgium and the Netherlands is much higher than in Germany, a significant Moroccan infrastructure has emerged in those countries. Accordingly, a German-Moroccan family in need of new furniture, clothing or kitchen supplies would do their shopping in the neighboring European countries. Information about where to obtain the nicest *kaftans* (a splendid festive garment), the best *starias* (Moroccan couch), the cheapest *tajine* (Moroccan braising pot) and the newest Rifian music tapes are circulated within the community. However, the places to which people refer extend across Central Europe. Moroccan infrastructure functions like an invisible net: people and goods accumulate in some centers while other places are linked to the homeland Morocco.

In summer 2005, when my fieldwork had almost come to an end, I travelled back home with my informants to their villages in Morocco. Some of them travelled by car, while others flew from Frankfurt to Malaga and took the ferry across to Melilla. I travelled with the teenagers and young adults of a Moroccan family from Frankfurt. We had booked cheap flight tickets to Malaga and then headed on by means of an overcrowded ferryboat to the Spanish enclave, Melilla. It was a very significant time for me during which I came to understand the impact of migration on different generations. I had become part of the family with whom I was travelling and felt that the teenagers and young adults of my age faced similar problems to those with which I was confronted. They were far from being fluent in Tamazight, the Berber dialect of their parents and grandparents, and they did not possess a detailed knowledge of appropriate and required behavior; they were ridiculed and adored at the same time and knew that they were strangers in the country which was supposed to be theirs. This situation provided the fuel for many lengthy discussions about Morocco and Germany and about their difficulties and worries.

Ethnographic Fieldwork and Participant Observation

Ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation are often equated. Both terms are used interchangeably and contribute to an interdisciplinary confusion about ethnographic methods. The term ethnographic fieldwork means that the researcher is

located in a stationary field site, where he accepts the norms and values of a foreign culture for the purposes of learning about its social, political, religious and economic life. Hence, participant observation is only one among several methods. One reason for the conflation of these two concepts may well be that ethnographic fieldwork can hardly be conducted without the method of participant observation (Beer 2003:120). To observe and to participate is an even greater requirement for successful ethnographic fieldwork: "the ethnographer must be able to see with the eyes of an outsider as well as with the eyes of an insider." (Hume and Mulcock 2004:xi)

To participate and to observe at the same time is clearly contradictory, but it is only by oscillating between intimacy and distance that the researcher acquires deeper insight into the culture he researches (Malinowski 1967; Golde 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson 1989). The process of stepping in and stepping out also enhances the quality of data collection, since an ongoing reflection of the applied methods in the field encourages the continual reassessment of the initial set of research questions and hypotheses, and thus compels the researcher to adapt his methods to the peculiarities of field situation in question. Consequently, the results of participant observation exert considerable impact on all other methods used for data collection.

When carrying out fieldwork in Frankfurt I elected to work with the network analysis method for the purposes of tracking structures of social support, and hence needed to conduct interviews by focusing on social network relations in particular. I planned on asking delicate questions on money issues and emotional attachment. After being in the field for a few months, I already knew much about these topics by means of participant observation. However, I sought answers from structured interviews so as to obtain a set of data, which I could compare with each other. I scheduled an interview with my main informant, Abdel. We met in a modern Café in the quarter around the train station and sat down in one of the corners. We were casually exchanging all sorts of news for almost an hour before I pulled out the interview questions. I had typed them on a letter-sized sheet of paper, leaving enough space for the answers. While preparing the paperwork I sensed that the formal appearance of the paper might hinder my plan to conduct an interview. After Abel had provided me with answers to the first questions, his unease became evident. He explained that for him it was fine to be asked questions and to answer them, but that he doubted that

others would participate in such an interview. Especially older generation Moroccans, he said, would be reminded of the uncomfortable Arab police strategies in the Rif. Together with Abdel I then thought about whom I could interview and how to obtain a fairly representative sample. After this experience, I scheduled the network data collection to the very end of fieldwork. In case something would go wrong, the fieldwork project itself would not then be endangered.

This example shows the interrelatedness of fieldworker and informant. Participant observation is always a reciprocal process of perceiving each other. Not only does the researcher observe the informants, but the informants also examine the researcher. It is this interaction that forms the field of information. Hamilton describes the balance between reflexivity and social scientific analysis as follows.

> "The truths and realities on which I must rely take shape in the spaces between observer and observed, between subject and object, between writer and reader. The ethnographic information I collected is a social construct; as an actor, as well as an observer, I participated in the creation of that information." (Hamilton 1998:33)

Hamilton goes on to state that it would be of little use to focus on herself as an actor in the ethnography. Her ideas are rather a plea to reflect upon ones' own contribution and the connection of these self-observations to other forms of data collection. Again, this makes clear that participant observation, though the most important part is not the only method in the process of carrying out ethnographic fieldwork. In an anthropological sense, participant observation is defined by a few key elements:

> "Living in the context for an extended period of time; learning and using local language and dialect; actively participating in a wide range of daily routines and extraordinary activities with people who are full participants in that context; using everyday conversation as an interview technique; informally observing during leisure activities (hanging out); recording observations in field notes (usually organized chronologically); and using both tacit and explicit information in analysis and writing." (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:4)

Participant observation in Frankfurt was carried out for the most part among the circle of traders and shopkeepers. The greengrocer's shop on the first floor of the

house in which I was living was particularly important during the first half of fieldwork. It is owned by a Moroccan family from Berkane, a city in the North-Eastern part of Morocco. The father, two sons and three further Moroccan employees worked there on a daily basis. Besides vegetables and fruits, the customer can buy fresh meat and fish, beverages, grains and cereal, olives and olive oil, canned food and cleaning supplies. Most of the goods are directly imported from Morocco or the Maghreb. Twice a week fresh Nana mint is flown into Frankfurt Airport. Every other week a privately organized courier transports fresh fruit and vegetables directly from Morocco in his little, overloaded truck. The shop serves as a meeting and information point. Men gather to chat while sitting around on banana boxes or olive oil containers. The walls at the entrance display announcements on Moroccan festivals, concerts, praying times in the nearby mosques or life insurances that include transfer back to Morocco in the case of death. The place is always busy, mainly crowded with Moroccan men, but also drug addicts, prostitutes and other inhabitants of the quarter around train station who buy their groceries there. I visited the stores on average five times a week. The time I spent there varied from 15 minutes to three hours.

While men dominated the grocery store, the Moroccan music and clothing boutique around the corner was a meeting place for women. This spot became very important to me during the second phase of fieldwork. It is a small store full to the brim with cassette tapes, CDs, video tapes, *kaftans*, *djelabas* (a Morccan garment for everyday use), long coats and blouses, headscarves, jewelry and cosmetics. The family who owns the store comes from a small Rifian village between Alhoceima and Nador, close to the Mediterranean coast. The mother and her niece work there, sometimes the father and nephew help out. About one fifth of the goods are directly imported from Morocco, and most items are purchased from wholesalers in Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Brussels or Utrecht. Even more than the grocery store, the shop serves as a meeting and information point. At ten in the morning when the boutique opens, women convene to take coffee and cookies together. Everybody brings something along, homemade bread or croissants and cakes from a nearby bakery. An office at the back of the shop, also used as a stockroom, doubles up as a place for lunch breaks for the staff. Occasionally, women are invited to a meal. Food is then purchased at a Turkish mosque next door. Clients and friends of the shopkeepers sometimes stay there for up

to three to four hours, hanging around or helping to rearrange the displayed goods. Women of all ages come to discuss problems experienced at school, at work or with their husbands and children. Three small plastic chairs are always placed behind the sales desk in case somebody shows up for a visit. Men who come to the store to buy music are rarely invited to participate in the conversations. Sometimes, they feel so uncomfortable in the presence of women that they leave without buying anything. I went to the store daily and stayed for at least an hour. Often I spent the whole day there.

It was by passing time in these two stores that I made the acquaintance of an increasing number of people and became integrated into the community. Employing the method of snowball sampling, I then expanded my research sample along existing social networks. Both trader families introduced me to other people and established valuable contacts to experts in the community, such as presidents of associations, and a mortician or *Negafa*[9]. I occasionally went to the services held at the mosques and to special events for migrants in the city, carried out participant observation and made the acquaintance of more people with whom I could talk in more detailed interview situations.

Interviews

Most of the interviews I held were in spontaneous situations in the stores. On such occasions, Akila, the shopkeeper of the clothing boutique would allow me to use the stockroom to the rear of the store. There my interview partner and me could talk with relatively little disturbance. However, it was not possible to record the interview, as people would feel uncomfortable. I pulled out my notebook and sketched a few things, while I always felt uneasy about this. I could not maintain eye contact with my interlocutor and sensed that it hindered the narrative flow of the stories related to me. It was a dilemma I faced during many interview situations. If it was not possible for

[9] Woman providing all kinds of services around a wedding (providing dresses and dressing bride and groom, decorating the location for the festivities, etc.).

me to record, I would then later note down the content of the interview from memory straight afterwards. These interviews were mainly informal. My interview partners knew what we were doing, but there were also many occasions when we just chatted and exchanged news. I used this interview technique to establish a greater rapport and to uncover new topics that I might have otherwise overlooked.

There were other situations where I would arrange interviews and ask people beforehand if they were willing to talk to me about a particular topic. In most such cases, I met with my interview partners in cafés. Frusting to me however was the fact that quite a number of people did not show up to the scheduled meetings without giving notice. They might have felt uncomfortable about being interviewed but were hesitant in expressing their constraints. In the end I never found out about their reasons of not showing up.

Compared to the spontaneous interviews, the scheduled meetings were far more formal; however, they were not entirely structured.

> "Unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind, but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the informant's responses. The idea is to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace." (Bernard 1995:209)

I first thanked the person for being willing to come and then went on to ask an initial question, which would provoke a longer story or explanation. Sometimes, I also discussed what I had learned about a certain topic and would ask my interview partner for his or her assessment. I valued this technique, because it gave me the opportunity to check information against what I had acquired in the stores. It also helped to deepen my knowledge of a specific issue.

Before an interview, I would always sit down and think over what I especially needed to know from my interlocutor. I noted down some questions and tried to commit them to memory since I did not want to disrupt the conversation by looking into my notebook.

With so-called experts, it was different. Recording was never an issue. Only on a few occasions did people ask me to switch off the recorder, such as when the discussion would centre on political or religiously critical topics, or when the conversation would

become very personal. The experts were representatives of associations, mosques or other institutions serving the community. Some of them were working in the city administration. Apart from one woman, all the people I talked to were men. I interviewed a total of about 15 experts. For such meetings I prepared the questions in detail and brought them a long list on a sheet of paper. I was aware that these people were accustomed to being interviewed by journalists, and so assumed that a more professional interview situation would do justice to the little amount of time they had.

> "Semi structured interviewing works very well in projects when dealing with managers, bureaucrats, and elite members of a community – people who are accustomed to use of their time efficiently. It demonstrates that as interviewer, you are fully clear about what you seek from an interview, but at the same time allows either party to follow up new leads. It shows that you are prepared and competent, but that you are not trying to exercise excessive control over the informant." (Bernard 1995:210)

I structured interviews in the context of networks analysis. Since it was necessary to obtain the same set of information from all interviewees, there was no variation of questions. (See also IV.II Family and Social Networks. Network Methods).

Interviewing, and especially recording, was generally a rather delicate topic. The first interviews I held were hesitant and often began to flag. I was unsure of myself in this connection and did not dare to ask direct questions. One day I asked a woman around my age if we could meet for an interview. She had talked to me for hours in the store. Our conversations were very personal and I felt that we had become close. She apologized and said that giving an interview was out of question. I looked at her with a questioning glance and very hesitantly, she began to explain. It was not easy for her to talk about the topic, which I could see by the manner in which her hands began fidgeting. She had been obliged to record personal news on cassette tapes already as a young girl. This was something she hated doing, although until a few years ago it was the best method for informing relatives about life at home, or abroad. Before mobile phones were available in Morocco, calling family members living in Europe was extremely difficult and expensive. There was one public phone in Nador, and at the weekends long lines of villagers would form who all came to the city to listen to their relatives' news over the phone. Many homes in rural areas are until today without

landline phones. Interviewing reminded many people of the times when their communication across the Mediterranean needed to be recorded on tape and sent by mail. While listening to the tapes some would learn about the death of a close relative sometimes long after the tragedy had occurred.

My intention to record interviews, which I could then transcribe, was only partially fulfilled. I noticed, anyway, that conversations were far more intense without the tape recorder.

Network Analysis

Referring to what has been said earlier on the shift of ethnographic research from structure to process, changes in anthropological research after World War II also effected developments in network analyses. In the 50s and 60s, research was no longer limited to remote and closed face-to-face societies, but, as mentioned above, began to focus on movement and migration from the villages to the cities. Social structures had changed throughout the world and with them the anthropological lens. Besides kinship relations, anthropologists had observed, other social relations became important in peoples' lives. Consequently, British social anthropologists developed an early network analysis approach. This approach was based on ethnographic data collected during fieldwork in African societies. The objective was to establish a research method capable of uncovering social relations in complex societies and of explaining behavior among groups and individuals. The network approach also amounted to a critique of structural functionalism, as this school of thought failed to account for processes of transformation. However, during the 60s and 70s anthropology again underwent another paradigm shift, which this time prompted the overcoming of structural functionalism. Symbols, processes and cognition became important, and interpretive anthropology developed. The influence of network analysis lost ground and application due to its predominantly positivistic approach, proving incompatible with the qualitative orientation of symbolic and interpretive anthropology.

> "Since the 1970s, few network studies have been published by anthropologists. Network analysis requires diligent fieldwork, and even then needs to be contextualized and interpreted with other sorts of information. In sociology, a vast technical vocabulary related to formal measures now marks network analysis: in anthropological discourse, the term network today more often appears as a metaphor (when speaking of networking) than a method." (Sanjek 1996:397)

Network analysis was further developed beyond the discipline of anthropology by communication studies, sociology, social psychology, mathematical graph theory, statistics and computer sciences and became an interdisciplinary and international method in the social sciences (Schweizer 1996:17). When, today, anthropologists apply network analysis, in its pure sense, it represents one among several other methods. It continues to remain a rare ethnographical method. Major studies on the practice of ethnography, such as by Bernard or Beer, did not discuss network analysis in their collection of anthropological techniques. However, if one seeks knowledge as to how relationships work and people are connected to each other, there is no better way of obtaining such information other than by the study of social networks.

When migration and transnational connections became an object of anthropological research in the 1980s, there was evidence of a renewed interest in the network approach. Transnational communities are dependent on family and friendship ties spanning tremendous distances and often fragmented social contexts (Fawcett 1989; Moretti 1999; Waldorf 1998). Wilson emphasizes the importance of "network-mediated migration" since transnational communities rely heavily on social networks. Working with a network approach in the context of migration means favoring a more actor-centered perspective: "exploring how individuals are connected and interact with other individuals, rather than concentrating primarily upon the organization of a group." (Smart and Smart 1998:107)

Personal or actor-centred networks are closely related to social support – the flow of social and economic goods for assisting everyday situations as well as in crises. (Wellman and Berkovitz 1988; Wasserman and Galaskiewicz 1994). (see also IV.II Family and Social Networks. Networking)

By focusing on the influence of personal networks on people's views, my interest centered on the types of contact people had. I sought to gather information about small transactions. One question, for example, related to cooking or general domestic tasks. I enquired as to whom one would contact in case someone needed an egg for the preparation of a meal or whom one would contact when in need of tools to fix something in the house. The interviews I conducted with people were structured; all the interviewees were confronted with the same set of questions. I selected particular people for the network interviews to obtain a somewhat representative sample. Since I touched on delicate topics I also knew that not everybody would be willing to answer. Through the process of selection I could partially exclude the high potential of uncompleted interviews. The set of questions I chose for the interviews has been used in several studies researching networks and social support in industrial countries (Freeman and Ruan 1997; Schnegg and Lang 2002).

In my case it was important that in addition to information on social support, I obtain information about age, gender, nationality, occupation, length of stay in Germany, permanent address and the roles individuals would have when interacting with one another (relatives, friends and neighbors). For the interviews, I made special arrangements with the interviewees in cafés or other places where we could meet and not be disturbed. It was unusual for me to go through a well-prepared and static set of questions. From all the previous interviews I had conducted, I had become accustomed to a fluid and rather informal style of conversing with my interview partners. However, I had some structured interviews which were first characterized by concrete answers, and that later encouraged the interviewee to discuss some topics in greater detail. In such situations, new information was generated about which I had made no specific enquiry.

Archive Material

During the fourteen-month period of fieldwork, I collected whatever I could find. Whenever I saw a flyer, poster, brochure or anything, advertising any concert, soccer

game, Moroccan furniture or health insurance, I would collect or photograph the item in question. I accumulated an entire file full of such advertisements.

I systematically went through the local sections of the newspaper 'Frankfurter Rundschau' every morning to see if there was anything written about Moroccans, Islam, immigration policy or local politics concerning migrants. I was also interested in information about the Bahnhofsviertel, news about Morocco, illegal immigration or specific projects to integrate immigrants. My mother was a great help in that she went through the local sections of another major newspaper, the 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung'. She searched for the same topics and sent me all relevant articles she could find.

I collected the magazine "Ar-Rayyan", which was published by one of the mosques. Information about religious holidays formed part of its contents, as well as advertisements of people seeking potential marriage partners. Another magazine "Taziri" focused on the culture and history of Rifians in Morocco as well as in Europe. An association publishes it, which was very active in organizing lectures and concerts for the dissemination of Rifian culture.

Whenever we travelled to Brussels or Utrecht I would try and buy as many of the local Moroccan newsmagazines as possible to learn about current issues in other Moroccan communities in Europe.

I collected films and videos that dealt with migration form Morocco to Europe, and which narrated stories about the difficulty of life in a foreign world separated from family and friends. There is also a noticeable industry of Rifian music and radio plays, many of them dealing with the issues of migration, economic success, moral decline and emotional loneliness. I asked the owner of the clothing and music store to help me go through the shelves to find the relevant media. Whenever the store received new tapes and videos we would go through the same procedure.

I also photographed as many events as possible. This was sometimes not an easy thing to do, especially since older women believed that photographing might do them harm. They were scared that someone evil would be able to get access to the pictures and exercise black magic on them. Furthermore, women would make sure that their men would not discover that they were photographed. Taking pictures was consequently

an issue of trust. On some occasions I knew that it would be inappropriate to take out my camera; photographing at weddings was such a delicate issue. Too many older women present refused to be captured on a piece of paper.

Summing up

The foregoing chapter reports about the process of entering the field. It discusses methodological considerations of anthropology at home to provide a theoretical apporach to the challenges that I had first faced. Also the development of multi-sited research and the differentiation of ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation is elucidated to position the present work. Different steps that were taken to collect a variety of field data are illustrated. It has been shown that several of the techniques applied went through changes to adapt to the specific requirements in the field.

The following chapter adds greater detail to the portrait of ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation. It then proceeds to a description of Frankfurt as field site, providing insight into current research on Moroccan migration in Germany.

II.II Framing Ethnography

Being In and Being Out

Participant observation as the central method of ethnographic fieldwork always inherits the dilemma of finding the right balance between intimacy and distance. I have already briefly touched on the problem (see II.I Doing Fieldwork. Ethnographic Fieldwork and Participant Observation). However, the dynamic of 'being in and out' is of such importance to anthropological methodology, and, since it has accompanied me during fieldwork and has proved a practically irresolvable question, it requires further consideration.

Participating and observing at the same time seems impossible, as one needs to perform two mutually contradictory actions: the researcher is required to adopt an objective position from an external vantage point, while at the same time being asked to participate in social situations and to behave in the same manner as his informants. This holistic approach harks back to the early phases of anthropology when Bronislaw Malinowski published his work on the Trobrianders and his insights into the character of his fieldwork in Oceania. His works were called "mythopoeic" as they drafted an ideal of anthropological research against which later anthropologists would measure their work (Stocking 1983:110). Malinowski conducted fieldwork on Omarakana (Trobriand Islands) from 1915 to 1918 employing the methods of collecting, manipulating, and fixing evidence (Malinowski 1922:6). He called his research technique Participant Observation, referring to the then acknowledged scientific method of empirical observation, and added his first-hand experience: participation. It was an unambiguous criticism of 'armchair anthropologists', who, instead of doing research themselves never left their offices and analyzed travel reports written by traders. Observation, however maintained its superior position until, in 1960, Casagrande (1960) edited ‚In the company of Man', which emphasized the personal experience of participant observation. In subsequent years other ethnographies followed, using an autobiographical style and stressing the sentiments of the researcher and the impact of these on research results (Read 1965; Powdermaker 1966). It became evident that the anthropologist acts as a human agent

studying other human beings (Georges and Jones 1980; Kaplan Daniels 1983; Krieger 1985; Stacey 1988; Ganguly-Scrase 1995).

Participant observation always "requires that researchers use their social selves as a primary research tool" (Hume and Mulcock 2004:xvii). Or as Sherry Ortner writes: Ethnography "has always meant the attempt to understand another life world by using the self, as much of it as possible, as the instrument of knowing" (Ortner 1995:173).

It is the researchers' body, his voice and expression, his general appearance and way of interacting with others that has a strong impact on the research process. The gathering of detailed and delicate information about the life of the informants relies substantially on trustworthy relationships, which the researcher builds between himself and the people with whom he is working. Only if the researcher manages to successfully interact with others will his research be fruitful. Participant observation is therefore dependent on the interpersonal skills of the researcher. This also implies that a separation of the private and pre-existing self from the researcher self is impossible and that a conflict between the different roles a researcher is obliged to adopt is all but avoidable.

Stationary ethnographic fieldwork demands that the fieldworker becomes part of a new geographical, cultural and social setting. The researcher participates in the life of his informants to learn about their values, beliefs and symbols. This interaction is not limited to a certain time during the day or week, but is set up as an ongoing process, which lasts for months or years. It happens day and night and requires the complete dedication and involvement of the researcher. Fieldwork and participant observation are therefore most likely to change not only the life of the informants, but also that of the anthropologist.

The different roles of the ethnographer, especially in field situations of anthropology at home, become blurred. In such a setting the researcher is required to dedicate him self completely to the field of research, in spite of obligations he may have connected with his former private and/or professional life, which he is unable to escape since he remains within the area.

When carrying out fieldwork within the Moroccan community in Frankfurt I recall having constantly felt divided: friends of mine from school, with whom it would have been nice to meet 'after work' for a drink once in a while lived in the city. Though at the beginning of fieldwork I sometimes met them in a bar or café, I later stopped doing so because I had set up valuable contacts to Moroccans and had found my place as a researcher. I was afraid of being seen in an inappropriate context. The more the fieldwork went on, the more it evolved into a twenty-four hour occupation precluding other responsibilities. It was around this time that I also stopped riding my bicycle. No Moroccan woman would have ever biked through town, so I felt that it was not appropriate for me either. My private life began to change the more I became involved in the community. Consequently, participating meant giving up parts of my former way of life and adapting to my informants' life world. The sense of being torn was especially poignant, as I had not really left the area in which I had spent my former life as a student. Though I had moved from a university town in Southwest Germany to Frankfurt, I was still in Germany and family and friends lived not that far away. Furthermore, I had obligations with the graduate school at which I was studying. It was those people who would challenge my behavior and the way I began to change. German friends and colleagues regularly commented on my dress style. A long skirt would then become a symbol for my 'Moroccanization'. The fact that I covered my arms and legs even during the hottest summer days was seen as a sign of my exaggeration and over-adaptation. For the Moroccans I had gotten to know, by contrast, it was a sign that I was serious about my desire to learn from them. It required this acknowledgement and trust in order to realize the fieldwork project.

Anthropologists who carry out anthropology at home often face the dilemma of having to live between two worlds, as their former and present life is not locally separated. I often experienced this as a stressful situation, since I found myself unable to entirely dedicate myself to either side. When in the process of analyzing my data and reflecting upon field work and the many conversations and interviews I had with teenagers and young adults, I am now grateful to have experienced such an inner conflict: to some extent it resembles the experience of many young Moroccans. For many of them, the sentiment of being torn accompanies them constantly in their everyday life. They feel neither exclusively Moroccan, nor German. The situation of not belonging to either

side is experienced in the way representatives of the German majority and/or Moroccan relatives, neighbors and friends react negatively upon their choice of hairstyles, their dress, language skills or choice of close friends. The difference however was that I always had the opportunity of switching back to the old setting in which I used to live before fieldwork. For my Moroccan friends the sentiment of being torn was, and still is, a constant companion in their lives.

Because I was an unmarried young woman in her late 20s at the time I carried out fieldwork, I was perceived, symbolically, as belonging to the so-called "third generation"[10], young Moroccans, teenagers and adolescents whose grandparents once migrated to Germany. Older Moroccan women especially treated me in a similar manner to the way in which they would treat their granddaughters or nieces, and rebuke me when not acting in the way they saw fit. During the first months of fieldwork it happened quite often that I would meet older women in the music and clothing boutique who I had never met before. They approached me openly saying that my neckline was way too low and that I should do something about it. When I put on Mascara or Kajal they expressed their dislike without hesitation: "only married women are allowed to wear makeup!"

Carrying out anthropology at home is especially suitable for research projects dealing with migration. The ethnographer experiences similar situations as his or her informants. The conflict when having to adjust to the majority as well as to the minority and the feeling of not belonging only then becomes understandable when experienced by the researchers' self. Experience is the actual strength of participant observation and sets it apart from other forms of research. "Participation allows you to experience activities directly, to get a feel of what events are like, and to record your own perceptions" (Spradley 1980:51). It is just these self-made perceptions about which the researcher must be aware. Pure participation and experience would mean that the researcher adopts the identity of a full participant of the culture under observation. Part of what would constitute such an over-adjustment would be the loss

[10] The categories of first, second, third or fourth generation migrants is problematic because many people belonging to the latter are not migrants in the original sense of the term. They were born in Germany, German is their language and they feel at home in Frankfurt, Düsseldorf or wherever they live in Germany. I use the category here since there is no other term to refer to a particular group of people of a similar age.

of analytical interest and the inability of the anthropologist to publish his material. This process of pure participation has been described as “going native” (Jorgensen 1989).

In a well-functioning research process the experience of participating in the field requires constant reflection in the sense that the anthropologist observes him or herself and the corresponding reactions and feelings whilst still collecting data. In addition to a sketchbook for field notes, a diary in which the anthropologists’ reflections are noted on a daily basis is a necessary instrument for the vigilant control of the balance between intimacy and distance. Critically scrutinizing one’s own behavior during the process of analyzing data is also helpful. Fieldwork and participant observation are often discussed as extremely personal, a fact which does not necessarily help the acceptance and credibility of anthropological results.

> “Many cultural anthropologists tend to romanticize fieldwork to the point of making a fetish out of it, claiming that their field experience gives them insights into the nature of human society that no other discipline can provide. This insight, they contend, stems from the fact that anthropological fieldwork is an intensely personal experience. The difficulty in communicating the nature of this experience makes their colleagues in other fields rather suspicious of anthropology’s claim to superior insight.” (Dentan 1970:87)

Anthropology has long been a field of study that perceived culture and society from a natural scientific point of view. The value of the ethnographers’ experience and of reflexivity only became clear after a general shift of representation in anthropology (Carrithers 1992; Scholte 1972). Culture and society were no longer perceived as countable and collectable, but rather as something to be learned. Carrithers talks about two kinds of knowledge involved in fieldwork. The first of these is the everyday knowledge people need for organizing their life: to survive and to learn about local reasons, standards and motives the anthropologist must engage in this sort of knowledge. Once returned home and analyzing the field data, the anthropologist then transforms this into a second and critical knowledge of comparison. It then becomes interesting to compare the studied culture and society with others, particularly that of the anthropologist.

Reflexivity can be revealing in that it provides a direct account of the interaction of the fieldworker and those he studies. Salzman, in his rather critical paper on the value of reflexivity formulates this as follows:

> "Just as the mathematician must construct a proof, the physicist must organize an experiment, and the sociologist must consult census or interview data, the anthropologist must test his or her insight by means of observation of events, practices, distributions, expressions, and interactions. If we are studying people's lives, we cannot privilege our impressions as authoritative, even under such an impressive label as "reflexivity"; rather, we must measure our ideas against people's lives. This line of thought however leads us away from positionality and subjectivity and poens us to accusations of 'realism' and 'positivism': What we may conclude […], is that reflexivity considering our feelings and reactions will, almost inevitably, give us impressions and ideas about what is going on in the societies we are studying." (Salzman 2002:808)

One crucial experience I had during fieldwork involved understanding the dynamics of wearing the headscarf. I had been living in the Bahnhofsviertel in Frankfurt for a few months by this time: regularly visiting the greengrocer's shop and the clothing boutique I started feeling uncomfortable about being on most occasions the only unveiled woman. Nobody ever commented on wearing or not wearing a veil. However, I felt a subtle, unspoken pressure in connection with adequate headdress. I started thinking about wearing a headscarf myself. One afternoon in the boutique a client wanted to see how a certain veil looked when worn. She did not wish to try it on herself, as she was already wearing a veil, which she did not want to put aside. Akila asked whether I wanted to be her model for a while. I volunteered and was soon covered with a black-and- white veil, which concealed my hair. I remember having a strangely mixed feeling of safety and irritation. I can still vividly picture the appreciative expressions on the women's faces in the boutique. It was seen as a sign of belonging. Akila told me to keep the veil as a present, and I started wearing it. Of course, there were several situations in which I felt very uncomfortable and was ashamed of my headdress, but as time went by this feeling vanished. Wearing the headscarf aided my move into the community more than I thought. By wearing a highly symbolic item of clothing, my Moroccan friends seriously appreciated my

efforts to adjust to their way of life. As my natural appearance is rather dark, people constantly claimed that I began looking like a “real Moroccan”, which also gave me more credibility for the field project. Being veiled and walking around in Frankfurt I also realized that the German majority perceived me differently. Again this was subtle, but suddenly I was able to understand what Moroccan women said and felt when talking about their experiences of being a veiled woman in Germany. It was as if the people in the street were talking with their eyes, expressing something between rejection and fear.

I have documented this personal experience in my dairy and field notebook. While fieldwork was progressing I could always go back to my notes and ask informants whether their experiences had been similar. The exchange of experiences rendered interview situations vivid and reliable. It also prompted me to ask questions that may not have occurred to me before, such as the subtle unspoken pressure I sensed about wearing a headscarf. When analysing my material back home at my desk, such personal experiences helped me to compare field notes I had documented with relevant sequences in other ethnographies.

Reflexivity, at least, provides the reader of ethnographies with useful information with which he may then access the reports. It provides a glimpse into the perspective from which the research findings evolved.

Frankfurt as Field Site

When considering Germany and its history of immigration, one notices that the Moroccan community is far from being recognized as an important group. There are a total of 117,138 Moroccans[11] living in Germany, compared to a total population of 2,604,318 Turks[12]. Moroccans are often perceived as Turks. Only in two regions are Moroccans recognized as a separate ethnic group: the Ruhr area and the Northern Rhineland, including Düsseldorf, Dortmund and Cologne, and the Rhine-Main area, including Frankfurt, Offenbach and Rüsselsheim, all of which represent the major centers of Moroccan life in Germany. Frankfurt stands out with the biggest Moroccan community. At the end of 2004 the citizens center for statistics and elections of the city of Frankfurt registered 6792 Moroccan citizens.[13] By comparison, Düsseldorf recorded 5367 Moroccans living within the city borders at the end of 2005.[14]

Districts with the highest Moroccan populations	People	
	Absolute	in %
Gallus	569	8,4
Griesheim	470	6.9
Nied	346	5,1
Bockenheim	268	3,9
Hoechst	254	3,7
Ostend	251	3,7
Fechenheim	249	3,7
Schwanheim	239	3,5
Zeilsheim	237	3,5
Sossenheim	221	3,3
Heddernheim	219	3,2
Total	3 323	48,9
remaining districts	3 469	51,1
City total	6 792	100

Table 1
Spread of Moroccan Migrants within the Districts of the City of Frankfurt

The concentration of Moroccans in the Southern part of Hessen is particularly conspicuous. It is estimated that there are about 40.000 Moroccans in the Rhine-Main area. People living in Frankfurt and surrounding villages and towns can be seen as belonging to one community. They have family and friends in the area, know where to find a Moroccan electrician or hair-dresser and are prepared to commute greater distances to carry out all manner of tasks within their Moroccan network (see

[11] 45.423 of them are naturalized (Schmidt-Fink 2006).
[12] About 840.000 of them are naturalized (Halm 2005).
[13] Frankfurter Statistik aktuell (Aktuell 2005), Marokkanische Staatsangehörige in Frankfurt am Main, Nr.18/2005. Without accounting for naturalized persons.
[14] Amt für Statistik und Wahlen der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf 2005). Without accounting for naturalized persons.

also IV. Family and Social Networks). Though the community is fairly closed, there is no evidence of the development of a Moroccan Ghetto within Frankfurt or its surrounding towns. One exception to this may be a part of Dietzenbach, to the Southeast of Frankfurt, which hosts only migrants, many of them of Moroccan origin. This area holds no attraction to Moroccans and is seen as a place where only people of low income and inferior social status live. I became acquainted with many Moroccans who initially lived there when arriving in Germany. They moved into another district of Frankfurt or Offenbach as soon as they had the opportunity. Dietzenbach was also the only city in Germany, which developed tendencies of social unrest in autumn of 2005, comparable to the uprising in French suburbs (Einfeldt 2005).

Within Frankfurt, Moroccans live predominantly in the Western districts of the city. Most Moroccans live in the Gallus, Griesheim and Nied (see also Tab.1).

Six of the eight Moroccan mosques are located West of the train station in remote areas of Höchst, Griesheim and the Gutleutviertel. Moroccan associations, like the 'maison du maghreb", can also be found in the area. Grocery shops and boutiques are located in the Bahnhofsviertel, some of them in the respective quarters with many Moroccan inhabitants. During fieldwork I asked people about the places they regularly visit to organize and structure their everyday life. Where do people go to buy their groceries and other daily supplies? Where to they go to have their car repaired?

Mimoun explained to me that Frankfurt is covered by a Moroccan net, an invisible structure that spans all over the city and helps people to orient them selves. Moroccan hairdressers, bakers, mosques, lawyers, morticians, banks, garages, doctors, associations, and all sorts of other services as well as the private homes of family and friends link this net. All Moroccan locations are inscribed in mental maps among the people with whom I had contact. If certain needs and necessities could not be fulfilled within this Moroccan network, people switched to Turkish, Palestinian or other migrant facilities. It was quite evident that if truly Moroccan structures were not available, then one would at least use Muslim networks.

It was early summer when Loubna celebrated her ninth birthday. She had invited several classmates and children of befriended families. While a birthday does not normally call for celebration, Loubna's mother, Malika, used the event as an

opportunity to invite other women. Loubna, her oldest daughter and her niece had spent the whole morning preparing all sorts of food and decorating the overloaded plates. The kitchen looked as if they were going to host more than forty people. For the children Malika had had prepared several tarts, beautifully colored and decorated and topped with whipped cream. She was proud to explain that she had purchased them at a Turkish bakery in the Bahnhofsviertel. However, they were made in Stuttgart at a special Turkish patisserie and then shipped to Frankfurt. It was a real Muslim tart, Malika explained, stressing the fact, that there was no Moroccan baker in town, who could have supplied them. In order to obtain high quality food, Malika at least used the opportunity to buy in a Turkish shop.

The tendency to consume Moroccan, Muslim or perhaps Migrant goods is prevalent. It is a statement of identity and position and a clear signal for people to set themselves apart from German cultural, social and economic structures (see also IV. Family and Social Networks).

Frankfurt provides the facilities for such behavior. Together with Stuttgart and Munich it was one of the cities, whose numbers of inhabitants exploded after World War II. Its economic potential was prosperous. Throughout the 1950s the number of employed rose to approx. 64% (Karpf 1993:124). Many industries were particularly in need of unskilled workers and took advantage of the treaties Germany had signed with Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, Morocco, Tunisia and Yugoslavia to hire people from these countries. Besides this hired migration and the influx of refugees and other migrants, Frankfurt and its banker community attracted a high number of economists and other employees working in the finance and service sector. Today, Frankfurt is considered as having the biggest cultural variety in terms of the ethnic and/or cultural-social background of its inhabitants. People from more than 178 countries live in the city (Greverus et al. 1998:5). Frankfurt's 'multicultural flair' is presently one of the features the city propagates for tourist advertising.

Since there are about 40.000 Moroccans living in the greater Frankfurt area, the public is aware of this migrant group. Moroccan mosques and associations are recognized and there is a considerable number of Moroccans involved in local politics and civic social organizations. Furthermore, in the 1980s and 1990s Moroccan youth came to be known for drug dealing around the Konstabler Wache, a subway station in

central Frankfurt. This, and the problems many Moroccan teenagers experienced in school, endorsed a rather negative public perception of the community.

However, Moroccans in Frankfurt or in Germany in general, have attracted as good as no researchers from the social or cultural sciences (Pfaffenberger 1990). The existing publications referring to the situation of Moroccans in certain German cities lack in-depth knowledge of the communities. These are: Düsseldorf (Plücken-Opolka 1985), Dortmund (Ouakif and Streibel 1986), and Frankfurt (Weber 1992; Weigt and Lorke 1995; Weigt 1996). Mehlem gives a short overview of Moroccans living in Germany (Mehlem 1996). Other works only focus on single aspects of the communities: return migrants in the province of Nador (Waltner 1988), Moroccan students in Germany (Roggenthin 2000; Penitsch 2003), Moroccan women in the Ruhr area (Maas et al. 2001), language abilities of children and teenagers (Tilmatine 1992; 1994; Mehlem 1998; Maas and Mehlem 2004; Bouras 2006), the situation in schools and pedagogical institutions (Ostersetzer 1981; Jungblut 1990), and perceptions of Germans and Moroccans (Popp 1994). Only one publication gives a more detailed description of Rifis in Frankfurt (Schroeter 1997), while another integrates interviews with Moroccan women into a study of Muslim women in Germany (Schroeter 2002).

The marginal socio-demographic situation of Moroccans in Germany is mirrored to the extent it has been scientifically covered. Moroccans disappear behind the well-organized Turkish communities, who managed to attract the major part of initiatives from the German state or from NGOs engaged in issues of migrants.

One man in his mid-forties expressed the situation thus: “The Turks are our bigger brother. We admire them for what they have organized in Germany, but we are also jealous. When we see how many associations, social institutions and all sorts of facilities they have established, we feel small and insignificant. Turks have not been in Germany for a longer period of time than we have, but they are many more in number.”

Marginalization gnaws. It runs however like a thread through peoples lives and forms the backbone of the stories referred to in the present work.

Summing up

The previous chapter considered the challenges of ethnographic fieldwork at greater detail and dealt with the contradictory notion of participating versus observing as well as with the difficulties of conducting fieldwork at home. Providing examples from the field in Frankfurt, it showed the advantages of anthropology at home in understanding the position of inbetweenness that many of the informants had described when referring to their lives between Germany and Morocco. The first part of the chapter concludes with the prerequisite of fieldwork to be reflexive in order to assure insight into the evolvement of the ethnographic data.

The second part of the chapter instead described the field situation in Frankfurt and refers to the general state of research on Moroccan migrants in Germany. Their marginalized position, it is shown, is even mirrored in the scientific covering as there has not been much research on the Moroccan diaspora communities in Germany so far.

III. Migration and Movement

III.I Materializing Identity

The following chapters portray the different and partially contradictory dynamics of Moroccan migration to Europe and, more especially, to Germany. It will be shown that migrating and being a migrant has implications for the identification of individuals as well as for the group of Moroccans living in the diaspora. Processes of identifying, it will be argued, are not only rooted in interpersonal or inter-group interactions but also appear in the treating and dealing with material goods, such as food, music and real estate. The chapters centre on ethnographic material collected during fieldwork and cover different genres such as song texts, field notes, interview material and advertisement brochures used as a source for information. It concludes that a deeper understanding of the processes of migration always involves the consideration of peoples' embeddedness in Morocco.

Migration, Ubiquitous

Migration is a topic present in manifold situations. It is constantly discussed, written about in community journals, sung about in pop songs and is generally used as a mode of identification among the diaspora. This may have particular relevance for the situation of Moroccans in Germany as their status as migrants is, for many, accompanied by insecurities in terms of policies. To talk about ones 'papers' then becomes a matter of understanding the problems many people face in their everyday life. In the Bahnhofsviertel shops such issues were talked about at length, while the background music often dealt with the same topics. Getting a visa, having difficulties in legalizing one's stay in Europe are topics for singers and songwriters and illustrate the perspective of Moroccans planning to move across the Mediterranean. The following lyrics offer an example:

”Yedjesse O‘ Alimane” (Germany’s daughter) from Brahim Wassim
[Translation: M.B., C.O.]

I know if I was married with Germany’s daughter
I would spend my life with her
She would make me young

She would grant me everything
With what she has
She would give me a visa
With which I can cross the water
I will marry Germany’s daughter

I know if I was married with Germany’s daughter
I would spend my life with her
She would make me young

Frankfurt’s daughter, with you my wishes come true
I will shed my worries that have taken root
I will marry Germany’s daughter

I know if I was married with Germany’s daughter
I would spend my life with her
She would make me young

I have met her in the months of the hot summer
When they came home
And impressed people

I know if I was married with Germany’s daughter
I would spend my life with her
She would make me young

The song is written from the perspective of a young man who is living along the Moroccan coast of the Mediterranean waiting for an opportunity to leave his country and move to Europe, specifically to Germany. During the hot summer months, he says, he fell in love with a girl who was on a visit from Frankfurt. The song changes between the modes of certainty and desire or hope. In its focus it also varies on the fulfillment of an individual lifeline and the realization of a desired love. It was written in 2005 and is an example of a particular style in Maghrebian pop music. It can be classified as Rif music, a rather traditional style with pop elements. The songwriter, Brahim Wassim, is especially well-known in Northern Morocco, as he only sings in Thamazight.

In the refrain the singer refers to his love for Germany's daughter, meaning a Moroccan girl that grew up in Germany. He promises that he 'would spend his life with her, and that she would make him young'. Several topics are addressed here: spending one's life with the desired partner refers to the problem of many transnational marriages in that the wedded couple are often divorced soon after the partner moving from Morocco to Germany has obtained his/her legal status. In Germany, this is temporarily the case after the couple has been married to each other for five years or longer. To enter into transnational marriage is often only done for reasons of resident permits and has recently become an important summer business[15]. Promising that one wants to spend one's life with a partner is a confession that he/she really has fell in love and is not only marrying to obtain a residence permit. However, the next line "she would make me young" indicates the opposite, namely, the chance for the young man to fulfill his dreams of living legally and free of worries in Europe. Here the naiveté of the portrayed young man is blatant. He pictures the desired marriage as the solution to all his problems and worries, and feels that he will win back the ease of youthfulness. This should be understood against the background of the hardship many people face in Morocco. To make a living is particularly difficult for the younger well-educated generation. With their degrees

[15] Lately the policy has changed. A partner moving from Morocco to Germany willing to marry someone living in Germany now needs to prove that he/she has skills in speaking German – for many a serious hindrance to migrate by marriage.

they seldom find employment and often end up working in agriculture or temporary, low paid jobs.

The three verses refer to this vigorous dynamic in more detail. The protagonist first talks about his wishes that will come true if he marries the desired girl, while straight away afterwards refers to his urgent needs of obtaining a visa. The problem of not being able to leave the country can only be surmounted in gaining something that "she has". This connection forces the young man into a position of complete dependence upon his future wife, a fact that reverses the existing gender relations. Many transnational relationships that consist in a woman that grew up in Europe and a husband that moved from Morocco to Germany only after the marriage deal with new gender roles. Often the women are the breadwinners of the family. They are fluent in German, if it is not already their mother tongue, while their husbands often only speak Tamazight and perhaps some Arabic, and experience major difficulties in adjusting to their new life situation. Those challenges are serious burdens for a marriage and contribute to the high divorce rate even before the expiry of the five years required for legal reasons.

The second verse poetically refers to the problem of leaving one's home. Not only do the worries have strong roots, but so also does the person in his or her needs for belonging and identity. The author consciously draws on a metaphor from botany to express the natural process of being located in and attached to a particular place on earth. The landscape shapes the people and gives them support and security. At the same time it is a dramatic place to live. Droughts, unemployment and a general feeling of hopelessness are directly linked to Moroccan soil. "Shedding ones worries that took root" (asl') is therefore a metaphor for overcoming a state of passiveness and a longing for a better live. At the same time, it is ironically connected to the abandonment of one's perceived home. After all, living abroad in foreign regions is accompanied by loneliness and instability, a literary theme that can be found particularly in the early literature of migrants[16]. While in the early phases men came to Europe on their own and left their families behind in Morocco, today people (men and women) who move do so with the aim of becoming integrated into existing

[16] A Moroccan example is Mohammed Mhaimahs (1992) story: "Wenn Dortmund an Casablance grenzen würde"" [If Dortmund would share a border with Casablanca].

families, or to establish new families abroad. Even if they encounter another societal situation upon their arrival the feeling of being alone persists.

The song about Germany's daughter is critical in that it silently addresses issues like broken marriages and feelings of loneliness. This notion of critique becomes particularly obvious in the third verse. Here the protagonist talks about his encounter with his desired wife to be. He has met her during the summer months when many migrants spend their vacation in their beautifully decorated and ostentatious houses in Morocco. "When they came home and impressed people" refers to the migrant's tendencies of displaying the successes they are supposed to have accumulated in Europe. The cars, the clothing and jewelry and the way marriages are celebrated during the months of summer return, prompt people into believing that luxury can easily be gained while living and working in Europe. During the summer months Moroccan cities along, or close to the Mediterranean shore, become a big centre of consumerism and theatre. Walking along the boulevards feels like being on a catwalk, as one of my Moroccan friends once put it. The fact that the majority of possessions displayed might not really belong to their supposed owners is questioned within the last line of the third verse as the market of renting and leasing, especially during the summer months, is flourishing.

Though the song "Yedjesse O'Alimane" (Germany's daughter) consists of only a few verses, it addresses several topics important in the context of Moroccan migration to Germany. It achieves this through the play of metaphors and hints that are linked to people's experiences and discussions. The story being told might just as well be told in the stores of the Bahnhofsviertel. It is part of the socio-cultural knowledge with which Moroccans create and reinvent community life in Frankfurt, as well as in the transnational space. Shaping the community within the diaspora is at least based on a collectively spoken language, on shared experiences, history and similar challenges that people face. Migration, including all aspects of organizing everyday life situations then becomes a ubiquitous topic and helps create collective identity.

Returning Goods

Each summer thousands of Moroccans return from all over Europe to spend their vacation 'at home'. It is a significant occasion in the year's cycle and the result of hard work in the diaspora. Weeks and months of costly and lavish preparation are spent for the trip. Presents need to be bought, import permits need to be organized.

In May 2005, I accompanied one of the families I knew on their shopping tours around Frankfurt and the surrounding communities on an almost daily basis. We were studying advertising campaigns to find out where to get the best deals to buy perfume and items of personal hygiene articles. I was surprised by the items that were chosen. Kitchen articles, such as tinfoil or tissues, Saima explained to me, can only be found on the black market in Nador and are extremely expensive. We bought a large supply of them. The more we shopped and accumulated all sorts of household materials, the more I realized that the trip to Morocco needed to be very well organized, since it is a annually recurring and important opportunity to supply family members in Morocco with all manners of goods. In Morocco, family represents a state of dependence. Only with the support of their brothers and sisters, parents and children living in Europe are they able to maintain their relatively high standards of living. In addition to financial support, rare or extremely expensive goods on the Moroccan market are important items to them.

Picture 6
German license plates as decoration in a cabin of a Moroccan garden

In the following weeks, next to loads of food packages, like sugar and flour, we also purchased a used stove, a fridge, windows, a twin baby stroller and new pots. Later that summer, when walking around in the garden of one of the families in Annual, Morocco, I discovered many more items that were once transferred from Morocco to Germany: cars obviously belong to the most visible items, but also stacks of toilet paper, towels, pencils or linen once purchased in Europe can be found in the houses, and even plants. While showing me around his

newly built house in a little Moroccan village, one man in his early forties proudly pointed out the peach and apple trees, which were growing in his garden. He had just imported them from Germany through one of his brothers who lived in Frankfurt. He himself had his permanent residency in the Netherlands, but could not get such a good offer for fruit trees as his brother had. Even his little orchard on Moroccan ground mirrors his transnational orientation.

Picture 7
German fruit trees in a Moroccan Garden

While in Frankfurt and preparing the trip lengthy discussions would ensure about what sort of presents would be best for family members and friends in Morocco. Nobody should be left out of account and it was important that the value of the presents would correspond to the intensity of the relationship with the receiver of the gift. Considerable time was spent on such questions and it happened on a number of occasions that after detailed discussions, purchased items would be brought back to the shops and exchanged since it was felt that they might not in the end have been an adequate item to give as a present. The presents were, after all, a reconfirmation of existing relationships between the people living in Morocco and those in the diaspora.

Accordingly, the state of dependence needs to be understood in a double sense. For those still living in Morocco, dependency is linked to financial support. Those living in Europe, by contrast, are emotionally and ideologically dependent on their family in Morocco. In case something goes wrong in the diaspora there is always a place to which to return. Indeed, it seemed to me that the connection to Morocco is related to questions of identity and belonging. By the support they demonstrated, the migrants would feel themselves connected to their supposed home country and thereby feel a little more “Moroccan”. At least they feel needed by those remaining in Morocco. Besides the confirmation of their personal sentiment of belonging, the relationship of giving and of and receiving is an expression of existing power relations. Such

structures however also need to be reconfirmed. Presents represent a good way of doing this in that they help to build and maintain strong relationships.

Some migrant families assume the role of patrons and generously distribute presents to the ones who do not belong to their consanguine family, but are nevertheless directly dependent on them. Employees in Morocco, who run the shops owned by migrants living in Europe, would generally receive an extra sum of money, and same goes for people looking after the migrant houses while they were absent. It is also common, though not openly talked about, that the 'patrons' help in the accumulation of a future husband's dowry. Some migrants enjoy seeing themselves in the role of the givers. Their generosity is emblematic of their success in the diaspora.

While gifts can strengthen connections, they also help to build demarcation lines, as the following example illustrates. The items we purchased whilst preparing for the trip did not necessarily mirror the taste of those who purchased them. While buying several pairs of pink and red plastic sandals elaborately decorated with beads and bands, Saima, a seventeen-year old, almost apologetically commented: "I would never buy them for myself, and I am sure nobody would wear them here in Germany, but in Morocco they are coveted. People love them and, of course, they don't know that they are really cheap. They think we bought them something very special." When buying shoes that did not match her taste, Saima documents that she differs from those family members living in Morocco. It is a statement with which she positions herself at a great distance to the perceived ignorant family members in Morocco. Especially for teenagers and young adults clothing represents an important distinguishing mark to set them apart and to demonstrate that they belong not to Morocco, but to Europe. Whether or not a person locates him or herself in Morocco or in the diaspora depends on age, length of stay in the diaspora, educational background and personal experience. Clothing however has an important role in such processes.

As indicated in the above, the giving of gifts during the months of summer return has several functions. These functions are financial support and societal reputation on the Moroccan side and emotional and ideological support extended to those living in Europe. Gift giving also strengthens power relations and helps to create and recreate demarcation lines. It is an act that embodies contradictory, though timely parallel functions and which maintains the connections between Morocco and the diaspora.

Returned Feelings

A free CD cover also illustrates different aspects of returning. It was distributed by a Moroccan Bank in Frankfurt and shows three important areas characteristic for the summer return (from left to right): consumerism as part of Moroccan life style, participation in authenticity and renewal and the strengthening of social relations. The major modes of transportation are to be seen in addition to these three characteristics. People either choose to travel by car, and ferry for the sea passage, or they take the plane directly to Morocco or to Southern Spain before continuing their journey by ferry. Low-cost carriers, such as Ryan Air, recently began offering flights to and from Frankfurt and Nador. Though frequently used, flight is still not the major mode of transportation, since people are required to restrict their luggage drastically and are no longer able to transport the same amount of support items so important to their families.

Picture 8
CD-Advertisement of a Moroccan Bank that was given to clients in early summer 2005

The French title of the CD "Bonne Route 2005" is translated into five languages that with the exception of English, refer to the countries hosting the greatest number of Moroccan migrants: Germany, Netherlands, Spain and Italy.

'Consuming Moroccan life style', is what I would entitle the picture on the left. It shows a man in a *djellaba* (traditional long robe worn by men and women) elaborately pouring *a'thai* (sweet mint tee) into many glasses. He is seated on a red *staria* (Moroccan couch), in front of traditional tile ornaments that decorate the wall. The fez he is wearing is hardly visible due to the layout of the picture. The scene refers to the migrant's longing for "Moroccanness".

However, Moroccanness is here displayed in a central Moroccan style: traditional houses and clothing in the Rif are far chaster. The manner in which the man is dressed, and particularly the tile decorations on the wall, shows the style of intellectual and upper class *dechelia* (Central Morocco). After people began migrating from the Northern parts of Morocco this *dechelia*-style was en vogue in the Rif. It symbolizes the success of the Rifians and shows that they can keep up with the living standard of Arabs. It is a taste presently considered as desirable, even if it is a newly invented tradition. Rifians, though they tend to copy that style, historically developed another way of decorating their houses and dressing themselves. Migration must therefore be understood as a motor for change and a trigger for the invention of tradition.

In Frankfurt, people regularly explained to me, that while being in Germany they miss the freshly brewed teas, the good food and the way of serving and eating it together with many family members. Accordingly, during the months of summer return this lack of consuming real Moroccan food must be overcome. Groceries always belong to the most authentic items that one literally incorporates into one's body. Through this process of eating and drinking, people renew and establish their Maroccanness. "*Hrira*, you need to eat *hrira* (traditional Rifian pea soup), then you are one of us", as a Moroccan woman commented in connection with the process of my Maroccanization at the outset of my research. A day rarely passed during fieldwork in Frankfurt, as well as in the Moroccan villages that was not peppered with comments on how food differed between Morocco and Germany. As soon as the Moroccan grocery stores in the Bahnhofsviertel received fresh vegetables and fruits, privately imported through a pensioner, the news spread like wildfire. Everybody wanted to have the goods grown on Moroccan soil. Hence, the picture on the free CD cover is to be understood as a reference to Moroccan ways of life, which is to be enjoyed, consumed and inhaled in all its facets during the time of summer return. It is an expression of being part of the Moroccan community.

'Participation in authenticity', as I would entitle the second picture on the CD cover, has similar references. Here one can see several musicians playing the *bendir* (tambourine). The men are most likely members of a fraternity. Whether they belong to a Sufi-brotherhood performing trance ritual, or to a group of musicians that simply

plays folklore songs, cannot be said. The overlaps of these two genres are anyway considerable and to discern differences only by means of a picture is hardly possible. What they always do have in common however is their style of music. It is a rhythmic dance style dominated by the tambourine and the devotional verses of the chants. The songs deal with either religious or cultural topics.

During the months of summer return such groups are hired for the celebration of marriages, betrothals and circumcisions, or for the feast of naming a newborn child. The presence of a fraternity or a folklore music group is considered purely Moroccan. It is an important marker for the cultural and national differentiation and forms part of the processes of identification. When talking to couples in Frankfurt who are financially unable to hold a marriage celebration in Morocco, it became clear that what they regretted most was their inability to acquire a real Moroccan band. Their guests, and the community as a whole, would than refer to such a marriage celebration as being impure. Authenticity, so it turned out was missing.

Fraternities are deeply linked to Moroccan tradition and history. Religious as well as cultural aspects are united within those groups. They are perceived as touching the inner truth of being as they enable people to connect with god and to the spirits. This is achieved by means of trance rituals. Listening and dancing to their music induces frenzy-like states and temporarily transports people into another world. However, these passages are felt both with ardor and rejection. Their arcane and mystic characteristics have a magnetic effect, though they are also often labeled as being trivial, antediluvian and wild. Still hardly any celebration passes without at least a hint on it. Women rhythmically throw up their heads while dancing and their intonations while chanting allows others to detect the metaphoric indications of trance.

I would go as far to claim that the attractiveness and the boom in fraternities and their supposedly inherited authenticity are to some extent rooted in the longing for traditional roots among migrants. Couples from the European diaspora especially tend to engage a music group of such a style. They may never have witnessed a frenzy or trance ritual themselves, but feel that the presence of the fraternity experts lends to the celebration a serious authentic Moroccanness.

Music is generally an important issue when it comes to questions of belonging and rootedness. It is a widespread media enjoyed by people of all ages. The preferred music styles differ depending on the generations. However, this is not the case with music played at marriage ceremonies or other important liminal passages in people's lives. There is a well-established business music CD production particularly for such events as these. The compilation "Le marriage maroccaine", for example, is considered a must. Though one can buy a variety of wedding music, the pureness of a celebration can only be ensured if a fraternity is hired.

Hence, the picture on the CD cover refers to the migrants longing for participation in and access to pure and authentic Moroccan life.

'The renewal and strengthening of social relations', is what I would call the third picture to the far right side of the CD cover, which shows a woman with elaborate henna decorations on her left hand. She has dark black hair and wears an arrestingly dark eye makeup. Her protruding necklace is barely visible. This outfit, a *bindi* (a Hindu symbol, normally a red point) on her forehead, her timid glance and her hand shyly covering her mouth indicates her status as a bride. During a marriage celebration a bride wears up to seven or more different robes, depending on the family's financial position. The *bindi* decoration is part of a costume called hindia. It became fashionable few years ago, when Indian Bollywood movies spread to Morocco and the Moroccan diaspora. During fieldwork I spent many evenings watching such romantic movies with girls and young women who were concerned with their marriages, which were to be planned some day in the future. The scenes showing dancers in lavishly decorated, though skimpy dresses, which barely covered the skin, prompted detailed discussions about what the women would wear during their own marriage celebration. In addition to the hindia dress that consisted of a Sari like rope and a *bindi*, traditional dresses such as elaborately decorated *kaftans* or the Western-oriented long white dress were also perceived as attractive. Whether the bride should wear rather westernized or traditional clothing was a topic of discussion. The extended families, neighbors, colleagues and friends of the bride and groom would all attend and judge the marriage and its decoration.

The time of summer return is filled with marriage celebrations. One of the major activities of the migrants is to attend one marriage after another while still in

Morocco. Many of the alliances are transnational, in that one partner grew up in Morocco while the other was born and lived in Europe. These arrangements help in obtaining European papers (visa) for the one who was previously resident in Morocco. Though the alliances are transnational they are not transcultural, as both partners identify themselves as Moroccans.[17] This aspect is important to many people. A marriage is, at the very least, the confirmation of intact relations between the home country and the diaspora. It is a process of binding and intensifying connections. Even if bride and groom were brought up in Europe, celebrating a marriage in Morocco provides the alliance with a stronger Moroccan framework and sets the stage for the various guests to themselves reinvent their Moroccanness.

Newly applied items like the Indian bindi on the bride's forehead of the CD cover do not disrupt the process of reinventing and strengthening social relations. The *bindi* is not originally Moroccan; though today it forms part of the decoration of a Moroccan marriage. Symbols and all manner of items such as dresses, food and furniture, once related to a specific regional culture, traverse invisible borders and are reintegrated in other parts of the world. Whereas they might loose or change their content and be attributed new meanings, they will finally be absorbed and perceived as always having existed in the new context. Much like the potato which having been brought to Europe from South America is now an integral part of traditional German cuisine.

Summing up, the CD cover from the Attijariwafa Bank shows the different aspects of summer return in that it refers to traditional aspects of Morocco that underlie changes and reinventions. Though, at a first glance, one sees three pictures referring to Moroccan ways of life, on closer inspection a more differentiated image of social processes characterized by constant change is revealed. The summer return allows the migrants to strengthen their links to Morocco and to reinvent their Moroccanness. It offers the chance for feelings to be reactivated and for migrants to identify with perceived origins.

[17] There might be however differences in the way the partners identify as Moroccans. Those can be so tremendous that the alliances might end in divorce (see IV.I Family and Social Networks. Family Formation).

Unaccepted Blend

The revival of feelings like Moroccanness does not function for all migrants. It is especially the younger generation that experiences serious difficulties in accepting its status of being located between Morocco and Germany and who questions its belonging to either country. Younger Moroccans were born and grew up in Germany and became acquainted with Morocco only for the few weeks of summer. In Germany however they are often attached or loosely incorporated into the Moroccan community, and even though they might have German papers they still do not entirely belong to their country of residence.[18] Some perceive this situation as difficult and hard to overcome, while others feel that their double identity can be an advantage on the job market and in everyday situations. A woman I once met in one of the shops in Frankfurt referred to these dynamics, going on to stress that this topic was very important to her and to other people of her age.

I was still at the beginning of fieldwork when I met her in the boutique at the Bahnhofsviertel. She had just recently been to Morocco and reported in great detail about the experiences of her trip. I was with four or five other women listening to her stories. The young woman was so absorbed in her report that she did not notice who was among her audience. At some point however she asked the others how they felt when they were in Morocco and only then realized that I, someone she did not know, was among her listeners. The fact that I was in the process of researching the Moroccan community in Frankfurt, as others explained to her, prompted her to tell more about her general life-situation. “You know, people like me, whose parents came to Germany when they were kids, are half-half. We will always be half CousCous, half potato. We belong to both, Germany and Morocco, and we belong nowhere - neither here, nor there. If you want to write about us that is what you need to know; we are half-half.” She related this with the kind of laughter in her voice that sought to veil the seriousness of her statement. The others, all of them around her age, nodded and confirmed. “Yes, that is quite true, we are half CousCous, half potato”, they giggled.

[18] People in their adolescence always introduced themselves to me as Moroccans, no matter what national passports they carried. This is also why I refer to them as Moroccans and not as Germans with a Moroccan background. Nobody would ever entitle him or herself that way.

Here again food plays an important part in questions of identity and belonging. The statement of being half Couscous, half potato refers to the perceived national habits of food consumption, the former stereotypically associated with Morocco, the later with Germany. Eating, so the inherent assumption behind the statement, positions people. It symbolizes the recognition and enforcement of group identities. Ethnic cuisine is at least "associated with geographically and/or historically defined eating communities" (Mintz and du Bois 2002:109). Though several scholars pointed out that processes of modernization irritated ethnic identities as well as their culinary patterns (Fischler 1979; 1988:288-91; McIntosh 1996:57-58; Mennell 1996:317-22; Mintz 1996; 1997; Gabaccia 1998), food is still a powerful and symbolic marker of self-identity. Consumption and eating habits become an individual statement of belonging, or as Buckser states:

> "The act of eating involves a physical incorporation of a culturally constructed item; eating ethnic dishes emphasizes the purported physical reality of ethnic affiliation. And with the proliferation of manufactured ethnic foods, such symbolic statements can be made with increasing ease" (Buckser 1999:205).

Returning to the example given above, it becomes clear that through the act of consuming both Moroccan and German food the young woman's metaphorical position is unclear. Her statement is a reference to her hybrid status of belonging. When mentioning that it was important for me, as a researcher, to know this, she emphasized the importance of her assessment. Teenagers and adolescences are, indeed, in a difficult predicament with respect to locating themselves. In Germany they are often labelled as "the Moroccans", whereas in Morocco they are "the Almanias". These defined identities however are not as clear as one might think at first sight. They are rather confronted by constant changes and disruptions and are dependent on contextualization.

When travelling with several teenagers and young adults to Morocco in summer 2005, we talked about such identity issues at length. Crossing the Mediterranean by ferry, most of them worried about the weeks of boredom to come. Some were not travelling to Morocco voluntarily and would have preferred to spend their vacation with friends in Germany. It was only as a favour to their parents that they travelled down South. Others were looking forward to meet their family in Morocco. However, most of them

then referred to family members that also lived in Europe and spent the summer in Morocco.

After the ferry had arrived in Melilla, one of the teenager's uncles picked us up at the port. He drove an old Mercedes that had once been imported to Morocco many summers before. Our luggage was stored in the trunk and so we squeezed in together on the back seat. It was hot; the air was filled with exhaust fumes and sweat. We had been travelling for two days already and still had to reach our final destination.

Melilla is a Spanish enclave on the Northern shore of Morocco. It is a remnant of the colonial era when Spain governed the Rif and surrounding areas. Together with Ceuta, it remains under Spanish control today, though most of its inhabitants are Moroccans. Since both enclaves used to form part of the routes traversed by refugees from other African states to reach Europe, its borders are strictly controlled and have prompted substantial media attention in recent years.

To enter Morocco we had to cross this barbed wired border. A long line had already formed in front of the customs barrier. People impatiently awaited their clearance, while cars honked and some were shouting angrily. The uncle of one of my friends asked for our passports, took them in a bundle, and ordered us neither to leave the car nor to open the windows before making his way over to the customs house. He soon disappeared in the crowd and was not seen for the next hour. We sat in the car and glanced out, silently. People on mopeds made their way through the over-filled streets. Drug addicts were leaning against a wall next to our car. Some people got into a bloody fight. Beer cans and broken pieces of glass lined the narrow walkways. Women carried huge bags, twice as big as themselves, smuggling goods from Spain to Morocco. Suddenly, somebody aggressively hammered against the front window of our car, indicating that we should give him some money. Mimoun, who was sitting in the front, was startled. The longer we had to wait the more he began losing his patience and self-confidence; the begging drug addict was just about all he could take. "I hate being in Morocco", he whispered. "All these broken people, who only want money, I can't stand it. I wish I could return immediately." He was deeply uncertain and distraught. His back was sunk in and he had drawn up his knees to his body. I recall feeling sorry for him, about his not feeling at ease about returning to Morocco, and that he would not want to move around independently and so be confined to the

house. It was obvious that for him Morocco was a foreign place, a place that made him feel irritated and scared. I had known Mimoun for a while before we travelled to Morocco. He was one of those unapproachable male teenagers who divulged nothing of what moved him. During the journey he remained silent for most of the time, would glance out the windows and listen to the newest European charts on his MP3 music player. Without saying a word, he let everybody know that they should leave him alone. The fact that he all of a sudden exposed his thoughts was awkward for all of us. His elder sister was full of concern and tried to cheer him up by saying that the following weeks would not be as bad as what we had just witnessed. The border, she explained, was a place where broken people would go to hang around. “Look at them”, she pointed at the drunken beggars, “this is worse than in Germany. This is the kind of thing you can only see here, close to the border.” She was not scared of the situation, but embarrassed by it and sought for explanations.

The diverging reactions of Mimoun and his sister illustrate two forms of rootedness. Whereas Mimoun felt uncomfortable about his trip to Morocco and wished to return to Germany immediately, his sister reacted rational and prepared for the situation. Interestingly, Mimoun expressed his attitude of rejection towards Morocco in various ways. He dressed in American Rap-culture gear and is often to be found in fast-food restaurants such as McDonalds and Burger King. Though he grew up in a Tamazight speaking family in Frankfurt, his language abilities of the dialect are poor. He would never listen to music from the Rif and hardly knows a thing about Morocco’s politics and its history. When asked where he belongs, he once answered, “I am a Frankfurter”. His friends are not Moroccans, but sons and daughters of migrants from other parts of the world. Playing video games and rugby are among his favourite activities. Morocco and whatever it represents has little to do with his self-defined identity. He identifies with Morocco however as soon as he no longer feels part of his perceived home of Frankfurt. In situations when he experienced rejection and refusal, he reactivated his knowledge of his Morocanness so as to clearly position himself within the secure limits of a defined group.

Boushra, his sister, by contrast, positions herself between Morocco and Germany and uses differentiated strategies for attaching to both. She was looking forward to the trip to Morocco for weeks and months and kept herself busy with preparations, shopping

for presents, thinking about what and for whom to buy presents. She is fluent in Tamazight, even though she grew up in the same family as her brother Mimoun. She was born and raised in Germany and had only spent the summers in Morocco. She knows how to behave in Germany as well as in Morocco.

One day shopping in Nador Mimoun tried to bargain for a leather belt. In his broken Tamazight he already had a bad starting position. He pushed down the price too quickly and clearly had little idea about the art of negotiating. He ended up by being thrown out and told never to return to the shop. This was not the case with his sister who was in an animated conversation with another vendor and who finally agreed on a good price for a purse. It was an embarrassing situation for Mimoun because the others who accompanied him on the same shopping tour now ridiculed him for not knowing how to shop in Morocco. Boushra later bought the belt for him.

She seemed to merge into the Moroccan setting. I noticed that the way she used to dress in Germany had changed. She was now wearing pastel colors only, no trousers, but long skirts, while she did not wear a veil in a Hijab style but only loosely covered her hair. She strategically adopted the Moroccan style of dressing and behaving. She was able to choose, whereas Mimoun did not possess the same ability and was stuck with his behavior related to Frankfurt.

Summer vacation was consequently very boring for Mimoun. Via satellite dish he would spend hours watching MTV or German channels. He left his room for lunch and dinner only and would then disappear for the rest of the day. Trips to the beaches were highlight events for him, though he preferred spending the days in Saidia, where the beaches were full of life and where it is possible to find all sorts of clothing and sports gear in the streets close to the sea.

Boushra, by contrast, pressed on with visiting relatives. She loved sitting in the patio talking to other family members. Only once did she seem unhappy: she had been asked to clean the house, do the laundry and the dishes every day. Her ideal of being on vacation was at odds with the reality of the tasks with which she was regularly confronted. It was also incomprehensible to her that her brother did not have such obligations. Boushras' preferred gender roles could not be realized in Morocco. In such situations, she later told me, she clearly saw the advantages of living in Frankfurt.

At the same time, she would constantly comment on the beauty of Morocco, the friendliness of the people and the connectedness one has to nature there. Such observations were pointed out as being among the advantages of Morocco. While on vacation in the Rif she would be constantly comparing both Germany and Morocco. It was as if she struggled with her position of being someone who lives between two places. The trip in summer made her reflect and rationally weigh the advantages and disadvantages of both countries. Still, she had the possibility of moving from one world to the other and to switch between either of them at will.

This was not the case with Mimoun, who, while expressing as good as nothing, silently felt that his position of being an unaccepted blend in both places was difficult to handle. His role was passive, whereas that of Boushra was active in the sense that she was able to choose.

Hopes

It was also Boushra, who accompanied one of her cousins to a holy shrine. Nasira had just five years before moved from the Rif to the Netherlands. She had married a Moroccan man whose permanent residency was in Utrecht, but who was born and raised in Morocco. A previous marriage had made it possible for him to obtain European papers. Nasira had been nineteen years old when she got married and had just turned twenty-five when I met her during summer vacation in Morocco. Since her marriage, as Boushra had revealed to me on a previous occasion, she had been trying to conceive a child without success. The issue gnawed away at her and it turned out that she was not the only one

Picture 9
Sidi Chaib – Holy Shrine above the Mediterranean

who had been waiting for a child, but family and friends, as well. That summer it was decided that something important ought to be done about this dissatisfactory situation, and so one day I was invited to come along on a trip.

Shortly after lunch we set off. It was hot, every step causing a swirl of dust to rise up. The women were impatient and pressing to depart. They had taken precautions and were now sitting in the car, waiting for the men to come. There were seven of us: Boushra and her parents, her brother Aburrahman, her sister Nasira, another cousin and myself. Boushra and her brother live in Frankfurt while Nasira resides in the Netherlands. The parents and the cousin are from a small village in the Northern hills of the Rif facing the Mediterranean. A roughly two-hour drive lay ahead of us. We were obliged to travel along the coast further west to cross the mountains on sandy roads. We were driving through dried out river valleys and along the edges of precipices. Five years had now passed since Nasiras splendid marriage to Mounir and since she left her village to move with him to Europe. All that time they had been waiting for a child. She had consulted many doctors and taken all sorts of medication, but nothing happened. The family, as Naima, her mother said, “wants to see the fruit of the marriage.” Village gossip, in Morocco as well as in the far away communities in Europe, arose saying that Mounir has been seeking a divorce, since Nasira has not given him a child.

We were on our way to Sidi Chaib, a holy place high above the ocean. “You know, up here our prayers will be better heard”, Boushra explained to me. “Nasira will soon be pregnant. I know so many women who came here and who became mothers shortly afterwards. Do you remember Laifa from Frankfurt? She was here, and Mimount as well, and now their children are more than one year old.”

Sidi Chaib is the grave of a holy man. Nobody knows exactly when he died. “It was not that long ago”, Boushra’s father says, “perhaps around 1920 or so”. He was a man who had done many good things; he cared about children, a man of great faith. Now he sits enthroned over the Mediterranean, a symbol of a better life in Europe for so many.

Aburrahman parked the jeep in a sandy forecourt. Boushra and Nasira peered out over the ocean. The trunk was opened and a wicker basket unloaded. Now everything happened quickly and without any fuss. Naima pulled the chicken out of the basket;

Mounir had the knife ready in his hand. Blood began to run. The chicken flapped around limply, its wings disappeared in a close cactus tree before being collected by two young boys. “They are poor, they will have it for dinner tonight”, Aburrahman remarked.

Four elder men sat in the shade on the Sidi Chaib patio. They are the self-appointed guardians of the holy place and live from the donations provided by the petitioners. Naima said, that she was last there as a young girl – a long time ago. For all others this was the first visit. Sidi Chaib, so it is said in the diaspora communities in Europe, really helps. An increasing number of people have since been visiting the place to express their worries, needs and desires.

Picture 10
Entrance to Sidi Chaib

Morocco and its opportunities for spiritual healing and fulfillment of desire function as an anchor for many migrants. When Western medics or even Moroccan sheiks residing in Europe fail to bring about the desired results, many people use the service of Imams and healers in Morocco. Receiving treatment on Moroccan soil is considered far more authentic than an equivalent procedure in any European city. It is the same with Moroccan musicians; their performance is only considered to be pure as long as it happens on Moroccan ground. Here also, the connectedness to Morocco may be explained by the concept of *asl*’ (root, rootedness). If one is willing to solve a problem, one must return to one’s roots, which are strongly bound to the earth upon which one and/or one’s ancestors were raised.

Back in Sidi Chaib, we entered a dark room through the backdoor of the building. The walls were decorated with ornamental tiles. One niche faced Mecca. A dome-shaped roof rose above the grave covered with white and colorful fabric. The women circled the shrine three times. Naima gave us instructions. We were required to kneel down, put our heads underneath the fabrics and whisper our prayers through the chinks into the dark. Naima pulled off some threads and handed them over to us. We were then required to go into another corner of the room. There was a hole in the floor in which

one had to reach so as to get some of the chalky white earth supposed to possess holy properties. We rubbed it on our hands and arms. Boushra and Nasira filled some of the earth into the little plastic bags, originally being the package of handkerchiefs imported from the Netherlands. “For back home”, Nasira said and began to video tape while walking around the shrine: she filmed the tiles and hole in the floor, her sister and Aburrahman, as well as her brother, who posed in front of the grave. They would watch it over and over again, when back in Europe and would take the holy spirits with them to the other side of the Mediterranean.

Nasira finally became pregnant one year after I returned from the field. The family came back to the grave of Sidi Chaib to thank him, for he had heard their prayers. This time they brought a sheep to sacrifice.

Back in Frankfurt they spread the good news that Sidi Chaib is able to help people in despair, and in the future many more European Moroccans will make the pilgrimage to overcome their worries in the months of summer.

Places like Sidi Chaib concentrate people’s hopes and desires. Though such locations may have only been of local importance for a long time, they now tend to acquire transnational reputation and popularity. Migration changes the routes people choose and the places they consult, especially in their home country. When returning to Frankfurt later that summer, a woman, whose family comes from Berkane, to the North Eastern part of Morocco, told me that she also visited Sidi Chaib a few weeks earlier. For her however it was a five-hour drive to get there and it was the first time that she had travelled that far West within Morocco. She had heard about Sidi Chaib and its effectiveness in Frankfurt and wanted to see and experience it herself. Social contacts in the diaspora often inspire the choice of new places and strategies for overcoming personal problems and needs in Morocco. The formation of diasporic groups does not function along the border of villages or smaller regions, but is shaped by national affiliations. Moroccans in Frankfurt, no matter where they originally came from in Morocco, exchange all sorts of information and advice. Thus, the arena they use in Morocco becomes expanded and includes the places people have heard of by advice.

Recollections of Morocco must not be understood as a monotonous recurrence of the old, but a constant invention and reinvention of traditions that help people find stable anchors in their everyday life and to satisfy their hopes. Nasira's prayers in Sidi Chaib are thus not a retreat to Morocco, but rather an act of reconfirming her roots interpreted through her experiences of living as a migrant in Europe.

Finances and Fissions

The recollection on Morocco finds expression not only in the realization of hopes, as described above, but also in the flow of financial aid and on the real-estate market in the Rif. During a trip in early summer 2005, I met a young man in a café close to Midar. It was the weekly market in town and he came to buy groceries for his family. He was a good friend of Hamid, one of the informants I was with and had already spent two weeks in the Rif on vacation from his job as an electrician in Frankfurt. We sat down at a small table in a big and simple hall with a bar to one side. The doors on either side were wide open and the midday sun hit the chalky colored walls which were decorated with old and faded coca cola advertisements. Men were seated around other tables, smoking and barely talking to each other. Hamid and his friend were surprised to meet in Morocco. They were unaware of each other's travel plans and were happy about the coincidence. Hamid's friend Rachid ordered coffee for all of us and soon started talking about his experiences of the previous weeks. He leaned forward over the table and spoke in a quiet, but rapid manner. It was as if he was relating some conspiratorial event and had waited to find the right listeners. The thrust of what he was saying was highly critical of his Moroccan relatives. Although only having spent two weeks in Morocco, he was already fed up with the place and ready to return to Germany. He went into great detail about how he had neither travelled to Morocco nor anywhere else in the last two years, and had managed to accumulate more than eight thousand Euros, which were now almost completely spent after being in Morocco for only two weeks. Rachid was angry with all his uncles, aunts and cousins because they all constantly asked him for money. Now at the market, he was obliged to buy the groceries and bring them back home. He talked

about ignorant family members who cannot believe that eight thousands Euros is a huge amount of money even for him who works in Europe. Over the two previous years he had lived a frugal life. He had kept down all his expenses just for Morocco. That this was not an easy task is something the people in the Rif are unable to grasp, he claimed. Indeed, any attempt to explain this to his relatives, weakened his own position, since any difficulty in accumulating money is interpreted as a sign of failure on the behalf of the migrant living in Europe.

The image of the rich migrant is still very much alive. People who take out a loan only to impress others during their summer return endorse this image. Never had I seen so many expensive cars than during the summer months in Nador and surrounding regions. All kinds of the newest fancy and lavish Porsches and Mercedes' were to be seen in the streets, proudly being driven along the boulevards and speeding along the bumpy roads in the countryside. The rates of deadly car crashes are never as high as they are in summer months, when fast limousines regularly collide with donkey carts and other slow-moving vehicles.

The expectations of relatives in Morocco are accordingly high. For them, it seems perfectly natural that people working in Europe finance their needs and desires. When a Migrant is returning without the expected money and commodities as tokens of his success, he is classified as no-good.

Such circumstances vexed Rachid. He swore never to return to Morocco within the next years. He was deeply disappointed with his family who not once expressed any thanks for his support. Hamid went on to remark how many of his friends had run up serious debts after preparing for and then spending their vacation in Morocco. To change these dynamics would be very difficult. Most returning migrants wish to impress their relatives in Morocco and show that they live a successful life in Europe. Even if one does talk about the hardship of living and working in Germany, France or the Netherlands, and about such issues as loneliness and processes of marginalization, hardly anyone in Morocco would believe such problems. The image of an easy life on the Northern shores of the Mediterranean is still widespread, and propagated by television and other media. Returning migrants with their loans and credits help to reinvent and endorse this misconception.

Rachid and Hamid are second-generation migrants in Germany. Their connections to Morocco are not as strong as those of their parents, since they have not themselves spent a large part of their lives in Morocco. Their social relations to relatives living in Morocco are much weaker than those of their parents. Their Moroccan family members take advantage of them, and their sense of being exploited is clearly evident. Accordingly, their willingness to support family members in Morocco is beginning to fade.

Rachid and Hamid are not interested in seeing themselves in the role of patrons like older, first-generation migrants who try to compensate for their diminishing influence in their villages by acts of generosity[19]. The difference is that the two young men do not belong directly to the social networks in the Moroccan villages. They are implicit parts of it, but know too little about the unwritten customs and habits and about the secrets of this aspect of society. Their financial support of Moroccan families is not balanced with replied respect to them. “This would not be appropriate anyway”, both men explained to me. At the same time however they were unable to articulate their wishes and expectations to their Moroccan relatives. They just felt that being the ones to regularly bring the money is a dissatisfying position in which to be.

According to Marcel Mauss these imbalanced circumstances are of no durable existence. In his classical work about gift giving he describes the dynamics of exchanging presents, going on to claim that social systems are based on reciprocal obligations realized in the ritual exchange of goods and services (Mauss 1968). Such interaction is fundamental for the existence of social relations and it seems that in the case of Rachid and Hamid an imbalanced exchange is a slow, but constant cause for the deterioration of personal connections between Morocco and Germany. Their sense of being exploited outweighs the desire to be connected to Morocco through the act of supporting, as is the case for other migrants outlined in the above. Hence, the flow of finance causes fissions and disruptions and may hinder recollection and memory of Morocco as well as the future flow of remittances and cultural and social reference to the Maghreb.

[19] McMurray (2001) portrayed these processes with the help of his main informant.

Real Estate

Perceived exploitation may also be one cause for buying real estate in Morocco. Another young man I met in Nador during summer 2006 explained what reasons lay behind his decision to buy a house in Morocco. His experience was similar to that of Rachid and Hamid, and he was no longer willing to give away his money to family living in Morocco. In future, he would not even wish to stay at his relative's homes. At the same time, he decided not to cut all connections to Morocco and bought a house in his parent's village. He had marriage plans and other events that he wished to celebrate in the house, reasoning that he would be able to be independent from his family with his own means. He had designed the house himself and had spent the last summers completing the building. It had been built mainly for representative reasons. A huge carved door mirroring the size of the hallway dominated the entrance. Woodcarving and colored tiles decorated the ceilings and walls in almost all other rooms. Five bedrooms were located on the second floor, as well as an extravagant bathroom. A modern kitchen, imported from the Netherlands and a dining room, with a table large enough to comfortably seat fifteen people, were the main features of the first floor. Adjacent to the main house there were two salons. These had been built to accommodate guests, the larger for men, the smaller one for women, and an extra kitchen overlooking a dried out canyon at the back of the garden. When paying a visit a few days after the landlord had arrived in Morocco, two servants were still busy cleaning the furniture, the windows and floors. Apart from three to four weeks during the summer and perhaps one week over winter, the house remained empty.

The size of the house alone made clear that the young man still wanted to be in contact with is relatives, but did not wish to be dependent on them. His plan was to act the role of a generous host and to himself decide whom to invite. He wished to be able to relax in his house, and to have a holiday, as he said, without having to consider anyone else. He had built the house as a retreat.

When walking around the villages in the Rif it was easy to detect the migrant houses that had been financed with money earned in Europe. They differ architecturally from the traditional houses by having windows on the outside walls, sometimes even a balcony or terrace. They are all painted in bright colors and sometimes have a

decorative garden. A traditional house, by contrast, is surrounded by a huge wall and is built around an inside patio. All windows open towards the patio, and from the outside it is impossible to see what is going on inside the house. A garden supplying the families with fruits and vegetables is located in the Wadi (river valley), but not close to the house.

Picture 11
Migrant house in a small Rifian village

The migrant building styles display similarities to central European architecture. This is one way for the migrants to express their success and sometimes their dual identity - of being Moroccan but living and working in Europe. Hence, the representative function of migrant houses is central, and a number of the houses in Morocco remain unoccupied for most of the year. They are constructed for the summer return to host the migrants and their betrothal, marriage and circumcision festivities. Moroccan relatives sometimes live in a smaller wing to look after the building and to coordinate the construction and renovation work. However, I have met several families in Frankfurt who were cautious about handing over responsibility for realty to their families. Stories about substantial amounts of money once transferred from Germany to Morocco to cover construction costs, but which never reached the supposed owner were told in confidence. Again, family members in Germany suspected their relatives in Morocco of having embezzled the money. The question as to who receives money remains a delicate issue. The majority of relatives are supported and those asked to coordinate large sums of money are appointed carefully. Many families leaving Morocco after summer return make a specific arrangement with their housekeepers, that they e.g., arrange the fettling of the walls. However, the house-owners might neither see the results, nor the money they left

behind to finance the tasks agreed upon. It seems that migrants began to change not only their taste in architecture, but also their attitudes and are no longer willing to understand that most things just end in talk. Conversations with homeowners in Morocco were often dominated by comparisons between Germany and Morocco. They expressed their disappointments about failed agreements and vanishing money and stated that such things would not happen in Germany, and that if they did happen at all they would be rectified. My conversation partners would then straight away return to the advantages of building and owning a house in Morocco instead of Germany. They emphasized the opportunities of applying extravagant design to the facades without having to deal with building authorities. Building ground in the villages is cheap and one can choose the plot for building a house.

The preferences for sites have changed over the years. Until about ten years ago migrant families chose building plots within the borders of the villages. Today however other criteria besides the proximity to family and the village centre are important. An increasing number of houses are to be found on mountaintops with charming views over the countryside, or close to Mediterranean beaches. More recently, it seems that the owners have 'tourist' aims in mind when selecting the building sites.

Moroccan state agencies established in recent years use similar strategies when planning, building and selling realty in urban and suburban centers. I once witnessed an advertisement campaign of one of such agency that had sent representatives to Frankfurt and other European cities to look for people willing to invest in Morocco. It was carried out by ERAC (Etablissement Regional d'Aménagement et de Construction), a state agency once established to encourage migrants to reinvest their money in Morocco. Houses and apartments are built by the state agency and then sold to Moroccans living abroad in Europe. The surrounding suburbs of Nador are representative of this development and appear like districts designed at the drawing board. Everything designed to be bought by the migrants is new: the streets and infrastructure, the parks and shopping arenas between the houses. The brochures handed out during the advertisement campaign highlighted construction projects in Northern Morocco as well as in tourist regions such as Agadir. Most likely, the assumption was that potential homeowners would not select their realty for its

proximity to relatives and their former Moroccan villages, but according to practical issues, such as proximity to an airport, the beaches or other leisure areas.

About 200 men participated in the meeting in Frankfurt; I could only see two other women besides myself, one among the audience, and the other giving a talk. I had heard of the event by one of the fathers of the families I knew, and so I went along with him and one of his cousins. We drove to the Southern part of Frankfurt and parked close to the river. The event, as it turned out, took place at a youth hostel, in one of the bigger rooms used for reunions and the like. Most men were dressed in dark colors and with a serious expression. Close to the entrance there was a long table covered with a variety of magazines and flyers advertising new state projects in real-estate development, and about programs for financing them. The meeting started casually with people gathering around the tables and posing all manner of questions. After fifteen minutes the guests were asked to take a seat before a one-hour presentation of the work, and the ERAC offers began. The four people who addressed the audience differed from the listeners. They were elegantly dressed in suits and ties and one could tell from the way they spoke that they were from central Morocco, not from the Rif. They communicated in Arabic only, which was difficult to understand especially for younger generation listeners, who kept asking their elder neighbors to translate for them. Abdel, Rachid's cousin whom I accompanied, had similar problems,

Picture 12
Advertisement by ERAC, offering new housing projects

and at the end of the presentation he said that he had only understood parts of what had been discussed.

I remember the awkward atmosphere during the meeting. I found it odd to witness all the older men who had spent the major part of their lives in hard-working jobs in Europe without any official connections to Morocco. Now that they had meanwhile accumulated a noticeable amount of money, the Moroccan state appeared to have an almost sycophantic attitude towards them. Rachid told me that such meetings had never taken place five years ago. Since then, the Moroccan state had changed its attitude towards people living abroad in Europe. It was realized that the migrants made important contributions to state finances. In 2003, approximately 34733.8 Million Dirham (3.077 Million EUR) had been transferred from Europe to Morocco (Riesch 2007:44) – a serious amount and a major part of the Moroccan economy. However, all research on Moroccan regions with high emigration rates showed that the transferred money was rather spent on consumer goods and services than being reinvested in production (Büchner 1986; Chattou 1998).

Those preferences show particularly in the conventional real-estate sector. Buying a house in Morocco is one way to re-establish one's roots. However, it must not be overlooked that the selection of building sites and the way houses are constructed change existing social structures. The migrants' intentions to invest in real-estate are often based on a desire for representative property and to create a place to spend holidays and retreat, while the interest in contributing to the development of a village and an infrastructure is little if any.

Private Business and Earning Money

Fouad, a man in his late forties who had been living in Frankfurt since the age of ten told me another story about failed businesses, risky investments and disappointments. He cared about Moroccan families in the Rif who had no support from family members living in Europe and was interested in establishing projects that would help them. Some years ago he came up with the idea of selling Moroccan artifacts in Germany, mainly for supporting the Moroccan families that produced

them. He offered to manage sales and distribution in Frankfurt and had already talked to clients and their ideas about the design of clay pots and such like. The business showed promise since he had already established contact to a wholesaler interested in Moroccan pots, lamps and tables. He spent an entire summer talking with the owners of woodworking shops, potters and tile makers. He asked whether they would be interested in the business and be able to produce a sufficient number of items within a designated period of time. His house in a Rifian village was structurally complete and would soon stock the artifacts. Three people were employed to pick up the goods at the workshops, to stock and ship them to Germany. The business was up-and-running and the wholesaler was interested in increasing the amount of goods that he was willing to buy. Only the workshops were not interested in doing the additional amount of work that would be required of them. Fouad flew to Morocco himself. He thought that talking to the people would solve the problem. However, the stock had meanwhile almost become depleted, and shipping to Germany had ceased. The workshop owners claimed that this was only a temporary challenge and that they would produce the ordered amount of goods within the next weeks. Unfortunately, those promises were not realized. Fouad flew to Morocco a second time, but nothing changed. The wholesaler lost interest and the business collapsed. To Fouad's surprise this did not bother the people operating the workshops. They did not care about the loss of an important client; instead, they seemed rather relieved. Fouad was furious. He was unable to fathom why the wood shop employees could be so indifferent to the opportunity to improve their living situation. Before, Fouad said, they experienced difficulties in supporting their families and worried about the problem of having enough food. The business helped to give them a secure income and still they did not care. It took Fouad sometime before embarking on another project, which unhappily ended up in a similar way. His experience told him never again to trust Moroccans back in the Rif. He had become disillusioned by broken agreements and openly talked about the backwardness of his fellow countrymen. Fouad became heated when discussing the topic and explained his attitudes to me. He was convinced that Moroccans thought Europe was paradise. "People think that the money just has to be picked up from the streets", he said. "Even if somebody would tell them that in Germany or the Netherlands it is only hard work that results in success, people would

still not believe it. They are lazy; no wonder Morocco is underdeveloped and corrupt. You cannot rely on these people. Agreements are worth nothing." I became irritated while listening to Fouad. The way he talked about Moroccans reminded me of articles in the German tabloid press. Otherwise, I could understand his anger. He was disappointed about his failed business idea and could not understand the behavior of the people with whom he was working.

Over the months that followed, whenever I met him I noticed his reticence towards others. He continued returning to his Moroccan house each summer, but kept away from his former partners. After I returned from fieldwork a friend reported that Fouad had started a new transnational business, this time importing fancy rugs from the Southern Atlas Mountains, a region far away from the Rif. Perhaps he thought that business would do better so long as one had nothing to do with Rifians.

The connections between Morocco and the diaspora are often difficult and hard to handle. Expectations on both sides are high and perceived agreements regularly fail as they are often silently supposed, but rarely openly talked about. It also seems that the migrants are used to other business conventions and try applying them to Morocco. Though identifying themselves as Moroccans, they nevertheless have intercultural problems when dealing with their business partners in Morocco. At a first glance this would seem to be a contradiction, but it inherently explains processes of integration among Moroccans living in the diaspora.

Summing up

Migration, as discussed in the above chapters, incorporates contradictory processes and dynamics. These can be paraphrased by fulfillment, hopes, dreams, disappointments, loneliness, and the loss of roots. How migration is perceived is certainly dependent on personal experience. However, there are peculiarities specific to the community of Moroccan diaspora, as has been argued. These can be briefly summarized as follows:

- Migration and the discussion of the subject in everyday situations, as well as in popular culture have an impact on the processes of identification. The constant reinvention of its topics and facets, and the manifold stories, which circulate through the community, help stabilizing the group of people living in the diaspora. The topic of migration, as has been shown, helps to create collective identity.

- At the same time, the connections between Germany and Morocco are not only apparent in conversations on the subject, but also in the flow of goods. Presents help to reassure existing social relationships as well to draw boundary lines in transnational space. The selection and the flow of goods reveal as much about the financial dependence and societal reputation on the Moroccan side as they do about emotional and ideological dependence among Moroccans in the diaspora.

- Feelings of Moroccanness return by way of consuming Moroccan life style, particularly food, the participation in authenticity and the renewal and fortification of social relationships. These three aspects include the reinvention and the formation of tradition. Migration brings change to both Morocco and the Moroccan diasporic communities. By actively participating in the recollection on Morocco, migrants set new trends, which are then perceived as traditional. This reveals itself especially in wedding ceremonies, as has been illustrated in the above.

- Although, for many, the connections between Morocco and Germany represent a chance to establish roots in one or even both places, some become disoriented somewhere in between. It seems that young male individuals in particular have problems finding a stable place to belong, whereas young women actively express their dual German and Moroccan identities.

- The recollection on Morocco is especially strong in times of crises. As the story of Boushra illustrates, sickness, disease and personal problems prompt the consultation of Moroccan healers and imams in Morocco. This is done for reasons of authenticity: a treatment is perceived to be far more effective on Moroccan soil. News of successful consultation spreads among the diaspora and induces people to travel to places in Morocco about which they otherwise know very little. Hence, migration changes the routes people take in Morocco. The example also shows that the formation of diasporic groups is shaped by ethnic affiliation, rather than by geographical regions or

villages – outside Morocco Moroccans unite to one diasporic group no matter where they are from in Morocco and no matter if they identify as Imazighen or Arabs.

- The transfer of money from Germany to Morocco helps to support individuals and families, but also encourages clear differences between people. Issues surrounding the treatment of money, as has been shown, reveal difficulties in understanding the conditions under which people live in the diaspora. Rifians still envision Europe as a place where money can be easily earned and accumulated and, accordingly, place high expectations in their relatives living abroad. These relatives, by contrast, feel exploited and, in the long run, their willingness to support people in Morocco declines.

- The recollection of and the reference to Morocco also show in the building and buying of houses on Moroccan territory. It has been illustrated that the architectural styles in the migrant houses differ considerably from the traditional styles of building. The preferred design resembles European tastes. The favored locations for construction demonstrate a tendency to appeal to tourist interests. More recently, Moroccan state agencies have been established for the express purpose of developing residential areas, and to construct and sell houses and apartments to migrants. The agencies' aim is to animate the migrants to invest in Morocco; official quarters have noted that the willingness to transfer capital has been decreasing in recent years, while the Moroccan economy is particularly dependent on migrant investment.

- Relations between residents in Morocco and migrants in Germany are difficult in that while expectations are high on either side people's priorities differ considerably. Moroccans living in the diaspora have intercultural problems with their business partners in Morocco, something indicative of the extent of their integration in Europe. While they identify themselves as Moroccans, their behavior, their priorities and their general attitudes are oriented towards Europe, or especially Germany.

Migration, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, needs to be seen from both perspectives: that of Germany, as well as that of Morocco. An approach to research, which incorporates a multi-sited view is essential for comprehending the contrasts and contradictions people encounter in everyday life situations.

When reflecting upon my research experiences in Frankfurt and in the Northern Rif, I am now convinced that I would not have been able to understand the dynamics of the

Moroccan community in Germany had I not accompanied several informants on their return trips to Morocco. Central to everybody's life are the ties between the two places, whether experienced as positive or negative.

Almost all the collected ethnographic data has shown that the recollection of and the reference to Morocco is rooted in personal hopes, crises, insecurities and collectively experienced marginalization.

While the meaning and the importance of places change with time, Morocco will still remain of great importance to many. Processes of migration enforce processes of invention and reinvention. Such dynamics are significant in that they bring new ideas to old places that might have otherwise fallen into oblivion and which are then rediscovered with the help of reinvented traditions. Hence, migration enforces change both for individuals and collectively, and for sending as well as for receiving regions.[20]

[20] Research on „sending and receiving" communities has long been limited to a bipolar model of looking at migrant processes, assuming that the sending regions only send emigrants, while the receiving regions incorporate the same people as immigrants. Within recent years it became clear that migration is more than just the movement from one place to another, but includes manifold movements back and forth, connecting sending and receiving communities with each other as well as with other places that are of importance to the migrants being researched (Bommes and Morawska 2005:86). Additionally, many regions cannot be purely labeled as neither sending nor receiving, as both movements take place within them. Still the term is in use, referring to particular diasporic communities and their specific histories.

III.II Politicizing History

The following chapter provides a brief description of the historical developments in Morocco that lead to migration. Here, focus is placed on the development of language and linguistic processes of migration. The resurrection of Berber culture, it is argued, is linked to processes of migration. However, only a certain group of people is interested in the events of the past. Hence, this chapter provides an outline of the divided diaspora and the various interest groups of which it is comprised.

Historical Overview

The Moroccan Rif region has a long history of trade with foreigners, and of being conquered and colonized by many other Mediterranean or North African peoples. (Schweizer 1981) Initially, it was the Egyptians and later the Greeks who established their dynasties and cities along the coastal regions. Later Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Visigoths and Byzantines arrived on the territory now constituting contemporary Morocco. Jewish settlers escaping Egypt also had an impact on the region. In the intervals between colonialism, Berber kingdoms were established. In the seventh century A.D. Arab presence began to make itself felt in Morocco, spreading Islam, Arab culture and language. Since 1649, the Alaouite dynasty has been ruling the country and until today holds the throne now occupied by King Mohamed IV, the twenty-third King of the Alaouite dynasty (Erf and Heering 2002:7).

The geographical position and probable resources of Morocco provoked early interest among the European powers and thus a scramble for North-West Africa. Portugal first secured its rights to control the Atlantic coast in the fifteenth century. French interest culminated in establishing Morocco as a French protectorate in 1912. At the same time, Spain established itself as a protecting power in the Northern and in Southern regions. It is interesting to note that France mainly took the regions earlier labeled as bilad al makhzen (lands of government), whereas Spain ruled the regions known as bilad as-siba (lands of dissidence). This division mirrors the contrast between Arab

and Berber regions. In other words, tribal conflicts, feuding and opposition to the central government were characteristic of the lands of dissidence.

Germany has also cultivated a strong interest in Morocco. In 1906, the Mannesmann brothers managed to obtain around 2027 mining concessions. They had purchased land and established trading companies under the name 'Marokko-Mannesmann-Compagnie" (El Atiaoui 1997:37-38). However, owing to French pressure, Germany was obliged to withdraw from Morocco and instead received parts of the Congo. Still, Germany's connections to the Moroccan Rif, where most of the mines were located, remained strong. When, in 1920, Mohamed Ben Abd-el-Krim el Khattabi, an Amazigh of the Ait Wariyaghar tribe waged war against Spanish colonizers, Germany provided some support to the movement. The fact that Germans were allied with the Spanish against the French enemy, which had been threatening to make the Rif part of the French protectorate as well, was kept secret. The cause of the war however had been Spain's insufficient colonial governance of Morocco's North. Since 1912 they had failed to invest in the region and by the late 1910's, when uprising became visible, decided to bomb the area later designated as bilad as-siba (lands of dissidence) and considered impossible to rule. The bombs used on rural and remote Rif areas came from Germany. Another ugly episode in Moroccan history was the Spanish use of poison gas, similarly, of German origin (Kunz and Müller 1990). Even though Germany was heavily involved in this war, it was later perceived as being a supporter of Abd-el-Krim. Its reputation in the Arab world had grown, mainly caused by French propaganda, which claimed that Germany had been on the side of the Rif Rebels (El Atiaoui 1997:43).[21]

Colonialism in Morocco persisted until 1956, when independence was restored. Differences between Central (French ruled) and Northern (Spanish ruled) Morocco have been noticeable until today in terms of infrastructure and affiliation towards the earlier colonizers. Northern Morocco still seems to be separated from the rest of the country. Tarifit speaking Berbers dominate its demographic structure. Infrastructure

[21] Germanys' colonial connections to Morocco later had a strong impact on migration routes taken by Rifians. Many Berbers were hired in the mines of the Ruhr area, and getting a job in Germany was perceived as highly desirable. Elder generation migrants told me during fieldwork that Germany had an excellent reputation at that time and was seen as being friendly disposed towards Moroccans.

is deficient in many aspects and the region is highly dependent on migration to Europe.

Issues of Language

Today, the linguistic situation in Morocco is characterized by the historical developments sketched above. With its different dialects, Tamazight is the umbrella term used for all Berber languages. Darisha (Colloquial Moroccan Dialect) is the language that developed after Arabs settled in the Maghreb; it is an amalgamation of Tamazight and Arabic. Classical Arabic (Fus'ha) or Modern Standard Arabic is rarely spoken, and is extremely rare in the Rif region.[22] Morocco however is constitutionally defined as an Arab country with Fus'ha as its favored language, ironically, a language, which nobody claims as his or her mother tongue.

The French language, Morocco's colonial heritage, is taught from elementary school on and functions as the language of the political elites. The lingua franca of technology, medicine, finance, and foreign trade remains French. Almost all faculties in Universities use French for teaching and communication.(Maas and Mehlem 1999:74). Political intentions to Arabize Morocco's society during the 1960s' failed, and present-day Morocco is multi-lingual (French/Arabic, Darisha and several Tamazight dialects).

Spanish and English are part of the high school curriculum. Many younger, unemployed people also pick up both languages by watching TV and by talking to foreigner visitors. Hence, many Moroccans are at least bilingual. They may have difficulties reading and writing, but they are able to speak two or more languages. The fact that people still misunderstand each other also forms part of everyday conversation, since they are unable to use the same dialectical idiom.

It ought to be noted here that Darisha does not only compose of Tamazight and Arabic, but also incorporates many French and Spanish terms, depending upon the

[22] *Fus'ha* (Classical Arabic) is like Latin a language in that is no longer spoken in everyday contexts. It is however considered the pure language with religious connotations. Though taught in Moroccan schools, most people only know certain passages of Koran by heart, and are unable to communicate in or read classical Arabic (Maas and Mehlem 1999:74).

region in which it is spoken. Darisha is a unique dialect and differs strongly depending on region, same with Tamazight, whose dialects are as well regionally different.

Estimations as to how many people speak Tamazight, Darisha, French or Fus'ha vary according to the source of information. In view of the linguistic composition as sketched above, a sharp differentiation would in any case be impossible to determine.

Until today, Tamazight is considered second-class and primitive. Again, this image has historical roots:

Although the process of Islamizing the Berbers was accompanied by the growing dominance of Arabic as the dominant spoken language, the majority of Berbers remained monolingual until the Alaouites began ruling Morocco in 1649. Today, the seventeenth century is generally seen as a turning point and beginning of anti-Berber government in Morocco (Agenchouche 1987:54; Azaykou 2002). Classical Arabic was upheld as the holy language of the Koran, and even the oral use of Tamazight in mosques was barely accepted. Later, under French and Spanish colonial rule and in the context of pan-Arab movements in the twentieth century, Tamazight was finally banned from schools, and the Imazighen who had argued that Islam was tolerant towards other languages were characterized as non-believers (Sroub:10).

Tamazight has long been a marginalized language in Morocco. It was neither taught in schools nor accepted as an official Moroccan language. The marginalization of the Imazighen in Morocco could be witnessed especially in the politics surrounding the Moroccan language. These circumstances have been slowly changing within recent years. The activities of Moroccan intellectuals, the migration movement together with the resurrection of Berber/Amazigh identity, and the growing financial strength of the Rif region, were among the serious factors, which prompted Mohammed V., Morocco's king and political head of state, to change politics when dealing with minority issues. Since 1994 television news on Morocco's public channel has been broadcast in both Arabic and Tamazight. The "Royal Institute for the Amazigh Culture", founded in 2001 was given the task of fixing the Tamazight alphabet and its implementation in Moroccan schools and media. However, the royal decision to use Tifinagh (an ancient script used by Touareg groups in the Sahrah/Sahel regions) for writing Tamazight did not help promote the language. Instead, since many people do not know how to write

the ancient language the marginal status of the dialect will most likely remain unchanged.

The same holds for Darisha, which, although the most frequently spoken language in Morocco, is still not officially accepted in Moroccan society. Maas and Mehlem call this situation "almost schizophrenic", especially since after 1994 Tamazight became officially accepted. Darisha, despite the fact it is a language, which can be easily used in different contexts and settings, still remains on the margins (Maas and Mehlem 1999:83).[23]

Diasporic / Lingual Identification

Though officially accepted, identification with Tamazight remains rather poor. During fieldwork I rarely met people who would introduce themselves as Amazigh. Most would rather use the term 'Berber'. Referring to one's self as Amazigh (or in German Masire/Masirin), which means belonging to the ethnic group of the Imazighen is to be found mainly among politically active people pushing for minority rights for the Rifians in Morocco. For them the term 'Berber' is a swear word, since its roots are in the ancient Greek language, referring to Barbar, meaning the uncivilized (Tilmatine 1995:4; Neumann 1983:10). It has also been claimed that the term Berber (at least in Germany) has recently been used by homeless organizations and refers to people on the move (Sroub:3). Amazigh associations are therefore interested in propagating the use of the name Imazighen and Amazigh. When carrying out fieldwork in Frankfurt it became clear that younger, especially well educated men were conscious of their Amazigh identity and joined associations for the purposes of spreading information about the Tamazight language and culture. Older generations, by contrast, were

[23] Maas and Mehlem (1999) point out specific structural prerequisites that have allowed Moroccan society to have such a dynamic language as *Darisha*: "Das sind auf der einen Seite die [...] sozialen Bedingungen, die den sprachlichen Ausgleich (die Entwicklung einer Koiné) in Marokko rein pragmatisch verlaufen lassen: In der Kommunikation sind Formen akzeptabel, wenn sie verständlich sind; ihre darüber hinaus gehende Bewertung erfolgt rein konnotativ, durch die mit ihnen symbolisch verbundenen Verweise auf die sozialen Kontexte, in denen sie sonst Verwendung finden [...]. Es gibt also keine normative Bewertung nach richtig oder falsch: Diese wären an eine schulische Instanz und letztlich an die Existenz einer schulisch vermittelten Schriftsprache gebunden." (Maas & Mehlem 1999:85).

extremely hesitant about openly proclaiming any connection to Amazigh. For many, being Amazigh and Muslim at the same time was a contradiction. “At least”, an elder woman explained to me, “the Koran is written in Arabic, and not in Tamazight. Amazigh holy days are pagan; they have nothing in common with the real Islamic holy days and should be of no importance to anybody.” The woman was in her late seventies; she had tried on several occasions to erase the facial tattoo on her chin, an obvious visual marker of her Amazigh heritage about which she was so ashamed. Moroccan majority politics and suppression left their mark: ironically, she considered Arabic, though unable to speak or read the language, of greater value - something that had been ingrained into her mind for decades.

Generally speaking, older people living in the diaspora are fluent in Tarifit. Often, women only speak this particular Tamazight dialect, while men also have knowledge of Darisha. This is owing by traditional Rifian gender roles that divide all family tasks into indoor and outdoor activities, the former being the domain of women, while the latter being that of men. First generation Moroccan immigrants grew up in Morocco and were raised in the context of gendered structures. Men picked up Moroccan colloquial Arabic (Darisha) in public life and were required to some skills in order to communicate with Arabic-speaking bureaucrats who governed the Tarifit speaking regions. By contrast, in the domestic context Tarifit was sufficient for communicating.

Younger generation Moroccans living in the diaspora are not naturally fluent in Tamazight/Tarifit. They may have been socialized in dialect speaking families, but whether or not their language skills are well trained depends on personal interest, (see also III.I Migration and Movement. Unaccepted Blend). Many use Tamazight in combination with German and it seems that particular idioms were invented within the teenage diaspora community, which would not make sense when used in Morocco.

Cultural issues concerning the Rif, its customs and its dialect faded over the years and were not passed on to younger generations – something also caused by the suppression of Berber culture by the Moroccan state. However, in search of their own roots and heritage younger generation migrants began to show an interest in the culture and language of their ancestors. Since many of their parents and grandparents neither have a sufficient knowledge of historical and cultural developments, the approach to history and culture of the youth tends to be more theoretical and based

on written documentation. In this connection, McMurray argues that Rifian migrants in Europe tend to identify with their reactivated roots.

> "Berbers were thus becoming, on a day-to-day basis, more conscious in Europe of themselves as a minority ethnic group, and thus more disposed to appeal to a sense of a pure, original community founded on differences [...] that distinguished them (unfortunately, not just from dominant European culture, for those were distinctions forced upon them) from the immigrant mass in Europe and from the dominant Arab population back home." (McMurray 2001:108)

However, based on observations during fieldwork, these processes are especially relevant for younger intellectuals, while the majority was mostly unconscious about its heritage and past. Still, for the well-educated young, emphasizing ones Berber background has empowering effects and is a strategy against the sentiment of marginalization as it provides Rifians with a sense of ideological belonging.

Annual

Nabil, who was born and grew up in Germany, developed his Rifian interests during one of his summer trips to Morocco. I accompanied him on extended walks through and around the village of his grandparents. That particular day we were on a trip to the battlefields of Annual, the place where Abd-el-Krim el Khattabi won a victory against the Spanish colonizers. Nabil hardly knew anything about political developments in Morocco and was keen to inform himself. Just before we were about to leave, his cousins and uncles ridiculed him. They could not believe he wanted to research something that was - in their opinion – an insignificant place, just like everything else was around the village; a dry field outside the homes. For them it meant time spent uselessly outside. Nabil was perceived as an outsider anyway. His interests were different to his other relatives. His appearance, a little overweight, sometimes clumsy, was often occasion for poking fun and malicious remarks. His plan to visit the battlefield was thus seen as peculiar. Nobody among Nabil's Moroccan

Picture 13
Monument close to the Battlefield of the Rif War

cousins and uncles would voluntarily visit the location and it was perceived as very strange that Nabil showed interest in this stage of history.

We had been walking in the hot midday heat for almost an hour before reaching a huge area in a wide valley covered with dried bushes and small trees. Small paths led into the dense bushes and we ended up in front of a forgotten holy shrine, overgrown with all kinds of wild plants. There was nothing to indicate that we were standing on an historical site and not a single sign reminded us of the many people who had died in battle, nor of the impact of colonialism on Morocco.[24] Nabil expressed his disappointment about the lack of information; he had pictured some plaques with texts and illustrations or at least some sort of commemorative statue indicating the importance of the site. He carried on about the different ways of handling history in Europe and in Morocco, and wondered why the battlefield just looked like the rest of the surrounding area, beige and grey, a dried-out area of land with the typical vegetation of the Mediterranean coastal line.

The same afternoon, Nabil made a plan for his immediate future: he wanted to know more about Morocco. After finishing school in Germany he said, he wanted to stay in the Rif for at least a year to learn the language and to get to know more about the

[24] After Abd el-Krim had won the war and an independent Rifian Republic was established that lasted until 1926, Franco sent half a million troops into the region. The Rif war had an international impact on politics and the arts. The Spanish parliament, for example, was toppled, American newspaper readers were well informed about current war developments and Hemingway was artistically inspired by the battle (McMurray 2001:138,139).

history of the country. He was resolved to collect more information about the possibilities for having his trip financed and planned to apply for a grant to carry out his project. Within the following months back in Germany he read through a substantial amount of literature on Rifian history; he went to the libraries and started immersing himself in what he assumed had been the life of his ancestors. He later became part of an Amazigh association in Frankfurt and regularly went to lectures held on Rifian history and culture. The answers to the questions he had formulated were to be found in a more theoretical setting, and his relatives, he explained, were of no great help to him.

When preoccupying with Amazigh history and politics Nabil had found his way of dealing with his past. He chose to collect as much information as possible and dealt with Berber issues theoretically. In doing so, he distanced himself from the rest of the family, particularly from the older generations. Paradoxically, although he seemed to lose the connection to his family, he felt that he had found himself, as he once expressed to me. His "becoming Berber" represented the discovery of his self while at the same time an accepted, though not understood, rebellion towards his family.

Another day, I took a trip for a few weeks with two of Nabi's cousins. We were on our way back from the market in Midar and passed a small monument, a little off the street and surrounded by trees and a wooden fence. Abdel and Mahmut, Nabil's two cousins, were sitting in front of the car. They had been adopted at the age of six and eight, had left Morocco and grew up with Nabil's family in Frankfurt. We had been given instructions from their father, Rahman, who only once visited his sons in Germany and knew little about their lives. On other trips during summer vacations Abdel and Mahmut mentioned that they had noticed the monument, but had never taken the trouble to stop for a closer look. My interest in the place, I felt, also prompted theirs to grow. It was early afternoon when we stopped by the side of the road, and the shades of the old trees were hesitant about leaving the trunks. The monument had just recently been renovated; the white and blue colors shone bright in the midday sun.

We stood in front of this colored stone on which was a text inscribed in Arabic providing a brief outline history of Annual. Abdel and Mahmut could hardly understand the text. Arabic had been part of their voluntary curriculum during

afternoon classes in German elementary school, and so they only remembered a few words. We pointed to the numbers indicating the years of the battle. Mahmut took some pictures with his cell phone and asked me to photograph him to document his presence at the site. We then walked around the wooden fence, looking for something else that might be of a tourist interest before heading back to the car.

On the other side of the street I noticed a boundary stone, which showed graffiti on both sides.

Moving closer, I realized the faded silhouette of Abd el-Krim el Khattabi. All sides had been sprayed with his face, though somebody had tried to erase the picture through scrubbing the stone. It appeared that this had been attempted several times; the stone showed the surroundings of older graffiti and many deep scratches on the surface. We wondered who would paint Abd el-Krim's face on boundary stones and who would want to destroy them afterwards, and decided to find out more. Later that day at dinner, Abdel asked his father about the face on the stone who explained that the stone became a visible marker of the fight between a small, but politically very active group and the officials in the region. He took the road to Midar at least three times a week, and had resolved to make a little game out of figuring out the identity of the current winner: the activists or the officials? Sometimes, this changes weekly. At night somebody would secretly spray Abd el-Krim's face, while the next day, one could observe how some policemen began urgently scrubbing off the painting. He had witnessed this parody several times, Rahman said, though he knows next to nothing about the group of activists - perhaps some young men from the area, proud to be Imazighen, and who would like to unravel the history of the Rif. "But why would they want to do this?" Rahman asked, "If they would ever be caught they would be in big trouble, and might even be arrested. We are, after all, Moroccans: and all this about Abd el-Krim and the Berber war has long-since past." With this attitude it appeared as if he wanted to end the discussion on about the topic. For him, I felt, the graffiti anecdote was nothing more than a welcome change to his everyday life, but otherwise represented nothing of any further interest. From Rahmans' perspective, Amazigh issues were not that well viewed by the Moroccan state, and the topic was anyway too unimportant to face repercussions by the state.

The Amazigh movement continues to encounter great skepticism. Many people I talked to fear antireligious intentions inherent in the movement and foresee a backdrop to pre-Islamic times. Others, such as the older woman described above, feel ashamed about their heritage. As far as they are concerned, the language and culture of the Imazighen is primitive and not worth of supporting. Yet another group is afraid of state repercussions, such as the story of Rahman indicates. They feel that the Amazigh movement might work against the integrity of the Moroccan state. Hence, they detect a movement of opposition seen as having negative consequences for individual supporters (see also El Atiaoui (1997:35) for similar observations).

Summing up

Colonial developments in Morocco are responsible for later migration movements towards Europe. Also they divided the country into a northern, formerly Spanish ruled part that until today lacks in infrastructure and a central, formerly French ruled part that today rules the entire country.

Colonial divisions as well influenced the current linguistic situation of Morocco. Though the country is defined as Arab with Fus'ha (classical Arab) being its official language, it cannot be defined as the mother tongue of any Moroccan. Darisha (Moroccan colloquial Arabic) and several Tamazight (Berber) dialects are instead the major modes for communicating, while Tamazight is until today considered second-class and primitive.

In the German diaspora it is particularly younger well-educated men who show growing interest in the Berber languages and culture of their ancestors. For them, knowledge of Amazigh history and perceiving oneself as an Amazigh is a key element in finding one's identity. They are proud to belong to an ethnic group with a long and vivid history, albeit one that has long-since been relegated to the margins of history. It is from this historical and current marginalization and its silent, overlooked existence that they draw the power of perceiving themselves as belonging to a unique and special group.

Elder generations instead still tend to deny their roots as for them being Amazigh and Muslim at the same time is perceived as being a contradiction. Some elder people also fear state repercussions and feel ashamed of their Amazigh history.

Still, there is a serious renaissance of Berber identity, which has been made possible through the process of migration and in the search of the younger generation intellectuals for roots and heritage.

Generally speaking, the Amazigh movement must be seen as an initiative predominantly found among young and/or intellectual individuals in search of their identity. History then becomes politicized for the sake of positioning oneself in a transnational setting between Morocco and Germany, and to resist the sense of relative unimportance and insignificance.

IV. Family and Social Networks

The following chapter gives an insight into different aspects of family, friends and personal network relations. It is shown what kind of importance they have for everyday life situations of individuals and for the community. The formation of new families, marriages and alliances, are highlighted in the first section as they are of great value to the people themselves and illustrate the transnational weaving of social relations. To fully grasp those topics Internet sources and song texts, all part of the collected field data, will be analyzed. In the second section, exemplary results of personal networks are described and analyzed to show how people are embedded into their community as well as into German society overall. It is argued that personal networks differ according to gender, generation, length of stay in the diaspora and educational background. Whereas the former chapter on migration and movement focused on Morocco and peoples connections between Morocco and Germany, the current chapter concentrates on the life situation of the migrants living in Germany. Hence, the perspective is narrowed and moves on to questions of individual embeddedness and identity.

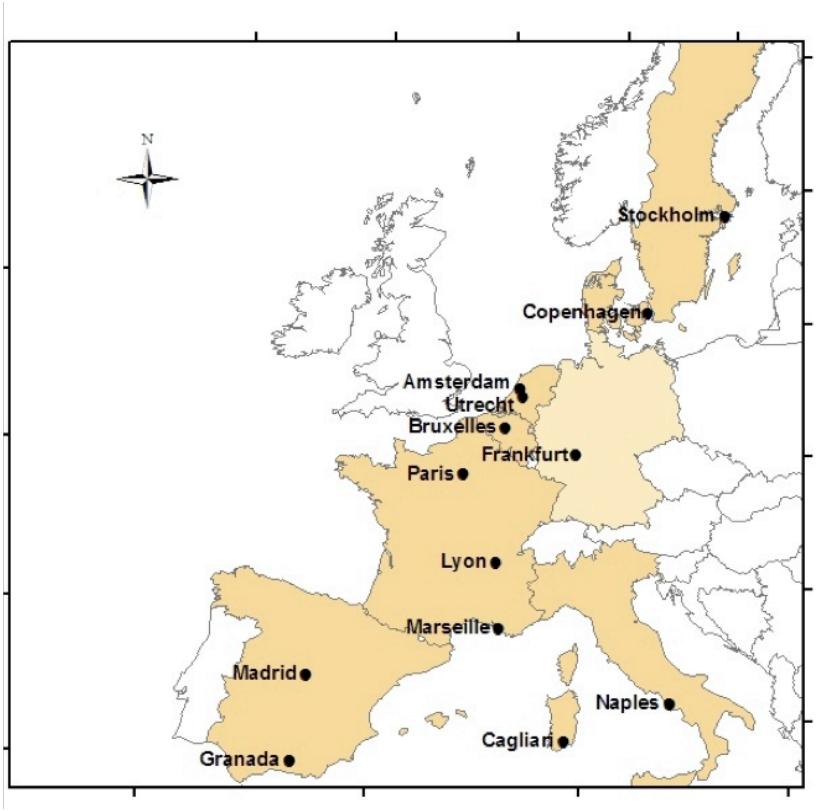
IV.I Experiencing Family

Family and Transnationalism

Family has always been an important social construct (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002). It is an essential category to structure society. While in Western countries it is often argued that family and kinship increasingly lose their significance and are replaced by loose networks that are temporary and contextually woven, in diasporic contexts instead it seems that family remains important. As can be observed within the Moroccan community as well as in other diasporic communities, many migrants are yet to be incorporated into the majorities' societies. Hence, most migrants tend to

concentrate on their families. Those at least provide emotional support and offer the individual a sense of stability.

In the Moroccan diaspora of Frankfurt the focus on family shows particularly in the choice of residence as family members try to stay in the same district. Most of the younger people I talked to were certain about their unwillingness to leave their immediate families. Even though they might have been married and had established families themselves they could not picture moving to another city. Some would prefer staying in the same part of town their parents were living in, while others at least changed the quarter to escape those parts of the city that were not well perceived. The Bahnhofsviertel was a place that would be left by the younger generation of migrants to improve social status and perception within the community. Still they returned to the quarter almost daily to visit their parents and other close family members. It was clear to almost everybody that family was central.



Picture 14
Spread of a Moroccan family

Hence, the formation of families is given intensive thought and consideration. This is not only caused by the sentiment of belonging to a marginalized group within German society, but also because relationships outside family are experienced as weak and inconsistent. Here one needs to differentiate relationships

to family, fictive kin[25] and relations to friends. The later having the tendency to be rather instable, while fictive kin might replace family members who are not personally present in the diaspora. Also, concerning the stability of relationships an important differentiation is made between members and non-members of the Moroccan community, as will be shown later.

Most Moroccan family relations are geographically dispersed, which also has an impact on the stability of the ties between the relatives. Picture 14 shows the division of a Moroccan family from Nador, now living in Frankfurt whose relatives are spread all across Europe. Parts of the family are still living in the Rif, while brothers, sisters and cousins of the parents from the nuclear family in Frankfurt moved to Spain, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark and Sweden. In interview situations the family members I talked to proudly referred to the wide range of their relatives. It turned out, however, that they were rarely in contact with those who were living far away and only met them during summer return to Morocco, if at all. Important to the family in Frankfurt were those who had their homes closer, like in Belgium, France or the Netherlands. There was intensive travelling going on between those places.

While for elder migrants connections to family members in Morocco are of great importance, younger generation migrants tend to concentrate on relations that are spread across Germany and Europe. The later being generally less attached to Morocco and rather feeling connected to other 'European' Moroccans or migrants in general who share similar life experiences of living in diaspora communities. Teenagers and young adults living in Morocco differ considerably from those living in Europe and are sometimes perceived skeptically as they self-evidently wish to be supported by those living in the diaspora; a serious hindrance for keeping up contact in the long run, as had been argued earlier (III.I Migration and Movement. Finances and Fissions). Besides, young generation Moroccans might not be fluent in Tamazight (and not at all in Arabic) and face increasing problems communicating with their relatives in Morocco.

[25] „By fictive kin we mean a relationship, based not on blood or marriage but rather on religious rituals or close friendships ties, that replicates many of the rights and obligations usually associated with family ties." (Ebaugh and Curry 2000:189).

During fieldwork I also observed first signs indicating dissolution of relationships spreading across Europe, again based on fading language abilities. One of the families I knew in Frankfurt regularly hosted their relatives living in Utrecht (Netherlands). The fathers brother with his wife and three children always stayed the weekend and by the time Sunday afternoon got closer, the teenagers and children, though they had spent a good time together, were somehow relieved as they did not need to concentrate on Tamazight for communicating any more, but could fall back into either German or Dutch, both languages they were socialized in and knew better than the Moroccan dialect. In some occasions their parents, all belonging to the second generation and being fluent in either German or Dutch and Tamazight, had to translate for their children. For male teenagers such tendencies were particularly striking. They are generally less obliged to stay with their families after school and in the evenings and have more contacts outside their nuclear families. The influence of their families upon them is not comparable with that experienced by daughters who are often supposed to take care of younger siblings and the household. Hence, young men are less involved in family matters and are consequently less exposed to language and other aspects of Moroccan culture in the diaspora. (see also the ethnographic report of Mimoun having problems in adjusting to Moroccan customs during summer return - III.I Migration and Movement. Unaccepted Blend)

Language abilities, as has been shown, are a first indicator for the decline of transnational relations. Currently however those transnational connections still serve as an emotional and economic anchor in people's lives and it would be wrong to perceive the focus on the family as a constraint. Families in a transnational context are mostly large groups of people with multiple orientations and backgrounds that offer various accesses to sources and opportunities. Whether transnational families enlarge individual sources and social capital[26] is controversial. Janßen&Polat (2006) for example argue that individual opportunities decline, while others (Bryceson and

[26] Social capital is based on the assumption, that individuals can amass their opportunities through the embeddedness into social systems. Seen in that way, social capital is then one form of resource, next to people's own abilities (human capital) and their financial sources (financial capital). Bourdieu uses the concept to describe processes of production and reproduction of social inequality (Bourdieu 1983).

Vuorela 2002) stress that transnational families amass individual sources. Fieldwork in Frankfurt showed that the capacities of transnational families differ dramatically.

It depends on educational background of the family members but is also caused by sheer coincidence; while some families might have contacts to important gate keepers through connections on their jobs, within their neighborhood or through their mosque community others barely have access to network sources just because they did not get to know the important people. Additionally the opportunities of a transnational family might change over time and are situated in a constant flux.

Seen as social constructions families are far from being closed entities or simple blood ties anyhow. They are rather highly relative, as Bryceson and Vuorela (2002:19) stress. They span across national borders and make people move through an imaginary familiar net that covers extended parts of mostly the Western World. Transnational families can therefore not be linked to a simple household, but need to be seen as a web of different geographical places with various ends and options.

Reconfirmation of family

Most of the migrants' leisure and weekend activities are connected to their nuclear and transnational families. The weekends are often used for family reunions and almost all traveling takes place within family network structures. Whenever my informants left Frankfurt, it was either for reasons of shopping in Brussels, the Netherlands and in the Düsseldorf/Dortmund region or to visit relatives in other German regions or in neighboring European countries. The visits passed in an ever-similar pattern and were used to reconfirm family structures. The elder generations spent most of the time sitting together and eating traditional Moroccan food that had been prepared prior to the event, kids were playing, teenagers surfed the internet and occasionally sat down with their parents and grandparents to talk. What united the different generations was the circulation of pictures and videotapes with which former meetings were remembered and family members that were not present became incorporated into the reunion. Video taped marriages, circumcisions, and betrothals as well as documentations from the last stay back home in Morocco were

continuously repeated and formed the background scene for current conversations. How the protagonists looked and what they wore was heavily commented and used to evaluate different options for future designs and decorations of festivities to come. The act of watching those videos in the group of the family had important impacts on processes of identity formation; it was as if the transnational family permanently reinvented itself and set its frontiers. The appearance of certain individuals on the screen was additionally a welcomed stimulus to report about current developments and plans of the particular persons. Hence, the communal videotape watching serves as a family ritual of identifying and defining oneself as part of a transnational group. Additionally, by watching those documentations, close friends temporarily become incorporated into the family as fictive kin. They are addressed with kin terms, such as *chtiti* (aunt) for elder women that could as well be an agnatic relative. In any case, belonging and togetherness becomes expressed through the video watching. It is as with food, that ethnic affiliation and belonging to a certain family is expressed with the help of visual markers, especially through the way of clothing and decorating ones homes and festivities. Instabilities in family matters are thus temporarily overcome with the help of documentary media.

Family Formation

The worth of video and photo documentation is mainly important for liminal occasions such as marriages and birth-celebrations that incorporate new members into the family. Marriages obviously contain the chance of increasing the families' social capital and it is very common that the formation of the alliances is given intensive thought by parents and other relatives of the potential brides and grooms.

In the general perception of majorities in most migrant receiving nations, new transnational alliances consisting out of a partner that grew up in Europe and one that was imported from the country of origin are considered to be more traditional. This is caused by the fact that such marriages are seen as rather being a family matter instead of being based on the decision of two independent individuals (Lievens 1999:719). It is as well supposed that those connections will disappear over time as soon as

migrants orient themselves more towards their European country of residence and loose interest in their former roots. Interestingly, the opposite could be observed. In a quantitative study on consanguineous marriages among Turks and Moroccans Reniers showed that "more than 80% of all consanguineous marriages lead to new migration" (2001:35). Kin marriages account for 38% of all marriages within the diaspora communities, but only for 30% in Morocco (2001:31). The increase of kin marriages can be explained with the restriction of the migration policies in European governments, enabling in-migration only by marriage. Another reason for the choice of kin members is the decline of accessible resources in the diaspora and the inability of supporting people who do not belong to the immediate consanguineous family.

However, whether a partner belongs to kin or not transnational marriages often contain difficulties. The different cultural settings, i.e. Morocco and a Western European country, in which the partners were socialized in, tend to cause serious quarrels and might finally lead the marriage to divorce. Many of my informants stated, that transnational marriages are often based on the necessity of one partner to migrate and obtain a residence permit in a European country, but as soon as he or she receives the document the alliance will be canceled. Transnational marriages provide access to financial sources (through potential employment opportunities in Europe) and are highly attractive for people living in Morocco.

While doing fieldwork in the Rif I personally experienced this dynamic, in that I got several serious requests for marrying and was offered up to six thousands Euros if I agreed on "making ones papers". Migrating to Europe has become an obsession for many, which is permanently fueled by the displayed wealth of migrants during summer return. This obsession to migrate can be so compelling that young unemployed men might not even look for an opportunity to find work in Morocco, but rather wait impatiently for a chance to leave their villages permanently (Fadloullah et al. 2000; Schoorl et al. 2000; de Haas 2008).

It is not always the case that such intentions are openly articulated. Moreover, they are quite often secretly hidden, though the problematic is widespread. Even song texts deal with those issues, as the following example illustrates.

"Tharai mlaiun" from Rachid Anas
[Translation: M.B., C.O.]

The one with the beautiful eyes seduced me,
The one with the German papers,
She sent me into the kitchen to prepare the fish.

She said, "You go and make dinner.
Clean the dishes.
I might be back later,
I am invited by friends."

I answered: "Will you be back soon?
Or will they keep you busy?
Do you want to leave me alone, like a devil?"

She repeated, "That is not your business.
Enough with your questions anyhow!
You go and do what I told you to and
If not you will be soon back in the Rif."

"Ok, I agree, Madame"

"And be careful, back in the Rif", she said,
"When you look into your pockets,
They will be empty."

"You have the right to say that
Because I agreed!
I left girls, so many and sweet,
like kernels of the pomegranate.
I have married you with that puss!

Ok, I agree, Madame

Now you can do what ever you want
Germany gives you the freedom.
I wanted it that way,
Do not know what has seduced me!?
Hope and desire seduced me,
Which is bad.
If at least you were beautiful
My sadness would not be so awful."

The song is written out of the perspective of a young Moroccan man from the Rif region being married to a Moroccan woman who grew up and lives in Germany. Its author Rachid Anas manages to portray the frustration and the damaged hopes of the protagonist, as well as his stuck situation that hardly offers any alternative options to him. It is suggested that he did not reveal his intentions in the first place and made his bride believe that he was willing to marry her because of her "beautiful eyes". However, the next line mentions the seductive "German papers" and describes in the following the situation of the young couple being characterized by turned gender relations. This implies that the young woman might be very aware of her powerful situation. She seems to be the head of the house and gives instructions to her husband – a fact that he can hardly accept but can not do anything about it.

The second verse describes the young woman as independent and having high self-esteem. She leaves the house by herself and gives no information about the time she is planning to return. She is well embedded into a social network in the diaspora and is not willing to integrate her husband into this setting. Hence, he feels to be lost and left alone.

Transnational relationships in which the woman was socialized in Germany, while the partner was directly imported from Morocco contain several difficulties. First of all, differences in language abilities hinder the partners to equally participate in their social surroundings. While the women are fluent in German, the men might only speak Tamazight. Besides, as the women grew up in Germany they know the infrastructure

and are used to independence. Additionally, most women went to school at least up to the level of ninth grade, which is obligatory in the German educational system. Bridegrooms imported from Morocco instead might not have visited any school at all and have a poor educational background.

During fieldwork in Frankfurt it became clear that particularly the well-educated women have serious difficulties in finding an equivalent partner. They might have gone through vocational training or even have university degrees and are therefore unattractive as potential wives to men who grew up in Germany themselves. Well-educated women are perceived as difficult to handle. Also men tend to feel their own dignity would fade if their wife has reached a higher educational level and is an independent person. This is also expressed in the third line of the third verse when the protagonist sings about himself being left alone like a devil.

In Interview-situations many well-educated young women expressed their fear about not finding a partner that would fit their needs. They were as well afraid of being perceived as a potential wife for an imported husband, just because they could not find anyone else. If somehow possible they tried to escape such a constellation, even with the consequence of finding no partner at all.

The forth and fifth verse shows the irritated relationship of the young couple. The woman does not want to answer the questions of her husband; she has her own life that should not be disturbed by her partner. In saying that he should rather be careful not to be send back to Morocco, she threatens him and makes clear who dominates the relationship. This becomes especially illustrated in the fifth verse that stresses the financial dependency of the husband on his wife. If he does not cooperate, he will soon find himself back in Morocco without anything.

Then follows a part, starting with verse six, in which the young man talks about himself. He states that his wife is right, that she is allowed to behave the way she does as he agreed to marry her. In further saying that he left many other beautiful women behind and decided to marry his ugly wife (“with that puss”) he commits his own mistake and regrets to have chosen the German papers instead of a happy life with a beautiful woman in Morocco. That he compares the sweet kernels of the pomegranate with the beauty of the Moroccan women is to be understood as a reference to

authenticity, which he is missing in Germany. It is the only line in the song text that has a metaphoric connotation and touches on the senses of the listeners.

In verse seven he critiques the Western lifestyle that gave too much freedom and individualism to the woman he is now married to. This implies his general dislike of his current life in Europe. He had hopes and desires and had imagined his future in Europe differently than it turned out to be.

The refrain "ok, I agree. Madame" transports his frustration and the former naiveté that let him end up in the situation that he is now stuck in.

Choosing such a topic as the main theme for a song text illustrates the presence of the problematic. The situation of the young man is no exception; it is rather part of the experience of many, which also explains the popularity of the song - many of my informants knew Rachid Anas and his song about the unhappy marriage.

While for the interview partners I talked to, the protagonists behavior was seen in the light of the seductive "German papers", social scientists interpretations of the above described marriage pattern vary. Lievens, (1999) in his article on Family-Forming Migration from Turkey and Morocco argues that the import of a Moroccan groom needs to be understood as an act of accepted female emancipation.

> "When these women have the choice between a candidate of wealthier descent from their own country and an at first sight less advantageous candidate in France or a Moroccan city, they will often choose the latter." And recurring to Boulahbel-Villac (1994:50) Lievens further states "that these women use traditional marriage traditions in order to satisfy their craving for modernity and for a more equal relationship between husband and wife. They do so by influencing - in an indirect way and by staying within the lines of tradition - the decision made by their parents. The tradition in this sense becomes a pathway to modernity." (Lievens 1999:739)

Particularly women with high self-esteem and profound educational background I talked to in Frankfurt argued the like. They consciously decided to marry an imported partner, as they were keenly aware of the structural power (i.e. language, finances) they gained. However, marrying a partner imported from Morocco was not their first choice and if possible they would try to find a bridegroom who was socialized in

Germany and had a sophisticated educational background himself. It was common knowledge that a marriage between an imported partner and a migrant was often complicated in that the couple faced intercultural challenges.

I have not witnessed any couple that was satisfied with such a situation on the long run. Tensions and conflict were wide spread and the sooner or later those constellations ended in divorce – often as soon as residence permits were obtained. It also seemed that sometimes the marriage of an imported partner was rather considered the last solution before ending up as an old and unmarried woman; at least the well-educated women behaved that way. This might also explain why the rates of marrying a partner from Morocco increase with age at marriage. Lievens, referring to Lodewijckx (Lodewijckx et al. 1997), instead argues, "that the degree to which a woman has an influence on her partner selection increases with her age at marriage" (Lievens 1999:730). He describes the selection as a conscious decision.

It needs to be noted however that a marriage between a partner living in Germany and one that is imported from Morocco fits the expectations of the community. Moroccan society is patrilinearily and patrilocally structured. After marriage women are considered to be part of the man's family. In choosing an alliance with someone from Morocco women satisfy their parents desires, while at the same time they are not directly merging into their husbands family. Marrying an imported husband has thus the advantage of gaining independency from the own family as well as from the wife's in-laws, as they are not locally present in Germany. Compare Lievens (1999).

For a conscious networking and a widening of the potential access to all sorts of sources relevant to the life in Europe, it is strategically better to arrange new alliances inside the German or across other European Moroccan communities. Children of families who are successful traders or own a private business for example are highly attractive candidates. The choice of marriage partners however seems to be narrow. Parents wish that their children selected a partner who is of Berber origin as well, if not stemming from the same region in the Rif. A partner who comes from central Morocco is not well perceived, even more so a bride or a groom without any Moroccan roots is to be avoided.

In comparison to the intentions of migrant women to marry a man from Morocco, migrant men rather tend to choose an imported partner for reasons of easiness, as Reda once explained in an interview situation: “I just don’t want to discuss everything with my wife. You know, talking about everything makes life much more difficult. I want to have it easy. She will raise the kids and I will earn the money. She will teach the kids Tamazight and cook them the right food. I would not want to be married to someone who questions everything, that’s all.”

Selecting someone who grew up and was socialized in Morocco, then, means being in the position of not having to negotiate all individually made decisions. Interestingly, the educational background of men is a less important criterion in deciding for an imported partner or not. Rather the general orientation of the men seems to be an indication. Those men perceiving themselves as part of the German society and not having strong attachments to Morocco will most likely choose a woman that has a similar orientation. Others that are deeply embedded into Morocco have less interest in a woman that was socialized in the diaspora and will strengthen their Moroccan connections through a respective alliance.

An informant in his early forties expressed his anxieties differently: He feels his heart hurting whenever he sees his children not being able to communicate in Tamazight anymore. “It is as if somebody pulls my roots, as if I loose everything that surrounds me emotionally, what is part of myself and is me in the end.” He was born and grew up in Nador and came to Germany as a teenager where he received a university degree and was then working in a well-paid job. He had been married to a woman who was born and raised in Germany and whose parents came from Central Morocco. Her knowledge of Arabic was poor and she did not speak any Tamazight – though she was fluent in German. She had been studying and was then working herself. Their relationship was open and emancipated and my interview partner expressed, that he valued this situation, as he would not want to have his wife being dependent on him. However, that his children did not get to know any of his culture and knowledge preyed on his mind and he sometimes wished he had married an imported wife for then his roots would not have been lost in his children.

Friendships

While marriage and marrying are major topics in people's lives friendships are of minor importance and are, at least in Diasporic contexts, perceived with mixed feelings. During the year in Frankfurt I often had the chance to witness those kinds of relationships declining.

It was Ashra who once asked me to meet down at the river and talk. She had been a close friend of Latifa for more than two years and they had been hanging out together on a daily basis. It was shortly after summer vacation that we met. Both Ashra and Latifa had spent some weeks in Morocco with their families. During those weeks, Ashra reported, she had not heard anything from Latifa, a fact that she already perceived as strange and not normal to the relationship of the two young women. Now being back in Frankfurt Latifa was still not reachable. Few weeks later another girl has had an explanation for Latifas silence. Apparently she had celebrated her marriage to a Moroccan man she had just gotten to know during summer vacation in Morocco. This news had upset Ashra, she could not understand that it was of no importance to her friend to share such a decision with her. Moreover in the meantime, Latifa had returned to Frankfurt, and being confronted with Ashras questions, denied that the marriage had taken place at all. Latifa was unwilling to meet Ashra further and her behavior was somewhat strange, Ashra stated. During the next days Ashra found out that her friend had lied to her in several other cases and the disappointment about the relationship grew. Though the two girls had been inseparable for at least two and a half years, their friendship ended abruptly and without understandable explanations for Ashra.

Similar situations occurred regularly during fieldwork and it became clear to me that friendships were in many cases not built on solid ground. It was also interesting to see that gender and age did not seem to make a difference to such dynamics. It was common that friendships, even if they might have been intense and close, sometimes ended rapidly. The more I witnessed such cases, the more I realized that gossip and defamatory talk were some of the central reasons for friendships to end. As soon as rumors came up about certain people others immediately approached them only hesitantly and with reservation.

Thus, gossip functioned as a medium to judge individual behavior and to construct social relations. Once defamatory talk about one person was spread, people would try not to meet and talk to them in public any more.

Those tendencies however were mainly to be found within the Moroccan community, in which rumor and gossip is generally wide spread. People who had contacts outside their own ethnic community and were close friends with Germans or people of other national background had rather stable friendships, a fact that will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter on personal networks.

Summing up

As has been shown above, migrant families are wide spread and have the tendency to focus on nuclear families instead of keeping up relations to relatives living far away. This, it has been argued, is based on fading language abilities as well as on an ever-stronger orientation towards the country of residence.

The formation of families is given intensive thought as they offer the opportunity to subdue new resources. Intercultural marriages however comprise difficulties that often lead to divorce. In the diaspora Moroccan women who graduated from high school and studied or have other degrees are trying to find partners with similar educational background that grew up in Germany as well. While this is the case for almost all well-educated women, well-educated men instead are sometimes also interested in partners stemming from Morocco to ensure their position within family.

Transnational alliances and their formation is a topic of such interest that it even serves as topics in popular culture and appears in song texts and radio plays.

Also for many it is important to know, that their children will not loose Tamazight culture and language. The emotional embeddedness is rather crucial to their partner selection. Besides those preferences and dislikes, the issue of residence permits is

present in many decisions on the right bridal partner. Marriage is at least the major opportunity in "making ones papers" as many of my informants stressed.[27]

Family relationships are of even greater importance when looking at the dynamics of friendships within the diaspora communities. From what I have observed in the field and concerning the stories my informants told, Moroccan friends are hard to trust. Gossip and rumor did its share in that one becomes skeptical about others once defamatory talk has spread. Friendships with people who do not belong to the Moroccan community are therefore considered to be more stable.

[27] Although in 2007 German government changed the immigration law ("Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung und zur Regelung des Aufenthalts und der Integration von Unionsbürgern und Ausländern"), which restricted the immigration of bridal partners in that they now need to prove certain knowledge of the German language, transnational marriages are still a present phenomenon.

IV.II Networking

Though, as has been shown, there is an orientation towards the nuclear family, still people need support from others to handle their everyday life. Hence, how family patterns change and might be replaced by network relations within diaspora will be illustrated in the following chapter. The results are based on a network analysis conducted at the end of fieldwork. Analysis of the complete data set shows the social structure of the community. Additionally one personal network will be exemplarily discussed to answer questions of individual embeddedness. The chapter aims to give inside into processes of integration. It starts with a short overview of social network theory and further moves to the network method applied, to research results and their analysis.

Theoretical Approach

Parallel to the growing awareness of anthropologists to migration movements of peasants in the 1940s (compare II.I Doing Fieldwork. Strategies and Methodological Considerations), social networks of informants gained researcher's interest (Radcliffe-Brown 1940). Economic and political changes lead to worldwide changes and to a realignment of social structures in many societies. Particularly migration movements from the countryside to the cities accounted for the replacement of kin by other social relationships. British social anthropologists reacted to those developments and evolved early approaches in anthropological social network analysis, defining a social network as

> "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved." (Mitchell 1969:2)

Similar to kinship-studies in traditional societies, social network analysis should decipher social relations in complex settings and explain the behavior of groups and individuals. Network analysis was also a critique on the static alignment of structural

functionalism, which was unable to decode processes of change. In the 1960s and 1970s a general paradigm change within anthropology took place and symbols, processes and cognition came to the fore. Anthropological network analysis, though only developed few years earlier, lost its influence, as, then being very positivistic, it did not fit the qualitative principles of interpretive anthropology. Outside the field of anthropology however, social network analysis flourished and today's network approach is characterized by developments in social psychology, sociology, graph theory, statistics and computer science and became an interdisciplinary field of research (Schweizer 1996:17).

Early network research already took place around 1900, Simmel (1908) and others. In the 1930s Moreno (1953) labeled his recording and illustration of small groups 'Sociometry'. Though his approach was highly systematic, surprisingly, his thoughts were hardly considered in later network publications.

Within sociology first network studies were concerned with the consequences of tight and multiplex networks on human behavior (Barnes 1954; Bott 1955; Boissevain and Mitchell 1973). Following research concentrated on weak ties and structural holes (Granovetter 1973; Burt 1992). White (1992) and Emirbayer&Goodwin (1994) later focused on cognition, individual courses of action and a historical perspective on it (Schweizer 1996:113). Since the 1960s it has been argued that social networks have a tremendous influence on migration processes (Hugo 1981; Taylor 1986; Fawcett 1989; Tilly 1990; Kritz et al. 1992). It was also during this time that most anthropological network studies evolved, particularly in the context of research in African towns.

In the following years, interdisciplinary focus was then on social capital and network formation (Elrick 2005). Pure network analysis, particularly within anthropology, was rare (Sanjek 1996). Also it was of a limited perspective to discuss social networks only in the context of social capital as they explicitly offer the instrument to illustrate and visualize and to analyze complex personal and group focused relations (Schweizer 1996:19). This knowledge became applied by anthropologists in the 1980s and an actor-centric approach was favored that helped exploring individuals connections to

other individuals in situations of migration.[28] Social networks offer access to all sorts of support and help and are therefore of great importance in situations of migration (Massey et al. 1987; Boyd 1989; Massey et al. 1993; Bauer et al. 2000; Bang Nielsen 2004).

Studies focusing on questions of embeddedness can be nourished with network data on social relationships as they help in uncovering the connectedness of migrants and their relations to people outside and within their own community. Network data can help to explain processes of integration and perception.

Network Methods

During fieldwork I scheduled the network data research at the very end of my time in the field. Early enough, I had sensed that most informants were skeptical about a written questionnaire being presented to them. Besides, during the year I had already spent in the field, I had had the chance to gather much network information through my presence and observing various social situations of Moroccans interacting with each other, directly or via different media. Hence, the network data I am presenting is based on structured interviews as well as on participant observation. All informants I interviewed were known to me from spending time with them in the field. I therefore knew much about their life situation before I scheduled an interview with them.

The set of questions I choose for the structured interviews has been used in similar forms in other studies on social support in industrial countries (Freeman and Ruan 1997; McCallister 1997; Schnegg and Lang 2002; Dahinden 2005a). I operationalized the questionnaire based on the results I had already gotten during fieldwork. It was thus possible to ask questions that concerned my informants' habits in their everyday life. The seven questions deal with a variety of social relations and touch different dimensions on social support. These are: instrumental help, emotional support, counseling in important situations of life, financial support and social activities. The

[28] See Wolfe (1978) for a discussion of the general development of network thinking in anthropology.

categories have been defined by several network studies on social support (Freeman and Ruan 1997; McCallister 1997; Schnegg and Lang 2002; Dahinden 2005a). The attributes of the actors I asked for are: age, sex, nationality, occupation, length of stay in Germany, place of residence in Germany and the role in which people are interacting with each other (family members/kin, friends, neighbors, colleagues, institutions).

Name generating questions used for structured interviews are as follows:

Instrumental help

Q1 Suppose you need something to prepare a meal (like an egg, etc.) and the shops are closed. Who would ask? (for women)

Suppose you urgently need something to fix furniture and the shops are closed. Who would you ask? (for men)

Q2 Suppose you have problems with German bureaucracy (like answering a questionnaire concerning your residence permit)? Who do you ask for help?

Emotional support

Q3 Who do you consider being your close friend? A person with whom you can talk about good and bad things?

Counseling

Q4 From time to time most people discuss important things (concerning your job, family and the like) with others. Looking back over the last six months, who are the people with whom you discussed important matters?

Financial Support

Q5 Suppose you have serious financial problems. Who do you ask for help?

Social Activities

Q6 With whom do you go out at least once a month, shopping or drinking a coffee? Whom do you visit at home?

Q7 Is there anybody else who is important to you and is not mentioned so far?

The set of questions ask for existing, as well as for intended relations. This mixture is well chosen as it allows answers on interactions that might not have taken place in the past, but would occur if needed. Both, existing and intended relations are part of social reality (Schnegg and Lang 2002:16).

The analysis of the material was done with SPSS and yEd.

For the results, I first analyze the data set as a complete sample to get a general insight into the supportive structures of the Moroccan diaspora community. I consider the frequency of alters, uniplex and multiplex relations, homophile structures and the different functions of support. I also use a personal network exemplarily; discussing it with the help of other ethnographic data I got during fieldwork. The discussion of the network data is generally embedded into the results I received during the process of participant observation. Network analysis therefore serves as one instrument besides others. Its advantage is the detailed insight into structures of social support. However, the network results need to be understood as a temporary snapshot and provide no information on processes of change. Therefore I include other data in the discussion stemming from participant observation. Also it would be of great interest to repeat the same study in few years from now to capture changes and diversification.

Network characteristics

	Gender of Interviewees					
Supporters	Men		Women		Total	
Men	113	72,0%	54	33,3%	167	52,4%
Women	44	28,0%	108	66,7%	152	47,6%
Total	157	100%	162	100%	319	100%
χ^2 (4, N=319) =47.73, p<.001						

Table 2
Gender of supporters and interviewees

I conducted semi-structured interviews on social network relations with 29 Moroccans living in Germany, 14 women and 15 men of ages between 15 and 67 years. Their educational backgrounds differ, varying from unskilled laborer to people who hold university degrees and work in well-paid positions. Also some interviewees have been living in Germany for all their life or more than thirty years, others have moved to

Frankfurt only recently. The sample is very heterogeneous. People were selected with the help of snowball sampling (Patton 1990; Hanneman and Riddle 2005), while I particularly looked for a variety in gender, age and social class.

Each of the 29 interviewees referred to 5 alters at the minimum and up to 21 alters at the maximum. In total all 29 interviewees were connected to 319 alters. Those were in average 37 years old and had been living in Germany for 18,6 years in average. The interviewees themselves were in average 33,2 years old and had been living in Germany for 26 years in average. 55% of them identified as German-Moroccan, while 45% identified as Moroccan. The 319 alters can be divided into family members, friends, colleagues, neighbors and people working in institutions. I included all family relations within the category of family members. Parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts and uncles, cousins and people belonging to the wider family are all considered in this category. As I was mainly interested in the social embeddedness of interviewees in German society this summary proved to be sufficient.

Table 2 shows the relation of the interviewees to male and female alters. For both men and women there is a clear tendency to relate to the same sex. Men named men in 72,0% (113)[29] of all cases, women named women in 66,7% (152) of all cases. This result is an indication of the clearly defined gender roles within the Moroccan community. In more than 2/3 of all cases people of the same sex are named as supporters in all ego-centered networks.

	Gender of Interviewees					
Role of Supporters	Men		Women		Total	
Family	84	53,5%	96	59,3%	180	56,4%
Friends	47	29,9%	36	22,2%	83	26,0%
Colleagues	23	14,6%	8	4,9%	31	9,7%
Neighbors	2	1,3%	18	11,1%	20	6,3%
Institutions	1	0,7%	4	2,5%	5	1,6%
Total	157	100%	162	100%	319	100%
χ^2 (1, N=319) =24.04, p<.001						

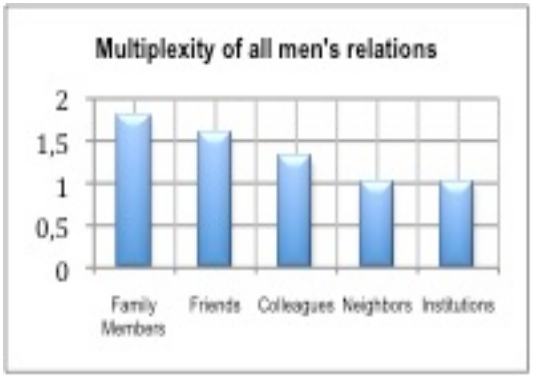
Table 3
Role of supporters versus gender of interviewees

Table 3 shows the relationships of the interviewed men and women to all 319 alters and their division into family members, friends, colleagues, neighbors and people working in institutions. It illustrates that

[29] The numbers in the brackets indicate the mentioned cases.

the majority of supporters are held by family members with 56,4% of all cases (180). This result was not astonishing for me as I had already observed the strong relationships to family in manifold situations during fieldwork. Besides other studies have proved the same (Pels 2000; Heering et al. 2004). The high number of family members is followed by friends with 26% (83), colleagues with 9,7% (31), neighbors with 6,3% (20) and people working in institutions with 1,6% (5). The most important result shown in table 3 is that men and women are differently embedded - the roles of men's and women's supporters differ. Women's supportive networks concentrate around family and household, while men relate to friends and colleagues. Both values for family members and neighbors in women's networks are higher than the respective values in men's networks, which again serves as an indication for clearly defined gender roles. As has been shown earlier with the interpretation of a song text (see chapter IV.I Family and Social Networks. Family Formation), gender roles are facing processes of change, see also Pels (2000:82) and Lans et al. (1997). Still, most women's social sphere hardly extends beyond their own household. It is therefore that neighbors are of greater importance to women than to men. Men instead relate to friends and colleagues. Concerning to gender there are different responsibilities compulsory to men and women in everyday life.

This result can be further consolidated with the consideration of multiplex relations. Multiplexity indicates how often a relation between ego and an alter is activated (Jansen 2003:109). In the present network analysis theoretically it would have been possible that ego was connected to his alters in all five categories of social support. Hence, the value for multiplexity was 5 at the maximum and 1 at the minimum. The higher this value is, the more important is a person in ego's network, as he or she then covers different aspects of support.



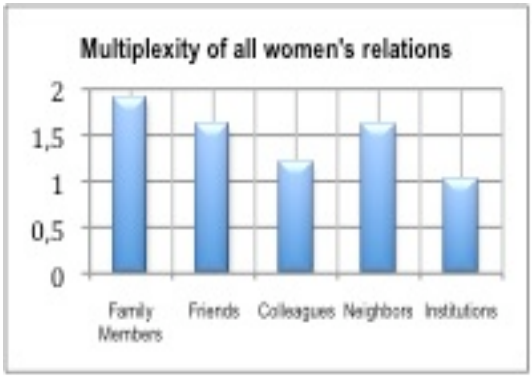


Table 4 & 5
Multiplexity of men's and women's relations

Tables 4 and 5 show that in average both men and women use the support of family members in almost two separate areas of social support. Women have more multiplex relations than men, particularly with neighbors. Their networks are tighter, meaning that women can relate to their alters in several situations, but are also dependent on their willingness to offer support and help.

Social networks being characterized by strong multiplex relations, i.e. strong ties (Granovetter 1973) are based on high solidarity. However, they are also denoted by strong social control and leave little opportunity for new information and access to resources. Additionally, small ego-centered networks consisting of people who know each other and are alike according to their characteristics are resistant to change and new influences. The less alters one has in his social network the less powerful is his network (Burt 1983).

	Age of Interviewees							
Supporter	15-30 years		31-50 years		51-67 years		Total	
Algerian	3	1,6%					3	0,9%
Columbian	2	1,1%					2	0,6%
German	25	13,8%	6	6,5%	4	9,3%	35	11,0%
Greek	3	1,6%					3	0,9%
Iranian	2	1,1%					2	0,6%
Italian	1	0,5%					1	0,3%
Moroccan	113	61,7%	75	80,5%	37	86,0%	225	70,6%
Polish	3	1,6%	1	1,1%			4	1,3%
Rumanian			2	2,2%			2	0,6%
Russian	2	1,1%					2	0,6%
Tunisian	1	0,5%	4	4,3%			5	1,6%
Turkish	28	15,4%	5	5,4%	2	4,7%	35	11,0%
Total	183	100%	93	100%	43	100%	319	100%
χ^2 (1, N=319) =24.04, p<.001								

Table 6
Nationality of supporters versus age of interviewees

Even though the values for multiplexity are in both cases (i.e. for women and men) not higher than two, still it can be stated that the ego-networks of the present sample are closed. This is the case because the majority of supporters belong to the Moroccan community. Ethnic homogeneity serves as a characteristic of closed networks: potential influences of new ideas, opportunities for change and access to all sorts of sources are limited.

Table 6 shows that the closeness of the ego-networks enlarges with the age of the interviewees. The older an informant is, the more he or she relates to individuals who are part of the Moroccan community. The three different age groups (15-30, 31-50 and 51-67 years) have been chosen, as they roughly resemble the three different generations of Moroccan migrants in Germany.

The high values for Moroccan supporters (highlighted row) can be explained with the concept of homophily, meaning that people's personal networks are homogenous in regard to many behavioral, sociodemographic and interpersonal characteristics. The homophily principle generally structures all kind of network ties, no matter whether one looks at work, friendship, advice or support, like the current sample does. Like strong ties and multiplex relations homophily limits people's social worlds (McPherson et al. 2001).

Table 6 illustrates that the social networks of Moroccans are ethnically homogenously organized. The majority of network ties concerning support are based within the Moroccan community, 70,6% (225) of all contacts are with Moroccans. Even more, with the data and the homophily principle it is possible to prove that we can indeed talk about a Moroccan ethnic community in Frankfurt. Moroccans managed to establish a niche to meet their needs in a way that makes them independent from others. Like I have argued earlier, it is as if there was a Moroccan net covering Frankfurt and its suburbs, supplying the community members with information, food and household supplies, employment opportunities and the like. There is no necessity for example to leave the community borders when in need of a new hair cut or someone who can fix one's car.

If at all one needs to leave the community to fulfill his or her needs, there is a clear tendency to contact people who have a history of migration themselves and share similar experiences. This bias explains the mention of Poles, Greeks, Rumanians, Russians and others whose personal history is locally diverse. However, outside the Moroccan community the preference of contacts is with Turks, as table 6 illustrates particularly for the younger generations (15-31 Year Olds). This again can be explained with the concept of homophily, as people share the same religion and prefer contacting at least a Muslim if no Moroccan was available. Similarly, the reason for

this tendency is also caused by the size of the Turkish community and the presence of Turkish migrants in German society.

What is true within the ego-centered networks of support also applies to the everyday practice of the community's members. My informants articulated their preferences in contacting people quite often, particularly when talking about the issue in the group.

Being in the clothing boutique around noon the daily decision needed to be made on where to buy lunch. The area around the train station provided various opportunities; bakeries, fast food restaurants and take-aways lined the streets. The decision making process was influenced by the presence of people in the shop. The more women being present while deciding the higher was the chance that the food was purchased in the nearby mosque. Some days Nazira, the shopkeeper was longing for chicken, but rejected her preference for her clients made clear that only Muslim food was adequate to consume. "We should not eat faithless chicken" the women commented, referring to the derivation of the animals that were broiled in a fast-food trailer owned by a German man around the corner.

The impact of the group became obvious. There was a subtle pressure to adjust to the preferences of the community's majority. The "faithless chicken" example also illustrates the gradual preference of many of my informants. No matter what their concern was, they preferred to stay within the Moroccan community. If the sources they were looking for could not be found within those structures they expanded their contacts and referred to other migrants, preferably of Muslim faith.

Those preferences are to be found within the whole Moroccan community. However, there are differences between the generations. Younger people's networks generally include more alters than those of elder Moroccans – there are more people younger Moroccans can relate to. Also the composition of young peoples networks is characterized by greater variety in that the alters are not necessarily of Moroccan origin. Those optional contacts have impacts on the behavior of the young. They consciously chose their contacts and are less susceptible to the convictions of the community. Also the value of their connectedness to German supporters is the highest with 13,8% (25) compared to 6,5% (6) for the second generation and 9,3% (4) for the oldest generation, see table 6.

Differences between the three age groups can also be shown when considering the roles of the supporters, see table 7.

	Age of Interviewees							
Supporter	15-30 years		31-50 years		51-67 years		Total	
Family	86	47,0%	64	68,8%	30	69,8%	180	56,4%
Friend	61	33,3%	17	18,3%	5	11,6%	83	26,0%
Colleague	21	11,5%	6	6,5%	4	9,3%	31	9,7%
Neighbor	12	6,6%	4	4,2%	4	9,3%	20	6,3%
Institution	3	1,6%	2	2,2%			5	1,6%
Total	183	100%	93	100%	43	100%	319	100%
χ^2 (8, N=319) =19,82, p<.05								

Table 7
Role of supporters versus age of interviewees

In all three generations family members are the most important supporters. The first group of the interviewees, being the youngest, includes all interviewees who are between 15 and 30 years old. Almost all people of that age were born in Germany and have been living in Frankfurt all their life. In school and vocational training, on the job and in college or university they have large opportunities for having contacts outside their families. This shows in the high number of friends and a respectable number of colleagues that all provide support to them.

The second age group of people being between 31 and 50 years old belong to the second generation of migrants. Most of them have travelled to Germany with their parents at early age and have been living in Germany ever since. Though they might have then been at an age, which required school attendance of them, many informants reported their problems of integrating to me. Their parents were hardly able to speak any German by the time of arrival in Frankfurt and the children's' language abilities developed slowly. Hence they oriented themselves towards the Moroccan community and most of their contacts are within family, while most of their friends are until today of Moroccan origin.

The third generation of migrants, including people being 51 years and older, is characterized by particularly homophile networks. Family members are of great importance to them and they hardly have contacts outside the Moroccan community. Accordingly, elder Moroccan migrants are often lonely and feel isolated. Through the

dependence on family their social contacts are narrowed. Particularly elderly widowed women sometimes only have their children they can relate to. Though family members might regular come over for visits, mosque communities are for most elderly women an important opportunity to keep up regular social relationships. Still those community members will hardly be used as a source to fulfill different needs in social support and are hardly named in the networks. This is the case even though elderly women and generally people belonging to the elderly generation have spent a considerable amount of time living in Germany.

Network analysis showed that the length of time people have spent in Germany is no indicator for the rise of contacts with people other than Moroccans ($\chi 2$ (11, N=319) =37,255, p<.000).

So far, following results of the network analysis can be noted: There are differences concerning the embeddedness of men and women. Besides contacts inside family and with friends, women are connected to neighbors, while men instead indicate contacts with colleagues. Generally, contacts within the Moroccan community are of major importance no matter how old people are. The majority of network ties can be defined as strong ties as the alters know each other. The community is ethnically homogenously organized. The older an interviewee is, the more he or she refers to family members when in need of help and support. Also, networks of elder migrants are smaller than those of people belonging to the younger generation.

In the following, those results will be considered in more detail when looking at the allocations for the different questions.

Instrumental help

I have split this category into two questions. In question 1 (Q1) I asked for items one needs in the household for cooking or repairing, with question 2 (Q2) I intended to get information about support with paper work. I assumed that in Q1 the interviewees would mainly name neighbors for they life next door and nobody would want to travel across town only to get an egg or a screwdriver. I supposed that the lending and

borrowing would offer opportunities for the interaction of Moroccans with Germans or people of other national background. Interestingly, my assumption proved wrong. Family members were highlighted with 64,9% (74), while Neighbors were only in 14% (16) asked for help. Hence, neighbors even had an inferior role compared to friends with 19,3% (22). Colleagues with 2% (2) are of almost no importance for Instrumental help in Q1.

	National Identity													
Role	German		Moroccan		Polish		Rumanian		Tunisian		Turkish		Total	
Family			74	87,1%									74	64,9%
Friends	1	20%	9	10,6%	2	100%			3	60%	7	46,7%	22	19,3%
Colleagues			2	2,3%									2	1,8%
Neighbors	4	80%					2	100%	2	40%	8	53,3%	16	14,0%
Total	5	100%	85	100%	2	100%	2	100%	5	100%	15	100%	114	100 %
Total NI		4,4%		74,6%		1,8%		1,8%		4,4%		13,2%		100%
χ^2 (24, N=191) =1,480, p<.001														

Table 8
Q1: National identity and role of supporters

The result, that family members are highlighted in their role of providing instrumental help with 64,9%, is positioned in contrast to the results of other network studies on social support. In his study of immigrants in Chicago Choldin (1973) illustrates the minor role of family relationships when it comes to instrumental help. Dahinden (2005a; 2005b), working with Albanian immigrants in Switzerland got similar results. However, in the context of Moroccans the major role of family members can be explained with their geographical closeness to the interviewees. There is no need to interact with people who do not belong to family or at least to the Moroccan community in Frankfurt as family members or community can be reached easily.

In talking about the results of the network analysis with my informants, I learned about the general hesitance of many to ask somebody unknown if he or she could help

out with household supplies. However, compared with the results to the other questions in Q1 neighbors gained the highest percentage.

Table 8 also shows the National Identity of the alters named in Q1. The majority of the people who supported the interviewees were identified as Moroccan 74,6% (85), 13,2% (15) as Turkish, 4,4% (5) as German, 4,4% (5) as Tunisian, 1,8% (2) as Polish and the last 1,8% (2) as Rumanian. In terms of national identity Q1 is characterized by a very homophile structure. People tend to stay within their own community when in need of household supplies.

	National Identity					
Role	German		Moroccan		Total	
Family			28	93,3%	28	53,8%
Friends	11	50,0%	2	6,7%	13	25,0%
Colleagues	4	18,2%			4	7,7%
Neighbors	4	18,2%		100%	4	7,7%
Institutions	3	13,6%			3	5,8%
Total	22	100%	30	100%		100%
Total National Identity		42,3%		57,7%		100%
χ^2 (4, N=52) =45,067, p<.001						

Table 9
Q2: National identity and role of supporters

While in Q1 there is a hesitance in asking unknown people for help, in Q2 somebody not well known to the interviewees would not be asked at all. After all, issues concerning ones resident permit are too delicate. However, when interacting with representatives of German bureaucracy good language skills of German are required. Hence, people who are named in Q2 are either younger family members or friends who are fluent in both, German and Tamazight. The people who were named in Q2 all have experience with bureaucratic challenges. In fieldwork situations I often witnessed that only certain people were asked to help with bureaucratic paper work, those who had particular reputation of knowing how to deal with questionnaires and the like. This trust in "experts" also explains the mention of institutions with 5,8% (3) as some interviewees reported that they would immediately consult a lawyer if they were facing any problems in interacting with bureaucracy. Still the fraction of family members is high, which is a sign for the self-supportive tendencies of families overall. Within the family context there is often one particular person whose educational

background is better than those of the others, who has good language skills of German and thus will be inquired if needed.

Not surprising is the fact, that people referred to Moroccans in 57,7% (30) and to Germans in 42,3% (22). As mentioned, the handling of residence permits requires trust as well as good language skills. The later explains the high value for Germans in Q2. Compared to the other questions this is the highest value for the support provided by Germans. During fieldwork I have helped with filling out questionnaires myself. It happened more than once that I was recommended to strangers and thus got to know people who had been unknown to me so far. Recommendation is a strong motor in keeping the community in a constant, though closed, flux. Word-of-mouth influence serves as an instrument of temporarily incorporating new people into the community and widening the accessible resources. Through reference people are not perceived as strangers any more and can easily be consulted when having a particular need. Speaking metaphorically it is as if the community casts a net to enlarge its resources, while the act of recommendation allows the actors to move inside perceived community borders.

Emotional Support

Q2 asked for temporary social support, Q3 instead aimed at information about relationships that are in character oriented towards the long-term. The majority of the alters being named in Q3 are to be found within family, 61,5% (48). This can be explained with a general hesitance of the interviewees to confide in non-relatives who are part of the Moroccan community. Tight and closed networks are susceptible to gossip, rumor, and defamatory talk and the chances that intimate information spreads within community structures are high. The concentration on family needs to be seen as a strategy to avoid such processes. Family members are trusted; at least those who belong to the nuclear family, and are therefore preferred as conversational partners.

	National Identity													
Role	Algerian		Columbian		German		Iranian		Moroccan		Turkish		Total	
Family									48	77,4%			48	61,5%
Friends	2	100%	2	100%	7	100%			12	19,4%	3	100%	26	33,4%
Colleagues							2	100%	2	3,2%			4	5,1%
Total	2	100%	2	100%	7	100%	2	100%	62	100%	3	100%	78	100%
Total National I.		2,6%		2,6%		9,0%		2,6%		79,4%		3,8%		100%
χ^2 (10, *N*=78) =71,613, *p*<.001														

Table 10
Q3: National identity and role of supporters

Also attractive as friends are people who do not belong to the Moroccan community at all. Having friendships with people who have another ethnic background serves as insurance that intimate information will not be transported into the Moroccan community. Adolescent informants particularly reported to me that they carefully chose their conversational partners and prefer talking to people their age, who are not part of the Moroccan community but have made similar experiences of living in families with a history of migration. Hence, the in Q3 mentioned Turks, Algerians, Columbians and Iranians all belong to this category and are friends of the younger generation Moroccans (see table 10).

Counseling

The interpretations of the results concerning Q3 are similarly valid for Q4. Here again family members hold the major role with 62,2% (51), followed by friends with 29,3% (24), colleagues with 6,1% (5) and people working in institutions with 2,4% (2). The

	National Identity									
Role	Algerian		German		Moroccan		Turkish		Total	
Family					49	75,4%	2	28,6%	51	62,2%
Friends	2	100%	8	100%	9	13,8%	5	71,4%	24	29,3%
Colleagues					5	7,7%			5	6,1%
Institutions					2	3,1%			2	2,4%
Total	2	100%	8	100%	65	100%	7	100%	82	100%
Total National Identity		2,4%		9,8%		79,3%		8,5%		100%
χ^2 (4, *N*=82) =37,768, *p*<.001										

Table 11
Q4: National identity and role of supporters

latter being included into the sum of mentioned alters as two interviewees indicated professional supporters in their network. When compared to Q3, the relationship, which I had asked for in Q4, is of rather temporary character. As my informants have told me, it depends on their situational needs whom they ask for advice. Some situations require similar intimacy outside the Moroccan community as described in Q3, especially when one needs to decide about issues that are unpopular or neglected within Moroccan network structures. Others require people who have made similar experiences of being part of the Moroccan community. This explains the high value of Moroccans that were consulted in 79% (65) of all cases. Only in 21% (17) of all cases were people without Moroccan roots asked for advice.

Financial Support

	National Identity			
Role	Moroccan		Total	
Family	31	93,9%	31	93,9%
Friends	2	6,1%	2	6,1%
Total	33	100%	33	100%
(*N*=33)				

Table 12
Q5: National identity and role of supporters

Q5 asked for financial support. The results are clear: all supporters were of Moroccan origin. Also family members gained the highest value of all questions that were asked. Financial issues are solved with family structures, a fact that has transnational validity and is effective in the diaspora as well. The concentration on family in financial issues also explains the importance of the well chosen partner selection, as has been illustrated earlier. It is interesting to note that in Q5 most of the interviewees indicated only one person they can relate to when in need of financial support; overall only 33 alters were named.

Social Activities

Q6 shows a differentiated picture. Here, the interviewees named 191 alters. Of all questions being asked family gained the highest result with 56,0% (107). The value for Moroccans is high with 71,2% (136). Also the interviewees indicated a considerable amount of Moroccan friends with whom they meet and visit. Interestingly, 75,7% (103) of the Moroccan alters that were named belong to the interviewee's families. This result can be explained through the character of the question that asked for people one meets as well as for those one visits. From participant observation I knew that most people were hesitant in visiting others at home. Also those who received an invitation were consciously selected. Visiting and receiving guests was mainly an interaction that took place within family.

Meeting people other than family was restricted to elder men as well as to younger men and women. Elder men met in cafes talking, playing cards, smoking and drinking coffee. Men and women of the younger generation met at places like coffeehouses, cinemas and youth clubs. During the year of fieldwork I did not witness any elderly

women meeting outside their homes. They visited family instead or invited them over into their homes. The later explains that almost two thirds of the alters named in Q6 belong to family.

Overall, table 13 shows that the networks concerning social activities are organized according to the homophily principle. There is a clear concentration on Moroccans.

	National Identity																			
Role	Algerian		German		Greek		Italian		Moroccan		Polish		Russian		Tunesian		Turkish		Total	
Family									103	75,7%							4	14,9%	107	56,0%
Friends	3	100%	6	42,9%	1	33,3%	1	100%	28	20,6%					1	33,3%	9	33,3%	49	25,7%
Colleagues			6	42,9%	2	66,7%			5	3,7%	2	100%	2	100%			8	29,6%	25	13,1%
Neighbors			2	14,2%						100%					2	66,7%	6	22,2%	10	5,2%
Total	3	100%	14	100%	3	100%	1	100%	136	100%	2	!00%	2	100%	3	100%	27	100%	191	100%
Total National I.		1,6%		7,3%		1,6%		0,5%		71,2%		1,0%		1,0%		1,6%		14,1%		100%
χ^2 (24, *N*=191) =1,480, *p*<.001																				

Table 13
Q6: National identity and role of supporters

A similar result as shown above can be further illustrated with the help of an exemplary ego-centered network.

Ego-Centered Network

The ego-centered network shown below belongs to a twenty-six year old Moroccan who came to Germany at the age of six to live with his aunt and uncle having the opportunity of receiving a good educational background. After high school he studied business administration and earned a living as a taxi driver. The social embeddedness illustrated in his network is representative for well-educated young men belonging to the third generation. The majority of the contacts is with Moroccans. Participant observation made clear that almost all alters shown in the network know each other and keep up multiple relationships. In the literature this interconnectedness of the alters became labeled with the term of cohesion. The higher its value, the more strong-ties are characteristic for the network (Jansen 2003:37). Cohesion as value can only be calculated in a full social network that has defined borders, as the information

of all alters concerning their connectedness to all other alters is needed to analyze the data. The present network sample, being based on egos connections, has no defined borders. Still, with the help of the data stemming from participant observation it is possible to state that the value of cohesion is high – most of the alters know and support each other.

The network is characterized by a high number of alters (25), of which the majority belong to the Moroccan community (17). Seven family members and eight women belong to ego's network, besides three Germans, two Turks, and three men with other national identity. The size of the network allows ego to consciously choose the people he wants to contact when in need of help and support. Particularly in the categories of instrumental help and social activities ego named a variety of supporters. Ten people provide instrumental help, twenty-one people share social activities with ego. Only three people provide emotional support, five people can be contacted when in need of advice and ego's Cousin Tamim is the only one that ego would ask if in need of financial support.

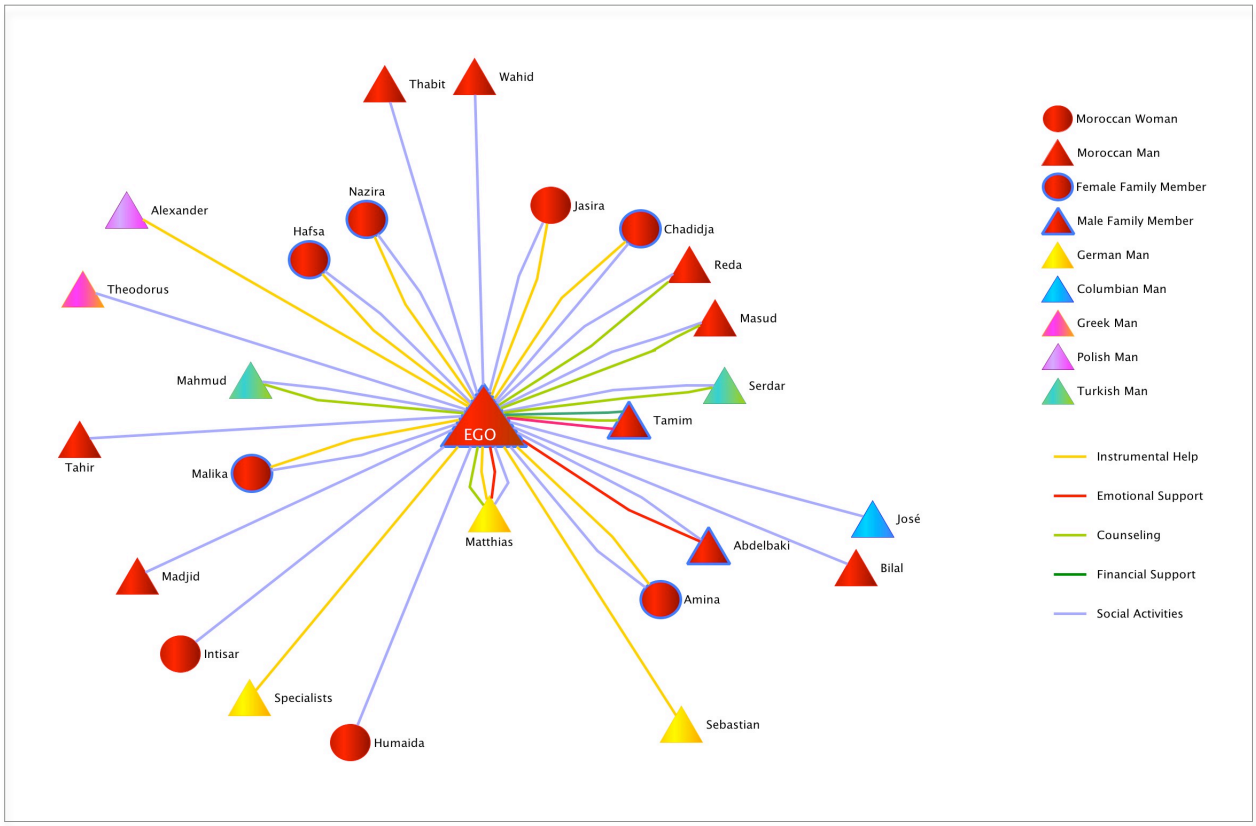
The people that do not belong to the Moroccan community are known to ego through his studies at university and his time at high school. Only one person, Alexander, was introduced to him by his uncle who is responsible for the maintenance of a public building of the city of Frankfurt.

Interesting in the network is the multiplex connection of ego to his friend Matthias. They have gotten to know each other in high school and are friends since then, even though they are involved in different studies today and hardly meet by coincidence any more. The relationship of the two young men is homophil. Both ego and Matthias critique the moral decline of Western societies, processes of individualization and a general loss of religion. In interview situations ego stressed that he became friends with Matthias because he is strongly attached to the Catholic Church, favors the Republican Party and has a conservative attitude towards life. Other Non-Moroccan alters in the network share similar views, in that religion and a conservative life style is important to them. For ego as well as for many other young adults I have talked to in the field ethnicity is not the superior concept for distinction. Social support, friendship and functioning relationships rather depend on shared attitudes and views,

but not as one would have guessed when looking at the visualized network first, on shared ethnic origin.

Still, as has been illustrated earlier, also for the younger generation most contacts are located within the Moroccan community – this is the case even though there are opportunities for the interaction with Non-Moroccans in schools and at the workplace. However, the development of friendships and respectively of structures providing support is dependent on shared attitudes, perceptions and views and those are more likely to be the same within in the Moroccan community. Or as Crow puts it:

> "Networks can not function unless their members operate with a shared culture and language, and in addition agree to abide by the rules of the group, even where it is not in their immediate self-interest to do so." (Crow 2004:10)



Picture 15
Ego-centered network of a 26 year old Moroccan man

Generally, for most people it is important to be friends with others who share similar experiences in life. Particularly for younger generation Moroccans those experiences culminate in the feeling of neither completely belonging to Germany nor to Morocco, a feeling that they share with children and young adults who's parents are not German either.

Besides, some of my informants indicated their preference of migrant friends in shared experiences of xenophobia and other forms of experienced discrimination. People whose parents are not German know what it is like to be treated as someone who is second rate, interviewees told me. Many of the young people I talked to are respectively friends with teenagers of migrant origin.

Friendships with people who are not part of the Moroccan community or have another migrant history are highly attractive. First of all, contacts to Germans raise the social status of the Moroccan migrant for he or she is then better embedded into German society and has access to a greater variety of resources. In the network shown above ego was often looked at jealously for his best friend Mathias introduced him to the advantages of the life of German upper middle-class. Matthias also initiated other contacts ego has to Germans. Sebastian for example belongs to Matthias' family. Additionally, Matthias recommended the specialists named in the network.

Second, relationships to Germans as well as to people with a migrant history other than Moroccan allow conversations on topics that are not to be spread within the Moroccan community. Most people I talked to were skeptical about the discreetness of Moroccans. They experienced too often the spread of information and the circulation of rumor and gossip within the community. As ego explained: "I can talk to Mathias openly. I know that the stories I am telling him will not travel to the ears of other people. This is what I value most. That he cannot tell any of my stories to a Moroccan who will immediately talk about it with the next person. I can trust him." Being based on trust friendships with Germans are less susceptible to decline.

On the other side, trust is also the explanation for the presence of seven family members in egos network. It is also noticeable, that ego only refers to family members when it comes to questions of emotional support. This is no exception; relations to family members and kin are prominently present in most social networks of migrants

as has been illustrated earlier in the analysis of the network questionnaires. Such tendencies can be explained with circumstances where trust is low and people's options are relatively limited. Many people I talked to feel insecurities in their lives, either concerning their status of residency or their general situation of living as a migrant in Germany, not knowing where to belong. In such cases families offer an anchor; they are enduring and can exercise a considerable degree of control over their members. Research has shown a general predominance of family networks in 'traditional' working class communities and in migrant communities (Crow and Allan 1994; Putman 2000). "Families offer 'thick trust'"(Crow 2004:11) in that most family relations are strong and frequent and provide security to their members.

Security and trust also serves as an explanation for the endurance of family relations in the networks of the young. Of course there need to be other circumstances providing the prerequisites for the relations with family members, like geographic propinquity, but still, uncertainties and limited opportunities are the main motor for family relations to resist. Hence, the composition of networks is based on similarity and security.

Summing up

Though interest in social network relations evolved at the beginning of the 20th century, it took until the 1980's until people's connectedness was analyzed in the context of migration. Only then was it realized that network analysis and research on social support could help uncovering processes of integration and questionnaires were developed that referred to informants' habits in every day life.

Those questionnaires were operationalized for the present work to ask for existing as well as intended relations. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 29 informants who indicated 319 alters in total.

The network analysis has shown that people generally relate to supporters of the same sex. More than half of all supporters belong to family. The value for women is higher than that for men. The relation to family members also rises with the age of the

interviewees. Also, family members are particularly referred to when in need of emotional and economic support.

More than two thirds of all supporters are Moroccan. Hence, it can be stated that Moroccans live in an ethnically segregated community. This is the case for people of all generations, whereas the tendency for homogeneity rises with the age of the interviewees.

Neighbors are only slightly relevant when the interviewees are in need of instrumental help. Colleagues and people working in institutions are generally of minor importance. Friends are important when it comes to emotional support, counseling and social activities, though they always remain drastically behind the values family members gain.

Relationships to Germans are only relevant in questions of instrumental help, few were also named as emotional supporters and counselors. Turks are similarly relevant in the networks. They gained their highest value in instrumental help and social activities.

The portrayed results are to be seen as an ethnographic case study. The network data that was gathered is enriched by the data that stems from participant observation. It is therefore also possible to draw a conclusion on the interconnectedness of the alters that were named in the networks. A considerable amount of alters know each other and keep up multiple relationships between each other; multiplexity within the community is high and leads to further segregation and homogenous and homophil structures.

In their paper on homophily in social networks McPherson et al highlight race and ethnicity as the main structuring element in social networks.

> "Homophily in race and ethnicity creates the strongest divides in our personal environments, with age, religion, education, occupation, and gender following in roughly that order." (2001:415)

Network research detected the causes for such processes of division in geography, family ties, school, work, voluntary organizations and cognition. Roughly speaking we are connected to those who live close to our homes, who belong to our family/kin,

who are our co-students, co-workers and/or who share the same values and perceptions as we do.

Opportunities for contact with people other than Moroccans are an essential prerequisite for the occurrence of interethnic relations. Those opportunities however are only a first step. As long as people do not share similar perceptions and ideologies and feel to be understood contact will hardly take place. Also and almost self-evidently, interethnic contact is dependent on the willingness of people on the other side, of those with other ethnic backgrounds.

Next to ethnic homophily, the major result of the network analysis is the centrality of family. Family ties hardly decline, they rather help to manage the auspices of everyday life and provide support in times of crises. Family relations still remain in the diaspora and enlarge their importance through migration. Such developments are to be found particularly within the first and second generation. Third generation migrants instead are more likely to orient themselves towards friends and are less focused on their immediate and wider families. Family relationships, however, offer trust and security, values that are not to underestimate in circumstances that are uncertain and vague.

V. Perception and Enmities

The previous chapters described and portrayed Moroccan everyday life in Frankfurt and in the transnational arena between Germany and Morocco. It has been shown that there are manifold challenges with which people are confronted. Reactions upon these challenges and strategies to overcome them have been illustrated. Also, social networks of Moroccan migrants have been elucidated and it has been shown that the community is rather closed. The following chapter on perceptions and enmities goes one step beyond in that it tries to analyze people's deep-rooted feelings based on the experiences they have made in the diaspora. Basic Human Needs Theory is used as a template for analysis. Several ethnographic cases are examined in the light of the theory on basic human needs.

First, the theoretical corpus will be introduced. Second, ethnographic examples are examined and third, conclusions are drawn, that bind back to the results of the chapters before.

V.I Localizing Theory

In the course of analyzing the fieldwork data that I had gathered in Frankfurt and in the Moroccan Rif, I was particularly looking for a theoretical corpus that helped explaining disappointments and frustrations of my informants. I had encountered many people that reported about striking situations in which they felt unfairly treated – situations, my interview partners highlighted when we came to talking about processes of integration and societal participation. In its numerous presence alone those incidents called for a detailed consideration. Yet, I felt that most of the stories people told dealt with several emotional challenges that were to be named and considered. I was looking for a theoretical approach that was able to integrate deep-rooted feelings and served as a tool for analyzing the ethnographic reports starting with the emotional state of the informants. Basic Human Needs Theory turned out to

be an appropriate template. Though it was developed in the context of conflict resolution, I will argue that it can serve as a tool for ethnographic analysis as well. With its concentration on deep-rooted and non-negotiable needs it provides a valuable approach for the analysis of the migrants' experienced discriminations and enmities.

Theoretical Approach

The idea of considering 'interests' or 'needs' when looking at conflicts and conflicting situations grew after World War II. The newly developed approaches differentiated from former theories on conflict and violence in that they denied power-based models that perceived conflict as a competitive struggle, which was to be won by one side. 'Needs-based' approaches instead lead interest to underlying emotional factors and argued that there will be no enduring solution to any conflict if the fundamental human needs of the conflicting parties remain unconsidered (Mills 2003). In dealing with fundamental human needs the approach had the potential of providing valuable explanations to societal frictions and could be used as a theoretical framework in the understanding of uprising, protest and violence. It also offered a theoretical corpus for processes of conflict resolution and conflict negotiation.

Theoretical fathers of Human Needs Theory have early roots and go back to the times of Plato (Jackson et al. 2004:2). More recent contributions to the thoughts on needs are to be found in the works of Kurt Lewin (1948), Georg Simmel (1964), Lewis Coser (1965) and Morton Deutsch (2002). With the founding of two journals in the mid-1950's and early 1960's a systematic discussion on 'interest-based' approaches began[30]. Since then 'needs-based' theory has been developed in a constant exchange with people being involved in the praxis of negotiation and conflict resolution. John Burton, former secretary to the Australian United Nations, was particularly involved in spreading 'needs-based' conflict resolution techniques with the help of problem-

[30] Journal of Conflict Resolution by K.Boulding, A. Rapaport and H. Kelman and the Journal of Peace Research by J. Galtung.

solving workshops in Cyprus, Israel and Sri Lanka. In the following the Human Needs approach expanded to the international arena and was used as a tool in acute conflict situations. It was also John Burton who summarized and further developed the theoretical assumptions of conflict resolution. The theoretical corpus became labeled as 'Human Needs Theory'.

Defining Human Needs

John Burton based his theoretical outline on the work of the American sociologist Paul Sites who had suggested the existence of eight basic or fundamental human needs. As long as these fundamental human needs are not met, so the argument of basic human needs theorists, there will be no enduring solution to any conflict, also frustrations will remain that could later be a trigger for societal uprising and individual radicalization.

There was and still is a vivid debate on 'What human needs are' and how to define them (Murray 1938; Fromm 1941; Maslow 1954; Etzioni 1968; Boissevain and Mitchell 1973; Lederer 1980; Mallman 1980; Fisher and Ury 1981; Galtung 1990; Mitchell 1990; Max-Neef 1991; Schaefer 1992; Gasper 1996; Rothman 1997; Rubenstein 2001; Kelman and Fisher 2003; Kelman 2008). Maslow developed a hierarchical model of needs, others argued for models that list equal needs, ordered in subgroups, four-fold or two-dimensional typologies. Also the number and labeling of the needs that were identified differ. Mills (2003:26) compared the different approaches and came to the conclusion that the needs all theorists deal with can be separated into esteem, control, meaning, identity, security, justice, stimulation and transcendence. As early as 1968 Etzioni had also tried to systematize the definition of needs (1968). Though both works offered some clarity to the separation of needs, when looking at them in detail they still remain in a foggy state of definition. Besides some of the mentioned theories focused on human needs without having their effects on society in mind.

I therefore concentrate on the work of Sites and Burton who searched for a theoretical framework that helped understanding societal frictions and fissions in human relationships. In this context particularly three fundamental needs were highlighted: Recognition, Identity and Security; three needs that are also of particular relevance to the analysis of the fieldwork data provided in the following text. I adopt five more categories with which Burton (1990) and Rothman (1997) operated in their studies on conflict and fissions: Belonging, Fulfillment, Freedom, Fairness and Participation.

Those eight Basic Human Needs are defined as follows:

> "Safety/Security: the need for structure, predictability, stability, and freedom from fear and anxiety.
>
> Belongingness/Love: the need to be accepted by others and to have strong personal ties with one's family, friends, and identity groups.
>
> [Recognition/] Self-Esteem**:** the need to be recognized by oneself and others as strong, competent, and capable. It also includes the need to know that one has some effect on her/his environment.
>
> Personal fulfillment: the need to reach one's potential in all areas of life
>
> Identity: goes beyond a psychological "sense of self." Burton and other human needs theorists define identity as a sense of self in relation to the outside world. Identity becomes a problem when one's identity is not recognized as legitimate, or when it is considered inferior or is threatened by others with different identifications. Identity is also the need for recognition of one's language, traditions, religion, cultural values, ideas, and concepts. […] the need for recognition of one's language, traditions, religion, cultural values, ideas and concepts.
>
> [Autonomy/] Freedom: is the condition of having no physical, political, or civil restraints; having the capacity to exercise choice in all aspects of one's life.
>
> [Fairness/]Distributive Justice: is the need for the fair allocation of resources among all members of a community.
>
> Participation: is the need to be able to actively partake in and influence civil society." (Marker 2003:1)

In the conviction of Basic Human Needs Theory the unfulfillment of one or more of the mentioned human needs leads to hurt feelings and misconceptions of individual persons or groups. Research on conflict and violence has shown that:

> "[A] member of an ethnic minority who experiences discrimination, in addition to other threats to identity and recognition as a person, may be likely to act recklessly, to follow terrorist leaderships and seek achievement in anti–social and subversive ways. Most damaging of all is the transfer of anger by those who feel deprived, not against those responsible, for they are not accessible, but against others within a community also suffering, such as other minorities, and even others from the same locality." (Burton 1997:34)

It is in that sense that I want to make use of Human Needs Theory, as an instrument for the understanding of the fissions and frustrations that I have encountered in the field. Human Needs Theory then serves as a template for analysis and goes beyond a theoretical approach to the explanation of conflicts. I will therefore apply the conflict researches' idea

> "that the pursuit of human needs can, indeed, lead to disputes and conflicts in circumstances where there is a scarcity of goods, roles or other rewards to satisfy the sought after needs, and where no alternative 'satisfiers' are immediately available. The implication is, that it is the shortage of satisfiers and not the nature of the needs themselves that leads to conflict." (Mitchell 1990:155)

Conflict, in that sense, needs to be defined as a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs. Burton differentiates needs and interests, the former being non-negotiable and leading to conflict if they are not met in the long run, the later being negotiable and can "be dealt with by legal and bargaining processes" (Burton 1997:35). Fundamental or basic human needs, which are non-negotiable, are so substantial to every human being that they do not allow any compromise or change. Hence, a solution to conflicts that touch basic human needs requires alterations of perceptions or even structural change. The needs themselves, however, cannot be denied or ignored for they are substantial to the existence of human being. Also, important to human needs theory is the realization that needs are

deep-rooted and inherent in all human beings. This assumption however, has also been critiqued, as the following elucidates.

Human Needs and Culture

The assumption that needs are inherent in all human beings has been critiqued for it denies the existence of the different cultures in which the conflicting partners might have been socialized in (Nader 1972; Avruch and Black 1987; Avruch 2006). The different deep-rooted needs, that are detected by Burton, so the critique, might be of little or no importance to certain individuals. Even more, in the end applicability to everybody is more than questionable. Avruch also pointed out difficulties in defining the needs and in differentiating them from drives (Avruch 2006:88). Overall, so the argument of the critics, human needs theory fails in meeting the complexity of human kind in that it ignores culture, being defined as "a derivative of individual experience, something learned or created by individuals themselves or passed on to them socially by contemporaries or ancestors" (Avruch 2006:5). Culture in that sense is highly affine to process and change and should not be misunderstood as some form of national character. It is rather individualistically based and a person might be part of different and even conflicting cultures like that of ones family, sporting club, village or company.

It is in my understanding, that the basic human needs, as defined above, should be perceived in a similar manner. For some people they might have great importance, while others might only name few of the needs that play a role in their lives. As I have argued earlier, I want to make use of human needs theory simply as a template for analysis to uncover uncertainties and challenges with which Moroccan migrants have to deal with. In my understanding human needs are indeed deep-rooted, but they are as well contextually driven and are dependent on the culture of an ethnic group, an organization, family or geographical region. As the perceptions of them might differ it is also that a final definition of human needs is hard to achieve. At its best, with the following application of the needs theory to the analysis of the ethnographic data a contextually inherited definition will evolve.

Summing up

Basic Human Needs Theory was developed in the context of conflict resolution and provided valuable explanations to societal frictions, enmities and uprising. Being a template for analysis it serves as a tool for the analysis of ethnographic data. Eight human needs, as defined by Burton (1990) and Rothman (1997) are of particular interest in this work: Recognition, Identity, Security, Belonging, Fulfillment, Freedom, Fairness and Participation. There are difficulties in defining human needs. They are however deep-rooted, though they need to be understood in their dependency on context and culture.

V.II Experiencing Discrimination

Collective Identity

Chapter III and IV already dealt with experiences many of my informants have made in the diaspora and in the transnational arena between Germany and Morocco. One of the most important results was that of the state of inbetweenness and with it an insecure sentiment of belongingness and identity in which many migrants feel to be trapped in. This feeling, it has been shown, can be experienced consciously as well as unconsciously and is differently dealt with by the individuals that have been portrayed in the foregoing. What unites the diasporic Moroccans, however, is the talk about the state of inbetweenness and the exchange about the different strategies each has developed to overcome insecurities. It is in this context that collective identity is created. The circulation of stories dealing with migration and its manifold facets stabilizes the diasporic group. Part of the exchange is also the talk about experienced discriminations and enmities. During fieldwork I have regularly witnessed people talking about negative experiences they have made in schools, while travelling in the public transportation, in the course of looking for a new flat or while working; hence, experiences in situations of everyday life. Telling those stories to a group, the people who told them were sure to find an audience and for some it seemed that they were happy to have a topic that ensured others' interest. The conversation about those issues was almost ritualized in that the listeners briefly empathized, but soon got impatient to tell another story dealing with another incident of experienced discrimination. Sometimes the atmosphere would then built up and the stories that were told exceeded each other in its strength of insults, impudence and hurt feelings. Everybody could tell those stories and had he or she not experienced any discrimination him- or herself, there was always an incident that had happened to a family member, friend or neighbor that could be divulged. Discriminations and enmities, it seems, are so central to the experience of many Moroccan migrants in Germany that they form a constant topic in the conversations. Furthermore, I would argue that the narrative about experienced discrimination is part of a collective identity and should therefore be taken seriously and advisedly.

The infringements of fundamental human needs that are observed in the following ethnographic reports are therefore not only critical to the individual person, but are of relevance to the whole community. The group talk about discriminating incidents serves as an intensifier to them. This is particularly striking as experienced discriminations and unfulfilled basic human needs can have tremendous effects. In the end they might lead towards processes of segregation and isolation as well as to a legitimization of uprising.

Media-related effects

Ashima was in a private house preparing a giant meal for a wedding, when she reported that she had just recently stopped wearing the headscarf and feels terribly naked and ashamed about it. She was sitting on an old couch, pitting dates and stuffing them with almonds, a symbolic meal, which is served to bride and groom. Ashima had been working in a private dental clinic for the last three years and after several incidents of discrimination from patients, had uncovered her hair during working hours. She had done that in respect of the clinic manager who kindly asked her to do so because he was afraid of losing clients who would not be willing to be treated by a confessing Muslim. Just a few weeks before the wedding preparation, Ashima had an encounter with an elderly German patient. She had just finished work and was about to leave. She was covering her hair with a scarf and was putting on her coat, when an old lady attacked her abusively. She screamed at Ashima that it is a disgrace to wear a headscarf and generally a cheek that there are so many foreigners in Germany. She turned around shouting that she would never ever come to the clinic any more. Ashima was speechless with tears in her eyes when the manager approached her and said that he cannot tolerate such misbehavior but needs to ask her anyhow to put the headscarf aside. He understands, he said, that it is important for Ashima, but he is afraid his clinic will not be successful any more if there are people working in dress the patients do not like. Ashima had to decide whether she wanted to continue working or not give up wearing the headscarf and quit the job. In the end she

uncovered her hair and felt bad about it. She knew that other Moroccans would look at her with disrespect and still she could not do anything about it.

Looking at the young woman's experience in the light of human needs theory it soon becomes clear that Ashima was not only verbally attacked by the elderly German lady, but that her integrity was affected during the encounter. The need for being recognized as a strong, competent and capable person (recognition) was not fulfilled as the elderly lady acted abusively without even realizing that Ashima only covered her hair after she had finished working. In respect of the clinic manager Ashima had removed the veil, an act, which had already been a concession for her. When the elderly German lady shouted that wearing a headscarf was a cheek and that there were too many foreigners in Germany anyhow, she offended Ashimas identity as the young woman considers herself to be a German woman and a confessing Muslim at the same time. For her this is no contradiction. Ashima felt that her entire being was not recognized as legitimate (identity). She was not allowed to exercise choice in deciding what to wear (autonomy) and felt to be unfairly treated as she even holds a German passport but is not seen as an equal member of German society (fairness and participation).

The concept of human needs allows differentiating Moroccan migrants' deprived feelings. As is shown here, even in such a relatively small encounter several human needs are touched. When such offensiveness is happening on a regular basis and become part of the narrative with which collective identity is being shaped, Moroccans constantly feel assaulted.

Ashima explained that she is convinced that the German News coverage is responsible for the growth of stereotypes and offending behavior against Moroccans because they belong to the religious community of Islam. Ashima blames the newspapers and TV-channels for constantly stressing negative and bad things about Muslims.

A similar impeachment of media contents can also be seen in the online-conversations of Moroccan Youth in chat rooms and Internet forums. Most of the young people of Moroccan origin that I interviewed during fieldwork spent at least an hour per day on the Internet. They meet others to discuss topics about religion, politics, leisure, marriage and problems they face in everyday life. Several Internet platforms operate

particular for the German Moroccan diaspora community and the chat rooms and blogs are heavily visited. One young man, who is regularly blogging in the politics and religion session on one of the platforms, introduces himself as Jonny77. His contributions are always long and characterized by a strong dislike of the Western world. He is politically as well as historically informed, although, his texts show his ideology, which is depicted in black and white, bad and good. In February 2006, he wrote a comment on "How the West beats the Muslims". He divided the text into three parts: the political, the economic, and the religious-cultural level. At the very beginning of the text he stresses the role of mass media in the context of a general devaluation of Muslims: "In today's mass media the Muslim is characterized as aggressive, destroying, lawless, terrorizing, uncivilized, old-fashioned and anachronistic. He became a target of hate and contempt of Non-Muslims, no matter if they themselves are developed or underdeveloped, if they are capitalists or Marxists, civilized or uncivilized". He continued that Non-Muslims were brainwashed to believe that Islam is the evil of the world and the root of all trouble. He then describes the strength of his religion and its extensive capacity to provide solutions to the whole humankind. He resumes his introduction by stating that the defeat, the humiliation and the false depiction of Muslims in the media is even more painful and unbearable when considering that Islam is the intended journey of life for every single human being.

It is noticeable that the young man is mainly referring to the collective identity of Muslims. First of all, Jonny77 misses recognition for the Muslim community by mass media, which for him is an instrument of the Western world. In listing several adjectives that are generally associated with negative behavior his perceived feeling of misconception becomes manifested. In saying that 'the Muslim became a target of hate and contempt' Jonny77 further expresses that he feels the Muslim community to be threatened (identity). Also, referring to Non-Muslims and their diverse political and economic orientation, he expresses his perception that everybody no matter of his or her ideology is an accepted part of the world community, but not so the Muslims he is talking about (belonging). Jonny77 polarizes and draws a picture that is characterized by a two-dimensional conception being defined by a sharp border between the East and the West, the Muslim and the Non-Muslim world. His text suggests that he feels an

individual threat to his identity and to his needs to belong and to be recognized. His affinity to the Muslim community can be interpreted as a last autonomous source of recognition. The denunciation of that last source and with it the destruction of the potential anchor for Jonny77 then turns into a serious threat to the self-perception of the young man.

The impact of media images should generally not be underestimated as it can be experienced as a specific form of exclusion. In interview situations, particularly younger people often came to talk about the content of different media and its effects on peoples' perceptions.

As Mahmut, a 25 year old college student, explained to me: "What else should one think? It is so very normal, that one gets a negative picture. All you hear about Muslims on TV, or in the radio and newspaper is negative. It makes me sick when I hear that again there was another bombing or another election fraud. All you get to know about the Arab world is negative, all you hear about immigration and Muslims is negative, what else can you then think about it and about the Muslim people?".

Mahmut stated that for him it is no surprise that there are Germans who are hesitant and rather hostile towards Muslims. The media images, Germans are confronted with, so his argument, allow little room to develop an appreciative mindset. Ashimas explanation of the discriminative behavior she experienced by the elderly patient is similar as she also holds the media responsible for the negative attitude of the elderly lady towards her headscarf. Both Mahmut and Ashima detect an influence of media images on peoples' attitudes towards Muslims, while Jonny77 provides a summary of his own media perception.

Overall, it seems that younger generation Moroccans are particularly affected by negative media images of Muslims. They have better access to all sorts of media compared to elder generations and are therefore also better informed about media images of Muslims. This, together with the narrative on experienced discriminations forms the ground to perceive that a negative approach towards people of Muslim faith is the normal case in the Western world. As most younger people I talked to identify with Germany those perceptions hurt them more than they hurt members of the older generation who are a lot less attached to Germany and still have the option to

emotionally feel home in Morocco. Younger generation Moroccans have neither such emotional attachment nor any strong social links to the Maghreb and wish to be an equal member of German society. It is in this context of perceived rejection that they are confronted with insecurities, which have tremendous effects on them.

The struggle for recognition and belonging makes them to retreat into minority structures. Though this behavior is far from desired by Moroccan youth themselves, it provides them with the opportunity to find a secure place within society. This retreat however is not necessarily a turning towards the Moroccan diaspora, but rather an orientation towards minority structures that are shaped by experiences of marginalization because of their faith. The formation of migrant youth cultures needs to be seen apart from ethnic orientations but along the shared personal experiences and the perceived feelings of being excluded from the German majority.

In the following further examples of experienced exclusions and discriminations will be shown.

Discriminations

I had scheduled a nine o'clock date for an interview with a social worker, Jamal, a Moroccan man in his late thirties. I intended to get information about his life, his personal history of migration, but also about his appraisal of the Moroccan community and its social structures. We met in his office in the first floor of a youth club at nine o'clock in the morning. After an initial explanation of my work and the questions I was interested in, he began talking and came into a conversational flow that lasted till late after noon. It was as if he was relieved to have found somebody who just listened, asking comprehensive questions once a while, but having no critique on what he reported. The more he recounted, the more personal he got, referring to his feelings of living in Frankfurt as a Moroccan migrant, willing to be part of German society. After studying and gaining a Masters degree in Germany, he had found a well-paid job in the administration of social work. Five years ago he purchased a house in the suburbs of Frankfurt, willing to become part of the village. His plans however were hard to achieve and he disappointedly reported about his everyday struggles.

“I am member of many associations, I am member of an allotment gardening club (Gartenbauverein), but still; I am part of the running section in a sports association, there are only Germans there, I go into the gym, but still I feel lonely here. You always need to keep at it. If you once loose sight, then they will immediately lump you together and think that we are all alike.” What aggrieved him most was that his neighbors still did not know his name, though he had been living next door to them for some years already. “Also with the neighbors; when one lives there socially for five or six years, being friendly and then always only being called ‘the Moroccan’. But he (meaning himself) also has a name. I also do not say ‘the German’, but Mr. or Mrs. Schmitt or XY.”

For years Jamal had actively tried to become part of German society but was often confronted with rejection and denial. His membership in a gardening club as well as in sports associations did not bring the effect he wished to have. He had pictured himself to become friends with other gardeners or runners, particular of German origin, but never met people there with whom he became close (belonging). Even with his residential choice of living in a new housing area in the suburbs of Frankfurt, a place where many young German families had moved, Jamal could not realize his dream of becoming accepted as a full member of the neighborhood (recognition). It strongly hurt his feelings that even after years of living next door, his German neighbors still did not know his name. In the conversation I had with him, it seemed that he had given up the hope for a change to his situation. He was disappointed and did not know what to do.

Another elderly man I was talking to in the field expressed a similar concern. He was in his mid seventies and had been in Frankfurt since 1951. He emotionally reported about his experiences back then, participating in the reconstruction of Germany after World War II. Back then Germans approached him with respect and honored his hard work rebuilding the streets and resurrecting bombed houses in the city. Reda remembered those years sentimentally. It was obvious that he was proud of his work. He missed that time when he was treated with appreciation. “You should have seen how Frankfurt looked after the war. It was a shithole, after the war, everything was broken. But we built all that.” He pointed at nearby houses and the streetcar, “it was us, the guest workers, who rebuilt it all. But this is of no interest to anybody today.

Now they say that we are dispensable, only causing problems, being good for nothing." His shoulders sank and his voice got bitter. Things have changed for the worse, he explained, "Germany is no place for a living any more".

During the conversation I had with the elderly man his frustration was ubiquitous. While he glorified the past times upon his first years in Germany, he was crestfallen about current developments. He felt that his work was not honored any more as he missed being accepted as someone who had participated in the reconstruction of Germany (recognition). That his share in rebuilding the country was not seen hurt his feelings personally, yet, the general denunciation of Muslim migrants was reason for him to question his stay in Germany and to feel that there was no place for him anymore.

The unfulfilled need of recognition and to know that one has no perceived effect on her/his environment can be encountered in many reports of Moroccan migrants. A similar rational like that of Reda was used by a woman in her mid forties in an interview I had a few weeks later. I was talking with three women about good places to shop, when suddenly the topic changed and Warda stated, that migrant womens' merit was ignored when it comes to the growth of supermarkets. "You know, it was us, who shopped at Aldi [a German discounter] for years, we made Aldi grow, but, of course, nobody appreciates that today." Here again frustration about not being accepted is expressed (recognition). Different issues are touched in the shopping story. The discounter Aldi had long been a place where only people with low income shopped for groceries and other daily supplies. For a long time the supermarket chain has had the reputation of being a rather shabby place to shop. Only later the information spread that the discounter offered a considerable product quality and people of other social classes hesitantly started to use the opportunity of purchasing low price items in the supermarkets. With the comment "we made Aldi grow" Warda alluded to the development that she and many others of her befriended women were long condescend for shopping at the discounter. She also challenged the accepted believe of migrant womens incapability to know where to buy good quality products. Inherent within the challenge is Warda's realization that her way of life, the way she prepares her food, the way she dresses and presents herself and decorates her house

is not met with appreciation by others who do not belong to her immediate community.

It is the experienced denial and ignorance that gnaws at many of the informants I talked to. The stories about missing recognition and the unmet needs to belong and identify are manifold. In the examples given above, Jamal's active initiative was met with indifference. He had tried to use several strategies to become part of leisure structures that are dominated by Germans. That he failed was addressed with his sentiment of frustration and an unwillingness to further engage himself in initiatives of similar kind. The same can be said of Reda and Warda who are longing for recognition. They feel that they have done their share, though their involvement remains unseen by society's majority. All three examples illustrate how a lack of recognition can lead towards retreat and retraction into minority structures as it is there where people can feel accepted and appreciated.

This results mirrors the tendencies that have been observed in the formation of social networks and their closed character. While in the previous chapter I have argued that the orientation towards the Moroccan community is based on shared attitudes and views, the consideration of basic human needs adds an additional factor in that the retreat into minority structures provides security and recognition.

In the following further ethnographic cases allow insight into other consequences that unfulfilled basic human needs can have.

Exclusions

It was a damp mid-November day and I had been hanging around in the grocery shop for almost an hour. There were not many clients and Nabil, a young retailer, was happy about the opportunity to talk and beat the boredom that he had suffered from for a few hours already. We were talking about the current economic situation in Germany and the difficulties of finding employment and making a living. Nabil explained that he was lucky to have found a job in his fathers' greengrocery. Though he had received a high school diploma few years ago and thought about enrolling in a

technical apprenticeship, he considered his chances on the job market as poor. Most of his former classmates had faced serious problems of finding employment, Nabil explained, no matter whether they had continued training or not. Nabil engrossed in the matter and I sensed that he had thought about the problem intensively. He further stressed his sympathy with people who argue against immigration with the hope of then having enough employment opportunities for those already living in Germany. "There are too many foreigners. If I could decide on that matter I would not allow any more people in, there is already a mass of foreigners. There are too many already. Look at all those conflicts. If I could participate in German elections, I would give my vote for the CDU. They have understood that there should not be any more foreigners living in Germany."

Nabils statement needs to be understood in the context of the political climate in Hessen in 2004. Prime minister Roland Koch (CDU) had just then passed a law that banned the headscarf from all state agencies and schools. He later also attracted attention with his pronouncements on youth criminality, demanding that young criminal migrants should be sent "back home", meaning that they should be sent into those countries their parents were once born in. Nabil favored the prime ministers party for its demand on restricting immigration to Germany. His personal qualifications did not help in finding an adequate job and he felt that his qualification was not appreciated (recognition). He generalized his own and his friends' situations and feared that the German job market would further decline if additional people form outside Germany would be allowed to move in (security). He was also skeptical that the German welfare state would be able to support any more people and was afraid that the scarce resources would not be allocated equally (distributive justice). In saying that he wishes to take part in decision making and to participate in the German elections Nabil further expressed his personal longing of being accepted as an equal member of German society having the right to vote (participation).

Nabils sentiment of being unsuccessful on the job market in combination with the lack of other basic human needs lead towards advocating the exclusion of members of the same group his parents belong to. If he could participate in the elections he would advocate stopping immigration. It was interesting to see that Nabil developed similar thoughts on immigration to the ideas that are debated in German public houses and

often belong to the contents of the gutter press. The young man worried about Germany's capacity to integrate more people and to offer enough resources so that everybody could feel supported. He also assumed that the insults that are experienced by Muslims are caused by the sheer fact that there are too many of them in Germany. The consequence he drew out of his thoughts was an immigration stop that would help secure his own opportunities.

Nabils frustrations of not finding employment and his negative feelings of being rejected on the German job market lean against the members of his own group, the Moroccan diaspora in Germany. This behavior conveys information about the way Nabil positions himself within German society, which he obviously feels to be a strong part of. From participant observation I know that Nabil is very active inside the structures of the diaspora community, still he is convinced that the group of Moroccans should not grow in size for they would then face even more assaults and humiliations. Even more, he argues, that immigration generally needs to come to an end to assure that those who are already part of society have jobs and a stable income. His personal anger and despair turn against outsiders.

This silent protest culminating in the objection to future immigration contrasts the following example, an ethnographic case in which a desperate young man flirts with violence to see his needs being fulfilled.

Radicalizations

It was a day in early summer when I came over to the greengrocery. The shop was filled with six men of different ages being involved in a heavy discussion. They were standing around piles of olive oil, between banana boxes and stacks of spices talking about political issues, particularly about migration politics in Europe. A young man in his mid-twenties who had been on the brink of the conversation so far, suddenly joined in and started a fervid talk about how Muslim minorities should stand up for their rights. For too long, so his argument, had Muslims in Europe meekly accepted defamations and assaults. He explained that there needed to be more pressure and a stronger request of Muslims to live their life in the way of Islam. If necessary he

argued, those claims needed to be stressed with the help of violence. With great admiration he then reported about his cousin, an Algerian young man, who was involved in the plot to attack the Christmas market in Strasbourg on New Year's Eve 2000[31]. The conversation further concentrated on the young man and he proudly continued that at least his cousin had done something to "give a sign and has therefore turned into a hero". Even now, although he was arrested and put in prison, he further stressed, it was worth the action.

It was obvious that the young man searched for a valve to express his anger about the treatment of Muslims in Germany and Europe. The way, in which he told his story, was aggressive and marked by the need to have appreciative listeners. I was surprised by the intensity with which the young man told his story and as I had not met him before I later asked one of the greengrocers if he knew more about him. It turned out that the young man was unemployed and came out of difficult family backgrounds. Within the Moroccan community rumors about him had spread and people assumed that he sympathized with radical movements. His lack of belonging and recognition and with it an offence to his identity had turned into an enthusiasm for violent actions and the willingness to support movements that are open to violently fight for their convictions. With his turning to such structures he managed to find new sources to identify with. Inherent in the admiration of the young man for his cousin is his own longing for being someone special who is accepted by his peers. Identifying, being recognized and finding a place for oneself are the most pressing causes for the membership in radical movements. Or as Burton would put it:

> "Experience suggests that this is the case: there are clear limits to abilities willingly to conform. The young person leaving school can expect and accept problems in finding employment for the first time. But continuing unemployment, leading to a sense of being a nobody and to experiencing

[31] „The plot to attack the Christmas Market in Strasbourg, France on New Year's Eve 2000 was hatched in Germany. Four Algerians were arrested in Frankfurt in possession of bomb-making equipment, chemicals and a homemade video showing the market; they planned to detonate a bomb made from a pressure cooker, a technique they had learned in Al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. The four were convicted of conspiracy to murder, conspiracy to plant a bomb and weapons violations in March 2003 and sentenced to prison terms of 10 to 12 years." Frontline: Major Terrorist Plots and Arrests: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/front/map/de.html, 23.02.2006, 10:16

> alienation, is unacceptable. Under such circumstances adjustment within the norms of society is not possible in the absence of extensive family and social support. Suicide, theft, street gangs, violence against migrants and competitive ethnic groups, are understandable responses" (Burton 1997:34).

People who recruit new members to a violent path, it seems, also use this logic. They would try to get in contact particularly with young men who are in search for meaning, appreciation and respect to seed their dangerous ideologies, as the following example illustrates.

A few weeks later a young man, called Fawzan, reported about an incident that had happened to him in a supermarket in the Northern districts of Frankfurt. He explained to me that the opportunities to get access to and to join some form of fundamentalist initiative are many.

I had met Fawzan, a young man in his mid twenties, coincidentally in a café in the train station quarter and we got into a conversation about fundamentalism and uprising. The initial trigger for the topic was a report on Palestinian attacks in Israel on the TV news that were shown in the café. Fawzan, who had finished his Masters in electronic engineering few months ago, expressed his sympathy with the attackers. "What else can those people do? They have no food, no water, no housing, their land was robbed. They are hopeless and despaired. I understand their hate." Those feelings he said are enticing. "You feel such an aggression within your body; Palestinians are treated with zero respect. No wonder there is such a hate against the USA and the West". He explained that he sometimes feels this aggression himself that makes him restless and helpless at the same time.

He then reported of an incident that had happened to him few weeks earlier in a supermarket. He had just put a coin into a shopping cart, when two elder men, dressed in long djellabas had approached him with great respect. They politely asked him about his well-being and the things he currently needed to carry out and slowly involved him into a proselytizing conversation. Fawzan explained that he first was not sure about the contents of the talk, but the more he listened, the more it became clear to him that those two men were trying to spark his interest in some form of radical Muslim movement. He further explained to me that he reckoned others that were

addressed by “missionaries” would not be able to figure out the intentions so rapidly, but would rather be attracted by the politeness of the elderly men, that was very impressive for him too, for it is seldom, Fawzan explained, to be approached in such an honorable way. He further told me that he was not sure what his reaction would be, had he not a stable family he was living in with relatives whom he can trust. He assumed that the elderly men would have a walkover when they happen to approach somebody who has a low self-esteem, feels isolated and lonely and regularly gets angry when he sees how Muslims are treated in the world.

The story of Fawzan touches the connectedness of the occurrences in Palestine with the sentiments of Muslim migrants in the European diasporas. Particularly the younger generations follow the news on the developments in the Near East and sympathize with Palestinians to the extent that they feel attacked in their Muslim integrity when it comes to Israeli infringements. The developments in Palestine are a constant pouring of oil on the fire and are a serious cause of the humiliations that Muslims constantly perceive as well as of the enmities they develop against the West that is equated with Israel and its supporters.

However, as Fawzan also stated, several causes need to come together before violent movements become attractive. The anger about the treatment of Palestinians alone is not enough. Neither the feeling of not being an appreciated part of German society nor being confronted with perceived or experienced discrimination serves as a sufficient explanation. Though, as soon as individuals perceive a general humiliation of Muslims worldwide, feel trapped in a desperate situation of finding no job, having problems with family and friends and not knowing how to escape their desperate situation the ground is prepared for others to seed interest in violent action.

That those others are older men like in the example reported above has further impact on the attractiveness of their concern. Traditionally Moroccan social order is based on great respect for the older generation. People of a younger age are supposed to subordinate themselves within this social order and are asked to be the ones to respectfully treat the elderly. The honorable approach to younger people by older generations therefore turns the social structure upside down and has a rather unusual and enticing character.

Besides, the attraction of fundamentalist ideas and movements needs to be seen in the context of an interlinking of different unfulfilled needs and difficult life situations in which people face serious problems to identify and of finding their place within society. Those preconditions, however, still do not automatically lead towards the following of a violent path. In the end such developments are based on individual preconditions and on contingencies of trapping into a scene that advocates certain ideologies. Those are not necessarily elderly honorable men, but could be people of younger age who function as leading figures inside peer groups. Also, it has been pointed out, that people who sympathize with movements of radicalization do not even need to leave their homes as they can find all relevant information on the Internet (Al-Lami 2009).

Though there is much evidence that perceived and experienced discriminations as well as negative media images on Muslims trigger movements of radicalization, there is no clarity at all to predict how individuals will react to those challenges.

Maladies

The interaction of unfulfilled needs and difficult situations in life do not automatically culminate in the following of a violent path but can as well lead to the development of physiological or psychological problems. Those reactions are much more silent and focused on the individual, though they can as well be destructive. It is only recently that the impact of experienced discrimination on the health of migrants in Germany is being researched (Igel et al. 2010).

Fieldwork showed, that the reactions to unsolvable challenges in life and to experienced discrimination are dependent on peoples' sex as well as on their age.

While particularly young men are more likely to sympathize with some form of revolt or uprising, women tend to face problems concerning their health. Quite a number of female informants reported about serious diseases like diabetes, rheumatism and asthma. More so, many women I have talked to reported about psychic problems and bemoaned that they were regularly beleaguered by dschnun (ghosts). The

bedevilment was often caused by German dschnun, who, the women reported, where hard to eliminate, as there were not many healers that had the expertise of dealing with them. Two elderly women living in Frankfurt, I was recounted, had the knowledge of spirit de-possession, however, after a treatment the chances of the dschnuns' reappearance was high.

Samia, a woman in her forties, often complained about three German dschnun that were living in her body and made her feel tired and sick. The dschnun, Samia explained, rob all her energy and reduce the blood that is circulating in her veins. It is therefore, she stated, that she is always pale and feels disillusioned and lacking in drive. Samia had consulted a vast number of doctors and Imams in Frankfurt and in the Moroccan Rif. In the end, however, she travelled to Agadir, a Moroccan city at the Atlantic coast, for the first time in her life and found relieve from the bedevilment in a treatment by an Arab Imam who recited particular verses of the Koran and was able to communicate with the dschnun to make them leave Samias body. Samia had heard about the healer from another woman in Frankfurt who has had similar problems and was cured in Agadir few months earlier. Both, Samia and her friend, had booked their trip to the Moroccan Atlantic with Neckerman, a German travel agency. For the time of their treatment they stayed in a three star tourist hotel at the beach. During the days of their stay they went to the sessions of spirit de-possession in the mornings and spent the afternoons at the beach. With that solution they were successful in curing their bodies, while they also tapped a new transnational source for the resolving of their problems. It might even be that their independent initiative and the feeling of having found a promising path, that met their diasporic experience as well as their longing for a somewhat authentic Moroccan treatment, already did its share for a successful healing of their bodies.

The example serves as an illustration of the potential that transitional links can have as they might be able to offer sources that Moroccan migrants can reinvent and newly open up for themselves. It is in this independent action that people can regain the feeling of reaching one's potential and enlarging their self-esteem. Unmet human needs are at its best fulfilled within the structures of the interaction of majority and minority communities. The retreat to Morocco, however, serves as a place of security and will always be broached as long as the needs people have cannot be fulfilled in the

diaspora. It needs to be noted however that such strategies are mainly used by women who belong to the first or second generation of Moroccan migrants in Germany. Younger people are less likely to use the opportunities of recollecting and retreating to Morocco. The illness and malady they are facing can therefore hardly be cured with the help of transnational sources and remain to be a further effect of perceived and experienced discrimination on the individual person.

Summing up

Within the previous chapter I have argued that part of the narrative that circulates within the Moroccan community is characterized by the talk about perceived and experienced discrimination. Discriminations are so central to the experience of many that they form a constant topic in conversations and are an important part in the formation of a Moroccan diasporic collective identity. The more people talk about negative incidences that have occurred to them personally or to their friends the more do they become part of a collective consciousness. Experiences of discrimination are therefore part of identifying as a Moroccan migrant in Germany.

Discrimination and a lack of basic human needs does therefore not only affect the individual that experienced them but also the whole group. The talk about discriminations serves as an intensifier to them.

Causes for discriminating behavior against Muslims, Moroccan youth argues, are to be detected within the negative media image that is spread about Islam, the Arab world and Muslim migrants in Europe. The News coverage of incidents in the Near and Middle East, especially those of Israeli interventions in Palestine, does its share in a constant negative self-perception. Particularly younger people experience the perceived negative media image of Muslims as a personal assault.

Quite a number of people I talked to feel that hey have done their share and contribution to the well-being of German society. It hurts them to realize that their involvement is neither seen nor appreciated by the German majority. As a

consequence some oriented themselves more towards minority structures than they had ever wished to.

Experienced exclusions, enmities and discriminations, it has been argued, are interwoven with unfulfilled basic human needs. Personal frustrations, like that of unemployment, might culminate in the rejection of future immigration, but can as well serve as one cause for radicalization.

Finding clear explanations for the latter however turned out to be extremely difficult. With the help of an ethnographic example it has been argued that it is particularly young men who are prone to following a violent path. The turn towards such structures is often rooted in the powerlessness to have an effect on one's environment. However, several preconditions need to come together so that an individual flirts with or becomes a fellow of movements that propagate uprising and radicalization. Unfulfilled human needs do not automatically lead towards uprising. The consequences that one draws from experienced discrimination highly depend on the personal situation as well as on available opportunities and coincidences.

Unfulfilled needs can as well lead towards the development of serious illness and malady. It tends to be women who get sick and have physiological and/or psychic diseases. Some of them search for help within transnational structures and establish new routes in the retreat to Morocco and in using it as resource.

Overall, several ethnographic cases showed that Moroccan migrants particularly lack in the human needs of recognition, identity and security. Those unfulfilled human needs, it has been argued, can serve as an explanation for tendencies of segregation and exclusion, for the flirtation with violent movements as well as for serious illness and maladies. As individual and collectively experienced discriminations continue to exist it is very likely that those tendencies will remain.

VI. Conclusion

Again I am sitting at my desk, thinking back to the intense times of stationary ethnographic fieldwork. Those experiences seem to be far-gone, yet still they are vivid and colorful in my memory. I can easily recall how I felt myself during the many situations I was able to participate in and hope to have sufficiently portrayed the interlinking of field and fieldworker for it is this relation that is the basis for the evolvement of any form of data presented in the foregoing work.

In moving to Frankfurt and trying to gain first contacts with individuals I was doubtful if the project would work out at all. I had sensed difficulties during the time of my pre-studies, redesigned the project and had little patience when fieldwork in Frankfurt began and information was hard to gather. It took a couple of months until I met people who were willing to share their perceptions and recounted at length about their life, including hopes and challenges. I am very thankful for the deep insight I was provided with and without which this work would not have been possible.

In deciding to write the book in narrative form I stayed close to the experiences of my informants. Those are the trigger of emotions that underlie all behavior and perception. Every episode and chapter offered more and detailed information to carve out the inner logic of the social structure and the societal challenges of Moroccan migrants in Germany. The theories used evolved out of the field data that was gathered and functioned more like a roof to the chapters than like a molding tool to contour-stitch the results.

Three questions stood at the beginning of the present work. All of them have been touched in the previous text and will be further condensed in the following.

- What are the strategies Moroccan migrants utilize to overcome the challenges they face in the diaspora?
- What are the impacts of migration on family and social network structures?
- How do personal relations and experiences influence people's views and perceptions?

First of all it needs to be noted that the strategies applied by Moroccan migrants to overcome diasporic challenges are many and depend on the individual. They are always positioned in a state of inbetweenness. People's experiences in Morocco as well as those in Germany were recognized to gain an understanding of the dynamics that shape diasporic life. Chapter III therefore concentrated on situations that occurred during the months of summer when many Moroccans travel to the Rif to visit relatives, serve as couriers, build their houses, do their shopping, celebrate marriages, heal their craving for authenticity and be on vacation from their daily struggles in Germany. Strategies applied in the diaspora, it was concluded, are almost always connected to Morocco.

The talk about those connections stabilizes the diaspora community in its collective identity. Shared experiences are a reason to sympathize and come together. The narrative about migration and its challenging facets should not be underestimated in its power to create commonness. With such an exchange of experiences and perceptions people tend to Moroccanize themselves in that they create their cultural identity through the incorporation of the feelings and incidents that individuals have had abroad. In the similarity of those rhetorics lies the potential for the formation of a diasporic group. Or as Hannerz puts it:

> "In the late twentieth century phase of globalization, many people have increasing experiential access to flows of cultural form which used to be localized elsewhere, as well as to that which we think of as belonging to our own locality. And some currents of culture are perhaps hardly identifiable as belonging to any particular place at all. As they engage with these varied currents of culture present in their habitats, individuals as cultural beings are probably now shaped, and shape themselves, to an increasing degree by peculiarities of autobiography, taste, and the cultivation of competences. Ascriptive group identities need not be all-important." (Hannerz 1997:8)

Besides the contingencies that become incorporated into a Moroccan diasporic identity, the concentration on the community generally bears advantages in that financial, social, emotional and health care needs can be met. Consuming a Moroccan life style, particularly Moroccan food, also allows the return of feelings of Moroccanness.

What is perceived as Moroccan changes through influences of migration as migrant's recollection of and their retreat to Morocco provokes new trends, which later become perceived as being traditional. Generally spoken, Moroccan diasporic identity is hybrid. There is flexibility concerning the interpretation of Moroccanness. No clearly defined cultural setting exists, nor any authority that is able to speak for the community in total. Fieldwork has shown that the community is rather fragmented into the views and preferences of different generations and groups dividing themselves through their educational backgrounds, tastes and worldviews.

The resurrection of Berber identity perfectly fits into such dynamics. In search for their own identity some, younger well educated men in particular, refer to the historical roots of their people, trying to propagate the Tifinagh script to write their Tamazight dialect and self-confidently claim their equal position within Moroccan and European society. On the other hand such initiatives are not well perceived by older people who fear that the tight connection of being Moroccan and being Muslim is offended by the orientation towards 'pagan' Berberism.

Individual participation in the shaping of diaspora varies and different initiatives exist next to each other.

For some there is also the risk of becoming disoriented somewhere between Germany and Morocco and it seems that this risk is particularly high for young men, who grew up in the diaspora. This already showed in Chapter III that dealt with the challenges of positioning oneself between Germany and Morocco. It shows even more in Chapter V referring to experienced and perceived discriminations. Retreating to and using Morocco as resource is no simple option for young men. Also the orientation towards the Moroccan diaspora community is rather perceived as old fashioned, having little attraction for third generation men. Though the latter still serves as a real option, the resources of the first are hard to access for the young whose cultural knowledge of Morocco weakens.

Besides, the recollection on and the retreat to Morocco cannot be understood as a simple process and an unproblematic strategic option in dealing with diasporic challenges, anyhow. More so, there are often unmet expectations and even 'intercultural' problems between those living in Germany and those in Morocco. From

what I have observed in the field I would even argue that the reference to and the importance of Morocco will decline within the next years. Already now, it is visible that younger people, who are in the course of starting families, settle in Frankfurt and purchase property within the city and its suburbs – a clear statement of their belongingness.

The search for identity and a stable position within the country of residence refers in the end to one of the most central results. It affects mainly the younger generation people who are certain about their life in Germany, who feel they are part of this European society and who agonize about how their involvement should be arranged.

Whether one looks at the young girl who just made the decision of wearing the hijab and doing so clearly sets herself apart from her mother who is not a supporter of veiling, or the young man who is keen to learn the truth about Koran which he is convinced he will not find with his parents or the man in his late twenties who buys a house in the Rif to get away from the obligations he has with his family, or the woman who finished her studies in Germany and then marries a Turkish man who grew up in Germany as well– all develop strategies that are in opposition to the conceptions of life their parents and/or elder generations had, but that are still somehow endured. All are searching for their own position and for creating meaning in their lives. Their parents' conceptions of life are not attractive, for the younger perceive those as not being compatible with living in Germany and being a full member of German society.

The conflicts between younger and elder generations we currently witness are therefore more than the regular incongruities between the generations. They are an expression of a struggle about the interpretation of community in which different parties try to claim authority, some wishing to manifest the community's strong position within German society, others trying to set it apart.

The search for the individual identity of the young therefore also leads to a new creation and interpretation of the Moroccan diaspora community. It is in this context that one needs to understand the different diasporic movements, such as segregation, integration, Berberism, Islamism, radicalization, and however else the different tendencies become labeled as competing realities that each provide advantages to certain individuals and that are all part of the Moroccan diaspora community. The

decision on what movement to support and participate in is dependent on individual development, personal experiences, on peer groups and on contingencies that happen to the people.

All the above-mentioned tendencies are currently no hindrance for the consistency of the recollection on Morocco and its use as resource. Though cracks begin to show and connections between Morocco and Germany slowly begin to dissolve or at least change their characteristics visibly, Morocco remains insurance and resource for many migrants living abroad and can be activated whenever needed, at least by those who belong to the first and second generation.

Processes of change, shifts and flows show as well when focusing on family and social network relations. One major result of the network analysis was the centrality of family. It has been shown that migrant families are spread all over Europe, while there is a tendency to focus on nuclear families and on family members that are geographically present. Kinship relations and family ties hardly decline, they rather help to manage the auspices of everyday life and provide support in times of crisis. Family relations still remain in the diaspora and for some even enlarge their importance through migration. They are based on trust and offer security in circumstances that are uncertain and vague.

However, similarly to the first signs showing in the declining importance of Morocco family looses its importance in networks of younger people. 15-30 year-olds indicated only 47% of their supporters as family members, for 31-50 year-olds the value was much higher (68,8%) and slightly higher for the senior group of people being between 51 and 67 years old (69,8%). Comparing those findings to results of the supporters' national identity it becomes clear that most Moroccan migrants use the supportive networks of their own community, i.e. of Moroccans, if not that of their immediate family members. 70,6% of all supporters are Moroccan and even the third generation still indicated 61,7% of their supporters as Moroccans. Networks of elder migrants are characterized by a domination of Moroccan supporters (86,0%) due to language barriers and suspiciousness. Though the orientation of younger people towards members of the Moroccan community (61,7%) is based on shared experiences.

Those contacts that are often also friendships however are often heavily affected by gossip and rumor within the diaspora community. The spread of information that was once confidentially reported is destroying to the relation and one is lucky if he or she can call someone a friend who is not part of the Moroccan community and is not exposed to the dynamics of gossip and opinion making based on scant information.

Many younger people I talked to wish to be friends with others, particularly those who are not part of the community.

The personal network shown at the end of the chapter IV is an example for the fulfillment of such wishes. Here it is two young men, one Moroccan, the other German, that share similar views. Such strong friendships are rather seldom, though much desired. The Moroccan community is often experienced as being too tight. Younger people try to escape the controlling mechanisms that try to regulate their behavior. Besides, teenagers and adolescences generally stated that ethnicity is not the major mode of distinction for them. Social support, friendship and social relations are dependent on shared attitudes and views and much less on similar ethnic backgrounds. However, the dominance of Moroccans in the networks suggests that there are intersections of views also within the community. From fieldwork experience and participant observation, I can state that within the community individuals are in contact with those who have attitudes that overlap the ones they themselves support. The fragmentation, that characterizes the community, is just not visible in the network data but is nevertheless a structuring element in the formation of personal social networks.

One important result of the network analysis is therefore that the formation of the Moroccan community cannot be seen as a process that automatically develops because of shared ethnicity. First generation migrants oriented themselves towards other Moroccans because of language skills and similar experiences of living far from home. Second, and especially third generation migrants have far less language barriers. Their experiences of being born and living in Germany but still being somehow torn can be shared with many others whose parents are not Germans. This also explains the ethnically blend composition of the networks of younger Moroccans.

> "Many […] network theorists, especially those interested in the problem of ethnicity, assume that networks based on common origins will inevitably emerge. This concept of the urban ethnic community – in both the geographical and the network senses – needs careful scrutiny, especially since community, in one or both senses, is not necessarily inevitable and cannot simply be assumed." (Bretell 2003:109)

Even though social network results showed that the Moroccan diaspora community in Frankfurt is ethnically segregated as more than two thirds of all supporters are Moroccans, it needs to be emphasized that the consistency of the group is not singularly based on shared ethnicity. Of much greater importance are shared experiences and the narratives of migration and hardship – and such can be found among many people who themselves or whose ancestors once left their homes to find a better living in another country.

Besides, social networks within the Moroccan community are organized along word-of-mouth-influence, meaning that my interview partners often reported about 'Moroccan' places across the city that were recommended to them by family and friends. Moroccan mechanics, hairdressers, lawyers and dentists offered their services to the community, no matter which part of town they were located in. This invisible net of business companies and supplies of services kept the community together.

The strongest factor, however, that provides people with a feeling of commonness is the state of insecurity and the exchange of experienced and perceived discrimination. Those experiences obviously favor the retreat into the diaspora community, as well as an orientation towards Morocco.

It is in this sense that they also serve as an explanation for marriages in which one partner grew up in Germany, while the other spent his or her childhood and adolescence in Morocco. Such behavior in the selection of partnership then functions like a counterinsurance in that the German partner binds him- or herself back to Morocco, i.e. back to an imaginary transnational Moroccan community that expands beyond the Mediterranean - and that helps setting oneself apart from the German majority and apart from experienced discriminations. Interestingly it is mainly men

whose motivation in marrying a woman from Morocco can be explained as an act of retreating.

Though, family formation is generally given intensive thought, as there are new resources to be gained. Due to the opportunity of gaining resident permits the market of imported bridal partners from Morocco is flourishing. Marriages between a migrant and a Moroccan resident however often bear difficulties in that the partners have contradictory ideas on gender relations and family life. Particularly well-educated women who grew up in Germany have difficulties in finding an equivalent bridegroom as well-educated men are instead often interested in women stemming from Morocco. This shows the development of different life conceptions and tendencies in which the wish of many women to emancipate is contrasted by that of men who like to foster their dominant position in gender relations.

Here again participant observation showed that those sharp divisions are not valid for younger generations any more. More and more young couples are flexible in dealing with the obligations that were once associated with either men or women. This is due to the impact of migration on social structures. Younger people who feel to be a part of Germany obviously also adopt other preferences that contrast perceived traditions.

It is in this context that it is also interesting to look at the impacts of migration to the relation with Germans. Network analysis showed that the length of time people have spent in the diaspora is no indicator for the rise of contact with people other than Moroccans. This result can mainly be explained with language abilities that are not strong for those who have spent a long time in Germany. Particularly older women often have little knowledge of German and are therefore dependent on contacts with Moroccans.

It turned out, anyhow, that Germans are only relevant supporters for instrumental help, few were also named as emotional supporters and counselors. Turks are similarly relevant in the networks. This finding can be explained by shared religion, the sheer size and availability of the Turkish community as well as with personal experiences of discrimination that resemble those of Moroccans.

Overall, network analysis showed that multiplexity within the community is high, meaning that many supporters are able to supply several wants. There is therefore no

urgent necessity to be in contact with many people, as the ones who already offer support do so in several aspects. The multiplex structure of the personal networks, however, leads to further segregation and closes the community.[32]

In a community that is rather closed new and contrasting views and perceptions that might have evolved outside hardly spread. As has been shown in chapter V, it is the exchange of experiences within personal relations that intensifies feelings of belonging to a marginalized group. Part of the reality of Moroccan migrants is that in their everyday life in Germany they are confronted with humiliations, assaults and discriminations. The various stories I have heard in the field all deal with the hardship of living and working in the diaspora and of the difficulties of not knowing where to belong. Those stories also circulate within the Moroccan community. The retreat into family and diasporic structures that has been portrayed in the results of social network analysis nourishes the circulation of stories and the talk about experienced discriminations and enmities and serves as an intensifier to them. The more people talk about negative incidents that have occurred to them personally or to their friends the more they become part of a collective identity. The more people exchange their experienced discriminations the more they retreat into the diasporic structures to be safe against humiliations.

A contribution to such narratives is the news coverage of incidents in Palestine, as well as in other conflict zones in the Muslim world. Informants reported that it makes them sick to hear over and over again about the deficiencies of those regions, that automatically become associated with negative issues of Islam and Muslims. Some people even experience the news coverage as personal assault.

Ethnographic reports have shown that many informants lack particularly in recognition, identity and security. It is one of the main results that needs often remain unfulfilled and lead to frustrations in the life of the migrants. People perceive

[32] It would be of interest for future research to look again at the social network structures of Moroccan migrants and to repeat the study on personal embeddedness. The connectedness of people offers much information about their position within society. Data from participant observation, however, would as well be needed to clarify the background of the network structures. Also, it would be of interest to compare future network studies on the Moroccan community with network research in other migrant groups in Germany to elucidate similarities and differences. Besides, a repeating study would approve or condemn the articulated prospects on the developments of the community.

themselves as second rate and react upon such views. Unfulfilled human needs, so it has been argued, can serve as an explanation for tendencies of segregation and isolation, for serious illnesses and for the flirt with violent movements. It depends on the personal autobiography as well as on varying contingencies and opportunities whether an individual follows one or the other path or follows any at all.

Next to experiences of marginalization and discrimination the topic of insecurities runs like a backbone through the stories and must be taken under focus. Insecurities evolve in situations that are uncertain and in which an individual has no opportunities of behaving adequately. Migrations are therefore always accompanied by insecurities. Already in the early 1950's Handlin vividly describes this in his book on the American immigration at the turn to the 20th century.

> "Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manner prevailed. The customary modes of behavior were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different. With old ties snapped, men faced enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances.
>
> The response of these folk could not be easy, automatic, for emigration had stripped away the veneer that in more stable situations concealed the underlying nature of social structure. […] The immigrants lived in crisis because they were uprooted. In transplantation, while the old roots were sundered, before the new were established, the immigrants existed in an extreme situation. The shock, and the effects of the shock persisted for many years; and their influence reached down generations which themselves never paid the cost of crossing." (Handlin 1973:6)

Handlin, a social historian, had retrieved his results from newspaper articles and people who reported about the times of immigrations and the hardship that accompanied those. He stresses the difficulties with which migrants had to deal upon their arrival in the new world and during the decades that followed. It is interesting that he refers to an immigration shock, a crisis that persists and still pursuits those generations that have not witnessed immigration themselves. Migration is such a

tremendous experience so that its aftermath exists for a long time. This is obviously also the case for younger Moroccan migrants who are still struggling to position themselves in Germany. Though they were born in the country, they still do not have the feeling to entirely belong.

Besides, becoming a part of and belonging to Germany also means to give up much that has represented oneself and ones family so far and that accounted for ones identity. Such processes of integration are very much accompanied by fear and loss. It is like the story a father of two young children once told me about his anxieties that his sons will not be able to communicate in Tamazight any more, that his heart is hurting when he sees and feels that the children do not have any roots in his Moroccan and Amazigh culture any more. This man had done a lot himself to become part of Germany, though now realizing the consequences for his family of loosing all connections to Morocco is difficult for him to accept. It is as if he doubtfully asks himself whether he really wants his children or grandchildren to become German.

Inherent in processes of migration are contradictions and diametric desires. That does not make it easier for the individual to find his or her position. After all, the relative geographical proximity of Germany to Morocco is an additional difficulty in developing a stable position within the diaspora and eventually within German society. In this case it is not as Handlin has outlined. Intercontinental migration is not as permanent and definite than those moves that go overseas. Old ties are not simply snapped, but rather continue to exist, though they might change in form. Modern communication of course allows the persistence of contact, but it is even more the opportunity to travel individually back and forth to Morocco without arranging costive travel plans in advance.

Brettell, researching the Portuguese diaspora in France in Canada, also stated differences in the migration processes based on geography. Those who migrated to Canada did so permanently and eventually purchased realty on their new homeland. Migrants who went to France instead maintained their ties to their villages, invested their earnings in a house in Portugal and kept alive the idea of returning to their homeland, meaning Portugal (Brettell 2003:122,123).

Moroccan migration resembles very much the migration process that Brettell has outlined for Portuguese migrants in France. The vagueness of arrival in the European immigrant societies and with it the ever-posed questions of returning did not prepare the grounds for a stable position that the migrants could have captured. Even people belonging to the third generation sometimes stated in interviews that they were thinking about returning to Morocco one day in the future, returning to a place they only know from vacations in summer. The ideological motif of returning is deeply rooted in diasporic thought and functions as reinsurance. It is as well a longing for an ideal place, an almost paradisiacal concept of home.

Those longings and desires are diametric to the realities in which many migrants feel trapped. Insecurities characterize their lives and answers to the big questions of where and how to strike roots are sought after.

Some try to find an anchor within religion. Almost all first generation migrants I talked to reported that the mosque communities in Morocco were of little importance to them. Though in Frankfurt visiting the services kept them grounded. Awakening of religion is a common concomitant phenomenon of migration movements. It simply structures peoples' lives and helps finding answers. Also, as has been argued earlier, a turning towards religion can as well be a rebellion against parents and older generations.

Stepping back and looking at the results of the study on migration, networks and experienced discrimination from a distance almost all behavior and cultural expression, being these hybridizations or recollections are the expression of a single and very personal desire, of finding a place for oneself. That the search for such a stable place is not one-dimensional but rather characterized by zig-zag-patterned bidirectional movements is almost self-evidently. As migrants are torn between Germany and Morocco so is their behavior orientated towards both sides simultaneously, the German and the Moroccan.

A stable position for individuals as well as for the group however needs to be found though it is hard to achieve. Bringing the results of this work together it must be stated that there is a vicious circle in which many Moroccans are ensnared. It is assembled by repeating experiences of discrimination, the narrative of belonging to a

marginalized group, the retreat into family and social network structures and subcultural movements, the risk to develop some form of illness and the possible orientations towards perceived roots, religion, tradition, recollection, and movements that propagate a violent and/or separatist path. This rotating vicious circle is nourished by the tense social structure of the Moroccan community, by the tendency to manage matters of everyday life within the network and by the constant talk about the hardship of living in Germany and experiencing discrimination.

Those dynamics of being caught in a vicious circle can only be stopped with respect and appreciation for the many merits of migrants. It is of importance to let them know that they are part of Germany, part of the district in which they are living in and part of society overall. It is of importance as well for everybody to know that society faces tremendous changes in which every individual no matter of ethnic background or personal views and conceptions should participate.

Conflicts, we currently witness are based on negotiations on how societal future should look like. They take place within majority's society and show in heated debates on provocative books and speeches held by the German federal president on the role of Islam in Germany. They take place within the diaspora community as well and show in its fragmentation and in the disputes between the generations and the different interest groups. The overall societal question that remains unanswered is about Islam - not about ethnic groups. Current negotiations and conflicts deal with the role and character Islam should have in German society. This question is central for the majority of Moroccan migrants as many of them strongly identify with their religion. Also Islam gained importance in the diaspora for reasons of feeling secure. It is therefore that many of the people I talked to want to see their religion being rooted in German society. The official acceptance of Islam as part of German society would be a serious contribution to the appreciation and recognition of Moroccan migrants. It is, however, by far the only issue that gnaws on them. Daily interactions and small encounters might even be of greater importance than official announcements.

In the end, the main result of this work is alarmingly simple: without recognition by the German majority, without structures that offer security and a sense of belonging, the vicious circle will remain. It is of little hope that major changes in German policy alone can bring change to such dynamics. There needs to be a rethinking and

rearrangement of the small interactions that we all have every day for it is only personal contacts and interaction that can bring change. Like one of my informants once stated: “It hurts most that my German neighbors still do not know my name, even tough I have been living next door to them for years”. Why not taking the effort and learn that his name was Mahmut Abdelatif or Reda Al-Masaar?

VII. Pictures and Tables

VIII. Bibliography

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