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ACE: Architecture, City and Environment = Arquitectura, Ciudad y
Entorno [en línea]. 2011, Año 6, núm. 17 Octubre. P. 359-376

ISSN: [1886-4805](https://doi.org/10.1080/18864805)

Website access: http://www-cpsv.upc.es/ace/Articles_n17/articles_pdf/ACE_17_ST_30.pdf

UPCommons Access: <http://hdl.handle.net/2099/11097>

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STRUGGLING BETWEEN TWO CULTURES: THE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE MOROCCAN CHILDREN COMMUNITY IN BARCELONA

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Initial submission: 16-04-2011

Final submission: 4-10-2011

Key words: cultural identity, immigrant's children, Muslims, Barcelona.

Abstract

The aim of that article is the religious and cultural identity and how it is formed in case of the children of immigrants from Morocco. The hypothesis is that the identity of that group is formed as the complex relation between the origin culture input and the secondary socialization within host society. In other words, their identity is a result of the combination of two, essentially different cultures the Moroccan and the Spanish/Catalan one. The goal is to provide a sociological understanding of the biculturalism phenomena, as well as the relation between religion and culture as the clue components of identity. The analysis of the identity dynamics of the Moroccans born in Catalonia is a comparative one, considering the immigrants (often called first generation of immigrants) as a background for that comparison. The methodology applied is the in-depth interviews with immigrant's children. One of the most important conclusions of the study is that Islam is a clear border between Moroccan minority and Spanish/Catalan society, border that the generation born in host society and submerged in two cultures is trying to cross.

1. Introduction

The object of that study is to understand the complexity of the cultural and religious identity of the Moroccan immigrant's children and how it is formed². The identity is understood as a long life process influenced by many factors where the primary education and secondary socialization take a crucial part. The main hypothesis is that in case of the immigrant's children the first one is performed within the culture of their parents origin whether the second in the culture of the host society.

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² That article is a part of a master thesis directed by prof. dr hab Mariola Flis, head of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Jagellonian University, Cracow, Poland, 2003.

The theoretical framework of that work is the philosophical and sociological approach into the primary and secondary identity concepts, as well as the analysis of the identity dynamics in case of immigrants. The study is situated within its urban context, El Raval, the neighbourhood within Ciutat Vella - the historical centre of Barcelona -. The methodology applied in the empirical part of the study is the in-depth interviews performed with the representatives of the immigrant's children.

The article is divided into four parts. First the identity concepts are defined with particular emphasis on its cultural and religious dimension. Then the double socialization is analysed considering the role that family, the religion and the host society play in that process. On the next chapter the phenomena of immigration is situated into its urban context, El Raval, Ciutat Vella district of Barcelona (Morera, 2000a; Sargatal, 2001; Yetano, 2002). Finally, the proper identity dynamics within the immigrant's children living in El Raval are studied and the results of in-depth interview are presented. We try to balance the insiders (the respondents of the empirical part) and outsiders (Checa, 1998; Geertz, 1994; Jacobson, 1998) perspective.

The conclusions of that study show that the identity of immigrant's children is a process of negotiation or even struggle between two cultures. Nevertheless, the analysed group is rather host-society culture oriented; they do not abandon their origin religion-Islam. The identity phenomenon's are rather narrowly studied and present in the everyday life of the mentioned group neither the discourse of the host society.

2. Primary and secondary identity of immigrants and their children

2.1 *Philosophical and sociological dimension of the identity notion*

The notion of identity is not precisely defined, independently of the psychological, philosophical or sociological approaches. The most intuitive definition is that identity is a way we describe ourselves, how we answer the question about who we are. Hutnik divides the definitions of the identity into two main groups (Hutnik, 1991):

- firstly: personality theorists that regard identity in terms of personal distinctiveness, personal continuity and personal autonomy, in other words of the individual self-construction.
- secondly: the definitions of sociology and social psychology that tend to stress that a sense of identity is formed from the dialectic between the individual and society, and draw attention to the ways in which membership of social groups shapes or determines the perception of an individual.

The first group is derived from the Lockian definition of personal identity (Locke, 1979), which is actually the one that gives a beginning for the psychological and philosophical reflection on identity. However, Locke and all his followers are talking about the personal identity, and the criteria of when the person is identical with his/herself over time. This is a primary identity, and so it is not the object of my study. As for the present study, I am interested in a secondary identity, on a social, not on an individual level. That is why the definition I adapt for this paper belongs to the second group mentioned above. In particular it refers to Tajfel's definition, describing the social identity as that part of individual self-concept which drives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and

emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). So that, the social identity is the knowledge, feelings and values of people in relation to membership: the knowledge that one belongs to a group, the emotions towards one's group and towards others standing in particular relation to it and the assumption about the positive or negative value connotation of group membership. One of the most important features of such a complex concept called social identity is that it is necessarily multidimensional as well as interpenetrative. Furthermore, when the children of immigrants socialization are considered, we necessarily have to take into account two different cultural contexts. Both of them are fundamental for the construction of the identity. The way people do perceive themselves is strongly related to the way other people regard them.

2.2 Social identity of immigrant's children

The basic feature of the social identity is its dynamism. The identity cannot be measured nor defined in the essentialist way, as it is not something fixed but a process. As regards the topic of that study - the children of Moroccan immigrants - they pass through the phase of negotiation of their identity. The secondary identity, the social one, is a flexible and malleable construction unlike it is a humaneness, selfhood and genders the primary identities. The secondary identities can change over time and they actually do change (Pedziwiatr, 2000).

The principal factors that make the social identity changing over time are the interactions, in case of the immigrants with two main environments: their compatriots and the host society. In the Spanish society the Muslim immigrants permanently negotiate the way they profess their religion as well as the belonging to their native community. Some structures and dynamics are reproduced in the host society what has a great impact on the social identity of the individual. That issue will be discussed in the fourth chapter. The influence of the environment is very important especially for the children of immigrants born in the host society, insofar as the definition of what being Muslim means, varies according to the generation. Obviously, some particularities of understanding of that concept depend on the individual. So that, the term of Muslim identity will be used in that study rather as a hermeneutic tool, than as a notion with concrete content as defined in the essentialist way.

2.3 Religious identity of immigrant's children

Why the Muslims leaving in Spain are considered as a group with particular identity? What marks a border between them and Spanish people is Islam. Islam, in the case of Moroccans (obviously excluding the Jewish and Christian minority) is a base of their identity or at least a latent element of it, as it is the case for the Muslims born in Spain. First of all, it is important to distinguish, following Halliday, between Islam as a faith, religion and tradition and Islam as a socio-political system (Halliday, 2002). Talking about Islam that study makes reference to the first concept without regarding second one. There are two main ways of defining religion: the substantive one- trying to answer the question what religion is, and the functional- explaining what religion does (Pedziwiatr, 2000). The functions of religion, particularly within the construction of one's identity, is the aspect here concerned. In Leach's definition religion is a system of beliefs through which people order and organizes their lives, and the central part of

which occupies the belief that death does not imply the automatic annihilation of the individual self (Leach, 1976). Among the various functions of religion the most important are (Roberts, 1984): meaning function, identity function, structural function and the cultural one.

For that work, the most important are the meaning and the identity function. Luckmann regards as necessarily religious, the universal process by which any individual, in conjunction with other people around him or her, develops a sense of identity and a coherent biography which frame his or her identity (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Providing the individual with a meaning was also for Weber a basic function of religion (Weber, 1993). Whether in the secularized western societies religion does not have such an important influence on one's identity, Islam is still a central axis of life for its believers and provides the individual with sense and meaning to his existence. Luckmann considers religion as an entire process by which people become selves. In the case of Muslims the role of religion in life is central to understand the relationship between the individual and the society (Jacobson, 1998). Islam is for Muslims a kind of guidance of behaviour considering that it explains world and provides meaning and the transcendent dimension for their lives.

3. Double socialization: the family and host society role

First and maybe the most significant feature of the children of immigrants is that they abandon the myth of return, and plan their future in the host society. It implies the crucial change of attitude towards the culture of origin as well as the European environment. The abandonment of the return myth does not mean rejection of the society of origin. They still maintain a linkage with their parent's culture through the reconstruction of spaces and collective references (Moreras, 2001a). Therefore, the immigrant's children grow up and socialize within two cultures. The values of the culture of origin are transmitted into them in the bosom of the family, and later they immerse into the Spanish and Catalan culture mainly at school, urban spaces shared with autochthons and cultural associations.

At first, the concept of socialization shall be defined. Here the definition proposed by Fermoso is considered, which affirms that the socialization is a process between the individual and society in which the norms, costumes and values shared by the majority of the members of the community are interiorized; the person is integrated into the group, learns how to behave socially, adapt him/herself to the institutions, open for the rest of people, coexist with them and receive the influence of the culture in a way that his/her personal development is affirmed (Fermoso, 1985).

Traditionally, there is a division between the primary and the secondary socialization. The primary socialization is the one that individual undergoes in his childhood, and which turns him into a member of the society. The secondary socialization it is any posterior process which induce the individual, once socialized, to the new sectors of the objective world of the society (Berger, 1969). The socialization agents are basically: the family, school, work and also a group of peers, mass media and the associative entities. Let here analyse the role of all these agents that create a *secondary identity* of the children of immigrants. It is called secondary for the reason explained before, considering the social as well as cultural identity as a background of a personal one. Using Mead's category, the product of socialization is a generalized other the self (Mead, 1968).

Considering the agents of socialization, apart the first one family, all of them are responsible for the secondary socialization. In that study the importance of socialization environments in the process of construction of the cultural and religious identity of immigrant's children will be analysed. First of all, let us affirm the fundamental role of the family, not just as a primary and principal socialization agent, but as a possible guarantee for the successive integration into the host society. The hypothesis of that study is that the family education in the main part determines the positive or negative integration within the autochthon society. However, Moroccan family on immigration suffers modifications in its traditional structure, it maintains its functions. The most visible change is the transfer from the multigenerational family to the nuclear one. In spite of this structural change, especially visible among the low classes, the new family model does not emerge. The collapse of multigenerational family is rather a sign of the precariousness of family in the economic and social aspect (Moreras, 2001a). Nevertheless, the traditional functions of the Muslim family persist. These are: the patriarchal model, the control of the property executed by the father, family as an institution responsible for arrangement of marriages of its members, as a guarantee of protection and security for all of them, and as a teacher of solidarity and loyalty (Moreno, 2002). Nevertheless, in the process of acculturation some of these functions became debilitated so that many authors speak about the crisis of the family. It is difficult for the immigrants to maintain the traditional family functions and position and at the same time adopt the elements of the Spanish and Catalan culture. Sometimes important problems in maintaining the equilibrium between these two worlds (the culture of origin and the host society) occur. In spite of that, the general tendency is that the family roles are reproduced with the slight changes which do not affect its fundamental structure. For the children of immigrants it means that they have to live in two essentially different environments: that of their origin reproduced in the family and the one of the host society.

It is precisely the family which prepares them to face up to the external world. The primary socialization consists in the transmission of values, codes of behaviour, culture and religion. What elements maintain its importance for the children born on immigration and what do they distance from? The fundamental values for the Moroccan families are the authority, the shame and the honour, all of which constitutes specific codes of behaviour necessary to protect them. Hence, the father is a major authority, whose role is to protect all the members and take care of bringing up the children as good Muslims. Daughters symbolize the honour of the family, they have to obey arranged marriage agreement and prior to it, avoid any contact with men from outside the family, which may cast a shame on all family members. On immigration in *dar-al-Harb* (the world of infidels) the more strict protection is required. For the young girls it signifies a substantial constrain of their personal liberty, which sometimes even results in something that can be called *domestic arrest*. However, some changes within that traditional model can be observed. The first, already mentioned above, is a decline of the two, three generational family which lives together under the same roof.

For the young generation, the family is a fundamental source of reference to their culture of origin and the mainstay of the religion. Though it is not highly efficient in transmission of the Arabic or Berber customs and traditions, it is successful in inculcation of Islam. The high percentage of adherence to Islam within the group of immigrant's children is a consequence of the successful religious education within the family. Whereas for my respondents from the first generation their culture seems inseparable from their religion, and to criticize one of the

elements is to destroy the whole complex, Muslims born in Catalonia tend to remain reluctant to the customs and practices of their culture of origin, but do not abandon Islam. We can observe, then, a kind of division between religion and ethnicity, which is exactly what Jacobson postulates in her research of Pakistani youth in Great Britain (Jacobson, 1998). It was observed that the process is not so radical in case of the Moroccan collective in Barcelona. Jacobson studies show that the young British Pakistanis perceive ethnicity as a matter of attachment to a set of traditions or customs that are not-religious in nature and whose relevance and usefulness is limited. They view ethnicity as loyalty to customs from some distant place. On the other hand, they attach a universal applicability to the teachings of Islam and they view religious commitment as an expression of one's acceptance of a set of absolute truths, recorded in the Quran and the hadith, for all times and for benefit of all people (Jacobson, 1998). In case of the Moroccan collective in Spain, the first part of that diagnosis, considering ethnicity, is only partly, whether the second one about Islam, is highly appropriate. Young Moroccans do not feel as strongly related to their ethnicity as the first generation does, nevertheless they do not abandon it as easily as the Pakistanis do (also the Pakistanis in Spain). I am inclined to adopt a hypothesis that it is due mainly to a geographic proximity of the homeland and its consequences. The sons of immigrants cannot often visit their families in Morocco, but the common practice is to send children, even for 3, 4 years to the homeland either in order to execute the paternal control or with marital goals. Sometimes it causes a demystification of the mother country, but the direct contact is maintained and it allows young people to get closer to their roots (Moreras, 2000b). Most of my respondents asked to identify themselves, stated, that first of all they are Muslims, then Arabs or Berbers or mixed citizens. "It is more important to me Islam as a religion than Moroccan culture", it is an opinion of 24 years old Nora, born in Barcelona, working in a socio-cultural association raised by the children of immigrants from Morocco. This opinion is widely shared by her peers both involved and uninvolved in the association.

The second factor of socialization is the educational system. It is at the same time the first factor that belongs to the host society culture. The most important task of school is to avoid reproduction of the social and cultural inequalities. Education is considered a clue element in the construction of intercultural model of society and social cohesion. Schools serve as the second place, just after the family, where certain values and codes of behaviour are transmitted. The Catalan schools situated in the districts with the high percentage of immigrant's children (in case of Barcelona it is El Raval) try to introduce Maghreb families into co-participating in the educational process. In spite of that effort, various problems occur. In the schools where there is a big concentration of the foreign pupils the autochthon pupils tend to leave, as their families are worried with the apparent deterioration in the quality of teaching and the potential social problems that are thought to arise there. These are no more than stereotypes that reinforce the phenomena of ghettoization. The latest researches concerning the scholar performance of immigrants' children show that the rate of absences is higher in case of autochthon students, and that the relation between school results and nationality is less relevant than between those results and economic status of the pupils. The educational success of young Moroccans is not determined by their belonging to the Arabic or Berber culture, but rather by their parent's socio-economic status and the place of their origin (rural zone or big city zone). One of my respondents, Fatima (the Moroccan lawyer living in Barcelona for seven years) has told me: "The situation of the young Moroccans is determined by the following factors: where they come from (village or city), how they come to Spain (whether is legal or illegal immigration) and by

their socioeconomic status". If their situation is precarious in the economic and legal aspect it often creates a prospect of educational failure. Therefore, continued Fatima: "the basic problem of the young Moroccans is to overcome their irregular situation as the regularization gives them right not only to basic education but also to the necessary funds and allows them to choose the profile of their further studies".

Other problem, different from the mentioned ghettoization, is the fact that the Maghrebian parents are not used to cooperate with schools. It is sometimes caused by the linguistic problems; however it is always possible to obtain help from a cultural mediator or an interpreter, both available in great numbers in Barcelona. Nevertheless, Moroccans in general are not accustomed to helping their children in their education, as they either consider it the exclusive obligation of teachers, or are simply too occupied with providing for the basic needs and arranging the formalities necessary to live and work in Spain. What the Maghrebian parents do really care for is an Islamic education, which consists in classes of Quran and Arabic language. It is not easy to organize such kind of supplementary religious education in Catalonia. Why? Basically it is so due to the lack of the competent professors. Insufficiently educated imams cannot serve as the authorities for the children born and socialized in the Spanish culture. The formal requirement for imams is to complete studies in Morocco and obtain an official certificate from the Spanish Islamic Commission; these conditions are rarely fulfilled.

The next dimension of the secondary socialization for the immigrant's children, other than the school, is the urban context. To explain the concept of the urban context let adopt the Hannerz's definition of the city which states that the city is: a space which produces constantly the complexity and plurality (Hannerz, 1980). It is complex not just because of the multiplicity of plans and perspectives upon which the determined social relations develop, but also because it shows its instable and diffused character (Moreras, 1999). In urban context the multiculturalism is an ordinary experience, what means that the urban space is shared by the people with different cultural references. Nevertheless, the physical proximity of these collectives does not necessary mean their social proximity, what contributes to the formation of double spaces, apparently shared, but symbolically and significantly remote from one another. It is precisely the case of El Raval, the part of the centrally situated district of Ciutat Vella in Barcelona, in which concentrates major part of the immigration, included the Moroccan one. What part do those spaces take in the process of socialization of the Moroccan youth? First of all, their parents establish certain institutions to create references to the culture of origin. This is certainly a case of mosques, oratories, halal shops and ethnic markets. Those spaces are rarely being left by the individuals from the first generation. It means that their lives concentrate at home and in the spaces that form a net which is an approximate reconstruction their society of origin. Their contacts with spaces that represent the host culture are highly limited.

The generation born in Barcelona transcends the spaces marked for their ethnic community in order to emphasize their participation in the European society, but at the same time without denial of their Muslim identity. The first difference is the way how the first generation and their children perceive home. For their parents it is a place of refuge, the symbolic space where they can re-establish the familiar and cultural universe, either completely lost to, or at least influenced by the European acculturation. For sons and daughters it is often a space of oppression where the cultural inheritance is considered rather as an imposed then accepted charge. Even where there are no intergenerational conflict the children tend to look for the

outside spaces which could take up liberating functions or just open new spheres to conquer. Some spaces, chosen by the second generation for the first one are the symbols of decadence of the western culture. I mean especially spaces for leisure, such as bars, discotheques or cinemas. Experiences in the forbidden areas have to be often kept secret from the parents, and so young Muslims often chose the strategy of lie in order to satisfy their individual needs and do not condemn themselves on the exclusion from the family and community. Sometimes it turns difficult but for them it is the only available route to emancipation, allowing them at the same time the life with family and ethnic group without breaking the affective links and avoiding the „social death”. The discovery of the outer spaces is a part of socialization into the host society, which often remains obscure to the family and ethnic collective.

Last but not least factor of socialization is the cultural and religious associations. Until now the one and only association created and partly directed to the children of immigrants is Ibn Batuta³, the entity I was working with. It was officially founded in 1994 by the group of the young Moroccans. Its main activities are: classes of basic literacy, classes of Catalan, Spanish and Arabic, theatre workshops, classes of informatics, Islam workshop, Musical group and other ludic, sport activities, conferences, etc.

In all of these activities co-participate people from the first generation as well as the children of immigrants from Morocco. Why does that association have a particular importance for the young Muslims? Mainly it is so because it was founded with the goal to create a space where they could openly express themselves, not just in the sport and ludic activities but also to establish a space for dialogue between Moroccans and Catalans and among Moroccans themselves. The space where the young generation could express their doubts about culture and religion was needed. But does it really carry out that function? My answer is: it serves those goals only in the very limited aspect, and highly insufficiently. Why it is so?

The principal reason is that Ibn Batuta offers not only leisure activities and classes for young Moroccans but also offers help for the recently arrived immigrants, and suddenly the mediation became its main activity. There are so many urgent cases of help needed for the people who do not have house, necessary documents, need to go to a doctor and do not know the language, that the discourse about the identity of the second generation becomes of less importance. Nevertheless, the young Moroccans who work or just come there to spend time, emphasize the necessity of such a space for debate, they are not sufficiently encouraged to create it themselves. The Islamic workshop organized by Ibn Batuta was established as a space where the immigrant children could get to know better the religion and discuss their problems and doubts that they do not dare to rise at home. Now it changed into a course for Spanish converts and however the classes are open for everybody and very interesting, (for two months I participated in them myself) none of the young Moroccans does take part in them. Is it possible that the person who gives classes- Bosnian refugee, is not an appropriate person for reasons not concerning her knowledge and competence. My respondents told me that they continue to meet in their groups of peers to talk about Islam and such meetings take place in the private houses. There is also another possible reason why the second generation does not attend the associative movements (even though known and open as it is Ibn Batuta). It is an evident political initiative of the Moroccan Consulate, and the reluctance of the community may emerge

³ Ibn Batuta is a socio-cultural association for Moroccan people, situated in El Raval, Ciutat Vella, which name makes reference to the XIV-th century Maghrebian traveler.

from the low political culture of Morocco and the climate of suspicions concerning everything that could have something to do with power and politics.

Concluding- the associations are in case of the Moroccan collective, rather potential than significant agent of socialization. In consequence two main agents who belong to two different systems of values are: the family and the environment of the host society represented mainly by the education system. The immigrant children automatically enter two cultures: the one of its origin and that of the Spanish/Catalonian society bearing different degree of identification with each of them. Roger Ballard defines: they act as skilled cultural navigators, with sophisticated capacity to manoeuvre their way to their own advantage both inside and outside their ethnic colony (Jacobson, 1998).

4. Urban context of the empirical analysis

4.1 *El Raval Cultural Puzzles of Barcelona*

Talking about the phenomenon of immigration in Barcelona we consider practically the particular district chosen by the majority of immigrants as a place to live. The location of foreigners in El Raval and the process of its ghettoization is a consequence of the historical transformation of that part of the city. Some major historical events which shaped the profile of that particular district will be mentioned.

The beginnings of that district date back to the XIII century when it was constructed out of the city walls (the very name proceeds from Arabic *robed* what means suburbs) (Sargatal, 2001). In the following century El Raval noticed its social and economic growth and at the same time the walls were built around it. The crucial period for its present profile was the beginning of the eighteenth century with the commencement of industrialization. In the years 1770-1840 the growth of industry, overall the textile one reached its maximum. The direct consequence of the big and definitive industrialization was the appearance of the first wave of immigration, or rather migration as they were basically workers from the Catalanian province. In that period El Raval became the densest district of Europe, some of the spaces originally designed as the industrial ones, had been transformed to play a double function, the industrial as well as residential one. In the XIX century the character of the district was essentially industrial, nevertheless, some luxury residences of Catalanian aristocracy and also convents were situated within the area. In the middle of that century the last stage of the urbanization of El Raval was finished and no more free ground had left. Next important waves of immigration appeared together with the international expositions which took place in Barcelona in 1888 and 1929 year. Nevertheless, it was mainly the internal immigration from the Iberian Peninsula. The demand for workers maintained high as it was stimulated by the need after the First World War. In consequence immigration did not cease.

El Raval, although its profile was basically the industrial one, had also its second face. The southern part of the district was, and still is, full of cafes, taverns theatres and locals dedicated to the prostitution. While the northern part of that district is the one of better urban planning, the southern one is chaotic, bohemian, with the significant rate of delinquency and prostitution. It is titled nowadays called *barrio chino* (Chinese neighbourhood) what makes reference to similar

districts in New York, Buenos Aires or Moscow. In the middle of the XX century the splendour of El Raval began to fade. It was mainly caused because of the construction of the districts for working class out of the city centre. The deterioration of El Raval implied also that its bohemian character slowly started to disappear. In the period of 1960-1980 it had lost 54% of the population what resulted in the successive degradation of the district. However, in the nineties the district is not losing its population so fast anymore, the index of mobility is very high and the density of that district persists over the medium of Barcelona. Years 1991-1996 is the period of when the number of immigrants has doubled due to the regulations of the stay of illegal immigrants and the new law about the familiar reunion. In the same period important changes and initiatives were carried out in that district. Most of them were stimulated by the fact that in 1992 Barcelona was chosen as the capital for the Olympic Games. The detailed description of the urban changes is not a topic of my study, nevertheless I mention them because of the consequence they had for El Raval. The immigration did not cease, but nowadays it is parallel to the other process- in the sociology of urbanism- called gentrification. The phenomenon of gentrification consists in relocation of the high, or in case of Barcelona- high middle classes to the centrically located districts, often old centres of the cities (Sargatal, 2001). Insofar, the immigration and the gentrification are simultaneous processes, however the first one predominates and El Raval nowadays is rather a district of immigrants than an example of harmonious coexistence of the high middle classes of the autochthon society and immigrants.

El Raval was and still is attractive for the immigrants, I mean especially immigrants out of European Union, because of few factors:

- services and transportation are well developed there and it is situated in the very centre of Barcelona.
- it disposes of the structural opportunities to work, especially to develop small business and commerce.
- and last but the most important is the facility to achieve the accommodation or flat in the lowest price within the whole metropolis (Morera, 2000c).

All that reasons caused that in nineties El Raval definitely transformed from the former native district of working class into the immigration ghetto. After the reformation of the immigration law in 1991, the immigration, mainly from Maghreb, Pakistan and Latin America radically increased. Most of them chose El Raval as a place to live and so it became a district where nowadays live 25% of immigrants in Barcelona. Nonetheless, it is not a melting pot of ethnics and cultures, but rather the *mosaic of invisible cities* (Morera, 2000b) which physically share the same urban context, but symbolically have their spaces precisely marked and separated.

4.2 Social nets and basic structures within the district

The nets and institutions established by the Muslims collectives have generally two main functions: to consolidate the community and counterweight the acculturation, and on the other hand to transmit information and form strong links between the immigrants and the host society. It is the mosque that plays the fundamental role within each Muslim collective, independently of the country of origin. In Arabic the word mosque means the place when men get down on his

knees to pray. Quran define the mosque as a house which God permitted to found in order to invoke His name there; there he is glorified in the morning and in the evening.

The construction of the mosque or the oratory (if we apply the criteria of what is mosque and what an oratory in Barcelona there are only the second ones) in Barcelona has always been to be an initiative of adult men who are already established within their immigration cycle, have all documents in order, have families and their priority is to educate their children in the Muslim faith. The construction of the mosque deserve a double award: on the one hand, who will build a mosque on the earth, God will build a similar to him in heaven (Morera, 1999); and on the other hand, it provides prestige for the whole community. In the general classification there are three types of mosques:

- yami: the mosque-cathedral, should exist in every city, it is where Friday pray is celebrated.
- másyid: the minor mosque, but with a minaret, it is possible to celebrate there a Friday pray, nevertheless, it is rather a mosque for a particular district.
- msid and musalá: these are little oratories, without minarets often situated in the garages, used for everyday salat and classes of Qur'an, very rarely for Friday celebration.

In accordance with this typology all the mosques of Barcelona belong to the third category, using the precise terminology, these are not mosques, but simply oratories. It is so because of the lack of permission of Catalanian government or lack of funds or ground or any other obstacles that are impossible to overcome by the Muslim communities of Barcelona and other regions of Catalonia. In Madrid, for example, there is one of the biggest mosques in the whole Europe, but it has been built within the Saudi capital, which Catalonia has not attracted. The mosques of Barcelona, let us call them mosques anyway, are precarious and invisible. They are situated in the private flats or locals of cultural association with almost invisible or no information outside. It is so due to the fear of denunciation of the neighbours who often consider a mosque as a danger, a potential nest of terrorism or a threat for a quiet life- as in accordance with the stereotype Muslims pray all day long and are very loud. The mosques of Barcelona are also multifunctional as they serve for worship as well as for the quranic classes.

The lack of the official and well administrated mosque in Barcelona is mainly a consequence of the policy of Catalanian autonomous government which is making its first steps on the way to recognize that Muslim presence in the region is no more provisional, but stable. The situation is slowly changing, but until that moment other problems such as how to guarantee documents and public sanity of immigrants were treated with priority over postulates of building a mosque.

The mosque or even oratories could not function without imams and *people of religion*. Whereas imam is a kind of spiritual guide within the particular community, his *assistants* help him with such functions as teaching Arabic - they are called adul or talibs - which can be future imams

Considering social nets and spaces of cultural references the halal shops have to be mentioned. Halal means *legal* in Arabic and refers to what is permitted within the religious prescription, in that particular case it is food and meat. In the advancing process of ghettoization of El Raval more butcher shops with halal meat appeared. Halal shops have its particular meaning within the redefinition of the city spaces. First of all because they marked borders of

the territory of Muslim collective and second because of the symbolical meaning that these spaces were personalized by them. The concentration of the Muslim collectives in El Raval reinforces the development of their social nets and thanks to that a partial reconstruction of the order of their societies of origin (the emphasis is on the word *partial*). In consequence, Muslim appropriates, in their particular way, many spaces in the district by transforming them in order to keep symbolical and often also physical distance to the other ethnic collectives and the host society. The first generation, in opposite to the children born in Barcelona, is creating and maintaining the image of their spaces to emphasize their status as immigrants and foreigners from the distant culture.

5. Strategies of identity for Muslim population in El Raval

When we talk about identity we talk about second generation, because for the first one it is a well assumed issue (Chaib, 2001). It is an opinion of the Moroccan, chairman of Ibn Batuta organization, born in Barcelona. "I am Muslim and it is the style of life", I consider myself a mixed citizen from here", "I do not know what is my identity" - these are some of the answers of my respondents, girls and boys between 20-30 years, born in Barcelona, whose parents immigrated from Morocco. Most of them admit to undergo internal conflicts. "It is much more difficult than being an immigrant. Sometimes I think that I would like to have been born in my country, because it lets you feel native, sometimes I think I do not have home. The second generation, we have it much more complicated. The fact of immigration makes you reflect, you are conscious of the choice. If you are born in this country you have a feeling that this country is not yours - says Said, student of audiovisual arts, his parents are Berbers.

Even though the so called *second generation* is not a homogeneous group, some characteristics or strategies are indeed shared among that individuals. The Moroccan youth born in Catalonia is immersed and socialized, as it was commented above, in two cultures, and that double affiliation has certain repercussions to their psychic, causing in many cases an internal conflict. The individual feels themselves linked with the society where they live in, which they understands better, but also observe how their family and the community of origin are doing everything to make them maintain their culture of origin. It is an inevitable process, but it can be overcome when the individual succeeds his studies and his work (Chaib, 2001). The identity problem becomes bitter when the conditions of life are precarious, which does not allow to continue the education. When the family suffers a difficult economic situation children consider themselves a burden, and reaching puberty they leave schools and assume their obligation to work. Having problems because of the irregular situation and lack of education they usually start to feel the resentment towards the host society, thinking that their failure is a consequence of discrimination. Children who have not found support within the host society, most of all at school, often are looking for shelter in the bosom of their families. In such cases they perceive the Spanish environment as hostile and take refuge in the culture of origin. Most of them join the *lost generation*, the world of thieves and drug dealers. That is why the programs of supporting the education and integration of the children from Maghreb at public schools are so important.

The other crucial element that also has to do with education is teaching Arabic. If we consider that identity is developed in the contacts and interactions with the others, the principal element

of that interaction is the language. It is also a basic instrument to preserve the culture and can serve as a vehicle between different generations of the same culture. Paradoxically learning Arabic is not as easy as the parents frequently cannot write well in this language. Teaching of the language to the children of immigrants cannot but help in their integration process within the Spanish society, because the lack of identity with either of the two cultures reinforces the feeling of solitude and insecurity. Frequently, the process of endoculturation (acquisition of the proper culture of origin) is parallel of the process of acculturation and they support each other. (Gascón, 1998). My respondents who declared to have overcome the identity crisis seem to confirm that hypothesis. They are proud of their trilinguism as well as of their knowledge of Islam, gained mostly due to individual studies of the topic. "The double cultural competences are a treasure that allows keeping the mind open. If you were born here you have a different mentality. You understand the limitations that your parents do not understand, for example that you cannot sacrifice a lamb at home. The participation in two cultures opens the horizons" - says 24 years old Nora, working as a cultural mediator. We are bridge between cultures - confirms Fuad, young Berber informatic.

Unfortunately, not all of the immigration children can find the equilibrium between the culture of origin and the Spanish one, as easily. Many of the young Muslims rebel against one of the realities, in their opinion incompatible with one another. The conflict of values that certainly exists between the Islamic and the Western culture leads to various strategies of identity among the youth. These are the possible attitudes taken in the identity conflicts (Gascón, 1998):

- 1.- Simple coherence: It consist in adaptation of the majority of culture or isolation and incapacity to adapt the host society culture what leads to strong identification with the culture of origin.
- 2.- Complex coherence: the attempts to link two cultures using the strategies of the rational link. Individuals who are confirmed in their identity act with more flexibility and open attitude towards the other cultures and environments. Some of my respondents who have overcome the internal conflict are able to have friends not only among Moroccans and Catalans but also among people from Latin America and Eastern Europe which is a proof of their capacity to cross cultural barriers.
- 3.- Reaffirmation of the identity: *I am not from there neither from here* what means that some kind of identity is maintained but decreases its content. These are these young people who consider them being *between*, which means neither *into* Moroccan nor Catalan culture. "I do not know what is my identity, I am not from here but I feel stranger in Tetuan either, sometimes they ask me what do I like more- Spain or Morocco and it is the question like who you love more – mother or father" - says one of my respondents.
- 4.- Ethnic reactive identity: it is the case of sacralisation (religious or political) of the identity. Sometimes children of the immigrants can have more problems with the integration and construction of identity then their parents and it can lead them to the sensation of being uprooted from any culture. It is a case that causes a risk of marginalization and criminalization, concluding- generates a lost generation.
- 5.- The last one is a strategy called: rational linkage of the opposites. It can be a linkage of the modernity and the Quaranic revelation. Sons and daughters of the immigrants are, in my

opinion, capable to synthesize the hypothetical dichotomy of Islam and modernization. The example of the transgression of that opposition are young Muslim girls born in Barcelona who decide to wear *hiyab* themselves, not as a consequence of any family pressure, or the same girls who ask for *qur'anic* classes. It is a challenge for the Muslims born in Europe to show that Islam and modernity can be complementary. Nowadays the intent to link these occidental and Islamic values means to act differently, in accordance with environment, people and situations.

The crucial thing necessary to understand the concept of cultural identity applied to the children of immigrants is that it is a process, not a static adscription. Young Muslims create their identity when they grow up and redefine it many times in their lives. In case of the recent Spanish immigration I think that the whole generation is passing through a negotiation of the identity, in which two main agents are involved, the Catalanian society and their communities of origin. On the one hand they are looking for their own way to drift apart from their parents, the authority of imams and to get free from the social pressure of the Moroccan community, and on the other to prove the Catalanian society that they are valuable citizens. Hence, the cultural as well as religious identity is a dynamic process, not a fixed condition, chosen once and for all. One of my respondents described to me a phases of religiosity that she has passed through and that seem to me characteristic for many young Muslims born in Barcelona: "First you are simply obedient to your parents and you fulfil the practices they oblige you to follow. The second phase is to ask why and where that practices are derived from and if they are licit. Many of Muslims abandon Islam in that stage. Anyhow at some moment you grow up and you turn back to the religion". In many cases it is a moment when they establish their own family. Asked if it is important to them to have a Muslim spouse, the majority of respondents (especially women) considered it of fundamental importance. In the other case, as one of the girls said, the marriage will be a continue battle, because of the cultural gap. Big majority of a people I talked to consider a transmission of Islam to their future children, even when they do not declare themselves practicing, an issue of great importance. So that, the moment of getting married is often a radical turn back to the religion which is a latent and deep rooted element of their identity.

What it is then the Islam of the young Moroccans who grew up in Spain? First of all it is different from the religion practice of their parents. I agree with Gellner that on immigration the religiosity of the young generation passes through the qualitative change, from the *low* to what the author calls *high Islam* (Gellner, 1997). It means that the Islam of the young generation is more spiritual and individual. Apart from that, Muslims born in Spain have a selective attitude towards the religion and Islam is no longer a central axis of their lives. Nevertheless, to be Muslim it is sometimes a conscious decision anticipated by the studies and search, it is already not a totally individual and free choice. In Morocco there are no doubts about religious identity, the social pressure is so high that in some way people are obliged to practice. The lack of auto-reflection is also a consequence of the cycles of life of the individual which does not include such a phase as adolescence. From childhood there is only one step to maturity and the borderline is the moment of marriage. The period when, especially women, can decide about themselves simply does not exist as a girl passes directly from her family house where she is controlled by her father to the family or her husband who starts to control her then.

On immigration the children tend to demand the basis of Islam and *deepen* some practices. What they consider important are the five pillars with the special emphasis on Ramadan which is fundamental for whole of the Maghrebian countries. They make their Islam more orthodox in

a sense that it is much more based on the lecture of Quran and studies of hadiths than on Moroccan culture and traditions (Lacomba, 2000). The first generation is unable to abstract the Arabic or Berber culture from the religion and vice versa. The selective attitude towards religion consist in choosing that elements that are compatible with their lifestyles and do not prevent a normal life in Catalan society. There are more flexible with the hours of Salat (five time prayers) and can accept some constrains derived from the fact that Spain is not an Islamic country. Islam remains for them a source of fundamental values but some prescriptions they consider not useful and they reject them. The general conclusion that can be drawn from that research is that the young Moroccans do not reject their religion and culture of origin but adapt them to the new situation. They are more flexible and able to make compromises then their parents. It is so because they partly assumed certain values of the European culture and see their future on that continent. In consequence of the abandonment of the myth of return they no longer identify so strongly with their culture of origin and do not share with their parents the sensation of being immigrants.

Religion is for them a kind of potential to which they can resort in case of lack of the stability, unemployment, disintegration and the lack of references. Islam can serve as a kind of escape route (Jacobson, 1998) between the two cultures in conflict (the one of parents and Catalan society) or as a tool, a kind of support used in negotiation between these two worlds and as such, Islam can be a strategy for coping with culture clash. If all religions offer their adherents the way of explaining the world and their place within it, Islam performs this functions particularly well for my respondents. Young Muslims are convinced that Islam is difficult but possible to practice within the secularized society; however it requires the individualization of such practices. Religion does not belong to the public sphere in the laic Spanish society. Nevertheless, the discourse about the religion deserves attention in the public sphere, because there is much ignorance which prevents the harmonic coexistence between the immigrants and autochthons. Moroccans born in Barcelona talk much about the future of dialogue between the cultures and they want to take an active part in that dialogue, however until now it is only a wishful thinking. Still, on the other hand, if someone is especially predestined to initiate such a dialogue, these are people who are bicultural - the, so called, second generation.

Nowadays in Spain the immigrant's children is still excluded from public sphere so that their possibility of information and promotion of dialogue is strongly limited. "The Catalan society does not seem to be interested in the problems of second generation, they even do not know that we exist" - says one of my respondents. "If there are some initiatives they proceed from the proper immigrants and do not concern only the second generation" - continues. I would divide those initiatives into two groups: first, only directed to the proper immigrant collective (mainly that one to help with the elemental needs), and the second, folkloric feasts. The example of the information campaign given by my respondents was the magazine edited by the Ibn Batuta association to give an image of immigrants from Maghreb. Nevertheless, that magazine has very little strength of influence because of the slender nets of distribution. In Catalonia which is one of the provinces with the highest rate of immigration the problem of the young generation hardly appears in the public discourse. The host society ignores the problem and the proper daughters and sons of immigrants do not feel motivated enough to promote themselves. There are no Muslim press (apart of that magazine mentioned above), neither radio and television station. There are no public debates with the participation of the children of immigrants if we do not count very few conferences and seminars without a wide social response.

There are no movements and associations apart from Ibn Batuta founded and directed to the Moroccan youth in consequence there are no spaces where they could express their doubts, discuss problems, learn more about the culture of origin. The Moroccan Muslims born in Spain do not contribute to the public discourse which hardly exists. The identity debate is set out only in the interior of the proper collectives. If they discuss their problems with the identity they do it in the environment of the peers who have the same problems. The debate does not transcend that group. There is no forum, neither other spaces of discussion for the immigrant's children. Nowadays such an institution as autonomic government of Catalonia and some bigger cultural institutes and foundation are making emphasis on the debate about the cultural identity but they are already in the phase of theoretical projects (however some representatives of Moroccans born in Barcelona have been invited to take an active part in that).

Concluding, the discourse about identity has not already emerged in the public sphere. Children of immigrants are still on the way to auto-define themselves, to discover their identity, to establish a balance between the culture of their parents and the Catalan society. Both of the process - enduculturation - the reinforcement of the culture of origin- and integration (but not assimilation) should be reinforced to avoid that people feel internally cracked. Islam of the immigrant's children is not defined already and then we can only speculate about the possible screenplays.

6. Conclusions

The generation of immigrant's children is submerged into two different cultures. They are educated in their families in accordance to the values of the culture of their parent's origin and socialized in the host society. Due to those double cultural competences their cultural and religious identity is different than the one of the first generation immigrants.

Whether their parents prefer rather to maintain distance to the European culture and redefine the spaces to live in a way to make references to their homeland, the young generation is intrinsically connected to the Muslim background, as well as Spanish culture and society. If we consider the orientation of the immigrant's children, is mainly towards Europe, without leaving Islam and denying their religious roots. Nevertheless, the very process of defining and proclaiming the identity by the Moroccans born in Spain is already in *statu nascendi* as well as the process of their recognition by the Catalan society. The identity discourse is slowly emerging, at the moment inside of the Moroccan collective with some singular initiatives addressed to the host society. The wide public debate about the identity of immigrant's children is at the moment planned by themselves as well as by Spanish political and scientific authorities. So that, the cultural and religious identity of the *second* generation is rather narrowly discussed and studied. The young generation is passing through the period of the negotiation of their identity and fight for the proper place within the host society.

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