

**‘They have to know that they are Moroccan’:
A Sending Country’s Perspective on the Second
Generation of Emigrants Abroad**

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INTRODUCTION

In this project, I set out to understand the relations that Morocco has with its second-generation population abroad, the children of emigrants from Morocco who were born and are living in a foreign nation. As citizens of Morocco and as members of Moroccan families, who nonetheless have lived their lives in another country and may perhaps identify themselves in many ways other than Moroccan, I wondered what role these individuals had in the eyes of the Moroccan state and in the eyes of their relatives who live in Morocco. My questions extended to the very categorization of this group that I have used above: to what extent does Morocco in fact consider or treat this second generation as a part of “its” population? What policies and projects does the Moroccan government target toward this group, and what are the reasons for the development of these policies and projects over time? How do ordinary Moroccans who have second-generation relatives abroad feel about the ties that these relatives have to Morocco and to Moroccan culture and identity?

I hoped that searching for the answers to these questions would help me to better understand this facet of migration—the identity of second-generation migrants—from the perspective of a sending country rather than a receiving country. Coming from the United States, predominantly a “receiving” country, I have been used to hearing a dialogue on migration that is focused on the integration of immigrants and the complex identity of their children, categorized as second-generation immigrants, who have ties to multiple national or cultural backgrounds and who are often the subject of political discourse on diversity and cohesion in American society. I wanted to learn how a country such as Morocco, in its role as a “sending country” for migrants all over the world, views the identity of second-generation migrants of Moroccan descent, both within a national political context and within a family context. Morocco is a crossroads of

transnational movement to, from and through Africa, Europe, and other continents, and I do not mean to suggest by my title that Morocco should be categorized only as a “sending country,” especially since that would discount the increasing movement of migrants to and through Morocco predominantly from sub-Saharan Africa. However, because of my background and previous exposure to issues of migration in the United States, I was particularly interested in the dynamics of Morocco’s role as a “sending country” and its relation to the second generation abroad, which is why I refer to Morocco as a “sending country” in my title. The choice of the phrase “second-generation emigrants” to describe the population in whom I am interested is also one that could be contested, because this population can be referred to in a number different ways that may imply different political perspectives on which nation these individuals belong to (such as “Moroccans born abroad,” “Europeans of Moroccan origin”, etc.). I use the term “second generation” in most of my paper because this is a term that is very familiar to me in the American context of migration studies, but during the course of my interviews, I alternated among several different terms, including “second-generation Moroccans” and “children of Moroccan emigrants” in English interviews, and “enfants des emigrants,” “enfants des marocains resident à l’etranger,” or “enfants d’origine marocaine” in French interviews. I intentionally tried to avoid using the term “second generation” unless I already knew that my interviewee was familiar with it, because I was not sure whether this term would be understood by most Moroccans, or whether it could be mistaken as a reference to a particular chronological period of emigration from Morocco.

Research Methods and Limitations

My research was based predominantly on interviews conducted in Rabat over a period of one month, in addition to documents and statistics collected from the internet and official publications. In order to understand both official and personal perspectives of Morocco toward the second generation abroad, I interviewed members of several government organizations, as well as ordinary individuals and families who have relatives abroad who fit my description of “second-generation Moroccans.” The two government organizations that I decided to visit, based on recommendations from my professor as well as information gathered from previous visits made to these organizations by students from my class, were the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Resident Abroad (Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l’Etranger) and the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad (Ministère Chargé de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l’Etranger). I accessed information about these organizations on their websites and made contact with them by phone and in person, and I was welcomed by many individuals at each organization who made themselves available to speak with me and recommended other individuals within their organizations as potentially helpful sources for my project, which resulted in my being able to speak with several members of each organization, usually within the same visit. I also spoke with a member of a third organization, the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), whom I had the fortune to meet in the context of a classmate’s interview during which I was acting as a language interpreter. I was not intending to ask him questions related to my project, but he initiated a conversation with me on the topic when I mentioned that I was researching migration, and his opinions ended up being quite interesting to me and helped me to ask new questions in my research. I spoke with a total of six individuals from the three government organizations, with each interview lasting anywhere from

15 to 30 minutes, with the exception of the less formal conversation I had with the researcher at IRCAM. All six interviews were conducted in French.

My interviews with “ordinary” Moroccans and families took a somewhat different form. I was initially more nervous about this set of interviews, because I guessed that it would be harder to find informants in this category, since I was not limited to a set of members of an organization that had contact information readily available online. I began my search for informants by asking my classmates if any of their host families, to their knowledge, had second-generation relatives abroad. A number of them did, and I was able to interview members of two classmates’ host families in their homes. Of my two other informants, one was a previous acquaintance, and the other was a contact I made through an acquaintance. These two interviews were conducted in public locations. I conducted a total of four interviews in Rabat with relatives of second-generation Moroccans. Two interviews were conducted with women in their 20s, and a third was conducted with a man in his 50s. The former two informants were interviewed in English, while the latter was interviewed in French. The remaining interview was conducted in a home with three members of the same immediate family: a mother, father, and high school aged daughter. Each individual contributed responses to questions, and often commented on or argued with the others’ responses. This interview was conducted in both English, which only the daughter spoke, and French, which all three family members spoke.

I had originally intended to record all my interviews on my digital audio recorder, so that I would not have to worry about noting down all responses during the interview, and so that I would not miss any valuable information or opinions provided. However, I ended up recording only two of my interviews, and taking handwritten notes instead during the others. There were two reasons for this. The first reason was that, after using my audio recorder for my first

interview, I misplaced it and did not find it until the last week of my research, and I was only able to borrow a classmate's audio recorder for one other interview. However, after I found my missing recorder, I still did not end up using it again during any of my subsequent interviews. The reason for this was that it seemed to me that people felt more comfortable speaking without a recorder, and although I was prepared to explain that the recording would not be used for any purposes other than to help me recall their responses, I tended to take the easy way out and avoid confronting the issue by simply not using the recorder, and relying instead on my own notes, which I found to be adequate. Although this may not have been a wise decision, because I may have missed out on some of the nuances of informants' responses, at the time I felt more comfortable asking people questions without the recorder. In the case of interviews with organization members, I felt that the lack of recorder raised fewer questions about the aim of my research and the uses to which it would be put. In the case of interviews with families and ordinary individuals, I felt that the lack of recorder helped keep the conversation at an informal and comfortable level from the beginning and throughout, without creating a moment of tension or surprise on the part of the informant when he or she learned that their responses would be recorded.

In addition to the possible limitations of not having recorded and transcribed most of the interviews, there were several important limitations to my study that undoubtedly influenced my findings and that should be addressed in any future research on the topic. The first and most significant limitation was the sample size. Because of insufficiencies in the length of time in which the study was conducted and in the extent of preparation undertaken before the beginning of the study (such as building a network of contacts), the sample of individuals interviewed was limited to six individuals from three government organizations, and six individuals from four

families. I also contacted one additional ministry, one academic, several students, and one second-generation Moroccan abroad with whom I hoped to speak, but did not receive a response from these sources in time to consult them for my research, which contributed to the limitation of the sample size. The ten interviews I did conduct allow us to gain some insight into Moroccan perspectives on the second generation abroad, but this research is only a beginning. A larger number of in-depth interviews as well as potentially a large-scale survey, with a broader pool of respondents not limited to one city, would be necessary in order to collect enough information to gain what we could consider a more complete picture of Moroccan perspectives on the second generation.

Another potential limitation in my research was the issue of language in my communication with informants. I was very fortunate to be able to conduct every one of my interviews in one of my native languages, English or French, without the help of an interpreter, which allowed me to avoid much of the potential loss of meaning and information that can happen through the process of translation from person to person. However, it is possible that some meaning was still lost in the communication because of limitations in either my understanding or the interviewee's understanding of the language in which the interview was conducted. My understanding of French is not perfect because it is not my first language, and my informants' understanding of either French or English may not have been perfect since most likely neither language is their first language, so language issues should be taken into consideration as a possible limitation of my study, although I was fortunate enough to avoid many further potential limitations had my informants or myself not been speakers of any common language.

Beyond the issue of language comprehension itself, a final issue that must be taken into consideration as a potential limitation of the study is my position as an American foreigner, speaking French in most cases, perhaps representing the United States or potentially Europe as well in the eyes of my informant. Since the topic of my questions dealt with opinions regarding second-generation Moroccan relatives living in a foreign country, predominantly Europe and the United States, it is possible that my perceived position as a representative of these regions could influence the opinions that informants were willing to share openly with me. For example, it might be possible that some informants had opinions about their second-generation relatives that are related to negative opinions about Europe or the U.S., which they declined to share with me for fear of offending me. I felt during my interviews that informants were speaking openly with me about their opinions, but it is important to consider my positionality as a potential limitation that may have influenced informants' responses without my knowledge.

Ethics

I made every effort to observe ethical considerations in my research by protecting my informants' confidentiality and by informing them of their rights as participants and of all the potential uses of their responses. Although I drafted an Informed Consent Form for participants, I only asked two of my interviewees to sign copies of the form, and I obtained oral rather than written consent from the rest of my informants. None of these informants requested to read or to sign a written consent form, in which case I would have of course provided them with one; but since there were no anticipated risks to the study and I was able to fully explain orally to informants the uses of the study and their rights as participants, I decided to obtain oral instead of written consent from most of my informants for the same reason that I opted not to use the audio recorder: mainly, in order to help keep the conversation at a more familiar and informal level,

which I felt was beneficial because responses were perhaps more spontaneous and informants perhaps had a more positive view of their participation in the study.

In order to protect informants' confidentiality, their real names, which I considered to be unnecessary information, have been omitted from this paper, and replaced with pseudonyms where appropriate.

Structure of the Paper

I will begin by orienting the reader with background information on Moroccan emigration and on the second-generation Moroccan population abroad. I will then share my findings in two main areas: first, Morocco's official relations with the second-generation population abroad; and second, the perspectives of families in my research sample on their second-generation relatives abroad. In the first section, on official relations, I will describe the activities of the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Resident Abroad and the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad that target second-generation Moroccans abroad, as well as the comments expressed by individuals from these organizations and in publications of the organizations about the purposes and achievements of these activities. I will then analyze the politics of identity and other values and motivations influencing Morocco's official relations with second-generation Moroccans abroad.

The second main section will deal with four families' perspectives on their second-generation relatives abroad. I will give an overview of the field research I conducted, and then detail the findings from each of my interviews, before concluding with a comparison and analysis of the various beliefs and desires that these families have about the identity of their second-generation relatives and about the integration of these relatives in their host societies and in Moroccan society.

I will conclude my paper with an overall analysis of my findings, and recommendations for future research in this area.

BACKGROUND

Emigration has been a significant part of Morocco's social, economic, and political history since the postcolonial period. Large-scale migration to Europe began in the 1960s, when male unskilled workers began to be recruited in large numbers as temporary laborers in European countries such as France and the Netherlands that suffered from labor shortages. After these recruitment programs ended in the 1970s, reunification of families and continued economic migration from Morocco, mainly to Western Europe, created a significant Moroccan population abroad that no longer planned to return to Morocco, but for the most part remained in their host countries and established families there.¹ A 2005 study by the Haut Commissariat au Plan estimated the number of Moroccans resident abroad at over 3 million, with over 85% of this population located in Europe, and the remaining 15% spread mainly over the Americas, Arab countries and sub-Saharan Africa.² Of these 3 million Moroccans living abroad, 43.7% were born outside of Morocco to one or both Moroccan parents, placing them in the category of second-generation migrants. Knowing that 96.4% of this second generation is between 0 and 34 years old,³ it is no surprise that the population of second-generation Moroccan youth is a significant player in migration trends, and the subject of a number of policies and projects initiated by both the Moroccan government and the governments host countries. The two principal Moroccan government organizations structured to serve the needs of Moroccans abroad are the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Resident Abroad, created in 1990, and the Ministry

¹ Heering, Liesbeth, van der Erf, Rob and Leo van Wissen, 2004:324.

² Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2005:19-20.

³ Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2005:46-7.

in Charge of the Moroccan Community Living Abroad, created in 2002. The Hassan II Foundation includes a research body called the Observatory of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad, and six departments intended to address the legal, social, economic, communicative, cooperative, and educational and cultural needs of the community abroad.

MOROCCO'S OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE SECOND GENERATION

ABROAD

I investigated the official relations of the Moroccan state to the second-generation Moroccan population abroad by reading documents and visiting the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Resident Abroad and the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad. Through these organizations, the Moroccan government targets a number of activities specifically toward young people of Moroccan origin abroad, some of whom are emigrants themselves but most of whom were born abroad to Moroccan emigrant parents. The activities, notably Arabic language and Moroccan culture classes for children in their country of residence as well as organized “cultural visits” of Morocco for children during their summer holidays, aim in various ways to build or maintain the second generation’s attachment to Moroccan culture. This aim is tied to concerns about the identity and the social integration of second-generation Moroccans, concerns which are brought forth by the Moroccan state, host countries, and the Moroccan emigrant community and parents of these children. The concerns of the Moroccan state toward the second generation are also mediated by two significant characteristics of this population: their role as Moroccan citizens and as potential economic contributors to Morocco’s development.

Instruction of Arabic Language and Moroccan Culture in Host Countries

The Hassan II Foundation and the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad, in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education, send 541 Moroccan instructors to teach Arabic and Moroccan culture to children of Moroccan origin in a number of host countries, predominantly in Europe. This instruction is organized through “cultural accords” that exist between Morocco and these host countries, many of which offer programs of “instruction of language and culture of origin” (known as “ELCO,” *Enseignement de Langue et Culture d’Origine*, in French-speaking countries) to children of many different immigrant populations in the host country. Typically, three types of instruction exist in each host country: “integrated” instruction, which takes place during school hours as part of students’ overall educational program; “differentiated” instruction, which takes place in school buildings but occurs outside of the hours of the students’ regular school program; and “parallel” instruction, which is organized by associations separately and independently from the school system, and often takes place on weekends.⁴ The existence and predominance of each type of instruction within a host country and within individual schools depends on the size of the community of Moroccan origin and the demand for such instruction, on the administration and resources of the school and the educational system, and on the politics of the country concerning immigration and education. A source at the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad estimates that over 64,000 children benefit from language and culture instruction provided by the Moroccan government in their countries of residence, while the government also supports associations that offer similar services to over 10,000 children. The classes are also open to any non-Moroccan students who wish to participate, unless limitations from the host country’s side prevent it. Last year, 541 government-sent instructors taught “integrated” and “differentiated” classes in seven

⁴ La Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l’Etranger, No date.

European countries, with the largest percentage working in France (85%), followed by Belgium, Spain, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and Denmark. The Netherlands recently, in 2005, ended its program of language of origin instruction in schools, so the Moroccan government now provides support for language and culture instruction in the Netherlands only through associations outside of schools. In order to be chosen by the Ministry of National Education to be sent to teach Arabic language and Moroccan culture to Moroccan children abroad, Moroccan teachers must have appropriate certification, ten years of experience teaching in Morocco, and good marks on teaching inspections, and must pass through a process of selection by the Ministry of National Education and interviews with the Hassan II Foundation.⁵

Summer Camps, Cultural Visits of Morocco, and Other Services

The Hassan II Foundation and the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad also run summer camps in Morocco for children and youth, predominantly second-generation Moroccans. The “séjours culturels” organized jointly by the Hassan II Foundation and the Ministry run in three sessions of two weeks every summer, and in recent years have served 1,000 children between the ages of nine and 13 each summer. The children enjoy some recreational and outdoor activities during the course of their stay, but, as a director of the program specified, their stay is mainly a “cultural visit” as opposed to a regular “summer camp.” The children participate in cultural activities such as Arabic lessons, workshops in Moroccan arts and crafts, and official visits to cultural and historical sites of importance, as well as associations and government and media institutions. The director explained that the children are given special access to tours and explanations of the sites that they visit, and therefore learn about and experience Morocco through this camp in ways that would not be possible if they had come to Morocco simply on a vacation with their families. The Foundation and the Ministry are not

⁵ La Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l’Etranger, Personal Interview, May 5, 2009.

involved in selecting the participants in this camp, but registrations are managed instead by consulates and embassies of local regions in a number of host countries, predominantly in Europe, which are each allowed a certain quota of participants in the camp. The director explained that each consulate or embassy typically draws its participant pool from local associations, and the camp is open to any youth in the designated age range who are chosen by the associations and the consulate or embassy, regardless of their nationality or ethnic background. In the ten years since the “séjour culturel” began in 1998, there have been a total of 500 non-Moroccan participants chosen by local consulates, perhaps as part of specific local efforts toward cultural cooperation and exchange. Overall, the camp is intended to be linked to the program of language and culture of origin instruction in participating host countries, and selection for the camp is meant to be a reward for those children who excel in Arabic language classes, and therefore to act as an incentive for participation and hard work in these classes. Because it is used as an incentive, and in order to make it open to all children based on merit regardless of financial ability, the camp is free to participants, and all travel and other costs are paid for by the Moroccan government.

According to a director at the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad, the government also sponsors similar cultural and linguistic visits to Morocco for youth of Moroccan origin between the ages of 18 and 25, which are advertised to potential participants through consulates abroad, but also through the ministry’s online portal as well as other websites popular among the Moroccan community abroad. The director explained that these visits are targeted toward an age group that may have vacationed regularly in Morocco with their families in the past, but are getting old enough not to visit with their families if they choose not to. It is

therefore important for the government to target this age group in order to encourage them to want to continue visiting Morocco.

In addition to these different categories of summer cultural visits, the government provides several other services for Moroccan youth (including second-generation Moroccans) abroad, especially to help those in economic difficulty. The Ministry of Youth and Sports, which runs free summer camps for children whose families cannot afford to pay for a vacation for them, reserves a certain quota of spots in these camps for Moroccan children living abroad. The Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad also runs three-month workshops in Morocco specifically for unemployed and struggling young people of Moroccan origin living abroad, in which these youth are taught traditional Moroccan handicraft skills that are marketable in their country of residence.⁶

The government also provides financial support to a number of Moroccan associations that run cultural visit programs and other services for second-generation Moroccans.

The Politics of Identity and the Second Generation

The goal of the Arabic language and Moroccan culture instruction and of the cultural visits organized by the Moroccan government is to develop and maintain the ties that second-generation Moroccans abroad have to Moroccan culture. Representatives from the government organizations speak about this goal in terms of “identity” and “attachment” – the aim is for the relationship that second-generation youth have with their parents’ country of origin, Morocco, to develop in such a way that they form an attachment to the Moroccan nation and to Moroccan culture that becomes an important part of their personal identity. The programs of instruction and cultural visits are considered necessary to accomplishing this goal, because the situation of second-generation Moroccans living abroad, it is assumed, does not necessarily foster this type

⁶ Ministère Chargé de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l’Etranger, Personal Interview, April 22, 2009.

of attachment with the “country of origin.” As a director at the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad stated,

“Now we have the second, third generation who are young people, so they have different mentalities from their parents. They don’t know their country as well. Our goal is for these young people to maintain their cultural identity and their attachment to their country of origin. Our actions attempt to reinforce this attachment while making sure that these youth are integrated in their host country, and that they maintain bonds with their country of origin.”

The programs developed by the Moroccan government targeted toward the identity and cultural attachment of second-generation Moroccans are motivated by a number of interests of the government vis-à-vis this population, as well as by the demands of the Moroccan community abroad and of the host countries in which they live. Two factors play significantly into the Moroccan government’s interests concerning the second generation population: their status as Moroccan citizens, and their role as potential contributors to the Moroccan economy. As the children of Moroccan citizens, these individuals are granted Moroccan citizenship, regardless of their country of birth and regardless of whether they are also citizens of another country, such as their country of residence.⁷ A representative from the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad explained that she sees the main mission of the ministry toward second-generation Moroccans as one of protecting their human rights rather than as one of guaranteeing their loyalty to the Moroccan state. As she put it, the government has a responsibility to guarantee the rights of all Moroccans, no matter where they were born or where they are residing, to “live their Moroccaness.” This stated mission positions second-generation Moroccans as equal members of the Moroccan nation who are no more or less “Moroccan” than any other citizen, but who may be especially vulnerable to a lack of access to certain experiences or feelings that are deemed essential to being a Moroccan—such as, perhaps, being exposed to

⁷ Le Ministère de la Justice, 2005.

standard Arabic from a young age, encountering Moroccan music or art and Moroccan traditions on a daily basis, living among other Moroccans and on Moroccan soil, and, perhaps most importantly, feeling secure in one's identity as a Moroccan. The activities that the government provides to second-generation Moroccans to help them learn about Moroccan culture and to encourage them to identify with it contribute to this stated goal of securing these individuals' "right" to "live their Moroccaness" despite the obstacles that might prevent them from doing so, such as the fact that they have not resided in Morocco and may not be familiar with all aspects of Moroccan language and culture.

In addition to the responsibility that the government carries to help its second-generation citizens abroad strengthen their Moroccan identity, the government also has an interest in strengthening the second generation's social and emotional ties to Morocco, so that there is a greater chance that they will remain involved in Moroccan society on a social as well as an economic level, through investments and participation in the Moroccan market. Remittances and investments from migrants abroad form a significant part of the Moroccan economy, and investment in the country of origin accounts for a significant portion of the economic activity of many migrants, with 44.1% of Moroccans resident abroad study having invested in Morocco as of 2005.⁸ However, the rate of investment in Morocco decreases significantly for Moroccans born in their "host country" of residence, with 29% of those surveyed from this group stating that they are inclined to invest in their host country but only 9% saying that they are inclined to invest in Morocco.⁹ The report of this study published by the Haut Commissariat au Plan (HCP) notes that the tendency for the "ties between Moroccans resident abroad and Morocco" to "loosen" in the second or third generation "weakens, slowly but surely, relations between Moroccans abroad

⁸ Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2005:200.

⁹ Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2005:217.

and Morocco, to the advantage of the host country, unless specific actions reaffirm the attachment of these generations...to their country of origin.”¹⁰ The language and culture classes and the cultural visits offered to second-generation Moroccans by the Moroccan government are intended to strengthen such an attachment, which may in turn result in a higher rate of investment in Morocco by the second-generation Moroccans that participate in these activities. The HCP report also concludes that a key factor in an individual’s likelihood of investment (and ability to invest) is the individual’s social integration in both Moroccan society and the host society, and it claims that any “imbalance” in this “double integration” tends to have negative consequences on their relations with their host country and country of origin, “particularly in matters of social integration, investment, and return migration.”¹¹ According to this report, it is to the Moroccan government’s advantage to promote the second generation’s attachment to Morocco as well as their integration into both Moroccan society and their host society in order to improve the likelihood that they will someday invest in the Moroccan economy. A representative at the Hassan II Foundation mentioned that one of the goals of programs for second-generation youth is that these youth learn their “duty to their country” of Morocco, and a director at the Ministry stated that one of the ministry’s hopes for the second generation in the future is that they will contribute in the long run to the development of the country.

The position of the second generation as citizens of Morocco and as potential future investors in the economy contributes to the necessity of the cultural activities in the eyes of the Moroccan government, but these activities are also shaped by demands from the Moroccan community abroad as well as governments of host countries. In fact, as mentioned before, the instruction of language and culture of origin in host countries exists through accords between the

¹⁰ Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2005:241-2.

¹¹ Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2005:241-2.

host countries and Morocco, and this instruction fulfils particular goals of the host countries as well as Morocco. Like the Moroccan government, the host country's government wants to "consolidate the identity" of second-generation youth "while allowing them to become more open to other cultures and to live in harmony with others."¹² In the case of countries such as France, which has the largest population of second-generation Moroccans participating in ELCO programs, the instruction of "language and culture of origin" to first- and second-generation immigrants began in the 1970s in order to facilitate their re-integration into the society and education system of their country of origin in case of return migration.¹³ Now, as the majority of immigrant families are expected to remain in their host country for an indefinite period of time, the goals of ELCO have shifted to focus on the identity of first- and second-generation immigrant youth and on their integration into the host society. In a 2007 interview for the French online publication *Parisiens du Bout du Monde*, a Moroccan ELCO instructor in France describes the mission of the ELCO program as aiming for "the success of children, so that they can integrate into society while understanding their cultures of origin, their roots". His opinion is that the "problem of integration" can best be addressed by teaching Arabic from a young age to youth of Arab origin living in France, because having known children of Arab origin who "did not understand or speak the language of their parents," he felt that "they all have a problem with themselves." He says that "to know Arab culture is to know that there have been brilliant men and women in their culture of origin. To know this makes one responsible: one realizes one's duty to respect and honor one's roots." Studying Arabic language, in his opinion, also helps improve children's relations with their families and understand their parents' traditions, and it helps them realize that "Arabic is not just a marker of the immigrant, it is a culture that one

¹² La Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger, No date.

¹³ Bouysse, 2005.

should be proud of.”¹⁴ Both the host countries’ and Morocco’s support of Arabic language and Moroccan culture instruction for youth of Moroccan origin is based on the belief that such instruction will help to solve problems of unrest among second-generation youth and will facilitate their integration in the host society, by helping them to reconcile their ties to both Morocco and their host country into a secure identity that, it is believed, will help them learn to respect others by learning first to respect their own roots. As a director in the Education sector of the Hassan II Foundation pointed out, sociologists’ research has shown that in order to integrate, children must know their language and culture of origin, in order to have a “reference point” so they are not “in a labyrinth.” While the ties that ELCO helps to promote between second-generation Moroccans and Morocco serve the interests of the Moroccan nation in solidifying its relationship with the second generation as citizens and potential economic actors, they also are meant to serve the interest that both the host nations and the Moroccan nation, as well as the Moroccan community abroad, share in promoting the well-being and the successful integration of second-generation Moroccans in their host society. Successful social integration also promotes economic investment in both Morocco and in host countries, according to the HCP report.

However, the instruction of Moroccan language and culture to second-generation immigrants is not without controversy, from both the host countries’ side and the Moroccan side. In the Netherlands, the government decided in 2005 to end its funding of ELCO programs, with the argument that “ELCO learning was occurring to the detriment of other academic activities and was not facilitating the integration of Moroccans into Dutch society.”¹⁵ In France, debates about ELCO Arabic programs and their place in the public school system reflect fears about the threat of Islam to the state secular values that are supposed to be promoted in schools. A director

¹⁴ Ernoult, Marie, 2007.

¹⁵ Observatoire de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l’Etranger, 2007:189.

in the Education sector of the Hassan II Foundation mentioned that ELCO classes do not teach Islam to children, out of respect for the host countries and for the children's freedom to be secular (*laïques*). The Moroccan ELCO teacher interviewed in the aforementioned publication defends ELCO against the fears of some of the French public, explaining that the Koran is not taught in these classes, but that "one cannot talk about Arab culture without talking about religion," and assuring that the classes are not a threat to French secular values since religion remains "always connected to the cultural aspect."¹⁶

The fact that the "language of origin" taught in ELCO classes is standard Arabic, rather than a "mother tongue" such as Moroccan *darija* or an Amazigh dialect, is a point of contention that encourages some negative reactions and fears of potential link between these classes and religious instruction. One director I spoke with at the Hassan II Foundation said that the goal of the language classes is for second-generation Moroccans to master simple reading and writing in standard Arabic, in order to be able to communicate with others and to read signs when they visit Morocco. Several representatives from both organizations I visited said that Arabic language instruction for children was the service most highly demanded by the Moroccan migrant community abroad. As is evident in a comment made by a Moroccan ELCO teacher interviewed in *Le Monde de l'Education*, who states that many students are sent to ELCO classes by their parents who want them to learn to read the Koran,¹⁷ religion cannot be separated from instruction of language and culture of origin, nor from the formation of a Moroccan identity, because Islam is so central to Moroccan culture. However, misunderstandings and fears from the host society about the role of Islam in the formation of second-generation Moroccan cultural identity and about the potential danger of second-generation youth becoming involved in

¹⁶ Ernoult, Marie, 2007.

¹⁷ Dupuis, Marc, 2004.

extremist Islamic movements can lead to changes in the host country's approach to ELCO policy and can force the Moroccan government to change or end its Arabic language and Moroccan culture teaching program in the country.

Not only are possible links between standard Arabic language learning and involvement in Islamic extremism brought up as fears in host countries, but these links were also evoked by an Amazigh academic with whom I spoke at IRCAM when he argued for why Amazigh language rather than standard Arabic should be taught to second-generation Moroccans of Amazigh background. Again employing concepts of "identity crisis" and problems of social integration, this researcher for IRCAM argued that learning standard Arabic in their host countries could expose vulnerable second-generation Moroccan youth to religious extremist teachings available through standard Arabic language TV and radio channels diffused from the Middle East. He told me the story of a young Dutch man of Rifian descent who became involved in an Islamic terrorist network and eventually killed himself as a suicide bomber, and he explained that young people such as this man are more vulnerable to recruitment by an extremist group if they are "lost" and do not have a "rooted" identity. He argued that in order to "root" second-generation Amazigh Moroccans in their culture of origin and "protect" them from extremist Islamic teachings, the Moroccan government should organize language of origin instruction for these youth in their mother tongue, an Amazigh language, rather than in standard Arabic, which is no young Moroccan's mother tongue. In his view, this would encourage second-generation Amazigh Moroccans to integrate into their host society and be tolerant of the differences of the rest of the society, and would aid in fixing current social problems that exist among second-generation Moroccan youth, including involvement of certain young people in extremist Islamic movements.

The arguments made by this researcher at IRCAM are another example of how transmission of language and building of identity become players in political arguments influenced by a number of other opinions and factors. Arguing for Amazigh language instruction abroad is part of IRCAM's overall politics of promoting Amazigh language use in activities sponsored by the Moroccan government. But it is also a legitimate argument for the importance of knowledge of the language and culture of immigrant parents to second-generation Moroccans, who may struggle to construct a joint Moroccan-European identity and to integrate into a host society in which they face social or political marginalization. At the same time, standard Arabic instruction is important to many Moroccan immigrant parents who want their children to be able to read the Koran, while for the same reason this instruction is viewed with suspicion by some of the public in host countries where the spread Islam is considered a potential threat to secular traditions. In crafting its policies and activities targeted toward second-generation Moroccans abroad, the Moroccan government works with host country government and must respond to the these governments' demands as well as the demands of the Moroccan community abroad, while attempting to accomplish its goals of helping second-generation Moroccans to incorporate an understanding of their Moroccan background into their personal identity, and encouraging them in the long run to contribute to the development of Morocco.

MOROCCAN FAMILIES' PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR SECOND-GENERATION

RELATIVES ABROAD

While I studied the relations between the Moroccan state and its second-generation citizens abroad, maintained through the cultural and educational activities organized by the Hassan II Foundation and the Ministry in Charge of the Moroccan Community Resident Abroad, I also explored the perspectives of four ordinary Moroccan families on the identity and cultural

attachments of their second-generation relatives abroad. I was interested to see what relations these Moroccans had with their second-generation relatives, and whether concepts of national or cultural identity and the importance of factors such as language played a role in these private perceptions like they did in the government's official approach to the second generation. What I found were four very different interactions with and perspectives on second-generation relatives, mediated by different ideas about the importance of national identity, language ability, and cultural values. In my first interview, with Meryem, I heard the perspective of a young student on her French-born cousins of Moroccan origin, whose identity is strongly Moroccan and who plan to return to settle in Morocco, despite their lack of ability to read and write standard Arabic. In my second interview, with Aya, I heard from another young woman about the importance to her that her very young relatives learn Moroccan language and culture well, so that they can appropriate and be proud of their Moroccan identity. In my third interview, with Hajar, Khadija, and Mohamed, I heard about one family's relations with a second-generation cousin and their joy at her growing interest in her Moroccan background and desire to be integrated into the family. In my fourth interview, I heard the perspective of an uncle of second-generation Moroccans, who remarked on the identity and integration of his nieces and nephews but did not express an opinion favoring one type of identity over another. Overall, these four interviews provide a glimpse into the variety of perspectives that Moroccan families have on what ought to be the relations of second-generation Moroccans to Morocco, what is the importance of language and culture, and what are their desires for interaction and understanding between family members who have ties inside and those who have ties outside the borders of Morocco.

Interview 1: Meryem

Meryem is a young woman in her 20s and is a university student in Rabat. She has a number of second-generation Moroccan cousins living abroad in France, including some with whom she is very close and some whom she has never met, and she also mentioned two friends who are second-generation Moroccans living in Europe. She spoke to me about her communication and social relations with these cousins and friends, described some of their experiences to me, and shared her perceptions of their identity and their ties to Morocco.

Meryem's cousins with whom she has frequent contact are the six children of one of her mother's sisters, who moved to France after marrying a Moroccan who had already migrated to France. There are three boys and three girls in this family, and all six were born in France. The siblings live in Paris in the 18th Arrondissement, which Meryem explained to me is known as a predominantly Arab neighborhood. Their parents moved back to Morocco six years ago, to live in a house that the father had been building for many years, and to manage the café that he had been building at the same time, which he was finally able to open that year. The siblings still live in Paris, but visit Morocco regularly whenever they each have vacations for one or two weeks, and during the summer they all come together for a longer period of time. Meryem says that their visits doubled after their parents came and settled in Morocco. Three of the siblings are married, one to a French wife and the other two to Moroccans who were already living in France.

All six siblings were raised speaking Moroccan darija with their parents, and Meryem says that they speak it perfectly. When they speak amongst themselves, it is usually in French, and two of the brothers also occasionally use words in Verlan, a slang created by Arab immigrants in the suburbs of Paris. Meryem also mentioned that the sisters like to use Moroccan darija insults with each other, rather than French insults, and she jokes that they seem to "find it

more expressive.” One of the sisters has a seven-year-old son, and he is fluent in both darija and French. When in Morocco, the siblings speak in darija to their relatives and friends so that they will understand. Their relatives who live in Morocco will make fun of the cousins for the occasional incorrect mispronunciation in darija, and Meryem says that the cousins laugh along. None of them knows how to read, write, or speak standard Arabic. All of the siblings, according to Meryem, are religious and pray regularly, except for the two younger brothers whom she labels “the troublemakers.” One of these brothers, when she asked him why he didn’t pray, replied that he didn’t know how to read the Koran, and that it was his parents’ fault because they “hadn’t taken him to a school where he could learn Koran.” But when Meryem asked his mother, she exclaimed that he was lying, and that she had taught all her children how to pray, and he was the one who had made the choice not to. One of the sisters wanted to wear a headscarf for religious reasons, but Meryem says that her parents discouraged her from wearing it all the time, because she was young and they didn’t want her to deal with the problems in France surrounding laws forbidding religious signs such as the Muslim headscarf in schools. The girls usually wear jalabas when they are in Morocco, except in the summer, when they wear more European styles because of the hot weather and in order to go to the beach. When discussing her cousins’ dress and religious habits, however, Meryem mentioned that she thinks they “are more conservative than a lot of migrants that come during the summer holidays to Morocco,” since many of these other migrants tend to “adopt the French identity, especially clothing, European styles,” even when in Morocco.

Meryem says that since the recent death of the siblings’ father, they have all decided that they plan to move to Morocco to settle and start business projects. The three girls, one of whom currently works in a beauty center, one in a hotel and one as a decorator for a company, plan to

move to Morocco to open a beauty center, and the two younger brothers, who currently are not working, have plans of buying and renting out land in Morocco. The elder brother, who owns a factory in France, actually recently moved to Morocco with his wife and children with the intention of staying, but they were disappointed by the low salary they could find here and the difficulties they had “with administration and papers,” so they have since moved back to France and will perhaps come back to live in Morocco in the future once they have thought more about the decision.

Meryem thinks that the siblings “don’t consider France like a permanent home,” but consider it rather as “a source of money.” She says that they had been planning to “come back” to Morocco since before the death of their father, but after his death the idea gained strength, especially because their mother was settled in Morocco and living alone. Furthermore, Meryem says that her cousins feel in many ways like they are living Morocco in France, because they live in a neighborhood with so many other Arabs. She says that because of French laws that in their opinion discriminate against immigrants, “they feel that the government doesn’t want them to integrate, so they don’t see why they have to encounter French people. So they don’t encounter French people, only if they’re obliged to.” Despite the fact that her cousins were born and have lived there whole lives in France, Meryem believes that they do not feel spiritually attached to France as their “home,” but instead they are more attached to Morocco in that way: “I think the French identity for them is only, as I told you, France is for financial things, the financial part, like the material culture. They take from Morocco the rituals, the traditions, the language...I mean, the immaterial culture.” The only situation in which they usually “show” their French identity and are “proud” of it, she mentions, is when they have an interaction with an authority, such as a police officer, because these authorities is more likely to let them go immediately

without trouble if they see their French national identity card. On other occasions, Meryem notes, her cousins seem to take special pleasure in “adopting a Moroccan identity” by doing things that are tolerated in Morocco but would not be considered appropriate in France—for example, running a red light or insulting other drivers verbally.

Despite her views about the predominantly Moroccan identity of her cousins, Meryem believes that they will face difficulties if they come to settle in Morocco permanently, rather than coming only for vacations as they do now:

Olivia: And they feel comfortable enough that they can come back here, they have a life here? That feels like something easy that they can do?

Meryem: Yeah, they...well, I don't think it's easy, even though they feel comfortable with Morocco. If you want to settle forever in a place, you'll be facing many difficulties. It's...Morocco is like heaven for them only because they come here for vacation. If they lived here, they would know the problems that Moroccans face on a daily basis...So I think Morocco for them is good for holidays.

She says that the elder brother, and even the father, both faced difficulties or disappointments when they came to settle in Morocco, having to do with the low amount of money that they could earn in Morocco in comparison to France, and in the case of the father, also having to do with bribery from people who wanted to profit from the newly returned emigrant who they assumed had a lot of money. When asked if her cousins faced any other difficulties with integration into Moroccan society when they were in Morocco, however, Meryem said no. I asked if they experienced any sort of difficulty or might experience difficulty in a future job in Morocco because of their inability to read and write in Arabic, but she said that she did not think that they would. The career fields that they are planning to enter into do not place importance on language, she said, and French is used in most places as well, especially in administrative centers and in beauty centers where her cousins will be working. She mentioned also that she doesn't think her cousins have experienced difficulty because of language during any of their past visits

to Morocco, because they mostly talk with young people when they visit, and, like tourists, they don't need to read the newspapers while they're in Morocco, and most things are available in French anyhow.

I asked Meryem about her cousins' civic engagement in Morocco, and she said that they do not vote in Moroccan elections and probably do not know when the elections are. However, French politics, mainly laws concerning immigration, are an occasional topic of conversation between the cousins and their relatives in Morocco when they visit, and, said Meryem, "they are usually surprised when they realize that people are aware of what's happening in France and what's happening in the United States." She gave an example of a time when she understood a word that her male cousin used in Verlan, and he was very surprised that she knew about Verlan at all. He didn't realize, as Meryem puts it, that "you just need to use your computer, and you are in France directly!"

Meryem talked briefly about two other friends of hers who are also second-generation Moroccans living in Europe. One in fact is not part of the second generation because she was not born abroad, but she migrated with her family at the age of four to France and now lives there and has French nationality. Although she speaks Arabic as well as any Moroccan, she apparently dresses in a more European than Moroccan fashion. As a result, when she visits Morocco in the summer, she is often scolded by her mother who reminds her that she is in Morocco, not France, and tells her to "put some clothes on." Despite her friend's European style of dress, Meryem explained that the friend wants to eventually marry a Moroccan man, to "get her back to the Moroccan way of life," because she "doesn't want to adopt the French style forever."

The other friend whom Meryem mentioned is the daughter of one Moroccan parent and one non-Moroccan parent, and she was born and raised in Europe and visited Morocco

infrequently during her youth. As a university student, however, she has returned to Morocco to study of her own accord, and is “determined to learn” Moroccan language and culture. Meryem mentioned that although her friend grew up without access to a number of aspects of Moroccan culture, because of the friend’s behavior, she felt strongly that this friend was Moroccan: “I know foreigners, and I know French people, and I know Europeans, and I could distinguish, I could say, she is like Moroccan,” because of her level of interest in Moroccan culture and society, and also because of the way in which she kept in touch and maintained the friendship with Meryem long after they studied in the same class together, with Meryem considers something “typically Moroccan” which most Europeans would not do.

Interview 2: Aya

Aya is a young woman in her 20s living in Rabat. She has one brother and two aunts living abroad in Europe, each of whom is married with children who are second-generation Moroccans. She told me about each of her second-generation relatives and about what she believes and hopes will be their ties to Morocco, and she shared her opinions about the maintaining of cultural ties and identity throughout processes of migration.

Aya’s brother and his wife, who live in Italy, have just had their first son, and Aya was very excited about the birth of her nephew and looking forward to the naming ceremony that she and her family were going to celebrate in the nephew’s honor. Usually this ceremony is performed with the child and parents present, but because the family is in Italy and cannot come, the family in Morocco was planning a large celebration with family and friends but without the baby and his parents. Aya mentioned that the parents and baby might be ‘present’ through Skype. The reason that the family could not visit immediately was that the baby did not yet have

identity/travel papers, because they take several months to make. The family will be visiting as soon as they can, and their relatives in Morocco are thrilled to meet the baby as soon as possible.

Aya went on to mention, in a hopeful tone, that the baby might even come to stay in Morocco with his grandmother and relatives once his mother's maternity leave ends and she has to go back to work. The parents will have a choice at this time to either hire an Italian babysitter, who only speaks Italian, or to send the baby back to live with his relatives in Morocco, probably until the age of three, at which time he will be able to enter school in Italy. Aya said that she knew of a number of friends who had done this, and for her brother's son she considered it the best option for many reasons. If he spent his first three years in Morocco, she said, he would learn the culture and religion of Morocco and would "understand that he is Moroccan." In her opinion, this arrangement would also have a significant impact on the child's long-term linguistic abilities. She believes that if he is exposed to a Moroccan *darija*-speaking environment for the first three years of his life, then he will have "no problem" with pronunciation in *darija* in the future, as he could potentially have otherwise—for example, if he had spent most of his time as a young baby with an Italian-speaking babysitter. When it comes to *darija*, "you need to learn it at the beginning," she believes. Beyond the issue of language, raising the child for the first three years in Morocco would have an important impact on his long-term identity. If he "opens his eyes and learns to walk in Morocco," said Aya, he will "learn that he is Moroccan" and "learn his religion. Based on the experiences of other friends and relatives abroad who have sent their children to live with relatives in Morocco for the first few years of their lives, Aya says that three years is the maximum amount of time that the child should spend living in Morocco with his relatives, after which he will have no lasting confusion from the experience, because after he

returns to live with his parents he will learn who is his mother and who is his grandmother or aunt.

Aya also has an aunt in the Netherlands, whose two sons, ages 10 and 20, were born there. Abbas, age 10, attends what Aya calls “Moroccan school” every Wednesday afternoon, where he learns Arabic, studies the Koran and Moroccan traditions, learns how to pray, and learns about his religion and other religions. Aya believes that these lessons are important in order for Abbas to “not have the problem of not knowing that he is a Muslim”. She says that he needs to know that he is not like all the other Dutch and that he is different from the Christian majority. He also needs to know how to practice traditions and religious rituals such as fasting Ramadan. His mother and father decided to send him there. Abbas does speak darija with his parents at home, since they only see each other for a brief period of time in the evening during dinner because of their busy schedules, this is “not enough” time for him to master the language, says Aya. Moroccan school is “good practice” for Arabic language, especially for learning how to spell, although Aya did not specify whether Abbas’s classes teach only standard Arabic or offer Moroccan darija practice as well. Abbas’s mother and father were the ones who decide to send him to weekly classes at this “Moroccan school,” which is an example of the Moroccan government-sponsored classes in Arabic language and Moroccan culture taught by Moroccan teachers abroad. Since my research indicates that integrated ELCO no longer exists in Dutch schools, it is likely that the class that Abbas attends is offered through an association, but Aya did not mention this information to me. Abbas loves Moroccan school and, according to her, he knows everything about Moroccan traditions. When he visits Morocco in the summer, for 1-2 months each year during a large family reunion, he often talks about how much he loves Morocco.

Abbes's older brother Aziz, age 20, also visits during the summer. Like Abbes, he loves Morocco and enjoys spending time in the country with the family. However, Aya does not think that Aziz would necessarily want to live in Morocco. "They made their lives there" in the Netherlands, she says, and "it's not easy for them to come back here to live or study." Although second-generation Moroccans like her nephews may not "return" to their parents' "home" country, Aya believes that is important that they "know about their culture, family, and religion," and that while they respect the culture of their host country, they realize that they have a separate identity. "Everyone, whether you stay out of your country, you need to respect your culture and be honest with your culture," she says, and you have to "keep in mind that you are not like Belgian people, or French. You are Moroccan." She says that she has encountered "a lot of adolescent people [who] when they come are always negative about Morocco, saying 'I want to go back home.'" Even if they know how to speak darija, they may refuse to use it even while they are visiting, because "they don't like to be Moroccan." Aya sees this loss of respect for one's Moroccan background as one of the potential negative aspects of migration, and she says that while migration brings many advantages for which second-generation Moroccans should be grateful, such as greater job opportunities and more rights, she doesn't like seeing "men who went and came back with another face," or second-generation Moroccans who "don't respect their religion, don't respect anything about Morocco, and forget they are Moroccan." It is important that this second generation respect their Moroccan culture and learn to "say that they're Moroccan with their head high."

Interview 3: Hajar, Mohamed and Khadija

I interviewed simultaneously three members of a family in Rabat: 18-year-old Hajar, her mother Khadija, and her father Mohamed. Khadija's brother and his wife emigrated to France and had

one daughter, Aicha, who is now 20 years old and studying in a university in France. Aicha and her family visit Morocco every summer for one or two months, but she sometimes spent most of that time in the house that her family owns rather than visiting her other relatives, and Khadija, Mohamed and Hajar seemed to regret not having been able to spend more time with her as she was growing up. Aicha's relations with her Moroccan relatives were also impacted by her lack of knowledge of Moroccan darija, since her parents raised her in a French language environment and did not teach her how to speak darija. Although Aicha can communicate with several members of her family in French, Hajar thinks that the language barrier has prevented Aicha from being able to bond with some of her family members who only speak darija, and that some of those family members are upset by this. However, Hajar, Khadija, and Mohamed all agreed that Aicha's relation to her family and to Moroccan culture has changed over the past few years, when she has displayed more of a curiosity and a desire to learn about aspects of Moroccan culture. They affirmed that Aicha is "trying to learn" darija, and they said that she recently bought a textbook to begin teaching herself the language. Khadija reported that according to Aicha's parents, she now prays regularly and fasts Ramadan when she did not before—although Mohamed argued that she had perhaps begun to do this by her parents' orders, not completely of her own choice. All three reported that they see Aicha wearing more Moroccan traditional clothing when she visits, but Hajar thinks that Aicha may like to wear traditional clothing occasionally "just for fun," and she claims that she knows a number of second-generation Moroccans who display many elements of Moroccan culture during their vacations in Morocco, but who are in fact "just pretending" and would not choose to stay in Morocco for an extended period of time and continue wearing traditional clothing, because Morocco is "not their home." Despite Hajar's doubts, the family seems to be in agreement that Aicha's attitude toward

Morocco has shifted recently, and they attribute it to her “maturing” and becoming more curious about her Moroccan background. They suggested that a significant contributing factor to her change in attitude may have been her leaving her French high school, where there were no Arabs, and entering a more ethnically diverse university where current events and issues regarding Islam are constantly discussed. Regardless of the causes of her shift in attitude, Aicha’s new curiosity and apparent desire to learn about Moroccan culture seems to be very important to her relatives in Morocco, mainly because it is tied so closely to her integration into her Moroccan extended family and her communication with them. In this respect, language seems to be the most important aspect of Moroccan culture that the family would like Aicha to adopt, because as Hajar said, “It helps with bonding. If she doesn’t know Arabic well, she’ll be like a stranger.” Khadija echoed that the most important concern is Aicha’s desire and ability (e.g. linguistic ability) to be a part of her family in Morocco, which are manifested in her new interest in Moroccan culture and her efforts to learn darija: “Of course we would like her to be with us. She’s Moroccan. Why not? Nothing’s stopping her.” When asked if they think that Aicha will ever come to live in Morocco, the family affirmed that her parents will likely choose to retire here because “it’s their country,” but that the same cannot be said with certainty for a second-generation Moroccan like Aicha, and that only time will tell whether her attachment to Morocco grows so much that she would choose to settle there. They recognize that the ties of second-generation Moroccans to Morocco “depend on the person. Some don’t care, they just come for vacation, and leave. Some are more interested, they want to learn, like Aicha.” The family appears very pleased that their niece and cousin is now a part of the latter category.

Interview 4: Hamid

Hamid is a teacher in his 50s who lives with his wife and children in Rabat. His brother is married to an American woman whom he met when she was teaching in Morocco, and they now live in the United States with their three children, who are all young teens. Their younger children were born in the United States, and their elder adopted daughter, who is the biological daughter of Hamid's deceased sister, was born in Italy and has lived in the United States since 2002. The family comes to Rabat to visit their relatives every summer, the parents staying for about one month and the children sometimes staying longer for a total of two months. While both of their parents are trilingual in English, Moroccan darija, and French, the three children are not fluent in Moroccan darija. Their father speaks to them in darija, but they usually reply in English, says Hamid, based on his observations from their visits as well as from the videotapes that his brother sends of their life in the United States. The elder daughter was fluent in darija at a much younger age when she lived in Morocco for three years, but now she only speaks a little accented darija. The two other children understand, but barely speak darija. The language barrier is not a problem within the extended family during visits, because since Hamid and his wife speak French and one of their daughters studies English and speaks it fluently, there is always someone to translate should any communication difficulties arise. Hamid also says that his nieces and nephew have "no problem adapting" to being in Morocco since they have spent so much time in the country. They get used to regularly eating Moroccan food, which they only eat once a week at home when their father prepares traditional couscous on Fridays. Hamid also believes that the language barrier that the children might face with other Moroccans is in general not an obstacle to their social integration into their neighborhood and local peer group in Rabat. The two daughters spend time with local friends when they visit, and the younger daughter's lack of

darija knowledge is not a serious hindrance to her social interactions at her age. Hamid believes that his nephew, who is a few years older, may feel more uncomfortable making friends with local Moroccans because he is more aware of the language barrier, and “he knows he is not entirely Moroccan.” As Hamid recalls, his nephew spends most of his time during vacations indoors in the family home, and only engages in occasional activities with his Moroccan neighbors outdoors when it they consist of physical games that requires little language use. Although all three children have a close relationship with their relatives, including their cousins with whom they communicate via the internet (which Hamid says has made the world “a small village”), Hamid believes that their identities and their attachments to Morocco differ. His elder niece’s Moroccan background seems to be an important part of her identity, especially according to her parents’ reports to Hamid and his wife that she has verbally claimed belonging to both the United States and Morocco. Hamid thinks that she “feels like she has another country” in addition to the United States, and for this reason, she will not miss an opportunity to come visit Morocco even when she is older. As for his younger niece, based on her high level of social interactions with Moroccan friends when she visits, Hamid thinks that it is likely that she will also maintain close ties with Morocco in the future. However, Hamid is not sure whether his nephew will make as much of an effort as his sisters to visit Morocco when he is older, because Hamid guesses that he may feel “more American than the girls,” simply based on his observation that his nephew does not go out as much to spend time with Moroccan friends when he is visiting Morocco. However, the potentially different national identities of his brother’s children do not seem to bother Hamid, and he did not pass any type of judgment on any of the children’s ties to Morocco.

Conclusion: Does Family Integration Require a Moroccan Identity?

The four families I interviewed had different concerns regarding the identity and social integration of their second-generation relatives abroad. In all families, the most important concern seemed to be that the relatives be well integrated socially into their extended family in Morocco. In the cases of Meryem and Aya's families, the second-generation relatives were well integrated, in part because there was no language barrier between them and their family in Morocco. Family integration in this case was also accompanied by integration into Moroccan culture, and importance of Morocanness in the identities of the second-generation individuals. In the case of Hamid's family, however, family integration was seen as occurring without problems, despite the partial language barrier that existed among relatives and despite Hamid's opinion that his nephew and nieces were not all fully integrated into Moroccan culture. In Hajar, Khadija, and Mohamed's family, their relative Aicha's lack of integration into the family was tied to her inability to speak Moroccan *darija* and her general disinterest in Moroccan culture, and her decision to become more involved in both her family and Moroccan society was greeted with enthusiasm by her relatives predominantly because of their desire to have her participate in family life, but also because they were pleased that she would show interest in learning more about Morocco and making her Moroccan background an important part of her identity. It seems that the main difference between the perspective of this family, which is also similar to Aya's perspective, and the perspective of Hamid is that the former two seem to associate the integration of second-generation relatives into the family closely with their integration into Moroccan society and, crucially, their adoption of Moroccan identity, while Hamid's family does not seem to mind maintaining a closely integrated relation with their relatives from abroad even if these second-generation relatives do not all form their identity around their Morocanness.

However, for all families, social integration of their second-generation relatives is key, and integration into the extended family in Morocco means integration into the everyday practices, eating rituals, family behavior, and other aspects of Moroccan culture.

CONCLUSION

Exploring both official perspectives of the Moroccan state and personal perspectives of Moroccan families toward their relations with second-generation Moroccans abroad allowed me to better understand an important facet of Morocco's social and political dynamics as a sending country for many migrants abroad. It is fascinating to see how the official policies of the state toward second-generation Moroccans, which, through cultural and educational activities, attempts to promote Moroccan identity in order to facilitate social integration both host and sending country and to encourage participation in the Moroccan economy, bears some similarities and differences to the goals of families with relatives abroad, who are mainly concerned with maintaining family ties but who also in some cases have strong desires for the development of Moroccan identity and pride among their second-generation relatives. It is also interesting to see the important role that language plays in the concerns of both of these groups, although its importance to families is mostly as a tool of communication, while in government policies, language can become a site of intense political debate over integration and identity. I think that further study of the perspectives of Moroccan families toward their second-generation relatives abroad would be of great interest, especially in seeing different ways in which national identity and belonging are conceptualized. Such a study should attempt to collect data from a much wider sample of families, while perhaps again using an in-depth interview format, which allows informants to elaborate on their opinion and invites the interviewer to come to understand their points of view. In the meantime, the current research has broadened my perspective on the

role of second-generation immigrant populations in national and international politics, and I am interested to learn more about the ways in which other sending countries besides Morocco, as well as host countries, develop policies surrounding the identity and social integration of this population.

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