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**Understanding Residential Segregation: Community Relations and
Marginalization for Migrants from South of the Sahara in Rabat, Morocco**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for Migration and Transnational Identity, SIT Abroad – Fall 2019

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Acknowledgements:

For your time, support, and openness, I want to thank the migrants that I interviewed at the Foundation, and those friends that I made there, who have showed me undeserved generosity. I am grateful for your acceptance and kindness; your love inspires me to treat others in my life with such compassion. To those who talked with me, and brought me into their lives, in small yet meaningful ways I am grateful. Professor Ait Mous and professor Tibari, thank you for your guidance and support during this period. To my friends, I am endlessly grateful for your openness, passion, thoughtfulness, support, and love. You taught me so much about what it means to hold love for the world and those around you, I will never forget these lessons or the joy that you bring to world every day. Thank you to my parents, I would not be here today if it were not for your unending guidance and support

Abstract

Migrants from South of the Sahara living in Rabat face violence as they attempt to navigate public space. The majority of these migrants live in the neighborhoods of Takkadoum and Yacoub al Mansour. Even within these two neighborhoods, migrants must manage and avoid racially motivated violence. This paper explores these two neighborhoods and the lives of migrants within these neighborhoods, how they find or create safe space, community relations between migrants and Moroccans, and their experience of segregation/separation. Understandings of defended neighborhoods and immigrant integration founded a theoretical basis for this paper, thus better exploring how migrants settle in new countries and what these settlements look like. These neighborhoods are unwelcoming and unsafe for Sub-Saharan migrants; the violence they face mirrors theories of defended neighborhoods, wherein the local population perceives a threat from an influx of migrants. The neighborhoods all vary in degree, but in each, migrants suffer the constant fear of violence in public spaces.

Introduction:

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This paper investigates the integration of migrants from South of the Sahara in the Rabat neighborhoods Takkadoum and Yacoub Al Mansour. Little research exists, sourced from migrants regarding the segregation of different ethnic groups or communities, and the resources available to individuals within these segregated communities in Rabat. An understanding of how migrants perceive their neighborhoods and their place in their host country contributes to a better understanding of how a society must change for the betterment of all of its permanent and temporary occupants. I initially came to Morocco with the intention of gaining a better understanding of neighborhood segregation for migrants. I also became interested specifically in the context of a migrant's life in Moroccan neighborhoods, as I heard learned more about the attitude of transience to life in Morocco. A migrant's understanding of life in Morocco as temporary and transitional informs a different attitude towards belonging and community, thus informing different types of community production.

Our program studied Migration and Transnational Identity, my research builds of this topic in its attempt to explain an aspect of migrant life. The participants in this research are migrants from South of the Sahara; the project seeks to raise up their voices expressing their understanding of community and place in Morocco. Migrants from South of the Sahara in Morocco experience frequent violence, the government and social attitudes force them to the margins of society. A better understanding of migrant's life in Morocco, sourced from the migrants themselves, could potentially lead to more comprehensive legislation and social change.

My study generally looks at these migrants' understanding and experience of integration, segregation, and community within their neighborhoods. The scope is fairly limited as our time here only allowed us to interview a few individuals and I do not speak French. I am working

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towards an understanding of how migrants form communities in their current host countries. These communities differ based on one's understanding of place and length of stay in their host country. My original hypothesis was that these migrant communities would mirror migrant communities in the U.S. in the creation of cultural enclaves, wherein some find a sense of shared identity and belonging. I believed migrants from South of the Sahara might group together in these areas, but would be isolated from the rest of Rabat, restricting their movement out of these areas. I also predicted limited multi-culturalism and integration of different groups in predominantly Moroccan spaces.

Theories of “defended neighborhoods” and residential segregation provide necessary theoretical context for understanding the experiences of migrants living in Morocco. The experience of discrimination and marginalization reported by all those interviewed, confirms existing understandings of racial prejudice against migrants from South of the Sahara and any individuals who are black living in Morocco. I review existing literature about migrant life in Morocco, as well as brief histories of Rabat neighborhoods, and theories relating to migrant experiences of place and belonging in new countries. After discussing the existing literature I proceed to combine previous theories with my findings to understand the segregation and character of Takkadoum and Yacob al Mansour, and the experience of migrants in these neighborhoods.

Literature Review:

Applying theories of neighborhood segregation and discrimination against different migrant groups assists in an understanding how migrants experience belonging and community within Rabat. The history of race relations in Morocco, and the treatment of black people also contributes to better understanding the current state of relations between predominantly black Sub-Saharan migrants and non-black native-born Moroccans.

There is a long history of slavery and segregation in Morocco. This history is largely unmentioned in school curriculums and public discourse, but contributes to the current prejudices leveled against Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. This societal denial of Morocco's history also contributes to the increased biases in modern Morocco. (Bahmad, 2016) The history of interaction between groups informs the mechanisms through which these groups interact later. "Periods of Initial contact between groups are crucial in shaping subsequent patterns of development. When the initial contact is through conquest (North American aboriginals) or subjugation (American blacks), the resulting ethnic and racial hierarchies tend to be enduring and assimilation is difficult." (Myles & Hou, 2004, p. 30) Inherent in this segregation, is an understanding of otherness; Morocco more closely aligns with Arab and Middle Eastern countries than it does with the rest of Africa. Although Morocco resides on the African continent, Moroccans rarely identify as African. Yet in countries like Canada, where migration is more recent, the segregation in neighborhoods is less stark. While Sub-Saharan migration to Morocco has increased in recent years, there is a long history of racism and subjugation within Morocco, that does not wholly determine prejudices but to a certain extent inform them. This history of segregation in Morocco contributes to the current segregation, as compared to countries that also experienced recent influxes of migrants, such as Canada. (Karibi, 2016)

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Another article highlights the marginality of migrants in Rabat and the violence perpetrated by social society and legitimized governmental institutions. The past legacies of slavery in Morocco combine with the current transnational migration politics to further a societal understanding of anti-blackness; transnational migration politics demonize Sub-Saharan Africans, while positioning Morocco as a guardian of entrance into Europe. Migrants face the constant threat of being arbitrarily arrested or attacked by the police, as well as discrimination in the housing and job markets. One individual in this article said that African Migrants “are forced to live on the margins of society.” Within the neighborhoods themselves there is also little sense of security; tensions between Moroccans and Sub-Saharan Africans often result in violent conflicts. Insults and violence at the hands of local populations, combined with the constant fear of police raids and deportation force these individuals into constant states of insecurity and fear. (“The racialisation of marginality,” n.d.) Sub-Saharan migrants often find solidarity and belonging in closed spaces, and in more working class, ethnically diverse neighborhoods. However, even these neighborhoods are not free from danger; the most comforting and safe space are those closed off from the outside world, not in the street, but in churches, institutions, and in homes. (Karibi, 2016)

An influx of minorities into a country or neighborhood often results in an increased desire to maintain the homogeneity of that space, and increased instances of violence. These crimes become less common as minority groups become more and more present, creating locations where they may be the majority. However, on the local scale, if the group continues to be the minority within a neighborhood then violence is more likely to continue. There is an association between racially motivated crime and economic conditions, as the authors believe racially motivated violence emanates from perceived threats to ways of life and space supposedly under

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ownership of a certain group. As migrants enter new spaces, and begin to establish patterns of life, these acts of violence become most pronounced. (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998)

The paper “Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat” illustrates causal relationships between discrimination/perceived threat, economic conditions and size of migrant group. “The economic conditions in a country and the size of the racial or immigrant group influence people’s views of group relations, and in so doing influence prejudicial attitudes.” An increase in migrant population, and poor economic conditions increase sense of threat. These factors are relevant because in the neighborhoods where migrants most commonly live, there would then be a higher perceived threat. This makes sense only if the theory holds at the local level. The author also notes that there is a negative relationship between education and prejudice in countries with a large sense of perceived threat. “Threat is perceived by individuals but its relationship to prejudice depends on a comparison of the relations between dominant and subordinate social groups.” A history of slavery, colonialism, and racism inform these relationships in Morocco. The relative economic insecurity experienced in the neighborhoods most frequently occupied by migrants as well as the constantly shifting population between neighborhoods and countries means it is more difficult to establish spaces free from these prejudices. (Quillian, 1995)

Data from the U.S. and Europe demonstrates that ethnic composition of neighborhoods affects the perceived safety of these neighborhoods, meaning white Europeans and U.S. Americans understand less European, and predominantly non-white neighborhoods as more dangerous. These findings support the “‘visibility’ or ‘threat’ theoretical model” that claims the increased presence of a minority, or “out-group” in a community is likely to create a perceived threat to way of life and stability, while also decreasing sense of safety. This resource may be

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useful in thinking about why neighborhoods like Takkadoum are considered to be less safe and predominantly migrants, while those I interviewed who really live there framed it differently. Reworking and fighting this perception is important in creating an understanding of migrant living conditions; if society perceives neighborhoods with large groups of migrants as unsafe then there will be an increased aversion to that location and a poor implementation of policy meant to address problems in these areas. (Semyonov, Gorodzeisky, & Glikman, 2012)

There are also existing papers documenting stories of migrant life in Morocco; these papers provide a better understanding of the character of Yacoub al Mansour and Takkadoum. Inka Stock profiles the life of Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco in their PhD dissertation, *Transit to nowhere: How Sub-Saharan African migrants in Morocco confront life in forced immobility*. Stock notes how one Ghanaian man found community in a majority Nigerian church in Takkadoum: the man believed that “it is better to stick to people from your country, because you cannot know about the rest.”(Stock, n.d., p. 173) Migrants’ origin influenced their capacity to integrate into different communities within Rabat. Stock emphasizes several times the importance of churches and community organizations as refuges within neighborhoods. The migrants Stock interviewed did not hold a consistent community outside of these organizations within their neighborhoods. Stock also argues that “these practices help migrants to feel rooted and secure in a situation of profound displacement by re-establishing borders and social categories known to them from the past”(Stock, n.d., p. 180) Taking control of one’s identity and boundaries of community adds an element of control to an unstable and in many cases unsafe life. This profile of migrant life furthers an understanding of migrants exist in Rabat, and how they find community within their neighborhoods.

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A previous ISP studied the ways in which Sub-Saharan migrants find and occupy space in Rabat. The interviews from this study identify several trends that aid in my research, one of which being the insecurity felt by this group of migrants regardless of their location within Rabat. Takaddoum, the neighborhood most commonly considered as predominantly migrant or lower class, is still predominantly Moroccan. The dominant group within this neighborhood is Moroccan, and violence against Sub-Saharan migrants is common. The feeling of non-belonging and non-being comes also from the common desire to leave, either going home or moving on to a new country. Migrants understand their position as temporary, while native Moroccans perceive them similarly; this sense of visitation contributes to the perception of non-belonging. (Knapp, 2016)

It is true also that “the precarity experienced by sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco hinders their ability to establish a collective voice, without which it is challenging to negotiate measures that could facilitate integration and settlement.” (Ghazouani, 2019) Migrants often report difficult and dangerous working conditions, low wages, and lack of employer accountability. The government’s efforts do not effectively address the reality of migrant life in Morocco, limiting integration. The problem of segregation and prejudice appears both in the unwillingness of many people in Morocco to integrate black individuals into their communities, and the unwillingness and incapacity of migrants to attempt to integrate or seek integration within Morocco. The people of Morocco must still shift their perspective, and migrants have to commit to Morocco more readily as their new host country to make this integration possible. It is true that the former must come before the latter, as no group can be expected to attempt to participate in society under constant fear of violence. Fulfillment of the latter however, will make the former easier for more individuals.

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Changes in Moroccan migration policy curry favor with EU nations, increasing the monarchy's soft power. Morocco adopted a new migration policy attempting to foster equality for migrants through increased economic and political rights, as well as attempts to decrease social discrimination. The Moroccan government encourages the existence of civil society groups that aid documented migrants, within a certain policy program. However, "political and societal deadlock creates a barrier to integration," thus putting a ceiling on migrants' economic and social advancement in Moroccan society. Churches often take the place of NGOs for migrants, providing a sense of belonging and identity. Migrants typically run these churches, unsupported by government programs. The limited nature of these legislative changes is due in part to a "top-down" approach, that seeks to achieve policy goals, but not to empower migrants in their lives in Morocco. There is also limited political will, a problem deeper than flawed policy. To effectively address the problems encountered by migrants in these neighborhoods Morocco needs effective and empowering policy, driven by committed political actors.

(Bendra, 2019)

It is useful also to compare the neighborhoods occupied by migrants in Morocco, with those occupied by migrants in other countries of the world. In the U.S. there is a model that shows how immigrants initially move into poor neighborhoods, then move out of them as they gain more capital. This movement supports an argument that these high poverty immigrant dense communities ease the transition for those that may not speak the language or are unfamiliar with societal structure and norms. However, poor quality of institutions such as schools and hospitals hinder capacity for advancement. This concentration of poverty in immigrant neighborhoods "should not be regarded as benign" as it affects capacity for advancement and integration into areas with better institutions. This concentration of poverty also differs in Morocco, in that these

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entry neighborhoods, such as Takkadoum do not provide community in the same way that entry neighborhoods may in the U.S. or other countries. Understanding this difference is crucial to understanding these neighborhoods effectively through a non-Western centric lens. (Jargowsky, 2009)

Many resources exist characterizing Sub-Saharan migrant life in Rabat, and many resources exist characterizing and profiling migrant neighborhoods in Western countries. However, research there is little research that seeks to understand the neighborhoods migrants occupy in Morocco, and how this experience mirrors or diverges from typical models of migrant neighborhoods. I believe that none of the above authors are wrong, but that to fully understand migrant life in Morocco it is important to incorporate understandings of how neighborhoods develop and change with the growing presence of migrants. Combining theories of defended neighborhoods with papers that detail the conditions of Sub-Saharan migrants provides a theoretical backing to better understand the lives of migrants in Morocco.

Methodology:

Limitations of the Study:

The short duration of ISP and language barrier limited the comprehensiveness of my research most actively. I do not speak French, Fusha, or Derjia fluently and thus could not communicate effectively unless the person I interacted with spoke English or I had a translator. The ISP period is only four weeks long, which does not allow much time for meeting participants and doing research. Getting to know individuals in any community and forming relationships takes time. I believed it was important to get to know individuals in the community that I entered and to pay them for their time. This process takes time, all the best papers I have

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encountered in my research involved long periods of interaction with migrant communities and deep relationships built with individuals in these communities. I felt towards the end of the ISP period as though I was approaching closeness with a certain migrant community and as though my connections with individuals were deepening. But one would need months and maybe years to effectively complete a research project about my subject. I also only wanted to conduct interviews with individuals who wanted to talk to me, not those who felt obligated or pressured. There were opportunities wherein the individuals that someone put me in contact with were tentative or not truly interested in talking and I did not interview those people. Finding individuals excited to talk about these subjects was more difficult, and limited the breadth of my research. I talked mainly with people I met through the community formed around Foundation Orient Occident, this limitation means that I interacted with a small amount of people from a self-selecting group and the breadth of opinions is limited.

Research Methods:

I set out to understand the separation of migrant neighborhoods in Rabat, how migrants form or find community within these spaces, the resources available within these spaces, and ease of movement within these neighborhoods. I chose to conduct research through structured interviews, observations of public spaces, and a series of unstructured conversations. My strategy during the first week involved visiting a variety of different organizations and talking to employees there about getting in contact with research participants. My initial interactions with employees and migrants in these organizations greatly influenced my approach after the first week. When I arrived at NGOs employees seemed frustrated with my presence, at least partially because I do not speak French, but also because they were busy and did not have time to talk or help me with my research. Most of the people I interacted with had a lot of work and did not

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have much time for students: I also felt guilty taking peoples time because, while I believe strongly in the importance of my research topic, I realized soon after starting how unprepared I felt in conducting the research. This research should happen, but I am not the one to do it effectively; that is not an excuse for apathy or for not trying to do a good job on this project, but it does make it more complicated when interacting with and finding research participants and taking up time and energy. I often felt as though my project only served me, and that I took away from the communities I entered without giving anything back. Several individuals, migrants and employees of organizations, expressed frustration to me about how students typically conducted research. This frustration arose because students would come to organizations, take up lots of time and energy, ask everyone for interviews, then ask them questions that brought up trauma, leaving with little consideration. This process continues every semester with new groups of students, and while it may feel new to the students, these frustrations build and accumulate over time. The advice they gave me was to pay the individuals, and not to run in and run out in the same way students had previously. After these interactions I sought to approach my interviews in a different way, I spent more of my time at Foundation Orient Occident where I made friends, and asked for ways to give back and contribute to the community that existed there. While I did not contribute in any substantial way to the operation of the foundation, I hope that my presence there, and the friendships I built made my presence less unpleasant for the general community. I made friends at this foundation who helped me translate, as well as put me in contact with individuals who were truly interested in speaking with me, not pressured or obligated in any way. The foundation seeks to provide help predominantly to migrants from South of the Sahara, most living in parts of Takkadoum and Yacoub al Mansour.

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I chose to research Takkadoum and Yacoub al Mansour because teachers and articles pointed to these neighborhoods as areas where most migrants live. I mostly observed spaces in close proximity to the organizations I visited, as there were higher concentrations of migrants in public spaces. I had many unstructured conversations with migrants in Yacoub al Mansour, and also conducted three formal interviews with individuals I met through connections at the foundation. The interviews occurred within the foundation because those I interviewed felt most comfortable there when provided with a choice. The translators I worked with were all familiar with the institution and were fluent in French, which was the language of interview in all cases. In order to protect the identity of the participants I used codenames to label recordings and notes, and kept all recordings and notes on my personal hard drives. I also clarified that the interviewees had no obligation to answer any of my questions and were free to stop the interview at any point if they wished. I also had conversations with all translators clarifying to them the purpose and subject of the research, as well as the ethical guidelines mentioned above. In each interview the person mentioned instances of violence while living in Rabat; this area of conversation made me tentative about conducting interviews. I think that I navigated these conversations effectively, and remained friendly with all of my interviewees. None of them seemed at all upset at the end of the interview, and we continued to talk and maintain relationships. However, I got lucky that none of the interviews resulted in frustration or relived emotional trauma.

My original plan involved many more in person interviews and less observation of space, and informal conversations. However, because of the interactions with migrants who complained about the constant influx of student researchers I limited my formal interviews. I also tried to limit my time in spaces where I felt I did not belong in an attempt to maintain the comfort and

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safety of these spaces. As a researcher coming into spaces of respite, asking questions that at times brought about painful memories, I needed to limit my impact. Frequent cancellations or unresponsiveness over text or email also impeded my research; teachers, advisors, and friends gave me numbers and emails of individuals in Rabat to interview, and all but one of these cancelled, did not respond, or at some point stopped responding. The interviews I managed to do all came about because of in person interactions. As a whole my project shifted drastically; my initial hypothesis proved very misguided and I had to adjust my initial plan for research.

Analysis:

Finding Housing:

Sufjan, Muhammad, and Bushra all found their housing through different connections. Initially Sufjan lived in a safe house, provided by an organization, yet several Moroccans attacked him outside that house soon after moving there. Sufjan found the place that he now lives through friends he met through the foundation. Both of these houses were in Yacoub al Mansour, an area with a large population of migrants. Muhammad moved to the house he currently lives in three years ago; a friend from Ivory Coast lived there for a long time and Muhammad moved in with him. That friend has since left for Europe. Bushra moved into a house with Moroccan friends, also in Yacoub al Mansour. These interviews, and existing research make evident the importance of social connections within Rabat when looking for housing in Rabat. Bushra, although she lives with Moroccans, noted the discrimination that migrants from South of the Sahara must manage when attempting to find housing; because of the “[fear of blacks]” it is difficult to find places to rent, but they also exist because there is segregated housing and a space for migrants. The segregation both limits access but also creates the space. Landlords predominantly rent to black migrants in Takkadoum and Yacoub al Mansour, while housing in

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other areas is harder to find. The pattern of migrants moving in with other migrants, to areas with larger populations of migrants, mimics patterns in other countries. Because Sufjan and Bushra had a stipend provided to them as refugees they were able to afford slightly better housing. Muhammad does not receive the same stipend, and has a job but has not been able to move out of Takkadoum, one of the more dangerous but cheaper regions of Rabat.

The presence of friends, as well as the discrimination reported in the process of finding housing, partially accounts for the segregation of migrant groups. An important aspect of why migrants are concentrated in these two neighborhoods is the cheap rent, as other parts of Rabat may be prohibitively expensive. However, the connections with others from home, or through organizations in the city, influences the areas of settlement. I do not believe that either factor alone can account for the high concentration of migrants, or that more migrants live in these neighborhoods because they are more hospitable. Reports, casual conversations, and my interview with Muhammad point to an opposite truth, that the Medina and other areas of Rabat feel safer than Takkadoum, and to some extent Yacoub al Mansour. As mentioned in the literature review, there is a causal relationship in the U.S. between economic conditions and perceived threat. More affluent areas than Takkadoum or Yacoub al Mansour may have less prejudice because of lower levels of frustration and better quality of life.

Community Relations:

There is model in U.S. neighborhoods that claims immigrants initially move into poor neighborhood, then move out of them as gain more capital. Another aspect of this theory is that these neighborhoods serve as transitions into the greater society, as they provide some degree of comfort and familiarity for the immigrant.(Jargowsky, 2009) The interviews and sources I found detailed a similar pattern of movement; Muhammad said the only thing that has kept him in his

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current house is the relative cheapness of Takkadoum in comparison to the rest of Rabat. In Knapp's ISP migrants also detailed a similar process of moving out of Takkadoum into better areas once more familiar with Rabat, and in possession of better sources of income or better connections. (Knapp, n.d.) However, no evidence points to Takkadoum as a place that eases this transition. Instead, my interview with Muhammad, and Knapp's ISP point to an opposite idea, that Takkadoum is a neighborhood, unsafe for migrants as it is still dominated by lower class Moroccans.

This cultural and communal dominance points to another understanding of how neighborhoods change with the influx of new populations. The theory of Defended Neighborhoods claims that as a migrant group moves into a new place as a minority, the majority group perceives them as a threat. This perception means that the majority acts more with more violence towards this incoming group, attempting to maintain the homogeneity of their neighborhood. Defended Neighborhoods are typically those that are seeing new influxes of migrants. However, because many migrants either move into new areas of Rabat as they gain more capital, or move out of Morocco completely, migrants from South of the Sahara compose a minority of the population in this neighborhood and continue to suffer more active persecution.

While these neighborhoods have large populations of migrants, all three people interviewed, and the existing literature point to a lack of safety and community throughout the city of Rabat. Takkadoum has a large population of migrants from South of the Sahara, yet Muhammad made a point several times that he does not feel safe travelling at night, and that he has been held up twice at knife point after nine in his neighborhood. Both times groups of Moroccan men mugged Muhammad; he attributed these robberies to a mentality shared by many poor Moroccans in Takkadoum who see people who are black with phones or watches, and get

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jealous and angry. A group of Moroccan men also attacked Sufjan in the street, prompting his move, and Bushra reported feeling nervous walking through her neighborhood because of a constant fear of violence. These reports from those I interviewed mirror reports I found in a previous ISP, wherein interviewees stated that instances of violence in Takkadoum, perpetrated by Moroccans against migrants, were very common. Existing literature posits a connection between racially motivated crime and a perceived threat from the native population; in Morocco, this holds with the stories told by Muhammad and Sufjan, in both the feelings of jealousy Muhammad believes partially motivate crime, and in the homophobia that Sufjan believes motivated the violence against him. There is also a causal relationship, as described in the literature review, between economic conditions and discrimination against migrant groups. This relationship would then make sense of the increased violence experienced in Takkadoum; the residents there are less wealthy, and experience a greater sense of threat to their safety or capacity to maintain quality of life in the presence of an incoming group. Another important aspect of understanding this danger to migrants, is the rhetoric that surrounds the neighborhood; in informal conversations about Takkadoum with residents of Morocco I found that, similarly to minority rich neighborhoods in U.S., the perception of crime related to the presence of black migrants. The realities reported by all interviewed, and in informal conversations, paint a different picture, of violence arising out of racist intentions.

Each interview and the casual conversations reported that travelling through the city of Rabat as a black person in Morocco, regardless of residency status, history of migration, or nationality, posed a risk to physical and emotional health. There is a common supposition that all people in Morocco, who present as black, migrated from South of the Sahara. This supposition means that no matter where a person who is black goes in Rabat, they cannot escape racism and

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physical or verbal attacks. Muhammad stated that the only places he goes are home, work, and the foundation. Sufjan and Bushra had similar stories, wherein they felt uncomfortable travelling in the street, and spent most of their time in their homes or in this foundation. All those I spoke to informally echoed this exact same sentiment; there are some closed spaces, such as organizations and churches (Stock, n.d.) that provide community and safety, but within the streets and public spaces of the neighborhoods migrants do not feel safe. Recognizing that while home may serve to shield migrants from violence, that conditions in these homes are often exploitive and dangerous. This difficulty in and out of home environments makes more clear the difficulty of finding comfort or respite in Rabat. Private spaces rarely act as truly private because of the reported financial necessity of having many migrants live in one room or house. These community organizations are more highly concentrated in the poorer migrant neighborhoods, making migration to these areas more likely, and potentially more appealing. These private spaces act as the only refuges for migrants, systematically abused by the government and civil society. While none of those I interviewed reported this feeling, many migrants also feel unsafe at home because of the fear of police raids and deportation. (Karibi, 2016) The segregation of migrants from South of the Sahara does not only operate on a neighborhood level, but on the level of open and closed space. Based on my limited data it seems as though migrant neighborhoods do not truly exist in Morocco; poorer neighborhoods have higher migrant populations, but these neighborhoods also have Moroccan populations, that maintain dominance over public space and publicly presented culture and habits.

The information I gleaned from my periods of public observation built on this previous theory. Individuals who presented as native Moroccans more commonly occupied spaces such as coffee shops and parks; people who are black spent less time in one place, and always seemed

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more in transit. The closer to the foundation the more people who are black occupied space; on park benches, playing games in the park etc. The farther I moved from the foundation the less I witnessed this presence. I believe that these individuals may feel more comfortable near to the foundation as it offers a safe space for migrants, and that being close to this space imbues a sense of comfort and belonging.

Native Moroccans that act out verbally and physically against migrants make relationships between these two communities much more difficult: for trust to develop between groups a sense of safety is necessary, and while individual relationships can still occur outside of these biases, those I interviewed seemed more tentative about the idea of building relationships with native born Moroccans. There is also the aspect of temporality inherent in these relationships; all of my interviewees and most people I talked to hoped to leave Morocco at some point. This desire comes from a feeling of non-being and non-belonging, as described in Knapp's ISP, but also informs this desire. The process of exclusion perpetuates itself, as those who experience discrimination in its most virile forms, seek to leave the country most passionately. This movement towards migration out of Morocco also means these individuals put less effort into building up structures for long term support. The lack of support structures is not the responsibility of migrants, but the understanding of one's own temporality inherent in and to some extent necessary for migration means structures of long-term support will be less demanded.

While some migrants may find a home here, they cannot be expected to want or be able to make home in a place where marginalization and violence are so common. I do not want to remove agency from this discussion, because some migrants do have the capacity to make homes for themselves here, and take control of certain aspects of their lives. As Stock details in her

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dissertation, migrants make spaces of community for themselves in these neighborhoods.

However, most of those I talked to, and everyone I interviewed wanted to leave because they believed Morocco would never feel like home. This aspect of transience greatly influences how migrants perceive their time here, and how they go about building community and relationships, but also how the native population perceives migrants in Rabat. Native Moroccans may consider migrants from South of the Sahara as non-members of the community because of the assumed desire to leave the country.

Another important aspect of migrant community in Rabat is the division between migrants from different countries. While migrants may often form more cohesive communities within neighborhoods based on national identity, migrants come from a large number of countries South of the Sahara. Divisions arise and comradery is not a given between migrants of different countries. Muhammad stated that many of his friends from Ivory Coast left for Europe and now he feels more isolated in Rabat. In Stock's PhD dissertation they also mention churches in Takkadoum that serve as a community center for migrants mostly from Nigeria, but not other countries. Churches typically do not draw migrants from all countries into their congregations, and even within organizations migrants typically form the tightest bonds with those from their country of origin. This trend is not a rule, but does limit a cohesive and cooperative migrant identity that could potentially act as a rallying point. The inability of migrants in Rabat to "establish a collective voice, [means that] it is challenging to negotiate measures that could facilitate integration and settlement." (Ghazouani, 2019) With the constant threat of violence, imprisonment, and deportation, as well as divisions within the migrant community, forming cohesive community structure proves more difficult, making life within neighborhood less safe and more challenging. Understanding and qualifying that wonderful friendships and relationships

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exist between migrants and those born in Morocco is important, discrimination and violence do not define every interaction, but they are common enough to challenge the basic principles of freedom of movement and safety in the streets of Rabat. As a whole, a pervasive fear of violence and lack of free spaces for migrants characterize these two neighborhoods. Community organizations offer some respite, yet most find security more readily at home. Community relations also suffer because of violence directed against migrants by native Moroccans; those that I talked with do not readily find or desire to find a home here in Morocco.

Conclusions:

The aim of this research project was to investigate the character of Takkadoum and Yacoub al Mansour and the lives of migrants from South of the Sahara; this character involves ethnic relations, freedom of movement, finding/creating personal spaces, and the experience/process of building community. Asking the questions, what does migrant life look like in these neighborhoods, how and where do migrants experience community help to illuminate these ideas. Existing research illustrates the degree of suppression suffered by and inflicted upon migrants from South of the Sahara, in Rabat. Lack of legal protection and extensive social prosecution marginalize these migrants, forcing them to the geographic and social outskirts of society. Migrants from South of the Sahara find community in closed spaces, more protected from the outside world. Churches, organizations, and the homes of migrants serve to shield migrants from violence experienced in public.

The neighborhoods that hold the most migrants also pose the greatest risk to these migrants; local populations threatened by the presence of foreigners perpetuate the above-mentioned violence. Physical, verbal, and structural violence make creating open community and safe spaces for the preservation of identity extremely difficult. Neighborhoods that could be

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classified as migrant neighborhoods then seem not to exist in the Western sense, instead migrants live in neighborhoods dominated by native born Moroccans, reacting against the impression of cultural encroachment.

Recommendations for Further Study:

This theory comes from interviews and research I conducted, but does not represent the totality of migrants' experience in Rabat; I am most likely missing important aspects of the experience of living in Moroccan neighborhoods that could be better explored by someone with more research experience, language skills, cultural competency, understanding of Rabat, and time. I recommend that someone brings to light a better understanding of how migrants create community and how the character of the neighborhoods in which migrants most commonly live affects this creation. This report represents information gleaned from the below listed sources, three interviews, informal conversations, and limited observation of public space, and is in no way comprehensive or representative of the totality of migrant experiences.

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Interviews:

Muhammad, (2019, 20 November) Personal interview by the author

Bushra, (2019, 28 November) Personal interview by the author

Sufjan (2019, 15 November) Personal interview by the author

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Appendix A

Interview Questions:

- How long have you been living in Rabat?
- Did you live in another town before? Yes / No
- Where?
- How long?
- Was it easy for you find a place to live?
- Do you rent:
 - -A house - A flat
- Are you sharing your home with: fellows migrants or Moroccans or both?
- What neighborhood do you live in?
- Why do you live in this neighborhood?
- How are your relations with the landlord?
- How are you relations with your neighbors?
- Do you have Moroccan friends in this neighborhood?
- Do you receive and visit Moroccan friends?
- Do you feel at home in your neighborhood? How so?
- Do you feel at home in Rabat? Describe
- Do you feel like you have a community within Rabat? Describe that community
- Where do you spend your time?
- Do you have friends here? Who are your closest friends here?

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- Do you feel segregated from native Moroccan people in Rabat? What makes you feel segregated?
- How does this segregation affect you?
- What would you change about your neighborhood here?
- What would you like to tell me about your life here? How do you perceive the cultural makeup of your neighborhood?
- What is the dominant culture in your neighborhood?
- Do you visit other neighborhoods in Rabat? What is different and similar about those neighborhoods?
- Do you feel at home in your neighborhood? Why or why not?