The 'Orient' in the 'Occident': The Social, Cultural and Spatial Dynamics of Moroccan Diaspora Formations in Granada, Spain

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ABSTRACT

Contributing to research on geographies of diasporas and migration, this thesis examines how the Moroccan diaspora in the city of Granada, Spain, has transformed urban space, and conversely, how the spatiality of Granada engenders distinctive diasporic identity formations, senses of belonging and spatial practices. Using the geographical insight that diasporas alter and are altered by the places they inhabit and that identities and belongings are often spatialised and spatially contingent, the research examines how these processes function for the Moroccan diaspora living in Granada. Granada's mixed Christian and Islamic heritage, its relatively recent transformation from an ethnically homogenous space into a diaspora space, and the close proximity of the Maghreb and Africa, all herald Granada as a rich arena to explore social, cultural and spatial processes of diasporas and migration.

Conceptually, the research is positioned within urban geographies of diasporas. The centrality of the urban spatial scale in diaspora formations and experiences, rather than the national, is demonstrated and examined. The thesis focuses on four concepts that are at the core of geographies of diasporas: space, belonging, home and identity. Drawing on eight months of ethnographic fieldwork, the thesis provides an empirical analysis that is grounded in the everyday and intimate spaces of the Moroccan diaspora. As such it responds to calls for grounded studies on diasporas that take locations and their contexts seriously. Overall, the thesis underlines the fundamental centrality of place for diaspora formations, and argues that the experiences and perceptions of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada provide distinctive narratives of European urban diversity.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene: Geographies of Moroccan Diaspora Formations in Granada, Spain

At the time of writing Europe is experiencing a 'refugee crisis' (Withnall, 2015), and migration is a topic that is ever-present in academic, media, political and popular discourses. It has become one of the most emotive and politically salient subjects, with polls often labelling 'immigration' as the key political issue in European countries (Fox, 2015). This is not to imply that migration of people is something new – people have always looked for new opportunities or for the chance to escape the danger and threat of war, poverty and the environment (Castels *et al.*, 2013). However, globalisation and its processes of 'time-space compression' (Harvey, 1990), along with the proliferation of 'mixed migratory flows' (Van Hear, 2014), have resulted in what Castles *et al* (2013) label as the 'age of migration'. Advancements in technology and transport allow people to cross borders more 'freely', and the flows of migration and motivations to do so are now more mixed and varied. According to Steven Vertovec, the 'mixed migratory flows' that characterise contemporary global movements are:

> *a combination of 'voluntary' and 'forced', internal and international, undocumented and legal (under a variety of channels), skilled and unskilled, conflict displaced, environmentally induced, political asylum seeking, trader, student, temporary and 'circular' and permanent migrants. (2015: 2)*

Therefore, the world population is on the move like never before, motivated by multiple 'push' and 'pull'/ 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' factors, resulting in the increasing diversification of populations in contemporary societies (Vertovec, 2007; Vertovec, 2015). This increased diversity led Stuart Hall to clarify that 'the capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the 21st century' (1993: 359). A key feature of contemporary diversity has been the proliferation of diasporas around the world. Diaspora is a concept that has increased greatly in both academic and popular usage, although there is no consensus on a clear and concise definition (Brubaker, 2005; Kenny, 2013). The notion of diaspora as a field of study can be traced back to the 1980s, as prior to that the word was

restricted to describe historical forced exile, specifically the exile of the Jews (Kenny, 2013). However, with the dramatic increase of international migration in recent decades, diaspora has come to be equated with the general dispersal of people around the world (Karla *et al.*, 2005). In brief, diasporas are the imagined communities of migrants who share a common origin in a different geographic locale to where they dwell (Meer, 2014). It is often considered that diasporic communities 'sustain a national, cultural or religious identity through a sense of internal cohesion and sustained ties with a real or imagined homeland' (Adamson and Demetriou, 2007: 13). It is these features of community, ethnic identity continuation and a connection with a 'faraway' homeland that are considered to make a migrant diasporic. However, as I discus later, diasporas are not closed and static entities, with essentialist and preordained ethnic identities. Rather, diasporas, like identities in general, are fluid, heterogeneous and changeable, often displaying 'new' and hybrid identity formations (Hall, 1990; Karla *et al.*, 2005). Studying diasporas in this epoch of accelerated migration then, is an examination of the 'the exemplary communities of the transnational moment' (Tölöyan, 1991: 5). It provides a focus on diversity that emanates from the collective formations and practices of contemporary and historical migrations.

The broad objective of this thesis, therefore, is to examine diaspora formations, and the resulting socio-cultural and spatial transformations. Through the lens of diasporas, the thesis is responding to the call from scholars such as Stuart Hall (1993) and Steven Vertovec (2015) for research that examines the increased diversification of societies. Before providing more detail about the finer objectives and context of the research, I want to briefly consider the role of geography in diaspora formations.

Diasporas are intrinsically spatial, as Alison Blunt states:

> *The term 'diaspora' is inherently geographical, implying a scattering of people over space and transnational connections between people and places. Geography clearly lies at the heart of diaspora both as a concept and as lived experience, encompassing the contested interplay of place, home, culture and identity through migration and resettlement. (2003a: 282)*

Diasporas are 'always situated within the geographies of everyday life, be that local or global scale, a translocal, transnational and transcultural context' (Christou and Mavroudi, 2015: 5). As originally argued by Avtar Brah (1996) and later by Kim Knott (2010), there is need to

leave ‘diaspora’ for ‘diaspora space’ and occupy ‘an arena in which locations and their complex populations are taken seriously’ (Mcloughlin and Knott, 2010: 271). This, in essence, is a call for research that examines the lived and material spaces of diaspora formations. It is within these diaspora spaces that the increased diversity brought about by the ‘age of migration’ is primarily situated, thus providing a valuable lens into the places of migration, rather than the actual processes of migrating (Van Hear, 2010). The specificities of places, such as a city’s culture and history, are greatly formative in the formation and articulation of the diaspora condition, and conversely, diasporas impact on the formations of places and the meanings imbued in them. Diasporas and places are mutually constitutive, simultaneously constructing each other. If geography and its core features of space and place are integral to the diaspora condition, we must then ask what types of locations do diasporas generally dwell in? What types of spaces are diversifying in the ‘age of migration’? Accelerated globalisation has been paralleled with rapid urbanisation, and according to the United Nations habitat manifesto for cities (2012) the world has entered an urban era. Complicit in the urbanisation of the world is increased migration, and most scholars agree that migrants, especially in Europe, concentrate in cities (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2011; Hall, 2012; Hall, 2015). As a result of the intersection between urbanisation and migration, ‘the speed of change in the contemporary city has never been more accelerated, nor have its populations been more variegated’ (Hall, 2012: 9). Acknowledging the importance of the urban, scholars are now arguing that the ‘city scale’ rather than the national is the most pertinent in migration studies (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2011). Alison Blunt and Jayani Bonnerjee have developed the term ‘diaspora cities’ to assert the significance ‘to many people living in diaspora of the city as home rather than the nation as ‘homeland’ (2013: 221). The temporality and spatiality of cities provide diverse and complex arenas of memory, identity and emotion, shaping the everyday life of diasporas. Therefore, ‘the city is a distinctive location of diasporic dwelling, belonging and attachment’(Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013: 220), and is the exemplary empirical site to explore the intersections of diasporas and place.

Drawing and building on ideas and research around the pertinence of diasporas and urban space, the overarching objective of this thesis is to explore the intersections of diaspora formations, diversity and the city. Through an ethnographic approach, I ground the concept of diaspora in the city of Granada, Spain, and examine the everyday geographies, feelings, and experiences of the people who make up the contemporary Moroccan diaspora. The research is an examination of the lived experience of being in diaspora, with a focus on four concepts that are at the core of geographies of diasporas: space, belonging, home and identity. The city

scale and the urban context is foregrounded, with the thesis focusing on how the urban fabric of Granada has been transformed by those in diaspora, and how the spatiality of Granada impacts on diasporic notions and perceptions of belonging, home and identity. Overall, the thesis underlines the fundamental centrality of place for diaspora formations, and argues that the experiences and perceptions of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada provide distinctive narratives of European urban diversity. Through this attention on the city rather than the nation, I am contributing to broader critiques of 'methodological nationalism'(Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002), which argues that in migration research the nation state is frequently prioritised over other spatial scales.

Granada, a medium sized city in southern Spain, was selected as the empirical site of analysis as it provides a distinctive context to examine diaspora formations in Europe. Granada's mixed Christian and Islamic heritage, its close proximity to the Maghreb and Africa, and its relatively recent transformation from an ethnically homogenous space to a multicultural space all herald it as a rich arena to explore the socio-spatial and cultural processes of diasporas. Moreover, the medium size scale of Granada provides an alternative lens to the dominant focus on larger scale cities in diaspora and migration research (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2011). Moroccan migrants provided a well established diaspora, the largest in Granada (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015), and they have a visible presence within the city. They have constructed areas in Granada that are often labelled as the 'Moroccan quarter' or 'Moorishland' (Doubleday and Coleman, 2008), offering tangible spaces to explore diasporic formations. Furthermore, the bordering geographies of northern Morocco and southern Spain, and the profound historical connections and movements between these areas, establishes Moroccans, especially those from the north, as a distinctive and important diaspora to examine. Through my use of Moroccan migrants as a unit of analysis, I am open to the critiques aimed at the 'ethnic lens' that purportedly dominates migration research (Fox and Jones, 2013). Scholars have argued that in migration studies there is a preoccupation with ethnicity as the lens of analysis, resulting in ethnicity appearing as a fixed and essential characteristic (Wimmer, 2007; Fox and Jones, 2013). Although I concur with much that is argued in these critiques, notions of ethnicity and nationality have currency and relevance in the everyday lives of many people, and can still be a useful frame for social research. The use of ethnicity and nationality though, should be applied in a critical, challenging and deconstructive manner. For example, the 'ethnic lens' used in this thesis is a starting point to explore the complexity and heterogeneity of those labelled as the Moroccan diaspora, rather than a term to homogenise.

Having broadly set out the objectives and issues guiding the research, along with the empirical focus, the following section sets out the key research questions.

1.2 Research Questions

To hone down the research objectives I have formulated a set of essential research questions. These provide a framework to examine the 'assumptions behind living, feeling and being in diaspora, and the material and emotional connections that exist between places' (Christou and Mavroudi, 2015: 5). The essential questions that frame this research are:

1) How have Moroccan migrants transformed urban space in Granada and produced a contemporary diaspora space?

2) How does the spatiality of Granada influence diasporic spatial practices, belongings and formations of identities?

3) What senses of belonging and home do the Moroccan diaspora have with Granada?

4) What differences of identity and belonging exist within the Moroccan diaspora?

To provide greater rationale for the themes and questions explored in the thesis, the following section further introduces and examines the key concepts explored throughout the empirical chapters.

1.3 Key Concepts: Diaspora, Space, Belonging, Home and Identity

1.3.1 Diaspora as a Process

To open out this section on the core themes of analysis, I begin by further examining the notion of diaspora, which is the overarching concept underpinning the thesis. In overviews about the notion of diaspora, differences in how it has been conceptualised and utilised are often underlined (Rios and Adiv, 2010; Kenny, 2013), and according to Karla *et al* (2005), have created a theoretical divide. There are the scholars who approach it as a descriptive tool, and commonly create typologies to impose a clear definition (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 1997).The categorical notion of diaspora is problematic as it fails to acknowledge the complexities of diasporas, and often views them as static and bounded entities, with essentialist and preordained ethnic identities (Brah, 1996; Karla *et al.*, 2005). Then, there are the scholars, commonly postmodernists, who define diasporas as unbounded, fluid and creative, defying rigid and static definitions (Hall, 1990; Gilroy, 1993; Brah, 1996; Anthias, 1998; Karla *et al.*, 2005). The postmodernist approaches help us to understand diasporas not as homogenous groups, but as imagined 'communities' that are notable for their heterogeneity, hybridity and multiplicity. The postmodern conceptualisations often consider diasporas as having greatly transgressive qualities, where normative boundaries of belonging, home and identity are disrupted. However powerful and progressive such postmodern conceptualisations are, they have been criticised for over romanticising the subversive qualities and failing to consider material and lived processes, such as economic relations and the everyday negotiations of political structures (Mitchell, 1997a; Mitchell, 1997b; Acheraiou, 2011). Moreover, in much literature boundary erosion is often fetishised, with a failure to 'acknowledge that diasporas can also reproduce the essentilised notions of place and identity that they are supposed to transgress'(Carter, 2005: 54). In attempting to recognise these paradoxes, and move beyond the paradigms of boundary erosion and boundary maintenance, I draw from Elizabeth Mavorudi's assertion of diaspora as a process. For Mavourudi, diasporas are 'dynamic, 'on the move' and multiple but also subject to power relations, tensions, disconnections and the specific, situated processes that enable (or force) the constructions of shared (and often politicised) notions of belonging, identity and community' (2007: 476). The process of diaspora, therefore, can incorporate the mobilisation of 'identity, community and the nation-state that are static, essentialised and fixed for political, socio-economic and cultural reasons'(Mavroudi, 2007: 474), while it can also reveal newness, hybridity and difference. Resultantly, people 'on the move' can be involved in the process of both strengthening and dismantling boundaries and borders. Although the process of diaspora is fluid and never

static, it is influenced by powerful structures, and certain constructions of diasporic identities and socio-economic conditions can be imposed. For example, dominant structural formations of race, class, gender and religion can be imposed on those living over borders, potentially generating significant structural limitations and hurdles. The diaspora process is influenced by both agency and structure, creating diverse experiences and variegated identity manifestations.

It is clear then that diasporas are capricious, not neatly fitting into secure categorical typologies, but neither are they perpetually unbounded and subversive. Underlining this complexity is critical, but not being able to provide some level of definition can lead to the concept losing its effectiveness (Brubaker, 2005; Kenny, 2013). Helpful to this argument is Brukbaker's (2005) understanding of diaspora as a stance. For Brukbaker diaspora is not some preordained ethnic identity or grouping of belonging, rather he argues that a migrant needs to enact and engage in certain practices and outlooks to mobilise a diasporic stance. Brukbaker asserts that 'as idiom, stance, claim, diaspora is way of formulating the identities and loyalties of a population' (Brubaker, 2005: 12). In the making of a diaspora population, stances will vary between people, places and times. For some populations, an active diaspora stance involves a strong orientation to the homeland and desire for return, for others, return is more metaphorical and a continued and shared group identity has more significance. It is these complex relationships with the lived home, the homeland and group identities that engender or do not engender a diaspora stance in a migrant. There are varied degrees of being diasporic, and migrants may fluctuate between different stances at different times and in different spaces. Although stances are varied and fluid within diaspora communities, I would argue that those with a strong homeland orientation and an active collective identity linked to the homeland are more classically diasporic. Nonetheless, newness and hybridity, as argued by postmodern scholars, are also key features, highlighting the complexity of the diaspora experience. For those in diaspora then, there is commonly a negotiation of what Nagel (2002) has called the politics of 'sameness' and 'difference'. With this complexity, it is problematic to provide a full-proof definition of a diaspora, but what we can assert is that the processes of migration, resettlement, a homeland orientation, collective identity formations and newness are what primarily constitute a diaspora stance. The role of the researcher, therefore, is to explore how migrants engage and mobilise these different but overlapping diasporic processes over places and time.

1.3.2 *The Lived and Everyday Diaspora Space*

Having set out diaspora as a process and stance, a key objective of the thesis is to explore how those of Moroccan descent in the city of Granada negotiate, mobilise or reject a diaspora stance. Rather than conceptualising Moroccan born residents as inherently diasporic and organised as a community, I set out to explore the different ways Moroccan migrants engage or disengage in diasporic practices, processes and imaginaries. To do this, I foreground the role of space, both lived and imagined, throughout the thesis. As aforementioned, diasporas are spatially contingent, both making and being made by the locations they dwell in, and as asserted by McLoughlin and Knott, the diaspora space is where the 'future of diaspora studies lies' (2010: 271). To comprehend the sheer complexity and heterogeneity but also homogeneity and cohesiveness, I enter the lived everyday spaces of the diaspora and explore socio-spatial practices, performances and narratives. Through an ethnographic approach a key objective is to analyse how urban space is produced by diasporic practices, and simultaneously, how the spatiality of Granada produces certain diasporic formations, identities and stances. This is to ask how do Moroccan migrants materially produce urban space? What diasporic identities are materialised in everyday spaces? What role does the context of Granada have in the diasporic production of space and identities? And what encounters and interactions of difference and sameness occur in these lived spaces? These questions are primarily addressed in chapter 4 where I explore how diasporic diversity is lived, materialised and experienced in the everyday spaces of Granada. These questions open out the diasporic tendencies of Moroccan migrants and how Moroccan diversity is spatialsed within the city. As this is a brief overview for the introduction, chapter 4 also provides a more detailed analysis of the literature that explores the intersections between spatial theory and diaspora formations.

1.3.3 *Belonging, Home and Identity*

Notions of belonging and home, and how these intersect with identity formations, are also central themes of analysis throughout the thesis. Key characteristics of diasporas such as border crossing, displacement, mobility, and reformations of dwelling can subvert, reconfigure and disrupt more normative notions of belonging and home. Consequently, the dynamics of diaspora belonging are complex, 'and are an area of investigation with

paramount importance in diaspora research' (Finlay, 2015: 43). Feelings of belonging are frequently spatially contingent, constituted by a sensation of being at home in place, which Antonisch (2010) describes as 'place belongingness'. Home in the diaspora condition is understood as multi-faceted and complex, encompassing a longing for a mythical or real homeland and a lived home of dwelling and place-making (Brah, 1996). Feelings and practices of home intersect with identities and identification with place (Brah, 1996), and are therefore intrinsically linked to the formation of diaspora communities. Consequently, the intersections between belonging, home, identity and space are at the crux of the thesis, providing a way to grapple and probe at the lived diaspora condition. To explore these intersections, a key objective of the thesis is to examine the senses of belonging the diaspora have with Granada - the 'host' city. This is to ask how do Moroccan migrants relate to the spatiality of Granada? What makes them belong or not belong? How does Granada impact on the formation of diasporic identities and spatial practices? This focus on 'place belongingness' opens out the interconnected spatialities and temporalities of place, and foregrounds the distinctive contextualities of the urban. Theses questions and concerns are primarily addressed in chapter 5 where I examine narratives of belonging, home and identity. Another objective is to examine the diversity of belongings and identities that are mobilised by Moroccan migrants in Granada. This is to ask how do subjectivities such as class and gender intersect with Moroccan ethnicity in the formation of belongings and identity? What variegations exist between those who are labelled as part of a diasporic population? By addressing these questions in chapter 6, the thesis opens out the complexity of migration and the diversity of diaspora communities. In many respects, an objective of the thesis is to reveal and examine the dynamism and variegation of people on the move, rather than to provide answers with neat categories and conclusions. Again, as this is a brief overview for the introduction, chapters 5 and 6 also provide a more detailed analysis of literature about belonging, home and the complexity of diasporic identities.

1.4 Outline of Thesis and Summary of Key Arguments

Chapter 2 sets out the context of the research, focusing on the city of Granada and Moroccan migrations to southern Europe. The chapter is split into three parts, the first of which opens out key historical, socio-cultural and economic features of Granada. Part two examines contemporary and historical Moroccan migrations to Europe, with a specific focus of Moroccan diversity in Spain and the city of Granada. Part three summarises existing research

of Moroccan migration in Granada. Overall, this chapter highlights the rationale for selecting Granada and the Moroccan diaspora as sites of analysis.

In **chapter 3** I set out the ethnographic methodology of the thesis, which incorporated an eight-month empirical study of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada between 2012 and 2013. Here the epistemological approach, research design and research process is explained in detail. The research sample and the process of accessing participants and spaces are also discussed during the chapter. The research design is based around a street ethnography that involved observing, interacting, and conversing with Moroccan migrants in the numerous cafes, restaurants, shops, street stalls and religious centres that make up the diaspora space that is contemporary Granada. Four integrated methods were utilised: 'go-along' observations, 'informal narrative conversations', semi-structured interviews and visual methods such as photos and films. I also discuss two key issues surrounding the research process. First, I reflect on my own positionality in the research, and suggest how it has impacted on the data gathered and knowledge produced. Second, I reflect on the practice of representing an ethnic minority community, highlighting the uneven power relations embedded in the research process.

In **chapter 4** I begin the first of three empirical chapters by exploring the formation of a cohesive Moroccan diaspora space in Granada. The objective of the chapter is to explore how the Moroccan diaspora have transformed urban space, and conversely, how the spatiality of Granada influences the socio-spatial, cultural and economic practices of the diaspora. The first section of the chapter analyses key concepts and theories about the social function of space, and the intersections of diasporas and space. I then turn to the empirical analysis, firstly focusing on the historic nature of the spatiality of the lower Albayzín, before analysing the factors that enabled the early production of a diaspora space in the early 1990s. The following sections explore the aesthetic production of both the orientalised business space and the Islamic religious space, then I examine the types of encounters with difference that occur in the lower Albayzín. Throughout the chapter I demonstrate that the Moroccan migrants in Granada have achieved a distinctive right to a Spanish city, producing a multi-sensory, self-orientalised diaspora space. Through the mobilisation of a strategically self-orientalised cultural capital, the diaspora have partly appropriated the valuable history of Al-Andalus, a key component in the city's tourist imagery, which has enabled the diaspora to gain a right to have a presence in the city, to display an orientalised and Islamic identity, and participate autonomously in the local economy. I also argue that although the streets of the lower Albayzín do contain a dominant oriental identity, it is also a space of variegated encounters

and identity formations. Essentialist identities, cultural hybridity and cosmopolitan encounters are all enacted on the streets. I propose that it is a 'practical hybridity' that often takes place in the lived spaces of the diaspora. Ultimately, the Moroccan diasporic right to the city is the result of interactions between features of Granada's social, cultural, economic and historical landscape with the economic and cultural strategies of the Moroccan diaspora. Overall, this chapter exemplifies how the contexts of cities and diasporic communities interact and mutually construct urban space.

The aim of **chapter 5** is to explore the senses of belonging and home the Moroccan diaspora have with Granada – the 'host' city. It is a specific study of diaspora belonging to place, and what constitutes attachments to place. The focus is on the emotional and personal aspects of belonging, and how these feelings are articulated and experienced in personal narratives. The Moroccan diaspora is heterogeneous, and multiple feelings of belonging were articulated during the fieldwork. However, many expressed evident feelings of belonging to Granada, and this chapter specifically focuses on the factors that generate these belongings. The types of diasporic identity formations that are attendant to these senses of belonging are also analysed. The first section of the chapter examines key conceptualisations of the notion of belonging, 'home' and how these are understood in the diaspora condition. Subsequently, I explore three key factors that were identified as engendering belonging to Granada. Firstly, I examine the discursive and material heritage of Al-Andalus, which is greatly conducive to generating a nostalgic 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996) for Granada. Secondly, I explore the importance of the Islamic spatiality and embodied Muslim presence in the city, both historical and contemporary, for diasporic identification with the city and its inhabitants. Thirdly, I argue that the right to the city, and subsequent place-making strategies, further foster a sense of belonging and attachment. Throughout this chapter I demonstrate that Granada is a distinctive diaspora space for many Moroccan migrants, and can engender deep feelings of belonging. The contextuality of Granada can engender a 'homing desire' for Granada in the diaspora, which reconfigures the more normative notion of a nostalgic 'homing desire' for a far away symbolic place, to a 'homing desire' for the diaspora space of dwelling. Overall, this chapter exemplifies the importance of place for diasporas, and demonstrates how the diverse contexts of urban space can produce distinctive lived experiences and feelings of belonging.

Chapter 6 explores what differences of identity and belonging exist within the Moroccan diaspora. I examine contrasting narratives of belonging and identity to those in the previous chapter, demonstrating the heterogeneous nature of those considered part of the Moroccan

diaspora, and resultantly, critique and challenge the concept of diaspora. Through an intersectional lens, which considers how gender, class and religion intersect with Moroccan ethnicity, a variegation of cosmopolitan identities and belongings are revealed. The first section of the chapter examines literature that emphasises the complexity of the diaspora condition. In the second section, I turn to the empirical analysis, and firstly examine the complex negotiations of belonging and identity for women in diaspora. I argue that many of the women's narratives express a sense of emancipation from a perceived Moroccan patriarchal culture, which generates a sense of attachment to the diaspora space of Granada. The diasporic experience has involved a partial dislocation from certain aspects of Moroccan culture, allowing for the mobilisation of a less 'conservative' femininity. In the second section, I explore cosmopolitan and liberal attitudes towards religion and spirituality. I assert that the diasporic experience, especially for those from middle class and educated backgrounds, assists in the formulation of non-religious and less religiously rigid identities, contrasting with the prevalent religious identities discussed in the previous chapter. The narratives in this chapter, in many respects, do not always resonate with normative notions of the diaspora condition, such as a clear continuation of an ethnic culture and an obvious orientation towards a homeland. However, I argue that being in diaspora is as much about change and transformation as continuation and home, thus these cosmopolitan narratives are also exemplary of the diaspora condition. Overall, the chapter demonstrates the complexity of the Moroccan-born population that might be considered as diasporic, highlighting how elements of difference such as gender and class can impact on the formation of diasporic identities and belongings.

Chapter 7 reviews the key arguments of the thesis, providing an overall conclusion. It signals the contribution made to knowledge by the thesis, especially in the fields of urban geographies of diasporas, postcolonial geographies and Moroccan and Muslim migration studies. I demonstrate that the thesis has provided distinctive narratives of European urban diversity and I underline the fundamental centrality of place in the formation of diasporas. Lastly, I consider how some of the key findings could be built upon in future research.

Having set out the objectives, key questions and core arguments of the thesis, the following chapter provides a contextual overview of the city of Granada and Moroccan migrations to Europe, Spain and Granada.

Chapter 2: Granada and Moroccan Migrations

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the context of the research, focusing on Granada and Moroccan migrations to Europe and Spain. The chapter is split into three sections. First, I provide an overview of Granada's history, focusing on key events from the 7th century CE onwards. This historical overview considers socio-cultural, religious, ethnic and economic characteristics at key points in history. I finish this section by bringing it up to date and provide an overview of the characteristics of the contemporary city. Second, I examine historical and contemporary Moroccan migrations to Europe, with a specific focus on Moroccan diversity in Spain. Finally, in the third section, I provide an overview of existing research on migrants and diasporas in Granada.

2.2 The City of Granada: Historical and Contemporary Reflections

> *It used to be said that in the Maghreb, which originally comprised the northern part of Morocco and most of northern Algeria, when people saw a fellow Muslim looking sad they would say he was 'thinking about Granada'. (Trevelyan, 1985: 12)*

The city of Granada is situated in southern Spain, in the autonomous community of Andalusia, and is the capital of the province of Granada (see figure 1). The city is steeped in a diversity of histories, and especially resonant to this research, it was the last stronghold of Al-Andalus, making it greatly emblematic of Spain's Muslim past (Howe, 2012). In 711, after the relatively recent arrival of Islam in Morocco, Tariq bin Ziyyad, who had been put in charge of Tangier, led a huge Berber army across the straits of Gibraltar to Spain. This was the beginning of the Berber and Arab 700 year Muslim settlement in the Iberian Peninsula, which was better know as Al-Andalus. The Berbers, also known as the Amazighs, are regarded as the native, nomadic tribes of Morocco and North Africa, and they were greatly significant in the establishment and endurance of Al-Andalus (Flesler, 2008). Another commonly used term to describe this epoch is 'Moorish Spain' (Flesler, 2008). 'The Moors' was the medieval name given to the Muslim inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula and Maghreb. At its peak (around 720), under the Umayyad caliphate, Al-Andalus encapsulated

nearly all of the Iberian Peninsula, even encroaching into what is now known as France. It was in the 8th century, with the arrival of Muslims, when the Albayzín neighbourhood of Granada was established (Isac, 2007). Although the nucleus of the city dates back to pre Islamic times, it was during the Al-Andalus period when Granada started to significantly urbanise, and the Albayzín neighbourhood was the starting point. (Pozo-Felguera, 1999; Isac, 2007).

Fig. 1: Map of Spain with Granada Highlighted in Red

Source: Travel Moodz - www.travelmmodz.com , 2015

Over the next 500 years the Christian *Reconquista* progressed, putting nearly all of the Iberian Peninsula back under the control of the Catholic monarchs, and with the fall of Cordoba in 1236, practically all that remained of Al-Andalus was the Kingdom of Granada. The Kingdom of Granada, also commonly known as the Nasrid dynasty of Granada (1238-1492), stretched from Almeria to Gibraltar, with Granada being the capital city of the Kingdom (Coleman, 2003) . During the Nasrid period Granada flourished as an opulent city and the world-renowned Alhambra Palace was built (Fletcher, 2001). The Albayzín, the traditional Muslim district, greatly flourished and developed under the Nasrid dynasty (Pozo-Felguera,

1999). For 250 years Granada remained as the last stronghold of Al-Andalus, giving the city a great degree of prominence in Islamic and Christian imaginaries. The Nasrid dynasty of Granada, and the Al-Andalus epoch in general, is considered by many historians to have produced *La Conviviencia* period in Spanish history. *La Conviviencia*, which means 'the coexistence', refers to the supposed religious harmony that existed between Muslims, Christians and Jews in Al-Andalus (Flesler, 2008). María Rosa Menocal, in her book - *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* - describes *La Conviviencia as:*

> *The chapter in Europe's culture when Jews, Christians and Muslims lived side by side and, despite their intractable differences and enduring hostilities, nourished a complex culture of tolerance. (2002: 11)*

Resultantly, there is a belief that Granada was historically a multicultural and tolerant society, where diverse cultures lived side-by-side and successfully interacted. However, in 1492 Granada moved into a new epoch. The Catholic Monarchs, known as Isabel and Ferdinand, finally gained control of the city, signalling the end of Al-Andalus and making Granada the last Muslim principality to have existed in Western Europe (Coleman, 2003; Flesler, 2008). The fall of Granada in 1492 marked the beginning of the end of religious diversity for hundreds of years. As Marvine Howe explains:

> *Finally on 2 January 1492, after a 2-year siege, Queen Isabella of Castille and King Ferdinand of Aragon received the keys to the royal residence of the Alhambra from Muhammad XII. The last Muslim Prince of Al-Andalus signed the Treaty of Capitulation to save his beloved Granada from certain destruction. That same year, Isabella and Ferdinand, known as the Catholic Monarchs, began their cleansing operation to rid the peninsula of unwanted Muslims and Jews through the Inquisition, mass expulsions and forced conversations. By the seventeenth century, the last Moriscos (Christianised Muslims) were expelled, and the Roman Catholic rulers believed they had resolved 'the Muslim problem' once and for all. (2012: 19)*

This period of religious cleansing resulted in multiple waves of Jewish and Muslim migrations from Granada, with many moving to Morocco, especially to the north. These refugees left their marks in the places they settled, with the city of Tetouan often named as

'the daughter of Granada'(Elrazzaz, 2010), and in Fez there is a 'Bario Andaluz' (Andalusian neighbourhood) (Fez.net, 2015).

Over the course of the 16th century, after the fall of the Nasrid Dynasty, Granada went through a process of Christianisation and urban transformation (Coleman, 2003; Isac, 2007). The city's political, social, cultural, religious and physical landscape was metamorphosing from a Muslim city into a Christian one. Mosques were turned into churches or destroyed, streets were widened, plazas were built, and renowned Christian buildings such as the Cathedral (1523), the Royal Chapel (1504) and the Royal Hospital of Granada (1511) were developed (Coleman, 2003). There was also a persistent and officially encouraged arrival of Christian immigrants from all around the Iberian Peninsula, contributing to the consolidation of a dominant Catholic population (Flesler, 2008). The original Muslim district of the city, the Albayzín, was not included in the urbanisation process, and gradually it went into decline (Pozo-Felguera, 1999). The population of the Albayzín was 27,150 in 1561, but after the 1609 expulsion of the Moriscos (the name given to descendants of Spanish Muslims who converted to Christianity) the population fell to 8,000, resulting in a desolate and empty neighbourhood (Pozo-Felguera, 1999). Although the city went through a profound Christianisation, and Muslim areas and structures such as the Albayzín and the Alhambra were allowed to go into decline, the Muslim imprint on the material and architectural nature of the city was not completely erased. Considering the near total erasure of the embodied diversity of Muslims and Jews, it is unexpected that material structures and urban design emanating from the Muslim epoch were, in some respects, allowed to remain.

In the 17th and 18th century, Granada, like the rest of Spain, went into a gradual decline, and the flourish of building and urban change that occurred in the 16th century began to slow down (Isac, 2007). This decline was indicative of the steady fragmentation of the Spanish Empire, a key source of trade and commerce for Granada (Gay-Armenteros, 2001). In the 19th Century things did not greatly improve, and unlike northern areas of Spain such as Barcelona, Granada did not have an industrial revolution. Andalusia predominately remained as a region of agriculture, and Granada was a provincial city (Gay-Armenteros, 2001). However, in the 19th century Granada did start to receive a level of international attention, and the city's relationship with its past began to change. Romanticists of the time, such as Richard Ford and Washington Irving, started to unearth Al-Andalus architecture, and its beauty amazed them. In 1829 Washington Irving arrived in Granada and asked to stay in the Alhambra Palace, which was in an abandoned and uncared for state. While he stayed in the forgotten palace

Irving wrote *Tales of the Alhambra*, which celebrates the oriental past of the city, and was greatly significant in generating a romantic image of Al-Andalus and Granada (Arias, 2009). These authors of the Romantic period embraced and celebrated the Muslim past and are frequently credited with putting Granada on the tourist map. The Lonely Planet states that the Romantic Movement 'set the stage for the restoration of Granada's Islamic heritage and the arrival of tourism'(Lonely Planet, 2015).

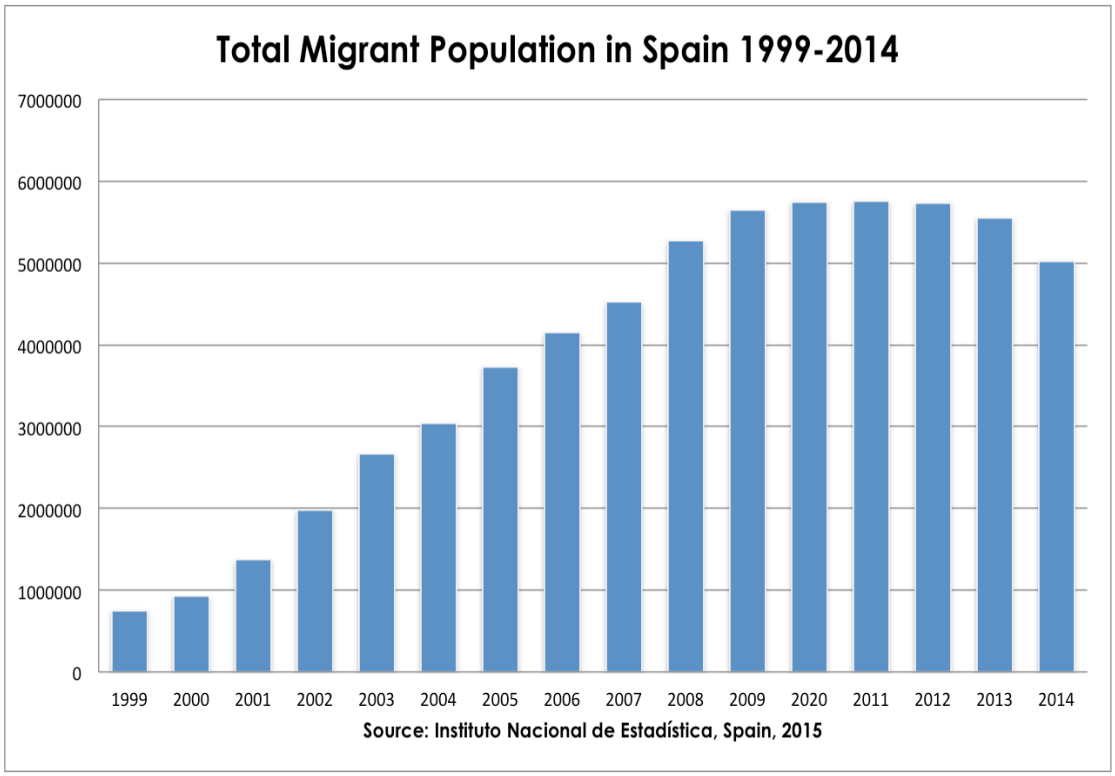
Although an image of Granada was now popular in the tourist imaginary, the advent of large-scale tourism was still sometime away, and the 20th century brought another dark period in Granada and Spain's history. The nationalists of Francisco Franco took over Granada at the start of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), ostensibly receiving much support from the politically conservative population of the time. The nationalists killed an estimated 4000 people from Granada with liberal or left wing associations (Lonely Planet, 2015). One of those killed was Granada's most famous author – Federico García Lorca. Following the victory of the nationalists in the Civil War (1939), Spain and Granada entered nearly 40 years of conservative dictatorship under the leadership of army general Francisco Franco. The dictatorship of Franco was marked by a conservative and repressive politics, including the promotion of a unified Catholic identity and Catholicism was the only religion to have legal status (Gay-Armenteros, 2001). The politics of 'who belonged' was very singular, and a mono-cultural society was promoted and celebrated. In addition to the conservatism that enveloped the city, Granada during the 1950s, 60s and 70s went through much urban reformation, with the expansion of the city and an increase in its population (Isac, 2007). The 1970s also signalled a period of economic development, though the city did not industrialise anywhere near to the levels of those in the north of the country. The industries that developed in this era of accelerated transformation were small to medium sized businesses, specialising in food and mechanical and motor assistance (Gay-Armenteros, 2001). Historian, Juan Gay-Arementeros (2001), states that it was in this period that the city definitely lost its dream of creating a significant industrialised zone, and it started to position itself as it is now, a city of tourism and services. The University of Granada, nonetheless, experienced extraordinary growth in the 1970s, becoming the third most popular after universities in Madrid and Barcelona (Gay-Armenteros, 2001). This was the beginning of the University taking a significant role in the life and economy of the city.

In 1975, the dictator Francisco Franco died, resulting in Spain's transition to democracy, and in 1977, the country had its first democratic elections for over 40 years. In 1978, a new

Spanish Constitution was brought into power, granting greater political and social freedoms, and in 1982 the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) won the general elections. In the 1980s, Granada, like the rest of Spain, experienced a profound economic, social, and cultural transformation, with new socio-cultural freedoms and economic liberalisation. Spain's integration into the European Union in 1986 resulted in a countrywide economic boom, and Granada's economy diversified and grew. The tourism industry of the city began to grow significantly, with increasing numbers of visitors year on year. The Alhambra and historic neighbourhoods such as the Albayzín had become extremely valuable to the local economy. In 1984 the Alhambra Palace was named a UNESCO World Heritage Site, while the Albayzín neighbourhood received this honour in 1994, adding to the tourism brand of the city (Rodríguez-Medela and Salguero-Montaño, 2011).

For hundreds of years, until the late 1980s, Granada and Spain had been predominately ethnically homogenous, with Spain being a country of net migration rather than a receiving country of immigration (Cornelius, 2004). However, with the country's rapid economic boom in the late 1980s and 1990s, there were gaps in the labour markets and abruptly Spain became an attractive destination for international migrants (Cornelius, 2004). Consequently, Spain began to experience large-scale immigration for the first time in its modern history. According to the Spanish Government, the immigrant population in Spain grew from 923,879 in 2000 to 5.7 million in 2010, almost a 500% increase in 10 years (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015) (see figure 2). In 2014, the foreign born population was just over 5 million, corresponding to around 10.7% of the total population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015). In a relatively short period of time then, Spain has transformed from a comparatively mono-cultural society to a highly diverse one, with migrants from all over the world living within its borders.

Fig. 2: Total Migrant Population in Spain between 1999-2014

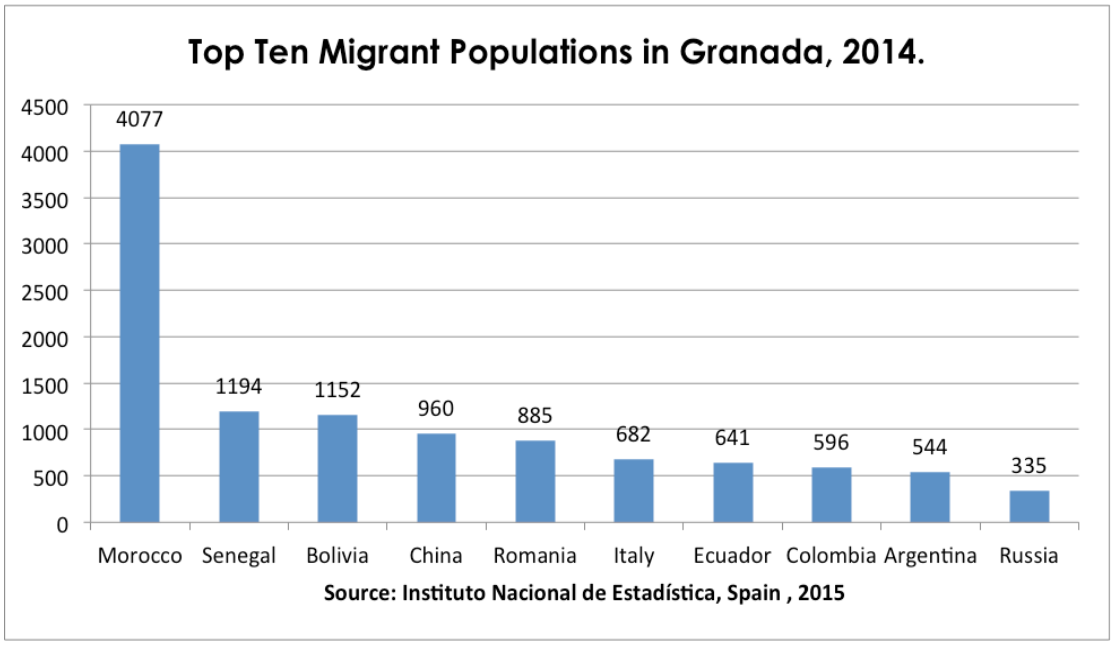


Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Spain, 2015

Like Spain, Granada's landscape has diversified in the last 30 years, with the arrival of diverse nationalities, ethnicities and religions. The city has transformed into a contemporary 'diaspora space', where a variety of ethnicities live and come into contact. According to government statistics, in 2014 the migrant population was 16,468, corresponding to 7% of the population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015). This figure is slightly lower than in 2012 and 2013, consistent with the national decrease in immigration numbers during these years (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015). The fall in the number of migrants is attributed to the profound economic recession experienced in Spain since the global financial crisis in 2008 (García-Ballesteros and Jiménez-Blasco, 2013). Nonetheless, diasporas from countries such as Morocco, Senegal, Romania, Bolivia and China are now established residents in the city (see figure 3). The Moroccan diaspora is the largest, with a legally registered population of 4077 in 2014, representing 25% of the migrant population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015). With relatively high numbers of undocumented migrants in Spain (El Mundo, 2014), the actual number of Moroccan migrants is most likely higher than the official number. According to Granada ACOGE (Fieldwork interview, 2013), an NGO that works with refugees and immigrants, Moroccans were the first contemporary migrants to arrive and settle in Granada. The proximity of Morocco to southern Spain and the setting up of social networks by the early arrivals stimulated a consistent flow of Moroccans to the city. The

Moroccan diaspora is also marked by regional and localised identity, with the majority originating from northern Morocco, especially areas such as Nador and Tetouan. In addition, Berber is the predominant ethnicity of the majority of Moroccan migrants, corresponding with the high number of Berbers in the north of Morocco. Moroccan business proprietors have a significant presence in the Centro and Albayzín districts, while residentially, many live in the Zaidín and La Cartuja districts (Fieldwork interview, 2013). With the arrival of Moroccan migrants in the city, the practice of Islam was once again being established in Granada. In the early 1980s, prior to their arrival of Moroccan migrants, European Muslim converts were the first to establish a small but active Muslim community in the city (Rogozen-Soltar, 2012). Subsequently, Moroccan migrants arrived and significantly increased and consolidated the Muslim population. In 2003, *La Mezquita Mayor* (The Great Mosque) was opened in the upper Albayzín, ostensibly the first mosque to be built in Granada for 500 years (Coleman, 2008). However, since the national Religious Freedoms Law was passed in 1980, the At-Taqwa Mosque had been functioning in the lower Ablayzín (Coleman, 2008). These 2 functioning mosques, along with another 4 in other parts of the city (Fieldwork interview, 2013), demonstrate the return of Islam and religious pluralism to the city.

Fig. 3: Top Ten Migrant Populations in Granada, 2014



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Spain, 2015

To bring it up to date then, contemporary Granada is a medium sized city with a population of 237, 540 in 2014 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015). In comparison to cities in the north of Spain, Granada is not considered especially affluent (García-Campos, 2015), and the recent finical crisis has had profound effects on employment and the economy. In 2014,

unemployment levels reached 36% in the province of Granada (Granada Digitial, 2014). The city has not greatly industrialised over the last 40 years, with tourism, university education, transport and construction as its main industries (Gay-Armenteros, 2001). With respect to tourism, the visitor numbers have been especially high, with 2.5 million people staying in hotels in the province of Granada in 2014, the highest number ever recorded (20 Minutos, 2015). There has also been a concerted effort to create a strong brand for the city, which has involved a promotion of Granada's great historical diversity. In so doing, Granada has gone full circle, and rather than ignoring the Muslim history of Al-Andalus, the city is using it as a valuable marketing tool. In 2013, the city celebrated the Millennium of the Muslim Kingdom of Granada, which aimed to show the diversity of its past, and that Muslims, Christians and Jews had lived harmoniously together in the city (Rodríguez-Medela and Salguero-Montaño, 2011). As previously mentioned, the population of Granada is now multi-cultural, with multiple flows of diverse migrants settling in the city. With the student population and tourists also adding to the diversity, the 21st century city is certainly a highly cosmopolitan space. Contemporary Granada, therefore, is a vibrant multi-cultural city, with a distinctive and valuable cultural heritage, but its lack of economic variety and dynamism, makes it vulnerable to recession and deep inequalities.

This section has demonstrated Granada's diverse and complex history, where the East and West overlapped and mixed, resulting in a contemporary cultural landscape that is pervasively marked by Christian, Muslim and to lesser extent Jewish architecture, designs and symbolisms. Ethnic diversity has only returned relatively recently to the city. Moroccan migrants establish the biggest diaspora, and they have contributed to the return of Islam. These conditions all herald Granada as a distinctive, valuable and important urban space for examining diaspora formations and contemporary diversity. I would suggest it is a city of great importance to postcolonial thinking, as it complicates the dichotomy between the East and the West, and has potential to provide new European narratives of urban diversity and migration.

2.3 Moroccan Migrations: Europe and Spain

Processes of migration profoundly shape Morocco, and I would argue that migration, both in and out of the country, is a fundamental component of its make-up. Its history demonstrates flows of diverse ethnicities, religions and nationalities moving in and out of the country. For example, the Berbers (the native people of the north of Africa) were introduced to Islam

through the arrival of Arab migrants from the Middle East in the 7th century, Berbers migrated north to Europe and helped construct the dynasty of Al-Andalus in the Iberian peninsula, and the French and Spanish both colonised parts of Morocco in the 20th century (Pennell, 2003). The postcolonial period of the mid/late 20th century marked the beginning of large-scale Moroccan migrations to Europe. Therefore, Morocco is marked and made by perpetual migrations and movements, both in and out of the country. In this section, I provide a brief overview of 20th and 21st century Moroccan migration to Europe, with a specific focus on migrations to Spain.

Since the second half of the 20th century, Morocco has become one of the world's principal emigration countries, with a global diaspora estimated at four million, equaling 12% of the total population (Berriane *et al.*, 2015). Moroccan migrants are spread all around the world, but over three million (an estimated 75%) are considered to live in Europe (de Hass, 2014) . In 2012, 35.4% lived in France, 19.9% lived in Spain and 14.4% lived in Italy (Migration Policy Centre, 2013). As de Hass (2014) points out, modern emigration flows and patterns are deeply embedded in colonialism. Although European countries occupied parts of Morocco prior to the 20th century, it was the signing of the treaty of Fez in 1912 that fully established the European encroachment (Pennell, 2003). The treaty established a French-Spanish protectorate making the European colonisation of Morocco 'official'. The 1912 treaty of Fez provided France with control over the heartland of Morocco, while the Spanish protectorate consisted of the northern Rif region and the southern Western Sahara. The colonial era (1912 to 1956) marked the beginning of Moroccan migration to France, which was predominantly providing industrial and army labour power during the First and Second World Wars. There was very little labour migration of Moroccans to Spain during the colonial period, but 40,000 Moroccans from the Rif region, mainly Berbers, found employment in Franco's army during the Spanish Civil War (de Hass, 2014). This dearth of labour migration was primarily because Spain was a relatively poor country, and Spain itself was a source of labour and political migration to northern Europe (Cornelius, 2004). Therefore, although Spain had colonial ties with Morocco, the migration of people between the countries did not mirror those in other colonial centres such as France and the United Kingdom.

The post-colonial period (1956 onwards) is considered to be the beginning of 'the Moroccan migration boom' (de Hass, 2009). However, 'the boom' began at a modest pace, and up until the 1960s migration flows were still predominately towards France. In France, the Moroccan population increased from about 20,000 to 53,000 between the years of 1949 and 1962 (de

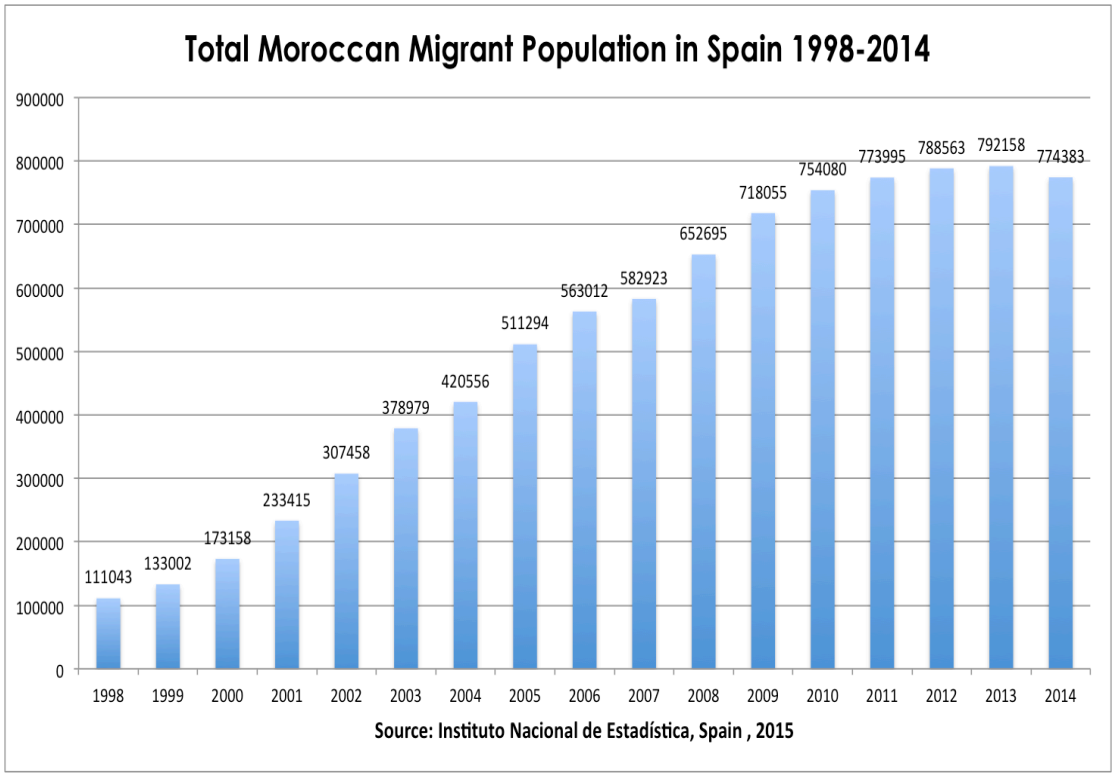
Hass, 2014). In the 1960s, however, northwestern Europe was experiencing strong post-war economic growth, resulting in shortages of unskilled labour. Resultantly, an agreement on the recruitment of 'guest workers' was signed between Morocco and the former West Germany (1963), France (1963), Belgium (1964) and the Netherlands (1969) (de Hass, 2009). This was the onset of the 'spatial diversification of Moroccan emigration' (de Hass, 2005), with flows of migrants to other European countries other than just France. The estimated number of Moroccans living in Europe increased from 30,000 in in 1965 to around 400,000 in 1975 (de Hass, 2005).

After the post-war economic boom of the 50s and 60s, the 1973 oil crisis brought a period of economic stagnation and readjustment in northern Europe, resulting in high unemployment and lower demand for unskilled labour (de Hass, 2014). This crisis, consequently, heralded the closing of northwestern European borders to un-skilled labour migrants. Paradoxically, this economic downturn, and the increasingly restrictive migration policies, did not lead to large-scale migrant returns to Morocco, rather the majority ended up as permanent European residents (de Hass, 2009). The economic and political instability in Morocco, plus the new restrictions on circular migrations, pushed more and more former Moroccan 'guest workers' into permanent residents. Subsequently, in the 70s and 80s, large-scale Moroccan family reunifications took place. These unifications explain the continued increase of Moroccans living in northwestern Europe, from 400,000 in 1975 to over one million in 1992 (de Hass, 2005).

It was not until the late 1980s/early 1990s that Moroccans started to migrate in large numbers to Spain and other southern European countries. In the 1960s and 1970s small numbers of Moroccans arrived in Spain, with most 'passing through' en route to France, while some did settle in more industrialised areas such as a Catalonia in the north (Howe, 2012). However, after Spain's transition to democracy in the late 1970s, and subsequent strong economic growth in the 80s and 90s, there was a demand for migrant labour, which stimulated the first waves of large-scale Moroccan immigration to Spain (Cornelius, 2004; Flesler, 2008). Prior to 1985, Moroccans could enter Spain freely without a Visa, and Moroccan migration had a circular character as they could travel freely back and forth (de Hass, 2014). Migration restrictions and border controls came into effect after 1985, and interrupted this circular migration. Despite the introduction of restrictions, Moroccan immigration to Spain grew exponentially, with large numbers entering 'illegally' (de Hass, 2014). During the 1990s and first decade of the 21st century, *Pateras* (small boats) carrying undocumented Moroccan and

Sub-Saharan migrants arrived on the southern coast of Spain almost on a daily basis, resulting in the development of a 'high-tech border control system' by the Spanish government (Carling, 2007). With the sheer scale of the numbers of Moroccans who had entered Spain irregularly, the Spanish government offered legal status to large numbers of Moroccan migrants through numerous regularisation programmes (Bárbulo, 2004; de Hass, 2014). According to the Spanish government (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015), the Moroccan population had grown from 111,043 in 1998 to 511, 294 in 2005, demonstrating that the regularisation programmes of 2000 and 2001 had an impact on the registered number of Moroccans living in Spain (see figure 4). In 2014, the number had grown to 774,338, which was a small drop on the numbers in 2012 and 2013, but it still made Moroccans the second biggest migrant group after Romanians, accounting for 15% of the total migrant population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2015). Therefore, in a relatively short period of time, Moroccan migrants have become a significant feature of Spanish society, providing labour to numerous industries and diversifying the cultural landscape.

Fig. 4: Total Moroccan Migrant Population in Spain between 1998-2014



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Spain, 2015

The acceptance and integration of Moroccans in Spanish society is considered to be quite distinctive, with Moroccans frequently perceived differently than other migrants (Dietz and El-Shohoumi, 2005; Flesler, 2008; Aneas *et al.*, 2010; Howe, 2012). Daniela Flesler (2008),

in her book about Spanish responses to contemporary Moroccan immigration, uses Martin Baker's term 'new' racism to describe a powerful discourse Spain has adopted to Moroccan migrants. She argues that that the 'new' racism discourse asserts that Islamic traditions, i.e. those of Moroccan and other Muslim migrants, are incompatible with democratic and modern Spain. However, according to Flesler, what makes the 'new' racism discourse about Moroccans in Spain distinctive, is that it is partly determined by the medieval anxiety about the Moors. She asserts that:

> *Spain is not only experiencing the return of the colonized but also that of its medieval colonizers […] Perceived as "Moors", Moroccan immigrants embody the non-European, African and oriental aspects of Spanish national identity. Moroccans turn into a "problem" then, not because of their cultural differences, as many argue, but because, like the Moriscos, that they are not different enough. (2008: 9)*

Moroccans thus remind Spaniards about a part of their identity that they have tried hard to erase, which destabilises 'Spanish identity as unequivocally 'European''(Flesler, 2008: 10). Moroccan migrants in Spain then, are imbued with memories that are evocative of a complicated past, rendering them as a distinctive migrant group, which according to Flesler, engenders racism and mistrust. Zapata-Barrero (2008) asserts that as a result of the racism and xenophobia, the Moroccan community has some of the poorest living conditions and is one of the most marginalised segments of the foreign population. It is these narratives of bad integration, marginalisation and racial discrimination that are frequently in the literature about Moroccan migrant experiences in Spain. Paradoxically, there is also a sense that Spanish society is less racist and more tolerant to Muslim immigration than neighbouring European countries. Observers note that protests against mosques and Islamic communities have been a lot less heated in Spain, and anti-immigration movements are less prevalent compared to countries such as France, the UK and the Netherlands (Howe, 2012; Arango, 2013). The main explanation given for this comparative tolerance of Muslim immigration is the relative newness of the phenomenon and the still modest numbers of Muslims in the country. For Marvine Howe (2012), another factor that differentiates Spain from other European countries is the commitment of politicians, councillors and NGOs to maintain a good dialogue with Muslim communities. Howe asserts that Spain shows more empathy as it has been a country of emigration for centuries and that it has a deep historical connection with Islam and Morocco. This active dialogue then, allows for Moroccans and Muslims to have a better level of participation in Spanish society, according to Howe. Therefore, there is a sense that

Spain's attitude towards Moroccan migrants is simultaneously intolerant and tolerant, that its Muslim history is equally enabling and disabling for Moroccan integration. This complexity and paradox I would suggest is at the crux of the Moroccan migrant experience in Spain, and is why there is a need to carry out further studies into the lived experience of Moroccan migrants in varied locations around the country.

This section has demonstrated that flows of Moroccan migrants to Europe have a long and complex history, with a gradual spatial diversification of destinations from northwestern Europe to southern European countries such as Spain. In Spain, Moroccan migrants are the second largest diaspora, and have significantly diversified the socio-cultural, religious and economic reality of the country. Moroccans have a distinctive relationship with Spain, influenced by the proximity of the 2 countries and their sustained historical connections. These factors foreground how experiences of migration are overtly geographically contingent, and it underlines the importance of exploring the everyday experiences and perceptions of Moroccan migrants in Spain.

2.4 Diaspora and Migration Research in Granada

Considering that Granada offers a Western urban space with a mixed Muslim, Christian and Jewish cultural heritage and a relatively large migrant population, there is still a fairly small body of research that focuses specifically on the experience of migrant communities within the city (Dietz and El-Shohoumi, 2005; Jiménez-Bautista, 2006; Padilla *et al.*, 2015). A number of studies do examine issues to do with migrants, but it is not the primary focus of analysis. For instance, Rogozen-Solar (2012) explores how Muslims represent Islam in southern Spain, and her case study is in Granada. Through the focus on representations of Muslims, she examines the representational strategies of European converts and Moroccan immigrants in the city. In the paper, Rogozen-Soltar sophisticatedly argues that European converts and immigrants are placed differently in Spanish racialised imaginaries of Islam, resulting in different anxieties about representing Islam. In Rosón-Lorente's (2007) study of the Albayzín, he does consider issues and experiences of migrant communities, but the principal concern is gentrification of the neighbourhood.

Another area that has received significant attention is the relevance and impact of the medieval past in present day Granada and Andalusia (Doubleday and Coleman, 2008; Perry, 2008; Calderwood, 2014). Once again these studies engage with issues to do with migrants in

Granada, but migration is not the primary focus and there is a lack of engagement with the lived experience of migrants. For example, Coleman (2008) explores the relevance of the past in the construction of the main mosque in the Albayzín neighbourhood; Doubleday and Coleman (2008) and Calderwood (2014) discuss how the history of Al-Andalus is used for commercial ventures in tourism; and Rogozen-Soltar (2007) traces competing narratives of Andalusian history and identity through on-going controversies that involve regional identity and Muslim immigrants in the cities of Granada and Córdoba.

Nonetheless, there is a selection of studies that have engaged more directly with migrants and foregrounded their experiences in Granada. In the recent publication by Padilla *et al* (2015), they explore how notions of 'super-diversity' and 'conviviality' are lived and experienced at the local neighbourhood level in Granada. This study explicitly foregrounds migration, and significantly, it grounds it in lived spaces of the city. However, the paper is primarily a theoretical and methodological reflection piece, and does not fully unpack the empirical data. Dietz and El-Shohoumi (2005) provide an analysis of the lived experiences of Muslim women in Granada, and these are primarily migrant women from Morocco. This is an important and informative exploration, providing a grounded approach that gives a voice to migrants. Dietz and El-Shohoumi examine Muslim women's religious beliefs and practices, their family and community life, their labour market integration and the sources and types of discrimination they face. Francisco Jiménez-Bautista (2006), who has extensively researched about racism and intercultural conflict in Granada, has explored youth perceptions about Moroccan migrants. According to Jiménez-Bautista, youths in Granada are not specifically racist against Moroccans, but they do display moments of racism and xenophobia. This racism, he argues, is the result of structural racism, which becomes impregnated in certain youths.

Overall, there is some greatly informative research that considers experiences of migrants in Granada, but there is a need to foreground migration as the principal aspect of the research, and to properly engage with social theories of diversity. There is an absence of research that is grounded in everyday lived spaces, and there is very little engagement with the diasporic formations of migrant communities. Too often the Islamic identity is the principal category of analysis, which fails to consider the multiplicity and complexity of identities and belongings that mark Moroccan migrants. Therefore, this thesis seeks to fill gaps in the research, and explore the everyday lived spaces and experiences of Moroccan migrants. Through engaging with the notion of diaspora and spatial theory, the research offers a theoretically informed examination, which considers the multi-faceted nature of migrant identities and belonging.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the ethnographic methodology used in this research and it is divided into six parts. In part one, I examine the epistemological framework of ethnography and discuss its value for researching diasporas, migration and diversity. Then, in part two, I describe classical approaches to carrying out ethnography. In part three, I describe and critically analyse the process of carrying out a street ethnography. This includes a critical explanation of the empirical focus, a description of how I accessed spaces and participants and an overview of how I applied the research methods to gather and analyse the data. The research consisted of four integrated methods: 'go along' observations, 'informal narrative conversations', semi-structured interviews, and visual methods. In part four, I discuss how I utilised semi-structured interviews, setting out the process of accessing participants and carrying out interviews. In part five, I describe how the data was analysed, explaining how themes, ideas and arguments were formulated. Finally, in part six, I reflect on the personal experience of carrying out research, describing how I negotiated quandaries related to cross-cultural research, gender, representation and my personal positionality.

3.2 Ethnographic Epistemological Framework

Ethnography is the overarching methodology underpinning this thesis, and has greatly influenced how the research aims and questions were formulated. A pressing issue to discuss, therefore, is what are the epistemological foundations underpinning ethnography and why is it suitable to tackle and answer the research aims and questions set out in the introduction?

The research is a place specific project, and the social uses of space and peoples relationship with it are key concerns in the research objectives. The project is partly an exploration of everyday lived spaces, focusing on the material culture and embodiment that occur and exist in them. The research, thus, takes the ethnographic epistemological viewpoint that social order is embedded in socio-spatial practices, and discourses and structures shape how socio-spatial practices are played out and lived (Herbert, 2000). To clarify, discourses are the sets or representations and texts that circulate in society and impact on how 'meanings are produced,

identities are constructed, social relations established and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible' (Campbell, 2009: 166). Structures refer to the social regulations and practices that are established by the societal power of groups, classes or social institutions (Gregory, 2009), and it is in the grounded, lived spaces of society where the social order of discourse and structure are embodied and materialised (Latham and McCormack, 2004). Through this epistemological viewpoint, an ethnographic study becomes theoretically informed and attempts to uncover how discourses and structures impact the lived experience. As Herbert points out, the ethnographic examination of 'how different social groups meaningfully define, inhabit, manipulate and dominate space' (Herbert, 2000: 551) is a useful tool for human geography, as it helps to determine how place, agency and structure intertwine.

Important to an ethnographic epistemology is the notion that the 'everyday' or the 'quotidian' is a revealing lens into societal structures and processes. In recent years the theme of the everyday, in both geography and sociology, has emerged as an explicit empirical concern for analysis (Kalekin-Fishman, 2013; Back, 2015). Prior to the empirical focus, the everyday was primarily engaged with theoretically (Kalekin-Fishman, 2013) . For example, scholars such as Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau theorised the everyday, propagating its importance for understanding the complexity of society, rather than seeing it as taken for granted part of existence. Lefebvre (2014) theorised everyday life through a Marxist lens, and approached it as an urban phenomenon. For Lefebvre, everyday life is where you can see the articulation of the organizing practices of social life and the possible subversion of these practices by its inhabitants. He argued that the disciplining practices of capitalism are enunciated in everyday life, thus the everyday can shed light on historical and contemporary processes that shape the world. de Certeau (1984), on the other hand, described the everyday as a realm of practice and creativity, revealing how inhabitants make places their 'own', even though they are constrained by discourse and structure. Everyday and ordinary practices reveal how people make sense of place and formulate spatial identities and belongings. The theories of Lefebvre and de Certeau demonstrate that the everyday is an empirically rich lens for geographers, revealing vital insights into identities, socio-spatial relations and the effects of power, discourse and structure on society. In many respects, everyday life is a crucible of knowledge for human geographers, a realm where researchers can elicit rich information about people and place.

I now briefly discuss what an ethnographic epistemological framework offers research on diasporas, migration and diversity. In brief, diasporas and ethnic diversity are lived conditions, which are articulated and experienced in the everyday (Wise and Velayutham, 2009). It is through the lens of everyday lived spaces that one can explore how diasporic and ethnic diversity is mobilised and negotiated in embodied practices, personal narratives, material culture, encounters and sensory experience (Mitchell, 1997b; Blunt, 2007; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Rhys-Taylor, 2013; Smith, 2015). The lived and everyday notion of diasporic diversity challenges ethnicity as essential, bounded and fixed. Rather, it takes the view that ethnicity is a place contingent enactment, resulting in complex and multiple mobilisations of ethnic identity in the life of local place. Ethnography, with its grounded and place specific focus, provides a lens into the complexity of the lived worlds of diasporic diversity and experience. As Hall states, 'the value of ethnography in understanding difference is that it renders a situated and multi-vocal sense of people and places as they live in, respond to and shape their social worlds' (2012: 8). Therefore, ethnography attempts to engage with the sheer multiplicity and complexity of the contemporary lived experiences of diasporas, migration and diversity. It is the methodological approach that takes the researcher into the lived, everyday multicultural, allowing for multiple voices to be heard and multiple socio-spatial practices to be observed. Instead of producing abstracted and ungrounded knowledge, ethnography attempts to depict the sites and practices that give diasporic diversity a material and tangible existence in the lived world. As argued by Katherine Mitchell (1997b), there is a need 'to bring geography back in' and foreground 'transnational spatial ethnographies' in the examination of diasporas, transnationalism and migration.

3.3 Classical Practices of Ethnography

Having highlighted that an ethnographic epistemology prioritises knowledge that emanates from the lived world, it is now important to broadly explain what ethnography actually involves, something that Lees (2003) considers to be lacking from many a methodology.

Ethnography's background is most closely linked to cultural and social anthropology and Clifford Geertz (1973) described it as the generic practice for anthropological studies. However, since the mid twentieth century it has expanded into many other disciplines such as sociology, cultural studies, psychology, education studies, and human geography (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). As Hamersley and Atkinson assert 'ethnography plays a complex and shifting role in the dynamic tapestry that the social sciences have become in the

twenty first century' (2007: 2). With regard to the methods applied, ethnography is a polysemous methodology, and different researchers, with different projects, will apply a diverse selection of methods labelled as ethnography. Gobo (2008) states that since the 1980s ethnography has expanded to encompass a hugely diverse array of methods such as life stories, textual analysis, questionnaires and interviews. However, it is the use of observation that distinguishes ethnography from all the other qualitative methods (Gobo, 2008). A researcher may apply a selection of methods such as interviews or textual analysis but for it to be considered ethnographic a level of observation must be applied. This can comprise full participant observation, where the researcher is involved in the social practices they are observing or non-participant observation, where they are observing the social practices from a distance (Barner-Barry, 1986). For the researcher to carry out observational work they will enter the field and closely observe what is happening and what is being said. The researcher inhabits the social spaces of interest in order to watch first hand the social and spatial practices that are occurring. Therefore, fieldwork is at the heart of observational ethnographic research (McCall, 2006). It involves getting 'out there' and the gathering of empirical data in social spaces. However, a more robust ethnographic methodology will include additional methods to observational techniques (Crang and Cook, 2007). For example, an ethnography that includes observation with interviews, or observation with discourse analysis will provide a greater variety of data and viewpoints to examine.

The job of the ethnographer is not solely observing and listening, they must also interpret and represent what they have seen and heard (Van Maanen, 1995). Geertz (1973) labeled this job of interpretation as 'thick description'. 'Thick description' is described by Packer as 'how ethnographers inscribe the events they have witnessed and turn them into accounts' (2011: 219). It is fundamental to grasp that this concept of 'thick description' is not merely the description of observation, but rather, the inscribing and interpreting of observations (Packer, 2011). Ethnographers are not merely explaining what they see and hear, rather they attempt to 'clarify what goes on in such places, reduce the puzzlement' (Geertz, 1973: 14). Thus, the essential elements that constitute ethnography are the observation of social practices, the listening to the narratives of social actors, the interpretation of these practices and narratives, and finally the representation (inscribing) of these practices in a written and visual document.

3.4 A 'Go Along' Street Ethnography

In many respects, the thesis that follows is the result of a 'go along' street ethnography, encompassing a multiplicity of methods such as 'go along' observations, informal narrative conversations, semi-structured interviews, and visual methods.

Drawing on the work of 'street' ethnographers (Anderson, 1999; Duneier, 1999; Hall, 2012), I applied an ethnography that involved extensive periods of observational research on a number of streets in the lower Albayzín area of Granada. My 'street method' involved a 'go along' approach, which is a lens that explores the spatial practices and movements of people in less static places such as streets, plazas, shops, cafes, etc. (Kusenbach, 2003). At the crux of the 'go along' street ethnography is a mobile form of 'deep hanging out' (Wogan, 2004), which goes with the flows and rhythms of the street. It can involve static periods of hanging out in cafes and shops, but it can also involve walking around with participants in the spaces and lived worlds that are being explored. The mobile hanging out of the 'go along' approach allowed me to fluidly observe and converse in the shops, cafes, bars, plazas, and street corners, which make up the contemporary 'streetscape' of the Moroccan diaspora. The ethnographic observations were primarily visual, with long periods of watching and documenting the socio-spatial practices, materiality and interactions on the streets. However, at times I did expand on the visual and explore the multi-sensory experience. A multi-sensory ethnography aims to expand on a purely visual observational analysis, which was often the dominant lens of classical ethnography, to consider how sound, smell, taste and touch are constitutive of the lived experience (Pink, 2015). Therefore, I did at times attune my attention to not only the things I could see but also to the sounds, smells and tastes.

I did not limit the street ethnography to 'go along' observations, but applied what Brewer (2000) would term as a 'big' ethnography. The ethnography is 'big' as multiple methods, rather than just observation, were applied during the fieldwork. For example, in addition to visual and sensory observations, informal narrative conversations and semi-structured interviews were used to illicit data. Personal narratives and stories are a way that individuals ascribe meaning to experience, and are constitutive of our lived reality (Clandinin, 2006). We formulate our identities and belongings through our narratives (Lawson, 2000; Riessman, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Eastmond, 2007), thus listening to stories is a valuable epistemological resource for exploring diaspora formations. Les Back (2007) propagates the importance of the art of listening in social research. In brief terms, Back argues that listening

attentively to stories can reveal nuanced aspects of the lived experience, and for ethnographers, can reinvigorate an engagement with lived realities. Accordingly, listening to the stories and narratives of participants was a fundamental feature of my methodology, and the methods of informal narrative conversations and semi-structured interviews were applied during the fieldwork. Informal narrative conversations were a natural and free flowing feature of the street ethnography, while the interviews were more structured, often involving formal meetings and interviews. Semi-structured interviews greatly compliment and add sophistication to an ethnography, but it nonetheless involves an adaptation of the ethnographic research process, frequently moving the researcher and participant into more structured modes of communication. Moreover, semi-structured interviews may involve speaking and listening in spaces that are not the everyday lived sites of the ethnographic analysis. Consequently, in the subsequent sections of the methodology, I separate out the street ethnography from the semi-structured interviews, providing separate descriptions and reflections on how they were developed and carried out. It is important to point out that the street ethnography and semi-structured interviews did overlap, and were not invariably separate processes, but on occasions there was discernable differences in how they were applied. This is why I discuss them separately in this chapter.

To summarise, this thesis is the result of a 'go along' street ethnography, which involved observing, interacting, speaking and interviewing Moroccan migrants in the numerous shops, cafes, restaurants, community centres, religious centres and NGOs that make up the diaspora space that is contemporary Granada. Overall, the strategies of data gathering encapsulate the practices, experiences and interactions that underpin the lived experience, and thus, foreground the lived experience of being in diaspora. As I have so far set out the key approaches underpinning the ethnography, I now examine the actual process and experience of carrying out a street ethnography.

3.4.1 Initiating a Street Ethnography: Selecting Spaces of Research

The data examined in the thesis was generated from eight months of fieldwork in the city of Granada in southern Spain during July 2012 and March 2013. Prior to the fieldwork, I had visited, lived and studied in Granada for educational and recreational purposes. The most substantial period of time spent in Granada was when I studied for an academic year at the University of Granada as part of my undergraduate degree. During this year, I lived and studied in the central districts of Granada, resulting in a considerable knowledge of the

geography, demographics, culture and history of the city. Consequently, I had an established understanding about certain aspects of the city prior to the fieldwork, which provided a certain level of embeddedness on my arrival in the city.

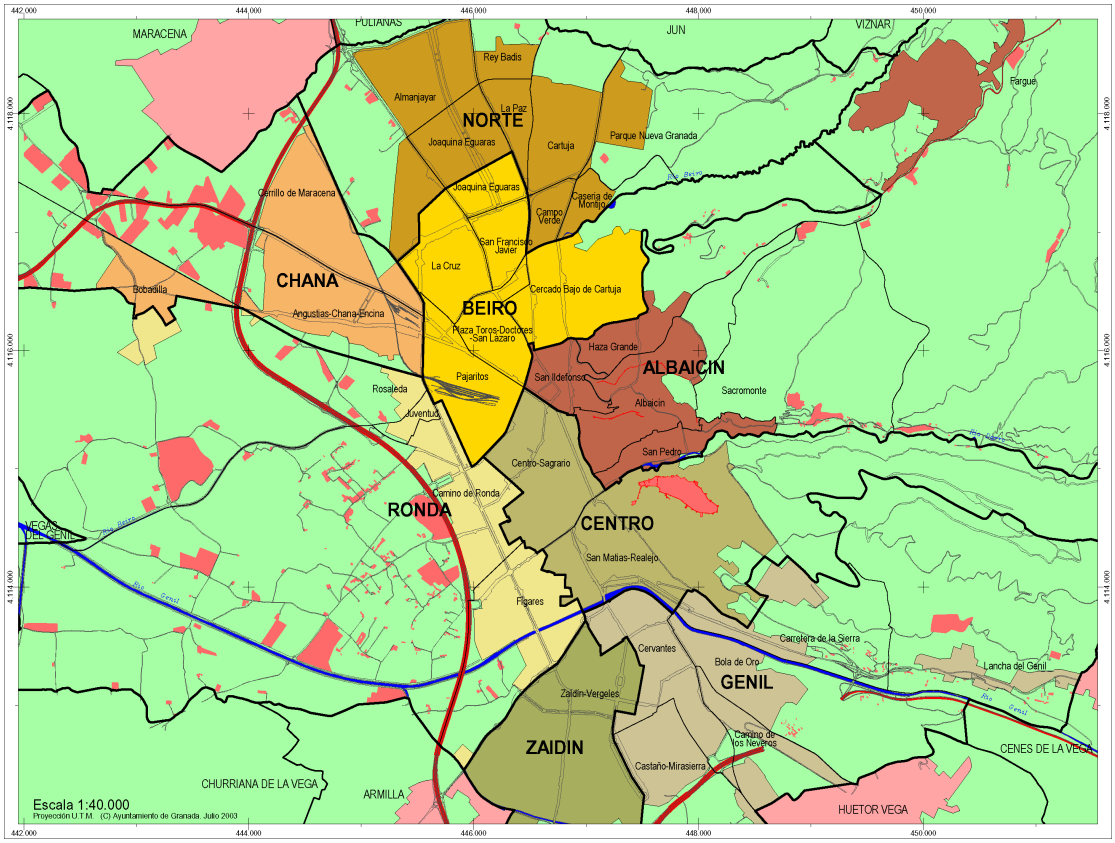
As a core aspect of the research was to examine and spend time in the actual lived spaces of the Moroccan diaspora, an early concern was to select the locations and types of spaces I was going to spend time in and explore. This was a process of deciding on the spaces where I would hangout, observe, interact and chat with the people, processes and materiality that make up the spaces that are inhabited by Moroccan migrants. To begin with, I wanted to try and examine both private (domestic) and public spaces, but the difficulty of gaining access to the private spaces became apparent early on during the fieldwork. To be invited inside the private properties of people that I was only beginning to meet was unrealistic and potentially an uncomfortable request. My intuition and general awareness of the Moroccan diaspora made me conscious that this request might not always be well received. I would suggest that as the domestic home is frequently gendered as a female space (Antonisch, 2010), my male positonality limited my chances of access, and I quickly became aware that male or gender neutral spaces were more feasible for me to spend time in. As a result, during the early stages of my fieldwork I decided I would solely focus on the public spatial presence of the Moroccan diaspora. I did not completely exclude the chance of exploring private/domestic spaces, as I thought there might be more manoeuvre for this once I had spent more time in the city and established closer relationships with participants. However, the public and semi-public spaces were rich sources of data, and it quickly became apparent that there was no room or need to explore private/domestic spaces in this research project. This is not to argue that the private spaces are irrelevant sites of analysis, rather they can provide a nuanced lens into the lived experience, but for this research it was more coherent and focused to solely examine the public and semi-public spaces.

Once I decided to focus only on public spaces, I then had to select the sites I was going to analyse. The street was an obvious starting point, providing an intimate geographical scale, where migrant ethnicity and diasporic urban participation is often materialised and made visible (Hall, 2012). Apart from the major commercial areas of cities, the street is an everyday space, where city making is articulated by the spatial practices and business repertoires of the ordinary city dwellers (Hall, 2015). The street provides an arena to explore social habits, identity formations, social relations, and manifestations of discrimination and care. In many respect, the street is the quintessential ethnographic urban space, providing a rich lens into the

lived experiences of the urbanite. Within the interconnected geographies of Spain and Morocco, the street is a vocal point of socio-cultural and economic activity and practice (Thompson, 2002). It is the chief arena for everyday life, providing the stage for social encounters, transactions, mobility and community. Distinctions that make the street such a significant space in the context of Morocco and Spain are complex, but 2 substantive reasons, I suggest, are the frequently warm climates of both countries and the narrow, dense and pedestrianised architectural design of many streets. As a result of these climatic and architectural conditions, the street, in both Morocco and Spain, is a hive of social engagement, where the researcher can find much to examine.

To select the streets for examination, I made visits to a number of neighbourhoods such as the Albayzín, el Centro, el Norte, and Zaidín. During these visits I examined the socio-spatial and economic presence of Moroccan migrants in a number of central streets. Although migrants and migrant businesses have some level of presence in most neighbourhoods of Granada, the lower Albayzín, which borders the Centro district, was selected as the core site for analysis (see figure 5).

Fig. 5: Districts of Granada



Source: Ayuntamiento de Granada, Spain, 2015

In many respects, this was an intuitive selection, as within the lower Albayzín there is a constellation of streets that are commonly referred to as 'the Moroccan quarter' (Rogozen-Soltar, 2007). This title is due to the high concentration of businesses and services that are owned or used by Moroccan migrants. It is the one area of Granada that could be considered as a Moroccan 'ethnic enclave', providing a lens into the lived world of the Moroccan diaspora. The lower Albayzín is a central area of the city, not a peripheral district in the outskirts. However, it used to be a peripheral area in the centre, but due to migrant entrepreneurship and culture, which I examine later in the thesis, it has been transformed into a visible space that is central to the tourism package of the city. Consequently, these streets do not provide a view into the everyday lives of Moroccan migrants who primarily exist and work in the outskirts of the city. Rather, the lower Albayzín provides a lens into the everyday lived experience of Moroccan migrants in a central and visible district of a European city. The selected sites of analysis, then, are a specific and distinctive lived geography, offering a partial but pertinent lens into the lived Moroccan diasporic experience. It is important to note that although there is a high concentration of Moroccan migrants in the area, other migrants such as Pakistanis, Algerians, and Senegalese have a presence on the streets. Spanish owned and run businesses also add to the diversity. Consequently, it is an area of multi-ethnic diversity, generating inter-ethnic encounters and exchanges. However, the Moroccan diasporic presence is visibly the most palpable, and is the primary lens of analysis.

The principal streets examined in the lower Albayzín were Calle Calderería Vieja, Calle Calderería Nueva and Calle Elvira (in chapter 4 see figure 7 for a map visualisation of the streets). I also analysed adjacent streets that had a Moroccan presence, but the primary focuses were the aforementioned streets. I am conceptualising the street as a space that is simultaneously public, semi-public and private/domestic. For example, a street includes the open and public spaces such as the sidewalk and road, which are often owned or at least maintained by councils and local governments. There are the semi-public spaces such as retail shops, restaurants, community centres, religious centres, which can be both privately and publicly owned. Suzanne Hall, for example, differentiates the public street from the retail spaces in her study on Walworth Road in London, stating 'shop spaces…were neither overtly public nor private. The shops were adjacent to and distinct from the street, and interactions and memberships within the shops were regulated differently from those on the pavement fronts' (2012: 7). Finally, there are the private spaces of the street such as residential properties and gated business spaces. As I was interested in the public spaces of the street, the

open street (i.e. pavement/road) and the semi-public spaces such as retail properties, services and civic properties were selected as the sites of analysis.

In chapter 4, I provide a detailed description and tour of the streets, but for methodological rigour and clarity, I now briefly describe the key sites I selected to observe and 'hang out' in. My objective was to select spaces that would allow me to observe and engage with the Moroccan diaspora in a natural and everyday setting. The spaces were not neatly selected prior to entering the field, and it required a number of visits before making a selection. I now describe the spaces that emerged, overtime, to be the principal sites of ethnographic analysis. First, the pathways and small plazas that constitute the open and public component of the streets were selected as sites of analysis. Calle Calderería Nueva and Calle Calderería Vieja are narrow and pedestrianised streets, while Calle Elvira is slightly wider and has a one-way traffic system. Residents, workers and visitors commonly frequent the public and open spaces of the streets, creating a socially vibrant space, and a rich empirical resource to analyse Moroccan diaspora formations. The streets evoke a sense of being in a bazaar and this is symptomatic of the high density of small to medium sized shops and services. Four types of micro-economies dominate the business composition of the Moroccan diaspora – artisan gift shops, food and drink outlets, cyber/internet cafes and street markets (Fieldwork interview, 2013). Overtime, I accessed all four of these types of micro-economies and they became principal sites of ethnographic analysis. Over the length of the fieldwork I frequented and examined a wide variety of businesses, but there were certain ones that I habitually spent time in. Although there is a difference between the public and the semi-public spaces of the street, there is a visible overlapping of these two spaces in the lower Albayzín. Businesses and services that line the streets use the pavement to display goods and offer services, and the public and semi-public spaces are not completely separate entities, but are often mutually constitutive. Religious centres are also part of the street composition, providing spaces of worship and community for residents, workers and visitors who follow a pious life. An important space for many in the Moroccan diaspora is a mosque situated on a small street just off Calle Calderería Nueva, which I selected as another component of the street to observe and engage with. The mosque added a street space that was based more on socio-religious functions, rather than overtly economic, assisting in diversifying the types of spaces I explored.

3.4.2 Initiating a Street Ethnography: Selecting Participants

Thus far I have described the locations and types of spaces I spent time in, but an important question to consider now is; who are the people of Moroccan descent I observed and spoke to? What sample of the Moroccan diaspora participated in the street ethnography? At the outset, I want to state that the sample of participants was not rigorously structured or planned. In methodological terms, my initial process of sampling could be considered as random, and I would argue that this is common, and possibly even critical, for an urban street ethnography. As a core objective of the thesis is to explore the lived public spaces of the Moroccan diaspora, those who inhabited such spaces preordained the sample. The sampling process, then, was guided by the lived spaces rather than the demographic characteristics of the person. I did not specifically set out to engage with men or women, young adult or middle aged, lower or middle class. Instead, I set to out to engage with those of the Moroccan diaspora whom I encountered in the streets of the lower Albayzín. It became apparent over time that a relatively cohesive sample was being accessed through the street ethnography. Firstly, the theory that people from a specific regional location often migrate to the same localised place is a palpable feature of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada (Brickell and Datta, 2011). The majority of the diaspora I was observing and speaking to were born in northern Morocco, with a high percentage born in cities such as Nador and Tetouan in the Rif region (see figure 6). As highlighted in figure 6, northern Morocco was under Spanish control between 1912 and 1956. Thus there are strong postcolonial ties between this part of Morocco and Spain (Pennell, 2003).

Fig.6: Map of Northern Morocco and the Northern Territories of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco (1912-56)

Source: Spanish Protectorate in Morocco, Wikipedia, 2015

The comparatively high percentage of migrants born in cities such as Nador and Tetouan corresponds with the general understanding that the majority of Granada's Moroccan born population originate from northern Morocco, specifically the Rif region (Fieldwork interview, 2013). Symptomatic of the high number of migrants born in the Rif and surrounding areas, is that many participants identified as Berber. As aforementioned in chapter 2, Berber is an ethnic group considered as indigenous to northern Africa and there is a strong Berber tribal presence in the north of Morocco (Pennell, 2003). Although participants born in northern Morocco dominated the sample, I did engage with a smaller number of Moroccan participants who originated from other parts of the country. For example, I spoke to migrants who came from cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, Marrakesh and Fez, and some of these identified as Arab rather than Berber, or a mixture of Arab and Berber. However, northern Morocco was the location that the majority of participants referred to as their place of birth, and this, I suggest, is significant to the diasporic experience in Granada.

Another pertinent feature of the street ethnography sample is its male bias. Again this was not an objective of my research plan, but transpired due to certain external factors. Firstly, the Moroccans who work and spend time in the streets and businesses/services were predominantly men, with women having a far less visible presence. Moroccan women do have some level of presence, and I did engage and speak with some during the street ethnography, but in comparison to men, the numbers were small. The limited presence of Moroccan women, I would argue, is symptomatic of Moroccan gender norms, which commonly demarcate women's role as domestic and private (Fieldwork interview, 2013). The public spaces of the street are commonly claimed to be the realm of men in discourses emanating from Morocco (Fieldwork interview, 2013), and these norms have pertinence in diaspora. Therefore, the streets of the lower Albayzín are highly gendered spaces, characterised by a clear male dominance, and it did not provide me a lens into the female experience. My own male gender, I believe, is another factor that contributed to the limited participation of women. I would suggest that gender and culture norms that exist in Morocco, especially those that discourage extended contact between non-married men and women, partly transfer into the diaspora space, making it difficult to engage publicly with certain women. I do not want to imply that all Moroccan born women in diaspora are living under conservative gender norms and constraints. This is not the case, but there are traces of certain ideologies that made it difficult for me to spend time and engage with certain women. It is important to note that through my use of semi-structured interviews, which I discuss later in

this chapter, I was able to access a number of Moroccan women. However, engagement with women through the street ethnography was limited, and it was primarily an epistemological resource to explore the male diasporic experience.

In addition to the dominant male and northern Moroccan characteristics of the sample, there were 2 other palpable features. Firstly, all of the Moroccan migrants I observed and spoke with were first generation, having all been born in Morocco and migrating to Granada during their lifetime. Secondly, not all participants disclosed their age, but the ones that did, ranged from around 25- 50, so it was predominately a young adult to middle aged sample. These features are the consequence of Spain only becoming a country of large scale immigration in the early 1990s (Cornelius, 2004), resulting in many migrants still being relatively recent arrivals. Consequently, the Moroccan diaspora in Granada is not overtly multi-generational; with the relatively younger first generations still the predominant demographic, especially in the working and social spaces of the streets.

Although the Moroccan diaspora and the spaces they inhabit were the key lenses of analysis, they do not exist separately and disconnected from those who are not considered as part of the diaspora. As argued by Avtar Brah (1996), the diaspora space is equally inhabited by those who have migrated and those that are represented as indigenous. For Brah (1996), there is a need to examine the entanglements of diverse populations in the diaspora space, rather than conceptualising a diaspora as a separate and bounded entity. During the fieldwork I also observed and spoke to people who were not Moroccan born, and did not consider themselves as part of a Moroccan diaspora. I was especially interested in observing the interactions, encounters and transactions between the Moroccan diaspora and other migrants, tourists and 'natives'. A focus on a diverse range of actors assisted in moving beyond an overly ethnic centric lens (Fox and Jones, 2013), and allowed me to explore the networks, encounters and fluidity of identities. Again, I did not pre-structure the sample, but was guided by the multiplicity of encounters and interactions that occur on the streets. Resultantly, I engaged with a diverse range of people including Spanish born businesses owners (men and women), tourists from numerous countries, economic migrants and asylum seekers from Africa, South America and the Middle East, and local residents of Granada. Speaking and engaging with this plethora of people allowed for a fuller depiction of the diaspora space, and accentuated the interconnected nature of diasporic communities.

To summarise, I selected streets in a relatively central area of Granada, which provided a resourceful lens to look at the socio-spatial, cultural and economic practices of the Moroccan diaspora. It was an examination of a specific localised space, which is in a central and visible part of the city, rather than the peripheral and partially 'forgotten' areas that migrants commonly frequent and dwell in (Hall, 2015). The research sample of the diaspora largely consisted of those born in northern Morocco, specifically the Rif region, and the majority were men. All participants were first generation migrants and ranged between the ages of 25-50. Naturally there was divergence from this sample, with some engagement with women and those from other parts of Morocco, but men originating from northern Morocco did dominate. The sample, therefore, is made up of people from the same localised area in Morocco, which I consider to be significant to how Granada is experienced. As argued by Brickell and Data (2011) in their notion of 'translocal geographies', migrants are situated across 'locales', and these are often more significant to the migrant experience than the scale of the nation state.

To finish this section, Table 1 provides demographic information about 30 of the people I engaged with through the street ethnography. Later in the chapter I provide demographic details about the semi-structured interview participants. Due to the nature of ethnography, I did not manage to gather demographic information from all participants. Thus, Table 1 does not provide a complete list. In the empirical chapters, I also provide the demographic information for quoted participants.

Table 1: Demographics of Street Ethnography Participants

Number	Pseudonym/Job	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Principal Status in Granada.	Length of time in Granada
1	Said	Male	34	Northern Morocco	Worker	Unknown
2	Reda	Male	Unknown	Tangiers, Morocco	Worker	Unknown
3	Mehdi	Male	Unknown	Nador, Morocco	Worker	Unknown
4	Brahim	Male	Unknown	Northern Morocco	Worker	Unknown
5	Simo	Male	27	Northern Morocco	Worker	Unknown
6	Yassine	Male	27	Tetouan, Morocco	Student	5 years
7	Ayoub	Male	Unknown	Tetouan, Morocco	Worker	Unknown
8	Anas	Male	Unknown	Tangier, Morocco	Worker	Unknown
9	Pablo – Spanish Muslim Convert	Male	Unknown	Granada, Spain	Worker	Unknown
10	Father of Youssef	Male	50+	Nador/Beni Ansar, Morocco	Worker	10 Years
11	Hamza	Male	Unknown	Ksar el Kabir, Morocco	Student	Unknown

12	Jamal	Male	Unknown	Rabat, Morocco	Worker	15 Years
13	Youssef	Male	Unknown	Nador/Beni Ansar, Morocco	Worker	7 Years
14	Ryan (Street vendor)	Male	Unknown	Northern Morocco	Worker	Unknown
15	Fahd (Street vendor)	Male	25	Western Sahara	Worker	Unknown
16	Chadi (Street vendor)	Male	Unknown	Marrakesh, Morocco	Worker	Unknown
17	Hafsa (Street vendor)	Female	Unknown	Morocco	Worker	Unknown
18	Driss	Male	Unknown	Northern Morocco	Worker	Unknown
19	Mustapha	Male	Unknown	Morocco	Worker	Unknown
20	Mustafa	Male	Unknown	Morocco	Worker	Unknown
21	BonAmi	Male	Unknown	Tetouan, Morocco	Student	Unknown
22	Yazid	Male	Unknown	Fez, Morocco	Worker	Unknown
23	Mourad	Male	Unknown	Morocco	Worker	Unknown
24	Saladin	Female	Unknown	Morocco	Worker	Unknown
25	Aziz	Female	Unknown	Morocco	Worker	Unknown
26	Abdou	Male	Unknown	Senegal	Student	Unknown
27	Farouk	Male	Unknown	Algeria	Worker	Unknown
28	Kamal	Male	Unknown	Algeria	Worker	Unknown
29	Luca	Male	Unknown	Granada, Spain	Worker	Unknown
30	Diego	Male	Unknown	Granada, Spain	Worker	Unknown

3.4.3 To the Field: Carrying out a Street Ethnography

Ethnographic 'hanging out' (Wogan, 2004) was a principal component of my street ethnography, and this is how I began the process of analysing the embodied and material spaces of the Moroccan diaspora. I took myself to the field and began to hang out in the streets of the lower Albayzín. For the first month I carried out a relatively 'light' form of observation. I was more concerned with examining the open/public spaces of the streets, rather than the semi-public commercial spaces of shops and services. This involved moving through the streets and examining the material geographies and identities that inhabited and used these spaces. Hanging out was a process of going along with the rhythms and flows of the city, and a level of serendipity guided certain aspects that I chose to follow and examine. For example, I would often follow the street vendors, who frequently moved around the streets in an attempt to stay out of sight of the local police. During this early period of the research, I mainly used observational methods. I recorded my thoughts and observations in my fieldwork diary, and I took numerous photos, recordings and sketches. To examine the visual material culture, I meticulously made notes and took photos of the signage, architecture, and objects that coalesce to produce the materiality of the street. I also paid attention to how my other senses were experiencing the open streets, and through note taking and aural recordings, I documented the sounds and smells that contribute to the

phenomenological experience. In addition, I took notes and photos to describe and record the types of people that inhabit and use the streets. I focused especially on the interactions and encounters that occurred between people. This process of observing people allowed me to become familiar with the faces of residents, workers and recreationalists that commonly hung out on the pavements. Moreover, my presence appeared to become familiar to certain residents, and resultantly, I started sharing simple pleasantries such as 'hello', 'how are you?' etc. This very 'light' interaction with people, I would suggest, assisted me to access and speak with certain residents later in the research. Over this initial month or so in the field, I became intimately familiar with the lay out of the streets and the wide variety of businesses and services. In many respects, this period was a process of mapping out the area, and documenting the composition of the businesses, services and people that live, work and visit the streets. Moreover, it was also a process of making my face familiar to workers and residents.

Following this exploratory period, I began to interact more explicitly with my spaces of analysis. I moved from being a relatively passive bystander, to a far more active inhabitant and consumer. I started to visit and use the shops, cafes, restaurants, bars, and streets stalls that make up the 'streetscapes'. It was a far more active hanging out and I began to interact and chat with the Moroccan nationals and Muslims (both Spanish and Arab) that work and inhabit these spaces. This resulted in more in-depth and participatory observations, and importantly, it allowed me to start gathering oral data. I was very keen to carry out an ethnography that produced both observational and oral data. I wanted to provide a voice to the people who inhabited and worked in these spaces, rather than a purely observational ethnography.

For the duration of the fieldwork, active hanging out was a method I applied a number of times a week. This enabled me to examine various public spaces, businesses, services and actors. Overtime, it became apparent that there were four types of businesses I predominately hung out in and around: artisan gift shops, food and drink outlets, cyber/internet cafes and street markets. Although I spent time in many different businesses, there were certain ones that I frequented on a regular basis. For example, I would often visit the Tetería[1] Al-Andalus,

[1] Teterías are Moroccan and Arab style teahouses. The word tetería is used throughout the thesis.

a small Moroccan style teahouse, and sit at the tables outside. I would drink tea, observe the encounters and performances on the street and chat with the local Moroccan shop owners and workers. This street is very narrow and most of the shops have products outside, and the Moroccan shop owners often sit outside beside the entrance of their shops/cafes. Therefore, while outside the Tetería I was able to observe numerous encounters, and chat with several Moroccan shop owners and street traders. Overtime I became good friends with a Moroccan man who owned a small gift shop beside the Tetería Al-Andalus. We would often drink tea outside on the street, chat together, and converse with other Moroccans, Spaniards and tourists. On a number of occasions I looked after his shop while he went to run some errands. This enabled me to further participate in the life of the street, and deeply observe the materiality, day-to-day practices and encounters. In addition, there were 2 Moroccan owned cyber cafes that I commonly spent time in, which allowed me to build up a good rapport with staff and customers. In one cafe I would often have informal conversations with the owner. This enabled me to discuss a number of issues related to my research, and he introduced me to a number of other Moroccan migrants whom I had conversations with. In another cafe, I became friendly with the father and son who ran it, and I carried out a lot of interesting informal conversations with them. To provide more detail about how I gathered data, I now describe how I carried out informal narrative conversations during the street ethnography.

3.4.4 Telling Stories: Informal Narrative Conversations

My core approach for gathering oral data through the street ethnography is what I have termed 'informal narrative conversations'. This approach is greatly informed by the narrative interview method (Riessman, 1993; Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000; Riessman, 2006), but is applied in a non-interview style. A narrative interview aims to encourage the interviewee to tell a story about some experience or period in their life. It is ostensibly a move beyond the question and answer schema, with the researcher imposing less of a structure and allowing the interviewee to be more spontaneous and natural (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). Furthermore, a narrative interview attempts to encourage the vernacular and natural language of the participant to guide the conversation, rather than imposing a style of language on the informant during the interview (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). While semi-structured interviews, which I discuss later in the chapter, are more structured, with the interviewer guiding the conversation with a set of question (Crang and Cook, 2007). The benefits of a narrative style interview is it is considered to provide a 'more 'valid' rendering of the informant's perspective' (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000), as the interviewer has less input to

how things are articulated and expressed. It is the method that privileges a more natural approach to listening to the voice of the participant. In its attempt to privilege a more natural and everyday form of speaking and listening, a narrative interview is allied with the epistemological foundations of ethnography, and it is why I have utilised this approach. However, I suggest that my approach is more of a conversation than an interview as it occurs in the everyday spaces of the street, and does not take an interview style format. Of course I had a notion of the types of stories and conversations I wanted to hear, which I would provoke through asking certain questions, but I would still suggest that it took more of a conversation format than an interview. For this reason, I have labelled the method as informal narrative conversations.

To conduct informal narrative conversations, I would frequently hang out in the teterías, food eateries, cyber cafes and oriental gift shops. This enabled me to get to know people and spark up conversations with Moroccan staff and other patrons. Also, hanging out in the public pavements and plazas would often result in conversations with streets traders and other people who frequented the public street. For these conversations to flow and be well received, an ability to banter with people was required. Banter, described in the Oxford dictionary as 'exchange remarks in a good humoured teasing way' (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015) was a technique to build up rapport and get along with people. Making people laugh and not taking myself too seriously, along with intermittent moments of seriousness, was the most fruitful way to carry out informal narrative conversations. I would suggest that the art of banter is a critical skill for a street ethnographer, as it is often the dominant vernacular language style of the street. Frequent visits to the same locations also allowed me to build up rapport and trust, helping me converse with numerous people that worked or hung out in those areas. It is important to note that the properties on the streets are densely packed together, so while hanging outside a cafe, for example, I was engaging with Moroccan workers from multiple shops. The streets, especially in spring, summer, and autumn, are highly social spaces, which provided me an abundant array of actors to engage and converse with. My conversations were not always static, and on numerous occasions I walked and conversed with people, especially with those I had built up a good rapport and friendship with. In sense, I went along with the embodied flows of conversation, moving with people between spaces.

As I was spending extensive amounts on time hanging out in the streets, the conversations would cover a wide array of topics, not always directly linked to the research. Nonetheless, during many conversations, I would ask questions explicitly relevant to the research, which

often resulted in richly informative narratives. Conversations often inadvertently covered relevant themes, as the research was about the spaces we were in, so naturally people spoke about those spaces. Even the less directed and general conversations were still beneficial as they were occurring in the spaces I was analysing, and it was a way of getting to know people who worked and inhabited these streets. I carried out the large majority of conversations in Spanish, which was absolutely critical for the practicality of communicating, but also for integrating myself into the life of the street. My positionality as neither Moroccan nor Spanish was often apparent, but my ability to speak fluently in Spanish reduced my 'outsider' status, and assisted in accessing the Moroccan diaspora and local residents. There was the occasional conversation in English, such as when a proprietor wanted to practice his English or when I conversed with non-Spanish speaking tourists or migrants, but Spanish, by and large, was the language used to communicate and converse in.

The length of informal narrative conversations lasted anywhere between a few minutes to a few hours. As these conversations were talking place in the lived and unpredictable space of the street, a conversation could be cut short due to the demands and nature of that day. Conversely, some conversations lasted hours, with little distraction from the flows and rhythms of the city. There were also conversations with people that lasted extended periods of time, but the actual moments of conversing were intermittent, as the participant would have to engage with other things and people. Therefore, the varied events, encounters, and transactions that occurred on the streets greatly influenced the temporality of a conversation, making it hard to predict the type and length of conversation I was going to engage in.

To record the oral data I varied between taking notes during the conversation, taking notes after the conversation, and there were occasions when the person was happy to be recorded. If I did not take any notes during the conversation, I would normally make notes as soon as I could after I had spoke to the person. This was very important in order to remember exactly what had been said and how it was expressed. Taking notes after a conversation was mainly how I collected data in shorter and less extensive interactions. In conversations that were longer than a few minutes, I would often write down what was being said while conversing and listening. This allowed me to write more detailed notes and often gather a greater amount of relevant data. Finally, in relatively long interactions with people I had built up a close relationship with, I would often record conversations on my dictaphone or mobile phone. Gaining consent to record conversations was testament of the trust and rapport I had built up with certain people on the street.

3.4.5 'Go Along' Street Observations

My examination of the materiality of the streets expanded on the visual material experience to consider the multiple sensory experiences of urban space. I attempted to analyse the sites, sounds, smells, and tastes, which construct the multi-sensory experience of the diaspora space. To record the visuality of the street, I had three core methods. Firstly, I would spend long periods observing the objects, interior design, built environment (architecture) and bodies that made up the visual material culture. While observing I would take detailed notes, which encompassed what I was observing and critical ideas to try and explain what was occurring. Secondly, I took numerous photos to document the diverse material experience. The photos were of a multiplicity of objects i.e. seats, tables, souvenirs, pictures, walls, food, drinks etc. I also took photos of the built environment i.e. streets, facades of buildings, outdoor lights, graffiti etc. Finally, I took photos of the people who inhabit and pass through these spaces. This was an attempt to document the diversity of the embodied space, and the encounters that were occurring. These photos provided me a wide source of visual data, and greatly assisted in my analysis of the visual materiality. Thirdly, I recorded a number of videos to document the visual material culture. The videos enabled me to document how people and objects moved within the spaces of analysis. It was a way to record, and later analyse, the fluid nature of the streets. The videos varied from still shots that recorded the movements within certain areas, and shots that I recorded while moving around the streets and shops. To record the sounds of the streets I used 2 main methods. Firstly, I would spend time in certain areas and take detailed notes of the sounds I was hearing. Secondly, I used my dictaphone to make recordings of the complex soundscapes. This would vary from recording in one specific spot, to walking about and recording the sounds of the street while mobile. These sound recordings provided detailed examples of the sounds emanating from the streets. The smells and tastes were recorded and documented through my personal sensory experiences. Again, this involved detailed note taking that described taste and olfactory experiences. I would take notes about the tastes of the food and drinks I was consuming, and the smells of the open and enclosed spaces of the streets.

3.5 Semi - Structured Interviews

Although the street ethnography was providing a substantial amount of data, I was very keen to gain more in-depth oral accounts from Moroccan migrants. Subsequently, I decided to expand on the data I was gathering from the natural and everyday setting of the street, and carry out semi-structured style interviews. Although I agree with the numerous scholars who consider interviews to be a key component of ethnography (Crang and Cook, 2007; Gobo, 2008), the process of carrying out semi-structured interviews generally involves a slightly more formal and constructed setting, and thus, needs to be discussed separately in the methodology. While the informal narrative conversations were relatively unstructured and carried out in the everyday settings of the participant, a semi-structured interview is more planned, with the interviewer guiding the conversation with a set of questions. Moreover, interviews are frequently carried out in spaces that are not the everyday locations of the participant (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). Semi-structured interviews may have removed some level of spontaneity from the oral accounts, but it did allow me to focus down on specific issues, which is considered to be a key strength (Longhurst, 2010). Through using semi-structured interviews I wanted to continue my examination of the public spatial presence of Moroccans, but more so, I wanted to explore concepts such as belonging, cultural change, and Identity. To explore these specific concepts, I formulated a set of questions prior to the first interview (see appendix 1 for an example of interview questions), which assisted in keeping the conversation relevant to what I wanted to explore. Over time, I learned the importance of wording in interviews, and I modified the way I structured questions on a number of occasions. There were a few occasions when I used language that was overly abstract, or politically sensitive, causing confusion, misunderstanding or even resentment. Furthermore, new issues and themes would arise during interviews that inspired me to formulate new questions for future interviews. All interviews were carried out in Spanish, and as I stated in the section on informal narrative conversations, I believe this was an important way of creating rapport between research participant and myself. Primarily, Spanish provided a common language, albeit our second language. Obviously this was essential for communicating and carrying out the interviews, but it also made the process more personal, as there was no need to have a third person interpreting. The rapport that can be created through a common language was hugely advantageous for connecting and finding common ground with interview participants. In some respect, it could be argued that the use of a second language by participant and myself equalised certain power relations and assisted in producing a level playing field of communication. Neither participant nor myself could claim

ownership to the language we were speaking in, and I believe this often created a level of rapport and creativity in how we communicated. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that the use of a second language also potentially put us at a distance, as we possibly did not have quite the same articulation and fluency as in our first languages – English and Moroccan dialect. Using a second language clearly has certain advantages and disadvantages, but from my experience, the shared second language of Spanish was an asset for my engagement with Moroccan migrants.

Although the overall approach to these interviews was structured with a question and answer schema, they did evolve in different ways, and some took on the appearance of a narrative interview, with the participant talking for long periods of time with little intervention from myself. While other interviews were more rigid, sticking to a clear question and answer process. Therefore, I suggest that although semi-structured interviews and informal narrative conversations have different approaches to gathering oral data, there is often much crossover, and semi-structured interviews can obtain narratives that are spontaneous and natural. As I further discuss in the following section, the spaces of the interviews varied from public cafes, university faculties, sites of work of the participant, and online spaces of communication. The interviews did not invariably take place in spaces that participants were unfamiliar with. Rather some were in their places of work, assisting in creating a more natural setting to converse in. In the following section, I describe the sample that I interviewed and how I accessed and recruited participants.

3.5.1 Recruiting Participants and the Interview Sample

It became apparent that the economic migrants who work in the streets were not going to be the easiest to access for interviews, and it was through informal narrative conversations that I was gaining oral data from the street ethnography. In an attempt to carry out semi-structured interviews I decided to broaden the locations and demographic samples I was using to access Moroccan migrants. An obvious sample to try and gain interviews from was the Moroccan student population. Granada is well known for having a fairly large Moroccan student population (Lopez-García, 2004), and they study in a number of the faculties around the city.

However, even with broadening the sample and places of access, the process of gaining participants was challenging and required much patience. I had to try a number of techniques

and also have some old fashioned luck. I firstly made email contact with an association for Moroccan students in Granada, and a general association for students. The general association said they had no direct contacts with Moroccan students and the association for Moroccan students did not respond to my email. I continued to contact the association of Moroccan students, and over a two-month period I sent three emails, but I did not get one response. Therefore, going through a more formal route and contacting associations/clubs had failed to produce any participants.

My first contact with a Moroccan student, and later my first semi-structured interview, was a coincidental meeting, and did not come from a formal route. I was at a language exchange event and I ended up conversing with a woman from Morocco who had worked and studied in Granada for five years. We agreed to do an interview, which we carried out a week later in a University faculty building. This was my first extensive interview with a woman, and subsequently, she provided me contact details for another four women who were willing to participate in the research. My initial contact with these four women was made through online communications, and two of them told me they were more comfortable to speak online rather than meeting, so we ended up carrying out the interviews through online chat. Although this did not have the natural spontaneity of a face-to-face chat, it was still a flowing conversation, which allowed me to discuss a number of important themes for my research. Furthermore, online chat was a way to mitigate cross-cultural difficulties, such as women participants meeting a male researcher in public. It enabled these women to participate at a safe distance, which did not cause them any social discomfort. The two other women I had contacted were happy to do face to face interviews, and these were successfully carried out in cafes in central Granada. These four women were a mixture of students and workers, with two studying full time at the University of Granada and two working full time.

After these initial interviews with Moroccan women, I then carried out three interviews with important actors with regard to the Moroccan community and immigration in Granada. To further my knowledge of immigration in the city and help the work of a local migrant awareness charity, I volunteered for Granada ACOGE – the principal NGO that deals with immigration in the city. I worked at the central office on most Thursday afternoons, assisting migrants with health card issues and participating in social events between new migrants and longer-term residents. As part of my volunteering I gained access to the head manager of Granada ACOGE, whom I carried out a semi-structured interview with. In this interview we discussed issues such as the growth of immigration in Granada, the ethnic and national

composition of migrants, and integration and racism in the city. As Moroccans are the largest diaspora in the city, we frequently discussed the Moroccan presence, and their practices of dwelling and working. In addition, volunteering at Granada ACOGE brought me in contact with numerous migrants, many of whom were born in Morocco. This allowed me to have informal conversations about their experiences of migration and living in Granada and Spain. I also made contact with two of the principal mosques in Granada and carried out interviews with two senior members of staff. Firstly, I interviewed a Moroccan – Spanish cleric at a mosque situated in the lower Albayzín, which is very popular with Moroccan and North African migrants. Secondly, I interviewed a Spanish Muslim convert who works at a mosque in the upper Albayzín. Both of these interviews provided insights into the role of the mosque for the diaspora and the transformation of Granada through immigration.

In order to gain more interviews with Moroccan students, I decided to design a poster to advertise for research participants (see appendix 2). I put up posters in four University faculties that are known to have a presence of Moroccan students. However, the posters came to no avail, and I did not receive any responses. This was quite a knock to my research plan as I was confident this would result in some interest to participate in interviews. Nonetheless, a level of serendipity struck again, and a friend provided me with a contact who could possibly help access Moroccan participants. The contact was an Australian national who was studying Arabic - English translation at the faculty of translation and interpretation at the University of Granada. He studied in classes that were predominately made up of Moroccan students, and he arranged with the teachers that I could make a presentation to the class about my research. Subsequently, I presented my research interests to the class and then collected emails and Facebook addresses from those that were interested in participating. Over the following weeks I arranged a number of interviews and subsequently I carried out eight interviews over the next two months. Again, the sample accessed through the University had a male bias, with six out of the eight being men. However, with the previous five women I had interviewed, the total of Moroccan born women accessed through using semi-structured interviews was seven. Consequently, the overall presence of women in the thesis is clearly limited in comparison to men, but semi-structured interviews did enable me to gain some level of access, resulting in the female voice receiving some attention in the thesis.

In the latter stages of my fieldwork, I carried out semi-structured interviews with four Moroccan born workers whom I had had sustained contact with over the duration of the street ethnography. Three of the men were born in northern Morocco and own and run small cyber

cafes and gift shops, whilst the fourth man was born in Rabat and owns and runs a small oriental gift shop. Three of the interviews were carried out in their places of work, whilst one was carried out in a small bar in the lower Albayzín.

Overall, gaining access to participants for semi-structured interviews was a difficult process, and required patience and a level of luck. The cross-cultural nature of the research meant that there was evident suspicion and confusion about the aims of the project, and reluctance to be involved. Nonetheless, with patience, flexibility, and persistence I carried out 20 interviews. These 20 semi-structured interview participants provided an appropriate number to reflect the range and depth of Moroccan migrants and generated a rich set of data to explore migrant spatial identities and belongings. To finish this section, Table 2 provides demographic information about the 20 interviewees. Again, in the empirical chapters, I provide the demographic information for quoted participants.

Table 2: Demographics of Interview Participants

Number	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Principal Status in Granada.	Length of time in Granada
1	Sara	Female	29	Casablanca	Student	6 years
2	Iamne	Female	28	Northern Morocco	Student	Unknown
3	Salma	Female	Mid 30s	Tetouan	Student	Unknown
4	Yasmine	Female	28	Tetouan	Student	6 years
5	Hajar	Female	Unknown	Nador	Worker	Unknown
6	Fatima	Female	28	Nador	Worker	5 Years
7	Kenza	Female	Unknown	Northern Morocco	Student	4 years
8	Ali	Male	Unknown	Tangier	Student	Unknown
9	Nizar	Male	Unknown	Casablanca	Student	7 Years
10	Youssef	Male	Unknown	Nador/Beni Ansar	Worker	7 Years
11	Hicham	Male	26	Al Hoceima	Student	3.5 years
12	Director of At-Taqwa Mosque	Male	Unknown	Moroccan-Spanish	Worker	Unknown
13	Director of upper Albayzín Mosque	Male	Unknown	Madrid, Spain	Worker	N/A
14	Manger of Granada AGOCE – NGO	Female	Unknown	Spain	Worker	N/A
15	Jamal	Male	Unknown	Rabat	Worker	15 Years
16	Mohamed	Male	40	Northern Morocco	Worker	Unknown
17	Omar	Male	35	Nador	Worker	Unknown
18	Ahmed	Male	Unknown	Tangier	Student	Unknown
19	Rachid	Male	Unknown	Morocco	Student	5 years
20	Adam	Male	Unknown	Tetouan	Student	Unknown

3.6 Data Analysis

On my return from the field, I had a sizeable amount of qualitative data, comprising audio recordings, interview transcripts, numerous field note diaries, photos, and short videos. The arduous task at hand now was to start making sense of this plethora of data. However, data analysis did not just start once I had returned from the field, I was also engaged in analysis in the field. While taking field notes I would often look for themes and tentatively interpret the socio-spatial and cultural practices I was observing. For example, the following extract is from my fieldwork diary:

Fieldwork diary - Mona Lisa Cyber Cafe - 10/11/2012

The cafe appears as both cosmopolitan and a space of diasporic identity. Within the space there was a mixture of ethnic identities – Arab, Berber, Spanish, British, and German. There were different languages being spoken between the people in the cafe and between people on computers. The Moroccan workers switched between Spanish, English and Moroccan dialect, depending on whom they were speaking to. This cafe is a micro space of cross-cultural encounters and cosmopolitanism, but also diasporic identity. It is the everyday space of boundary maintenance and boundary crossing… paradoxical or not?

The extract exemplifies that I was establishing ideas and themes in the field, and that analysis was a part of fieldwork. From my experience, it is a false dichotomy to conceptualise the field as a site of data gathering and office as the site of data analysis. My formulation of tentative ideas occurred in the field, before moving onto the formal analysis on my return from fieldwork.

The formal data analysis stage began with transcribing audio recordings of interviews and conversations that had not been transcribed in the field. This firstly involved transcribing in Spanish and then translating the Spanish texts into English. Translating is not a completely neutral and technical task (Temple and Young, 2004). Rather the translator's assumptions, values and understanding of language will all shape the process of translation (Crang and Cook, 2007). Therefore, the English texts that have been translated from Spanish, and subsequently used for quotes throughout the results chapters in this thesis, are in a sense

partially constructed by myself. I had no major misunderstandings while translating, and I tried to keep the translation as close as I could to the original, but as no languages are structured along parallel lines (Crang and Cook, 2007), there is a measure of my authority in how I constructed the translations. Nonetheless, I would argue that none of the essential meanings have been lost in translation. In addition to the transcriptions of the audio recordings, I typed up all of the field notes from conversations and observations. For visual data, I used Iphoto software and organised videos and photos into categories such as streetscapes, objects, architecture, people, signs, food etc.

The transcribed interviews, conversations, field notes and organized images provided a substantial amount of textual and visual data. To examine and make sense of this amount of data I decided to use a thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke describe thematic analysis as:

> *a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998)*. (2006: 79)

To identify and interpret the main themes from the data I selected a 'coding' framework method, which is a core feature of a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Coding involves repeatedly reading, viewing and scrutinizing the interview transcripts, field notes and images in order to code emergent themes (Crang and Cook, 2007). Prior to generating codes however, Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that researchers must begin by familiarising themselves with the data, and not jump into coding. For myself, the task of translating and transcribing interviews, conversations and field notes, was an incredibly effective way of familiarising myself with the data. It required listening, reading and typing up data over consecutive weeks, allowing me to get a sense of what had been said and observed. Moreover, I would suggest that coding by hand rather than using computer methods, allowed me to have a more intimate relationship with the data. As stated by Alison Blunt, hand coding data often enables one to, 'interpret stories and memories in a more nuanced and sensitive way than computer coding would allow' (2003b: 84). Following on from the familiarisation stage, I applied an 'open coding' framework which involved highlighting the main meanings being conveyed in the texts and images. It did not involve looking for relationships or providing analytical readings at this stage. Subsequently, I reread and reviewed the open coded data to look for relationships and started to formulate emergent themes. From these initial themes (belonging, Identity, sense of place, spatial practices etc.) a number of sub codes were

extracted from further analysis and coding. The sub-codes included both 'emic' and 'etic' categories (Crang and Cook, 2007). 'Emic' categories were generated directly from the narratives of the participants, while 'etic' categories were developed through my prior-theoretical knowledge. The 'etic' categories moved the analysis beyond simple description to an analytical and theoretical interpretation. To make sure I had not overlooked any major themes or relations, I reread and analysed the data a number of times more. The final stage of the analysis was the writing up of the research. While writing up the thesis I continued engaging with theory and reanalysing the data, which refined the core themes and patterns. Overarching themes were established while coding, but often it was during the writing up that I formulated the nuanced observations and arguments. Consequently, I became aware over time that qualitative data analysis is an incessant process that starts from the first days in the field up until the final stages of writing up. I would suggest that an innate attribute of many a qualitative researcher is this insatiable desire to continue to look for more refined interpretations of data and provide more sophisticated understandings of phenomena.

3.7 Reflections on Producing Knowledge

At the start of this chapter I provided an overview of the epistemological foundations of ethnography, but now I want to dig a little deeper, and interrogate the type of knowledge produced by an ethnographic methodology. Firstly, I am making no claim to objectivity and impartiality, unlike the aims of positivist social science research and traditional ethnographies (Clifford, 1986). Instead, my epistemology is guided by postmodern and feminist approaches, and I consider my research, and all social research for that matter, to be subjective, partial and situated. This challenges the notion that authoritative knowledge can be derived through interpretation, and that the researcher plays a silent and impartial role. My subjectivity, of course, has impacted on the representations I constructed; my biography can never be removed from my interpretations. But I do not consider this as a concern, as in reality all social research is subjective and provides a partial understanding. Therefore, this thesis does not provide a complete understanding of a social phenomenon. Rather, it adds another important narrative and interpretation of the complexities of migrant and diasporic processes in contemporary society.

This acceptance of subjectivity in ethnographic research brings in the importance of personal reflection by the researcher, which is often termed as 'reflexivity' (Cook, 2005). Feminist

approaches to ethnography were hugely influential in introducing the concept of reflexivity, although its importance is also heralded by postmodern scholars (Visweswaran, 1994; Gobo, 2008). Ultimately, reflexivity calls for the researcher to attentively consider the ways in which 'past experiences, points of view, and roles impact interactions with and interpretations of the research scene' (Tracy, 2013: 19). Reflexivity is to be attuned to how the researcher's social and cultural positionality is always embedded in power relations, affecting the research process, and ultimately the knowledge produced. In cross-cultural research, histories of colonialism, racial inequality, geo-political tensions, and economic disparity, often exacerbate uneven power relations. Therefore, as argued by Myers (2010), reflexivity and a consideration for how the 'Other' is represented should always form an integral part of cross-cultural research. In this section then, I reflect on how my positionality impacted on the research, both in terms of conducting it and presenting it.

3.7.1 Reflecting on my Positionality

Throughout the fieldwork I was continually reflecting on my role as a researcher and how I was being perceived by the Moroccan diaspora. I was an 'outsider'; there was no question about that. I am male, white, British and non-religious, quite different to my participants who were mainly male, of Moroccan ethnicity, and Muslim. I would even suggest I was a double 'outsider', as I was not Granadino[2], or even Spanish. However, I do speak Spanish and the majority of Moroccans I spoke to were highly proficient Spanish speakers, thus we had a shared language to converse in. Other than a shared second language though, I had to negotiate numerous differences, both real and imagined, throughout my fieldwork. The following reflection on my positionality is an extract from my fieldwork diary.

Fieldwork diary – 20/10/2012

A problem I have noticed with approaching people on the streets and in the shops is they are often quite suspicious of why I am doing this research. This will have a lot to do with my positionality – being a white, Western researcher and wanting to talk about these things appears quite strange for some people. Sometimes I get a quite negative response to my questions. I guess this is something I just have to expect as part of doing an ethnography with

[2] Granadino is the name given to somebody who is considered to be from Granada. The name Granadino is used throughout the thesis.

Muslim/Moroccan people. There are many external political factors that intersect with my positionality and can generate this suspicion. Clearly this suspicion is something that will impact on the responses I get in my research. Another common response to my questions is a kind of defense of the motives of Moroccan Muslims in Spain. I will ask questions and not really get a direct answer. Instead I will be told about how Muslims just want a peaceful coexistence and to live happy and peacefully in Spain. Also, I will often be told that the Muslim religion is not oppressive like many Westerners think. It seems that a response to my Western presence, and to my questions, is to defend Islam and the presence of Muslim migrants in Spain. It is like an opportunity to counter the negative stereotypes that are conveyed in many representations of Muslims. I think this response highlights the desire for some migrants to convey a different message about Muslim migration and Muslim identity. It is as if they think that my preconceptions are linked to the idea of the Islamic fundamentalist. I have a feeling these types of responses could be quite common in social research with Muslim migrants. In a sense the powerful discourses about Muslims that circulate in the Western world generates these responses with some of my participants. Therefore, these discourses can have a negative impact on non-Muslim researchers working with Muslims, as they want to defend their communities and counter negative stereotypes. This results in a non-personal response to questions, although it highlights important concerns with Muslim communities and their identities.

The reflections in the extract demonstrate a number of challenges I was negotiating in researching the Moroccan diaspora, which resonate with debates on methodological issues in researching Muslim communities (McLoughlin, 2000; Bolognani, 2007; Ryan *et al.*, 2011). In assessing the British context, Ryan et al (2011) and Bolognani (2007) argue that since 9/11 and 7/7, Muslims in Britain have taken on the status of a suspect community. Bolognani states that 'the climate of Islamophobia […] created a general sense of mistrust towards people investigating issues concerning Muslims in Britain' (2007: 281). This climate of Islamophobia and mistrust is not confined to the British context, and as highlighted in my fieldwork reflections, some of my participants were expressing similar sentiments. Like London, Madrid, the capital of Spain, experienced multiple terrorist train bombings in 2004.The explosions killed 191 people and were purportedly carried out by a loose group of Moroccan, Syrian and Algerian Muslims (Burridge, 2014). According to Zapata-Barrero (2008) these attacks stimulated an increase in xenophobic sentiments in Spain, especially against Muslim immigrants. Thus Moroccan migrants in Spain have, to some extent, taken on

a status of suspect community, like Muslim communities in the UK. With regard to my participants, it would appear that some were highly aware of the suspicion people had of Muslim migrants and this sometimes resulted in a suspicion of my motives as a researcher. My 'outsider' status as a white, British, non-Muslim man, I would suggest, exacerbated this suspicion, and sometimes made it impossible for me to access people. Moreover, this suspicion impacted on how some people conversed with me, with a number of participants providing long monologues that challenged negative stereotypes of Islam. The suspicion imposed on them by certain segments of Spanish and Western society, resulted in a suspicion of my research and motives. This exemplifies that global political issues deeply influence the way people are perceived and received in the everyday micro-contexts of an ethnography. It is important to note that this suspicion was not invariable, with certain participants expressing no apparent suspicion or concern about my motives as a researcher. As highlighted by Ryan et al (2011), what we conceptualise as a community or diaspora is highly heterogeneous, and researchers will be placed and perceived in many different ways by participants who ostensibly come from the same community. However, I would suggest that suspicion and mistrust was often mitigated through hanging out in the daily spaces of the diaspora. Through frequent hanging out I developed a sense of intimacy and friendship with people, which became my main strength in accessing participants. The global political issues that constructed barriers and differences between participants and myself would often fragment through daily contact and interaction. Therefore, hanging out and observation was not only a tool to gather data, but also a means to dismantle differences and build access to participants. Although I did successfully negotiate being an 'outsider', and gained trust and access from many in the diaspora, my positionality was never erased, and it played a significant role in the data I gathered. It is impossible for me to render how my white, male, British identity impacted on how people responded to my questions, but it is something that should be factored in when reading this thesis.

As I have mentioned a number times during this chapter, my male gender made it difficult for me to access women participants, which is a clear limitation to the research. For some scholars, gender rather than ethnic identity impacted most on accessing certain participants (Song and Parker, 1995), and this would appear to be the case in my experience of accessing Moroccan women. I suspect that my male gender, rather than my European ethnicity, was the most significant factor for not successfully accessing more women. Conservative gender norms that exist in Morocco seem to endure for some of those in diaspora, making it difficult for a male researcher to access, speak and engage with Moroccan women. Moreover, the

public spaces of the diaspora are gendered spaces that are male dominated, making it less likely to engage with women. To successfully access the women who did participate in the research I engaged with a broader sample of Moroccan migrants. Through making contacts with the Moroccan student population I was able to access women who seemed to be less subjugated by conservative gender norms, and more willing to have conversations and interviews. In addition, through online contact I was able to speak with women without actually having to meet up in person, making some more willing to participate and speak with me.

3.7.2 Power and Representation

The 'crisis' of representation in ethnography, and the general consensus that ethnographic knowledge is subjective and impartial, has resulted in a great deal of concern with how ethnographers are implicated in the process of Othering and writing about difference (Said, 1978; Clifford, 1986; Said, 1989; Fowler and Hardesty, 1994; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996; Alexander, 2006). The process of representing the minority Other, which is at the core of the production of anthropological knowledge and much social science knowledge in general, is inherently an uneven power relationship between the 'observer-observed, Self-Other, colonizer and colonized' (Segall, 2001: 585).

Within the postcolonial discussions of how people write about 'race' and ethnicity, there has been a relatively recent move to focus not only on colonised subjects and ethnography as a tool of empire, but also to consider how contemporary migrant and radicalized groups are represented in ethnic and diaspora studies (Alexander, 2006; Kalra, 2006; Nayak, 2006). It has been recognised that the work of ethnographic scholars interested in ethnic minority groups is implicit in the process of Othering. They explore and highlight the differences of groups of people, and this will often be based on the tenuous ideas of essentialist racial, ethnic and national identities, even though most researchers see these categories as social and political constructs. It is considered as even more problematic when the people who are interpreting and writing about these groups, are not considered to be part of them. The control over representation, therefore, is still very much in the hands of the white Westerner, and this worryingly reflects, to some degree, the representational traits of colonialism (Said, 1989). As Said states 'the real problem that remains to haunt us: the relationship between anthropology [and ethnography more generally] as an on-going enterprise and, on the other hand, empire as

an on-going concern' (1989: 217). This has resulted in questioning who has the right to represent who? Should we only represent ourselves? Who is the Other, and who are 'we'? (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996).

For my own research, these questions and doubts have great significance to my epistemological and moral confidence in the doctoral project I am carrying out. With my acceptance that ethnographic research is heavily subjective, I acknowledge that I am, to some extent, involved in the process of Othering the Moroccan diaspora in Granada. This concern with Othering has been a perpetual worry throughout my doctoral research. I often ask myself if I am suitable to write about the Moroccan diaspora? Do I have the right to represent groups of people I do not belong to? Although these concerns are pertinent, I also believe, that only representing ourselves (whoever that may be?), can result in 'the silencing of Others, the erasure of their experience, and the reinscription of power relations' (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996: 12). As argued by Anna Livia (1996), 'silence-equals-respect' is not an assured position, because it can itself be a form of Othering by 'making the Other invisible' (Langton cited in Martin and Humphries, 1996: 122). Not writing about the lives, stories, and experiences of minority groups could potentially lead to lost voices, and no alternative representations to dominant stereotypes.

However, this process of Othering should not be simply justified and carried out because no one will represent the experiences of certain groups. The ethnographer should take a critical postcolonial approach, acknowledging the uneven power relations in writing about the Other, and attempt to disrupt and deconstruct the process of Othering that is being carried out. Through engaging with postcolonial and feminist approaches, my research, on the one hand, attempts to disrupt and deconstruct taken for granted knowledge claims, while on the other hand, it attempts to bring to light the silenced and absent voices of the Moroccan diaspora. Although the problematic process of Othering is part and parcel of my research, I believe that I represent the voices of the Moroccan diaspora through a critical and postcolonial vocabulary, which reduces the chances of reproducing a simplified discourse of the non-Western Other. Furthermore, the continued material impacts, positive and negative, of essentialist notions of identity, require me to engage with categories of difference in my writing. Nonetheless, this requires me to write in a deconstructive manner, which challenges taken for granted notions of identity and belonging. Moreover, utilising multiple methods in my ethnography will partially de-centre my voice and, to some extent, result in a more just

form of Othering.

3.8 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have presented the methodology of the thesis, and discussed the different stages of research. First, in critically discussing ethnography, I set out its epistemological framework, asserting that social order is embedded in socio-spatial practices, and that discourses and structures shape how socio-spatial practices are played out and lived. Second, I described the ethnographic research design for this thesis, which is based around a street ethnography and involved observing, interacting, and conversing with Moroccan migrants in the numerous cafes, restaurants, shops, street stalls and religious centres that make up the diaspora space that is contemporary Granada. Third, I critically discussed how I accessed spaces and people, and set out the four integrated methods used to gather, analyse and interpret the data. These four methods included 'go-along' observations, informal narrative conversations, semi-structured interviews, visual methods such as photos and films. Finally, I reflected on the research process, exposing my own positionality, and underlining the subjective and partial nature of the knowledge produced in the thesis. In addition, I highlighted the struggles with power and representation in social research and how I negotiated and mitigated some of these dilemmas.

Chapter 4: The 'Orient' in the 'Occident': Producing a Moroccan Diaspora Space

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the intersections between Moroccan diaspora formations and the production of urban space in Granada. It draws on theories and research that explore how diasporas transform urban space, and how simultaneously, the contexts of cities produce distinctive formations of diasporic dwelling and identity (Keith, 2005; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Knott, 2010; Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2011; Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013). Building on Avtar Brah's (1996) conceptual framework of 'diaspora space', the chapter considers the diaspora condition as inherently spatial, and uses the lived spaces of the Moroccan diaspora as the lens of analysis.

The main spatial focus is on what Henri Lefebrve (1991) labels as 'spaces of representation' or what Edward Soja (1996) calls 'third spaces'. These are the lived spaces of the inhabitant, where people's cultures, imaginations and place-making practices are imbued with the material structure of space (first space) and representations of space (second space) – these different but intersecting spatial dimensions are further discussed in section 4.2. The chapter focuses on the place-making strategies of the diaspora in the lower Albayzín, a part of Granada that is often referred to as the 'Moroccan quarter' (Rosón-Lorente, 2007). It is a study, primarily, of the producers of space, rather than those who consume it. Through looking at the intersections of economics and culture, the chapter investigates how the diaspora have instilled the lower Albayzín with certain meanings, specifically focusing on the aesthetic production of space. The aesthetic analysis encompasses a multi-sensory approach, looking at the visual material culture, smells, sounds, tastes and performances. Drawing on research about urban encounters with difference by geographers such as Ash Amin (2002) and Gill Valentine (2008), the chapter also looks at the encounters and contacts that are occurring in the lower Albayzín, and analyses how diversity is played out in these everyday public spaces.

Throughout the chapter I demonstrate that Moroccan migrants in Granada have achieved a distinctive right to a Spanish city, producing a multi-sensory, self-orientalised diaspora space. In the first empirical section I exhibit that history has imbued the streetscapes of the lower Albayzín with a great diversity of meanings and memories, providing multiple possibilities for its contemporary incarnation and appropriation. In the followings sections, I argue that through the mobilisation of a strategically self-orientalised cultural capital, the diaspora have partly appropriated the valuable history of Al-Andalus, a key component in the city's tourist imagery. This has enabled the diaspora to gain a right to have a presence in the city, to display an orientalised and Islamic identity, and participate autonomously in the local economy. Finally, I argue in the last section that although the streets of the lower Albayzín do contain a dominant oriental identity, it is also a space of variegated encounters and identity formations. Essentialist identities, cultural hybridity and cosmopolitan encounters are all enacted on the streets. I propose that it is a 'practical hybridity' that often takes place in the lived spaces of the diaspora. Ultimately, the Moroccan diasporic right to the city is the result of interactions between features of Granada's social, cultural, economic and historical landscape with the economic and cultural strategies of the Moroccan diaspora, exemplifying how the contexts of cities and diasporic communities interact and mutually construct urban space.

The first section of the chapter examines key concepts and theories about the social function of space, and the intersections of diasporas and space. I then turn to the empirical analysis, firstly focusing on the historic nature of the spatiality of the lower Albayzín, before analysing the factors that enabled the early production of a diaspora space in the early 1990s. The following section explores the aesthetic production of both the orientalised business space and the Islamic religious space. Finally, I examine the types of encounters and mixing that occur in the diaspora space.

4.2. Space and Diaspora

The work of the French Marxist philosopher – Henri Lefebvre – is often considered to have reignited a 'spatial turn' in the social sciences. Lefebvre's seminal book, *The Production of Space (1991)*, which was published in English in 1991, is considered by Andy Merrifield as 'the event within critical human geography during the 1990s, sparking a thorough re-evaluation of social and spatial theory, just when apologists for a globalising neoliberalism proclaimed "the end of geography' (2006: 103). What Lefebvre essentially proposes, is that

space is not a meaningless geometrical container, which is filled by human processes, but actually a social product, that is permeated by power struggles. In other words, 'space is produced by social relations of production and reproduction, while space itself produces social relations' (Erdentug and Colombijn, 2002: 6). For Lefebvre (1991), the social production of space is premised on three separate but overlapping levels. Firstly, 'spatial practices' (perceived space) is the material and concrete reality of space, and the everyday interactions and movements of people in space. The second dimension is 'representation of space' (conceived space), which consists of what is represented by scientists, technocrats, urban planners etc. Thirdly, the 'space of representation' (lived space) is the space that is directly lived and felt through everyday life. The space of representation according to Lefebvre, is 'directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' (1991: 39). It is the space of 'imagination, embodiment and desire'(Tonkiss, 2005: 3), and resultantly, is the space that users change and appropriate. The lived dimension of space, according to Lefebvre (1991), is the space of possibility, where the user and inhabitant can subvert and transgress the hegemonic meanings and designs given to space. The inhabitants, through their practices, creativity, and imagination, can redefine the institutional and material meanings attributed to space. The notion that the social practices and imaginations of the inhabitant redefine the meaning of space is heavily indebted to the works of Michel de Certeau. In *The Practice of Everyday Life,* de Certeau asserts that the process of using products and spaces is not 'passive and guided by established rules' (1984: xii & xiii). Creativity is imbued in the practices of the everyday, resulting in the recoding of products and spaces. 'Spatial stories', a metaphorical term coined by de Certeau (1984), alludes to the notion that our daily practices can be likened to stories, and these stories often deviate from the official design and order of the city. For Lefebvre and de Certeau, space is neither defined by the conceptualisations of the designer, nor by the space that is materially constructed, but rather, it is produced and defined through combining the previous dimensions with the lived, experiential experience of space. The conceived and perceived spaces are overlapped with imagination, thought and practice; 'suggesting that urban forms are made not only out of materials and things but out of meanings, language and symbols' (Tonkiss, 2005: 3). The space of representation should not be considered as distinct from the other dimensions, rather it is the space where all three spatial dimensions converge. For example, the space of representation consists of the movements and practices that Lefebvre alludes to in the spatial practices dimension. However, I would argue that the space of representation is when spatial practices are imaginative and can instill space with the culture of the inhabitant. If spatial practices often maintain the continuity of a certain notion of space, the space of

representation is a site of possibility, where continuity or change can occur. The creative potential of the space of representation is partly dependent on how it interacts with the representations of space and the spatial practices. Practices, creativity and imagination can be both enabled and limited by both representations of space, and the concrete reality and norms of space. Therefore, all of the dimensions continually interact with each other, and this interaction is what produces social space.

Edward Soja (1996), an American urban planner and human geographer, extended the work of Henri Lefebvre, and conceived the spatial theory of 'third space'. Soja's theory greatly resonates with Lefebvre's spatial triad but, in some respects, he applies a more clear and workable conceptualisation. Like Lefebvre, Soja asserts that there are three critical dimensions of space. Firstly, there is 'first space' – the 'real' space, which is the physical built environment. Secondly, there is 'second space', which is the imagined representational space. Compared to Lefebvre's representations of space (conceived space), I would argue that Soja's second space puts more emphasis on the non-professional representations of space than Lefebvre. Although professional groups such as urban planners often have a hegemonic control over the representations of space, alternative representations do exist, and they deeply affect our mental and imagined notions of space. Finally, there is third space, which combines the first and second space to create what Soja describes as 'a fully lived space, a simultaneously real and imagined, actual-and-virtual locus to structured individuality and collective experience and agency' (1996: 6). Third space, therefore, should not be considered as distinct from first and second spaces, rather it is the space where all spaces come together to produce the lived reality of space. Similar to Lefebvre's space of representation (lived space), Soja considers the third space to be a space of potential, which can reconfigure the dominant first and second binary of space. Through the practices and imaginations of the inhabitants, the third space is produced, and according to Soja, it can be a potential site of emancipation for the marginalised.

Postcolonial scholars have also taken up and explored the notion of a third space, most notably Homi Bhabha (1994) in his theory of hybridity and third space. In understanding how hybridisation processes work, Bhabha uses the spatial metaphor of third space. Acheraiou (2011) states that third space, for Bhabha, is interchangeable with hybridity, and hybridity should actually been seen as third space. For Bhabha, third spaces are sites of subversion and renegotiation of cultures, which produces 'something new and unrecognisable' (Bhabha, 1994: 221). The third space is the site of encounter between two or more 'different groups',

and this site makes way for the invention of new hybrid identities. However, for Bhabha, third space and hybrid identities are not derived from two other, 'pure' forms. Rather, he asserts that a third space configures 'a space of hybridity…that is new, neither one nor the other' (Bhabha, 1994: 25). Thus for Bhabha, third spaces of hybridity are an intervention into essentialist and 'pure' notions of identity. Subsequently, these non-essential hybrid identities can challenge the subordinate nature often inscribed on colonised and minority identities, and are seen by Bhabha as progressive, liberating and enabling.

The three dimensions of social space theorised by Lefevbvre, and evolved by Soja, are critical for a nuanced understanding of space, and are valuable frameworks for exploring the production of urban space by the Moroccan diaspora. As I am looking at how the Moroccan diaspora produce and experience urban space, the primary dimension of space analysed in this chapter is the lived/third space/space of representation. However, as the lived space is the amalgamation of all three spatial dimensions, the chapter is also exploring how the material space (first space) and representational space (second space) impact on how the Moroccan diaspora produce, negotiate and experience the lived space. Therefore, this framework provides the chapter with a structure, and a theoretical language, that is multidimensional, considering not only the physical attributes of space, but also the discursive, imaginative, material, cultural and virtual dimensions.

Diasporas and migratory processes inherently revolve around space and place (Blunt, 2007; Knott, 2010). Key characteristics of diaspora, either literal or metaphorical ones, such as dispersal, movement, border crossing, home, exile, reconfiguration of dwelling, (re)settlement, social and cultural boundaries, return, circulation, and multiple belongings, are all inherently spatial, and convey a sense of travel across different spaces (Knott, 2010). Theses multiple key characteristics, accentuate and complicate the physical, mental, and lived dimensions of social space. Firstly, the diaspora condition involves the localisation and resettlement of people in new spaces, and subsequently entails practices and strategies of place-making. Therefore, as put forward by Kim Knott (2010), location(s) is of paramount importance for understanding diasporic experiences. Key to this argument is that the diaspora condition is as much about sedentary dwelling in place as it is about travelling and being in transit. As the city is the exemplary site of diaspora dwelling (Keith, 2005; Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013), the urban is a key lens to explore the centrality of space, dwelling and place-making in the diasporic condition. Through diasporic strategies of place-making, urban spaces, where the diaspora has settled, can be transformed and instilled with new layers of

meanings. If we consider 'spaces of representation' and 'third spaces' as the spaces of the inhabitant, where cultures and imaginations are imbued into the spatial mix, then the presence of diasporic communities, with their multiple cultural identities, can impact substantially on the meanings instilled in the production of space. For the contemporary city, which is characterised by increased diversity through migration, the settlement of diasporas is a pertinent dimension in how social space is produced. However, as previously stated, space and its multi-dimensions also affect our lived experience, and resultantly, affect the diasporic experience. Levitt & Jaworsky highlight this when they state:

> *Migrants' place making ability, and how they go about it, is shaped by prior cultural intersections in any given place and how they are articulated over time. It is important, then, not just to sort out how simultaneity is shaped by different configurations of space, but also to pay attention to how the historical precedents and overlays in a particular place shape migrants' experiences and actions. (2007: 144)*

In this light, the spatiality of the city can shape, enable and limit the place-making strategies and lived experience of the diaspora. The cultural-historical configurations of cities, and the contemporary and historical flows of people, objects, representations and ideologies in urban spaces generate distinct diaspora spaces and transnational activities. The conceived and perceived dimensions of urban space, which convey ingrained ideologies and dominant identities of the city, can affect the spaces of representation produced by diasporas. Space and its specificities affect the diaspora, but the diaspora also affect the production of space. It is a two way process that results in distinctive configurations of diasporas and space. The notion of 'diaspora space', coined by Avtar Brah (1996), assists in conceptualising diaspora as both affecting space and the locations, and their diverse populations affecting the diaspora. As Avtar Brah states:

> *Diaspora space as a conceptual category is 'inhabited' not only by those who have migrated and their descendants but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous. In other words, the concept of diaspora space (as opposed to that of diaspora) includes the entanglement of dispersion with those of 'staying put'. (1996: 181)*

The concept of diaspora space incorporates the spatiality of migration, and the interactions between the diaspora and the 'host' culture and people. Instead of exploring diasporic

processes in a geographic void, and diasporas as separate and bounded entities, diaspora space emphasises that the location of the diaspora, and the interactions between the multiple populations that live there are what construct diasporic identities, cultures and places. The complex entanglements and interactions in the diaspora space have led to much theoretical debate, as scholars try and make sense of urban plurality and ethnic difference. From the postmodern school of thought, there has been much celebration over interactions and mixing of different cultural identities. This had led to theories of cosmopolitanism, hybridity, third space, and creolisation, which for many scholars are a progressive intervention into essentialist and 'pure' notions of identity and belonging. However, other scholars have argued that the actual lived diaspora space, in all its different formations, is more ambivalent and contradictory than in much of the postmodern theories. For example, the sociologist Les Back (1996) coined the term the 'metropolitan paradox' when describing the multicultural city. For Back, diaspora spaces, where intercultural dialogue and cultural mixing is most profound, are paradoxically also spaces of ethnic boundary maintenance and intolerance. Moreover, according to scholars such as Katherine Mitchell (1997a; 1997b), Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2001) and Amar Acheraiou (2011) there is a tendency to theorise diaspora experiences and hybridity with no real empirical examination of the material world. These scholars argue that the disengagement with the material context of the postcolonial and diaspora condition has led to a disconnection with political, economic and historical processes. The dominant focus on discourse has led to a disregard of how economic and material processes significantly impact on diasporic and hybridisation conditions. Mitchell (1997a; 1997b) and Acheriaou (2011) argue that the failure to acknowledge capitalist economics, politics and history in cultural mixing has resulted in an overly romanticised and overly progressive view of hybridity and third space. Although scholars are now recognising the importance of space and its context in the diasporic experience, there is still a tendency to abstract theory away from the lived reality. I would argue that since Mitchell made this assertion there has been greater engagement with the lived spaces of diasporas and migration, but Mitchell's key argument 'to bring geography back' (1997b) into theorisations of diaspora and hybridity is still a pertinent concern today. The context of urban space, especially the history and materiality of the contemporary city, requires far greater scrutiny in research. There is a tendency to carry out place-based urban research that insufficiently considers the role of history in contemporary socio-spatial practices. This is not to argue for a refocusing on the past instead of the present. Rather, it is for research that focuses on the contemporary, but is enhanced by a detailed understanding of the history of place. As historical constructions of the nation state and the city impact on contemporary notions and formations of identity, belonging and citizenship,

historically aware investigations are especially pertinent for diaspora research. Furthermore, I would argue that 'deep' ethnographies of lived diaspora spaces, where the researcher spends time and 'hangs out' in everyday spaces, is also lacking in geographies of diaspora research. Although methods such as interviews and focus groups gather invaluable data, there is a need for more research that explores the actual lived spaces, and observes performances and practices of inhabitants. Considering the well acknowledged insight that multiculturalism and diversity are played out in the lived spaces of the city, and diaspora spaces provide sites to explore how ethnicity and diversity are performed, negotiated and materialised, 'deep' ethnographies are of critical importance to diaspora research.

To counter the discrepancies between theory and the lived reality, and the ungrounded nature of much research, I take on Katherine Mitchell's call to carry out 'transnational spatial ethnographies' (1997b). The methodological nature to this approach is discussed in chapter 3, but in short, it involves long periods of fieldwork in the lived spaces of the diaspora. Theoretically, as I previously mentioned, my approach takes great influence from Henri Lefebvre's (1991) notion of a spatial triad, and Edward Soja's (1996) development on Lefebvre's work with his concept of third space and conceptualise space as multidimensional, consisting of material, discursive and lived aspects. With regards to how I conceptualise the relationship between space and diaspora, I engage with Avtar Brah's (1996) concept of diaspora space. In so doing, I consider diaspora as a spatial process, which is constituted through the spatial interactions between multiple cultural identities. The context and subjectivity of the diaspora interact with the different embodied, material and discursive aspects of space, which results in the production of the diaspora space. Thus the diaspora and space are simultaneously affecting and producing one another

4.3. The Urban Design and History of the Lower Albayzín

Dolores Hayden, in her book *'The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History' (1997),* asserts that the production of space is historical, beginning with the first settlement of civilizations in a space. Hayden engages with Lefebvre's notion of the production of space, specifically focusing on how the past is complicit in the production of contemporary spaces. Through theoretical and empirical evidence, Hayden demonstrates that the history of a location is a critical layer in the contemporary and present production of space, and requires consideration in the analysis of urban space. Hayden uses the philosopher Edward S Casey's term 'place memory' to describe how urban landscapes remember their pasts, and are containers of multiple memories. Through material and physical traces such as monuments, architectural style of buildings, objects, inscriptions, graffiti etc., the city is a site of memory and remembrance. These material traces in the city function as 'urban reminders', the 'mnemonic devices' for collective memories. They remind us of stories from the past, and convey the cultural identities of different times and civilizations that have dwelt in spaces. Memories are intertwined with identities, and resultantly, the memories provoked by the built environment are embedded within narratives of identities (Hayden, 1997). This understanding emphasises that architecture and the built environment are not ideologically neutral material constructs; rather they are permeated with power relations, and contribute to the production of social practices (Lees, 2001; Lees, 2002). Therefore, to explore the spaces of the Moroccan diaspora, and to understand the contemporary production of urban space in Granada, it is fundamentally important to critically analyse the built environment (the first space) and uncover meanings and memories embedded in these spaces. In this section, a detailed analysis of the history, urban design and symbolic nature of the sites of analysis is provided, demonstrating the powerful role of urban design on contemporary socio-spatial practices.

The map in figure 7 exhibits the core streets that are explored in this chapter. In the lower Albayzín area there are three principal streets of analysis – Calle Elvira, Calle Calderería Vieja and Calle Calderería Nueva.

Fig.7: Map of the Lower Albayzín Highlighting the Principal Streets of Analysis

Source: Author's image

Calle Elvira is the lowest of the streets and is one of the entrance points to the Albayzín district of Granada. The Ablayzín is built on a steep hillside and Calle Elvira stretches round the lower area of the eastern side of the hill. The street stretches from Plaza Nueva in the south to the Puerta de Elvira in the north. The Puerta de Elvira (see photo 1) was built in the 11th century by the Berber Zirid dynasty and is an Islamic style arch structure. The arch was considered the principal entrance to the medina of Granada during the Muslim epochs (Almagro-Gorbea *et al.*, 1992).

Photo 1: The Puerta de Elvira, Albayzín, Granada.

Source: Trip Advisor, 2013

Calle Elvira is a relatively flat and narrow cobbled street with high buildings on each side of the street (see photo 2).

Photo 2: Calle Elvira with the church - Iglesia de los Hospitalicos o del Corpus Christi – on the Left of the Photo, Author's photo, 2013

The narrow nature of the street and the even narrower streets leading off it towards the upper Alabyzín can evoke a sense of a North African Medina. Although Calle Elvira communicates a sense of a North African urban design and resultantly conveys the Muslim history of the city, Christian monuments and architecture also mark it. For example, the church - *Iglesia de los Hospitalicos o del Corpus Christi* – is situated near Plaza Nueva on the southern edge of the street. The church, which was constructed in the 16th century, has a significant presence with its Baroque style architecture and high bell tower (see photo 2 & 3). Although the church clearly asserts Christian symbolism, the bell tower, to some degree, resembles a minaret of a mosque, highlighting the hybrid style of the architecture in this area of the city. The built environment of Calle Elvira, with structures such as the Islamic style arch at one end of the street and the Baroque Christian church at the other, communicates the pluralist history of Granada and, in so doing, symbolises both Christian and Muslim ethnic identities.

Photo 3: The Church - Iglesia de los Hospitalicos o del Corpus Christi, Calle Elvira

Source: Minube, 2014

At the Plaza Nueva end of Calle Elvira there are two streets - Calle Calderería Nueva and Calle Calderería Vieja - that go east, towards the upper Albayzín. These two streets form a small neighborhood inside the lower Albayzín, and are key sites in my spatial analysis of the Moroccan diaspora. The name *Calderería* means that it was once an area where boilers and metal containers were made. Calle Calderería Nueva (see photo 4) is situated on the northern side of the *Iglesia de los Hospitalicos o del Corpus Christi* church, while Calle Calderería Vieja (See photo 5) is on the southern side of the church.

Photo 4: Calle Calderería Nueva, Lower Albayzín, Authors photo, 2013

Photo 5: Calle Calderería Vieja, Lower Albayzín, Authors photo, 2013

The cobbled streets have an instant upward gradient, and around every 10 feet there are small steps to climb up. Both streets are significantly narrower and steeper than Calle Elvira and they have no access for any form of motorised vehicle. Shortly after turning onto the streets from Calle Elvira, the streets narrow and on each side there are concrete buildings, which are about five stories high. The widths of the streets are not consistent all the way up the hill, varying at different points, but for much of the street they are no wider than 15 feet. Small balconies with black railings decorate the buildings on both sides of the streets and street lamps intermittently hang over the street. The lamps have ornate geometric patterns, providing a dim light at times of darkness. Calle Calderería Nueva begins or ends, depending what way one is going, at Calle Elvira and climbs eastwards towards Plaza San Gregorio where it splits into three other streets. Plaza San Gregorio is small plaza and at its top eastern end is a large entrance to a church - La *Iglesia de San Gregorio Betico* (see photo 6). The Church was built in the 16th century and it is supposedly the site where the Mozárabes (Christians who lived under Muslim rule) were historically buried. The large entrance to the

church, which is decorated with a statue of Saint Gregorio (the Bishop of Elvira - the name of Granada during the Roman period), is unavoidably present when one walks up the narrow, souk-like street of Calle Calderería Nueva.

Photo 6: Plaza San Gregorio and the Church - La Iglesia de San Gregorio Betico, Author's photo, 2013

Calle Calderería Vieja starts or ends, depending where one is coming from, in the area of Calle Elvira that is directly beside Plaza Nueva. From Calle Elvira, Calle Calderería Vieja crosses over Calle Calderería Nueva, in a northeast direction, and ends when it meets the street - *Callejon del Gato*. Further up the hill, in the higher realms of the Albayzín, the streets multiply and expand out all over the hill. Adjacent to the streets are many white washed properties, which vary from small apartments to large houses with walled gardens, commonly known as *Carmenes*.

The narrow and labyrinth like nature of these streets is greatly evocative of a North African style urban Medina, and the Muslim history of Granada is ever present in the design, structure and materiality of these spaces. Clearly, over the years, refurbishments and alterations have taken place to the structure of the buildings, but the core designs and style of the street spaces are akin to the Muslim Medieval times and are a 'rich repository of Moorish vernacular architecture' (UNESCO, 2015). de Ceteau (1984), in his analysis of the everyday city, asserts that the ghosts of cities remain even once the bricks and mortar of buildings have been

removed. However, in Granada, the ghosts of Al-Andalus do not just exist in the discursive and imaginative constructions of the city, rather they live in the vernacular streetscapes and built environment of neighborhoods like the Albayzín. Although the embodied presence of Muslims was ostensibly removed from Granada for hundreds of years, and cultural narratives often disregarded the historical communities of Al-Andalus as invading colonisers (Flesler, 2008), much of the material built environment that emanates from this period remains in the city. Therefore, the spatial identities of Muslim civilisations are omnipresent in the material make up of the core sites of analysis.

However, the built environment clearly evokes the plurality of Granada's history, and although the lower Albayzín arouses memories of the Muslim history of Al-Andalus, it simultaneously communicates the Catholic history of the city. For example, as previously mentioned, the church - La *Iglesia de San Gregorio Betico* – is perched at the top of Calle Calderería Nueva, and it is communicating a different history, another memory and story. It is a site that is overtly marked by multiple histories, a place where the material landscape has juxtaposed identities, and a material hybridity. Therefore, the 'first spaces' of the sites of analysis are dynamic, conveying multiple layers of meaning, and greatly impact on how the contemporary diaspora space is produced. I now look at how the sites of analysis have been transformed and attributed with further layers of meaning through the diasporic and Muslim presence. This is moving the analysis to the third space, the lived space, where inhabitants imbue spaces with further meanings and cultures.

4.4. Gaining a 'Right to the City': The Inception of a Diaspora Space

Since the early 1990s the streets of the lower Albayzín have been in a state of transformation, imbued with extra layers of meanings and identities. The catalyst for the transformation is multifaceted, indebted to two simultaneously similar but distinct communities – the Spanish Muslim convert community and the Moroccan diaspora – and the coalescing of specific cultural, social, economic and political factors. The stories and narratives about the gradual transformation of the lower Albayzín are varied, dependent on whom you speak to, but there is a general consensus that the Spanish Muslim convert community and Moroccan diaspora are the crucial drivers of the change. However, in the last 15 years the Moroccan diaspora and other diasporic Muslim communities (Algerian, Egyptian etc.) have gained an even greater presence and are now the principal communities in the area. A contemporary diaspora space

has been produced and the Moroccan diaspora have gained a distinctive 'right' to a Spanish city.

The idea of the 'right to the city' was introduced by Henri Lefebvre (1996), and developed on by geographers such as David Harvey (2008) and Don Mitchell (2003). It is a contested and fuzzy concept but it is useful for theorising some of the diaspora processes that are occurring in Granada. Scholars have focused on a multitude of rights as their main focus for the right to the city, but Kafui Attoh usefully highlights some approaches that are relevant for this analysis. Attoh states:

> *The right to the city, for Lefebvre, thus signifies a great deal. It signifies the right to inhabit the city, the right to produce urban life in new terms...and the right of inhabitants to remain unalienated from urban life. (2011: 674)*

Moreover, he adds:

> *For others, the right to the city is simultaneously a right to occupy (Mitchell, 2003), design (Van Deusan, 2005) and define what public space is (Gibson, 2005). (2011: 675)*

Drawing from these ideas, the right to the city that concerns the analysis of the Moroccan diaspora, is the right to visibly present a collective identity and the right to produce new and diverse urban socio-spatial patterns. In a sense, it is a right to be diasporic. In addition, economic rights and the right to participate in a local economy are also of importance. Ultimately, it is the right to produce and participate in the lived urban spaces of Granada – the third space. This section now looks more closely at the inception of the diaspora space and how the Moroccan migrants initially gained a right to the city.

In the 1980s, before the influx of Moroccan migrants in the 1990s, Spanish Muslim converts initiated the early changes to Calle Calderería Nueva and Calle Calderería Vieja. A pastry shop on Calle Calderería Vieja, which sells Arab and Maghreb style pastries, is owned by a Spanish Muslim convert. While visiting his shop, he asserted:

> *This area has changed a lot. It is very different to how it used to be and a lot of that is down to the Moroccans and their businesses. But the initial change, especially with*

regards to the Islamic feel of the area, was because of the Spanish Muslim converts who opened a few shops and a mosque. You know the mosque just up the street? Converts opened that in the 80s. I've had my shop here for about 14 years and I've seen a lot of change. There are now more Muslims, especially Moroccans. (Pablo, Male, Spain, Granada)

The director of At-Taqwa Mosque**,** which is situated on a side street just off Calle Calderería Nueva, also highlighted the early changes to the area:

In the 1980s the first Muslim community in this area was the Spanish converts. It was the first Muslim community in modern times to be in the center of the Albayzín, the old Muslim district of the city. They decided to open a centre - a mosque in an accessible area, to serve the Muslim immigrants. Predominately Moroccans, they are the majority as they are the neighbouring country, but Algerians also come, Syrians, Palestinians, Senegalese, Pakistanis too - but the majority are Moroccans, Muslims from Morocco, and once Moroccans started to inhabit this area it really started to change. In the 80s, when Spanish Muslims had bought some properties here, it was nothing like it is now with all the tourism etc. (Director of At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)

For the director of the mosque and the pastry shop owner, the lower Albayzín's contemporary manifestation is indebted to the early presence of Spanish Muslim converts in the area. The Spanish Muslim presence, especially in the 1980s and early 1990s, was not greatly significant, but it did initiate the contemporary spatialisation of a Muslim identity, paving the way for the arrival of the Moroccan diaspora. Moreover, as discussed in the previous section, the built environment contained a historic Muslim symbolism, which was also influential for the initial establishment of the diaspora in these areas. In the following quote, the director of the At-Taqwa Mosque asserts the importance of the history and built environment:

The heritage of Al-Andalus is always present for Moroccans and Muslims in this part of the city. It is in the buildings and streets and it cannot be erased, which is a powerful thing for us. In fact, the choice of this site [the lower Albayzín] for the mosque and shop owners is because it is like the way Moroccans live in Moroccan cities, and it is historically where the Muslims lived in Granada. Muslims were here in the past, and now there is a presence of Muslims and Moroccans again. As Muslims

we often look for a way that links us to the past and this area of Granada, the Albayzín, does that. (Director of At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)

For the Director of the mosque, the Muslim design and symbolism that still exists in the lower Albayzín are key factors for the presence of the Moroccan diaspora in these areas. He highlights that the area mirrors the designs of Moroccan cities and communicates the Muslim history to the diaspora. He also asserts that it is an area where Moroccan migrants can claim a sense of connection to the past, which is greatly powerful for having a sense of identification and belonging to place (Yeoh and Kong, 1996; Hayden, 1997). As discussed in a later section, the Muslim history embedded in the built environment is also a key resource for how the diaspora have instilled the area with new layers of meaning. The early arrivals of the diaspora, therefore, encountered a space that had a pre-existing socio-religious and cultural significance. It contained a built environment that symbolically resonated with the diaspora and had a small contemporary Muslim presence, albeit a Spanish one.

However, in the 1980s and early 1990s, when the first significant wave of Moroccan migrants were arriving in Granada, these areas were also considered to be under used and run down, as asserted in the following three quotes:

Historically this zone, this neighbourhood was practically abandoned and it was the Muslims and immigrants that have given it life once again. There was a period when it was almost completely abandoned. The houses and everything were empty… it was an area of delinquency and robberies, all of that happened much more in the past, but now with our presence it is much more safe and healthy. (Director of At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)

20 years ago this street wasn't like this. 20 years ago this street was shit, sorry for using that word, but people would walk their dog here so they could take a shit. There was no shops until the Muslims came and started to rent and buy shops. (Said, Male, Northern Morocco, 34)

This street was empty a while ago, there was nobody here, only a few people would walk through here and now there is lots of activity...the Arabs have changed this street a lot, now it is cleaner, there is more life and activity. There are people who come to Granada and ask where this street is, you know? (Reda, Male, Morocco, Tangiers)

In the first quote, the director of the mosque describes the lower Albayzín of the early 1990s as 'completely abandoned…an area of delinquency and robbery', and the two other quotes emphasise the empty and desolate nature of the area. They all stress that the streets were inhabited and perceived in a very different way to now, highlighting the spatial transformation that has occurred. Before the settlement of the diaspora, and the gradual transformation of the streets, the dominant perceptions were areas of delinquency and abandonment. Consequently, the area was not considered expensive to invest in. Properties were cheap to rent or buy, therefore making it possible for the diaspora to gain a presence in the area, as asserted by a Moroccan shop owner on Calle Calderería Nueva:

> *The area was not in a very good way, so it was cheap for us to rent or buy properties on the street. A lot of the shops are small, some of them are like the size of a garage, so it was cheap to rent them. At first there was only a few properties owned by Moroccans, but over time, more and more Moroccans and Muslims opened businesses here. (Driss, Male, Northern Morocco)*

Therefore, in the lower Albayzín, Moroccans found properties that were relatively run down and small in size. The disregarded nature of the area, and the small and unused properties that lined the streets, made it economically viable for some migrants to rent or buy small properties. It was not an urban space that was in demand, and consequently, it did not contain a population that overtly rejected the presence of Moroccan migrants. In some respects, they were forgotten and marginal spaces, excluded from the life of the city, which worked in favour for the diaspora to achieve a presence in this area.

In addition to the favourable economic conditions of the streets, political influence, such as local government regulation, would appear to have had little influence over the early production of the diaspora space. It would seem that there was little regulation with regards to renting properties and opening shops and businesses. The neglected nature of these streets, I would argue, demonstrates that local government regulation or investment was not focused in these parts of the city. It was an area that was central, but nonetheless marginalised, and partially outside the eyes of power. Paradoxically, this lack of local government interest was another favourable condition for the diaspora. It allowed the diaspora to gain a presence in the city with little interference from the local government, reducing complications and costs. The diaspora, along with the Spanish Muslim converts, had found underused and neglected

parts of the city, which were ripe for change and transformation. The valuable heritage of Al-Andalus had become neglected, buried under the economic struggles that had consumed the city during much of the Franco dictatorship in the 20th century. However, in the 1990s, Granada was changing, economically and socially, and the diaspora played an important role in the transformation of the city. An interest in heritage was growing, cities such as Granada were attracting an ever increasing number of tourists, and the diaspora found an opportunity to carve out a presence in the city that would assist in satisfying this tourism demand.

Ultimately, the constellation of economic, social, cultural and political factors is key to the initial right to the city gained by the diaspora, and the inception of a contemporary diaspora space. Firstly, the design of the built environment-the first space-is embedded with a culture that the diaspora identify as Muslim, mirroring the urban spaces of Moroccan cities. In so doing, the built environment powerfully communicates the history of Al-Andalus, creating a cultural space that many of the diaspora identify with. Secondly, the already established Spanish Muslim convert community instilled the area with a certain socio-religious significance, making it a more welcoming space for immigrant Muslim populations. Thirdly, the lower Albayzín was underused and run down, making it economically viable for the diaspora to invest and gain access to properties in the area. Fourthly, the lack of political influence in the area, through local government regulations, allowed the diaspora to gain a presence in the area without difficult bureaucratic hurdles to overcome. The convergence of these four factors was greatly enabling for the diaspora to gain an initial presence in these areas of the city. However, in addition to these external factors, the spatial strategies of the diaspora, and the mobilisation of a valuable orientalised cultural capital, have also been central to the right to the city and the production and formation of a diaspora space. The following section of the chapter looks at how Moroccan migrants have actually produced a diasporic urban space, and how it has been attributed with new meanings, symbols and practices.

4.5. Moroccan & Muslim Produced Spaces of Commerce, Religion and Diasporic Community

Since the initial presence of the Moroccan diaspora and Spanish Muslim convert community in the late 1980s/early 1990s, there has been a continuous increase in the presence of Moroccan and Muslim diasporic businesses and people. The streets of the lower Albayzín now have such a visible Moroccan presence, they are often referred to as the ‘Moroccan

quarter' (Rosón-Lorente, 2007) or according to Doubleday and Coleman (2008) 'Moorishland'. A Moroccan diaspora space has been well and truly established, demonstrating the substantive right to the city Moroccan migrants have achieved in this area of Granada. In the true sense of a diaspora space, it is a site inhabited by multiple ethnicities, both those considered native and those considered diasporian. There is a presence of migrants from countries such as Algeria, Iraq, and Syria and there are also businesses run by people considered as 'native' Spaniards. Nonetheless, the Moroccan diaspora is the most substantial, having the greatest influence on the contemporary production of the space, hence the area being labelled the 'Moroccan quarter'. The place-making practices of the diaspora have created a dynamic and multifunctional space, serving a number of different purposes and needs, including tourism, consumption, religion and diasporic community formation. However, I would argue, the most significant dimension for the diaspora inhabiting these areas, and gaining a right to the city, is the space that is produced for commerce, specifically the consumption needs of tourists. The socio-cultural and religious functions of the space are, in many respects, symptomatic of the economic strategies. The chapter now explores how the diaspora have produced spaces for commerce, specifically tourism, and imbued the streets with specific meanings and aesthetic qualities.

4.5.1. 'Strategic Self-Orientalism': Presenting the Past in the Present.

> *People want to see the Muslim side of Granada, they want to see 'the Moor', the history of Al-Andalus, and we can provide that. (Mehdi, Male, Morocco, Nador)*

> *Tourists come here to cross the border and arrive in the Arab world without actually having to travel there. (Brahim, Male, Northern Morocco)*

> *People come here to see Granada as if it was a Muslim city, with Muslim shops, our shops. (Mustapha, Male, Morocco)*

> *Yes for sure we try and create an Arab atmosphere. Granada has an Arab look, the small streets, the white houses; it has an Arab tradition so these shops fit into that. (Simo, Male, Northern Morocco)*

The previous quotes, all collected from Moroccan shop workers in the lower Albayzín, demonstrate diasporic perceptions of the tourist imaginary of Granada. In the first quote,

Mehdi asserts that the diaspora are able to provide tourists with a sense of the 'Moor' and the history of Al-Andalus. In the second quote, Brahim states that tourists come to Granada to experience the Arab world without actually having to travel there, and in the third quote, the shop worker claims that tourists want to see a Muslim city, which the diaspora provide with their shops and presence. In the final quote, Simo clearly asserts that they try and create an Arab atmosphere as it fits with the Arab tradition of the city. The diaspora are acutely aware of the tourism demand to see symbols, images and bodies that are evocative of the Muslim past. Consequently, they have strategically appropriated and (re)claimed the heritage of Al-Andalus, displaying it as part of their identity.

Drawing from the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986), I want to argue that the Moroccan diaspora, to some extent, have appropriated the heritage of Al-Andalus and strategically gained a right to the city through mobilising a powerful orientalised cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital appears in three states: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. For the diaspora, it is the embodied and objectified states that have been powerfully mobilised. Cultural capital in the embodied state is transmitted in bodily behaviour, speaking and appearance. Embodied cultural capital is not transmitted instantaneously, but entails a prolonged exposure to what Bourdieu would call a social *habitus*, or in other words, exposure to a certain culture of embodied practices. Bourdieu argues that the acquisition of embodied cultural capital is more disguised than those of economic capital, and thus can seem like an innate and natural property of the subject. Cultural capital, in the objectified state, refers to objects i.e. material culture. Through the ownership of material objects, objectified cultural capital is transmitted by the 'symbolic' value that is associated with the object. In addition, economic capital can be transmitted through the buying and selling of the objects. Bourdieu importantly points out that the capital properties of the objectified state are only mobilised 'in the relationship with cultural capital in its embodied form' (1986: 247). The embodied and objectified states intersect in the transmission of cultural capital. For example, the embodied behaviour of the owner or consumer of a material object impacts on the cultural capital transmitted, and vice versa.

For the diaspora, the deployment of an embodied and objectified cultural capital has involved a form of 'strategic self-orientalism'. Orientalism, a concept coined by Edward Said (1978), generally refers to Western discursive practices of representing the non-West, often in a way that perpetuates simplistic stereotypes. However, in the more nuanced 'post-orientalist' narratives, conceptualisations of orientalism are exploring the agency of 'Othered' subjects in

the lived, material world (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010). 'Strategic-self Orientalism' (Umbach and Wishnoff, 2008), a concept that fits in the school of 'post-orientalist' thought, is when subjects participate in processes of self-orientalising as a strategy to achieve certain economic, social, cultural or spatial objectives. Through a material and sensory aesthetic, and embodiment, the diaspora have produced an overtly orientalised space, conveying a 'hyperreal' symbolism that alludes to the history of Al-Andalus, and more generally, the non-western world. In so doing, the diaspora space satisfies tourist demands to consume and experience cultural difference and heritage. The diaspora's cultural capital, albeit in this exaggerated self-orientalised form, fits with a significant historical image of the city, assisting them to gain a right to have a presence in the city, to display an orientalised identity, and participate in the local economy. The diaspora have appropriated discourses of orientalism, and have asserted their agency in its production. This manifestation of post-orientalism demonstrates that the diaspora are not simply passive subjects in how orientalism functions. Rather, they have seized control of its production, and have reoriented how it is deployed and for what benefits. The chapter now looks more closely at the orientalist strategies employed by the diaspora. The objectified cultural capital of material culture and how this is used to produce a diasporic tourism space is now explored.

4.5.2. Oriental Visual Aesthetics: Material Culture and Symbolism

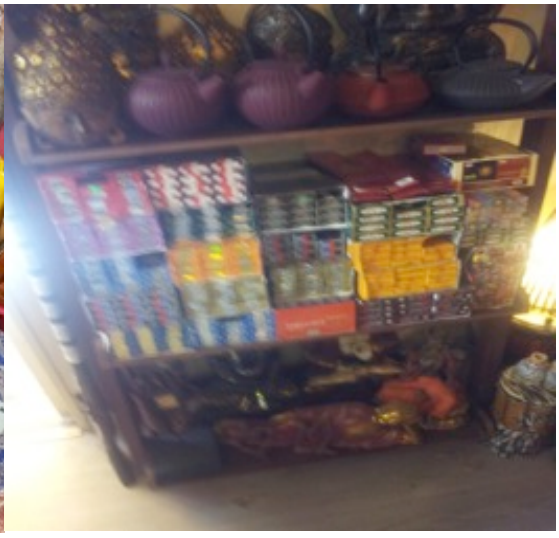
The aesthetics of a diaspora, especially when imbued into vernacular spaces, are considered a powerful resource for migrants. As Werbner and Fumanti point out, diaspora aesthetics is the 'medium through which diasporians enact their felt autonomy while laying claims to 'ownership' of the places and nations in which they settle'(2013: 149). Through aesthetics diasporas can appropriate local spaces, which engender a sense of belonging to the diasporic community and the place they have settled. For the Moroccan diaspora this is certainly the case. The aesthetic production of space, which intersects with economic strategies, is critical for the diasporic appropriation of the streets in the lower Albayzín, and the formation of a cohesive diaspora and diaspora space. A key intersection of the economic and aesthetic strategies is the mobilisation of a powerful visual material culture. The material culture of space, i.e. commodities, things, objects, are considered to significantly impact spatial/social practices, and culture more broadly (Jackson, 2000; Lees, 2002; Woodword, 2007). It is argued that people construct meaning through material objects. They use them to construct cultural categories, to give places meaning, to discriminate and to mark aspects of self and

other (Woodword, 2007). A common form of categorisation through material objects is national identity (Edensor, 2002). The association of material objects with certain geographical contexts, and the connotations of objects to certain human practices and cultures, can render objects as highly symbolic expressions of national identity (Edensor, 2002). As national identity is often synonymous with certain ethnicities, material objects also have strong ethnic connotations and symbolism. Vignette 1, below, contains a long extract from ethnographic field notes and a selection of photos taken in the field. These field notes and photos are descriptions and images of the retail strategies, material culture and visual aesthetics observed while walking along Calle Calderería Vieja and part of Calle Calderería Nueva on a busy day in spring.

Vignette1. Ethnographic Fieldwork Diary, 20/03/2013

Turning onto Calderería Vieja from Calle Elvira you instantly see a number of small properties to the right hand side of the street. They all display a large array of objects and symbols, both on the street and inside the properties. The first three properties are small gift shops and they have products displayed on tables and hangers at the entrance of the shops. One of the properties has a variety of oriental style clothing hanging over the entrance – i.e. Djellaba Berber robes, Arabic kaftan style shirts and Palestine style scarfs. It also displays a variety of baggy hippy style trousers and colourful cotton shirts – not so oriental, but probably popular with the tourists. At the shop slightly further up, there are racks and baskets full to the brim of Moroccan babouche style slippers.

Photo 7: Babouche Style Slippers, Author's photo, 2012. Photo 8: Boxes of Incense and Teapots, Author's photo, 2012.



There are a great variety of styles, in multiple colours and most appear to be made of a leather style material. At the exterior of the third shop there is a table with a selection of silver jewellery; not so sure what ethnic symbolism they might convey. Slightly inside the entrance of a shop there is a shelf that contains numerous boxes of incense and a selection of ornately designed teapots (see image 8). There is a rack that contains notebooks with wall patterns from the Alhambra palace on the covers. From the street, objects such as Moroccan style tea sets and shisha pipes are visible inside the shop. It is a very small shop, it has shelves on each side but there are no other rooms. The man working at the shop tells me that it used to be a storage room for a flat up stairs, but he now rents it off that person. Slightly further up the street is the entrance to the Tetería (Moroccan/Arab tea room/cafe) Al-Andalus. The entrance is extravagantly designed with an Arab style arch containing geometric wood cut patterns. To the sides of the arch are pillars and on one of the walls is a large Moroccan teapot design. On the Street at the front of Tetería Al-Andalus are a number of small Moroccan style stools and tables. These are engraved and embroidered with geometric patterns and Arab/Moroccan dialect scripture (see photo 9)

Photo 9: Outside Tetería Al-Andalus and Wall Painting on Calle Calderería Vieja, Author's photo, 2012.

A wall beside the entrance and outdoor seating area is painted with a picture. The picture depicts Moroccan/Arab men in the desert, dressed in turbans and robes, drinking tea. A sign to the left of the street, advertising the Tetería, consists of images of a Moroccan teapot full of mint and a lady dressed in belly dancer style dress, smoking a shisha pipe. The text states they specialise in mint and Pakistani tea and aphrodisiac cachimba pipes (see photo 10).

Photo 10: Sign for Tetería Al-Andalus, Author's photo, 2102. Photo 11: A Selection of Teas, Author's photo, 2012.

The property adjacent to the Tetería specialises in Moroccan lamps and it has a countless number hanging from the ceiling and entrance of the shop. The lamps are very colourful and with so many together in a small property it really catches my eye. The neighbouring two properties, which again are very small, sell crafts and tea respectively. The first shop has a display of leather bags at the entrance, which I'm told are all made in Morocco. The next shop is named *teas of the world* and it is full to the brim of small packets of exotic teas and ornate teapots (see photo 11). A sign states you can buy three packs of Moroccan mint tea for three euros. Slightly further up, the street opens into a small plaza, and a number of properties surround this area. To the right is the Tetería Al-Candil, which incidentally I've never seen open. It has a wooden sign and a lamp hanging outside the entrance. On the sign is the wording 'Tetería Al-Candil' and underneath is Arabic writing (see photo 12). A sign on the wall adjacent to the Tetería Al-Candil, which is an advertisement for the previous shops, labels them as artisan craft shops, with one speciality being oriental fashion. A narrow street

leads off to the left, heading towards Calle Elvira, and on the right hand side is the Tetería Tuareg. Outside the Tetería is a sign; on it is the name of the establishment and a design that symbolises a turban (see photo 13). The entrance of the Tetería is covered in colourful tiles with geometric patterns.

Photo 12: Tetería Al-Candil, Author's photo, 2012.

Photo 13: Tetería Tuareg, Author's photo 2012.

Back on the Calle Calderería Vieja, slightly further up is Samarakanda, a restaurant that specialises in Lebanese food. On the restaurant's sign is symbol of a cedar tree, which is the symbol that adorns the Lebanese flag. There is also some Arabic scripture below the symbol of the cedar tree. Further up the street are two more small artisan craft shops. From the street I can see a great variety of oriental gifts inside the shops - once again there are plenty of Moroccan tea sets and shisha pipes. In the middle of the street, quite near the entrance of the shop, are a selection of Moroccan leather designed pouffes and some Moroccan candle lanterns (see photo 14).

Photo 14: Leather Pouffes and Moroccan Candle Lanterns, Author's photos, 2012.

On the other side of the street is a Moroccan owned halal butchers called the *Carnecería Albayzín.* Its red sign is in both Arabic and Spanish clearly stating 'Halal'. A few metres up from the butchers is a Spanish language school and after that you arrive at the cross roads of Calle Calderería Vieja and Nueva. In this part of the street there are a number of Moroccan and Muslim street traders offering services and goods. There are two men offering to write your name in Arabic for one Euro. They have large displays of ornately designed cards with names written in Arabic. They both have signs that state in multiple languages 'your name in Arabic for one Euro'. On the other side of the street a Moroccan man has set up a small table with boxes of incense on it. He is burning some of the incense sticks and intermittently calls out ' incense, incense, incense…really cheap'.

Walking around the lower Albayzín is a visual bombardment of oriental material culture and symbolism. The objects, commodities and symbols of the businesses have encroached onto the public space of the street, blurring the distinction between the spaces of business and the public space of the street. A walk along these streets, even without entering one of the businesses, invariably involves a visual and sensory experience of diversity and diasporic culture. The artisan gift shops, teashops, food establishments and street traders, which are the primary businesses of the diaspora in this street, display an overt materialism and symbolism of the orient and the non-western world. The artisan gift shops, a ubiquitous feature of the lower Albayzín, are predominantly small properties, displaying a great array of products. In some of the shops the workers asserted that all the objects for sale were from Morocco, while in other shops the attendants explained that the goods they sold were not just from Morocco

but a number of non-Western and 'oriental' countries. For example, one Moroccan shop attendant stated:

> *There is stuff from all over. Look those ceramics are from Morocco, the other ones there are from Granada, the small boxes are from Egypt, and the clothes are from India and Nepal. (Mustafa, Male, Morocco)*

In numerous shops there are objects that just convey a sense of the orient and the 'other', which have no clear symbolism to Morocco and Al-Andalus heritage. For example, in one shop there was a selection of Nepalese embroidered patchwork bags. These bags were made up with red, green, and orange patches, and some of the patches had flower designs on them. There were also colorful cotton shirts and kaftans that originated from Turkey, and small ornate boxes made in Pakistan. Thus, material objects selected for the shops are not all necessarily conveying a Moroccan sense of place and identity. Rather there is an attempt through certain material objects to just convey a general sense of the exotic non-West. This, I would suggest, is indicative of the orientalism that is being enacted. It is a process of providing anything that appears to be stereotypically symbolic of the world outside of Europe and North America.

Nonetheless, a large majority of material objects do play with symbolisms of Morocco, the Maghreb and the Arab world at large. For example, a common product in a number of shops is Arab/Moroccan style tea sets (see photo 15). They usually consist of four to six small Moroccan tea glasses, a small Moroccan teapot engraved with Arab designs, and a silver tea tray engraved with Arabic writing and designs. Another pervasive item for sale is the hookah/shisha pipes that are commonly smoked in North African and Arab countries (see photo 16). The pipes come in a selection of colours, and they are usually engraved with Arab style designs. Most shops also sell a selection of flavored tobaccos to go with the pipes. These two material items, the tea sets and hookah/shisha pipes, are important elements of Moroccan/Arab culture, and therefore, have a strong symbolic value for creating a sense of the non-Western exotic world. Other items that are pervasive in the shops include Middle Eastern designed mirrors, hanging lamps that have Islamic adornments, ornately designed Arab rugs, and Moroccan ceramic plates with Safi designs.

Photo 15: Moroccan/Arab style Tea Sets in a Shop on Calle Calderería Nueva, Author's photo, 2012

Photo 16: Shisha Pipes in a Shop on Calle Calderería Vieja, Author's photo, 2013

The tetería is another ubiquitous economic strategy in the lower Albayzín, hence why the street it is often nicknamed the "street of teterías" (Lonely Planet, 2010). The interior and exterior design and materiality of a number of these teterías are a further construction and bombardment of oriental symbolism. Tetería As-Sirat is a small property half way up Calle Calderería Nueva, and attracts a fairly consistent flow of customers (see photo 17).

Photo 17: Tetería As Sirat on Calle Calderería Nueva, Author's photo, 2012

Photo 18: Interior of Tetería As Sirat, Authors photo, 2013

To enter the property you go through a wooden door designed with Arabic scripture and designs. The floors inside are tiled and on the walls are more tiles with Islamic geometric patterns. The windows looking out onto the street are Arabic designed and have the archetypal arch design and shutters with Islamic patterns (see photo 17 & 18). The different rooms inside the Tetería are separated by arch structures, which again are designed with

Islamic arrangements and Arabic scripture (see photo 18). Giving off a dim light inside the Tetería are a number of elaborate Arabic lamps that hang down from the fairly low ceiling, and the tables are octagonal and ornamented with intricate designs. The practice of preparing and drinking tea in the teterías, which many consider as an art form in Morocco (Lonely Planet, 2011), often involves using the symbolically Moroccan/Arabic teapots and tea glasses (see photo 19). Moreover, the shisha pipe, a symbolic object of the Arab world, is pervasively displayed and smoked in the teterías (see photo 19)

Photo 19: Moroccan Teapot and Shisha Pipe in Tetería Ali Baba, Authors photo, 2013

In Tetería Al-Andalus on Calle Calderería Vieja, a young man from Tangiers often worked there in the afternoons. He frequently wore a Fez style hat and would serve the tea in a flamboyant way, pouring the tea into the glass from a great height. He told me on a number of occasions that pouring tea was an art form in Morocco, and that he had practiced doing it all through his youth. The Moroccan staff in Tetaría Ali baba, situated at the top end of Calle Calderería Nueva, were invariably dressed in Moroccan babouche slippers, Fez style hats and Djellaba Berber robes. Clothing is an extremely symbolic expression of nationality and ethnicity (Edensor, 2002), accentuating the oriental body of the Moroccan workers in the Tetería. The amalgamation of the diasporic body with a certain style of clothing, and the

powerful symbolism that this can produce, exemplifies how cultural capital in its objectified form (material objects) is further mobilised with cultural capital in the embodied form. The coalescing of the imagined notion of a Moroccan body, Moroccan materiality (clothing and objects) and Moroccan performativity, mobilises a powerful cultural capital for the diaspora. It imbues the space of the tetería and the streets of the lower Albayzín with an oriental identity, which evokes the heritage of Al-Andalus. The materialised oriental identity caters to a popular tourism desire to experience the Muslim past of Granada, contributing to a key tourism imaginary being promoted by the city, which has assisted the diaspora to appropriate urban space.

Another economic and spatial strategy that is pervasive around the lower Albayzín is the street vendor. In Granada, the informal economy of street vending has a visible presence, encapsulating much of the city centre. During my frequent walks along the principal streets of Carrera de la Virgen, Puerta Real, Los Reyes Catolicos and Plaza Nueva, I would often see numerous vendors, predominately Senegalese migrants, selling a variety of products such as umbrellas, sunglasses, pirate DVDs, and leather style bags. The Moroccan and North African diasporic street vendors principally gather in the streets around the lower Albayzín, Plaza Nueva and the Alcaicería - the areas with an overtly visible Moroccan presence and a high number of tourists. The street vendors, like the shop proprietors, are using a 'strategic orientalism' to gain access to the local tourism economy and achieve an ephemeral right to the city. Vignette 2 is an extract from ethnographic field notes. The field notes and photos are observations and images of the Moroccan and Arab street vendors in the lower Albayzín.

Vignette 2. Ethnographic Fieldwork Diary, 15/03/2013

The street vendors that offer to write your name in Arabic for one euro are pervasively seen around the lower Albayzín and the Alcaicería, especially on busy days. For example, today I saw three people offering the service on Calle Calderería Nueva, one on the Los Reyes Catolicos near Plaza Nueva and one near the cathedral and Alcaicería. On the Easter weekend I counted nine people offering the service in the lower Albayzín and Plaza Nueva areas of the city. These street traders use certain public spaces to provide their services. For example, the man on Los Reyes Catolicos uses a public bench so he can lean his boards against it (see photo 20). The boards display a selection of cards with names written in Arabic and some more advanced Arabic calligraphy and drawings.

Photo 20: Name in Arabic Street Vendor, Author's photo, 2013.

He also has a board that states 'your name in Arabic for 1 Euro' and this is translated into multiple languages. Interestingly all the street vendors that offer to write names in Arabic have similar signs advertising their service and the same styled cards to write the names on (see photo 21).

Photo 21: Name in Arabic Street Vendor, Author's photo, 2013.

Photo 22: Name in Arabic and Incense Street Vendors, Author's photo, 2013.

On Calle Calderería Nueva and Vieja they use spaces on the street that do not block the permanent properties. They often display the examples of the calligraphy on the walls and shutters of shops that are closed (see photo 22). The street traders often appropriate the spaces on the streets that are not used by the permanent retail properties. Other street vendors on Calle Calderería Nueva include a Moroccan man who sells boxes of incense, displaying them on a small table (see photo 22). A veiled Muslim woman is often perched on a small stool, offering Henna style tattoos, and today there was a man who was selling jewellery and small purses.

The street vendors are strategically offering oriental aesthetics, fitting with the oriental identity of the majority of retail properties on the street. The vendors that write names in Arabic are utilising language and writing skills that they have brought with them from Morocco and Arabic speaking countries. It is the mobilisation of a cultural capital, which fits with the Al-Andalus history of the city, allowing them to gain access to the lucrative tourism economy of the city. The vendors have found a business that does not require a fixed property, rather they find spaces on the open streets that are not being used, and temporarily appropriate them. It is an ephemeral right to the city, an informal right to the local economy. However, due to the informal nature of the street vending it is a precarious form of business. The following extract is from a conversation with Ryan, a street vendor from northern Morocco, who writes names in Arabic:

Researcher: *Are there a lot of tourists that want their names in Arabic?*

Ryan: *Yeah it is not so bad. There is quite a lot of business, especially on sunny days like today.*

Researcher: *So people like the Arabic writing?*

Ryan*: Yeah they do. A lot of tourists want to see Moroccan and Arab style things in city. It is because of the history, because Arabs used to live here, so they like this type of thing.*

Researcher: *Do you have any problems with the police or the council working on the street like this?*

Ryan: *Yeah we have problems with the police. We have to keep our eye out for them. Some come by and don't care but others take all our stuff and give us a fine. These days the fine is about 130 euros, so we have to be quite careful. If I don't see the police coming, hopefully my friend doing the same thing over there (other side of the street) will. The police have definitely become stricter about this in recent years.*

In this extract two important issues are discussed. Firstly, the vendor points out that tourists want to see a Moroccan and Arabic aesthetic due to the history of Al-Andalus and Arabic writing and calligraphy are part of that aesthetic. Therefore, through an ability to write names in Arabic, migrants have found a relatively cost effective way of accessing the local economy. Secondly, the vendor points out that the street vending is a precarious use of urban space as it can result in confiscation of equipment and fines from the police. On another occasion, when I requested a name in Arabic the vendor asked if I could wait a minute as he had just been given a warning from the police and he was worried they might come back. He explained that the police had told him that he needed a permit and 'officially' he is not meant to do this in the centre of the city. The vendors, therefore, are constantly balancing the opportunity to informally engage in the local economy and the possibility of being fined by the local authorities. It would seem the precarity of possibly being fined is mitigated by the opportunity to access the lucrative spaces of tourism and commerce.

This section has demonstrated that the diasporic business strategies such as artisan gift shop, teterías and street vendors all utilise material culture and general visual aesthetics to strategically orientalise the streets around the lower Albayzín. The Moroccan and Muslim body (embodied) and the oriental aesthetics (objectified) jointly produce a powerful cultural capital, assisting the diaspora to appropriate urban space and gain a right to the city. The objects and designs that the diaspora utilise are both in place and out of place. Objects and material culture are understood and conceived with regards to geographical knowledge about where they belong (Edensor, 2002). Diasporic material culture is normatively understood to be out of place, which can be both enabling and restraining for the diaspora. However, the aesthetic material culture of the Moroccan diaspora simultaneously evokes a sense of another place, primarily Morocco and the Maghreb, and as a result of the Muslim history of Al-Andalus, evokes a sense of being in place. The fact that the oriental aesthetic is interpreted to be partly in place is why the diaspora have found a powerful cultural capital in Granada.

4.5.3. Sensuous Experience of the Diaspora Space

The senses – touch, taste, smell, hearing, and sight – are considered to significantly influence our everyday geographical experiences (Rodaway, 1994; Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Wise, 2010). They are seen to play an important role in our relationship to the world, and in themselves they play a role in constructing and defining places and spaces. Furthermore, the senses function in the creation and maintenance of social relations. They produce and maintain social identities such as ethnicity, class, gender and nationality (Rodaway, 1994; Wise, 2010). Werbner & Fumanti assert that diaspora aesthetics are rich sensuously, and that diasporians create spaces of 'multiple sensorial experiences' (2013: 156). As Rhys-Taylor points out, 'the noses and taste buds have been integral to the articulation of diasporic identities and the reproduction of ethicized social spaces amidst the experience of dislocation' (2013: 394). Therefore, this following section critically explores how the Moroccan diaspora has utilised a multi-sensory aesthetic in the social construction of the lower Albayzín. As the previous section was concerned with the material culture and its visibility in the lower Albayzín, this section focuses on food/tastes, smells and sounds of the streets.

Food and drink, and its production and consumption, are considered a central component to ethnic and national identities, conveying a strong sense of place and symbolism to nations, regions, cities and towns (Mintz and Du Bois, 2002; Slocum, 2010). As stated in the previous section, there are a number of properties that are teterías in the lower Albayzín. These teterías

generally sell a diverse assortment of teas, and a selection of meals and snacks. The food and drinks prepared by the teterías predominately symbolise the Maghreb/Middle East, and provide tastes and flavors that are often associated with the exotic and orient, constructing a sensation and nostalgia to Muslim Granada.

For example, the Kasbah Tetería Restaurant is situated at the lower part of Calle Calderería Nueva, and it sells a number of dishes and drinks to a predominately tourist clientele. On its menu it states, 'Discover the flavors and aromas of Al-Andalus – Arab, Oriental, Hindu and Mediterranean dishes'. The Tetería, then, is exploiting the fascination people have with Granada's Moorish heritage by providing an Arab/oriental culinary experience. The main dishes on the menu include Harira (a traditional soup from Morocco), Hummus (a spread that is popular in the Middle East), Couscous (a North African semolina dish), Falafel (deep fried balls of chick peas that originates from the Maghreb), and rice pudding with rose water (a popular pudding in the Middle East). They also sell a huge selection of teas, including Arab teas, teas with milk, exotic teas, classic teas, Chinese teas, and Japanese teas. The Arab teas include Moroccan, Egyptian, Tunisian, Syrian, Iraqi, and Saharan. The Moroccan tea, which is primarily served as a mint tea, is significantly symbolic of Morocco (see photo 23). The teterías use a number of different names for mint tea including te marroquí (Moroccan tea), te magrebí (Maghreb Tea), te moruno (Moorish tea), and simply te de menta (mint tea). Mint tea is considered a great tradition and for many Moroccans the preparation of the tea is an art form. As it states on the food.com website:

> *Mint tea isn't just a drink in Morocco. It is a sign of hospitality and friendship and tradition. Because this drink is so popular, it is served all day long, after every meal and with every conversation. Moroccans take great pride in their tea and will often ask a visitor who among their group of friends makes the best cup of mint tea. (Food.com, 2003)*

The inextricable symbolism of mint tea with Morocco, North Africa and the Arab speaking world produces a sensory taste experience that is overtly evocative of these places. Therefore, mint tea provides a taste and ritual that is integral to Morocco and when it is served in teterías on Calle Calderería Nueva it produces an undeniable sense of the Maghreb and Arab culture, past and present. Moreover, the interlinking nature of Maghreb culture with the culture of Al-Andalus means the consumption of mint tea in Granada has a nostalgic value, provoking a sensory experience of the city's Muslim past. It is a taste experience of multiple places and

multiple times, highlighting the deep cultural connections and movements between the Maghreb and Iberian Peninsula.

Photo 23: A Glass of Mint Tea and Shisha Pipe, Authors photo, 2013

Closely linked to the sense of taste and food is the sensuous experience of smell, which is known as olfaction. Olfaction is considered to be a factor in our geographical experiences of space and place (Rodaway, 1994), and undoubtedly mediates the experience of the Moroccan diaspora space. Olfaction is a complex geographical experience, including both the immediate encounter with space, and a 'kind of virtual encounter with places in the imagination when odour memories are excited by current place experiences' (Rodaway, 1994: 67). As Porteous states 'smells may be spatially ordered and space related', which creates a 'smellscape' in geographical locations' (1985: 369). The olfaction experience of Calle Calderería Nueva is distinct and certainly creates a 'smellscape' that impacts the character of the street. Inside Kasbah Tetería Restaurant and Tetería As-Sirat there are often strong smells of freshly brewed teas, particularly the Moroccan mint teas. The aroma of mint and yerba buena (a member of the mint family) is widespread in the lower Albayzín, lingering inside the teterías and the shared spaces of the streets. Due to mint teas inherent links to Moroccan tradition and culture, its sweet and unique aroma can often convey a sense of the Arab world. It is important to point out that mint tea is at its most evocative through the multisensory experience of seeing, tasting and smelling. The process of seeing the material ascetics of the ornately designed teapots and glasses, the sweet taste of mint and sugar, and the potent aroma of mint and yerba buena is highly evocative. In addition to the olfaction of mint, the smell of

spices from the food served in the teterías and the takeaways produce other aromas on the streets. Incense sticks, with their strong aromas, are often burnt inside the artisan shops, teterías and on the shared space of the street by vendors. The Shisha pipes, commonly smoked inside and outside the teterías, produce a sweet and fruity smelling smoke, adding another olfactory element to the diaspora space (see image 23). These pervasive smells that linger throughout the street, combine to make a 'smellscape' that expresses a profound sense of the exotic and orient, or at least a sense of the non-West. However, as the olfactory experience is very personal, its effects will differ between individuals. For some, the smells on Calle Calderería Nueva will set off odour memories that will connect to a sense of the Arab and Middle Eastern world. While, for others, the experience of these aromas will all be based on the immediate experience, as they don't have prior knowledge of the smells. As the immediate experience is in a space that is predominately used and constructed by the Moroccan diaspora, it would be safe to assume that Morocco and the Arab world are the predominant spatial connotations with these aromas. Nonetheless, the feelings evoked from the 'smellscape' will differ between the different users of the streets.

Sounds and the sense of hearing also play a role in how we interpret and utilise space (Rodaway, 1994; Stokes, 1997; Connell and Gibson, 2003; Hudson, 2006). For example, music is often geographically symbolic and can convey a strong sense of place and social identity (Stokes, 1997; Connell and Gibson, 2003). Languages and accents, and their various sounds, can imbue meaning to space and influence social/spatial practices (Desforges and Jones, 2001). Industrial noises, for example, can influence how we interact, feel and relate with space (Rodaway, 1994). Calle Calderería Nueva can be a fairly raucous space of sounds, especially during busy periods in the late morning and evening. The narrow character of the street and the close proximity of the shops and teterías create a potent and diverse 'soundscape' (Schafer, 1994), and there are two pervasive sounds that convey a strong Moroccan/Arab symbolism - Arabic language/Moroccan dialect and North African music. For the Moroccan Diaspora, the streets of the lower Albayzín are both business and social spaces. As discussed in the following section, the lower Albayzín is a space of Moroccan diasporic community contact. The chairs and stools that line the street are often filled with Moroccan shop owners chatting with each other in Moroccan dialect and Arabic. When you walk up and down the street the sound of these languages are frequently audible, permeating the street with a sense of a Maghreb identity. However, the lower Albayzín attracts numerous tourists, thus multiple nationalities and ethnicities communicate in the streets. It is a space of multilingualism, with languages such as Spanish, English, Japanese, French and German

often forming part of the language 'soundscape'. There is much mixing between languages, with the Moroccan diaspora often demonstrating a capacity to speak in multiple tongues. Therefore, the language 'soundscape' communicates notions of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007), demonstrating the variety of people who wander around and use the streets of the lower Albayzín. Nonetheless, Moroccan dialect and Arabic are not just temporary sounds, which come and go, rather they are permanent and pervasive components of the language 'soundscape', sonically spatialising a Moroccan and Arab identity in the streets.

In addition to the languages of the street, recorded music is often played inside the shops and it echoes out into the shared spaces of the streets, adding another element to the sonic landscape. Music, in its many forms, is linked to the construction of identities, and connects certain identities to certain places (Hudson, 2006). Therefore, music and songs are key components in the complex construction of places, metaphorically and literally (Cohen, 1995; Hudson, 2006). The style of music frequently audible in the lower Albayzín consists of singing in Moroccan dialect/Arabic, accompanied by the sound of the oud (a pear- shaped string instrument), drums, and keyboards. Even for the untrained ear, it is a musical style that illicits imagined geographies of the non-Western world in the Western imaginary. During observations it was noted that a Moroccan shopkeeper was speaking to a tourist enthusiastically about the music playing in his shop. He proudly informed the tourist that the style of music was popular in Morocco, but actually has its origins in Al-Andalus. Moreover, while conversing about music with a Moroccan shop worker, he stated that he often plays a style called Adalusí, which is very popular in Fez and Rabat, but has its origins in Al-Andalus. The Moroccan music that forms part of the lower Albayzín 'soundscape' is often being sold as a style that belongs to both Morocco and the Al-Andalus period of Granada.

Adding to the visual materiality of the streets, the tastes, smells and sounds that emanate from diasporic and Muslim businesses create a multi-sensory oriental experience. The sensory experience is hyper-intense, involving a bombardment of stimulating sights, sounds, smells and tastes. According to Vikas Mehta (2013), an expert on the urban street, the hyper-sensory experience is what typifies the 'oriental street'. Akin to the material objects in the streets, the tastes, smells and sounds are both out of place and in place. They simultaneously evoke a sensual experience of another place, specifically Morocco, and a sensual experience of Granada's Muslim past. The oriental multi-sensory aesthetic is a key component in the business strategies for accessing the lucrative tourism industry, and providing a much sought-after experience of the past and exotic. Ultimately, the diverse historical context of Granada

and the innovative economic and cultural strategies of the diaspora have mutually produced the contemporary diaspora space of the lower Albayzín.

4.6 Religious Aesthetics & Practices

So far, the economic strategies and aesthetics of the diaspora space have been analysed. However, intersecting with the hyper-oriental aesthetics is an Islamic religious aesthetic, predominately conveyed through bodily practices, objects and the built environment. The intersections between diasporas and religion have been gaining salience in diaspora studies, and the significance of religious belief, symbolism and organisational structure in the formation of diasporic identities is emphasised by various scholars (Kokot *et al.*, 2004; Vertovec, 2004; Aitchison and Hopkins, 2007; McLoughlin, 2009; Vasquez, 2010). But, as Robert Cohen argues, religions should not be considered as constitutive of diasporas themselves, rather they are a phenomena related to diasporas, and 'can provide additional cement to bind a diasporic consciousness' (1997: 189). Even though religion is but one of the organisational and identity categories of contemporary diasporas, the religious landscapes of Western cities have been transformed by diasporic communities (Oosterbaan, 2014). Diasporas have introduced and revitalised religious spaces, creating what some argue as 'postsecular societies' (Habermas, 2008).

In Granada, the Moroccan diaspora along with other diasporic communities have contributed to an increased visibility of Islamic aesthetics and practices. At the time of the research fieldwork there was believed to be six mosques in Granada, including the *Mezquita del Zaidín* and another in the Zaidín neighbourhood, the *Mezquita de Omar* in the Chana district, the *Mezquita de Paz As-Salam* in the Cartuja district, the *Mezquita Mayor de Granada* in the upper Albayzín, and in the lower Albayzín, the area of analysis, is the *Mezquita At-Taqwa* (Fieldwork interview, 2013). The Mezquita At-Taqwa is a small mosque situated on a small street just off Calle Calderería Nueva. The mosque opened in the 1980s and is considered the first mosque to be established in Granada since the expulsion of the Muslims in the 15th century (Fieldwork interview, 2013). Spanish Muslim converts first established the mosque, but its main attendees are Muslim migrants, as explained by the director of the mosque:

> *In the 1980s we were the first Muslim community in Granada, Spanish Muslims that is. This is the first Muslim community to be in the centre of the Albayzín, the old Muslim district of the city. We decided to have a centre and open a mosque in an*

> *accessible area, central for the Muslim immigrants. It is predominately Moroccans who come here, they are the majority as they are the neighbouring country, but Algerians, Syrians, Palestinians, Senegalese, and Pakistanis also attend, but the Moroccans are the majority. Since the 1980s the immigrants have benefited from this mosque, especially those in the central area. The immigrants who come here are predominately the ones who work in the shops and teterías around the lower Albayzín. Moroccan students that study at the University of Granada also come here. Above all, it is these two groups that attend the mosque. (Director of At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)*

Spanish Muslim converts, therefore, conceived the idea of the mosque, and crafted the first contemporary Islamic presence in the lower Albayzín. Nonetheless, it was the commercial presence of the Moroccan diaspora and other Muslim migrants that created a demand for a mosque in the lower Albayzín. As stated by the director of the mosque, it is predominately Moroccans who work in the central districts that attend. The economic presence of Moroccans has resulted in a religiosity being instilled in the streets of the lower Albayzín. The aesthetic exterior design of the mosque is modest, as explained by the director of the mosque:

> *Previously this building was a bakery, they made bread and cakes here. Then it was a crafts workshop and before we converted it into a mosque it was closed and abandoned for a number of years. Outside it looks like any other building, but you can see the inside looks likes a mosque. However, historically it was a bakery and a craftwork shop for taracea from Granada. (Director of At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)*

In comparison to the *Mezquita Mayor* in the upper Albayzín, which is an ornately designed mosque with a tall minaret, the façade and exterior of the At-Taqwa mosque is rather prosaic and, as the director stated, it looks like any other building (see photo 24).

Photo 24: Exterior of the At-Taqwa Mosque, Author's photo, 2013

Nonetheless, the exterior of the mosque does exhibit a subtle Muslim and Arab aesthetic; it is not completely void of religious symbolism. For example, there is a small sign in Arabic and Spanish by the main door (see photo 25). It states the name of the mosque – *Mezquita At-Taqwa* – and that the women's entrance is on the first floor.

Photo 25: Sign for At-Taqwa Mosque, Author's photo, 2013

Photo 26: Prayer Room Entrance for At-Taqwa Mosque. Author's photo, 2013

There is a second door, leading directly into the main prayer hall on the ground floor (see photo 26). This entrance has a horseshoe arch design and Arabic calligraphy above the arch, both archetypal features of Islamic/Arab architecture (Petruccioli and Pirani, 2002). These two features may not convey the ostentatiousness of other religious buildings in Granada, but it still communicates a subtle Islamic symbolism, and imbues the street and area with an Islamic religiosity. Inside the mosque, the prayer hall (the musalla) takes up the majority of the first floor. When I visited the mosque, there were very few bits of furniture in the prayer hall (see photo 27). It is an open space with prayer mats covering the floor and a number of pillars throughout. It is designed in the conventional style of a prayer hall, conveying an Islamic symbolism through the uncluttered and open nature of the room. The inside of the mosque is mostly reserved for the use of practicing Muslims, and it is not readily open and visible to non-Muslims and tourists. Thus the aesthetics and symbolism of the interior of the mosque is mostly affective for the practising Muslims who inhabit and use the indoor space.

Photo 27: Prayer Room in the At-Taqwa Mosque

Source: Web Islam, 2012

In addition to the mosque, the halal butcher on Calle Calderería Vieja contributes to the Islamic aesthetic of the lower Albayzín (see photo 28). Halal meat is the outcome of the slaughtering of animals in accordance with Islamic law, as defined in the Koran. Therefore, halal butchers symbolise a core component in the worship of Islam, and instil places with an Islamic religiosity. The Halal butchers on Calle Calderería Vieja is adjacent to other diasporic businesses such as the oriental artisan gift shops and teterías. It is a small property but its red sign that states its name and halal credentials are clearly visible from shared space of the street.

Photo 28: Halal Butchers on Calle Calderería Vieja, Author's photo, 2013

The religious nature of the lower Albayzín is also temporal, and during certain times of the year religious aesthetics, ritual and practices are more visible. For example, during Ramadan, the period of fasting for practicing Muslims, I observed an increase in religious practices and symbolism. Vignette 3 contains field notes of my observations during Ramadan:

Vignette 3. Ethnographic Fieldwork Diary, 20/08/2012

An interesting aspect of my time in the lower Albayzín is that Ramadan started the second week I was there. I observed and heard a number of things that made me aware that people in this area were observing Ramadan. For example,

- A man working in the Arab bakery informed me that they were not selling coffee as it was Ramadan, but they would start serving it again after this religious period. He said caffeine was not permitted during Ramadan so he did not sell it to any customers.

- In the streets I observed numerous shop workers intensely reading the Koran. They often sit on stools outside the entrance of their shops, reading intently, and the Arabic scripture of the Koran is visible when you walk by. I also observed people praying more frequently inside their shops. They would often be kneeling on small prayer mats on the floor of the shops.

- A number of Moroccan migrants mentioned things to do with Ramadan during informal conversations. For example, a shop worker stated that he liked going out at night in Granada but he didn't go out during Ramadan, as it was a time of rest. Another man explained to me that he did not drink any fluids or eat any food during the daylight hours of Ramadan. He said that it did make work more tiring, but as he was a Muslim it was what he had to do. A shop worker informed me that he was going back to Morocco for the *Eid u Fitr* celebrations at the end of Ramadan. He said the celebration was better in Morocco and he would get to see his family that still live there.

The diasporic religious consciousness appears to gain prevalence during Ramadan, resulting in religious aesthetics and practices becoming more visible. This period of heighted religious awareness produces an ephemeral adjustment to socio-spatial practices. For example, the man in the pastry shop temporarily stops selling and drinking coffee, there are increased

performances of religious rituals, and personal routines, such as having nights out, are provisionally stopped. However, the visibility of Islamic religiosity is not invisible outside of Ramadan, the lower Albayzín is invariably imbued with a level of Islamic aesthetics, but it is more prevalent during Ramadan.

Overall, diasporic businesses and diasporic people have greatly contributed to the reintroduction of Islamic practices and aesthetics in the lower Albayzín. Alongside the Spanish Muslim converts community, the Moroccan diaspora have produced a space of Islamic worship and aesthetics. For many of the Moroccan diaspora, Islam is an important element of their diasporic identity. Islam has a clear social and cultural function, and paraphrasing the words of Robert Cohen (1997), it powerfully cements a diaspora consciousness. Some level of ethnic identity continuation is considered a key component of the diaspora condition (Brah, 1996), and practicing the religion of Islam provides an ethnic continuity for the Moroccan diaspora. Religion, along with business, bolsters a notion of coherent Moroccan diasporic community. However, it is important to point out that not all Moroccan migrants are practicing Muslims. During the research I encountered Moroccans who were believers but didn't practice frequently and Moroccans who had little interest in religion. Therefore, religion is not what constitutes the diaspora, but it does play a critical role in creating a sense of shared identity and community. As argued by Pinina Werbner (2010), diasporas are complex, defying any neat typology, and this is certainly the case with the Moroccan diaspora in Granada.

I would argue that the production of a religious space positively contributes to the economic 'strategic orientalism' of the diaspora. The religious aesthetics heightens the oriental and Moroccan image of the area, and consolidates its relevance and connection to the history of Al-Andalus. As the religion of Islam is synonymous with the history of Al-Andalus, contemporary Muslims are an evocative embodiment of that history, assisting them to achieve a religious right to the city. The director of the At-Taqwa Mosque talked about the importance of the city's history for the contemporary practice of Islam. He stated:

> *Muslims gather here in Granada because there is more tolerance. Traditionally it is a city where you see a big population of Muslims, and the administration and the people who live here are used to the presence of the Muslims and people from Morocco and the Arab world. Here there is a better coexistence, a more fluid coexistence. They don't look at you and think of you strangely, you're just another person. And this*

comes traditionally from the past; it comes from the history of this city, it is like an obligation to the historical diversity of Granada. (Director of At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)

For the director of the mosque, Granada is a city of tolerant coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslim populations. He asserts that this coexistence is the result of the diverse history - the city has an 'obligation to the historical diversity'. Granada is a city that has, in some respects, strategically embraced its diverse past, arguably more than most Spanish cities, and this appears to stimulate a greater acceptance for religious diversity. This argument is partly in tension with Daniela Flesler's thesis. Flesler (2008) argues that contemporary Moroccan migrants often constitute a 'problem' because they are perceived as the modern day 'Moor' and conjure up past ghosts. However, in Granada, it would seem that the past is considered an asset, and that the perceived Moorish and Muslim identity of Moroccan migrants is not such a 'problem'. In some ways, the Moroccan and Muslim presence accentuates the diversity of the city, and is an asset to the 'official' image of the city being promoted. However, the visibility of Islam and oriental aesthetics is most prevalent in the central districts, and one must ask how Islamic diversity is experienced in the suburbs of Granada and in smaller towns in the region of Granada. Islamic identities may be racialised, interpreted and valued differently in other areas, and the positive coexistence may be limited to the central districts that experience the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 2002). Taking that into consideration, one should be cautious with how much they celebrate the religious coexistence in Granada, and be aware of its possible limitations.

4.7. 'Practical Hybridity': Encounters and Contact in the Diaspora Space

Thus far I have analysed the types of spaces produced by the Moroccan diaspora, with a specific focus on the aesthetics of space. I have argued that an orientalised space of commerce and a space of religious practice have been produced in the lower Albayzín. Now, I turn my attention to the encounters and contacts that are occurring in the streets of the lower Albayzín, and analyse how diversity is played out in everyday public spaces.

The city and the shared spaces of streets and commercial properties are sites of everyday encounters between diverse peoples and ethnicities (Amin, 2002; Keith, 2005; Valentine, 2008; Hall, 2012). A diaspora space is a site where the lives of diasporians and those

considered as ‘natives’ are entangled together through everyday interactions (Brah, 1996). Through these entanglements and encounters, the diaspora space is often considered as the site where ‘new’ hybrid identities and cosmopolitan practices and attitudes are formulated and mobilised (Brah, 1996; Alexander, 2010). For many scholars, these everyday encounters of diversity are perceived positively, and city life is seen to have much progressive potential (Amin, 2002; Gilroy, 2004; Watson, 2006). Ash Amin (2002) refers to these sites of everyday encounters as ‘micro-publics’, and he argues that differences across ethnicity, ‘race’, class, religion and other boundaries can be bridged and broken down in the ‘micro-publics’. Paul Gilroy (2004) uses the term ‘conviviality’ to describe the improved capacity to deal with diversity as a result of the cohabitation and everyday multicultural interactions in the cotemporary city. For both Ash Amin and Paul Gilroy, the intercultural co-existence in cities, and the resulting contacts and interactions between people from different backgrounds, is effective in reducing xenophobia, racism and general prejudice of difference. However, other scholars are more cautious, arguing that there is a tendency to over romanticise the effects of everyday multicultural encounters. For example, Gill Valentine asserts that ‘the writing about cosmopolitanism and new urban citizenship appears to be laced with a worrying romanticisation of urban encounter and to implicitly reproduce a potentially naïve assumption that contact with ‘others’ necessarily translates into respect for difference’ (2007, p.325).

Contributing to these divergent theories, I now explore what types of encounters and interactions are occurring in the diaspora space of the lower Albayzín. The following Vignettes - 4 and 5 - are field notes of encounters and contacts experienced and observed in the lower Albayzín:

Vignette 4. Ethnographic Fieldwork Diary, 20/10/2012

My friend Sunny from South Korea invited me to come and hang out at Jamal’s shop on Calle Calderería Vieja. Jamal is from Rabat and runs a small oriental artisan shop, selling items such as jewellery, incense sticks, Moroccan tea sets etc. When I arrive they both welcome me with a handshake and Jamal gave me a glass of Moroccan mint tea. We sit outside his shop, sipping tea and chatting in Spanish. Every so often Jamal will say some things in English, but he reverts back to Spanish pretty quick. Jamal had just returned from a two-week visit to Morocco. He had been there for what he called ‘the festival of sacrifice’. While sitting on the street with Jamal I noticed how friendly he is with people walking up and down the street. He

knows a number of people who seem to live in the area of the Albayzín. When he sees someone he knows he often calls them 'Vecino', which is Spanish for neighbour. A French lady passes by the shop and she is carrying a small baby. Jamal stands up and speaks to her on the street. He speaks to her in a mixture of French and Spanish and asks her how she is doing, he then tells us her name and that she is a neighbour in the Albayzín. Some American tourists pass the entrance of the shop and Jamal speaks to them in English, offering them good reductions. They ask him about some of his products and they converse for a few minutes. Finally they do not take him up on the offer and slowly walk on up the street. A little later a number of Moroccan shop owners who work in the shops and cafes near by ask for change from Jamal and the Tetería Al-Andalus. They chat in Moroccan dialect or Arabic, I'm not able to tell the difference, and then they exchange notes and coins. At one point somebody shouts down the street at Jamal, and Jamal responds, shouting loudly in Moroccan dialect or Arabic. I have no idea what they were saying but it seems to be related to the shops and work. When Moroccan migrants, mainly men it should be said, pass Jamal's shop and the Tetería Al-Andalus, Jamal nearly always says 'Salam' and sometimes he embrace them with a handshake. Other Moroccan men are working in the adjacent properties on the street to Jamal's shop and they all chat intermittently in a mixture of Moroccan dialect/Arabic and Spanish. An old looking man passes by on the street, Jamal and the man say hello and shake each other's hands. Jamal asks him to join us for a tea and smoke. Jamal refers to this man as 'Vecino' and it transpires that he is Spanish and from Granada. He sits with us drinking his tea and smoking a cigarette with a long holder. Jamal and the man talk about the Albayzín and how they both live there. The Spanish man tells me that today is the festival of snails in the Albayzín and this makes Jamal laugh very loudly. I have no idea if he was joking or not. Jamal tells me that this man is a Flamenco singer, and he invites us all to his show on Saturday night.

Vignette 5. Ethnographic Fieldwork Diary, 10/04/2013

I have come down to Calle Calderería Nueva to take some observational notes. It is about 4pm and there is a noticeably busier feel to the streets. The *teterías* are certainly busy and there are numerous tourists browsing the artisan gift shops. I have decided to have a coffee at *Las Cuevas* bar and I've sat at one of the tables outside on the street. This gives me a good

view to observe what is happening out on the street. At one point two Moroccan shop workers walk up the street holding a big log of wood, they put it in a property that is being renovated. These two men are often working in shops a little further down the street. When it is not cold or wet there are always shop workers hanging out on the streets, especially the Moroccan and Muslim communities who work here. Although there is a greater presence of men from these communities, Moroccan and Muslim women do have some level of presence in the shops and teterías. Slightly further down the street three male shop workers are playing hacky sack out on the street and shouting loudly in Moroccan dialect. You hear so many languages in this street – Moroccan dialect, Arabic, Spanish, English, German, Japanese etc. The Moroccan workers have an ability to mix between a number of languages – even together they mix between Spanish and Moroccan dialect. Outside *Las Cuevas* a number of Moroccan men sit down at a table. They are served coffee and the Moroccan man who works at the Halal butchers turns up and starts to speak with them. After a few minutes they run up the steps with their coffees so they can sit in the sun. From high up on the steps one of the men shouts down in Moroccan dialect at one of the shop workers, they laugh and wave at each other. From these and other observations there is a strong sense of community and comfort for the Moroccan/Muslim migrants in these streets.

Drawing on the ethnographic field notes it is apparent that the lower Albayzín is both a space where diverse ethnicities, cultures and nationalities come into contact and mix, and a space of diasporic community and ethnic identity maintenance. Firstly, as has been discussed throughout this chapter, a diaspora space with a dominant Moroccan/Muslim aesthetic identity has been produced in the lower Albayzín, resulting in a space where Moroccan migrants come into contact with each other. I would argue that the orientalised spaces of diasporic businesses and the At-Taqwa Mosque are the key locations that engender a diasproic consciousness through the continuity of a Moroccan ethnic identity and community. It is a space where Moroccan workers see each other on a daily basis and get to speak Moroccan dialect/Arabic and socialise. Like Jamal in Vignette 5 and the observations of the group of men in Vignette 6, many of the workers spend time on the narrow streets outside their shops/tetarías, where they chat and often drink tea/coffee together. One Moroccan interviewee when talking about his experiences of working in the lower Albayzín, stated:

> *You know there are a lot of people from Morocco that work in this area, and a lot of them are from the north of Morocco, where I'm from. I get to speak in Moroccan*

dialect and feel part of a community more or less. That is something I really like about working here. (Mehdi, Male, Morocco, Nador)

Migrants who do not work in the lower Albayzín also frequent the area, often to socialise and use the Moroccan and oriental facilities on offer. In the evenings a number of the tetarías are often frequented by groups of Moroccans. They frequently drink tea and smoke shisha pipes while chatting in their local dialect and language. The repetition of certain group practices and performances are considered a key constitutive for formulating émigré culture, and migrant belongings (Fortier, 2000). Thus these activities of contact through speaking Moroccan dialect/Arabic, drinking tea and smoking shisha pipes are all, to some extent, practices of diasporic identity formation, engendering a sense of attachment to a diasporic community. However, contact between the Moroccan diasporians also exhibits processes of hybridity and cultural mixing, and this is most apparent in the use of language. For example, it is common to hear Moroccans mixing between Moroccan dialect/Arabic and Spanish when communicating with other Moroccans. I observed on numerous occasions that conversations in Moroccan dialect/Arabic were littered with Spanish words and phrases. It also common that long parts of conversations are communicated completely in Spanish. Sara, a woman from Casablanca, when talking about this mixing of languages, stated:

Yes it's quite common for Moroccans to mix between Arabic and Spanish. It's because Arabic doesn't really offer a vocabulary for everything you want to talk about, so you speak in both languages. Like in parts of Morocco people often mix French with Arabic, as it's easier to communicate certain things that way. I often speak a mixture of Arabic and Spanish with other Moroccans. (Sara, Female, Morocco, Casablanca, 29)

Encounters between Moroccan migrants can produce both culturally ethnic practices and hybrid practices of cultural mixing, although from my observations, the former would seem to be more frequent.

As previously discussed, the At-Taqwa Mosque is a central component of the diaspora space, and is another significant site where Moroccans and Muslims come into contact. During an interview with the director of the mosque he was very open about the social function of the mosque. For example, he asserted:

> *The mosque does not only have religious functions, but it also has social and cultural functions. It is a meeting place, a place to maintain your identity and culture, which is very important for Moroccans. (Director of the At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)*

This notion that the mosque is constitutive of social life in Morocco, and thus constitutive of a diaspora identity and consciousness in Granada is highlighted in a number of conversations and interviews. For example, during an interview with Salma, a Moroccan woman from Tetouan in the north of Morocco, she talked about the Moroccan community in Granada. She stated:

> *Well, in Granada Moroccans see each other out in the streets and that, with their businesses, so that kind of maintains some sense of community, but there is no official meetings or events where Moroccans really express their identity and culture. There is the mosque, and although that is mainly for praying, it is also a place where people meet. I would say if anything is a centre point of the Moroccan community it is the mosque. It has religious and social function. (Salma, Female, Morocco, Tetouan, mid 30s)*

Salma firstly points out that the contact migrants have with each other through their businesses and public presence is constitutive for a sense of community. Secondly, she affirms the role of the mosque, stating that it is the centre point for Moroccan contact and community.

The lower Albayzín, therefore, is a space where Moroccan migrants come into contact, often on a daily basis, engendering a diaspora consciousness and a continuation of Moroccan culture and identity. In so doing, the lower Albayzín functions as a space where ethnic difference and boundaries can be mobilised, displaying what Pnina Werbner (2002) labels as 'ethically parochial' characteristics. However, encounters between people in the diaspora can also display moments of hybridity and mixing, highlighting that even within the diaspora, multiple practices and identities are mobilised. Nonetheless, when migrants come into contact with each other, I would argue that the relational nature of identities results in a more frequent mobilisation of identities more associated with Moroccan culture and community rather than new, hybrid identities.

As has been discussed throughout the chapter, the lower Albayzín has been strategically orientalised and ethnicised in an attempt to attract visitors and tourists, and is clearly not a segregated neighborhood used by select ethnicities. Both tourists and permanent residents, who come from a great array of countries, pass through and use the lower Albayzín, resulting in encounters between a great arrangement of ethnicities, nationalities and backgrounds. In Vignette 5, I describe Jamal, the Moroccan shop owner, speaking with American tourists in English, offering them reductions and deals on the products he sells. This form of encounter between proprietors and tourists is pervasive in the lower Albayzín, bringing into contact the Moroccan and Muslim diasporas with people from all around the world. Jamal talked about his contact with tourists, seeing it in a positive light. He stated:

> *I get to speak Spanish, French, English, German and even a little Japanese. It's really good because I get to speak with people all over the world and practice different languages. (Jamal, Male, Morocco, Rabat).*

For Jamal, the opportunity to have cross-cultural encounters and use cosmopolitan skills such as speaking multiple languages is something he values and enjoys. It is an opportunity for him to mobilise a cosmopolitan identity and encounter diversity in his everyday life. However, for another Moroccan shop worker, the contact with tourists involves performances of 'strategic orientalism', and the mobilisation of a staged and exaggerated Moroccan identity. He affirmed:

> *When we speak to tourists we will often maintain the clichés of being Arab...when a tourist comes to buy something we will act up, you know, like a sultan or something. (Bon Ami, Male, Morocco, Tetouan)*

The encounters between diaspora and tourist are noticeably diverse, with identities varying from the orientalised Arab to the cosmopolitan, multi-lingual being mobilised. Irrespective of the identities being enacted, the encounters do often display aspects of cosmopolitan attitudes and cosmopolitan skills (Vertovec, 2010). There is an openness to have contact with diverse peoples and multiple language skills are utilised to assist the cross-cultural encounters. Nonetheless, the encounters are frequently short and generally occur in order to sell and buy goods and services, putting into question the cosmopolitan impact of these 'micro-public' (Amin, 2002) encounters. Conceptualisations better suited to these interactions are notions of strategic, practical, banal and vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism (Werbner, 1999; Noble,

2009; Wessendorf, 2014). Noble's notions of a 'strategic everyday cosmopolitanism' (2009: 57) is a good fit, because it is grounded in an openness to difference for the purpose of getting some practical transaction done. The cosmopolitan skills, then, do not necessarily equate to a cosmopolitan orientation and outlook. Rather, they may be born out of necessity and used for more practical, strategic and economic needs. This is not to argue that all encounters between tourists and the diaspora are determined by economic transactions, and that they never produce valuable intercultural dialogue and understandings, but I would suggest it provides a more realistic reading of encounters between diaspora and tourist.

Thirdly, another core encounter in the lower Albayzín, and one that I think has more potential to create profound intercultural dialogue and mixing, is the contact between the Moroccan and Muslim diasporas and the local/longer staying residents that live and work in the Albayzín and central districts of the city. The streets of the lower Albayzín are often used as access points from the upper Albayzín to the central districts, and on a daily basis numerous residents of the Albayzín pass through the Moroccan produced spaces, resulting in contact between these people. For example, in Vignette 5, it describes Jamal speaking with a French lady and her baby. It is a friendly and warm conversation and Jamal informed me afterwards that she had just recently had her baby and that he had known her for a number of years as they both live in the same district and he sees her passing through the street most days. In Vignette 5 it also describes Jamal inviting an older Spanish man from the Albayzín to join us for a chat and a cup of tea. Jamal calls this man *Vecino* (neighbor), a clear sign of Jamal's sense of friendship with him, and they chat in a very open and friendly manner. Much of the conversation was about life in the Albayzín district, and Jamal partly mobilised a localised Granadino identity during this encounter. In contrast to contact between diaspora and tourist, these encounters are often not based on a purpose of achieving a practical monetary transaction. They appear to be more based on genuine friendship and interest, which fits more with Ash Amin's notion of progressive 'micro-public' (2002) encounters.

To finish this section, I want to provide some concluding thoughts about the types of identities that are mobilised during encounters in the diaspora space. For Jamal, the Moroccan man referred to above, Granada is an urban space where he can maintain parts of his Moroccan culture, but also participate in more cosmopolitan and Western culture practices. It provides him a cosmopolitan space where he can negotiate multiple identities. He is able to maintain an Islamic Moroccan identity but also enjoy the cosmopolitan experiences of Granada. This participation in both Moroccan traditions and cosmopolitan practices was a

recurring theme in many of my observations and interviews. Therefore, it would seem that a number of Moroccans negotiate multiple identities that flit between Moroccan culture, Muslim Granada and Cosmopolitan Granada. It could be argued that for some of the Moroccan diaspora Granada is what Bhabha (1994) labels as a 'third space'. Singular and fixed notions of identity and belonging are challenged. This is not to say their identities are less essentialist, but rather, they negotiate multiple identities through living in a diasporic space.

Granada, on one hand, is a space where Moroccan culture can be overtly maintained and celebrated, rather than marginalised and hidden. And on the other hand, cosmopolitan encounters and practices are producing hybrid identities in the Moroccan diaspora. I want to argue that it is a 'practical hybridity' that occurs in the material lived spaces of the diaspora. 'Practical hybridity' is an identity that is multiple and fluid, is often strategically mobilised, and consists of many traditional ethnic traits. I have named it 'practical', as I believe this form of hybridity is partly strategic and commonly mobilised in diaspora spaces, albeit appearing in different guises in diverse geographic contexts. There are processes of mixing and newness, but this is not a transgression and erasure of dichotomies of difference as advocated in Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity. Rather, many ethnic differences are displayed and used for both economic strategies, and as an important part of the culture of the diaspora. Therefore, cultural difference, with its advantages and disadvantages, is perpetuated and embraced by much of the Moroccan diaspora. Although this contests Bhabha's theory, it should not be considered as reactionary and non-progressive. Rather, it is an example of how ethnic difference can result in opportunities and a right to the city – in a sense it legitimises their subjectivities. Thus, in material lived spaces of diasporas, hybridity is often subtler and more prosaic than it in the discourses of hybridity theory.

The cultural landscape of Granada enables the material assertion of Moroccan diversity, which has assisted Moroccan migrants in forming a diaspora. Processes of hybridity are also occurring, but it is not an erasure of ethnic differences between the diaspora and 'hosts'. Instead, there is participation in both spaces of sameness and difference, both processes of boundary maintenance and hybridity, and the lower Albayzín cannot be neatly categorised as either cosmopolitan or parochial, rather it is a space of variegation and multiplicity. Granada is historically a space that has blossomed under multiple ethnic identities, and hybridity is a key component of the make up of the city. However, for hybridity to occur I suggest there has to be a strong assertion of different ethnic identities and difference. Consequently, Granada is

a space that facilitates the assertion of certain ethnic differences and this results in processes of practical hybridity and mixing in everyday encounters.

4.8. Conclusion

To conclude, in Granada the Moroccan diaspora have achieved a distinctive right to a Spanish city, and have produced a visible self-orientalised diaspora space. This is the result of certain features of Granada's social, cultural, economic and historical landscape interacting with the economic and cultural strategies of the Moroccan diaspora, exemplifying how the contexts of cities and diasporic communities interact and mutually construct urban space. I now make four broader concluding observations with regards to the production and lived experience of the diaspora space.

Firstly, a constellation of Granada's economic, socio-spatial, cultural, political and historical characteristics partly enabled the inception of a Moroccan diaspora space. In the early 1990s the diaspora found an urban space with a built environment that mirrors Moroccan cities, it was imbued with the Muslim history of Al-Andalus, contained a 'welcoming' Spanish Muslim convert community, and due to the abandoned nature of the area, was economically viable to invest in. These four features were extremely powerful in attracting and enabling the early presence of migrants in the lower Albayzín.

Secondly, the place-making strategies of Moroccan migrants have produced an overt diaspora space and a distinctive right to the city has been achieved. The diaspora have mobilised a powerful cultural capital and strategically orientalised the lower Albayzín. Through an orientalised aesthetic that encompasses material culture, sensory experiences and embodied performance, the diaspora have produced a space that symbolically alludes to the history of Al-Andalus. This appropriation of the history of Al-Andalus, a key component in the city's heritage imaginary, has enabled the diaspora to gain access to Granada's lucrative tourism economy. Therefore, the contextuality of Granada and the strategies of the diaspora have enabled a Moroccan diasporic right to produce and mediate urban space, a right to display an ethnic identity, and a right to participate autonomously in the local urban economy. It is important to note that it is partly a gendered right to the city, with Moroccan men having a more prevalent presence than women. Moroccan women are not invisible, and do have a presence in the public spaces of the lower Albayzín, but it is noticeably less than the male presence.

Thirdly, diasporic businesses have contributed to the reintroduction of Islamic aesthetics and practices in the lower Albayzín. This highlights how the diasporic religiosity of urban landscapes often interlinks with a diasporic business presence. The production of a religious space positively contributes to the economic 'strategic orientalism', consolidating the lower Albayzín's relevance and connection to the history of Al-Andalus. In some ways, an Islamic presence accentuates the historical and contemporary diversity of the city, and is an asset to the 'official' image of the city being promoted. The past is assisting the diaspora to achieve both an economic and religious right to the city, contributing to a diasporic sense of community and belonging.

Fourthly, the lower Albayzín is simultaneously a space of encounters between multiple ethnicities and nationalities, and a site of Moroccan diasporic contact and ethnic identity maintenance. It can produce moments of cosmopolitan hybridity, where people mix between languages, and engage with multiple cultures. However, there are also moments where identities based on essentialised notions of culture are mobilised and performed. The fluid and relational nature of identities are exemplified in the encounters of the lower Albayzín, demonstrating the possibility for Moroccan migrants to mobilise multiple identities in the diaspora space. Ultimately, the lower Albayzín is a space of variegation, simultaneously conveying notions of essentialised cultural identities, cultural hybridity and cosmopolitan encounters.

Chapter 5: Narratives of Belonging, Home and Identity

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the senses of belonging and home that the Moroccan diaspora have with Granada - the 'host' city. The chapter is a specific study of diaspora belonging to place, and what constitutes attachments to place. The focus is on feelings and personal aspects of belonging, and how these feelings are articulated and experienced in personal narratives and everyday life. Multiple feelings of belonging were articulated during the fieldwork, but many migrants expressed evident feelings of belonging to Granada, and this chapter specifically focuses on factors that generate 'place belongingness' (Antonisch, 2010) to the city. It also analyses the types of diasporic identity formations that are attendant to these feelings of belonging. The chapter draws heavily on theories that emphasise the pertinence and complexity of home and belonging in the diaspora condition (Brah, 1996; Gilmartin, 2008; Stock, 2010) and the geographical insights that space and place are intrinsic to how home and belonging are experienced (Mee and Wright, 2009; Antonisch, 2010; Woods and Waite, 2011)

Throughout this chapter I demonstrate that Granada is a distinctive diaspora space for many Moroccan migrants, and can engender deep feelings of belonging and home. The contextuality of Granada can engender a 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996) for Granada in the diaspora, which reconfigures the more normative notion of a nostalgic homing desire to a far away symbolic place, to a homing desire for the diaspora space of dwelling. There are three overarching factors that were pervasively articulated for generating belonging to Granada, and these factors are what I examine throughout the chapter. The first is the discursive and material heritage of Al-Andalus, which is greatly conducive to engendering a nostalgic 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996) for Granada. I demonstrate that the history of Al-Andalus is a dynamic process, which is powerfully communicated to the diaspora through discursive representations, the material heritage landscape, embodiment and performativities. Through these multiple processes, the heritage of Al-Andalus imbues Granada with a culture, nostalgia and ancestral memory that many in the diaspora identify with. Moreover, the history can produce connections with medieval migrations, resulting in a 'imagined double diaspora' experience for Moroccan migrants. The second factor is the Muslim community and Islamic

spatiality. For many Moroccan migrants, especially those working around the lower Albayzín, the local mosques and the visible Muslim community are highly constitutive for belonging to Granada. Thirdly, I argue that the right to the city the diaspora have achieved, and subsequent place-making strategies, creates a place of diasporic belonging and further fosters a sense of attachment to the city. Finally, I argue that these factors have more resonance for those who aspire to hold on to a Moroccan ethnicity, as they generate imagined and lived geographies that express customary notions of Moroccan and Muslim ethnic identity. Overall, this chapter exemplifies the importance of place for diasporas, and demonstrates how the diverse contexts of urban space can produce distinctive lived experiences and feelings of belonging.

In the first section of the chapter I analyse key conceptualisations of belonging and home. I then move on to the empirical analysis, and examine key factors that generate belonging to Granada for Moroccan migrants.

5.2 Conceptualising Belonging

Belonging has been claimed to be 'vaguely defined and ill-theorized' (Antonisch, 2010: 644). This lack of theorisation is partly due to the complex, multidimensional, and omnipresent nature of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Antonisch, 2010; Woods and Waite, 2011). Belongings are generated, or not-generated, to multiple spheres and spatial scales of everyday life. Certain belongings may take prominence, but there are always multiple belongings being negotiated, contested and imposed. As Wood and Waite (2011) and Yuval-Davis (2011) point out, intersectionality (Valentine, 2007) is a key feature of belonging, and is an area that needs greater consideration. The intersectional nature of belonging highlights the 'mutually implicated' (Antonisch, 2010) processes of identity-formation and belonging. One's sense of self and identity, and how identities and cultures are often strategically essentialised to certain places, are key factors in how we experience the feeling of belonging. However, Antonisch (2010) argues that belonging should not simply be considered as a synonym for identity. Instead, the notion of belonging should be considered as a process in its own right, and should receive greater theoretical attention. According to Antonisch (2010), the under-theorisation of belonging is partly the result of the uncritical synonymising of belonging with identity.

The scholars Nira Yuval–Davis (2006) and Marco Antonisch (2010) have attempted to counter this lack of conceptualisation, and have provided analytical frameworks for the study

of the notion of belonging. They endeavoured to get 'under the skin' of belonging, and conceptualise its key features, and how it functions for people and societies. Nira Yuval-Davis dissected the concept and proclaimed that there are two major analytical dimensions: belonging and the politics of belonging. For Yuval-Davis, to carry out a critical analysis of belonging, we must differentiate between these two major analytical levels. In short, 'belonging' is a personal, intimate, 'emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and as Michael Ignatieff points out (2001) – about feeling 'safe' ' (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 197). While the 'politics of belonging' comprises of:

> *specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to a particular collectivity or collectives which themselves are being constructed in these projects in very specific ways. Citizenship and identities, as well as 'cultures and traditions' – in fact all signifiers of borders and boundaries play central roles in discourses of the politics of belonging. (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006: 3)*

The politics of belonging are the power laden discursive resources that socially construct, challenge and justify claims of belongings. This framework by Yuval-Davis expertly demonstrates that belonging is a personal and emotional process, but simultaneously, it is socially conditioned and constructed by powerful discourses and structures.

A key intervention into this debate is from the geographer Marco Antonisch. Antonisch (2010) supports Yuval-Davis's framework of belonging and the politics of belonging, but he develops this by offering a more theoretical and systematic discussion. He argues that Yuval-Davis's framework fails to properly discuss the emotional feeling of belonging and being at home in place. For Antonisch, Yuval-Davis's analytical framework is more concerned with the politics of belonging, and how this functions to condition belonging. Wood and Waite (2011) add to this by stating that there has been little concern for the emotionality of belonging by most scholars who study the concept. In addition, Antonisch argues that Yuval-Davis's framework insufficiently considers the role of place, 'as if feelings, discourses, and practices of belonging exist in a geographical vacuum' (2010: 647). This is a critical point made by Antonisch, as space and place are often intrinsic to how belonging is experienced. As Mee and Wright assert:

> *Belonging is an inherently geographical concept. Belonging connects matter to place, through various practices of boundary making and inhabitation, which signal that a*

> *particular collection of objects, animals, plants, germs, people, practices, performances, or ideas is meant 'to be' in a place [the 'being' aspect of belonging as Probyn (1996) puts it]. (2009: 772)*

Antonisch embraces the geographical nature of belonging, and illustrates that the emotional and personal aspects are constituted by a sensation of being at home in a place, which he calls 'place–belongingness'. This foregrounding of the role of place and space is vital for understanding the grounded dimension of belonging, and how the material and imaginary features of everyday space greatly impact on how it is experienced. The geographical scales at which people have a sense of belonging varies greatly, and as a result, the spatiality of belonging is a complex and dynamic area of analysis (Morley, 2001; Antonisch, 2010; Woods and Waite, 2011).

Marco Antonisch (2010) and Geoff Mulgan (2009) have attempted to counter the lack of conceptual engagement with the emotional and personal feelings of belonging, and have provided lists of factors that generate emotional attachments to place. Firstly, scholars have argued that emotional belonging is achieved through feeling at 'home' and 'safe' in a place (Yuval-Davis, 2006; hooks, 2009), and Antonisch (2010) and Mulgan (2009) have listed factors that can produce these feelings. The factors include autobiographical links to a place, relational ties that are in a place, cultural factors, economic factors, legality of being in a place, the material built environment of a place, law and enforcement, and public services. Although it is impossible to definitively list what generates feelings of belonging, the factors identified by Antonisch and Mulgan are substantive, and form a useful framework for analysing feelings of belonging to place.

Key characteristics of diasporas such as migration, movement, displacement, border crossing, and reconfigurations of dwelling disrupt more normative notions of belonging, and in so doing, position belonging as a core concern in diaspora and social science research (Brah, 1996). There is now an increased concern with individual migrant subjectivities and experiences, and this has resulted in the concept of belonging being put firmly on the research agenda in geographies of migration and diasporas (Gilmartin, 2008). The personal and emotional aspects of belonging and the politics of belonging are both greatly salient in the diasporic condition. Through the shared histories of movement and potential attachments to multiple places, feelings of belonging for diasporas are nuanced and complex. Furthermore, the discursive practices of nation states construct geographies of inclusion/exclusion and

condition, to some degree, how diasporic subjectivities can experience belonging to their 'host' country. The complexities of diaspora belonging have resulted in it being an area of great interest and importance for theorising and empirically analysing notions of belonging.

This brief overview demonstrates that belonging is complex, multidimensional and can be divided into two clear analytical dimensions: personal experiences of belonging and the politics of belonging. Drawing on these ideas I foreground the geographical nature of belonging in this chapter, and explore spatial factors that produce feelings of 'place-belongingness'. Although the primary focus of this chapter is on the personal and emotional aspects of belonging, the research is not unconnected from the social conditioning of the politics of belonging. Our personal experiences of belonging are always in conversation with the politics of belonging, and consequently, how we articulate belonging is never ideologically neutral.

5.3 Conceptualising the Notion of Home

As the notion of belonging conjures up a sense of being at home, the idea of home requires interrogation. Home like belonging should not fall into the conceptual trap as a self-evident and unproblematic (Stock, 2010). Instead, the notion of home is multi-layered, complex and dynamic. It has been claimed that the notion of home is marked by ambivalence and contradiction. Blunt and Varley underscore these contradictions and tensions when they describe home 'as a space of belonging and alienation, intimacy and violence, desire and fear' (2004: 3). There is a normative tendency to conceptualise home through a romantic nostalgia that produces notions of 'safety' and belonging. This normative notion of home as 'safe' and 'secure' is how belonging to place, as an emotional feeling, is often conceptualised. Antonisch (2010) rightly points out that 'home' in this sense does not stand for the domestic material space, which is often criticised for reproducing patriarchy (Blunt and Varley, 2004). Rather, he echoes the phenomenological approach in humanistic geography, and asserts ''home' here stands for a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachments' (Antonisch, 2010: 646). bell hooks, in her book about a personal search for belonging, describes home as 'the safe place, the place where one could count on not being hurt. It was the place where wounds were attended to. Home was the place where the me of me mattered' (2009: 215). However, as Blunt (2005) points out, home can also produce emotions and experiences of loss, alienation, and exclusion, especially in terms of gender, class, age, sexuality, 'race', and ethnicity. There is often dissonance between the imagined

ideal of home and the lived reality of home. The notion of home can be emotionally experienced and imagined in multiple and contradictory ways, and is not simply a space of 'safety' and 'security'. Nonetheless, the literature on belonging frequently conceptualises home as 'safe' and 'secure', and having a sense of belonging is the emotional affect of finding this 'safe' and 'secure' home. In so doing, the literature on belonging fails to acknowledge that the notion of home can also produce adverse emotional experiences, and what is considered as a person's home can often be oppressively imposed on them. Like belonging, experiences and feelings of home are not neutral, and are conditioned by power-laden discourses and relationships. As Ralph and Staeheli state:

> *It is not enough to approach the concept of home as the product of subjective, idiosyncratic, sense making efforts, because social meanings and social relationships inflect the ways in which home is understood and experienced. Debates over belonging to home are thus intrinsically debates over power and who controls it. (2011: 525-526)*

Therefore, home has multiple meanings, is experienced in numerous ways, and it is the contentious nature of these meanings and experiences that problematise its conceptualisation. Literature on belonging should advance from the conceptualisation of home as only having positive meanings, and acknowledge that home can also be conceived and experienced in ambiguous and negative ways.

The diasporic condition is a lens that enunciates the complicated, multi-layered and dynamic nature of home. Avtar Brah asserts that the concept of diaspora embodies a subtext of 'home', and this subtext is reference to another home other than the place they have settled. At the core of the concept of diaspora lies the notion of a remembered home – a place of origin. Although diaspora remembering is layered and complex, the archetypal notion is that there is a strong remembering of the place a person or family once migrated from (Stock, 2010). This remembering is often conceptualised as a nostalgic desire for a 'homeland', but for some who fit into a diasporic category, the homeland maybe remembered in negative and anxious ways. This could be the result of political and environmental reasons such as war or famine, but it could also be personal reasons such as family life and sexuality. The heterogeneous nature of a diaspora results in diverse relationships with the remembered home, and it should not be reduced to a place that the diasporian romanticises and desires.

As a result of the shifting and multiple meanings of home for diasporas, there has been a postmodern tendency to conceptualise home as mobile, fluid and dynamic. This is a move away from the normative notion of home as fixed and bounded to a sedentary place. However, Ralph & Staeheli have argued for understanding 'home as simultaneously mobile and sedentary, as localised and extensible' (2011: 525). Avtar Brah highlights the multi – layeredness of the notion of home for diasporas. She asserts:

> *On the one hand 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of locality. (1996: 189)*

Brah distinguishes between the 'homing desire' for a symbolic place of origin and the sedentary home where the diaspora live. This demonstrates that the concept of diaspora is as much about dwelling in a place and making a home as it is about movement and mobility. This is encapsulated by James Procter who states that while diaspora 'signals movement and migration, it also anticipates arrival, settlement, and home', carrying with it 'the burden of dwelling' (2003: 14). In a sense, the diasporic condition is fully produced in the moment of post-mobility, when people arrive and make a new fixed and sedentary home in a diaspora space. The fixed and material home is often accompanied by a symbolic and discursive home that one has migrated from, or their family line has migrated from. There is often a collective remembering and nostalgia for the symbolic home, and this remembering is frequently aided by the material construction of the fixed and sedentary home in the diaspora space. The domestic/private and public spaces that are the fixed homes of diasporas, often display a material symbolism that alludes to the symbolic, imaginary and remembered home. Stock (2010) suggests that there are certain tensions between these two realms that are specific to diasporas, as outside of the diaspora condition these realms are expected to coincide. The normative notion is that your fixed and sedentary home provides you with the symbolism that makes you feel at home. While this tension may be viewed and experienced as problematic, Clifford states that 'the empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling *here* assumes a solidarity and connection *there.* But *there* is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation' (1997: 269). Thus diaspora experiences of multiple homes is not always seen as problematic, but rather, it is sometimes viewed as a progressive position that challenges essentialist notions of identity, belonging, and nation (Brah, 1996) . It is seen as a site where hybridity is exemplified, and the notion of home is both here and there, resulting in

progressive and cosmopolitan belongings (Clifford, 1997). However, as argued by both Mavroudi (2007) & Carter (2005) the hybridity and fluidity of diaspora, home and identity is often accompanied by periods of ethnic 'boundary-maintenance' (Brubaker, 2005), and the reproduction of essentialised notions of place and identity. As stated by Stock (2010), the notion of home for diaspora is ambivalent, and can be connected to multiple physical, imagined, remembered and symbolic places, and can be associated to origin and hybridity, dwelling and mobility.

Therefore, like the general concept of diaspora, home as subtext of diaspora is a process, which functions in numerous ways, and has moments of fixivity, fluidity, materiality and imaginings. A final point to make, is at the core of the complexities of the notion of home is the multiple geographical contexts, imagined and material, which condition the diaspora experience. The place the diaspora has migrated from, and the place(s) in the world the diasporic subject settles, significantly impacts on how home is felt, negotiated and imposed. As a result, when investigating the notion of home, great attention must be paid to the historical movements of a diaspora, and the contexts of the places they have left and settled in. This assists in demonstrating that the notion of home for people who fit into the same diasporic category can be experienced very differently in distinctive geographical locations.

5.4 The Discursive and Material Heritage of Al-Andalus: The Past in the Present

> *The city has a history, it is the work of a history, that is, of clearly defined people and groups who accomplish this oeuvre, in historical conditions. (Lefebvre, 1996: 101)*

From the quote above we can see the city for Lefebvre is an oeuvre, which is developed like a work of art. It is the history of the city, and the specific groups that have inhabited the city in certain historical conditions that construct the oeuvre like city. History and its diversity imbue and compound the city with multiple layers of meaning. For Walter Benjamin (1999), the city is a space of memory, and it communicates affective memories and meanings through the lived experience of being in a city. As Fran Tonkiss states 'buildings, spaces and objects hold onto meanings as pasts that are no longer visible press on the experience of the present. These past lives of a place represent layers of memory, what Micheal de Certeau… call[s] 'the invisible identities of the visible' (1984:108)' (2005: 120). Although the emphasis here is on the material traces of history in the city, it is also the non-material traces of history such as stories, texts, and discourses that additionally perpetuate meanings of the past in the present.

The oeuvre that is contemporary Granada exhibits an ostentatiously diverse history. Muslim, Jewish and Christian inhabitants, past and present, have all played a part in the construction of Granada. The city is a historically hybrid space, which explicitly conveys a discursive and material heritage of both its Muslim and Christian past. Although the embodied diversity of Muslims and Jews was removed from Granada during the Spanish Inquisition, the material and discursive stamp was never completely erased. As a consequence, the imagined and lived geographies of the city are often greatly affected by the diverse heritages that have been implicit in its construction. This exemplifies the scholarly belief that history and heritage is inexorably linked to how place is constructed, and consequently, how identities and senses of belonging are generated, negotiated and contested (Graham *et al.*, 2000; Ashworth *et al.*, 2007).

For the Moroccan diaspora this is certainly the case, and it is illustrated in many of the personal narratives collected. The medieval heritage and history of the Muslim dynasty of Al-Andalus, both discursive and material, influences how modern day Moroccan migrants relate to 21st century Granada, and often results in strong feelings of 'place-belongingness' with the city. A distinctive feature of the place-belongingness engendered by the heritage of Al-Andalus, is that it can produce a nostalgic homing desire for Granada in the diaspora, which reconfigures the more normative notion of a nostalgic homing desire for a far away symbolic place, to a homing desire for the diaspora space of dwelling. To generate feelings of belonging and a homing desire, the heritage functions in a number of different ways, which I now unpack and examine

5.4.1 Representations of Al-Andalus

The heritage of Al-Andalus, in one respect, functions as a powerful discursive practice, which can construct a preconceived 'imagined geography' (Said, 1978) of Granada in the collective consciousness and memory of many Moroccans. 'Imagined geographies' is a concept coined by postcolonial scholar Edward Said, and it refers to how our perceptions of place and countries are partly created through representations, images and discourses. Whilst Said focused on how 'imagined geographies' of the East were constructed by the West through processes of Orientalism, the heritage discourses of Al-Andalus are processes of 'Occidentalism', which Bonnett (2004) asserts is the discursive practice of representing 'the West' by the 'non-West'.

The ‘imagined geography’ of Granada that exists in the Moroccan collective consciousness is the product of hundreds of years of place mythologising through historical discourses, poetry, story telling, songs, painting, and film. Ellison (2008) states ‘whether it is viewed as a lost paradise of cultural splendour, a symbol of displacement and exile, a site of religious tolerance, or a past to be embarked on and learned from, Al-Andalus has proven to be a highly proactive site of nostalgic expression’ (2009: 2). This conception of Al-Andalus as a place of nostalgic desire in the Moroccan and general Muslim collective consciousness is pervasive in academic writing (Ellinson, 2009; Stearns, 2009) and it is evident in many of the narratives of the Moroccan diaspora. For example, during a conversation with Brahim, a shop worker from northern Moroccan, he stated:

> *In Morocco we study a module called Western Islam and we call Al-Andalus the paradise lost. There is a module in a history degree called the paradise lost, which is about Muslim Spain. Granada is mentioned a lot. It is seen as one of the most important cities in the history of Al-Andalus. So we all know about it and what it once was. Muslims say there are two phrases about Al-Andalus; the Spanish say the Reconquista and Muslims say the loss – the loss of Al-Andalus. (Brahim, Male, Northern Morocco)*

Ahmed, a Moroccan man from Tangier in the north of Morocco, articulates the prominence of Granada in the Moroccan collective memory. When he was asked about what he knew of Granada before he migrated there, he stated:

> *This is a very important question for a Muslim, because Granada has a lot of prestige in the memory of many Muslims. I knew of Granada before I came here. I knew about the history of Arabs in the city. I love Granada because there were Muslim and Arabs here, and you can really see it every day in buildings like the Alhambra. (Ahmed, Male, Morocco, Tangier)*

Ahmed and Brahim demonstrate that as a result of heritage discourses, Granada is a prominent feature in the Moroccan and Muslim collective memory. The language used by both such as ‘the paradise lost’ and ‘I love Granada because there were Muslims here’ exhibit that the discursive place mythologising of Granada can engender a deep nostalgia for the city in the diaspora. The nostalgia felt by the diaspora is partly engendered by the sentiments

conveyed in the plethora of representations that circulate about Al-Andalus. A favourable and celebrated attitude towards the past, a sense that a time and place is lost, and a longing for this lost place and time are key elements that generate nostalgia (Chase and Shaw, 1989; Yeoh and Kong, 1996) , and these are sentiments often conveyed in representations that circulate about Granada during the Al-Andalus period (Ellinson, 2009). The nostalgic sense of loss of a period and place is entangled with a sense of being exiled from a home, and this sense of a lost and other home is a key feature in the homing desire that characterises the diaspora condition. The nostalgia engendered by the 'imagined geographies' of Granada then, is a key constituent for the homing desire for Granada felt by the diaspora.

In addition to the Moroccan, Muslim and Arab produced historical discourses, the 'official' discourse of the council of Granada is promoting a place brand and image that to some extent attempts to encapsulate the great diversity of the people who have inhabited and constructed the city (Rodríguez-Medela and Salguero-Montaño, 2011). This was especially the case in 2013 with the millennium commemorations of the formation of the first kingdom of Granada in 1013 (La Fundación del Reino de Granada, 2013). The first kingdom of Granada was an independent Muslim sovereignty, and the city is rebranding itself through the great diversity of people who inhabited the city since that period. The city's institutions are purposefully acknowledging the Muslim heritage of the city, and utilising this diversity as a way of place branding and attracting tourism and investment (Rodríguez-Medela and Salguero-Montaño, 2011)

Therefore, it is both Moroccan heritage discourses and the contemporary 'official' heritage discourse of the city, which are constructing a place that can engender feelings of belonging in the Moroccan diaspora. It is important to point out that there are a number of competing discourses that the Moroccan diaspora have to contend with in Granada and Spain. For example, there are discourses and narratives that have evolved over hundreds of years that stereotype Moroccans as the invading 'Moors', who were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula after the Reconquista. Daniela Flesler (2008) argues that contemporary Moroccan migrants are often constructed as the embodiment of the medieval 'Moor', and thus, are conceived as a 'problem' and 'threat'. The Moroccan diaspora then, have to negotiate an ambivalent landscape in Granada, which is constructed by numerous paradoxical discourses.

5.4.2 Autobiographical and Genealogical Links to Granada

> *It's important for me that Muslims lived here before. It makes me feel more part of the city. Our ancestors were here before, so it feels good. It is like you are in your own country. (Driss, Male, Northern Morocco)*

For Driss, the historical period of Al-Andalus demonstrates that 'ancestors' of the Moroccan diaspora once lived and flourished in the city, and this has not only formed an historical attachment to the city, but also an emotional attachment that lives on today. He asserts that the knowledge that Muslims lived here before, even though it was hundreds of years ago, makes him feel part of the contemporary city, and not so much like being in a foreign land. The history of Al-Andalus is providing him with autobiographical and genealogical links to the city, which is considered as a key component in having a sense of belonging to place (Mulgan, 2009; Antonisch, 2010). Antonisch states, 'auto-biographical factors relate to one's past history – personal experiences, relations, and memories that attach a particular person to a given place' (Antonisch, 2010: 647). The notion that a family line can be traced back to the city of Granada, and ancestors of the Moroccan diaspora lived in Granada during the Nasrid epoch of the city, is articulated in many narratives collected from the Moroccan diaspora. For example, periods of the ethnography were carried out in a Moroccan owned Internet cafe in the centre of Granada. The cafe is owned and run by Youssef and his father. They are from the Nador/Beni Ansar area of northern Morocco, and we conversed on a number of occasions about the history of Granada and how they related to it. The following extract is from a conversation in the cafe on a quiet spring afternoon:

> ***Father:*** *My son believes he is from Granada, that he is Granadino*
>
> ***Youssef:*** *Yes, yes, I really think I'm from Granada. My roots come from Granada. I'm not talking about Spain; I mean Granada, this city. Why do I have such white skin? This happens a lot in my family, my sister has red hair, and there are blonds too. It is because many of the Muslims from Granada moved to the north of Africa where I was born. The Spanish and Moroccans are very mixed together.*
>
> ***Researcher:*** *So did the Nasrids move to your area in the north of Morocco?*

Father: *Let me explain a bit more. The last king of Granada was Boabdil. When he left Granada he went to Morocco. They took a boat and where did they get off? Well they got off the boat in an area that is near Melilla and Nador. When they arrived Boabdil's Mum told them to wait there for a while near the coast, and later the King went on to Fez for important meetings. However, many of the Nasrids stayed there, in this place that is near Melilla and Nador, which is called Beni Ansar. We are the Beni Ansar. The kings of Granada are called 'the kings' and where we are from is called Beni Ansar, which means 'the sons of the kings'. When I was young I said to my Grandmother – 'are we Christian Grandmother? She would say 'what?' and I would say 'people here call us the kings, like the Christians' and she always said 'no, we are not Christian, we are the Beni Ansar, the sons of the kings of Granada'*

Researcher: *So you really feel part of Granada then?*

Youssef: *Yes I feel very much like Granada is part of me. This is where I'm from, my origin is from Granada, I'm from Beni Ansar, I'm from those people. Beni means sons, it means we are the family of Ansar, which is the family of the Nasrids.*

Researcher: *Ah ok, so you belong to the Nasrids?*

Youssef: *Our origin is Nasrid. That is why I fell Granadino. It might seem strange but I really feel Granadino*

For Youssef and his father, Granada's Nasrid history and the settlement of Nasrid refugees in the Nador region of northern Morocco is a powerful historical narrative. They appropriate this historical narrative as part of their family history, which provides them with genealogical links to Granada, and sense of belonging to the city. Youssef's genealogical connection is specifically with the Nasrid dynasty of Granada, and the city is considered to have greatly flourished under the Nasrids. Therefore, he is identifying himself with a symbolic and cherished part of Granada's past, and even tough the Nasrids abandoned the city over 500 years ago, their symbolism and importance, it would seem, can generate a deep sense of belonging to the city. Youssef, the son, goes as far to say that he considers himself Granadino, and he feels his place of origin is Granada. He talks as if he has returned to the place he was exiled from, and in some respects, the north of Morocco, his place of birth, was the place where he was in exile. This is how one would generally imagine the diaspora to relate with

the place they had migrated from, not the place where they are the 'foreign' migrant. This, I suggest, is because Youssef and other Moroccan migrants are part of an 'imagined double diaspora'. Double diaspora is a term used to describe communities who have gone through two experiences of exile such as the Sephardi Jews and East African Asians (Parmar, 2013; Wacks, 2015). For Moroccans, it is not actually a lived experience of twice migration, but an imagined connection, hence the notion of 'imagined double diaspora'. The perceived genealogical links to Nasrid Muslims incorporates a connection with historical migrations and exile, resulting in an imagination of being in exile. Significantly, this is a circular 'imagined double diaspora' as Granada is the place they claim to have been exiled from, thus they have returned to one of the imagined 'homelands'. Through genealogical claims to historical movements, migrations and exile, the diaspora have an imagination of multiple homelands and belongings, and significantly it can render Granada, the diaspora space, as one of their homes.

Youssef also genealogically identifies himself with his region of birth in northern Morocco, and in other conversations he talked about feeling part of the Berber tribe that originates from the Rif region. It would seem the histories of movement, migration, settling, resettling and mixing between Granada and northern Morocco can be greatly constitutive for multiple place belongings and homing desires. The hybrid and plural history of this part of the world, it could be argued, is manifested explicitly in its material and discursive construction, which assists in producing a space where multiple ethnicities proclaim a belonging. An awareness of the migrations between northern Morocco and southern Spain, and the routes taken by an ethnic collectivity, can produce feelings of multiple belongings and identifications with place. As the Mediterranean is an historical and contemporary space of continuous movement and mixing, rather than a bounded and static ethnic space, it would seem intuitive that some of the Moroccan diaspora express multiple feelings of place belongingness with Granada and northern Morocco.

Having a perceived genealogical connection to place can emphasise notions of roots, purity, a site of origin and blood ties to soil, which appears in contrast to the notions of mobility, rootlessness and hybridity that often emanate from diasporic culture (Nash, 2002) . For Youssef and his father, the genealogy that they have encountered is multi-dimensional and, in some respects, represents both essentialisms and hybridity. Firstly, Youssef does claim essentialist identification with Granada. He continually refers to Granada as his place of origin, where blood ties can be found. However, as stated before, he also claims essentialist

identification with northern Morocco and the Berber ethnicity. The genealogy appropriated by Youssef and his father is as much about routes as it is about fixed roots to a specific place. The back and forth movements of people between northern Morocco and Granada creates a space that is imbued with both mobility and settlement, which can engender multiple place belongings. Furthermore, the perceived genealogical connection with Granada emphasises the hybrid nature of Granada and the Mediterranean region. The notion that one exclusive ethnicity belongs to a place is debunked when multiple ethnicities can claim a genealogical connection to it. As argued by Catherine Nash (2002), genealogy is contradictory, and can serve to make claims of essentialist singular belonging to place, while it can also 'unsettle older exclusive versions of belonging.' (2002: 27). Nash also states, 'genealogy may be a starting point for a more subtle and critical historical understanding of identity, one that is more historically informed, but also aware of the limits of historical knowledge and more sceptical about historical, as well as biological, determination' (2002: 48). With respect to the Moroccan diaspora, the genealogical connection to Granada reveals the plurality of Granada's history, and although it is partly based on essentialist notions of belonging, it disrupts the notion that a singular ethnicity essentially belongs to the city. It uncovers the multiple identities that can lay a certain claim to a space throughout history, and this accentuates that history is hybrid and full of mixing, rather than mono-cultural and pure. Furthermore, the interviews with the diaspora demonstrate that they often use both essentialist and hybrid terms with regards to belonging. In a number of interviews words such as roots, blood, origin, and mixing were used. This demonstrates that essentialism is a tool with which place claims are made, and is a powerful lexicon for generating 'place-belongingness' Therefore, the nomadic and rootless nature of diaspora culture that is endorsed by much social theory is often not how the diaspora self-identify. In their narratives there is often a notion of historic hybridity between Spaniards and Moroccans, but there is also a sense of roots and genetic belonging to certain people and places. The popular academic theorising of mobility, hybridity and rootlessness fails to capture how the diaspora interpret their migrant experiences. Through migration and resettlement, it would seem that diaspora perceptions of belonging and identity are contradictory, and often show signs of genealogical roots, hybridity and multiple belongings.

5.4.3 A Shared Cultural Identity

An overarching impact of the Al-Andalus heritage and history of Granada is a sense that Granada forms part of the Moroccan diasporic cultural identity. This is especially pronounced in the narratives of Moroccan participants who come from the north of Morocco. The geographical proximity of southern Spain to northern Morocco, and the resulting shared histories, produces a greater sense of a shared culture compared to Moroccans who come from the centre and south of the country. As a sizeable percentage of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada come from the north of Morocco, this attachment to the culture of Granada is pervasive in many narratives. For example, the following extract from a conversation with Hamza, a shop worker from Ksar el Kebir in northern Morocco, demonstrates a sense of a shared culture between the diaspora and Granada:

> ***Hamza:*** *The truth is that the culture is the same, especially for people from the north of Morocco. I'm from the north of Morocco. The customs are the same as in Andalusia, stuff like the festivals are the same, even the way people laugh is the same. So that's why Moroccans, especially those from the north of Morocco, are very comfortable here. We have so much in common.*
>
> ***Researcher:*** *Ok, this is more for Moroccans from the north?*
>
> ***Hamza:*** *Yes, this comfort and belonging with Granada is more for people from the north of Morocco. This is because for the majority of people from the north…for example, my great grandparents lived here in Al-Andalus, they lived in Granada. They left in the 15th century, but many started to leave here and go to Morocco in the 14th century. In the north of Morocco there still exists many Castellon families. These families live there now, but in their family tree there are people who arrived from Granada, Cordoba, Seville, their roots are here*

The following quote from Salma, a Moroccan lady from Tetouan, further demonstrates the feeling that Granada is imbued with a culture that the diaspora, especially those from the north of Morocco, identify as 'their' culture:

> *Granada very much feels part of what I consider my culture. The heritage and culture of Tetouan is very similar to Granada. The culture of Tetouan is very much linked to*

> *the culture of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada. Many people fled Granada after the Reconquista and ended up in areas such as Tetouan in northern Morocco. So in many respects I identify with Granada like I identify with Tetouan. I feel like I form part of the culture [of Granada], and my identity is an important part of Granada. It is not so much like a foreign place, which has no links to home, there are many links to Morocco. (Salma, Female, Morocco, Tetouan, mid 30s)*

Salma also stated:

> *The heritage of Al-Andalus is important for me. I feel like Granada and its history is part of my culture. This city forms part of my culture and identity. Therefore, I don't feel like a stranger here. There is the Muslim heritage and all its symbols and things that are still here, and this definitely gives me a sense of belonging here. (Salma, Female, Morocco, Tetouan, mid 30s)*

The previous extracts highlight how the shared history between northern Morocco and southern Spain (especially the city and region of Granada), and the medieval migrations between these areas, produce a contemporary space that multiple ethnicities can culturally identify with. For many of the Moroccan diaspora, cities such as Tetouan in the north of Morocco are marked by the Nasrid culture of Granada, and as a result, the diaspora space of Granada is perceived to contain cultural elements of their symbolic home. Awareness in the diaspora consciousness of the historical movements of the Nasrids of Granada to areas such as Tetouan after the Reconquista in the 15th century is key to feeling autobiographical links to Granada, and perceiving a shared culture between Granada and the north of Morocco. Culture provides symbolism that can elicit identification with place, and it is considered a key component in feeling a sense of place belongingness (Antonisch, 2010). Diasporic cultural identity is complex, multi-facetted and hybrid, but it is often conceptualised as the result of contemporary place-making that alludes to the symbolic place one's family line has migrated from. However, for the diaspora in Granada, it is not solely through the contemporary making of place that generates a sense of belonging, rather Granada is a diaspora space that contains a culture from a medieval heritage that is often interpreted as part of 'their' culture, and this can produce senses of belonging and attachment. Salma states that the Muslim history of the city makes her feel like she is not out of place in the diaspora space. The city, for Salma, has a spatial identity that she interprets as part of 'her' cultural identity, resulting in her not feeling so much like a stranger. This demonstrates how heritage and history are

fundamental factors in the production of place. It imbues it with layers of meaning, and is a critical component in consolidating spatial identities.

For the diaspora, a greatly affective component of the notion of a shared culture is the material heritage landscape of Granada. As previously stated, the architecture and built environment of relatively large swathes of central Granada date back to the Al-Andalus epoch, and this was often asserted as impacting on diaspora perceptions and feelings with the city. The following three quotes highlight diaspora perceptions of the built environment:

> *I feel like it's my home. For example, if I go up to the Albayzín with the narrow streets and that, it reminds me of Moroccan cities. It reminds me of my city. My city in the north of Morocco is the same, you know? It has these little streets and white houses, like here in the Albayzín. Sometimes I get confused in the Albayzín and think it is my house in Morocco. (Ayoub, Male, Morocco, Tetouan)*

> *Well it is [Tetouan] very similar to here [Granada] and the medina is a world heritage city like the Albayzín. This is because many of the Muslim people from Granada that were expelled after 1492 went to Tetouan and they constructed the city. They constructed the old medina and it is like here, like the Albayzín. So you know, when I'm in this area [Albayzín] it is often like I'm in my hometown of Tetouan. I like that. (Yassine, Male, Morocco, Tetouan, 27)*

> *You know my home city is very similar to Granada… this street 'Calle Caldererία Vieja' and the other street over there, 'Calle Caldererία Nueva', well there are streets in Tangiers that are like a photocopy of these streets, and they are exactly the same. The type of craft shops and the cafeterias are the same, completely the same. Although we are in Europe, it is like a Moroccan city. (Anas, Male, Morocco, Tangier)*

From the quotes above we can see that the built environment of Granada, especially the architecture in the Albayzín neighbourhood, is perceived as having great similarities to Moroccan cities (see photo 29).

Photo 29: The Albayzín Neighbourhood

Source: Sacatomato, 2011

For Ayoub, it is so similar to Moroccan cities it can even cause a state of confusion. He states 'sometimes I get confused in the Albayzín and think it is my home in Morocco'. In the second quote Yassine alludes to the similarities of the medina in Tetouan with the Albayzín in Granada, and in the final quote Anas states that 'there are streets in Tangiers that are like a photocopy of these streets. Through these perceived architectural similarities, Granada offers a distinctive Western diaspora space that seems to evoke a sense of belonging to Granada, but also a sense of being at home in Morocco, and resultantly a homing desire for Granada. This expertly demonstrates the symbolic power of architecture and the built environment of place (Lees, 2001). As Leach argues, 'architecture…offers a potential mechanism for inscribing the self into the environment. It may facilitate a form of identification, and help engender a sense of belonging' (2005: 308). The architectural heritage of Al-Andalus enables the Moroccan diaspora to identify with the materiality of the diaspora space. It is as if their cultural identity is inscribed into the bricks and mortar of certain areas in the city, and this is extremely constitutive for having a sense of belonging to place.

The Alhambra palace and the Albayzín district, both of which have their genesis in the Muslim history of the city, are fundamental components of the heritage landscape of Granada. The Alhambra palace is perched high on a hill on one side of the Darro Valley, it has a great

visible presence within the centre of the city, and is the most visited attraction in Granada (see photo 30).

Photo 30: The Alhambra Palace, Author's photo, 2013

The Albayzín covers the hill on the other side of the Darro valley and along with the Alhambra palace it is a UNESCO world heritage site. Although the embodied presence of Muslims has only returned relatively recently to Granada, the memory of the Muslim past was never erased from the material reality of the city, and it now is the most symbolic fixture of Granada's heritage landscape. Through inscribing meaning to place, heritage landscapes are extremely powerful resources, and they play a role in sanctioning who does and who does not 'belong' to a place (Yeoh and Kong, 1996). Older heritage, such as that from medieval times, is often used a way to essentialise belonging and identity to a fixed place. Therefore, the 'official' heritage landscape of Granada is, to some extent, a powerful resource of belonging for the diaspora. The following quotes highlight diaspora feelings and perceptions with the heritage landscape:

> *It's a magical city for many people. People like it and I have seen people crying while walking around the city because of how beautiful it is. Granada is attractive to me because my ancestors were here. When I see the Alhambra I think, wow, this really*

was a Muslim land too. This is very comforting and I like it. I see it like I'm home in Granada, because this city forms part of us, part of our culture. Our culture is part of what attracts people to the city. Although everybody complains and says the economy is bad, there is not much work, but many immigrants live here and stay here. It has some magic, which attracts you, and when you have lived in Granada they say you'll never be able to leave. Well every city has there own myths and different things. (Yassine, Male, Morocco, Tetouan, 27)

They [Spanish] earn a lot of money because of the Alhambra palace. In the summer almost three thousand people enter each day…they [Spanish] should kiss our hands everyday because we built it, you understand? It's a wonder and thankfully they didn't destroy it…when they took control of Granada they were going to remove it, there was not so much tourism before, they didn't know, but gradually people came to visit and see it, so they started to charge and make it entry with ticket. They realised they could make money, so they started to repair it and they found many things that were hidden and secret. (Said, Male, Northern Morocco, 34)

For Yassine, monuments such as the Alhambra function as a memory of the Muslims civilizations that previously lived in the city centuries before, and this is constitutive for feeling a homing desire for Granada. The man's comments resonate with Walter Benjamin's (1999) notion that the city has a memory, and the memories are communicated to us through the material experience of the city. For Benjamin, the historical memories of the city impose themselves on the consciousness, and shape our thoughts and feelings with the city. For the diaspora, the material monuments such as the Alhambra communicate the memories of a past Muslim civilization, and this evidently can shape their feelings and perceptions with the city. The fact that these monuments are now a celebrated image of the city, and attract tourists from all over the world, emphasises that a culture that some of the diaspora consider as theirs is desired and important. In the second quote, Said expresses a clear sense of cultural identification with the Alhambra, and in so doing, a sense of ownership of parts of the heritage landscape. He states 'they [Spanish] should kiss our hands everyday because we built it [the Alhambra]'. Although this man made this remark in jest, he does have a clear sense that 'his' people were responsible for constructing the Alhambra, and that the Alhambra is of great importance to the contemporary economy of the city. An overarching feeling that is expressed about the heritage landscape of Granada is a sense of pride that Muslims were responsible for building such significant monuments. However, paradoxically, the heritage

landscape can also produce and sense of loss and even shame. A sense of longing and loss of the past are key dimensions of nostalgia (Chase and Shaw, 1989; Yeoh and Kong, 1996), and nostalgia is a key thread in much of the Moroccan diasporic narratives. For example, Youssef stated:

> *We lost this city, we lost it when Boabdil (the last Muslim king of Granada) and the Nasrids left, and that is a shame, but you can see that we were here, and what we did. (Youssef, Male, Morocco, Nador/Beni Ansar)*

This short extract demonstrates that Youssef's emotions for Granada are marked with a sense of loss. He uses the term 'we' when conversing about the medieval Muslims in Granada, and thus, identifies himself and the diaspora as the contemporary embodiment of the Al-Andalus Muslims. The visible memories of the past result in a sense of having lost control and ownership of the city, which generates feelings of nostalgia, and consequently, emotions of loss and longing. This sense of loss sometimes develops into a sense of sadness and embarrassment in personal narratives. For example, when Youssef was talking about how he feels when he sees the heritage landscape in the city, he stated:

> *It saddens me…yes, yes. You feel pride but this pride also makes you feel sad and shameful. You think fuck, look how beautiful the Alhambra is, look what we had, and what we have lost, and look how we are now. I think about what a history we have lost. (Youssef, Male, Morocco, Nador/Beni Ansar)*

In another conversation, I asked Hicham, a man who was born in the north of Morocco, how he felt when he saw monuments such as the Alhambra, he replied:

> *I often think, look what we were and look what we are now. We were the highest possible and now we are crap. We come here for work, to look for a life like dogs and it saddens me because we made stuff like the Alhambra and now we are living like this, like poor immigrants. We have gone from that to this and that shames me. We dedicate our time to praying, to robbing and the politicians send the most intelligent people to work for multinationals abroad. There is a complete brain drain. It is impossible to prosper there. (Hicham, Male, Morocco, Al Hociema, 26)*

For the participants quoted in the two previous extracts, monuments such as the Alhambra demonstrate what 'they' once had, and what 'they' have 'lost'. The monuments accentuate the fact that they have lost a past of grandeur, and that their present condition as economic migrants is of lesser social standard, which engenders feelings of shame and embarrassment. For Hicham, it not only highlights his personal struggles, or the struggles of Moroccan migrants, but more so, the social and economic conditions within Morocco. He asserts that it 'is impossible to prosper there [Morocco]', which is the opposite of the prosperity that was supposedly encountered by Muslims in Granada during the Nasrid dynasty. Nostalgia for Granada's Muslim past can generate ambivalent feelings such as belonging, pride, home, ownership, loss, longing and shame. It can be a powerful resource for feeling a positive sense of belonging to Granada and Muslim civilizations, but it can also be a powerful source for feeling a sense of shame and non-belonging to contemporary Moroccan culture and society.

5.4.4 The 'Native' Embodied Presence and Performance

For the diaspora, senses of belonging to Granada often have an embodied element, especially with regard to appearance and performance. As mentioned in chapter 4, the embodied presence and performances between Moroccan migrants are a constitutive factor for diasporic belonging. However, the focus of this section is the embodied presence and performances of what could be labelled as the Spanish or 'native' population on Moroccan diasporic belonging. Performativity, a term coined by Judith Butler (1990), asserts that our identities, which are conditioned by discourses, are articulated, negotiated and subverted through corporeal performativities. Identification with place is partly a result of the performativities that occur in places, and a as result, viewed and enacted embodied performances are highly constitutive for senses of belonging to place (Bell, 1999). The following four quotes highlight diasporic perceptions of the embodiment and performances of the 'non-diasporic' population in Granada:

> *You know that for eight centuries Muslims lived here. You know that right? Eight hundred years! The Spaniards that live here now are a mixture between Arab and Spanish; a lot of people don't know that. In Granada you see girls on the streets that are brunettes, they have big eyes, and are dark. They look Arab, but they are not Arab, they are Spanish, and that is because the people here are a mixture of Spanish and Arab. During many centuries the blood of both sides mixed. So yes I feel part of Granada, I see myself in some Spaniards. (Omar, Male, Morocco, Nador, 35)*

Here you feel like you are in the middle of your own country more or less. You see people like you, to the point of their character. They have the same character [Spanish]. The Spanish think they are European, but in the north of Europe they speak quietly with a lot of respect. And how do the Spanish speak? Really loud and emotional - 'Waa qué tal, oye hombre blah blah' - that is typical North African behaviour, and you see it and you feel like you are in your own country more or less. This is due to the DNA and genes of the Arabs and Berber. It is not just the language, but also how they behave and look. Granadinos and people from the Riff region of Morocco have the same blood. (Youssef, Male, Morocco, Nador/Beni Ansar)

You know there is a lot of Arabness in Spain, although they often deny it, you can see it in their behaviour, and the way they look, you know, it is in their blood. Even their food and stuff is very Arab. The Muslims were here for 700 years, so you know, they left a mark that can still be seen and felt. This is especially the case in Andalusia. You can really see the Arabness of the people in Andalusia. You know they really act like us, like people from Morocco, certainly a lot more than people from northern Spain. In some ways this makes me feel more part of Granada, but sometimes they call me Moor, as they want to deny their Arabness, and try and seem different to the Moroccans. (Nizar, Male, Morocco, Casablanca)

I think it is better than in Belgium and in cities such as Barcelona and Madrid. The people here are friendlier. The people are better I think. You know the north of Morocco and southern Spain has a very long shared history. We are mixed with each other. There is a little racism like everywhere in the world. But you know we were here for many centuries, like my ancestors and great great grandparents lived here. Because of this history we are mixed, the people are mixed. You know people from southern Spain and Morocco are almost identical. Sometimes in the street I make mistakes. I'll see somebody in the street and say 'salaam alikum' and they say 'qué dices' and then I realise they are Spanish. You know the people look almost the same, and they act really similar. And this is because of the shared history and I guess that is why I prefer Granada and the south. (Mohamed, Male, Northern Morocco, 40)

In all of the above quotes the physical similarities between the diaspora and the 'local' Granadino population are referred to. It is important to note that they interchange between

Moroccan, Muslim and Arab when referring to people from the Maghreb and Al-Andalus. This reflects the different labels of identity that marked Muslim Spain and mark contemporary Granada. In the first quote, Omar believes that women from the south of Spain have very similar features to Arab women, and in the final quote, Mohamed explains that he sometimes mistakes Spanish people for Moroccans. In addition to the physical similarities, there is a feeling that the behaviour and performance of the Spanish-born population is similar to Moroccan and Arab behaviour. In the second quote, Youssef states that the 'loud and emotional' nature of Granadinos is a 'North African' characteristic, and in the final quote, Mohamed asserts that the open nature of people in Granada is similar to Moroccans, and resultantly, he is happier in southern Spain than in northern Europe. As performativities partly construct our ethnic identities, the diaspora are finding a shared sense of identity with the 'host' population. For all of the above participants, identification with the way the 'native' population look and perform is a powerful source for feelings of belonging to Granada. It adds a layer of identification to place that is key to their sense of home in Morocco, and thus, it creates a sense of being at 'home' in Granada. This empirically supports Butler's (1990) notion that our identities are inextricably linked to our embodied performances, and Bell's (1999) thesis that belonging is partly achieved through performativity.

In each of the above quotes, the similarities are attributed to the Muslim history of Granada. For the diaspora, the performances of the 'host' population are a memory of Granada's Muslim history, and it creates sense of the past existing in the embodied present. There is a belief that the Muslim history of Granada has resulted in a genealogical connection and that the contemporary 'natives' have partly the same bloodline as the diaspora. This section interlinks with the previous section on the genealogical connections to Granada, and further accentuates the blood ties many of the diaspora perceive they have with Granada.

However, in this case, the perceived genealogical connections are not with medieval Muslims that previously lived in the city, but rather, with the contemporary 'native' population. The power of these contemporary performances is reliant on an assumed idea of 'race' as embodied in genes, skin colour, blood type, and behaviour. Although the notion of essential belonging and identity is opposed to in much postcolonial and diaspora literature, the Moroccan diaspora do not always interpret essentialisms that way, and as seen in the previous quotes, they often embrace essentialist language in order to feel a sense of belonging to Granada. This demonstrates that racialisation and essentialising are processes that are still

very much utilised to engender senses of belonging and shared identities. It is a way to make claims on place and make claims on belongings.

I would argue that this level of connection and identification with the 'host' population is a distinctive feature of the diasporic experience in Granada. Mohamed stated, 'I think it is better than in Belgium and in cities such as Barcelona and Madrid', which highlights that he perceives Granada as offering something different compared to other European cities. A key feature of that difference is the way the Spanish-born population communicates the Muslim history of the city through their embodiment and performances. Butler (1990), in her theory of performativity, argues that we construct our identities through 'citational' performances. We 'cite' certain norms, rituals and traditions in our embodied performances, and through these citations we perform certain identities. For the diaspora, the performances of the 'native' populations can appear like a 'citation' of norms, rituals, and traditions that emanate from the Muslim history of Granada. Furthermore, as Neil leach states 'the space in which that performativity takes place can be seen as a stage. After a certain number of performances that stage will no longer seem neutral. It will be imbued with an association of the activities that took place there' (2003: 7). Therefore, through a perceived association between the 'native' performances and Granada's Muslim past, the physical space of Granada is further instilled with a meaning that is conducive to feeling at 'home'.

5.5 The Muslim Community and Islamic Spatiality

The presence of a Muslim community and the Islamic spatiality of the city is another key factor that constitutes belonging to Granada. This is partly linked to the awareness that Muslims historically lived and worshiped in the city. The heritage of Al-Andalus establishes Granada as a city that is historically synonymous with the practice and worship of Islam. It is imbued with a particular religious significance and, in some respects, is perceived as a 'sacred space' (Eliade, 1958) for Muslims. For example, Yassine stated:

> *Yes, Granada has a lot of significance for Muslims. You know it was the last Muslim kingdom of Europe, well actually in Spain, because there is Bosnia in Eastern Europe. For Muslims, Granada is a symbol of nostalgia for the past, and for the Christians it is a symbol of the unification of the country. (Yassine, Male, Morocco, Tetouan)*

Granada is not what Metlcalf (1996) labels as a non-locative 'Muslim space', that is only given meaning through ritual and practice. Rather, the location of Granada is significant because of both the historical presence of Muslims in the city, and the contemporary practice of Islam.

It is important to note that Granada is also synonymous with the removal of Islam, and it is a space where there was the implementation of a dominant Christian dogma that had no acceptance of Islamic practices. As a result, Islam in Granada is paradoxically an authentic part of the city, while also a foreign religion of the 'other'. The religious history of Granada can provide Moroccans with both a sense of Islam belonging in the city, and a sense that there was a deep intolerance to the practices of Islam. The religious history of Granada is not stable, it can be read in multiple ways, and provides contradictory messages.

However, for the Moroccan diaspora, it is the contemporary presence of a Muslim community and the contemporary spaces of worship that are often articulated as having a fundamental importance to their attachment to the city. Scholars have argued that migrants originating from Muslim majority societies often use their faith of Islam as a way of creating a collective identity, which in turn generates a sense of belonging and a sense of place in the country/city of migration (Moghissi, 2006; Aitchison and Hopkins, 2007; Gale, 2007). This is certainly the case for a number of Moroccans in Granada. For example, Ayoub, a male shop owner from northern Morocco stated:

> *In Granada you don't have to change your culture and lifestyle much. When it's the hour to pray there are mosques. There is a mosque really close to my house and work, this is really important...it's not a difficult life for Muslims here. (Ayoub, Male, Morocco, Tetouan)*

The fact that Granada has a number of easily accessible mosques that provide spaces of worship is particularly important for Ayoub's sense of belonging to Granada. Being able to attend the mosque to pray and see other Muslims would seem to be a fundamental part of his culture, and vital for his sense of collective identity and belonging. The director of one of Granada's central mosques underlined the importance of the mosque in Moroccan culture when he asserted:

They come here because Muslims, especially Moroccans, are used to having a connection and contact with a mosque. They come here at least one day a week, normally on Fridays. Because for Moroccans, or any immigrants here, they have abandoned their country to study, or to look for work, but you don't abandon your principles – of course some do, yes – they neglect it, but for a lot it remains very important. So they have the mosque as a meeting place. In one respect they come here to practice their religion, but they also come to meet with other Moroccans and Muslims. This is the thing, if you are away from your country, away from Morocco, you probably like to meet and see other Moroccans and Muslims. So where do you do that? Well you regularly attend the mosque and this is where you'll get that contact. (Director of the At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)

The mosque has an important role in Moroccan culture, and in Granada it can function as a space to maintain and continue a shared culture. Therefore, religion and the associated sites or worship are significant for the formation of a Moroccan diaspora. The mosque provides a space for the continuation of a collective ethnic identity, and for community interaction and maintenance, which are critical features in normative notions of diaspora formations. This demonstrates that feelings of belonging are often induced in micro-scale spaces such as mosques. Rather than seeing the whole city as generating senses of belonging, it is a number of smaller scale spaces within the city that have a greater impact on diaspora senses of attachment. As a result, areas such as the lower Albayzín, where there are mosques and a Muslim presence, are important sites of belonging for the diaspora. Nonetheless, these smaller scale sites of belonging can converge to induce a general sense of belonging with the city. As the mosque is a highly gendered space, where women and men are often separated, there is an evident gendered aspect to the belonging generated from religious sites of worship. It was primarily men who articulated the importance of the mosque, and primarily men whom I saw attending the mosque, so I would argue that it is primarily a site of male diasporic belonging.

In addition to the Islamic spatiality such as mosques, the visible embodied presence of Muslims is another factor that can generate belonging to the city. There are areas of the city such as the lower Albayzín that have a significant Moroccan and Arab presence. Although not all of the people in this area are Muslim, the embodied presence and material culture does often convey a strong Islamic symbolism. For example, during conversations with Brahim, a shop worker in the lower Albayzín area of the city, he proclaimed:

You can live well being a Muslim in Granada because there are many mosques. There is a big mosque next to Plaza San Nicolas. There are many Muslims, including many Spanish Muslims, this is unique to Granada, and important for our sense of belonging here. (Brahim, Male, Northern Morocco)

Brahim reiterates the importance of mosques, but also underlines the significance of a visible Muslim community for his sense of belonging to the city. Moreover, he specifically points out that in Granada there is large Spanish and 'native' Muslim community, which he considers as a distinct feature of Granada, and greatly important to his emotional experience with the city. The director of a central mosque talked about the importance of the Spanish Muslim community for the Moroccan diaspora. He stated:

Yes, of course it is very important. You feel protected, welcome and you feel happy that people from Granada and Spain will defend your rights as a Muslim – of course that is important. For example, there are Spanish Muslims that chat with the immigrant Muslims in Spanish and Arabic. It is to help and guide the immigrants, and to explain they can maintain their Islamic behaviour here and they do not need to change their principles. (Director of the At-Taqwa Mosque, Male, Moroccan-Spanish)

Having a visible Muslim community that includes a large 'native' Spanish component is generating further attachment to the diaspora space for many Moroccan migrants. The Islamic religion is a fundamental part of the Moroccan diasporic identity, and the substantial Western community that also adhere to it, often broadens their sense of belonging to the city. The mosque director in the previous quote states that Spanish-born Muslims offer a supportive role, and help orientate new Muslim immigrants in the city. The supportive role that religious institutions assume for migrants in their host society is a key theme in geographies of religion literature (Menjivar, 1999; Hirschman, 2007; Ley, 2008). However, in this case, it is not only a religious institution, but also a 'native' of the host society providing support to Muslims in diaspora. The impact of this, it would seem, is to reduce the 'us' versus 'them' ways of thinking, and lessen tensions between 'immigrant' and 'host', and create a level of solidarity between the diaspora and 'native' Spaniard. However, the idea that Granada is a space of solidarity between the Moroccan migrant and 'host' should not be overstated. There is a large Spanish Muslim population, but there are far more non-Muslim Spaniards in the city, and they may not have this sense of attachment with the diasporic Muslim populations. Nonetheless, the presence of some Spaniards that share the Islamic identity, and participate in

religious practices, is asserted in a number of diasporic narratives as contributing to having a positive sense of belonging with Granada.

I argue later in the thesis that religion is not an innate and taken for granted feature of Moroccan migrants, but as I've demonstrated here and in chapter 4, it has a significant role in the formation of a cohesive Moroccan diaspora. Religion can engender a sense of belonging to a diasporic community, and consequently, belonging to Granada.

5.6 A Right to the City and Belonging

> *I like Granada more than Malaga [where she used to live] and other places in Spain. I like it more because there is a strong visible presence of Muslims and Moroccans in Granada, and it's an autonomous presence. The Moroccans have their own businesses and really create parts of the city. In Malaga the majority of Moroccans are builders or cleaners, and they work for Spanish companies. So they are not so visible and they don't really form part of the city. You know, having this public presence in Granada gives us more respect. They don't look at us in a strange way like they do in other places in Spain and Europe. (Salma, Female, Morocco, Tetouan, mid 30s)*

> *I used to live in Barcelona, but I prefer it here in Granada. It is like we are more part of the city, like you can see our presence…it is not the same in Barcelona, we are more behind the scenes. (Mehdi, Male, Morocco, Nador)*

From the above quotes we can see that Moroccans often perceive Granada as a distinct place in Spain. The 'right to the city' (Purcell, 2002; Harvey, 2008; Attoh, 2011) through producing public spaces, and visually participating within the city, is clearly recognised as a distinctive feature of the diasporic experience in Granada. Salma and Mehdi do not consider the diasporas in Barcelona or Malaga, where they previously lived, to have such a visible presence and participation like in Granada. As Mehdi stated 'its not the same in Barcelona, we are more behind the scenes', while Salma stated '[Moroccans] are not so visible and don't really form part of the city [Malaga]'. This public spatial presence can create a sense of participation within the city, and produces a sense of belonging to Granada. For some Moroccans this results in a feeling of greater respect and tolerance from the 'native' population. There is a sense that they are respected as citizens of the city, and their ethnic

identity is accepted. As discussed in chapter 4, much of the cultural identity being spatialised by the diaspora is orientalised. Granada is a Western space where an amplified Moroccan culture and symbolism can be maintained and celebrated, rather than marginalised and vilified. The diaspora have found a 'right to difference', which Millington (2011) considers part and parcel of the right to the city.

Through practices of 'strategic self-orientalism', which is discussed in chapter 4, the diaspora have gained access to the local economy of the city. They have found a space where they can use their cultural capital along with their business ingenuity to participate economically. In a sense, the diaspora have appropriated the history of Al-Andalus to create businesses that fit with a significant tourist image of the city. The following quote highlights the significance of the economic opportunities found in Granada:

> *The businesses and opportunities we have here are really the most important thing. There is a tourist demand for Muslim and Moroccan related culture and we can really make a life for ourselves here. (Yazid, Male, Morocco, Fez)*

In another quote a Moroccan shop worker stated:

> *Being able to have businesses here is very important. I'm able to make money here and work for a Moroccan business. The most important thing is that I can make a living here. (Mustafa, Male, Morocco)*

The two quotes demonstrate that the business opportunities found by the diaspora are fundamentally significant to their perceptions of Granada. The autonomous nature of the businesses is often considered as a distinctive feature of the diasporic experience, and further consolidates their sense of attachment with the city. It is perceived that Moroccan-born residents in other Spanish cities have not achieved such a level of economic autonomy and, as a result, the diaspora often feel they have a greater participation and involvement in Granada. Therefore, the right to the city is achieved through economic and cultural processes, and it is the autonomous nature of these processes that is distinct and greatly engenders a sense of belonging to the city. As economics is complicit in the Moroccan right to the city it is not free from the determination of powerful structures. The spaces produced by the diaspora are partly enabled by economic demand, especially the tourist demand that exists in the city. The emancipatory nature of the right to the city, then, should not be overstated. The 'right to

difference' is, in many respects, about the economic value of that difference to both the diaspora and the city.

As highlighted in the first two quotes of this section, the right to produce and mediate spaces in the city is generally conducive to having a sense of belonging to Granada. However, a more nuanced examination demonstrates that the areas produced by the diaspora are ambivalent in how they engender belonging. For those migrants who work in the orientalised public spaces, there is a sense that they work in an area where they are part of a Moroccan diaspora, and where they can maintain a Moroccan identity. For example, Ayoub, a shop worker, stated:

> *Well I work here every day, I see Moroccans and Muslims all around here, and I get to speak in Moroccan dialect and Arabic. There are a lot of Moroccans that work in this area, so you don't have to change your habits that much. I really like that. (Ayoub, Male, Morocco, Tetouan)*

For Ayoub, his job allows him to have daily contact with fellow migrants, speak in his native languages, and maintain certain ethnic habits and practices. These spaces, I would argue, is where a sense of a Moroccan diaspora is most visibly manifested in the city. Having a job in these areas can assist in having a sense of belonging to a diaspora, and consequently, feelings of belonging to the city. A sense of being part of a united diasporic community, and participating in diaspora activities, is not often articulated in the narratives collected. For example, Youssef, who works in an Internet cafe and is from Nador/Beni Ansar, stated:

> ***Youssef:*** *In Granada there is not a very strong or united Moroccan community. If you go to France or Belgium, for example, there are bigger communities. It is because the community only came here relatively recently, so we have not been here very long to build a powerful community*
>
> ***Researcher:*** *So there are no community festivals or associations?*
>
> ***Youssef:*** *Not really, well not what I'm aware of anyway.*

Rather than festivals and associations, it is the areas where Moroccan migrants run businesses that create a sense of a Moroccan diaspora. The business initiatives engender contact between Moroccan migrants and this facilitates a continuation of a Moroccan identity. As a result, the

migrants who work in theses spaces will most likely have a grater sense of being part of a diaspora, which can result in stronger feelings of belonging and home. This demonstrates that economics and business initiatives are very much complicit in the formation of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada.

As stated previously, the fact that Moroccans have found a right to the city is generally perceived as a positive for belonging to the city. However, for migrants who do not work in these spaces, the actual functionality and impacts of them is varied. As discussed in chapter 4, the orientalised spaces do not just function as a space of work, but are also a space of social interaction and contact. It is an area where diaspora populations, non-diaspora populations and tourists socialise. Therefore, for some, it is a space where important social practices of belonging are performed. The material culture and interior design of the spaces also have an affect on perceptions and feelings. For example, one participant stated:

> *In the teterías, for example, you feel like you are home. You know in Morocco we have living rooms that are sort of like the teterías. We have the long and low sofas like in the teterías. When you sit on one, and drink tea is it is like you're home in Morocco. The design of the sofas and tables is Moroccan and the way you sit and drink tea is like how you do it in Morocco. (Hicham, Male, Northern Morocco, 26)*

The teterías provide a style of furniture and design that are synonymous with Moroccan and Arab culture. For the participant in the previous quote, the sofas in the teterías mirror the domestic spaces of living rooms, and this creates a sense of being in his domestic home space in Morocco. Moreover, the practice of drinking tea, a pervasive pastime in Morocco, enhances his this sense of being home in the tetarías.

For others, the public spatial presence of Moroccans in the city attributes a sense of familiarity and comfort for Muslim migrants in the city, and this is considered especially important for recent arrivals. For example, Omar, a cafe worker from northern Morocco, was asked if he thought the Moroccan produced streets were important, he stated:

> *Of course. Imagine, for example, you are Spanish and you go to the United States and find a neighbourhood where there are things that are typical of Spain, you would like it. You are in another country that is not yours, but there are things from your country. I think that is really good for a migrant. (Omar, Male, Morocco, Nador, 35)*

Another interviewee stated:

> *See if you are in Ciudad Real [city in central Spain], for example, and you don't speak Spanish, nobody is going to show you where to go if you are lost, because you can't communicate, but here there are people, or there are areas where Moroccans and Arabs live, and in the shops you can ask any of them and they will show you the way. (Ahmed, Male, Morocco, Tangier)*

The first quote emphasises how spaces that convey a material and embodied familiarity can be of great comfort to migrants. While the second quote emphasises how the diaspora spaces of Granada can help orientate migrants that do not speak Spanish. It is an area of the city where new migrants can find people who speak a similar language and are empathetic. Consequently, Moroccan migrants have produced a symbolic space that alludes to both the imaginary home of Granada's Muslim past and home in Morocco, creating a powerful lived space of belonging.

However, some migrants have an indifferent view about the public spaces of the diaspora. For example, one participant stated:

> *These places are not so important for me. They are more for tourists. I don't work there so I don't really spend much time in those places. They are not really where I would go and spend my free time. (Saladin, Female, Morocco)*

When asked what importance the Moroccan produced spaces had for Moroccan migrants, one shop owner stated:

> *They are important for business, nothing else.* (Mourad, Male, Morocco)

Both of these participants perceive these spaces as economic sites, which are for tourists and business. They do not consider the areas as having a social or cultural function. The participant in the first quote perceives them as primarily a place of work, and as he does not work there, he does not consider them as a place he would go and spend his time. The second participant bluntly states that that they are purely for economic reasons and 'nothing else'. For these participants, the public spaces of the diaspora do not function so much as spaces of

belonging. Rather, they consider the spaces as having a practical economic function, and no real emotional and symbolic value. The cultural, social and economic processes of the right to the city are interpreted differently within the diaspora, and can have different affects on their perceptions with the city. This demonstrates the complex and heterogeneous nature of a diaspora and diasporic belonging. Nonetheless, from the data gathered during the research, the overarching feeling is the right to the city, and the public spatial presence of the diaspora, is conducive for feeling a sense of attachment to Granada.

5.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that Granada is a distinctive diaspora space for many Moroccan migrants, and can engender deep senses of belonging. It has been argued throughout the chapter that the belonging felt by the diaspora incorporates a homing desire for Granada. This reconfigures the more normative notion of a nostalgic homing desire for a far away symbolic place, to a homing desire for the diaspora space of dwelling. Although multiple factors are at work to generate belonging, the key role of Granada's heritage, the Muslim religiosity of the city, and the Moroccan right to the city are evidently apparent in diaspora narratives of belonging and identity. I now make broader concluding observations of these three key aspects of belonging.

Firstly, the history and heritage of Al-Andalus is an immensely powerful resource for Moroccan diasporic senses of belonging to Granada. It is a dynamic process that is communicated to the diaspora through discursive representations, the material heritage landscape, embodiment and performativities. In so doing, memories of Granada's Muslim past and its links with the north of Morocco are prevalent in the collective consciousness of the diaspora. The heritage imbues Granada with a culture, nostalgia and ancestral memory that can produce a sense of home, and this can result in a homing desire for Granada. I would argue that the heritage of Al-Andalus, in all its guises, is the most significant factor for producing a homing desire. The heritage produces nostalgia, and nostalgia for a place is considered critical for engendering the homing desire in the diaspora consciousness (Brah, 1996)

The heritage of Al-Andalus would seem to have more of an impact on those who have a desire to continue identifying with the culture and religion of Morocco. The history instils a

meaning and symbolism in Granada that has parallels with the place the diaspora lineage originates from and this assists in maintaining a Moroccan and Muslim identity. Although this belonging is not based on overtly 'new' diasporic identity constructions, the heritage does disrupt simplistic notions of belonging and home, and permits multiple belongings between Granada and Morocco. It is important to reiterate that the sense of belonging engendered by the heritage is far greater for people who come from northern Morocco. This is due to the greater historical attachments that northern Morocco had with Al-Andalus. After the completion of the Reconquista, much migration from Al-Andalus was to cities in the north of Morocco such as Tetouan, Nador and Fez. Thus, the collective imaginary of Al-Andalus is more profound for people from these areas. These multiple belongings between Granada and Morocco are symptomatic of being part of a 'imagined double diaspora'. Through a sense of genealogical connection with the historical dispersal of Muslims from Granada to Morocco, Moroccan migrants can claim multiple homelands and belongings.

Secondly, the Islamic spatiality and embodied Muslim presence imbues Granada with an identity and spirituality that is a fundamental component of Moroccan culture. As a result, areas of the city that have mosques and a Muslims presence, such as the lower Albayzín, are important sites of belonging for the diaspora. I would argue that the practice and worship of Islam is often what coalesces Moroccan migrants, and resultantly, is fundamental in the creation of a Moroccan diasporic community and consciousness. If we consider the continuation of an ethnic identity as a key component in the diaspora condition, then religion is the wood that fuels the diaspora fire. The worship and practice of Islam is an important resource of belonging for Moroccan migrants who aspire to have a sense of ethnic continuation and be part of a diasporic community. As the practice of Islam is the continuation of a cultural practice that is synonymous with their home culture, Islam is inextricably linked with the feeling of being in a home.

Moreover, the Western Muslim convert population, which worships in a number of mosques around the city, engenders further attachment to Granada. Having a 'native' population that adheres to a critical part of the diaspora identity, and the contact between 'native' and diasporic Muslim through the shared worship of Islam, produces a Western urban space that some of the diaspora perceive to be more tolerant and accepting of their identity and culture. Nonetheless, the population of non-Muslim Westerners is far greater than the Western Muslim convert population, and they may not have this sense of attachment with the diasporic Muslim populations. In some respects, the diasporic Muslim Moroccans are exposed to an

ambivalent landscape in Granada. It has a multi-national and multi-ethnic Muslim population, whilst there is also a deeply engrained suspicion of Islam and the contemporary Moroccan Muslim is often associated with the Muslim 'Moor' (Flesler, 2008). Nonetheless, an active and visible Western Muslim convert population is a relatively distinctive feature of the diasporic experience in Granada, and can evidently engender a sense of acceptance and belonging.

Thirdly, the right to the city engineered by the diaspora is a further distinctive feature of the diasporic experience in Granada. Through the right to produce public spaces, have a visible presence in the city, display an ethnic identity and participate autonomously in the local economy, the diaspora often have a sense of participation in the city, which is greatly conducive to their sense of belonging. The spaces produced by the diaspora, I would argue, are fundamental for the establishment and maintenance of the diaspora. The Moroccan migrants, who work in these areas, and those who spend time in the streets and use the services, often have a stronger sense of belonging to a diasporic community. Although the architecture, material culture, embodiment, and performances of the spaces are often 'strategically orientalised' for tourism, they can still have an affective quality for the diaspora, and convey a symbolism of home. Consequently, the right to the city, and the resulting place-making strategies of the diaspora, have resulted in the production of powerful diasporic sites of belonging.

Overall, the heritage of Al-Andalus, the Islamic religion, and the right to the city imbue Granada with cultural symbolism (physical and imagined), genealogical connections, spiritualism, and economic value that are fundamental for having a sense of belonging and feeling at home in place. A distinctive feature is that the belonging is generated not solely through contemporary diaspora place-making, which is the case for other diasporas, but also through an attachment to a medieval heritage that they appropriate as 'their' history and heritage. The combination of medieval heritage and contemporary place-making, is an extremely powerful resource for feelings of belonging and home. Nonetheless, the three factors discussed in this chapter, have more resonance for those in the diaspora who aspire for a continuation of a Moroccan ethnic identity. It is more an identification with 'ethnically parochial' (Werbner, 2002: 120) practices and symbols, rather than 'new' hybrid practices and identities. This is not to argue that the diasporic feelings of belonging are fixed and bounded. Rather, it is evident they are multiple and fluid, but they are often generated through

imagined and lived geographies that express a notion of Moroccan and Muslim ethnic identity.

Although the factors discussed in this chapter are pervasively salient in the diaspora consciousness, the diaspora is diverse, and alternative factors of belonging have been identified. The next chapter, therefore, explores these alternative identities and belongings, and aims to demonstrate the diverse and multifaceted nature of the diaspora.

Chapter 6: A Complex Diaspora: Cosmopolitan Narratives of Identity and Belonging

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I analysed diaspora narratives of identity and belonging, especially with regard to belonging and identification with Granada. It was demonstrated that Granada is an urban space that many Moroccan migrants have a strong sense of belonging to, engendered through the city's strong ethnic ties to a prevalent formation of Moroccan and Muslim identity. This formation of an ethnically centric Moroccan identity is pervasive, clearly articulated in many narratives, but it does not tell the whole story of identities and belongings expressed by those who fit into the category of the Moroccan diaspora. Therefore, in this chapter, I examine contrasting narratives of belonging and identity to those in the previous chapter, demonstrating the heterogeneous nature of those considered part of the Moroccan diaspora, and resultantly, critique and challenge the concept of diaspora. Through an intersectional lens, which considers how gender, class and religion intersect with Moroccan ethnicity, a variegation of cosmopolitan identities and belongings are revealed. The chapter draws heavily on theories and research that have problematised the concept of diaspora, and have emphasised the complexity and multifaceted nature of the diaspora condition (Werbner, 2002; Werbner, 2004; Brubaker, 2005; Mavroudi, 2007; Werbner, 2010). As argued by a number of scholars (Brah, 1996; Anthias, 1998; Campt and Thomas, 2008; Al-Ali, 2010), the diaspora condition is not solely constituted by ethnicity and nationality, but it intersects with gender, class and other axes of difference. Consequently, there are differences within and among populations that might be considered diasporic. I also draw on literature that examines the intersections of diaspora with the notion of cosmopolitism (Vertovec and Cohen, 2003; Vertovec, 2010; Glick Schiller, 2015).

In the first empirical section of the chapter, I examine the complex negotiations of belonging and identity that women in diaspora engage in. Whilst acknowledging the small number of women examined in this chapter, I believe they offer a great wealth of data that opens up important issues about gender and class. I argue that many of the women's narratives express a sense of emancipation from a perceived Moroccan patriarchal culture, which generates a

sense of attachment to Granada and Europe. The diasporic experience has involved a partial dislocation with certain aspects of Moroccan culture, allowing for the mobilisation of a less 'conservative' femininity. I argue that the desire for emancipation from a perceived patriarchy and the formation of less 'conservative' femininities appears to correlate with a shared class background, and emancipation is not necessarily a narrative that is instinctively articulated by Moroccan women in diaspora. Finally, I argue that although the diasporic stances of the women are varied, with some having stronger connections to the homeland traditions than others, they all convey some level of cosmopolitan attitude and orientation.

In the second empirical section, I explore men's and women's cosmopolitan and liberal attitudes towards religion and spirituality. I assert that the diasporic experience, especially for those from middle class and educated backgrounds, assists in the formulation of less religiously rigid identities, contrasting with the prevalent religious identities discussed in the previous chapter. These narratives deviate from a common assumption that diasporas from Muslim majority countries are inherently Islamic and religious. The identities in this chapter, in many respects, do not always connect with normative notions of the diaspora condition, such as a clear continuation of an ethnic culture and an obvious orientation towards a homeland. Rather, they convey a cosmopolitan orientation, which is more global and outward looking. However, I argue that being in diaspora is as much about change and transformation as continuation and home. Thus these cosmopolitan narratives are also exemplary of the diaspora condition. Overall, the chapter demonstrates the complexity of the Moroccan-born population that might be considered as diasporic, highlighting how elements of difference such as gender, class and religiosity can impact on the formation of diasporic identities and belongings.

In the first section of the chapter I analyse literature that problematises the concept of diaspora and explores the complexity of the diaspora condition. I then move onto the empirical analysis, firstly focusing on women's narratives of emancipation from Moroccan patriarchy. The second section looks at narratives that convey a dislocation from a strict religious identity.

6.2 The Complexity of Diasporas

A significant critique of the concept of diaspora, relevant to both empirical and theoretical understandings, is that it overly privileges ethnicity related to a place of 'origin' in constructing identity, and consequently fails to consider the complexity of populations that are considered diasporic (Anthias, 1998; Campt and Thomas, 2008). Diasporas display great heterogeneity and as stated by Pnina Werbner 'defy any neat typological theorizations of diaspora that look to national historical origins exclusively as determining the groups that may be defined as diasporas' (2010: 75). Populations in diaspora negotiate intersecting forms of difference such as ethnicity, 'race', gender, sexuality, and age, resulting in greatly different experiences, perceptions and formulations of the diaspora condition. However, in much research there has been a tendency to homogenise populations through the ethnic lens and not consider the significant diasporic in-group differences. Critical differences for those considered as in diaspora, and specifically important for this chapter, are the intersections of gender, class and religion with ethnicity related to a place of 'origin'. Gender, an omnipresent and pervasive difference within diasporas, is considered to still only receive limited attention in diaspora studies (Campt and Thomas, 2008; Al-Ali, 2010; Christou and King, 2011; Morawska, 2011). Too often it is solely the experience of migration that constitutes the diaspora, and the male and female dynamics are not sufficiently considered. The gender blindness of research frequently results in frameworks that privilege 'masculine subjects as the primary agents of diasporic formation, and perpetuate a more general masculinism in the conceptualisation of a diasporic community' (Campt and Thomas, 2008: 2). Consequently, the masculine subject, and his experiences, thoughts and practices, is often what represents and constitutes the diaspora, and the gender differences within the diaspora are ignored. The female and male diasporians are often homogenised, but it is the male voice/experience that frequently dominates.

Although the lack of attention to gender in diaspora studies is clear, a number of scholars are attempting to address this and conceptualise women's experience in diaspora (Brah, 1996; Aitchison and Hopkins, 2007; Campt and Thomas, 2008; Al-Ali, 2010; Christou and King, 2011). An underlying issue that has interested feminist scholars is whether diasporas provide enabling contexts to challenge previous gender norms or whether they reproduce or even strengthen gender roles and ideologies (Al-Ali, 2010). According to Al-Ali, in her chapter on diasporas and gender, existing literature provides evidence of both these scenarios. She states that research has demonstrated that diasporas have:

> *The potential to challenge traditional gender ideologies and relations in those contexts where the prevailing gender norms in the receiving country are more liberal and progressive than in the country of origin and where members of diasporic communities have access to political and economic resources and rights. But even then, there is a real risk of hardening of notions pertaining to 'cultural authenticity' and 'traditions', depending on specific circumstances of the diaspora within the new country of settlement. (2010: 119)*

Women in diaspora should not necessarily be considered to be in an emancipatory context, but neither should they be considered as passive and invariably subjugated by the patriarchal dominance of the diaspora and country of settlement. Floya Anthias (1998), a key scholar of the intersectional nature of diasporic identity, has highlighted the multiplicity of the female diasporic experience. She argues that women can be key components in the ethnic ideologies of a diaspora and they may be empowered by retaining home traditions. At the same time Anthias (1998) points out that women can have a different relation to ethnic and national projects, possibly not feeling represented by it and being placed subordinate to men, thus women may be keen to abandon ethnic traditions. Women can be paradoxically central to ethnic and national projects and also often excluded from them. However, as diasporas are a particular ethnic category, one that exists over the borders of numerous nation states, the processes of gendering are complex, and are not formulated simply by either the culture of the country of origin or the country of settlement. New gender roles and norms can be formulated, based on the hybridisation of the gendered culture of two or more nation states/regions. For example, women in diaspora in Western countries may be able to formulate a female identity that maintains some traditional norms, but also some elements of a more secular and liberal Western identity. However, Western ideas and stereotypes about non-Western femininity can also be imposed on women in diaspora, potentially disabling their agency and opportunities. Therefore, one thing that is likely for women in diaspora is that they experience two or more sets of gender ideologies and relations, those of the diasporic group, normally based on the gender norms of the country of origin, and those of the country of residence (Anthias, 1998; Al-Ali, 2010).

Another important aspect highlighted by Floya Anthias (1998) is the extent to which different diaspora groups demarcate boundaries through gender roles and the extent to which an adherence to certain gender stereotypes determines whether one is an 'authentic' and 'true

member' of a ethnic community. The importance of gender roles to the identity of the diaspora will vary between ethnic groups, but Anthias (1998) asserts that for some groups it can be a critical part of the ethnic culture. Thus, women in diaspora may need to conform to certain formulations of femininity to be accepted and feel part of the diasporic group. The extent to which one is accepted as part of a diaspora, and identified as in a diaspora may be dependent on the hegemonic gender roles that characterise the diaspora. A sense of being in a diaspora is not preordained through a shared country of birth and a process of migration. Rather it can require adhering to certain cultural norms, especially with regards to femininity and gender in general (Al-Ali, 2010). The extent to which one has a diaspora consciousness and participates in the imagined community of the diaspora is often dependent on connections with the cultural norms claimed by dominant voices within a diaspora. A woman who desires to abandon the gender norms of her country of birth may have very little connection with the diaspora she is purportedly part of. This lack of association can be both the result of a desire to be separate from the diaspora and not being fully accepted by the diaspora for deviating from the normative notion of gender. As articulated by Rogers Brubaker (2005), a diaspora is not a preordained bounded entity, rather it should be considered as a stance as well as a process. The diasporic stance is a way of formulating the identities and belongings of a population and it is enacted and practiced rather than being an essential characteristic (Brubaker, 2005). Consequently, within populations that are considered part of a diaspora, many different diasporic stances can be adopted, and aspects such as gender, sexuality, class, and 'race' can greatly impact on the stances enacted.

In addition to gender, other axes of power such as class, 'race' and sexuality intersect with ethnicity and nationality, resulting in further layers of diversity within populations that are considered diasporic. Intersectionality disrupts the homogenous notion of diaspora identity and recognises the multiplicity of experiences of those in diaspora. Scholars such as Floya Anthias (1998), Avtar Brah (1996) and Bilge and Denis (2010) have used an intersectional frame to analyse the concept of diaspora, and they have demonstrated that class can differentiate the experiences of women who are ostensibly in the same diaspora. According to Bilge and Denis, intersectionality for research on diasporas and gender is 'the heightened awareness of the inner diversity of the category of 'migrant women' (and of 'migrant men' for that matter)' (2010: 3). For example, middle class women and working class women who are purportedly part of the same diasporic population may be racialised differently and encounter different opportunities in the job market. The working class women may have more solidarity, connection and understanding with working class women from another diaspora

than with middle/upper class women in the diaspora she is part of, and vice versa. Men, of course, are also ascribed with class differences, and within the male diasporic category, class is also a pertinent marker of in-group diversity. Class, like gender, can impact on one's relationship with a diaspora, and engender greatly different diasporic experience for those that pertain to a shared national ethnicity. The need to investigate the class differences of migrants has resulted in concepts such as 'transnationalism from below' (Smith and Eduardo-Guarnizo, 1998) and 'working-class cosmopolitans' (Werbner, 1999). These concepts advocate a focus on the everyday experiences of economic migrants, expanding on the focus of the 'from above' - the middle/upper class elites of diasporas. The need, however, is not to prioritise the lower classes over the upper classes, rather it is to be aware of class as a marker of internal difference and to explore how all levels of class impact on the diaspora condition.

As highlighted throughout this section, a major critique of the concept of diaspora is the way it often bounds and homogenises transnational populations (Mains *et al.*, 2013). It is the markers that group a diasporic population together that are often prioritised in research, resulting in inner-group differences being overlooked (Brubaker, 2005). For example, religious identities are frequently given a great deal of attention, while non-religious, secular and non-practising diasporic identities receive little consideration (Gholami, 2015). As a result, religion often appears as an innate and natural component of diasporas, resulting in the homogenisation of diasporas as religious. However, the homogeneity of a diaspora is often destabilised when attention is given to gender, class and other aspects of difference (Campt and Thomas, 2008). Through exploring the intersectionality of diasporic identities, the taken for granted unity that ostensibly characterises diasporas can suddenly seem to weaken, undermining the notion of a cohesive and coherent ethnic community. Instead of seeing this as the nail in the coffin of the concept of diaspora, I would argue that it is a necessary advancement in its conceptualisation. It is vital to acknowledge that within populations that are considered diasporic there is great diversity. Akin to the nation state, diasporas are 'imagined communities' and are not ontologically bounded, but through certain stances and discourses a level of community and unity is claimed by some of those who fit into the diasporic population. A key aspect of understanding diaspora as a stance and a process is acknowledging the diversity that characterises populations that are considered diasporic, and an intersectional lens assists in accentuating the complexity and nuances of identities, stances and experiences that make up a diaspora. This nuanced approach demonstrates the ambivalence of diasporic populations, highlighting that both archetypal and alternative

diasporic identities are mobilised, refuting the notion of a coherent, bounded and homogenous group.

Finally, as the notion of cosmopolitanism is an idea that runs throughout this chapter, there is a need for some further clarification about its meaning. Cosmopolitanism is a term that is commonly associated with diasporas, migration and transnational communities, and is considered to have gained pertinence with the increasing globalised nature of the world (Vertovec and Cohen, 2003). There is no clear definition of the concept of cosmopolitanism, but Ulf Hannerz provides a useful description by describing it as 'willingness to engage with the Other' (1996: 103). Much interest in cosmopolitanism is with the philosophical dimensions, particularly with how to be 'citizens of the world' (Vertovec and Cohen, 2003). More important for this thesis though, are the sociological and geographical dimensions of cosmopolitanism. Vertovec and Cohen (2003) highlight two perspectives of cosmopolitanism that are especially relevant to the lived geographies of diasporas. Firstly, they assert that cosmopolitanism is an attitude or orientation towards cultural difference. This attitude is generally understood to involve an intellectual and aesthetic openness to different cultural experiences. Moreover, a cosmopolitan attitude entails a commitment to the global and 'a global belonging that can be integrated into everyday life practices' (Vertovec and Cohen, 2003: 14). The second perspective understands cosmopolitanism as a practice or a skill. This refers to skills such as knowledge of cultures, speaking multiple languages, and the general ability to engage with diverse peoples. These cosmopolitan attributes were traditionally associated with an elite class of wealthy travellers and business professionals. However, more recently cosmopolitan attributes have also been associated with diasporas and transnational migrants. The conditions of living in diaspora expose individuals to cultural differences that may produce cosmopolitan orientations and skills. Vertovec (2010) states that being in a diaspora does not automatically result in cosmopolitan orientations and skills, but the possibilities are high. Although cosmopolitanism is associated with diaspora, it also considered that the concepts are seemingly contradictory, with cosmopolitanism pertaining to the global, openness and change and diaspora pertaining to maintaining traditions and identities (Glick Schiller, 2015). This tension is what Martin Sökefeld has referred to as 'the diasporic duality of continuity and change' (quoted inVertovec, 2010: 64). How these tensions are played out will vary between diasporas and geographies, but cosmopolitanism is nonetheless another significant feature in the complex diaspora condition, and an important avenue for researchers to explore.

In this chapter I draw from these critiques and (re)conceptualisations of the notion of diaspora, and use an intersectional lens to explore the diversity of those who might be considered part of the Moroccan diaspora. I predominately explore how gender, class and religion intersect with Moroccan ethnicity in the mobilisation of certain identities and senses of belonging. This is not an exhaustive analysis of all the intersecting layers of identity, and substantive factors such as sexuality and age are not explored. However, the chapter does provide an insight into the diversity of Moroccan migrants in Granada, demonstrating how gender and class can generate distinctive diasporic experiences, stances and identities.

6.3 Emancipation and a Gendered Right to the Diaspora City: Narratives of Moroccan Women in Granada, Spain

To look at women's narratives, I begin with an extract from a conversation with Sara. Sara is 29 years old, was born in Casablanca, Morocco, and moved to Granada when she was 23 years old. Since living in Granada she had studied at the University of Granada and had a number of temporary jobs. The following is an extract from a conversation between Sara and myself:

> ***Researcher****: So what do you like about your life in Granada?*
>
> ***Sara****: Well, firstly there's a lot more freedom here, which is important. I don't know if it is that I've changed or Granada allows me to do the things I've always wanted to do, like going out alone. In Morocco it is not only looked on badly when a women goes out alone, it's actually quite dangerous.*
>
> ***Researcher****: Ok, so was this freedom that you can find in Europe a motivation to migrate?*
>
> ***Sara****: Yes, In Morocco I felt a bit suffocated. Not being able to leave the house alone annoyed me a lot. Also, the men harass women a lot, especially those who are on their own in the streets. A woman only has value when she has a husband.*
>
> ***Researcher****: So it's difficult if you don't follow the route of marriage?*

Sara: *The issue is not really if you follow the path of husband and wife. The problem is worse than that; it is that women don't have so much value. It's like she is something less than a man. This is hammered into the mentality of a lot of people.*

Researcher*: So, Granada is different?*

Sara*: Living in Granada gives me more freedom in general. Not only as a women, but freedom as a women is the most important. I do feel freer in Granada that is certain and that is why I like it here, it is very important and valuable for me. Perhaps freedom is the most important aspect of what Granada gives me. Well other things are very important as well. But listen there is sexism here too, I'm not saying there is none, but it's a lot better than in Morocco.*

Researcher*: Ok, so your reason to migrate was not solely economic?*

Sara*: Well, people from Morocco mainly migrate to study or for economic reasons, but some people are like me, they leave because they cannot support the mentality of the country anymore. That is why I had to leave, you know?*

A clear theme in this conversation is the notion of freedom and emancipation. Sara asserts that through migrating to Granada she has found a level of freedom that is not possible for women in Morocco. Sara's feelings about her life in Morocco are often negative, and this is mainly because of the way she has experienced the role of being a woman in Moroccan society. She states she felt 'suffocated' in Morocco because of gender norms and how women are treated, resulting in a sense of fear for her safety. Sara asserts a deep frustration that women are perceived badly if they go out alone, which resulted in her not being free to do things on her own in public when she was in Morocco. She also states that women are often harassed when they are on their own in public places, which adds to her discomfort with life in Morocco. Sara has a clear perception of Morocco as a deeply patriarchal place, where women are not valued as highly as men, which she argues was the fundamental reason for migrating. She asserts she is one of the people who migrate from Morocco because 'they can't support the mentality of the country anymore'. However, in Granada she perceives that she has gained new freedoms as a woman, and she is able to mobilise a less constrained femininity. In the following extract from a conversation, Sara talks about the types of freedoms she has gained in Granada:

***Researcher**: So what are the freedoms that you get in Granada?*

***Sara**: Well, you know, I can live alone in a flat and go out alone in the street without being frowned upon by men and women. In Granada, sometimes when I'm alone in the streets men will speak to me. There are men who want to try and chat you up, but it's much less severe than in Morocco. In Morocco if you don't speak to them they might insult you, and become aggressive. That does not really happen in Granada. It's more that they just want to chat with you. Also, I can go out at night with a man who is not my husband, like I can date guys and go to a bar and it is fine. In Morocco you could, in theory, get put in prison if you are with a man who is not your husband. You know, here you can kiss in the street and that is fine, and not being married is fine. It's not seen as some awful thing like in Morocco.*

For Sara, Granada allows her to mobilise a more liberal and less conservative identity, which is not so controlled and subjugated by a hegemonic patriarchy. She considers the gender norms to be quite different, allowing her to have a freer life in the city. There is a sense that it is her life in public spaces, in the eyes of other city dwellers, that has been radically transformed. She can use public streets on her own without being aggressively harassed. She can go to nightspots with men even though she is not married. It is a transformation of the urban spaces Sara can use, and a transformation of the way she can use and behave in these spaces. In Granada Sara has gained a right to the city, a right to freely use public space that she considers she did not have in Morocco. A right to the gendered city has been explored by a number of scholars (Massey, 1994; Fesnter, 2005), and public space is often considered to be mediated and dominated by men. Research has demonstrated that women in certain cities do not have a right to public spaces such as streets and parks, especially not alone. They are considered to belong to the private spaces (Massey, 1994). This notion of the gendered right to the city very much resonates with Sara's experiences in Morocco, and she certainly seemed to be consigned to belong more to private spaces of the home. However, in Granada Sara claims to have a different urban experience, where she has gained a greater right to public spaces and the right to enact different spatial practices. The right to the city and belonging are interlinked, and the possibility to use urban spaces is a key component for engendering a sense of belonging (Fesnter, 2005). de Certeau (1984) explored the connections between 'use' and 'belonging', arguing that a sense of belonging to place grows out of the everyday practices in urban spaces. We gain fulfillment and become less alienated through the right to

use spaces in the city. Through practices such as walking we accumulate knowledge and memories of spaces, which is a process of spatial appropriation, and this results in attachment and belonging to place (Fesnter, 2005). For Sara, having the right to use public urban spaces alone, and mobilise a less ridged form of femininity, has clearly engendered in her a sense of belonging to Granada. Therefore, in contrast to many of the narratives in the previous chapter, which conveyed senses of belonging to Granada as a result of the city's strong ethnic ties and conditions related to a prevalent formulation of Moroccan and Muslim identity, Sara has an attachment to Granada as she has found a greater gendered right to the city and is able to mobilise a 'new' identity. However, she does acknowledge that gender relations and ideologies in Granada still produce moments of sexism, alluding to the fact that women in diaspora experience two sets of gender ideologies (Anthias, 1998). It would seem that, although in Granada there are moments of patriarchal gender relations, Sara finds it less oppressive than in her city in Morocco. Sara's mobilisation of a less conservative femininity signifies a certain dislocation with a patriarchal component of Moroccan culture, and conversely, she is not conforming to gender roles subscribed to by numerous female Moroccan migrants who display an active diasporic stance. In the following extract Sara talks about her perceptions of how she was viewed by other Moroccan migrants:

> *Some of my Moroccan neighbors who wear hijabs looked at me disapprovingly when I was on my balcony with shorts on, and I was inside my own flat. I was on my balcony and one of them really stared at me like she was angry and disappointed. Sometimes if you are wearing a short skirt or something they will look you up and down and they think you are on a 'bad path' or that you are with the devil or something. Some people just think you're lost. (Sara, Female, Morocco, Casablanca, 29)*

In this extract Sara highlights that she considers some people of Moroccan descent to have certain notions of gender norms for the diaspora, and that sometimes her appearance, especially with regards to the way she dresses, deviates from that norm. Floya Anthias (1998) highlights that for some diaspora communities an adherence to certain gender stereotypes determines whether one is an 'authentic' of the ethnic community, and in the extract above we can see that in Granada there are conservative women in the diaspora who monitor and police other women who do not adhere to their standards. Sara considers that there is a perception that women who dress in a more liberal and less conservative way are often on a 'bad path' or as she states 'with the devil', and resultantly, are not mobilising the correct identity of the diaspora. This demonstrates that there are women in the diaspora who are refusing

emancipation and are trying to reinforce more traditional gender norms. However, Sara also emphasised that there were people in the diasporic population who were accepting and did not adhere to such gender norms. She was very clear about the diversity of those who fit into the diaspora population, and that people's opinions about how women should dress and act varied. However, what is critical with regards to Sara is that she desires to leave behind the gender norms and ideologies of Morocco, and as a result, is not overly concerned with feeling a sense of attachment to the diaspora. Sara has experienced a desired degree of emancipation and dislocation from Moroccan patriarchal culture, and a deep engagement with the diaspora would seem to be counter-intuitive to her emancipation. When she was asked if she wanted to have a sense of being part of diasporic community she stated:

> *No way! If I wanted that I would go to Morocco. Truthfully it is not very important that I'm part of a diaspora. (Sara, Female, Morocco, Casablanca, 29)*

For Sara, formulating an overtly diasporic stance in Granada is, in many ways, the antithesis of the identity and life experience she is attempting to mobilise. It would seem that a diasporic stance is the continuation of an identity and practice that she desires to break free from, hence her negative reaction to being part of a diaspora. Instead, she expresses an orientation away from Morocco, and more towards a global and cosmopolitan sense of belonging and identity. Sara's narratives in this section demonstrate the complexities of populations that are considered diasporic, and exemplify how gender intersects with ethnicity, producing distinctive diasporic stances.

In addition to Sara's narrative of dislocating herself from a perceived Moroccan patriarchal culture, there were other Moroccan-born women who expressed similar sentiments in their narratives. For example, the following extract is from a conversation with a woman called Iamne, who was 28 and comes from a city in the north of Morocco:

> ***Researcher****: Do you think your role as a woman has changed since you arrived in Granada?*
>
> ***Iamne:*** *Yes, it's very different. In Spain, women have more rights than in Morocco, and in Granada I feel more respected, for example in the street I feel more respected.*
>
> ***Researcher****: Ok*

***Iamne**: Here I go to any place. I can go to any place I want to go to without being harassed, while in Morocco there are a lot of places that women cannot go to without being harassed.*

***Researcher**: So going out to public spaces is better in Granada?*

***Iamne**: Yes, in Spain I have never felt harassed. There is a lot more security here. I feel safer in the streets.*

***Researcher**: So would you say, in one respect, you came to Granada because of the way women are treated in Morocco?*

***Iamne**: Yes, well I came to Spain to emancipate myself and live independently.*

***Researcher**: Ok*

***Iamne:** Before I came to Granada I had an idea that there was not so much sexism and prejudices against women in Europe and now I'm here I can confirm that my theory was right.*

The next extract is from a conversation with Salma, who is her 30s and from Tetouan in the north of Morocco:

***Researcher**: Do you think your role as a woman has changed since you arrived in Granada?*

***Salma**: Well, yes of course, I've more freedoms and I can express myself more here, if you know what I mean. However, it is changing in Morocco. Women are gaining more freedoms, especially if you compare my generation to my mother's, and the generation below me is gaining more freedoms, new roles etc., so it's changing in Morocco, but I certainly have more freedoms here in Granada, and this is important for me, a reason for why I want to live in Granada.*

In the previous two extracts a core theme, once again, is the emancipation and freedom that both of the women have encountered in Granada and Spain. Iamne expresses similar sentiments as Sara, stating 'I can go to any place I want to go to without being harassed… there is a lot more security here, I feel safer in the streets'. Like Sara, the sense of freedom she has found in Granada is partly derived from the right to safely use public spaces, and participate more visibly within the city, again demonstrating how the right to the city can result in a sense of place security and attachment. Salma also expresses a sense of freedom as a woman, asserting 'I certainly have more freedoms here in Granada, and this is important for me, a reason why I want to live in Granada'. Akin to Sara, Iamne and Salma express that in Granada they have found a greater sense of freedom as women, which appears to engender a sense of belonging to Granada. Through this sense of freedom they are also asserting a certain break from Moroccan culture, and mobilising a diasporic femininity that could be considered to contrast with the hegemonic femininity in Morocco. It is a feminine identity that has hybrid aspects, partly a liberal and cosmopolitan form of identity more associated with the West, but still marked by their Moroccan ethnicity. These narratives, I would argue, exemplify how gender intersects with ethnicity and can produce quite distinct attachments with the culture of the homeland and the diaspora. Although all three women asserted a similar sense of emancipation in their narratives, their attachment to a Moroccan diaspora was quite varied. As mentioned previously, Sara took quite a radical stance, claiming she did not have much sense of attachment to a diaspora. For Sara, a deep involvement and attachment to the diaspora is, in many ways, counter-intuitive to her desire to emancipate herself from Moroccan patriarchal culture. Her perception and understanding of a diaspora is very much associated with maintaining the ethnic traditions and culture that she wants to break away from. It represents the patriarchy of Morocco. Therefore, although Sara is part of a population that is considered diasporic, her experience of gender norms and ideologies in her homeland generates a loose-diasporic stance and identity. Iamne, however, expresses more of a connection with the notion of a diaspora and less of a desire to dislocate herself completely from Moroccan culture. For example, the following extract is from a conversation with Iamne:

> ***Researcher****: So do you feel part of a Moroccan community?*
>
> ***Iamne****: Well, you know, I now feel part of two communities. I feel part of a Moroccan community and part of a Spanish one. I used to only feel part of a Moroccan community but now I feel part of both of them. Each community has provided me with something. I now have different feelings about Morocco. Being part of a Spanish*

community has made me think differently about social aspects of Moroccan life. I now see more clearly the problems there are in Morocco, like the problems with how they treat women. But I'm still part of a Moroccan community. I see Moroccan friends and we still eat Moroccan food, listen to Moroccan music etc., and that is important for me. I want to maintain that.

For Iamne, she has a sense of being part of two communities. Firstly, she asserts that she now feels part of a Spanish community and this has altered her perceptions about social aspects of Moroccan life, especially with regards to how women are treated. So, in one respect, the diaspora space of Granada has brought Iamne into contact with a new community and culture, resulting in a sense of emancipation and dislocation from elements of Moroccan culture. The process of migration has resulted in Iamne losing a sense of identification with certain aspects of her homeland culture. However, she also asserts that in Granada she feels part of a Moroccan community and that this is very important for her life abroad. She states that she socialises with other migrants from Morocco and they maintain certain ethnic identifiers such as eating Moroccan food and listening to Moroccan music. Iamne, then, desires to still feel part of a Moroccan community while simultaneously disregarding certain aspects of Moroccan culture, especially with regards to gender norms and ideologies. Compared to Sara, Iamne displays more of normative diaspora stance and consciousness, asserting that she still has an orientation towards certain aspects of the homeland culture. In conversations with Salma, who also asserted a break from certain Moroccan gender norms, she often articulated the importance of maintaining certain aspects of a Moroccan cultural identity and she did not have such a desire as Sara to emancipate herself from the totality of Moroccan culture. For example, the following extract is from a conversation with Salma:

***Researcher**: So do you maintain a Moroccan culture in Granada?*

***Salma**: Yes, of course. That's not something you give up with migrating. I still cook Moroccan food and listen to a lot of classic Moroccan music, but of course I listen to Spanish music too. But yes, I still enjoy lots of Moroccan style and culture. I still spend time with Moroccan people here. I like that, in Granada Moroccans have a business presence and you get to see lots of Moroccans in the streets, but of course I have friends from lots of different countries. I spend time with lots of different people.*

Salma narrates explicitly that she maintains part of her Moroccan cultural identity through

food, music and spending time with other Moroccan migrants. She alludes to being part of a diasporic community and that the public spatial presence of Moroccans in the city is important for maintaining a Moroccan culture. She infers that the encounters between migrants as a result of Moroccan owned businesses engender a sense of diasporic community, demonstrating that the Moroccan right to the city is a critical component for producing a diasporic stance. Akin to Iamne, Salma is going through a process of shedding certain cultural traits, especially with regards to gender norms, but also maintaining parts of a Moroccan ethnic culture. There is a clear diaspora consciousness and stance in Salma's narratives, but she also narrates a gendered identity that could be considered as less normatively diasporic, one that is a break from perceived hegemonic Moroccan gender norms. However, it should not be conceptualised as simply one part of Salma's identity being diasporic, as it maintains certain normative ethnic characteristics, and another part being non-diasporic, as it is appears to not emanate from a normative notion of Moroccan culture. Rather, a diaspora identity is one that mobilises numerous types of identities, often from multiple cultural backgrounds and ethnicities. Understanding diaspora as a space (Brah, 1996), where multiple cultures are entangled, then Salam's engagement with certain aspects of Moroccan culture and the adaptation of her gendered identity that ostensibly fits more with Western gender norms, is perfectly diasporic. As argued by numerous scholars (Gilroy, 1993; Alexander, 2010), hybrid identities are what often emanate from the diaspora space, and the contact between multiple cultural identities often results in fluid formations of mixed identities. In the narratives of the three women, the fluid and hybrid nature of their identities is clearly articulated, and a static and bounded notion of diasporic identity is overtly refuted. The women narrate both similar and divergent experiences, identities and stances, demonstrating that gender clearly impacts on diasporic formations, but the gendered formations can be varied and diverse. For Sara, Iamne and Salma, a sense of emancipation from Moroccan patriarchy and the freedom to mobilise a less conservative form of femininity was articulated. Through the process of migration and settling in Granada the women have dislocated themselves from certain aspects of Moroccan culture and found new gendered and spatial rights. Even though all women share this critical view of a perceived Moroccan patriarchy, and to some extent want to move away from a normative feminine identity, their diasporic consciousness and stances are varied. Thus, we can see that the intersections of gender with ethnicity diversify diaspora populations, but the gendered experience does not homogenise women or men in diaspora. Instead, similarities may appear, but the experiences and identities of those marked by a specific gender are heterogeneous, and like diasporas in general, should not be simplistically homogenised.

Ironically, after the previous assertion that gendered groups within diaspora populations are greatly diverse, I now want to argue that although Sara, Iamne and Salma's stances and identities are diverse, they do have a shared desire for emancipation from Moroccan patriarchy, which is engendered, partly, through similar class backgrounds. Through this argument I further articulate the heterogeneity of diaspora populations and the heterogeneity of those marked by a shared gender. In the complexities of social identities, class is another critical and significant layer of difference, intersecting with other axes of power such as ethnicity, gender, and sexuality (Woodward, 2004). Class, like gender, can impact on one's relationship with a diaspora, and engender greatly different diasporic experiences for those who pertain to a shared national ethnicity. As argued by scholars such as Avtar Brah (1996) and Floya Anthias (1998), class can greatly diversify the experiences of diasporic women, and requires greater scrutiny in research.

During conversations with the women participants, issues associated with class backgrounds were alluded to, highlighting that in Moroccan terms they all come from relatively privileged upbringings. For example, the following extract is from a conversation with Sara:

> ***Researcher:*** *So where did you go to school and what was it like?*
>
> ***Sara:*** *I went to a French School in Morocco.*
>
> ***Researcher:*** *Ok, so your parents sent you to a 'good' school?*
>
> ***Sara:*** *Well my dad is from a fairly small agricultural community near Marrakesh and they did not really have access to many things, but he still managed to go to school and then to university. So he was really keen that we all went to a 'good' school. I started off in a private bilingual school that taught in Arabic and French. Then I took an exam to study in a French language high school. I passed the exam and then started to study there. And finally I came to Granada to study translation at the University.*
>
> ***Researcher:*** *So if you went to those schools would you consider your parents to be middle class?*

> ***Sara:*** *Yes, my dad was a professor at a university and my mum is a civil servant. In Morocco many people are not able to go to school. There are many economic difficulties and getting to schools can be really hard, especially to high school and very few get to university. About half of Moroccans do not know how to read or write, so you know, getting my education was down to my parents. My dad put importance on education and most importantly he could afford it. My mother is educated too; she went to a school and was often one of the only girls in her class.*

Iamne did not expand on her family background as much as Sara, but did state:

> ***Iamne****: We're not rich, but neither are we poor. I would say we're in the middle. I guess middle class.*

The following extract is a from a conversation with Salma:

> ***Salma****: There are many Moroccans in Granada who think like me, and they are pretty liberal. However, in Granada the Moroccans are a bit of everything. There are liberals and conservatives. In Spain there is a big difference between the people who come to study and those who come to work. The people who come to study are normally from a higher class, a higher class in an economic and cultural sense. They're normally more liberal and more open due to their education.*

In the three extracts above, the educated and middle class backgrounds (in Moroccan standards) of Sara, Iamne and Salma are salient, and at times explicit. Sara is unambiguously aware that she has received a good education, and asserts that gaining her education was down to the guidance and financial support of her parents. Sara describes that she was educated in both private and international schools, and migrated to Granada to study at the University. In the final extract, Sara clearly acknowledges that the education she has received, in the context of Morocco, is not commonplace, and many people in Morocco do not know how to read or write. Iamne, who is also educated to university level, states that she considers her family to be middles class, but certainly not rich. While Salma, who studies at the University of Granada, claims that the Moroccans who have come to study tend to have a more liberal outlook due to their education. Moreover, she explicitly talks about class, stating that those 'who come to study are normally from a higher class'. Therefore, intersecting with their Moroccan ethnicity, and female gender, is a class background that could be considered

middle class, and certainly demonstrates a level of privilege that many to do not experience in Morocco. Sara is very aware of this privilege, stating that many Moroccans do not get past primary school and do not know how to read or write. I would argue that their shared desire for emancipation from Moroccan patriarchy and the freedom to mobilise a less conservative female identity is symptomatic of their shared class background and university level education. It is not simply that they are Moroccan females and thus want emancipation from certain aspects of Moroccan culture. Instead, I would argue that their shared class background is almost as significant as their shared gender for their collective desire for emancipation. Their education, in many respects, partly provides them this alternative narrative of Moroccan diasporic femininity, and thus, it is not a narrative that is intuitively prescribed to by Moroccan women. In the following extract Sara discusses the disparity in women's views on Moroccan culture:

> ***Researcher:*** *So do you think a lot of women see migrating as a form of freedom from certain Moroccan traditions?*
>
> ***Sara:*** *For me it is but for other women they don't see it that way. Other Moroccan women I know say that they have a very good life in Morocco and in fact many return and get married in Morocco. But I think the situation for women in Morocco is shit in that sense. It is shit and many [women] don't realise it. They see it as normal. You know, sometimes I think that the women are responsible for the sexism because they do not do anything about it. I don't like thinking that way but I get really annoyed that they do not act like there are problems.*
>
> ***Researcher****: Do you think that is because of education?*
>
> ***Sara:*** *I think education helps, but it's not the only factor. It's not so simple. There are women like me who think quite differently. But I guess in general the women I know who went to international schools, Spanish ones, French ones etc., are more aware of the sexism and the problems, but it is not always the case.*

In these extracts Sara is referring to both women in diaspora and women in Morocco. She is asserting that many women do not share her feeling of emancipation and do not see the patriarchy in Morocco as problematic. She states 'many do not realise it, they see it as normal'. Sara is highlighting her belief that there is great diversity in how Moroccan women

view Moroccan culture and view their role in society. For Sara, there is a correlation between education and the desire for emancipation, but she argues that this is not certain, that there are people with similar backgrounds to her who do not think the same way. These extracts demonstrate the complexity of women in diaspora and challenge the temptation to try and neatly categorise. It is clear that women in diaspora can have quite diverse experiences and perceptions to men, but within the category of 'diasporic women' other layers of difference intersect with gender such as class, resulting in diversity within the category of 'diasporic women'. However, to add to the complexity, Sara's extract highlights that a shared class background can engender certain similarities, like we have seen with Sara's, Iamne's and Salma's desire for emancipation, but it should not be taken for granted, as differences within shared class categories are also common.

This section has demonstrated that the narratives collected from a group of Moroccan diasporic women displayed quite distinct senses of belonging and formations of identity. A desired emancipation from a perceived Moroccan patriarchy, a sense that the diaspora condition had allowed them to mobilise a less conservative form of femininity and a feeling that they had found a new gendered right to the city in Granada is conveyed in all of their personal narratives. It was also argued that an educated and middle class background was conducive to these narratives, and not something implicitly expressed by Moroccan women in diaspora. However, their mutual class backgrounds and similar narratives of a dislocation from Moroccan patriarchy did not translate into a shared diasporic stance and identity. For Sara, it resulted in a disconnection with the homeland and a weak diasporic stance, while for Iamne and Salma, there was more ambivalence, resulting in both connection and disconnection with Moroccan culture, and a stronger diasporic stance than Sara. Although the diasporic identities vary, they all do share a cosmopolitan outlook, especially in comparison to those in the previous chapters. Their identities appear more globally orientated, which are open to transformation and newness and are not overly ethnic centric. The intersections of gender and class with Moroccan ethnicity demonstrate the greatly dynamic and complex nature of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada, and refute the possibility to homogenise those who are considered part of the diaspora.

6.4 Alternative Diasporic Narratives of (Non) Spirituality

Throughout the thesis it has been argued that the Islamic faith is a critical feature in the production of diasporic space and the articulation of belongings and identities. The spaces and

practices related to Islamic worship, and the social contact derived from these spaces and practices, are some of the most significant factors in the formation of a cohesive Moroccan diaspora. Religion in diaspora studies literature is a salient theme, with many scholars asserting the significance of religious belief, symbolism and organisational structure in the formation and maintenance of diasporic identities (Kokot *et al.*, 2004; Vertovec, 2004; Aitchison and Hopkins, 2007; McLoughlin, 2009; Vasquez, 2010). For diasporas 'originating' from Muslim majority societies, the dominant narrative in literature is that they often use their faith of Islam as a way of creating a collective identity, which in turn generates a sense of belonging and a sense of place in the country/city of migration (Moghissi, 2006; Aitchison and Hopkins, 2007; Gale, 2007). Therefore, religion is often considered as a signifier of the unity and cohesion of diasporic communities.

Although empirical evidence often demonstrates the significant role of religion for many diasporas, which I have corroborated thus far in chapters 4 and 5, there is a danger of religion appearing to be a subtext of the diaspora condition, as if it was a preordained feature of the diasporian. This can result in religion appearing as an essentialist characteristic, homogenising a diasporic population as innately religious. This essentilaising of religion to diasporic identities is especially pronounced for populations originating from Muslim majority countries. In much literature there is often an uncritical assumption that Islam is the key-binding feature of the diasporic identity. A key intervention in this debate is the book *Secularism and Identity: Non-Islamiosity in the Iranian Diaspora* (2015) by Reza Gholami. Gholami sharply criticises the 'fixation (academic and popular) on the religions of migrants, especially Muslims' (2015: 2). He argues that this 'fixation' has resulted in Islam appearing as a natural and essential feature of diasporic populations, which glosses over the many shades of secularity within migrant communities from Muslim backgrounds. Gholami does not refute that religion is important for diasporic communities from Muslim backgrounds, instead he highlights that the diaspora condition can also enable non-religious and secular[3] identities. Gholami's empirical data explores secular and non-religious identities in the

[3]Reza Gholami uses the term secular to describe a variety of stances in the Iranian diaspora, and he does not consider it a unified concept. The spectrum of 'secular' stances varies from outright critical rejection of religion to a less critical uncertainty. However, for Gholami, the term 'secular' is a way to describe a variety of stances that desire a grater sense of freedom from religion.

Iranian diaspora in the UK. He argues that many of his participants often mobilised an overtly non-religious identity, which he labels as 'non-Islamiosity'. At the heart of 'non-Islamiosity' is the notion of freedom. This is often a freedom that relates 'to the ability to do with one's life whatever one wishes' (Gholami, 2015: 18), and these wishes are predominately shaped in response to the supposed constraints of 'Islam'. Importantly Gholami does not consider this as a non-diasporic stance, if anything, he argues it is an overtly diasporic identity. Drawing on the theories of Paul Gilroy (1993; 2004), and Avtar Brah (1996), Gholami argues that diaspora is a site of 'regeneration and self making…it provides the circumstances for subjects to refashion themselves and transcend their social limitations'(2015: 21) Diaspora, then, is much more than being synonymous with the maintenance of a collective ethnic identity and nostalgia to a homeland, it is also a space and process that engenders 'new' and transformed identities and life worlds. In Gholami's study of the Iranian diaspora in the UK he refers to 'diaspora as the idealized physical and social spaces within which non-Islamious freedom practices become possible and play out' (2015: 21). He argues that his participants appreciate their diasporic condition, as they were acutely aware that it was vital for the freedom they had achieved. For Gholami, diaspora goes hand in hand with the mobilisation of secular identities for people originating from Muslim dominant countries.

Contributing to these arguments, I now turn to my empirical data on the Moroccan diaspora in Granada. As mentioned in previous chapters, the Islamic faith is a greatly important factor in providing a sense of community, belonging and collective identity for many in the Moroccan diaspora. However, alternative narratives were collected, conveying a variety of non-religious and non-strict religious identities, corroborating with ideas put forward in Reza Gholami's book. To begin with I look at the narratives of Yasmine - a 28 year old women, who was born in Tetouan, and arrived in Granada 6 years ago to study at the University. For Yasmine, like the women in the previous section, migration to Granada has resulted in a sense of emancipation from a perceived Moroccan patriarchy and, as I demonstrate now, it has also resulted in a sense of emancipation from the Islamic religion. The following extract is from post-conversation notes with Yasmine:

Fieldwork Diary – 10/09/2012

Yasmine said that when she was younger she had periods of being religious, just like her family, up until her teenage years. She stated that during her first year in Spain she was reading the Quran most days but after a while she just thought this could not be, that she did

not believe this. She stressed that she then decided that this was not for her; she did not believe this religion enough. Although now she still feels like she believes it in her 'soul' but not in her head. This has been a problem for her relationship with her family who all mainly still live in Morocco; she only has cousins here in Granada. Her dad is a religious man and he at times gets quite furious that she has not followed the Islamic path. She stated that it is hard to not follow the path of your family, especially when it is something that is so important to them, and sometimes she feels like she does believe it, like she wants to, but in her mind/head she does not. At a young age she always had more questions and was unsure about religion. She stated that migrating and living in Granada certainly made it easier to openly not-believe and it is easier to live with that decision but she feels that the uncertainty about religion is something she felt before coming to Granada.

Yasmine, then, has gone through a process of uncertainty about Islam, resulting in a lack of religiosity[4] after her first year living in Granada. She explicitly states that migrating to Granada and her diasporic condition assisted her decision to openly not believe. In her narratives there are moments of regret, even confusion, but ultimately she asserts that she does not believe. According to Gholami, a confusion and anxiety in relation to Islam was a common feature of the secular Iranian diaspora. Gholami states that they often have 'a sense of wanting to let go of the Islamic, yet not wanting to let go because of the spiritual and worldly needs, or not to be able to let go because of fear' (2015: 15). These confusions and fears are quite apparent in Yasmine's narratives. For example, she often talked about wanting to believe but just not being able to; that it just made no sense to her. Therefore, for Yasmine it is a confusing process, but ultimately she does not believe in Islam. In Gholami's (2015) study of the Iranian diaspora, he argues that the varied forms of secularism are a mechanism for achieving a sense of freedom from the constraints of religion, and for Yasmine this is also the case. For example, the following extracts are from a conversation with Yasmine:

> ***Researcher****: So Granada is important because you can also have a life without religion?*

[4] Yasmine conveys a broad sense of the definition of secularism, but to avoid definitional conflations between secularism and atheism, I use terms such as lack of religiosity, non-religiosity, and non-religious to describe those in the diaspora who reject religion and do not believe.

***Yasmine**: Yes, exactly, I do not feel so judged here, well at least not like in Morocco.*

***Researcher**: What is it like in Morocco?*

***Yasmine**: Well, you know the religion is a very much part of the culture. You are respected if you are a 'good Muslim' and you can never say anything bad about religion and if you do you are the devil (laughs). With Muslims I often avoid talking about religion.*

Yasmine asserts that society and culture in Morocco are synonymous with the Islamic religion, thus religious beliefs and practices have a great bearing over ones life and freedom, whilst Granada is a productive and liberating space where she can play out a non-religious identity, engendering a sense of freedom from the constraints of religion and a sense of attachment to Granada. As Yasmine considers patriarchy to be an endemic feature of Moroccan culture, and religion to be synonymous with Moroccan culture, she considers Islam and patriarchy to be part and parcel of the same thing. For example, Yasmine stated:

I believe a lot of chauvinism in Morocco is justified through religion. People use religion to treat women in a certain way. People manipulate religion to dominate, you know. (Yasmine, Female, Morocco, Tetouan, 28)

Thus, Yasmine's sense of freedom from religion is also a sense of freedom from patriarchy and sexism. These overt criticisms of Islam and her clear desire to be non-religious fit with Gholami's notion of 'non-Islamiosity'. For Gholami, 'non-Islamiosity' is a diasporic stance that is a 'conscious, unreserved and at times in extreme opposition to... 'Islam'' (2015: 7) Yasmine is not only asserting to be a non-believer, she frequently criticises Islam, often highlighting its negative impacts on society and her personal life. Even though Yasmine occasionally had moments of regret for her lack of religiosity and occasionally conveyed a less hostile sentiment towards religion, she never wavered from the fact that deep down she did not believe in Islam or any other religion. Yasmine, therefore, is an example of how being in diaspora for those from Muslim backgrounds can engender a complete break from religion. The diaspora space of Granada is a site of liberation and productivity, allowing Yasmine to produce a non-religious, North African diasporic identity.

Yasmine does not convey a deep nostalgia for the Moroccan city she grew up in, and she is

frequently critical of Moroccan society and culture. In so doing, she does not mobilise a strong diaspora stance, especially with respect to the more traditional notion that those in diaspora have a strong orientation to a homeland and sense of collective identity and community with people who have migrated from the same country. However, as Yasmine is in a process of transformation, maintaining and shedding certain aspects of her life world in Morocco, she perfectly fits into the notion of diaspora as a space and process of change, newness and cosmopolitanism. She may not fit easily into the dominant notions of the diaspora condition, and in some ways her practices and identities appear contradictory to the core notions of diaspora, but her transformation is very much the result of her diaspora condition. In addition to Yasmine's overt non-religiosity, other participants did openly admit to their lack of religiosity, but it was often conveyed and practiced in a more subtle way. For example, I spoke on a number of occasions with Nizar, a Moroccan man from Casablanca. Nizar had lived in Granada for seven years and owned a kebab takeaway and studied at the University of Granada. On one occasion we had a long and in-depth conversation covering many topics including religion. The following is an extract from the conversation:

> ***Researcher:*** *Is religion important for you?*
>
> ***Nizar:*** *In my case, for me, religion is a culture, a cultural thing. It's necessary to keep it but not abuse it. It's necessary to respect those who believe, it's necessary to respect those who pray, it's necessary to respect those who follow Ramadan, it's necessary to respect those who believe in God and the fictitious. However, I believe the postmortem is that religion is more of a fictitious and imaginary part of humanity. I don't believe a good God is going to punish us for things. I refuse to believe in things that have been told in a book that we don't really know is real, that has not been proved scientifically. We are in the 21st century and what the Muslim world is experiencing now is what the European world experienced in the 18th century when Nietzsche said 'friends God has died'. So Europe has arrived at a moment when it matured to a different religious level. Religion does not have such a significant role in society - this is what is required. However, neither can you construct a civilization without religion, it is an empty community. There are people who need to believe in something, we all need to believe in something. It could be that you believe in chemistry, like the scientists, you believe in something. I'm not totally against religion. I practice Islam sometimes for cultural reasons, to respect my family, to respect the community where I was born. I respect religious people who do not use it to hurt or manipulate people*

who are less intelligent than them, who do not dominate people so they believe and follow them, who are not fanatics of Islam.

Researcher: *Do you think it is easier to have this point of view because you have emigrated?*

Nizar: *Yes, of course. The more you travel, the more things you see, and your point of view is more global. You have a more reasonable stance, or rather a more pragmatic one. So, if you are not pragmatic it is difficult to see things another way. When you travel and see other civilizations you become more understanding, but when you are in your village and that is where you stay, the mosque or the church is what exists in your world. The religion is often not pragmatic, especially for those who have stayed in the same place.*

Like Yasmine, Nizar clearly states he does not believe in God, that he is not religious. He states 'religion is more of a fictitious and imaginary part of humanity…I refuse to believe in things that have been told in a book that we don't really know is real, that has not been proved scientifically'. Nizar's comments leave no trace of ambiguity; he is quite clearly asserting his lack of religiosity. The lack of scientific proof underpinning religion and European enlightenment thinking are what provide Nizar some level of rationale in his beliefs or non-beliefs. For Nizar, migrating and living in diaspora are critical for establishing a non-religious life. He argues that mobility and migration can often make people more secular and pragmatic, rather than increasing religious belief, which contradicts the argument and focus in much diaspora literature. He refers to migration as a form of travelling, where one will expand one's knowledge of the world and become more 'global'. Nizar is overtly asserting a cosmopolitan orientation that is global and outward looking, rather than being overly concerned with boundary maintenance and tradition.

Even though Nizar and Yasmine are both openly non-believers, Nizar's approach appears more subtle and pragmatic. Firstly, he argues that it is important to respect religion and respect those who practice a religion. He is not overtly angry about the role of religion in society, but does believe it should play a less of prominent role. Secondly, he considers elements of Islam as cultural and states that he culturally participates in certain Islamic traditions. For example, he asserts 'I practice Islam sometimes for cultural reasons, to respect my family, to respect the community where I was born'. In so doing, Nizar is culturally

Muslim and participates in certain Islamic practices and celebrations without actually believing in the Islamic faith. He has not completely disassociated himself from religion and would appear to enjoy these religiously cultural encounters with family and community. Malise Rutven, in his book *Islam: A short introduction*, discusses the term 'cultural Muslim', stating that it is somebody who takes on the Islamic cultural tradition of his or her country, region, ethnicity, family etc., without subscribing to the Islamic faith. He argues in this guise 'there may be no contradiction between being Muslim and being atheist or agnostic' (1997: 8). In addition to Nizar, other participants considered Islam as a cultural practice, rather than religious. For example, Hicham, a male from the Riff region of northern Morocco, who came to Granada to study at the University, had similar understanding as Nizar about religion. The following is an extract from a conversation with Hicham:

> ***Researcher:*** *I have a question about religion - is it something important in your life?*
>
> ***Hicham:*** *Well, I'm not religious and do not practice Islam or another religion. When I was about 13 I was a little bit lost and did not know what to do and I wanted to start practicing Islam but my parents did not really show me how to pray or read. So when I grew up and could make the decision alone I decided to not be religious, it did not interest me. So this is a decision I made before coming here, but I guess being in Granada makes it in some ways easier to follow this path. You know I don't think you need a religion to be a good person, because the main objective of a religion is to be a better person, but I don't need a religion to be a better person.*
>
> ***Researcher:*** *So religion does not play a role in your life?*
>
> ***Hicham:*** *Well as I said I'm not religious but some things I identify with and some of my habits are religious, but for me it is more cultural than religious. It's not a question of if it is Islam; I don't practice Islam, it's that some religious practices are part of my culture, so I identify with them, the cultural element.*
>
> ***Researcher:*** *So, what sort of habits?*
>
> ***Hicham:*** *For example, I don't eat pork, it's a cultural habit, I have tried pork but I didn't like it. It's something that does not appeal to me. I don't eat pork for cultural reasons; it's not for religious reasons. I see it as part of my culture, not religion. It's*

something I want to maintain, it's a part of my culture and I want to maintain it. You know these cultural habits have caused difficulties with some people here in Granada. There are some things I continue having arguments about with certain people, I don't know how to describe them. They are people who are very much from here, from villages of the region. There are some of my habits that they don't understand. For example, they don't understand why I don't eat pork and every time I explain it they misunderstand. They think if you don't eat pork it's because of your religion, they think that religion tells me what to do, what I can eat, but that's not how it is. I'm not religious. This is an argument I've been having since the first day I got here and I am still having it now. Since the first day I went to eat in the University canteen this has been a topic that has come up. However, there are also people who understand perfectly well why I don't eat pork. They are people who have seen the world, they have spent time with lots of different people and connected with them.

In the previous extracts, Hicham clearly asserts that he is not religious, that he does not practice Islam or any other religion. This is a decision he made while living in northern Morocco, before migrating to Granada. However, he does state that living in diaspora makes it easier to follow this non-religious path. Like Yasmine and Nizar, Granada, for Hicham, is a liberating space that gives him more freedoms to be non-religious. Similar to Nizar however, Hicham can also be considered culturally Muslim. He asserts that many of his personal habits emanate from religion, but he considers them as cultural rather than religious. For example, he does not eat pork, a key feature of the Islamic religion, but he clearly says that it has nothing to do with religion, rather it is part of his culture and ethnicity and he wants to maintain these cultural elements. For Hicham, his habits such as not eating pork can result in religious misrecognition in Granada. He states that his cultural habits often result in people thinking he is a practising Muslim and that he is controlled by a religion, resulting in a level of tension between his peers. He asserts that this misrecognition is symptomatic of the provincial and non-cosmopolitan orientation that some of his fellow students have. Cultural Muslims, then, are often still on the receiving end of Islamophobia, and are not perceived differently to devout and practising Muslims by the majority population.

For Yasmine, Nizar and Hicham a lack of religiosity is a mechanism to achieve a level of freedom from their perceived constraints of religion, and the diaspora condition greatly enables the formation of a non-religious identity and life. They all acknowledge that living in diaspora has assisted them in achieving new freedoms and has provided them the space to

formulate new identities and life worlds. However, as argued by Gholami (2015), non-religiosity is not a unified concept, and 'can be adopted by individuals and groups to varying degrees, depending on how they define their freedom' (2015: 15). As highlighted in this section, there are a variety of different genialities towards Islam and religion. Occasionally Yasmine was overtly non-religious and conveyed an animosity towards Islam, fitting with Gholami's notion of 'non-Islamiosity'. I would argue that Yasmine's desire for emancipation from patriarchy, and her perception that Islam and patriarchy are interlinked, has resulted in her having the most critical and tense relationship with religion. Therefore, in this example, gender is co-producing a certain experience and perception with religion, resulting in a critical non-religiosity. Whilst Nizar and Hicham are both openly non-believers, they mobilise a less critical and more moderate form of cultural religiosity. They can both be described as culturally Muslim, practicing certain habits that emanate from religion, but they do not subscribe to the Islamic faith. For Hicham, he associates his habits that emanate from Islam with his ethnicity and place of birth, thus for him it is cultural. Whilst for Nizar, continuing certain Islamic practices is important for his family and for feeling part of his local community in Morocco. It would appear, then, Nizar is more culturally Muslim when he returns to his home city in Morocco and is in the presence of his family and local community. Nizar and Hicham are both critical of religion, but they are also practical about its role in society, and do not convey a deep animosity towards it. Although Nizar and Hicham did not refer to their gender with regards to their religious identities, it could be inferred that their less critical stance in comparison to Yasmine is indicative of their male gender. Unlike Yamsine, Nizar and Hicham did not express a sense of religious gendered subjugation, so it could be argued that their experiences with Islam are quite distinct to Yasmine, resulting in a slightly less critical stance on the role of religion in society.

In addition to non-religious identities, certain participants subscribed to non-strict forms of Islamic practice and belief. I was tempted to use the term 'moderate Muslims', but as highlighted by Modood and Ahmed (2007) this is a controversial term that is often linked to geo-political events and tensions. Modood and Ahmed (1993) state that the term 'moderate Muslim' has been pervasively used since the 'September 11th' attacks, and commonly demarcates Muslims who are anti-terrorism, against the use of Islam in militant political rhetoric and are opposed to the 'clash of the civilizations' thesis. Therefore, 'moderate Muslim' is a loaded term, describing the politically moderate views of a Muslim subject, whilst I am concerned with a moderate form of practicing Islam, rather than explicitly focusing on political viewpoints and worldviews. Instead of using the term 'moderate', I

describe the Islam that I am exploring as 'pragmatic Islamiosity', which is a faith that is practical and has great flexibility with how people practice it. There are correlations between 'pragmatic Islamiosity' and cultural Islam in forms of practice, but there is a fundamental difference, which is that those who subscribe to a 'pragmatic Islamiosity' are religious and believe in Allah and the teachings of Islam, unlike the non-religious nature of cultural Muslims. I now turn to my empirical data to explore the notion of 'pragmatic Islamiosity' in the Moroccan diaspora.

Discussed in the previous section was a Moroccan women called Iamne. Iamne is 28 years old and is originally from a city in the north of Morocco. Iamne migrated to Granada to primarily study at the University of Granada and in the previous section I explored how she has achieved a sense of emancipation from a perceived Moroccan patriarchy in Granada. During a conversation with Iamne, we got onto the topic of religion. The following extracts are from that conversation:

***Researcher**: How important is religion for your identity?*

***Iamne:** Well, religion is something that is important for me.*

***Researcher:** So you believe?*

***Iamne:** Yes, I'm a believer, and practice a bit.*

***Researcher**: Islam?*

***Iamne:** Yes, but I'm not a strict Muslim. I have a different style of living my religious life.*

***Researcher:** So do you go to the mosque every so often?*

***Iamne:** No, no way.*

***Researcher:** Women can go to the mosque, right?*

***Iamne:** Yes, but I don't like the people there. I did not go in Morocco either.*

Researcher: *Are they generally very strict?*

Iamne: *Yes and they also think they know everything about religion.*

Researcher*: Ok*

Iamne: *I don't like that they are so arrogant and you know it is not something obligatory. I stay in my house and pray when I want to.*

Researcher: *Do you think your way of being religious has changed since you migrated?*

Iamne: *Well, to tell you the truth, I used to practice much more than I do now, although I still do believe very much.*

Researcher: *So in Granada you don't have to follow it so strictly?*

Iamne: *Well, here, for example, I can go many days without praying.*

Researcher*: Ok*

Iamne: *There are more temptations.*

Salma, a woman born in Tetouan in northern Morocco, studies at the University of Granada and lived in Malaga for a number of years before moving to Granada. In the previous section, I argued that Granada provides Salma with a level of freedom from the perceived constraints of patriarchy in Morocco. In the following short quote, Salma talks about her relationship with religion:

Well, I would say I'm a Muslim, but I don't practise it in a strict way, and that's another reason why I like it here, I can be this way without feeling a pressure to be more religious or more Muslim. So in a way living in Granada has allowed me more religious freedom, although I was like this in Morocco too, but it is easier to be like that here. (Salma, Female, Morocco, Tetouan, mid 30s)

The following extracts are from conversations with two men who were born in Morocco, further demonstrating practices of 'pragmatic Islamiosity'. The first is an extract from a conversation with Ali, who was born in Tangiers and studies at the University of Granada:

Researcher: *So, is religion something important for you?*

Ali: *Do I have to respond yes or no?*

Researcher: *Well it would be good if you could expand a bit on your answer.*

Ali: *It's important, but with regards to practising the religion, there are things I practise and others that I don't. That is why it is not a case of yes or no. But it is not something that dominates my life, but it is still there.*

Researcher: *Do you think the importance of religion has changed since you migrated?*

Ali: *I'm not sure to be honest. I'm not sure if my engagement with religion is the normal evolution, or it's because I now live in Granada, or if it would be the same if I was still in Tangier, but I'm aware it is not as important as it used to be.*

The second is an extract from a conversation with Mustafa, who was born in Morocco and runs an oriental gift shop near Plaza Nueva in the center of Granada:

Researcher: *So, are you religious?*

Mustafa: *Well I'm religious to an extent but I don't practice 100%. You know I do some religious stuff, but I'm not very very strict. I'm a bit more open minded with regard to religion. I'm not like one of these people who go to the mosque to pray all the time because, for me, there are a lot of people who go and pray in the mosque and then later, outside of the mosque, they do things that I do not like and agree with. I try to be a good person and sometimes I pray and do religious things but I do it in a calm and tranquil way. It's not that you are a good person if you pray and a bad person if you do not. I don't have that right to judge other people. Each person as they like, you*

know. I'm religious in a way that suits my life. It's not a strict form of being religious, but I'm fine with that.

In all four of the previous extracts the participants have ascribed to a 'pragmatic Islamiosity', asserting a religious belief, but with a lenient and non-rigid way of practicing it. In the first extract, Iamne clearly asserts that religion is important to her and that she does believe, but she is quick to also state that that she is not a strict Muslim. Iamne does not attend mosques, stating that she finds people at mosques overbearing and arrogant, resulting in her praying at home. Furthermore, she is flexible with when she prays, stating that she can go many days without praying. Iamne does not completely attribute her religious pragmatism to being in diaspora, but admits that she practices far less than she used to. There is awareness that Granada, in comparison to Morocco, is conducive to a looser form of Islamic practice. In the second quote, Salma also labels herself as a Muslim who does not practice in a strict way. For Salma, the diaspora condition assists the mobilisation of a non-practicing Islamic identity. Granada is a space where she does not feel especially pressured to be religious, liberating her from strict practices and pressures of religion. Whilst not explicitly stated in their conversations, I would argue that Iamne and Salma's pragmatic form of Islam is partly connected to their desired emancipation from patriarchy, although it appears they do not associate religion with gendered subjugation as much as Yasmine. Unlike Yasmine, Iamne and Salma do not openly renounce religion but they do reject certain structures and practices that are propagated by Islam, and I would argue that they consider these structures, not the religion per se, as patriarchal and sexist. Therefore, 'pragmatic Islamiosity' liberates them from oppressive religious structures, such as patriarchy, but they still maintain a sense of believing and being Muslim.

The extracts from conversations with Ali and Mustafa are also articulations of a 'pragmatic Islamiosity'. For Ali, he still subscribes to being Muslim and asserts that religion has a level of importance, but it is not something that 'dominates' his life. Religion appears to cause some personal conflict for Ali, as he states 'do I have to respond yes or no?' in response to the question about whether religion is important for him. He appears to not want to renounce his faith but he is also aware that he does not frequently practise, hence this personal conflict. He is also uncertain about the impact that Granada has had on his pragmatic and flexible approach to Islam, but he is clear that since living in Granada religion has become less important. Mustafa, who is quoted in the final extract, also considers himself a non-strict Muslim, ascribing to a pragmatic, flexible and lenient approach to religious worship and

practice. Similar to Iamne, Mustafa has found a personal and often private way to practice, stating that the public demonstration of faith at the mosque is not something he frequently participates in.

Iamne, Selma, Ali and Mustafa all subscribe to a 'pragmatic Islamiosity', which is a faith that is non-strict, practical and often practiced in a personal and private way. Unlike diasporic non-religious identities, Iamne, Selma, Ali and Mustafa identify as Muslims and have not renounced their faiths, but they do display certain animosities and tensions with religion. These tensions are with issues such as the hierarchal nature of the mosque and the intrusive and overbearing nature of religion on ones life. As aforementioned, uncertainty about Islam is a feeling that crops up in Gholami's study and he labels this feeling as 'Islamic undecidability'. He states that there is a 'spectrum of udecidability', with 'non-Islamiosity' as an overt rejection of the Islamic, while in the middle of the spectrum there is an uncertainty and anxiety rather than an outright rejection. For some, there is sense of wanting to let go, yet not being able to out of spiritual and cultural needs, or not being able to out of fear. For Iamne, Salma, Ali and Mustafa this notion of 'Islamic undecidability' is evident in their narratives. They convey a rejection of certain aspects of the Islamic, but an inability to completely let go of religion. There is a sense that renouncing the Islamic is a step too far, but not actively practising and worshipping is acceptable, and being in diaspora assists this undecidability and flexibility. 'Pragmatic Islamiosity', then, is often the result of personal undecidability, where one does not completely renounce one's faith, but reduces the role of religion and worship in everyday life.

This section has demonstrated that the diaspora condition can produce multiple forms of religiosity and non-religiosity, deviating from the assumption that diasporas are inherently religious and spiritual. The narratives in this section depart from unambiguous faith, providing multiple forms of belief and non-belief, and varied critiques of religion and its role in society. The identities narrated in this section are varied, ranging from non-religiosity, cultural Muslims, and those who subscribe to a pragmatic form of Islam. A common thread that connects the varied narratives is they all convey some level of critique and tension with certain Islamic practices and beliefs. A key issue implied in most of the narratives is a desire for more freedom from the discourses of religion, which is one the key features of Gholami's conceptualisation of 'non-Islamiosity'. Moreover, the narratives all display an orientation towards openness, change and the global, resonating with notions of 'diasporic cosmopolitanism' (Glick Schiller, 2015). For all quoted in this section, Granada, to some

degree, is a space that has facilitated the articulation of these varied (dis)connections with Islam and religion in general. The diaspora space is a site that can engender diasporic non-religiosities and loose spiritualisms, demonstrating that it can function as a space of religious continuity and religious change.

To finish this section, it is important to briefly consider the role of social class in the mobilisation of these identities. Apart from Mustafa, all of the participants attend or have attended University in Granada, demonstrating a high level of education and opportunity. Therefore, non-religiosity and cultural and pragmatic articulations of Islam appear to be partly enabled by the opportunities provided by a higher level of class. Unorthodox religious narratives are not an automatic result of a higher education, many educated migrants may remain pious, but in this analysis there is a clear corroboration between education and the reverent nature of the participant.

6.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has demonstrated the complexity of diasporic communities, highlighting the heterogeneity of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada. Through an intersectional lens and foregrounding gender and class with Moroccan ethnicity, the heterogeneity of the diaspora has become highly apparent. The diasporic narratives articulate identities and belongings that are varied and often contrast with the identities and belongings explored in the previous chapters. I now make broader concluding observations of the alternative diasporic narratives of identity and belonging.

Firstly, the chapter demonstrates clearly that gender, specifically femininity, can intersect with ethnicity to produce distinctive formations of diasporic identities and belongings. The diaspora condition can work as a site of newness and personal reformation, assisting Moroccan born women to emancipate themselves from a perceived Moroccan patriarchy and mobilise 'new' femininities (Anthias, 1998; Campt and Thomas, 2008). Moreover, the process of emancipation is spatial, with women encountering new gendered rights to the city and new freedoms in urban spaces. The diaspora space of Granada can function as a site of liberation and newness, engendering a sense of belonging and attachment with the city. It is important to note that the desire for emancipation from patriarchy and the formation of 'new' femininities appears to be enabled by a shared class and educational background. A university education, in many respects, partly provides an alternative narrative of Moroccan diasporic

identity, and thus, it is not necessarily a narrative that is intuitively prescribed to by Moroccan women in diaspora. Although the women migrants discussed in this chapter do share a common desire for emancipation from a patriarchal culture, their mutual class backgrounds do not translate into a shared diasporic stance and identity. Therefore, women from the same diasporic population with similar class backgrounds can simultaneously display similarities and disparities, highlighting the greatly heterogeneous nature of the Moroccan diaspora.

Secondly, the diaspora condition and the diaspora space of Granada can enable a move away from collective religion and engender 'new' formations of spiritual and non-spiritual identities. As mentioned in previous chapters, the religion of Islam for many in the Moroccan diaspora is a significant practice of belonging and community, but it should not be seen as a taken for granted and natural condition of Moroccan migrants. The intersections of class and gender with Moroccan ethnicity can often reveal narratives that are highly critical of religion, with non-religiosities, cultural Muslims and those with a flexible and loose approach to worship apparent in the Moroccan diaspora. Being in diaspora can be the catalyst for a public mobilisation of a non-religiosity, and it is not invariably associated with religious belief and practice. Paradoxically then, Granada is a religiously ambivalent space for Muslims. On one hand, its diverse history, especially that of Al-Andalus, ascribes a Muslim religiosity on the city and enables for open Islamic practice for those in diaspora. On the other hand, the plural and diverse contemporary landscape can engender a lessening of religion and a mobilisation of non-Islamic diasporic identities.

Thirdly, binding together the narratives is a cosmopolitan attitude and orientation, albeit one that varies between participants. As argued by Vertovec (2010), diasporas are not guaranteed to have a cosmopolitan outlook and they may not have an acceptance to difference, but the potential is certainly high. For the Moroccan diaspora, the majority display cosmopolitan competencies (i.e. skills, practices etc.), and some level of cosmopolitan attitude. I would argue that this comes with the reality of living in a diaspora space and having gone though a process of movement from Morocco to Granada. However, the narratives in this chapter, I argue, often display a more explicit cosmopolitan orientation, embracing change and a global outlook. It is not a total orientation away from the homeland, as many still embraced some level of cultural continuity, but there is an orientation towards the global and openness to modifying parts of their ethnic culture. The diaspora space of Granada can enable a reformation of self, which for those in this chapter is a loosening of a parochial attachment to Moroccan tradition. This is not to argue that the continuity of home culture is regressive or

the cosmopolitan attitude is necessarily progressive, rather it is an acceptance that the diaspora condition can engender these multiple identities and outlooks.

A final question is; does this penchant for change, newness and the global make those discussed in this chapter less diasporic than those who hold tightly to cultural continuity? There is not a straightforward answer to this, but I would argue that being in diaspora provides many different possibilities. For some, diaspora can be a space of complete transformation and newness, something I believe is critical to the notion of diaspora, and for others it can be a site of partial change and sameness. These possibilities are clearly enabled by issues such as class, ability to engage in the free market economy, gender, sexuality etc. It is not an unconstrained option for those in diaspora. Therefore, in understanding diasporas as heterogeneous, with many different levels of opportunity and power, we should consider that change, difference, continuity and sameness are all critical features of a diaspora.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has provided an ethnographic study into the lived experiences of Moroccan migrants in Granada, Spain. The concept of diaspora has been utilised throughout, and I have examined how it fits with the narratives, perceptions and practices of Moroccan migrants. By exploring the concept of diaspora through its intersections with space, home, belonging and identity, the thesis has shown that the formation of diasporas and diaspora experiences are explicitly spatially contingent, with the contextuality of Granada perpetually interacting with Moroccan migrant subjectivities. The urban specificities of Granada have been centred throughout the research, highlighting the city as a greatly significant space in the formation of diasporas. Furthermore, the thesis has shown the complexity of diasporic identities and experiences, demonstrating the variegated nature of the Moroccan diaspora. These core arguments are grounded in empirical evidence generated from a street ethnography of the lived spaces of the diaspora. The methods of the ethnography included 'go along' observations, informal narrative conversations, semi-structured interviews and visual methods such as photos and videos. This thesis, then, is a theoretically informed empirical study of the lived experience of being in diaspora, and the narratives of migrants are foregrounded throughout the thesis. In so doing, I have responded to calls for spatial research that takes the context of diaspora locations seriously (Mitchell, 1997a; Mitchell, 1997b; Knott, 2010; Mcloughlin and Knott, 2010) and to calls for research on the intersectionality of diasporic identities (Brah, 1996; Anthias, 1998; Campt and Thomas, 2008). In this final chapter, I provide concluding comments and examine the core arguments made throughout the empirical chapters. First, I summarise the thesis, underlining how the research questions have been answered. Second, I discuss the original contribution to knowledge that is made in the thesis. Third, and finally, I discuss directions for future research.

7.2 Summary of Research Findings

Theoretically this thesis is positioned within the intersections of diaspora studies and urban geographies. In chapter 1, I introduced the concept of diaspora and examined how it intersects

with space, belonging, home and identities. I outlined diaspora as a process, which is spatially contingent, and can disrupt more normative notions of belonging, home and identities. To explore the intersections of these concepts, I have been attentive to four key research questions, each of which evolved over the time I was in the field and critically engaged with the data.

The first two overlapping questions that the thesis attended to were, *how have Moroccan migrants transformed urban space in Granada? and how does the spatiality of Granada influence diasporic spatial practices, belonging and formations of identities?* To answer these questions, I drew on data from the street ethnography of the lower Albayzín neighbourhood. Firstly, in chapter 4, I demonstrated and argued that since the early 1990s Moroccan migrants in the lower Albayzín have produced a cohesive diaspora space. Through the 'spatial practices' (de Certeau, 1984) of Moroccan migrants, the urban fabric of this part of the city has been transformed, instilled with new meanings and practices, which I argue to be highly diasporic. Utilising the notion of the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 2008), I argued that the Moroccan diaspora have achieved a distinctive right to a Spanish city, producing a multi-sensory, self-orientalised diaspora space. Through the mobilisation of a strategically self-orientalised cultural capital, the diaspora have partly appropriated the valuable history of Al-Andalus, a key component in the city's tourist imagery, which has enabled the diaspora to gain a right to have a presence in the city, to display an orientalised and Islamic identity, and participate autonomously in the local economy. The spatiality of Granada, which is highly evocative of Spain's Muslim past, has enabled Moroccan migrants to visibly participate economically, socio-culturally and religiously within the city. The lower Albayzín, I also argued, is a space of variegated encounters and identity formations, which does not neatly fit into a simple urban typology. Firstly, it is clearly diasporic, where a Moroccan community is sustained, and a continuation of Moroccan identity, which is significantly based on the shared worship of Islam, is maintained and practiced. Therefore, Moroccan migrants have created a space of diaspora belonging, where they can continue cultural practices linked to Morocco. Secondly, it is a space of cosmopolitan encounters where Moroccan migrants mix and interact with other nationalities and cultures. These variegated encounters often result in the mobilisation of hybrid identities, oscillating between orientalised Moroccan, Muslim, local Granadino and cosmopolitan. This hybridity I label as 'practical hybridity', which is an identity that is multiple and fluid, but is often strategically mobilised, and consists of many traditional ethnic traits. I have named it 'practical', as this form of hybridity is partly strategic and commonly mobilised in diaspora spaces, albeit

appearing in different guises in diverse geographic contexts. There are processes of mixing and newness, but this is not a transgression and erasure of dichotomies of difference as advocated in Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity. The diaspora space of the lower Albayzín then, is in one sense, a space where ethnic difference and boundaries are constructed and reified, but it is also a space where 'new' and hybrid diaspora identities are mobilised.

Following a focus on the production of a diaspora space, and highlighting the distinctive Moroccan diaspora right to the city, I then turned to consider diaspora senses of belonging and home to Granada, addressing the second set of overlapping questions, *what senses of belonging do the Moroccan diaspora have with Granada? and again, how does the spatiality of Granada influence diasporic spatial practices, belonging and formations of identities?* To answer these questions, I drew primarily on data from ethnographic observations, informal narrative conversations and semi-structured interviews. The broad answer I gave to these questions is that many of the Moroccan diaspora narrate a strong sense of belonging to Granada, one that often conveys a sense of Granada as an 'authentic' home. In chapter 5, I provided three principal factors that engender feelings of belonging to Granada. Firstly, the right to the city achieved by the diaspora is a significant factor that can generate a sense of belonging. For many, the right to the city achieved in Granada is distinctive, especially in comparison to experiences in other Spanish cities, as it incorporates a participation in city life that is visible, geographically central and autonomous. While in other Spanish cities, participation is considered to be more hidden, peripheral and dependent. I argued that this participation demonstrates a significant level of Moroccan integration, and for many migrants this results in a greater sense of respect and tolerance from the non-minority population. In addition, the diaspora place-making strategies have produced a space of material culture and embodiment that is highly diasporic, which creates a lived space of belonging that can evoke a sense of home. The second feature, which overlaps with the right to the city and place-making strategies, is the Muslim community and Islamic spatiality. For many Moroccan migrants, especially those working around the lower Albayzín, the local mosques and the visible Muslim community are highly constitutive for belonging to Granada. The practice of Islam creates a sense of community and collective identity, making the mosque a site of belonging and diasporic identity formation. In addition to the migrant Muslim population, Granada contains a relatively large European Muslim convert community, which I argued assists with integration and a sense of belonging. It would seem that the 'native' people who adhere to Islam, a key part of Moroccan identity, assist migrants in feeling less 'out of place'. This perceived tolerance to Islam in the city, and the freedom to collectively worship as a

Muslim, are undoubtedly significant features for diaspora belonging. Therefore, through contemporary place-making processes, Moroccan migrants have constructed a diaspora space where they can feel a sense of participation, belonging and home. However, in chapter 5, I have shown that it is not only contemporary place-making strategies that generate belonging. Rather, the material and representational history of Al-Andalus imbues Granada with a multitude of meanings, symbols and materialities that can engender a deeper level of belonging and home. Hayden's (1997) assertion about the significance of history in the production of space resonates strongly with the Moroccan diaspora identification with Granada. In chapter 5, I demonstrated that the history of Al-Andalus is a dynamic process, which is powerfully communicated to the diaspora through discursive representations, the material heritage landscape, embodiment and performativities. Through these multiple processes, the heritage of Al-Andalus imbues Granada with a culture, nostalgia and ancestral memory that many in the diaspora identify with. These deep connections with Granada's past can produce a sense of home, and homing desire for Granada. Thus, Granada is simultaneously a space that the diaspora have a 'homing desire' for and the lived space where they are the 'foreign' Other. Significantly, this reconfigures Avtar Brah's (Brah, 1996) dichotomy between a homing desire to a 'far away' symbolic place and the lived home where the diaspora dwell. This conceptual reconfiguration demonstrates that when multiple histories of places are made apparent, simple categorisations of home and belonging can be undermined, and more fluid and multiple senses of home and belonging takes shape. Overall, in chapter 5, I have argued that many Moroccan migrants narrate a strong sense of belonging to Granada, engendered by contemporary diaspora place-making and an attachment to a medieval heritage. Finally, I asserted that the contemporary diaspora space and heritage of Al-Andalus have more resonance for those who aspire to hold onto a Moroccan ethnicity, as it mainly generates imagined and lived geographies that express a notion of Moroccan and Muslim ethnic identity. As a result, the belongings discussed are more of an identification with 'ethnically parochial' (Werbner, 2002: 120) practices and symbols, rather than 'new' hybrid practices, and identities.

The fourth and final question that the thesis posed was *what differences of identity and belonging exist within the Moroccan diaspora?* Diverging from the previous two, this question was developed out of narratives and experiences that differed, in some respects, from what I examined in chapter 4 and 5. This question allowed me to probe at the concept of diaspora and examine diverse experiences of migration and community. In chapter 6, the broad answer I gave to this question, is that the Moroccan diaspora is marked by an evident

heterogeneity, with a number of participants conveying highly cosmopolitan narratives of belonging and identity, differing from what I explored in previous chapters. Drawing on literature on the intersectionality of diaspora identities (Brah, 1996; Anthias, 1998), I argued that gender and class were significant in the mobilisation of these cosmopolitan identities and belongings. I firstly discussed the complex negotiations of identity and belonging that a number of women participants conveyed. I argued that many of the women's narratives expressed a sense of emancipation from a perceived Moroccan patriarchal culture, and migrating had involved a partial dislocation from certain aspects of Moroccan culture. I also asserted that this process of emancipation was spatial, with women encountering new gendered rights to the city, and the chance to mobilise 'new' femininities. Therefore, the diaspora space of Granada can function as a site of liberation and newness, engendering a sense of belonging and attachment. Adding a further layer of identity, I argued that the desire for emancipation from patriarchy and the formation of less 'conservative' femininities appeared to correlate with a shared class background and university education. The university education of the women participants in chapter 6, in many respects, provided an alternative narrative of Moroccan diasporic femininity, and thus, it is not necessarily a narrative that is instinctively articulated by Moroccan women in diaspora. Therefore, class intersects with gender and Moroccan ethnicity, producing varied and complex identities and belongings. Finally, I asserted that although the diasporic stance of the women was varied, with some having stronger connections to the homeland traditions than others, they all did convey some level of cosmopolitan attitude and orientation.

In the next section of chapter 6, I critically examined religious identities and demonstrated that a number or Moroccans I spoke to, both men and women, had moved away from collective religion, and mobilised 'new' formations of spiritual and non-spiritual identities. This deviates from a common assumption that diasporas from Muslim majority countries are inherently Islamic and religious. The identities narrated in this section are varied, ranging from critical non-believers, cultural Muslims, and those that subscribe to a pragmatic form of Islam. A common thread that connects the varied narratives is they all convey some level of critique and tension with certain practices and beliefs in Islam. Granada, then, is space that can engender both diasporic secularisms and loose spiritualisms, demonstrating that it can function as a space of religious continuity and religious change. I also highlighted that all but one of the participants that were quoted in this section had achieved university level education, demonstrating that these alternative approaches to religion appear to be engendered by a shared social class. Connections with the diaspora community and Moroccan culture

varied, but through their religious reformations, they all displayed some level of dislocation from the dominant religious culture of the diaspora and Morocco. Overall, in chapter 6, I explored divergent narratives of identity and belonging in comparison to those articulated in chapters 4 and 5. Binding these narratives together and differentiating them from those in the previous chapters, is a more explicit cosmopolitan orientation, which embraces change, ethnic transformation and a global outlook. Throughout the chapter, I argued that the intersections class and gender with Moroccan ethnicity were significant in the mobilisation of these cosmopolitan attitudes. Finally, I argued that change and transformation are keys aspects of being in diaspora, thus the identities discussed in this chapter can be considered as diasporic, but they do nonetheless challenge more normative notions of the diaspora condition.

7.3 Contributions to Knowledge

Having provided a summary of the thesis and its main arguments, I now focus more explicitly on the key contributions made to knowledge. Importantly, this thesis provides alternative and distinctive narratives of European urban diversity, which do not neatly correspond with narratives about Moroccan and Muslim diversity in other European cities. Therefore, in this section, I synthesise the data and provide an overview of the theoretical contributions made in the thesis.

Diaspora, the overarching concept in the thesis, has been probed and developed throughout the empirical analysis. Firstly, the thesis has further consolidated the understanding that space and its context are absolutely central in the formation of diasporas and the diaspora experience (Blunt, 2007; Christou and Mavroudi, 2015). Moreover, the thesis adds to the growing body of work that explores ‘diaspora cities’ (Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013), and it has demonstrated the city space, rather than the national, as a highly pertinent space for diasporas. Through the intimate focus on Granada’s context, and how it interacts with the Moroccan diaspora, the thesis provides a number of theoretical contributions to the notion of diaspora and urban diversity. To begin with, the history of Granada has been highly present throughout the analysis, interacting with diaspora formations and processes. Scholars such as Henri Lefebvre (1996) and Walter Benjamin (1999) conceptualise the city as realm of deep memory and history, impacting on the urban dweller in different ways. In this thesis though, I have demonstrated how complex urban histories can reconfigure more normative notions of the diaspora condition. Through the empirical analysis, I suggest, the concept of diaspora has been developed in three significant ways. First, the distinctive experiences of many Moroccan

migrants in Granada is the result of being part of an 'imagined double diaspora'. The notion of 'double diaspora' has been used to describe groups of people who have been twice displaced. For example, David Wacks (2015) uses the term to describe the double migrations of Sephardi Jews, and Maya Parmar (2013) engages with it to describe the double displacement of Gujarati East Africans. However, for Moroccan migrants in Granada this sense of double diaspora is imagined, and it is not something they have personally experienced. Instead, they identify with the historical dispersal of Muslims out of Spain in Medieval times, resulting in an 'imagined double diaspora'. Therefore, the thesis demonstrates that contemporary diaspora communities can appropriate histories of movements, migrations and exile, creating an imagination of multiple movements, homelands and belongings. This expands the concept of diaspora to consider complex historical migrations, and how these histories impact on contemporary diaspora formations and diaspora consciousness. Adding to the distinctiveness of the Moroccan 'imagined double diaspora' is that Granada is often considered the space where they were originally exiled from. The Moroccan experience can be considered a circular 'imagined double diaspora', where they have returned to one of the imagined homelands. Consequently, the second conceptual contribution is with the notion of home in diaspora. Avtar Brah (1996) conceptualises home in diaspora as a lived home, where the diaspora have settled, and a nostalgic 'homing desire' for a real or imagined place away from where one lives. However, the nostalgic and symbolic homeland for the Moroccan diaspora is often multiple, not just encapsulating one primary homeland. As argued in chapter 5, many in the diaspora have a 'homing desire' for Granada as well as home in Morocco. Therefore, there is a longing for not one, but two homelands, and this results in a 'homing desire' for the diaspora space. Appropriation of the Muslim heritage in Granada, and identification with the Al-Andalus refugees in the 1500s, creates this imagination of multiple homelands. History, then, can often complicate understandings of home in the diaspora condition. The past can refute normative notions of home and belonging to a singular nation state, which is often what ideas about diaspora home are predicated on. This demonstrates then, that closer readings of history can unearth more complicated and nuanced understandings of home, and that through an awareness of historical movement and resettlement, diasporas can have a sense of multiple authentic homelands. This analysis expands how home is conceptualised in diaspora, demonstrating that history often contests simple notions of one 'true' homeland. Third, as a result of multiple layers of history, diaspora cities can be simultaneously unfamiliar and familiar, foreign and homely. The deep foundations of cities, especially in border areas such as Granada, do not convey a singular ethnic message or ideology. Rather, they are hybrid, conveying a multitude of meanings.

Thus, for certain diasporas in certain cities, they are in a liminal space, which conveys a sense of both home and away, here and there. Overall, this section demonstrates that the thesis is an important contribution to postcolonial thinking, as it challenges the primary spatial and temporal register in which diasporas and migration are often discussed. Through extending the temporality to recognise not just colonial connections, but also medieval migrations and movements, the normative spatial registers of here and there, home and away, belonging and not belonging have been contested throughout the thesis. This research, then, provides an important challenge to political discourses that frequently put emphasis on singular belonging and choosing between here and there.

The participation of migrants in city-making and urban encounters of difference is a second group of debates that the thesis has contributed to. Firstly, the thesis has added to the body of work that demonstrates the importance of migrants in city-making and urban restructuring (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2011; Hall, 2012; Hall, 2015). However, differing from the work of Suzanne Hall (2012; 2015), for example, I have not demonstrated the creativity and resourcefulness of migrant city-making in marginal and peripheral streets. Rather, I have provided a narrative of Moroccan diaspora participation and city-making in a highly visible and central district of a European city. In comparison to the frequent narratives of Moroccan and Muslim spatial segregation and ghettoisation in Spanish and European cities (Zapata-Barrero, 2008), the thesis involves a narrative of urban participation that is highly central, visible, active and encouraged. The research, then, provides a new and distinctive view of Muslim migrant urban participation and integration. This highlights that migrant participation can partly be enabled or restrained by the contextuality of the city. Cities have distinctive layers of history, separate from the metanarratives of the nation state, and these can engender quite different migrant experiences. However, the historical context does not function individually, it interacts with the city's powerful social structures and migrant agency. The thesis, therefore, has showed how urban historical context, structure and agency interact to produce distinctive migrant participations. Secondly, the thesis has contributed to debates on urban encounters of difference and hybridity. Drawing on the street ethnography, I demonstrated that the lower Albayzín is simultaneously a space where diverse ethnicities, cultures and nationalities come into contact and a space of diasporic community and ethnic identity maintenance. In the everyday reality of the street, encounters and activities are at times ethnically bounded and at times open, mixed and ethnically multiple. The diaspora participate in both spaces of sameness and difference, and the streets of the lower Albayzín cannot be neatly categorised as either cosmopolitan or parochial. This resonates with Pnina

Werbner's understandings of diasporas as both 'ethnic parochial and cosmopolitan' (2002: 120), oscillating between moments of ethnic boundary maintenance and the destabilisation of boundaries and homogeneity. In addition to the debates on encounters of difference, I have contributed to conceptualisations of cultural hybridity, and how it takes shape in the lived space of the city. This responds to Kathryn Mitchell's (1997a; 1997b) call for grounded and empirical studies on hybridity and cultural mixing. In chapter 4, I argued that a 'practical hybridity' is mobilised in the lived space of the Moroccan diaspora. 'Practical hybridity' is an identity that is multiple and fluid, is often strategically mobilised, and consists of many traditional ethnic traits. This form of hybridity is 'practical' as it is often strategically mobilised to engage in everyday encounters. Exchange and transactions are partly what engender encounters of difference and mixing, and this results in in the mobilisation of multiple identities, often for practical and economic needs. There are processes of mixing and newness, but this is not a transgression and erasure of dichotomies of difference as advocated in Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity. Rather, many ethnic differences are used for economic strategies and as an important part of diaspora formations. Therefore, cultural difference, with its advantages and disadvantages, is perpetuated and embraced by much of the Moroccan diaspora. Although this contests Bhabha's theory, it should not be considered as reactionary and non-progressive. Rather, I suggest that this is a more realistic understanding of mixing and coexistence, which acknowledges that moments of sameness can be important for people, and not necessarily a stance that is intolerant to difference. In fact, it is a stance that is open to both sameness and difference, motivated by both practical and personal needs. Moreover, general structural limitations and marginalisation also influence the types of encounters and engagements that migrants have. In material lived spaces of diasporas, hybridity is often subtler and more prosaic than in the discourses of hybridity theory.

Finally, the thesis makes an important contribution to studies of the complexity of diaspora communities and intersectionality. Through an engagement with women and those who are part of a university-educated class, the thesis has revealed strong cosmopolitan outlooks in the narratives of Moroccan migrants. Adding to the work of scholars such as Werbner (2004; 2010) and Anthias (1998), the thesis demonstrates that diaspora communities are highly heterogeneous, where gender and class differences can produce distinct experiences and outlooks. In chapter 6, the narratives that challenge and undermine the frequent essentialising of Islam to diaspora identities from Muslim majority countries is especially important. I have shown that although Islam is greatly significant to diaspora identities, it is not a preordained

feature, and 'new' formations of spiritual and non-spiritual identities commonly exist. This responds to Reza Gholami's (2015) call for research that examines alternative diaspora identities, with less of a fixation on Islam and religion. In addition to non-religiosity and cultural Muslims, I have coined the term 'pragmatic Islamiosity', which describes those that take a practical, flexible and liberal approach to worship, but still consider themselves as 'believers'. This, I suggest, provides an important contribution to debates on Muslim Identities, as it challenges the hegemonic Western representations of 'radical' and 'extreme' forms of Islam (Bankoff, 2003). Instead, it illuminates a global, liberal and adaptable form of Islam, and offers an alternative to the notion of 'moderate Muslim', which Modood and Ahmed (2007) argue is a loaded and problematic term. By demonstrating a variety of Islamic and non-Islamic stances, the thesis provides a challenge to Western discourses that often homogenise and simplify Muslim identities. It demonstrates that Islam, like all other religions, is manifest in a variety of ways, and diasporas from Muslim majority countries are marked by a multiplicity of religious and non-religious identities. Overall, the empirical chapters of the thesis have demonstrated that the people who fit into a diaspora are varied, conveying a multitude of attitudes to tradition, homeland culture, hybridity and the global. Shared communalities and outlooks, along with change and transformation, are key characteristics of diasporas, and this variegation is what exemplifies the 21st century diaspora stance and diaspora space.

7.4 New Research Directions

My research comprised an ethnographic study of the lives of the Moroccan diaspora in Granada, Spain. The thesis has provided a place specific analysis, which foregrounds the urban, and considers the specificities of cities in diaspora formations and experiences. Here I reflect on three ways the thesis could be built upon and connected with specific research agendas in the social sciences.

Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that in this thesis I have used one specific urban case study, allowing for a detailed and deep analysis of the Moroccan diaspora in one city. To develop on the data gathered in Granada, and to further underline the distinctive nature of the Moroccan experience in the city, I suggest expanding the research to carry out similar studies in other cities. This would develop the research to take on a comparative approach, and it would connect with the growing interest in comparative urbanisms in urban studies and urban geography (Robinson, 2011; Jacobs, 2012). I propose three geographical locations that could

be of interest for a comparative study. Firstly, examining cities in southern Spain such as Cordoba and Seville, would allow for a comparison with cities in the same geographical region. It would compare Granada's features of diversity with cities that are marked by similar histories and socio-cultural conditions, providing useful information about the similarities and differences of Moroccan diversity in Spanish cities, and allow for more substantial claims to be made about diversity in Granada. Secondly, a comparison with cities in northern Europe that have relatively high numbers of Moroccan migrants would be very useful. This, for example, could be a comparison with medium sized cities in France, the Netherlands, or Belgium. It would provide important comparisons of diaspora formations and urban diversity between cities in different nation-states within Europe. Finally, to examine Moroccan transnational connections, networks and perceptions, research in Moroccan cities could be especially rewarding. For example, a study carried out in Tetouan or Nador could examine Moroccan perceptions of Granada, the transnational connections between Granada and Moroccan cities, and it would allow for a comparison of urbanisms. Overall, developing the research into a comparative urban study would help to build on the data gathered in Granada and obviously add a new set of data. Comparing the experiences and practices of Moroccan migrants in Granada with those in other cities would help to formulate broader arguments around cities and migration, and it could add sophistication and greater validity to the claims I have made throughout the thesis. For urban geographies of diasporas and migration, comparative studies are especially useful, as they highlight how cities can produce both very different and similar experiences of diversity, helping to uncover the uneven geographies of integration, racism, and ethnic participation.

Secondly, although the thesis, to some extent, engaged with women's narratives and experiences in chapter 6, a clear limitation is the lack of women's voices throughout the empirical chapters. As discussed in the methodology chapter, the male majority sample was not planned, but was preordained by those who used and worked in the spaces of analysis, which were predominately men. Moreover, cross-cultural factors made it difficult to access women participants. Therefore, an important avenue for future research would be to centre women's voices in the examination of diaspora formations, experiences and perceptions. This would respond to the call from scholars such as Campt and Thomas (2008) to gender diaspora studies, and to centre the female view of being in diaspora. Centring the female voice would help to provide a far more encompassing understanding of the Moroccan experience in Granada, and possibly highlight further heterogeneity and complexity. Important questions to pursue could include: what way do women relate and connect with the diaspora and the

homeland? What sense of belonging do women have with Granada? What differences exist between Moroccan women in diaspora?

In addition to gender, there are other intersecting social identities that are important areas for future research. Firstly, the thesis sample was mainly made up of first generation migrants that were aged between 25 and 50. For future research it would be useful to explore the experiences of different generations of the diaspora, such as second-generation youths and geriatrics. Secondly, sexuality can intersect with diasporic ethnicity to produce quite distinct experiences (Kosnick, 2010), and although not within the scope of this thesis, sexuality is certainly an important and pressing area for future research.

Finally, to further understand Moroccan migrant experiences and participation in Granada, I suggest it would be useful to examine the lives of migrants that are more 'behind the scenes' and in peripheral areas of the city. By 'behind the scenes' I am referring to those who do not so commonly participate and work in the central and more visible areas of the city. This could involve ethnographic research with factory workers, construction workers and carers, it could involve looking at the economies and city-making practices of those in the peripheral neighbourhoods of the city. This approach could engage more explicitly with the economic experience of the diaspora, and fit within the growing body of work on 'postcolonial economies' (McEwan *et al.*, 2011). Overall, this would expand the research to explore quite different areas and practices within Granada, and although it would be methodologically challenging, it would help to provide a more complete picture of the Moroccan diaspora experience.

APPENDICIES

Appendix 1: Example of Interview Questions and Themes

Interviews and Conversations

Opening questions

- How long have you lived in Granada?
- Can you tell me about your life before moving to Granada? *Prompts: Where are you from in Morocco? Why did you used to do in Morocco? Why did you migrate etc?*
- Why did you emigrate to Granada/Spain?
- What did you know about Granada/Andalusia/Spain before migrating?
- Where do you live in Granada?
- What do you do here – work/study?

Questions about Identity & belonging to a Moroccan diaspora/Community

- Do you feel part of a Moroccan diaspora/community?
- If so, why? What is it that makes you feel part of this community? *Prompts: religion, practices/activities, shared spaces etc.*
- What places/areas of Granada do you feel part of this community?
- How have areas of the city changed due to the Moroccan presence?
- Are there divisions within the Moroccan community? For example, different groups within the community? Tensions between these groups? (Generational, religious, gender, etc.).

Belonging in Granada

- Do you feel part of Granada/do you have a sense of belonging with the city?
- If so, why? *Prompts: Community, Religion, History of Al-Andalus, cultural practices, work etc.*
- What specific places/areas within the city do you have a sense of belonging to and why?

Belonging and Contact with Morocco

- Do you maintain contact with Morocco?

- Visits? How often do you make return visits?
- Do you use the internet (Skype/facebook etc.) to keep in contact with family in Morocco?
- Do family and friends from Morocco visit you in Granada?
- Do you send back remittances to Morocco?
- Do you plan to return and live in Morocco one day?

Spanish Culture

- Do you relate to parts of Spanish/Western culture?
- Do you now have family relations with Spaniards?
- Has your culture changed due to migrating to Granada/Spain?
  i.e. have you lost part of your culture? Have you gained new cultures through migrating?

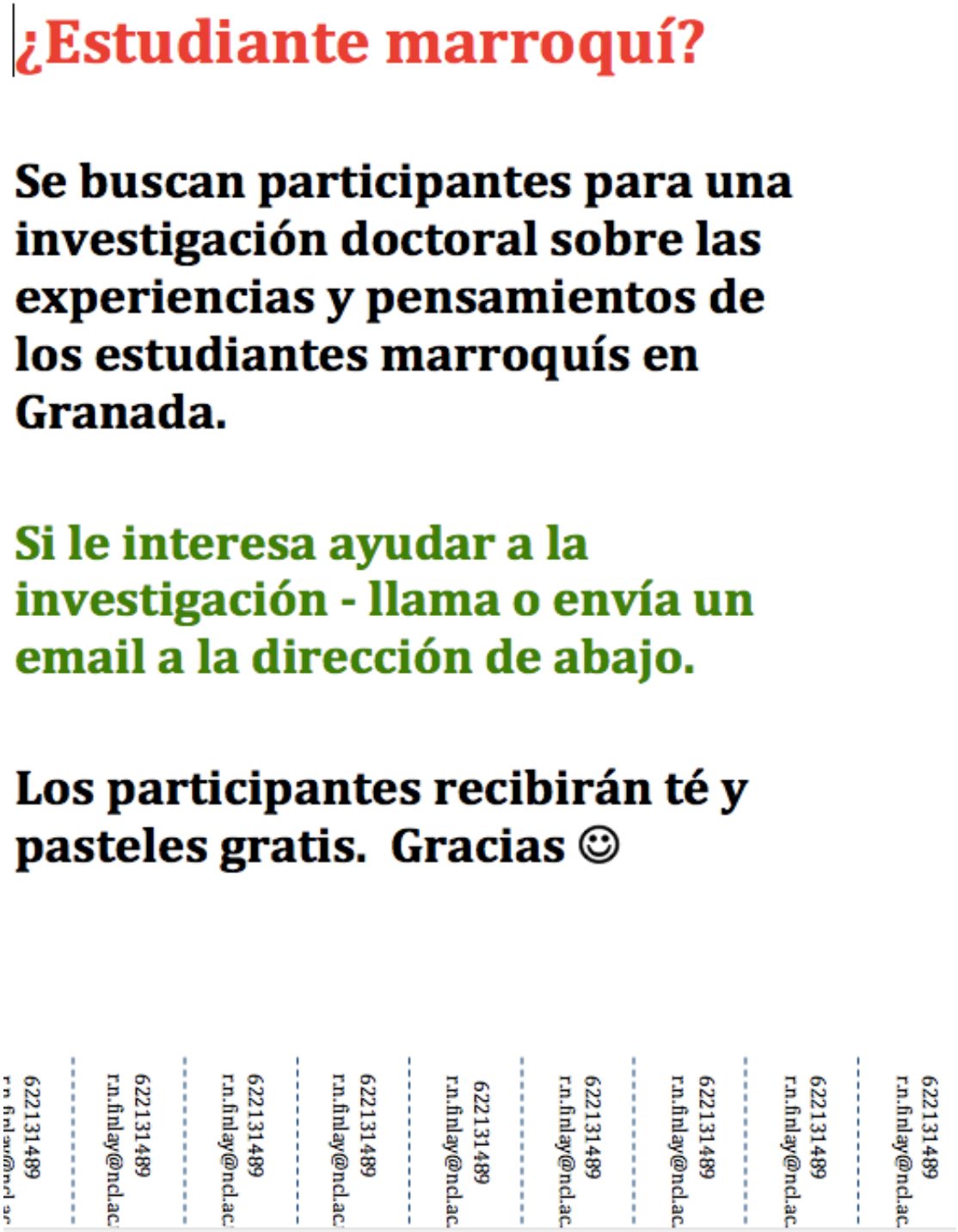
Moroccan businesses and economies (questions for owners of oriental shops and tetarias)

- How would you describe your business?
- How important is tourism for your business?
- Where do you get the products for your business?
- Do you have networks with other Moroccan shop owners in Granada?
- Why do you think people are attracted to these businesses?
- What image/culture are you trying to convey with your business? (Authentic image of Morocco and the Arab world?)
- Through your business do you come into contact with many cultures?
- Do you converse in a number of languages with customers and friends?

Economic crisis

- Has the crisis impacted on your business?
- Has the crisis impacted on your day-to-day life in Spain and Granada?

Appendix 2: Recruitment Poster for Moroccan Students



Appendix 3: Ethical Considerations

My ethical responsibilities were guided by both the ESRC 2015 postgraduate ethical guidelines and the research ethics standards of Newcastle University (2015). Due to the cross-cultural nature of the project there were higher than normal possibilities for misunderstanding and coercion to participate. To mitigate possible coercion, I provided potential participants with an information sheet about the research. This explained the aims of the research, that all participants would remain anonymous, and at any point in the research, participants had the right to ask for any of their details or accounts to be withdrawn. In order to provide anonymity, all participants were given a pseudonym when referred to in the thesis. All audio data was securely stored on encrypted files on my personal computer and fieldwork diaries were stored in secure filling cabinets. Most importantly, I made sure I put no participant or myself in risky, harmful or stressful situations.

Appendix 4: Research Briefing Form in English.

Research on the Social, Cultural and Spatial Dynamics of Moroccan Migrants in Granada, Spain

The study

This research will look at the experiences of Moroccans who have migrated to the city of Granada in Spain. It will look at how Moroccans migrants have impacted on the social construction of urban space, and subsequently, it will look at how migration to Granada has impacted on their day to day social practices, identity, and sense of belonging. Furthermore, it will explore issues of inclusion/ exclusion and racism for Moroccan migrants in Granada.

The research will attempt to put great value on the diverse day to day experiences of Moroccan migrants in Spain, which has often been ignored. As such, the Economic and Social Research council have funded my PhD at Newcastle University to look at Moroccan migration in Granada, Spain.

Taking Part

Once you have decided if you would like to participate, the research will involve: meeting with you, in a place you feel comfortable such as your business, or home. The meeting will involve an informal discussion about your experiences living in Granada as a migrant from Morocco. It may also involve observation of your day to day practices.

The conversations will be recorded by Dictaphone and transcribed by myself. Observational research will involve taking field notes. All the research is confidential and will be kept completely anonymous. You can choose to remove your information at any time.

After the Study

Thank you for your participation in this research. Your time and help are deeply valued. This list outlines what will happen to the information you have provided:

- Your recorded interview will be transcribed and given a pseudonym to protect your identity.
- If desired you can listen to the recorded interview before it is transcribed and analysed.
- The interview, transcription and field notes will be stored securely, will be password protected and not shared with anyone.

- Your transcription and my observational field notes will be analysed in order to investigate the research as outlined in the briefing document.
- The findings will be used to write my PhD at Newcastle University, UK.
- The findings may be used in academic papers and conferences.
- Audio recordings will be destroyed at the end of the project and anonymous transcriptions will continue to be securely stored.

If you are interested in taking part, please either text, phone or email me.
Thank you for your time.

Robin Finlay
r.n.finlay@newcastle.ac.uk
phone tbc

If you would prefer to discuss any concerns with my academic supervisors please contact: Dr Anoop Nayak, 4th Floor, Daysh Building, Newcastle University, +44 (0)191 222 5421 anoop.nayak@ncl.ac.uk & Professor Alastair Bonnett, 4th Floor, Daysh Building, Newcastle University, +44(0)191 222 6347 alastair.bonnett@ncl.ac.uk

Appendix 5: Consent Form in English.

Research on the Social, Cultural and Spatial Dynamics of Moroccan Migrants in Granada, Spain

Consent Form

A vital aspect of this research involves conversations about Moroccan migrants' experiences of living within Granada, and observations of their daily practices. All of the information you will provide will be kept anonymous and will not be shared with anyone else.

I have received an information leaflet and understand that:

- Everything I say will be treated completely confidentially.
- All my information will be stored securely; password protected and will not be shared with anyone else.
- My name will be changed and any identifying personal information will not be included.
- The data will be used responsibly in publications and I can see any reports before they are officially published
- All the records of this research will be destroyed after the researcher has completed her research project.
- I can decide to leave the research at any time, ask for my information to be removed or choose not to answer anything I am not happy to.
- The interviews and discussions will be recorded.
- I am happy to be observed carrying out my day to day practices.
- This research has no relationship to the Spanish government, your employment or citizenship claims.
- I understand the research, am happy to participate and understand that quotations may be used in the research.
- I understand that I can contact the researcher before or after the interview to ask any questions.

Signature: ……

Print name: ……

Date: ……

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