

It's More Complex than “Black” and “White:” Symbolic Boundaries of Mixedness in the Moroccan Context

Catherine Therrien

Al Akhawayn University, Ifrane, Morocco

Abstract: When an outsider enters a group, social cohesion comes into play and a system of social control is deployed to preserve the group identity. Mixedness corresponds to a transgression of endogamous social norms whether in terms of nationality, ethnicity, race, and/or religion. If social cohesion, in Morocco, is first and foremost linked to the majority religion – Islam – then this article shows that other lines of difference significantly contribute to delimitating the symbolic boundaries of the group identity. Based on 15 years of ethnographic fieldwork among mixed families and migrants in Morocco, this article argues that sharing the same religion is not automatically an element of rapprochement, and that racial categories are difficult symbolic boundaries to overcome in the Moroccan context where “whiteness” is generally perceived as more positive than “blackness.” The narratives collected indicate however, that social perception is more complex than the black/white binary classification and that race is a “contextual phenomenon” that intersects with social class and gender to draw complex lines of difference between “us” and “them.” If the fieldwork reflects unequal North/South power relationships, it also shows that mixed families have the capacity to positively transform their experience of mixedness and thus to reverse these societal power relations.

Keywords: Mixed Couples, Mixed Individuals, Migration, Morocco, Symbolic Boundaries, Race, Social Perception, Whiteness, Blackness.

Introduction

“I get the impression that we have frozen in time a country where there was a great fluidity and no codified language. There were several languages, several belief systems, several religions and it was always in motion. Morocco was a land where people intermingled; it has always been like that. We have frozen in time, created “Moroccanity” and have stopped all that. So I think that children of mixed couples can reconcile Morocco with its history (Lahcen, a child of mixed French-Moroccan couple).”

Do mixed children who are simultaneously part of “us” and part of “them,” have this capacity to reconcile Morocco with its history? It’s difficult to say. One thing is certain: the experience of these mixed individuals starkly highlighted the contemporary challenges faced by the country regarding migration and more specifically social perception of cultural, ethnic, social

and religious “otherness.” In this paper, the experience of mixed couples and their offspring will be analysed as a social laboratory that will reveal, at a microsociological level, the social construction of symbolic boundaries in the Moroccan context. As highlighted by Collet and Philippe,¹ the concept of “mixedness” allows us to heuristically examine the issue of diversity.

When an outsider enters a group, social cohesion comes into play and a whole system of social control (normative and legislative) is deployed to preserve the group identity.² The anthropological work I conducted in Morocco over the last fifteen years, allowed me to observe that social cohesion in Morocco is first and foremost linked to the majority religion – Islam but that other elements, like racial categories, also significantly contribute in delimitating the symbolic boundaries of the group identity. In a recent article, I exposed the legal and religious boundaries of mixedness in the Moroccan context. My analysis suggests that the delineation of legislative boundaries indicates who is considered an insider, who is an outsider, and under which conditions an outsider could become a member of the in-group, thereby exposing the demand for what could be termed “forced legal assimilation.”³ Indeed, the main goal of the Moroccan Family Code (the *Mudawana*) is to preserve the Islamic nature and the patriarchal structure of the country. Being legally recognized as Muslim – whether practicing or not – is the condition not only to be considered as an in-group member (the *’Umma*) but also to benefit from the law (marriage, inheritance, etc...).⁴

Mixed couples, by definition, transgress symbolic boundaries whether in terms of nationality, ethnicity, race, religion and/or social class. The most significant boundary for white Westerners in the Moroccan context is religion. The negative reactions of Moroccan families regarding Westerners are most of the time related to the fact that he or she is not Muslim. Sharing the same religion as the majority group is clearly perceived as a key point of common identity in Morocco.⁵ However, this paper will show that sharing the same religion is not always an element of rapprochement, and that racial categories

1. Beate Collet and Philippe Claudine, “Parcours réflexif et tentative conceptuelle,” in *Mixités. Variations autour d’une notion transversale*, ed. Beate Collet and Philippe Claudine (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2008), 251-82.

2. Catherine Therrien, “Trajectories of Mixed Couples in Morocco: A Meaningful Discursive Space for Mixedness,” *Revista de Sociologia* 97, 1 (2012): 129-50.

3. Catherine Therrien, “When Europeans Move to Morocco “for Love”: Navigating Legislative and Religious Boundaries in a Muslim context,” in *Contemporary Europeans Emigrations. Situating Integration in New Destinations*, ed. Brigitte Sutter and Lisa Åkesson (London: Routledge, 2020), 105.

4. Catherine Therrien, *En voyage chez-soi: Trajectoires de couples mixtes au Maroc* (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 2014).

5. Therrien, “When Europeans Move.”

are difficult symbolic boundaries to overcome in the Moroccan context. If Sub-Saharan migrants often suffer from racial discrimination, Westerners clearly benefit from something Lundström⁶ calls "white privilege." Therefore, I found it interesting to explore how these religious and racial boundaries impact the experience of the foreign partner in mixed couples regarding social perception.

In the following sections, I briefly review the literature on mixedness in order to highlight how this paper contributes to the literature. I also explain the methodology I used to collect the data as well as present the historical context of mixedness in Morocco. The core of the paper is then divided into two main sections. The first one explores the challenges faced by individuals in mixed couples with regard to social perception. It shows that in the perception and acceptance of mixedness, race matters, and "whiteness" is generally seen as something more positive (and less of a transgression) than dark skin. This distinction reveals a hierarchy in the perception and classification of "the other." Being of mixed couple descent means being both perceived as an insider and an outsider, depending on where the boundary line is placed. The second section highlights the complexity of symbolic boundaries by describing how race – and more specifically whiteness – is a "contextual phenomenon"⁷ that intersects with social class and gender to draw distinct and complex lines between "us" and "them." These two sections reveal a process of racialization that clearly reflects unequal North/South power relationships. However, I will ultimately argue that beyond the challenges that these symbolic boundaries represent, the ability of both mixed couples and their offspring to transform their experience of diversity and to use it in order to build bridges plays an important role in enabling them to reverse societal power relations.

Mixedness and Boundaries

In scholarly literature, a couple is defined as 'mixed' when their union transgresses a social norm or a symbolic boundary⁸ whether in terms of nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, language and/or social class. In 1975, Lautman and Bensimon⁹ were already saying that what makes the specificity of these marriages is that they disturb the status quo, that they go against

6. Catrin Lundström, *White Migrations, Gender, Whiteness and Privilege in Transnational Migration* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

7. *Ibid.*, 4.

8. Jocelyne Streiff-Fenart, "Sauver la face et réparer l'offense: Le traitement rituel des mariages mixtes dans les familles maghrébines immigrées," in *Mariages tous azimuts. Approche pluridisciplinaire des couples binationaux*, ed. Albier Jean-Luc et al. (Fribourg Suisse: Éditions Universitaires de Fribourg Suisse, 2000).

9. Doris Bensimon et al., "Quelques aspects théoriques des recherches concernant les mariages mixtes," *Ethnies* 4 (1975): 17-40.

religious prescriptions, and that they shock social or cultural traditions. These unions appear as “disruptive factors of social cohesion.”¹⁰ If mixed unions seem more disturbing than others, it is because they represent a departure from the common rule of marriage formation.¹¹ From an anthropological perspective, mixedness refers to exogamy, in other words, a transgression of endogamous matrimonial norms. As stated by Bryon et Waldis, mixedness “refer[s] to an unacceptable transgression of what a group defines or considers as its boundaries.”¹² This explains why anthropologists interested in mixedness tend to explore the delimitation of symbolic boundaries, which are defined as “the lines that include and define some people, groups, and things while excluding others.”¹³

It is important, to underline the polysemous nature of the term.¹⁴ Researchers agree that the notion actually takes on different meanings depending on the time, place and context in which it occurs.¹⁵ Whether a couple is considered mixed or not, depends on the time and place in which boundaries are drawn.¹⁶ Mixed unions are not, therefore, objective facts. As stated by Schnapper,¹⁷ the subject of social science research on mixedness is twofold: we need to study both mixed couples but also what is considered mixed in a given society. Studying mixedness in this way allows us to understand how boundaries are established in a specific context.¹⁸

Al-Yousuf, who worked on Muslim-Christian marriages in Britain, explained that “the social norms of endogamy [...] remain intrinsic to most Islamic cultures,” which explains why these interfaith relationships are

10. Beate Collet, “Intégration et mixogamie en France et en Allemagne,” in *Liberté, égalité, mixités conjugales, une sociologie du couple mixte*, ed. Gabrielle Varro et al. (Paris: Anthropos, 1998), 144.

11. Augustin Barbara, *Les couples mixtes* (Paris: Bayard, 1993).

12. Barbara Waldis and Reginald Bryon eds., *Migration and Marriage. Heterogamy and Homogamy in a Changing World* (Zurich, Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 2.

13. Epstein, F. Cynthia, “Tinker-bells and Pinups: the Construction and Reconstruction of Gender Boundaries at Work,” in *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, ed. Lamont, M., Fournier (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992), quoted in Michèle Lamont, Sabrina Pendergrass, and Mark Pachucki, “Symbolic Boundaries,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, 23 (2015): 850.

14. Catherine Therrien and Josiane Le Gall eds., “Nouvelles perspectives sur la mixité conjugale: le sujet et l’acteur au cœur de l’analyse,” *Enfances, familles, générations* 17 (2012): 1-20.

15. Gabrielle Varro, “Les couples mixtes à travers le temps. Une épistémologie de la mixité,” *Enfances, Familles, Générations* 17 (2012): 21-40.

16. Gabrielle Varro, *Les couples mixtes et leurs enfants en France et en Allemagne* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1995).

17. Dominique Schnapper, “Introduction générale,” in *Liberté, égalité, mixité conjugales, une sociologie du couple mixte*, ed. Philippe Claudine et al. (Paris: Anthropos, 1998).

18. David Voas, “The Maintenance and Transformation of Ethnicity: Evidence on Mixed Partnerships in Britain,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35, 9 (2009): 1497-1513.

considered transgressive.¹⁹ As he argues, "it is in recognition of its powerful and disruptive potential that 'traditional' societies, which emphasize kinship bonds as the basis of identity and cultural transmission, tend to regulate marriages carefully."²⁰ In Morocco mixed couples are perceived as a challenge to Moroccan social cohesion.²¹ As Addidou argues, mixed marriages force the endogamous, Muslim and patriarchal Moroccan society to incorporate elements that do not conform to its traditional model.²² A closer look at the symbolic boundaries of mixedness in the Moroccan context allows me to answer these critical questions: who is considered as an outsider in Morocco? What are the terms used by Moroccans to talk about "the other"? Do these terms reveal different degrees of cultural otherness? How is mixedness perceived and welcomed? Do religion, race, gender and social class matter when it comes to social perception of mixedness? Which difference is the most significant? Are mixed children considered as insiders or as outsiders and on what criteria is this perception based? How do mixed couples and their offspring navigate these symbolic boundaries? By answering these questions this paper brings a new dimension to the discussion on border studies, racial politics but also on the emergence of the new Moroccan family.

Methodology

This paper is based on 15 years of fieldwork among mixed families and migrants in Morocco. I first conducted an ethnographic study of mixed couples in Morocco for my doctoral thesis.²³ I also conducted semi-structured or narrative interviews with migrants and/or migrants in mixed couples in four other research projects: one on the transnational links between France and Morocco,²⁴ one on the trajectory of French migrants in Morocco²⁵ one

19. Heather Al-Yousuf, "Negotiating Faith and Identity in Muslim-Christian Marriages in Britain," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 17, 3 (2006): 318.

20. *Ibid.*, 318.

21. Houria Abdelghani, "Le mariage mixte au jour le jour," *Femmes du Maroc* (2000): 55-62.

22. Fairouz Addidou, "Le couple mixte: époux marocain, Épouse étrangère au Maroc" (Master thesis, Université de Montréal, 1990).

23. Catherine Therrien, "Des repères à la construction d'un chez-soi. Trajectoires de mixité conjugale au Maroc," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Montreal, Canada, 2009), <https://papyrus.bib.umontreal.ca/xmlui/handle/1866/4048>.

24. Anna Virkama et al., "Franco-Moroccan Transnational Space: Continuity and Transformations," in *Migration and Transformation: Multi-Level Analysis of Migrant Transnationalism. International Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Pirkko Pitkänen et al. (Canada: Springer Verlag 2012), 108-68.

25. Catherine Therrien, ed., *La migration des Français au Maroc: Entre proximité et ambivalence* (Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016-a.); Catherine Therrien and Chloé Pelligrini, "French Migrants in Morocco: From a Desire for Elsewhereness to an Ambivalent Reality," *The Journal of African Studies* 20, 4 (2015): 605-21.

focusing on Spanish and Sub-Saharan migration in the city of Tangier.²⁶ I'm also currently working on a new research project on the identity of mixed children in Morocco.²⁷ During these different research projects, I encountered individuals whose experiences differed in terms of several criteria: nationality (I met people from more than 30 different countries),²⁸ age (from 18 to 65 years old), cities of residence,²⁹ religion (Muslim, Christian, Bahā'i, Jewish, Buddhist, atheist), socioeconomic class, family situation (married, divorced, separated, widowed non-marital relationship, transnational family), length of relationship (from a few months to 40 years), length of stay in Morocco (a few months to half a century), and so forth. Participant observation played an important role in this research as living in Morocco and being part of a mixed couple myself allowed me to frequently encounter research participants in casual situations, and to develop friendly connections with them. This proximity gave me access to their daily lives in a more personal way that allowed me to experience informative moments with them. My own personal experience of mixedness has placed me in a privileged position for observation. This specific position invites reflection on the notion of researcher involvement within scientific investigation, on the permeability between personal and professional spheres, and on various ethical concerns, topics that I have explored in a recent article.³⁰

The History of Mixedness in Morocco

In regards to how mixed couples are received in the Moroccan context, the historical period has to be taken into account. The first mixed unions in Morocco can be traced far back in its history. Mohamed Monkachi³¹ who has worked on the historical aspect of mixedness in Morocco, raises the hypothesis

26. Catherine Therrien, "Work, Love, Refuge, and Adventure: Contemporary Spanish Migrants in the City of Tangier," *Journal of North African Studies* 24, 1 (2019-b): 175-200; Catherine Therrien, "Tanger ville de croisements et de frontières," in *Espace imaginé, espace vécu et espace négocié. Parcours croisés des migrations espagnoles et subsahariennes à Tanger*, ed. Mouna Khalid (Rabat: Amerm, 2016-b), 107-33.

27. "Plural Identity of Mixed Children in Morocco: Transmission, Agency and Social Constraints," Research Project Funded by Ibn Khaldoun Program (CNRST 2019-2022). Catherine Therrien (PI). Comparative project research with a Canadian team lead by Josiane Le Gall.

28. France, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Portugal, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Slovakia, Russia, Ukraine, Japan, Vietnam, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, Comoros, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Central Africa, Cape Verde, Madagascar, Cameroun, Tunisia, Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Costa Rica, Brazil, Canada, United-States.

29. Rabat, Casablanca, Tangier, Marrakech, Fes, Meknes, Tetouan.

30. Catherine Therrien, "L'implication personnelle dans la recherche: L'art d'écrire entre les lignes," in *Terrains marocains. Sur les traces de chercheurs d'ici et d'ailleurs*, ed. Mouna Khalid, Catherine Therrien, and Leïla Bouasria (Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2017), 203-26.

31. Mohamed Monkachi, "Unions mixtes dans l'histoire du Maroc," *Couples en question* (Casablanca: Le Fennec, 1990), 121-30.

that the installation of Roman troops in Morocco may already have been a moment conducive to mixed unions. He reminds us that dynastic Morocco was born of a mixed union: that of the Idrisides dynasty founder, Idris I from the Arabian Peninsula, and the young Berber Maïcouda Kenza. Successive dynasties in Morocco have also yielded many examples of mixed unions undertaken by sultans with the *Umm Walad*, the slave-mothers. These foreign mothers, captive or released from their servility, were married to sovereigns, *chorfas* princes or nobles, and their essential function was to ensure that their husbands rested and to procreate. The most numerous examples of these mixed unions are found under the Almohads (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and under the Merinids (twelfth to fifteenth centuries).³²

The first attempt at a Franco-Moroccan union goes back to the time of Louis XIV. Sultan Moulay Ismaël, following the negotiations of his secretary of state at Versailles concerning Christian captives held in Meknès, asked for the hand of the daughter of the sovereign Louis XIV. The latter refused for religious reasons even though the sultan had specified that the young lady could continue to freely exercise her religion.³³ In 1792, Sultan Moulay Slimane married a woman of Corsican origin, a captive of the Rif pirates. In 1873, with the union of Cherif El Ḥadj Abdesalam Ben Moulay Ali of Ouazzane and the young English woman Emily Keen, mixed marriage began to change in nature. It left the princely realms and took into account the will of the foreign spouse. One could say that it was free marriage with mutual consent.³⁴

Much later on, the opening up of immigration and the conclusion of international agreements in the wake of the post-war period led to a migratory movement, mainly to France. The migratory movement of North African immigrant workers of the 1950s, which continued after National Independence in 1956, favoured the development of mixed unions.³⁵ Streiff-Fenart³⁶ recalls that an intense campaign of denigration and protest against mixed marriages took place during the period following the independence of the North African countries. For reformist and Moroccan leader Allal el Fassi, mixed marriage was a means used by colonialism to perpetuate its hold on citizens. Having noted the proliferation of mixed marriages after Independence, the author

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Mohamed El Yamalahi and Mohamed-Sâad Zemmouri, Introduction to *Histoire de ma vie, épouse du grand chérif d'Ouzzane*, ed. Emily Keene (Tanger: Gremenord, 2001).

35. Jean Déjeux, *Image de l'étrangère. Unions mixtes franco-maghrébines* (Paris: La boîte à documents, 1989).

36. Streiff-Fenart, "Sauver la face."

made clear what he thought of these unions in an article published in *Al-'Alam* in 1974.³⁷ The argument of Allal el Fassi, in this article, focuses on cohesion in Muslim society: society and family must be homogeneous. No virus, no stain. It was necessary to defend purity and to be protected from contamination. Children should not be passed around. They are secured in Islam through their father. The upbringing of a foreign mother could lead to a loss of religion and Muslim values.³⁸ In 1996, some decades later, Hassan II, the king of Morocco at that time, was clearly not recommending mixed marriages by claiming that these unions were unlikely to work.³⁹

Due to the intensity of contemporary migration flows, the rapid developments in transport and communication technologies and the processes of globalization and transnationalism, mixed marriages have multiplied worldwide and Morocco is part of this global dynamic. Nowadays, mixed couples are clearly more accepted and mixed weddings are increasingly celebrated openly in Morocco compared to previous decades. Although society is more open to mixed marriages, the following section will show that mixed couples nevertheless face challenges regarding social perception and social acceptance of their union.

I. Being an Outsider: Navigating Symbolic Boundaries

For many couples interviewed, the reaction of their family and entourage to the announcement of their relationship, made them realize, sometimes for the first time, that their union transgressed symbolic boundaries. I agree with Cerchiaro that this announcement is a “pivotal moment” (*momento cardine*).⁴⁰ The fieldwork enabled me to observe how the reactions towards, and the welcome extended to foreigners in Morocco reveal different degrees of cultural otherness. The reactions of the families and entourages were different depending on the nationality, the religion, and the phenotype of the person with whom the Moroccan was involved. Gender and social class are also factors that influence social perception and acceptance.

The Different Degree of Otherness

According to my observation, some foreigners are considered so close to the majority society that when they marry a Moroccan their couple is not even

37. Déjeux, *Image de l'étrangère*.

38. Ibid.

39. Maghrebi Vrai, “Le Roi Hassan II et le mariage mixte,” YouTube video, 1: 13. Avril, 2008. <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x58shh>.

40. Francesco Cerchiaro, *Amori e confini. Le coppie miste tra islam, educazione dei figli e vita quotidiana*, [Love and Borders. Mixed Couples Amongst Islam, Children's Education and Everyday Life] (Napoli: Guida Ed. 2016), 61.

considered "mixed," or at least, not as mixed as other couples. It's the case of the migrants coming from Arab-Islamic countries like Tunisians, Algerians, Egyptians, etc. These foreigners benefit from a "brother status." For their part, the Westerners seem to hold a "privileged status." They are, most of the time, welcomed to the country, and well-perceived by Moroccans in general. If we compare them to other ethnic groups, Moroccans are more open to marrying them⁴¹ even if, as the fieldwork also showed, the welcome by family members to these Westerner-Moroccan couples may also be "cold." On the other hand, Sub-Saharan migrants often suffer from racial discrimination whereas Asian migrants are perceived as the absolute otherness and are generally reduced to stereotypical images.⁴²

The terms used in Darija (Moroccan Arabic dialect) to categorize foreigners indicate a degree of "perceived" distance or proximity, and reveal a racialization process. I observed that the more the foreigner is considered close to the majority society in terms of culture and religion, the more the appellations are specific, like *Tunsi*, *Dzāiri*, *Meşri* (Tunisian, Algerian, and Egyptian). The other appellations, which are vaguer, emphasize the differences in terms of religion or race, and indicate a greater or lesser feeling of foreignness. Whether this feeling refers to a positive or a negative connotation depends on the particular group concerned. The terms *gawouri-a* (from the Turkish word *gâvur* which designates the pig and by extension the unbeliever)⁴³ and *naşraniya* (which takes its roots in the word Nazareth and means Christian) both design Westerners and have, most of the time, a positive connotation. *Chinouiya*, (the Chinese) is a common designation for any foreigner who has an Asian phenotype thereby indicating a high degree of distance and strangeness. 'Azzīya, (the slave or the black man/woman)⁴⁴ is a frequent appellation – with a negative connotation – for any person who has dark skin (including Moroccans), but depending on to whom it is addressed, the same term does not have the same degree of negativity. If you can "affectionately" call

41. Nouredine Harrami, "La représentation sociale des Français installés au Maroc: Synthèse des données de l'enquête quantitative menée auprès des Marocains," in *La migration des Français au Maroc. Entre proximité et ambivalence*, ed. Therrien Catherine (Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016), 277-300.

42. This group of migrants is small in terms of numbers and Moroccans have few interactions with them which has led to a stereotypical perception.

43. Elif Aksaz, "Immigration familiale turque et activités quotidiennes des femmes: Le souci de réputation dans une cité HLM de la banlieue parisienne," *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 22, 3 (2006): 155-77, <https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.3341>.

44. "The term 'azzi as well as 'abd belong to a pejorative category that designs in an equivalent manner, the slave and the black man." Mahamed Timera, "La religion en partage, la "couleur" et l'origine comme frontière. Les migrants sénégalais au Maroc," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 51, 201 (2011): 148.

your Moroccan cousin ‘*azziya*,⁴⁵ the same term is much more pejorative when referring to a Sub-Saharan African. Moreover, it is interesting to observe that a black European, who will be at first classified as ‘*azziya* when walking down the street, will than be treated more as a *gawri-a* when, upon speaking with him/her, people discover that the individual in question is not from “Africa.”⁴⁶ Indeed, the distinction of the terms used to talk about foreigners reveals a clear hierarchy in the classification, and therefore in the perception of and the behavior towards “the other.” A black European or a black Sub-Saharan African in Morocco would both face common challenges in terms of social perception and integration, but being European would, in most of the cases, facilitate the interactions and integration with the local population. Aside from informing us of the different racial categories constructed in the Moroccan context, these symbolic boundaries inform us of the imagery embedded in history, since these categorizations are deeply rooted in colonial history,⁴⁷ and in the country’s history of slavery.⁴⁸

If Religion Matters, Race Often Prevailed

The data collected clearly reveal that religion matters and greatly influences the experience of foreigners in Morocco. Pascale, a French Christian woman and Hamid, her Moroccan Muslim husband, met in France where they were both studying. When they got their diplomas, they tried to work in France but quickly decided to settle in Morocco because they realized it would be difficult for Hamid to not get an under-skilled job in France due to racial discrimination (he has a higher education diploma). Hamid did not tell his parents about his relationship before coming back one night from France and knocking at his parents’ door with his foreign wife. They did not welcome them as expected. They had to sleep at a friend’s house. The Moroccan family did not approve of the relationship of their son with a “Christian” woman.

Like Hamid’s family, the negative reactions of Moroccan families regarding Westerner partners are most of the time related to the fact that he/she is not Muslim. But, as expressed by Salim in the vignette below, it’s not so much the religious difference of the foreign partner that matters. The

45. Having said that, one can’t ignore the racialization process implied in this term, even when used between Moroccans.

46. It is interesting to note that many Moroccans use Africa and African when talking about Sub-Saharan or West Africans, as if they were not themselves from Africa. This distinction between “us” (North African) and “them” (the rest of Africa), also indicates a racial hierarchy.

47. Jonathan Wrytzen, *Making Morocco. Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015); Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters. The Social Construction of Whiteness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

48. David Goodman, “Demystifying ‘Islamic Slavery’: Using Legal Practices to Reconstruct the End of Slavery in Fes, Morocco,” *History in Africa* 39, (2012): 143-74; Choukri El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

religious identity of the offspring is the number one concern not necessarily of all mixed couples, but of their extended family.

“As far as the religion is concerned (...) it's the big question everyone asks. Will there be a religious agreement? Will the children be Muslim? Will they receive an Islamic education? That is really the main worry in all this, our relationship is not necessarily the most important issue, it's how are we going to educate the children? You see, the question is about what will happen with your offspring? Will they be Christian or Muslim? Will they be “ours or theirs”?, (Salim, Moroccan, married to Francine, a French woman).”

Indeed, if mixed unions shake up Moroccan society, it is because they bring the possibility of children into the equation, behind which lies a transmission issue that involves a crucial question: which religious group will the child belong to? This point has been highlighted in different studies on mixed Muslim/non-Muslim families.⁴⁹

Gender also impacts social acceptance of mixedness. For religious and legal reasons, it becomes far more complicated for a Moroccan Muslim woman to have her union with a foreigner socially accepted.⁵⁰

“My father said to me: marry someone from China, Japan, wherever you want but marry a Muslim. In a way, it was the last stronghold he had. I understand that you may bring me someone I don't know, I understand that you may bring me a foreigner, I understand all this but there is just one thing; that he be a Muslim, (Ilham, Moroccan, married to François, a French-American man).”

The religious prohibition for a Muslim woman to get married to a non-Muslim man makes social acceptance more complicated.⁵¹ Sharing the same religion as the majority group is clearly perceived as a key point of common identity in Morocco. When Amira talked to her parents about her Indonesian partner, one of the first questions they asked was: “Is he Muslim?” The fact that he was born Muslim clearly smoothed the reactions and facilitated Nando's acceptance within the family. He came from a very far away place, he did

49. Francesco Cerchiaro, “Identity Loss or Identity Reshape? Religious Identification Amongst Offspring of ‘Christian-Muslim’ Couples,” *Journal of Contemporary Religion* (Forthcoming); Therrien, *En voyage chez-soi*; Al-Yousuf, “Negotiating Faith and Identity.”

50. Jana Van Niekerk and Maykel Verkuyten, “Interfaith Marriage Attitudes in Muslim Majority Countries: A Multilevel Approach,” *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 28, 4 (2018): 257-70, DOI:org/10.1080/10508619.2018.1517015.

51. According to the Mudawana, a Muslim man can marry a non-Muslim woman from one of the three monotheist religions, but a Muslim woman cannot marry a non-Muslim man (Article 39).

not speak a common language with the family, but at least he was Muslim. When Gustavo, a Spaniard, was introduced to Zahra's family, the fact that he was already converted to Islam (before the encounter) created an immediate sense of rapprochement with his in-laws. He was considered as "one of their own." Interestingly, Westerners who are converted to Islam not only benefit from a privileged status, they are also considered as members of the majority group.⁵² Mouna⁵³ even argues that being European and converting to Islam places one at the top of this hierarchical classification of "others." In sum, having religion in common is generally regarded as a factor that facilitates the development of successful relationships among mixed couples and the identity transmission to the mixed children.

However, the fieldwork also showed that sharing the same religion is not always an element of rapprochement. Dalane's story will illustrate this point. Dalane is a dark-skinned Comorian and a practicing Muslim. He came to Morocco several years ago to study at the university. He speaks the Moroccan dialectal Arabic, something that is quite rare for a foreigner in Morocco. He has a residence card (that is not the case of all of the migrants in Morocco, French and Spanish included).⁵⁴ He works in a Moroccan school to earn a living, has Moroccan friends, and had a Moroccan partner. Dalane met Meriem at the university and they fell in love. Dalane knew from the beginning of the relationship that things would not be simple, but he persisted. When they were ready to get married, Dalane not only visited Meriem's family to ask for her hand, but he decided to visit the family accompanied by an *'adūl*, a Moroccan Islamic notary. He was hoping that this family would become his second family. He did everything he could to conform to his partner's traditional environment (she is from a modest, traditional Moroccan family). The meeting was held respectfully, over a family meal. However, after his visit, the girl was threatened by her father. The message was clear: she was forbidden from dating this "black" guy. When Dalane realized how strong prejudices against black people were in this family and how his partner would

52. Therrien, *La migration des Français*.

53. Khalid Mouna, "Perceptions marocaines de la migration française au Maroc," in *La migration des Français au Maroc: Entre proximité et ambivalence*, ed. Catherine Therrien (Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016), 301-43.

54. According to a recent research project (Therrien 2019-b) half of the Spanish we met didn't have a residence permit (which means that many of them were working illegally). There was the same observation from the French migrants in Morocco. Many of the French migrants we interviewed were not really concerned about respecting the Moroccan law on residency status. (Hocine Zeghib, and Catherine Therrien, "Les migrants français au Maroc: De quelques aspects juridiques et Administratifs," in *La migration des Français au Maroc. Entre proximité et ambivalence*, ed. Catherine Therrien (Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016).

suffer as a result of their relationship, he decided to relent and they broke up. How can we explain this violent refusal seeing that Dalane is Muslim and thus he shares a common religious background with Meriem's family? In his study on Moroccan-Senegalese relationships, Timera⁵⁵ has clearly demonstrated how in Morocco, racism, contempt for colour and race, and discrimination exist between Moroccans and Sub-Saharanans even though they share a common religion. According to the author, this common element has created a hierarchy where the "colour black" nevertheless remains a significant boundary.

Did socioeconomic status have an impact on the welcome Dalane received? The modest family would have possibly been more welcoming if he had been wealthy, as in certain cases, class can trump race. But another case suggested that skin color is a difficult symbolic boundary to overcome in the Moroccan context, even for a wealthy, urban, and educated family. For many years, Kenza has been dating Gabriel, an educated, English-speaking, Catholic, Nigerian, irregular (at that time) migrant. Their relationship represents a combination of legal, religious, linguistic, and racial boundaries. The reaction from her parents was neither violence nor a threat, but the couple needed to deal with the negative reactions of the family and the prejudices of their entourage. They both decided to resist family and social pressure. They got married, had children and have stayed together until now.⁵⁶

It's important to mention that negative reactions regarding the arrival of a foreigner within the family were not specific to the Moroccan context⁵⁷. Some foreign families immediately accepted the Moroccan spouse like was the case for Catherine in her French family, "My older sister and my mother loved him right away. I would even say, he was my mother's darling." But this was not the case for all the couples I met.

"My mother was against it. [...] She tried everything to stop it but there is no law to ban marriage. She came over here, she even went to the rector of the university. He said, "I do not have the right to forbid anything!, (Katia, Russian and Ahmed's widow)."

55. Timera, "La religion en partage."

56. Kenza and Gabriel do not represent the majority. Their case is not a singular one, but it should be mentioned that there are few Sub-Saharan-Moroccan couples in Morocco compared to European-Moroccan couples, and that many of them let themselves be discouraged by the negative reactions towards their relationship.

57. It's important to point that not all families react negatively to the arrival of a foreigner in their family. Some were curious, some were reticent, but many families also warmly welcomed the newcomer.

Reluctance, disapproval, rejection, the negative reactions of the non-Moroccan families, like that of Katia's mother, were most of the time related to fear of the unknown, and more specifically to Islamophobic sentiments.

“They were afraid for me. Moroccan, Arab, Muslim (...). They hardly knew what it was, but they were afraid (...). My father had asked me to go to Morocco and not to get married right away, to get to know the family, to get to know the country, and then to phone him before getting married. He was afraid that I would be locked up or something (...). Maybe he said to himself that if I am able to call him, it means that I have a little freedom!, (Margret, American, married to Bachir, Moroccan).”

Sometimes the reactions are much more violent and demonstrate a clear expression of racism.

“I did not realise what the magnitude of this difference would be. I did not suspect that it could create (...) what it created (...). Because what happened afterwards is that once he found out, my Dad had a very, very violent reaction; very violent with very violent words: “You will not see him again or I’ll shoot him (...), (Francine, French, married to Salim, Moroccan).”

Margret and Francine's father's reactions were clearly linked to the fact that their daughters were in couples with someone from an Arab-Muslim country, associated in their imaginaries to violence, extremism, and gender oppression (“He was afraid that I would be locked up or something”). These fear responses are clearly rooted in Islamophobia. As argued by many scholars, the rejection of mixed couples is based on negative stereotypes and prejudices linked to the partner's origin, phenotype, or ethno-cultural characteristics such as religion, but especially where Islam is concerned.⁵⁸ As mentioned by Cerchiaro, who investigates the different factors that influence the social acceptance of a Muslim spouse within the majority partner's family in a European context, “Muslim identity” is often perceived as monolithic

58. Maria Giovanna Cassa, “(Dis)integrated Women: Self-Other Representations in the Contemporary Italian Migration to Morocco,” in *Contemporary European Emigrations: Situating Integration in New Destinations*, ed Brigitte Sutter and Lisa Åkesson (London: Routledge, 2020), 58-77; Dan Rodríguez-García, Miguel Solana-Solana, and Miranda J. Lubbers, “Preference and Prejudice: Does Intermarriage Erode Negative Ethno-Racial Attitudes Between Groups in Spain?” *Ethnicities* 16, 4 (2016): 521-46; Francesco Cerchiaro, Dick Houtman, and Stef Aupers, “Christian-Muslim Couples in the Veneto Region, Northeastern Italy: Dealing with Religious Pluralism in Everyday Family Life,” *Social Compass* 62, 1 (2015): 43-60.

and represents the emblem of "otherness."⁵⁹ However, it is important to highlight that religion and race are both interwoven with a respect towards social perception.⁶⁰

If, as these different examples illustrate, nationality, religion, and race significantly influence the way foreigners in mixed unions are perceived and welcomed (in Morocco and transnationally), the differences in terms of social class, age and gender also have an impact on the reaction of the families. Nevertheless, I do not consider these criteria to be a decisive factor in the duration of the relationship.

One couple I met differed in all of these criteria. Ilham is a Moroccan Muslim. She is from a privileged social class. She is a doctor. Dan is a European non-Muslim (at least when they met), from a middle-class family. He was studying when they first met. She is nearly fifteen years his senior. Their couple defies all of the conventions. Firstly, as already mentioned it is socially and religiously not accepted for a Muslim woman to get married to a foreigner. Ilham's father was clear: her marriage will be accepted if Dan first converted to Islam. Secondly, the fact that she was from a higher social class and older than her husband also provoked negative reactions. They did not let the first reactions of their families have a negative impact on their relationship and they have been together for 20 years.

As I argued in my thesis, the decisive factor that will have the biggest impact on the duration of the couple, is not related to the reactions and the welcome of the family.⁶¹ These are clearly challenging elements but the decisive factor is rather the couple's capacity to navigate social perception.⁶² In other words, the mixed couples I interviewed succeeded in building their own trajectories and in overcoming the challenges they face.

This capacity to constantly navigate and to adjust to their social environment⁶³ is not only a critical asset that many individuals in mixed couples developed, but it's also something that mixed children considered as being the most precious part of their legacy as the following section will

59. Francesco Cerchiaro, "Dissonant Masculinities? Migration, Emotions, and Masculinities in Marriages between Italian Women and Moroccan Men Living in Italy," *Journal of Gender Studies* (2020): 1-14, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2020.1730162>.

60. Miri Song, "Why we Still Need to Talk about Race," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, 6 (2018): 1131-45.

61. It's also critical to note that relationships change through time. In general, the data collected revealed that time, and a closer contact with the foreign spouse, have a big impact on the individual and families' perception (Therrien, *En voyage chez-soi*).

62. Ibid.

63. Henrik Vigh, "Motion Square. A Second Look at the Notion of Social Navigation," *Anthropological Theory* 9, 4 (2009): 419-30.

show. Mixed children are undoubtedly parts of both groups (“us” and “them.”) However, the majority of them are constantly reminded that they are different. If this “perceived” difference grants them certain privileges and/or cause them to face some challenges, we will see that the categorization process is much more complex and nuanced than the simple black/white dichotomy.

II. Being *nous-nous*: Defying Symbolic Boundaries

Social scientists and anthropologists who conducted fieldwork on European⁶⁴ and Sub-Saharan migrants,⁶⁵ or on the presence of foreigners in Morocco,⁶⁶ all agree that migrants coming from the North benefit from undeniable privileges related to their “white capital” compared to migrants coming from the South who suffer massively from racial discrimination and racism. As we saw in the first section, the fieldwork I conducted with mixed couples confirmed this process of racialization. However, the data recently collected from interviews with thirty mixed children from different origins allow me to nuance these findings and to show that “privileges are intersectional.”⁶⁷ Phenotypes are crucial in social perception (symbolic boundaries are drawn according to the way mixed children look), but other factors like social class,

64. Therrien, “Work, love, refuge,”; Mohamed Berriane and M’Hammed Idrissi-Janati, “Les résidents européens de la médina de Fès. Une nouvelle forme de migration nord-sud,” *Autrepart* 1, 77 (2016): 87-105; Therrien, *La migration des Français*; Michel Peraldi, and Liza Terrazoni, “Anthropologie des Européens en Afrique. Mémoires coloniales et nouvelles aventures migratoires,” *Cahiers d’études africaines* 1-2, 221-222 (2016): 9-28; Chloé Pellegrini, “Parcours de petits entrepreneurs français à Marrakech,” *Cahiers d’études africaines* 1-2, 221-222 (2016): 81-100; Catherine Therrien, and Chloé Pelligrini, “French Migrants in Morocco: From a Desire for Elsewhereness to an Ambivalent Reality,” *The Journal of African Studies* 20, 4 (2015): 605-21; Mohamed Berriane, Mohammed Aderghal, Mohamed Idrissi Janati, and Johara Berriane, “Immigration to Fes: The Meaning of the New Dynamics of the Euro-African Migratory System,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 34, 5 (2013): 486-502; Anton Escher and Sandra Petermann, “Marrakesh Medina: Neocolonial Paradise of Lifestyle Migrants?” In *Contested Spatialities: Lifestyle Migration and Residential Tourism*, ed. Michael Janoschka, and Heiko Haas (London: Routledge, 2013), 29-46; Aurélia Picod-Kinany, *L’émigration européenne: Le cas des Français au Maroc* (Sarrebruck: Éditions Universitaires Européennes, 2010).

65. Inka Stock, *Time, Migration and Forced Immobility. Sub-Saharan African Migrants in Morocco* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2019); Elsa Tyszler, “From Controlling Mobilities to Control over Women’s Bodies: Gendered Effects of EU Border Externalization in Morocco,” *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, 1 (2019): 7-25, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0128-4>; Catherine Therrien, *Celui qui échoue devient sorcier: Parcours d’un migrant camerounais parti d’Afrique et arrivé... en Afrique* (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 2019-a); Isabella Alexander, “Trapped On the Island: the Politics of Race and Belonging in Jazirat al-Maghrib,” *The Journal of North African Studies* 24, 5 (2019): 786-806; Sébastien Bachelet, “‘Wasting Mbeng’: Adventure and Trust Amongst Sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco,” *Ethnos* 84, 5 (2019): 1-18; Fouzi Mourji, et al., *Les migrants subsahariens au Maroc. Enjeux d’une migration de résidence* (Rabat: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2016); Berriane, “Immigration to Fes;” Timera, “La religion en partage;” Anaïk Pian, *Aux nouvelles frontières de l’Europe: L’aventure incertaine des Sénégalais au Maroc* (Paris: La Dispute, 2009).

66. Nadia Khrouz and Nazarena Lanza, *Migrants au Maroc. Cosmopolitisme, présence d’étrangers et transformations sociales* (Rabat: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2015).

67. Lundström, *White Migrations*, 15.

gender and also what I called the "undesirable foreigner status" and the "noticeable or unnoticeable accent," are significant when it comes to defining who is perceived as an in-group member and who is considered an outsider. This will be illustrated by the story of three mixed Moroccan/Non-Moroccan children who were all socialized primarily in Morocco.

Lahcen was born in Morocco to a French mother and a Moroccan father. When I met him, he was 27 years old and was studying in Spain for his doctoral thesis after obtaining his master's degree in Canada and his degree in France. When we met for the interview, he was wearing sunglasses. As he explained to me, he is always wearing sunglasses in Morocco (even during winter) in order "to go unnoticed in the streets." Phenotypically, Lahcen looks like a *gawouri* as he told me himself. With his dark blond hair and his blue eyes, he is aware that Moroccans perceive him as a Westerner. His European looks and his perfect French are undoubtedly a "white capital"⁶⁸ that gives him advantages in Morocco and abroad and this is illustrated when he says:

"I'm sure it worked in my favour both here and over there. As far as language in Morocco is concerned, to speak French, as I speak it, is a huge advantage in fact. I knew that here, I could find work in diplomacy and stuff like that if I wanted to. I have already done it and actually I could have done it several times. I do not want to but well (...). I know (...) that's positive discrimination?, (Lahcen, a child of mixed French-Moroccan couple)."

However, it was hard for him, when he was a kid, to not be considered like his Moroccan cousins, the small boys in his neighbourhood and his classmates at the French school. When analysing social perceptions, it's important to take into account social class and different contexts. As Lundström argues, "whiteness is not lived, experienced and expressed in similar ways across diverse contexts."⁶⁹ Lahcen has always navigated between two different socioeconomic worlds. During his childhood, he described his family as living in modest conditions. Living in a working-class district, a neighbourhood where the young male had to adapt to the streets from an early age, he always felt that people around him wanted to protect him. In other people's perception, he was considered unable to defend himself in the street. Because he was "French," he was perceived as "weak" compared to the other boys around him. His parents were able to get a scholarship, so he attended a French school, an establishment affordable for the Moroccan higher social

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., 12.

class. Since he didn't master the codes of this social class, it was difficult for him to fit in and to feel accepted. During his childhood, he also lived in France for four years and this was a reason why his parents wanted him to attend the French educational system in Morocco. So when he came back to Morocco, he didn't speak Darija fluently.

“I started hanging out in pool halls, cafes, stuff like that, bad places where there is not a word of French. That's how I started to talk Darija properly. I found it was very important to force myself and sometimes I even made up sentences in my head to help learn the language, (Lahcen).”

Despite all his efforts to learn the language, his accent betrayed him and so he was not regarded as an insider. Like Lahcen, many of the mixed children we interviewed mentioned the fact that their accent betrayed them. People do not believe they are Moroccan or do not consider them to be real Moroccans because of their “noticeable accent.”

Due to these different experiences (positive and negative) of being considered as an outsider, Lahcen very much appreciates living in big Western cosmopolitan cities, like Barcelona and Montreal, where he can almost go unnoticed. However, when he began to live outside of Morocco, he quickly realised that he couldn't go totally unnoticed. Even if no one can tell that he is “Moroccan” due to his phenotype and his mastery of the French language and social codes, something betrayed him: his name. He has a connoted Arab surname. Because of these six letters written on his French passport, L.a.h.c.e.n, he was regularly classified as an outsider, more specifically, as an “undesirable foreigner.” He was insulted and beaten up when he was at primary school in France and years later had problems finding an apartment and a job when he was an undergraduate student in Paris. He always has problems at the police border when he travels to the United-States and he even lost his student job when he was in Canada. One day, his superior came to tell him that the Canadian government wanted him to collect his fingerprints. Nothing, apart from his first name, could have told them that he came from an Arab-Muslim country. When he asked why he was the only one who asked to do this, his superior told him: “because you come from a terrorist country.” He was shocked and at first refused to go. He then agreed to go in order to keep his job but in the end, he still lost it.

Looking at Lahcen's story illustrates how “the idea of whiteness as a perceived homogeneous entity is destabilized when analysed through a transnational comparative perspective.”⁷⁰ How he looks, how he talks, what

70. Ibid., 13.

is written on his identity papers (his name), all these elements are perceived differently on a social level, depending on the social and economic context in which he is living. Lahcen who was positively discriminated in Morocco, at least in certain socioeconomic contexts, was classified in some circumstances (those in which he had to show his name) as the "undesirable foreigner" for example when living in Western countries. As observed by Hankivsky, "people can experience privilege and oppression simultaneously. This depends on what situation or specific context they are in."⁷¹

The following story, that of Hicham-Yacoubi, 27 years old, son of a Moroccan mother and of an Ivorian father, reveals that blackness should also be nuanced and read in relation to other factors and to specific contexts.

Hicham-Yacoubi has two surnames. He has a Moroccan Muslim name (Hicham), which is quite uncommon amongst mixed children in Morocco who have, most of the time, international names – Layla, Neil, Sara, Yasmine, Ryan, Noa, Nadia – or at least names without any religious connotation. Indeed, conscious of discrimination from 'Northern' countries in regards to Muslims, most mixed families choose first names that do not carry a religious connotation⁷² as illustrate in the excerpt below:

"We didn't want the children to suffer because of their first names. I believe that from the moment you opt for a mixed marriage, you must have an open mind and not be confined to a given model – that of the place where you live. Initially, you don't know how long you will live there, and you don't know what the children's destiny will be, (Mohamed, Moroccan man, married to a German woman)."

He also has an Ivorian name (Yacoubi), at least in his paperwork, because in everyday life, everyone calls him by his Moroccan name. Since he was born, he talks with his mother in Darija and with his father in French. He was raised in a middle-class neighbourhood largely surrounded by Moroccans with frequent visits of his father's Sub-Saharan friends. He was educated in a Moroccan private school until the age of 12 and continued his studies in the Moroccan public system where classical Arabic was the main language, a choice that is quite rare for the children of a mixed couple when the foreign parent is not from an Arab region. Mixed children in Morocco are mainly educated in foreign school systems, which is indicative of the

71. Olena Hankivsky, "Intersectionality 101," *Institute for Intersectionality Research & Policy*, (2014): 3.

72. Therrien, *En voyage chez-soi*.

socioeconomic level of these families.⁷³ Hicham-Yacoubi also studied at a public Moroccan university, which is even less common for mixed children. The majority of the parents in mixed couple not only sees the future of their offspring as being in a cosmopolitan, mobile and globalized world but also envision that they will study or live abroad. They consider the bi-nationality, the capacity to use several languages, and the ability to adapt to different cultural frameworks as indispensable tools for navigating the modern world with ease.⁷⁴ Hicham-Yacoubi has mainly Moroccan friends and has regular contact with his Moroccan family. Until recently, he had no contact with his Ivorian family, apart from an uncle who also lived in Morocco. His father migrated to Morocco in 1987, well before the Internet and social media. He remembers receiving letters from the Ivory Coast when he was young. He has never visited his father's country (the airplane tickets are not affordable for the family). A few years ago, an Ivorian cousin came to study to Morocco and became the bridge between the two families, introducing them to each other through Facebook and Skype. Because of this familial and educational socialisation, and contrary to many of the mixed children we met during our fieldwork, Hicham-Yacoubi spoke perfect Darija without any accent, and without mixing between Darija and French like the majority of mixed children in Morocco for whom code switching is part of their daily conversation.⁷⁵

Before meeting Hicham-Yacoubi, I had this preconceived notion that as a child of an Ivorian migrant, he wouldn't be fully considered an in-group member, and would probably suffer from racial discrimination and/or racist comments. As he explained to me, when he walks in the street, unlike his father or some of his friends who aren't *nous-nous* (fifty-fifty in dialectal Arabic) and who are from Sub-Saharan regions, he passes for a "Moroccan who has dark skin" and therefore does not suffer from racial discrimination. When analysing his biographical trajectories, I discovered that other elements sometimes surpasses phenotype and skin colour in categorizing someone as one of us: the enculturation process and "the unnoticeable accent."

"If my mother had not chosen to speak to me in Darija, I would have had problems. I would have had problems with society, with friends, with everything if I had not been able to speak Darija normally [...] when you speak with someone in Darija he is not going to ask the question

73. Catherine Therrien and Josiane Le Gall, "Impact du contexte national sur les projets identitaires parentaux des couples mixtes au Québec et au Maroc," *Recherches familiales* 14 (2017): 55-66.

74. Ibid.

75. Rachel Salia, "Between Arabic and French Lies the Dialect Moroccan Code-Weaving on Facebook," (BA thesis, Columbia University, 2011).

"is he Moroccan or not?," whereas with my father, there is always this question, (Hicham-Yacoubi, child of a Moroccan-Ivorian couple)."

Even though Hicham-Yacoubi could be classified in the *'azzi* category, albeit the less pejorative one, his "unnoticeable accent" definitively grants him an insider status. In Morocco, he is considered as being part of the majority group, which suits him perfectly. I should also mention that Hicham-Yacoubi is a practicing Muslim, which also contributes to lessening racial boundaries.

Hicham-Yacoubi's story shows that blackness, like whiteness, is not a homogeneous entity. It is perceived differently depending on the context and should be analysed through an intersectional perspective that nuances racial boundaries. To use the wording of Frankenberg by reversing its logic, it is possible to argue that blackness, as a site of discrimination, is not absolute but rather "crosscut by other axes of difference and inequality: class, culture, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality."⁷⁶

A transnational comparative perspective would probably show that Hicham-Yacoubi, who has never travelled in the Ivory Coast or in any Western country, would probably be classified as an outsider in both contexts. It would be intriguing to discover how the probability of being perceived as "white" in his father's country of origin and "black" in Northern countries would impact his daily-life and his sense of belonging.

A last case will continue to illustrate how an intersectional perspective is crucial to understanding the experience of mixed children, and more specifically the intersection between race and gender.

Khadija-Andrea is a 21-year-old Moroccan-Spanish woman. All her family members (from the Moroccan and the Spanish sides) call her by her Spanish first name Andrea, but in a formal Moroccan context she introduces herself only as Khadija. She stopped referring to herself as a mixed child when she was 12 because she did not want people to behave differently towards her.

"It's not so well accepted to be a child of a mixed couple. People treat you differently. Ok, for example, for me, since I am European-Moroccan, people treat me positively but like for others who are mixed Moroccan-Kenyans or I don't know what, it is always negative. And you don't feel normal. That's why, from college onwards I stopped saying that I'm mixed. If they ask me I say that I am Moroccan and that's it, (Khadija-Andrea, a child of a mixed Spanish-Moroccan couple)."

76. Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters*, 1.

Khadija-Andrea is able to present herself as Moroccan because phenotypically, she looks like a “Moroccan,” an option that other mixed children like Lahcen, do not have. However, having a Spanish mother – and thus a European nationality – gives her the *gwar* privileges. Combining both, a “Moroccan phenotype” and a European nationality, allows her to play with her identity. Khadija-Andrea presents herself either as a Moroccan or as a Moroccan-European depending on the context, and we will see how these two different options influence people’s perception, particularly with respect to gender norms.

If she does not say she is Spanish, people constantly remind her to follow Moroccan gender norms.

“When I’m in Morocco, it’s always like, “ok if you say you’re Moroccan then why don’t you do this, this or this? Why don’t you do the normal things Moroccan girls do?,” (Khadija-Andrea).”

For example, she constantly receives comments on the fact that she has a tattoo (which is widely considered unacceptable for a Moroccan woman).

Interestingly, if she mentions that she is Spanish, social perception and the expectations regarding gender norms and rules directly related to it change. Her tattoo suddenly becomes more acceptable. Many Moroccan men also change their attitude and become ruder and intrusive in their attitudes to flirting with her when they learn that she is Spanish.

“If you say you’re not Moroccan it’s like (...). Well in that case it’s cool, it’s no longer a problem that you’re sexually active, that you’ve got a tattoo or I don’t know what (...). But they’ll try to get something from you (...) or harass you, (Khadija-Andrea).”

Another example illustrates the intersection between the process of racialization and gender norms. Khadija-Andrea used to have an internship with a company in Tangier where it was prohibited for women to smoke. Since it was not a written rule, she was not aware of it and one day, during the break, she lit a cigarette. Her colleagues saw her and a few minutes after, the person in charge of human resources came to tell her that women were not allowed to smoke at work. Interestingly, once they learned she was Spanish, they came and told her that she could smoke. This intersectional perspective shows how Khadija-Andrea experiences her “multiple subject positions in a non-additive manner.”⁷⁷ Her narrative, like that of Lahcen and Hicham-

77. Lundström, *White Migrations*, 16.

Yacoubi, shows that whiteness as a site of privilege is not absolute but is interwoven with axes of difference and inequality [class, gender, ethnicity].⁷⁸

Bridge builders

If foreigners in mixed couples and their children are constantly reminded that they are different, the interviews show that they easily get around these boundaries. It is interesting to observe that many of the mixed couples and mixed parentage children interviewed conceive their role as one of cultural mediator.⁷⁹ The experience of diversity mixed couples acquire through their daily-life allows them to play a role in building bridges between people coming from different cultural backgrounds.

“We have a role, a role of openness, towards others, for others, you see (...). We have a role in relation to tolerance and even, to oxygenate something, you see. Look how a language gets richer when other languages become involved (...), (Inès).”

Le Gall and Meintel, who worked on mixed couples in Quebec, have found similar results.⁸⁰

For their part, mixed parentage children consider their multilingualism, their socialization in two cultures and their transnational experiences as crucial tools that allow them to build bridges between different individuals, cultures, enterprises, governments, etc.

“In fact I perceive our future on earth to be a future where we will be more and more interconnected, more and more (...) strong relationships between ethnic groups, between countries, between religions, things are more and more collaborative and I see myself as having the privilege in fact of being ready for this world which is expressing itself and which will be an increasingly strong reality in the future, (Amir, son of a mixed Austrian-Moroccan couple).”

It was also striking to notice that the majority of the mixed parentage children we met talked about their openness to diversity as the most precious part of their mixed legacy and as a powerful tool to fight against stereotypes, prejudices, racism, and integrism,

78. Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters*.

79. Bernard Fernandez, *Identité nomade. De l'expérience d'Occidentaux en Asie* (Paris: Anthropos, 2002).

80. Josiane Le Gall and Deirdre Meintel, *Quand la famille vient d'ici et d'ailleurs. Transmission identitaire et culturelle* (Ste-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2014).

“I don’t want to sound like a broken record, but it’s all about perspective. I feel like what is very much lacking in Moroccan society is perspective. People are very (...) their cone of vision is very small you know, and it’s very hard for people here to put themselves in other people’s shoes. I feel like being a child of two people with very different experiences in life, two very different backgrounds, helps you open up in ways that being the child of parents from one background don’t necessarily do, (Abdellah, child of a Costa Rican-Moroccan couple).”

As *mkhelṭin* (mixed), they are there to “spread the fact that being different can bring you strength and that it is good to be mixed, (Zineb, child of a French-Moroccan couple).”

Conclusion

The data collected both from mixed couples and their offspring regarding social perception of mixedness have highlighted the relevance of an intersectional perspective in analysing the symbolic boundaries of mixedness.

In describing the challenges faced by individuals in mixed couples with regard to social perception, the first section highlighted the construction of symbolic boundaries. The terms used to talk about foreigners showed a differentiated view of the “other” that reveals a hierarchical perception and classification of cultural otherness. It has also been shown that social perception varies depending on difference criteria. Religion, nationality, race, gender and social class, all these criteria play a central role, but the reaction to and the welcoming of the foreigner in a mixed couple depends on the combination of these markers of difference and on the context of the study. Indeed, “an intersectional perspective thus complicates one-dimensional racial locations, gendered relations or social class positions, and rejects the idea that categories can be neatly added to each other.”⁸¹

In exploring how mixed parentage children are perceived and classified (sometimes as outsiders and sometimes as insiders) and according to which criteria the boundary line is placed, the second section has clearly shown that “whiteness” – and “blackness” – is also a social construct that should be analysed with an intersectional perspective. Exploring the social construction of “whiteness” [and “blackness”] by referring to “a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically and culturally produced,” led me to conclude that these different locations are “intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of domination.”⁸²

81. Lundström, *White Migrations*, 16.

82. Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters*, 6.

We could sum up the analysis of the two sections by claiming that the symbolic boundaries of mixedness in Morocco highlight unequal North/South power relationships. The inequality cannot be reduced to a Muslim/non-Muslim or to a black/white hierarchy. The fieldwork showed that it is much more complex than these binary classifications and that the different contexts should be taken into account. Indeed, a transnational perspective on how foreigners in mixed couples are received and how mixed children are perceived, shows that Moroccans who suffer from racial discrimination and Islamophobia in Northern countries reproduce this same hierarchical categorization and domination on migrants coming from the South and more specifically Sub-Saharan migrants. However, the fieldwork shows that beyond the challenges that these symbolic boundaries represent, mixed families perceive their experience of mixedness as something positive which enables them to contribute to a more open and tolerant society and thus to reverse these societal power relations.

In the sociology of mixedness, Gabrielle Varro⁸³ formulates a critical reflection on the notion of mixedness by first reminding us that in a historical perspective, the term "mixed" symbolically stigmatizes these forbidden couples. The definitions of the mixed couple emphasize a contrast, an opposition, and even a potential for conflict: internal conflicts between spouses, but also external conflicts provoked by the political and social context and external pressures. Scientific aversion to the term "mixedness" stems from the fact that, historically, diversity has been semantically linked to classifications that reflect the natural and biological foundation of the human race, perpetuate the theory of evolution and that have given birth to murderous ideologies. In 2008, Varro proposed rehabilitating the concept of mixedness by giving it a new, more contemporary meaning. Recognizing mixedness as a generalized social fact (and as a value) means no longer ignoring otherness under the guise that it will disappear in the process of assimilation or integration. As she specifies, mixedness opens up the space of identity to the acceptance of the heterogeneous, the mixture and the multiple."⁸⁴ It means recognizing diversity. Emphasizing diversity, on the contrary, makes it possible to work on living together, in a perspective of discovery and recognition of oneself and others."⁸⁵ If the fieldwork showed that recognising and accepting diversity is still hard for many Moroccans, mixed children we interviewed would seem to be the ambassadors of it. As Lahcen mentioned in the first excerpt, mixed

83. Gabrielle Varro, *Sociologie de la mixité. De la mixité amoureuse aux mixités sociales et culturelles* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 2003).

84. *Ibid.*, 229.

85. *Ibid.*, 218.

children (and at another level mixed couples) appear to have the potential to reconcile Moroccan with its history.

The studies on mixedness are eminently political since they have the potential not only to illuminate certain gray areas, but above all to facilitate (by orientating) a better way of living together. The data collected over the course of this research has certainly shed light on symbolic boundaries of mixedness in the Moroccan context, but also on the emergence of a new Moroccan family, and thus contributes to filling a gap in the literature. In the future, it would be interesting to juxtapose the contemporary narratives collected from individuals in mixed couples and from mixed parentage children, with historical documents (archives, oral and written sources) that depict colonial history as well as with Morocco's own history of slavery from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Bibliography

- Abdelghani, Houria. "Le mariage mixte au jour le jour." *Femmes du Maroc* (2001): 55-62.
- Addidou, Fairouz. "Le couple mixte: Époux marocain, épouse étrangère au Maroc." Master thesis, Université de Montréal, 1990.
- Aksaz, Elif. "Immigration familiale turque et activités quotidiennes des femmes: Le souci de réputation dans une cité HLM de la banlieue parisienne." *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 22, 3 (2006): 155-77.
- Al-Yousuf, Heather. "Negotiating Faith and Identity in Muslim-Christian Marriages in Britain." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 17, 3 (2006): 317-29.
- Alexander, Isabella. "Trapped on the Island: the Politics of Race and Belonging in Jazirat al-Maghrib." *The Journal of North African Studies* 24, 5 (2019): 786-806.
- Bachelet, Sébastien. "'Wasting Mbeng': Adventure and Trust Amongst Sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco." *Ethnos* 84, 5 (2019): 1-18.
- Barbara, Augustin. *Les couples mixtes*. Paris: Bayard, 1993.
- Bensimon, Doris, Françoise Lautman, Élian Djaoui, Jean-pierre Guerend, Elisabeth Parmentier, Annie Tual, Jean Poirier, Dominique Krzywkowski, and Jacques Périgaud. "Quelques aspects théoriques des recherches concernant les mariages mixtes." *Ethnies* 4 (1975): 17-40.
- Berriane, Mohamed, and M'Hammed Idrissi-Janati. "Les résidents européens de la médina de Fès. Une nouvelle forme de migration nord-sud." *Autrepart* 1, 77 (2016): 87-105.
- Berriane, Mohamed, Mohammed Aderghal, Mohamed Idrissi Janati, and Johara Berriane. "Immigration to Fes: The Meaning of the New Dynamics of the Euro-African Migratory System." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 34, 5 (2013): 486-502.
- Cassa, Maria Giovanna. "(Dis)integrated Women: Self-Other Representations in the Contemporary Italian Migration to Morocco." In *Contemporary Europeans Emigrations: Situating Integration in New Destinations*, edited by Brigitte Sutter and Lisa Åkesson, 58-77. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Cerchiaro, Francesco. Forthcoming. "Identity Loss or Identity Reshape? Religious Identification Amongst Offspring of 'Christian-Muslim' Couples." *Journal of Contemporary Religion*.
- . "Dissonant Masculinities? Migration, Emotions, and Masculinities in Marriages between Italian Women and Moroccan men Living in Italy." *Journal of Gender Studies* (2020): <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2020.1730162>.

- _____. *Amori e confini. Le coppie miste tra islam, educazione dei figli e vita quotidiana*. [Love and Borders. Mixed Couples Amongst Islam, Children's Education and Everyday Life]. Napoli: Guida Ed, 2016.
- Cerchiaro, Francesco, Dick Houtman, and Stef Aupers. "Christian-Muslim Couples in the Veneto Region, Northeastern Italy: Dealing With Religious Pluralism in Everyday Family Life." *Social Compass* 62, 1 (2015): 43-60.
- Collet, Beate, and Philippe Claudine. "Parcours réflexif et tentative conceptuelle." In *Mixités. Variations autour d'une notion transversale*, edited by Beate Collet, and Philippe Claudine, 251-82. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008.
- Collet, Beate. "Intégration et mixogamie en France et en Allemagne." In *Liberté, égalité, mixités conjugales, une sociologie du couple mixte*, edited by Gabrielle Varro, Philippe Claudine, and Gérard Neyrand, 139-71. Paris: Anthropos, 1998.
- Déjeux, Jean. *Image de l'étrangère. Unions mixtes franco-maghrébines*. Paris: La boîte à documents, 1989.
- El Hamel, Choukri. *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- El Yamalahi, Mohamed, and Mohamed-Sâad Zemmouri. Introduction to *Histoire de ma vie, épouse du grand chérif d'Ouzzane* by Emily Keene, XVII to XL. Tanger: Gremenord, 2001.
- Epstein, F. Cynthia. "Tinker-Bells and Pinups: the Construction and Reconstruction of Gender Boundaries at Work." In *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, edited by Lamont, M., Fournier, 232-56. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Escher, Anton, and Sandra Petermann. "Marrakesh Medina: Neocolonial Paradise of Lifestyle Migrants?" In *Contested Spatialities: Lifestyle Migration and Residential Tourism*, edited by Michael Janoschka, and Heiko Haas, 29-46. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Fernandez, Bernard. *Identité nomade. De l'expérience d'Occidentaux en Asie*. Paris: Anthropos, 2002.
- Frankenberg, Ruth. *White Women, Race Matters. The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Goodman, R. David. "Demystifying 'Islamic Slavery': Using Legal Practices to Reconstruct the End of Slavery in Fes, Morocco." *History in Africa* 39, (2012): 143-74.
- Hankivsky, Olena. "Intersectionality 101." 1-37. *Institute for Intersectionality Research & Policy*, 2014.
- Harrami, Nouredine. "La représentation sociale des Français installés au Maroc: synthèse des données de l'enquête quantitative menée auprès des Marocains." In *La migration des Français au Maroc. Entre proximité et ambivalence*, edited by Therrien Catherine, 277-300. Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016.
- Khrouz, Nadia, and Nazarena Lanza. *Migrants au Maroc. Cosmopolitisme, présence d'étrangers et transformations sociales*. Rabat: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2015.
- Lamont, Michèle, Sabrina Pendergrass, and Mark Pachucki. "Symbolic Boundaries." *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, 23 (2015): 850-5.
- Le Gall, Josiane and Deirdre Meintel, *Quand la famille vient d'ici et d'ailleurs. Transmission identitaire et culturelle*. Ste-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2014.
- Lundström, Catrin. *White Migrations, Gender, Whiteness and Privilege in Transnational migration*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.
- Maghrebi_vrai. "Le Roi Hassan II et le mariage mixte." YouTube video, 1:13. Avril, 2008: <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x58shh>.

- Monkachi, Mohamed. "Unions mixtes dans l'histoire du Maroc." *Couples en question*. Casablanca: Le Fennec, 1990: 121-30.
- Mouna, Khalid. "Perceptions marocaines de la migration française au Maroc." In *La migration des Français au Maroc: Entre proximité et ambivalence*, edited by Catherine Therrien, 301-43. Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016.
- Mourji, Fouzi, Jean-Noël Ferrié, Saadia Radi, and Mehdi Alioua. *Les migrants subsahariens au Maroc. Enjeux d'une migration de résidence*. Rabat: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2016.
- Pellegrini, Chloé. "Parcours de petits entrepreneurs français à Marrakech." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 1-2, 221-222 (2016): 81-100.
- Peraldi, Michel, and Liza Terrazoni. "Anthropologie des Européens en Afrique. Mémoires coloniales et nouvelles aventures migratoires." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 1-2, 221-222 (2016): 9-28.
- Pian, Anaïk. *Aux nouvelles frontières de l'Europe: L'aventure incertaine des Sénégalais au Maroc*. Paris: La Dispute, 2009.
- Picod-Kinany, Aurélie. *L'émigration européenne: Le cas des Français au Maroc*. Sarrebruck: Éditions Universitaires Européennes, 2010.
- Rodríguez-García, Dan, Miguel Solana-Solana, and Miranda J. Lubbers. "Preference and Prejudice: Does Inter-marriage Erode Negative Ethno-Racial Attitudes between Groups in Spain?" *Ethnicities* 16, 4 (2016): 521-46.
- Salia, Rachel. "Between Arabic and French Lies the Dialect Moroccan Code-Weaving on Facebook." BA thesis, Columbia University, 2011.
- Schnapper, Dominique. "Introduction générale." In *Liberté, égalité, mixité conjugales, une sociologie du couple mixte*, edited by Philippe Claudine et al., ix-xvi. Paris: Anthropos, 1998.
- Song, Miri. "Why We Still Need to Talk about Race." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, 6 (2018): 1131-45.
- Stock, Inka. *Time, Migration and Forced Immobility. Sub-Saharan African Migrants in Morocco*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2019.
- Streiff-Fenart, Jocelyne. "Sauver la face et réparer l'offense: Le traitement rituel des mariages mixtes dans les familles maghrébines immigrées." In *Mariages tous azimuts. Approche pluridisciplinaire des couples binationaux*, edited by Albier Jean-Luc, Laurence Ossipow Wüest, Valérie Outemzabet, and Barbara Waldis, 175-89. Fribourg Suisse: Éditions Universitaires de Fribourg Suisse, 2000.
- Therrien, Catherine, ed. *La migration des Français au Maroc: Entre proximité et ambivalence*. Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016a.
- Therrien, Catherine. "When Europeans Move to Morocco "for Love": Navigating Legislative and Religious Boundaries in a Muslim context." In *Contemporary European Emigrations. Situating Integration in New Destinations*, edited by Brigitte Sutter and Lisa Åkesson, 97-115. London: Routledge, 2020.
- _____. *Celui qui échoue devient sorcier: Parcours d'un migrant camerounais parti d'Afrique et arrivé... en Afrique*. Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2019-a.
- _____. "Work, Love, Refuge, and Adventure: Contemporary Spanish Migrants in the City of Tangier." *Journal of North African Studies* 24, 1 (2019-b): 175-200.
- _____. "L'implication personnelle dans la recherche: L'art d'écrire entre les lignes." In *Terrains marocains. Sur les traces de chercheurs d'ici et d'ailleurs*, edited by Mouna Khalid, Catherine Therrien, and Leïla Bouasria, 203-26. Casablanca: La Croisée des chemins, 2017.

- _____. "Tanger ville de croisements et de frontières." In *Espace imaginé, espace vécu et espace négocié. Parcours croisés des migrations espagnoles et subsahariennes à Tanger*, edited by Mouna Khalid, 107-33. Rabat: Amerm, 2016b.
- _____. *En voyage chez-soi: Trajectoires de couples mixtes au Maroc*. Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2014.
- _____. "Trajectories of Mixed Couples in Morocco: a Meaningful Discursive Space for Mixedness." *Revista de Sociologia* 97, 1 (2012): 129-50.
- _____. "Des repères à la construction d'un chez-soi. Trajectoires de mixité conjugale au Maroc." Ph.D. thesis, University of Montreal, Canada, 2009.
- Therrien, Catherine, and Josiane Le Gall. "Impact du contexte national sur les projets identitaires parentaux des couples mixtes au Québec et au Maroc." *Recherches familiales* 14 (2017): 55-66.
- Therrien, Catherine, and Chloé Pelligrini. "French Migrants in Morocco: From a Desire for Elsewhereness to an Ambivalent Reality." *The Journal of African Studies* 20, 4 (2015): 605-21.
- Therrien, Catherine, and Josiane Le Gall, eds. "Nouvelles perspectives sur la mixité conjugale: Le sujet et l'acteur au cœur de l'analyse." *Enfances, familles, générations* 17 (2012): 1-20.
- Timera, Mahamed. "La religion en partage, la "couleur" et l'origine comme frontière. Les migrants sénégalais au Maroc." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 51, 201 (2011): 145-67.
- Tyszler, Elsa. "From Controlling Mobilities to Control over Women's Bodies: Gendered Effects of EU Border Externalization in Morocco." *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, 1 (2019): 7-25.
- Van Niekerk, Jana, and Maykel Verkuyten. "Interfaith Marriage Attitudes in Muslim Majority Countries: A Multilevel Approach." *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 28, 4 (2018): 257-70.
- Varro, Gabrielle. "Les couples mixtes à travers le temps. Une épistémologie de la mixité." *Enfances, Familles, Générations* 17 (2012): 21-40.
- _____. "Mettre la mixité à la place de l'origine." In *Mixités. Variations autour d'une notion transversale*, edited by Collet Beate et Philippe Claudine, 201-18. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008.
- _____. *Sociologie de la mixité. De la mixité amoureuse aux mixités sociales et culturelles*. Paris: Éditions Belin, 2003.
- Varro, Gabrielle. *Les couples mixtes et leurs enfants en France et en Allemagne*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1995.
- Vigh, Henrik. "Motion square. A second look at the notion of Social Navigation." *Anthropological theory* 9, 4 (2009): 419-38.
- Virkama, Anna, Catherine Therrien, Nouredine Harrami, and Aïssa Kadri. "Franco-Moroccan transnational space: Continuity and transformations." In *Migration and Transformation: Multi-Level Analysis of Migrant Transnationalism. International Perspectives on Migration*, edited by Pirkko Pitkänen, Ahmet İçduygu, and Deniz Sert, 3 (2012): 108-68. Canada: Springer Verlag.
- Voas David. "The Maintenance and Transformation of Ethnicity: Evidence on Mixed Partnerships in Britain." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35, 9 (2009): 1497-1513.
- Waldis, Barbara, and Reginald Bryon, eds. *Migration and Marriage. Heterogamy and Homogamy in a Changing World*. Zurich, Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006.
- Wyrzten, Jonathan. *Making Morocco. Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Zeghib, Hocine, and Catherine Therrien. "Les migrants français au Maroc: de quelques aspects juridiques et Administratifs." In *La migration des Français au Maroc. Entre proximité et ambivalence*, edited by Catherine Therrien, 199-271. Casablanca: La Croisée des Chemins, 2016.

جسامنة التعقيد في الحديث عن "الأسود" و"الأبيض": حدود رمزية للاختلاط في السياق المغربي

ملخص: عندما يدخل شخص خارجي في عوالم مجموعة معينة، يلعب التماسك الاجتماعي دوراً في ذلك ويتم نشر نظام للرقابة الاجتماعية للحفاظ على هوية المجموعة. ويتوافق الاختلاط مع انتهاك الأعراف الاجتماعية للزواج المختلط سواء من حيث الجنسية أو العرق أو الدين. إذا كان التماسك الاجتماعي، في المغرب، مرتبطاً أولاً وقبل كل شيء بدين الأغلبية - الإسلام - فإن هذا المقال يوضح أن خطوط الاختلاف الأخرى تسهم بشكل كبير في ترسيم الحدود الرمزية لهوية المجموعة. واستناداً إلى أبحاث استغرقت 15 عاماً من العمل الميداني الإثنوغرافي بين العائلات المختلطة والمهاجرين في المغرب، يجادل هذا المقال بأن المشاركة في نفس الدين ليست تلقائياً عنصراً للتقارب، وأن الفئات العرقية هي حدود رمزية يصعب التغلب عليها في السياق المغربي حيث يُنظر إلى "البياض" عموماً على أنه أكثر إيجابية من "السواد". ومع ذلك، تشير الروايات التي تم جمعها إلى أن الإدراك الاجتماعي أكثر تعقيداً من التصنيف الثنائي الأسود/الأبيض وأن العرق هو "ظاهرة سياقية" تتقاطع مع الطبقة الاجتماعية والجنس لرسم خطوط معقدة من الاختلاف بين ما يدخل في خانتي "نحن" و"هم". وإذا كان العمل الميداني يعكس علاقات قوة غير متكافئة بين الشمال والجنوب، فإنه يظهر أيضاً أن العائلات المختلطة لديها القدرة على تغيير تجربتها في الاختلاط بشكل إيجابي، وبالتالي على عكس علاقات القوة المجتمعية هذه.

الكلمات المفتاحية: أزواج مختلطون، أفراد مختلطون، هجرة، المغرب، حدود رمزية، عرق، إدراك اجتماعي، بياض، سواد.

C'est plus complexe que "noir" et "blanc": Frontières symboliques de la mixité dans le contexte marocain

Résumé: Lorsqu'un étranger entre dans un groupe, la cohésion sociale entre en jeu et un système de contrôle social est déployé pour préserver l'identité du groupe. La mixité correspond à une transgression des normes sociales endogames que ce soit en termes de nationalité, d'ethnie, de race et/ou de religion. Si la cohésion sociale, au Maroc, est d'abord et avant tout liée à la religion majoritaire - l'islam - alors cet article montre que d'autres lignes de différence contribuent de manière significative à délimiter les frontières symboliques de l'identité de groupe. Basé sur 15 ans de travail ethnographique sur le terrain auprès de familles mixtes et de migrants au Maroc, cet article soutient que le partage d'une même religion n'est pas automatiquement un élément de rapprochement, et que les catégories raciales sont des frontières symboliques difficiles à franchir dans le contexte marocain où la "blancheur" est généralement perçue comme plus positive que la "noirceur." Les récits recueillis indiquent cependant que la perception sociale est plus complexe que la classification binaire noir/blanc et que la race est un "phénomène contextuel" qui croise la classe sociale et le sexe pour tracer des lignes de différence complexes entre "nous" et "eux." Si le travail de terrain reflète des relations de pouvoir Nord/Sud inégales, il montre également que les familles mixtes ont la capacité de transformer positivement leur expérience de mixité et donc d'inverser ces relations de pouvoir sociétales.

Mots-clés: Couples mixtes, individus mixtes, migration, Maroc, frontières symboliques, race, perception sociale, blancheur, noirceur.