Moslem Women in Paris on Novel of Tahar Ben Jelloun: Les Yeux Baissés

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Abstract. This article aims to describe the cultural conflicts occurred by Maghreb immigrants in Paris, especially female immigrants who have various conflicts, due to the difference perception of women both in Maghreb and in France. As a qualitative research, this research instrument is the researchers themselves with data from the novel Les Yeux Baissés by Tahar Ben Jelloun, a Maghreb author living in Paris. The data were then analyzed using the Semiotic theory of Roland Barthes: the novel is considered as a sign to be interpreted. The results of the study indicate that the cause of the conflicts is the differences in tradition, race, and religion. These differences make them feel "unaccepted" in France. Therefore, Moslem women in Paris have two types of cultural identities: Identity of being (the mother of Fathma, the main character) and Identity of becoming (Fathma, the main character). Besides, these Maghebian immigrants belong to the diaspora's group: First, the Essentialists, diaspora who closed themselves off, just carried on their traditions, culture and religion as they did back home. Second, whom adopt the French culture, religion, and way of life. Third, those with 'floating' traits: born in France, do not know the cultural traditions of their hometown, only know French culture which "does not accept them". Therefore it can be said that the 'floating' generation needs a 'special place' that is neither the culture of their parents, nor the culture of France, and that third place can be called a 'place of transit'.

Keywords: Maghreb Diaspora, Moslem Women, Cultural Conflict, Place of Transit

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INTRODUCTION

Islam expanded into Southern Europe in the 8th – 10th centuries, through the expansion of "Moors" from North Africa. Today Islam became the second-largest religion in Europe after Christianity, with an estimated 45 million people. The term "Muslim Europe" is used to refer to the Muslim-majority countries in the Balkans: Kosovo (an estimated 90% Muslim), the Republic of Albania (an estimated 80% Muslim), and Bosnia Herzegovina (an estimated 55% Muslim). According to (Cesari, 2002) the majority of Muslim communities in western Europe formed recently, and France is the country with the largest Muslim population, an estimated five million people. Meanwhile, Germany has an estimated Muslim population of four million, most of whom come from Turkey. In Britain, the Muslim population is also quite large, at around three million, and influences the political, economic, cultural, and media sectors (Sasongko, 2019)

As a country with the largest Muslim population, France hosts Muslims who are mostly immigrants from former French colonies, such as from countries in the Maghreb region in North Africa that has very close historical ties with France (Vermeren, 2010). This area consists of 3 countries namely Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. The people come from these regions called Maghrébins and known as Arabic people. For French people, Maghréb is Orient or 'East' (Vermeren, 2010), and refers to Eastern world, or nations in the East. During the reign of King Charles X in France, through Prime Minister Polignac in 1830, France began to occupy Algeria. The goal of course is to expand French power beyond Hexagone, (another name for France based on its hexagon shape) as well as to control the oil fields that are indeed abundant in these countries. France subsequently occupied not only Algeria but neighboring countries such as Tunisia and Morocco. After the independence of the countries in the Maghreb region in the 1960s, the economic and political conditions in these countries were unstable, even tending to be concerning with poor natural conditions. This situation encouraged the Maghreb population to migrate to make a better living, in their "neighbor" country: France.

These immigrant workers then 'invaded' Paris, as the nation's capital and center of commercial activity. They mostly live with their group/friends from the same country in certain areas, known as ghetto. Paris is actually divided into several ghettos or areas with special characteristics, in accordance with the origin of the immigrants. One area that is best recognized as the Maghreb region in Paris is the *La* Goutte d'Or area (Fremont, 1988). The immigrant from the North African region worked as laborers in mining and in developing car factories such as *Renault, Citroën, Peugeot,* and *Simca*. They accept to be paid way less than French workers considering that life in France is much better than the conditions of life in their hometowns. Furthermore, they also have to work harder because the cost of living in Paris is also quite high, therefore, the economic condition of Maghreb immigrants in Paris is below average French people.

Maghreb immigrants live in Paris with their families following their original customs and tradition as well as their Islamic practices just like what they would do in their hometown which very different from French culture and religion. Such situation often causes the conflicts with the native French as well as clashes with other immigrants from other countries who see incompatibility with their customs and habits. The Easterns (Arabians/Maghrébins) are different from the Westerns (Europeans). Refers to the statement of Kasimbara (Intan & Saleha, 2020) that the Arabians/Maghrébins are insincere, lazy, and suspicious, whereas the Europeans are rational, virtuous, mature, and 'normal', the Maghreb immigrant find the difficulties then to integrate to French society due to their "dissimilarity". The conflict is increasingly felt by Maghreb women, both wives, and daughters because of their differences with another cultures and condition of life in Paris.

In the 1970s, in the Maghreb culture, women were in "second place", it means, women have boundaries in their daily activities. Apart from being limited by tradition, they also apply "strong" Islamic law, such as not meeting men who are not their *mahram*, not meet men face to face, not leaving the house at any time, not going to school, and only learning the Koran at home or going to the fields. When they go out of the house, they must cover their whole body with *jellaba*, clothing such as a long robe touching the ground, equipped with a veil, and it is forbidden to Maghreb women to go alone outside their home. Contrary to the French culture of the same years, French women attended school, they socialized/made friends with both men and women without any restrictions. It can be imagined how "tormented" the Maghreb Muslim women in Paris, the country of human rights and full of freedom.

The social symptoms, such as the conflicts that occur between different cultures, often attract the attention of writers, and become a source of inspiration for their writing. One of the novels featuring the conflict of Maghreb Muslim women in Paris is *Les Yeux Baissés* by Tahar Ben Jelloun (Ben Jelloun, 1991), a Maghreb author from Morocco living in Paris. This francophone writer often draw up stories about Maghrebian especially Moroccan leaving their home country for a better life. Through his novels, *Partir* for example, he explores the relationship between Morocco and Spain as neighbor countries with the problem of the character's identity (Allien, 2018). In *Les Yeux Baissés*, Ben Jelloun, again shows the discomfiture of identity of young Morrocan migrating to Paris, France. He seems to want to be "the voice" of Maghreb Muslim women who are in two different cultures in France. The Figaro Magazine review this novel as a story of racism and an impossible integration. This comment clearly shows a cultural shock or cultural conflict of Maghreb Muslim woman immigrant in France.

Roman de l'exil, d l'impossible intégration, du déchiremennt entre deux cultures peut-être inconciliables; "Les Yeux Baissés" ne peut que passioner un lecteur français de 1991. (François Nourissier, Le Figaro Magazine) A novel of exile, of impossible integration, of the tearing between two possibly irreconcilable cultures; "Les Yeux Baissés" can only fascinate a French reader in 1991.

As a desolation story, LYB novel present discomfiture of women characters migrated from east to west world without knowing how to live in the new environment. The first generation of immigrant: the adults who were born in their

home country. The second generation: those who moved from their country when they were still a child, and the third generation: those who were born in France. They all have various kinds of problems. Conflicts are increasingly striking, especially among Maghreb women, because there are differences in public perception of women, both in Maghreb and in France. Besides their own problems, this research will also discuss the efforts of the Maghreb diaspora to be 'accepted' in France.

RESEARCH METHOD

The data of this study are taken from the texts of novel Les Yeux Baissés (LYB). The text will be considered as a sign, which meaning will be interpreted through Semiotics, the study of Signs. Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss linguist introduced Semiotic by stating that language as a system of sign. Roland Barthes a French researcher developed the ideas of Saussure and mentioned that Semiotic or what's called Semiology in French is a fundamental thing in interpreting the sign (Wijayanto & Iswari, 2021). The research method used in this article is semiotics theory of Roland Barthes. In analyzing, Barthes' theory belongs to a first-order (denotation) and second-order Semiotical systems (connotation) (Putri et al., 2022). The analyzing of denotation and connotation can interpret the context and its culture (Sui & Fan, 2015) Barthes broke down the process of reading signs and focused on their interpretation by different cultures or societies. According to Barthes, signs had both a signifier, being the physical form of the sign as we perceive it through our senses and the signified or meaning that is interpreted, which called orders of signification (Chandler, 2002). (Barthes, 1966) suggests that in semiotic research, there are 3 following levels:

- 1. The level of events, or what is called the relationship of text elements syntagmatically. In this analysis, the text is sorted based on its appearance in the text, or what is called the Order of the Story Content Unit (Sequence). Based on the order of this story unit, the plotting of the story will be obtained.
- 2. The level of Action, or also called the relation of text elements in a paradigmatic way. From the sequence of units of the story's content, we look for sequences that contain a causal relation, or what is known as a logical relation. Based on this logical relation, a story line is obtained which becomes the framework of the story.
- 3. The level of discourse, namely the element of view and the element of storytelling (speech).

Interpretation of denotation and connotation showed a social picture expressed in the novel. The analysis of the story using 3 levels of Barthes theory is to find things related to the intrinsic elements, while the sociology of literature is used to find the socio-cultural background (extrinsic elements) that influences the lives of the characters. There are social attitudes in novel (Damono, 1978). In addition, cultural aspects and the traditions lived in a society by reciting a novel (Zaimar, 1991). Furthermore, the novel LYB is analyzed to reveal the cultural conflict depicted in novel as the background of the story, in this case, Maghreb history as well as France history. Moreover, the theory of Identity (Hall, 1990) is also used to interpret the state of the Maghreb diaspora in France.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The analysis begins by presenting the sequences, using Barthes's theory above. From these sequences, it is discovered that the main character is a Moroccan little girl, called Fatma, who had to emigrate to France because her parents, especially her father, want to improve their living conditions. From the analysis of the sequences, it is also proved that there are 90 sequences on the description of the culture, and 125 sequences on the conflict. The remaining sequences are those of the character or location description. The existence of the sequences is not yet able to show the proper form of this novel. It is necessary to choose the cardinal functions from these sequences. This approach is intended to provide a better understanding of the totality of the work. In novel titled LYB, there are 45 cardinal functions showing causal relationships.

The purpose of this presentation is to describe the work as it unfolds. The existence of the sequences is not yet able to show the proper form of this novel. It is necessary to choose the cardinal functions from these sequences. This approach is intended to provide a better understanding of the totality of the work. In novel titled LYB, there are 45 cardinal functions showing causal relationships.

From the 45 cardinal functions, it can be described that the misery in Morocco and the family conflict (conflict between the main character and her aunt) are the main driving force of the story. These two events lead this family to emigrate to France. It is when they are in France that the conflict between two cultures breaks out, especially for the main character, the little girl. In this novel, LYB, the conflict between two cultures is presented by the behavior of the characters.

Utopia Perception

The main character, Fatma, had to emigrate to France with his parents. She is very impatient because she wants to leave her campaign and its misfortunes. When she comes to France, she is very happy and wants to know everything:

Pour moi, la France c'était l'école, le dictionnaire, l'éléctricité, les lumière de la ville, le gris des murs et parfois des visages, l'avenir, la liberté, la neige, Mme. Simone, le premier livre que j'ai lu, des images se serrant les une contre les autres [....] (LYB P.109)

For me, France was school, dictionary, electricity, city lights, gray walls and sometimes faces, future, freedom, snow, Mme. Simone, the first book I read, pictures hugging each other [....]

In reality, she is not quite happy because that she thinks she cannot communicate with others:

J'étais rebelle. Je ne parlais qu'avec mes parents. Ma langue, c'était le berbère et je ne comprenais pas qu'on utilise un autre dialecte pour communiquer. [....] J'étais rebelle et même agresive, parce que les gens ne me repondaient pas quand je leur parlais. Mme. Simone me disait des mots arabes qui étaient pour moi aussi étranges que ceux qu'elle ne me parle pas berbère. Alors, je crachais, je criais, je jetais par terre des objets. J'étais assaillie de choses nouvelles et je voulais comprendre. (LYB, P. 71)

I was rebellious. I only spoke with my parents. My language was Berber, and I did not understand that one uses another dialect to communicate. [....] I was rebellious and even aggressive because people didn't answer me when I spoke to them. Mme. Simone used to talk in Arabic words to me which were as strange to me as the ones she did not speak Berber to me. So I spat, I screamed, I threw things on the ground. I was bombarded with new things and wanted to understand.

In France, Fatma feels that the family relationship, that is to say, her relationship with her parents, has weakened. Her father does not like her fellowship with her friends. While Fatma, imitates the life of young French people:

Mon père faisait les cents pas. Quand il me vit descendre du bus, ma main frolant celle de David, il ne dit rien, me laissa venir. Lorsque je fus toute proche de lui, lui tendant la joue pour l'embrasser, il me donna une gifle qui m'étourdi un bon moment. Tout tourna autour de moi. Je ne distinguais plus les gens des objets. Je ne savais plus si ce qui m'étourdissait était la violence de la gifle, la surprise ou la honte [....] Ce jour là, je connus la honte. (LYB P. 91)

My father was walking around. When he saw me get off the bus, my hand brushing David's, he didn't say anything, let me come. When I was very close to him, reaching out to kiss him, he gave me a slap that stunned me for a while. Everything revolved around me. I could no longer distinguish between people and objects. I no longer knew if what made me dizzy was the violence of the slap, the surprise, or the shame [....]. that day I experienced shame

Finally, she wants to change her habit, she no longer wants to live her life in Morocco, she does not even want to practice her religion:

Mes convictions religieuses s'étaient évanoies. Je croyais en Dieu, mais pas à la manière de mes parents. [....] J'acceptais de fair plaisir à mes parents.

My religious convictions had vanished. I believed in God but not in the way my parents did. [....] I agreed to please my parents. This character of Fatma describes the utopia perception. Her motivation to be a French, with the sign of 'had vanished', has a connotation as an ideal attitude for her. Utopia perception may also disengage people from their society, by enticing them to wallow in their impossible dream (Kashima & Fernando, 2020).

Cultural Rejection

All these different cultures cause a conflict between the two cultures for Fatma, at the same time a re-creation of a culture and the formation of collective identity took place (Hoefte & Mingoen, 2022)The term "identity" as described (Baumeister, 2010) in (Alnabilsy et al., 2023) is related to the term of "the self". The self is defined as a mental structure that contains the thoughts, feelings, and attitude of the individual and is legitimized by the society in which the individual lives. However, Fathma in this novel think that France society in which she lives sees her as un-French. The feeling of Fathma is happened in real life such as showed on (Khokhar, 2022) research regarding Canadian's Moslem women: they are seen as un-Canadian by others and share about the community wide-impacts on Islamophobia (Khokhar, 2022).

This conflict between the two cultures was also expressed in the other characters on the novel. Fatma's father, for example, is not sure of himself when he decided to send his daughter, Fatma, to school:

Je t'ai inscrite à l'école. Le jour où je l'ai fait, j'étais fier. Mais je dois aussi t'avouer que j'passé une nuit blanche. Pour moi, c'était une revolution. J'avais peur et, en même temps, je n'avais pas le droit de te priver l'école. (LYB, P.95)

I enrolled you in school. The day I did it, I was proud. But I must also confess that I had a sleepless night. For me, it was a revolution. I was afraid and, at the same time, I had no right to deprive you of school (p.95).

Although her mother also has a big problem, she does not want to adapt to the new life in France:

Ma mère, rongée par le chagrin, était tombée dans une tristesse infinie, silencieuse et grise. Elle ne se préoccupait pas de s'adapter. Elle allait continuer son travail de femme d'intérieur sans devoir sortir ni affronter le monde en face. Elle ne se mettait même pas à la fenêtre. Cuisinant, lavanr, rangeant, essuyant, mangeant peu, ne posant pas des questions, elle laissait les choses se faire et la nouvelle vie dérouler, avec la même indifférence, ses jours et ses nuits. Le reste du temps elle priait, demandait à Dieu de preserver son mari et sa fille du mauvais oeil, des gens malfaisants, des envieux et des hypocrites. Elle était belle dans sa robe blanche, tenue de deuil. (LYB, P.74) My mother, consumed by grief, had fallen into infinite sadness, silent and gray. She didn't bother to adapt. She was going to continue her work as a housewife without having to go out or face the world opposite. She didn't even get to the window. Cooking, washing, tidying up, wiping, eating little, not asking questions, she let things happen and the new life unfolds, with the same indifference, her days, and nights. The rest of the time she prayed, asked God to preserve her husband and daughter from the evil eye, evil people, envious and hypocrites. She was beautiful in her white dress, mourning attire (p.74).

The citations above show that the conflict was actually experienced by the female characters, from two different perspectives. The theme of women is one of themes that raised in novel (Juhana et al., 2021) The first perspective from Fatma is caused by the desire to blend in and become French. The texts display the symbolic expression (Alek et al., 2020). This point captured in phrase 'pictures hugging each other', that indicated Fatma's hope. After that, Fatma removed her cultural characteristics and overlooked her religion, for the sake of equality in society (Rasiah et al., 2019). The second, Fatma's mother, she wants to maintain the cultural traditions of origin that have been passed down by her ancestors over the centuries.

By placing the novel LYB in its society, it is known that the condition of villages in Morocco, which was dry and arid in the 1970s, caused many residents to migrate to France for obtaining a better life. Besides, France's socio-cultural conditions in the 1970s also influenced the actions of the characters.

The conflicts occur in LYB novel through all immigrant personages, the most 'serious' conflict perceived by the Muslim women in the country where the majority are non-Muslims. As mentioned before, the novel of LYB is about the cultural conflict that Maghreb Muslim women feel is the confinement of Maghreb culture in Paris, a city that offers a lot of freedom. This finding is in line with the analysis of women's image through significance- denotative and connotative level (Nooshin & Tabrizi, 2015).

Muslim women must continue to maintain their cultural traditions of their ancestors, such as not leaving the house, hanging out with men, going to school, which is very contradictory to the situation in Paris. As the 'capital' of declaration of human rights, Paris gives equal rights and responsibility to both men and women. But when it comes to identity, it is quite difficult for Muslim woman. Besides their 'ancestors' identity, Muslim women experienced gendered Islamophobia because their Muslim identity is more often visible and comes to symbolized their culture (Steele et al., 2021) In this novel, LYB, there are two different attitudes taken by two women characters. The first is the main character, Fatma, a young girl who is deeply influenced by life in Paris. She 'stripped' the culture and religion of his ancestors by adopting French culture, ignore her religion, and live as if she is French. This attitude belonged to the hegemonic social (Monticelli, 2016).

The second woman in the novel is the mother, in contrast to her daughter, the mother character is shown as someone who maintains her ancestor culture and

religion. Although living in Paris, the mother never left the house, not even approaching to the window. She always carries out her responsibility as a woman, a wife, and a mother of children. She stays at home all the time. This also describes an iconic message between woman and household relationship (Rahayu, 2020). The mother is also described as a devout Muslim, she never leaving her duty as a Muslim, and she is praying constantly for the safety of her family.

Focusing on a cultural conflict of Maghreb Muslim women living in Paris, the difficulty to integrate to French culture and leave the inherent Moroccan culture. The main character, Fathma, then invented the imaginary characters to realize her hopes of becoming French. Her imaginary 'friends' act and think like the French, whereas the figures of her imaginary immigrants, she sends back to her hometown. She hopes that one day she can return to her village, even though she feels it is not possible, because of the differences between herself and the villagers. That's the reason why she sent her imaginary characters back to live in her village, while she herself lived in Paris. The confusion of migrant identity became worst for Muslim woman in a non-Muslim country, as shown from (Rodríguez-García & Rodríguez-Reche, 2022)research that social perceptions of Islam immediately place the teenagers and woman in position of being the absolute Other, giving rise to differential treatment and limiting their identity choices and sense of belonging.

Maghreb immigrants in France, based on their actions and characteristics, can be classified into 2 types of cultural identity: (1) Identity of being, formed by historical and cultural similarities; someone can't change his/her identity because the attachment with its own cultural background. (2) Identity of becoming, is the dynamic identity formed in a new social life. This becoming identity can change due to environmental influences (Hall, 1990) in (Faizah, 2021)

The problem of Maghreb immigrants in Paris caused by cultural elements in the novel *Les Yeux Baissés* also proves the theory of identity (Hall, 1990)especially regarding Diaspora and Identity: Maghreb immigrants in Paris can be classified into 3 types of diaspora, (1) essential diaspora, those who still maintain the original tradition and completely reject new cultural traditions, (2) the diaspora which maintains the original tradition but accommodates the new culture, and (3) the diaspora which discards all the original cultural traditions and only adopts new cultural traditions.

CONCLUSION

Based on a semiotic analysis to answer the research questions, it can be concluded that the novel LYB showed there are 90 sequences on culture and 125 sequences on conflict. Those sequences led to utopia perception and cultural rejection in the interpretation through semiotic analysis. Utopia perception is the most dominant interpretation about the situation occurred. This utopia perception was conceptualized by the main character, a Maghreb woman, who created her imaginary 'friends', who act and behave like French people, but are 'sent back' to their hometown because they are not 'accepted' to be in France. The impossibility of integration, and their ignorance of the traditions of their hometown, especially for second generation immigrants, causes them to feel the need for a 'special' place that can accept them as who they are. That special place can be a 'place of transit'. Muslim women in Paris within *Les Yeux Baissés*, represented by main character, Fatma adopted the French culture as she has identity of becoming. Another woman, mother character, she has identity of being. She keeps her tradition as well as her way of life as she was in her home town. The two kinds of identities that caused their own problems in Paris. From the point of view of society, this novel reflects social life at that time, especially in the year seventies. At this point, France entered an industrial era, while the economic, politic, and social instability in the Maghreb caused the population to migrate to the country that need a lot of employees to work in factories, which is France. The encounter between two cultures, in this case, French culture and North African culture, leads to a great conflict among immigrants. The issue of cultural conflicts in novels have many aspects to be analyzed. Especially in semiotic approach and other social criticisms can be addressed for further research.

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