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**Identity, Perception and  
Integration:  
A Case of Muslim Immigrants in  
Spain**

身分認同、觀感和社會融合：  
以西班牙穆斯林移民為例

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## **Abstract**

It is easier and faster for people to move to different places nowadays with the advanced development of technology and globalization. Although it is easy to move to foreign countries, it is difficult for immigrants to adapt and integrate into a society with distinct cultures, ethnicities, religious and historical background. Identity can be seen as an important factor during the process of integration. From the attitudes of European citizens, self-identification of Muslim immigrants, perceptions and stereotypes imposed toward the immigrants, the difficulties and challenges of integration into the society can easily be observed.

The researcher propose to conduct interviews with Muslim immigrants living in Spain to see their perspectives of the process of integration and the challenges they faced. Many scholars believed that the Muslim immigrants were not represented in the society and often face many discriminations and misunderstandings due to their identity. For other scholars, immigration in Spain is not perceived to be a threat to national identity because of the lack of visibility of immigrants.

However, with recent event of terrorist attacks and the economic crisis, the attitudes of local citizens are becoming less tolerant toward Muslim immigrants. When Muslim immigrants face difficulties of adaptation and integration into the foreign society, they would become segregated and form their own social group; or they would assimilate into the foreign country and lose their identity. If Muslim immigrants are accepted and welcomed by local communities and the government, they would be able to create a new identity and integrate into the society better.

**Key words:** Identity, integration, constructivism, Muslim immigrants, perception

## 摘要

現今科技的進步和全球化，人們能更容易且迅速地遷移到不同的地方。移民遷移國外不難，但要適應居住國不同的文化、種族、宗教、歷史背景和社會融合就因人而異。身分認同是社會融合中重要的因素，而社會融合的困難與挑戰則可以從歐洲公民的態度、穆斯林移民的自我身分認同、對於移民的觀感和刻板印象中觀察出。

論文藉由和西班牙穆斯林移民的實地訪談，試圖了解這些移民在社會融合的過程以及挑戰。許多學者認為穆斯林移民在社會的代表性較差，以及其認同常常遭受許多歧視和誤解。其他學者並不認為西班牙移民威脅到國家認同，因為移民在社會中缺乏能見度。

然而，近年來歐洲經濟危機和恐怖攻擊事件導致當地公民對於穆斯林移民的態度有所改變。當穆斯林移民面臨在異鄉的適應和社會融合的困難中，他們或許會選擇從當地社會中分離並組成自我的社會群體，或選擇融入當地社會而失去自己的身分認同。如果穆斯林移民能夠被當地社群和政府接受，或許會更容易融入社會。

關鍵字: 身分認同、社會融合、建構主義、穆斯林移民、社會觀感。

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Historical Background

It is easier and faster to travel and immigrate to other countries in the world due to advancements in technology. Many people move to different places for various reasons and they face many challenges adapting to new environments, especially when it's very different from their own background culturally, socially, and religiously. Spain has had a long history with influences and interactions from the Arab World. From the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Spain was under the rule of the Umayyad Caliphate. Spain was under Islamic and Arab influence for many centuries. Islamic architectures can still be found in Spain, especially in the south, for example in Andalucía.

Due to the geographical location of Spain, many people from North African countries could move to other European countries and to Spain. Besides the convenience of traveling to Spain, the immigration policy of Spain also attracted a lot of foreign workers from North Africa. In fact, the growth of foreign populations from countries such as Romania, Morocco, the United Kingdom, Bolivia, and China increased significantly from the years 2001 to 2011.<sup>1</sup> From this data, we can see that many immigrants came from countries belonging to the former Spanish Empire. Immigrants from Morocco were formerly the largest foreign group in Spain, but immigrants from Romania have been the largest foreign group since 2007.

Before 1985, Moroccans did not need a visa to enter Spain. At that time, many companies in the agriculture and industry sectors in Spain needed employees for

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<sup>1</sup> Population and Housing Censuses 2011, INE. [http://www.ine.es/en/prensa/np756\\_en.pdf](http://www.ine.es/en/prensa/np756_en.pdf)



seasonal or short-term work. The passage of Law 4/2000 in 2000 created mechanisms for family reunification, regularization of illegal migrants, and acquisition of permanent residency. Through these mechanisms, Spanish Immigration Law tried to facilitate integration for migrants.<sup>2</sup>

However, the primary suspect in the March 11, 2004 Madrid Train Bombings was Jamal Zougam, who was of Moroccan descent.<sup>3</sup> He was charged with multiple counts of murder, attempted murder, stealing a vehicle, belonging to a terrorist organization and four counts of carrying out terrorist acts. Emilio Suraz Trashorras, a Spaniard, was also arrested for supplying dynamite in return for drugs.<sup>4</sup> This incident raised questions concerning the foreign policies of the Spanish government and its involvement in the Iraq War.

The general election was affected heavily by this incident, since the bombing took place just three days before the election. The incumbent political party, Partido Popular (PP) was defeated and Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) came to power from 2004 to 2011. The change of political party also affected Spain's immigration policies. The population of Moroccan migrants continues to grow steadily despite the changes in immigration policy.

The above only provides a brief overview of the history of Spanish immigrants. Morocco provides a good example of Muslim immigrants living in Spain due to its historical connections with the country, whether it is in the work force or cultural and historical ties. However, the researcher would not limit the research to

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<sup>2</sup> Nuria Empez Vidal, Social Construction of Neglect: The Case of Unaccompanied Minors from Morocco to Spain, Feb. 2007. <http://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2007-007.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> "Jamal Zougam: Madrid bomb suspect," *BBC*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3515790.stm>. Accessed November 10, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Mass murderers jailed for 40 years as judge delivers verdicts on Spain's 9/11, *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/nov/01/spain.international>. Accessed November 10, 2015.

only Moroccan Muslims in Spain. In this research, organized focus groups with Muslim immigrants in Spanish cities around Spain will be conducted to compare the results and analyze the responses of the interviewees.

## 1.2 Research Motivation

*“Migration is an expression of human aspiration for dignity, safety, and a better future. It is a social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family.”- UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon.<sup>5</sup>*

The main focus of the research will be on the challenges and conflicts that the Muslim immigrants faced in Spain, whether it is with their identities, the adaptation to a new environment or just stereotyping by local society and the media. With evidence collected from field research, the researcher would like to find out how immigrants have changed their identities in order to adapt to the local society and whether their adaptation was successful or not if they have a different identity consciousness from the Spaniards. What conflicts of identity have the immigrants faced in the new environment?

With the recent crisis of terrorist attacks that were conducted by Muslim immigrants and also second and third generations of Muslims living in Europe, the researcher would like to investigate whether it is because of the challenges of adaptation into the society and the confusion or conflict of identity. If the attitudes of the local citizens are not friendly and welcoming to the immigrants and the next generations of the immigrants, they would not feel a sense of belong in the country. If

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<sup>5</sup> Statement. Secretary- General’s Remarks to High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, New York, October 3, 2013. <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=7175>. Accessed December 3, 2015.

immigrants and their next generations do not have the same opportunities to participate in the political arena, job market, or social communities, they would also feel rejected by the community and not integrated into society.

The government and local communities should examine the reasons behind the recent terrorist attacks that were conducted by their fellow European citizens of immigrant descent. It might be the policies that were implemented by the government, the unfriendly attitudes of the European citizens, or the failure to integrate into society due to many reasons. In order to understand what the immigrants think about identity, the attitudes of local citizens, the stereotypes immigrants face, their opinions about the policies made by the government, and the challenges of integrating into local society, the researcher would like to conduct interviews in different cities in Spain and combine the findings with existing literature about the integration of Muslim immigrants in Spain to examine the situation of Muslim immigrants in Spain.

### **1.3 Research Question and Purpose of Research**

Identity has been seen as an important concept in the theory of constructivism, it shapes people's values and behaviors and many immigrants might identify themselves differently in terms of different identities, thus, the researcher would like to know how identity affects the integration of immigrants into local society?

In order to analyze the situation and condition of the Muslim immigrants and their second-generation descendants living in Spain, the researcher proposes the following questions: How do attitudes toward immigrants influence the integration of immigrants into local society? What challenges do second-generation immigrants face in their new homeland? How are they adapting to the local society? How do they deal

with the challenges?

Lastly, the researcher would like to investigate what the government has done to help the immigrants to adapt and what more the government can do to help the immigrants adapt into the society, from the perspective of the immigrants.

The purpose of the research is to find out the relationship between identity, perception and integration in the society. The targeted interviewees are first and second generation Muslim immigrants living in Madrid, with second-generation Muslims as the main focus. Many second generation immigrants were born in Spain and were educated in Spain, so the identity of these interviewees might vary amongst themselves. However, the perceptions they received in the society may still be stereotyped and even racist and this might be difficult for the interviewees to adapt and integrate in society. The research questions are proposed to figure out the relation between identity, perception and integration.

#### **1.4 Limitation of Research**

There will be some limitations of this research. First, finding the interviewees might be difficult because they might be reluctant to express their opinions especially after the recent terrorist attacks and they might doubt the intentions of the interview. Second, the concept of identity is subjective and abstract, maybe second generations of Muslim immigrants might not have such a big concern of the identity that they possess or that they are already assimilated into the society and do not face so many challenges. Third, it is difficult to judge and analyze fairly and subjectively other ethnicities.

Fourth, it is not certain that the interviewees are representative enough of the

whole population of Muslim immigrants in Spain. Everyone acts and feels differently, so it might be hard to make generalizations just based on this research. However, if the findings of these interviewees are similar to each other no matter where they are from in Spain, then the findings may be able to provide insight into a general pattern of feelings towards integration from the Muslim immigrants in Spain.

## **1.5 Literature Review**

*“The face of migration is changing. Today, migrants are coming from, and going to, more places than ever before.”- UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon.<sup>6</sup>*

### **1.5.1 Identity**

#### **Identity and attitudes of local citizens**

For scholars that believed identity to be a key factor towards the integration of the society, they believed that if the attitudes of local citizens are more accepting towards immigration it would help immigrants to adapt into the society. In order for local citizens to be more willing to accept immigrants, they would have to not feel threatened by the immigrants. Possessing an identity that is very different to those that of the host society can raise some problems. Due to the lack of information, knowledge, and misconception towards different identities, people might not be so friendly towards another identity. This phenomena will be explained in the chapters to come when the theory of “the Other” is being discussed.

According to John Sides and Jack Citrin (2007), residents of countries with large immigrant populations or countries experiencing economic difficulties are not

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

especially likely to oppose immigration.<sup>7</sup> However, immigration can challenge the identity of a national-state.<sup>8</sup> The conclusion of the authors' argument is that the vision of immigration viewed by the Europeans depends more on symbolic attitude about the nations (identities) and on misperceptions of the size of immigration population, and less on economic status. In the case of Spain, the percentage of foreign born estimated by Europeans is around 17% instead of 6% in 2002-2003. The authors also believed that ethnic background and immigrant status also affects attitudes towards immigration. The perceptions are more positive among self-identified minorities; however, the size of this effect depends on the degree of the immigrant's incorporation in the host society. From this research, the role of cultural and national identities is an important factor in determining the influence of opinions of Europeans. Cultural differences is significant in Europe especially because there are many Muslim immigrants in Europe and they possess cultural traditions that are sharply divergent from the current European mainstream.

Identity is an important concept consisting of the expression of one's own identity (self-identity), or the collective identity, such as religious, social, cultural or national identity. The formation of identity is influenced by one's surroundings and the psychological feeling of belongingness. The attitudes of others also affect the perception and identity formation of an individual.

### **Muslim identity**

In that sense, when identity is being discussed, there are different ideas about

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<sup>7</sup> John Sides and Jack Citrin, *European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests, and Information*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.481.

what identity is. Some scholars believed identity is imposed towards people externally, some believe that it is involuntary, and some believe that it is self-defined. There are also different types of identity, such as cultural identity, racial identity, ethnic identity, religious identity, national identity and so on. The types of identity that will be discussed will mainly be focused on religious identity, cultural identity and national identity.

Muslim identity can be seen as either self-defined or imposed according to different scholars. In the book, “Citizenship, Identity, and the Politics of Multiculturalism-The Rise of Muslim Consciousness”, the author, Nasar Meer (2010), defined the concept of Muslim identity with references of what Muslim identity was viewed from other scholars. When Muslim identity is viewed as a sociological category, it becomes a less exclusive and more valid way of operationalizing Muslim identity because it includes opportunities for self-definition. The space for self-definition is helpful to conceptualize the difference between racial and ethnic categorizations. Muslim identity can be seen differently by different people; however, when one is born into a Muslim family, one becomes a Muslim. Scholars like Marshall-Andrews recognized Muslim identity as an involuntary category, whereas Younge believed to be an externally imposed narrative.<sup>9</sup>

### **Religious Identity and Ethnic identities**

Meer raised a perspective from Pnina Werbner that separates religious identity and ethnic identity. Werbner believed that Muslims in Britain have become

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<sup>9</sup> Nasar Meer, *Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism-The Rise of Muslim Consciousness*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

problematized through their religious rather than ethnic identities. “Whereas Asians are seen to be integrating positively into Britain, contributing a welcome spiciness and novelty to British culture, Muslims are regarded as an alienated, problematic minorities...”<sup>10</sup> Why would Muslim identity be seen as “problematic” when other ethnic identities are seen as welcome? What would happen, for example, according to the excerpt by Wernber, if the immigrant is both Asian and Muslim? How would he or she be viewed in this context?

Meer believed that Muslim identity should be recognized differently from racial categorization or “minority group”, because Muslims are subjected to discrimination and exclusion as a group and by protesting against discrimination<sup>11</sup>.

### **1.5.2 Integration**

Integration is defined as the structural process of incorporation as equals into a society with different social groups. Integration should not be assimilation, members of minorities would be able to preserve their own cultural and religious identity in the society. Integration can be divided into many different fields, such as political integration, cultural integration and religious integration.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.



## **Political integration**

Meer also raised an excerpt from Maleiha Malik (2005):

“If Muslims see their sense of identity reflected in legal and political institutions, and they see their concerns being taken seriously by these institutions, they are more likely to comply with the obligations of these institutions without feeling coerced. Therefore, in order for Muslims to feel that their concerns are being accurately reflected, it is vital that policy makers and legal and political institutions recognize Muslims as a distinct social group.”

From the excerpt above, it is clear to see that in order for Muslims to be fully integrated into the society, it is necessary to recognize the needs, differences, and concerns of Muslims in political and legal institutions. Without recognizing the differences of Muslims to the other social groups in society and to implement policies to help Muslims integrate, Muslim would not feel welcomed and be reluctant to comply with the obligations of these institutions. Unfortunately, the representation of Muslims in political and legal institutions is still rarely seen, or not present at all.

With the lack of representation in the society, the researcher believes that the identity of Muslims might present in two ways, it would be either repressed and assimilate into the society or expressed and segregated in the society. In order to integrate into society, the Muslim identity might be neglected and Muslims might act just like normal citizens in the society. However, the Muslim identity can also be expressed by Muslims, leading them to create their own social group which might cause them to not integrate into the society.

## **Cultural/religious integration**

The lack of support for constructing a place of worship for Muslims can also be seen as a setback towards integration in the society. As Ricard Zapata-Barrero said in his article, “The Muslim community and Spanish tradition-Maurophobia as a fact, and impartiality as a desideratum”, whenever a Muslim community wants to construct a mosque in a city, they would receive immediate protest from the neighborhood. This showed the reluctance of the local citizens in Spain to recognize the needs to give Muslims the public visibility such as Catholic Church that is enjoyed by the local citizens.<sup>12</sup> Zapata-Barrero believed that the Spanish identity has been built in opposition to the picture of the Muslims in general and the Moroccans in particular due to its historical and cultural context. Spain was under the rule of the Islamic Empire from 711 to 1492 and the people that were ruling at that time were called the “Moors”. However, as mentioned by the author, nobody can deny that Spanish tradition cannot be understood without the Islamic legacy and cultural heritage. He believed that the negative images and immigration news are related to the Muslim community.

Just as Zapata-Barrero argued, it is important to understand the perception and attitude of citizens against the Moroccan community in terms of sociological, political variables and also historical context. The author used Maurophobia (the phobia of Moors) instead of Islamophobia because he believes that it is the existence of Maurophobia instead of religious/ cultural racism that is present in Spain. The historical construction of the stereotype of “Moor” as somebody suspicious and

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<sup>12</sup> Ricard Zapata-Barrero, “The Muslim community and Spanish tradition-Maurophobia as a fact, and impartiality as a desideratum,” *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship-An European Approach*, Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006.

potentially a criminal. This further enhanced the historical memory of separating “good” or “bad” immigrants following the criteria of language and/ or religion and they are the most tangible elements of Spanish tradition.

### **1.5.3 Effect of terrorist attacks**

Zapata-Barrero also argued that as a consequence of 9/11 in New York, 3/11 in Madrid, and the bombing in London, there had been intentional policy favoring Central and Eastern European immigrants and South Americans over Moroccans. He believes the logical explanation of signing of the first bilateral agreement for sending migrant workers from Poland and Ecuador was due to the Christian identity and protecting the Spanish identity, because Moroccans or Muslim migrants are viewed as potential “cultural invaders” to the region. Zapata-Barrero believed that the authorities even restricted the Muslim community from accessing public spaces due to historical stereotypes, an action that forces members of the Muslim community to close in on themselves and search for their own identity, since Spanish citizenship is not open to them. This is an example of repression towards the Muslims and would lead to the segregation of the community.

The recent terrorist attack in Paris 2015 claimed by Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is seen as the deadliest in Europe since the Madrid train bombing in 2004. It was seen as a response to the French airstrikes on the region of Syria and Iraq. This attack has intensified the tension between the Muslims and the local citizens living in Europe and many countries around the world condemned the actions of ISIL, including the Muslims in many parts of the world.

The importance of this thesis is to observe the relationship between identity,

attitudes of citizens and immigrants, the images and representation of both local citizens and immigrants and integration into the society.

From the researcher's point of view, Muslim identity can be seen as a mixture of cultural and religious identity and it can also be seen as a shared identity. Some scholars believe identity will influence the integration into society because identity can create a belongingness for the immigrants and it would be easier for them to adapt into the society. However, some scholars believe identity will not influence the integration into society, since identity can be changed easily and many people possess more than one identity.

#### 1.5.4 Attitudes

***“We need to improve public perceptions of migrants. Migrants contribute greatly to host societies... Yet far too often they are viewed negatively.” - UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon.<sup>13</sup>***

Some scholars believe that identity and attitudes of local citizens and immigrants will not influence integration into the society. These authors believe that identity is not the main factor for immigrants to adapt into the society. In the perspective of Joaquin Arango (2013), the Spanish citizens did not strongly oppose the idea of existence of immigrants in Spain because the immigrants were perceived as benefits to the society and not a threat to national identity because most of the immigrants were working in construction sites or in the physical labor force and it is usually short-term work. However, recently the attitudes towards immigrants were becoming

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<sup>13</sup> Statement. Secretary- General's Remarks to High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, New York, October 3, 2013. <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=7175>. Accessed December 3, 2015.

less tolerable.

### **Perceived benefit**

In the case of Spain, immigration is not perceived by the local society as threatening, and the sentiment of anti-immigrant is not so strong.<sup>14</sup> The outcome of immigrants working in labor markets is perceived as beneficial for local citizens. Thus, they would not feel threatened to the existence of immigrants. Provided by Arango, the percentage of foreign-born population in Spain had increased from less than 4 percent of the population in 2000 to almost 14 percent by 2011. The growth of the immigration population, in the perspective of the author, did not lead to significant anxiety because it was seen as a requirement for the labor market and an outcome of economic progress.

### **Not perceived as a threat with respect to national identity**

Moreover, the Spanish government has shown a strong commitment to immigrant integration, which has been a central component of immigration policy since the 1990s.<sup>15</sup> For Arango, immigration is not perceived as a threat to national identity, and the lack of visibility of immigrants also plays a role. The author stated that Spanish integration policies have ranked high in all three editions of the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), since the integration policies of Spain do not require immigrants to pass tests on languages or civic knowledge. However, from the year 2015, the Spanish government issued a law for immigrants to take a language exam, “Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera (DELE)” and an examination

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<sup>14</sup> Joaquin Arango, *Exceptional in Europe? Spain's Experience with Immigration and Integration*, Migration Policy Institute, 2013.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

on Spanish Constitution and sociocultural background in order to obtain Spanish nationality.<sup>16</sup>

In the point of view of the author, the national identity is not as relevant for the attitudes towards immigration in Spain because even the nationalism of Spain was under question itself, since there are separation of identity within Spain itself; such as the case of Cataluña. Identity of immigrants would not influence the integration into local society since there are many different kinds of identity within one country.

### **Attitudes of local community become less tolerant of immigrants**

Arango believed that the circumstances of immigrants was less desirable due to the crisis of the job market and the construction sector and was not because of social tensions. From the statistics of the attitudes toward migrants in Spain from 1993-2009, it is obvious that since 2003, the attitudes toward migrants have leaned towards ambivalent and adverse rather than tolerant, although the percentage of tolerant is still high. By 2005, the attitudes towards migrants had drastically changed into ambivalent. However, in 2006, the attitudes toward migrants have changed rapidly as well. From then on, the attitudes towards migrants showed mixed results between the three kinds of attitudes.

### **1.5.5 Confusion of Identity**

Just as mentioned by Arango, the identity of Spain is questionable due to the variety of different ethnic groups in Spain. Identity is not so influential to the

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<sup>16</sup> Ley 19/2015, De 13 De Julio, De Medidas De Reforma Administrativa En El ámbito De La Administración De Justicia Y Del Registro Civil, 2015, [http://www.boe.es/diario\\_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2015-7851](http://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2015-7851). Accessed December 17, 2015.

integration of society. In the writings of Dietz (2004), the regional identity of Andalusia, Spain is a combination of different cultures and this identity is controversial.<sup>17</sup> The identity of Andalusia were categorized into three types: “fiesta legacy”, “gitano legacy” and “moro legacy”.<sup>18</sup> These different types of regional identity of Andalusia has caused many conflicts in this region. The “fiesta legacy” is based on local and regional patron saints and it is Catholicism. The “gitano legacy” of Andalusian music symbolizes from gypsy flamenco styles and dancing. The “moro legacy” of the region is based on the multicultural past as Al-Andalus, which was a part of the history of Muslim domination. With that in mind, the identity is controversial in the region of Al-Andalus. For Muslim converts and Muslim immigrants, the identity that they possess is different and they usually do not have close relations.

According to the author, Muslim population of Spain is concentrated in urban areas of the Madrid, Cataluña, and Andalusia. In cities of Cordoba and Granada, it is the major sector of Islam converts in Spain. Many Muslim immigrants and Muslim converts face many stereotypes when interacting with Catholic Andalusians. The history of Cordoba and Granada, and most of the provinces of Andalusia is very important because these provinces were conquered by the Umayyad Caliphate. The historical factor also contributes to the integration of Muslims in Spain in this sense.

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<sup>17</sup> Gunther Dietz, *Frontier Hybridisation or Culture Clash? Transnational Migrant Communities and Sub-National Identity Politics in Andalusia, Spain*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2004.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

## **1.6 Organization of Thesis Chapters**

The third chapter will be about the immigration policy analysis, the immigration policy examined will be about Law 4/2000, the European Union blue card, and the process from gaining citizenship and nationality. By analyzing immigration policies, the attitude of the government can be demonstrated. It also shows how political and economic factors can influence integration in the society.

The fourth chapter will be about the background of Moroccan Muslim immigrants. The main focus will be at the second generation Muslim immigrants, many of the second generation Muslims live in Spain for a long period of time and examine what they feel about their identities and stereotypes that they face. However, first generation Muslim immigrants are also interviewed and serve as a comparison of the two generations.

Chapter five will be about the analysis of the content of interviews conducted to the interviewees. The field research will be conducted in Madrid, the capital. The findings of the interviews will be analyzed and compared.

The last chapter will conclude the findings of the interviews, relate them to the literature reviews and offer implications for future academic research, policy analysis and clarify the linkage between identity, perception, and integration into the society.



## **Ch. 2: Research Method and Approach**

### **2.1-Theory: Constructivism**

The core elements of the theory of constructivism concerns identity, interests and how these can change. Constructivists believe that ideas, values, norms, and shared beliefs matter and identities and interests of actors are socially constructed. State identities and interests are an important part constructed by social structures. Alex Wendt proposed that ideas, such as culture, are self-fulfilling prophecies.<sup>19</sup> An idea or thought exists because people construct this reality and this idea or thought becomes the reality. Wendt believes that interests, ideas, and power are equally important; it is not just about idealism, but also about structuralism. Interests and ideas cannot be separated for they are constituted of material conditions and the reality of the society.

There are many different streams of constructivism, one of the most important stream is investigating national interest and identity, how these two interact between each other and how state actors construct national identity from international interactions. National identity is complicated and changeable in the perspective of constructivism and it is constructed through socialization and the interaction between different countries.

The theory of constructivism is important to this research because identity is an important concept and it influences and constructs the decision making, identification and reality of the actor in the society. In the case of this thesis, the identities (national, religious, ethnic, or cultural) are important to the Muslim

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<sup>19</sup> Alex Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

immigrants in Spain because they build up their presence, uniqueness, and belongingness in the society.

## **2.2 The Others-Perception, image and stereotype**

Amikan Nachmani (2009), the author of “Europe and its Muslim minorities-Aspect of Conflict, Attempts at Accord,” mentioned that the images of Muslims, whether they are true or false, are perceived as extreme ideologies or radical by the Europeans. The image of Muslims being extremists was intensified especially after the attacks on September 11, 2001 and the bombings in Madrid on March 11, 2004, and the bombings in London in July 2005. Not surprisingly, the surveys conducted immediately after the events reflected the negative attitudes European citizens have of Muslims and Muslim immigrants. According to the findings of the 2006 Pew Global Attitudes Project, 83 percent of Spanish citizens perceived Muslims to be fanatical and were pessimistic about future relations with them.<sup>20</sup>

In the author’s perspective, mass migration is perceived as a threat, an obstacle to future harmony and unity of the European Union. It is a threat to the collective identity of Europe and threatens the European culture, languages and customs. Muslim immigrants are perceived as a threat not only because the ideology of Islam is distinct from that of the Europeans, but also because of the historical relations between Europe and former colonies of the imperial European powers. Many Europeans perceive the mass immigration of Muslim immigrants as an “Islamization” of Europe and fear becoming colonized by the Muslim immigrants and becoming part

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<sup>20</sup> Amikam Nachmani, *Europe and its Muslim Minorities-Aspects of Conflict, Attempts at Accord*, Sussex Academic Press, 2009.

of the Arab World.

Michael Pickering (2001) also stated that people tend to stereotype and categorize people into different groups to feel secure in society. Stereotypes are seen as elements of broad cultural practices and process, carrying with definite ideological views and values that are not necessarily integral to our perceptual and cognitive organization of the social world; thus, creating stereotypes.<sup>21</sup> In order for people to feel secure, they tend to stereotype and categorize everything else that they do not recognize into “the Others”, and they use this perception to evaluate and define other people. Stereotyping is a simpler way to generalize and categorize people that are different from themselves.

#### **2.4 Research Methodology**

According to the Oxford Journals, “the fundamental aspect of qualitative field research is to position the investigator as close as possible to the subjects, so as to gain access from them and describe personal experiences. These are then interpreted in the context of the social setting.”<sup>22</sup> Field research, as stated by “Field Research: What Is It and When to Use It?” section 10.1 from the book Sociological Inquiry Principles: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods (v. 1.0)”, it is a qualitative method of data collection and it is aimed to understand, observe and interact with people in their natural settings.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*, Palgrave, 2001.

<sup>22</sup> Oxford Journal. [http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our\\_journals/tropej/online/ce\\_ch14.pdf](http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/tropej/online/ce_ch14.pdf). Accessed June 28, 2016.

<sup>23</sup>“Field Research: What Is It and When to Use It?”, section 10.1 from the book *Sociological Inquiry Principles: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods* (v. 1.0). <http://2012books.lardbucket.org/books/sociological-inquiry-principles-qualitative-and-quantitative->

The method of participation in this investigation is complete participant, as stated by “Field Research: What Is It and When to Use It?”, because the researcher will identify her role as researcher when conducting each interview. The interviewees will be aware of the role of the researcher. The researcher will be participating and interacting with the interviewees during the interview and the identities of the interviewees will not be revealed in this thesis investigation. The researcher will observe the behavior and contents given by the interviewees, interact with the interviewees during the interview, record the interviews and document transcripts as well as summaries of the interviews. To protect the identities of the interviewees, only the summaries will be attached at the appendix.

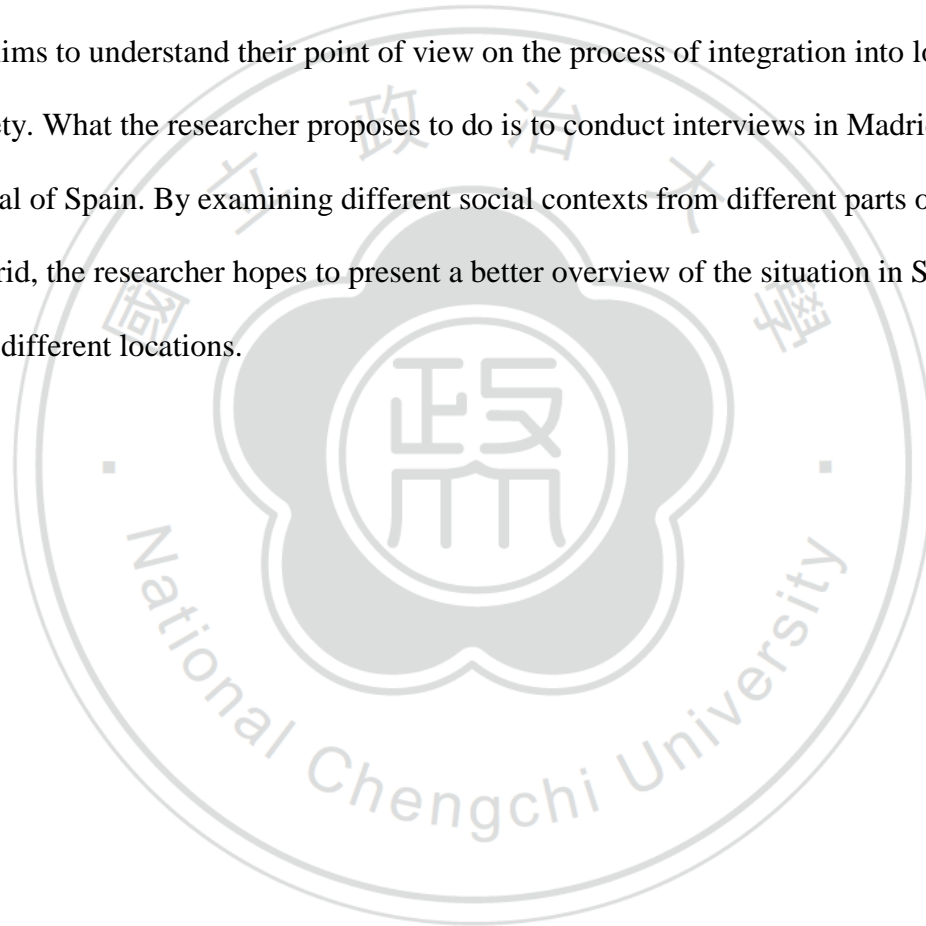
There are pros and cons of the complete participant method. The advantage is that the researcher will be able to modify the questions for each interviewees and understand the differences between each individuals better during the interviews. The disadvantage is that sometimes the interviewees might not answer the questions directly or they might refuse to answer certain questions and it will be difficult for the researcher to analyze.

The questions that were developed for the interviews are located at Appendix 1. These questions are used to learn the background of the interviewees, the value or opinions of the individuals, and the perceptions or feelings they have in the society. These questions are used and modified according to the responses of the interviewees, and some additional questions might be added based on the answers of the interviewees.

In order to obtain more in-depth understanding with each individual, the research

will apply the method of qualitative field research by conducting interviews with Muslim immigrants in Spain. As mentioned previously, the motivation of the researcher is to find out the relationship between integration and identity, perception, and attitudes of the local citizens towards Muslim immigrants (from the perspective of the immigrants) in Spain.

The researcher will conduct in-depth interviews with groups and individual Muslims to understand their point of view on the process of integration into local society. What the researcher proposes to do is to conduct interviews in Madrid, the capital of Spain. By examining different social contexts from different parts of Madrid, the researcher hopes to present a better overview of the situation in Spain with different locations.



## **Chapter 3: Analysis of Immigration Policies**

### **3.1 Law 4/2000**

The immigration policy of Spain has changed over time and the most influential policy being made was in the year 2000 (Law 4/2000), it was intended to integrate migrants into the society and was different from the previous laws. This policy facilitated family reunification and also created forms of regularization for illegal migrants.<sup>24</sup>

Zapata-Barrero and Juan Díez-Nicólas mentioned in the chapter, “Islamophobia in Spain? Political rhetoric rather than a social fact”, there are many structural conflicts between Muslim communities and Spanish.<sup>25</sup> The situation of invisibilities of Muslims in Spain is due to political rather than social reality. Many European countries such as France and Switzerland had many debates about the clothing and construction of religious centers. Especially after the incident of 311, the attitudes toward Muslim immigrants are negative. The characteristics that distinguish Spanish from Muslim immigrants is both due to historical and social point of view.

According to this chapter, there are opposition against building of mosques and religious centers from both citizens and governments, there are also opposition against foreign-funding of mosques, the compulsory of public schools to offer Catholic education is also seen as unfriendly to other religions, even the traditional

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<sup>24</sup> Nuria Empez Vidal, Social Construction of Neglect: The Case of Unaccompanied Minors from Morocco to Spain, Feb. 2007. <http://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2007-007.pdf>  
“Jamal Zougam: Madrid bomb suspect,” *BBC*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3515790.stm>. Accessed November 10, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> Zapata-Barrero and Juan Díez-Nicólas, “Islamophobia in Spain? Political rhetoric rather than a social fact,” *Islamophobia in the West-Measuring and explaining individual attitudes*. Routledge Taylor& Francis Group. 2012.

festival of Moors and Christians that celebrate the Spanish Reconquista can be seen as controversial to the presence of Muslim minorities and especially Moroccans in the society.

In Article 2 Third Part of Law 4/2000 on Integration of Immigrants stated that “The public authorities shall promote the full integration of foreigners into Spanish society, in a framework of coexistence of identities and cultures limited only respect the Constitution and the law”. In this case, the establishment of new mosques should be allowed to promote the diversity of identities and cultures in the Spanish society.

In Article 2 Second Part of Law 4/2000 on The Immigration Policy, it stated that “All government will base the exercise of their competences related to immigrants to the following principles: c) the social integration of immigrants through transversal policies guided to all citizen f) the effectiveness of the principle of non-discrimination and equal rights and obligations to all those who live or work legally in Spain.”<sup>26</sup> The immigration policy of this Law is to promote equality for legal immigrants and the attitude of non-discrimination towards the immigrants from the citizens of Spain.

### **3.2 European Union Blue Card Policy**

The European Union Blue Card is a combination of temporary residence and work permit for highly qualified professionals that are non-EU citizen. People who want to apply for blue card must possess a university or college diploma from an educational program that last for three years or more or have at least five years of

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<sup>26</sup> Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11 de enero, sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social.  
[http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/ServiciosAlCiudadano/InformacionParaExtranjeros/Documents/LEY\\_ORGÁNICA\\_42000\\_DE\\_11\\_DE\\_ENERO.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/ServiciosAlCiudadano/InformacionParaExtranjeros/Documents/LEY_ORGÁNICA_42000_DE_11_DE_ENERO.pdf). Accessed December 1, 2015.

professional experience. The work permit of the professional is tied to one sector and subject to geographical limits and any change in the employment must remain within these limits during the first year. Long-term residence is granted after five years of continuous and legal residence generally. Under the law 14/2013, there are some requirement to apply for residence for economic reasons, whether it's the investors, professionals with high qualifications, investigators, entrepreneurs, and workers performing intra movement within the same company or group of companies.<sup>27</sup>

The EU blue card policy is implemented to attract high qualified professionals to work with salary condition equal to nationals of EU, free movement within the Schengen area, they would have entitlement to socio-economic rights, favorable conditions for family reunification and long-term residence perspective. Foreigners who possess EU blue card and work for at least 18 months have the right work in other countries in the European Union, but they have to apply for another visa. When these high qualified professionals apply for a permit of EU blue card, they may also request a residence visa for their family members according to the procedure and regulation in relation to family reunification. The family members and the holder of EU blue card would have the same social benefits as the citizens of the EU state members.

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<sup>27</sup> Law 14/2013.

[http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/normativa/nacional/movilidad\\_internacional/documentos/Ley\\_14\\_2013\\_consolidada.pdf](http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/normativa/nacional/movilidad_internacional/documentos/Ley_14_2013_consolidada.pdf). Accessed December 1, 2015.



### 3.3 Residence and Nationality

Foreigners can stay in Spain for different kinds of situation: short-term stay, temporary residence (short-term) residence, and long-term residence. For short-term stay, foreigners can stay in Spanish territory for no longer than 90 days with visa. For foreigners that are applying for the short-term residence, the time of stay in Spain is over 90 days and up to five years. Foreigners can apply for a long-term residence when they live in Spain indefinitely, they can work with equal work conditions as Spaniards and that they already possessed a short-term residence for 5 years continuously. Foreigners can apply for residence if they possess the following requirements<sup>28</sup>:

- a) Students: Student visas. Students who come to Spain from abroad with purpose of study or extension of studies or conduct research work or formation without pay.
- b) Stateless: The Ministry of Interior will recognize the status of stateless foreigners who lack nationality and declare the eligibility under the Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the documentation issued to them for this purpose.
- c) Undocumented persons: The foreigners who present in the Ministry of Interior accrediting that they cannot be documented by the authorities of any country.
- d) Refugees: The favorable decision on the request for asylum in Spain constitute recognition of refugee status.
- e) Concurrence of special circumstances: The Administration may grant a

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<sup>28</sup> Permisos de residencia en España. <http://www.conpapeles.com/Permisos-de-residencia-pag6.htm>. Accessed December 1, 2015.

temporary residence permit by rooting situation as well as for humanitarian reasons, collaboration with justice or other exceptional circumstances to be determined by the Government.

Under the law “Directiva 2003/86/CE, de 22 de septiembre” and “Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11 de enero”, a temporary residence permit may be granted to the families of the foreign residents in Spain under this right of family reunification.<sup>29</sup>

There are a few ways to gain nationality: Spanish nationality, nationality by option, citizenship by residence, citizenship by naturalization, and nationality for possession of State.

What Spanish nationality refers to are those who are of Spanish origin:

- a) Those who are born of a Spanish mother or father,
- b) Those who are born in Spain when they are children of foreign parents, if at least one parent was born in Spain (the children of diplomats are exempt),
- c) Those who was born in Spain of foreign parents and both parents lack nationality (stateless), or the law of any of them attributes to the child a nationality,
- d) Children that are born in Spain of parents whose identity is unknown, and
- e) Those under 18 who are adopted by a Spanish. If the adoptee is 18 years, he or she may apply for citizenship within two years from the constitution of the adoption.

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<sup>29</sup> Ciudadanos de otros Estados (Secretaría General de Inmigración y Emigración. Portal de la Inmigración). Accessed December 7, 2015.

In the case of nationality by option, what this refers to are for:

- a) Those who are or have been subjected to the parental authority of a Spanish.
- b) Those whose father or mother was Spanish and born in Spain.
- c) Those whose adoption by Spanish comes after 18 years of age. In a period of two years from the constitution of the adoption.

And in the case of citizenship by residence, it refers to:

- a) The form of acquisition of citizenship requires that the person's residence in Spain has to be over ten years of legal, continuous and immediately prior to the application form.
- b) Other cases:
  - 1. Five years: to grant Spanish citizenship to those who have obtained refugee status.
  - 2. Two years: for nationals of Latin American countries, Andorra, Philippines, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal or Sephardic origin people.
  - 3. One year:
    - (1) Those who were born in Spanish territory,
    - (2) Those who do not adequately exercise their right to acquire Spanish nationality by option,
    - (3) Those who have been legally subject to guardianship or foster care of a Spanish citizen or institution for two consecutive years,
    - (4) Those who at the time of the application, are married to a Spanish for a year and are not legally separated,
    - (5) The widow or widower of a Spanish, if they were not separated at the time of the spouse's death

(6) Those that were born outside of Spain with father or mother (also born outside of Spain), including grandparents, provided that all of them originally had been Spanish.

In addition, the applicant must prove to have good civil conduct and sufficient integration into Spanish society.

Citizenship by naturalization is also another way to acquire nationality, this process has gracious character and is not subject to the general rule of administrative procedure. It will be granted or not at the discretion of the Government by Royal Decree, after evaluating the concurrence of exceptional circumstances. In the case that one has acquired Spanish citizenship by residence, by naturalization or option, he or she shall: 1. be above 14 years old and be able to provide a statement him or herself, he or she must swear or promise allegiance to the King and obedience to the Constitution and the laws. 2. Declare to renounce their previous nationality, except in the case of a person holding the nationality of a Latin American country, Andorra, Philippines, Equatorial Guinea or Portugal.

The last way to acquire nationality is through possession of state. Those who has owned and used the nationality for ten years, on a continuous basis, in good faith, based on a title registered at the Civil Registry has the right to Spanish nationality. Spanish nationality will not be lost even though the title registered at Civil Registry is annulled. The applicant must have maintained an active attitude in the possession and use of Spanish nationality, this means that he or she should behave as Spanish, both in enjoying their rights and fulfilling their duties in connection with the Spanish state.

### 3.4 Policy Analysis

There are several ways for foreigners to acquire Spanish nationality, the facility of nationality acquisition differs according to the different countries of origin of the immigrants. Citizens of former colonies of Spain, such as most Latin American countries, Philippines, and other countries as stated in the previous section can acquire Spanish nationality with two years of residence in Spain.

The European Union Blue Card policy can be seen as a policy that serve as a gate keeper for those who want to obtain nationality in the European Union. The main emphasis of EU blue card policy is to attract high professional immigrants from non-EU countries to work and stay in countries in EU.

Some words in the Spanish national immigration policy has been changed; for instance, “permeant” residence has been changed into “long-term” residence and temporary residence in some documents has been changed into “short-term” residence. These changes are made with accordance to the wordings of European Union, the condition of the residence will be the same from before, but the “TIE (Tarjeta de identidad de extranjeros)” or “Foreigner identity card” will have to be renewed every five years after the first five years of residence. From the acquisition of nationality, Spain has given privileges to its former colonies for the citizens of these countries only need to live in Spain legally for two consecutive years to obtain Spanish nationality; Whereas for citizens of other countries need to live in Spain for ten years consecutively and legally.

According to the national statistics of Spain, the number of people gain concession of Spanish nationality through residence have increased significantly from

year 2003 to 2013.<sup>30</sup> Morocco became the largest group of foreigners obtaining Spanish nationality at the year 2013, with 46,547 people acquiring Spanish nationality. The second and third largest group of foreigners obtaining Spanish nationality are from Ecuador and Bolivia subsequently. The result from this data collection is interesting, as the number of Moroccan residents obtaining nationality has increased drastically from 2012 to 2013. At the year of 2009, the number of Moroccan migrants obtaining nationality declined rapidly with comparison of the year 2008, but then it steadily increased again at the year of 2010.

The policy for acquisition of nationality has changed recently, immigrants would have to pass a language exam (DELE) and Constitutional and cultural knowledge of Spain (CCSE) to obtain Spanish nationality.<sup>31</sup> The cost of these exams is 85 euros. The first exam (DELE) is designed by Instituto Cervantes and it is a linguistic exam, foreigners would have to pass A2 level or higher of Spanish language, it consists of three hour exam: two hours of reading and writing and one hour of listening and speaking. The candidates would have to pass all exams to obtain the DELE certificate. The second exam is obligatory and it is about the Spanish constitution (60%) and the culture, history of Spain and the Spanish society (40%).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> "Concesiones De Nacionalidad Española Por Residencia." Secretaría General De Inmigración Y Emigración. Portal De La Inmigración. <http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/Estadisticas/operaciones/concesiones/index.html>. Accessed December 7, 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Pruebas Para La Obtención De La Nacionalidad Española. Instituto Cervantes, Instituto Cervantes, <http://nacionalidad.cervantes.es/> Accessed December 17, 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Los Nuevos Exámenes Para Lograr La Nacionalidad Española: Leyes, Penélope Cruz Y Matemáticas - 20minutos.es. October 1, 2015. <http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/2569207/0/examenes/nacionalidad/espanola/>. Accessed December 17, 2015.

## **Chapter 4: Background of Interviewees**

### **4.1 Overall Background**

The background of the interviewees were divided into two groups: first generation and second generation of Muslim immigrants. All of the interviewees are from Morocco. Nine of the interviewees are second-generation immigrants, as the thesis is mainly focused on the mindset of second-generation Muslim immigrants. Six of the interviewees are considered to be first-generation immigrants, as they came to Spain at around nine years old or older. Some of the second-generation immigrants believed themselves to be first-generation Muslims because they came with their parents at around six or seven years old, but others believe themselves to be second-generation Muslims with the same age range.

For the purpose of this thesis, the researcher has defined the first-generation Muslims as people who came to Spain at around age nine because they have memories of their lives in their country of origin and can distinguish the differences between the two countries and they identify themselves as first-generation Muslims. Most of the interviewees of second-generation Muslims were from an Arabic learning school at Fuenlabrada, Madrid. Some of the interviewees are involved in non-governmental organizations or associations in relation to Islam. The interviewees are located from North-San Sebastian Alcobendas to the center of Madrid-Sol, and to the South-Fuenlabrada and Getafe.

## **4.2 Second-Generation Muslim**

The ages of the second-generation interviewees range from age 18 years old to 24 years old. The interviewees consist of eight female individuals and one male individual. The interviews were conducted in groups and on an individual basis. Two of the eight female interviewees do not wear the hijab and possess Spanish nationality. Three of the eight female interviewees do not possess Spanish nationality yet. The years of their stay in Spain ranges from 16 years to 24 years. Five of the nine interviewees were born in Spain, while the remaining four individuals were born in Morocco before living in Spain.

The interviewees that were not born in Spain came to Spain with their family by the law of family reunification. All parents of the second-generation Muslims came to Spain for economic motives. All interviewees are educated or entering into higher education, such as the university. Some interviewees are working or searching for a job in the labor market. Interviewees of second-generation Muslims speak Spanish fluently and are more willing to speak in comparison with first-generation interviewees. The dominance of the language is more common in second-generation interviewees.

## **4.3 First Generation Muslims**

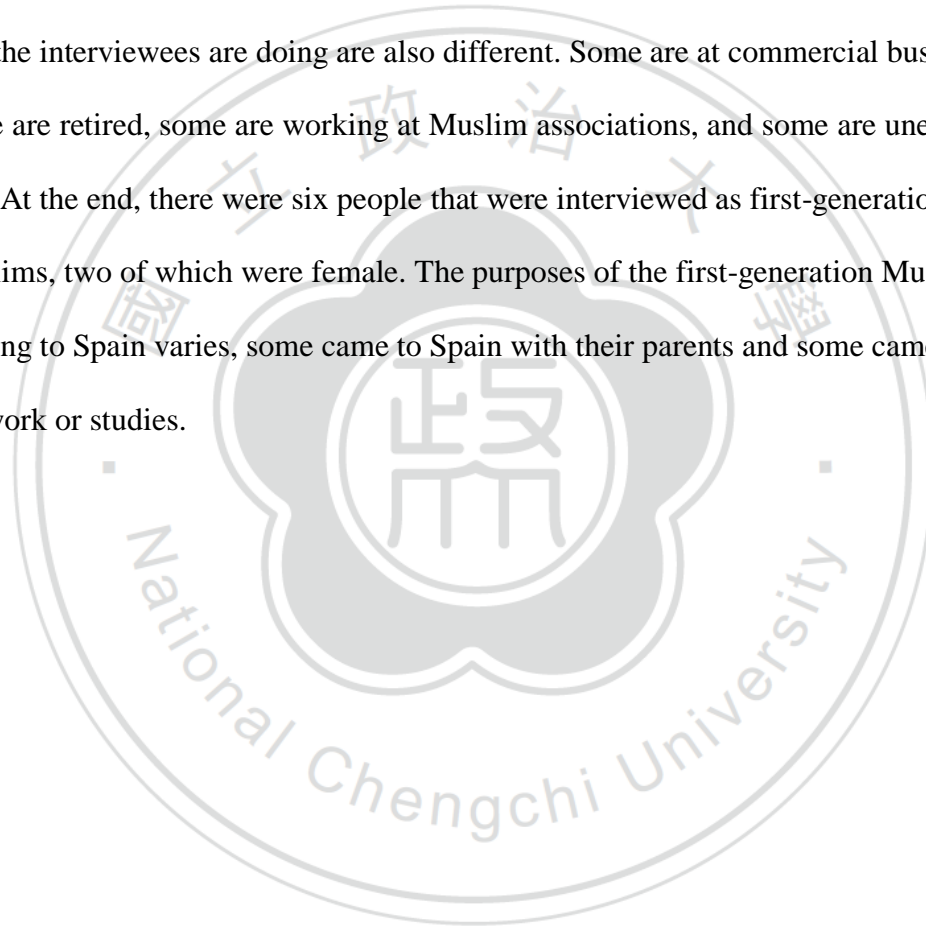
The process of finding first-generation Muslims was not as easy as finding second-generation Muslims. Many potential interviewees were reluctant to respond and some even rejected the interview. The lack of proficiency in Spanish is one of the reasons given by first-generation immigrants for not participating. Interviews conducted with first-generation immigrants vary differently in comparison with the



ones conducted with second-generation immigrants. The level of dominance of the Spanish language is very different within the interviewees. Interviewees who have a good command of the Spanish language are more willing to share their opinions and elaborate their points by giving examples and personal stories.

Some interviewees are more cautious about what to say and try not to comment a lot about topics like the actions of the government and terrorism. The types of jobs that the interviewees are doing are also different. Some are at commercial business, some are retired, some are working at Muslim associations, and some are unemployed.

At the end, there were six people that were interviewed as first-generation Muslims, two of which were female. The purposes of the first-generation Muslims of coming to Spain varies, some came to Spain with their parents and some came alone for work or studies.



## **Chapter 5: Content and Analysis of Interviews**

### **5.1 Overall Content**

The interviewees were asked about questions about their identity, how they feel about the Spanish people and culture, their experience of treatment and perception received from the society, and the actions of the government. Based on the opinion of the first and second generation of Muslim immigrants, they did not personally face a lot of discrimination or stereotyping in Spanish society personally. However, they do agree that the recent terrorist attacks have affected the Muslim community in Spain.

The interviewees had mixed feelings about what to identify themselves as. The interviewees believed that the government and local Muslim communities should work together to improve the situation of Muslim immigrants in Spain.

### **5.2 Attitudes towards Spain**

#### **5.2.1 Second-Generation Muslims**

The responses of the first and second generation of Muslims are similar in some ways and differ in others. The attitudes of both generations of Muslims towards Spain as a country are more positive than negative. The responses of the interviewees of first-generation Muslims and second-generation Muslims are organized into different figures. Figure 5.1 is the perception of Second-Generation Muslims and their views of Spanish policies. As shown in figure 5.1, the views of second-generation immigrants towards Spanish policies is positive. Some interviewees mentioned that there are some ignorant people in society, but felt that it was normal and occurs in every

society, not only the Spanish one. This figure will be used as a reference in the next sections.

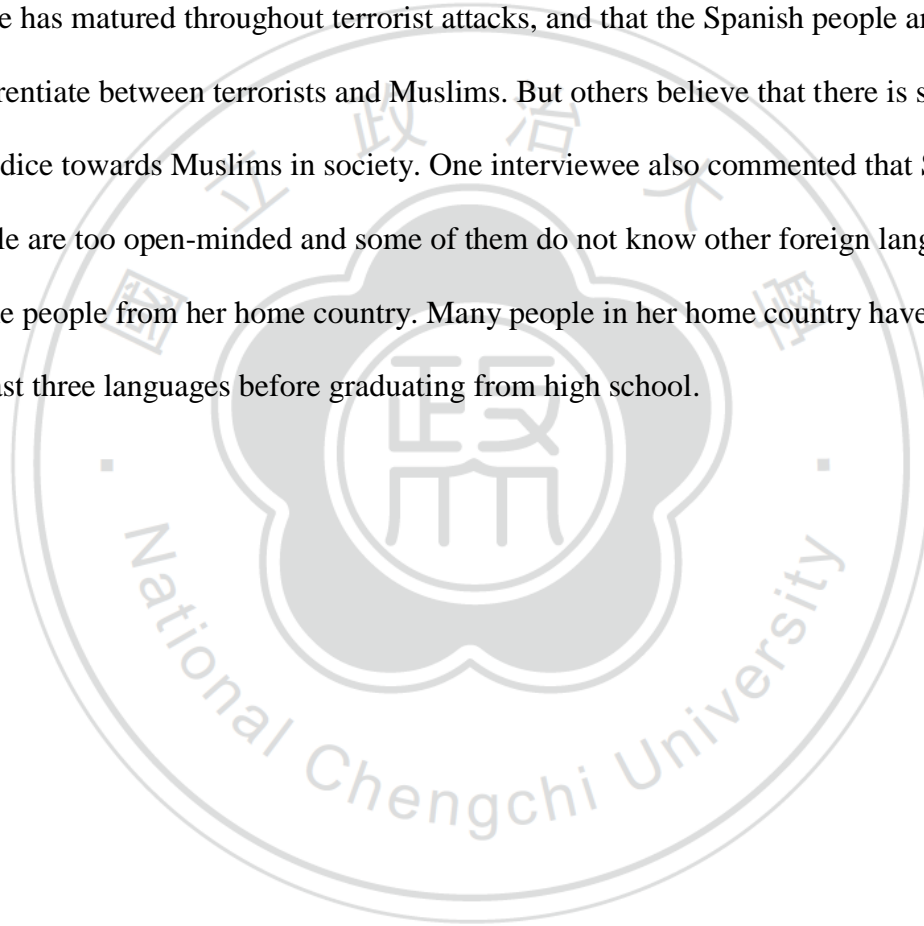
**Figure 5.1 Perception of Second-Generation Muslims and their views of Spanish Policies**

Interviewee	Perception Received in Society	Perception towards Spanish	National Belongings	Personal Experience with discrimination	Political Policy*
1	Hijab, negative perception	Good	Spanish	Yes	N/A
2	Hijab, negative perception	Good	Spanish	Yes	N/A
3	Negative perception with hijab, job interviews	Good	Spanish	No	should homogenize laws and make laws more effective
4	Rare job opportunities with hijab	Good	Spanish	Yes	improve coexistence in society
5	Islamophobia, ignorance, sexist	Good, friendly, open-minded	Spanish	Yes	It is a replica of French model (integration)
6	Mosque being vandalized	Good	Moroccan	No	Nothing has been done.
7	Stereotypes enhanced after attacks	Good	Moroccan	No	Too general, focus on local
8	Hatred towards immigrants	Good, but some are ignorant	Spanish	No	forming ghetto school, French model
9	Prejudice for Arabs	Good, open-minded, tolerant	Spanish	Yes	It doesn't do anything. Should deal with Islamophobia

(Political Policy\*: Political Policy is the responses of the interviewees about the actions of the government)

### 5.2.2 First-Generation Muslims

The comments that the first-generation Muslims have towards Spanish were mainly the same as those of the second-generation interviewees. They all believe that there are good and bad people in every society, so the Spanish are no exception. Their responses are organized in figure 5.2. Some interviewees believed that the society as a whole has matured throughout terrorist attacks, and that the Spanish people are able to differentiate between terrorists and Muslims. But others believe that there is still some prejudice towards Muslims in society. One interviewee also commented that Spanish people are too open-minded and some of them do not know other foreign languages, unlike people from her home country. Many people in her home country have learned at least three languages before graduating from high school.



**Figure 5.2 Perception and of First-Generation Muslims and their views of Spanish Policies**

Interviewee	Perception Received in Society	Perception towards Spanish	National Belongingness	Personal experience with discrimination	Political Policy*
10	Mosque, religious acts are viewed negatively	99.9% good	Spanish	No	Former government has done nothing. Should start dialogues with Muslim community and local community.
11	immigrants, Gulf War, not viewed as Spanish due to physical attributes	Good, but has prejudice	Spanish	Yes. Restaurant being egged after 311.	Agreement 92 should be implemented well. (Getafe)
12	No comment	Good and bad, just the same as anywhere else	Moroccan	Try not to get involved. Stay low.	No comment
13	Hijab viewed negatively	Good, the society has matured	Moroccan and Spanish	Yes, many, but is used to it.	Agreement 92 is very unique and important
14	Viewed negatively after terrorist attacks	Similar, there are good or bad people	Spanish	No (People can't identify where she is from, she is not wearing hijab)	Should give information to people
15	Racism is present, hijab viewed negatively, terrorist attacks. No jobs with hijab.	Open-minded, doesn't study a lot, they don't know many languages.	Moroccan	A lot.	Government doesn't do anything, there are no rights

(Political Policy\*: Political Policy is the responses of the interviewees about the actions of the government)

## 5.3 Racism and Islamophobia and Gender Discrimination in society

### 5.3.1 Second-Generation Muslims

None of the interviewees of second generation had faced threats or severe discrimination personally. However, they have faced some discrimination in the labor market. Many female interviewees responded that they had been asked to remove their hijab for job interviews and the job itself. The female interviewees felt that being requested to do this was absurd and believed the question to be a form of discrimination in the workplace. Female interviewees wearing a hijab are the most vulnerable to discrimination because of its visibility. Some interviewees also received concerns from Spanish people when they see these female interviewees wearing a hijab. One interviewee said, *“I think what I am going to transmit to the world is my knowledge. I am not going to show other parts of my body, of my physical features to try to transmit my wisdom to you, talking like this. They are direct transmissions, you will listen to me without having to focus in other things.”*<sup>33</sup> The way an individual dresses should not prevent her from transmitting her knowledge to the world, especially if she is dressing according to her religious beliefs.

It is counterproductive to say that Muslim women are oppressed by wearing a hijab and then refusing to let Muslim women wearing hijabs to work and be independent. Many Muslim women are facing the difficulties of finding a job position that allows them to wear a hijab to work. Many female interviewees said that some job positions, especially the ones that need to face the public, always reject Muslim women wearing hijabs for work, even if they are well qualified. One interviewee even commented after the interview that she has a friend with two master’s degrees who

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<sup>33</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 7.

remains unemployed because she wears a hijab.

Even the only male interviewee personally felt some discrimination, especially at the airport. *“At the airports, because of having Arab features and an Arab name, they will ask you, they will look through your suitcase, they will tighten the security on you more than others. And this, especially if you are Spanish...”*<sup>34</sup> However, besides the cases in the airport, the interviewee did not feel a strong discrimination in the Spanish society.

### 5.3.2 First-Generation Muslims

The interviewees of first-generation immigrants faced many difficulties in society, especially those that came early in the 1990s when immigration to Spain began. Some were discriminated against in society and were not even recognized as Spanish by the Spanish people even though they possess the nationality. Female interviewees also expressed that the religious attire, the hijab, is viewed negatively in society. Almost no job opportunities will be offered to Muslims with hijab, even if it is just a job such as telephone operator.

The younger interviewees of first-generation Muslims faced fewer difficulties because they had been educated in Spain. In the case of interviewee 10, he got a job after graduating and he is currently working in the same company. For interviewee 14, she had no difficulties finding a job because she did not wear a hijab. The rest of the interviewees of first-generation immigrants came earlier and at that time the economic situation in Spain was prosperous, so they had no problem finding a job. However, interviewee 12 is currently unemployed and has faced many difficulties in the society.

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<sup>34</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 9.

Generally speaking, the interviewees all believed that the young generation are more understanding and accepting of people from different backgrounds, whether it is from different countries, cultures or religions. In contrast, the elder population still rejects the idea of a Spanish person being both Spanish and Muslim at the same time, especially those that have never been out of Spain. The younger population has more knowledge of globalization and immigration, whether it is through personal contact, social media or mass communication. Many interviewees also commented that the history of immigration in Spain is shorter than in other European countries.

Due to the influence of the media, the unfamiliarity of Islam, and the actions of the terrorists, the knowledge of the Spanish public is limited and biased and the stereotypes of Muslims are constructed based on prejudice. Comments like “Go back to your country” or “Muslims are all terrorists”<sup>35</sup> are commonly heard by the interviewees after terrorist attacks, and this confirmed what most of the interviewees believe, although these cases do not often occur to the interviewees in person, the image of Muslim community as a whole has been damaged and harmed. Although these are isolated cases, mosques in Spain have been painted by people after terrorist attacks.<sup>36</sup>

However, the interviewees also said that these stereotypes are later broken down when people get to know them in person and understand what Islam is about. The interviewees believe that some Spanish people are ignorant towards Islam while others are open-minded and curious to learn about other culture and customs. After learning about the reasons of certain behaviors of fellow Muslim interviewees, such

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<sup>35</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 4.

<sup>36</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 6 and Interviewee 9.



as the reason for not eating pork or drinking, they would respect the decisions of their Muslim friends and try to adapt to their lifestyle when they go out together.

## **5.4 Responses to Political Policies and Action of Governments**

Interviewees have different responses when they were asked of the actions and policies of the government towards Muslim immigrants. Almost every interviewee believed that the government does not implement laws effectively or that the government is investing money in the wrong places. However, most interviewees also believed that the government and the local Muslim associations or communities should work together in order to build a dialogue between the two and also inform the public to decrease unfamiliarity or misunderstanding of Islam. The general responses of the interviewees are categorized in figure 5.1 and 5.2.

### **5.4.1 Second-Generation Muslims**

By working with the government, Muslim associations or communities can promote activities to the general public more effectively. The government can also invest money in activities that are more useful to both the general public and the Muslim community. As one interviewee commented, *“If they tell me that they are going to invest 150.000 euros for the month of Ramadan, for activities that are designed for Muslims that live or reside in Madrid....And if they put Shakira dancing, for me, it’s insulting. If you really want to invest the money, invest it well. Don’t give it to Pepe, nor Juan, because they don’t even have the idea of what they are doing,*

*nor what they have to do with this, nor the necessities of the population.*"<sup>37</sup>, if the money is given to people that are not familiar with Islam, the activities being promoted would not help transfer direct understanding to the public and at the same time it would make Muslims feel humiliated because the activities have nothing to do with their religious beliefs.

One interviewee also commented on the rise of concerted schools, which is in between a public and private school, meaning that part of the school funds comes from the government and the other part comes from the parents. One result of this school model is the conversion of public schools into "ghetto schools" in Spain. More parents want to send their children to "escuela concertada" because *"I don't want my children to go to public school, especially where there is a lot of immigration."*<sup>38</sup> The interviewee feel the vibe in her area, Parla, where many children of immigrants go to public schools while many Spanish children go to private or concerted schools. Thus, public schools are becoming the so-called "ghetto schools".

#### **5.4.2 First-Generation Muslims**

Muslim immigrants face many difficulties beside stereotypes, racism, and discrimination in Spanish society. Although as some interviewees mentioned, the Spanish government had signed the Agreement 92 with all religious communities, which guaranteed their rights to exercise their religion in Spain, the help from the government is very limited and sometimes the government even rejects the petitions signed by the Muslim communities.

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<sup>37</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 5.

<sup>38</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 8.

Many interviewees responded that some local governments are not supportive of the requests of Muslim communities to build a mosque or obtain land for religious burial. During the month of Ramadan, many Muslims had to travel to the outskirts or the suburbs of cities, such as the industrial sites, to pray even though they live in the center of the area. They pay the same taxes as any other Spanish citizen, but they cannot construct mosques in central locations nor find a place to pray during the month of Ramadan in the center of their area.

Some other areas, such as Parla and Fuenlabrada, which is located at the south of Madrid, Muslim associations are collaborating on activities and events with the government, and are more active and involved in society. The local government in these areas are supportive and always try to work with Muslim communities in the area. In contrast, in areas like Alcobenas, which is located at the North of Madrid, Muslim associations are less active and the local government has rejected a lot of the petitions made by the Muslim community. Many Muslims had to go out to the industrial sites to rent a warehouse with their own money during the month of Ramadan and pray over there, in order to “avoid disturbing the neighbors”.

## **5.5 Integration and Adaptation in society**

### **5.5.1 Second-Generation Muslims**

Many of the interviewees of second generation believed that the concept of “adaptation” does not apply to them that much since they were practically raised in Spain. They have not faced many difficulties in school or society. Many of the interviewees came to Spain at the early stage of childhood or were born in Spain. They went to school and were educated just like any other Spanish child. They are

more tolerant and open-minded towards people of different cultural backgrounds than people from their home country. In fact, some interviewees even believed that they felt more at ease in Spain than in their home country. There are more rules and restrictions for female interviewees and they believe that they actually have to “adapt” when they go back to their home country.

### **5.5.2 First-Generation Muslims**

In contrast, most first-generation Muslims interviewed had difficulty adjusting to their new environment when they came to Spain for the first time, even though they believed that it was not so difficult to adapt into Spain. Especially around the time when the interviewees decided to live in Spain, which was in the 1990s. At around that time, the lack of access to mosques, halal alimentation and poor public knowledge of Muslims made it hard for them to adapt into society.

Most of the interviewees of first generation have faced many conflicts and difficulties with Spanish citizens, often in the form of disdainful looks, ignorant words or being rejected from society. Most of the interviewees over 40 years old faced these difficulties more than interviewees under 40 years old. Two of the interviewees are under 40 years old and they had less difficulty adapting to society. These two individuals came to Spain at an earlier age than the rest of the interviewees and were educated in Spain since they were nine and eleven years old. They consider themselves to be fully integrated into Spanish society and identify themselves as either Spanish Muslims or from both countries.

## 5.6 Different identity roles

The identities of the Muslims, whether it is first or second generation of Muslims, are different according to their personal opinion. Most of those who were born and raised in Spain feel more Spanish. Some of them are not used to the Moroccan culture as well as the Spanish culture because they spent most of their lives in Spain. Some of the interviewees feel that they are Moroccan because they are aware that they are different from the Spanish citizens in Spain, in terms of religion, culture and/or race. No matter what national identity they identify with, or what cultural identity they are used to or identify with, the one identity that they all agree to, is their religious identity, the identity of being a Muslim.

The feeling towards Morocco also differs from first to second generation of interviewees. The first-generation immigrants look at Morocco as their homeland, the place that they want to return to. Whereas the second-generation immigrants see Morocco as a place for vacation, a place where their relatives or grandparents live. Some of the second-generation immigrants even have cultural shock in Morocco because they cannot do certain things or talk in certain ways in Morocco that they can in Spain.

For the first generation of immigrants, they had lived in Spain for a long time, but they were not all raised in Spain, so they had to adapt into the Spanish society. If they are not accepted by society, they will not identify themselves as Spanish, even though they have the Spanish nationality and no matter how long they live in Spain, as was the case with interviewee 15.

In contrast, most of the second-generation immigrants were born in Spain, they received a Spanish education and they have friends from Spain, so they do not feel

that there is a need to adapt to Spanish society because they are already part of it. However, after graduating from university, some have faced major obstacles in the labor market, especially female interviewees who wear hijabs. They feel discriminated in job interviews because they were asked to remove their hijab. Even though they feel Spanish, they are constantly reminded by society that they are not the same as everyone else in Spanish society, in terms of religion, culture or ethnicity.

### **5.6.1 Second-Generation Muslims**

The identity of the second-generation Muslims is a mixed feeling between the two countries, it is how they identify themselves and it is categorized as “national belongingness” in figure 5.1. Some of them identify themselves as both Spanish and Moroccan. Most of the second-generation interviewees, especially those who grew up in Spain and were born in Spain, identified themselves as Spanish. These second-generation immigrants felt greater loyalty towards Spain, especially when it comes to being a citizen in Spain and trying to improve the situation of Spain instead of their home country, because they spent most of their lives there. However, they are aware of the fact that they are not the same culturally and religiously as other Spanish citizens.

The identities that are mentioned in figure 5.3 are religious identity, national identity, and cultural identity. National identity is the nationality that the interviewees possess, it is not identical as national belongingness in figure 5.1. National belongingness is identified as the feeling of belonging in one country in this figure. The interviewees of second-generation Muslims identified themselves differently in terms of their cultural identity. Some considered themselves to be mixed culture

because they were raised and educated in Spain and the Spanish culture forms a part of their lives, while others think they belong to only one culture. The results are demonstrated in the following figure 5.3 in the column of culture identity.



**Figure 5.3 Identities of Second-Generation Muslims**

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Religious identity	National identity	Ethnicity	Cultural identity	Years in Spain	Educational Level
1	F	22	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Mixed	22	University
2	F	24	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Mixed	24	University
3	F	21	Muslim	Moroccan	Moroccan	Spanish	16	University
4	F	24	Muslim	Moroccan	Moroccan	Mixed	17	University
5	F	23	Muslim	Moroccan, Spanish pending	Moroccan	Mixed, more Spanish	16	University
6	F	21	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Moroccan	19	University
7	F	18	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Moroccan	18	University
8	F	20	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Moroccan	20	University
9	M	20	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Mixed	20	University



### 5.6.2 First-Generation Muslims

The identities of first-generation Muslims is demonstrated in figure 5.4 and their national belongingness is presented in figure 5.2. The identities of the first-generation interviewees will be explained after the general figure of 5.2 and 5.4. The cultural identity of the first-generation interviewees can be seen differently according to where the interviewees were born and raised, which will be explained later on.

**Figure 5.4. Identities of First-Generation Muslims**

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Religious identity	National identity	Ethnicity	Cultural identity	Years in Spain	Educational Level
10	M	32	Muslim	Moroccan Spanish pending	Moroccan	Spanish	21	N/A
11	M	51	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Spanish	51 (30 years in Madrid )	N/A
12	M	42	Muslim	Moroccan	Moroccan	Moroccan	17	N/A
13	M	49	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Moroccan	25	Master
14	F	25	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Mixed	16	University
15	F	50	Muslim	Spanish	Moroccan	Moroccan	30	University

(N/A: Not Available)

One interviewee of first-generation Muslims even decided not to answer some questions because he did not want to get into trouble, as he is currently unemployed and did not have Spanish nationality. He feels lost in Spain and did not feel Spanish at all. *“I am Moroccan, not Spanish. I will not turn into Spanish, this is clear.”*<sup>39</sup> This interviewee is representative of the majority of the Moroccan Muslims that

<sup>39</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 12.

immigrated to Spain, as most of them are afraid to speak up due to the language barrier or because they do not want to cause trouble and they just want to live their lives in Spain quietly without disturbing anyone. As one second-generation female interviewee commented, “*Ask my mom how many Spanish friends she has. None!*”<sup>40</sup> Many of them live with people that they are familiar with and only interact within their own ethnic circle.

Two first-generation interviewees have lived in Spain for around 30 years, but they identified themselves differently. Interviewee 11 was born in Ceuta, which is a Spanish city and came to Madrid at 21 years old, looking for a job. Interviewee 15 came at the age of 20 years old and came to Spain because she had relatives here. They both faced discrimination in person. The male interviewee came to Spain and faced discrimination, even though he was born Spanish. “*Back then, they see us in a weird way. But let’s say, personally, the most difficulties I had was in the workplace. Many times you have to demonstrate that you are Spanish. People they see nothing but your features and they tell you, ‘You are not Spanish.’*”<sup>41</sup> The male interviewee even had to close down his restaurant after the March 11 attack in Spain, and many people threw eggs at his restaurant window.

The female interviewee has suffered disparaging remarks because she is wearing a hijab, something she has faced her entire life. The male interviewee identified himself as Spanish, while the female interviewee considered herself to be Moroccan. She commented: “*I am not Spanish, because they don’t accept me.*” And “*I don’t feel like a Spanish, I feel like a Muslim....Because they don’t let me, only with their looks*

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<sup>40</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 8.

<sup>41</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 11.

*they hurt me.*<sup>42</sup>

One interviewee who came to study in Spain at the age of 24 ended up living in Spain for 25 years identified himself as both Moroccan and Spanish, but he also commented that Morocco is his home country and his homeland, something that Spain cannot replace. *“I feel Moroccan, I feel Arab, and this no one can take it away from me. Therefore, it is my identity, but in all of this, Spain is present, very present.”*<sup>43</sup> However, if he encountered Spanish people in a foreign country, he would be happy to talk to them and feel at ease with them. The identity of being Spanish is an added element to his own identity.

### **5.7 Differences between generations**

Second-generation interviewees believed that they should be treated equally in the society, they are more active and would like to change the perception of Muslims in Spain. They participate in Muslim associations and non-governmental organizations and also create websites to become more engaged in media communication. There are many Muslim associations that are active in society, for example, one of the associations unites young Muslim girls and they organize activities such as trips and conferences for young Muslim girls to meet up and get to know each other.

There are also associations that are based in the areas where the interviewees live and they also organize activities with the city hall or the universities to give speeches or conferences to the public in the hopes of breaking down the barriers and stereotypes between Muslims and the participants. For instance, the area of

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<sup>42</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 15.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix 2. Interviewee 13.

Fuenlabrada has had experiences working with the city government and the universities near Fuenlabrada to organize conferences to combat Islamophobia or on other topics to help the general public understand Islam better.

For the first generation of immigrants, there are extreme distinctions within the interviewees. Most of them came alone to find a job, some came with their families and one came to study in Spain. The language barrier of the interviewees represented the most difficult hurdle for the first-generation immigrants to adapt to the Spanish society. Although some of the first-generation interviewees spoke Spanish fluently, the majority did not speak Spanish that well and were afraid to speak to the interviewer.

Generally speaking, the first-generation Muslim immigrants came to Spain to find a better life. Some achieved their goals and lived well in Spain, but others did not. Many of them felt political injustice and that they were neglected in policy making. They have to pay their taxes as equals in society without receiving equal rights as every other Spanish citizen. The construction of mosques and places to pray for Ramadan has to be outside of the city center, even though the construction of Catholic or Christian churches can be located at the center of the city without any problems. Most of them have adapted well into the society, but their identity varies depending on how they are perceived and treated in the society.

Despite believing that racism and Islamophobia are present in Spanish society, they still believe that Spain is more tolerant of Muslims than other countries, with the short history of immigration. The female interviewees are the ones that face most discriminations in the society, whether it is on the streets or in the workplace. Spain's declining economy has increased the difficulties of the interviewees, especially young

female interviewees wearing hijabs.

The educational level of first-generation Muslims and second-generation Muslims are different as well. Most of the second-generation immigrants have completed university-level education, and are more privileged compared to the first-generation immigrants. Some second-generation interviewees also commented that their parents had limited access to education. The second-generation Muslims did not have a language barrier, for they are educated as any other Spanish children. The first-generation Muslims had more difficulties with the Spanish language, especially when they first moved to Spain. Some of the first-generation Muslims, even after living in Spain for a long time, still cannot master the Spanish language.

The second-generation interviewees did not have difficulties fitting in the society, because they grew up in the society, they are more eager to fight for equality and rights just as any other Spanish citizen. Whereas the first-generation immigrants are not well prepared to defend their rights as well as the second-generation immigrants and would like to just live their lives in peace. In particular, those who are not fluent in the Spanish language are afraid to express their thoughts, because they do not want to accidentally offend anyone.

In terms of participating in society, second-generation immigrants are more involved in Muslim associations and try to express their voice through social media or the internet. They also work with the local government and universities to host events and conferences to combat Islamophobia or other unfamiliarity with relations to Islam. There are also people from first-generation immigrants that are working in associations to help out Muslims from around the world, not just in Spain. The area and issues of involvement of first generation, especially those who can speak Spanish

fluently, is deeper than second generation. They are more concerned about constructing mosques, finding places to pray for Ramadan, asking the government for a Muslim cemetery, things that are more precise and more problematic to resolve.



## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

### **6.1 Conclusion**

From the interviews and previous literature, the research questions are answered. There are many challenges that are faced by both first and second generation immigrants in their new homeland. Muslim immigrants in Spain are not widely accepted by the general public, especially by the elderly population. The idea of someone being both Spanish and Muslim at the same time is also very difficult for the public to understand. With the recent terrorist attacks, the influence of the media, the short history of immigration, and the lack of knowledge of Islam, public perception is still negative towards Muslims living in Spain, and intensifies after each attack.

Female Muslims with hijabs are the victims of constant disapproving looks and comments, and they are more likely to be rejected in the workplace solely due to their appearance. They are judged personally by strangers just because of their attire. Even male Muslims are being examined more closely in the airports due to their nationality, their names and their physical appearances.

Most of the interviewees, despite the discrimination, difficulties, and obstacles that they face in the society, still have positive attitudes towards Spanish society. They believe that Spain is more friendly and accepting than other European countries and that Islamophobia occurs in isolated cases within the society and they are not severe. The lack of knowledge about Islam in Spain is the main reason that Muslims feel degraded in society and feel segregated and thus the belongingness is absent. For those that feel welcomed by Spanish society and have lived in Spain for many years, the presence of Spanish as a part of their identity is notable.

The attitudes towards the Muslim community has been viewed from positive, as perceived as a benefit to the society and not a threat to national identity, by the Spanish community in the early stages of immigration. From the cases of the first generation immigrants, although they faced some racist remarks or difficulties adapting to society, they still believed the Spanish society was friendly towards them. However, after the terrorist attacks from 9/11 in the U.S. to 311 in Spain, the attitudes towards Muslims became more negative. One interviewee's business had been closed down due to the attacks of Spanish people after 311 Madrid bombing. Along with the changes of political policies, economic crises and the terrorist attacks in Europe, the interviewees noticed the shift of attitudes from positive towards negative, the immigrants are seen as a scapegoat, someone to blame for the crisis of the country and the source of instability in society.

In terms of the government, the immigration policies put in place by the Spanish government can be seen as a failure in the integration process of Muslim immigrants. These policies do not contribute to the change of identity of the Muslim immigrants nor is it helpful to their integration in the society. It is the attitudes, perception of the society and the lack of knowledge that is changing the identity of the Muslim immigrants. If the immigrants are not seen as part of the society and are discriminated against based on their religion, they will not feel at ease at Spain. The treatment they receive from the society, the attitudes and perceptions they receive are the major factors to determine whether they feel belongingness in the Spanish society or not.



## 6.2 Implications

The integration of Muslim immigrants in Spanish society still needs improvement, as many of their rights are not recognized by the officials although it is stated in the law. The law gave Muslims and people of other religions many rights, such as having the option to choose halal food in hospitals, allowing students to have religious classes in public schools, and so on. However, these laws are not being carried out by the local government. Even today, renting a place to pray in the center of the city during Ramadan is rejected by the local government. Not to mention actually constructing of mosque in the city center.

There are many improvements needed to be done from the side of the government as well as the Muslim communities. Many interviewees recognize the flaws of both sides, both the government and the Muslim communities. Some Muslim communities were not actively participating in the society, thus not able to give a voice in the society. If the Muslim communities work with the local government, such as the case of Fuenlabrada in Madrid, they would be able to decrease the degree of unfamiliarity and misunderstanding of Islam to the general public and pave way for future generations to coexist peacefully in society with rights to exercise their religion without discrimination.

## Appendix 1. Questions for Interview

<Estas preguntas e informaciones están hecha solo para investigación académica, las identidades están protegidas > The questions and information are only made for academic investigations, your identities will be protected and used only for academic purposes.

1. Nombre:
2. Edad:
3. Numero de telefono:
4. Email:
5. Sexo:

1. ¿Qué nacionalidad tienes? (What nationality do you have?)
2. ¿De dónde es tu familia originalmente? (Where are your family originally from?)
3. ¿Cuántos años has estado en España? ¿Por qué vino tu familia desde vuestro país? (How many years have you been in Spain? Why did your family came to Spain from your country?)
4. ¿Cómo te sientes viviendo en España? ¿Estás acostumbrado a la vida en España? (Su cultura, su gente,...) ¿Por qué? (How do you feel living in Spain? Are you used to the life in Spain, why?)
5. ¿Crees que la gente te mira diferente debido a tu raza o tu religión? ¿Qué piensas de los españoles? (Do you think that people look at you different due to your race or religious background? What do you think of Spanish people?)
6. ¿Hay algunas dificultades te enfrentas en la sociedad? ¿Cómo haces para enfrentar estas dificultades? ¿A qué estereotipos te enfrentas? (What difficulties do you face in the society? How do you deal with these difficulties? What stereotypes do you face?)
7. ¿A qué te dedicas actualmente? Si estás trabajando ahora, ¿Es difícil buscar un trabajo en España? (What are you doing now? If you are working now, is it difficult to find a job in Spain?)
8. ¿Crees que los últimos atentados terroristas han afectado la visión o el trato que recibes? (Do you think that the latest terrorist acts have affect the vision or treatment that you receive from people?)
9. ¿Qué opinas de lo que ha hecho el gobierno por los musulmanes? ¿Hay algo más que (crees que/ te gustaría pedir) puede hacer el gobierno para que los inmigrantes puedan adaptarse mejor en la sociedad? (What do you think of what the government have done for the Muslims? Is there anything else that the government can do to help the immigrant adapt better into the society?)

Gracias por su colaboración.

## Appendix 2. Summaries of Interviews

The interviews are conducted in Spanish and these are the summaries of the interviews.

*(Second generation)*

### **Interviewee No.1 and No.2**

This interview is conducted with two interviewees at the same time. Interviewee 1 is born in Spain and has Spanish nationality. She doesn't feel the need to adapt in Spain because, *"I never feel the need to get used to something because I was born here and I have lived here practically my whole life, I was raised as anyone else."* There are problems that she face in alimentation, but her parents always inform the school cafeteria of things that she cannot eat and they will give her food that she can eat. Her friends actually try to adapt to her diet and try to make it comfortable for her instead.

She has no problem making friends at school and she believes that she doesn't need to think about adapting because it is the environment that she grew up in. She faces some culture shocks when she visits Morocco. *"Morocco is the place when you go for vacations. You go there for a week or fifteen days and come back to your home, which is Spain. And it's true that there are some shock, some cultural shock."* She also mentioned that she goes back to Morocco less often than she used to when she was younger, but her parents still go back to Morocco regularly.

She has faced some comments from others because of her hijab. She didn't have this kind of problem at school, but it is common on the streets. There will be people commenting the hot weather besides her when she is wearing the hijab. She also has experienced personally a comment from a woman that wanted her to take off her hijab because that woman believed that she is pretty and should not wear the hijab.

She believed that the problem is with elder generation, the younger generation are raised in a multicultural environment and they do not have problem to accept people from different ethnic, racial or religious background. She believed that immigration in Spain is something new and the elder generation are not used to the idea of a Spanish person that is a Muslim at the same time. *"I think older people that are still not assimilated with the idea that one can be Muslim and Spanish at once have the biggest problem with us. It's like...No! You, where are you from? Don't tell me that you are Spanish!"*

She thinks that the terrorist attacks really affected the Muslim community and its image in the society and in the world. She has had experience with people that were scared of her when she was in the train to Madrid just because she wears the hijab. She believed that people generalize and put everyone in the same category without getting to know that there are varieties within the same group.

Interviewee 2 is born in Spain and has Spanish nationality. She is similar to the first interviewee, she doesn't feel the need to adapt because she was born and raised in Spain. She commented that she actually have to "adapt" when she goes back to Morocco because the culture is different there. *"Well, it's a bit different because the*

*Arab culture is a bit... Girl should be well-mannered, there are more things that you can't do...there is a bit of shock (cultural shock). Or with your cousins or your family, that you see, are very different to you, therefore this is what I tell you; for me, I have to adapt when I go there (Morocco) and not when I am here (Spain)."*

She also has experience with people commenting her hijab to her in person and she thinks that these comments comes from people who in reality has not interacted with second generations that are already Spanish and Muslim at the same time. They are shocked when they know that she is Spanish and they will interrogate her to find out where her origin is from and why she is a Muslim.

She believed that she will have problems soon in the labor market because she just graduated from university. She commented that, "...in the resume the photo is taken with hijab, they will not call you in for the interview..." She even mentioned that it is very common for people in Spain to tell you in person that they won't hire you because you wear hijab.

These two interviewees are currently working at a Muslim organization that is consisted of Muslim girls mainly from second generation, they will organize meet-ups, trips for young Muslims to meet and get to know each other. There are variety of girls from different countries. They both speak Moroccan and they learned Arabic when they were young and they stopped at one point and now they decided to go back to take Arabic classes. They speak Spanish and Arabic at home with their parents but they usually don't speak Arabic that often.

### **Interviewee No.3**

The interviewee is 21 years old and has Moroccan nationality, she has lived in Spain for 19 years and her parents came to find a job, her father came first and then the rest of her family came through family reunification law. She is used to living in Spain because she has always lived here. She actually have more cultural problems with her country than with Spain because she is used to the life in Spain. She doesn't feel observed in Spain and she doesn't have many problems in the society. Her friends actually adjust according to her diet when they dine out. The difficulty that she has is with the bureaucracy of Spain, for example in terms of gaining Spanish nationality.

She believes that she will have more difficulties when she is searching for a job in the future, but if there are more of Muslims in the society that are looking for a job, well trained and have the profile just like her, it will help to break the barriers slowly. She also commented that she might go abroad after graduating from university.

She observed more hostile reactions at public transportations after terrorist attacks, but it is not that serious. She hope the government can homogenize laws that are out there and make them more effective. There are laws, such as 1992 Agreement, but it was not implemented well and it was not effective.

#### **Interviewee No. 4**

The interviewee is 24 years old and has Moroccan nationality, she has been in Spain for 17 years. Her mother came to Spain for economic reasons, like the majority. She is used to living in Spain and she identified herself as mixed cultures, she doesn't feel solely belonging to one place. However, if she has to choose only one culture, she would lean towards Spanish. The relation she has with Moroccan culture is only limited to the culture that is provided by her parents and the summer vacations in Morocco, whereas the Spanish culture is present in her everyday life.

She believes that there are still stereotypes, especially towards Muslim women because of the hijab she wears. However, when they get to know her personally, the stereotypes will break down, it is just the unfamiliarity that people have towards Islam. She mentioned that Spanish people is just like anyone else, when there is something that is unfamiliar, we would always establish stereotypes based on their physical appearances, things that they wear or what we have heard about them, but when we get to know them in person, these stereotypes will be broken down.

She did not have any difficulties wearing the hijab in school, but when she is looking for jobs in the labor market, she has faced many obstacles. She has been asked to remove her hijab in job interviews, she understood the unfamiliarity and lack of knowledge towards Islam in the society; therefore, she started writing her resume without putting a photograph and some people called her in for interviews. Now she is working at a company with her hijab. Many people asked her, "*Do you speak Spanish?*" and they were surprised to find a Muslim woman that speaks Spanish and other languages fluently.

The latest terrorist attacks have affected the treatment and visions of the Muslim community, there are people that told her in person, "*Go back to your country!*" and also says things like, "*Muslims are all terrorists!*" She feel discriminated in society due to the attacks. She believes that the government can do more to help immigrants to integrate better in the society. They can deal with discrimination through medium of communication.

#### **Interviewee No.5**

The interviewee is 23 years old and has lived in Spain for 16 years. She has Moroccan nationality and is waiting for her Spanish nationality. She came to Spain through family reunification law, her father came to Spain first, found a job and did not want to go back to Morocco. She came to Spain when she is 6 years old and she is used to the life here because she is practically raised in Spain. She identified herself more as Spanish because she has more knowledge of Spain than her country of origin. She identify herself with both cultures because at the end of the day, her family is Moroccan, the culture is present everywhere; but she is closer to Spanish culture because she lives in it from day to day.

She faces stereotypes in the society, people categorize her because she is a woman and Muslim and wears a physical identification, which is the hijab. "*The society not only know the religion from ignorance, but also believe that it's a sexist*

*response towards Muslim women. This is called gender Islamophobia.” She doesn’t feel the need to explain to people her choice of clothing, it is something personal, and it is her own form of expression.*

She thinks Spanish people are friendly and it is very fast for them to become friends with them. They are open-minded people but it is difficult for them to say what they think because they do not want to offend others, especially with the issue of religion because Spain has a short history of immigration and people have limited knowledge of Islam.

There are many difficulties that she face in the society, from alimentation to the job market. She has to call food factories constantly to know if she can eat something because they put codes of alimentation without specifying what is included in the food. In terms of the labor market, there are less opportunities for Muslim women, especially if they wear hijab and if the job is working to face the public. The companies perceive hijab as negative and sexist. She tried to educate people and demonstrate to them that these stereotypes are not real. She is currently studying in university and working in a center for adolescences. She will continue to find a job later on and hopes to work in Spain.

She believes the terrorist attacks damages the image of Muslims, because the media uses terms like jihadist, Islamist, they identify terrorism with perception or practices of a religion which herself identify with. *“The media communication is the means of information of people, using terms like these and people will associate with them. The society just starting to understand that this is the reality. And before this there were unfamiliarity, they are ignorant, they don’t find true sources of knowledge and they are only limited to reproduce what they see on the TV. The society respond negatively, vexatious attacks, attack the mosques, attack you people, insults, dirty looks...many things.”* She can feel the differences of treatment from the Spanish society after terrorist attacks.

She believes that the Spanish government is an indirect copy of French integration model and it has been disastrous, it created ghettos instead and nothing has been achieved in the end. There are agreements, such as 1992 Agreement that is established, but they are not implemented in anything. Recently the campaign of yielding a cemetery land for Muslims has just began. In the month of Ramadan, the government is investing money for activities related to Ramadan, but the money is invested badly. As stated by the interviewee, *“Because the people that are going to work with this money, they have nothing to do with Moroccan population, nor with Muslim population. They are taking the money to an institution called Casa Arabe (Arab House), and it was not built by Arabs, but by Spanish.... If you really want to invest the money, invest it well. Don’t give it to Pepe, nor Juan, because they don’t even have the idea of what they are doing, nor what they have to do with this, nor the necessities of the population.”*

### **Interviewee No.6**

The interviewee is 21 years old and has lived in Spain for around 18 to 19 years. She was born in Morocco and now she has Spanish nationality. She is used to the life and culture in Spain, she doesn't notice a lot of differences between the two countries. She didn't wear hijab, so she didn't experience any discrimination or stereotypes from the society. But she did mention that she has friends that wear hijab and are treated differently. She explains to her friends the reasons of her diets and they respect her decisions, so she didn't really have any difficulties in making friends and eating outside. She believed that terrorist attacks do affect the treatment Muslims receive in society. She didn't experience this kind of treatment personally, but she is aware that there are cases of vandalism of mosques in the mosque that she goes to. She has a classmate that is being treated differently in class because she appear more "Moroccan" while she does not look like Moroccan.

She believes it is hard to find a job now because of the economic crisis in Spain, so she might have to keep on studying. She hopes that the government can help the immigrants in terms of the workplace. *"No one would give you a job. In other words, in a job that is working towards the public, they usually wouldn't give you a job. You hand in your resume and no one will give you a job wearing a hijab."* In order to deal with this discrimination, the society should also try to understand the meaning of the hijab to change their perception and judgement towards Muslims. She believes that wearing a hijab in the society and with the support and positive image that is received by the society, it would actually help the immigrants integrate better in society.

She identified herself as Moroccan because she believes that it is her culture, the culture of her parents and she speaks Arabic at home.

### **Interviewee No. 7**

The interviewee is 18 years old and was born in Madrid and has a Spanish nationality. Her father came to work in Spain first, then married her mother in Morocco and then they came back to Spain to work. She is used to live in Spain because she has been educated and disciplined in the Spanish education system. However, she has always been aware of what her culture is and where she comes from. She always like to learn about her own culture and religion and also like to teach a little to others and let other people learn more about the differences of culture and religion. She identified herself as Moroccan and Muslim because she is aware of who she is, she doesn't feel different from other Spanish people because she believes that she has the same rights and lives in the same country as them. She believes the only difference is the origin of where they came from.

She hasn't feel discriminated in the society, neither ethnically or racial, she has always been respectful and does not have any conflict with others. She believes that Spanish people are very open-minded, some are curious and ask questions in relation with the religion. However, there are people who are ignorant or afraid of finding out new things and the media doesn't help Muslims.

She has faced some difficulties when it comes to eating outside, for example when they have field trips in school, what she does is inform the school and they will make special food for her. But honestly she believes that she did not have any

difficulties because she manages to overcome these difficulties. There are some stereotypes that Muslims face in the society. *“There are stereotypes. I, being Muslim at a European country, where the majority is atheist or secular. There are certain stereotypes that they say about women with veil, with hijab, that they are oppressed. They don’t have capacity to obtain degrees. They don’t have, let’s say, sufficient intelligence. But I don’t think it’s like this, because the religion give a series of rights to women.”*

She believes that finding a job in Spain might be difficult because there are not many generations of Muslims or Moroccans, like in other countries. But she considers these difficulties as challenges instead, and the younger generation of Muslims that are in universities now can be seen as pioneers in Spain and change the situation and create the new image of Moroccan Muslims in Spain.

She recognizes the difficulties of Muslims that wear hijab in the job market, but she has a counter-example. A girl she knows did not mind taking out her hijab when asked in the interview and was denied to offer her the job because the company said, *“If you turn your back on your God, who says that you wouldn’t turn your back on me in my company.”*

She believes that the terrorist attacks have affected the vision of what Islam is, so she believes that as Muslims we have the role to defend the image of Islam and when terrorist attacks occur, there will be people that organize silent protests on the streets to show condolences of the attacks and to show that these attacks do not represent Islam.

She thinks the topic of government actions is a bit broad, so she decided to focus more on a local level, because Spain as a country has a majority of atheists and Christians and will be in favor of Christians. She mentioned that there are universities that will offer Muslims a room to pray. She believes that the freedom of religion should be applied in all levels because it is a common human right, both at the daily level and the state level. Lastly, she mentioned that she is in a youth association with Muslims and they have organized rounds of conferences against racial discrimination, Islamophobia and things like these; they have good contact with the city government and it helps to facilitate many things. They are working slowly at a local level and hopefully in the future it will be spread to the state level and break down the stereotypes that exist now.

### **Interviewee No. 8**

This interviewee is 20 years old, was born in Spain and has a Spanish nationality. She didn’t experience any process of adaptation and she is used to the life and culture in Spain because she was born here and lived here all her life. She doesn’t wear the hijab, so people cannot really tell where she is from and she didn’t face many commentaries of xenophobia or Islamophobia. She believes that when she is not wearing a hijab, she appears to be more like Spanish girls and there will not be any conflicts. She believes in debating with people about what Islam is and defending the religion with good arguments.

She thinks the integration model in Spain is more or less assimilation; there is a point of tolerance; but nevertheless, it is assimilation. She believes the Spanish model is not as radical as the one in France. *“You have to act like a Spanish and be Spanish. And the concept they have of being Spanish is still narrowed. I suppose in*



*the future it would change, but nowadays it is: You are Spanish? Do you have these sets of values? You have to live your life this way and reject Moroccan or Muslim origins.”* She commented, *“If you ask someone to reject whatever origin he has, this is like telling him to reject who he is.”*

She prefers the Canadian model of integration, it is more like multiculturalism and it functions well. Canada has always been a nation with immigrants, there are many different cultures and many different ways of politics function well. In Europe, it is still more assimilation rather than integration in society. She hopes the Spanish model can become one that doesn't link religion and culture with your national identity. That is, one can be Muslim and Spanish at the same time. Your cultural identity and your national identity is two different things. She wants the society to recognize her as Spanish at the social level. The society has to be more open-minded and accept the different kinds of people in the society.

She also commented that sometimes, her parents and other Muslim parents, have the attitude of only socializing with Moroccans or with their own community and she believes that is not good either. She later on said that her mother did not have any Spanish friends in Spain.

She identified herself as Spanish citizen, because when she thinks of changing the society, she would think of the Spanish society rather than the society of Morocco; but she is very aware that her cultural identity and religious identity is not Spanish and that she is different from other Spanish people in the society.

She thinks that elderly people, especially the ones that have not went abroad before, are the ones that are more intolerant in the society towards people from different backgrounds because they are more traditional and they are not used to immigration. The immigrants also become the escape goat of economic crisis in Spain, many people blame the immigrants for the crisis and believed that they are the instable factor in society.

She has faced some challenges and difficulties, but she believes that it is important to find a balance, respect each other and it will not be so hard to overcome these obstacles. She believes cultural diversity is important. There are many stereotypes with the Muslim community, people will think Muslim women are oppressed because they wear hijab and they think Muslims are sexist and people that do not give freedom to Muslim women. The image of Muslim women that Spanish people is taken from Saudi Arabia and they think all Muslim women are the same around the world, that they are in burca and they only stay at home. She also mentioned that she has friends that faced difficulties finding a job while wearing the hijab and in this sense, the Spanish society is xenophobic and Islamophobia.

She commented that politicians in the society are reluctant to finance other religions or cultures because of what the public might say. The government of Madrid tried to establish and invest money in Chinese New Years for the Chinese Community in Spain and also give money for the Muslim community in Spain for Ramadan, but there are many objections. However, the government had no difficulties financing Easter (Semana Santa) because it is “their” festival and a Christian holiday. She believes that it takes time, because there are things that you can do legally, but it doesn't mean that you will be accepted by the society. She think the social change is the first thing that needed to come first, when there are more people that get to know the different communities living in their country, they will understand them better and

have more tolerance towards the differences of people from different background. In that way, the communities can find a common ground and a balance to coexist peacefully.

Lastly, she mentioned the situation of current education system. Besides public and private school, there is another form of school that is mixed between public and private. Many Spanish parents prefer to put their children in the “mixed” school so that their children would not be surrounded by children of immigrants. *“I don’t want my kid to go to public school, especially where there are a lot of immigration.”* The so called “mixed” school is partly funded by the government and the rate of “mixed” schools are rising; thus, taking away more of the education resource in Spain and also transforming public schools into ghetto schools.

### **Interviewee No.9**

The interviewee is 20 years old and was born in Ceuta, a city in Spain. He has Spanish nationality since birth. His parents met each other in Ceuta and came to Madrid to live. He considers Spain more than his country, but he identified himself as both Spanish and Moroccan and he can be both because: *“It is not one way or the other. Sometimes I feel Arab because my family is Arab, my name is Arab, and one thing is not contradicting the other. It can be both things.”* He feels that Ceuta, as a Spanish city is very similar to Morocco because more than half of the population is Muslim. He is used to the Spanish culture and the Arab culture, he feel at ease in both places, *“Therefore the two cultures form a part of me and none of these two are so different.”*

He noticed racism and prejudice in Spain and other countries that he has visited, but especially in airports, *“At the airports, because of having Arab features and an Arab name, they will ask you, they will look through your suitcase, they will tighten the security on you more than others. And this, especially if you are Spanish...”* He thinks that Spanish people, especially those in Madrid, are open-minded and tolerant. Madrid is a city in which there are people from all over the world. He also commented that he has traveled to other European countries and he has noticed that people of Arab origins feel less part of the society. He believed that it is not that they cannot integrate into the society, they do integrate, but there are larger number of Muslims immigrants in these countries. He mentioned that the number of Arabs in France is much higher and with that large population, they tend to live more in ghettos and more reserved. While in Spain there are many Muslims, but many of them don’t live in ghettos and it is much easier to have contact with Spanish people.

However, he mentioned the cases of Arab people that lived excluded in Spain and those that did not finish school. These people tend to become involved with crimes, stealing and robbery. Many people told the interviewee that he was the first Arab that they know that doesn’t steal or do illegal acts, because the majority of the Muslims and Arabs that came from Morocco are from the lower classes and the poor of Morocco. There are many people that are related with drugs and this is how Spanish people relate these people to Arab Muslims in the society and they struggle to differentiate them apart. The vision of Arabs and Muslims are limited in the Spanish society.

He do not think there are many difficulties for him personally because he is

used to the differences of Spanish people and Muslims. His friends understand their differences and respect his choices. He believes that there are many stereotypes towards Arabs and Muslims, many people just generalize Arab Muslims into one category, that they are sexist or rough with everything. But he doesn't feel prejudice towards him in his daily life. In terms with job opportunities, he recognized the difficulties for Muslim women to find a job with hijab in the society and he believes it to be hypocritical because the society want to "liberate" Muslim women, but they don't give them opportunities to work and become economically independent.

The terrorist attacks affected the treatment and damaged the vision of the Muslim communities. Many Muslims noticed the growing hatred towards Arabs because of terrorist attacks. He personally had experiences in the airports, as mentioned earlier. He do not feel justice of justifying himself for the acts of terrorists, because he believes that terrorism exists independently from the culture and religion. He said, *"If a Spanish attempted an attack in the name of Spain. Every Spanish have to justify themselves? And say, no, we didn't do this. It's that we live constantly telling people and the world. It's not like that, that not all Arabs are terrorists, but it's something that we don't have to say."* And he feels frustrated to justify himself every time a terrorist attack occurs.

He believed that the last government of Spain didn't deal with the issue of discrimination or terrorism. He wished the government had done more towards these issues. He stated that terrorism and radicalism start from exclude situations, and it is something the government should work on. He hopes the future government can work more in the issue of Islamophobia, the fear of Muslims, the rejection and discrimination towards Muslims in the society. If the government collaborates with Muslims, they can change the vision of Muslims in the society, end the discrimination towards Muslims and stop radicalism. There are little knowledge towards the religion and culture of Islam and Muslims in Spain and it would be positive if these knowledges are shared to the general public.

(First generation)

### **Interviewee No. 10**

The interviewee possess Moroccan nationality and is in transition of obtaining a Spanish nationality. He is 32 years old and has lived in Spain for 21 years. He came to Spain at the age of 11 years old and half with his father to find a better life. He feel that the life is better in Spain than in Morocco, in terms of democracy, rights, freedom of religion, education, sanitation, and everything else. He is used to the life in Spain. He did not face real difficulties in Spanish society. He believed that he is well integrated into the society. He believed that people normally do not look at him weirdly, but when he goes to religious places, such as the mosque, people will look at him differently. He believes that Spanish are almost all good people and he has made friends at school since he was 12 years old.

He is working at the moment in trade and he did not have any difficulties finding a job, he is working for the same company since he was 18 years old. He believed that the terrorist attacks have affected the image of the Muslim community. He believed that the terrorists have no religion and they are simply assassins.

He lives in the north of Madrid. He believed that the previous Spanish government had done nothing for the Muslims. Throughout the years living in Spain, he believed that the only government that had done something is the Socialist Party. There are rights that are not given to the Muslims that live in Spain even though they pay the same taxes as any other Spanish citizens. “*You have obligations, but you have no rights*” was said by the interviewee. He believed that he didn’t have equal rights as other Spanish citizens. He raised example such as churches that can be built at the city center, but Mosques can not be constructed at the same place. During Ramadan prayers, they have to go out to the industrial estate to not “disturb” the neighbors.

He identified himself as a “Spanish Muslim”, he knew Spanish language better than Moroccan language, and he identified more with Spanish than with Moroccan.

### **Interviewee No.11**

The interviewee is 51 years old and had lived in Spain for all of his live. He lived in south of Spain for 30 years. He has Spanish nationality and was born in Ceuta, a Spanish city. He came to Madrid at 1986, when the presence of Muslim community was not very strong, there was only one mosque that wasn’t built at the time and there weren’t halal stores in Madrid. There are more Muslim population in the year of 1990s due to immigration and life is easier from the 1990s.

He believed that people see him as immigrants because he has darker skin and goes to the mosque. He has faced many discriminations especially during the Gulf War, people will come up to him and say, “*Go back to your country.*” But they don’t know that he is Spanish and he was born here. At that time he also faced many difficulties at the workplace, many people saw his features and told tell him that “*You are not Spanish.*” However, he believed that it’s more common nowadays to see Muslims in Spain.

He came alone to Madrid to find a job at the age of 21. At that time, there

were many job opportunities in Spain. He faced many difficulties with alimentation and mosques because there were none at the time. He had to sacrifice animals and divide them between him and other Muslims in order to eat meat with accordance to Islamic rituals. He faced more difficulties after 911 and 311 in Madrid. He had to shut down his restaurant because there were people vandalizing the restaurant due to the terrorist attack of 311. He personally believed that the Spanish society had matured throughout the years and he did not face many discrimination or ill treatment after the terrorist attacks. However he still believed the recent attacks has affected image of Islam.

There are many rights Muslims have in the Spanish constitution and law but were not implemented well, in fields like education, health care, cemeteries or construction of mosques. Many Muslims were not informed about their rights and thus were not able to take advantage of the existing laws. The Muslim commission was constituted of people that were not ready to defend their rights at the time. But he believed that the young generation is more prepared than himself or his parents. More Muslim children are entering in universities and associations and that will help build up the influences they have in the society.

In the south, where the Muslim population is larger in number, they have more interaction with the local government and society. Lastly, He identified himself more as Spanish, because he was born and raised in Spain.

#### **Interviewee No. 12**

This interviewee is 42 years old and has only Moroccan nationality. He has stayed in Spain for around 17 years. He came with his family to Spain because he has brothers living there. He is currently unemployed and do not feel as well living in Spain as before because of the economic situation. He feels lost and do not know what to do. He has previously worked in many different jobs but now it's hard for him to find a job. He did not want to talk more about the issues of terrorism and the government policies. He thinks that there are good and bad people all over the world, and it is normal. He do not want to get involved with anything and cause any problems. He doesn't feel like Spanish, in his words, *"I am Moroccan, not Spanish. I will not turn into Spanish, this is clear."*

#### **Interviewee No. 13**

The interviewee is 49 years old and has lived in Spain for 25 years. He has both Spanish and Moroccan nationality. He came to Spain to study higher education and moved to Madrid in 1991. He came alone as a student in Spain, he wanted to go back to his country after he finished his studies, but he got married and then had a kid and the idea of going back to Morocco is put aside. Because of the birth of his child, he had to continue his studies while looking for a job. The idea of returning home is harder to be realized once the children were born and they did not have any problem in the society. But he is determined to go back home one day. In his words, *"...the desire of returning to my home country is chasing me, it follows, it's here. It's called like it, a dream. It's difficult to explain, I am very good here. For me it's my second*

*homeland, my second country. What happen is that there is some, there are some sensations that you have exclusively when you are in your country, including in your home country.*” He always go back to Morocco at least once every year, sometimes more times depending on the vacations.

He was raised in an international city, he had knowledges of different cultures and did not face many shocks because he already knew the Spanish culture. He also pointed out the importance of teaching his children about their cultures so they do not lose their cultural identities. He believed that the family is important. In his words, *“We can live, taking the best of this society, but without unlinking our origins.”*

He had fought many times during his stay in Spain because of the unequal treatments he received. He had been asked the question, *“Where did you learn to write?”*, and *“How can you write Spanish without any mistakes?”* many times and it is an insult for him, he considered it as the most insulting remark that he can receive in his life.

He had talked about the different models of integration in society. France is more or less like assimilation and the UK is a more multicultural model. He believed that the UK recognize multicultural, the right to exist although you are very different, but you do not mess with others. He has been in UK and saw policemen with Hindu turban or a Muslim woman with hijab and there are no problem at all, the law do not prohibit it. In UK it’s like you have your world and I have mine. You respect what is mine and I respect what is yours. He also believed that there are no perfect model of integration. If he has to choose between the two models, he would choose the Britannic one, where he has his own space, respect and rights.

He believed that the Spanish people have a degree of maturity nowadays, there are less attacks towards Muslims in the society whenever terrorist attacks occur and it shows the maturity of the society. However, terrorist attacks always affect the image of Muslim community. In fact, his own daughter suffer from discriminations because she wears the hijab.

He is working at a Muslim association that provides humanitarian aids. They have many different projects that helps people in need, whether it’s natural disasters, wars or conflicts. It is a nongovernmental organization that gives out help to the towns and people. They have helped to sponsor orphans in the past and it is something that he wanted and feel passionate about.

He also mentioned the 1992 Agreement that recognized all the rights of different religions in Spain. The law is present and written to protect the freedom of religion. However it is not implemented effectively. It is not well implemented in the reality and it is sometimes fault from both the government and the Muslim community. The Muslim community should intervene more for the laws to be implemented and exercise their rights.

He identified himself as both Spanish and Moroccan. However, he cannot deny the feeling of his first homeland, which is Morocco. As he mentioned, *“I feel Moroccan, I feel Arab, I feel like a Muslim and that is who I am. I feel that identity is something changeable, something dynamic and I acquired other identity, the Spanish nationality.”* For him, the identity of being Spanish and Moroccan is both valid for him, but the identity of Moroccan is something more, it gives him the emotion and feeling that no other country or nationality can give.

#### **Interviewee No.14**

The interviewee is 25 years old and have lived in Spain for around 16 years. She has Spanish nationality and her family is from Morocco originally. Her mom came to Spain first because her aunt was working in there. She is used living in Spain but she believes that Spanish people are not used to Muslims living in Spain because there is are great prejudices established and unfamiliarity towards Islam.

She believes that she is integrated, she has both Moroccan friends and Spanish friends. She hasn't faced any discrimination based on her race or religion in school because she doesn't wear the hijab. She sees the Spanish as people that are not so different to Moroccans. There are good and bad people all over the worlds and the problem is that there are unfamiliarity in both parts.

She has no problem adjusting herself in Spain or in Morocco. She has some difficulties in the society, but these incidents do not diminish the positive sides of the Spanish people in the society. She did not have any difficulties finding a job. She is open-minded and try to understand others. She identified herself as both Spanish and Moroccan.

She believed that she doesn't have to justify the acts of the crazy people (terrorists), and it is actually them that have to justify their actions. She doesn't see any relation between Islam and terrorism. These terrorists do not represent anything. She would go out to protest as a citizen, but not as a Muslim because she doesn't believe that she has to come out to protest as a Muslim just because of the terrorist attacks that were committed by people that believed themselves as Muslims.

She believed that there are a lot of things the Spanish government should do to help the Muslims in the society, not just for Muslims, but for everyone. The government can give out information, inform people, they should be careful of the word choices that they use within the government because sometimes they use words negatively towards Muslims. The government should help to provide halal food in the cafeteria at schools, let Muslim students learn about their religion.

At the end of the day, she believed that coexisting with the Spanish society is not that difficult, they just need time to get to know different cultures because there is an unfamiliarity present in the society.

#### **Interviewee No.15**

The interviewee is 50 years old and has lived in Spain for 30 years. She has Spanish nationality. She came alone to Spain to have a better life. She is used to the life in Spain after all these years but she was not used to the life in Spain at first. She didn't speak Spanish at first and she was working at houses that spoke French because she can speak French. She cannot find a job although she has a degree and knows three languages. She was not admitted to work in places because of her hijab, she cannot even work at a telephone operator where people will not see her face at all.

She has faced many discriminations and stereotypes just because she is wearing a hijab. People say "*You have to show your beauty...The religions is in your heart, why do you wear a hijab if you are very pretty?*" Many others also say, "*Oh my god, it's so hot!*" and making gestures when the temperature is high outside. She even considered moving to England because people do not look at her weirdly and her

family went to live in England. She likes England but she cannot go because she liked the weather in Spain.

She sees Spanish as people that are too open-minded, only want to have a good time, drink a lot and do not study a lot. She made a comparison between Morocco and Spain in terms with the education of learning foreign languages. Moroccan that are educated in school knows at least three languages growing up.

She believed the recent terrorist attacks have affected the vision and treatment that she receives. She doesn't believe that the government had done anything for the Muslims. In her words, *"There are many things, but no one talks about the immigrants. The immigrants, follow the Spanish and that's all."* She believes that the government should listen to the immigrants to help them integrate better in the society. She has faced many injustice in the past just because she is a foreigner, they would not listen to what she had to say and believe the words of Spanish people, even though she has Spanish nationality. *"They call you Moors. The paper says you are Spanish and all, but it's only in the papers. The reality is another story."*

She identified herself as Moroccan because she believed that she is not accepted in the society. They do not respect her of who she is. *"I don't feel like Spanish, I feel like Muslim, yes. But Spanish, never. Because they don't let me. The way they look at me hurt me. How can I be Spanish?"*





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