

**Individualization  
of Muslim Religious Practices**

**Contextual Creativity  
of Second-Generation Moroccans in  
Spain**

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*To the mercy in people's hearts*

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ



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## Summary

Given the limitations posed on some religious practices in secular contexts, a trend of *individualization*, or a self-fashioned approach to religious practices, has surfaced in an emerging debate in literature dealing with the study of Muslim minorities and their practices. While the term is used for critical arguments, it lacks empirical data, which this research aimed to contribute to by using in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The study starts by mapping the basic elements of a “theory of individualization,” and analyzing the literature behind it. Following it, interviews are conducted and analyzed, by which the study contextualizes individualization in Europe, taking Spain’s second-generation Moroccans as a case study, to answer the research question: How do Muslims reconcile their religious duties with their everyday life in contemporary Spanish society? The literature points to the generational gap in analyzing individualization, and draws a line to secularization. However, the empirical findings of this project help us argue that individualization is a product of a process I refer to as Contextual Creativity. By such, the study poses a theoretical challenge to secularization in Europe. The limited set of religious options in a context demonstrates that they matter more than the generational effect. Equally, they do not translate to personal secularization, but an expression of limitations, rather than liberties. In order to invite our interviewees to share with us their trajectories’ patterns and modes of individualization, the project invoked two specific practices: daily prayers and social interactions (school, work, community), as these two stand as a continuous everyday struggle for the individual trying to accommodate both religious duties and societal interferences.



## Resumen

Dadas las limitaciones que se plantean en algunas prácticas religiosas en contextos seculares, una tendencia de individualización, o una manera individual de abordar sobre las prácticas religiosas, ha salido a la superficie en la literatura que trata sobre el estudio de las minorías musulmanas y sus prácticas. Si bien el término se utiliza para los argumentos críticos, que carecen de datos empíricos, ésta investigación espera poder contribuir a ello a través del uso de entrevistas llevadas a cabo en profundidad. Se inicia el estudio mediante la asignación de los elementos básicos de una "teoría de la individualización", y el análisis de la literatura detrás de ella. A raíz de ésta teoría, se realizan entrevistas y se analizan, y tras estudiarlas se contextualiza la individualización en Europa, usando como marco a marroquíes de segunda generación de España, para entonces responder a la pregunta de investigación: ¿Cómo concilian los musulmanes sus deberes religiosos con su vida cotidiana en la sociedad española contemporánea? La literatura señala en repetidas ocasiones a la brecha generacional en el análisis de la individualización, y traza línea a la secularización. Sin embargo, los hallazgos empíricos de este proyecto ayudan a plantear que la individualización es producto de un proceso al cual me refiero como Creatividad Contextual. Así el estudio propone un reto contra el entendimiento de secularización en Europa. El conjunto limitado de opciones religiosas en un contexto demuestra que importan más que el efecto generacional. Igualmente, no se traducen a la secularización individual, sino una expresión de limitaciones en lugar de libertades. Con el fin de invitar a los entrevistados a compartir las formas de individualización y sus trayectorias, el proyecto invoca a dos prácticas específicas: las oraciones diarias y las interacciones sociales (escuela, trabajo, comunidad), ya que estos dos se destacan como lucha diaria continua para aquella persona que intente dar cabida a la vez a los derechos religiosos y las interferencias sociales.



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# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Individualization in the Unsettled Space

Individualization has become a key concept in the literature on Muslims in Europe, relating how Muslims' religious practices are integrating and adapting to European structures (Beyer, 2006). In his book, *A New Anthropology of Islam*, John Bowen (2012) explains how, until recently, scholars were using “high texts” of the *Qur'an* and the *hadith*<sup>1</sup> in order to understand Muslims and their religious practices, without emphasizing Muslims' personal understandings of these texts. Bowen tells us that things changed in the 1980s, when a new wave of scholars inspired by Clifford Geertz (Eickelman, 1985; Fischer, 1980; Gilsenan, 1982; Rosen, 1984) started looking at the production of Islamic traditions within

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<sup>1</sup> Qur'an and the hadith are the main textual sources of knowledge in Islam: The Qur'an revealed to the Prophet Muhammad from God by the archangel Gabriel, and hadith are Muhammad's words and deeds, by which Muslims find important to follow them.



particular social contexts and through particular cultural understandings (Bowen, 2012).

Understanding those practices is essential to understanding what Muslim minorities are asking for in accommodation, and not what their literal scriptures read. This becomes relevant through Swidler's interpretation of cultural development, which suggests that multiple definitions of accommodation have the potential to restructure both the Islamic religious practices and the European public sphere, if we were to consider the space "unsettled".<sup>2</sup>

Muslim presence in Spain is unique and plays an integral part of the fabric of Spanish society, considering the historical background of the eight centuries Muslims lived in the Iberian Peninsula. In the XVth century, the Spanish Inquisition's attempts to eradicate the Islamic presence in Spain failed in removing the features of this history that are still visible in its language, its mannerism,

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<sup>2</sup> In her seminal 1986 article "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies", sociologist Ann Swidler explains that in an unsettled culture long-term influence depends on structural opportunities for survival of *competing ideologies*.

its mixed-heritage, in the physical characteristics of many of its people, and in much of its architecture. Many Muslims go as far as stressing that part of Spain's successful tourism is due to its Islamic sites, like the Alhambra in Granada, and other such legacies. However, there were later constructions of Spanish identity based on *hispanidad* or 'Spanishness' in order to wipe out this Muslim legacy (Zapata-Barrero, 2014).

The legacy has debatable potential in giving the current Muslim generation in Spain a reason to strengthen its belief in the inherent right of belonging to the country, rather than alienating itself from it. More so, the official Spanish view considers it difficult to understand the Spanish society without understanding its Muslim heritage. This has led contemporary efforts to consider Spain as a focal point in understanding the ideal scenario for accommodating Muslims in a secular European country, while respecting the particularities of each member of society.

Following the main focus of the tome, the chapter begins with how Muslims are accommodated in Europe and Spain, and then connecting it to their current reality, shaped by events that recreated a modern-day Spain, starting with the civil war and later transitioning into a democracy. The exceptionality of this democracy plays a role in this treatment, given its development from a strict Catholic dictatorship to a democracy inclusive of all religions while maintaining a special relationship between the State and the Catholic Church. The Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the Religious Freedom Act of 1980 have defined Spain as a non-confessional state to give its citizens equal rights while granting special rights and privileges to the Church based on its long history in Spain.

When discussing the inclusion of Muslims and their religious practices in Spain, three major components come into play: the first is the historical context of the same geographical entity with a present cultural identity that differs from a past version of a Spain that was

inclusive of an Islamic heritage. The second is the national negative sentiment that followed the terrorist attacks in Spain (11-M) and was attributed to Muslims, in addition to other thwarted attempts in Spain and Europe in general. The third one is the decentralization of the Islamic voice and the lack of a single body to negotiate the rights of the Muslim community in Spain. Amidst it all, a new Muslim generation is rising in Spain, and it continues to grow in number.

The historical context, current events, and decentralization of the Muslim voice in Spain all play a role in the study. Our conversations with the second-generation Moroccans help us discern how those trends affected their trajectories.

The hypothesis that led to this work revolves around individualization as a centerpiece to the study of inclusion of Muslims in Spain. The limitations posed on some religious practices in secular contexts have created a trend of individualization, or a self-fashioned approach to religious practices, and this has surfaced in the literature

that is emerging and dealing with the study of these Muslim minorities (Salvatore & Amir-Moazami, 2002; Cesari, 2005; Bowen, 2012). The thesis as such explores individualization as a form that is shaped as a result of restrictions as a source.

This research extends outward, from within a theoretical framework that examines the relationship between religion and modernity. By crystalizing contemporary debates that are framed within a historical context, we can question if individualized religious practices are enough to minimize societal conflict, while preserving the adherence of the individuals to their religious duties. More importantly, we intend on understanding how they form, and why they are important for integration discussions.

To explore this, the study targets two units of analysis in answering this question: the self and the society. Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham refer to this collaboration of factors by a pathway to *opportunity*

*structure*<sup>3</sup> by which collective factors help lead to success in accommodation. Semi-structured, in-depth interviewing took place to address the nature of religious practices among individuals, paralleled by examining the background and unique events that have shaped the Spanish society to this day. The self offers potential interpretation on how conflicts are dealt with and religious duties are met, while the societal structures offer insights into the nature of the events that accompanied these personal trajectories.

The project is problem-centric and focuses on the five individual *salats*, or daily prayers, and the individual social interactions that demonstrate individualization patterns. The two dynamics represent a continuous, everyday struggle for the Muslim trying to accommodate both religious duties and societal obligations. Spain's distinctive features of slow ascension to secularism, state-

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<sup>3</sup> Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, 2000. 'Migration, Ethnic Relations, and Xenophobia as a Field of Political Contention: An Opportunity Structure Approach', in Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham (eds.) *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics: Comparative European Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.13-56

sponsored churches, and history of Islamic heritage makes studying its second-generation Moroccan Muslim community, which itself is distinctively different than that of its parents in terms of education and aspirations, an instructive case study to compare with the rest of studied Muslim communities in Europe.

## **1.2 Secularization Significance to Integration in Europe**

On issues of integration and religiosity, Fleischmann and Phalet open up the discussion, much like is intended in this work, by introducing secularization as an axis by which integration is understood in the European lens of discussing immigrants and their level of integration. The authors recount the critical argument laid out earlier on secularization paradigm as the “erosion of religion through modernization processes, as evident from the progressive separation of church and state and from declining religious attendance (Dobbelaere 1981). Religious decline has been firmly established among European majority populations (Gorski and Altinordu 2008) and secularization has become an ideology – in stark contrast with the US. As Casanova puts it, ‘Americans think that they are supposed to be religious, while Europeans think that they are supposed to be irreligious’ (2003, p.19). Contrary to the US, in European



societies religion is commonly portrayed as hindering immigrant integration (Foner and Alba, 2008).” (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2011, p. 322)

José Casanova challenged back in the 1980s earlier theories of secularization with his own 3-tiered definitions positing that secularization is the: “(1) ‘differentiation of the secular spheres from religious institutions and norms’; (2) ‘marginalization of religion to a privatized sphere’; and (3) ‘the decline of religious belief and practices’ has contributed to a further distinction between the various dimensions of secularization in academic discourses.” (Roald, 2012, p. 96) In this work, we observe how religions moves to a privatized sphere, while the decline of religious belief and practices is not necessarily mutually inclusive.

The European Commission defined Integration as a continuous process by which “integration should be understood as a two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations of legally resident third country nationals and the host society which provides for

full participation of the immigrant. This implies on the one hand that it is the responsibility of the host society to ensure that the formal rights of immigrants are in place in such a way that the individual has the possibility of participating in economic, social, cultural and civic life and on the other, that immigrants respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process, without having to relinquish their own identity.”<sup>4</sup>

Until recently, countries where immigration is prominent, public policy makers advocated for two models of integration: one advocated by France and the other by the United Kingdom. Barbara Franz summarizes it succinctly by telling us that “according to these models, France is the perfect example of a nation-state that sees itself as universalist and egalitarian. It entails the assimilation of individuals who become French citizens by choice. By contrast the United Kingdom is designated as a multicultural country that recognizes cultural, ethnic,

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<sup>4</sup> European Commission, Communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment, COM (2003)336, Brussels, 3 June 2003.

racial, and religious communities. These are set apart from the German model, which is based primarily on ethnic and cultural German attachments to common ancestors” (Franz, 2007, p. 94).

Neither Multiculturalism nor Assimilation have proven to be a catalyst for a healthy inclusion in the respective societies mainly due to economic and social inclusion. “Identity questions and long-term socioeconomic deprivation are crucial aspects of the daily life of Muslims in the United Kingdom (and elsewhere in Europe). Individual identity is socially constructed based on the notion one has of oneself (Selbstbild) and the recognition of the notion by others (Fremdbild). Each individual seeks to negotiate an agreement between his or her self-image and the attributes ascribed to oneself by the outside world. Hence, if identity is to provide a sense of dignity for the individual, it must be recognized and respected by others. In Europe, the mainstream media, right-wing parties, and—particularly in Central Europe—a xenophobic population have time and again classified

Muslims as backward, uneducated religious fanatics who marry their daughters off like other people sell cars. Within the often subtextual negotiations between the Selbstbild and the Fremdbild, generations of Muslims in Europe have had to cope with these stereotypes; as a result, feelings of dislocation and resentments go deep. At the same time, European institutions of higher learning have created a college-educated generation of Muslim youth who are intensely aware of the subordinate position they hold in comparison to members of the mainstream society.” (Franz, 2007, p.98)

In the lack of progress seen by scholars on both multiculturalism and assimilation, a trend of scholars raised hope in Interculturalism. The new model intends on drafting a compromise between the earlier models while striking a balance of inclusion between the values of the religious minorities and equally those rooted in the host country.

It is essential to recognize that “institutionalist approaches in migration studies have been criticized for

their formalistic and overly static conception of social processes, which would by-pass alternate resources and forms of agency ‘from below’ as well as ongoing socio-political struggles about institutional inequalities (Bousetta 2000). (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2011, p. 325)

Although there is a lack of a formal model of integration in Spain, Interculturalism has gained strength and recommendations to shape it can be seen articulated by Patricia Bezunartea, telling us that: “Spain is in the process of defining a positive integration model based on promoting social cohesion and coexistence, one that does not repeat errors elsewhere and one that is geared towards bringing international recommendations into line with its historical, social and cultural reality.” (Bezunartea et al, 2011, p. 154)

Bezunartea describes this approach to Interculturalism by relevant recommendations for success (Ibid, p. 155):

- a focus on rights to keep those from the Muslim communities from having to live in ghettos by promoting

access to public services and the exercise of their civic and political rights;

- a more thorough application by the government and society in general of the 1992 Cooperation Agreement signed with the Spanish Islamic Commission, with measures to speed up the establishment of their places of worship;

- the need for resources to support contextualized training of imams and other leaders of the Muslim communities to enable them to work in a more professional manner and communicate better with Spanish society, thus to become social agents of integration;

- greater awareness in the teaching of Islamic culture and religion, and its contribution to universal, European and Spanish culture with a view to overcoming stereotypes; in this regard, the reference in the Lisbon Treaty to Europe's roots (inter alia, religious) is a positive example, as no exclusive mention is made of Christianity or Judeo-Christianity;

- the establishment of channels for achieving greater participation of the Muslim communities in Spanish society, notably with representatives of all religions that have signed agreements with the government to join the Immigration Forum created by the ministry of labor and social affairs; and lastly

- measures to overcome the sense of disenfranchisement felt not only by immigrants but also and especially by the second generation, most of whom are now Spanish citizens.

## 1.2.1 Religiosity of Muslim Youth

A recent study conducted in 2013 by Derya Güngör, Fenella Fleischmann, Karen Phalet, and Mieke Maliepaard in four countries using various large-scale datasets collected among Muslim youth populations in Europe, has concluded that religious decline in European societies is largely absent.<sup>5</sup> As our research reflects specifically on the segment that is neither fully radicalized nor fully secularized, this data is important to highlight the need to understand how our Muslim youth is internalizing their understanding of religion, how they are practicing it, and what can be done to ensure the youth is feeling comfortable in being accepted rather than being seen as the “other” in the lack of inclusive policies that creates more propulsion toward both extremes: radicalization and secularization.

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<sup>5</sup> Güngör, Derya; Fleischmann, Fenella; Phalet, Karen; Maliepaard, Mieke. Contextualizing religious acculturation: Cross-cultural perspectives on Muslim minorities in Western Europe. *European Psychologist*, Vol 18(3), 2013, 203-214



Among immigrant communities in Europe, religious identity is relied upon to maintain ethnic boundaries and culture.<sup>6</sup> The second generation finds itself between two worlds, in which it needs to accommodate, and the other one that it needs to maintain instead of divorcing as a heritage trickled by parents.

The research is focused on understanding what is vital for the youth in Spain to maintain its adherence to its own self, while being able to belong to the society and join social activities without disrupting and minimally conflicting with its own identity and what a typical world it aspires to be included in it.

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<sup>6</sup> Toğuşlu, E. & Leman, J. & Sezgin, M..*New Multicultural Identities in Europe: Religion and Ethnicity in Secular Societies*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014.

### **1.2.2 Spain as a Cultural Bridge**

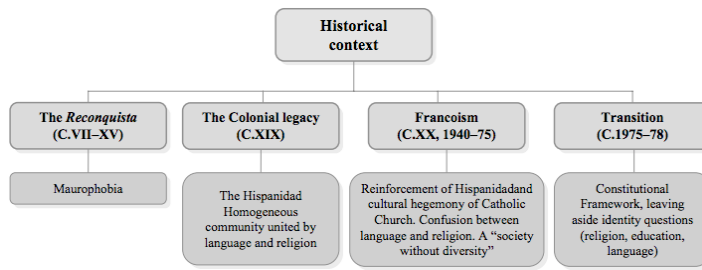
The study explores the oneness of being Spanish and Muslim. Toledo's historical *La Convivencia* serves as a reflection of a possible harmony. Professor Emeritus Terrence Lovat goes as far as professing that we ought to be "appraising how the principles that applied to medieval Convivencia might be applied successfully to twenty-first century interfaith living. Again, it looks especially at the vital role that needs to be played by Islam, granted its historical precedents and the fact that it, alone of the three religions, possesses a theology that can accommodate the entirety of the Abrahamic tradition. It also examines the importance of each of the three religions being aware of the explosive potential of releasing their exclusivist triggers, a potential being realized all too often in modern times. It explores the features of education necessary to ensuring the greater understanding and self-understanding that might facilitate restoration of Convivencia." (Lovat & Crotty, 2015, p. 119).

This becomes key in understanding the interviewees' responses, when it comes to integration and the references to “respect,” which our interviewees suggest repeatedly in their answers to how they feel about being accepted in the Spanish society. Repeatedly, our interviewees emphasize that, as long as others respect their religious practices and beliefs, they feel fully accepted.

Following the defeat of Muslims and their exile from the Iberian Peninsula, Spain had a particular context in dealing with its history and managing diversity. When discussing the Spanish framework related to diversity issues, Professor Ricard Zapata-Barrero of Pompeu Fabra University and Director of GRITIM, frames the interplay in three interrelated contexts: the historical, the structural, and the legal. (Zapata-Barrero, 2010, p. 391). Zapata-Barrero argues that one of the important terms that had an effect on the historical context is *hispanidad*, or Spanishness. According to Zapata-Barrero, *hispanidad* is a political term that was created during the Spanish colonial period, and re-used later during the Franco dictatorship,

"precisely to comprise the whole Spanish area of influence, designating a linguistic (Spanish) and religious (Catholic) community and creating a sense of belonging, excluding non-Spanish speakers, atheists and Muslims" (Zapata-Barrero, 2006, p. 148).

The Franco regime (1940-1975) reconstructed this term as a symbol of homogeneity and unity, in order to impose a sentiment of loyalty and patriotism (Luis González Antón, 1997, p. 613). This exclusion still exists today, founding the discourse against Moroccans and favoring the Spanish-speaking immigrants. The political Francoist argument 'habla cristiano' (or 'speak Christian,' which was a term used purposely to refer to speaking Spanish) is a clear example of how the regime promoted the confusion between Spanish (language) and Christianity (religion) for building its own concept of unity, excluding any sort of diversity (Zapata-Barrero, 2010, p. 387).



**Figure 1** Copyright of Ricard Zapata-Barrero, Historical Context, 2010

In addition to the historical context, the structural and legal contexts have also supported discrimination against those who did not belong to the circle defined by Spanishness. These policies extend to this day in many forms, among which is the extension of Spanish citizenship to those who kept records of their grandparents' birth certificates, or *Acta de Nacimiento*, back when these countries were Spanish colonies, such as Cuba and Puerto Rico, while making it extremely difficult for other minorities to obtain citizenship through residence, by enforcing an integration exam that arguably most Spaniards do not know the answers to pass. The questions of the exam do not follow a guide to study from,

but more so a test similar to a driver's license exam, in which you are under the mercy of the evaluator.<sup>7</sup>

Although Spanishness has augmented the exclusion of Muslims in Spain, many still perceive Spain as a unique case for serving as a cultural bridge between Muslims and Europe. Astor and El-Bachouti, in their chapter, *Estructuras de Oportunidad y Políticas de Interculturalidad: La Gobernanza del Islam en la España Contemporánea* in the book, *Las Condiciones de la Interculturalidad: Gestión Local de la Diversidad en España* *Las Condiciones de la Interculturalidad*, argue that Spain is a unique context, not only because of its Islamic legacy, but also because of the opportunity created by the political dynamic that results in the end of the 1970s, due to the democratic transition in Spain following the death of Franco, and the reevaluation of the Church-State relations (Astor & El-Bachouti, 2015, p.221). Furthermore, Zapata-Barrero defends “the premise that the

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.abc.es/sociedad/20141124/abci-test-nacionalidad-espanola-201411212218.html>

Spanish identity is still in process, still in construction, a fact that makes it potentially open to changes and, at the same time, open to flexibility in the management of diversity related conflict” (Zapata-Barrero, 2010, p. 386). This interplay and openness toward the inclusion of minorities has given some thought to review how individuals perceive these new considerations coming from historical and structural spheres, to negotiate their belonging and freedom of religious practice without being excluded from the mainstream of society.

At this time, several organizations, such as *La Liga Islámica para Diálogo y Convivencia en España* (LIDCOE), publish booklets in Spanish, similar to the one titled “*El Musulmán Ciudadano Europeo,*” in which it stresses three relevant themes for fostering integration:

- 1- Living with people of other faiths
- 2- Nationality of Muslims in Europe
- 3- Integration with European societies

The book author, Sheikh Faysal Mawlawi, a former leader of the European Council for Fatwa Research and a respected activist for European Islamic integration, encouraged Muslims to recognize the definition of “*patria*” as the land where one establishes their habitual residence, regardless of the religions practiced, upon which Muslims then ought to contribute and practice their benevolence for that specific nation and its people, as they would do elsewhere – regardless of the practiced religions in their community.<sup>8</sup> This view by Mawlawi can be seen as progressive given how Muslims view the world and how it is divided according to Muslim and non-Muslim realms. According to the Islamic tradition, the world is divided into: Dar al Salam, Dar al Harb, and Dar Al ‘Ahd. Dar al Salam: (House of Peace) Countries where Muslims can practice safely with a few exceptions to religious duties, given that Muslims are majority in this space. Dar al Harb: (House of War) Countries where Muslims are met

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<sup>8</sup> Faysal Mawlawi, “El Musulmán Ciudadano Europeo” Barcelona: Centro Cultural Islámico Catalán. 2013 p.35



with hostility, and Muslim as a group being a minority where many exceptions are offered to religious duties. Dar Al ‘Ahd: (House of Pact) Countries that traditionally had peace treaties with Islamic states, by which the degree to where exceptions are permitted is subject to contestation. The knowledge of this notion helps us understand that permissions due to being a minority in Islam is not the exception, but has a long established tradition.

The two dynamics: post-dictatorship constitution of Spain, and willingness of religious leaders to play a role in decreeing to their Muslim communities that it is accepted to be Muslim and Spanish allow for a space of harmony. This harmony is not possible to flourish by the mentioned set of laws without the common affinity toward the same environment, music, language, aesthetics, which is what brings people together toward further common activities in the society.

Although the efforts to encourage integration increased in the last twenty years, multiple events have worked against the projects of inclusion. In recent history,

the multiple terrorist attacks that have taken place across Europe, have prompted societies in Spain and other European countries to question the hostility of global connections. The sentiment is captured in the work of Lara N. Dotson-Renta, *Immigration, Popular Culture, and the Re-routing of European Muslim Identity*, where Dotson-Renta recounts the rage and fear that her Muslim subject witnessed after the 2004 Madrid train bombings, followed by the 2004 assassination of filmmaker Theo van Gogh, which have created a “public discourse that built a monolithic image of Muslims as inherently incompatible with the universal, liberal ideals of ‘Europeanness’” (Dotson-Renta, p. 129).

On the other hand, Dadush and Falcao (2009) found that immigrant public opinion intensifies during an economic crisis, as has recently been seen in Greece, Spain, and the US.<sup>9</sup> The economic crisis has served to increase the anti-immigrant sentiment altogether, and question the “other,” whosoever that may be, in an effort

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<sup>9</sup> Dadush, Uri y Lauren Falcao, 2009, “Migrants and the Global Financial Crisis, CARNEGIE. Endowment for International Peace”, p.1-8

to make sense of the financial trouble that has swept many countries, and try to understand why there are not enough jobs for Spaniards. Instead of questioning the root causes of why there are no jobs, it became easier to assume there were indeed jobs and someone else has come to take them away from Spaniards and other Europeans.

As with most modern democratic countries, far-right election suitors have manipulated this sentiment to their advantage to collect the votes of those who are willing to accept them as saviors from immigrants. Win Gallup International in its, 2016, 39<sup>th</sup> Annual Survey of 68,595 people from 69 countries around the globe, showed how there is a global wave of anti-immigration counting 42 countries have popular opinion against immigration. The study shows how the net support for immigration in EU\* Europe is -21% (31% favorable, 52% opposed) while the net support for immigration in non-EU\* Europe is -9% (35% favorable, 44% opposed).<sup>10</sup>

This has taken an equal liking in the 2016 U.S. elections with Republican candidate for presidency,

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.gallup-international.bg/en/Publications/2016/258-Win>

Donald Trump, who took to fueling anti-immigrant sentiment and gaining ground on such. In Europe, this was mostly visible in France, where “economic stagnation and high unemployment have created insecurity that political leaders, such as the Le Pens (father and daughter), have manipulated to fan anti-immigrant flames” (Kesselman & Krieger & Joseph, p. 128).

### 1.3 Research Question and Hypotheses

The impetus behind the research question has been the debatable presentation in the current literature that we embark on reviewing, and the negative impact that accompanies the lack of understanding it empirically beyond biased opinions, over a growing segment of society.

This hypothesis is based on a struggle that has been characterized by the strenuous self-questioning of their religious practices, and mostly taking the form of silencing their practice rather than getting rid of it, which is why I came to think of it *silent practices*.

The reason I call it a segment of the Muslim community is because of the recognition of other Muslim segments that went on one extreme, radicalizing and enforcing its own religious practices in absolute into the public sphere, and another segment on another extreme, divorcing Islam altogether and considering itself a secularized version that doesn't see a need to practice

anything. The research is focused on the segment that is interested in maintaining both its adherence to religious practice while avoiding conflict with society, taking individualization as a way to mitigate their quotidian life.

The reason why the literature has been void and opinionated in terms of understanding individualization is due to the lack of empirical data that explains the processes and dynamics that individuals go through to arrive at such practices. Only opinions have been raised thus far, and public policy is prone to build upon those evidence-lacking claims, reporting that the Muslim youth in Europe is secularized once it cannot be seen practicing, linking modernity to secularization, by which this work attempts to fill the grounds through data, with an empirical study that explores the dynamics and understanding of this segment in Spain.

In order to do so, and in compliance with the need for such work to be addressed scientifically, the research question that has become essential to ask is: *How do Muslims reconcile their religious duties with their*

*everyday life in the contemporary Spanish society?* The research aims to answer this question by understanding the dynamic in which individualization is produced, the factors and processes leading to it, and the perception it leaves. Accordingly, the research interest is based on studying the practices and narratives of justification of those practices.

My driving hypothesis is that Muslims, as a minority, advance an individualized version of Islam that is grounded within the religion, but exclusively proper to the context of their dwelling.

Two subsequent and relevant hypotheses stand out for testing:

1. Individualization of religious practice produces silent practices, which creates the perception of abandoning traditionally visible practices, and the subsequent false assumption that the youth is becoming secularized.

2. Individualization of religious practice among Muslims is not produced by liberties in the West, but rather because of restrictions.

### **1.3.1 Thesis Organization and Methodology**

The thesis is divided into four principal parts. Introducing the historical context lays the background in Chapter 1, in order to cover not only how Europe has become accustomed to understanding the past, but also to understand how its Muslim population has understood it. This understanding, regardless of how contestable it is, is a positive ingredient towards integration; the sense of “we've always belonged here, and we are not historical enemies.”

Following historical context, the study addresses a theoretical framework in Chapter 2, for individualization that lacks in the current literature, and maps the elements of its construction by dispelling the myth that modernity leads to secularization, allowing room for integrating those who are not necessarily seen as secular, without judging them for being against modernity, and with insight into how individualization was observed in the pilot phase.



In order to empirically understand individualization, Chapter 3 discusses the fieldwork interviews, their design, the interviewees, and the results by testing against the first hypothesis, in which the term I coin as *Contextual Creativity* is born from the dynamics that led to the individualized practices.

In Chapter 4, we discuss the differences between liberty and restrictions as addressed by a second hypothesis that attempts to verify the reasons behind individualization, which was erroneously thought by earlier literature as a byproduct of liberties.

Following our information gathering, results, and analysis of understanding the concepts and their theoretical meaning, Chapter 5 attempts to provide this work and results for the benefit of public policy making, with an explanation of the limitations and opportunities proposed by the work.

To come to tackle the study methodically, the natural question is how to determine that an analysis is ‘valid’. To answer, Mitchell contrasts ‘statistical

inference' from what he variously calls 'logical', 'causal', or 'scientific inference'. The former is 'the process by which the analyst draws conclusions about the existence of two or more characteristics in some wider population from some sample of that population . . .' the latter, 'the process by which the analyst draws conclusions about the essential linkage between two or more characteristics in terms of some explanatory schema' (1983: 199–200).

Small emphasizes Mitchell's distinction between statistical and logical inference. The goal is not a descriptive hypothesis; it is a logical (or what Mitchell might call a 'causal') one. While it still requires testing, it should nonetheless be logically justified, which makes it an effective hypothesis.

With our empirical findings, following the trajectories of our interlocutors and their life stories, we intend to review the logical links between their actions and the reasons motivating these actions. This technique helps us understand how our segment view its world to test our hypotheses around individualization, and disprove it as an

expression of a generational gap leading all youths toward secularization, prompted by newfound liberties, but rather a form of bounded creativity informed by the broader structural context in which these Muslims are located.

**Table 1. Summary of the Ph.D. Thesis**

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>1.</b>	<b>2.</b>	<b>3.</b>
<b>Title</b>	Contextual Creativity for a Theory of Individualization of Religious Practices	Dispelling An All-Encompassing Secularization Theory	How Restrictions Impact Muslim Minorities & Shape Their Practices
<b>Approach</b>	Theoretical	Empirical	Explanatory
<b>Publication</b>	El-Bachouti, M. (2015). Individualization of Muslim Religious Practices: Contextual Creativity of Second-Generation Moroccans in Spain. In Toğuşlu E. (Ed.), <i>Everyday Life Practices of Muslims in Europe</i> (pp. 97-112). Leuven University Press. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt180r0n0.8">http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt180r0n0.8</a> ISBN 9082080907	Chapter's approved and submitted to be published by Bloomsbury's Comparative Volume on Muslims Contemporary Experience in Europe.	In Preparation. To be sent to the Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs.

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# CHAPTER 1

## CONTEXTUAL CREATIVITY FOR A THEORY OF INDIVIDUALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

### 2.1 Introduction

In recent years, the term individualization has been mainly conceptualized in two ways: new practices and reformed ones. The first, led by Roy (2002) and Cesari (2004), argues that Muslims make use of the freedom they are given in the West to reread the religious texts and replace old practices with *new ones* that can help them integrate in a modern and secular Europe. According to Cesari, “to be Muslim in Europe or the United States means to lose one’s relationship to Islam as a cultural and social *fait accompli*, and instead to open it up to questioning and individual choice.” (Cesari, 2004, p. 45)

The second view, supported by Tariq Ramadan, considers these reinterpretations to be reformed practices that are not entirely new and are still proper to Islam. Roy

on the other hand, in reference to Ramadan, insists “on the primacy of sociological processes over theological justifications. Indeed, he sees the two as often contradicting one another, as when some Muslim spokesmen preach a neoethnic line that opposes the inevitable social tide of individualization” (Bowen, 2008, p. 189). More so, in his work, *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, Roy emphasizes that the Islamic revival or re-islamization is more or less a manifestation of westernized Muslims attempting to mark their unique identity. The work of this thesis is not to dismiss the notion that some Muslims have a personal preference to their individualized religious practice, but rather to flesh out what is beyond this narrative to dispel the myth of an all-encompassing secularization theory. Roy’s use of Deterretionalization as a concept by which Muslims find themselves as a minority for the first time becomes a stage by which we observe and explore individualized approach of the second generation in an environment different than that their belief system has

been traditionally accustomed to in a place of cultural origin.

Davie alludes to this cultural sphere enjoyed by a majority now versus a Muslim minority in her discussion of the many forms and impacts of memory in her book . Davie tells us that: “the majority religious groups active participants are supported not only by the tacit acceptance of larger sections of the population, but by the cultural deposit of centuries. This is not so for most religious minorities, who have to find innovative modes of insertion into the religious life of modern Europe.” (Davie, 2000, p. 180) This is precisely our point of departure to what we refer to as creativity in the following chapters.

Fundamentally, the lack of conceptual and empirical clarity on individualization makes it questionable to understand if the resulting practices are grounded within Islam or have no theological justification, whether the religious practices fall within the “acceptable bounds” of the Islamic tradition according to the individual, or not. This approach frames individualization

as an indicator to explore the dynamic coexistence between religious practices and modernity in Europe. It further induces us to frame the question in a specifically understudied context: *How do Muslims reconcile their religious duties with their everyday life in the contemporary Spanish society?*

The research sets out to answer this question by understanding the dynamic in which individualization is born, the factors and processes leading to it, and the perception it leaves on the individual practicing it, and the respective host society where it is being practiced. Accordingly, the research interest is in exploring the actual practices taking place, how do their practitioners justify them, and what is the relevance to the rest of the society.

The fieldwork and the results of this research show us that the lack of visibility to Islamic religious practice in public does not mean that there is not an active silent practice being produced internally. The perception of abandoning practices when it is not being publicly

discerned is merely an illusion, as we unravel that there is an active deployment and vividness of silent practices.

This is not to say that there is no secularization developing within a fragment of the society, but as the research shows, the literature around individualization that assumes secularization and individualization go hand in hand, as previously imagined by conjoining modernity with secularism, is skewed by the lack of defining individualization and producing empirical evidence to support it.

Finally, the research shows how individualization is produced not because of liberties enjoyed by the second-generation in the West, but on the contrary, as we explore with our interviewees, it is the lack of options, increasing restrictions, and fears for being judged and harassed are the reasons behind instigating the process of individualized practice.

## 2.2 Religion and Society

In order to navigate individualization as an outcome, it is imperative to explore the relationship between religion (religious act being individualized) and society (place where the act takes place), in order to understand its effect on the individual's choices.

Theories advanced by Émile Durkheim to explain the tension he perceived between religion and society can serve as an introduction to this dynamic at its macro-level. In his seminal work, *Moral Education*, Durkheim argues that French society needs to grasp and channel the traditional power of the religious into the secular educational system.

Émile Durkheim acknowledged in his *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* that religion influences the actions of the members of society. He theorized that religious rituals provide impetus to a sense of group solidarity (Durkheim, 1912). By practicing these religious duties, Durkheim emphasized that religious



practices bind society's members by common actions, norms and values. Regardless, he believed that society would eventually modernize and religion's influence would subsequently diminish in the quest of scientific progress.

We soon find that it is not as simple as: Muslims found modernity in Europe, and modernity led them to secularism. It is very simplistic to assume that modernity leads to secularism by default, and this becomes a key point in how it is possible to be a Muslim Spaniard, a Spaniard who can reconcile her/his religious duties with their everyday life in contemporary Spain.

In order to explore the theory, which perceives that religion will be pushed into the background as society modernizes, we are propelled to define what is modern, modernity, modernization and modernism. This begs the question of how to reconcile what is traditional, or is a religious tradition, with what is modern if we were to agree on how modernity is defined.

In order to lead a debate that engages both religion and modernity, it is paramount that we examine the nature of religious practices we are treating in our discussion, and the relevant definition of modernity in the subsequent sections.

### **2.2.1 Islam and Modernity**

This study focuses on how individuals, through liberal democracies, accommodate religious practice while equally maintaining a belonging to what is perceived as the modern world that is progressively and interchangeably becoming equated with a version of secularism that sees religion as an impediment to progress.

John F. Wilson defined “modern” as a “correlative term: it implies what is new as opposed to what is ancient, what is innovative as opposed to what is traditional or handed down” (Wilson, 1987, p. 197). In the sense, every society will perceive itself to be modern after changes to the one it preceded, and so forth.

Modernization, according to Wilson, is the “programmatically remaking of the political and economic aspects of society in support of the new” (Wilson, 1987, p. 197). The nature of modernization became commonly used in reference to the changes in the political and economic facets of a society. Wilson avoided using the

term “modernization” in reference to religion and opted to use “modernism” to address religious traditions.

Equally, Peter Berger referred to modernization as “the growth and diffusion of a set of institutions rooted in the transformation of the economy by means of technology”. Building on the definitions, we could not refer to a “modern society” because if it were called modern today, how would we describe its future? For this reason, Berger refers to societies’ developments as a connected chain of progress (Berger, 1974, p. 9).

Although modernization poses great challenges to societies’ politics and economics, modernism is the main challenge for religious tradition and practices. According to Robert Bellah, modernism provokes a “conscientious effort” on the part of practitioners to fulfill a religious tradition while adapting to the cultural and intellectual innovations of their time.

The modernist movements of the late 20th century stress revolutionary concepts and ideas from freedom of speech to experimentation in art, architecture, technology,

to music. Berger points out that modernity is always seen as superior to what came before, and what came before is seen as backward. Naturally, there is nothing positive about backwardness, which is counterintuitively incorrect. Modernity like other phenomena has a predictable end (Bellah, 1970).

Charles C. Adams refers to Islamic modernism as “an attempt to free the religion of Islam from the shackles of a too rigid orthodoxy, and to accomplish reforms which will render it adaptable to the complex demands of modern life” (Adams, 1933, p. 1). Furthermore, John Esposito refers to Islamic modernists as those who “asserted the need to revive the Muslim community through a process of a reinterpretation or reformulation of their Islamic heritage in light of the contemporary world. It is a response to the political, cultural, and scientific challenge of the West and modern life. The modernist attempted to show the compatibility (and thus acceptability) of Islam with modern ideas and institutions, whether they be reason, science and technology, or

democracy, constitutionalism and representative government.” (Esposito, 1984, p. 45).

According to Hisham Sharabi, “modernism represents a dynamic outlook, essentially pragmatic and adaptable; while traditionalism is a static position, fundamentally passive and hardly able to react to external stimuli” (Sharabi, 1970, p.6). Individualization characterizes this pragmatic and adaptable approach, where modernity does not mean secularization.

### **2.2.2 Islamic Practice and Individualization**

In the European context, Amir-Moazami and Salvatore (2003) conceptualize the relationship between Muslims and Europe through two approaches: first, a *Euro-Islam*, spearheaded by Bassam Tibi, which argues for the feasibility of a cultural cross-fertilization between Europe and Islam resulting in a new form of Islam and, second, a *transnational Islam* which argues that Islamic tenets are already well suited to giving religious permissions, exceptions, and methods on how to function in Western societies, and hence a reform within Islam, rather than departure from it to a new Islam, or in this case Euro-Islam.

The postulation that this study follows is that neither is fully true, and that Muslims in Europe take advantage of both definitions depending on their subjectivity and personal inclinations, and Islam's strengths and weaknesses in the given space and time, using the premise that structural context and the agency

will determine the direction, where our empirical findings prove whether the practices are working in a reform of or detachment from religion.

Amir-Moazami and Salvatore (2003) also argue that the resurgences of Islamic practices, old and new, in the second generation of Muslims are not reactionary to secularizing tendencies, but are situated in the “continuity” of an Islamic reform, a continuity of a reform that by definition shows Islam as a religion that never ceased to reform. A reform that is encouraged by scholars like Tariq Ramadan, who explains, in *Être Musulman Européen* (1999), that the call for *Ijtihad*, or independent diligence and reasoning, is required not because the religion is trying to be modern, but because of a profound desire to recover the authentic spirit of law and Islamic jurisprudence. This is a common theme that repeats in similar literature that observes second-generation Muslims in Europe, which at times seem to be trying to divorce themselves from the culture of their parents in order to go



back to Islam's essence, free of the cultural influence brought on by their parents.

This second generation appears to be looking for authenticity and feasibility of practice in secularized spaces. Using a top-down approach, Ramadan stresses the importance of Muslim scholars, those with profound knowledge of the Islamic tradition, being engaged in this process, viewing global Islam as a structure that has the potential to engage with and influence a recalibration of Muslim religious practices in Europe.

The question is whether these scholars with a profound knowledge of Islam are willing to have a voice on *Ijtihad*, and how far are they willing to elaborate on it, and affect local contexts. For instance, the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) is active in publishing, in Arabic, instructions on how to fulfill religious practices for Muslims torn between religious boundaries and the imposing secular laws. The abovementioned federation publishes booklets in Arabic that are distributed among Islamic cultural centers, in

which detailed instructions are given on how to manage the life of both a Muslim and a contributing European citizen.

The federation's website encourages Muslims to march forward toward full integration through joining hands to find "solutions to challenges facing European Societies"<sup>11</sup>, exhorting them in its last council's directive to intensify efforts in cooperating to find solutions "to the challenges and difficulties faced by European societies, and to contribute in responding to the shared but diverse societal challenges"<sup>12</sup>. Equally, the federation offers instructions on how to manage Muslim religious practices and live in a secular Europe, but these instructions seem to be found only in these Arabic series booklets, entitled "Series of European Horizons / Muslim Presence in Europe – New Formation – In moderation – European Muslims and Exceptions", to name a few.

In relation to the two religious practices that we chose for the project, daily prayers and social interactions,

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<sup>11</sup> [http://www.fioe.org/ShowNews\\_en.php?id=45&img=3](http://www.fioe.org/ShowNews_en.php?id=45&img=3).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

which stand as exemplar for the daily struggle for the individual looking to fit religious duties with societal interference, the booklet presents some of the challenges that face Muslims in Europe. To name a few, the federation mentions:

- How can a Muslim pray at work if the conditions for the prayers are not met? Is it permissible for the individual to pray sitting down or has he to stand up for the full postures? Or not pray at all?
- Can prayers be made altogether at a time, for those who can't say fulfill them at their own separate time?
- Can Muslims celebrate non-Muslim holidays with colleagues at work or school?
- Can Muslims attend the funerals of co-workers, neighbors or school friends who are of different religions? In Churches, Synagogues, and elsewhere?
- Can Muslims inherit from non-Muslims?

- Can Muslims attend lunches or dinners where alcohol is served on the same table?

These issues are brought up to introduce the central idea that Muslims as a minority can potentially have different rules, exceptions and permissions that the organization tries to shed light on in order to simplify the life of the Muslim communities and maintain their belonging in a possible balance.

In a sense, the organization's instructions encourage individuals to modify their practices when need be. Notably, leaving this "need" without proper limitations gives the individual an unrestricted groundless set of options that open religion to "cherry-picking" and perhaps leave less, or perhaps more, confidence in this system.

However, what do our current and potential interviewees say about their logic of individualization; do they exhibit an educated one? Have they read these booklets or looked for different sources for their religious education? Did they know what to do exactly, adhering to

guidelines similar to the ones in the booklets? This is a major component that the empirical bulk will help us find. How much effect do similar institutions have on their practice? Have the individuals used practices that satisfy their understanding of the religious tie while equally their active daily interactions as members of the society?

The myriad of differences in relation to context, individuals, backgrounds, channels and types of immigration, produce different approaches to individualization and the perception of what is acceptable and what is not. This challenge reflects the dynamic and creative features of individualization as a concept that is still occupying both sides of the fence: those who practice it, and those who observe and comment on it, from sociologists to religious authorities. While the study does not address all those questions, the focus is limited to individualization, reconciliation of religious practices with everyday life, unpacking the contextual creativity mechanisms, and dispelling the myth of equating those

individualized acts with secularization, in a milieu of limitations rather than liberties.

## 2.3 Islam of the Youth

There is abundant literature that describes how the Islam of the younger generation differs from their parents' in Europe (Dessing, 2001; Hervieu-Leger, 2000; Surkin, 1997; Tietze, 2001). Some authors have pointed to the nature of secularization and its individualistic effect on Muslim youths (Babès, 1997; Saint-Blancat, 1997; Cesari, 1994). Others highlight the difference between “*traditional*” Islam of the parents and the “*real*” or “*pure*” Islam of youth (Jacobson, 1998; Jacobsen, 2006; Jouili & Amir-Moazami, 2006; Amiraux, 2001; Cesari, 2002; Roy, 2002; Sunier, 1996). Voas and Fleischmann (2012) argue the same for the United States through Warner (2012).

The Islam of the youth is seen as a rational one, as opposed to the parent's “*non-reflexive*” inherited Islam (Jouili & Amir-Moazami, 2006). While Cesari argues that the younger generation has taken a consumerist approach to the practices, I argue that this can be a misinterpretation

clouded by the view of the apparent non-problematized practices versus our unawareness of the modified “silent” ones, such as praying silently in public when a practitioner feels that carrying out the postures of prayers will draw negative attention.

A misinterpretation, hence, is characterized by assuming that the individual has given up on praying or started breaking religious restrictions indiscriminately. This is precisely my point of departure to explore fully how individualized religious practices need to be carefully studied, qualitatively and not just quantitatively, as they were traditionally approached.

A theorization of individualization is hence proposed to be read not only by seeing it as a process where individuals become detached from their religion, or cherry-picking their practices, but as a thorough understanding of how and when they compensate for their “traditional” practices with other “non-traditional” ways in order to preserve the connection of their belonging to Islam.



As a fact, other concepts such as secularization are in need of reconceptualization, and this is an effort that is actively taking place, by Marian Buchardt, for instance, in *Contested Secularities: Religious Minorities and Secular Progressivism in the Netherlands*. This goes hand in hand with our interest in conceptualizing individualization, understanding the term, and clearing misconception of its generality before building theories upon it.

This will be a focal point in my in-depth interviews, where we learn the ways in which individuals have thought creatively to adapt their religious practices to “modern” times without losing their connection to the religion, and in what forms the subjectivities and structures affecting their judgement have shaped their actions and religious practices.

My main focus is to show how individualization, as a practice, is shaped by the structural context and subjective creative agencies, and how knowing this can help us answer whether the individualized religious practices can help avoid societal conflicts while preserving

the connection to religious duties and what contributed to their formation.

The individualization process is in need of a definition, rather than being treated as a concept that everyone discusses as an evident truth. This may be true in the sense that “new forms” are taking place. However, arriving at conclusions based on the nature of these forms is the problematic part, as no one has clearly attempted to dive into understanding the nature of these new forms, and explain how they are shaped according to the subjectivities of the individuals practicing them and the regulative structures surrounding them.

For that, the intention should be to fill the literature gap that eludes explaining how individualization occurs and what shapes it, and to learn about the day-to-day changes in the religious practices of Muslims, specifically in two forms of religious practices: prayers and social relationships (school, work, and community).

The two actions are tightly linked in the Islamic faith. The first is the action devoted to praising God, and

the second is the action that exhibits how praising God enhances the benevolence toward self and people in social settings, better known as “*ibadat*” and “*muamalat*” in Arabic. Reviewing the literature and conducting interviews would uncover what our Muslim interviewees have improvised for these two practices under the pressures of structures and shared subjectivities.

Ultimately, a theorization of individualization could help us to understand how these religious practices are shaped, mainly according to the structural context and bounded creativity of the individuals, which seems at times to be the place where an agency is shared between the individual and the collective “culture” of society. We can do that by unfolding the secular and religious trajectories of these second-generation Muslims and listening to their rationale, which is lacking in the current literature. We can then capture the keywords that reveal their orientation on religious practices, their lookout on Islam as a collection of past and present experiences, in addition to a future vision shared with a European one.

From within these theoretical contours, the study postulates that individualization, as an action, is a product of a bounded creativity confined in a local and global structural context. By structural context, this study refers to the effect of state policies, political discourse, societal activities, and historical traditional contexts on the one hand.

By such, we can better understand how with an open unrestricted access to religious education, Muslims as a minority advance a version of Islam that is grounded within the religion, but exclusively proper to the context of their dwelling.

### 2.3.1 Observation

In the spring of 2013, I initiated a pilot study interviewing ten second-generation Moroccans in both Barcelona and Madrid using semi-structured interviews, discussing the practice of religion. Not all my interviewees were expected to be born in Spain, but rather have spent the largest part of their childhood in Spain and received most of their education in the Spanish educational system.

Through analyzing the interviews, we can explore the vocabularies, patterns, modes of rationale, and logic that were expressed in the interviewees' discussions about themselves, and about their belonging to local and global structures and traditions, and how these affect their decisions. We can have a look at a sample of opinions of topics discussed, reflecting individualization in action (*my translation from Arabic, Catalan, and Castilian*) with underscoring inferential keywords used, and **bold** for creativity:

a. Praying in public – “The politics and history of the country doesn’t make it easy for us to perform the prayer’s postures among people in public spaces, I fear someone would attack me. I **murmur** the words of the Salat (prayer) in my heart, when the Salat is due in its time, wherever I am, and may God accept my practice, although I have not performed the postures. I’m not aware if Muslim authorities legitimized this, no one really can judge your situation unless they live it.”  
Marouane, 23-year-old, university student in Barcelona.

b. Compensation of prayer – “I work as a Chef all day, and don’t get a chance to pray the noon Salat in its time. In Muslim countries, you can because they recognize this time, but not here, so I have to continue working without interruption. I read a Fatwa (legal ruling) that allows me to do all **prayers together** at night. It would have been much easier if there were rights encouraged by government to give me time to

pray then get back to work.” Imad Iddine, 22-year-old, Chef in Madrid.

c. Engaging in social events with limited participation – “When I’m invited to a celebration that includes dancing and rowdy behavior, and I should not be there, I show up for a bit then leave early to avoid God’s anger. I bring a **nice gift** to the event organizers to show my gratitude and be forgiven for leaving early.” Soufian, 20-year-old, grocer in Barcelona.

d. When food is cooked at the restaurant on the same stove where pork was cooked – “This is the country where people from all over the world come to eat ham and chorizo, this is their pride and history, I can’t expect it not to be everywhere, but if my **food taste like pork, I will return it, otherwise I’ll eat it.**” Maryam, 19-year-old, university student in Madrid.

e. Liquor is served – “I can stay at home, or go to Ravalistan to meet people, but I am tired of being home and feeling lonely, and I am tired of going to Ravalistan and meet people who don’t understand me. I prefer to go to the Jerusalem cafe where my friends go, they serve alcohol...I will not drink it...I will **have juice**. If my friends drink or not, that’s their problem. I am a Muslim. I do not drink. I am sure **God wants me to meet people and learn from them** more than staying home or jailing myself in one neighborhood.”  
Mourad, 26-year-old, unemployed in Barcelona.

The observation has confirmed to me a logic that we often see in minority communities that comprise of individuals who are interested in adapting, fitting, without losing their faith rituals and religious practices, from Jews to Muslims and others. The significance of finding out common patterns and responses to the same societal environment among individuals with different backgrounds, professions, gender, and interests among the



second-generation Moroccan Muslims in Spain propelled the study to go beyond the pilot and uncover the processes of negotiating identities, practices, and trajectories of a youth that became increasingly an interest of study.

### **2.3.2 Individualization as a Choice**

Though some of these situations may sound trivial, for some Muslims they do have a severe religious weight. Scholars and theologians will not always buy into the difficulties that Muslims incur in their daily life, and would answer this question in a way similar to the answer posted on a leading global Islamic website, financed by al-Qardawi, president of the European Council for Fatwa and Research, on the Internet, by which it provides answers to practices in question. For instance, the question about the presence of a Muslim among people who are engaged in drinking alcohol:

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds; and peace be upon our Prophet Muhammad. It is unlawful for the Muslim to sit with people who are committing what Allah has forbidden like drinking

alcohol even if these people are of the closest relatives.”<sup>13</sup>

For this reason, the identification of Muslims with one or another practice is not a simply neutral matter; this entails also an attachment to liberal, communitarian and civil meanings. Regardless of the daily life activities, these perceptions of Muslims face the challenge that Muslims are not a fixed group, but they share the same practices that others have and do. Food and eating practices, the consumer way of life, marriage, and salutations; these banal practices of everyday life are central to discovering the subjectivity of Muslims or, in other terms, a sense of the self, and a way of embodiment.

These daily practices are inextricably linked to the problematic of subjectivity. The meaning, discourses, arguments and reasoning behind the daily life practices are detailed experiences of the self. The specific focus and problem-centric approach seeks to explain the daily life

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<http://www.islamweb.net/emainpage/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=86497>.

choices and preferences in the context of subjectivity and self. Daily life practices and habits are not simply a matter of realizing the self, taking enjoyment. They are in articulation with manifold cultural-religious-social meanings and discourses which serve to mark boundaries, to share some common values, to distinguish rituals, to strengthen social ties and to symbolize distinctive, group awareness. Each of these functions and constructions concretizes a kind of belief in everyday life, supports a choice, and contributes to the construction of a self (Tarlo, 2013).

In order not to lose sight of the main framework, in their seminal work, *Religious Freedom and the Neutrality of the State: The Position of the European Union*, Shadid and Van Koningsveld declare it “nearly impossible to say anything on Islam in Europe without taking into account the structural context of the debate” (Shadid et al, 2002, pp. 158-173). The authors explain that this structural context can be defined as “post-politics” where the situation in which “the conflict between the ideological

world-visions, as embodied in different parties that are in competition over the exercise of power, is being replaced by the cooperation of enlightened technocrats (economists, opinion polls...) and liberal multiculturalists that lead to a compromise that is attained by way of negotiation and the watching of interests, and is presented as a more or less universal consensus” (Žižek, 1998, p. 25).

That is to say, different directions cultivate effects on the individual, whether they are all harmonious in nature, or conflicting such as applying a ban on the *burqa* in Lleida, Catalonia in 2010, and three years after it was overturned by the central government in Madrid.

Similarly in a different direction, in May 2013, the deportation of Nouredin Ziani, president of the *Unió de Centres Culturals Islàmics de Catalunya*, a step taken by the Spanish government under the pretext of counterterrorism, seen by the community as a response to Ziani’s support for Catalan sovereignty, and those who were supporting his activities (*La Fundació Nous*

Catalans).<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, Shadid and Van Koningsveld highlight that this context is indeed in a period of globalization, breaking out of the geographical boundaries of the European Union.

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<sup>14</sup> [http://www.ara.cat/politica/Fundacio\\_Nous\\_Catalans-Ziani-expulsio-sobiranisme\\_0\\_917908385.html](http://www.ara.cat/politica/Fundacio_Nous_Catalans-Ziani-expulsio-sobiranisme_0_917908385.html).

## 2.4. Contextual Creativity

The hypothesis leading this study is to show that individualization is not an expression of liberties given to second-generation Moroccan Muslims which were not enjoyed by their parents in countries from which they emigrated, but more so, it is restrictions that is causing the development of individualization, and shaping a form of contextual creativity informed by the broader structural context in which these Muslims are located.

I offer the term “Contextual Creativity,” to refer to the sphere of individuals’ agency where individuals are truly free to choose their actions, but they select one action versus another to mitigate conflict within the host country. The reason I introduce this term is to explain the overlap between the individual’s agency and that of the society as a shared agency.

In economics, the term “bounded rationality” is usually used to describe the idea that in decision-making, rationality optimally uses the information obtained, but is

yet controlled by limitations of the mind and time.

Contextual Creativity is seen, theoretically, as an extension of this rationality, with the added value of using creative options to optimize action selections against traditional and conventional responses that are seen as inefficient (Potts, 2011).

Drawing a chronological development of the study of creativity, Runco and Jaeger explain in their work “*The Standard Definition of Creativity*” recount that the field of creativity has roots in the 1950s, 1940s, and 1930s.<sup>15</sup> The authors explain that the collective perspective is that creativity requires both originality and effectiveness.

Originality is often “labeled novelty, but whatever the label, if something is not unusual, novel, or unique, it is commonplace, mundane, or conventional. It is not original, and therefore not creative” (Runco & Jaeger, 2012).

Effectiveness, according to the authors, takes the form of value. To be effective means to be able to practice

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<sup>15</sup> Mark A. Runco & Garrett J. Jaeger (2012) The Standard Definition of Creativity, *Creativity Research Journal*, 24:1, 92-96,



a variety of actions that seems at time contradictory by nature to one another due to the constraints of space or time in which they occupy. Take as an example going to the gym to work out in order to lose weight, but when you work a lot of hours at an office, you do not get a chance to execute both actions. Effective thinking becomes bringing gym tools to your office to yield the value by minimizing the conflict of losing the time to go to the gym. With an additional effort, efficiency becomes necessary to minimize conflict, and offer value in a creative context.

In his work, “Creativity and Conflict Resolution: Alternative Pathways to Peace,” Professor Tatsushi Arai explores the importance of creativity in conflict resolution. He views creativity as an “unconventional viability, a social and epistemological process where an actor or actors involved in the conflict learn to formulate an unconventional resolution option to and/or procedure for resolution” (Arai, p. 1, 2012).

In order to sketch the contours of the theoretical framework surrounding creativity and resolving conflict,

Professor Arai proposed building on the classical four-stage model devised by Wallas (1926). The four stages are: information, incubation, illumination, and verification. The subject first is aware of the issue, second reflects on it, then comes up with a solution, and finally tests it. Arai (2012) proposes making it more practical by suggesting a five-stage model that includes: incipience, origination, evolution, acceptance, and sustenance.

Arai's approach is more granular and descriptive of a practical social experience in which creativity attempts to resolve conflict. Incipience, according to Arai, is the social process in which at least some kernel elements of the creative resolution outcome in question have already appeared. However, these elements are still ill-defined. They are far from integrated or framed in a coherent actionable manner. In the phases, origination, evolution, acceptance, the social process becomes clearly definable and observable.

The concept, according to Arai becomes an ideal category of creative phenomena, actual or potential.

Sustenance, as the final phase as defined by Arai, is the social process in which the momentum of the creative outcome and/or procedure is anchored in the given local context as legitimate. Like acceptance, sustenance is both an extension and subtype of the evolution because a given creative approach continuously shapes and reshapes its form and influence even after acceptance. A creative approach reaching the sustenance phase develops new patterns of thinking and social interactions and routinizes them (Arai, p. 8, 2012).

Given creativity and resolving conflict are at the heart of Arai's work, the framework of analysis and the stages proposed for our context relate to this understanding of creativity and how it presents itself from the time a conflict is detected to the time a thought out creative solution is produced.

However, in this study we propose a bi-fold framework, consisting of context (which plays as limitation) and creativity, to explain the thought process and actions practiced by interviewees in their quest to

understanding the conflict they are facing by meeting their religious practices while facing daily obligations, to the time they manage the ability to create an individualized religious practice that help them navigate being Muslims and overcoming challenges of everyday life as Muslims in Spain.

Context/Limitations	Creativity
1. Historical	1. Realization
2. Societal	2. Resolution
3. Governmental	3. Validation

*Figure 2. Contextual Creativity Framework of Analysis*

The subsequent findings will help us understand the thought process of our interviewees as it relates to them first addressing the question about their daily prayers and social interactions. These conceptual categories help

us define and analyze the classification of the patterns that saturates our hypotheses.

The framework in *figure 2* is mainly the distillation of the literature mentioned earlier around creativity and managing conflict, though it's vital to review the context and creativity categorization for our study:

**Context/Limitations:**

1. Historical: This is the background that shapes the social process of how and what historical context interferes with our interviewee's decision to practice the way they practice, and have implication on the individualized religious practice.

2. Societal: The social process is affected by the dynamic of the society in play where the individual belongs. We review how the individual makes sense of and understands the traditions and what is perceived as "normal" by the society.

3. Governmental: The social process is also surrounded by limitations and restrictions devised by the local and central government in which individuals must adhere to and work with in order to fit their religious practices in the place of their dwelling.

### **Creativity**

- i. Realization: This is the phase when the individual is coming to realize the challenge of practicing a certain religious duty in the context mentioned above with all its limitation: historical, societal, and governmental.
  
- ii. Resolution: This is the phase when creativity is at its height, and the individual has suggested a solution to the challenge of meeting the need of practicing religion and facilitating doing so in the presence of the limitation of the context with its three-branched framework mentioned above.

iii. Validation: This is the phase when the practitioner has individualized their religious practice, and executed this newly creative action, and tested whether it helps to do so, in order to repeat and turn it into a routine.

By such, the framework helps us identify how context plays a limitation role. It is for that reason; creativity is born, out of the need to be effective times of uncertainties. The challenge here is being able to maintain being a Muslim and a Spaniard, at the same time, at the same place. As the interviews unfold, we see how this framework interprets those actions, with its established theorized categorizations, the actions and thought-process behind the answers of our interviewees in the following chapters.

Creativity can be bounded and this is what we refer to as the sphere of individuals' agency where individuals are truly free to choose their actions, but they select one

action versus another to mitigate conflict within the host country.

Maussen (2009) further supports the argument of structural context and its dynamics in Europe when religious practices are projected into the public sphere. “Depending on the specific understanding of public issues, different institutional arrangements and different levels of state organization (state, federal, local) may come into play and different kinds of public policy responses are deemed appropriate” (Maussen, 2009, p. 20), all of this while taking into account theories that came earlier about the individual will. In his work, *Towards a Theory of Secularization* (1978), Richard Fenn argues against Durkheimian tradition where social cohesion is built on collective shared norms and values. He rejects the assumption that the individual is/should be “speechless and powerless” and argues for a Weberian-Simmelian approach in which the “spontaneous and creative action of individual wills” is accentuated.

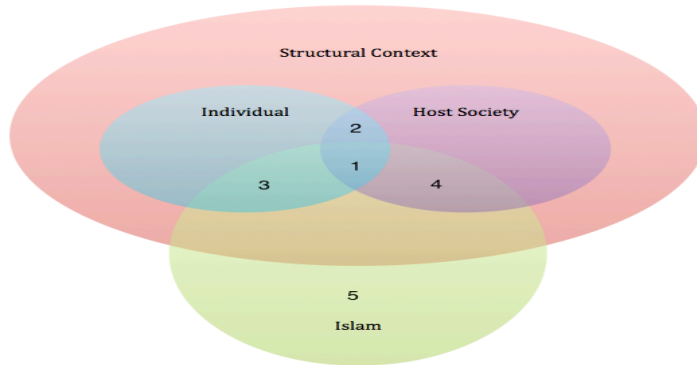


I can see truth in both claims. I argue that what is seen as individual will is really a limited set of options from among which the individual chooses how to behave in a society. My emphasis will be grounded on this foundation. In this sense, individual choices are affected by the needs of the person and local/global power support. While it could be the work of a lifetime trying to arrange the constellation of variables, my contribution is rather focused inside the boundaries of my case selections and context.

In this work, we are strictly learning from our interviewees the reasoning behind their individualized religious practices, what specific structural context they see as affecting their relationship to the religious practices, and why silent practices can be perceived incorrectly leading to wrong outcomes when diversity management is concerned.

### **2.4.1. Contextual Framework**

Does the interviewees reason when it comes to their individualized religious practice in an effort to explain their actions? Does it hold logical traces of reform or departure from Islam? This line of questioning seeks the individuals' point of view. Given that my research falls inside the framework of the three main elements: host society, the individual, and Islam, where the individual seeks to manage his/her religious practice relationship with the host society, this work has a unique inference-value to the challenging relationship between Islam and the host society in Europe. Significant damage can result if policy makers consider the decline of Muslim religious practice to be a fact, when it is only misconstrued. I attempt to depict in this diagram below how the creative individualized religious practice fits in our description.



*Figure 3. Structural Context & Agency Spheres*

1- This is our main realm of interest that the research is focused on, where individualized religious practice is a product of the bounded creativity of the individual's agency shared with the collective agency of the host society, where all interact under the constraints of the structural context, and is also part of the accepted Islamic pool of practices.

2- This is the realm where bounded creativity has met the values of the host society, but the individualized practices are considered (according to Islamic authorities) as unacceptable.

*Realm 1 represents the reform and the border of 1 and 2 represents the beginning of the departure from Islam.*

3- This realm represents the relationship between the individual and accepted Islamic practices, which does not meet the host society's social inclusion criteria. Typically, this represents extremists who do not see meeting the host society's values as possible, and view the world as a clash of civilizations. Nonetheless, they have the potential to move from realm 3 to 1 and 2 then to come back to 3, or otherwise.

4- This realm in addition to realm 1 represents individuals of the native society who converted to Islam. If an individual from this region decides to go against everything the host society stands for, he or she is best seen as a reflection of region 3.

5- This is the realm where Islam is practiced under a different structural context, which draws attention to the fact that in Islam each time and space has its own permissions and exceptions, a claim defended by multiple Islamic authorities.

Note: Overlapping regions are not exclusively representative of one particular figure. One person may possibly operate in all of these overlaps over different practices or life time periods, depending on choices taken by the individual herself or himself. Hence, we cannot assume that any of the players are against each other in absolute terms, with no potential reconciliation.

## **2.5. What Is the Relevance?**

It is critical to explore the drivers of individualized religious practices of second-generation Moroccans in Spain, as this generation faces different challenges and aspirations from those of their parents, for this gives us an empirical input and understanding of the nature of these practices, while having a reminder that modernity does not necessarily mean secularization.

Since religious practices are not only physical and can be “counted” such as mosque attendance, how many times we saw a person praying, fasting Ramadan, avoiding alcohol, and other observable religious practices, makes religious practices which are individualized and are mostly absent from this physical counting, and yet present in a mental and spiritual one in the interiority of the individuals, such as praying silently when mosque attendance is not possible, a wakeup call to what we have considered as a disappearance of religious practice.

Given the nature of the research question, the proper methodological technique is qualitative. We can empirically operationalize this by learning from our interviewees the ways they deployed their rationale to fulfill their religious duties.

As we open the doors to review the needs and desires of the Muslim youth in Europe through qualitative studies, similar to this one, we cement the foundation to integrate a minority based on fully understanding them rather than postulating their needs and deciding it for them because of how we have observed it from a distance.

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## CHAPTER 3

# INTERVIEWS WITH SECOND-GENERATION MOROCCANS IN SPAIN

### 3.1. Introduction

This study was in grand part motivated by the lack of a qualitative research that address a unique context, as discussed historically earlier, given the prolific speculations that touch directly on results mostly assumed and speculated around the Muslim community in Spain. Apart from the investigative journalistic work of Jordi Moreras of the University of Vic, we rarely come across studies that goes in depth into analyzing the processes and thought process behind the Muslim religious practice in Spain.

Quantitative work has been growing steadily to reflect on questions of “feelings of integration”<sup>16</sup>, in the Spanish society, but reasoning why and how the second generation reach the respective conclusions remain a

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<sup>16</sup> <https://www.princeton.edu/cmd/data/ilseg-2/>

mystery as long as we don't deploy qualitative in-depth interviews and look for patterns and dynamics that can tell us how a community function on the individual level and perceive policies that has been decreed in relation to their integration, and many other laws that are in the works.

As someone who is neither Spanish nor Moroccan, it was useful for me to detach myself from the bias of supposing what the interviewees will say, though it took an effort during introducing myself to the interviewees to avoid implying that my background as a Muslim should influence the interviewees into answering one way or another in accommodation of my presence.

To do that, I mainly avoided dressing and talking in a way suggestive of absolute radicalization nor secularization. I expressed that this is a work that is done on behalf of a scientific study that describes the everyday life of Muslims in Spain at my university. I also sought saturation of common trajectories that translates to shared practices across a varied snowballed set of interviewees in Barcelona and Madrid.

### 3.2 Qualitative Methodology

In his work, “‘How Many Cases Do I Need?’ On Science and the Logic of Case Selection in Field Based Research.” *Ethnography* 10(1): 5-38, Mario Small stresses the difference between focusing on “generalizing” results based on samples selected, and producing a valid and effective hypothesis.

Small advocates the efficiency of the extended case method by combining the Berkley School with the Manchester School’s approach through their proponents Burawoy and Mitchel. Burawoy focuses on avoiding the ‘statistical significance,’ by arguing that the extended case method searches for ‘societal significance.’ The importance of the single case lies in what it tells us about society as a whole rather than about the population of similar cases’ (Burawoy et al., 1991: 281).

Mitchel of the Manchester school believes that the key to the method is its ability to uncover process. Small stresses that this focus is generally consistent with the idea

that fieldwork should devote itself to uncovering mechanisms and tracing processes. Mitchell believes that statistical representativeness is an irrelevant criterion, which implies that trying to find representative cases is a mistake. Thus, arguing that ‘extrapolation is in fact based on the validity of the analysis rather than the representativeness of the events’ (1983: 190). In his work, “Muslim Political Participation in Europe,” Jørgen S. Nielsen emphasizes this point by stressing, in his work on Muslims, that using the extended case method can help shape the goal which is not to create the ideal of the representativeness, but to gather a broad picture of the major debates with which many Muslims are grappling, and capture significant trends that have defined those debates (Nielsen, 2013).

The natural question is how to determine that an analysis is ‘valid’. To answer, Mitchell contrasts ‘statistical inference’ from what he variously calls ‘logical’, ‘causal’, or ‘scientific inference’. The former is ‘the process by which the analyst draws conclusions about



the existence of two or more characteristics in some wider population from some sample of that population . . .’ the latter, ‘the process by which the analyst draws conclusions about the essential linkage between two or more characteristics in terms of some explanatory schema’ (1983: 199–200).

Small emphasizes Mitchell’s distinction between statistical and logical inference. The goal is not a descriptive hypothesis; it is a logical (or what Mitchell might call ‘causal’) one. While it still requires testing it should be, nonetheless, logically justified, which makes it an effective hypothesis (Small, 2009).

With our empirical findings, following the trajectories of our interlocutors, and their life stories, we intend to review the logical links between their actions and reasons motivating these actions, to test our hypothesis of *Individualization*, and disprove it as an expression of generational liberties leading to secularization, and argue that it is a form of contextual creativity informed by the

broader structural context in which these Muslims are limited.

### 3.2.1 Interviewees Selections Criteria

As a non-Moroccan interviewer, it was helpful to dissociate myself, to a certain point, from the preconceived notions around what to expect the answers would be to many of the questions. As an Arabic native and speaker of both Castilian Spanish and Catalan, in addition to a Muslim background, it was useful to engage with the interviewees using the same language and hearing them engage deeper with their religious explanation to their actions. Below, I break down the reasons on why I interviewed the second generation Moroccan Muslims in Barcelona and Madrid:

**Second Generation:** The second-generation Muslim community has been the subject of study by social scientists and policy makers in Europe for two reasons: first, for analyzing the level of integration of this community with the rest of the society and what could help to facilitate their integration smoothly, and second,

for evaluating their views and interests in order to predict and avoid terror attacks similar to Madrid, London, and most recently France in 2015, and instead ensure their integration with the rest of the society. The majority of the Moroccan migration to Spain come from the Spanish protectorate area in northern Morocco, which reflects in the ancestry of second-generation interviewees family origin, showing mostly from the Rif.

**Islam in Spain:** Since the census does not differentiate according to religion, the figures are attributed to countries of origin, and while it does not necessarily mean all Moroccans in this figure are Muslims, there is a margin of error that should be accounted for in this table – yet this can help us discern among those countries how Moroccans stand out to be an explicitly higher representation versus other communities:

Autonomías	Argelia	Bangladesh	España	Gambia	Guinea	Mali	Marruecos	Nigeria	Pakistán	Senegal	otros	Totales
Andalucía	5.550	560	131.298	947	885	4.572	125.258	6.956	3.988	10.187	7.951	298.152
Aragón	5.451	28	16.061	2.246	879	1.721	19.406	880	1.864	3.329	1.518	53.383
Asturias	484	44	1.569	18	46	18	2.810	295	363	1.496	366	7.509
Baleares	1.198	319	14.576	164	294	940	24.060	3.080	1.187	4.030	1.292	51.140
Canarias	528	311	41.902	147	722	249	17.676	1.692	470	3.149	4.180	71.026
Cantabria	289	29	919	19	50	39	1.905	309	189	684	555	4.987
Castilla y León	1.549	190	9.676	165	56	337	21.297	465	1.106	918	861	36.620
Castilla-La Mancha	1.714	208	18.675	86	173	1.333	33.984	2.071	1.069	908	1.157	61.378
Cataluña	8.891	6.064	157.044	15.797	4.901	7.117	226.321	6.939	44.385	20.205	11.869	508.333
Ceuta	5	0	31.771	0	0	0	4.683	2	7	1	23	36.492
Valenciana	23.118	371	63.542	288	722	2.146	76.166	6.156	11.952	5.115	5.009	194.585
Extremadura	173	24	9.615	8	24	54	8.302	74	325	177	181	18.957
Galicia	663	162	4.038	48	55	45	6.830	619	462	2.561	1.215	16.698
Madrid	1.843	4.762	158.398	266	1.468	1.750	80.778	9.365	3.379	3.213	9.685	274.907
Melilla	24	1	32.289	0	1	0	10.896	0	3	0	24	43.238
Murcia	2.656	158	7.650	192	357	1.611	74.669	1.607	566	1.845	996	92.307
Navarra	2.599	29	6.037	22	183	311	10.388	1.043	494	795	514	22.415
Vasca-Euskadi	5.563	233	7.843	159	414	635	18.377	2.806	4.438	3.672	3.038	47.178
La Rioja	998	3	5.325	32	139	222	7.621	165	3.152	145	302	18.104
(19)	63.296	13.496	718.228	20.604	11.369	23.100	771.427	44.524	79.399	62.430	50.536	1.858.409

Figure 4. Figures are based on INE census of 2014, and compiled by Observatorio Andalusí <  
<http://observatorio.hispanomuslim.es/estademograf.pdf>>

Not only that, but the growth of the Moroccan community traditionally in Spain overshadows other communities, such as the Pakistani one, as shown in the figure – has made it more feasible to encounter second-generation Muslims of the Moroccan community to interview for the study. This trend can also be seen through the lens of primary students’ dominance of Moroccans versus Pakistanis and other Muslim communities. The Pakistani community continues to be labor cyclic in nature, where the older leaves back to Pakistan, and the younger comes in to replace.

Choice of Madrid and Barcelona was based on the idea that most immigrants sought metropolitan cities for their dwelling upon arrival.<sup>17</sup> (IMISCOE Research) The choice on both cities was not intended for comparison, but in order to paint a holistic picture of the society's experiences and trends in Spain's vibrant cities.

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<sup>17</sup> Crul, M. Schneider, J. Lelie, F. (2013). *The European Second Generation Compared: Does the Integration Context Matter?* Amsterdam: University Press- IMISCOE Research.

### **3.3 Interview Questions**

Although the interviews were meant to delve in-depth through the trajectories of our interviewees thought-process and dealing with their daily everyday life challenges, I kept space to answer biographical questions, and questions that can open the door to discuss both prayers and social interactions, with leaving room for reflections on their experiences.

I also kept the answer in the original language to preserve the authenticity of the response, for the benefits of sharing it with multilingual scholars who are dedicated to the study of Muslims in Spain.

#### **3.3.1 Biographic Data of Interviewees**

I have interviewed 37 individuals from October 2014 to December 2014. Those who did not consider themselves Muslims, although by birth, were not

interviewed given the goal of the study is to understand the process of those who practice and struggle or not during their life as Muslims in Spain. All interviewees had Moroccan parents on both sides.

The sample was sufficient upon saturation of responses with logical causal link and singular regularity in relation to the hypothesis revolved around the contextual creativity and its framework of individualization techniques expressing limitations and adherence to religious practices in a manner that deems it as invisible to the public eye, or as we referred earlier to as “silent practices.”

In order to avoid bias, I asked different people from different circles of network; the mosque, university, and sports activities location in Barcelona and Madrid, different locations to recommend people of second-generation Moroccan individuals to participate in my research. As a result, the individuals were also sampled across university students, and employed/unemployed interviewees. The age of the interviewees ranged from 17



to 30. Most were either born in Spain, or have spent more than 13 years in Spain, sufficing adult life range criteria.

With the interviews, we are able to see how our interlocutors' thought process and development and execution of individualization have aligned with the creativity and restrictions described earlier.

The answers among the sample mainly differed in the intensity of how positive or negative their relationship was with their surroundings. Notably, the more positive the relationship was, the higher was the self-acceptance of the adaptation of religious practices to the surrounding. It is also worth emphasizing that the sample excluded two extremes: those who perceived themselves as fully secular and has no interest in religion or religious practices, and those who are isolationist in an effort to stay purist. The target of the study remained focused on the segment which is trying to reconcile religious duties while interacting with a Spanish contemporary society.

The general impression reflects what a longtime historian of Contemporary Islam in the Mediterranean,

Bernabé López-García explains when asked about his view if Muslim communities feel integrated in Spain, he answers: “Mostly yes, apart from those who are not integrated, neither in their own countries, nor where they want to live, but of my experience I see a positive integration.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Cristina Benayas Durán, Bernabé López García: “La imagen que hay sobre el Islam parte de un desconocimiento enorme” Abril, 2016 – retrieved from <https://detrasdavelo.wordpress.com/2016/04/25/bernabe-lopez-garcia-la-imagen-que-hay-sobre-el-islam-parte-de-un-desconocimiento-enorme/>

### 3.4 Prayers and Social Encounters

The Five Pillars of Islam are the framework of mainstream Islam. These pillars are characterized by:

1. Al-Shahadah: testifying that there is only one God and Mohammed is his messenger.
2. Al-Salat: the ritual prayer 5 times a day.
3. Al-Zakat: giving 2.5% of income to the poor and needy.
4. Al-Sawm: fasting the month of Ramadan.
5. Al-Hajj: pilgrimage to Mecca for those who are able to do so.

Abandoning the Salat, *prayer*, by Muslims, as discussed earlier is severely frowned upon due to the existence of many passages '*hadiths*' that were linked to the prophet Mohammed emphasizing the importance of Salat. In Riyad-us-Saliheen, a compilation of verses from the Qur'an and hadith attributed to the prophet and widely

accepted as a moderate Islamic textbook, we come across stern warning to those who do not perform the Salat regularly. Among these, the following hadith numbered 1097: “Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said that which differentiates us from the disbelievers and hypocrites is our performance of Salat. He who abandons it becomes a disbeliever.”<sup>19</sup>

Our interviewees stressed that Salat brings them “communication and tranquility” and including those who were irregulars saw it as an obligation. While it’s seen as important for Muslims to at least have the option to decide when and what to pray, it is not exactly that simple when living in a community that does not share the same belief about the severity of abandoning the Salat. This has prompted me to consider the prayer as one of the two problem centric issues to explore how the individual fits their civic duties and acceptance in the society while fulfilling a strict religious duty.

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<sup>19</sup> Imam Al-Nawawi, “Riyad-us-Saliheen” Dar-us-Salam Publications, Houston: 1999

The Spanish historical, structural, and legal framework described by Zapata-Barrero explains the dynamic in which the second-generation Moroccan Muslims, in addition to other minorities, lives in and thrives through. The particularity of a problem-focused issue such as Salat helps us explore the micro-structural elements related to the performance of Salat.

The Salat's structural constraints are divided into two dimensions: time and location. On the one hand, the Salat has to be performed in certain times, regardless of a few exceptions or extensions in time periods, which conflicts with labor and scholastic duties among others. On the other hand, the location of performing the prayers is mostly conflicting with the lack of dignified mosques<sup>20</sup> and paradoxical to the direction of secularism in Spain in where there is an increase of displeasure with the expression of religious beliefs in the public sphere, at least with the Islamic one which has been seen as contrary to the cultural catholic one.

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4581/barcelona-mega-mosque>

One of the possible ways to accomplish the fulfillment of both civil life and religious duty based on the factors of time and location is tied to using the exceptions and creative methods that were referred to earlier in Figure 2:

Context/Limitations	Creativity
1. Historical  2. Societal  3. Governmental	1. Realization  2. Resolution  3. Validation

*Figure 2. Contextual Creativity Framework of Analysis*

Our interviews show how those limitations are the prominent ones, rather than a generational background or religious upbringing, in bringing about the individualization patterns that shows to belong to the framework we are proposing as Contextual Creativity, the umbrella term we find useful to describe the actions of:

realization, resolution, validation, and formulating the practices according to an agency developed by a unique subjectivity belonging to the context of dwelling.

When our interviewees were asked about what does the Salat mean to them, most replied that it is a “pillar” of Islam, on which everything is built. Other respondents explained that the prayer is their direct connection to God and the vehicle to bringing peace to their souls.

When asked if our respondents practice the Salat regularly or irregularly:

Answer	Do you pray regularly?
Yes	22
No	15

When asked those who answered “yes” to praying regularly, what if you cannot physically perform the Salat? All 22 respondents described a contextual creative alternative to performing the Salat in an individualized fashion. It’s worth noting that those who answered “No”

also described their strategies to fulfill the Salat in a manner that meets their religious duty and their limitations to praying.

For instance, one of our interviewees, Maryam (#1), 22-year-old Law student from Madrid, in response to the question of how do you pray when you physically aren't able to do so? Maryam tells us about her individualized creative approach:

“When I cannot pray and do the physical postures because I'm in a place that is not adequate, I close my eyes and I recreate the scene of myself praying in my thoughts (my legs postures, then prostrating, etc.) reciting the verses of Qur'an with soft voice and shut eyes.”



This creative alternative can be classified under *realization* of her surrounding, and a *resolution* by the created alternative for the prayer in the public sphere, while validating, as others do throughout the interviews, that the “intent” is what mattered most in their relationship with God. This happen when Maryam finds herself among the society in public in a place that does not look to be “right” according to her, to perform a religious act.

Many other respondents also expressed the adaptation to do the prayer with closed eyes, and visualizing the prayer, instead of actually doing it, highlighting the *silent practices* approach to their practice. Others responded by saying that if they can’t do the prayers physically, they just do not do it, since to them it matters what they “intended” rather than whether they did or did not. This notion of “intent” is very popular in the Muslim belief system, and act as a *reinterpretation* mechanism of what was selected as an option for the physical limitation of not performing the prayer.

Issues related to wearing the veil for instance naturally took an active role during the interviews, discussing whether it's affecting relationships with the rest of the society and how others are viewing the persons wearing it. Other issues of similar nature related to the workplace, and who should be hired based on appearance, accent, and views were also discussed as not comfortable.

All these issues were brought up when our respondents were asked about what would have been different if they lived in predominantly Muslim country. Our respondents mainly used the word "judged" to explain how they feel in Barcelona and Madrid.

In an effort to fit both religious obligations and continue to be an engaged and contributing member of the society, one would assume that the individual have to:

1. Fully embrace the existing culture and divorce past/parent one.
2. Seclude oneself from activities that can prompt an interference/sinful act to religious self.

3. Maneuver the societal activity through interpretation and explanation of behavior.

Our respondents are the ones who have chosen the third path through their choices and creative approach in dealing with engagement in the society while remaining faithful to their beliefs. It is how they did it that we find valuable to our work. How they understood it, and reflected upon it.

Positively, all our respondents answered, “yes” to the question: Do you have amicable interactions with people of other faiths. When asked about the type of relationships and activities they have together, the word “friendship” came up in all 37 interviewees, in addition to those who included workplace teammates. The activities they mentioned varied from dining together to studying and doing sports in a positive atmosphere.

However, when our respondents were asked about their opinion toward these relationships, many comments came accompanied by a negative tone showing frustration

in striking a balance to feel included in the society while avoiding interactions they deemed incompliant with their religious principles.

Maryam expressed that her friends' actions, even if they weren't in compliance with what she perceives religiously as correct or incorrect, is:

“their business, and Allah will judge them in the Final Day, and I won't be the one who judges them, I respect their choices, as long as they respect mine.”

By exhibiting thoughts on “respect,” Maryam links this concept to “judging” by which we examine a cry to be accepted regardless of the differences in thoughts toward religion and its practices. Maryam is showing that she's capable of accepting others as they are, and taking herself

out of the formula of deciding whether others are wrong or right, and offering to give them the space to do it, as long as they give her the same space.

Hajar (#17), a 22-year-old student from Barcelona, took a stronger stand, and responded saying:

“let’s see..if they don’t disrespect you, fine, but sometimes they curse God in front of you and I had to remind this person even if it was in the context of a joke...if they repeat it, I won’t be friends with them anymore. This is the society we live in, if you don't want to stay alone, you have to accept all kinds of people...what am I to do if 99% of the university are either Atheists or Christians and there are only 3 or 4 Moroccans/Muslims in all of the university. Eventually, you have to

work with atheists, plus in groups with other students, and if you don't, you're weird, or they themselves wants to have a relationship with you.”

In this instance, Hajar believes respect extends beyond just minding your business, but still she feels limited to her society, her surrounding, and accepting the fact that she needs to work with those who don't share her the same views. She opts to resolve her issue by realizing that there is nowhere to go in order to continue her studies, work, and her everyday life. This has been a contentious view related to the threshold on when do liberty justifies examples such as drawing caricatures that insults holy figures, and when it becomes an issue of a shared sphere of respect, as was the case with Charlie Hebdo, for instance.

When asked if respondents felt they belonged to the society they are interacting with, many focused on the

issue of alcohol and veil, and the interruption it creates to their social fabric with others.

When asked what would have been different, respondents answered mostly that they would have been engaged in more activities, and less people would have judged them.

### 3.4 Silent Practices

The second generation is often mentioned in the news in the context of either terrorism or excellence in a field. Granted that media is sensationalist, it is important still to shed light on the practices that go unnoticed by a generation that has become a focus, for one reason or another, due to the judgment of whether it is open to integration or not, regardless of how the integration is defined.

Rightly so, it makes it is worth the examination of their important practices: the religious one, and especially so, given the “silent” nature of these practices:

Ikram Z (#30), 21-year-old, a student from Madrid tells us about her *Silent-Salat*:

“I try to find a comfortable place sitting down or standing, and start my Salat, even if it is by the heart; after all it’s



the closest way for me to communicate  
with God.”

Nawaf (#3), 21-year-old student from  
Madrid, repeats a similar attitude toward Salat  
by sharing with us:

“I do it in my heart anyway I can,  
because God knows of my intent to  
pray, and I will do it until the day I  
die.”

Sarah (#7), a 24-year-old student from Barcelona,  
repeats the same conviction toward realization of the  
inadequacy of praying in a public place, and finding  
resolution by praying when it’s possible:

“I pray regularly, although at times for not being in the house during the day, I do it at night and I pray the last three prayers.”

Ghizli (#9), a 20-year-old female student from Barcelona, thinks of a different creative alternative:

“I pray all 5 prayers but I joint them together since I do work and studies.”

When asked about what could have been different in a predominantly Muslim country, 22-year-old Maryam (#1) from Madrid told us:

“I think it would have been much easier in the sense of having

mosques all over the place, and people around you professed the same religion. Hearing Athan for each prayer would have incentivized a lot. It would have been much easier.”

Samia (#6), 21-year-old unemployed from Barcelona, reflects also on what it would have felt like being in a predominantly Muslim country by expressing her feelings:

“It’s the feeling that you don’t want to feel like you’re a weird outsider, and more so if you wear the veil, which is my case, then listening to Athan, the feeling you would have of belonging to a nation”

Sarah (#7), 24-year-old from Barcelona, emphasizes the need for more places of worship to feel home, similar to a predominantly Muslim country:

“There would be more public places where one could pray, instead of jointing all the last Salats. Possibly, this way one could pray every prayer in its own time.”

Rabia (#16), 28-year-old Professor from Barcelona, similarly ties it all to feeling of belonging by fulfilling religious practices:

“It would have been much easier to fill my religious acts, and there are things I

just can't fulfill because of that, simply because I'm Muslim, for example at work, or the case of women with veil."

Yasmina B (#22), 18-year-old student from Barcelona, said the same thing about realizing the Salat in its own time, in addition to seeing the holistic picture:

"Maybe this way I would do the Salat in its own time, there would be enough mosque and people that you could ask for permission to do it at the study place if needed."

Ikram A (#25), 22-year-old student from Madrid, highlights the "judgement" feature that came across multiple of times:

“People would have not looked at me badly for just being a Muslim. They wouldn’t judge me so much for wearing the veil. I would have more opportunities for work, aside from the world’s current troubles. I wouldn’t hear daily commentaries without any sense like: immigrants take all the welfare help, especially the ‘moros’.”

Hajar B. (#28), 21-year-old student from Barcelona, also draws a connection to how more visible would her Salat and religious practice be by the option of going to the mosque:

“Surely I would have gone more frequently to the mosque. Before I did, when I was in Morocco for vacation, as

we had the mosque right underneath  
the house and I had time, I went 5  
times to the mosques with all my  
Muslim sisters. On top, if the majority  
were Muslim, real Muslim, I wouldn't  
have felt always threatened by news,  
media, chats, and the bad reputation  
Islam has in the West.”

Yunes (#28), 17-year-old student from Barcelona,  
expressed a similar sentiment toward his dedication to the  
prayers in which it would not have taken a different  
creative form, if it wasn't for the circumstances:

“I think it would be much better, I  
would do all the daily prayers, and I  
would dedicate more, because here in  
Spain, the mosque is very far, in  
contrast to Morocco, where there is one

every 100 meters, and I would do all 5  
prayers in their own time.”

All our interviewees have either practiced silently in a creative sequence using: realization, resolution, and validation or have thought of similar scenario to avoid being “judged” and being excluded from the society if they were not to accept the norms they perceived as working against their acceptance at school, work, and the public sphere.



### **3.5 Conclusions**

After asking my respondents about the ways they negotiated their prayers and social interactions, I also asked them how they feel internally about what they did and how that reflects on their definition of being a Muslim.

#### **Respondents: How Do You Feel?**

All responses stressed their pride of being a Muslim. Equally, many responses came to support the idea that they perceive a lot of shortcomings and they felt like they're "bad" Muslims for not putting more effort to remain true to their practices.

Yasmin, an 18-year-old student from Barcelona, explains:

"I feel proud of how I am what I am today, being Muslim and born

in a non-Muslim country, it's normally complicated, and you will always commit mistakes, but you should be thankful for everything, and hope for things to get better, and things change usually little by little, and you just do your best.”

Belkaid, a 30-year-old chef from Barcelona, who lived in Spain for the last 27 years, explains:

“I feel like a moderate Muslim. I feel like I try to adapt my practices to my way and method of thinking.”

By using the possessive pronoun, Belkaid exhibits the Contextual Creativity he deployed to come up with an action suited to his surroundings. This has been the

common theme that followed the rest of the answers our interviewees gave describing their thought process.

When asked about something that came to mind to mention after these conversations that stood out, at least 10 respondents expressed that the worst part is that they cannot converse about religious topics with anyone, and when a religious topic was opened, they felt rejected.

### **Respondents: Generational Influence and Contextual Creativity**

When respondents were asked about how did they learn about the values of their religion and how that affected their childhood upbringing, almost all responded that they learned the values of their religion from their parents.

Nonetheless, the interviews revealed that the motivation behind their individualized practice is not based in the influence and the education they received but rather the context in which they were in and by which they

mitigated through their personal creativity of realizing, resolving, validating, and repeating according to real-time limitations.

Granted that the act of how to pray and how to behave among others is impacted by the education they received from their parents, their immersion in situations related to time and location and the view of society toward them has been the clear limitation expressed in all of the interviews which shaped the choices of their individualized religious practices.

Equally, interviewees have not individualized their religious practices because they received their education differently than that of their parents. As a matter of fact, many Muslims in secular-Muslim countries also individualize their practices to avoid limitations caused by other sources of interference (Bowen, 2012, p.4).

The interviews shown that individualization is born out of a context in which limitations are imposed on the second-generation Moroccan Muslims where

creativity, as realization, resolution, and validating helped our interviewees to fit their religious duties with civil belonging, without ignoring the negative tone it followed that they had to do such process in order to achieve a reconciliation of their religious self with the obligation to live their daily life in contemporary Spanish society.

Those negotiated internal practices are mostly important to this work, since policymakers realize the weakness of arguing to call second-generation Moroccan Muslims as secular due to a decrease in visible religious practice, while practicing silently is present.

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## **CHAPTER 4**

# **HOW RESTRICTIONS IMPACT MUSLIM MINORITIES & SHAPE THEIR PRACTICES**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In discussing religion and liberties, Jeffrey Haynes, professor at the Faculty of Law, Governance, and International Relations at London Metropolitan University in the UK, argues that “Religion is now politically active in ways that until recently were unthinkable. Both in Europe and elsewhere in the world, there are numerous examples of how religion has left its previously assigned place in the private sphere, becoming in some cases an important contributor to various political issues, conflicts and competitions. To understand what has happened in this regard necessarily involves a remodeling and reassumption of our understanding of the public roles of religious actors. Until the 1960s or 1970s, theories of secularization had long condemned religious actors in both Western and non-Western countries to social and political

marginalization. Secularization theory maintained that as countries modernized, religion would lose its public centrality. But, as this did not happen, there is now a need to rethink the public role of religion, using democratization, democracy and civil liberties as key examples” (Haynes, 2013, p. 171).

Liberties are rethought as important conducive set of tools to help fill the void that the project of secularization has left. During our interviews, the themes that resonated with liberties have mainly been linked to not feeling “judged” by taking the liberty or freedom to practice religious beliefs.

The feeling of “allow me to look different” than you, and still accept me, is one, and wearing the veil is another, to name a couple. The feeling that an individual has limitations to their religious diet, dressing, and activities, that they would like the other members of the society to still respect them and not outcast them because of it, was central to most interviews.

During our interviews, it struck me that all our interviewees felt mostly accepted as a first thought in the society, but when asked what would have been different living in predominantly Muslim countries, their answers were mostly about the fact that they would have felt less rejected. In order to shed some light on the reasoning behind this acceptance of reality that peels to a different reality beyond what is expected, it's important to review how the Spanish and European sphere of public and private liberties is understood and developed around this space of dwelling.

When religious practices are at the center of discussion, liberties are not necessarily constructed in a manner that evolved institutionally, or have been built under national projects, in which we can directly point at. Karen Phalet, Mieke Maliepaard, Fenella Fleischmann & Derya Güngör, in their work, *The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries Comparing Turkish and Moroccan Muslim minorities in European Cities*, produce a framework in which they come to the conclusion that

although “institutional arrangements may not coincide with grand national philosophies of integration; yet they have developed in a path-dependent way from existing institutions which are reinvented to accommodate (or not) new forms of diversity. While liberal-democratic states do not – and should not – shape the religious life of their citizens in a deterministic fashion, institutional regulations nevertheless impose real constraints on the development of religious organizations and institutions by immigrant communities (Koenig, 2007, Bader, 2007, Fetzer and Soper, 2005). From a comparative perspective, therefore, we expect a long-term impact of distinct institutional patterns on patterns of integration and religiosity in the next generation, over and above variation as a function of local specificities and more short-term changes in public sentiments and policy responses” (Phalet, Maliepaard, Fleischmann, et al, 2013, p.127).

In the context of Europe, those liberties remain lacking as our hypothesis suggests, by explaining that individualization is a result of restrictions and limitations

rather than liberties. Jolanda Van de Noll, articulates that: “civil liberties refer to rights that concern the freedom of individuals, such as the freedom to speak, publish, assemble, worship and the freedom to live by whatever moral, sexual or familial standards someone prefers (McClosky & Brill, 1983).

Although people generally support democratic rights and liberties in the abstract, several studies have found that the specific application of these same rights is often rejected (Marcus, Sullivan, Theiss-Morse, & Wood, 1995; Sullivan & Transue, 1999).” (Van de Noll, 2014, p.61)

Van de Noll’s work also capitalizes and explains on our “judgment” response by our interviewees, when she discusses what it means to discourage liberties, by telling us that “beyond negative attitudes, tolerance judgements are likely to depend on ideas about what the society should look like, and how to deal with people who are perceived as not conforming to the norms and values of society (Gibson, 2006)” (Van de Noll, 2014, p.62).

The power struggle to pull the other member of the society to each other's "norm" explains the reason behind whether a person is "accepted" or "outcaste" by the dominant group, by which our interviewees tried to find a medium.



## 4.2. Liberties in Europe

Given Spain's membership and location in the European Union, it is essential to address the common set of laws and production processes of those in the great scheme of their development. Simon Harvey offers a chronological analysis of how liberty came about in Europe, by connecting its development through historical timeline, recounting to us that "liberty for the individual is usually understood only in the sense that he is granted certain privileges. This sense of the word liberty is still preserved in the English expression 'to take liberties', which really means to accord yourself things you are not properly entitled to. Privileges were granted by the absolute monarch to only a very few – in effect, just to the elite of the nobility and the clergy. In France these were the first two 'estates' of the realm and, much to Voltaire's fury, they were exempt from nearly all forms of taxation. Under Louis XIV France had become an extremely hierarchical society with the King at the top of

the pyramid looking down on his subjects from the height of his palace at Versailles. Another striking contrast between the French and the English in this period concerns the freedom to worship. Although an Englishman could not hold a high public office unless he was a faithful member of the Anglican Church, under the Act of Toleration he was however at liberty to practice whatever religion he chose. Only atheists were considered to be dangerous. But in France Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, with the effect that French Protestants (the so-called Huguenots) were forced either to convert to Catholicism or to leave the country. Many of them fled to Holland or to England” (Harvey, 2006, p.473).

As mentioned previously, most of the literature points toward the liberties given to the second generation, which has not been enjoyed by parents from the places they emigrated from in order to explain why the youth is not clinging on to their religious practices.

The treatment of the Salat and daily interactions have helped us understand through our interviews that the process of Contextual Creativity leading to individualization, in which the individual creates an alternative to their practices is due to a contextual limitation as expressed by our interviewees. This has been articulated by all interviewees, out of which we come across below:

Luna (#29), 20-year-old student from Madrid, explains to us the effect of liberty on her choices:

“My religion would have not been an option, it would have been a must that I can develop at liberty, without social impediments or personal excuses.”

Ikram Z (#30), 21-year-old, a student from Madrid sounded frustrated with the societal limitations:

“I would have been able to pray anywhere, without prejudice, racist comments, looks, criticism, etc.”

Stefanie Sinno share with us that there are two factors that contribute to prejudice, and they are commonly mercurial based on events that shapes the current times: “Sullivan and Transue (1999) note that at the abstract level there is considerable public support and consensus for the general extension and application of civil liberties and political tolerance to minority groups in Western democracies, but that this public consensus quickly evaporates when applied to difficult and specific cases. Though they admit that the variability of public opinion toward civil liberties and political tolerance is somewhat “constrained” by internalized democratic values

and culture, within these broad boundaries public opinion may be quite “malleable” depending on two important sets of factors: (a) perceptions of threat stemming from the information environment (i.e., mass media or elite cues), and (b) individual predispositions (i.e., political ideology or religiosity)” (Sinno, 2009, p.174).

When thought about the location, Sarah (#7), a 24-year-old student from Barcelona, tells us her view of Spain in a light rather reflects those limitations rather than liberties:

“The one thing that comes to my mind about Spain is that it’s impossible to do your Salat in its time of practice. For instance, workers in Morocco are permitted to leave their work for a few minutes to do the prayers, and it’s practically impossible here.”

Yasmina B (#22), 18-year-old student from Barcelona, expresses hope that with all the limitations, there's things to look forward and improve on:

“I feel proud for how I am today, being in a country that is not Muslim, and being born to it is complicated, you make mistakes, you screw up, but I don't know how, you are grateful for having God and your family and then you see it all clear. You look and you said, what the heck? What do I do with my life, but thanks Go for all, day by day, I'm happy with who I am. There are things to better, things to change, little by little.”

Hajar M. (#17), 22 Student from Barcleona  
concludes succinctly her views in the limitation of relating  
to the society:

“I would have had more in common  
with the society, and I wouldn’t have  
been an outcast.”

## 4.2.1 Liberties and Securitization

Security played a major role in diminishing civil liberties, in Europe, and most of the world. The “war on terror” and the implication of prioritizing between rights and liberties comes to be at the top of the list when discussing rights of individuals and what they are doing and how they are perceived as a result, which boils down to what our interviewees refer to by “judgement” looks as a derivative of infringement on civil liberties.

Daniel Prieto asserts that “discussions of civil liberties and security frequently end up as conversations about how to balance the two, as if a gain for one invariably comes at the expense of the other. This zero-sum formulation and the high stakes in the debate are well captured in the oft-cited admonition from Benjamin Franklin that “they that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.” Polarization regarding post-9/11 counterterrorism policies has escalated with a series of conflicting claims. Some civil liberties advocates seem to treat any changes to the pre- 9/11 status quo as



unacceptable erosions of civil liberties and troubling expansions of executive power. At the same time, defenders of security programs assert their necessity and question whether critics are committed to defeating al-Qaeda. Although the public wants to be kept safe, it is also justifiably anxious about the expansion of the government's power and the erosion of civil liberties in times of war" (Prieto, 2009, p.2).

The securitization in addition to the definition of liberties in Europe have become the impetus behind why this second generation have experienced challenges that amount to be, one would argue, more than the challenges to practice their religious freely than that of their parents' generation who had to come across when first moved, although with different issues related to education, language, expectations, and long term goals.

## 4.2.2 Liberties and Citizenship

In Europe, citizenship and common values are still not developed to be decreed officially in a medium where European citizens can refer to a list where they can outline what is the accepted set of behaviors, and another list which details what is considered “non-European.”

Sonia Morano-Foadi proposes in her work, *EU Citizenship and Religious Liberty in an Enlarged Europe* to address the theoretical debate on how EU citizenship could be regarded as a bundle of common European individual rights (and, to a lesser extent, obligations) and part of a democratic polity in which every citizen counts equally irrespectively of his/her religious belonging and faith.

Morano-Foadi finds that “EU Member States seem ‘tolerant of all peaceful religious practice, including no religious practice’, but deeply disagree about the ‘content’ of religious freedom. In some countries pluralism and religious freedom appear more valued than in others that are dominated by one or a few religious traditions.<sup>132</sup> Yet

countries, such as France, have adopted restrictive legislation concerning religious minorities and others such as the UK, have adopted a more overt approach to minority faiths. This might depend on how each state interprets the words ‘freedom’ and ‘liberty’ and how rigid or flexible is its public policy in the context of religion. No changes have been introduced by the new proposed directive, which does not cover the relationship between the state and religious organizations, but leaves this to the domestic level policy making.” (Morano-Foadi, 2010, p. 437)

By such, Morano-Foadi believes that “Europe needs to go ‘beyond multiculturalism’ and move to a new paradigm for pursuing social equality and for addressing justice for individuals. Multiculturalism is based on the assumption of a dominant cultural identity in the society to which ethnic groups have to adjust but to whom certain concessions could be made. This model of liberal tolerance rather than of participation in citizen-ship does not solve the tension between respect of fundamental

rights in general and specific demands of religious groups in particular. Diversity has now penetrated the European cultural identity as a whole. Perhaps further research is needed to develop a model which would consider differences and diversities as values in themselves and as part of a new emerging ‘European common heritage’” (Morano-Foadi, 2010, p.438).

With the current wave of immigrants to Europe on the increase, as seen in the figure below, more concerns are expressed for the need for a more inclusive model of integration.

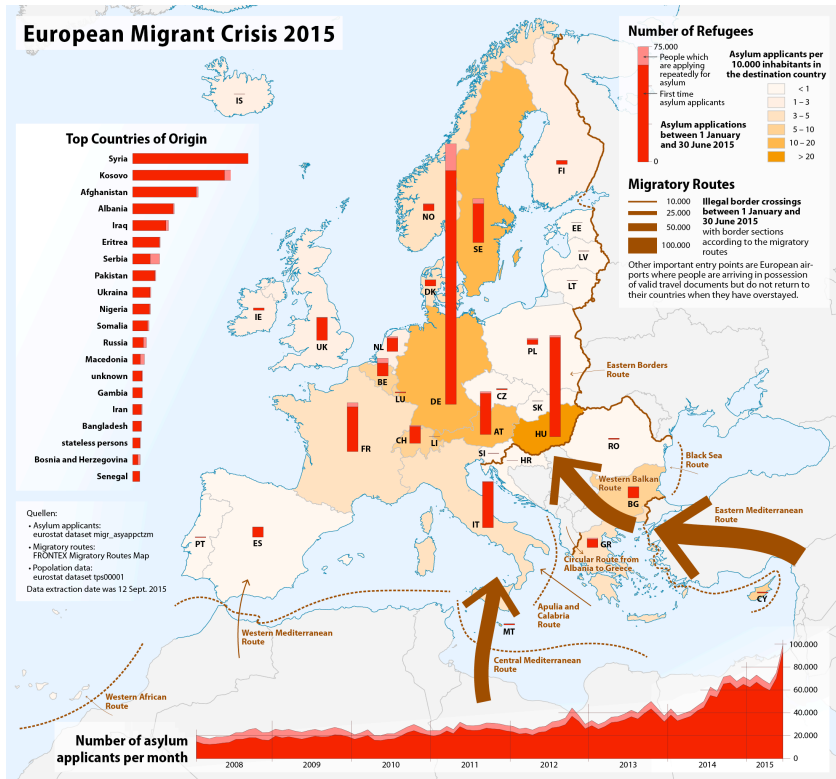


Figure 5. BBC NEWS. Retrieved 25 November 2015.

### 4.3. Restriction for Minorities

When our interviewees were asked about what difference would it have been if they lived in a predominantly Muslim country, their answers were closely in sync with the problematic nature of two things:

1. There would be enough mosques around to enter the minute the prayer is due its time.
2. Hearing the Adhan, *call for prayer*, loud and clear to remember to pray as a communal call, rather than a personal preference sounded by a smart phone.

One of our interviewee, Ikram, 19-years-old from Barcelona, explains what would have been different:

“People would not look bad at me just for dressing certain way. They would not judge my appearance. I would not have been

oppressed and listening to insults related like  
‘moro’”

Social encounters happen on many levels,  
dependent of the individual employment status, studies,  
profession, age, level of engagement in the society, among  
many other spheres of interaction with others. The  
framework of the events that took place in our study  
tended to focus on workplace, school, the market, and  
communal interactions similar to the engagement with  
neighbors and town and city members.

The main structural constraints to individuals are  
in the mere fact that seclusion has negative impact on the  
individual well-being, becoming visible to the others in  
society to voice their opinions and their needs of rights, in  
addition to eventually becoming a fully contributing  
member of the society.

In order to do so, individuals have to reconsider  
the can-and-cannot do that are easy to abide by in

predominantly Muslim countries, but not so much in a society that is mostly non-Muslim.

Nawaf (#3), 21-year-old student from Madrid, summarized it with a few words:

“I would have been more integrated in much more activities”



## 4.4 Conclusions

When it comes to religious practices, the respondents were very clear about their need to devise other strategies to meet their basic religious duties. This is also becoming a wide-spread phenomenon in Europe, not limited only to Muslim minorities.

Engy AbdelKader, lawyer who serves the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, reports to us that “according to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life's September 2012 report, *Rising Tide of Restrictions on Religion*, more than 75 percent of the world's population lives in countries - including European nations - where official or private entities restrict the ability to practice one's faith freely. Pew also found 63 percent of nations experienced increased limitations on religious freedom and nearly half (49 percent) witnessed worsening societal hostilities due to religion or belief” (Abdelkader, 2013, p. 50).

What's more alarming is the United States Commission report on International Religious Freedom of 2013 annual report that "documents increasing restrictions and varied initiatives designed to limit religion or belief, including those that manifest in banning distinctive religious attire, religious male circumcision, mosque and minaret constructions and ritual slaughter practices. Notably, the commission finds that governmental restrictions on religious freedom commonly arise from and help to perpetuate a societal atmosphere of intolerance against Europe's Muslim minority. This increasingly hostile climate may help foment increased incidence of private discrimination, including violence, against Muslims and/or those perceived to be adherents of the Islamic faith" (Abdelkader, 2013, p. 50).

This has left less space for those who individualize their religious practice to think otherwise, and left lesser room for defenders of the theory that it is religious liberties in Europe is the reason behind individualization of the youth.

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## CHAPTER 5

### MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS

#### 5.1 Framework of Individualization and its Impact

The drive behind the research study is to better understand how Muslims in Spain individualize their religious practices in their society. By such, we also fill the gap created by the lack of science in the literature treating individualization and Muslim religious practice, and divulging the processes that lead to the individualization process by which nature we understand the creativity deployed by the second-generation Muslim to come over the societal challenges demonstrated as limitations in place of liberties.

This has been done by asking: *How do Muslims reconcile their religious duties with their everyday life in the contemporary Spanish society?*

### **5.1.1 Theoretical Contribution**

The hypotheses that we put to the test during our interviews with second-generation Moroccan Muslims in Barcelona and Madrid were related to dispel the myth of secularization and liberties, out of which the study confirmed:

1. Individualization of religious practice produces silent practices, which creates the perception of abandoning traditionally visible practices, and the subsequent false assumption that the youth is becoming secularized.

2. Individualization of religious practice among Muslims is not produced by liberties in the West, but rather because of restrictions.

By such, the work was dedicated to better treatment of individualized religious practices and the prevention of having them being misconstrued as a process in which Muslim religious practices are fading and the youth is becoming secularized because of liberties.

We also noted that secularization has multiple meanings according to who is defining it, but for our purposes, we referred to it as the process of which an individual divorces religious practice from her/his interest and do not see it as important anymore.

As we found out during this study, behind what is visible, there were “silent practices” and strategies that were being deployed masking in effect the religious practices, while these trajectories are shaping due to limitations rather than liberties in the public sphere.

### **5.1.2. Impact on Diversity Studies**

What stood out as important is how did our second generation feel about their belonging? It was strikingly positive for the youth to feel accepted in Spain and have good friendship, but it was equally alarming to note that upon reflection on imagining living life in Muslim majority places, our interviewees felt that things could be better, and they were able to name exactly what would have been better, namely more mosques, less judgment,

more acceptance of veil around work, and being included  
in more activities rather than being treated as outcasts.

## 5.2 Study Limitations

One of the key limitations that can and should be opened for further studies is opening the door to questioning how does the youth perceive the Muslim scholarship's view and authority on religious practice in places where Muslims are a minority. Do they look for these views? Does it matter to them? What do they think about a universal scholarship like Al-Azhar? What does Al-Azhar think about Fiqh Al Aqaliyat, minorities jurisprudence?

The interplay between the individual choices and the anchor of "ummah" or the common notion of a universal Islam is destined to come up in future studies related to the youth of Muslims in Europe, especially as the youth continue to connect globally with other Muslims while the geographical frontiers keep fading to the background, with the increase of digital awareness and easiness of interacting, studying, mentoring, and influencing each other across the globe behind merely a screen monitor.

Mustafa Gurbuz stresses that literature on Muslim ethnic minorities s grows fast, as the planet's one and a half billion Muslims increasingly become permanent residents in the Western hemi-sphere. In 2030, Muslims are projected to constitute 10% of the total population in 10 European nations (Pew Research Center 2011).

Gurbuz confirms our concern with the lack of enough empirical data by recalling that “although more than a dozen books have been published on anti-Muslim bigotry and rising Islamophobia in the West (for a comprehensive review published in Sociological Forum, see Bakalian and Bozorgmehr 2011), studies that explore how Muslims innovate new ways to adapt their host societies (Gurbuz and Gurbuz-Kucuksari 2009) and how they negotiate their process of integration are relatively new” (Gurbuz, 2014, p.756).

## **5.2.1 Future Studies: Spatial and Historical Magnitudes**

The importance of choosing Spain for this study, as addressed earlier, is attributed to the historical presence of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, unique relationship between the Church and the State, among other factors.

However, it would be comparatively valuable to compare patterns of individualization and modes of religious practice with other cities in Europe, in order to draw a framework of similarities and differences between multiple Muslim communities in Europe, and share lessons learned from positive experiences in integration.

One valuable aspect of this train of thought is to address how similar or different is the second-generation Muslim youth in multiple cities in Europe, if we were to hold on the constants of origin of country of the parents, age, opportunities to education and labor force, and evaluate how different second-generation youth have responded to societal obligations that conflict with the

everyday religious practice. This can prove useful given the similar percentage of Muslim increase in European countries, such as Spain.

Similar to the spatial magnitude, it would be exceptionally valuable to look at times when Islam has been a minority in a different era, a time when Muslims had to practice individualization for different reasons, beyond the “judgment” often referred to due to suspicion of terrorism and other reasons.

The case for the Jewish communities as minorities stand out. Nonetheless, there were also multiple periods of time when Muslims were a dominant force during the Muslim Golden Era, in addition to other time periods, which would make the study a useful one to explore in terms of modes of individualization and originality in order to unearth additional creative ways that religious minorities have developed, or accepted, as forms of mitigating conflict, with the hope that it aides us in future years.



Humans are equipped with the power to adapt, evolve, and think of ways to save our species by thinking of strategies to survive as a group, and not simply as solely as individuals. This evolution process does not have to rid itself of everything it once was, in order to progress, and similarly individuals can adapt without losing their inner core, and the more we learn scientifically about who we are and why we do the things we do, we ought to understand better what future holds for us through looking at the patterns of our development, and at the series of actions we take on a daily basis.

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## Appendix

Interview Questions:

### **Biographical Questions:**

- Age?
- Time in Spain?
- Education/Profession?
- Partner?
- Siblings?
- Citizen or not?
- Family origin, parents?

### **In-depth Questions:**

*Prayers:*

- a) What does Salat mean to you?
- b) Do you practice Salat regularly? Or irregularly?
- c) Do you pray 5 times a day? Yes? Why? Why not?



d) When you cannot do it physically, how do you do it? And how do you interpret that?

e) What would be different if you lived in a predominantly Muslim country?

f) What difference would have been if you lived in a predominantly Muslim country?

g) How do you feel as a Muslim after this reflection?

*Social relations:*

a) Do you meet with people who practice other faiths?

b) What do you usually do together?

c) How do you feel about these encounters?

d) Do you feel accepted in the society?

e) What would be different if you lived in a predominantly Muslim country?

f) How do you feel as a Muslim after this reflection?

**Reflection Questions:**

a) How do you describe your childhood religious upbringing?

b) Is there a specific incident that comes to mind that you would like to share?

## Biographic Profile of Participants

Name	#	Age	Time in Spain	Gender	City	Occupation	Parents Origin	Siblings	Status	Nationality
Maryam	1	22	20	F	Madrid	Student	Beni Mellal	4	Single	Yes
Khawla	2	22	14	F	Madrid	Student	Tánger	2	Single	No
Nawaf	3	21	10	M	Madrid	Student	Oujda	3	Single	No
Hanan	4	23	14	F	Madrid	Student	Oujda	2	Single	Yes
Hounaida	5	20	19	F	Barcelona	Student	Tetouán	4	Married	Yes
Samia	6	21	18	F	Barcelona	Unemployed	Nadie.	6	Single	Yes
Sara S.	7	24	24	F	Barcelona	Student	Tánger	3	Single	Yes
Ghizli	8	20	Nacido	F	Barcelona	Student	Torelló	2	Engaged	Yes
Boukr	9	24	Nacido	M	Barcelona	Unemployed	Al-Hoceima	3	Single	Yes
Azzed	10	20	7	M	Madrid	Mechanic	Errachidia	4	Engaged	No
Ikram T.	11	19	7	F	Barcelona	Chef	Al-Hoceima	2	Single	No
Nawal	12	18	Nacido	F	Barcelona	Student	Tánger	3	Single	Yes
Sarah B.	13	18	17	F	Barcelona	Café Staff	Nador	1	Single	Yes
Hisham	14	25	15	M	Barcelona	Unemployed	Tetouán	5	Single	Yes
Ayoub	15	21	14	M	Barcelona	Student	tanger	5	Single	Yes
Rabia	16	28	15	F	Barcelona	Professor	Tetouán	3	Single	No
Hajar	17	22	8	F	Barcelona	Student	Tanger	1	Engaged	No
Kadi	18	17	Nacido	F	Barcelona	Student	Nador	3	Single	Yes
Suky	19	23	13	F	Barcelona	Student	Tanger	3	Single	Yes
Yasmina A.	20	21	13	F	Barcelona	Marketer	Nador	5	Single	No
Lamia	21	21	14	F	Barcelona	Student	Larache	3	Single	Yes
Yasmina B.	22	18	18	F	Barcelona	Student	Barcelona	3	Single	Yes
Salma	23	19	14	F	Madrid	Student	Tánger	0	Single	Yes
Rahma	24	28	19	F	Barcelona	Barber	Larache	7	Single	Yes
Ikram A.	25	22	11	F	Madrid	Student	Nador	4	Single	Yes
Soufian	26	17	14	M	Madrid	Student	Al-Hoceima	4	Single	Yes
Hajar B.	27	21	20	F	Barcelona	Student	Tánger	2	Single	Yes
Yunes	28	17	16	M	Barcelona	Student	Er-Rachidía.	4	Single	Yes
Luna	29	20	18	F	Madrid	Student	Rabat	0	Single	Yes
Ikram Z.	30	21	15	F	Madrid	Student	Aknoul	3	Single	Yes
Abdullah	31	17	Nacido	F	Barcelona	Student	Nador.	6	Single	Yes

Manal	32	16	15	F	Barcelona	Student	Nador.	3	Single	Yes
Belkaid	33	30	27	M	Madrid	Chef	Tánger	5	Single	Yes
Nachta	34	25	14	F	Barcelona	Technologist	Tánger	2	Single	No
Elham	35	19	15	F	Barcelona	Student	Tetouán	2	Single	Yes
Hoyam	36	24	13	F	Madrid	Student	Al-Hoceima	3	Single	Yes
Hasnaa	37	22	Nacido	F	Barcelona	Student	Settat	5	Single	Yes