IMMIGRATION, JUSTICE AND SOCIETY

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AL-ANDALUS' LESSONS FOR CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN MODELS OF INTEGRATION

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1

INTRODUCTION

In the early 8th Century, in 711, Muslim military forces under the authority of the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus commanded by Tariq ibn Ziyad invaded the Christian Visigoth kingdom and seized political control over much of the Iberian Peninsula. From the 8th century to the Reconquista in the 13th century, the Iberian Peninsula was an exemplarity of cultural flourishing as well as coexistence between Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities in relative peace[1].

The culture of reconciliation between different religious communities which seemed to mark the Andalusian medieval political system can be seen as an attractive model in contemporary Europe, where fear and hostility towards Muslims has been exacerbated since the beginning of the 2000s. Indeed, throughout Western Europe in the last 30 years, across the breadth of the political spectrum, public discourse has been marked by a persistent questioning of the compatibility of Islam with European morals and culture[2]. Fear and hostility towards Muslims, which we define here as a religious community characterised by a commitment to given religious precepts[3], has been exacerbated since the beginning of the 2000s by concerns over security, both in terms of international relations and transnational Islamist terrorism, as well as persistent questions over social cohesion. This has led to consistent and pervasive misrepresentations of the Muslim community in Europe. For instance, according to an Ipsos Mori poll conducted in 2016[4], most Western European countries over-estimate the numbers of Muslims in their country. In France, the sample interviewed has estimated that for every 100 French people, 31 were Muslims. In reality in 2010 Muslims only represented 7.5% of the French population[5]. The same overestimation occurs in the UK (the interviewees guessed 15% of the population is Muslim, while it actually represents 4.8% of the population)[6].

This misperception is consistent across most European countries despite implementing very different models of social integration of Muslim communities.

This report aims to analyse the Andalusian model of *coexistence* and examine to what extend such a model could bring solutions to the challenges faced by European ethnic and religious minorities in general, and Muslims in particular.

In order to do so, this report will first present the model of governance put in place in Al-Andalus. It will detail the political history of Al-Andalus and analyse the model of governance which was been put in place. It will show that as a result of theological and legal considerations, Jewish and Christian communities were able to retain their practices and their identities. Al-Andalus' model of governance of various religious communities relied on strict rules demarcating the boundaries of each religious groups. As such, the identities, ritual and practices of each group were protected. The protection of groups' boundaries was not, however, motivated by ideals of religious tolerance. It was rather motivated by the willingness to gain the loyalty of the conquered population. Nevertheless, by protecting the boundaries and identities of the religious communities, the Al-Andalus model of governance fostered stabilised relations and constructive contact between religious groups. This led towards a successful accommodation of differences. Not only did this model of integration encourage religious diversity, it also stimulated cultural creativity.

The second section of this report will analyse the challenges of today's European models of governance and the lessons that can be drawn from the Al-Andalus model of governance. This will include detailing the history of European Muslim communities, presenting figures on those communities today, as well unpacking the meaning of European Muslim identity. It will also present the UK, France and Spain in their approaches to integration as three different models. It will then analyse the results of these countries' integration policies and present the challenges faced by Muslims in these three countries. It will concluded that today's European models of integration have failed to protect the boundaries of religious minorities by accommodating their identities and practices. In other words, the European models of integration have been challenged in fostering a two-way integration, where Muslims integrate to the European societies and the European societies accommodate Muslim practices. The failures of European models of Muslim integration have contributed to an increase of economic, political and social discriminations against Muslims. This report argues that in order to overcome these challenges, European nations could move towards a new model of Muslim integration inspired by the Al-Andalus model of governance, where the state accommodates minorities' practices and identities while fostering inter-group relations and cooperation. Finally, the third section will make a number of policy recommendations. •

FIGURE 1:
Perception of numbers of Muslims

Country	Average guess of % of Muslims in population	Actual % of Muslims in population
France	31	7.5
Italy	20	3.7
Germany	21	5.0
Belgium	23	7.0
Netherlands	19	6.0
Spain	14	2.1
UK	15	4.8

Source: IPSOS Mori. 2016. 'Perceptions Are Not Reality: What the World Gets Wrong.' IPSOS Mori. Accessed at https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/perceptions-are-not-reality-what-world-gets-wrong

1 Kennedy, H., 2014. Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Taylor & Francis. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=NFfJAwAAQBAJ.

2 Modood, T., 2003. 'Muslims and the Politics of Difference'. The Political Quarterly, pp.100–115; Saeed, A., 2007. 'Media, Racism and Islamophobia: The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media'. Sociology Compass, 2, pp.443–462. Available at http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2007.00039.x/epdf.

3 The definition of the Muslim community can be really intricate as Muslim communities could encompass those who follow religious precepts as well as those who 'appear' to be Muslims. For a thorough discussion on the definition of Muslims see: Meer, N. & Modood, T., 2009. 'Refutations of Racism in the 'Muslim Question''. Patterns of Prejudice, 43(3–4), pp.335–354. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00313220903109250.

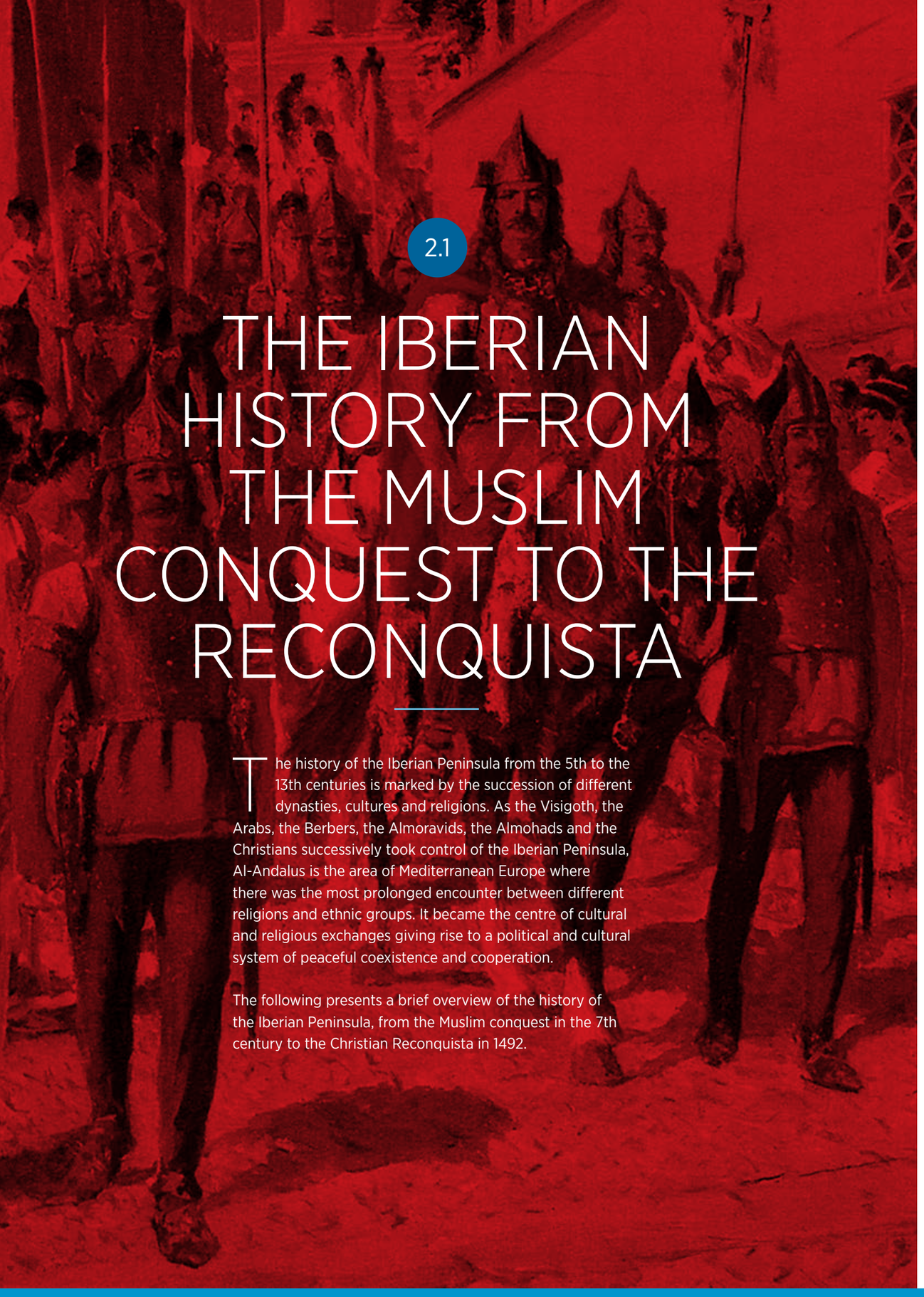
4 IPSOS Mori. 2016. 'Perceptions Are Not Reality: What the World Gets Wrong.' IPSOS Mori. Accessed at https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/perceptions-are-not-reality-what-world-gets-wrong

5 Pew Research 2015. 'The Religious Composition by Country 2010-2050.' Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. Accessed at http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projection-table/2010/number/all/

6 IPSOS Mori. 2016. 'Perceptions Are Not Reality: What the World Gets Wrong.' IPSOS Mori. Accessed at https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/perceptions-are-not-reality-what-world-gets-wrong

2

AL-ANDALUS' MODEL OF INTEGRATION



2.1

THE IBERIAN HISTORY FROM THE MUSLIM CONQUEST TO THE RECONQUISTA

The history of the Iberian Peninsula from the 5th to the 13th centuries is marked by the succession of different dynasties, cultures and religions. As the Visigoth, the Arabs, the Berbers, the Almoravids, the Almohads and the Christians successively took control of the Iberian Peninsula, Al-Andalus is the area of Mediterranean Europe where there was the most prolonged encounter between different religions and ethnic groups. It became the centre of cultural and religious exchanges giving rise to a political and cultural system of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

The following presents a brief overview of the history of the Iberian Peninsula, from the Muslim conquest in the 7th century to the Christian Reconquista in 1492.

2.1.1 VISIGOTH SPAIN

Under the Roman Empire rule, the Iberian Peninsula, which was divided into the provinces of Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis, Baetica, Lusitania and Gallaecia, had been some of the richest and most developed areas. In the 5th century, when the Roman Empire crumbled, the Iberian Peninsula was ruled by the western tribe of the Germanic Goth, the Visigoths. The Visigoths represented a small ruling elite who practiced Arian Christianism (a Christian theological movement which disregarded the holy trinity), while the rest of the population was Roman Catholic. Over the years the Visigoths assimilated with the Hispano-Roman population. Nobles and bishops converted to Roman Catholicism from 586 and abolished the longstanding practices of applying different laws for Romans and Visigoths[7].

Other religious minorities such as the Jews were discriminated against, prohibited to engage in foreign trade and forced to convert to Christianity. As such the Iberian society under the Visigoth remained divided. This was accentuated from the 7th century and until 711, as the Visigoth elite was prone to divisions over succession quandaries. These divisions would facilitate the Muslim invasion[8].

2.1.2 THE MUSLIM ADVANCE IN ARABIA AND NORTHERN AFRICA

In parallel, in the 7th century, Arabia was dominated by two empires, the Byzantines who were Christian and the Persian Empire. In between these two empires, the Arabian Peninsula was composed of stretches of deserts and steppe areas dotted with oasis towns which were mercantile centres, such as Mecca and Medina. The Arabian Peninsula was populated with divided Bedouins tribes pursuing a pastoral and nomadic lifestyle. As Mecca and Medina became more prosperous centres of trade and commerce, they attracted many from a nomadic to a more sedentary life. This economic, political and social change provided the context for the rise of Islam. It is in Mecca that Muhammad started preaching the message of his God, gathering a small band of faithful followers[9]. Facing too much resistance in Mecca, Muhammad immigrated to Medina where he was able to establish his leadership over a religious and political community, whose identity was no longer tied to tribal bonds but to a common religious faith and commitment, the *umma*. Later, through military and diplomatic means, Muhammad sought to subdue Mecca, and Meccans converted to Islam and were incorporated to the Muslim *umma.*

After consolidating his leadership in Mecca, Muhammad established his authority over the rest of Arabia through a combination of force and diplomacy, spreading Islam both as a faith and a socio-political system. Following his death, caliphs, which were not prophets but they enjoyed the religious prestige as heads of the Muslim *umma,* succeeded Muhammad. The caliphs exercised direct political, military, judicial and fiscal control of the Muslim community. In 661, Muawiyad, who was from a merchant family of the Quraysh tribe in Mecca and had converted to Islam in 627, claimed the caliphate, starting the Umayyad dynasty. The capital was moved to Damascus, a more established and cosmopolitan Byzantine city. From this new centre, the Umayyads furthered the Muslim advance, conquering Byzantine, Persian and Berbers strongholds in North Africa. The caliphate grew rapidly and by 705, al-Walid I, the sixth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, had annexed all of North Africa as far as Tangier, propagating Islam[10].

The basis of the Umayyad stability was the establishment of an Aran monarchy relying on the Syrian army to retain control over the conquered provinces. To consolidate the empire, the Umayyad dynasty designated Arabic as their official language, and they replaced former Byzantine and Persian administrators with Arabs. Furthermore, the source of the caliph power was the taxes levied in the conquered territories. Muslim society was divided in four major social classes which paid different amounts of taxes. The elite Arab Muslims were exempted from substantial taxes, while non-Arab converts, Jews, Christians and slaves that were captives of battles all paid taxes[11].

7 Fletcher, R. 2015. Moorish Spain. Orion. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=SCuDCgAAQBAJ.

8 Ibid.

9 Esposito, J. L. 1998. Islam: The Straight Path. Oxford University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=L31e4m2GUTwC.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

2.1.3 THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN

In 710, the Visigoth monarchy in Spain was suffering a political crisis with the ascension of King Roderick, which led to the defection of important elements of the ruling class. A faction of the Visigoth seeking to seize power from King Roderick appealed to Muslim troops led by Tariq ibn Ziyad in Northern Africa to help them regain the throne. Tariq ibn Ziyad arrived through the Strait of Gibraltar and was able to defeat the ruling Visigoth King Roderick. After the initial victory against the troops of King Roderick, Tariq ibn Ziyad's troops marched to the north and conquered the city of Toledo, the capital of the Visigoth kingdom. He also seized Cordoba. Tariq's superior Musa also joined the conquest and took Seville and Merida. After the big cities and line of communications were secured, agreements with inhabitants of outlying areas were made to finalise the conquest[12].

The rapid success of the Muslims forces can be explained by the divisions in Iberian society between Jews, Hispano-Romans and Visigoths. The Muslims were also welcomed as they offered generous terms, which made surrender attractive for the wider population: they lowered the burden of taxes from what it had been in the last years of the Visigoth epoch. Serfs who converted to Islam advanced into the category of freedmen, and Jews, who were no longer persecuted, were placed on an equal footing with the Hispano-Romans and the Goths. In addition, some of the Visigoth aristocracy had been allowed to retain their possession and later many Visigoth lords converted to Islam[13].

After Musa's returned to Damascus, his son Abd al Aziz was left in charge to pursue the conquest of Spain. However, he was assassinated in 715, putting an end to the phase of conquest of Spain. At the end of the conquest, the whole Iberian Peninsula was not conquered or occupied. It actually had pockets of territories where the Muslim control was limited. Nevertheless, the Iberian Peninsula, which was renamed Al-Andalus, was made a province of the Caliphate of Damascus, which was in the hands of the Umayyad family from 661 to 750 and was managed by a provincial governor. From 716 to 756, governors succeeded each other, creating a vacuum of power. Although Seville was at first made the capital of Al-Andalus, in 717, Cordoba finally became the capital[14].

The first phase of Muslim rule in Al-Andalus was brought to an end by two major set-backs. First, the Muslims were defeated by Don Pelayo, the king of Asturias, in northern Spain around 720. This defeat guaranteed the survival of the Christian foothold in Iberia. Second, Muslims tried to conquer France by crossing the Pyrenees. In 732, they were defeated by the leader of the Carolingian dynasty, Charles Martel, putting a stop to the Muslim advance.

In addition, the Muslim rule in Al-Andalus was weakened by a major upheaval in North Africa from the Berbers against the Arab rule. The Berbers, although they professed Islam, had an inferior status, received less pay and paid more taxes than the Arab ruling class. This created grievances, which led to a great Berber revolt against the Umayyad Arab rules from 739 to 743. The revolt first started in Tangiers, spurred by the local leader Maysara al-Matghari, and it spread through the Maghreb and to Al-Andalus. The revolt surprised the Umayyad governor, and in 741 the Umayyad Caliph Hisham sent a new governor to Northern Africa and Al-Andalus with a Syrian army. However, the Berbers defeated the new Syrian Army. But the Syrians eventually prevailed and suppressed the insurgents. Strengthened by the military victory, the leading Syrian general proclaimed himself the new ruler of Al-Andalus, but he encountered fierce resistance from the Cordoba establishment and sparked a counter-attack by the previously settled Arabs of Al-Andalus. In an attempt to restore order, the caliph of Damascus imposed a new governor in Cordoba in 743. From 747 the governor of Cordoba began to assert his authority. Supported by the established Arabs settlers, Cordoba affirmed its independence from the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus, which was weakened by threats along its borders and internal uprising. The Umayyad caliph was in fact overthrown by the Abbasid clan in 750 in a bloody turmoil[15].

The grandson of the Umayyad Caliph, Abd al-Rahman, managed to escape Damascus and advanced to Codoba in 756, taking the city and defeating the existing governor. As new governor of Al-Andalus, Adb al-Rahman did not directly challenged the authority of the Abbasid caliph in Damascus. Rather he tried to unify the Iberian territory, which was made up of a myriad of individual fiefdoms. During his 32 year reign, Abd-al Rahman developed a solid and centralised military administrative system by setting up an army composed of slaves, creating an intelligence network across the kingdom and dividing the territory into districts with local administrators directly reporting to him[16].

Iberian Peninsula around 800[17]

12 Fletcher, R. A. 1993. Moorish Spain. University of California Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=XhY_0pkeONIC

13 Safran, J. M. 2015. Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia. Cornell University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=HUOOrgEACAAJ
Fanjul, S. 2017. Al Andalus, l'Invention d'un Mythe: La Réalité Historique de l'Espagne des Trois Cultures, L'artilleur. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=scY3DwAAQBAJ

14 Fletcher, R. A. 1993. Moorish Spain. University of California Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=XhY_0pkeONIC

15 Ibid.

16 Safran, J. M. 2015. Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia. Cornell University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=HUOOrgEACAAJ
Coope, J. 2017. The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain. University of Michigan Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=jc6lDgAAQBAJ.

17 Fletcher, R. A. 1993. Moorish Spain. University of California Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=XhY_0pkeONIC

2.1.4 THE UNSTABLE FIRST YEARS OF THE UMAYYAD DYNASTY

From approximately 750 to 1031, Al-Andalus comprised 80% of the Iberian Peninsula. There were still Christian kingdoms north of the Douro River and in the western and eastern parts of the Ebro River – Asturias, Leon, Castile, Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia. Nevertheless, the dividing line between Muslim and Christian territory was rather fluid as both Christians and Muslims were regularly making military forays into each other's territory. In addition, allegiances shifted frequently during the 7th to the 9th century; Muslims factions could align themselves with Christian rulers to defeat another Muslim faction, and different Christian kingdoms were fighting each other[18].

The years following the death of Amir Abd al-Rahman, under the reign of Abd Allah, were marked by a stretch of instability and uprisings. Across Al-Andalus dissent spread in the cities as grievances over the tax system grew, leading to continuous upheavals, including in Toledo, Tudmir, Murcia and Merida. Similarly Musa ibn Musa ibn Qasi, governor of Tuleda, rose in rebellion against the Amir in 842.

Furthermore, with the internal uprising, the Christian King Alfonso I, who remained at the north of the peninsula, saw the opportunity to enlarge and consolidate his territories. He launched raids into the Muslim south, reaching Lisbon in 798. Alfonso III, who came to the Asturian throne in 866, expanded his kingdom in the depopulated lands of the Meseta[19].

In addition, Al-Andalus had to face repeated confrontations with the Basques and the Franks. Around 770, the Franks drove the Muslims from Septimania in north-western France and into north-eastern Spain. Although Charlemagne failed to take Zaragoza in 778, his troops captured Barcelona in 801 and occupied Catalonia. This region, known as the Spanish March, consisted in several countries that maintained strong political and cultural connections with the kingdom of France.

2.1.5 THE GOLDEN AGES OF THE CALIPHATE OF CORDOBA

Under the rule of Abd al-Rahman III, the Umayyad dynasty in Al-Andalus acquired unprecedented strength inside and influence abroad[20].

Abd al-Rahman III became Amir in 912 and aimed to restore the authority of Cordoba in Al-Andalus against local governors rebelling against Cordoba's rule. The main challenger of Cordoba's rule was Ibn Hafsun, Lord of Bobastro. Ibn Hafsun, who had converted to Christianity, rallied disaffected Muwallad and Mozarabs who resented the authority of Abd al-Rahman III since the latter asserted his authority over the southern provinces in the 880s, and Ibn Hafsun became the leader of the rebellion against Cordoba. When Abd al-Rahman III acceded to power, he set annual offensives against Ibn Hafsun, capturing Seville and most of Ibn Hafsun's lands. The victory against Ibn Hafsun enhanced Abd al-Rahman III's power and prestige domestically[21].

In addition, Abd-Al Rahman III battled to establish a position of dominance over the Christian rulers in the northern border, in particular the kingdom of Leon. As such, he led several military campaigns against the Christians and was able to secure frontiers with Christian Spain, who recognised suzerainty to the amir.

Furthermore, Abd al-Rahman III had to face the threat from the Fatimid Caliphate in the Maghreb. The Fatimid take their name from Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, from whom the Fatimid claim descent. They were part of the Ismaili sect of the Shia branch of Islam and rivals of the Sunni branch of Islam, which recognises the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad as head of the Islamic community. The Fatimid, who, as descendents of Fatimah, believed themselves to be the rightful caliphs and legitimate heads of the Islamic community, sought to expand their political and religious authority in all parts of the Muslim empire, preaching a doctrine of revolution against the Sunni order. In order to prevent an

invasion from the Fatimid, Abd al-Rahman III occupied several strategic harbours in Northern Africa. However, the Fatimid were not defeated and remained a threat past the end of Abd al-Rahman III's reign[22].

Drawing on these victories domestically and abroad, Abd al-Rahman III took the title of caliph in 929, claiming its supreme position in Islam as temporal and spiritual leader of the Muslim community. The caliphate of Cordoba had now acquired complete independence from the caliphate of Bagdad and had grown into one of the important states of the Mediterranean world. Cordoba was prosperous and the largest city in the West. It was the heart of culture and education. A number of scientific achievements were made during that time, including major discoveries in mathematics, astronomy, medicine and pharmacology. Furthermore, Andalusia built up an advanced agricultural sector with irrigation technics. The textile industry grew considerably. This gave Muslim Spain a key role in shaping European intellectual culture[23].

18 Fletcher, R. A. 1993. Moorish Spain. University of California Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=XhY_0pkeONIC.

19 Ibid.

20 Kearns, R. R. G. 2008. The Golden Age of Al-Andalus. ProQuest LLC.

21 Safran, J. M. 2013. Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia (Google eBook). 3110 (March), p.272. Available at http://books.google.com/books?id=RTj77qeYuQ8C&pgis=1
Kennedy, H. 2014. Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Taylor & Francis. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=NFfJAwAAQBAJ

22 Fletcher, R. A. 1993. Moorish Spain. University of California Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=XhY_0pkeONIC
Esposito, J. L. 1998. Islam: The Straight Path. Oxford University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=L31e4m2GUTwC

23 Kennedy, H. 2014. Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Taylor & Francis. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=NFfJAwAAQBAJ
Roth, N. 1994. Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict. E. J. Brill. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=bHh5plYLhHEC

2.1.6 THE FALL OF THE CALIPHATE OF CORDOBA

When Abd al-Rahman III died, his successors maintained the prestige of the caliphate. However, when Caliph al-Hakam II died in 976, he left a court official, Ibn Abi Amir Almanzor, in charge of securing the succession of his son Hisham II, aged 12. Almanzor exercised a strong influence over the new caliph and became the de facto ruler. When Almanzor died, his son Abd al Rahman Sanchuelo succeeded him. He used his influence over the caliph to designate him as his heir in 1008. The extensive Umayyad royal family started planning a coup, and while Sanchuelo was away fighting the Christians attacking the frontiers of Al-Andalus. Sanchuelo was killed and Hisham II abdicated and was replaced by his Umayyad relation Caliph al-Mahdi. However, the new caliph was unpopular and antagonised successively the Arab aristocracy, the slaves and the Berbers. In November 1009, the Berbers captured Cordoba and appointed Sulayman, another descendent of Abd al-Rahman III as caliph. From then, the caliphate was prone to a period of extreme instability with different caliphs being proclaimed backed by different factions of the Andalusian population. In 1034, a coup was instigated, the caliphate was abolished, and Cordoba was run by a committee comprises of Cordoban notables. This marked the decline of the political power of Al-Andalus; however, Andalusian culture continued to flourish across Europe[24].

2.1.7 THE END OF AL-ANDALUS AND THE RECONQUISTA

Following the abolition of the Caliphate of Cordoba, the Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula slowly rolled back towards its southern coastline until it was left with the small state of Granada.

Various taifas established themselves as independent city-states across the Iberian Peninsula. Cordoba's power was challenged by the taifa of Seville in the west run by Andalusis, Toledo in the north and Granada in the east. Quickly the taifa of Cordoba came under the rule of other taifas, in particular Seville[25].

While Al-Andalus was prone to succession disputes, the Christian kingdoms in the north united slowly reclaiming the peninsula. During the Caliphate of Cordoba, Christians had been reduced to a small territory and were requested to pay tribute to the caliph. With the disintegration of the caliphate, the Christians made deeper raids into Muslim territory and established the practice of offering protection or non-aggression pacts on the basis of the payment of a tribute. During this period, there was a constant resifting of borders, with Muslims living in Christians cities along with Jewish communities. This allowed an interviewing of language, religion and culture.

With the advance of Christians into Muslim territories and their occupation of Toledo in 1085, the Muslim kings of several taifas called upon the Berber Almoravids from North Africa, who took control of the whole of Al-Andalus while maintaining their capital in Marrakesh. In the mid 12th century, the Almoravids were replaced by the Almohads, a new Berber dynasty from North Africa. By 1150, the Almohad had taken Morocco as well as the most important cities of Al-Andalus. At first the Almoravids and the Almohads criticised the lack of piety and the opulence of Al-Andalusia, but they soon succumbed to the luxurious culture of Al-Andalus. The minaret la Giralda in Seville was an example of the art of this period in Al-Andalus. In addition, Al-Andalus and Seville in particular became the centre of Islamic learning[26].

In 1212, the Almohad were defeated at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in the Sierra Morena by an alliance of Christian kings of Castile, Aragon, Navarre and Portugal. Following the Almohad defeat, cities fell to Christians one by one: Cordoba in 1236, Valencia 1238 and Seville in 1248[27]. Only one small territory under Islamic rule remained: the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, which was the last Muslim dynasty in the Iberian Peninsula for another 250 years. The kingdom enjoyed cultural and economic prosperity, attracting people from the lost territories of Al-Andalus. However, in 1482 the Castilian crown backed by the Catholic Church sought to conquer the last remaining Muslim stronghold and attacked the Emirate of Granada. In 1492, after years of wars against the Christians and mounting internal rift, the last Iberian Muslim leader Muhammad XII surrendered to Ferdinand de Aragon and Isabelle de Castillo[28]. With the end of the Muslim rule came times of religious persecution as Christian communities rose up against the Jewish and Muslim groups forcing them to convert to Christianity[29]. •

24 Fletcher, R. 2015. Moorish Spain. Orion. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=SCuDCgAAQBAJ

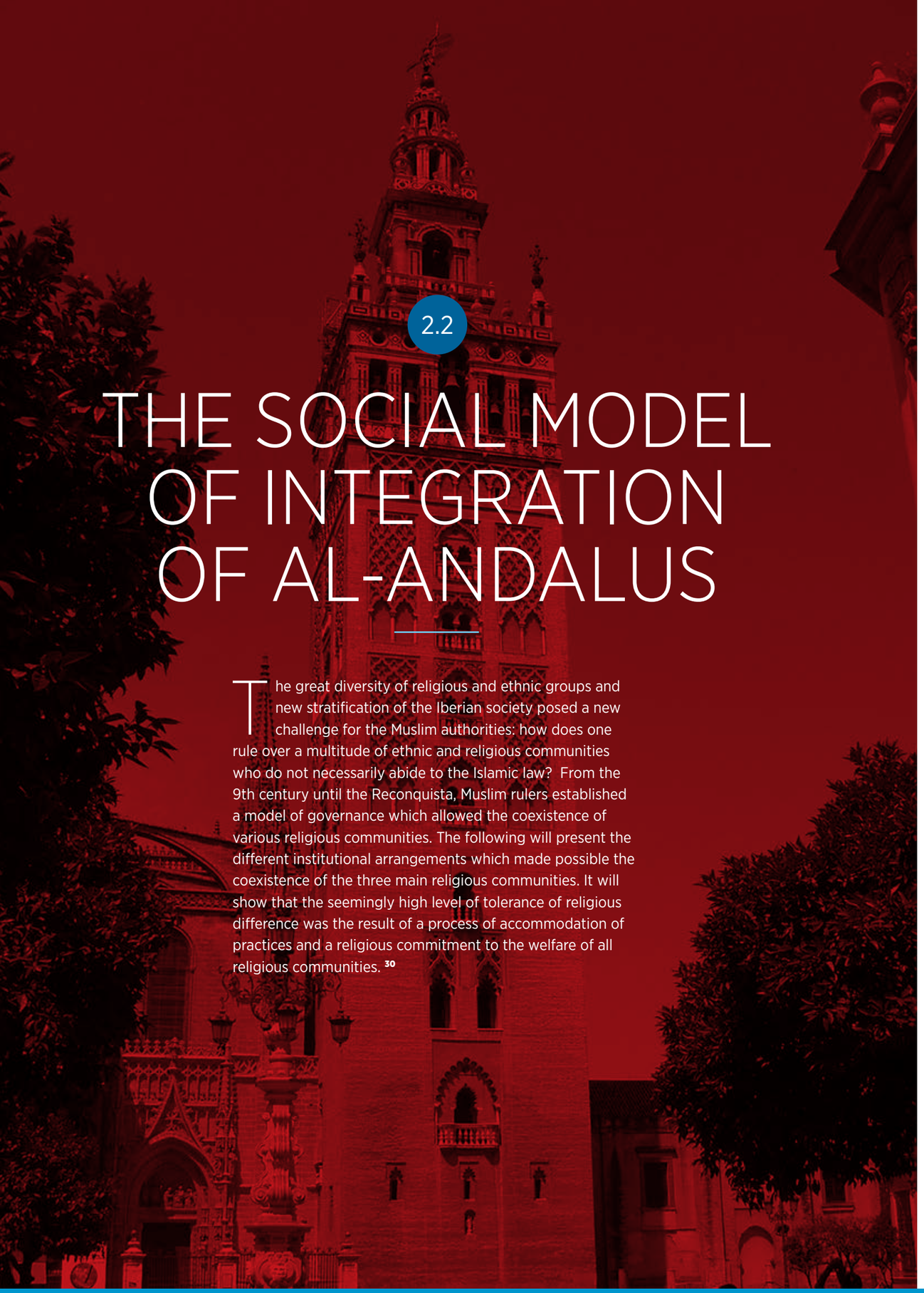
25 Ibid.

26 Kennedy, H. 2014. Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Taylor & Francis. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=NFfJAwAAQBAJ

27 Harvey, L. P. 1992. Islamic Spain: 1250 to 1500. University of Chicago Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=td3tcLWvSNkC

28 Ibid.

29 Ingram, K. 2009. The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Departures and Change. Brill. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=b9zu6LEw-fgC



2.2

THE SOCIAL MODEL OF INTEGRATION OF AL-ANDALUS

The great diversity of religious and ethnic groups and new stratification of the Iberian society posed a new challenge for the Muslim authorities: how does one rule over a multitude of ethnic and religious communities who do not necessarily abide to the Islamic law? From the 9th century until the Reconquista, Muslim rulers established a model of governance which allowed the coexistence of various religious communities. The following will present the different institutional arrangements which made possible the coexistence of the three main religious communities. It will show that the seemingly high level of tolerance of religious difference was the result of a process of accommodation of practices and a religious commitment to the welfare of all religious communities. [30]

2.2.1 THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE

The Caliphate of Cordoba, whose population encompassed people of different cultural and religious origins, is often cited as an example of pluralist society regulated by what could be equated to a multi-cultural social system.

In the early period of the Muslim conquest, the population of Al-Andalus remained distinct and segregated. The Al-Andalus population comprised Arabs, mostly Syrians from the Caliphate of Damascus, Berbers from North Africa who had backed the Arabs' conquest of Al-Andalus, Visigoths who had been residing on the Iberian Peninsula prior to the Muslim conquest, and Hispanic-Romans which were native Iberian[31].

With these ethnic groups, the three major monotheistic religions were represented: Christianity, Islam and Judaism. The Muslim and Christian communities tended to cohabit in rural territories, although the Muslim elite was concentrated in the urban centres. The coexistence of Christians and Muslims fostered increased interactions and the fusion of the cultures, creating new social categories. For instance, the indigenous population who had converted to Islam were named the *Muladi*. In contrast, the local population who remained Christians were referred as *Mozarabs*[32].

Similarly, there were also a number of Muslims who converted to Christianity, but there were far less as there were a number of laws discouraging such conversions. Muslims converting to Christianity rose after the Reconquista as the Crown of Castile issued in 1502 a decree summoning Muslims to convert to Christianism[33]. Muslims who had converted or were coerced to convert to Catholicism during the Reconquista were named the *Moriscos.* Muslims who did not convert to Catholicism but were living under Christian rule were referred to as *Mudéjar*[34]. There were also terms for the Jews who converted to Christianity, the *conversos,* or the Jews who converted but remained a secret Jew, the *marranos.*

A number of Al-Andalus' cities also comprised significant Jewish communities, in particular in Cordoba, Merida, Toledo and Cuenca[35].

In sum, the Muslim rule over Al-Andalus gave rise to a new stratification of the society according to religious and ethnic affiliation.

2.2.2 CONTROVERSY OVER THE MEANING OF 'CONVIVENCIA'

The history of the Iberian Peninsula in the medieval period offers an example of a regime ruling conquered populations made up of different faiths and cultures. Academics have named 'convivencia' the period during which Christians, Muslims and Jewish lived under similar rules and interacted with each other. The term was introduced by Americo Castro in a debate about Spanish historical identity[36]. Castro claimed that the Spanish 'structure of life' came from the blending of Christian, Muslim and Jewish cultural elements[37]. He argued that Muslims in Al-Andalus had a propensity for tolerance vis-à-vis Christian and Jewish communities. Such tolerance for other religious communities was maintained during the beginning of the Reconquista. This thesis was rebutted by several academics, notably Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz who aimed to demonstrate that Muslim Spain was actually divided and there was no assimilation of different religious communities but rather a heightened segregation. Hence, Al-Andalus has simultaneously represented a period of confrontation between Islam and Christianity and a period of idyllic coexistence between Muslims, Christians and Jews.

30 Coope, J. 2017. The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain. University of Michigan Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=jc6lDgAAQBAJ

31 Vaughan, L. M. 2003. 'Convivencia: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Medieval Spain'.
Safran, J. M. 2013. Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia (Google eBook). 3110 (March), p.272. Available at http://books.google.com/books?id=RTj77qeYuQ8C&pgis=1

32 Fletcher, R. A. 1993. Moorish Spain. University of California Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=XhY_0pkeONIC

33 Harvey, L. P. 1992. Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500. University of Chicago Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=td3tcLWvSNkC

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Wolf, K. B. 2009. 'Convivencia in Medieval Spain: A Brief History of an Idea'. Religion Compass, 3(1), pp.72–85. Available at http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1749-8171.2008.00119.x

37 Ibid.

According to other academics like Glick and Pi-Sunyer, Castro and Sanchez-Albornoz are both guilty of 'reconstructing a Spanish past through the perspective of their own contemporary culture, a culture that is at least in part a product of the events and conditions which form the subject of their investigations'[38]. As such these academics have taken a more nuanced stance and qualified the inter-cultural relations as a 'stage of arrested fusion or incomplete assimilation' that was highly unstable and was constantly disputed[39]. The coexistence between the different groups was more a *modus vivendi*, ad hoc institutional arrangements rather than values of a nation[40]. Similarly other academics like Richard Hitcock[41] and Janina Safran[42] argue that while there were no policies of eradication of rival beliefs, neither was there a complete assimilation of the different groups.

In the following, building upon the work of Hitchock, Safran, Glick and Pi-Sunyer, we will show that 'convivencia' was a model of governance established by the Muslims in Al-Andalus which comprised important elements of religious tolerance, while maintaining discriminating rules against religious minorities. However, such a model of governance fostered a process of acculturation of the different cultures as it allowed constructive and stabilised interactions between the religious communities.

38 Glick, T. F. and O. P. S.1969. 'Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History'. Comparative Studies in Society and History. 11(2), pp.136–154.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Hitchcock, R. 2008. 'Christian-Muslim Understanding(s) in Medieval Spain'. Hispanic Research Journal, 9(4), pp.314–325.

42 Safran, J. M. 2015. Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia. Cornell University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=HUOOrgEACAAJ

2.2.3 PROTECTION OF RELIGIOUS' COMMUNITIES BOUNDARIES

Protection of religious practices

In the founding Islamic texts, as it was interpreted in the Middle Ages, people fell into three categories; the *Muslimum* (Muslims), who possessed the God's true and complete revelation; the *Ahl al-kitab* or the people of the Book, who had a version of the scripture (albeit not as complete as the Quran) were monotheist and believed in prophecy and last judgement; and the *mushrikun,* who were polytheist, idolaters and represented as criminals[43].

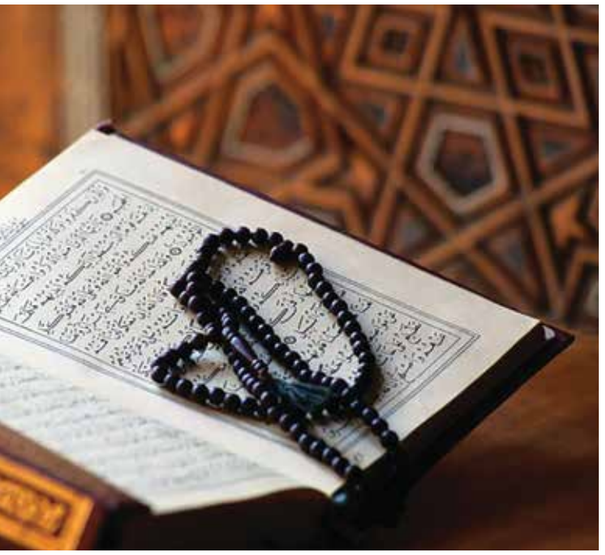
On a theological level, the perception of the *Ahl al-kitab* is ambiguous. In the Quran, some verses imply a family relationship among all three religions, making claims about kinship between Jews and Christians and their eligibility for salvation. However, other verses condemn the People of the Book for failing to recognise the revelations of the Prophet Muhammad[44].

This tolerance for dhimmis on a theological level translated into a special legal status granted to the dhimmis living under Muslim rule. Although sources are scarce, it appears that the unconverted Christians and Jews benefited from special status[45]. Monotheists living in the Dar Al-Islam (territories where Islamic law prevailed) were classified as dhimmis, or protected persons. According to the Covenant of Umar, which dates from the Caliph of Umar in the 7th century, the dhimmis were part of a pact, which was based on

43 Coope, J. 2017. The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain. University of Michigan Press. Available at: https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=jc6lDgAAQBAJ.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.



loyalty to the Muslim rulers in exchange for safety and limited autonomy. The Muslim authorities guaranteed the safety of non-Muslim monotheists, allowed them to keep their religion and gave them the latitude to run their own affairs. Nevertheless, there was some mediation from the Muslim authorities who retained the right to appoint bishops.

The dhimmis also had civic privileges. Their properties were inviolable, and education, internal legal affairs, issues around marriage, inheritance or religious practices were all left to the dhimmi communities to oversee[46].

The dhimmis' obligation to the Muslim ruler

The dhimmi communities had several obligations in exchange for these protections. First, s paid a poll tax, the *jizyah*, which was not required of Muslims. This tax was paid either monetary or in agricultural goods.

The People of the Book had also obligations of a religious nature. They were not to insult Islam, refrain from entering mosques and abide by Islamic rule regarding items prohibited by Islam. They also had the obligation to not pose a threat to the public order and to remain discreet. They were allowed to wear distinctive dress, but they had to conduct their religious services discretely and quietly and to refrain from building new religious buildings. The dhimmis were recognised as second-class citizens. They could not hold positions of authority over Muslims, and they could not bear arms. Male dhimmis were not allowed to marry Muslim women, although Muslim men could marry dhimmi women.

Hence, the model of governance established by the Muslims in Al-Andalus comprised important elements of religious tolerance while maintaining discriminating rules against religious minorities.

2.2.4 TOWARDS AN INCREASED INTEGRATION AND ACCULTURATION: THE ARABIZATION OF THE NON-MUSLIM COMMUNITIES

By allowing the religious minorities to preserve their identities, culture and rituals, the Muslim legal model of governance in Al-Andalus fostered, in a paradoxical or counter-intuitive manner, a greater integration of all religious communities and the fusion of their cultures. In other words, the process of differentiation entailed by the Muslim regulations actually involved deeper engagement with the 'other'[47].

Surpassing the discriminatory rules

The pact of Umar voiced restrictions in the dress and employment of non-Muslims and construction of religious buildings. However, treaty arrangements were locally renegotiated to muddle the interpretation of the modes of submissions. As such, the structuring of intercommunal relations in Al-Andalus was an on-going process in a context of social change. The concept of dhimmi provided a basic framework, but the legal corpus of intercommunal relations developed locally. The boundaries between religious groups were in practice highly fluid and constantly re-negotiated, and cohabitation's rules were made on an ad hoc basis[48]. Indeed in practice, the discriminatory regulations against the dhimmis were in multiple instances overridden. The evidence from Al-Andalus shows that there was an inconsistent enforcement of the legal rules regarding the non-Muslims.

46 Safran, J. M. 2013. Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia (Google eBook). 3110 (March), p.272. Available at http://books.google.com/books?id=RTj77qeYuQ8C&pgis=1

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

It appears that Christians and Jews for instance served in several instances in Islamic governments, despite the theoretical prohibition against dhimmis having power over Muslims. For instance, historical sources make reference to the Christian Count Rabi Ibn Theodolfo, who served as a chief of the personal guard of Amir al-Hakam I (r.796-822), and who was also in charge of tax collection in Cordoba[49]. Similarly, Samson, the abbot of Pinna Mellaria (near Crodoba), whose *Apologeticus* is a great historical source on Al-Andalus for historians, condemns Christians who serve in the Muslim government, in particular the Bishop Hortegesis of Malaga[50].

There is also evidence that Jewish administrators and scholars became part of the Umayyad elite[51]. For instance, the Jewish administrator Hasday Ibn Shaprut (915-70) served under Abd al Rahman III as the Umayyad-appointed head of the Jewish community, the court physician and as diplomat in mission to the Byzantine Empire[52]. Similarly, Samuel ibn Naghrilah (993-1056) became the head of administration and a military leader under the Taifa king of Granada.

There is also evidence that Christians and Jews also undertook constructions on behalf of their own communities. Christians established at least three monasteries in the 9th century: Tabanos, Penna Mellaria and Santa Eulalia of Barcelona.

The Arabization of the Iberian society

As the discriminatory rules were overridden, interactions between the three communities increased and resulted in the fusion of cultures. This fusion of culture has been theorised by the academic Robert Redfield from the University of Chicago. He has defined the acculturation as a concept which 'comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups'[53]. He argues that as a result of interactions between two groups, the 'donor group' and the 'receiving group', three outcomes are possible. The first is 'acceptance', or the taking over of the greater portion of the new culture and the

49 Kennedy, H. 2014. Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Taylor & Francis. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=NFfJAwAAQBAJ

50 Tolan, J. V. 2013. Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays. Taylor & Francis. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=RAtEAgAAQBAJ

51 Gerber, J. S. 1994. Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience. Free Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=_qmpcSIB8wYC Coope, J. 2017. The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain. University of Michigan Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=jc6IDgAAQBAJ

52 Ibid.

53 Redfield, R. Linton, R. and Herskovits, M. J. 1936. 'Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation'. American Anthropologist, 38(1), pp.149–152. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aa.1936.38.1.02a00330.

loss of the culture of origin, or in other words, the assimilation. The second is 'adaptation', where both original and foreign traits are combined. And the third is 'reaction' because of oppression, contra-acculturation movements can arise[54].

In the case of the Al-Andalus, there was a movement of blurring the linguistic, cultural and social boundaries, which allowed either the acceptance of the Muslim culture or the strategies of adaption[55].

An example of this deeper integration of the religious communities is the Arabization of the Iberian society through the spread of Arabic as the dominant language[56].

At the time of the conquest of Al-Andalus, the newly settled Muslims spoke either Arabic or Berber, while the indigenous population spoke Latin-Roman. Some scholars, such as David Wasserstein, suggest that for needs of communication, the Muslim settlers and the indigenous population came to speak the same language[57]. Hence from the 9th century onwards, Arabic became the common language of the religious communities used both as a vernacular and as a cultural language.

Academics have claimed that according to the evidence available, from the 9th century, knowledge and command of Arabic spread to all parts of Iberian society. Knowledge of Arabic was indispensable for those wanting to pursue a career in Muslim administration. There are also accounts of Arabic being the dominant language of power, social prestige and culture, to which all religious communities' elites were attracted[58].

Jews living in Al-Andalus adopted Arabic following the lead of their community leaders, who often carried political and religious authority and were also active participants in the court culture. Hence, the Jews developed a pattern of using both Hebrew and

Arabic as a written language. In Al-Andalus, advanced study for Jews included the study of Arabic grammar, as well as philosophy and science written in Arabic. However, instead of completely assimilating to the Arabic culture, the Jewish community developed an Andalusian Judaeo-Arabic culture. The Jews still spoke in Hebrew, although the Hebraic literature was heavily influenced by Arabic culture. For instance, Hebrew poetry in Al-Andalus was shaped to, the model of Arabic poetical styles.

Adoption of Arabic literacy culture was less evident for the Christian communities, but, nevertheless, it increased from the 9th century onwards. There is evidence of Arabic notes and glossaries being made on Christian texts, showing that Arabic was probably the language of reference even for Christians. However, like in the case of the Jews, the formation of an Arabized Christianism is not a passive reception of the Arab culture but rather the construction of a Christian model integrated in the Arab culture.

54 Ibid.

55 Glick, T. F. and O.P. S. 1969. 'Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History'. Comparative Studies in Society and History. 11(2), pp.136–154.

56 Gerber, J. S. 1994. Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience. Free Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=_qmpcSlB8wYC

57 Coope, J. 2017. The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain. University of Michigan Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=jc6lDgAAQBAJ

58 Coope, J. 2017. The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain. University of Michigan Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=jc6lDgAAQBAJ;
Aillet, C. 2010. Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, Islamisation et Arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IXe-XIIe siècle). Casa de Velázquez. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=98CSYR0qgO8C;
Wasserstein, D. J. 1998. The Language Situation in Al-Andalus. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=Y7wOkAEACAAJ

The Arabization of the Iberian society was also visible through the dressing habits of each community. Among Muslims of Al-Andalus, the upper class wore the *jubba*, a flowing robe with a large sleeve. Women also wore the *jubba*. The lower class wore more modest robes of cotton or linen, with sometimes a turban. Despite the formal restrictions for non-Muslims to wear Muslim clothes, historical sources show that Christians and Jews adopted the Muslim style of dress without any distinguishing sign[59].

The Arabization of the Christian community increased in conjunction with the rates of conversion. The religious conversion was either sincere, as a result of everyday contact with Muslims, or opportunistic so that converts could enjoy the Muslim right to escape slavery, exempt themselves from taxes, receive better employment and to marry into Muslim families. A frequently quoted example is the conversion of the Aragonese family of the Banu Qasi, who was placed under the patronage of Caliph al-Walid in the 8th century.

According to academics, while the Christians were the majority at the beginning of the Muslim rule, the rate of conversion to Islam grew exponentially in the 8th and 9th centuries[60]. According to the academic Fletcher, this high rate of conversion to Islam was the result of nudging social forces towards an Arabization of the Iberian society[61].

Similarly, during the Muslim rule in Al-Andalus, there was an increased rate of interfaith marriage. Marriage between Muslim men and Christian or Jewish women was permitted[62], which provided a mechanism for the inclusion of members of the indigenous population into religious and cultural life. This favoured the process of acculturation.

In sum, the rules imposed by the Islamic law, which despite being discriminatory, protected the religious identities and practices of the Andalusian monotheist religious communities. As such the three groups' interactions rested on mutual agreements and recognised ground rules. This pluralistic setting fostered stabile cultural relations and a process of acculturation of all three cultures. In the long run, the acculturation led to a gradual and relatively painless assimilation[63]. Hence, the contact of cultures was constructive.

2.2.5 THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE CONVIVENCIA

The iterated relations between the different religious communities led to cultural achievements and artistic creativity, which had a lasting impact on the whole of Europe.

Andalusian cities like Seville and Granada were at the centre of intellectual, artistic and cultural life. For instance, the Al-Andalus architecture denotes a movement towards the acculturation of the three main religious communities.

The famous mosques of Cordoba along with the Alhambra in Granada are relics of the Muslim presence in Spain. The Mosque of Cordoba has a clear influence from the Damascus Caliphate, as it was built at the early stages of the Islamization of Al-Andalus. According to experts, the mosques of Cordoba show similarities in the constructional techniques and decorative elements with contemporary religious sites in Syria. In addition, Muslim influence can also be found in medieval Christian architecture. In its early stages, European Christian architecture was largely influenced by Al-Andalus, as it borrowed the blind arches and the vaults for Romanesque and Gothic art, which set a style in the south of France. Similarly, Christian churches through Spain imitated Muslim inscriptions in the design of their walls. This shows the slow Arabization and the influence that religious communities had on each other.

The syntheses of different cultures is also visible in Al-Andalus popular art. In the arts related to metals, ivory, fabric and music, there is a clear Muslim influence. The influence of Al-Andalus culture

59 Roth, N.,1994. Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict. E. J. Brill. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=bHh5plYLhHEC

60 Fletcher, R. A. 1993. Moorish Spain. University of California Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=XhY_0pkeONIC

61 Fletcher, R. 2015. Moorish Spain. Orion. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=SCuDCgAAQBAJ

62 Guichard, P. and Cuello, A. M. 1998. Al-Andalus: Estructura Antropológica de una Sociedad Islámica en Occidente. Universidad de Granada. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=0MeWAAAACAAJ

63 Glick, T. F. and O. P. S. 1969. 'Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History'. Comparative Studies in Society and History, 11(2), pp. 136–154.

stretched across the borders, as the scholar Maria Rosa Menorcal[64] has argued that the origin of French troubadour poetry may by rooted in Andalusian lyrics.

Furthermore, the interactions between the three religious communities was particularly intense regarding scientific and academic activities, which allowed the transmission of information, such as medico-scientific knowledge, leading to great scientific discoveries. The 9th and 12th centuries were characterised by the diffusion of scientific tradition led by scholars who expressed themselves in Arab and made educational trips to the East. With the support and generous patronage of the Umayyad Caliphs, in particular Abd al-Rahman III and his son al-Hakam II, the arts and the sciences flourished. As proof of this cultural harvest there was evidence of colleges and libraries being established and patronised across the territory. An example of the scientific contribution from Al-Andalus is the work of Al-Zahrawi around 1012. He was considered the pioneer of surgery and had a considerable impact until the 18th century. Al-Zahrawi's medical encyclopaedia was translated into Latin in Toledo and could, as such, be transmitted to French and Italian surgeons. Another example of the influence of Al-Andalus' contribution to European culture is the first manual on pharmacy, Kitab al-dukkan, which was completed in Cordoba in 930s. It was authored by the pioneer scientist Abu Uthman Said, and it demonstrates advanced knowledge in the compounding of medication, its natural and technical applications and its pharmacological effects. Similarly a manual on paediatrics and childcare was also completed in Cordoba in 964 by Arib bin Said ql-Qurtabi. These medical advances were translated in Latin and diffused to northern Europe. In sum, by bridging scientific knowledge from Eastern and European culture, Al-Andalus was the hub for the transmission of scientific knowledge.

2.2.6 LIMITS OF COEXISTENCE

Although overall there was a tendency towards increased acculturation and assimilation of different religious communities, the contact between the three religious communities was not always peaceful. As interactions between Muslims, Christians and Jews multiplied, leaders of the communities were concerned about losing their identities[65]. The successive Umayyad Caliphs, despite bending the rules of Islamic laws in some respect, were heavily influenced by the *Maliki madhab*, a school of Muslim thought which promotes dedication to upholding the true faith and guidance of the community of believers[66]. In turn, the ruling over legal matters in Al-Andalus was dominated by judges and jurists who tried to protect Muslim identity. Similarly, Christian leaders were engaged in defending and reasserting the boundaries of the Christian community. As more extremist members of both religious communities tried to defend their identities and practices, conflict arose. The accounts of the Christian martyrs of Cordoba can illustrate some of the conflicts triggered by the increased contact and interactions between the religious communities. The academic Jessica Coope claims that 'it was the very closeness of Christians and Muslims and the complex and ambivalent nature of their relationships that produced the martyrdoms'[67]. The Martyrs of Cordoba were 48 Christian martyrs who were executed for violations of Islamic law, including apostasy and blasphemy from 851 and 859. The martyrdoms are related by Eulogius and Albar. Scholars have described the martyr's movement as a reaction to the majority of Christians who favoured cultural, political and theological accommodation with the Muslim rulers[68]. Although this movement did not seem to be widely supported by the rest of the Christian community, it denotes of rejections from extremist groups of the basis of coexistence under the Muslim rule. This example shows that violence was central to negotiating the terms of coexistence and the definition of communal identity in Al-Andalus.

Another example of inter-group relations is the pogrom against the Jewish community in Granada in 1066, when a Muslim mob killed a high number of Jews. The mob attacked the palace of Granada, where a Jewish vizier Joseph ibn Naghrela, accused of betraying the Berber King Badis al-Muzaffar, had taken refuge.

In sum, the Al-Andalus model of governance of various religious communities relied on strict rules demarcating the boundaries of each religious group. As such, the identities, ritual and practices of each group were protected. As it recognises group rights rather than just individual rights, the Al-Andalus system of governance encompasses some elements of modern multiculturalism, a process of two-way integration where the difference of each group is recognised and respected. However, the Al-Andalus mode of integration also differs greatly from a modern understanding of multiculturalism, as in Al-Andalus the group accommodation did not take place within a democratic egalitarian citizenship like in ideal modern multicultural societies[69]. In Al-Andalus the protection of groups' boundaries was not motivated by ideals of religious tolerance or equality. It was rather motivated by the willingness to gain the loyalty of the conquered population. In turn, protection of religious communities' boundaries did not mean equality in rights or status. Jews and Christians were considered second-class citizens, to whom various political and social restrictions applied.

Nevertheless, by protecting the boundaries and identities of religious communities, the Al-Andalus model of governance fostered stabile relations and constructive contact between religious groups, an ideal which European societies aim to achieve[70]. This led towards a successful mode of integration of the groups with the accommodation of differences. Not only did this model of integration encourage religious diversity, it also stimulated cultural creativity.

Hence, the following sections aim to compare the modern European models of integration and analyse how Europeans can learn from Al-Andalus's governance system, which fostered stabile and constructive relations between religious groups. •

64 Menocal, M. R. 2002. The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain. Back Bay Books. Little Brown. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=0Eu5lwEACAAJ

65 Safran, J. M. 2015. Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia. Cornell University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=HUOOrgEACAAJ

66 Ibid.

67 Coope. J. 1995. The Martyrs of Cordoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion. University of Nebraska Press.

68 Ibid. Safran, J. M. 2015. Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia. Cornell University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=HUOOrgEACAAJ

69 Modood, T. 2012. Post-Immigration 'Difference' and Integration. The British Academy. pp.1–72.

70 Ibid.

3

TODAY'S EUROPEAN MODELS OF MUSLIM INTEGRATION

Although the Muslim presence in Europe in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance had a large influence on European culture, it was only after WWII that European societies began to think about modes of integration of Muslim communities. However, in contrast with the dynamic of acculturation and integration of different religious communities in Al-Andalus, contemporary Muslim migration and formation of communities in Europe contributes to 'othering' the Muslim migrants.

In the following, we will present the European models of Muslim integration and highlight remaining challenges.

3.1

BACKGROUND ON MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN EUROPE

3.1.1 HISTORY OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN EUROPE

European Muslim communities expanded significantly with various waves of immigration that occurred in the post-WWII period. The first wave of Muslim immigration started with the economic boom which followed WWII. These Muslim immigrants first came to Europe as workers to contribute to European post-war reconstruction. The flows originating from outside Europe were often tied with the colonial legacy of receiving countries and resulted from active recruitment policies of companies in the receiving countries. They mostly settled in capital cities or large industrial areas[71]. In France, for instance, Muslims settled in Ile-de-France, Provence-Alpes Côte D'azur, Rhône-Alpes and Nord-Pas de Calais; in the UK, they settled in London, the West Midlands, West Yorkshire, Manchester and Lancashire. This first wave of immigration came to meet domestic labour market needs and was not perceived at the time as permanent, and little efforts were made to integrate the Muslim communities into European societies. This would subsequently have implications for the types of housing and opportunities available for the descendants of this wave[72].

Furthermore, in the face of the economic recession in the early 1970s, European countries gradually closed their borders to low-skilled immigrant workers. As European communities pursued policies of economic integration, migration from Southern to Western European countries declined[73]. Restrictive immigration policies were implemented in France and the UK, and in Belgium, Denmark and Germany, admissions were restricted to match the market needs. They nevertheless allowed the possibility of family reunification. Thus immigrant workers, who were primarily young men, were reunited with their families. This second flow of migration contributed to transforming the Muslim population from single migrants to families who sought permanent settlement. Hence, this began the process of demand for the development of community infrastructures, such as mosques and Islamic organisations, in addition to suitable housing, schools and other facilities[74]. During this period, overall 'irregular' migration was negligible compared to the flows of legal migration.

In the 1980s, the nature of migration of Muslims towards Western Europe was altered as refugees began to arrive from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the former Republic of Yugoslavia and Somalia, countries where civil wars or Cold War proxy conflicts occurred. In many cases, these migrants were urban and skilled professionals. By the early 1990s it is estimated that the total Muslim population in Western Europe had come close to ten million[75].

Since the 1990s, Muslim immigration to European countries can very broadly be characterized as follows: (1) In the north of Europe, Muslim immigration has been dominated by legal entry through refugee applications to flee civil conflicts at Europe's borders and seeking employment opportunities.

(2) In the south of Europe, Muslim immigration has been dominated by so-called 'illegal' entry, motivated by economic opportunities and exile from civil conflicts, as a reflection of the geographical proximity with countries of Muslim majority. As a result of these new types of migration, most European countries abandoned the 'zero migration' axiom established in the 1970s, but migration laws prioritised defining 'illegal migration' and sanctioned irregular migrants. Concerns over irregular migration became all the more pressing as the European integration deepened with the creation of an internal no-border zone with the Schengen Agreement in 1995[76].

Since 2010 there has been a new wave of Muslim immigration from countries devastated by ongoing violence and war. These include Syria (an estimated

71 Rudnicka-Kassem, D., 2016. Searching for a new identity: Muslims in Western Europe. Politeja, 5(44), pp.252–272.

72 Modood, T., Triandafyllidou, A. & Zapata-Barrero, R., 2006. Multiculturalism, Muslims and citizenship: A European approach T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou, & R. Zapata-barrero, eds., New York: Routledge.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Nielsen, J.S., 1997. Muslims in Europe: History revisited or a way forward? Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, 8(2), pp.135–143. Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09596419708721116.

76 Triandafyllidou, A. 2016. Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities. Taylor & Francis. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=pk0fDAAAQBAJ

245, 000 Syrians seeking asylum in Europe in 2016), Afghanistan (an estimated 154, 325 Afghans seeking asylum in Europe in 2016), Iraq (100, 225 Iraqis seeking asylum in Europe in 2016), and Eritrea (34, 245 Eritreans seeking asylum in Europe in 2016)[77]. There are also immigrants from Kosovo fleeing high levels of poverty[78].

3.1.2 FACTS AND FIGURES

The quality of the data on the numbers of Muslims in Europe is limited by legal barriers to data collection on ethnicity, including religion in some of the European member states. In France for instance, the law dating from 1872 prohibits considering citizens according to their race, religion or ethnicity in the name of the so-called 'colour-blind' Republic[79]. In France there is a concern that statistics on religious origins could contribute to the perception of a fractionalized society and foster discriminations. However, surveys conducted by the National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) since 1978 include proxy for the ethnic and religious background, which allows for estimates on the Muslim population in France. In the UK and the US, data on religious belonging is collected on the basis of consent[80]. Therefore, the available data regarding the Muslim population is also based on estimations. Hence, this report relies primarily on surveys from the Pew Research Centre[81], which presents data on Muslims in the world, as well as on UK official statistics[82].

As of 2010, there were 44 million Muslims in all European countries. Germany, France and the UK constitute the largest Muslim populations among the European Union member countries (Figure 2). As of 2010, there were 4.8 million Muslims in Germany (5.8% of the population), 4.7 million Muslims in France (7.5% of the population), 2.9 million in the UK (4.8% of the population) and 980 000 in Spain (2.1% of the population).

The Muslim proportion of Europe's overall population has grown steadily from 1990 to 2010, from 4% of the European population to 6%. This pattern is expected to continue, as the Pew Research Centre projects that the Muslim population will be 8% of Europe's population by 2020[83].

Muslim communities in the European Union member states and the US are ethnically diverse[84]. Muslims with Maghrebi, Sub-Saharan Africa, Turkish and former Yugoslavian origins are predominant in France, where the largest Muslim community originated from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, former French colonies[85]. In the UK, the Muslim community originates predominantly from Pakistan and Bangladesh. The majority of Muslims in Europe are Sunni, although there is a small Shiite minority, as well as Alawi, Ismaili and other smaller denominations[86]. In Spain, 40% of the Muslims are Spanish, as the Muslim immigration wave was later than in France and the UK. Among Muslims of foreign origins, the majority of Muslims are from Morocco[87].

FIGURE 2:

Number of Muslims in European countries

Country	Size of the Muslim population	% of the population that is Muslim
Germany	4,760,000	5.8
France	4,710,000	7.5
United Kingdom	2,960,000	4.8
Italy	2,220,000	3.7
Bulgaria	1,020,000	13.7
Netherlands	1,000,000	6.0
Spain	980,000	2.1
Belgium	630,000	5.9
Greece	610,000	5.3
Austria	450,000	5.4
Sweden	430,000	4.6
Cyprus	280,000	25.3
Denmark	230,000	4.1
Romania	70,000	0.3
Slovenia	70,000	3.6
Croatia	60,000	1.4
Ireland	50,000	1.1
Finland	40,000	0.8
Portugal	30,000	0.3
Luxembourg	10,000	2.3

Source: Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project

The most recent wave of Muslim immigration since the end of the 1990s has further contributed to the growth of the European Muslim community. There are an estimated 12 million foreign-born Muslims living in the EU as of 2010[88]. The latest wave of Muslim immigration has followed patterns of previous waves of immigration. The top country of origins of the foreign-born Muslim populations are Turkey, Morocco, Algeria and Pakistan[89]. •

77 Eurostat. 2016. 'Statistics Explained. First Time Asylum Applicants in the EU 28 by Citizenships Q12016-Q1 2017). Available at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:First_time_asylum_applicants_in_the_EU-28_by_citizenship,_Q1_2016_%E2%80%93_Q1_2017_update.png

78 Eurostat. 2017. 'Asylum Quarterly Report'. Accessed at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_quarterly_report

79 For a critique of the colour-blind French republic see Simon, P. 2008. 'The Choice of Ignorance: The Debate on Ethnic and Racial Statistics in France'. French Politics, Culture & Society. 26(1), pp. 7–31. Available at http://berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/fpcs/26/1/fpcs260102.xml; Roig, E. 2017. 'Uttering "race" in Colorblind France and Post-Racial Germany. In K. Fereidooni and M. El, eds. Rassismuskritik und Widerstandsformen. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. pp. 613–627. Available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-14721-1_36

80 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. 2006. Muslims in the European Union Discrimination and Islamophobia.

81 Pew Research Centre. 2012. Appendix A: Destinations Spotlights. Accessible at http://www.pewforum.org/2012/03/08/religious-migration-destination-spotlights/#europe

82 Muslim Council of Britain. 2017. British Muslims in Numbers. A Demographic, Socio-Economic, and Health Profile of Muslims in Brittan Drawing on the 2011 Census. Accessible at http://www.mcb.org.uk/muslimstatistics/

83 Hackett, Conrad. 2016. 5 Facts About the Muslim Population in Europe. Pew Research Centre. Accessible at http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/19/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/

84 Tournier, V. 2016. Portrait des Musulmans d'Europe: Unité Dans la Diversité, Fondation pour l'Innovation Politique.

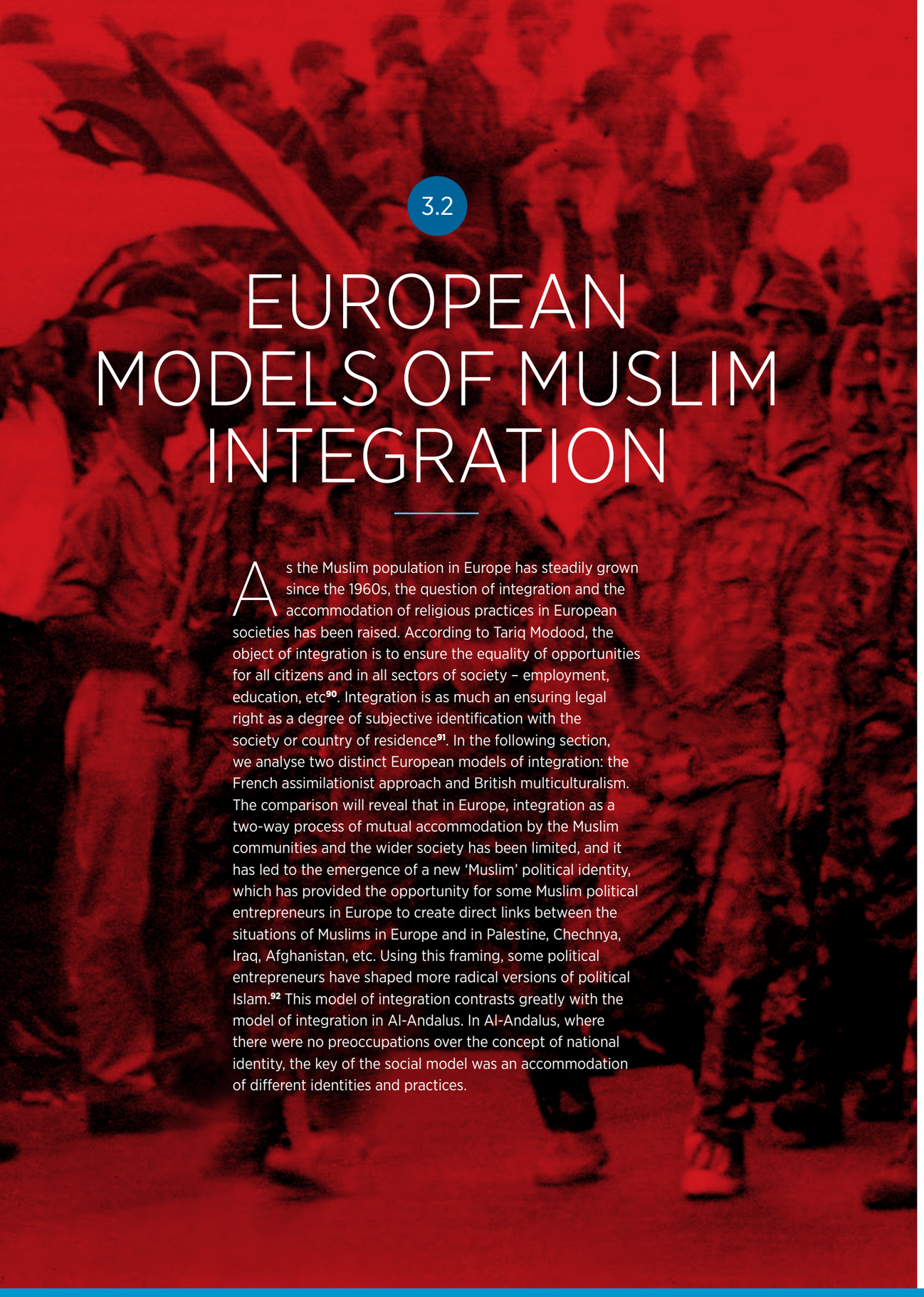
85 Hackett, Conrad. 2016. 5 Facts about the Muslim Population in Europe. Pew Research Centre. Accessible at: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/19/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/

86 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. 2006. Muslims in the European Union Discrimination and Islamophobia.

87 Europa Press. Nd. Los Musulmanes en Espana Superan los 1.8 Milliones. Available at http://www.europapress.es/sociedad/noticia-musulmanes-espana-superan-18-millones-20150330182141.html

88 Hackett, Conrad. 2016. 5 Facts about the Muslim Population in Europe. Pew Research Centre. Accessible at: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/19/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/

89 Ibid; Ibqal, Jawad. The Diverse Origins of Britain's Muslims. BBC. 18 January 2016. Accessible at http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-33715473



3.2

EUROPEAN MODELS OF MUSLIM INTEGRATION

As the Muslim population in Europe has steadily grown since the 1960s, the question of integration and the accommodation of religious practices in European societies has been raised. According to Tariq Modood, the object of integration is to ensure the equality of opportunities for all citizens and in all sectors of society – employment, education, etc[90]. Integration is as much an ensuring legal right as a degree of subjective identification with the society or country of residence[91]. In the following section, we analyse two distinct European models of integration: the French assimilationist approach and British multiculturalism. The comparison will reveal that in Europe, integration as a two-way process of mutual accommodation by the Muslim communities and the wider society has been limited, and it has led to the emergence of a new 'Muslim' political identity, which has provided the opportunity for some Muslim political entrepreneurs in Europe to create direct links between the situations of Muslims in Europe and in Palestine, Chechnya, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc. Using this framing, some political entrepreneurs have shaped more radical versions of political Islam.[92] This model of integration contrasts greatly with the model of integration in Al-Andalus. In Al-Andalus, where there were no preoccupations over the concept of national identity, the key of the social model was an accommodation of different identities and practices.

3.2.1 THE FRENCH ASSIMILATIONIST MODEL

Historical context

Mass Muslim immigration to France began in response to the post-WWII labour shortages and the urgent need to fill immediate jobs. As part of reconstruction efforts, French employers recruited workers from the former colonies, in particular from North Africa.

In addition, the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962) had an important impact on the perception and actual lives of Muslim communities in France. The Algerian rebel group, the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FNL), who sought independence by using violent methods, drew much of its rhetoric from Islam, reinforcing a sense of Islam as tool of opposition to the French and their cultural and military conquest in Algeria. This fuelled the islamophobia of certain French far right politicians, such as Jean-Marie Le Pen, who perpetuated ancient tropes of a clash of civilizations and an inherent conflict between Islam and had a very static conception of French culture. Tensions were exacerbated when terrorists affiliated with the Algerian independence group, the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), set off a bomb in Paris public transport in July 1995, killing 7 people.

These underlying and diffused tensions due to historical events were reinforced by the French institutional context. France has promoted a particular conception of citizenship based on a strict understanding of secularism. Secularism was established by the French Revolution in Article 10 of the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights in 1789 which claims:

'No one must be disturbed on account of his opinions, even religious ones, as long as the manifestation of such opinions does not interfere with the established Law and Order'[93].

The republican citizenship law aimed to emancipate all individual from their particular groups, as it philosophically considered that all men had a natural right to liberty and equality. Thus, France did not recognised itself as a pluralist society.

Furthermore, during the third French Republic, secularism became at the heart of political debates, as in the 1880s the new Republic aimed to limit the power of the Catholic Church. The first step towards the secularisation of the state was made by removing any religious courses in the public schools in 1882. In 1905, secularism, or '*laïcité*', was institutionalised with a law that acknowledged the separation of the church and the state. The law of 9 December 1905 promotes state's neutrality in regards to different religions. The French state could not allow any proselytising in public buildings, which ought to be religion-free zones. However, the French state also has to be the guardian of freedom of conscience[94].

Secularism is moreover at the heart of the current republican institutions, as it was incorporated as a foundational principle in the Constitution. The first article of the fith Republic Constitution states:

'France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion. It shall respect all beliefs. It shall be organised on a decentralized basis'.

As such, the French republic recognised individuals rather than groups[95]. Thus, the religion cannot be part of citizenship. Yet, the application of the principle of secularism became more problematic with the increased flow of Muslim migration. Today there is a fierce debate on the different interpretation of *laïcité* and how it can be combined with the integration of Muslim migrants.

In sum, the increased visibility of Islam in France public's space touched two sharp nerves of French politics: the tensions generated by immigration and the place of religion in a society which prides itself on its secular values.

90 Modood, T. 2012. Post-Immigration 'Difference' and Integration. pp.1–72.

91 Ibid.

92 Adamson, F. B. 2011. Engaging or Contesting the Liberal State? 'Muslim' as a Politicised Identity Category in Europe. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. 37(6), pp. 899–915. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.576193;
Mandaville, P. 2009. Muslim Transnational Identity and State Responses in Europe and the UK after 9 / 11: Political Community, Ideology and Authority Muslim. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35(3), pp. 491–506.

93 Conseil Constitutionel. N.d. 'Declaration of Human and Civic Rights of 26th of August 1798'. Available at http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/conseil-constitutionnel/root/bank_mm/anglais/cst2.pdf

94 Baubérot, J. 2013. Histoire de la laïcité en France. Seuil, Paris.

95 Vincent, A. 2002. Nationalism and Particularity. Cambridge University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=EYCvaH66fvgC

The state policies for immigrants' integration

Within the French understanding of citizenship, assimilation into the notion of the 'neutral' citizen of the Republic is at the very heart of the ideal of citizenship, in which ethnicity, gender and religion are deemphasized for the idealized Republican citizen. Key to this is the idea of erasing differences between citizens to avoid discriminations[96].

The assimilationist process of integration is seen as one-way, with the immigrants expected not to disturb existing social norms and values[97]. The issue France has faced over the last few decades is the call by new

(and less new) French citizens of Muslim faith for their religious identity to be respected as part of an evolving conception of French citizenship. This has typically been denied on a hierarchical conception of French-ness, which appears to prioritize the authority of so-called 'native' French people, usually referring to an implicitly racialized conception of citizenship, over French Arabs, French Africans or others.

The way Muslims immigrants settled in the 1950s in France has shaped their relationship with French national identity and their very ability to assimilate into the pre-defined framework set by the state.

In the 1950s France built low income residences in the French suburbs. These buildings were built to be temporary and with the objective of housing single, male workers. With family reunification, they became overcrowded and isolated ghettos on the margins of French society and quickly became a marker of inequality and social exclusion combined with elements of ethnic discrimination. The second and third generations who are still living in these suburbs often experience the direct impact of the economic isolation of these suburbs (poor education, poor transport links, unemployment, etc.) as well as the stigma of association with areas of social exclusion. Unemployment levels in the French suburbs today are three times higher than national average (24.2% in the suburbs compared to the national average of 9.9% in 2012)[98].

The principle of laïcité (or French secularism)

With the increase of Muslim migration, the French secularist state had to face the challenge and favour the integration of the Muslim community while preserving the concept of *laïcité,* which is central to the Republic's history.

Today, there are two main interpretation of *laïcité* which divide every political party in France. A narrow interpretation claims that French citizens are free to have any religion in private, but cannot display any membership to a religious groups in public. Hence, praying in public, refusing to eat certain food or

96 Modood, T. 2012. Post-Immigration 'Difference' and Integration. The British Academy. London.

97 Ibid.

98 Zappi. S. 'Portrait Noir de la Crise Économique en Banlieue'. Le Monde. 3 May 2016. Available at http://www.lemonde.fr/banlieues/article/2016/05/03/dans-les-quartiers-prioritaires-le-chomage-affecte-de-plus-en-plus-fortement-diplomes-et-non-immigres_4912791_1653530.html

wearing religiously distinctive clothing is considered as violating the principle of *laïcité*. Similarly, the state cannot support any particular religion and should not fund any religious groups[99]. In contrast, another interpretation of *laïcité* states that the state should protect the exercise of religion for all its citizens. While the state should not favour any religion, it can according to this view fund some religious group in light of supporting the individual choices of its citizens. Debate over the contemporary meaning of *laïcité* has centred frequently around the respect or accommodation of Muslim needs, with some accused of using the principle of *laïcité* to specifically discriminate against Muslims, such as with the ban of visible religious symbols in schools in 2004, alleged by some to have been targeted at Muslims, or the ban on face veils in public spaces. Today, Muslim school girls have been sent home from some schools for wearing long skirts deemed to be an affront to secular principles[100].

Since the 1990s, the French government has sought to create a formal body to regulate the practice of Islam in France. This was designed to encourage the institutionalisation of Islam, but also in so doing, it brought the management of religion under the sphere of the state, something some saw as altering the traditional strict separation implied by *laïcité.* The government supported the creation of a French Council of Muslim Religion (*Conseil Français du culte Musulman (CFCM)*) in 2003-2005, a national entity which formalises the relationship between Islam and the state. This institutionalised Islam promised the building of prayer spaces and the formation of imams. This was a government attempt to create an 'Islam of France' (or 'French Islam') and reduce the influence of foreign governments on French Muslim populations, which some sought to suggest, could promote radicalisation. Nevertheless, the institutionalisation of Islam would implicitly lead to the recognition of the French Muslim community as an essential component of French society[101].

3.2.2 THE BRITISH MODEL OF INTEGRATION

Historical context

Whereas in France the integration approach has been based on an 'egalitarianism' that is intolerant of cultural loyalties that may compete with the French republic, the British approach to integration, which was based on a different colonial history and conception of nationhood, has long promoted the idea of celebrating cultural difference.

The UK saw a rise in the proportion of its Muslim population as a result of Commonwealth immigration from the 1950s onward. Initially, the immigration was composed of male low-skilled labour to meet the demand for low-skilled workers in the British, post-war reconstruction economy. Some urban, skilled South Asian Muslims workers also arrived in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s. The most recent waves of Muslim immigration have been political refugees from Somalia and Bosnia in the 1990s. The large industrial cities, especially London, with abundant job opportunities have attracted Muslim immigrants from across the world. Many of these immigrants, especially in the early waves, came from areas formerly under British colonial administration (Vertovec 2002).

These waves of immigration have, since the 1960s, triggered a public debate on immigration, which was tied up with the notion of the celebration of ethnic and cultural pluralism[102]. Multiculturalism, which refers to the state policy for managing a diverse society, was designed to be a political strategy to ensure immigrant's integration while ensuring racial equality, as well as allowing the creation of their own organizational structures to safeguard customs and religious practices with a degree of autonomy. This led to a framing of the debate about the integration of immigrants in terms of ethno-religious groups rather than strictly a strictly religious[103] identity. This model of integration was due to the fact that Britain, in

99 Nevertheless, the religious associations can be indirectly funded by the French state if they are registered as associations. In addition, while the state does not provide any support to build any new religious buildings, it will cover the maintenance costs of churches built before 1905, as they are considered as public historical heritage.

100 Chambrand, C and S. Graveleau 'Crispations à L'école sur les Jupes Longues'. Le Monde. April 29th 2015. Available at http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/29/crispation-a-l-ecole-sur-les-jupes-longues_4624882_3224.html

101 Bowen, J. R. 2011. Can Islam be French? Pluralism and Pragmatism in a Secularist State. Princeton University Press.

102 Meer, N. and Modood, T., 2008. 'The Multicultural State We're In: Muslims, "Multiculture" and the "Civic Re-Balancing" of British Multiculturalism'. Political Studies. 37, pp. 473–497.

103 Jacobson, D. and Deckard, N.d. 2017. 'Surveying the Landscape of Integration: Muslim Immigrants in the United Kingdom and France'. Democracy and Security. 10(2), pp.113–131. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2014.908283

contrast with France, does not have a constitution that automatically establishes or outlines religious rights.

Multicultural policy assumes that British culture is a collection of mannerism and actions rather than essential attributes. Unlike in France, where there is a strong sense of national identity, this is not generally the case in Britain. Nevertheless, on the right wing of the political spectrum are notions of Britishness, often couched in racialized terms. On the left wing of the political spectrum there is a rejection of defining identity through essentialist markers perceived as imperialistic and elitist. The doctrine of multiculturalism, which was institutionalized with New Labour in the end of the 1990s, claims that citizens' adherence to mainstream culture is not essential to ensure national cohesion[104]. Moreover, all culture should be equally respected as a way to avoid ethnic tensions and racial conflicts.

A move towards 'soft assimilation'

The 2001 riots in some of the UK's northern cities (Bradford, Burnley and Oldham) was seen by some as pointing to the limits of British integration policy. These riots were followed by terrorist attacks (e.g. 07/07/2005 in the London public transport, 30/06/2007 in Glasgow airport and 22/05/2008 in Exeter), which further attracted criticism of the British multiculturalism and called for a re-evaluation of what some called a failed model. With the terrorist attacks, political parties called for partnering with Muslim communities as key to tackling the spread of violent extremism while promoting a greater social cohesion. The PREVENT program was introduced by the UK in 2003 to counter domestic radicalization as a counter-terror strategy. The preventative program was intended to stop vulnerable people from becoming radicalized by relying on educational and social initiatives. This policy was subsequently criticized for tying social cohesion to the struggle against terrorism, a linking which some saw as casting doubt over the entire Muslim community and fostering social policies which appeared to be designed to 'spy' on Muslim citizens[105]. Several human rights organizations, including Rights Watch UK, Open Society Justice Initiative and the UN special rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association in the UK, were critical of the program as it risked to divide, stigmatize and alienate Muslims[106]. The main criticism of the program was that most Muslims regarded the initiatives as a way to covertly police the Muslim community. This has fuelled distrust among the Muslim community, and instead of encouraging their integration in the society, it promoted the feeling of 'otherness'[107].

Today, the model of British multiculturalism remains in question following a speech in 2011[108] by then Prime Minister David Cameron in which he claimed multiculturalism had died. Even prior to this, in 2005, citizenship tests were introduced, in addition to language proficiency requirements[109]. Similarly, since 2006, the Home Secretary has had the power to remove British citizenship from dual nationals if this is perceived to be in the public interest[110]. This policy converged with a more assimilationist approach focusing on British values. Hence, from 2010 the government has argued for the celebration of British values as a core component of national identity[111]. – here British values are understood to mean democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, mutual respect for and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs and for those without faith[112]. – despite much controversy concerning the definition, considered by some to be exclusivist and imposing of liberal norms.

104 Lassalle, D. 2011. 'French Laïcité and British Multiculturalism: A Convergence in Progress?' Journal of Intercultural Studies. 32(3), pp. 229–243. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2011.565734

105 Alam, Y. and Husband, C. 2013. Islamophobia, Community Cohesion and Counter-Terrorism Policies in Britain. Patterns of Prejudice. 47(3), pp. 235-252; Joppke, C. 2009. 'Limits of Integration Policy: Britain and Her Muslims'. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35(4), pp. 453–472.

106 Greenwood. G. 'UN Says Prevent Extremism Policy Is Inherently Flawed'. BBC News. 16 June 2016. http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-40286861

107 Ibrahim, A. 'Lessons to Learn from the Failure of Britain's Attempt to Engage Muslims'. Huffington Post. Available at https://www.huffingtonpost.com/azeem-ibrahim/lessons-to-learn-from-the_b_532669.html

108 Newsstatesman. 'Full Transcript: David Cameron Speech on Radicalisation and Islamic Extremists. Munich 5 January 2011'. Available at http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2011/02/terrorism-islam-ideology

109 Meer, N. and Modood, T. 2008. The Multicultural State We're In: Muslims, "Multiculture" and the "Civic Re-Balancing" of British Multiculturalism. Political Studies. 37, pp. 473–497.

110 Legislation.gov.uk. 'Information, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006'. Available at http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/13/contents

111 Byrne, B. 2017. 'Testing Times: The Place of the Citizenship Test in the UK Immigration Regime and New Citizens' Responses to It'. Sociology, 51(2), pp.323–338. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0038038515622908

112 Gov.uk. 2014. 'British Values; Article by David Cameron'. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/news/british-values-article-by-david-cameron

3.2.3 THE SPANISH MODEL OF INTEGRATION

Historical context

After the Reconquista, the Spanish national identity was built in opposition to the figure of the Muslim in general and the Moroccan in particular.

According to the scholar Ricard Zapata-Barrero, the Spanish national identity has been built by putting in opposition the Muslim conquerors in the Middle Ages versus the Christians. The process of 'othering' the Muslim community started during the period of the Reconquista, when the Spanish Queen Isabel and the King Ferdinand, known as the Catholic kings, expelled the Muslims from Spain using religious arguments and propaganda disqualifying and diabolising Islam. They also banned the use of Arabic language in Spanish public space. This favoured the formation of a corpus of stereotypes and degrading clichés against the Muslims in Spain[113]. Behind this, there is the politically constructed idea of *Hispanidad,* used during the 20th century by Franco to consolidate the idea of a national community linked by linguistic and religious criteria. The Spanish national identity was closely linked with Catholicism and the Church enjoyed wide-ranging powers and privileges in the spheres of education, politics and the economy. In 1953 during Franco's regime, a concordat exempted Catholic clergy from taxation, guaranteed state subsidies for religious personnel and solidified the Church's control over religious education. This framework was used to build a culturally homogenous society and favoured the 'otherisation' of those who did not fit the linguistic and cultural criteria, in particular the Muslims[114]. The negative perception of Islam in Spain is also rooted in the unsolved diplomatic issues in the Hispano-Moroccan relations. Spain was involved in the African War in 1860, and as a result of the Conference of Algeciras in 1906, it established the Franco-Spanish Protectorate in 1912 over Western Sahara. As part of the Spanish colonies, Moroccans were enlisted in the Spanish Civil War, which opposed the Republicans and the pro-Franco troops, which reinforced a negative perception of Moroccans.

113 Modood, T., Triandafyllidou, A. and Zapata-Barrero, R., eds. 2006. Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach. New York: Routledge.

114 Ibid.

With the end of the dictatorship, the political elite had to create a new constitutional framework for church-state relations. The new Spanish democratic state was set up as non-confessional and neutral in respect to religion, but it included a provision for the state to maintain cooperative relations with the Catholic Church and other religions. In the following years, several laws were passed to further develop cooperative relations with other confessions that have achieved 'deep rootedness' in Spanish society.

It was only in 1984 that Islam was recognised as a religion that had 'deep rootedness'. A central aim of Spain's first democratic administrations was to modernise Spain's image. This included partaking in the construction of a more modern and multicultural Spain[115]. This promoted the institutionalisation and organisation of Muslim communities.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Spain celebrated its multiculturalism. Municipal governments in several Spanish cities encouraged the establishment of mosques. In Madrid, a Saudi-funded mosque was built on a land ceded by the municipal government in 1992. Similarly, in Valencia the main mosque was built in 1994 on public land. In Andalusia, five major mosques projects were launched from the 1980s and 1990s.

The main difference with the British and French approach to the integration of Muslims, is that in Spain, until the end of the 1990s and the 2000s, the Muslim community was not made up of a majority of immigrants. Indeed, until the 1990s Spain was better characterised as a country of emigration not immigration, and the influx of Muslim immigrants occurred in the 2000s due to Spain's economic boom and the increased demands of labour in almost every industry. Hence, the debate on the accommodation of Muslim practices coincided with the transition from dictatorship to democracy and focussed on the shift from religious homogeneity to plurality rather than to the question of immigrants' integration[116].

115 Astor, A. 2014. Religious Governance and the Accommodation of Islam in Contemporary Spain. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40(11), pp.1716–1735.

Spanish 'multiple diversity'

Two main events from the 2000s shifted the state's approach to integrating Muslim communities.

First, the Madrid bombings of 2004 and the 2016 attacks in Barcelona called for a renewed attention to the integration of Muslim communities. The policies of integration were now tied with anti-terrorism and anti-radicalism strategies, like in the UK, after the 2005 attacks in London. Secondly, from the 2000s, Spain saw a large influx of immigration from Muslim countries, which posed new challenges for a country who was already overcoming diverse local identities.

As a result from events in the 2000s, the Spanish state engaged in a process of incorporating Islam in the existing system of cooperation between state and church. In October 2004, the government created the 'Foundation for Pluralism and Coexistence' (*Fundacion Pluralismo y Convivencia, FPC*), which aimed to promote the religious freedom by cooperating with religious minorities, especially those who have 'deep rootedness' in the Spanish society – i.e. monotheist religions[117].

Nevertheless, in contrast with the UK, government initiatives to integrate Muslim communities have not necessarily stigmatised them. Indeed, the FPC provides funding to foster institutional development of religious communities and to develop cultural, educational and social integration activities. The creation of the FPC was perceived as an evolution of church-state relations in Spain, as it was the first time that non-Catholic organisations could have direct access to federal funding[118]. The FPC has also encouraged initiatives to promote public awareness about religious diversity and to improve data collection on religious minorities.

In addition to federal initiatives to integrate Muslim minorities, local governments have the majority of prerogatives on religious governance and the integration of policies for Muslim communities. The historical diversity of national identities in Spain has resulted in a decentralised and asymmetric state structure. As such, Spanish regions have each introduced ad hoc measures aimed to accommodate the local needs of religious minorities. This multi-level of governance and integration allows each local government to pursue different integration policies. Thus, the scholar Ricard Zapata-Barrero argues that Spain has taken a practical approach to accommodate Muslim communities, however, 'without a long-term model of societal identity with the current dynamics of society'[119]. For instance, Zapata-Barrero has argued that Catalonia has been an exception in Spain. In Catalonia immigration, in particular Muslim immigration, has been perceived as a 'potential danger to Catalan culture and identity', and it has led the region to implement an integration model closest to the French assimilationist model to foster a unique civic identity among Catalonia. Hence, in Spain, instead of having to accommodate with the national identity at the national level, Muslim communities have to negotiate the compatibility of their religion with Spanish regional identities.

In sum, the liberal character of the Spanish integration model for Muslims reflects Spain's identity issues. The Spanish model of integration relying on local governments has produced inconsistencies, as there is a lack of coordination between administrations and sectors. This has been an obstacle for a comprehensive integration of the Muslim population, whose practices are not equally accommodated to in all regions. As such, Muslim communities encounter difficulties to the practice of their religion in various regions, as they lack mosques or do not have the same opportunities for religious education as Catholics do. •

116 Zapata-Barrero, R. 2013. Diversity Management in Spain: New Dimensions, New Challenges. Manchester University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=t9qSDAAAQBAJ

117 Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia. 'Nd. Quiénes somos?'. Available at: http://www.pluralismoyconvivencia.es/ayudas/

118 Astor, A. 2014. Religious Governance and the Accommodation of Islam in Contemporary Spain. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40(11), pp.1716–1735.

119 Zapata-Barrero, R. 2013. Diversity Management in Spain: New Dimensions, New Challenges. Manchester University Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=t9qSDAAAQBAJ

3.3

THE CHALLENGES WITH THE EUROPEAN MODELS OF INTEGRATION

These three models of integration have had mixed results. They have fostered social and economic inequality and exclusion of Muslim communities in different ways. The social and political context in which the inclusion of Muslims has taken place has also led to covert and overt forms of discrimination, from the political elites as much as from the wider population.

3.3.1 STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY

Despite policies of integration, the Muslim population in Europe is in a more precarious economic situation than the rest of the population. For instance, in France there is an estimated 51% of Muslims living in precarious economic conditions compared to 35% in the rest of the population[120]. Similarly in the UK, it's estimated that 51% of Muslims live in precarious economic conditions compared to 38% in the rest of the population[121]. This pattern is similar in most European countries.

In France and the UK, the proportion of economically active Muslims with full-time employment is comparatively lower than the overall population. In the UK only 20% of Muslims are economically active compared to 35% in the overall population[122]. Unemployment rates for Muslims are the highest among all religious groups (15%) and three times higher than the general population (5%)[123]. Access to the labour market is more difficult for Muslims in France[124]. In France, 30% of Muslims are unemployed. This figure refers to all adults with no economic activity, including students. In addition, in both countries Muslims have less access to managerial positions. In Spain Muslim migrants face similar challenges; only 1/4 of Muslim migrants claim to be working with a permanent contract, while 2/3 of them work with short-term contracts, including 18% of remaining illegal immigrants[125].

In all European countries, the Muslim population usually earns less than the rest of the population[126].

Additionally, Muslims in Europe tend to hold less diplomas than the rest of the population. In the UK 32% of Muslims achieve university education compared to 25% in France[127]. Furthermore, Muslims are overrepresented in French prisons, accounting for 7.5% of the total population but between a quarter and half of the prison population[128], while Muslims in the UK have increased by 50% in the last decade[129]. Similarly, in Spain, 11% of the population incarcerated is Muslim[130].

These economic and social inequalities among Muslim populations can partly be explained by the geographical location of immigrants and their descendants. In France, for instance, the government policy of placing immigrants from Turkey, North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, who represent a majority of Muslims, in poorer and sensitive suburbs means their French citizen children experience many of the same problems in terms of the economic marginalization of their neighbourhoods. This trend has increased in the last decade with the phenomena of 'white flight' contributing to the isolation of immigrant populations, who have less access to meaningful employment, education and social goods. In these suburbs, where there is little access to meaningful employment, there is a higher rate of illegal activities, such as drug trafficking, which contributes to heightened insecurity[131] for all who live there. Similarly, the breakdown in community policing means police-community relations have frequently erupted in tensions and outright riots. The lack of social

120 Tournier, V. 2016. Portrait des Musulmans d'Europe: Unité dans la Diversité. Paris.

121 Ibid.

122 Muslim Council of Britain. 2017. British Muslims in Numbers. A Demographic, Socio-economic, and Health Profile of Muslims in Britain Drawing on the 2011 Census. Accessible at http://www.mcb.org.uk/muslimstatistics/

123 Tatari, E. and Shaykhutdinov, R. 2017. 'Muslims and Minority Politics in Great Britain'. Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs. 0(0), pp.1–23. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2014.888282

124 Halm, D. and Sauer, M. 2017. Muslims in Europe Integrated but Not Accepted? Bertelsmann Foundation

125 Metroscopia, 2007. La Comunidad Musulmana de Origen Inmigrante en España. Ministériat Del Interroi. pp.1–19.

126 Tournier, V. 2016. Portrait des Musulmans d'Europe: Unité dans la Diversité. Fondation pour L'innovation Politique.

127 Ibid.

128 Gov.uk. 2017. The Lammy Review. An Independent Review into the Treatment of, and Outcomes for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Individuals in the Criminal Justice System. London. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/643001/lammy-review-final-report.pdf

129 Ibid.

130 Observatorio Andalusi. 2016. Estudio Demografico de la Población Reclusa Musulmana. Available at http://ucide.org/sites/default/files/revistas/estadinternos15.pdf

131 Safi, M. 2009. La Dimension Spatiale de L'intégration: Évolution de la Ségrégation des Populations Immigrées en France Entre 1968 et 1999. Revue Française de Sociologie. Vol. 50, (3), 521-552. doi:10.3917/rfs.503.0521.

advancement and integration of Muslims communities is also visible in the political representation of the French National Assembly. Despite the fact that Muslims represent a growing share of voters, their political representation is weak[132]. As of January 2017, there were only two French-North African deputies out of 577 in the National Assembly, three out of 348 senators and only five out of 36,000 mayors of municipalities[133].

Similar trends are visible in the UK, where there are clear inequalities in housing, health and employment experienced by ethnic minorities, in particular those who have Muslim religious backgrounds and live in segregated British neighbourhoods[134]. British Muslims live in concentrated urban areas, reflecting the initial patterns of settlement of the immigrant communities in the 20th century. Each community has its own institutions, prayer spaces and schools, which some suggest fails] to encourage mixing of groups and social cohesion[135]. In the UK, only 68% of Muslims report having leisure time contact with people outside their religious community[136]. As a result of the geographical segregation, British Muslims suffer from some of the greatest economic and social disadvantages of any group in society. Poverty disproportionately affects British Muslims as it is estimated that half of the British Muslim population lives in 10% of the most deprived areas[137], and young Muslims in the UK face barriers in education and gaining meaningful employment[138]. Similarly, in Spain, poverty among Muslims is double the national mean[139].

Hence, the dearth of effective policies to foster social cohesion has led to geographical segregation and, in turn, has lead to social and economic exclusion. This exclusion, however, is not necessarily directly linked to religion per say, but rather to structural inequalities rooted in patterns of immigration and settlement, an inability to adapt the national identity to a changing Europe and growing economic precocity across Europe, where the gap between rich and poor continues to grow.

132 Tournier, V. 2016. Portrait des Musulmans d'Europe: Unité dans la Diversité, Fondation Pour L'innovation Politique.

133 Begag. A. 'French Politicians who use Islam to Win Elections Do so at the Country's Peril'. Middle East Eye. 6 January 2017. Available at http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/islam-2017-french-presidential-election-beware-581875139

134 Jivraj, S. and Simpson, L. 2015. Ethnic Identity and Inequalities in Britain: The Dynamics of Diversity. Policy Press. Available at https://books.google.co.tz/books?id=Z7K6CQAAQBAJ

135 Citizens UK. 2017. The Missing Muslims: Unlocking British Muslim Potential for the Benefit of All. Citizens Commission on Islam Participation and Public Life.

136 Halm, D. and Sauer, M. 2017. Muslims in Europe Integrated but not Accepted? Religion Monitor, Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh.

137 House of Commons Women and Equality Committee, 2016. Employment Opportunities for Muslims in the UK, London.

138 TellMAMA 2017. 'Anti-Muslim Hate Harms the Social Mobility of Young Muslims Study Finds'. Accessed 7 September 2017. https://tellmamauk.org/anti-muslim-hate-harms-the-social-mobility-of-young-muslims-study-finds/

139 Ministerio de Economía, Industria, y Competitividad. 'Estudio: Los Índices de Desempleo y Pobreza Entre Población Musulmana son Wayores'. Available at https://www.icex.es/icex/es/navegacion-principal/todos-nuestros-servicios/informacion-de-mercados/paises/navegacion-principal/noticias/4741241.html?idPais=IN

3.3.2 DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MUSLIMS

In addition to the structural inequalities that Muslim communities can face, there has been a proliferation since 9/11 of overt and covert discrimination and anti-Muslim prejudice.

The covert forms of discrimination are subtle and latent, often including implicit in-group bias, micro-aggressions and a general lack of awareness of difference. Some studies show that the media foster latent islamophobia or racism as the press tends to report Muslims in a negative light[140]. Similarly one study has highlighted this anti-Muslim prejudice by conducting an experiment. In the study, two identical CVs were sent to businesses from a candidate with a Muslim sounding name and one from a candidate with a Christian sounding name. The results showed that other things being equal, the candidates with Muslim names had 2.5 less of a chance to get a call back over candidates with Christian sounding names and identical qualifications, including Christian African sounding names[141]. In Spain, the Muslim community has felt discriminated against in comparison with Catholics. Recent years have also seen a rise in more violent anti-Muslim prejudice. In the UK, there has been a steady rise in anti-Muslim hate crimes in the last decade. According to TellMAMA, an independent hate crime reporting service, anti-Muslim hate crimes have mostly occurred online. For instance, in 2015 TellMAMA noted 548 reported hate crimes. The bulk of these crimes occurred online and involved anti-Muslim abuse or the dissemination of anti-Muslim literature. Less than 25% of the cases of anti-Muslim hate crimes involved threats. Only around 30% of the incidents had been reported to the police. Of the offline attacks, which can include verbal abuses, property damage, threats, assaults and acts of violence, the majority of that take place are against women wearing religiously distinctive clothing. Tell MAMA found that the number of attacks tends to rise in the seven days following terrorist attacks. In addition, the recent figures from the Metropolitan Police show Islamophobia hate crimes have dramatically increased after terrorist attacks. Between 2015 and 2016 Islamophobia hate crimes rose 59.4% in London[142].

FIGURE 3:

Increase of anti-Muslim reported hatred crimes[142]

Year	Increase in anti-Muslim reported hated crimes
2011	+30%
2012	+28%
2013	+11.3%
2014	-41%
2015	+223%

In France, there has been a sharp rise in anti-Muslim reported hate crimes since 2011. Additionally, there has been an increase in the level of violence in those hate crimes. Both individuals as well as mosques and graveyards have been targeted.

Muslim women are particularly targeted for harassment or hate-crimes. According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, more than 1/3 of all Muslim women in Europe who wear a headscarf or *niqab* in public have experienced harassment[143].

Yet problems persist in the recording of Anti-Muslim prejudice in the same way that other hate crimes are considered. Indeed, non-reporting is a concern, as only a minority of Muslims report any form of discrimination to relevant authorities[144]. According to the European Agency for Fundamental Rights, Muslims are often dissatisfied with the police's handling of incidents and do not trust that their case will be dealt with in a just manner[145].

140 Karakasoglu, Y., Luchtenberg, S., Peter, F., and Spielhaus, R. 2006, 'Germany'. Securitization and Religious Divides in Europe, Muslims in Western Europe After 9/11: Why the Term Islamophobia is More a Predicament than an Explanation, Submission to the Changing Landscape of Citizenship and Security 6th PCRD of European Commission. pp. 143-94

141 Adida. C et al. 2013. 'Muslims in France: Identifying a Discriminatory Equilibrium'. Available at https://web.stanford.edu/group/laitin_research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Muslims-in-France.pdf

142 Citizens, 2017. The Missing Muslims: Unlocking British Muslim Potential for the Benefit of All. Citizens Commission on Islam Participation and Public Life. London

143 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2017. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Roma – Selected Findings. Luxembourg. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings_en.pdf

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

This overt and covert anti-Muslim prejudice occurs in a wider political context fostering Islamophobia in Europe. In Western Europe, there has been since 9/11 a hardening in attitudes towards Muslims. In France, prior to 9/11 the far right party, the *National Front* professed a violent form of anti-Zionism and favoured an alliance with Islamists. However soon after 9/11, members of *the National Front* asserted their will to fight the Arab-Muslim presence in France. Furthermore, the 2002 presidential election focused on the theme of insecurity as the *National Front* candidate, Jean-Marie Le Pen stigmatized Arab-Muslims, whom he held responsible for the insecurity issues in France. With the rise of the *National Front* (which gained ground in France following the 2002 presidential election where Jean-Marie Le Pen reached the second round), political leaders from traditional right-wing parties have exploited Islamophobia to attract the *National Front's* electorate. This latent Anti-Muslim prejudice was visible in the two last presidential elections when then candidate and former president Nicolas Sarkozy, in 2012, highlighted that Professor Tariq Ramadan, a senior academic at Oxford University, along with most Muslim organizations backed socialist candidate François Hollande, implying that the election of François Hollande could threaten French identity[146]. In the primaries of the 2017 presidential elections, a number of candidates from the right-wing *Les Republicans* party declared 'Islamic civilization' a threat to the 'French Christian and Jewish tradition'[147], and they even claimed that France would face a third world war between the 'Christian and Jewish civilization' against 'Islamic-fascism'[148]. Thus the *National Front's* discourse on Islam spilled over into mainstream social and political debates. Additionally from 2006, a group of left-wing figures, inspired by the ideas of post-1968, started to associate Islamism, a word loosely used to refer to politicized Muslims, with fascism as Muslim leaders condemned the publication of the Danish cartoons of Muhammad published in France by the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo[149].

Similar trends are visible in the UK as low-level rhetoric of anti-Muslim prejudice has spilled over into mainstream social and political debates and has become ever-present in British political discourse. For instance, in the run-up to the 2015 elections, politicians from all parties adopted a language of 'soft' nationalism, promoting 'indigenous cultural identity'[150].

146 JDD. 'Comment Nicolas Sarkozy a Durci son Discours sur l'Islam'. LeJDD. 1 June 2015. Accessed at http://www.lejdd.fr/Politique/Comment-Nicolas-Sarkozy-a-durci-son-discours-sur-l-islam-735534

147 Goar. M. and Chambraud, C. 'L'Islam, Variable Èlectorale de Sarkozy'. Le Monde. 3 June 2015.

148 Ibid.

149 Lebourg, N. 2016 'Islamophobia in France.' Occasion. Accessible at http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2015/06/03/entre-sarkozy-et-l-islam-une-relation-opportuniste_4646083_823448.html http://arcade.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/article_pdfs/Occasion_v09_lebourg_final.pdf

150 TellMAMA 2017. 'Anti-Muslim Hate Harms the Social Mobility of Young Muslims Study Finds'. Accessed 7 September 2017. https://tellmamauk.org/anti-muslim-hate-harms-the-social-mobility-of-young-muslims-study-finds/

In Spain, several political parties, such as Partido Popular, which was in power from 2011 to 2015, have adopted anti-Muslim slogans. In addition, two of the party's most controversial figures have been accused of Islamophobia. The mayor of Getafe, Juan Soler, has been accused of promoting Islamophobia, hate speech and inciting confrontation with Muslims. Additionally, the former mayor of the city of Badalona Xavier Garcia Albiol stated his intent to erase any trace of multiculturalism in the city in his last political campaign[151].

3.3.3 A SHIFT IN THE POLITICAL MOBILISATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS

The inequality and social and economic exclusion as well as the anti-Muslim discrimination has fostered the emergence of 'Muslim' as a politically salient identity marker for second and third generation Muslims in Europe. 'Muslim' has become an identity around which political mobilization can occur. Therefore, there has been a marked shift since the 1990s from immigrant political mobilization around ethnic and national categories to mobilization around political categories of 'Muslim'. Some political entrepreneurs have used the category of 'Muslim' in different ways. For instance in the UK, the Muslim Council of Britain has used the category of 'Muslim' as a way to represent the interests of the Muslim community within the liberal state, like a standard interest group within the civil society[152]. In contrast, the Hizb-ut Tahrir, a transnational pan-Islamic group which has a component in the UK, has used the category of 'Muslim' as an opposition to the liberal state, encouraging British and European Muslims to reject liberalism and identify themselves politically with the global *'umma'*[153]. While it does not necessarily equate to a rejection of the European national identities, the adoption of the *'umma'* has tended to increase the defiance of the wider society towards Muslim communities. Such defiance has translated into an increase of Islamophobia, which further marginalizes, politicizes and mobilizes Muslim communities against liberal states[154]. Furthermore, according to scholars analyzing the rise of extremist Islamic foreign fighters, transnational identities can provide social structures that enable dissemination of recruitment messages based on appeals to people's sense of solidarity and altruism and permit the mobilization of foreign fighters.[155]

Hence, the economic and social exclusion of European Muslims has contributed to creating a political identity category of 'Muslim', which has been framed in opposition to the liberal state by some political entrepreneurs. This has fostered an opposition between certain Muslim communities and European governments and has allowed the increase of extremist Islamic foreign fighters.

3.3.4 TOWARDS AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY: LEARNING FROM AL-ANDALUS MODEL OF GOVERNANCE

Muslim integration of French and British policies has tended to converge towards a soft form of assimilation. In the UK this has included promoting a social cohesion based on the adoption of social values and creating stricter conditions around citizenship. In France the institutionalisation of Islam, which in turn formally recognized the Muslim component of French society, has started to put into question the traditional French assimilationist approach. In Spain, Muslim integration policies have been characterised by a more pragmatic and ad hoc approach. This has resulted in integration policies which are embedded in the issues of regional pluralism.

151 Bayrakli, E. and Hafez, F. 2016. *EUROPEAN Islamophobia Report*. Available at http://www.islamophobiaeurope.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/SPAIN.pdf

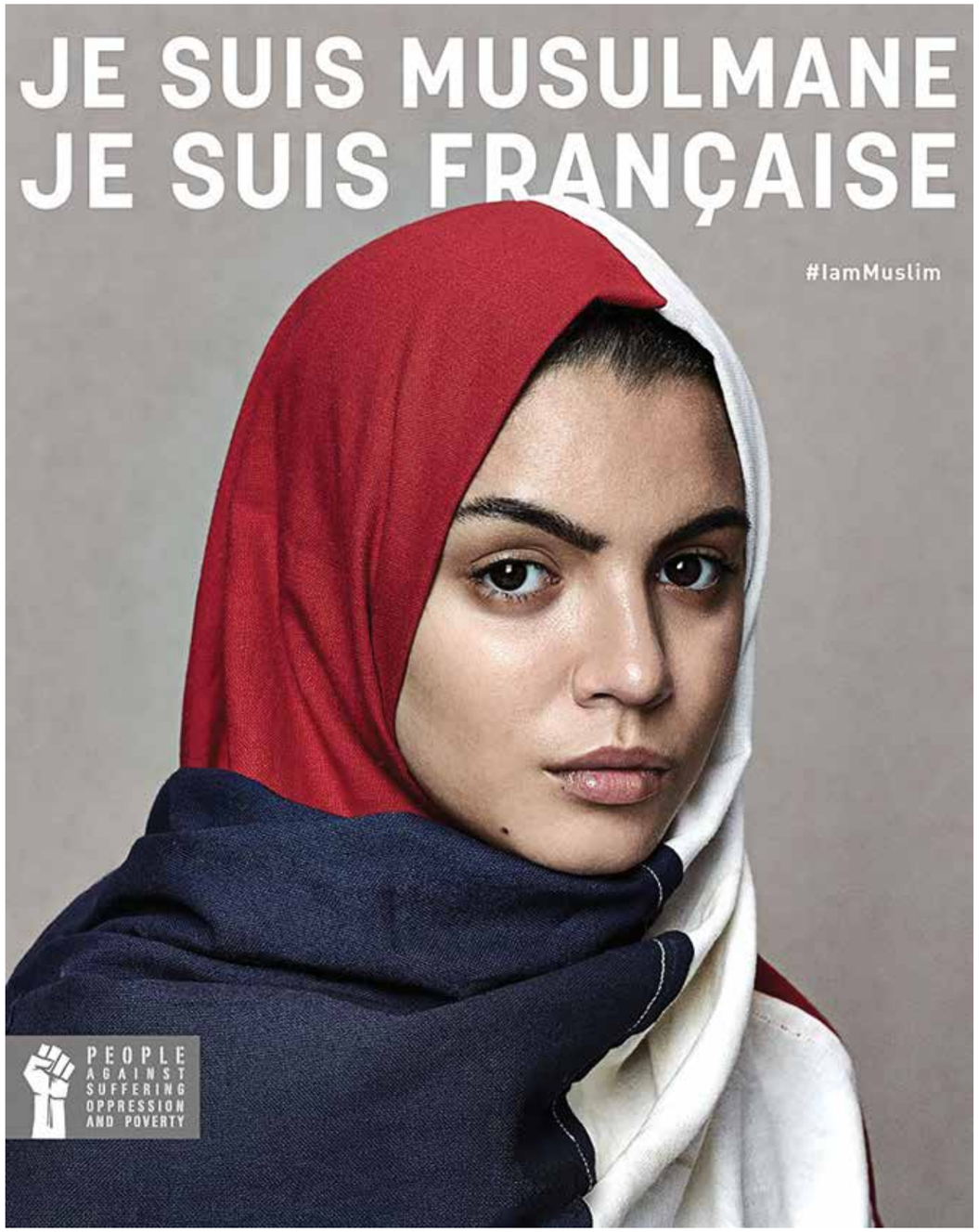
152 Adamson, F.B. 2011. 'Engaging or Contesting the Liberal State? "Muslim" as a Politicised Identity Category in Europe'. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 37(6), pp. 899–915. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.576193

153 An 'umma' centred solidarity refers to the sense of a global community, and which transcends borders, and at its heart is the shared belief in the divine origin of the Qur'an. Adamson, F. B. 2011. 'Engaging or Contesting the Liberal State? "Muslim" as a Politicised Identity Category in Europe'. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 37(6), pp. 899–915. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.576193

154 Lynch, O. 2017. Critical Studies on Terrorism British Muslim Youth: Radicalisation, Terrorism and the Construction of the 'Other'. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 6(2), pp. 241–261. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2013.788863

155 Hegghammer, T. 2010. 'The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad'. International Security, 35(3), pp. 53–94. Available at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/ISEC_a_00023;Malet, D. 2010. 'Why Foreign Fighters? Historical Perspectives and Solutions'. Orbis, 54(1), pp. 97–114.

These three integration models nevertheless contrast greatly with the model of integration in Al-Andalus. In Al-Andalus, where the concept of nation-state did not exist yet, the boundaries of each community was protected by Islamic law. Despite some caveats, as Jews and Christians were considered second-class citizens, this meant that each religious groups' practices and identity was preserved, giving the religious communities the freedom to practice their religion with little concessions. In contrast, in modern European communities, where the nation-state is the dominant political agent and national identity is the primary form of collective identification[156], the accommodation of religious identities and practices has been challenging. National identity provides a means for affirming the unity and superiority of the whole national community rather than particular groups. Thus contemporary European models leave little identity and institutional space for minorities to defend their boundaries and identity. Yet, as societies become increasingly diverse, and as migration flows rise, the question is no 'longer how to live *with,* but *in* diversity'[157]. As minority groups grow, diversity will become the mainstream, rather than a majority being expected to accommodate with minorities. Therefore, there will be an urgent need to find institutional arrangements to govern diverse societies[158].



Hence, the challenge for European societies' will be to find a way to reconcile the idea of a nation-state with the idea of multiple identities in order to achieve a peaceful *convivencia* between different communities, like in Al-Andalus. The European nation-state needs to find ways to respect and protect the boundaries of minority groups while fostering intense inter-group contact and cohesion. They should develop what the scholars Tariq Modood and Ted Cantle have named interculturalism[159]. The concept of citizenship will shift away from merely being a vertical relationship between the individual and the state, where minorities have rights towards and against the state. Rather, respecting the 'super diversity' of European societies would require the development of a system of governance inspired by the religious governance in Al-Andalus, where minorities' practices are promoted while developing inter-group interactions that could challenge the identity politics, which can create a sentiment of otherness among minorities[160]. Then citizenship is understood as a horizontal relationship between different groups who can accommodate with each other's practices. The role of the state would, therefore, not be to impose a national identity, but rather to foster the accommodation and acculturation between different groups through reiterated interactions.

In sum, according to the academic Tariq Modood, a new European integration could be created and 'should be thought as a multi-level process'. It would tackle discriminations while offering inclusion in an identity that must be grounded in the pluralist conception of equal citizenship[161]. •

156 Modood, T., Triandafyllidou, A. and Zapata-Barrero, R., eds. 2006. Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach. New York: Routledge.

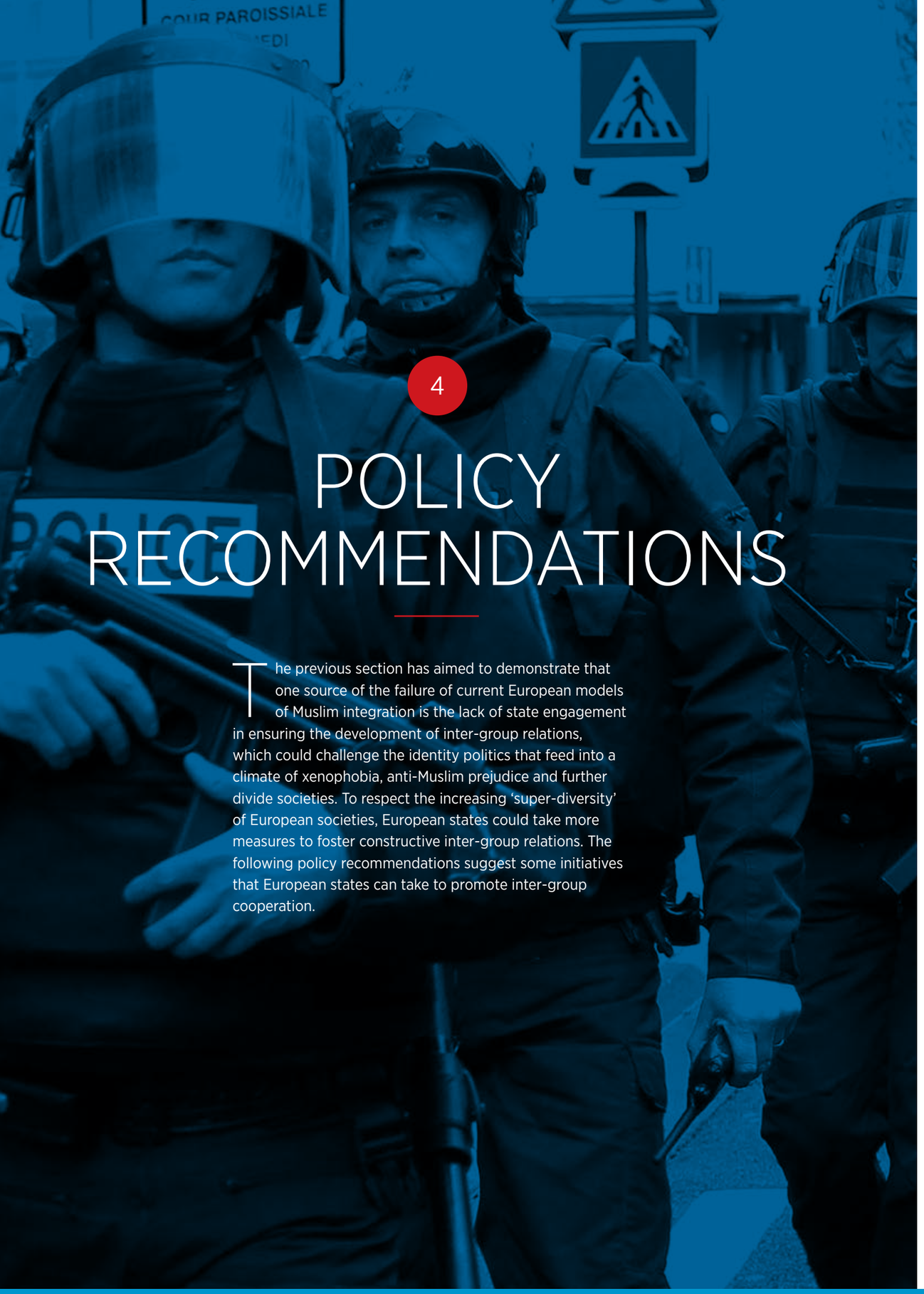
157 Antonsich, M. 2016. 'Interculturalism Versus Multiculturalism – The Cantle-Modood Debate'. Ethnicities, 16(3), pp. 470–493.

158 Ibid.;Cantle, T. 2011. 'Cohesion and Integration: From "Multi" to "Inter" Culturalism. Symposium International sur l'Interculturalisme. p.48. Available at http://tedcantle.co.uk/pdf/CANTLE chap 1-COLO.pdf

159 Ibid.

160 Antonsich, M. 2016. Interculturalism Versus Multiculturalism – The Cantle-Modood Debate. Ethnicities. 16(3), pp. 470–493.

161 Modood, T. 2012. Post-Immigration 'Difference' and Integration. pp.1–72.



4

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The previous section has aimed to demonstrate that one source of the failure of current European models of Muslim integration is the lack of state engagement in ensuring the development of inter-group relations, which could challenge the identity politics that feed into a climate of xenophobia, anti-Muslim prejudice and further divide societies. To respect the increasing 'super-diversity' of European societies, European states could take more measures to foster constructive inter-group relations. The following policy recommendations suggest some initiatives that European states can take to promote inter-group cooperation.

1. INCREASE THE ACCURACY OF DATA ON ANTI-MUSLIM DISCRIMINATION

In order to create policies to reduce overt and covert forms of discrimination, more academic research is needed to measure discrimination in access to employment, housing and public goods. Further studies drawing upon research on CV-based trials would be helpful to understand the exact mechanisms fostering anti-Muslim prejudice. This type of research would allow countries to build tailored and effective policies to tackle anti-Muslim prejudice[162]. The gathering of such data would require building partnerships between different organizations, including ministers, local councils, unemployment agencies, human rights organizations and religious organizations in order to create an extensive database on the inequalities and prejudices Muslims face in employment, schools and housing and through overt means of discrimination or hatred acts.

In addition, although several organisations record anti-Muslim crimes, they tend to rely on voluntary reports. Yet, there are several barriers of reporting of anti-Muslim crimes, such as stigmas and lack of knowledge or trust in the judicial system. Hence crimes are likely to be undercounted. Reporting should be facilitated by creating more focal points for victims, including within local communities. This would require increasing the number of professional staff in Muslim institutional settings trained to record and report hatred crimes to the relevant authorities.

2. FIGHT ANTI-MUSLIM PREJUDICE THROUGH EDUCATION

Such measures to fight anti-Muslim prejudice have been advocated for in France. The historian Barbara Lefebvre shows that the way history is today taught in France contributes to fuel discrimination against Muslims. She argues that the French history curriculum only provides a partial account of Islam's history in order to consolidate the idea of a united French society. However, rather than consolidate the unity of French society, this rewriting of history actually can fuel an identity crisis among Muslim students who have to reconcile different accounts of Islam's history at school and in their religious practice[163]. Similarly, the academics Pascal Blanchard and Nicolas Bancel have shown that the way the colonial past of France is taught contributes to fuel stereotypes on people from the ex-North African and sub-Saharan Africa[164]. Therefore, the relevant authorities should rethink the way Islam is taught in schools and present accurate historical accounts rather than use history for normative purposes. This should be combined with activities which can encourage critical thinking and reflection among students. Schools should also be the place where awareness of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims can be fostered[165]. In addition, programs which could enhance the exposure of Muslim communities to help non-Muslims to understand Muslim cultural norms should be promoted. Such programs could help to curb the sentiment of 'otherness' of the Muslim community.

In addition, European states could introduce more ambitious civic education school curricula that raises awareness of discrimination[166].

3. FIGHT ANTI-MUSLIM PREJUDICE THROUGH MEDIA

The media can contribute to reduce overt and covert anti-Muslim prejudice. The collective against Islamophobia in France has shown that media tend to invite polemicist on TV sets to debate issues around Islam. This can contribute to fuel unnecessary debates. Similarly, the columnist and political

162 Valfort, M. 2015. Religious Discrimination in Access to Employment: a Reality. Paris; Benzine, R. 2017. Mission de Réflexion sur la Formation des Imams et des Cadres Religieux Musulmans. Paris. Available at http://www.letudiant.fr/static/uploads/mediatheque/EDU_EDU/6/3/1455063-rapport-sur-la-formation-des-imams-4-original.pdf

163 Lefebvre. B. and Tremolet de Villiers, V. 'Comment l'Islam est Abordé Dans les Manuels Scolaires ?'. FigaroVOX. 26 September 2016. Available at http://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/societe/2016/09/23/31003-20160923ARTFIG00212-comment-l-islam-est-aborde-dans-les-manuels-scolaires.php

164 De Cock, L. 2012. 'Un Siècle d'Enseignement du Fait Colonial Dans le Secondaire de 1902 à nos Jours'. Histoire @Politique. N°18. pp.179-198.

165 OSCE. 2011. Guidelines for Educators on Countering Intolerance and Discrimination Against Muslims. OSCE. Available at http://www.ed.ac.uk/files/atoms/files//osce_guidelines_for_educators.pdf

166 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2017. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Roma – Selected Findings. Luxembourg. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings_en.pdf

director of the *Huffington Post UK* has stated that press has tended to present Muslims as 'the other', as the media portrayal tends to focus on violence. This fuels stereotypes and irrational fears, which can lead to Islamophobia. In order to counter such negative portrayal of Muslims, the European media should foster informed discussions between experts, academics and professionals, which could counter misrepresentations about Muslims[167].

The media should also prevent from giving voice and airtime to people who have already been condemned of racism and Islamophobia. Similarly, the media should review the way they treat issues related to Islam and avoid systematically transmitting negative representations of Muslims[168], often found to be rooted in false stories and even fabrications. This requires the media to be careful about expressions and words used when it comes to Muslims and Islam[169]. In addition, independent human rights organisations could monitor systematically the treatment of Muslims in the media as a way to hold accountable the media for spreading negative stereotypes about Islam[170]. These measures could allow a more serene and sensible debate on real issues Western Muslims face. Greater diversity in newsrooms and the media in general could assist in countering some of these issues.

4. FIGHT DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

Despite different integration policies in Western European countries, persistent discrimination against Muslims remains in the workplace, leading to large income disparities between Muslims and non-Muslims[171]. A successful example of anti-discrimination measures is visible in Northern Ireland, which put in place fair employment

167 Collectif Contre l'Islamophobie. 2017. Rapport 2017. Paris. Available at http://www.islamophobie.net/rapport-2017/

168 Valfort, M. 2015. Religious Discrimination in Access to Employment: A Reality. Paris.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

171 Halm, D. and Sauer, M. 2017. Muslims in Europe Integrated but not Accepted? Religion Monitor. Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh.

a scheme measuring the professional development of all employees to highlight employees who are victims of discrimination[172]. In addition, discrimination in the workplace could be reduced by improving how employees manage their religious practices in their workplace. This could be done by widely distributing existing guides created by public authorities and associations[173].

5. STRENGTHEN PROSECUTION SYSTEM FOR ANTI-MUSLIM DISCRIMINATION AND HATRED CRIMES

In addition, European prosecution systems tend to underestimate the scope and scale of Islamophobia. The TellMAMA organisation has noted that there are low numbers of victims of Islamophobia reporting incidents to the police, as poor relationships between the police and ethnic minorities in Europe has led to low levels of trust in the police. Therefore, the police and judicial system in Europe should create programmes to encourage the reporting and prosecution of Islamophobia acts[174]. According to TellMAMA this could entail creating or reinforcing partnerships between the police and Muslim community organisations necessary to bridge the cultural and linguistic barriers preventing reporting[175]. This could also encompass establishing European minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime to ensure that all victims of overt forms of discrimination are thoroughly assessed and supported[176]. In addition, the increase of online hate speech against Muslims suggests that there is a need to develop a response addressing the challenges presented by online space. TellMAMA suggests that social networks must improve their policing and regulatory practices[177]. Furthermore, the European states should focus their efforts on effectively implementing anti-discrimination laws with proportionate but dissuasive sanctions[178].

172 Sciberras. J-C. et al. 2016. Rapport sur le Suivi de la Mise en Œuvre des Propositions du Groupe de Dialogue sur la Lutte Contre les Discriminations en Entreprise. Paris. Available at http://travail-emploi.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/rapport_sur_le_suivi_de_la_mise_en_oeuvre_des_propositions_du_groupe_de_dialogue_sur_la_lutte_contre_les_discriminations_en_entreprise.pdf

173 Valfort, M. 2015. Religious Discrimination in Access to Employment: A Reality. Paris.

174 TellMAMA 2017. 'Anti-Muslim Hate Harms the Social Mobility of Young Muslims Study Finds'. Accessed 7 September 2017. https://tellmamauk.org/anti-muslim-hate-harms-the-social-mobility-of-young-muslims-study-finds/

175 Ibid.

176 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2017. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Roma – Selected Findings. Luxembourg. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings_en.pdf

177 Ibid.

178 Ibid.

6. FIGHT ANTI-MUSLIM PREJUDICE THROUGH THOROUGH MONITORING ORGANISATIONS

The European states should encourage further monitoring of anti-Muslim discrimination. They should empower bodies promoting equality, fighting discrimination and supporting Muslim victims of discrimination. This could include further supporting local organisations or non-governmental organisations, as well as providing national equalities and human rights bodies with further effective powers, such as binding decision-making powers and the ability to monitor the enforcement of sanctions issued by the judicial system[179].

7. IMPROVE INTER-GROUP RELATIONS BY REFORMING RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

Furthermore, there is a lack of institutionalisation and resources for Muslim organisations in European countries, resulting in a failure to strengthen intercultural community relations and social cohesion more broadly. There is in particular a lack of resources for mosques to invest in European-born imams equipped with the skills to deal with the challenges facing Muslims in their country of residence[180]. There is a need for training more imams and Muslim community leaders in European institutions. According to the academics Rachid Benzine, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Mathilde Philip-Gay, there is insufficient courses to train imams[181]. Thus the state should support the creation of new training facilities as well as invest in academic courses on Islam that would further train Muslim community leaders. The institutionalisation of Muslim organisations can support inter-group relations, as these organisations would have more human and economic resources to engage in inter-group dialogue.

8. IMPROVE THE INCLUSION OF MINORITY GROUPS BY RE-EVALUATING STATE POLICIES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

In most European countries, Muslims tend to live in poorer neighbourhoods and experience low levels of social mobility, challenges to gain meaningful employment and higher levels of unemployment. Therefore, the European government should re-evaluate and reinforce policies of economic and social equality across their territories. Meaningful resources should be allocated towards policies to address persistent issues of poverty, unemployment, poor educational attainment and discrimination. These could include prioritising tailored and personalised training for Muslim Europeans facing marginalisation, while encouraging employers to hire within such communities. The European Union offers various funds dedicated to social integration that could be allocated to the social and economic Muslim communities in its member states[182].

9. IMPROVE THE INCLUSION OF MINORITIES BY ENCOURAGING THEIR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Furthermore, the exclusion of Islam is linked to the lack of effective measures to ensure the active contribution of immigrants (including Muslims) in the political, social and cultural life of European societies. Hence, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) has called European states to encourage the participation of immigrants, in particular women and young people, in public consultations processes. This could also be achieved by encouraging local authorities to organise inclusive local activities[183]. This would contribute to increase the trust that Muslim populations have in public institutions. The inclusion of Muslim populations could also come through providing more favourable conditions for citizenship acquisition and naturalisation for descendants of immigrants born or educated in the country of residence[184]. •

179 Ibid.

180 Citizens 2017. The Missing Muslims: Unlocking British Muslim Potential for the Benefit of All. Citizens Commission on Islam Participation and Public Life; Sénat. 2015-2016. Rapport d'Information Dait au nom de la Mission d'Information sur l'Organisation, la Place et le Financement de l'Islam en France et de ses Lieux de Culte.

181 Benzine. R. 2017. Mission de Réflexion sur la Formation des Imams et des Cadres Religieux Musulmans. Paris. Available at http://www.letudiant.fr/static/uploads/mediatheque/EDU_EDU/6/3/1455063-rapport-sur-la-formation-des-imams-4-original.pdf

182 Union Européenne. N.d. 'Emploi et Affaires Sociales'. Accessible at https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/employment-social-affairs_fr

183 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2017. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Roma – Selected Findings. Luxembourg. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings_en.pdf

184 Ibid.

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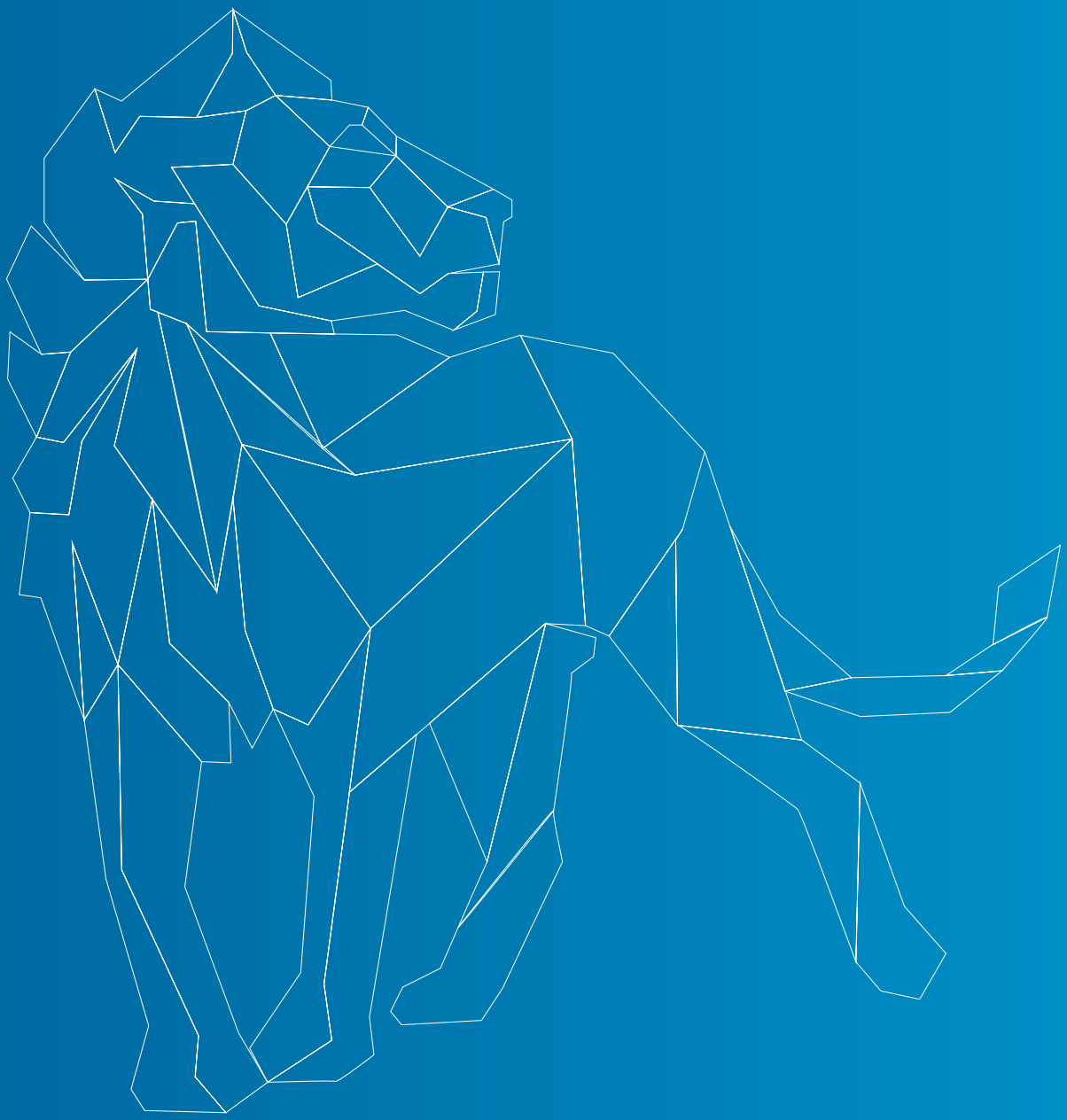
CONCLUSION

This report has aimed to analyse the lessons that can be drawn from the Al-Andalus model of governance and the *convivencia* between Jews, Christians and Muslims for the challenges that today's European model of integration faces. In Al-Andalus coexistence between various religious communities relied on strict rules demarcating the boundaries of each religious group. These protected the identities, rituals and practices of each group. By protecting the boundaries and identities of religious communities, the Al-Andalus model of governance fostered stabilised relations and constructive contact between religious groups.

In a context of Brexit, a mass refugee crisis, an economic slump and terrorist attacks by the so-called ISIS, these recent events have all tended to feed into a toxic climate of xenophobia and specifically anti-Muslim prejudice. These are all symptoms of a failing European model of Muslim integration, which has fuelled the exclusion of Muslims from European societies. Today's European models of integration have failed to protect the boundaries of religious minorities or to accommodate their identities and practices. The European models of integration have been challenged in fostering a two-way system, where Muslims integrate to European societies and European societies accommodate Muslim practices. To overcome these challenges, European nations could move towards a new model of Muslim integration inspired by the Al-Andalus model of governance, where the state accommodates minorities' practices and identities while fostering inter-group relations and cooperation. •



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