SOCIEDADES Y FRONTERAS

Actas del IX Congreso Andaluz de Sociología

Estrella Gualda Caballero (dir.)

uhu.es PUBLICACIONES

SOCIEDADES Y FRONTERAS

Actas del IX Congreso Andaluz de Sociología

HUELVA

23-24 de noviembre de 2018

Estrella Gualda Caballero
(dir.)

uhu.es PUBLICACIONES

uhu.es PUBLICACIONES
COLLECTANEA
223

DATOS EDICIÓN

Primera edición en formato ebook: Diciembre 2019
Primera edición en formato papel: Diciembre 2019

© Servicio de Publicaciones
Universidad de Huelva

© Estrella Gualda Caballero (Dir.)
© Marta Ruiz García
© Iván Rodríguez Pascual
© José Andrés Domínguez Gómez
© Joaquina Castillo Algarra
© Teresa González Gómez
© Carmen Rodríguez Reinado
© Carolina Rebollo Díaz

© Los autores

EI.S.B.N. (PDF): 978-84-17776-99-2

CEP

Congreso Andaluz de Sociología (9º. 2018. Huelva)

Sociedades y fronteras : actas del IX Congreso Andaluz de Sociología, Huelva, 23-24 de noviembre de 2018 / Estrella Gualda Caballero (dir.) – Huelva : Universidad de Huelva, 2019

747 p. ; 24 cm.—(Collectanea (Universidad de Huelva ; 223)

ISBN (epub) 978-84-17776-99-2

1. Sociología – Congresos. I. Gualda, Estrella. II. Universidad de Huelva. III. Título. IV. Serie

316(063)

Diseño, maquetación y composición Ebook
Maquetacción

Publicación bajo licencia de uso Creative Commons

Obra sometida al proceso de evaluación de calidad editorial por el sistema de revisión por pares.

Publicaciones de la Univesidad de Huelva es miembro de UNE

Reservados todos los derechos. Ni la totalidad ni parte de este libro puede reproducirse o transmitirse por ningún procedimiento electrónico o mecánico, incluyendo fotocopia, grabación magnética o cualquier almacenamiento de información y sistema de recuperación, sin permiso escrito del editor. La infracción de los derechos mencionados puede ser constitutivo de delito contra la propiedad intelectual.

Clique para mayor información

EL EBOOK LE PERMITE

Citar el libro

Navegar por marcadores e hipervínculos

Realizar notas y búsquedas internas

Volver al índice pulsando el pie de la página

Comparte #LibrosUHU

Únete y comenta

Novedades a golpe de clic

Nuestras publicaciones en movimiento

Suscríbete a nuestras novedades

THE POLICY OF RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND COHABITATION: THE CASE OF MUSLIMS IN MADRID

Mariana Rosca, *Universidad de Deusto*

During the last decades there is an increased attention of both academia and policy makers to the issue of Islam and Muslims in European secular states. Happenings such as 9/11 have placed the issue of Islam in the frontline of many policy agendas. Such a scenario has been forecasted by Huntington´s clash of civilization and the issue of religion seems to be back ones again into the public debate, contradicting the secular idea of religion becoming increasingly a private issue. In this way, the post-secular theory (Casanova, 2009; Habermas, 2008) critiques to the secularization of religion points out how religion has once again become important to the public and political debate. In this debate, a central attention it is attributed to Muslims and Islam. Undoubtedly, the increasing presence of Muslims practicing Islam in European secular states has had a considerable impact on governance (Pauly, 2016) and integration policies. It is particularly, the demographic factor, that according to Kaufmann et al., contributes to the religious growth or religious pluralism in Europe and which is competing with a religious decline of traditional European religiosity (Kaufmann, Goujon, & Skirbekk, 2012). An evidence of this is the recent arrival of millions of asylum seekers, many of whom are Muslims, and that has led to political and social upheavals. The Pew Research data shows a constant Muslim population growth during mid-2010 to mid-2016 and estimates that the share of Muslim population in Europe is more likely to increase in the coming future. More exactly, by 2050, the share of the European continent Muslim population could double, rising to 11.2% or more, depending on how much migration is allowed into Europe (Hackett, 2017). The recent Muslim migration flows supply the number of Muslim population already present in European continent.

The growing presence of Islam and its impact on the governance in Western Europe in general and Spain in particular requires to reconsider the implemented polices, assessing their impact and implementability, in order to fill in the gap of empirical evidence on policy response to the needs of Muslim minorities. It is specifically this aspect that has been of little consideration by Spanish scholars. In this way, the current research endeavors to fill in the gap of research in the area of social integration policy evaluation by Muslim minorities.

The policy proposed to be evaluated refers to the policy of Foundation of Pluralism and Coexistence (FPC - Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia), established on October 15, 2004, by the Ministry of Justice´s proposal and by an agreement with the Council of Ministers. Accordingly, the FPC is a public organization and its´ purpose is to contribute to the implementation of *cultural*, *educational* and *social integration* programs and projects*,* of non-Catholic confessions and which have a

cooperation agreement with the Spanish State or which have been recognized of "notorio arraigo" – with notorious roots or historically present in the Spanish territory (Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia, 2009)[9].

The two main aims of FPC policy instrument are to *promote the religious freedom* through the cooperation with the religious organizations, recognized by the Spanish State and be a space of debate, research and policy proposal on religious and conscience freedom, with the goal to normalize the religious realm and create *an adequate framework of coexistence*. Moreover, the FPC policy tends to ensure a real and effective opportunity for all citizens to exercise their religious freedom, individually and collectively, as well as, to sustain the activities of social interest (*educational, cultural, social* and welfare and even the activities of tourist interest) promoted by the different confessions present in Spain. In this way, the public funding guarantees the citizens´ effective *exercise of religious freedom*, ensures the *visibility of religious pluralism* of Spanish society and supports the *social initiatives of collective interest* promoted by religious denominations (Ministerio de Justicia, 2017, p. 73).

In order to achieve these objectives, the FPC develops its activity in three areas or with three main target groups:

- with the religious minorities - supporting their representative bodies and their activities, as well as their communities and local organizations;
- with the society in general – informing the public opinion and facilitating spaces for social cohesion and coexistence, and
- with the public administrations – developing policies in the area of religious diversity, promoting the religious minorities´ rights and facilitating the management of religious diversity and pluralism in the territory (Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia, n.d.).
- From all these areas it is the first one that is of particular interest and this instrument is evaluated in the current research. Under this particular area, related directly to the religious minorities, the FPC policy is oriented towards two main actors and actions:
- Action 1, targeting the religious federations, consists of an annual aid to the minority confessions´ federations that have a cooperation agreement with the Spanish State for their institutional development activities as well as activities for the assistance and coordination; and
- Action 2, targeting local religious organizations, consists of annual aid offered to local religious communities for the development of cultural, educational and social integration activities.

[9] The Muslim minority in Spain has been officially recognized by the state in 1992 and by the signature of a cooperation agreement. Ley 26/1992, de 10 de noviembre, por la que se aprueba el Acuerdo de Cooperación del Estado con la Comisión Islámica de España.

Thus, as the Action 2 is directed to the local religious minorities' organization it is particularly this policy instrument being evaluated by the Muslim religious organizations in Madrid. In order to have a representative sample of the target group there has been developed several selection criteria of the religious organizations from Madrid (Table 1) as follows: A first criterion for selection is the belonging to the Muslim networks both officially/formalized and unofficially/not formalized. There are two founding/main Muslim federations in Spain: Unión de Comunidades Islámicas de España - UCIDE and Federación Española de Entidades Religiosas Islámicas - FEERI as well as other formal/informal networks of Muslim organizations. UCIDE and FEERI are the two main Muslim networks since the official recognition of Islam in Spain and are the founding members of the Spanish Commission on Islam (CIE)[10]. There are two main reasons why the affiliation it is important. First of all, in order to qualify for public aid of FPC policy, it is necessary to belong to one of the official networks or to have a recommendation from one federation. Secondly, the affiliation might have a direct impact on the religious entity establishment, development, and religious denomination and the level of social integration/disintegration.

The second criteria of selection are related to the activities that Muslim minority organizations provide to their religious minority community. Such activities are divided into three main categories: A1: Religious (Islam) and Arab teaching, A2: sum up the A1 activity plus activities of social integration financed by the FPC, A3: sum up A2 type of activities plus additional or extra activities of social integration delivered by other means (voluntary or different actor/policy contribution: EU, private, etc.).

[10] Ley 26/1992, de 10 de noviembre, por la que se aprueba el Acuerdo de Cooperación del Estado con la Comisión Islámica de España.

Table 1. Muslim organizations interviewed

		Madrid		
		UCIDE	**FEERI**	**Other/ None**
A1	Religious & Teaching Arab	MM1	MM4	MM7
A2	A1 + Projects financed by FPC	MM2	MM5	MM8
A3	A2 + other Projects	MM3	MM6	MM9

Source: Elaboration of the author.

For the evaluation of the Action 2 of the FPC policy instrument there are considered two main dimensions. First one refers to the assessment of the impact or the effectiveness of policy instrument to promote social integration of religious minorities, in terms of social, cultural, and educational impacts. In this case, the effectiveness represents the degree to which the policy intervention influences the policy objective in a desirable manner (European Commission, 2014) and the impact assessment aims to identity to what extent it "promotes community development and empowerment, builds capacity, and develops social capital, in terms of social networks and trust" (Vanclay, 2003, p. 6).

The second dimension of policy evaluation deals with the policy implementability that is assessed in terms of social acceptability and flexibility of the policy instrument. The methodological framework outlined covers both of the above dimensions and is presented in the Table 2.

Table 2. Main criteria for the evaluation of policy instrument

Evaluation dimensions	**Evaluation criterion**
Impact (Effectiveness)	Social Impact
	Educational Impact
	Cultural Impact
Implementability	Social acceptability
	Flexibility

Source: Adapted from Elaht et al. (Elah, Moshe, Epstein, & Feitelson, 2013, p. 16).

Research findings:

The research findings on FPC policy evaluation by the Muslim minority in Madrid are presented accordingly to the two evaluation dimensions: impact and implementability.

Impact:

Although there is a general recognized impact of the FPC policy it is considered limited due to the financing constrains that diminished during the crises. Such a short cut in the budget of the FPC had a direct effect on the activities of the Muslim minorities' organizations, which recognize that the policy impact could be major if more financing could be offered to the Muslim minority organizations and that could allow more activities to be implemented. Additionally, the budget cut was accompanied by a growing number of Muslim religious organizations that had to compete to obtain the financing. On top of this, due to the gradual decrease in funding and little amount offered for the projects many Muslim organizations had to cancel some activities and limit themselves to some basic and the most necessary services and activities.

Also, it is generally claimed by the Muslim minority the need to include into the policy the religious issues that the minority needs to deal with. Such a claim refers to the Imams and worship place maintenance costs that prove a misbalance between the policy goals and Muslim needs:

- We need the Imam Employment costs to be covered but these costs are not eligible for the FPC, the renting as well. At least some percentage will be good to be covered [MM5].

Social Impact:

Within the current research, the effectiveness of FPC policy instrument in general and its social impact are examined. A helpful staring point to define social impact assessment is the definition provided by Becker who defines the social impact assessment as "the process of identifying the future consequences of a current or proposed action which are related to individuals, organizations and social macro-systems" (Becker, 2001, p. 311). Similarly, Vanclay defines social impact assessment in a set of international principles, as "the processes of analyzing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programs, plans, projects) and any social change processes invoked by those interventions" (Vanclay, 2003, p. 6). Although, the "impact assessment does not yet have been fully elaborated there is a generally accepted typology" (Becker,

2001, p. 316) and there are some useful tips to be considered in the current research. In this way, focusing on the social impact on beneficiaries, Becker identifies three types of social impact assessment: micro, meso and macro. "Type 1, micro-social impact assessment, focuses on individuals and their behavior. Type 2, meso-social impact assessment, focuses on organizations and social networks (including communities), while Type 3, macro-social impact assessment, focuses on national and international social systems" (Becker, 2001, p. 316). It is particularly the second type that is of a high interest for the current research as it is the voice of the Muslim minority organizations heard on regard to the evaluation of the FPC policy instrument. Although the research focuses on the second type the actions of the Muslim minorities´ organizations it interviews the single Muslim individuals, such as leader, president, Imam, etc. that are familiar with the Muslim minority activity and the policy instrument under evaluation. Moreover, some social impact assessment reports (United Nations, 2006) emphasize the importance of social organization, social context and the needs and values of the studied minority community.

The FPC policy impact on Muslim organizations in Madrid during the field work emphasizes some positive contribution of this policy. The positive social impact of the policy is seen towards the visibility of the religious minorities in general and of Muslim minority in particular as well as the policy contribution towards raising the awareness among the local authorities on the Muslim religious needs:

- FPC has done a great job to visualize the religious minorities, especially Muslim minorities, through the research and studies, which is an excellent job and another important work is the financial aid to the Muslim community [MM1].
- The FPC policy helped us a lot from the beginning. During last years the help is little but of course is a help. Everything you see here is bought from the FPC policy support [MM8].
- The direct contact of FPC with the Ministry of Justice helps to facilitate and to solve the problem with municipalities, to know the laws and rights of Muslims… [MM9].

Cultural Impact:

Another dimension of the impact assessment considered is cultural impact. Although some authors consider the analysis of the cultural impact as a part of the social impact (Vanclay, 2003) other types of research advocate for the assessment of cultural impact separately (Inglehart, 1997, p. 216) and with an increasing interest in public policies in the topic (Hawkes, 2001; Partal, 2013). According to Partal and Dunphy, cultural impact " has increasingly been accepted as a dimension to be planned and managed within public policy, alongside social,

economic and ecological considerations" (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 19). Although the impact assessment techniques, in general, are more and more sophisticated, the same authors consider that within the cultural domain there are not yet well established. In this regard, the International Network for Cultural Diversity's Working Group on Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA), offered a substantive definition of the cultural impact "as a process of evaluating the likely impacts of a proposed development on the way of life of a particular group or community of people, with full involvement of this group or community of people and possibly undertaken by this group or community of people" (Sagnia, 2004, p. 9). Nevertheless, after a systematic literature review of the international practices, Partal and Dunphy point out that the conceptualization of cultural impact assessment has a divergent understanding, from "the 'cultural' referring to funded arts and heritage sector where it was understood as both impact on culture, but also impact of cultural activities" of the cultural groups (Partal & Dunphy, 2016, p. 1). It is particularly this last conceptual reference that the current research focuses in order to identify the cultural impact of the FPC policy instrument on Muslim religious organizations in Madrid.

The data of the field work reveal that the cultural impact assessment variables point to measurable and qualitative changes in the cultural life, institutions, resources, and infrastructure of Muslim communities in Madrid. Thus, during the 14th years of policy implementation the Muslim minorities of Madrid managed to solve the problem of worship places as well as institutionalize Muslim religious organizations. The institutionalization took place through the opportunity to register as religious organization at the national level as well as benefit from the financial aid. The cultural life of the Muslim organizations in Madrid it is expressed by the cultural activities that the Muslim minority implemented with the support from the FPC:

- FPC aid is used for social and cultural activities: such as open doors day, travel to the M30 Mosque, each year we do it, also some other activities here [MM4].
- Cultural activities: some for children during Ramadan some eftar (food after fast), food to share with adults, some plays for children [MM6].

Nevertheless, there are emphasized some limits or restrictions that the Muslim religious organizations point out. This refers to the particularities of some cultural celebrations that Muslims in Madrid so far could not be solving, such as "la fiesta del cordero" and the issue of Muslim cemeteries.

Educational Impact:

Another category of analyses is the educational impact. Most of the research and empirical evaluation of education impact has been done in developing

countries with the main aim to assess the success or failure of the donor investments (Wagner et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the concept of the educational impact in the literature varies from the education *infrastructure* (Newman et al., 2002) and Curriculum and Pedagogy (Wagner et al., 2005, p. 21). Additionally, Wagner et al. (Wagner et al., 2005, p. 44) identify three main categories of the educational outcome indicators: cognitive (knowledge), affective (motivation) and attitudinal (attitudes). The biggest educational impact is among the second generation of Muslim children. In order to cope with the assimilation the majority of Muslim religious organizations organize Arab classes combined with Islam:

- Arab and some history of Islam, Culture of Islam [MM6]

Nevertheless, such activities are considered to have little educational impact due to the fact that they take place during the weekend and children are tired [MM2]. Thus, there it is emphasized the need of Islamic religious education in schools.

Implementability:

A general concern among the Madrid Muslim in regard to implementability is the fact that the policy although it is targeting religious organizations it actually does not include the religious activities. This fact is considered to limit the policy social acceptability and flexibility.

Social acceptability:

The evaluation of social acceptability naturally correlates with other evaluation criteria, such as the correlation between acceptability and impacts. The issue of social acceptability constitutes an important evaluation criterion because it reveals insights on how the policy is perceived among the Muslim beneficiaries:

- I am totally in favor of this policy because it unites us with the state, the people working there are good and that give us good ideas to live in Europe and this is in our favor, for our good…[MM8].

Social acceptability has been defined by Thomassin et al. as a measure of support towards a set of regulations, management tools or towards an organization by an individual or a group of individuals based on geographic, social, economic or cultural criteria (Thomassin, White, Stead, & David, 2010). Thus, social acceptability is an important element of any policy or program,

especially the FPC targeting the Muslim religious organizations. The data reveal that generally Muslim religious organizations generally support the FPC policy:

- Without the FPC help would have been very difficult for us [MM8]…
- The FPC work has helped us to improve as a community, as an organization, and financially and is healthy for the community. Is an important help for us. The community had to learn this thing. And this is good [MM8].

The policy is considered fair and contributed to a great extend towards Muslim community establishment. Nevertheless, there are also claims to do more:

- The FPC policy works well, but there is a lack of work in the area of youth. [MM7].

Flexibility:

Policy evaluation takes place in increasingly complex and uncertain environments (Mickwitz, 2003). As such, evaluation needs to ascertain whether policy instruments are flexible enough to address these dynamic conditions and the often-conflicting interests of a multitude of policy actors. In this context, the last few decades have seen a growing advocacy of more flexible policy instruments. Nevertheless, the FPC policy instrument is considered not as flexible and quite rigid:

- FPC is a public body and subject to the Ministry of Justice thus it is quite rigid and inflexible. Is very limited in the actions and activities that they can do [MM1].
- FPC knows about our needs but they have their policy. They are part of the state and need time to change. The activity of FPC work is quite rigid in accommodating our needs. They are flexible as people to talk to but in actions not [MM7].
- FPC is dependent from the Ministry of Justice; they depend on what the Government is telling them to do [MM9].

Thus, the policy instrument offers limited possibility to be revised and adapted to changing and uncertain conditions. A change of the policy budget it is among the most requested. The Muslim minority it is aware that for a proper integration of Muslims there should be a proper recognition of Muslim rights and a fare redistribution that could offer to the Muslim minority the opportunity to feel part of the whole society and not outsiders. The few knowledge of local population about Islam and Muslims is many times seen as a barrier towards the Muslim

integration and marginalization and if offered the opportunity Muslim religious organizations are willing to do more to fill in this gap. But there is necessary to update the policy and make the policy instrument more flexible that could accommodate case by case the needs of Muslim minority. The lack of flexibility affects directly the policy effectiveness, which it is considered from one side to be valuable but from the other side it is advocated that there is a need to do more, that could lead to a higher social, cultural and educational impact of the policy. Thus, there is an increased need to revise the policy, planning a more flexible instrument and include the current claims and needs of the Muslim Minority.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Becker, H. A. (2001). Social impact assessment. *European Journal of Operational Research*, *128*(2), 311–321. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0377-2217(00)00074-6.

Casanova, J. (2009). Secularization and the World Religions. In Hans Joas & K. Wiegandt (Eds.), *The Religious Situation in Europe* (pp. 206–227). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Elah, M., Moshe, G., Epstein, B., & Feitelson, E. (2013). *Methodology Development for the Evaluation of Policy Instruments to Promote Servicizing*.

European Commission. (2014). *Evaluation of DG TRADE's Civil Society Dialogue in order to assess its effectiveness, efficiency and relevance*. Retrieved from http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2016/january/tradoc_154190.pdf.

Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia. (n.d.). Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia. Retrieved from http://www.pluralismoyconvivencia.es/quienes_somos/index.htm.

Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia. Estatutos Fundación Pluralismo y Convivencia (2009). Retrieved from http://www.pluralismoyconvivencia.es/upload/47/32/TERCEROS_ESTATUTOS_2009.pdf.

Habermas, J. (2008). Notes on Post-Secular Society. *New Perspectives Quarterly*, *25*(4), 17–29.

Hackett, C. (2017). 5 facts about the Muslim population in Europe.

Hawkes, J. (2001). *The fourth pillar of sustainability. Culture's essential role in public planning*. Melbourne: Humanities.com.

Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization : Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kaufmann, E., Goujon, A., & Skirbekk, V. (2012). The End of Secularization in Europe?: A Socio-Demographic Perspective. *Sociology of Religion*, *73*(1), 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1093/socrel/srr033.

Mickwitz, P. (2003). A Framework for Evaluating Environmental Policy Instruments. *Evaluation*, *9*(4), 415–436. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389003094004.

Ministerio de Justicia. (2017). *Informe anual sobre la situación de la libertad religiosa en España 2016*. Madrid. Retrieved from http://www.mjusticia.gob.es/cs/Satellite/Portal/1292428610708?blobheader=application%2Fpdf&blobheadername1=Content-Disposition&blobheadername2=Grupo&blobheadervalue1=attachment%3B+filename%3DInforme_anual_sobre_la_situacion_de_la_libertad_religiosa_en_Esp.

Newman, J., Pradhan, M., Rawlings, L. B., Ridder, G., Coa, R., & Evia, J. L. (2002). An Impact Evaluation of Education, Health, and Water Supply Investments by the Bolivian Social Investment Fund. *The World Bank Economic Review*, *16*(2), 241–274. https://doi.org/10.1093/wber/16.2.241.

Partal, A. (2013). Impact assessment: a tool to assist cultural sustainable development. In *People and the Planet*. Global Cities Research Institute, RMIT University. Retrieved from http://global-cities.info/news-events/conferences-forums/conferences-proceedings.

Partal, A., & Dunphy, K. (2016). Cultural impact assessment: a systematic literature review of current methods and practice around the world. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, *34*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2015.1077600.

Pauly, R. J. (2016). *Islam in Europe : integration or marginalization?* London and New York: Routledge.

Sagnia, B. K. (2004). *Framework for cultural impact assessment*. International network for cultural diversity (INCD) Cultural Impact Assessment Project. Dakar.

Thomassin, A., White, C. S., Stead, S. S., & David, G. (2010). Social acceptability of a marine protected area: The case of Reunion Island. *Ocean & Coastal Management*, *53*(4), 169–179.

United Nations, C. for G. G. (2006). *A comprehensive guide for social impact assessment*. Retrieved from http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/cgg/unpan026197.pdf.

Vanclay, F. (2003). International Principles for Social Impact Assessment. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, *21*(1), 5–12. https://doi.org/10.3152/147154603781766491.

Wagner, D. A., Day, B., James, T., Kozma, R. B., Miller, J., & Unwin, T. (2005). *Monitoring and Evaluation of ICT in Education Projects. A Handbook for Developing Countries*. Pre-publication draft for circulation at the World Summit on the Information Societ. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/708561468175470484/pdf/375220ICT1Education01PUBLIC1.pdf