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Reworking Hospitality: The Social Practices of Arab Immigrants in Granada, Spain

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Reworking Hospitality:
The Social Practices of Arab Immigrants in Granada

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Honors Studies in
Middle East Studies

By

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Introduction

Adil sat near the back of a dimly lit Arab restaurant, barely noticeable although the space was empty in the after lunch, mid-siesta hour. Beckoned by a young waiter who obviously admired this older gentleman, Adil emerged from the shadowy corner to tell me about his life and experiences with hospitality in Granada, Spain in contrast with what life had been like in Morocco thirty-five years prior. He bemoaned the hurry of urban life and how people want to meet quickly, and leave. Hospitality, to him, has no limits - no “how long,” or “how often,” or “with what frequency.” Hospitality is a way of life without levels or numbers, but modernization creates limits on time and focus. Regardless of these changes, he noted, the practice of hospitality is far from erased from Arab immigrants’ lives. “Modern life has obligated us to have a different style of life. But if you have hospitality in your blood, it accompanies you like blood accompanies you,” he told me (Sabila).

This study focuses on one aspect of modernization; the increasing mobility of people, and the impacts this has on the practice of hospitality, a tradition long-considered an Arab virtue. How does Arab immigrants’ practice of hospitality continue and change in a new context - in this case, Granada, Spain? Following the structure of Adil’s explanation, as well as my own perspective, there are two overarching pieces of this question to be investigated and connected. The first is change that compels a “different style of life.” The second is the way “hospitality accompanies” people who carry the value in their blood wherever they go, even when they are compelled to change their style of hospitality.

Immigrants’ practice of hospitality in Spain, with its strong cultural roots in the Arab world, and the ways in which hospitality is modified to fit the new context, provide insight into immigrants’ views on identity, their cultural values, daily lives, and their interactions with

Spaniards. The study of hospitality broadly touches many aspects of personhood, culture, and inclusion and exclusion in society.

In this work, I intertwine existing literature about the function and practice of hospitality in Arab countries with immigrants' experience with hospitality in Spain. Instead of surveying hundreds of immigrants throughout Spain, I sat down for long, in-depth conversations with twelve individuals to hear their stories about living in Granada and their level of engagement with hospitality. These interviews are not intended to represent all Arab immigrants or every person from each country represented. However, while each individual represents only themselves, I do offer patterns that I see in their responses and attempt to trace a broader picture of what is going on socially and culturally, though always within the bounds of their stories and not my own.

The immigrants I interviewed came from a variety of Arab countries, though there is more representation of Moroccans than other countries since Morocco produces the most Arab immigrants to Spain due to the close proximity (Lacomba 49). Others originated from Iraq, Syria, Algeria, and the United Arab Emirates. Their ages ranged from 19-65. They also had a variety of professions: business owners, students, street vendors, professors, housewives, artists, etc., and thus a range of socioeconomic advantages. As for religion, they were a uniform group in that every person I interviewed came from a Muslim background, though not all maintained Islam as their faith into adulthood. My relationship with the people I interviewed was, for the most part, as a stranger. The only exception to this was that I interviewed my Arabic professor, Lamia. All the others I met through Spaniards or other permanent residents in Spain.

It is important to note that all my interviewees were ethnically Arab except one, Sirvan, who is a Kurdish man from Syria. I did not know he was Kurdish until the interview, but I

decided to keep his perspective in my research. Although he does not exactly fit my interview pool, he grew up surrounded by hospitality in his home, originates from an Arab country, and is often grouped in the same category as Arabs/Muslims in Spain, though he is neither. Also a non-Arab, and not included in my list of twelve interviewees, yet mentioned throughout this paper, is Kelly, an American woman who regularly travels between Morocco and Spain, helping Moroccan women integrate into Spanish society by teaching basic skills like literacy and sewing. She provided an outsider's perspective on the cultural differences in hospitality between Spaniards and Moroccans.

Rates of immigration in Spain are largely based on economic and political factors. It was not until the 1980s, in the post-Franco world, that immigration rates overtook emigration from Spain. Immigration to Spain came in waves according to the economic state of the country, rising dramatically in seasons of economic prosperity from 1998 until the economic crash of 2008. In fact, during this decade 1998-2008, Spain had more immigration growth than any other country in the European Union. As the economy gradually recovered from the 2008 crash, immigrants began to trickle back into Spain. By 2015, immigration rates in Spain once again surpassed emigration (Parreño-Castellano et al.).

The most significant information to be gained from these waves of immigration is that modern immigration to Spain is a relatively new phenomenon, only gaining prevalence in the past 40 years. For my interview pool, this meant that every person that I interviewed was born in an Arab country and later moved to Spain. Some immigrated in their teenage years and others in early or late adulthood. As a result, I had the privilege of hearing both first-hand experiences of what it is like living in an Arab country and first-hand experiences of what it is like living in Spain and what hospitality looks like in both contexts. Working exclusively with first-generation

immigrants provided clarity and simplified my findings, as I did not have to account for generational changes as much.

The first wave of immigration into Spain coincided with a series of social and political changes in the country in an era referred to as the Transition. During these years, Spain shifted from dictatorship to democracy following the death of Francisco Franco in 1975 (Reynolds 1). Franco's Spain was highly nationalistic and conservative. For example, for a period of time, Castilian Spanish was deemed the only official language of Spain, suppressing other languages such as Catalán, in an effort to consolidate the unity of the country through sameness (Miller and Miller 113). Religious singularity and various other nationalist ideas such as unity of language and culture reigned during these years, though to detail every part of this history would require a research paper for itself. Following Franco's death, there was an explosion of progressive ideas and activism, such as the onset of the feminist movement (Reynolds 1).

“Transition” is a fitting name for this period of Spain's history because it implies change that progresses over time rather than a complete shift. Likewise, the mentalities of all Spaniards have not changed instantaneously from nationalist thinking toward a spirit of welcome for the outsider. When I lived in Granada, some of the Spanish families I met maintained nationalistic ideologies and verbalized support for the former dictator. In other words, the political change toward democracy in the Transition did spark social changes and activism, but the recent history of Spain still impacts the thinking of modern Spaniards, some of whom lived during the Franco era and others who are the children of Franco supporters. The increase in immigration alongside these political and social changes in Spain over these past forty years means that relationships between Spaniards and Arabs, at least on a larger scale, are being fleshed out for the first time in modern history with a backdrop of historical nationalism and conservatism in Spain.

While there is some information about the immigration of Arabs into Spain such as works by Joan Lacomba, the organization Casa Árabe, and census research synthesized by Liu, Chia, et al., the topic is under researched due to its newness, and the sparse information that exists is told largely through a socio-political perspective that overlooks the humanity of the immigrants and their stories of how immigration has shaped them and their relationships. For example, Casa Árabe's reference guide to Muslims in Spain focuses on the political organization of Muslims through youth clubs and various associations in Spain and lacks the narratives and experiences of immigrants as individuals. Though told within the context of the sociopolitical environment, my project explores beyond the political realm and into an investigation of personal and cultural change as experienced by the twelve immigrants I interviewed. Furthermore, the specific nature of this work, with the topic of the hospitality practices of Arab immigrants in Spain, makes it, as far I can tell, one of a kind.

The more distant Muslim heritage of Spain creates interesting challenges and nuances in the personal relationships between Spaniards and Arabs. Granada, the site of my interview process, is a city with historic Muslim significance, as it was the last Muslim kingdom of Spain after seven centuries of continuous Muslim rule on the Iberian peninsula. The transfer of power from Sultan Boabdil to Queen Isabella I and King Ferdinand in 1492 and the eventual expulsion of Muslims from Spain in the beginning of the seventeenth century set the historical backdrop of my interviews, a history whose invisible role is often underestimated.

The purpose in writing this paper is to explore Arab hospitality in Spain and the social and cultural impacts of immigration in the lives of the Arab immigrants I interviewed. The ways in which my interviewees restructured hospitality to fit their context, sometimes forfeiting even the basic principles of hospitality due to difficulties, are inspiring and eye-opening. This

research follows the changes and the continuity of hospitality in such a way that challenges one's conception of hospitality definitions.

Through presenting the hospitality practices of Arabs and Arab immigrants, the goal is to foster love, peace, and understanding between immigrant and local populations based on friendship and equal, mutually beneficial relationships forged through aspects of hospitality such as reciprocity, ownership of space, and personal attachment. The interviews fill this research with life and personality and also the responsibility to accurately share their stories. The older gentleman in the Arab restaurant, Adil, exhorted me to leverage my research for good, perhaps fearful of my intentions:

I want to give thanks to Miss Sarah and say that I hope that she studies and does her research and that she remembers that the word she is writing is a testimony, not before the university, no, rather before human justice. After tomorrow, others will come and read what you have written. If you prompt them to start wars, you are guilty. If you lead them to love and peace, you have done well. Therefore, I hope, God willing, that what you write leads to a good path (Sabila).

God willing, it will.

List of Interviewees

*All names have been changed to protect the privacy of the interviewees.

Sirvan Uzun

- Country of origin: Syria
- Sex: male
- Age: 42
- Profession: restaurant owner
- Years in Spain: 5 in Spain and a few in Scotland
- Other notes: Kurdish

Najiya Zalegh

- Country of origin: Morocco
- Sex: female
- Age: middle-aged
- Profession: restaurant owner
- Years in Spain: 30+, moved to Granada when she was around 18

Sarah Khedairi

- Country of origin: Iraq
- Sex: female
- Age: 20
- Profession: student
- Years in Spain: 8 months
- Other notes: she was studying abroad in Granada; also has lived in Syria and the United States

Lamia Khalifa

- Country of origin: Syria
- Sex: female
- Age: 44
- Profession: professor
- Years in Spain: 21

Hassan Monjib

- Country of origin: Morocco
- Sex: male
- Age: 27
- Profession: owns a food cart
- Years in Spain: 14

Ruqayyah Barakat

- Country of origin: Syria
- Sex: female
- Age: 33
- Profession: housewife
- Years in Spain: 3

Ahmed Fadel

- Country of origin: Morocco
- Sex: male
- Age: 58
- Profession: street vendor
- Years in Spain: 30

Nayirah Abulhoul

- Country of origin: United Arab Emirates
- Sex: female
- Age: 30
- Profession: university lecturer
- Years in Spain: 7

Hussein Saqqat

- Country of origin: Morocco
- Sex: male
- Age: 19
- Profession: waiter
- Years in Spain: 3

Adil Sabila

- Country of origin: Morocco
- Sex: male
- Age: 65
- Profession: calligraphy artist
- Years in Spain: 35

Adnan Mina

- Country of origin: Iraq, on the border of Syria
- Sex: male
- Age: 49

- Profession: social educator
- Years in Spain: 22

Sharif Mansour

- Country of origin: Algeria
- Sex: male
- Age: 47
- Profession: theater sound technician
- Years in Spain: 24

Kelly Piper

- Country of origin: United States of America
- Sex: female
- Profession: teaching Arab women in Spain basic skills like reading and sewing
- Years in Spain: 9
- Other notes: she regularly travels back and forth between Spain and Morocco

Chapter One: Defining Arab Hospitality

“[Hospitality] is something that I consider essential to my personhood, that is, that I have to show honor to every person that I meet.” - Nayirah Abulhoul

This chapter aims to provide the framework for understanding hospitality in the Arab world. The first section considers Arab legends that praise extravagant hospitality and set ideals to be emulated. These legends demonstrate the long history of hospitality in the Arab world and the emphasis placed on the emotional impulse that drives hospitality even more so than the action or ceremony of the practice. The second section shifts to the secondary, yet immensely important, discussion of the action of hospitality as recorded in modern Arab contexts. According to the research of various Arab ethnographers, the action of hospitality includes common features such as the host-guest relationship, ownership of space, absence of monetary gain, and provisions offered to guests. This section also discusses the role of hospitality in a society from an anthropological standpoint with the goal of broadly grasping its social function and personal motivations for showing hospitality. Lastly, the third section delves into hospitality as it is defined by the people I interviewed in Granada. The point of these paragraphs is to introduce a certain dynamic of fluidity to hospitality that challenges one’s clear-cut definition of the practice, while maintaining the importance and influence of the research previously outlined. Overall, this chapter is intended to be a broad introduction to Arab hospitality that gives context to understand certain cultural norms of hospitality, so as to grasp the significance of the practice and be able to notice in the following chapters when the experiences of Arab immigrants in Spain diverge from cultural norms and hospitality ideals.

Hezi Brosh and Lutfi Mansur’s collection of stories in *Arabic Stories for Language Learners* include this traditional Middle Eastern tale, paraphrased: Hatim Al-Ttaie lived during

al-Jahiliya (pre-Islamic period), and there remains a saying about him: More generous than Hatim. Hatim loved buying horses, and he owned a thoroughbred horse that was faster and better than any other. Now, it happened that Hatim had become poor. Always a generous man, he had lost the last of his possessions except for this horse. When the king of the Byzantines heard about his racehorse, he wanted to buy it from him, so he sent a messenger to give Hatim a large amount of money in exchange for his famous horse. When the king's messenger came to his house, Hatim did not have any food to give to his guest, so he ordered his servant to kill his beloved horse and cook its meat to give as food for his visitor. When the messenger finished eating, he opened his mouth to tell Hatim of the king's request and the sum of money he had brought to buy the horse. Hatim exclaimed, "What a pity! I would have liked to give the king my horse as a gift, but seeing that I did not have any food to give you, my guest, I had my horse killed for dinner" (137).

This story is one of the clearest examples of over-the-top Arab hospitality and generosity that seem to have no limits. Originating from the pre-Islamic period, this legend is a testament to the long-standing tradition and value of hospitality in Arab communities as a distinctive cultural marker that transcends religion. This legend sets hospitality ideals and a hero worth emulating, which is noted in the comparative component of the saying "More generous than Hatim," which, if expanded, would read, "S/he is more generous than Hatim." What is deemed generosity could more accurately fall into the category of hospitality since Hatim gave generously in order to provide food for a guest: "More hospitable than Hatim." Hatim's hospitality and generosity exceed all expectations and duty and distinguish him as a standard, a high standard. Hatim's hospitality mentions no boundaries on what he is willing to give to his guests. On the contrary, he shows hospitality at great cost, to the point of the death of his most beloved worldly goods.

Likewise, modern-day Jordanian Bedouins interviewed by anthropologist Andrew Shryock maintain high standards in their definitions of hospitality. They describe hospitality as a “burning in the skin,” the inherited desire to give everything one possesses and expect no repayment for the generosity shown. These men in Balga, Jordan shed light on what, to them, demarcates Arab hospitality from the expressions of hospitality throughout the world. The first proposed definition of hospitality was helping strangers and providing meals. Rejecting this description, another man in the group spoke up and was affirmed by the others, saying:

Arab hospitality is more than those things because feeding people and housing them is present all over the world. Nor can it be out of obligation - a stingy man must serve food at his son’s wedding, but this does not make him hospitable. It’s the desire, the ‘burning in the skin,’ to give even at the expense of your own family, even when you are poor. (“New Jordanian Hospitality” 49)

This man referenced the hospitality he received during his travels in Europe such as free meals, lodging, and transportation to show that hospitality is practiced all over the world. He wanted to emphasize the strong virtue of hospitality that distinguishes Arab hospitality from other expressions. The phrase “burning in the skin” is an English translation meant to picture the impulse to scratch an itch, as the men described hospitality as motivated by desire, inheritance, and ownership (“New Jordanian Hospitality” 49). While their definitions included the common practice of sharing food and home, they emphasized that Arab hospitality is more than carrying out a duty or social obligation. To them, what sets Arab hospitality apart from hospitality shown in the rest of the world is the unquenchable desire to give until it hurts, more than is expected.

Another legend that clarifies the theme of unconditional hospitality is a Jordanian ancestral story in which the protagonist, Ibn Khatalin, is called “The Naked” because he is constantly giving away his clothes and everything he owns (Shryock, “Thinking about Hospitality” 406). Nakedness is a potent picture of giving generously until nothing is left. A real-life example of this kind of generosity took place during Elizabeth Warnock Fernia’s time researching hospitality in El Nahra, Iraq. She reluctantly stopped visiting the sheik’s gardener’s family because she realized her hosts were spending a lot of money on her even though they could not afford it (44). The gardener’s family held hospitality as a priority even in a difficult financial situation.

Furthermore, other Arab legends explain the social function of hospitality. In these stories, the practice of hospitality is a means of creating strong bonds between families that lead to treaties and alliances over the course of time and through reciprocal provisions. A Bedouin legend, the story of two warring tribes, ‘Adwan and Sbayh al-’Amir, shows the strength and longevity of relationships formed through extreme hospitality. In this story, the display of a Sbayh al-’Amir man’s hospitality to a man from the ‘Adwan tribe is not repaid until twenty years later when there is a famine in the land. Then, the Sbayh al-’Amir man, who was previously the host, flees with his family to the ‘Adwan man’s home and is the recipient of incredible acts of hospitality and forgiveness in return for the hospitality he had shown years prior. The story ends with the marriages of all the children of the two families to one another (Shryock, “Thinking about Hospitality” 416). Since marriage is a sign of alliance, this legend highlights positive long-term effects of hospitality in the context of family relationships. These legends and retellings of the hospitality and generosity of one's ancestors, though likely embellished to some

extent, solidify the virtue of unconditional hospitality within the history of Arab tribes and detail the social benefits of the practice.

In all of these descriptions of hospitality, the action of giving is secondary in value to the desire to give. Little emphasis is placed on the location, ceremony, or provisions in these hospitality stories. In fact, the Bedouins that Shryock interviewed rejected the idea that hospitality is primarily providing food and lodging and focused instead on the heart behind the action. To them, the emotion of welcome and the impulse for generosity define hospitality more than the physical form it takes. Even still, the form and function of hospitality are important to study and understand. If the form were not important, any social gathering could be called hospitality as long as the action was driven by limitless generosity, but this is not the case.

Ethnographers Anne Meneley and Elizabeth Warnock Fernia detailed the personal exchanges of hospitality in small, Arab towns. Meneley and Fernia recorded their experiences as guests in Zabid, Yemen and El Nahra, Iraq respectively. In their thorough descriptions of the forms of hospitality they witnessed, a few identifiers repeatedly emerge that denote the actions in which they participated as hospitality rather than sociality. One of the most important of these elements is the presence of a host and the nature of the relationship between hosts and guests. In the exhaustive hospitality encounters that Meneley and Fernia present, there is always a clear host who maintains a distinctive role from the other people sharing the space. For an event to be considered hospitality, someone must be in charge of the meeting and attending to guests. The role of host is distinct from an unofficial social leader in that the host invites, prepares, and welcomes people into their own space (Chakrabarty 208). Being a host confers more honor on a person than being a guest because when someone enters a house, it is because they view that family as respectable and worth visiting. For this reason, in the small town of Zabid, Yemen,

there is a constant juggling of invitations and deciding whom to visit because hospitality patterns determine families' reputations and rank in society (Meneley 54). Who is the host and who is the guest regularly shifts since the same person does not always host, but during each gathering, the host is a fixed person and essential for any gathering to be considered an act of hospitality.

The idea of hosting assumes the host's ownership of a space. Because a person owns a location, s/he can then welcome an outsider into it and be a host, establishing rules and caring for those within their walls (Shryock, "Thinking about Hospitality" 405). The ownership of space is one of the reasons hospitality language is used in immigration discourse, saying that immigrants are "guests" in "host countries." The country is the host because the land falls within their borders, and therefore, that country establishes the rules that immigrants must follow while dwelling there (410). The host-guest relationship is a power balance with the host on top receiving more esteem than the guest which makes hospitality language for immigration problematic because the receiving country is perpetually seen as the "host" and the immigrant as the "guest" whereas in socially equal hospitality, reciprocal hosting plays a major role in establishing equality between the two parties (Meneley 120).

One of the ironies of interviewing immigrants about hospitality is this hospitality language of immigration. They are seen as guests, whereas I am asking them how they host in their new context. However, this element of hospitable reciprocity and the affirmation of the immigrants' ownership of their space in Spain is a vital piece of social equality and identity in the new community.

A critical question alongside the broad topic of ownership of space is: Must a gathering take place within the home in order to be considered hospitality? According to ethnographies that investigate hospitality, the answer is no: The home is not a necessary component of

hospitality. The home is often the location for meeting, such as how the women in El Nahra, Iraq move from house to house to visit, as documented in Fernia's book. However, other social events like funerals and weddings which sometimes take place outside of the home are also recorded in hospitality books, such as in a few chapters of Meneley's book, and regarded as hospitality events just like home visits. Weddings and funerals, even if outside the home, have hosts and ownership of space through renting locations and thus fall into the category of hospitality. Although the home is not necessary for hospitality, gatherings within the home offer the unique opportunity to blend family and friends. Strangers get a better glimpse into one's life when they see the space of normal living and family relationships.

Hospitality is offered freely with no monetary gains. It is true that the hospitality industry offers services to strangers such as food, lodging, and entertainment and provides systemized methods of meeting basic needs through restaurants and hotels. This, however, is not the hospitality that this project is concerned with, but rather an industry, though the term borrows from the practice. Generosity and hospitality are free processes. If one paid for a gift, it could no longer be considered a gift. For this reason, for Bedouins in Balga, Jordan, the work of serving coffee, singing, and dancing for tourists for a fee is despised, filthy work likened to prostitution because it offers hospitality for a price, cheapening a cultural value that they hold very high (Shryock, "New Jordanian Hospitality" 39). Hospitality is inherently free.

Noticeable is the overlap between generosity and hospitality. The two terms are often used interchangeably, both in English and in Arabic, and there are significant connections between the terms, as well as significant divergences. Due to the similarities between the two concepts, in anthropological research, hospitality often falls into the same category as the gift. Marcel Mauss's *The Gift* (1925) is the bedrock of most theoretical hospitality research that

focuses on the function of hospitality in a society. Mauss's research and/or gift-giving are referenced in the hospitality writings of Shryock, Alkan, Pohl, Mittermaier, Candea, and others, making it nearly impossible to avoid discussing the gift when researching hospitality. According to Mauss, the elements of the gift include giving, receiving, and reciprocating, and the gift has the function of building social connections (11). The bi-directional processes of gift-giving, that is, the idea that the giver eventually receives something back from the recipient, relate to the reciprocal nature of hospitality and the social benefits of engaging in the practice (Alkan 185).

However, in my opinion, combining hospitality and the gift together erases clear distinctions between the two concepts and oversimplifies the practice, especially with regards to the social delivery of hospitality. Notwithstanding the similarities between hospitality and gift-giving, generosity, unlike hospitality, may be removed from social interactions since giving gifts largely entails the transfer of money or items which are possible to move through messengers or even anonymously. Anonymous donors may never see the face of the recipients, nor the recipients ever meet the one who donated to their cause. Hospitality, on the other hand, is by nature a social interaction. Whereas the gift has a social function, hospitality is a social practice with a social function. There is no anonymous hospitality because the act of offering hospitality is more than slipping food under a door or letting a person stay in one's house when out of town. The necessary existence of the relationship between host and guest in hospitality means that every hospitable act is a social interaction.

The social practice of hospitality has specific, social functions in a society. One of the major functions of hospitality is building relationships. Socially balanced hospitality, achieved through reciprocity, takes place when two or more groups of people decide to mutually invite one another into their space (Meneley 48). Visiting and being visited makes a person known and

extends reciprocal protections and provisions between two separate entities that were previously not connected. Through hospitality, people who do not know each other well deepen their relationships with one another, grow in familiarity, and, over time, create social alliances (Alkan 185).

The quantifiable frequency of hospitality in many Arab contexts is evidence of the strong hospitality values in the culture such as collectivism and saving face. Anthropologist Michael Herzfeld highlights the enormous importance of hospitality in touching every aspect of life in Arab communities when he suggests switching the anthropological discussion of honor and shame cultures to the more precise and quantifiable research of hospitality. Cultures described as operating within systems of honor and shame - vague, theoretical terms that often lead to stereotyping - could equally be described in terms of hospitality: inclusion and exclusion in societal life (76). Herzfeld's observation shows how hospitality permeates everyday life, personal and family decision-making, and the basis of social society in communities that are culturally driven by visiting and hospitality etiquette. Therefore, hospitality is not merely a task that people do, but rather a lens in which people see their world, make sense of it, and strive for a good standing in their community. Hospitality, the generous welcoming of outsiders into one's own space and meeting their needs and wants, is the backbone of community relationships and vital in constructing honorable family reputations.

Unfortunately, the practice of hospitality also creates social barriers. Cultures rooted in hospitality values struggle with exclusion, which is intrinsically connected with inclusion, and thus systems of social hierarchy embedded in visiting patterns. Just as reciprocal visiting is a sign of social equality, unequal visiting creates and reinforces differences in social class (Meneley 142). Hospitality is motivated, in some cases, by social climbing and building up the

reputation of one's family. It is not always the hospitality of grace which is, as anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers describes, hospitality without anything gained or the possibility of repayment, hospitality that is completely free and against logic (qtd. in Candea et al. 5). Although no money is exchanged throughout the course of an evening of hospitality, social currency is being passed around. Hospitality is reputation and honor-oriented, so failure to comport appropriately yields gossip and exclusion from society (Meneley 37). Hospitality is just as much about exclusion as it is about welcome. Who is invited, and who is not? For this reason, one of the functions of hospitality, in addition to gaining social connections, is maintaining the family reputation.

Religious expectations also provide motivation to engage in hospitality, either as another element of fitting in with one's culture or preceding from conviction. As previously mentioned, Arabs of all religious backgrounds view hospitality as their cultural heritage (Shryock, "Thinking about Hospitality" 406). Even still, it is important to recognize the ways religion motivates and reinforces hospitality, especially since faith was frequently mentioned during my interviews. Islam, in particular, provides followers with religious reasons for being hospitable since showing hospitality is a marker of morality and piety (Meneley 166). Various Islamic texts reference, both directly and indirectly, the importance of hospitality in leading moral lives. One hadith states, "The services due from one Muslim to another are six: If you meet him, greet him; if he invites you, accept his invitation; if he asks your advice, give him advice; if he sneezes and thanks God, tell him 'God bless you'; if he falls sick, visit him; and if he dies, walk in his funeral" (Meneley 160). This hadith is full of hospitality practices. Except for the sneezing requirements, all of the duties from one Muslim to another listed here could be put under the umbrella of hospitality: greeting, visiting, having conversation, and attending life-cycle events. Adil insisted that to him, showing hospitality is a sign of being a good Muslim more so than it is

a sign of being a good Arab, though he, too, affirmed that pre-Islamic Arabs were known for their generosity. He also referenced a hadith when describing his personal reasons to show hospitality, saying, “If your neighbor is hungry, and you are full, this is not good” (Sabila). His primary motivation for maintaining hospitality practices in his life is his religion.

Amira Mittermaier studies Islamic motivations for charity and hospitality in modern-day Egypt. Her premise is that the Muslims she interviewed are hospitable for the sake of reaching paradise and serving God himself more than any other reason, including the benefit of helping the poor or bettering the country. The people in need are served and cared for through hospitality, but the primary affection and motivation is God (4), as if they are showing hospitality to the divine rather than to human beings (136).

Interestingly, the concept of hospitality to the stranger as being hospitality shown to the divine in disguise is consistent across various ancient religious understandings - in Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and Greek mythology (Candea et al. 6). When God is the guest, the reasons to show hospitality to the stranger and the vulnerable increase. Religion infuses meaning into the practice of hospitality, especially when the work is hard and the benefits are slight because generosity is offered to people with nothing tangible or reputation-building to give in return. In addition to the God-guest motivation, the desire to fit in socially into a religious group’s standard of moral living impacts an individual’s display of hospitality. When the group values hospitality, the members do as well. Though the meaning of hospitality extends beyond religion, the ties to a belief structure wrapped up in cultural traditions and values strengthen the practice of generosity in communities, if not for the sake of following the faith itself, at least for the appearance of piety.

In some cases, instead of hospitality reinforcing a person's religious practices, a reputation for hospitality can stand in place of religion. For example, it might be said of someone, "Hospitality is his religion," if he is generous yet does not regularly practice his religion (Shryock, "Thinking about Hospitality" 406). For the Arab immigrants I interviewed in Spain who were not religious, I noticed a level of disconnection from what they viewed as traditions of the homeland which are often tied to religious practices. Sharif, who defines himself as anti-patriotic and atheist, stated plainly, "I don't try to maintain any of the traditions of the homeland" (Mansour). Likewise, Sirvan said, "I don't have many traditions; I have changed a lot" (Uzun). Both of these men originated from Muslim families, but eventually rejected the existence of God. Najiya, a non-practicing Muslim, said in relation to the cultural practices she maintains in Spain, "Within my culture, I intend to take all of the good and hold onto it because I think it is good for whatever religion" (Zalegh). By referencing, "holding onto the good," she implied discarding the parts of her cultural traditions that do not mesh with her current view of life. These three, who live a more secular lifestyle, spoke of letting go of some of their cultural traditions that no longer applied to their religious values, while continuing to value and show hospitality. To them, hospitality is outside of religion whereas many of the traditions of the homeland are explicitly Islamic.

Consistent with the writings of hospitality experts on the gift, in the minds of several people I interviewed, hospitality and generosity are interchangeable. Definitions of hospitality were infused with words such as generous and generosity. Adnan, an Iraqi immigrant, answered my question, if his style of hospitality is similar to that of his parents, that yes, like the branches of a tree, his value and practice of hospitality are similar because his style of hospitality came from them. However, he added, his father was more generous than he (Mina). Though he did

not elaborate on the reasons he views his father as more giving, the point of mentioning this quotation is not the generational changes in hospitality - a topic that will be addressed later in this paper - but rather the idea that his parents' hospitality seamlessly extends to the broader concept of generosity. Adnan compares his level of hospitality with his father's generosity, as if speaking of a singular concept, thereby equating the two terms as he answered my question.

When I asked Lamia, my Arabic professor from Syria, how she defined hospitality, she answered that, in general, it is a "very generous action." She affirmed that any person, good or bad, can host someone in their house for a certain amount of time. The majority of people, she said, are able to do this. Hospitality, however, is generous and thus goes beyond the baseline of cultural expectations. Because it is generous, hospitality must, according to her, be more than what is expected to be given (Khalifa). What is remarkable in the Arab cultures that I have studied is that the hospitality bar is often set high. In many Arab cultures, any guest, stranger, or friend may enter a house and expect lodging and food for three days before the hosts are permitted to ask why the person has come (Fernia 32). This is one of many examples of a cultural baseline for hospitality and the social expectations surrounding it. If three days of hosting strangers is one's *wajib* (duty), generous hospitality, as noted above, takes a step beyond this cultural norm (Shryock, "Thinking about Hospitality" 415). Lamia alluded that hospitality is more than meeting the expectations of one's culture.

Although some academic, anthropological sources debate the prevalence of unconditional hospitality (Alkan 187), Arab stories, legends, and experiences allude to, at the very least, limitless hospitality as an ideal and a practice. The concept is that there is no limit to how much a person is willing to give up for a guest. Nayirah, a young woman from the United Arab Emirates, explained to me how she interacts with guests in her home: "I always say the

equivalent of ‘You are always welcome at any time.’ I let them get to know my house and move around in it without putting limits” (Abulhoul). For Nayirah, part of showing hospitality and making people feel welcome is letting them know her invitation to them is limitless and unconditional.

Several of the people I interviewed described the frequency of hospitality in their parents’ homes with words that denote unending recurrence such as “every day,” “always,” and “all the time.” They depicted their parents’ practice of hospitality, and sometimes their own, with limitless diction. Though wrapped in nostalgia for their homeland and likely exaggerated, their descriptions further illuminate hospitality ideals and reveal their familiarity with the practice. For example, Ruqayyah declared that in Aleppo, Syria, where she is from, people are constantly visiting, and many hold an open-door policy. She reminisced that her house was always full of people back in Syria before they had to move three years ago due to the war. Many of her friends there were like family and would regularly spend the night with her (Barakat).

Mandana Limbert’s ethnography about Omani hospitality, as well as Meneley and Fernia’s works, detail a type of hospitality that infuses everyday life with constant visiting between the women of small, Arab towns. Although their books focus on rural villages, the incredible frequency of hospitality these anthropologists witness makes limitless words like “every day,” “always,” and “all the time” with regards to hospitality seem more believable. Many of the books written about Arab hospitality focus on villages and towns with a small, rural population because these remote areas are often set as the ideal areas of hospitality rather than large cities, but hospitality remains vibrant in Arab cities as well, though perhaps to a lesser extent. Roughly half of the people I interviewed originated from large cities such as Tangiers,

Fez, and Damascus. They, too, described a high frequency of hospitality throughout their upbringing.

Discussion of hospitality usually involves the mention of food or beverages. I asked Lamia why people consider food an integral part of hospitality. She responded, “I think that [food] attracts people since it is a pleasure. Apart from being a necessity, eating well is a pleasure. And eating good food is also a pleasure. And for this reason, I think, it always accompanies a get-together with friends or union in general” (Khalifa). This idea that pleasures and luxuries are meant to be shared is echoed in the community of Bahla, Oman. For the residents of Bahla, the memory of coffee as a luxury item set an expectation for collective enjoyment of the commodity rather than selfishly consuming the pleasure alone (Limbert 47). The mix of pleasure and physical dependence on food and drink make these provisions a staple of hospitality, especially if a guest spends hours or days with a host. A guest must be fed and given something to drink for basic survival and for a host to be considered competent. In Zabid, Yemen, exchanges of the stimulant, qat, and waterpipes filled with tobacco are also part of any hospitable gathering, showing that provisions include various items of consumption beyond food and drink (Meneley 28). Each location has its specific food traditions associated with hospitality. For example, in Morocco, Adil said milk and dates are always given to guests. “A house without dates is an empty house,” he affirmed (Sabila). Although the style and elements of provisions change depending on the context, food and beverage, if not absolutely necessary, are so common in hospitality that I have not read of a single hospitality exchange that fails to mention items of consumption.

Different definitions of hospitality determine how it is practiced. For example, Ahmed, a Moroccan tourist stand owner, defines hospitality as “a beautiful tongue.” To him, hospitality is

a verbal expression of kindness and greetings rather than hosting in one's home and offering food to people. He sits all day outside his stand and sells to tourists as they walk up and down the narrow streets of Granada, as he is the sole owner and employee. Next to his chair is another folding chair, a convenient place for me to sit, but also readily available for any person who wishes to converse with him. "Right now, you and me sitting here, this is hospitality," he informed me (Fadel). Although he did not offer me food or drink, to him, he was showing hospitality because he welcomed me to sit and talk with him. Through his "beautiful tongue," the essence of hospitality was present, though the physical aspects of items of consumption and home were not.

Was this hospitality? He owned the space on the street and provided a chair for me. I, as a researcher, could be classified as a guest (Harvey 131). Thus, the host-guest relationship was present. Ahmed provided what I needed - not food, but answers. He also gave me a little coin purse to take home to my mother for free. If he had offered me a cigarette, would the exchange fall into the category of hospitality? Somewhere the lines blur. I will add, of all the strangers to whom I was introduced, Ahmed's greeting and verbal willingness to be interviewed whenever I would like most set me at ease. Since he remembered me when I returned a week after the interview to buy a few souvenirs for my family, it was a relationship that continued with reciprocity - partly social, partly business.

Even still, though this interaction fulfills many of the hospitality elements related in this chapter, I would be lying if I failed to admit my disappointment with the hospitality of this exchange. In this interaction with Ahmed, I felt the disconnection from home and my unmet need for water in the summer heat. I was hoping this research assignment would lead me to the table and in the homes of the people I interviewed, but I usually left the interviews hungry and

never met the families of any of the interviewees. It is possible Ahmed was compensating for his admitted total lack of social gatherings in Granada with the vestiges of the hospitality he intellectually valued. He was, after all, talking with an American researching Arab hospitality and likely wanting to provide the answers for which I was looking. The point is, while there are some common elements of hospitality, the practice is more fluid than one might think.

Recalling Arab legends and outlining certain parameters of hospitality in modern Arab contexts provide a framework for comparison when investigating the hospitality of immigrants in Spain. In response to legends which extol costly hospitality, that is, giving until nothing is left, the question becomes: To what extent do my interviewees value and implement extreme hospitality? As for the common features of hospitality, one must beg the question: What is absolutely necessary for an interaction to be considered hospitality, and what can be transformed to fit a new context? The emphasis on the emotion of hospitality, that is, extreme generosity, as more important than the ritual of hospitality, the specific food and provisions, implies an element of flexibility. For this reason, I maintain that my interviewees rework hospitality to fit their context because, in many cases, the generous and social intentions remain although the format of hospitality changes. In the face of unavoidable change as immigrants leave their homeland for a new location, they maintain and alter their expressions of hospitality which challenges one's definition of the practice. The following chapters consider these modifications and the ways in which immigrants in Granada face difficulties that restrict hospitality and overcome these difficulties, or not, in an effort to continue showing hospitality in their new context.

Chapter Two: Hospitality Obstacles

“[Now, hospitality is] a little different because my parents grew up around the same people in the same country, and now we live in a diverse city.” - Hassan Monjib

In the previous chapter, a series of Arab legends presented the ideal version of hospitality as unconditional hospitality which is generosity at great cost and without setting limits.

However, the legends assume the existence of an initial meeting during which an extension of hospitality is received. People come to one's door, invitations are extended and accepted, and that is the starting point of hospitality. What if, instead of a host who takes initiative and a guest who reciprocates, their first meeting is stifled by prejudice, cultural differences, and hurry? What if time constraints make potential hosts lose their savor for intentional inviting? The result is that hospitality never develops since the interactions lack the beginning stages of invitation and reciprocity which are necessary for the later stages of hospitality exchanges, that is, the actual presence of one person with another in a host-guest relationship.

For the people I interviewed, hospitality mentally remained an important part of their lives and cultural identity. All the people I interviewed responded to the question, “How important is hospitality in your life?” with a quick, affirmative, “Very,” and a proud description of the generosity of their countries of origin, generations of their families, and, for some, their religious beliefs that motivated their spirit of welcome. The people I interviewed valued hospitality, but as I pressed further about how they personally practiced hospitality and with what frequency, it was clear that, for many, hospitality did not play a large role in their lives in Spain, especially in comparison with their hospitality experiences in their childhood homes. The amount of time devoted to hospitality and the frequency of their gatherings differed from their

past experiences, though the value they placed on hospitality in their hearts - or at least on their tongues - remained consistent.

This chapter looks at the three main hospitality inhibitors of the people I interviewed in Spain: racism, cultural differences, and time constraints. The first section deals with racism against Arabs in Spain and the ways racism impedes hospitality from the start since prejudice creates barriers of communication and the lack of social reciprocity. Likewise, the second section further investigates social barriers that divide Spaniards and Arabs, specifically considering differences in culture that make people gravitate toward those who speak and think like them which also makes interracial exchanges of hospitality less likely to occur. Lastly, the third section shifts to the challenge of time constraints which decreases all hospitality - between Spaniards and Arabs, but also between Arabs and Arabs. Long work days significantly reduce hospitality in the home and shift most social interactions to the workplace or to public locations in the city. These three problems drastically altered the frequency of hospitality exchanges for my interviewees, and there are no clear solutions for overcoming these obstacles. As a result, the obstacles repress hospitality, and hospitable exchanges decrease in frequency.

Racism against Arabs in Spain is a major problem that begins in the minds of individual Spaniards, in their biases and definitions of themselves that have been formed through the centuries. The past two hundred years of Spain's scholarship and state-supported ideas of nationalism and self-conception linger, causing real issues of communication and division between some Spaniards and Arab immigrants. Historically, there is a strong link between Catholicism and national identity in Spain. Beginning in the nineteenth century with the rise of nationalism, one group, called the traditionalists, held that Catholicism was the foundation of national unity. This group of political thinkers also upheld the monarchy as a divinely

determined leader (Muro and Quiroga 13). Coinciding with the rise of nationalism in Spain, in 1898, regionalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia threatened the validity of national identity. Thus, in response to these peripheral ideologies, the Spanish language, Castilian Spanish, became a key element of Spanish nationalism as well, and new legislation restricted the use of other languages in the classroom (16).

Although the traditionalist views of nationalism were not the only ideas circulating in the nineteenth century in Spain (there was, too, the liberal viewpoint that wanted to ground Spanish identity in religious tolerance and local rights), the traditionalist perspective is significant because later, in the twentieth century, Spain's dictator Francisco Franco followed the same line of thinking as traditionalists and established Catholicism as the foundation of national ideology when he took control of the state. During Franco's dictatorship which lasted from 1939 to 1975, 'conservative-traditionalist' nationalism dominated, and he and his supporters violently silenced other political voices (Muro and Quiroga 16). Specifically, regional differences were banned, such as expression through language, flags, and anthems, in order to "unify" Spain (19). Franco's state-supported, decades-long indoctrinated definitions of Spanish ideology were rooted in Spain's imperial history, the Spanish language, and, above all, Catholicism (16).

This belief that uniformity of culture, language, and religion is the foundation of Spanish nationalist ideology excludes Arab immigrants who, obviously, are from a different culture, speak a different language, and often follow religions other than Catholicism. For the Spaniards who, up into modern times, hold to Franco-era conceptions of Spain, Arab immigrants, and particularly, Arab Muslims, do not fit into their ideas of what society should look like, which is a very narrow definition. One young Spaniard told me that Muslims' values and treatment of women are inconsistent with the Spanish way of life, so he does not like them. In his comment,

he generalizes that all Muslims think and act uniformly and uses othering to express sentiments of “us” and “them.” This young man, barely in his twenties, displayed similar Spanish nationalist ideologies as those that dominated Spain fifty years ago.

Exclusive historical definitions of Spanish nationalism compile with current events and media coverage that villainize Muslims, causing prejudice and deep tension that is projected into personal relationships between Spaniards and Arab immigrants. When I asked the people I interviewed what made them feel unaccepted in Spain, several responded by lamenting how Arabs are portrayed in the media and the ways locals latch onto the racist ideas publicly supported by influential people. Adil exclaimed, “When do I not feel accepted in Spain? It’s when I encounter people who watch a lot of television! The news. Politics.” (Sabila).

Studies show that popular Spanish newspapers exhibit high rates of Islamophobic content (Cervi et al. 10; Durán 101). Specifically, many of the articles related to Islam carry a negative tone or propagate that all Muslims are the same (Cervi et al. 7). In Spanish media, Islam-related articles typically fall in either the international or national hard news category, and the most recurring topics, by far, are terrorism and radicalization, especially referring to the radicalization of immigrants (8). While it is not wrong to report on real events of terrorism, a study of Spanish news articles from 2015 to 2020 reveal tendencies to use real events as an opportunity to render Muslims as the “other,” inextricably link Islam with violence, and openly state that coexistence with Muslims is impossible (7). In other words, the sentiment among the Arab immigrants I interviewed that the Spanish media targets Muslim people and stirs up prejudice against them is an accurate statement. Overwhelmingly, the qualitative results show immense Islamophobia in Spanish media, especially in right-leaning newspapers (10). Additionally, the quantity of

anti-Muslim content increases dramatically following terrorist attacks, such as the 2004 train bombing in Madrid and the 2017 attack in Barcelona (2).

Islamophobia, however loud or subtle, impacts all Arab immigrants regardless of their religious ties. The two atheists I interviewed, Sharif and Sirvan, both commented on how people treat them when they either assume they are Muslim, or find out that they are not. For example, Sharif perceives a change in people's openness toward him when they read his Spanish identification card which contains his full name, Muhammad Sharif. In hospitals or governmental offices, when people see his full name and understand the cultural and religious implications of the name Muhammad, he sometimes notices a reaction in their faces and sees the possibility of positive interaction with the person on the other side of the desk decrease (Mansour). Likewise, Sirvan noted that people's treatment of him often changes when they find out he eats pork and does not follow the Muslim faith, though he felt this aspect about himself should not impact a social situation for the better (Uzun). Islamophobia extends to produce hatred against Arabs indiscriminately regardless of their religious beliefs due to associations of Arabs with Islam and the media's role in depicting Muslims with certain physical features such as skin tone (Cervi et al. 7).

Although before 2018, immigration was not a frequent topic of political debate in Spain, the rise of the ultraconservative political party Vox into parliamentary seats has brought the discussion of immigration - and particularly Arab immigration - into public light and controversy (Cervi et al. 2). Current Vox party president Santiago Abascal stated during a 2018 conference in the Canary Islands, "It is not the same, an immigrant coming from a brother Hispanic-American country, with the same culture, the same language, the same worldview, as immigration from Islamic countries." He added that he fears the growing Muslim population "will become a

problem” (Sosa). This is one comment of many that discriminates against Arabs put forth by this political party that is rising in popularity in Spain, with surprising support from the younger generation. When I asked Sirvan if he felt the politics of the moment affect how Spaniards view immigration, the response was a clear, “Of course, of course, of course” (Uzun). Of course the negative messages blasted in the media and racist people who have gained seats in the Spanish Parliament impact the mindset of the Spanish people and their views of Arabs.

My conversations with Spaniards about Arabs often reflected the same views on nationalism and Islam portrayed in Spanish media and politics. Although I never once engaged a Spaniard asking for their opinion of Arabs, several people initiated the conversation when they learned I was studying Arabic or randomly. For example, one woman told me that Saudi Arabia is sending Arabs to Granada to re-reconquer the city. She also accused Arab immigrants of laziness and abuse of governmental aid, which ought to go to Spaniards rather than immigrants. Obviously, not every Spaniard holds these views, but the frequency with which I encountered these character attacks and suspicions against Arab immigrants quickly showed me the presence of racism in Granada, though to the exact extent, one can never be sure.

The Arabs I interviewed also shared their own stories of experiencing racism, further showing the prevalence of racist encounters that divide people. In the first interview I conducted, Sirvan told me if he decides to leave Europe, the reason is racism. During the decade-plus that he has lived outside of Syria, he has lived in Glasgow, Madrid, and finally Granada, and he feels people’s suspicion of him impacts every aspect of his life, including very basic interactions like flirting with a woman. He cannot stand the overt and especially the coded racism he hears. He said he never feels accepted in Spain (Uzun). Najiya, whose sons were born in Spain, has dealt with hateful comments other children would tell her sons in school about their

Moroccan descent. Both her and her sons have been shouted at with the words, “Get out of here and back to your country!” (Zalegh). Likewise, my Iraqi-American study abroad classmate, Sarah, told me of her frustration with one of her professors in Spain who only spoke with her in class to single her out for being Iraqi and regularly insisted that all of Iraq is a desert and does not have modern amenities (Khedairi). This assortment of stories from the people I interviewed are a mere sampling of the experiences that were relayed to me. Nearly every person I interviewed shared, often casually, how people have engaged them to disparage them publicly.

Furthermore, some immigrants hold prejudice against the local population, also creating barriers for friendship between the two groups. Though I did not frequently see this combination, one of my interviews alerted me to the possibility of, for some, a prejudice against Western people, likely due to their experiences as immigrants. When I met and interviewed Adil, he picked apart everything I said and was quick to correct me. Early in the interview, he asked me where I was from. When I responded that I was from the United States, he retorted, “I was asking to see if you were from a poor country, but the United States is very rich, and yet super stingy. We in Morocco, although we don’t have much, we give a lot.” He went on to tell me that I am “privileged” and do not understand suffering, though he knew nothing about me except my nationality (Sabila). In essence, Adil was projecting on me the same stereotypical generalizations that have been projected on him as a Moroccan Muslim. His prejudice against me, a Westerner, generated discomfort that prevented further communication.

This interaction, which was so unlike any other experience I had interviewing people, shows the possibility of prejudice that moves from the other direction, from immigrant to local. It does not matter which person holds preconceived notions against the other that lead to unpleasant interactions between the two. If either side is unwilling to be hospitable and friendly,

the relationship will fail. Without a beginning, whether hindered by the Spaniard or by the Arab, a relationship does not develop to support hospitality.

Racism, when present, automatically shuts down opportunities for relationships to form, impeding future hospitality. Interracial hospitality is impossible if one of the two parties refuses to be around the other due to prejudice against them. This challenge lacks a solution and causes some of my interviewees to simply let these people go. For instance, Hassan stated that in the face of racism, his response is, “If they reject me, I put them behind me” (Monjib). In other words, negative, racist interactions, unsurprisingly, reduce the possibility for future interactions, especially for an exchange as intimate as hospitality. Adil further explained this concept of negative first impressions that end the relationship, saying, “If you had sat down and found us to be bad people, you would come up with an excuse and get out of here” (Sabila). Negative interactions hurt the possibility of future hospitality, since prejudice lacks the hospitable spirit of welcome and openness that accompanies the action of invitation and conversation.

According to many of my interviewees, Spain was not waiting for them with open arms to receive them. Several mentioned that they felt they had to take initiative to integrate themselves into society since no one was reaching out to them first. For them, this initiative meant taking the first steps in forming relationships with others, learning Spanish, and living respectfully. The social divisions detailed above are insurmountable if no one intentionally moves to invite another into friendship. A major part of being a host is invitation which is an intentional step toward another person. Najiya, who is content with her life in Spain, said, “If you go to a country, you have to be aware that you are in a country that isn’t your country. I have to respect their beliefs and gain their respect. One has to earn their respect” (Zalegh). Similarly, Sharif suggested that one has to proactively join the Spanish community, “You have to

integrate yourself, reach out to people, create a setting in which you are accepted and have friends” (Mansour). In other words, Najiya and Sharif felt that, in light of the fact that Spain was not reaching out to receive them, they had to take the first steps in establishing relationships with people, which I would call a step of invitation.

I am not suggesting that it is the responsibility of the immigrant to take these first steps of invitation rather than the local body, although Najiya and Sharif seemed to be of that mindset. Rather, I point to the need for someone, regardless of their ethnicity, to move toward the other and initiate a relationship. Taking into consideration how often relationships between Spaniards and Arabs do not form from the start due to prejudice or cultural differences and barriers, it is helpful for one person, whomever that may be, to invite. An act of hospitality always begins with one person choosing to be the host and inviting the other into their space as a guest.

Spain is home to many immigrants from Arab countries, but the majority of immigrants in Spain are from Latin America, and they, too, deal with issues of acceptance in society. An Argentinian friend of mine spoke to me about the lack of integration between local Spaniards and Latin American immigrants in the church I attended in Granada which has a large Latin American population, nearly half of the congregation. Jonathan, himself a long-time immigrant, said that integration goes two directions. He makes a point of talking to everyone, so he has integrated well into the culturally-mixed congregation. However, for the immigrants who feel more comfortable forming relationships with other immigrants, they are socially cut off from the majority population of the church, the local Spaniards. According to Jonathan, the failure to connect does not rest solely on the backs of the local body, but rather highlights the need for members of each racial group to intentionally invite, receive, and reciprocate affection and interest in being friends.

I would call Jonathan's resolve to speak to Spaniards an act of invitation, inviting them into relationship with him by making the first move socially. Taking steps toward someone who is different from oneself is challenging for most people regardless of ethnicity. This is one of the reasons why many of the immigrants I interviewed may have felt that the responsibility to integrate first fell on their own initiative to speak to others and show them respect, as Spain did not receive them with open arms. For a relationship to begin, someone had to reach out first, and encountering a lack of invitation from Spaniards, they decided that the first "host" often had to be them.

Language barriers also impact immigrants' access to friendships with the local population and how racism is, or is not, perceived. The majority of the Arabs with whom I interacted spoke Spanish at an incredibly high level, evidence of their many years living in the country and operating in society. Some, however, struggled more linguistically than others, especially during their first few years in Spain. The housewife that I interviewed, Ruqayyah, moved to Granada from Syria three years ago, hardly knowing a word of Spanish. She has since taken a few courses and improved greatly, but she still feels self-conscious about her ability to communicate. She has no Spanish friends (Barakat). Likewise, Lamia said she had very little social interaction with Spaniards during her first years in Spain, and when I asked her what are some challenges she faces maintaining the practice of hospitality in Spain, she responded, "Language, because I've always had to perfect my Spanish" (Khalifa). This surprised me because Lamia spoke the language fluently and even taught classes to Spanish students, yet she still felt the need to improve in order to operate fully in society. If she felt that language is still a barrier for her to show hospitality, it is likely that immigrants who speak Spanish at a beginner or intermediate level feel this communication divide to even greater extents than she. The inability to express

oneself pinpoints that person as an outsider and blocks deep, intentional communication which is often a prerequisite for close friendship. Additionally, feeling uncomfortable speaking a foreign language draws immigrants into interactions with people who speak Arabic rather than Spanish which creates a tight-knit immigrant community based on shared language and culture and inadvertently further separates Spaniards and Arabs into their own social groups.

Once achieved, strong Spanish language skills lower the communication boundaries. However, the ability to understand every word of the conversation and pick up on cultural nuances can sometimes increase one's awareness of prejudice rather than completely open the door for interracial friendships. Sirvan noted, "It's curious because the first year in Madrid when I didn't speak Castilian Spanish well, I didn't feel the racism, but now that I speak Spanish well, I feel it more in general" (Uzun). It must be discouraging to spend hours and years perfecting one's language skills in an effort to operate efficiently in Spanish society only to learn that one's linguistic progress has achieved for them, among other things, the ability to better hear and understand the racist words spoken against them.

When I spoke with Ahmed outside his tourist shop, I noticed that he spoke Spanish at a lower level and regularly switched into English when the topic of conversation became more complex. This surprised me because he had lived and worked in Granada nearly 30 years. As potential customers walked by, he changed his language according to their nationality. A French woman passed, so he engaged her in French. Two students, an American and a Canadian, walked by, so he offered them his products in English. As a businessman, he has learned that surviving amidst the competition means starting conversations with people, and he employs whatever language will best connect with that person to make a sale (Fadel). It is unclear if his Spanish level is as basic as I felt it was. I do believe he was high during the whole interview, so

most of what he said was off the walls. Regardless, language plays an interesting role in his ability to do business in a touristy town that welcomes foreigners from all over the world.

In addition to linguistic challenges, the divergence between Spanish and Arab cultures, though my interviewees noted several similarities, creates friction in the realm of hospitality for some of the immigrants I met and impacts their own personal practice of hospitality. Concretely, Sirvan dislikes the Spanish culture of meeting outside the home to socialize in bars and restaurants. Particularly, he perceives that their hesitation to invite him inside is motivated by the fear of closeness. He bemoaned, “What bothers me is the same, that people don’t invite you to their house. They don’t get too close; they are always afraid of you, or of something. I see that they are afraid” (Uzun). This lack of hospitality he has encountered in Spain strongly contrasts with Sirvan’s upbringing when people constantly were in his father’s house. It was clear in the conversation that he missed the hospitality values of his homeland and the grounded location of the home.

Several echoed the comment that Spanish people do not invite people into their homes, but some affirmed that Spanish people do have people over. The discrepancy of answers I received can be bridged through Ruqayyah’s observation that, in her experience, Spanish people only invite a person into their home once they know them very well. In Syria, she contrasted, an invitation to the house is offered upon the first meeting (Barakat). In this case, a major difference between European and Arab hospitality, as Sirvan noted, is the closeness to the person required to extend a home invitation -- a type of closeness not always achieved between the two cultures due to prejudice.

Language and cultural barriers that separate people into their own groups is different from racism, as it is not intentional exclusion, but rather reflects a tendency to cling to people

who are similar to oneself, accessible, and easy to be friends with. Conversely, crossing cultural boundaries and forming relationships with people who are different is often outside of people's comfort zones. Regardless of the motivation for separation, whether intentional or unintentional, hospitality between Spaniards and Arab immigrants inevitably comes with challenges. The greatest hindrance to hospitality between these two groups in Granada is the level of separation, whether imposed or naturally occurring, that exists between Spaniards and Arabs. This separation limits the possibility for friendship before it begins, never affording the opportunity to engage in hospitality with some individuals due to racism and/or differences of language and culture.

However, even outside of my interviewees' interactions with Spaniards, the people I interviewed struggled to make hospitality a regular part of their lives. The rate of hospitality among my interviewees has decreased in general, regardless of the ethnicity of their guests, compared to their experiences in their home countries. Prejudice, then, is not the only factor complicating hospitality exchanges in Spain, but rather one of many challenges.

The Arab immigrants I interviewed experienced varying degrees of involvement with Spaniards, people from their countries, and the broader Arab immigrant population. For some, their closest friends were people of their own cultural background, like Hassan, a Moroccan young man who has lived in Granada fourteen of his twenty-seven years. Though he is not isolated from Spanish society, his best friends share his same cultural background. He confided, "The majority of my close friends are Moroccan or Arab. I spend time with Spaniards, too, but more to watch or talk about soccer and drink coffee, though not as frequently" (Monjib). In contrast, some prefer to congregate with non-Arabs. Sharif's friends are multi-ethnic, but he avoids the Arab community when possible (Mansour). Others have a mix of Spanish and Arab

friends. Najiya asserted, “I don’t have a preference, for example, if I’m with Arab people or not, no. I have friends from all parts” (Zalegh). In summary, even among the few people I interviewed, I was not able to see any patterns or tendencies in the ethnicity of people’s friends, if they were generally Arab or not. Regardless, the hospitality rates for all of them were impacted when they moved to Spain, pointing to a reason beyond racism for their decline in hospitality.

In fact, while nearly all of my interviewees acknowledged the reality of racism, the most common reason they gave for lessening hospitality in their lives was not racism, but rather the broader issue of time constraints. Modernity and the home-work balance of city life mean in many cases, both men and women are working outside the home and are not available at any given hour to host drop-in guests. Smaller family sizes that do not include extended family also increase the likelihood of empty houses during the day, so the open-door model of hospitality present in many parts of the Arab world no longer functions due to time restrictions and the impacts of modern life on the home. Presumably, this is true all over the urbanizing Arab world, but it is an especially potent fact for immigrants living in Spain, as many work in the restaurant or tourism business, striving long hours for little pay.

Busy work days drain people’s energy and time at home, often lessening the desire and possibility to host guests. For instance, Ahmed, a 58-year-old street vendor, said that while anyone is welcome to come over, he very rarely invites anyone. It depends on his energy level, but he is at his shop all day long. While I did not hear the time the shop opens, he told me he takes a break 3-5pm for lunch, then he works until closing at 10pm. He is the owner and the only employee (Fadel). Hospitality within the home is nearly nonexistent in his life. Ahmed’s experience in Granada, working and living in a new culture, created new time-related obstacles

in demonstrating the hospitality he previously highly appraised. Likewise, Najiya, a restaurant owner set up near the Royal Cathedral of Granada, expressed, “My life is pretty much here [her restaurant]. I spend a lot of hours here. And when I’m not here, I’m with my family” (Zalegh). Her time in the restaurant eats away at her hours in the home, reducing how often she visits other people. Because she is constantly outside the house working, she has neither the time nor the energy to engage with the community in hospitality. Rather, she prefers to devote her few free hours outside the restaurant to her family.

Some suggested that, due to busy work schedules, it is easier to organize social engagements outside of the home. The convenient location of the city center for many of the immigrants who work near that area and the quick nature of a cup of coffee help some of the people I interviewed integrate personal relationships into their busy schedules. For example, when I asked Hassan how often people outside of his family come to his house, he responded, “In houses, not often. More like restaurants, tea shops, and going to the beach. We’re all working a lot. It’s easier to meet up outside the home” (Monjib). Public locations for sociality provide food ready-made and a brief moment to connect, though this type of social exchange does not necessarily fall into the category of hospitality.

Dipesh Chakrabarty’s study of modernity’s influence on sociality describes the pastime of meeting up with groups of people socially called *adda*, particularly through the perspective of Bengalis in Calcutta, India, but also recognized as a common practice throughout the world, notably in Egypt (183). The *adda* is defined as a fixed location where people gather. From 1820 through the 1920s, *adda* was almost always set in the parlor of a wealthy person’s home (184). However, from the 1930s onward, it became increasingly common for the *adda* to be in a public

location such as a tea or coffee shop (202). Like Hassan noted in his own experience, the social gatherings shifted from the home to public locations.

Adda lacks the host-guest relationship, excessive generosity, and the blending of friends with family. While there is an unofficial social leader that is regularly present at a particular location, he is not in charge of providing food or lodging (208). Rather, the *adda* way of paying for the food is called “going Dutch,” or rather, in English nonsense “his his, whose whose” which signifies the lack of hospitality and host which is a shameful circumstance among the Bengali people. Chakrabarty comments that this nonsensical English title is humor to cover up the embarrassment of paying separately (194). He also notes the nostalgia surrounding the practice of *adda* because it is a dying art due primarily to economic changes (181) which is a loss to Bengali identity, as Bengalis have championed the practice of *adda* for centuries (182).

Chakrabarty never claims *adda* is hospitality, but rather confines the practice to the category of sociality since *adda* lacks the foundational elements of hospitality such as a host, provisions, home, and generosity. I bring up his research to illustrate that not every social interaction between two people is automatically deemed hospitality, even if there is food and conversation involved. The shift I observed for several people that I interviewed in Spain is that they lowered the frequency of hospitality in the home and substituted these times for social gatherings in public places, but meeting friends for coffee is, at best, a vague display of hospitality.

Much is lost when hospitality is not grounded in the home as a display of selfless generosity. Like Chakrabarty, I would define the gathering of people in a public location as sociality, not hospitality in its purest sense, because two people meeting for coffee does not have a guest and a host nor a basis of generosity. If each person pays for their own drink, there is no

generosity, but even if one buys the drink of the other, the process of serving is performed by the waiter. It is not the same kind of host-guest relationship as would occur in a home. Additionally, the other person does not get a glimpse into one's family life and living conditions. While hospitality is not always convenient, the meshing of public and private life is a beautiful aspect of hospitality that has inspired me to research it and to practice it in my own life to build and maintain relationships.

Nevertheless, some of the people I interviewed still practiced in-the-home hospitality. While a few have shifted to sociality due to time constraints, others incorporate hospitality into their lives whenever possible, though their long work days lessen their availability. For example, Lamia gathers together with friends of all nationalities in homes whenever she has a free day. She has a busy lifestyle; multiple teaching jobs around the city, classes that end at 9pm such as the course I took with her, and two children. It is difficult to fit in weekly social gatherings, but the hospitality still happens, albeit with less regularity than in the small towns of El Nahra and Zabid where the women do not normally work outside the home. Lamia has found a way to weave friendship and hospitality into her life during the hours she is at home (Khalifa).

Scholarship on hospitality has found that one of the main strategies in the Arab world for showing hospitality in the face of busy schedules is multigenerational households. In Yemen, as many as four generations live in one household, sharing meals, budget, and reputation (Meneley 61). Likewise, my American friend, Kelly, commented that homes in Morocco are multi-level to house new generations (Piper). The existence of multigenerational families living under one roof aids hospitality because the more people who live in a house, the more likely it is that at least one person will be home at any given time. For guests that enjoy extended stays, the hosts may switch off who is accompanying their guest while some members attend to their work and

normal lives. When Adnan, a middle-aged man from western Iraq, invited a friend over to his parents' house, his whole family would come to greet and get to know his guest and offer their home and hospitality for three days. Amazed, I asked how he and his family were able to offer this much time to their guests. He responded, "If I have to leave and do something, the friend stays with my dad or with my family" (Mina). The large number of people in the home meant that the time burden of hospitality was split between the members, so someone was always with the guest.

Census research in Spain from 2019 shows that Moroccan immigrants often continue to live in multigenerational households in Spain. While Spanish adult children often live in the family home until they marry, records show that many Moroccans continue to live with their parents even after marriage, with their spouse and children (Liu et al. 1066). Therefore, some of the hospitality benefits afforded to them by living in an expansive household remain.

However, others, like Adnan whose family still lives in Iraq, have to deal with the inflexibility of schedules without extended family to entertain guests in their absence. The question of having enough time to host people in one's home is a critical issue in restricting hospitality, especially in the modernizing, urbanizing world. Adnan, whose family in Iraq would step in to host his friends when he needed to leave, currently does not have the time to have people over often due to his heavy work schedule in a youth facility where he works from 9am to 12am. He said he has people over to his house monthly when he can, but these past two years have been very restricted ever since his shifts changed. Adnan's primary reason for being busy and decreasing hospitality was work which was an answer I received repeatedly.

In her study on hospitality, Christine Pohl suggests that people who desire to have open-door homes in the modern age should live in neighborhoods with other families who are

like-minded to create a mega-home community of welcome, so someone will always be there to host guests (58). She points to smaller family sizes and nuclear family homes as detrimental to regular visiting patterns since most people are out of the house working for large portions of the day. In essence, she suggests an adjusted recreation of the benefits of multi-generational houses, that is, people to share the workload of hospitality and thus cut down the time each individual spends hosting while also providing spaces where at least someone will be home at any given hour, a reality often not attainable in families with only two adults in the house.

A lack of time makes hospitality difficult to practice since hospitality consists of *being* with another person. Hurry and welcome do not easily coexist. Hurry says, “Please leave soon.” Welcome insists, “Stay as long as you would like.” Time constraints shorten the length of hospitality exchanges and lessen the frequency. Work schedules dictate availability and affect energy levels, causing an overall reduction in hospitality regardless of whom the potential guests might be. When time is an issue, nonessential activities, like hospitality, are either completely discarded or significantly reduced.

Unfortunately, busyness is not often a choice. Several of the people I interviewed were working jobs they did not particularly like and were given long hours they would not have chosen if it were not necessary for their financial wellbeing. For instance, I asked Adil why he works as a calligraphy artist, and he responded that no one was going to give an immigrant a fancy job, but one has to earn a living, so he does calligraphy. For him, work is not a choice (Fadel). When work schedules are outside of one’s control, other aspects of one’s life must change in order to fit into the new schedule, and hospitality often decreases as a result. To expect limitless hospitality from people whose hours are not graced with limitless time is unrealistic. Rather, it is important to recognize the ways my interviewees have fit hospitality and

sociality into their lives in the face of hardships. Although the instances of hospitality decreased in number, for many of my interviewees, the practice continued. To varying degrees, my interviewees maintained, or did not maintain, hospitable lifestyles in Spain, ranging in frequency from Lamia who invites people over every chance she gets to Ahmed who rarely invites anyone.

For all of my interviewees, significant challenges of racism, cultural differences, and time constraints affected their ability to regularly engage people in host-guest exchanges. It is important to note that all three of these issues impede hospitality before the process is set in motion. Racial barriers and prejudice decrease the possibility of initial and consequential meetings of Spaniards and Arabs. Likewise, time constraints constrict schedules so that invitations cannot be sent out or received, also restricting hospitality in the beginning stages. Without the opportunity to meet people, develop relationships, and space in the schedule for invitations, hospitality cannot thrive. Racism, cultural differences, and time constraints pose real barriers, both social and socioeconomic, that are not easily managed and, as a result, reduce hospitality.

Chapter Three: Challenges Overcome

“I have a lot of hope for tomorrow. It’s a trait that many people are losing, but I don’t like to lose hope.” - Adnan Mina

The existence of unconditional hospitality, affirmed by some and doubted by others, is peculiar and draining because the truth is that while one’s heart may contain the desire for generosity, resources are finite. Time, money, and food all run out eventually. Compounding this reality, other social complications spring up during processes of hospitality. Relationships are messy, and so are people. Hospitality, a social building block of society and crucial for maintaining positive relations, creates problems specific to itself that must be dealt with in order to continue the practice, or else hospitality diminishes, as shown in the previous chapter. For many of my interviewees, however, hospitality continued in altered form and through creative solutions to problems that arose in the new context. This chapter considers the ways the people I interviewed overcame certain challenges in Spain and continued to show hospitality.

The following paragraphs discuss four hospitality obstacles that I saw overcome in Spain: reputation maintenance, limited resources, time constraints, and feelings of acceptance. The first section introduces the idea that reputation is an ever-shifting concept largely dependent upon the regular practice of hospitality and the impressions the guests have of the hosts. This awareness of the guest’s power to build or harm the reputation of the hosts causes mistrust in communities that value hospitality and necessitates privacy management. The following section considers how limited resources, such as money, food, and space, affect hospitality for my interviewees and how they draw from the ways these hospitality issues are approached in their home countries in order to find solutions. The third section again delves into time constraints and how, while in-the-home hospitality has reduced among my interviewees, many incorporate hospitality into

the workplace. Lastly, the fourth section investigates exclusion and the surprising revelation that the majority of my interviewees feel accepted in Spain.

The various ways my interviewees approached these obstacles highlight how immigration to Spain has shaped their practice of hospitality. Some of the hospitality issues faced and how they are handled are consistent between country of origin and life in Granada, Spain, but with particular nuances due to the effects of immigration. And, obviously, new problems and solutions also arise in the new context. For all of these challenges, the hardships and barriers are real and threatening to the practice of hospitality, making the intentional steps to overcome them inspiring and eye-opening.

One of the major challenges of hospitality discussed in Arab anthropological literature is that as reputation is a shifting concept, so the means of achieving and maintaining a good name never reaches an end. Anne Meneley writes extensively on this topic of reputation and hospitality. She observes the constant balance of managing invitations and displaying appropriate comportment as the public sphere enters a family's private space. Positively presenting one's family to the community is integral to maintaining a good reputation, and failure to do so negatively impacts a family's influence and relationships with other family units. Since anthropologist Michael Herzfeld affirms that a host's behavior metaphorically extends to represent the entire household (qtd. in Solana 364), showing generosity and cleanliness before the community forms and re-forms community members' perceptions and discussions of the family that serves as host. This sometimes creates a dynamic of mistrust and fear of what guests will say as they leave the host's space.

As one Bedouin in Balga, Jordan explained, "The host must fear the guest. When he sits [and shares your food], he is company. When he stands [and leaves one's house], he is a poet"

(Shryock, “New Jordanian Hospitality” 36). This fear of being found unsuitable by others leads to hiding information and imperfections. While lack of privacy is an inherent consequence of opening one’s doors, it is possible to live an incredibly public life in an intensely private way: speaking carefully, cleaning up the environment, and sharing only the details one wishes to be known. However, privacy management has an unfortunate consequence of weaker, more superficial relationships.

This relational mistrust present in some Arab societies also takes root in the transplanted Moroccan community in Granada, Spain. Kelly, an American, commented to me that her Moroccan friends sometimes struggle to trust other Moroccans and let their guard down with them because they feel they are always being watched and evaluated by their countrymen. While they bond to one another in Spain based on shared culture and language, divisions of trust often remain between the Moroccans my friend knows because of the heightened privacy concerns resulting from the culture of inclusion and exclusion rooted in hospitality. These friends tell her that they are willing to share intimate details of their lives with her, but not with other Moroccans, because her culture is different from theirs. They fear harm to their reputation and gossip within the Moroccan community. While they remain connected culturally and socially to the people from their country of origin, they sometimes gravitate toward outsiders when they express vulnerability (Piper). In Spain, Moroccans have a wider, more diverse community that includes a majority Spanish population and expatriates from all over the world. Consequently, they maintain the choice to expand their social circle to include other cultures that lack strong hospitality values and privacy management.

Likewise, Sharif follows the same strategy of avoiding intimacy with the Arab community in Granada, though to a larger extent than Kelly’s Moroccan friends. He

intentionally does not spend large amounts of time with the broader Arab community in Granada because he views them as a close-minded and exclusive group, desiring him to follow a particular philosophical mindset. Rather, he naturally gravitates toward atheists and sticks to his tight group of friends, enjoying hospitality and deep relationships with them (Mansour).

Conversely, other immigrants I interviewed in Spain opted to remain tightly within the Arab community socially and build their closest relationships primarily among people of the same cultural background. They approach the privacy issue of hospitality in a similar manner as they dealt with it in their home countries. One Syrian housewife, Ruqayyah, explained to me how the extravagance and guardedness of her hospitality varied depending on how well she knew the guest. When strangers came over, she tended to offer her best provisions and attention, taking great care to speak and act appropriately. In contrast, she treated close friends and regular guests as family, and she felt less pressure to have a clean house and behave perfectly since she already had a positive, established relationship with her guests. Therefore, for her, the striving for privacy is a temporary measure when one is not sure yet of the guest's loyalties, but once a solid relationship has formed, the host-guest relationship becomes more casual and familial (Barakat).

Another hospitality hurdle in both the homeland and Spain is physical resources such as food, space, and money. The Mediterranean concept of *filotimo* touches upon the idea that hosts are judged for their hospitality according to their means (Herzfeld 80), or as two Moroccans I interviewed called it, "their capacity," meaning a family's economic power (Saqqat; Sabila). Depending on the capacity of each family, different preparations are made. For example, for large-scale events such as weddings (which all the people I interviewed agreed are much more extravagant in their home countries), the days of feasting may be lengthened or shortened,

according to one's wealth. Adil spoke without scorn toward the families who could not reasonably afford large weddings. In his mind, they are judged according to what they are able to generously give and not on the same scale as a wealthy person.

I interviewed people from various socioeconomic backgrounds, high and low, employees and employers, white collar and blue, as well as a variety of ages. While no one I interviewed spoke about their finances, I took note of what I saw and tried to piece together bits of information about the interviewee's work and schedule to discern how immigration has impacted their resources. I know some worked long hours, much longer than any Spaniards I knew. I know their reasons for immigration sometimes dictated the jobs that were available to them, such as Sirvan, a Syrian refugee, who owns a restaurant in Granada although he was trained and worked many years as an archaeologist. Additionally, I visited the area that holds the most Arab residents, lines of apartment complexes outside the main city called the "unsafe" part of town due to poverty and racial stereotypes.

However, even if physical resources are lacking, the practice of hospitality in Arab countries, from my readings, is not a practice merely of the wealthy, but of everyone regardless of financial circumstances. For this reason, it is profitable to assess the way in which this challenge of hospitality is managed in my interviewees' countries of origin and how this plays a role in confronting similar financial struggles in Spain. There is a high likelihood that I cannot see the full extent of the effects financial strain has had on the hospitality practices of the people I interviewed, but in the following section I describe the relationship between money and hospitality in various Arab countries and its intersections with immigrants' lives in Granada.

Firstly, reciprocity in hospitality, the concept that the same person does not host every single time, but rather regularly becomes the guest, compensates for the financial loss of giving

someone a free meal. Giving hospitality, according to the law of reciprocity, naturally turns into receiving hospitality, as the former host eats a meal s/he does not pay for in exchange for the meal s/he bought for a neighbor last week. “We try to switch it up,” Sharif told me, referring to how his group of friends rotates which house they gather in, “so it doesn’t always fall on the same person” (Mansour). His tight circle of friends shares the responsibility of hospitality to split up the work equally of cleaning, entertaining, and paying for food as is done across the Arab world to financially sustain the practice.

The idea of reciprocity is not confined to food, but is also vital in the concept of the gift. In Zabid, Yemen, when a woman gives birth, the married women in town each give her five to ten riyals. The amount of the gift and the name of the giver are then carefully recorded and repaid when the other women give birth (Meneley 42). Reciprocity in hospitality is based on this same system of equal giving and getting. If truly equal, reciprocity ends with a net zero financially and the added benefit of meaningful social connections.

The concept of reciprocity is a bedrock in almost all of the literature I read on hospitality, but it also came up casually in one of my earliest interviews with a Moroccan businesswoman. I sat in her restaurant for a long time either talking with her or waiting as she served her sudden influx of customers who found shelter from the downpour in her restaurant. She asked me if I wanted anything to drink as I waited, so I said yes, ordered, and thought to myself, “Good, now I can pay for something and not be a burden, taking up a table for nothing.” But as I left, I tried to pay, and she refused. I greatly protested since she had given to me generously already, answering all of my questions in the interview, though I was a stranger. She smiled sweetly in response and said, “You never know. This time I help you, and maybe in the future, you will help me” (Zalegh). That is reciprocity: paying ahead for a later, likely payout. Of course, the

generosity of hospitality is not, unless horribly twisted, merely a pawn to receive material gain in the future, but it is a way to diminish the cost of hospitality when it is a shared community goal to host one another.

Bringing physical gifts of food to a host's home also offsets the cost of feeding guests. Kelly remarked that when she travels to Morocco, she tries to bring gifts when she comes into Moroccans' homes to lessen the amount of money needed to host her (Piper). Similarly, in Bahla, Oman, the women bring dates, coffee, and sometimes pieces of food to share with the room when visiting, again alleviating the strain on the hosts to provide for all the guests to be satisfied (Limbert 50). While it would be insulting to offer money in exchange for hospitality, these thoughtful gifts function in place of cash to lessen the financial burden.

At least in part, these two strategies, reciprocity and gifts from the guests, account for a family's ability to financially sustain hospitality. There are certainly examples of ostentatious displays of hospitality, the kind of generosity that moves beyond one's means, such as is present in the legend of Hatim, but in many Arab communities, it is also respectable to modestly host if that is all one can do.

In addition, some of the people I interviewed adopted some Spanish hospitality practices that are cheaper than the same activity in their home countries. Many of the people I interviewed stated that they have held onto the traditions of the homeland that they like and discarded the ones that are not useful to them since they are living in a different culture and can see both perspectives side by side. Concretely, Lamia said she opted for a simple wedding, like the Spaniards have, because she did not want to spend the money for a typical Syrian ceremony (Khalifa). Several of my interviewees described major differences between wedding traditions in their home countries compared with Spain, especially with regards to the number of days of

celebration. Hussein and Adil noted that most wedding parties in Morocco last between two days and a week (Saqqat; Sabila). This extended length of time requires buying large quantities of food to satisfy the guests for days which is an expensive venture. Lamia's decision to have a Spanish wedding likely saved her thousands of dollars, and it was easier for her to embrace this cheaper, Spanish hospitality tradition since she lived in Spain.

Sufficient space is another obstacle of hospitality related to financial resources. Having enough room to hold people is important, especially in the case of overnight guests. Several of the people I interviewed discussed hospitality not only in terms of providing food, as I think of it, but also as providing a place to sleep. Sharif told me that when his group of friends gets together, they spend the night at each other's houses, including, at times, with their children (Mansour). This struck me as odd because I do not know many adults who sleep at another person's house or offer their own if the person visiting lives locally. However, for Sharif and several others I interviewed, overnight guests are a crucial part of their hospitality experiences, both in their homelands and carried into Spain. Their homes, then, must have sufficient space to house all the sleeping guests.

In Granada, Spain, most people live in apartments of various sizes that do not have private outdoor areas that extend the hosting space like the courtyards in Yemen (Meneley 154). Regardless, the size of the space is not as important as the willingness to host and purposefulness in setting up one's space. For example, most Moroccan homes are creatively configured to receive guests during the day and overnight. Kelly described to me the narrow cushion couches that are in the typical Moroccan house. These low-to-the-floor couches wrap around the room to provide seating for large groups of people. Additionally, the couches double as beds, fitted with special sheets, for any overnight guests. When she stays with a family, they will either displace a

family member and put her in one of the best rooms in the house or offer one of these couches for her rest. The quality of each couch, she says, differs in accordance with the means of the family, but in general, sleeping on these couches is comfortable. According to Kelly, due to this guest-minded set up of furniture, most Moroccan houses are able to hold between six and seven overnight guests at any given time (Piper).

Poverty in the Arab world puts strain on hospitality. However, limited access to food and space is not a new problem or confined to a specific culture or place. Due to the longevity of the problem of poverty, long-standing creative solutions to manage this hospitality challenge in the Arab world exist, as have been detailed in the previous paragraphs. These solutions, including realistic expectations, reciprocity, gifts, and efficient use of space, are often viable options for my interviewees as they encounter financial difficulties. The financial weight on Arab immigrants in Spain can be, in part, resolved by the collective knowledge surrounding hospitality on a tight budget. Specific impediments confront Arab immigrants in Spain and their finances in a different way than in their home countries, but the main matter in question here, low resources in general, is not a new problem that needs reworking in the systems of hospitality. Rather, as was explored in the previous chapter, differences between Spanish and Arab culture and the encroaching work-home imbalance of urban living prove to be a more formidable force in changing the practice of hospitality for the immigrants I interviewed.

Although time constraints were included in the last chapter as a hospitality obstacle that is not overcome in Spain, many of my interviewees invented strategies to weave hospitality into their busy schedules. Since their work schedules dictated their time, several incorporated hospitable dispositions and practices in the workplace as a substitute, or a complement, to in-the-home hospitality. Through work, elements of hospitality such as the host-guest

relationship, ownership of space, provisions for others, and social connections with customers are potential paths to maintain hospitality in altered fashion. In some ways, this shift of location opens new possibilities for busy people, but hospitable dispositions at work also complicate and cheapen hospitality because of the money aspect of business. For this reason, time constraints are both a challenge that decreases in-the-home hospitality, and time constraints are a challenge that is creatively approached by many of my interviewees.

Personally, I hesitate to fully embrace workplace hospitality as authentic, meaningful, and in the same category as traditional, in-the-home hospitality due to the transactional nature of business. The exchange of money intertwined with hospitality and generosity appears incongruent, carrying the likeness of the hospitality industry. The institutional takeover of hospitality in the “hospitality industry,” which offers traditional hospitality benefits to strangers in exchange for money, creates a substitute for relying on the personal hospitality of friends and strangers. These businesses maintain a semblance of hospitality, but not the full effect. Many of the services once provided by individual families through hospitality are now cash-for-service endeavors through businesses such as restaurants and hotels, reducing the need for hospitality except for those most vulnerable in society (Pohl 4). “Traditional hospitality” is also commercialized to boost the tourism industry, such as the marketed meals with Bedouins in their homes in Jordan where they will dance for their guests for a price, though this work is generally despised by community members (Shryock 39). To them, selling hospitality is a despicable career of choice because they view hospitality as based in generosity, not a cash-for-service endeavor.

However, the insistence of my interviewees that they are hospitable at work and the importance of the spirit of hospitality more than the physical elements detailed in Chapter One

push me to reconsider hospitality in the workplace with an open mind. It is worth mentioning again that busy schedules are often not a choice for my interviewees, so the ways they operate within their long work days to maintain hospitality in the face of time limitations is inspiring and an intentional decision to be hospitable in the face of hardships.

Though time constraints were not perfectly or succinctly overcome in Spain, I chose to also include the issue of time in a positive light because the people I interviewed found ways to welcome people into their lives during busy hours at work through being friendly, generous, and establishing rapport with customers. Two of the restaurant owners, when I asked them with whom they spend their time and how they engage in hospitality with them, I was thinking of their friends, but they both talked about their customers and the people with whom they interact through work (Uzun; Zalegh). Even during my brief one-hour observance of them, I saw the rapport between them and their customers. As owners of restaurants, they are working almost every day for long hours, so their life at work embodies the hospitality they intellectually value and physically lack the time to incorporate into their weeks.

Business owners who welcome in customers with hospitality language, “How are you? Would you like something? Come, sit down,” act as hosts in charge of the event, yet attuned to the needs of the guests. They provide food and space to be enjoyed, for a fee. Additionally, owners have more freedom to be generous because they can offer free items to special guests. Najiya, a restaurant owner, said, “With clients, if they are really nice, I might invite them to drink or eat something like a dessert [at no charge]” (Zalegh). Though I never was invited into an Arab person’s home during my interviews, I did receive a plethora of free items and gifts from the interviewees who owned their business: tea, soda, a small fabric bag, calligraphy. They were generous with their time and money with me while I interviewed them in their workplaces which

was possible because they owned what they gave to me. Hospitality is rooted in the idea of ownership of space (Shryock, “Thinking about Hospitality” 405), so owning a business maintains certain elements of hospitality. The relationship between an employee and a customer within the workplace is business, not a social visit, but it does resemble hospitality, though in a less personal, generous way.

Many of the people I interviewed carried within themselves the deep desire to be hospitable. Although a business owner of any nationality could offer free items to customers, my interviewees’ relentless practice of hospitality more closely resembles the “burning of the skin” that defined Arab hospitality in Chapter One than merely the common action of giving. According to the Jordanian Bedouins Andrew Shryock interviewed, anyone can fulfill the action of hospitality, but it is the impulse to give even when one has nothing left - in the case of my interviewees, no time left to give - that sets Arab hospitality apart (“New Jordanian Hospitality” 49). My interviewees’ championed this mindset of hospitality even when lacking the physical elements of hospitality in their daily lives.

It is undeniable that modernity has changed hospitality as the world has globalized. People leave their homes regularly for work, as well as their homelands, and new political systems reduce the need for tribal favors. As a group of Jordanian Bedouins discussed their definitions of hospitality, they all firmly agreed, “Real hospitality does not exist in the present.” Why? They proposed displacement, taxation, and Western values transplanted in their communities through media as the culprit for hospitality degradation (Shryock, “New Jordanian Hospitality” 50).

Shryock comments on this remote location of hospitality, that is, the notion that the “real” hospitality is from a distant era or a location far from the speaker. The example Shryock gives is

the statement “in the eastern desert where Bedouins are still generous” or, in relation to time, a comment that Arabs eight hundred years ago were generous, but the level of hospitality today is nothing compared to then (Shryock, “Thinking about Hospitality” 406). Disappointment with the current state of hospitality is not a new concept, nor is it confined to Arabs. Christine Pohl, who writes about Christian hospitality from ancient to modern times, cites sermons from the eighteenth century describing the downfall of the morality of hospitality in Europe (37-38). The remote location of hospitality is a theoretical reality and present in conversations about hospitality and the assessment of the changes of modernity on this ancient social practice. This is true even between generations, as in the admission from Adnan that he inherited his style of hospitality from his parents, but his father is more generous than he (Mina). In other words, the hospitality of the past is often more highly appraised than the hospitality of the present.

In summation, while the style and frequency of hospitality have changed for the Arab immigrants I interviewed in Spain, to point to a bygone age and say, “Over there is hospitality, and this is not,” is a fallacy committed through the centuries, the creation of an ideal that does not exist in any age or any place. Distinctions between what is hospitality and what is not are still important, though it is equally important to monitor the shifts on the emphasis on home to public life. As people immigrate, they approach familiar barriers with new complexities and unfamiliar challenges that require creative solutions. These new situations and attempts to solve problems reshape social practices and traditions related to hospitality. The people I interviewed have faced considerable hardships brought on by immigration as well as normal-life limitations on time and resources, and they have worked to incorporate hospitality into their lives in a new context and a modern age.

The final challenge of hospitality overcome by many of my interviewees is social exclusion. Hospitality is a measure of inclusion and exclusion in society, and while the practice contains great potential to initiate and grow relationships, the lack of hospitality and friendship also pinpoints one as a social outsider. However, although racism and divisions obstruct hospitality in Granada, the majority of the immigrants I interviewed expressed that they feel accepted in Spanish society, even in light of their encounters with racism in Spain. In fact, some of the same people who narrated the racist interactions detailed in the previous chapter expressed shortly after telling these stories that they generally feel accepted in Spain.

The people I interviewed have had, for the most part, a mix of positive and negative experiences in Spain, but most of them focused on the positive experiences and called the negative encounters “outliers,” though they could have just as easily focused on the negative experiences and called the positive ones “outliers.” For example, Hassan said, “In general, Spain is a country that makes you feel free. Cutting out that percentage that is small, here it’s good” (Monjib). By “that percentage,” he was referring to racist people, whom he considers to be in the minority. Adding together all the interactions, current events, and Islamophobic media coverage, the immigrants I interviewed could frame their place in society any way they chose, but most spoke in terms of normally feeling accepted in society, though there were moments that they did not feel that. Of the twelve people I interviewed, only one person, Sirvan, said he never feels accepted in Spain (Uzun), and everyone else expressed either the exact opposite or, at least, variations of acceptance during certain times.

This revelation that, in spite of racism, people can feel accepted in society necessitates the question: How do feelings of inclusion overcome experiences with exclusion? My interviewees suggested three reasons for their positive outlook on life in Granada: acceptance in

their social circle, the ability to embrace their individuality, and the perceived similar value of hospitality in both Spanish and Arab cultures. This section, in particular, shows the power of the practice of hospitality in action, to shift people's focus from negative experiences to general feelings of acceptance.

For many, their experience living in Granada has been more shaped by the people who love them than by the people who do not. One of the most common answers to the question of when they feel accepted in Spain was that they feel accepted because there are people who love them in Spain. For several with whom I spoke, this social connectivity found living many years in a different context generated their feelings of inclusion. The friendships they have with Arabs, with Spaniards, with people of all kinds of backgrounds and ethnicities, define their experience of acceptance. For example, Adil, the calligraphy artist who has lived in Spain for thirty-five years said about his feelings of acceptance, "For me, thanks be to God, there are a ton of people who love me here" (Sabila). Similarly, Adnan from western Iraq said, "I'm integrated, I feel integrated. I know and love the people. You love the people, everyone loves you. You give love, you receive love. That's it" (Mina). The recognition that one is accepted by his/her own social circle, if not by the entire country, shows that small-scale inclusion, which is a key aspect of hospitality, can be effective in generating general feelings of acceptance.

Furthermore, my interviewees added that they feel accepted despite the racism they have faced because the people who have shouted at them represent themselves and not all of Spain. Many interviewees critiqued my question, When do you feel accepted in Spain?, with the reality that they have not lived in every part of Spain. They are only familiar with their context and their community. While the news cycle and general acts of racism affect them to a certain extent and fill the minds of ignorant people with stereotypes of Arabs, the people I interviewed

generally rooted their personal feelings of acceptance in their specific context and within their own social circle. Most were careful not to generalize: Some people had treated them poorly, others had welcomed them into friendship.

To elaborate, many of the people I interviewed believe racism is a worldwide struggle and not only a Spanish problem. Najiya shared, “This is all over the world, because in every country, there’s all kinds of people. There are people who aren’t going to accept you, who reject you, and there are people who open their arms, so it’s the person. It’s not the country” (Zalegh). Similarly, Ruqayyah stated simply, “Every country has good and bad people” (Barakat). This realization that individuals rather than countries are racist, and that there are close-minded people in every country, puts negative comments and interactions into a big-picture perspective in which the blame falls on the person who spoke and does not transfer to represent the whole community.

Moreover, people’s experiences with rejection in their home countries further highlight the breadth of exclusion from society. Sharif confessed, “In Algeria, I didn’t feel accepted either by a small part, or a big part of the society - the ‘establishment’ more than anything.” Although Sharif never specifically revealed the reasons he left Algeria, he implied exiting the country due to political reasons and called his life in Granada “exile” (Mansour). In considering the ways he feels accepted and unaccepted in Spain, he is reminded of his problems feeling accepted in his home country. His life experiences compel him to categorize racism and rejection from society as a problem for the whole world which lessens the blame specifically placed on Spain, as it is a shared struggle regardless of the ugliness of it.

Social connectivity within one’s circle, often achieved or maintained through acts of hospitality, creates feelings of acceptance that lessen the emotional impact of other instances of racism and rejection, making them appear as outliers. Friends, after all, speak into one’s life

more consistently and compellingly than a racist person in the grocery store. Since racist people generally do not desire close relationships with the people they despise, the interactions are often few, though memorable. Personal attachment, which is achieved over time and through social means, gives reassurance that one is accepted in one's circle, if not in the country at large.

Small-scale inclusion and the great influence of one's own social circle generate feelings of acceptance that overcome, to a certain extent, broader exclusion from society. The important role of small-scale inclusion elevates the practice of hospitality since intentional gatherings of friends have the power to reshape one's conception of his/her place and acceptance in society.

Other interviewees, rather than referencing their friendships in Spain, pointed to their own personality, individuality, and respect for others as the reason they feel accepted, or commented that acceptance in society is not a priority for them. For example, Najiya said she feels accepted in Spain when she has personality and character, maintaining her own values and beliefs while remembering she is in a country not her own and living respectfully (Zalegh). Hassan also said he feels accepted when he acts like himself (Monjib). Similarly, Lamia remarked, laughing, that she does not work hard to try to fit in. She fulfills the legal obligations of Spanish citizenship such as paying taxes and following the law. Additionally, she fulfills what she considers the social obligations of integration: learning the language, respect for all people, and feeling love and affection for the place. She stated, "I believe that [acceptance] is an internal sensation...I feel that I fit in, that I'm integrated. I don't care if they accept me" (Khalifa).

Personally, I disagree with Lamia's assertion that acceptance in society is an "internal sensation" because acceptance in society is inherently a question of the opinion and behavior of the group. Acceptance, a term nearly synonymous with inclusion, is a hospitality value. Hospitality is social by nature and integral in community relations. It would be inaccurate to

assert that hospitality is an inward sensation or a task that can be accomplished in solitude.

Likewise, acceptance is a social issue and thus dependent on the attitude of others and not only one's attitude about oneself. Acceptance in society is a reality about the placement of people on the inside or the outside of community relations more than it is about self-image and factors that one can control.

Moreover, the fact that some of my interviewees deflected the intended social meaning of this question and shifted instead to their personal conviction of self-acceptance makes me question the real-life truthfulness of some of their assertions that they normally feel accepted in society. It is possible, for some, that they prefer to frame their stories positively rather than as a tragedy, regardless of how they feel. Viewing oneself as an outsider is exhausting and makes every day a hardship, further intensifying feelings of exile. Conversely, adapting well to a new situation is, in part, accustoming oneself to new challenges and reaching a peace with them, even to the point of self-deception. Najiya, who frames her ideas about acceptance internally, explained, "It's important to accept. The good and the bad, you have to accept, because in life, there's all of it. Although you do all the good that you can, the world is going to think you're dumb or something like that. You just accept and that way, you don't have problems" (Zalegh). According to Najiya, accepting the good and the bad or, in other words, making peace with her situation, reduces the number of problems she has. She prefers to always think positively. Put simply, when one is not accepted, s/he should accept that.

Regardless of my critique of their statements about self-acceptance, it is also important not to dismiss these frequent responses that feelings of acceptance originate from within and that many feel accepted when they behave like themselves. Their answers put my question about feelings of acceptance into perspective. Is it possible to feel accepted when one must change

everything about oneself to fit in? Acceptance says, “Who you are is okay with me, and you can be part of this community.” Without the continuity of individuals’ uniqueness, acceptance is a pretense because the person accepted into the group is not accepted for being themselves. Deep down, hiding, they know they are not truly accepted. Personality, character, and dignity are preludes to real acceptance.

In the context of lingering Franco-era nationalistic ideologies that sought to unify Spain through the sameness of religion, language, and nationality (Resina 12), achieving acceptance while embracing one’s own differences and personality can be difficult to achieve. It is likely that Najiya and Hassan, in particular, were referencing this element of acceptance, that is, being themselves and still feeling accepted, more than they were alluding to the fact that they are excluded from society and must, rather, accept themselves in place of community acceptance. In summation, while I overall reject the idea that acceptance in society is primarily an internal sensation, I do see the value of forming one’s conception of acceptance around the ability to be oneself and still fit in.

The third reason my interviewees suggested they feel accepted in Spain is related to the perceived similar value of hospitality and sociality in both the Arab world and Spain, an overlap between cultures that helps several of my interviewees feel more at home. Cultural similarities, intertwined histories, and the physical proximity between Spain and various Arab countries create familiar ground between Spaniards and Arab immigrants which lessens feelings of strangeness. Commonalities produce understanding and the feeling of being at home for many of the people I interviewed, much more than they would have felt if they lived in a different area than Andalusia.

Mediterranean hospitality culture, which includes Spain, has long been recognized, especially in the nineteenth century (Herzfeld 77). Particularly, the idea of a hospitable “southern man” persisted as a stereotype of the region, someone who would protect his worst enemy if within his household, though he may kill him once he leaves. However, Mediterranean hospitality, though accepted as fact, is under researched (77), perhaps due to the controversy that this area is more an intersection of cultures than one culture and thus impractical to study as a unit (Catlos 845). Even more than the subject of Mediterranean hospitality, there is a void of scholarship on Spanish hospitality. Though popularly accepted as a key cultural value, there exists little to no researched descriptions of personal hospitality in Spain.

In my own experience living in Granada, Spain for eight months, I noticed high rates of sociality among Spaniards, especially in the evenings. The outdoor seating areas of tapa bars filled to capacity even on weeknights, and it was always difficult to find any restaurant with space even though there was a plethora of restaurants and bars in the city. The strong tapa culture, though an expression of sociality rather than hospitality, indicates the priority many Spaniards place on their friendships. Moreover, Spaniards often approached me, a stranger, to ask for directions or help with something, or even a question as simple as, “What time is it?” In other words, many held an openness to speak with strangers and engage people in conversation.

As for Spanish hospitality, I have less experience. I can add that the “southern man” Mediterranean stereotype of hospitality would be more related to the location of Granada, which is near the southern tip of Spain, than northern regions of Mediterranean countries. Though many countries border the Mediterranean, the hospitable “southern man” stereotypes are more connected to the people’s proximity to the Mediterranean than the entire nation-states that touch the sea.

Many I interviewed noted Spain's strong culture of hospitality - the sociality, warmth, and rhythms of gathering - and the similarities between the social climate of Spain and their countries of origin. Lamia, my Arabic professor, elaborated, "Spaniards, in general, have the same kind of hospitality as Arabs, more or less the same. They're friendly, kind, and the majority try to offer what they have and share (Khalifa). She added that Arab blood is in many Spaniards - whether they accept it or not - so some aspects of the Islamic history of Spain carry into mainstream Spanish culture. Others pointed out the similarities in openness and loud conversations. Sociality and family are two integral values in Spanish culture. Hospitality is, of course, the blend between social gatherings with friends and family, so it makes sense that cultures that value hospitality see the way aspects of hospitality enliven the culture of Spain, particularly in the southern regions.

Interestingly, after Lamia commented on the hospitable ways of Spanish people that are very similar to her view of Syrian hospitality, I asked her if she had experienced hospitality from Spaniards, and she said no. This surprised me because she works in a college-level language school with all Spanish teachers and a mix of Spanish and American students. She is surrounded by Spaniards within the workplace, and she has seen the hospitable nature of Spaniards, but she has not experienced it much firsthand. Lamia explained that her assessment of Spanish hospitality is grounded in her observation, or in her words, "I see how they act and see that they are a very generous people" (Khalifa). She observes their hospitality among themselves and takes note of it, but she is rarely a recipient of the hospitality of Spaniards.

Sharif, an Algerian, said most Algerian immigrants move to France because French is a comfortable language for them, but he is thankful he lives in Spain because he sees more similarities in their culture of hospitality than the coldness of France. Though he mentioned the

intent not to generalize, his overall experience in Spain compared with his sister's experience as an immigrant in France was more comfortable due to cultural similarities in the practice of hospitality. Based on his hospitality exchanges with Spanish friends, Sharif expressed:

The Spanish-Andalusian hospitality is very similar to my way of seeing North-African hospitality, or Algerian, in this case. There are matrices. The matrices are that the way to sit is different, the way to eat, or the food rituals, ritual of tea or whatever, the parties are different. But deep down, it's the same. [Spaniards] also like to receive people in their houses, and that you stay hours and hours and hours, and that you stay to sleep because, at the end of the day, that is hospitality: To receive people in your house with open arms and not let go of them until there's no other option because they have to go, because Sunday comes or because they have work, because if not, they would stay in your house. So the practice of hospitality in this country, for me, is very pleasant.

Due to living in Spain rather than France, Sharif said he feels "less in exile" (Mansour).

As Sharif noted, the emotion of hospitality is the same even if the ritual of hospitality changes according to the cultural context, and that feeling is an impactful reminder of home. Lamia communicated the same idea, "When I go to [a wedding, funeral, etc.], I go to share the same feelings - the joy or the sadness - with them" (Khalifa). While the traditions and actions associated with hospitality vary, the sentiment is the same, and, for her, that is what matters most.

Although the specific hospitality practices of Spain are not readily available to incorporate into my research, it is still significant that my interviewees feel that Spaniards are hospitable, though perhaps, at times, without receiving Spanish hospitality firsthand. Their

perception of Spanish hospitality and observations about the social openness of the culture in which they immigrated help some of the people I interviewed feel more at home. The shared hospitality values between Spanish and Arab cultures reduce feelings of estrangement built on the sense of a certain level of common heritage (in the mixing of Spanish and Arab blood during the centuries of Muslim rule in Spain) and similar social priorities.

Notably, the shared value of hospitality between Spanish and Arab cultures calls attention to the way hospitable behavior, in any location, has the potential to help Arab immigrants feel closer to home. The converse may well also be true, that a lack of hospitality increases feelings of estrangement and separation from home. Many immigrants are disappointed by how little they are invited into homes since it is often a common courtesy in their home countries to invite the foreigner in (Pohl 157). This point is particularly poignant when directed to cultures that, unlike Spain, place little emphasis on hospitality, such as my own context, the United States. The display of hospitality, or the absence of it, has the potential to affect immigrants' feelings of acceptance in society if they come from cultures with high hospitality values.

My own motive in researching the hospitality of immigrants is to learn how I myself can be a better host to the people who come to my town from all over the world, especially those who originate from cultures that emphasize the value of hospitality. I believe showing hospitality is a key to helping people feel accepted in society. American culture is famous for many things, but it is not known for its hospitality. My desire is to create the uncommon experience in which an immigrant *is* received with open arms without having to make the first move and to carry on equal relationships with strangers-turned-friends of reciprocity, closeness, and a shared sense of home.

The hospitality model of immigration is controversial because of the power dynamics of host-guest relationships and the idea that hospitality cannot be enforced by law (Shryock, “Thinking about Hospitality” 419). Two examples include former Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel’s open-door policy to refugees and Turkey’s welcoming of Syrians in recent years (Hillman and Long 100; Alkan 186). The State-supported hospitality to refugees eventually met significant opposition from citizens and, as a result, did not foster an environment of generosity and welcome for the newcomers. In the political rhetoric of “host countries” taking in immigrants, the immigrants are always the guest, and ones who have overstayed their welcome, without the honor conferred on them to be the hosts at times. This creates unequal relationships which heighten the distance between immigrant and local populations. Hospitality language, in this context, has the potential to create and reinforce unhealthy power dynamics.

However, hospitality as a personal model - to have immigrants over to one’s house, to enter theirs, to build relationships that are mutually beneficial - is an effective way to welcome immigrants. Bi-directional implementation of hospitality language, for the individual, is a helpful way to think about immigration and welcome, as it is personal, relational, and appeals to the humanity and value of every person (Shryock, “Thinking about Hospitality” 411). Reciprocity, warmth, and welcome - extended and received and extended back - yields friendship and social integration which results in feelings of acceptance in one’s circle.

For many of my interviewees, hospitality is an important part of their cultural identity and social practices, so they continue to show hospitality in Spain in the face of challenges, limitations, and the reduction of the practice. Adil’s observation about hospitality referenced in the Introduction is worth revisiting, as his statement summarizes the crux of my research: “Modern life has obligated us to have a different style of life. But if you have hospitality in your

blood, it accompanies you like blood accompanies you” (Sabila). Adil calls the changes that he has seen in himself and others post-immigration an obligation, not a choice. Even still, regardless of the “different style of life” immigrants take on in Spain, my interviewees carried hospitality with them and altered the practice in order to fit it into their lives.

The overlap of change and continuity here is significant. Change, especially for immigrants, is inevitable due to the newness of location and culture in which they have transplanted themselves. The move from their countries of origin is a change that results in new schedules, jobs, relationships, conveniences, hardships, and access to resources. Everything changes. The paradox of change and continuity is that in the presence of new situations and the necessary personal changes and adjustments that result, change is unavoidable, so one must adapt in order to achieve, at some level, continuity. The change is already present due to immigration. The question is not if change accompanies moving to a different country. Rather, the question is: How can I adapt my new life to maintain my values? Change exists, in a certain sense, for the sake of continuity.

This, in broad terms, describes Arab immigrants’ process of reworking hospitality to fit into their lives in Granada. For them, since the location is new, fitting hospitality into their lives in Spain requires adjustment, but the end result, for many, is a modified version of hospitality that continues the practice of a value that, for all of my interviewees, is a major part of their cultural heritage and identity. In some ways, the adapted version of hospitality in the new context is very similar and in some ways vastly different from the hospitality in which they engaged in their home countries. The point is that hospitality continues, though in an adjusted format. They change hospitality, for the sake of continuity.

The people I interviewed drew from their experiences in their home countries and also employed new, inventive solutions to manage the problems inherent to hospitality and life in Spain as immigrants. Hospitality challenges require creative solutions, or else the practice ceases. Privacy and ever-shifting reputation, the reality of limited resources, time constraints, and issues of social acceptance are all formidable obstacles to hospitality that my interviewees faced and, to a certain extent, overcame. Though obligated to modify, and even deconstruct, their style of hospitality, hospitality accompanied them like blood.

Conclusion

Hospitality is much more than benign dinner parties among friends and among the wealthy. It is welcoming the stranger with open arms, being generous above and beyond what is one's "duty" to offer, and tangibly providing for guests' needs - both physically and relationally. The result of hospitality is the formation of relationships, social alliances, and strong community bonds. In particular, hospitality within the Arab world is an important piece of culture and identity that transcends religious leanings, though religion provides extra incentives to be relationally generous. The frequency of visiting in many regions in the Arab world, "always" and "all the time" according to some of my interviewees, grounds family reputation and social hierarchy in cyclical visiting which is dependent on the key factor of reciprocal hospitality to preserve relationships of equal status. Post-immigration, my interviewees held onto their cultural value of hospitality to varying degrees by reshaping their practices to fit hospitality into their lives in Spain, even at the expense of core elements of traditional, in-the-home hospitality.

The principal physical elements of hospitality, that is, home and provisions, could be broadened to include other spaces and items. At some point, the definition of hospitality blurs in light of new challenges and adaptations of the practice. The use of public spaces rather than the home and, in some cases, having the right to give items away for free as the owner of a business, create an outlet for hospitable behavior in the public sphere and through the workplace in seasons when people are rarely at home. The issue of money emerges in this case, as hospitality is always free, contrary to the ideals of the hospitality industry, but there are at least traces of hospitality in this workplace practice. Additionally, even when, due to setting, it is not possible to provide food, beverages, and a place to sleep, the simple act of offering what one is able to give - in my experience, henna, calligraphy, souvenirs, soda - again carries traces of hospitality,

though not in a traditional sense. In some ways, this shift undermines the very essence and purpose of hospitality and, in other ways, it could be classified as an inventive approach to maintaining hospitality practices when confronted with modern-life inconveniences. Whether one is a hospitality purist or celebrates these adaptations, two realities exist: First, urban, modern life has changed the practice of hospitality since people are spending less time at home. Second, the remote location of hospitality, the idea that “real” hospitality exists in a faraway place or time and not in the present, is not a new notion. When will hospitality be considered “real”?

These two statements are worth reconciling, both acknowledging the changes in the practice of hospitality and being aware of the temptation to create an ideal for hospitality that has not existed in any era, in any place. There is something honorable about the ways the people I interviewed leveraged their daily lives and long work hours to maintain a spirit of hospitality even when lacking the physical elements of it. Unfortunately, there is also a loss in the connection of friends with family in the home and being personally generous with one’s time, space, and money.

The barriers of hospitality including the lack of privacy, resources, and space are not confined to one region of the world. Rather, these issues spread across the Arab world and beyond. Even still, scholarship on hospitality in various Arab countries, including my own interviews, has found that these challenges are often creatively managed through reciprocity in hosting, the intentional configuration of furniture, multigenerational households, and tempering the formality of hospitality once relationships deepen (Limbert 50, Meneley 42). In these ways, hospitality continues to be a strong value and practice despite limitation of resources. Many of the ways these obstacles are dealt with in people’s countries of origin apply to life in Granada and can be similarly employed in an effort to continue hospitality practices in Spain. However,

being an immigrant in Granada also creates new difficulties that have not been previously experienced, so the immigrants I interviewed came up with their own solutions, though often decreasing their rates of hospitality as a result of these problems. Time constraints due to long work hours, changes in family structure, strained resources, and problems with acceptance in society all contribute to these new obstacles. The people I interviewed confronted these barriers with varying degrees of effort and success which shaped their social experience in Granada. Many found ways to incorporate their value of hospitality into their work lives and held onto their mental appreciation of hospitality even when faced with physical boundaries that inhibited the regular display of it.

A significant facet of hospitality in Spain is how Arab immigrants integrate and interact with Spaniards. The political climate, complicated intertwined histories of Spain and the Muslim world, and personal experiences with racist attitudes shape hospitality, but not to the extent that I thought it would. The people I interviewed were resilient and surprisingly positive. Though many encountered racist people, the majority framed their feelings of acceptance in society on their personal circle of friends and ability to live with personality and character regardless of the opinions of others. Several factors, including a shared value of hospitality and other cultural components as well as proximity to Morocco, produce feelings of familiarity and commonalities. Notably, hospitality and friendship shape these feelings of acceptance in the community. Foundational elements of hospitality, such as the importance of reciprocity, highlight the need for receptivity on both sides in order to form and maintain relationships between Spaniards and Arabs. Regardless of who initiates the first interaction, effort and willingness both on the part of the local population and immigrants' desire to engage is vital for creating mutually-beneficial, equal relationships. As evidenced in Chapter Two, which details racist attitudes and actions in

Spain, this reciprocity is not always present which inhibits relationships, even if an immigrant desires friendship. Hospitality and friendship must go both ways. For this reason, as well as personal preference, exposure, and the appeal of being with people like oneself, some of the people I interviewed gravitated toward other Arabs to form their main social circle, but this varied greatly among the people I interviewed.

Understanding hospitality and its social function in society hopefully propels my readers to recognize it as a tool for community engagement and sparks a desire to learn from and welcome immigrants who come from cultures rooted in hospitality values. The potential of turning strangers into friends, viewing one's space and resources as gifts for blessing others, and relishing the enjoyment of another's company reap relational benefits a hundred fold. As shown through the lives of my interviewees, the practice of hospitality is adaptable to busy lifestyles and a range of economic securities, even when significant changes are made that reshape central aspects of hospitality. The most important element of hospitality is the emotion of welcome and generosity, these feelings of personal attachment and sharing a person's joys and struggles that cross cultural boundaries.

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