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# Voices and Experiences of Moroccan-Heritage Women and Men in Spain: Understanding Affective Reactions to Injustice Through Mixed-Methods

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***Objective:*** Research has not often delved into the experiences of the Moroccan-heritage community in Western societies. We followed a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative with quantitative methods, applying an intersectionality perspective to analyze the feelings and perceptions of Moroccan-heritage people about their situation in Spain, interaction with Spaniards, perceived discrimination, and metaperceptions to understand their affective reactions to injustice (Studies 1 and 2), and willingness to mobilize (Study 2). ***Method:*** In Study 1, we conducted four discussion groups with Moroccan-heritage women ($n = 12$) and men ($n = 13$) separately. In Study 2, we analyzed with a quantitative survey ($n = 147$) participants' identity fusion with Morocco and Spain, perceived metaprejudice and discrimination, metadehumanization, the evaluation of the ingroup situation, affective reactions to their situation, and support of collective actions for their rights. ***Results:*** The analysis of Study 1 revealed experiences of discrimination and spontaneous positive but also negative metaperceptions, especially among women, including an alarming metadehumanization. Quantitative analyses in Study 2 confirmed gender differences, with women reporting worse feelings and perceptions, and confirmed that metadehumanization was crucial to predict indignation and anger of Moroccan-heritage people, while perceived discrimination was significant for mobilization. ***Conclusions:*** Although gender differences need additional clarification, these findings advance our theoretical knowledge about the sources of shared grievances among disadvantaged group members and the role of metadehumanization in their affective reactions to injustice. Interventions are urgent to address metadehumanization and canalize its affective consequences to promote social change.

***Public Significance Statement***
The findings suggest that Moroccan-heritage people living in Southern Spain face discrimination and feel dehumanized by Spaniards (seen as machines and treated like animals). Compared to men, women reported more experiences of discrimination due to religion, especially related to wearing the veil, and felt angrier about the situation of Moroccan immigrants in the country. Our findings urge for interventions to channel such collective grievances. Collective grievances may have negative consequences on personal and social well-being but may also be functional for mobilization and promoting social change.

*Keywords:* Moroccan-heritage, discrimination, metadehumanization, mobilization, gender differences



Moroccan women and men face multiple and intersectional challenges in Western societies. Although awareness of shared grievances and emotions, especially group-based anger, have been identified as key factors by theories of protest and social movement participation (e.g., van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; van Zomeren et al., 2008), there has been limited exploration into which specific intergroup experiences and metaperceptions give rise to such affective reactions to injustice among disadvantaged groups.

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*continued*

By bringing together literature on social movements, social perception, and intergroup relations, the current research was designed to understand how intergroup interactions, specific metaperceptions (public regard, including metadehumanization), and awareness of injustice may contribute to the affective reactions to injustice (Studies 1 and 2) and the collective mobilization (Study 2) of Moroccan-heritage people in Spain.

We followed a mixed-methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018), combining qualitative and quantitative research and incorporating an intersectional approach focused on ethnicity, religion, and gender. In an exploratory qualitative phase (Study 1), we first captured and compared the Moroccan-heritage women and men's discourses on intergroup interactions, metaperceptions (public regard), and experiences of discrimination in four discussion groups. Based on these emergent findings and theories on mobilization and intergroup relations in a subsequent quantitative survey (Study 2), we examined participants' intergroup experiences, awareness of injustice, specific metaperceptions, and identity fusion with Morocco and Spain, and its contribution to affective reactions to injustice and intentions of mobilization, considering possible gender differences. This investigation aims to contribute by increasing our theoretical knowledge about the dynamics and the factors associated with affective reactions to injustice and mobilization among members of ethnic minorities, while it may serve as an evaluation of the necessities of the Moroccan-heritage community (women and men) for future social interventions.

To comprehensively grasp the intricacies and consequences of the intergroup experiences and perceptions of Moroccan-heritage people living in Spain, we integrated two theoretical frameworks. This research was grounded in the theoretical background of movement participation within social psychology, which considers the shared grievances and affective reactions to injustice of disadvantaged group members as having a pivotal role in social change. Additionally, we drew upon the literature on social perception and intergroup relations that may contribute to the understanding of shared grievances and their affective reactions to injustice.

## Understanding Social Mobilization of Disadvantaged Group Members: Shared Grievances and Affective Reactions to Injustice

Regarding the social mobilization approach, new efforts have recently been made to "unlock the explanatory potential of grievances" in social movement research, placing grievances in the central ground of mobilization (Muliavka, 2021, p. 13). Collective grievances, as experiences of injustice and illegitimate inequality, remain a core aspect in the social psychology of collective movements (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013), especially its affective component (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

The perception that one or one's group is unjustly disadvantaged compared to others can trigger feelings of anger (e.g., Crosby, 1976; Walker & Smith, 2002). Group-based anger constitutes an affective experience of injustice based on the subjective perception of group-based inequity (van Zomeren et al., 2008), and anger and indignation can be powerful catalysts for change under specific circumstances (Shuman et al., 2018). Klandermans et al. (2008) found that those immigrants who felt discriminated against displayed anger when they felt politically efficacious, and injustice perception motivated participation mainly among those with a dual identity.

The integrative social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008) emphasizes that people demand social change when they are aware of the injustice and experience strong affective reactions such as anger to that, being identification with the disadvantaged social group the starting point for mobilization. Agostini and van Zomeren (2021) have recently confirmed that emotional injustice and politicized identification are the strongest motivations for collective action. According to the motivational framework that integrated identities, grievances, and emotions developed by van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010), a shared identity is crucial to develop shared grievances and emotions, and, through social networks, individual grievances may be transformed into shared grievances and group-based anger.

Although social identification has been widely studied concerning mobilization, less research has been dedicated to the role of other forms of connection with groups. Identity fusion represents a special group alignment that involves a visceral feeling of oneness with group members, as it makes it possible to project the relational ties normally reserved for our family to extended groups such as the nation (e.g., Swann et al., 2012). This relational aspect of identity fusion may be especially relevant to understanding the collective mobilization and affective reactions to injustice among Moroccan-heritage people.

In addition to the key variables of the social mobilization framework, we believe that other important factors within the literature on social perception and intergroup relations can contribute to our understanding of specific intergroup experiences and perceptions of people of Moroccan heritage.

## Understanding Social Perceptions and Intergroup Relations: Metaperceptions, Metadehumanization, and Intergroup Contact

Public regard, as the beliefs about how the ingroup is perceived by others, has consequences for disadvantaged groups (Ho & Sidanius, 2010). Psychologically, public regard is related to metaperceptions,

groups with Moroccan men. We also thank all the participants of these studies who offered us the opportunity to understand their experiences, thoughts, and feelings.

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"what people think others think of them," which are central in intergroup relations (Frey & Tropp, 2006, p. 265). Expecting to be viewed negatively by outgroup members can contribute to feelings of intergroup anxiety and hinder intergroup relations (see also Finchilescu, 2005; Fowler & Gasiorek, 2020). Kamans et al. (2009) found that Moroccan teenagers who thought that they were negatively stereotyped expressed attitudes in line with the outgroup's negative view. Obaidi et al. (2018) found that metacultural threat also increases the endorsement of extremist violence against the West and violent behavioral intentions among Muslims. Rodríguez Mosquera et al. (2017) found that the more Muslim men and women believed that Muslims were seen as "frightening," the more intense their anger and sadness. Specifically, Muslim women believed that Muslims were viewed as "oppressed" to a greater extent, and this image predicted emotions of anger only in their case.

Beyond negative metastereotypes, metadehumanization, as the perception that one's group has been given less than human qualities (Pavetich & Stathi, 2021), can also play an important role in the spiral of intercultural misunderstanding (Kteily & Bruneau, 2017). Animalistic dehumanization compares humans with unevolved animals lacking superior moral and cognitive abilities, whereas mechanistic dehumanization compares humans with objects lacking individuality and emotionality (Haslam, 2006), which is associated with emotions of sadness and anger (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). Bromell (2013) suggested that indignation is a political emotion that arises as a response to the denial of dignity. Considering this evidence, we explored whether the metaperception of Moroccan-heritage people included examples of metadehumanization and the distinct contribution of metaprejudice and metadehumanization on affective reactions to injustice and mobilization.

We also explored how intergroup interactions were associated with these processes. Previous research found that having closer contact with Spaniards was associated with more positive and less negative intergroup emotions among Moroccan immigrants (López-Rodríguez et al., 2016). According to the contact hypothesis, intergroup contact is related to better intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954; Binder et al., 2009), but literature on social movements has also shown that it may be negatively associated with support for social change among disadvantaged groups (Hässler et al., 2020).

## Intersectional Challenges of Moroccan-Heritage Women and Men in Spain

Moroccans constitute the most numerous immigrant community in Spain (National Statistics Institute, 2022). The relations between Moroccan-heritage people and Spaniards are complex (Amirah Fernández, 2015). Compared to other immigrant communities in the country (e.g., Romanians, Ecuadorians), Moroccans arouse more antipathy among Spaniards (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 2017) and are perceived by the majority group as less moral (López-Rodríguez et al., 2013) and as a major source of symbolic threat (i.e., to Spanish religious beliefs, cultural traditions, and values; Navas et al., 2012), probably due to a combination of factors related to Islamic religion and Arab/Berber ethnicity, traditional symbols of otherness in Western cultures (Silverstein, 2005).

As a reflection of these attitudes, it is not surprising that Moroccan-heritage people reported the highest perceived discrimination in Spain (Agudelo-Suárez et al., 2011). For instance, 59% of the Moroccans interviewed who were living in Spain reported facing difficulties when finding a job (Conseil de la Communauté Marocaine à l'Étranger, 2020). Experimental research has confirmed that compared to a candidate with a Spanish name, job candidates with Moroccan names are 6% less likely to receive a positive response from an employer in Spain, and the callback rates diminish with Moroccan women, especially those wearing a veil (Ramos et al., 2021).

The Conseil de la Communauté Marocaine à l'Étranger (2020) also revealed that 31% of the Moroccans interviewed in Spain still reported difficulties practicing their religion. According to Aneas et al. (2012), the cultural and religious manifestations of Moroccans have been generally interpreted by the Spanish society as signs of being poorly integrated. Indeed, religion has always been an important axis in the relations between Moroccans and Spaniards, as most Moroccan-heritage people profess Islam in a country that is increasingly secularized, with Catholicism as a traditional heritage (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 2023). A study conducted with Moroccan families showed their concerns about the maintenance of their original culture and the awareness that Islam may be interpreted as terrorism by other parents at the school (Garreta, 2007). The increasing Islamophobia exacerbates the challenges that Muslim immigrants face when integrating into Christian-heritage societies (Adida et al., 2016), especially among Muslim women.

Muslim women have become the prototype of "otherness" (Dietz & El-Shohoumi, 2007) and may suffer from additive multiple and intersectional discrimination for being women, immigrants, and Muslims (Atrey, 2019; Fredman, 2008). The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2017) found gender differences when identifying the main reasons for discrimination against Muslims in searching for jobs and the workplace. The report shows that 19% of Muslim women and 16% of men declare feeling discriminated against based on their religion, with clothing being primarily relevant to women. Specifically, some 39% of Muslim women wearing a veil or niqab in public had received offensive gestures or inappropriate stares. This fact has implications, as the veil constitutes a visible symbol that has multiple functions for Muslim women (Jackson & Monk-Turner, 2015) and may also have a strategic use for religious women in modern societies as it allows their commitment to religious norms to be revealed (Aksoy & Gambetta, 2016). According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights's report (2017), Muslim women who felt discriminated against reported the incident more often (15%) than men (10%).

These findings show that social experiences are shaped by intersectional social positions such as ethnicity, religion, and gender so the intersectionality approach should be applied (Cho et al., 2013). Considering these particularities, we will maintain gender as a central axis of analysis when exploring perceptions and feelings of Moroccan-heritage people in Spain.

## Overview

With an integrative perspective, we combined a hypo-deductive approach with an inductive interpretative approach, characteristic of mixed methods (see Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). We followed a sequential exploratory design, starting with a qualitative phase (Study 1) with four discussion groups of Moroccan-heritage women and men. We examined gender differences in their feelings and perceptions about intergroup interactions, perceived discrimination, and metaperceptions in different life spheres. In Study 2, we used a questionnaire to explore gender differences and tested which set of

factors among intergroup interactions (contact quantity and quality), metaperceptions (metaprejudice and metadehumanization), awareness of injustice (perceived discrimination and evaluation of the situation of Moroccan immigrants), and identity fusion (with Morocco and Spain) best predicted affective reactions to injustice and mobilization.

As gender is an important factor that influences discrimination toward Moroccan/Muslim-heritage women and men, as well as how they experience discrimination (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017; Ramos et al., 2021; Rodríguez Mosquera et al., 2017), we hypothesized gender differences, with women displaying experiences of discrimination and, accordingly, negative affective reactions to injustice to a greater extent. We also expect awareness of injustice and specific negative metaperceptions to be related to affective reactions of anger and indignation in both studies and, together with identity fusion, to mobilization in Study 2. Research associated with the projects was approved by the ethics committee of the University of Almería (UALBIO2019/005 and UALBIO2021/024).

## Study 1

### Method

The qualitative phase of this research involves four discussion groups aimed at capturing the discourse of women and men of Moroccan origin living in Spain about their experiences of interaction with Spanish people, their feelings of discrimination, and their metaperceptions (i.e., public regard, how they believe Spaniards see Moroccans) in three areas of high importance for Muslim communities (Metroscopia, 2011): work, religion, and family.

Discussion groups were conducted in two locations in Southern Spain, Almería and Murcia, both characterized by a high presence of residents of Moroccan nationality. Moroccans represent 8.41% of the total population in Almería (the highest proportion in Spain) and 5.94% in Murcia (Continuous Register Statistics. Provisional data as of 1 January 2022; National Statistics Institute, 2021), and both are among the Spanish regions with the highest number of Muslims (Union of Islamic Communities of Spain, 2022).

#### *Participants*

Twenty-five participants volunteered to take part in a discussion group about the perception of Moroccan-heritage people about their life and relationship with Spaniards. Two groups involved Moroccan-heritage women ($n_{\text{Group 1}} = 5$; $n_{\text{Group 2}} = 7$), with an average of 16.67 years living in Spain, and 26.08 as the average age of migration; and two groups involved Moroccan men ($n_{\text{Group 1}} = 7$; $n_{\text{Group 2}} = 6$), with an average of 19.23 years living in Spain, and 23.54 as the average age of migration. The homogeneity criteria for inclusion were being an adult (≥18 years old) born in Morocco; having migrated to, and currently living in Spain; and being (or having been) married to a Moroccan partner. The heterogeneity criteria considered age, year of arrival in Spain, as well as time living in Spain, civil status, and educational background. All participants were born in Morocco, two men and two women had double nationality, and one woman reported Spanish nationality although she was born in Morocco, came to Spain at the age of five, and was fully socialized in Moroccan culture. Moroccan men were more homogeneous in their age, migrated when they were young (from 12 to 26 years old), and spent half of their lives living in Spain. See Table 1 for a detailed description.

#### *Design and Procedure*

The language of the discussion groups was established based on the considerations of experts on migration and the moderators. The gender of the moderator was intentionally selected to facilitate free expression. The women's groups were conducted in Spanish by two women (a main moderator and an assistant); the men's groups were moderated by a Moroccan man in Arabic. Women were recruited through contacts from the Spanish Red Cross in Almería, while men by the moderator, a worker of AFINSA (association for training and social integration) in Murcia. All participants were asked to complete a confidentiality agreement and received a financial reward for their participation (37.40 €).

We designed a script that explored different themes around the axes of work, religion, and family, which were addressed through indirect questions to explore their intergroup interactions, experienced discrimination, and metaperceptions (see Table 2). The content of the four groups was transcribed for further in-depth analysis. Men's discourse was analyzed after translating it into Spanish by the moderator from the original Arabic.

#### *Analytical Approach*

We conducted a reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021) within a critical perspective. To extract and organize themes based on the patterns of meaning, we followed an adaptation of the recursive six-phase process established by Braun and Clarke (2006). Three researchers started familiarizing themselves with the data by reading the transcriptions separately. Then, they met and read together the whole transcription of the first group of women, generating initial codes in NVivo and discussing latent meanings. Two broader themes (intergroup interactions and metaperceptions) crossed by the axes (work, religion, and family), guided by the script, were preestablished. Coding was done at both the semantic and latent level, following an abducting approach that combined inductive and deductive logic (Knott et al., 2022) integrating emergent findings with existing theories of intergroup relations, social perception, and collective action. Together, the three researchers searched for subthemes in a dynamic process of reviewing the coded data to identify areas of similarity and broader themes from the codes and exploring associations between them. They generated a thematic map and a preliminary codebook in NVivo. From there, Lucía López-Rodríguez reviewed potential themes using this preliminary codebook, with the first discussion group of men making the required adjustments. After having two groups categorized, Lucía López-Rodríguez defined and named the themes that were later discussed and validated by the rest of the team, drawing a hierarchical node tree of (sub)themes (see Figure 1). Then, with the final codebook created in NVivo, a different researcher (Erika Vázquez-Flores) categorized the rest of groups of women and men. Each participant's intervention was identified as a coding unit that could be categorized into more than one (sub)theme to trace meaning connections and theoretical linkages between (sub)themes.

#### *Reflexivity and Positionality*

Authors' worldviews should be identified to adequately place the interpretations of the findings. All researchers were women with a feminist perspective and expertise in migration and gender studies. None of us has a Moroccan heritage-origin or is adept at the Muslim

**Table 1**

*Attributes of the Participants in the Four Discussion Groups (Study 1)*

| Group | Writer name | Gender | Age | Nationality | Year of arrival to Spain | Years living in Spain | Age when arrived to Spain | Civil status | Live with | Children | Studies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DGW1 | Leila Abouzeid | Female | 45 | Moroccan | 1999 | 22 | 23 | Married | Alone | Yes | No studies |
| | Zakya Daoud | Female | 52 | Moroccan | 2006 | 15 | 37 | Married | With family | Yes | No studies |
| | Rita el Khayat | Female | 34 | Spaniard | 1992 | 29 | 5 | Married | With family | Yes | Higher education |
| | Amina Ellouh | Female | 62 | Moroccan | 2011 | 10 | 52 | Married | With family | Yes | Basic studies |
| | Najat el Hachmi | Female | 43 | Moroccan | 2005 | 16 | 27 | Married | With family | Yes | Medium studies |
| DGW2 | Janata Bennuna | Female | 34 | Moroccan | 2015 | 6 | 28 | Married | With the partner | Yes | No studies |
| | Badia Hadj Nasser | Female | 45 | Double nationality | 1995 | 26 | 19 | Divorced | Alone | Yes | Basic studies |
| | Malika Ufqir | Female | 31 | Moroccan | 2011 | 10 | 21 | Married | With the partner | Yes | Medium studies |
| | Farida Diouri | Female | 46 | Moroccan | 1999 | 22 | 24 | Divorced | | Yes | Basic studies |
| | Aïcha Chenna | Female | 42 | Moroccan | 2003 | 18 | 24 | Divorced | Alone | Yes | Medium studies |
| | Nadia Yasín | Female | 24 | Moroccan | 2013 | 8 | 16 | Married | With family | Yes | Medium studies |
| | Maguy Kakon | Female | 55 | Double nationality | 2003 | 18 | 37 | Widow | Alone | No | Basic studies |
| DGM1 | Ali Lmrabet | Male | 50 | Moroccan | 2009 | 12 | 38 | Married | With family | Yes | Higher education |
| | Abderrahmán El Fathi | Male | 49 | Moroccan | 2004 | 17 | 32 | Married | With family | Yes | Higher education |
| | Dris Chraibi | Male | 37 | Moroccan | 2000 | 21 | 16 | Married | With family | Yes | Basic studies |
| | Abdallah Laroui | Male | 42 | Moroccan | 2002 | 19 | 23 | Married | With family | Yes | Higher education |
| | Larbi El-Harti | Male | 47 | Double nationality | 1998 | 23 | 24 | Married | With family | No | Higher education |
| | Tahar Ben Jelloun | Male | 43 | Moroccan | 1999 | 22 | 21 | Married | With family | Yes | Basic studies |
| | Abdelkrim Ghallab | Male | 47 | Moroccan | 1995 | 26 | 21 | Married | With family | Yes | Medium studies |
| DGM2 | Youssouf Amine Elalamy | Male | 42 | Moroccan | 2006 | 15 | 27 | Married | With the partner | Yes | Medium studies |
| | Mahi Binebine | Male | 42 | Double nationality | 1998 | 23 | 19 | Married | With the partner | Yes | Medium studies |
| | Edmond Amran El Maleh | Male | 32 | Moroccan | 2003 | 18 | 14 | Married | With the partner | No | Medium studies |
| | Said Yaktine | Male | 37 | Moroccan | 2003 | 18 | 19 | Married | With the partner | Yes | Medium studies |
| | Abdelouahid Bennani | Male | 49 | Moroccan | 1999 | 22 | 27 | Married | With the partner | Yes | Medium studies |
| | Bachir Qamari | Male | 39 | Moroccan | 2007 | 14 | 25 | Married | With the partner | Yes | Medium studies |

*Note.* To guarantee anonymity, the real names of the participants were substituted by names of Moroccan famous writers. DGW1 and DGW2 refer to the first and second discussion groups with women, respectively. DGM1 and DGM2 refer to the first and second discussion groups with men, respectively.

**Table 2**
*Guiding Questions in the Discussion Groups (Study 1)*

| Theme/axis | Work | Religion | Family |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intergroup contact | Do you have or have you had Spanish bosses?<br>How is or was your relationship with the boss?<br>Do you have Spanish colleagues at work?<br>Do you work with them every day?<br>How do you get along with them?<br>Would you say it's a good relationship? | | Do you know Spanish families?<br>If a member of your family married a Spanish person, would you like the idea? How do you think the Spanish would react? (Gender; what do you think would be more difficult in an intimate/family relationship with a Spanish person?) |
| Perceived discrimination | Do you think that Spanish people like to work with Moroccan people? | Is it very difficult to practice the Muslim religion in Spain?<br>What is the hardest?<br>What would you like to be able to do?<br>(Do you think your religion is respected in Spain?)<br>Have you been treated differently for being Muslim in Spain? | |
| Metaperception | Do you think that the image that Spanish people have of Moroccan people at work really reflects reality? | What do you think Spaniards think of Muslim people?<br>Do you think that the image that Spanish people have of Muslim people is right or wrong? | How do you think Spanish people see Moroccan families?<br>Do you think that the image that Spanish people have of Moroccan families is right or wrong? |

*Note*. Other questions not related to the objectives of this article were included.

faith. From a psychosocial perspective, we understand human experience as a product of the interaction between personal and social factors. Our analytical approach is inevitably sociopolitically situated, impregnated from a transformative worldview (Mertens, 2009) as we aimed to understand but also to resist social inequality (van Dijk, 2001), and our final goal was to offer knowledge that could contribute to the social inclusion of a stigmatized community. We intentionally designed the discussion groups to explore intergroup interactions, perceived discrimination, and metaperceptions of Moroccan-origin participants using carefully elaborated indirect questions and interpreted the findings under theories on mobilization and intergroup relations.

## Results

In general, the discourse revolved around multivalent intergroup experiences that moved between trust and exploitation, including experiences of sexual harassment among women. Perceived discrimination involved religious discrimination—especially emphasized in the women's discourse—and unequal treatment at work, interwoven with metaprejudice and negative metaperceptions, such as an evident metadehumanization.

### *Intergroup Experiences: Between Trust and Exploitation*

**Positive and Close Interactions.** Male participants reported positive and close interactions with their Spanish employers, expressing that, in some cases, they have even felt treated like family. They reported close contact such as sharing leisure time and examples of solidarity—for instance, receiving help in obtaining their residence and work permits. In the case of women's discourses, narratives also showed close relationships and examples of solidarity and friendship, especially among neighbors. As Janata relates when she talks about her neighbor as if she were her own family: "My son, before going to knock on my door, he knocks on her door."

Women's discourses reported that Spanish people can be helpful, teaching many things, giving information, and clarifying their rights, but above all, they especially highlight good experiences with people who know about Moroccan culture and understand their way of life, with the emergence of an association between positive relationships with Spaniards and subjective well-being. Referring to a Spanish woman who helped Amina (one of the participants) after her childbirth, Rita explains: "She knows you, and then you feel happy." Rita supports Amina's argument by considering some of the examples exposed by her colleagues about their relationship with Spanish people:

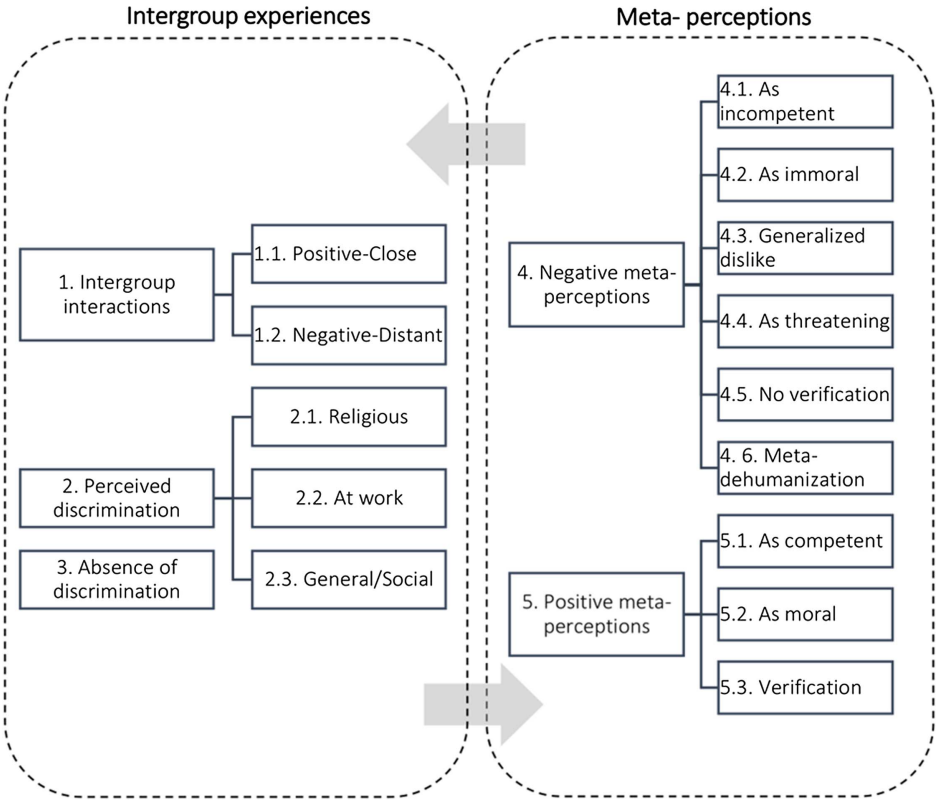
> When they [Spanish people] know you, they already respect you, they trust you. That's what we would all like, that the Spaniards do a little bit of their part to know us a little more so that we too feel content and happy, how Najat [another participant] feels with her teacher, how I feel with my neighbor. Of course, I love her a lot.

These intimate experiences of trust and understanding coexist with a range of distant and negative experiences for both men and women.

**Negative and Distant Interactions.** Men's discourse indicated distant relationships, exclusively relegated to the work environment, in particular with colleagues. Interestingly, the valence and intimacy of the interactions seem to depend on the circumstances, showing that in jobs where there is more contact, the relationship improves. Abdallah clearly explains that the relationship with the bosses depends on the job or the position of the Moroccan person. He brings a valuable example, contrasting the work in a greenhouse, where the boss "just comes over to tell you what to do and walks away," resulting in a purely worker–employer relationship, and the work in the vegetable warehouses, where "the boss is always at your side and that is what

**Figure 1**

*Hierarchical Structure of (Sub)Themes (Study 1)*




makes the relationship improves." The characteristics and peculiarities of the work seem important. Stable jobs that also facilitate interpersonal contact are associated with experiences that are more positive. Mahi explains it like this:

> For me, I can say that I have had many bosses with whom there were different relationships. With some, it stays at work, and with others it has developed, and we got to go out together for a drink, we talked about our lives, we joked, and we enjoyed life together. All this was thanks to my four years of working abroad with the same company, where we spent more time together, we lived as brothers, where I forgot that I am Moroccan.

Men's discourses generally argued that the relationship with the bosses depends very much on individual differences because the relationship seems to be better with people who know how to treat foreigners, since they have "experience of life," have "gone out of the country," or know "what migration is," as Larbi explains, but also depending on their knowledge, studies, and personality. Women's narratives claimed that the relationships with Spaniards are not perfect, but good enough, and are improving over the years as Spanish people "are more open," that is, "they travel, watch TV, look at the Internet, they now have much information about abroad" said Aïcha.

A recurrent argument was the recognition that the relationship also depends on one's attitude toward the other and toward the job. Participants assume their shared responsibility for how relations with Spaniards develop. Let us follow this idea through the words of Edmond:

> For me, the relationship with the boss depends on you, it depends on how you deal with him, it depends on your mood. The first boss I had was like my father and he treated me like his real son, because I worked like I would do it if it was mine. I consider myself serious at work and I do things right for myself first, I don't work so that they say I'm a worker, I work because I find myself at work. I had that relationship not only with this man, but with all the bosses with whom I shared a period of my life, some even had a bad image of Moroccans and manages to improve it, that's why I say that the relationship with the bosses depends on you.

The existence of positive and close experiences is noteworthy, but this should not obscure the prevalence of negative experiences. Compared to the men's discussion groups, the women's groups show more negative experiences with Spanish people. Some of these experiences were related to a generalized perception of work exploitation (not always closely related to ethnic discrimination but to social class) and bad labor conditions, such as working too many hours, not being paid the extra hours, or unfair dismissal. Sometimes, the less pleasant tasks were systematically assigned to them by other workmates (e.g., washing the toilet instead of the sinks). Low language skills emerged as an important difficulty they face. Uncomfortable experiences at work are reported in the women's speeches with statements such as "[some Spanish people] make your life impossible," "teach you nothing," or ignore you. These narratives reveal high indignation, and women are more focused on work exploitation than men and highlight more illegalities such as about employers who deny them a legal contract, or the payment of the real number of (extra)hours that they have been working. But

this may also reflect the specific conditions that women in general face in the working world.

**Sexual Harassment and Confrontation.** In the women's groups emerged some dramatic episodes of sexual harassment and active and direct ways of confrontation, such as Leila's experience while working as a carer for an elderly couple. When the wife was sleeping, the old man suggested he and Leila watched TV together, and then he put on porn. She described this experience with details, reproducing the conversations with the man:

> I tell him: "Mr. xxxx, that life of yours doesn't matter to me. I am a married woman. I respect my husband and I respect myself. I come here to work. I don't come to do anything else. If I were doing that I would go to those places." [Imitating the man] "You're stupid, I have a lot of money. I can give you this." I tell him: "I don't sell myself. My body is not for sale. If you want one of those, go to the street …, but I work with my sweat." [Imitating the man] "Look, if you want I'll give you a ring. …" I tell him: "I don't need jewelry". … [Imitating the man] "Well, Leila, it's just that you can't talk to me" and suddenly he has already turned on the TV, he puts on the porn. I tell him: "Take that off or I'm leaving the room." [Imitating the man] "I'm at home, I put on whatever I want."

This case was not isolated. Rita claimed that the relationship with other female coworkers was good, but she also remembered a negative experience with a male colleague, expressing high indignation, which led her to confront and officially report the inappropriate behavior:

> Then he arrived, well, he gained confidence … was already beginning to get his hands on it. That of touching a lot and that makes me hysterical. When someone touches me, it turns me on. So I put a line on it, I said: "Don't touch me anymore, please." I told him as politely as possible on the first day. The second I told him again politely. The third time, for whatever reason, he didn't want to understand, and he continued. My companions, none of them wanted to file a complaint, I took it, reported it, and left. I reported it to the police and said that my colleagues were witnesses and of course, out of fear, out of fear of losing their jobs because none of them dared.

Beyond negative experiences related to exploitation and harassment, other forms of perceived discrimination that involved a discourse of mistreatment or unequal treatment because of their nationality, ethnicity, or religion also emerged.

### *Perceived Discrimination*

**Religious Discrimination: The Weight of the Veil for Women.** Contrary to what might be expected given the stigmatization of Islam in Western societies, men's discourses explicitly reported an absence of perceived personal discrimination because of their religion. There is a general perception that there are not many difficulties in practicing their religion in Spain as they are allowed to pray and celebrate festivities.

Despite not feeling high discrimination due to religion, they are aware of the negative image of Islam among some Spaniards. They know that Spanish people see Muslims as backward in the way they dress or see life, "but when they get closer, they change the idea, and see the reality of being a man with principles" (Mahi). They argue that Moroccans have the responsibility to be good Muslims and to transmit and explain these values, and if they do that, Spaniards will respect them. This argument may imply internalized oppression, as it mirrors the oppressive discourses against Islam prevalent in society, shifting the focus of discrimination onto the victim rather than the oppressor. They establish a difference between Islam and Muslims and recognize that there are Muslims who transmit a negative image of Islam:

> I see that the problem and difficulty we have is that we haven't worked to explain to them why we do things. … Some ask us to find out and others to mock and, the truth is, we don't have the language to explain our idea to them. We try, but we don't manage to communicate what we want to say. But, in general, there are no major incidents, everything within normal. (Bachir)

But all is not perfect, and in the men's group some religion-based discriminatory experiences appear, such as the one reported by Dris:

> If you pray outside or somewhere where people see you, they give you a bad look, they can even call the police. That has happened to me. It's real, I suffered it myself. Also, problems in the mosques where there are always complaints, problems with the Qur'an, which they tell us that it is a nuisance. Being a Muslim here, I am not telling you that it is difficult, but we find it difficult to practice it in freedom.

There is a recognition within the group of men that Muslim women seem to suffer more prejudice because of the *hijab*. Bachir said that some elderly women told his wife, "You have to take off the veil in Spain, and when you return to your country you put it on if you want." Abdallah told how, when he goes out with his wife wearing traditional clothes, "I feel like everyone is looking at me badly. They see the Moroccan family with an evil eye, especially in the matter of clothing."

Women's narratives do indeed support this perception that emerges in men's discourses and reported more experiences of discrimination due to religion than men did. Women lamented about the diet at school, as they have found incomprehension and difficulties in respecting the prescriptions of their religion regarding food. But, above all, they confessed they feel under the scrutiny of others because of the veil. The discourse surrounding the veil reveals interesting aspects to consider. In some statements, the veil seems to acquire a meaning of resistance to assimilation, a pride, and also an eyeglass through which Spaniards see them:

> Rita: I'm free and I do what I want, but I always have that feeling that they look at me through the veil, that if they don't accept me. Everything always has to do with the veil. … If I had come here in another way, without the veil, nobody here would know that I am Moroccan. … But they always know that I am Muslim because I wear the veil.

Female participants reported experiences where they had been told to take off the veil if they wanted to work. This aspect raises important concerns within the groups. They recognize that they wish to wear the *hijab*, but they cannot do it because in most jobs it is not allowed. Malika recalled an intense experience where the chief of the warehouse forced all women to remove the *hijab* because of an alleged inspection. It was said to them that they would have been fined if they found out women with the veil. This is striking as there is no legislation in Spain in this regard. All the women took off the veil, and then the Moroccan men who were there saw all the Muslim women without the *hijab*. A Muslim woman begged not to do it because there was a Moroccan man who was a friend of her husband there.

### *Awareness of Metaprejudice and Negative Metaperceptions*

**A Matter of Trust.** The discourse of the participants shows awareness of the existing prejudice toward Moroccans. According to participants, some individuals in Spanish society may discriminate against Moroccans because they are afraid Moroccans are coming to take away jobs and rights away from Spaniards (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). They recognized a lack of familiarity with timetables and work expectations. Tahar clearly explains this point:

> We work like this because we ignore the rights. Nobody explains that to us. If the boss asks you "Do you work holidays?" You say "Yes," not knowing that the hours on holidays are charged double, or you work more hours. This way they [referring to Spanish people] hate us at work. What our coworkers don't know is that it's easier for them to find work. They have the language, and for us, without the language, it's very difficult. That makes us weak with the bosses. We know that they take advantage of us, but what can we do?

The metastereotype of being a cultural threat, ultraconservative, or sexist also emerged, especially linked to the veil, religion, and thought. Some discourses expressed a strong feeling of discrimination and rejection. For example, Dris confessed: "I always feel racism, from bosses, from colleagues. Everyone wants to take advantage and make fun of you." In the same vein, Armina recalls some especially painful experiences of discrimination toward her child at school:

> It hurts me when the girls, my daughters, who are little, feel that. … for example, my daughter … told me: "Mom, there's one thing, we have to work on a song between two of us. But, since I can't go to any of my friends' houses because their mothers don't want to, because they are racist to us …" Imagine, the girl who says *racist*. … She's eight. … And there was a time when the girl came and told me: "Mom, my friend Alba told me that … ,"—I don't know. She wanted to give her a little bread or something like that—[the other girl] told her: "No, I can't eat that bread because my mother tells me that she doesn't trust you." The girl comes and says to me: "Mommy, why don't they trust us? What's wrong with us? Why don't they trust us?" Explain to her. Explain to the girl what's going on.

Despite facing such hard experiences, they express a sense of verification (Swann, 1983) in some important aspects. They vindicate a positive metaperception and feel valued as competent people at work and moral people in their family unity, cohesion, and love:

> They know that Islamic culture protects the family, everyone knows that. My friends recognize it, they always say that the good thing about a Muslim family is that they are always united, and they are right in this idea. We are talking about the families that are still clinging to Islam, there are many that have let go of it and are suffering the same as the Spaniards. (Edmond)

**Machines and Animals: Claiming for Dignity.** Metadehumanization, the experience of being denied human traits and a sense of dignity or being compared with animals or inanimate objects such as machines, strongly emerged among both male and female narratives. We did not anticipate this phenomenon, but the overwhelming presence of the discourse is alarming. Men show a hard discourse where racism is often present and where bosses frequently see them as third-world ignorant men, brought to Spain by hunger. In particular, bosses who treat them badly like animals are considered racist. Linked to exploitation feelings, both women and men feel like slaves and believed that many Spanish people see them as tractors, human machines, or donkeys. Sometimes, this astonishing metadehumanization was linked to a positive metaperception of competence.

> They see us as workers, they see us as machines. The bosses know that, which is why they prefer the Moroccans to the Spanish. We know that they earn more from our work, but there is no alternative. Have to work. … Thus, if they ask for work by meters, we work; if they ask for hours, we work. The important thing is to be working. We are human machines and because work is sacred for us, that image they have of us is very accurate. (Abdelouahid)

Other times this discourse was connected with the perception that Moroccans are less aware of their rights:

> They see us as tractors compared to them. They don't see us like them. For me, many bosses have told me that they prefer to hire Moroccans, and I think they do it because the Spaniards know their rights and work with rights, they work their hours and come in and out at the exact time. We work like donkeys and the boss has triple profit with us. (Dris)

Within a female group, we also found an interesting discourse about how they think they are considered "dirty people," and this is used as the justification for not renting them a house. We consider this discourse linked to metadehumanization because it entails denying them a sense of dignity.

> When I ask them: "Look, you know me and all that, rent your house to me and I'll pay you, it's close to my work" "Look" -they tell me- "Look *Aïcha*, I already know that you are different, you are different, that you are modern, clean and all that, but I cannot rent my house to a foreigner," I tell him: "And why?," "They are very dirty, they leave the house like a shit" (he answers). (Aïcha)

Some women's narratives share this view regarding some compatriots, supporting the idea of some Spanish people. Farida recounts a story where Muslim tenants left the rental house in poor conditions: "They left the house a sh*, stole the TV, broke the table." Malika confirms that some "move in, pay the first month or the second, and then they don't pay or anything." This shared belief may imply a kind of internalized oppression as members of traditionally stigmatized groups can incorporate negative stereotypes about their own community. However, the discourse around this issue is far from simplistic and also gives proof of resistance to this idea, claiming a recognition of the group variability. For example, Malika asserts, "we work cleanly" "we clean the house of the Spanish women." Aïcha points out the unfair generalization: "They think we are all the same," and Malika emphasizes "Just because one person is bad, now we are all bad." They are aware of the difficulty in renting a house due to these issues and the excuses some Spanish people use to avoid renting to them. Their discourse reflects not only the stigma they face but also their awareness and resistance to these unfair generalizations, showing a consciousness of the stigma rather than a stigma internalization.

At some point, Tahar claimed that "they see us as if we came from another world." Their discourses claim a sense of dignity and emphasize that most people have a distorted idea about Morocco:

> Most people here don't know what Morocco is. … but when they went to Morocco: "*Jolín*[1], where are these living?" (laughs). The house with second, third floor. I have taken them with me, and they have been

[1] *Jolín* is a Spanish expression denoting surprise or anger.

> freaking out. "What is this?" and I say: "What?" "I thought they lived in a dirt house," I say: "floor, shower, what did you think?" (Farida)

Rita represents an interesting profile in our groups. She was a young Moroccan-heritage woman, aged 34, who arrived in Spain when she was 5 years old, had higher education, and had spent most of her life in Spain, although she was brought up following Moroccan cultural practices and traditions and traveled to Morocco every summer. During the group, she was very active and expressed intense feelings of indignation as reactions to injustice. She expressed a general feeling of ambivalence and an unequal treatment difficult to explain:

> There are times that they treat you well and other times that they treat you badly … but I always have that feeling that no matter how much you laugh with me, I know that any day you will ignore me. I don't know if I'm explaining myself. I know that you're Spanish and I'm Moroccan, but I always have *that* feeling … because they don't make me feel so comfortable to not feel it. I always have *that* feeling because they don't receive me as they should receive me. And look that I speak well, and, look!, that I have grown up here, but I still have *that* feeling in my heart. Because I haven't yet … I've never felt totally welcomed like I was just another person.

## Discussion

Study 1 provided a nuanced understanding of how Moroccan-heritage people living in Southern Spain feel, their experiences with Spanish people, and the way they considered they are perceived. Participants' discourse supports the idea that quality contact is related to positive intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954) although individual differences of Spanish people may also intervene, such as the orientation to openness that is generally associated with better intergroup attitudes (Ng et al., 2021).

Arguments related to the responsibility of Moroccan people in the maintenance of positive intergroup relations are of high importance for understanding mobilization and affective reactions to injustice. The existence of implicit meritocratic beliefs and personal attributions may legitimize the status quo and prevent collective mobilization (Jost & Major, 2001) as they can empower and allow thinking of improvement and advancement in society, but at the same time, contribute to reinforcing and tolerating injustice.

Following an abductive analytical approach, we were surprised by the explicit perceptions of metadehumanization, paralleling the classical metaphors of animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization (Haslam, 2006), their awareness of injustice, and their use of confrontation strategies, especially among female participants. The awareness of being perceived as dirty people may be a form of metadehumanization as previous research has associated dirtiness to dehumanization (Speltini & Passini, 2016; Terskova & Agadullina, 2019).

Female narratives not only made more references to discrimination, specifically due to the *hijab* and experiences of sexual harassment but also seemed to express more intense emotions of indignation and explicit and active forms of confrontation. From their discourse, we can appreciate how the *hijab* may have a functional role and a strategic use for Muslim female workers. According to Aksoy and Gambetta (2016), wearing the *hijab* may allow Muslim women to inform others about their identity and, in this way, maintain their commitment to religious norms while communicating their piety to their communities.

Beyond gender differences and social norms regarding emotional expression, these findings may illustrate examples of additive multiple discrimination due to intersectional identities: being women, Muslims, and immigrants (Fredman, 2008). These findings open new questions in need of clarification. Trying to confirm some of these findings, we proceed to a subsequent phase of quantitative research.

# Study 2

The quantitative phase involved a survey questionnaire to analyze in a sample of Moroccan-heritage women and men living in Spain their intergroup interactions (contact quantity and quality) with Spanish people, metaperceptions (metaprejudice and metadehumanization), awareness of injustice (perceived discrimination and evaluation of the situation of Moroccan immigrants), and identity fusion (with Morocco and Spain). We expect gender differences with women reporting more experiences of discrimination and more affective reactions to injustice.

Additionally, we were interested in analyzing the contribution of these variables to their emotions of indignation and anger raised by the perceived situation of Moroccan immigrants in Spain, and to their support of collective actions for Moroccan immigrants' rights beyond specific sociodemographics. We expect awareness of injustice, negative metaperceptions, and identity fusion with Morocco being associated with affective reactions of anger and indignation, and with mobilization as theories of mobilization predicts (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010; van Zomeren et al., 2008). All materials necessary to reproduce the reported results that are digitally shareable are made publicly available in Open Science Framework (López-Rodríguez et al., 2024): https://osf.io/684ga/?view_only=38c61c6ebae84374b5437d81f4e05003.

## Method

### Participants

A convenience sample of 242 participants completed an online or a pencil-and-paper questionnaire about social relations. However, we excluded 62 participants who were underage or whose sociodemographic data did not enable identification as being of Moroccan heritage (having Moroccan nationality or at least one of the parents of Moroccan origin). We additionally excluded 33 participants who did not provide information regarding their gender, their year of arrival in Spain, and/or their subjective socioeconomic status. The final sample consisted of 147 people of Moroccan ethnic origin, 92 men ($M_{age}$ = 35.25, $SD$ = 9.24) and 55 women ($M_{age}$ = 30.33, $SD$ = 9.16). The average time of residence in Spain was of 14.12 years ($SD$ = 7.76) for men and 17.05 years ($SD$ = 6.56) for women. Almost half of the participants (43.5%) completed the questionnaire online; the rest used paper-and-pencil format.

### Measures

Participants answered a questionnaire including the following variables:

**Metaprejudice.** Participants were asked about their metaprejudice using one question "To what extent do you think Spanish people have negative attitudes toward Moroccan immigrants?" with a response scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*very much*).

**Metadehumanization.** Based on an adaptation of the two questions used by Bai and Zhao (2021), participants were asked to what extent they agreed with the following statements: "Spaniards

see us like animals" and "Spaniards see us as machines" reflecting the classical metaphors of animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization (Haslam, 2006) from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). We also measured a new idea extracted from the qualitative findings: "Spaniards think we are dirty" as a way of dignity metadehumanization (Speltini & Passini, 2016; Terskova & Agadullina, 2019). The reliability of the three items was adequate (α = .70). Items were analyzed separately.

**Perceived Discrimination.** Participants were asked to rate on a 7-point scale of perceived discrimination (Navas et al., 2004) from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*very much*) the degree they considered that Moroccan immigrants were being discriminated against in three areas: their *labor conditions, when renting a house*, and in *commerce like bars, cafes, grocery stores or supermarkets* (α = .78).

**Situation of Moroccan Immigrants.** The perception regarding the current situation of Moroccan immigrants in Spain was assessed with the following question "How do you consider the situation of Moroccan immigrants in Spain (such as their quality of life, their rights)?" with a response scale ranging from 0 (*very negative*) to 6 (*very positive*).

**Affective Reactions.** Participants were asked about their affective reaction toward the situation of the Moroccan immigrants in Spain with the following question: "If you think about the situation of Moroccan immigrants in Spain, to what extent do you feel the following emotions?" with two items: "I feel indignation" and "I feel anger," on a response scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*very much*). Items were analyzed separately.

**Support of Collective Actions for Moroccan Immigrants' Rights.** We used a five-item scale ranging from 0 (*not willing*) to 6 (*fully willing*) based on Duncan (1999) to measure participants' willingness to carry out actions to improve Moroccans' situation in Spain (e.g., "To actively participate in an organization that defends the rights of Moroccan immigrants," α = .89).

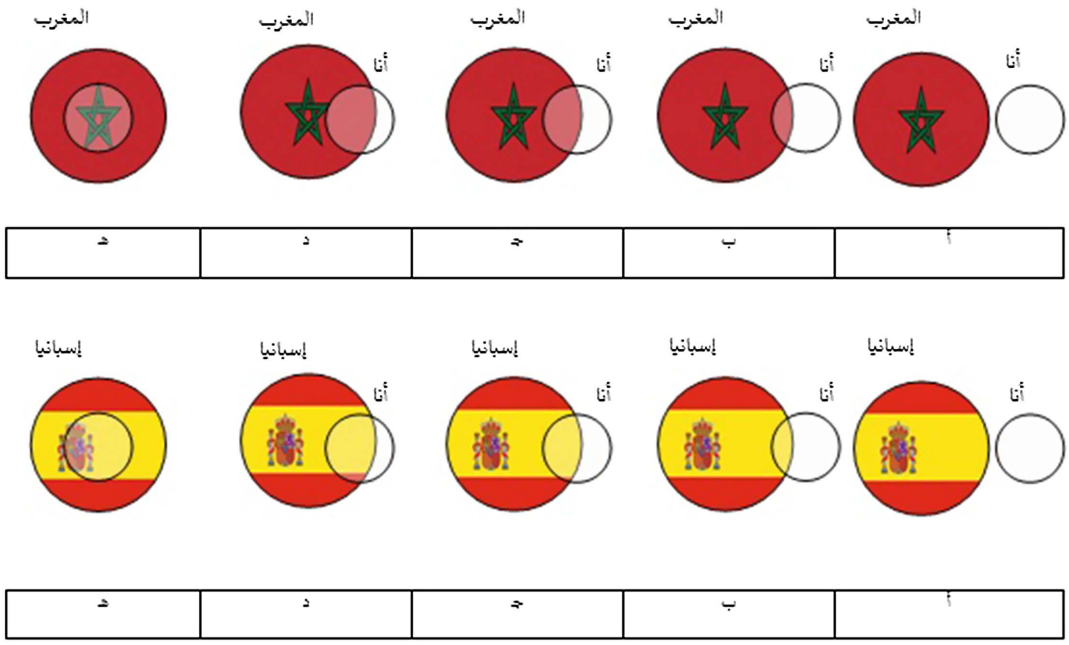
**Identity Fusion With Morocco and With Spain.** Participants were asked to indicate their relationship with Morocco and Spain on a one-item pictorial scale of identity fusion developed by Swann et al. (2009), with five options representing a distinct relationship between a small circle symbolizing the self and a big circle (with the Moroccan or the Spanish flag) symbolizing the country (see Figure 2). Only the figure that represents the self totally embedded in the bigger circle represents complete fusion versus other options that represent no fusion.

**Contact Quantity.** Participants responded to the following single question: In general, how much contact do you have with Spanish people? on a 7-point scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*a lot*).

**Contact Quality.** This variable was measured using an adaptation of the scale developed by Islam and Hewstone (1993). Participants were asked the following question "Please express your level of agreement with the following statements: When you have contact with Spanish people, in general, the contact is": positive, negative (reversed), pleasant, egalitarian, cooperative, voluntary. Participants indicated their agreement from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) to each qualitative aspect of contact (six-item; α = .80).

**Figure 2**

*Identity Fusion With Morocco and Identity Fusion With Spain (Study 2)*




*Note*. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

**Sociodemographics.** Participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, nationality, place of birth, place of birth of the mother and the father, year of arrival to Spain and their perceived socioeconomic status. To measure subjective personal socioeconomic status we used the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (Adler et al., 2000).

### *Procedure*

The data collection was carried out by two researchers on-site at the Consular office of the Kingdom of Morocco in Spain from a province of the south of Spain and its surroundings. Participants could choose between completing the questionnaire on paper-and-pencil format or online on an iPad in Spanish or Arabic (according to participants' preference). The online questionnaire was also distributed on social networks and websites of Moroccan immigrant associations.

## Results

Three chi-square tests of independence were conducted to verify the association of gender with dichotomous variables of nationality and identity fusion with Morocco and with Spain. The test showed a significant relation between gender and having Moroccan nationality versus having Spanish or double nationality, $\chi^2(1) = 6.88$, $p = .009$, revealing that the proportion of women having Spanish or double nationality was significantly higher than the proportion of men, while the proportion of men having Moroccan nationality was significantly higher than the proportion of women (see Table 3). Regarding identity fusion, 50% of men were fused with Morocco (vs. 36.4% of women), and 53.3% were fused with Spain (vs. 49.1% of women). Gender was not related with identity fusion with Morocco, $\chi^2(1) = 6.59$, $p = .108$ or with Spain, $\chi^2(1) = 0.24$, $p = .624$.

A multivariate analysis of covariance was conducted with gender as factor and questionnaire format as covariate on continuous/ordinal sociodemographics and psychosocial variables. Due to missing values in some variables, the analysis only included those participants with complete data in all variables ($n = 134$). Listwise was used for the missing data treatment. A sensitivity analysis conducted with G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) showed that a sample of 134 could detect an effect size of $f = .244$ ($\eta^2 = .056$) in an analysis of covariance with two groups (women vs. men) and a covariate questionnaire format with a probability of α error of .05 and a power of .80.

**Table 3**
*Comparison of Proportions of Men and Women With Spanish, Moroccan or Other Nationality (Study 2)*

| | Gender | |
|---|---|---|
| Nationality | Men | Women |
| Spanish or double | | |
| Count | $24_a$ | $26_b$ |
| % | 26.1 | 47.3 |
| Moroccan | | |
| Count | $68_a$ | $29_b$ |
| % | 73.9 | 52.7 |
| Total | | |
| Count | 92 | 55 |
| % | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. For each nationality, different subscripts denote significant differences between men and women based on a column proportion test using Bonferroni correction.

The analysis revealed a significant multivariate effect of gender, Wilk's $\lambda = .76$, $F(14, 118) = 2.71$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .244$. As shown in Table 4, compared to male participants, female participants considered that Spaniards had worse attitudes toward Moroccans, $F(1, 131) = 7.80$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .056$; perceived more animalistic metadehumanization, $F(1, 131) = 7.61$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .055$, and undignified metadehumanization, $F(1, 131) = 5.07$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .037$, although no more mechanistic metadehumanization, $F(1, 131) = 0.48$, $p = .491$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$; felt more indignation, $F(1, 131) = 11.13$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .078$, and anger when thinking about the situation of Moroccan immigrants in Spain, $F(1, 131) = 10.76$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .076$; and perceived more discrimination against Moroccan immigrants, $F(1, 131) = 5.60$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .0412$. Women were also younger than men, $F(1, 131) = 4.07$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$. No significant gender differences were found in their evaluation of the situation of Moroccans in Spain, willingness to support collective actions, contact quantity and quality with Spaniards, subjective socioeconomic status or time living in Spain ($ps > .071$).[2]

### *Regression Analyses*

Bivariate correlations among psychosocial variables can be consulted in Table 5. Three linear regressions were conducted with indignation, anger, and support for collective actions as criterion variables in order to identify the key variables associated with them among sociodemographics (gender, age, nationality, socioeconomic status, and time of residence in Spain) and psychosocial variables (identity fusion with Morocco and Spain, evaluation of the situation of Moroccans in Spain, perceived discrimination, metaprejudice, three types of metadehumanization, and quantity and quality of contact with the Spaniards). Sensitivity analyses showed that a sample size of 136 (for collective actions) and 134 (for emotions) could detect an effect size of $f^2 = .153$ ($R^2 = .133$) and $f^2 = .155$ ($R^2 = .134$), respectively, for a linear multiple regression (fixed model, $R^2$ deviation from zero) with 15 predictors, $\alpha = .05$ and a power = .80.

As shown in Table 6, the results revealed that the model was statistically significant for each emotion, with 33% of the variance in indignation, and 22% of the variance in anger being explained by the predictors included in the model. Animalistic metadehumanization was the unique significant predictor of anger. Indignation was also positively associated with animalistic metadehumanization, and additionally, with general metaprejudice and perceived discrimination. The model for collective actions was significant but only explained 11% of the variance due to perceived discrimination. Identity fusion with Morocco (positively) and with Spain (negatively) only predicted support of collective actions when treated as ordinal variables. Controlling by the effect of questionnaire format in a previous step did not alter the results.

## Discussion

The quantitative phase confirmed some of the findings of the qualitative phase. Female participants seemed to be more aware of

[2] When controlling for nationality and age, all gender differences in psychosocial variables persisted except in perceived discrimination, $F(1,129) = 3.32$, $p = .071$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$.

**Table 4**

*Descriptives for Moroccan Women and Men in Sociodemographic and Psychosocial Variables (Study 2)*

| Variable | Men ($n$ = 83) | | Women ($n$ = 51) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *M* | *SD* | *M* | *SD* |
| Perceived discrimination | **3.08** | **1.56** | **3.84** | **1.53** |
| Metaprejudice | **3.33** | **1.54** | **4.16** | **1.39** |
| Animalistic metadehumanization | **1.34** | **1.71** | **2.35** | **1.90** |
| Mechanistic metadehumanization | 3.00 | 1.99 | 2.86 | 2.04 |
| Undignified metadehumanization | **2.57** | **2.15** | **3.55** | **1.91** |
| Indignation | **2.19** | **1.76** | **3.39** | **1.94** |
| Anger | **1.64** | **1.84** | **2.84** | **1.95** |
| Collective action | 4.05 | 1.39 | 4.49 | 1.50 |
| Contact quantity | 4.71 | 1.45 | 4.86 | 1.36 |
| Contact quality | 4.62 | 1.12 | 4.64 | 1.00 |
| Situation of Moroccan immigrants | 3.72 | 1.53 | 3.14 | 1.27 |
| Subjective socioeconomic status | 5.01 | 2.29 | 5.67 | 2.10 |
| Time living in Spain | 13.92 | 7.58 | 16.86 | 6.69 |
| Age | **34.53** | **8.96** | **30.37** | **9.39** |

*Note.* Higher values in the situation of Moroccan immigrants means a more positive perception of their situation. The scale for perceived subjective socioeconomic status (SES) ranges from 1 to 10, higher scores representing a higher SES. Bold formatting indicates statistically significant differences between women and men ($p < .05$) based on the analyses conducted.

metaprejudice and metadehumanization, perceived more discrimination, and experienced more intense affective reactions to the situation of Moroccans in Spain than men participants. Beyond gender differences in emotional expression, additive multiple discrimination due to intersectional identities (Fredman, 2008) may influence women's feelings and perceptions. Compared to male participants, female participants were younger, and more of them had Spanish or double nationality. These aspects might have facilitated establishing Spaniards as standards of comparison and, consequently, might have led women to feel relative deprivation, although when controlling for these aspects, all gender differences persisted but in perceived discrimination.

The regression analyses showed that perceived discrimination, metaprejudice and animalistic metadehumanization were associated with indignation, whereas only animalistic metadehumanization predicted anger. Contrary to expectations, identity fusion in its dichotomous form did not predict emotional reactions nor collective action, and only perceived discrimination was associated with more mobilization. These results partially confirm the social identity model of collective action assumptions (van Zomeren et al., 2008), and future research should include other ways to measure identification with Morocco/Moroccans or politicized collective identity to test their effects on collective actions.

## General Discussion

Shared grievances and group-based anger are potential factors for the mobilization of disadvantaged group members (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, as far as our knowledge goes, there are not many empirical studies about the specific intergroup experiences and metaperceptions that may give rise to the affective reactions to injustice and mobilization of Moroccan-heritage people living in Spain. Based on theoretical frameworks on social movements, social perception, and intergroup relations, and under a mixed-methods approach, we examined the feelings and perceptions of a sample of this community regarding their situation in the country, interaction with Spaniards, perceived discrimination, and metaperceptions to understand their affective reactions to injustice (Studies 1 and 2) and willingness to collective mobilization (Study 2). Applying an intersectionality approach, we compared the experiences and perceptions of women and men.

Following a sequential exploratory design, we started without fixed assumptions and asked indirect questions in four discussion groups with female and male participants. A wide range of experiences with Spanish people emerged. A complex picture is drawn from trustworthy, close, and highly positive experiences to dramatic experiences of exploitation, discrimination, and even sexual harassment among women. This gives the idea that we cannot assume a simplistic view of intergroup relations, as a myriad of experiences may configure people's beliefs and feelings in multicultural contexts. Although contact quality is associated with the improvement of intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), positive contact with the advantaged group can also reduce collective mobilization among members of the disadvantaged group (Hässler et al., 2020).

Under an intersectionality approach, being Muslim in Spain also projects a multifaceted picture. Moroccan men translate a positive view, emphasizing absence of discrimination due to their religion, with some

**Table 5**

*Correlations Between Variables (Study 2)*

| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Metaprejudice | — | .47*** | .19* | .38*** | .43*** | .37*** | −.23** | .03 | −.21* | .32*** | .24** |
| 2. Animalistic Metadehumanization | | — | .47*** | .44*** | .46*** | .43*** | −.21* | −.06 | −.26** | .27*** | .16 |
| 3. Mechanistic Metadehumanization | | | — | .40*** | .25** | .27*** | −.29** | −.06 | −.16 | .22* | .14 |
| 4. Undignified Metadehumanization | | | | — | .31*** | .25** | −.21* | .01 | −.23** | .42*** | .13 |
| 5. Indignation | | | | | — | .72*** | −.21* | .20* | −.22* | .41*** | .24** |
| 6. Anger | | | | | | — | −.24** | .12 | −.08 | .33*** | .14 |
| 7. Situation of Moroccan immigrants | | | | | | | — | .02 | .02 | −.09 | .07 |
| 8. Contact quantity | | | | | | | | — | .16 | .21* | .10 |
| 9. Contact quality | | | | | | | | | — | −.16 | −.08 |
| 10. Perceived discrimination | | | | | | | | | | — | .31*** |
| 11. Collective actions | | | | | | | | | | | — |

*Note.* Valid *N* per list is 134. The first eight variables are measured by a single item.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

**Table 6**

*Predictive Model of Affective Reactions (Indignation and Anger) and Support for Collective Action (Study 2)*

| Variable | Indignation | | | Anger | | | Collective action | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | β | *t* | *p* | β | *t* | *p* | β | *t* | *p* |
| Perceived discrimination | **.21** | **2.40** | **.018** | .16 | 1.78 | .078 | **.26** | **2.63** | **.010** |
| Metaprejudice | **.19** | **2.12** | **.036** | .15 | 1.51 | .133 | .20 | 1.94 | .055 |
| Animalistic metadehumanization | **.23** | **2.41** | **.018** | **.25** | **2.34** | **.021** | .002 | 0.02 | .986 |
| Mechanistic metadehumanization | .02 | 0.23 | .816 | .11 | 1.10 | .272 | .08 | 0.71 | .481 |
| Undignified metadehumanization | −.03 | −0.29 | .769 | −.08 | −0.77 | .442 | −.06 | −0.59 | .559 |
| Contact quantity | .14 | 1.70 | .091 | .06 | 0.64 | .524 | .02 | 0.24 | .814 |
| Contact quality | −.10 | −1.22 | .226 | .03 | 0.37 | .716 | .01 | 0.08 | .933 |
| Situation of Moroccan immigrants | −.06 | −0.81 | .420 | −.08 | −0.95 | .342 | .17 | 1.86 | .065[a] |
| Subjective socioeconomic status | .04 | 0.50 | .616 | .02 | 0.30 | .761 | .08 | 0.98 | .327 |
| Identity Fusion with Morocco | .01 | 0.11 | .916 | .001 | 0.01 | .989 | .13 | 1.42 | .159[b] |
| Identity fusion with Spain | .01 | 0.12 | .907 | .01 | 0.14 | .890 | −.10 | −1.00 | .321[c] |
| Moroccan-only nationality | .09 | 1.11 | .271 | −.01 | −0.10 | .921 | .16 | 1.65 | .102 |
| Time living in Spain | .14 | 1.62 | .108 | .07 | 0.74 | .461 | .14 | 1.35 | .181 |
| Gender | .11 | 1.38 | .170 | .14 | 1.54 | .125 | .09 | 0.90 | .368 |
| Age | −.04 | −0.46 | .643 | −.01 | −0.09 | .927 | .003 | 0.03 | .973 |
| | $F(15, 118) = 5.40$, $p < .001$, $R^2_{adj} = .332$ | | | $F(15, 118) = 3.46$, $p < .001$, $R^2_{adj} = .217$ | | | $F(15, 120) = 2.13$, $p = .013$, $R^2_{adj} = .112$ | | |

*Note*. Participants' gender was coded as 0 (*Men*) and 1 (*Women*). Standardized coefficients are presented. Bold formatting indicates statistically significant predictors.

[a] It became significant when identity fusion was treated as ordinal, β = .18, $t = 2.05$, $p = .042$. [b] It became significant when treated as ordinal, β = .20, $t = 2.03$, $p = .044$. [c] It became significant when treated as ordinal, β = −24, $t = -2.24$, $p = .027$.

exceptions. However, this issue was different for women. The veil emerged (without explicitly asking for it) as a symbol of intercultural tensions, with women at center stage. A feeling of being fed up with *the veil issue*, and at the same time being aware of the importance of this garment captured our attention. The veil seems to adopt countless meanings, which may be central to policies and regulations, especially in countries where it has occupied an essential space in public debate. The qualitative part showed a clear additive multiple discrimination for Moroccan Muslim women (Fredman, 2008), which may account for their intense feelings and examples of active confrontation.

Our findings deepened into the role of metaperceptions as a crucial process to understanding intercultural relations and shared grievances. In the literature on social perception, metaperceptions are related to public regard, intended as the beliefs about how the ingroup is perceived by others. Garreta (2007) already found that Moroccan families were aware that some Spanish people may have negative perceptions about their culture, especially their religion. The feeling of not being trusted, being considered a competitive threat in the labor market, or the astonishing examples of metadehumanization (being considered animals or machines) should occupy a central place when designing interventions for improving intercultural relations. The emerging impromptu discourse about metadehumanization was one of the most shocking findings in the qualitative part and, theoretically, it contributes to the literature of movement participation as a potential source for shared grievances. Therefore, understanding their association with affective reactions and mobilization became a main goal for the subsequent quantitative part.

The results of the quantitative phase (Study 2) confirmed part of the qualitative findings, with women feeling more outraged than men, and being more aware of metaprejudice and metadehumanization. As in the qualitative phase, both men and women recognized mechanistic metadehumanization at the same level, and women felt a more animalistic and undignified (i.e., being considered dirty people) metadehumanization. Although women participants were younger and more of them had Spanish or double nationality, gender differences in these variables persisted when the analyses controlled for age and nationality. These findings may be explained by the additive multiple discrimination suffered by Moroccan women (Fredman, 2008) and the complexity of their identities. However, future studies should clarify this hypothesis.

Beyond traditional variables of perceived discrimination, the analyses revealed the prominent role played by metadehumanization in the manifestation of indignation and anger, confirming the negative consequences of this experience (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). Perceived discrimination was the only predictive variable of collective actions, coherent with the social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), whereas identity fusion with Morocco (positively) and with Spain (negatively) were only significant predictors when treated as ordinal. Recent evidence confirmed that the traditional predictors of the model are not so strong to predict collective action in non-Western and more collectivist countries (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). Future studies should explore other variables that might account for the variance of collective action, whereas qualitative research should explore in more depth the meaning and traditions of different cultural ways of mobilization.

## Limitations

Due to the specific demands of the context, discussion groups with women and men were recruited by contacts from different organizations and moderated by a Spanish woman in Spanish versus a Moroccan man in Arabic, which may have introduced additional variations that should be contemplated in the interpretation of the findings. Specifically, not analyzing the data in the original language may have been a limitation as during the translation process some informative aspects might have been lost which could have diminished the richness of the discourse. The reduced sample size and the sampling method of the quantitative study prevents us from making

any assumptions that can be generalized to the Moroccan-heritage community living in Spain.

Methodologically, some constructs were measured in Study 2 with a single item due to the intention to create a time-efficient, brief, clear, and comprehensive questionnaire. Although the single-item measures were direct, clearly defined, unambiguous, and narrow in scope (see Allen et al., 2022), future research might include multi–item scales to verify the results regarding animalistic and mechanistic metadehumanization and, especially, to validate the idea of lack of dignity as a kind of dehumanization linked to dirtiness (Speltini & Passini, 2016; Terskova & Agadullina, 2019). Analytically, listwise deletion for missing data used in Study 2 was not an optimal method. Finally, the studies were conducted in an area with a high support of antimigration policies (see El País, 2019). This context should be considered in the interpretations of the results and future studies should search for replications with a representative sample to guarantee the robustness of these results or identify variations depending on the context.

## Contributions

Despite these limitations, we consider that these studies contribute to our understanding of the experiences of minorities recognizing their agency in social change. As a contextual contribution, psychosocial studies focused on the perspective of minority groups are scarce in Europe, especially considering adult populations. Although previous studies have explored the perceived discrimination of Moroccan immigrants in Spain (Agudelo-Suárez et al., 2011), as far as our knowledge goes, they have not examined the metaperceptions, the emotions toward their situation, and their willingness to be involved in collective action for their rights.

As a methodological contribution, this investigation benefits from the pragmatism of mixed-methods, a respectful methodology in terms of understanding the participants' meanings, that offers a rich and nuanced picture of social reality. We combined inductive and deductive thinking, assuming a pluralistic use of methodology for data collection and analysis (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

Regarding the theoretical contribution, we propose that the literature on social perception and intergroup relations can contribute to the comprehension of shared grievances and affective reactions to injustice. This investigation advances our knowledge of the factors associated with the affective reactions toward injustice and the mobilization of ethnic minorities contemplating gender differences. Factors of different nature articulate to increase indignation and anger toward the ingroup's situation. Beyond perceived discrimination, metaperceptions, especially those involving metadehumanization, stand up as crucial mechanisms and should be more deeply studied in future research. Gender differences open an interesting line of research, as women may play an agentic role when demanding rights for the Moroccan community.

At the same time, our findings enable us to outline that awareness of injustice often seems to come with pain, and they urge for interventions to channel feelings of aggravation as they can have negative consequences but may also be functional and democratically healthy to promote social change (Bromell, 2013).

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