The Moroccan state and two Moroccan Dutch mosques in the Netherlands

A Comparative Discourse Analysis

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Introduction

> "[The Moroccan Dutch community in the Netherlands] does not have [a Turkish governmental institute that deals with religious affairs like] Diyanet as the Turkish [Dutch] community has, but still the influence of Morocco on Moroccan mosques in the Netherlands is significant. With the advent of the holy month of Ramadan, the [Moroccan] government will send hundreds of imams again. They will speak about the protests and will proclaim the government's stance."[1]
>
> Abdou Menebhi, President of Euro-Mediterraan Centrum Migratie en Ontwikkeling.

As long as Moroccan Dutch migrants have been present in the Netherlands, discussions have been taking place about the influence of Morocco in the religious sphere in the Netherlands.[2] During the protests in the Rif in Morocco in 2016 and 2017, Moroccan Dutch nationals[3] have re-evoked these discussions about this influence on Moroccan Dutch mosques.[4] They responded to an imam in Amsterdam that preached that the Moroccan protesters spread discord in the country and were therefore sinful. On several occasions in these discussions, Moroccan Dutch nationals, like Abdou Menebhi, have characterized mosques in the Netherlands to be the tool through which Morocco exercises influences in the political and religious

[1] "In het verweer tegen de lange arm van Rabat," DeKanttekening, my translation, accessed on July 14,

[2] Nadia Bouras, "Het Land van Herkomst: Perspectieven op Verbondenheid met Marokko, 1960-2010" (PhD Diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2012), 1-12, 128.

[3] This concerns a first, second and third generation migrant group that migrated to the Netherlands from the 1960's on. Since it is impossible to eleminate the Moroccan nationality the naturalized group and descendants have two nationalities: the Moroccan one and the Dutch one. In this thesis, I will use the term "Moroccan Dutch" to refer to this group that has both nationalities and is situated in the Netherlands.

[4] These initiatives have been discussed extensively in Dutch media. See:
"In het verweer tegen de lange arm van Rabat;"
"Rif Alert! Helpt Marokkaanse Nederlanders tegen 'lange arm van Rabat," NOS, accessed on July 14, 2017, http://nos.nl/artikel/2178473-rif-alert-helpt-marokkaanse-nederlanders-tegen-lange-arm-van-rabat.html;
"De lange arm van Rabat strekt tot Den Haag," Den Haag Centraal, accessed on July 14, 2017, http://denhaagcentraal.net/2791/a-de-lange-arm-van-rabat-strekt-tot-den-haaga.
See here the Friday Sermon in the Al-Ihsane mosque in Amsterdam in June 2017:
"Lmakhzan imozar," Youtube, accessed on July 14, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WGgZpesT6Oc&feature=youtu.be.

domain.[5] Menebhi and others claim Morocco does so by organizing meetings in the Netherlands, by influencing mosque board members and by sending imams during Ramadan each year. On the other hand, members of Moroccan Dutch mosque organizations have denied such allegations and state that the such influence from the state is absent.[6]

On the surface, it might appear that Morocco has a large influence on some mosques with largely Moroccan Dutch attendees in the Netherlands because of similar ideas. The official Moroccan Islam entails following the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism.[7] At the same time, some mosques are known to outspokenly preach the same traditions. Two examples of such mosques with largely Moroccan Dutch attendees are Masjid El-Islam in The Hague and Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik in Leiden.[8] Both the Moroccan state and the two mosques in the Netherlands produce discourses on reasons for following these specific traditions and how they relate to the national Moroccan identity. This raises the question of what the influence of Morocco is on these mosques in advocating a certain Islamic tradition. At the same time, the discourses on Islam of the Moroccan state and the two mentioned mosques are characterized by different national contexts, wider ongoing debates and positions of power within the wider society. This begs a second valid question as to how similar or dissimilar these discourses are.

Background

These Moroccan and Moroccan Dutch discourses about the importance of following the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of

[5] "In het verweer tegen de lange arm van Rabat;"
"De lange arm van Rabat: Spanning in Nederland duidelijk merkbaar," Elsevier Weekblad, accessed on July 14, 2017, http://www.elsevierweekblad.nl/nederland/achtergrond/2017/06/marokko-de-lange-arm-van-rabat-96725w/;
"De lange arm van Rabat strekt tot Den Haag."
[6] "Reactie op negatieve berichtgeving in de media," Al-Ihsane, accessed on July 14, 2017, http://al-ihsane.nl/reactie-op-negatieve-berichtgeving-in-de-media/;
Bouras, "Het Land van Herkomst," 1-12, 128.
[7] Mohammed El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs: religious reform in Morocco," The *Journal of North African Studies* 18:1 (2013): 53
[8] "I'lān 'an Dawwara Shar'iyya ash-Shamā'il al-Muḥammadiyya," Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik Leiden, accessed on December 20, 2015, http://www.icimleiden.nl/agenda/item/اعلان-عن-دورة-شرعية-في-الشمايل-المحمدي/;
"Over ons," Moskee El Islam, accessed on February 4, 2017, http://newsite.moskeeelislam.nl/over-ons/.

theology and certain forms of Sufism form part of a larger global conversation among some groups of Muslims. These three traditions within Islam fit within the wider framework of *madhhab* traditionalism.[9] In this thesis, I will use the term *madhhab* traditionalism to refer to the belief that true religious authority and true understanding of Islam is to be found within the classical Islamic institutions of the schools of law, theology and Sufi guilds.[10] Well-known contemporary Muslim scholars like Hamza Yusuf, Zaid Shakir, Ingrid Mattson from the United States, Abdal-Hakim Murad from Great Britain and Ali Gomaa from Egypt have all pleaded for this 'return' to Islamic traditions of scholarship and the re-claiming of the authority of the schools of law.[11] Hamza Yusuf criticized the lack of scholarly tradition among contemporary Muslims when he stated that Muslims "are living through a reformation, but without any theologians to guide us through it."[12] In August 2016, an important event in the framework of *madhhab* traditionalism took place when a group of scholars gathered in Chechnya to define what a true Muslim is. They had stated that the *Ahl as-sunna* are followers of the Asharite or Maturidite school in terms of theology and the Hanafite, Malikite, Shafi'ite or Hanbalite school in terms of law and Sufis who adhere to Imam al-Junayd's path in terms of ethics and practices.[13] In 2010, a young Moroccan-French rapper released a popular rap song on YouTube about the need to return to trusting scholarly authority when he rapped "Alif baa taa thaa: qui vient d'apprendre à lire ne peut enseigner, Khalife mode beta: qui veut pouvoir courir doit savoir marcher."[14]

These examples illustrate a larger development within some groups of the Muslim community in which the believers protest against the declining scholarly authority and Islamic traditionalism. This tendency is not

[9] Not to be confused with Traditionalist theology, which is a movement that rejects rationalistic theology in favor of strict textualism in interpreting the Quran. This movement came up at the end of the eight century.
[10] Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhari and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunni Hadith Cannon* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 305.
[11] Stephen Jones, "New Labour and the Re-making of British Islam: The Case of the Radical Middle Way and the "Reclamation of the Classical Islamic Tradition," Religions 4 (2013): 559-560.
[12] "If you hate the west, emigrate to a Muslim country," The Guardian, accessed on December 21, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/08/religion.uk.
[13] "Who are the *Ahl al-sunna*?" Chechnya Conference, accessed on May 2, 2017, http://chechnyaconference.org/material/chechnya-conference-statement-english.pdf.
[14] "Médine - #Faisgafatwa (Official Clip)," YouTube, accessed on May 2, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aOIanQk4Y3M.

restricted to individual believers and authorities; some governments, such as Algeria, Pakistan, Great Britain and Morocco, also promote the authority of scholarly tradition and Sufism for their Muslim populations in order to fight ideas associated with Salafism and extremism.[15]

Madhhab Traditionalism

In matters of following the 'true' authority, *madhhab* traditionalism is opposed to the tradition also known as Salafism that generally rejects the authority of the schools of law and supports the idea of "returning to the original sources" in which the Quran and the *sunna* are directly consulted in order to draw conclusions about Islam. The term Salafism is based on the "*salaf*", which are the first three generations after the prophet Mohammed,[16] and consequently disregards the generations of scholars who came after these '*salaf*' and who developed into schools of learning known as *madhhabs.* The term Salafism is widely used in popular media and politics as the term for a conservative or ultra-orthodox Islam. This is not a valid definition, since the term covers a variety of religious phenomena. It should be taken into account that academic disagreement exists about whether the term Salafism covers a unified phenomenon and that its followers can again be subdivided into several different ideologies. Nevertheless, all subdivisions of Salafism have come into existence because of a countermovement against *madhhab* traditionalism and its ideas of the true Islamic authority of scholars and Sufi masters.[17] The manifold discussions between these 'two camps' are often on the subject of the definitions of committing *bid'a, shirk*, *kufr* and whether the other is following the 'true' authority.[18] As a result, it is safe to say that there is an opposition between Salafism and *madhhab* traditionalism in matters of understanding authority. Even though the reality is more complex than a mere traditionalist-salafist dichotomy, the presence of harsh polemics back

[15] Fait Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism: How Governments Promote "Mystical Islam" in their Domestic and Foreign Policies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1-18.
[16] Tariq Ramadan, *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 25.
[17] Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim,* 1-23.
[18] Ibid, 1-23.

and forth cannot be denied.[19] In practice, however, the average Muslim is not always aware of such an existing opposition.

Madhhab Traditionalism in Morocco and the Netherlands

The Moroccan government is a well-known example of a state that sponsors *madhhab* traditionalism.[20] In its policies, Morocco has continuously declared Sufism, the Malikite school of law and Asharite theological tradition as cornerstones of its Islamic and Moroccan identity. It effectuates this policy by establishing educational institutes, institutionalizing religion, absorbing religious authority into the state structure, screening religious activities and producing a narrative of the 'official Moroccan Islam', in which a reconstruction of the *madhhab* traditionalist approach and accompanying Sufi practices have the largest share.[21] This official Moroccan Islam legally applies to all Moroccan nationals, including the diaspora communities in Europe.

In the Netherlands, a similar trend is noticeable among Moroccan Dutch Muslim communities. A number of Muslim scholars and imams of Moroccan origin who live in the Netherlands started the Sunni Instituut, an

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[19] Basheer Nafi, "The Rise of Islamic Reformist Thought and Its Challenge to Traditional Islam," in *Islamic Thought in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Suha Taji-Farouki and Basheer M. Nafi (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004) 3-10;
Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufis and Anti-Sufis: The Defense, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World* (Surrey, UK: Curzon, 1999).
This interesting phenomenon of polemics between, for instance, scholars of Ash'ari and Wahhabi theology can be widely found on fatwa websites:
"Wahhabism & Salafism," Ashari Assemble, accessed on December 30, 2015, http://asharisassemble.com/wahhabism-salafism/;
"Who or What is a Salafi?" Seekers Hub, accessed on December 30, 2015, http://seekershub.org/ans-blog/2015/08/26/who-or-what-is-a-salafi/;
"Learning from Ash'ari Shaykhs," IslamQA, accessed on 30 december 2015:, http://islamqa.info/en/10693;
"The Ash'ari School," IslamWeb, accessed on December 30, 2015, http://www.islamweb.net/emainpage/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=27552.

[20] El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 53;
Isabelle Werenfels, "Beyond Authoritarian Upgrading: The re-emergence of Sufi Orders in Maghrebi Politics," The Journal of North African Studies 19 (2014): 275;
Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism,* 1-18.

[21] Carol Migdalovitz, "Morocco: Current Issues," *Congressional Research Service* (December 20, 2010): 6-8;
El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 53;
Aziz el Kobaiti Idrissi, "The Political Participation of Sufi and Salafi Movements in Modern Morocco: Between the '2003 Casablanca Terrorist Attack' and the 'Moroccan Spring'," in *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age*, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon (Londen: Bloomsbury, 2015), 92-93;
Driss Maghraoui, "The Strengths and Limits of Religious Reforms in Morocco," *Mediterranean Politics* 14:2 (2009): 197;
Malika Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco: Religion, Authoritarianism and Electoral Politics,* translated by George Holoch (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008), 250-255.

institute that advocates the need for Dutch Muslims to follow one of the four *madhhabs* and gain knowledge about Islam through the teachings of that *madhhab*.[22] Another example is Kennishuys, a publishing company founded in the Netherlands in 2014 that aims to produce and translate books from scholarly literature in the tradition of the *madhhabs,* as a reaction to the wide availability of Islamic sources that do not recognize the authority of the *madhhabs*.[23] Two mosques, Masjid El-Islam in The Hague (hereafter: "El-Islam") and Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik in Leiden (hereafter: "Imam Malik"), are part of the same advocacy for *madhhab* traditionalism. Both are known to preach a Malikite, Asharite and Sufi discourse and both identify themselves as Morocco-oriented because of the large proportion of attendees with a Moroccan origin.[24] These two mosques will be the objects of this thesis.

Research question

The discourse of these two mosques is close to the official discourse of the Moroccan government. Both stress the need of the return to a trusted scholarly authority, to Sufism and to the *madhhabs*. It is unclear, however, to what extent these Dutch mosques are influenced by, or perhaps even directed by the Morocco state. Taking the perspective of the Moroccan state, we know that Moroccan diaspora communities are an important aspect of the Moroccan national religious policies. According to the state policy, the official Moroccan Islam serves a symbol of national unity under the king and this unity encompasses all Moroccans, including the diaspora communities. [25] Because of this viewpoint, the Moroccan government developed several policies to both engage and serve the diaspora communities in their practice of Islam, such as sending imams to the

[22] "Antwoord van Sunni Instituut op de Onkunde van Al-Yaqeen m.b.t. de Aankondigingen voor Ramadan en Ied," Sunni Instituut, accessed on June 3, 2017, http://sunni-instituut.nl/sunni-instituut.nl/antwoord-van-sunni-instituut-op-de-onkunde-van-al-yaqeen-m-b-t-de-aankondigingen-voor-ramadan-en-ied/.
[23] "Ons Verhaal," Kennishuys, accessed on June 3, 2017, https://kennishuys.com/over-ons/ons-verhaal/.
[24] "I'lān 'an Dawwara Shar'iyya ash-Shama'il al-Muḥammadiyya";
"Over ons."
[25] Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco,* 252;
Merel Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid: Een Anthropologisch Perspectief," (PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2014), 128.
[25] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid," 128.

Netherlands during Ramadan, organizing lectures, providing copies of the Qur'an and founding organizations and information centers.[26]

Yet, both the implementation and reception of these Moroccan religious policies have not been fruitful. Lack of both institutional capacity and jurisdiction outside Morocco's borders restrict the state's implementation abroad.[27] Bouras, in her work on transnational ties between the Moroccan Dutch community and the Moroccan state, studied the shifts in the attitudes of the Moroccan state, the Dutch state and the Moroccan Dutch migrants. In her work, she reasons that the relation of the Moroccan Dutch community to the Moroccan government can only be studied by looking both at the policies of the two states involved and the migrants choices. She came to the conclusion that government policies on the maintenance of ties with the country of origin are co-responsible for migrants' transnational identity.[28] Kahmann, on the other hand, assesses the same issue from the perspective of the migrant. According to Kahmann, Moroccan state policies have been met with reluctance in the Netherlands.[29] She argues that the Moroccan Dutch resist the official Moroccan Islam due to the perception that Islam and national political interests are intertwined and therefore problematic. As a result, the Moroccan Dutch aim to follow an Islam that is based on Moroccan traditions but is divorced from the Moroccan state.[30] Thus, we could only observe that the two mosques proclaim a similar religious discourse to that of the state but there is no definite evidence of a causal connection. The question is whether that is the case, and whether it is done with the same motivation. The latter question is provoked by the different contexts: the Moroccan state has to deal with a social, cultural, political and religious situation that is quite different from that what the Dutch mosques are confronted with.

This thesis will address the following question: What are the (dis)similarities in the discourses used by the Moroccan government and

[26] Ibid, 31, 60-61, 128-129.
[27] Marvine Howe, *Morocco: The Islamists Awakening and Other Challenges (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005),* 126.
[28] Bouras, "Het Land van Herkomst," 1-12, 263.
[29] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid," 1-40.
[30] Ibid, 60-61.

these two Morocco-affiliated mosques in advocating *madhhab* traditionalism and why have these (dis)similarities occurred?

Relevance

The topic of this thesis is important for three reasons. First of all, the call for the need for *madhhab* traditionalism is a new development that takes place on several levels - individual, institutional and governmental - and in several dimensions - global, national and transnational. This thesis aims to contribute to this fast developing topic that is new and therefore under-researched.

Second, this thesis makes a contribution to the research that has been conducted on Morocco's involvement amongst the Dutch Moroccan diaspora community.[31] This involvement has always been of great interest to the Dutch government.[32] Indeed, an official report mentions that Morocco's intention to influence the religiosity of its diaspora citizens clashes with the Dutch national secular framework.[33] This thesis deals with the same subject, but from the perspective of the Dutch Moroccan diaspora community. The Moroccan Dutch nationals living in the Netherlands are often portrayed as having no agency when it comes to their religious choices, being merely left at the mercy of external forces.[34] Thus, this thesis aims to highlight the extent of their own agency in religious matters.

The third point of relevance of this thesis is that it will contribute to a further understanding of the particularities of Islam in the Netherlands. One

[31] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid;" Nadia Bouras, "Het Land van Herkomst."
[32] "Dreiginsbeleid Terrorisme Nederland 42," Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid, July 2016, accessed on May 16, 2016, https://www.nctv.nl/binaries/DTN42_samenvatting_opgemaakt_def_tcm31-79507.pdf;
"Kamerbrief concretisering aanpak salafisme," Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid, accessed on June 1, 2016, https://www.nctv.nl/binaries/kamerbrief-concretisering-aanpak-salafisme_tcm31-32841.pdf;
"Salafisme in Nederland: Diversiteit en Dynamiek," AIVD, accessed on June 4, 2016, https://www.aivd.nl/over-aivd/nieuws/2015/09/23/inhoud-pagina-salafisme-in-nederland-diversiteit-en-dynamiek;
Kamerbrief Verslag werkbezoek Marokko, Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 28 mei 2015;
"Bilaterale Betrekkingen met Marokko," Rijksoverheid, accessed on December 30, 2015, https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/betrekkingen-met-nederland/inhoud/marokko.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid," 17.

of the insights that this thesis may provide is the extent to which the Muslims in the Netherlands are indeed autonomous in their interpretation and practice of Islam.

Methodology

I will analyze the two discourses – Moroccan government and the Dutch mosques – based on primary written and spoken sources. The method used to approach primary sources is the work of Wetherell, Taylor and Yates on discourse analysis.[35] Based on that approach, I define discourse as referring to communication practices, usually texts, which systematically shape our knowledge of reality.[36] Wetherell, Taylor and Yates describe how truths are created through what individuals, institutions or states communicate, because the discourses themselves pretend to communicate the truth. In this thesis, I will examine these created truths and the systems of meaning behind them. In the case of the discourses of the Moroccan state and the two mosques, I will look at several topics and categories as discussed in these discourses. The first is how both discourses define the Malakite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism. The second is the arguments used for the necessity of following the Malakite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology, and Sufism. The third topic is how the relationship between the Moroccan national identity and these three Islamic traditions is articulated within the discourses. The fourth and last is how the king's position as political and religious leader is being discussed. An important part of this comparative discourse analysis will be the focus on context and why the involved actors use the argument that they do, since discourses always stand in close connection with the context.[37] In the conclusion, I provide a comparison between the two discourses analyzed.

With regards to sources, I will analyze the official Moroccan discourse on normative Islam on the basis of ten royal speeches and the so-called

[35] Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates, *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis* (The Open University, 2001), i-ii.
[36] Ibid, i-ii.
[37] Ibid, i-ii.

"Imam Guidebook". I have chosen these specific speeches, because they address the subject of the official Moroccan Islam. The speeches are available on YouTube in spoken Modern Standard Arabic and in written form on a governmental website. The king has given most of these speeches on television, thereby addressing the entire Moroccan nation. In one instance, the king addressed a Sufi order and in another, the Minister of Islamic Affairs and Endowments read the king's speech, whilst addressing the audience of a Sufi conference. The Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments has published the imam-guide that instructs imams as well as the laymen on official Moroccan Islam. After its release in 2005, the Ministry dispersed it to all imams in the Kingdom as part of establishing an official Moroccan Islam. The book is cheap and widely available in Tamazight, Modern Standard Arabic and French.

The analysis of the discourse of the Dutch mosques is based on religious classes and lectures. Some of the mosques' lectures are available on Youtube. At the start of collecting data for this thesis, in August 2015, I attended a series of twelve classes on *fiqh* and *'aqīda* – jurisprudence and theology. In an earlier phase of gathering data, the scope of this thesis exclusively dealt with Imam Malik. As a result, I have gathered more data pertaining to this mosque than to the El Islam. Additionally, I have attended lectures at both mosques that concerned relevant themes for the scope of this thesis. The religious classes of Imam Malik took place in Dutch, whereby instructors used religious terms in Arabic such as *ḥadīth, iḥsān* and *dalīl*. The names of the lecturers were Mohamed Aarab and Said Mokadmi. At El-Islam, the lecturer, Alkhammar Al-Bakkali, did not speak Dutch and therefore gave his lectures in the Moroccan Arabic dialect with a short summary in Dutch afterwards. For this thesis I have also studied a number of Friday sermons. However, I have chosen to exclude the content of these sermons, since they turned out to be mostly irrelevant for this thesis.

I will answer the research question in four parts: In the first chapter I will discuss the Moroccan context relating to the establishment of the official Moroccan Islam and its policies. In the second chapter, an analysis will be provided of the official religious discourse. In the third chapter, I will discuss

the Dutch context, the two mosques and known discussions on Islamic traditionalism in the Netherlands. In the fourth and last chapter I will analyze the religious discourses of the two mosques.

1. The Adoption of the official Moroccan Islam

As with so many monarchies, the nation and state of Morocco legitimizes itself through religion. Politics and religion, state and Islam come together in the person of the king.[38] The sixth article of the constitution states that Islam is the state religion and the nineteenth article represents the king as highest representative of the nation and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* – Commander of the Faithful. This grants him the highest political and religious authority in the country. This is further demonstrated by the twenty-third article, which states that the king is inviolable and sacred.[39] On the grounds of the king's lineage to the prophet, he claims to have acquired *baraka* – often explained as divine blessings, which legitimizes his political and religious authority as both political leader (king) and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.[40] As a result many Moroccans believe that through the king's lineage to the prophet, divine blessings are also bestowed upon Morocco.[41] Nevertheless, throughout the country's history and in contemporary times, this religious legitimization of political rule has been contested many times, as we will see below.

Sufism

For the subject of this thesis, we need to further explore its relevance for Islam in Morocco before we can continue with the contemporary forms of Moroccan state policy on Islam. In Moroccan history, Sufism has had a significant influence on politics and religion through Sufi saints and Sufi brotherhoods, even though it never acquired a definite political category or

[38] Jack Kalpakian, "A Tug-Of War over Islam: Religious Faith, Politics and the Moroccan Response to Islamist Violence," *Journal of Church and State* 50 (2008): 121;
Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, "Islamism, Moroccan-Style: The Ideas of Sheikh Yassine," *Middle East Quarterly* 10:1 (2003), 43;
Evan Anhorn, "Naṣīḥa and Ideology: Evolution in Religious Authority in Post-Colonial Morocco" (Diss., Queen's University, 2010), 33.
[39] Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious development in Morocco and Indonesia (London: Yale University Press, 1968),* 26.
[40] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism,* 70.
According to traditional Sufi notions that are prevalent in Morocco, *baraka* can be present in individuals – dead or alive – through lineage to the prophet, as well as in piety or the occurrences of miracle during or after lifetime (see: Mohammed Maarouf, *Jinn Eviction as a Discourse of Power: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Moroccan Magical Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 24-25; Dale Eickelman, The *Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2002), 267-270).
[41] Kalpakian, "A Tug-Of War over Islam," 122.

entity of its own.[42] The reason for its popularity and influence is first and foremost a result of its spiritual appeal, but also economic and political reasons.[43] In history, Morocco's Sufism can be divided into two types: *tabarruk* (seeking *baraka* from one or more individuals, dead or alive) and *tarbiyya* (mass moral education and moral edification).[44] Beside spiritual or religious appeal, Sufi brotherhoods - such as the Nāṣiriyya and Dilā'iyya - played a critical role in local trade deals, because they administered land, water resources and often-visited Sufi shrines. As a result, membership or adherence offered advantageous connections and political power through their large numbers of adherents.[45] Throughout history, Sufi brotherhoods and Sufi saints therefore posed as much a threat as an opportunity for the monarchy. The threat showed in its occasional challenge to the religious legitimacy of several Moroccan dynasties through time.[46] Both Sufi leaders and the head of the Alaouite dynasty competed for the claim of having acquired the highest amount of *baraka*.[47] An example of such a tension is illustrated with the exile in 1668 of the leaders of the Dilā'iyya brotherhood and the destruction of their shrine by the Alaouite sultan, because they had allegedly challenged the dynasty's position as true Commander of the Faithful.[48] During colonial times, - when the *tabarruk* Qādiriyya and the Tijāniyya brotherhoods gained influence – domestic leadership not only perceived Sufi leaders as a political threat, but also by French colonialists.[49] On the other hand, domestic rulers have long depended on these same Sufi structures to claim allegiances from the population through them, and to legitimize jihad against foreign powers.

In post-independence Morocco, king Hassan II (reigned from 1961 to 1999) attempted to control, divide and gather Sufi leaders around the

[42] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism,* 67.
[43] Ibid, 68.
[44] K. Bekkaoui & R. Laremont, "Moroccan Youth Go Sufi," *Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 2 (2011): 35.
[45] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism,* 67- 68.
[46] Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 4.
[47] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism*, 70.
[48] D.V. Gutelius, "The Path is Easy and the Benefits Large: The Nasiriyya, Social Networks and Economic Change in Morocco, 1640-1830," *The Journal of African History* 43:1 (2002): 31.
[49] S. Bazzaz, *Forgotten Saints: History, Power, and Politics in the Making of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1-13.

throne as much as possible.[50] During his reign, it is clear that he perceived them to be a significant threat to his political power and religious legitimacy.[51] Accordingly, Hassan II worked towards bringing down Sufi institutions, pilgrimage sites and Sufi educational structures.[52] Immediately upon his ascension to the throne in 1961, he made it a constitutional requirement that the king was also the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, hoping that in doing so he would acquire religious legitimacy as a descendent of the prophet.[53] The title was not just a symbolic gesture: Hassan II showed great enthusiasm in expressing his opinion on religious matters in broadcasts and publications.[54] Generally, this illustrates how the monarch aimed to have a tight grip on all matters of religion and politics. However, in the shifting world of the Cold War period, new forms of Islamic activism – besides the existing Sufi institutes – started to challenge his claim as the highest political as well as religious authority.

Salafism and Wahhabism

Salafism and Wahhabism in many of its forms have a long and diverse history in Morocco ever since it first appeared in the 19th century with returning pilgrims from Mecca.[55] Although rather contested during these times, King Hassan II welcomed and benefited from these influences during his reign. In the context of the Cold War and the Iranian Revolution, the Moroccan regime perceived these Islamic trends and activists as a tool to counter president Nasr's communism and Iran's political Islam.[56] Furthermore Hassan II perceived Wahhabism and Salafism as benefiting his claims to religious legitimacy, as they required strict obedience to the ruler in exchange for the guarantee of stability and Sharia.[57] During the period between the 1970s and late 1980s, the Moroccan state established close

[50] Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco,* 31.
[51] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism,* 70.
[52] Fatima Ghoulaichi, "Of Saints and Sharifian Kings in Morocco: Three examples of the politics of reimagining history through reinventing king/saint relationship" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2005), 4.
[53] Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco,* 44.
[54] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism,* 71.
[55] Paul L. Heck, "An Early Response to Wahhabism from Moroco: The Politics of Intercession," *Studia Islamica* 107 (2012): 235-254.
[56] Howe, *Morocco,* 126.
[57] Rogelio Alonso & Marcos Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19:4 (2007): 572-573;
C.R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830* (Londen: Hurst & Company, 2000), 340.

diplomatic ties with the Wahhabist Saudi monarchy and received large sums to fund its expensive Sahara war in return for the encouragement of the Wahhabist creed.[58] As a result, Saudi Arabia was allowed to freely promote Wahhabism in Morocco during Hassan II's reign by building mosques, Islamic schools, placing Wahhabist preachers in universities and spreading cheap books and cassettes.[59] Hassan II, in turn, openly supported Wahhabism and critiqued the Islamic traditionalism of the schools of law for their blind adherence to religious scholars.[60] It was during these years that Wahhabism, but also derivative forms of globalized Salafism and Jihadism, gained a foothold in Morocco.[61] Moroccan preachers with strong Wahabist and Salafist views, like Az-Zamzami (d. 1989), Abdelkrim Mouti (d. 2016) and Mohamed Fizazi (b. 1949) preached a very literalist, and often violent, form of Islam.[62]

It was only in the 1980s that Hassan II began to perceive some forms of Islam, Wahhabism and Salafism as a threat and started to encourage and discourage particular representations thereof.[63] His main concern was his recognition as the religious and political authority as Commander of the Faithful: he openly encouraged the various Islamic factions to recognize this claim to authority and tightened the grip around those who did not.[64] An interesting example of this approach is the so-called 'moderate' *Ḥizb al-'udālat wat-tanmiyya* or Party of Justice and Development (PJD). In their political vision, they stress the importance of recognizing the authority of the king, whilst their Islamist framework would suggest they would not. They advocate for Islamic issues, but do so within the political framework of the state. The regime opted for the proclaimed state obedience of the PJD, and tolerated its political presence.[65] This illustrates that in this episode of Moroccan history, religious experience was not so much categorized in

[58] Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco,* 238.
[59] C.R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830,* 367;
Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco,* 238;
Howe, *Morocco*, 126.
[60] Howe, *Morocco*, 125.
[61] Alonso & Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," 573.
[62] Pennel, *Morocco since 1830,* 352-353;
Alonso & Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," 573;
Julie E. Pruzan-Jørgonson, "The Islamist Movement in Morocco: Main Actors and Regime Responses", *Danish Institute for International Studies Report* 5 (2010): 19.
[63] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism*, 71.
[64] Howe, *Morocco*, 125-126.
[65] Maghraoui, "The Strengths and Limits of Religious Reforms in Morocco," 197.

terms of malignant or benign versions of Islam, but drawn along the lines of whether one accepted or challenged the king's authority and his *baraka* as Commander of the Faithful and descendant of the prophet. This was still the case in the beginning of Mohammed VI's reign, who replaced his father after his death in 1999.

Moroccan Islam

A large shift in Moroccan religious policies took place after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in New York and in particular after the Casablanca bombing on May 16, 2003. The Moroccan government embarked on a new policy in which an official Moroccan Islam was characterized and re-constructed.[66] Whereas before, the government's sole concern had been the acceptance of the king's religious authority as Commander of the Faithful, now the Moroccan regime actively strives to counter influences of 'foreign' categories of Islam – mainly Wahhabism, Salafism and hybrid forms thereof. Similarly, Shi'ism is actively countered within state discourse.[67] Thus, from this moment onwards, the traditionalist Malikite, Asharite and Sufi Islam was actively advocated by the state as being the only correct version of Islam. [68] This form of state Islam was called "the official Moroccan Islam". The justification of this official Moroccan Islam was the necessity of assuring the unity and cohesion of the nation and avoiding discord. The promotion of this national Islam of Morocco entails a clear break with the past in which Saudi Wahhabist and Salafist preachers' influences were welcomed or tolerated.

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[66] Jack Kalpakian, "Current Moroccan Anti-Terrorism Policy," *International Terrorism* 89 (2011): 1.
[67] El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs, 53.
[68] Alonso & Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," 573;
Henry Munson, Jr., "Morocco's Fundamentalists," *Government and Opposition* 26 (1991): 336-340;
Howe, *Morocco,* 126;
'Abd Allah Binnaṣr al-'Alawī and Ḥamza al-Kitānī, *Al-madhhab al-mālikī fīl-maghrib: min al-muwaṭṭa' ilā al-mudawwana (*Ashghāl an-Nadwat al-Akādīmīa ad-Dawliyya: Fās, 2008): 2-7;
El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs, 53;
Alonso & Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," 586-7.
"Khanīfra," Habous, accessed on May 1, 2016, http://www.habous.gov.ma/هبات-ملكية-للشرفاء-والزوايا.html;
"Ash-shurufa' wa zawāya, Habous, accessed on December 25, 2015, http://www.habous.gov.ma/هبات-والزوايا-للشرفاء-ملكية.html.
"Ethiques et Valeurs," Habous, accessed on December 25, 2015, http://www.habous.gov.ma/fr/ethiques-et- valeurs.html.

The Moroccan government formulated the official Moroccan Islam in such a manner that it represented their political interests. It selectively makes use of history and the religious manifestations that can loosely be described as Islam in Morocco. This is not a novel development. The term "Moroccan Islam" did not exist until its creation in between 1904 and 1912. Back then, French colonial authorities coined the term "Moroccan Islam" in their ethnographic archive as part of the effort to gather information on Morocco as to better control it.[69] According to Burke, the term has been reinterpreted five times since then, in order to adapt its content and how it can be used.[70] Burke draws the conclusion that the term has come to represent whoever is in power and the political goals he aims to achieve.

Today, the Moroccan government has selected the Malikite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology and a demarcated style of Moroccan Sufism.[71] This is justified on the basis of the historical fact that in pre-modern times the *'ulamā',* in what is today the Kingdom of Morocco, determined religious and juridical norms on the basis of the Asharite tradition of theology and the Malikite school of law.[72] Sufism has been present in Morocco since the advent of Islam in the country. It has always been formed by hagiolatry, religious brotherhoods and Sharifism – a religious and political phenomenon that places ancestral prestige in *shurafā'* - descendants of the prophet.[73]

The Moroccan government's selected style of Sufism takes Sharifism into account, mixed with New Age practices,[74] but ignores other aspects of Morocco's historical Sufism. It fails to acknowledge the Alaouite monarchy's constant historical and contemporary struggle with Sufi leaders and religious scholars. A contemporary example is *Jamā'at al-'Adl wal-Iḥsān* - a

[69] Edmund Burke III, *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 183-184.
[70] Ibid, 184.
[71] "Adh-dhikrā 16 li'īd al-'arsh al-majīd," Maroc, accessed on May 14, 2017. http://www.maroc.ma/ar/content/الذكرى-16-لعيد-العرش-المجيد.
[72] Léon Buskens, "Sharia and National Law in Morocco," in *Sharia Incorporated: A Comparative Overview of the Legal Systems of Twelve Muslim Countries in Past en Present*, ed. Jan Michiel Otto (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010), 93.
[73] J.W. Meri et al., "Ziyāra," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. by P. Bearman et al, consulted online on October 31, 2016.
[74] Marta Dominguez Diaz, *Women in Sufism: Female Religiosities in a Transnational Order* (Routledge: London, 2015), 28-29.

Sufi organization with strong popular backing, whose founder Abdasslame Yassine publically criticized the monarchy, the king and the general lack of civil rights. Al-'Adl believes that the title of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* is illegitimate and advocates for the removal of Morocco's hereditary monarchy.[75]

With the introduction of the official Moroccan Islam, Mohammed VI has taken firm steps in establishing a fixed national orthodoxy by standardizing and institutionalizing official theology and religious experience.[76] The state has done so by monopolizing and institutionalizing 'ulamā' councils and the national right to issue fatwa's. Before the reign of Mohammed VI, Hassan II had welcomed Salafist and Wahhabist preachers and deconstructed old *'ulamā'* institutes that sustained them. Within a timespan of several years, Mohammed VI made large efforts to build up a revitalized national council of *'ulamā'* – Rabiṭa Muḥammadiyya - that would be part of the state. Since then, it is illegal for Islamic scholars to issue fatwa's if they are not members of the national council. The Ministry of Islamic Affairs and endowments screens and writes Friday sermons of Morocco's mosques every week. The Ministry also set up a new educational program that includes Sufi values.[77] Overall, the policy is a comprehensive and extensive strategy intended to systemize, monitor and ensure uniformity in religious practice, experience and educational activities throughout the country.

Spreading the official Moroccan Islam through education however, went far beyond Friday sermons and setting up a *'ulamā'* council. In 2014, the king opened an institute for educating imams and female preachers in the Malikite, Asharite and Sufi tradition. The imam institute, *Institut Mohammed VI de formation des imams, morchidines et morchidates*, aims to educate religious leaders from Tunisia, Libya, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Gabon. The institute also aspires to increase the role

[75] Muedini, *Sponsoring Sufism,* 87;
Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007) 244-250.
[76] Anhorn, "Naṣīḥa and Ideology," 3-4.
[77] Maghraoui, "The Strengths and Limits of Religious Reforms in Morocco," 195;
Kalpakian, "Current Moroccan Anti-Terrorism Policy," 1;
Alonso & Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," 583-584;
Pruzan-Jørgonson, "The Islamist Movement in Morocco," 19;
El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 61.

of *murshidāt*, or female religious leaders in society. Adding *murshidāt* as representatives of state Islam sends the message that this reformed Islam includes the values of gender equality.[78]

The Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments has been given increased resources to emphasize the presence of the official Moroccan Islam.[79] The Ministry has published books on Islam and started a broadcast – As-Sādisa ('the sixth'), playfully hinting at Mohammed VI's name – strongly promoting Sufism as important part of the official Moroccan Islam.[80] Another of the Ministry's projects has been to create the Imam Handbook. The imam and *murshidāt* graduates are obliged to sign a contract that states their commitment to respect the vision in the handbook.[81] Apart from that, the handbook is meant to instruct all religious leaders in the country. The Ministry has distributed fifty thousand copies of the handbook on top of extensive training. The aim of this project is to equip religious leaders with a document that helps them to preserve the correct religious unity: it discusses Asharite dogma, Malikite law, Sufism, Sufi ethics and the king's Commandership of the Faithful, but all in accordance to a single interpretation. It also provides the tools to spread this message to mosque attendees and believers.[82]

The Moroccan government has reserved an important position for Sufism in its new efforts to institutionalize Islamic orthodoxy. The Moroccan government has given Sufism and Sufi institutes an impulse as part of these policies. Old centres around graves of saints have been given large sums in order to attract visitors.[83] The king and the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and endowments have both provided financial and public endorsements to a large and well-known *tarbiyya* Sufi brotherhood that forms part of the

[78] Muedini, Sponsoring Sufism, 78;
[79] Ibid, 77.
[80] Maghraoui, "The Strengths and Limits of Religious Reforms in Morocco," 195;
Kalpakian, "Current Moroccan Anti-Terrorism Policy," 1;
Alonso & Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," 583-584;
Pruzan-Jørgonson, "The Islamist Movement in Morocco," 19.
El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 61.
[81] Margaret Rausch, "Women Spiritual Guides (Mourchidate) in Morocco: Agents of Change," The Politics of Dissent in North Africa, 2009, 2-3.
[82] Ibid, 3.
[83] Abdelilah Bouasria, *Sufism and Politics in Morocco: Activism and Dissent* (Londen en New York: Routledge, 2015), 11;
Muedini, Sponsoring Sufism, 76.

Qādiriyya – the *Būdshīshī* – to the extent that scholars have started to call it "Morocco's national brotherhood".[84] Scholars have argued that the state selected this particular brotherhood over others, because they are known for their large numbers and alleged apolitical character.[85] This suggests that the Sufism of the Būdshīshī does not promote activism. In fact, its leadership actively asks its followers and visitors to refrain from politics and to support the Moroccan king.[86]

The increasing importance of Sufism is also illustrated by the appointment of Ahmed Taoufiq as Minister of Islamic Affairs and Endowments, who is openly affiliated to the Būdshīshī brotherhood.[87] The king's direct appointment of the minister was symbolic of a new, reforming line in governmental policies in the sphere of Islam.[88] The Minister has, since his appointment, been very active in urging national religious scholars and preachers to invoke Sufi saints and celebrate their *baraka* in sermons and lectures.[89] Additionally, the saintly family of the Būdshīshī order has been asked to organize the world famous Fes Sacred Music Festival. The festivities also form part of the government's effort to promote Sufism in a contemporary fashion.[90] The festival brings together a variety of themes such as Sufism, human rights, new age beliefs, intercultural dialogue, religious tolerance and human development.[91]

Overall, the government under Mohammed VI has openly chosen an approach in which the domain of Islam is completely controlled and in which particular types of Islam are promoted. The government has carefully

[84] Avi Max Spiegel, *Young Islam: The New Politics of Religion in Morocco and the Arab World* (New Jersey & Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2015), 135-136.
[85] Bouasria, *Sufism and Politics in Morocco,* 1;
Werenfels, "Beyond Authoritarian Upgrading," 275.
Maghraoui, "The Strengths and Limits of Religious Reforms in Morocco," 195;
Kalpakian, "Current Moroccan Anti-Terrorism Policy," 1;
Alonso & Garcia Rey, "The Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism in Morocco," 583-584;
Pruzan-Jørgonson, "The Islamist Movement in Morocco," 19.
El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 61;
Spiegel, *Young Islam,* 135-137.
[86] Bouasria, *Sufism and Politics in Morocco,* 2.
[87] Zeghal, *Islamism in Morocco,* 249.
[88] Pruzan-Jørgonson, "The Islamist Movement in Morocco," 19.
[89] Muedini, Sponsoring Sufism, 78.
[90] Ibid, 48.
[91] Maghraoui, "The Strengths and Limits of Religious Reforms in Morocco," 195.

constructed this particular type and made it highly visible through media, mosques, religious institutions and festivals.

2. Discourse analysis of the official Moroccan Islam

In this chapter, I will analyze ten of the king's speeches on Islam as well as the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowment's Imam Guidebook. I will discuss four topics discussed in these speeches and the guide: how Islam is defined; arguments for following the Malakite, Asharite and Sufi traditions; the relation between the Moroccan identity and Islam and the Commandership of the Faithful in relation to Islam.

Category 1: Definition of Islam

In his speeches, the king continuously defines Islam as a religion of peace and tolerance. He stresses how Moroccan Islam is kind hearted, open-minded, modern and facilitates political stability for Moroccans. Furthermore, he denounces radical or extremist forms of Islam as influences from abroad or simply not Islamic: "Those who engage in terrorism, in the name of Islam, are not Muslims."[92] Through his speeches the King re-defines Islamic terms to fit his own interpretation of Islam, whilst moving it away from interpretations he aims to counter. In this way, the official Moroccan Islam serves as a counter narrative to other interpretations within Islam:

> *This urgent demand can only be achieved through the collective mobilization of all advocates of moderate Islam and its Sunni approach, in order to block the path of extremism, terrorism, fragmentation, division and deviant doctrines.*[93]

He endorses Sunni Islam and Sufism, both essential aspects of official Moroccan Islam, as the means through which to counter the influence of doctrines that are not considered Sunni Islam or *madhhab* traditionalism.

[92] "An-nuṣṣ al-kāmil lil-khitāb as-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi jalālat al-mālik ilā l-umma bimunāsiba adh-dhikrā 63 lithawrat al-mālik wash-sha'b," Maroc, accessed on May 14, 2017, http://www.maroc.ma/ar/النص-أنشطة/والشعب-الملك-لثورة-63-لذكرى-بمناسبة-الأمة-إلى-الملك-جلالة-وجهه-الذي-السامي-للخطاب-الكامل.

[93] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fās," Maroc, accessed on May 20, 2017, http://www.maroc.ma/ar/message-royal-ar/أنشطة-ملكية.

Terms like '*jihād*', '*ijtihād*' and 'sharia' are given an explicitly different content than in interpretations of Islam that the Moroccan government considers extremist. In three instances,[94] the King mentions how only he has the right to perform *ijtihād* as the Commander of Faithful and how it should be used to create "a harmonious blend between traditional values and modern creativity."[95] *Jihād*, according to the king, is only valid when called for by the Commander of the Faithful and will not be rewarded by a number of virgins.[96] In another instance, he mentions *jihād* as a Sufi exercise in order to purify the inner self.[97] The same applies to the use of the term 'sharia'. In the three instances that he has named the term,[98] he has only used it in combination with "*ṭāriqa*" – which is a Sufi term for 'path' or a broader term for 'Sufi brotherhood'. This implies that the king bundles sharia with *ṭāriqa*. The phrase "Sharia and *ṭāriqa* are in perfect balance*"* also demonstrates this: without the Sufi path or brotherhood, sharia is not complete. In this manner, the King has reclaimed these terms and used them it to legitimize his version of Islam, since these words are inextricably linked to Islam as a whole. The new use of these terms demonstrates that he aims to counter religious extremism whilst also producing a counter narrative, by attributing a new meaning.

The Imam Guidebook defines Islam mainly as a cultural force that is specific for the Moroccan nation and culture. The book does not justify the choice for the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism. Apparently, that is a given. Instead, it addresses how historically the Asharite Malikite rite has formed a lasting resistance against doctrinal deviations and how it has always managed to facilitate unity amongst

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[94]"Al-khiṭāb l-maliki s-sāmī aladhī wajhihi ṣāḥib l-jalālat al-malik Muḥammad aS-Sādis ilā l-umma bimunasabati dhikrā 'īd l-'arsh," Maroc, accessed on May 15, 2017, http://www.maroc.ma/ar/الملك-جلالة-يوجه-خطابا-ساميا-إلى-الأمة-بمناسبة-الذكرى-الرابعة-عشر-لاعتلاء-جلالته-عرش-أسلافه-الميامين;
"Nuṣṣ al-khāṭibi aladhīi wajhihi jalālat al-malik ilā l-umma bimunāsibati dh-dhikrā 15 li'īd al-'arsh al-majīd," Maroc, accessed on May 10, 2017, http://www.maroc.ma/ar/نص-الخطاب-الذي-وجهه-جلالة-الملك-إلى-الأمة-بمناسبة-الذكرى-15-لعيد-العرش-المجيد/خطابات-ملكية;
"Ar-risālat al-malikiyya," Aktab, accessed on May 15, 2017, http://www.aktab.ma/sidichiker/الرسالة-الملكية_a14.html
[95] "Al-khiṭāb l-maliki s-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi ṣāḥib l-jalālat al-malik Muḥammad aS-Sādis ilā l-umma bimunasabati dhikrā 'īd l-'arsh."
[96] "An-nuṣṣ al-kāmil lil-khitāb as-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi jalālat al-mālik ilā l-umma bimunāsibat adh-dhikrā 63 lithawrat al-mālik wash-sha'b."
[97] "Ar-risālat al-malikiyya."
[98] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fas̄;"
Ar-risālat al-malikiyya."

nations in times of religious polemics.[99] In addition to this, the Imam Guidebook considers official Moroccan Islam to entail something different than a juridical methodology: "It constitutes civilizational and social heritage, a religious identity, a unifying force."[100] It has become a "mode of living, a way of thinking, an architectural theme and a social identity" that is specific for Moroccans.[101] It assumes a modality in which all Moroccans are culturally homogenous, Muslim and follow the official Moroccan Islam as promoted by the government. The guide goes on to mention how the psychological influences of the Malikite Asharite traditions on the Moroccan culture and mind are profound. As a result of this, the population is harmonized with its surroundings and has the tendency to retain the stability of a society like a second nature.[102] This illustrates that the Imam Guidebook defines the Malikite and Asharite traditions as an instrument embodies and transmits Moroccan culture and it social identity. Even though the Malikite school of law and the Asharite tradition of theology are religious beliefs, the Imam Guidebook does not define their religious principles. Instead, it equates them with identity and civilizational heritage.

Category 2: Malikite, Asharite and Sufi schools

Whereas the Imam Guidebook does not justify the choice for the Malikite, Asharite and Sufi schools, the King does. In several of his speeches, he politicizes Sufism by framing it as the antithesis to extremism and political Islam:

> *[Religious doubt] was propagated by the dark image spread by the extremists. This confirms the necessity of reviving Sufi schools and doctrines in order to heal and harness souls and to restore the balance between matter and spirit, in the light of Islam's tolerant moderation.*[103]

[99] *Dalīl al-imām wal-khāṭib wā'idh*, (Rabat: Dār Rābiṭa Muḥammadiyya, 2005), 6.
[100] *Ibid,* 7.
[101] *Ibid,* 8.
[102] *Ibid,* 10.
[103] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fās."

Rhetorically, the king constantly repeats this opposition: "promoting Moroccan Islam and combatting blind extremism,"[104] "Sufi's bear the responsibility of facing the challenge of fanaticism,"[105] and "they [Salafists] could not be further away from the true Islam [of the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism]."[106] Sufism is constructed as the embodiment of tolerance, stability and moderation. The Sufi is put forward as the society's example, while other interpretations embody fanaticism, extremism and bigotry. The implication is that terrorist attacks took place because of a lack of the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism and that they should be followed because it is the opposite of extremism.

Another argument that the king uses to stress the truthfulness of official Moroccan Islam is that it is consistent with Islam. Without further explaining it, the king calls it the flawless approach of the *sunna*[107] and the only true image of Islam.[108] By stating so, the king combats any other interpretation and claims the monopoly on the truth without leaving any space for other interpretations within Islam.

The king further reasons that Sufism should be followed because it is apolitical. Politics is an earthly pursuit, according to the king, which means that true Muslims stay away from it:

> *It should be noted here that all Sufi shrines have to remain true to the concept of purity upon which they are founded. And remove them from earthly pursuits. Sufi disciples should stay away from acts and attitudes, give up any quest for worldly rewards and seek higher goals, instead.*[109]

[104] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fās."
[105] Ibid.
[106] "An-nuṣṣ al-kāmil lil-khitāb as-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi jalālat al-mālik ilā l-umma bimunāsibat adh-dhikrā 63 lithawrat al-mālik wash-sha'b."
[107] "Ar-risālat al-malikiyya."
[108] "Al-khāṭib as-sāmī aladhī alqāh jalālat al-malik bimunāsibati tar'us jalālatihi ḥafl tanṣīb 'a'dā' al-majlis al-a'lā limu'sasa Muḥammad as-Sadis lil'ulamā' al-afāriqat," Maroc, accessed on May 14, 2017, http://www.maroc.ma/ar/الخطاب-السامي-الذي-ألقاه-جلالة-الملك-بمناسبة-ترؤس-جلالته-حفل-تنصيب-أعضاء-المجلس-العلمي-الأعلى.
[109] "Ar-risālat al-malikiyya."

Numerous times during other speeches the king has made clear how Sufism "is indeed one of the characteristic spiritual and ethical components of the Moroccan identity."[110] Additionally, the king often stresses how a Moroccan is a good citizen if he or she observes the obligation towards the Commandership and the preservation of cultural specificities of Morocco.[111] In three simplified steps this means that (1) Sufism should be or is apolitical, (2) Sufism is part of Moroccan identity and culture and (3) a Moroccan citizen should preserve the Moroccan identity and culture. This simplification demonstrates that the King essentially calls for citizens to be apolitical and to accept the Commandership of the Faithful as the religious and political authority. The official Moroccan Islam, as presented by the studied discourses, is in the service of this mission and represents the interests of the Moroccan monarchy.

Although the King extensively addresses why a Moroccan should accept Sufism, he is less elaborate on why one should follow the Malikite school of law and Asharite tradition of theology. This is also probably the case, because he perceives the three components as an indivisible bundle. Generally he uses two arguments: First of all, he mentions that the Malikite school of law and Asharite tradition of theology legitimize the belief in Sufism. Second of all, he stresses that they are both part of Moroccan heritage and culture, for instance when he says that Moroccans "have to abide by Moroccan laws and respect sacred national and religious values, mainly the Malikite and Asharite rite."[112] This implies that, according to the king, a Moroccan should follow the Malikite school of law and Asharite tradition of theology because an individual is simply Moroccan.

[110] "Ar-risālat al-malikiyya."
[111] Ibid.
[112] "An-nuṣṣ l-kāmil li-khitābin ṣāḥib al-jalālat al-malik Muḥammad as-Sādis bimunāsibati dh-dhikrā 62 lithawrat al-malik wash-sha'b," Maroc, accessed on May 12, 2017, http://www.maroc.ma/ar/الكامل-النص-ملكية-خطابات/والشعب-الملك-لثورة-62-الذكرى-بمناسبة-السادس-محمد-الملك-الجالسة-صاحب-لخطاب;
"Al-khiṭāb l-maliki s-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi ṣāḥib l-jalālat al-malik Muḥammad aS-Sādis ilā l-umma bimunasabati dhikrā 'īd l-'arsh."
"Al-khāṭib as-sāmī aladhī alqāh jalālat al-malik bimunāsibati tar'us jalālatihi ḥafl tanṣīb 'a'dā' al-majlis al-a'lā limu'sasa Muḥammad as-Sadis lil'ulamā' al-afāriqat."

Category 3: Relation between Islam and national identity

Both the Imam Guidebook and in the king's speeches emphasize the idea that Morocco has a unique status when it comes to culture and religion.[113] They indicate that Moroccans have one unique aspect in common: Being Moroccan and Muslim.

Ours is a typically Moroccan approach in the practice of Islam[.][114]

This is presented as an established fact: Moroccans' "unwavering commitment to the nation's unchangeable values" serves as the essence of the nation.[115] This is an idea of exclusivity, as Morocco's approach to Islam is being imagined as unique, and therefore different from other nations. It follows that Islam is divided along national lines, according to the king and ministry.

In King Mohammed VI's rhetoric, Islam is constantly put forward as a unifying force of the Moroccan nation. During every speech on Islam, but also in the Imam Guidebook, emphasis is placed on the fact that it is the first and foremost aim of the government's policy to achieve unity: "This exalted meeting [with Sufi's] is held as part of the wise policy that we are aiming for with the firm conviction and clear vision to achieve unity."[116] According to the king, Islam's role is to bring hearts together and to unite the *umma* of Morocco.[117] The concept of unity of the Moroccan nation through Moroccan Islam is the overarching theme in his discourse on Moroccan Islam and in the Imam Guidebook. The concept of unity is built on three pillars that facilitate this unity: the God-given Commandership of the Faithful, Sufi Islam as the politicized 'good' Islam and Moroccan Islam as a cultural force.[118]

[113] *Dalīl al-imām wal-khāṭib wā'idh,* 5.
[114] "Al-khiṭāb l-maliki s-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi ṣāḥib l-jalālat al-malik Muḥammad aS-Sādis ilā l-umma bimunasabati dhikrā 'īd l-'arsh."
[115] Ibid.
[116] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fās."
[117] Ibid.
[118] *Dalīl al-imām wal-khāṭib wā'idh*, 4.

During his speeches, the king emphasizes that Morocco's identity is based on it divine chosen position. This is based on Morocco's link with Sufism and the Commandership of the Faithful. First of all, he has stated that Sufi saints historically chose Morocco as their spiritual seat because they were aware of Morocco's commitment to Islam and the prophetic traditions. Sufi beliefs support that *awliya' Allah* – or saintly pious individuals – are closer to God than other less pious believers and may receive *ilham* – or divine inspiration. It also takes for granted that Sufis chose Morocco, because Morocco facilitated the idea of a true Islam, which is, in fact, Sufi Islam. Another dimension of the argument is that the monarchy has been committed to the Commandership of the Faithful. The king characterizes the Commandership as a pillar of Sunni Islam and the source of security, unity and cohesion for the Moroccan people. This last aspect demonstrates the dual function of the Commander of the Faithful: He is both responsible for politically leading a unified nation, while embodying one of the pillars of Sunni Islam.

In the speeches on Moroccan official Islam, the King essentially discusses an identity in which Islam and Morocco completely merge: "Is there any reason why we should give up our traditions and forsake our cultural values - which are rooted in tolerance and moderation - in order to embrace a different doctrine that has nothing to do with our ethics or the way we were brought up?" This means that the defining point of official Moroccan Islam is its cultural "Moroccanness". In comparison, the discourse is rarely about belief in God, ritual building blocks like *salat* and *hajj*, or other transcendental issues. Instead, secular issues and concepts have been prominent such as security, political stability, social cohesion, Moroccan cultural identity, balancing religious tradition with modernity, tolerance and the fight against extremism. By doing so, it endorses religion, but mainly as a cultural shell and heritage. It fails to address religious issues in their content, whilst the term is deployed polemically against 'foreign' influences that would threaten the culture. This is further illustrated when the Moroccan king discusses Middle Eastern influences on Morocco and refugees: "These refugees have to follow Moroccan law and respect sacred

national and religious values."[119] This demonstrates that the discourse radiates a strategy that endorses a certain interpretation of Islam, but nearly only as a cultural force to counter Islamic extremism and political Islam, whilst inextricably linking Islam to Moroccan identity.

Category 4: Commandership of the Faithful

The Commandership of the Faithful is one of the main recurring themes in the speeches of the king when discussing Moroccan Islam. It is also one of the four directives of Moroccan Islam as laid out by the Imam Guidebook, as said earlier. Both in the speeches and in the guide, the Commandership is explained as a concept that serves Moroccan believers or citizens:

> *In the presence of the Commandership of Believers, the Moroccan citizen feels spiritual security because of his guarantee of the right of exercising and expressing his religion. These Moroccan mosques, with their traditional and authentic architecture, performs the call to prayer five times a day for security, safety and peace for people, for all people. And thus, because the mosques proclaim that their faith is placed under the protection of the Commander of the Faithful, peace and serenity is felt in their hearts.*[120]

In line with this, the King often calls himself the first servant of the nation, who is burdened with the task of overseeing the religious domain, leading the nation and preserving its unity.[121] The obligations of the 'other servants' of the nation include observing the duties towards the Commandership of the Faithful as the legitimate authority.[122] The vocabulary of a hierarchy of servants is consistent with terms within Sufi orders, in which all members strive to achieve a common spiritual goal. It affirms a worldview in which all are members of the same body, with some members having a higher

[119] "An-nuṣṣ l-kāmil li-khitābin ṣāḥib al-jalālat al-malik Muḥammad as-Sādis bimunāsibati dh-dhikrā 62 lithawrat al-malik wash-sha'b."
[120] *Dalīl al-imām wal-khāṭib wā'idh*, 32.
[121] "Al-khiṭāb l-maliki s-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi ṣāḥib l-jalālat al-malik Muḥammad as-Sādis ilā l-umma bimunasabati dhikrā 'īd l-'arsh."
[122] "Ar-risālat al-malikiyya."

position of religious authority or more *baraka* than others within the body.[123] The king is essentially applying the character of obedience of the Sufi master-disciple relation to a national structure of a monarch and his subjects. It follows that accepting the religious and political authority of the monarch as the master and first servant is one of the fundamental rules of being admitted to the 'Sufi' body of the Moroccan nation. Secondly, the king often refers back to his lineage as a descendant of the prophet.[124] Similarly, this concept of hereditary *baraka* through prophetic descent is present in most forms of Sufism in Morocco.[125] By promoting and calling upon Sufism's symbols and rituals, the king legitimizes Sufi's belief system of *baraka* while reinforcing his own legitimacy as king and Commander of the Faithful.

Apart from the reproduced master-disciple relation, Sufism also plays a more direct role in symbiosis with the Commandership of the Faithful. In several speeches, the king directly assured Sufis of his loyalty and solicitude.[126] This loyalty is a two-way street: On top of promising his support, he requested Sufi's to pray for the monarch during Sufi rituals and meetings.[127] The discourse suggests symbiosis, in which the monarch supports Sufism morally and financially, while asking for legitimization of his authority from Sufi orders. The king further dwells on this relationship between the monarchy and Sufism in terms of history:

> *Under the leadership of my faithful ancestors, Morocco has been faithful to a long tradition of protecting Sufism and Sufi's, honoring their dignitaries and their shrines. As long as they abided by the sunnah of Mohammad and remained committed to the unity of the nation and the community, under the Commandership of the Faithful, which is the*

[123] Abdellah Hammoudi, "The Reinvention of Dar al-mulk: The Moroccan Political System and its Legitimation," in *the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power and Politics in Morocco*, ed. Rahma Bourquia and Susan Gilson Miller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999) 129-175.
[124] "An-nuṣṣ al-kāmil lil-khitāb as-sāmī aladhī wajhuhi jalālat al-mālik ilā l-umma bimunāsibat adh-dhikrā 63 lithawrat al-mālik wash-sha'b."
[125] Dale Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), 7;
Geertz, *Islam Observed,* 26;
Maarouf, *Jinn Eviction as a Discourse of Power,* 24-25;
Eickelman, The *Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach,* 267-270.
[126] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fās."
[127] Ibid.

guardian of the doctrinal unity of the nation and of its territorial integrity.[128]

The construction of this symbiotic relation between the Commander of the Faithful and Sufi's fits into the idea that both are inextricably tied to the essence of Moroccan Islam, since both facilitate the nation's unity. The commandership is a pillar of moderate Sunni Islam and is a mission entrusted by God, according to the king.[129] In turn, Sufi's have historically chosen Morocco according to the discourse, because of the monarchy's dedication to the Commandership of the Faithful.[130] Both actors, Sufi's and the monarch, profit from this alliance, since it affirms symbols and legitimization of religious and politico-religious authority.

[128] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fās."
[129] "Ar-risālat al-malikiyya."
[130] "Amīr al-Mu'minīn yūjahi risāla ilā l-mushārikīn fī l-ijtimā' th-thālith li'atbā' at-tarīqa t-tijāniyya bimadīnati Fās."

3. Netherlands, Islam and the Moroccan Dutch community

In this chapter, we will discuss the context in which the discourse in El Islam and Imam Malik takes place. To be able to do this, the position of the three main actors involved are of significance: The 'presence' of the Moroccan state in Dutch religious spheres, the perspective of the Moroccan Dutch community and the connection of the two mosques to Dutch and Moroccan society.

Morocco in the Netherlands

The Moroccan government has long been concerned with the Moroccan Dutch community and how to bind them to their country.[131] Religion has always been significant in this, since the first meeting of the Amicales – accused of being Rabat's intimidatory long arm – took place in the first Moroccan mosque in the Netherlands in 1974.[132] With a number of 386.000 individuals with a dual Moroccan Dutch nationality, they represent roughly 10% of the diaspora community outside Morocco.[133] According to the Moroccan 41st article of the 2011 constitution, the sitting monarch holds responsibility for giving religious guidance to all Moroccans, including Moroccan subjects abroad.[134] Through his constitutional position as *Amīr al Mu'minīn*, he also claims authority over Moroccans residing outside the national boundaries.[135] The Moroccans in the diaspora themselves have little say in this, because according to Moroccan law they are not able to dispose of their nationality regardless if they have acquired a foreign nationality, and regardless how long and how many generations they have lived abroad.[136] Consequently, this means that holders of the nationality, from

[131] Thijl Sunier, Heleen van der Linden and Ellen van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state? Transnationalism, Islam and nation-building: the case of Turkey and Morocco," *Contemporary Islam* 10 (2016): 401.
[132] Ibid, 411.
[133] "Bevolking per maand; leeftijd, geslacht, herkomst, generatie," CBS, accessed on May 6, 2017, http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=71090ned&HD=170506-2142; El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 62.
[134] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 44.
[135] Ibid, 42-44.
[136] Bouras, "Het Land van Herkomst," 17.

the perspective of Moroccan law, are unable to deny the king's religious authority over all Moroccans.

Morocco has two main reasons why it aims to maintain ties with Moroccans abroad. The first reason is that good relations with Morocco mean that Moroccans abroad are more inclined to transfer money to family members or relations, because they identify with the country. Good relations mean an increased likelihood that Moroccans abroad would financially invest in businesses and houses in the country.[137] The second reason entails political stability and security. The country aims to safeguard its political stability, by having a larger grip on Moroccans abroad through stronger relations. Through increased identification with Morocco and the state, Moroccans abroad are supposed to be less inclined to counter the monarch's authority or to radicalize. The promotion of the official Moroccan Islam in particular, plays an important role in this.[138]

The government has several institutes at his disposal involved in the implementation of religious policies aimed at Moroccans abroad. Foundation Hassan II is responsible for sending imams to European mosques each Ramadan and gives out study materials on the Quran and Arabic.[139] The Moroccan Ministry of Moroccans Abroad establishes Moroccan cultural centers in European cities with the aim to preserve Moroccan culture and Islamic identity. During the Ramadan of 2012, it had also organized meals to break the fasting after sunset.[140] The Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Corporation has organized gatherings for imams. The Moroccan Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments is also partly responsible for sending the imams and founded the Council of Religious Scholars for Europe in 2008.[141]

Many of Morocco's religious policies aimed at the Moroccan Dutch or Moroccans abroad are rarely successful in their efforts. This is mainly due to the political and public sensitivity of the long arm of Rabat in the

[137] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 411-413.
[138] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 48-57.
[139] Ibid, 28.
[140] Ibid, 28.
[141] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 57, 127; El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 57.

Netherlands. The involvement of the Moroccan state with Moroccan Dutch nationals stirs lively debates in Dutch media and politics about territory, foreign influence, but also the loyalty of the citizens involved.[142] Another reason is Morocco's lack of capacity to successfully implement religious policies. According to Kahmann's respondents in her research about transnational ties, occasional relations between - for instance - Moroccan Dutch mosque board members and Moroccan diplomats are often personal and lack a tangible organizational structure.[143] The lack of visibility of the Council of Religious Scholars for Europe in the Moroccan Dutch religious landscape underlines the same conclusion.[144] Nevertheless, many Moroccan Dutch are aware of the Moroccan efforts, such as the delegation imams during Ramadan.[145] It seems that beside Dutch political sensitivity and a Moroccan lack of capacity, the Moroccan Dutch community shows little interests in official Moroccan Islam's association with state politics.

The Moroccan Dutch community

Moroccan Dutch nationals perceive themselves as Muslim first and Moroccan or Dutch second.[146] In literature, scholars have called this the Islamization of identity. This means that many Moroccan Muslims are of the opinion that their sense of belonging to a wider Muslim community is more important than ethnic or national identities.[147] This development coincides with a major transition the wider Muslim community has gone through during the last decades.[148] In the seventies, during the time of family reunification, the institutionalization of religion was set in motion: It was

[142] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 403;
El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 57.
[143] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 57, 127;
El-Katiri, "The Institutionalization of Religious Affairs," 136.
[144] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 415-416.
[145] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 152.
[146] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 403.
[147] J.T. Sunier, "Islam in the Netherlands: A Nation Despite Religious Communities?" in *Religious Newcomers and the Nation State: Political Culture and Organized Religion in France and the Netherlands,* ed. J.T. Sunier and E. Sengers (Delft: Eburon, 2010): 115-121.
[148] O. Roy, *Globalized Islam. The Search for a New Ummah* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005);
J. Cesari, "Muslim Minorities in Europe: The Silent Revolution," in *Modernizing Islam: Religion in the Public Sphere in the Middle East and in Europe*, ed. John L. Esposito & F. Burgut (London: Hurst, 2003), 251-270;
Sipco J. Vellenga, *Mist in de polder: zicht op ontwikkelingen omtrent de islam in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 15;
Maurits S. Berger, "Netherlands," in *The Oxford Handbook of European Islam*, ed. Jocelyne Cesari (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 158-221.

the era in which families had decided to settle in their new country.[149] The transition of Islam had set in with the coming of the second generation of Muslims during the nineties. As a result, Islam had shifted from being a religion of immigrants to being a religion of a religious minority.[150] This is particularly true for second generation Muslims in the Netherlands, who identify increasingly with Islam, distinct from national boundaries.[151] Moroccan Dutch second generation migrants find it important that their mosque and imam engages with topics that deal with topics relevant in the country where they have been born and raised.[152] In comparison with their parents, their Islamic orientation is aimed at the Dutch society and entails a universalistic approach to religious identity, instead of an ethnic-nationalistic one. Through this process, Islam has largely disengaged from the country of origin.[153] Apart from this universalistic Islamic identity, Moroccan Dutch nationals nevertheless also present themselves on the level of other sorts of identities.

The Moroccan Dutch community has the tendency to refer to themselves as a Berber, instead of a Moroccan. Estimations go as high as ninety percent, to claim that a large part of the Moroccan Dutch community is of Northern Imazigh or Berber descent. This group is known to have antiroyalist sentiments, because of ethnic marginalization and wars.[154] Historically Morocco is home to a wide range of different ethnic backgrounds. Yet, the Moroccan state has mostly highlighted the Arab and Muslim elements of its national identity in terms of policies. In the Dutch context, most Moroccans identify as Berber and find it important to do so.[155] Consequently, they mostly distance themselves from governmental initiatives aimed at the preservation of the Moroccan identity.[156]

Members of the Moroccan Dutch community do not always feel as if

[149] Bouras, "Het Land van Herkomst," 166-168.
[150] Cesari, "Muslim Minorities in Europe: The Silent Revolution," 251-270;
Vellenga, *Mist in de polder,* 15.
[151] Berger, "Netherlands," 177.
[152] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 156.
[153] Roy, Globalized Islam.
[154] Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 104-107, 162.
[155] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 59.
[156] Ibid, 122.

they form part of a constructed Dutch society.[157] Migration from Morocco to the country in Western Europe has been taking place in large numbers since the 1960's. Yet, their loyalty to the country they live in is often questioned in media and politics by means of examining the integration and consequences of having a double nationality.[158] Part of the issue is the public and political sensitivity concerning the existence of a relation of influence between Moroccan Dutch and the Moroccan government.[159] Another part of the issue is that the Moroccan Dutch are the second largest Muslim presence in the Netherlands and Islam as a whole is a hotly debated issue since the attacks on 9/11.[160] Coinciding with this tendency, Moroccan Dutch Muslims have the idea that a war is being waged against Islam and Muslims.[161] This ensures that the gap between Muslims and non-Muslims is increasing and has an effect on the religious experience of Moroccan Dutch nationals. On the one hand, Moroccan Dutch nationals would like to be a part of Dutch society as a Muslim, but on the other they are forced to turn to the Islam from Morocco as a result of the lack of Islamic traditions.[162]

Even though Moroccan Dutch nationals identify as Muslim first and maybe as Berber second, they do look to traditions in Morocco for religious guidance.[163] They are aware of that official Moroccan Islam is strongly associated with national political interests and are suspicious of the authorities' intentions. Instead they turn towards Islam *from* Morocco.[164] As they refuse the direct intervention of the Moroccan government, they do look at Morocco in terms of what school of law they follow, how scholars are trained and what religious traditions occur. Some Moroccan Dutch

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[157] H. Ghorashi & U.M. Vieten, "Female Narratives of "New" Citizens' Belonging(s) and Identities in Europe: Case Studies from the Netherlands and Britain," *Identities* 19 (2012): 729;
Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 124.
[158] Youssef Azghari, Erna Hooghiemstra & Fons J.R. van de Vijver, "Young Moroccan-Dutch: Thinking in Dutch, Feeling Moroccan," Muslim Minority Affairs 35 (2015): 280-282;Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid, 31, 60-61, 16.
[159] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid," 31, 60-61, 16-17.
[160] M. Savelkoul et al., "Comparing Levels of Anti-Muslim Attitudes Across Western Countries," *Qual Quant* 46 (2012): 1618;
Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 32;
Ghorashi and Vieten, "Female Narratives of "New" Citizens' Belonging(s) and Identities in Europe," 729;
Vellenga, *Mist in de polder,* 9.
[161] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 157.
[162] Ibid, 157.
[163] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 414.
[164] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 153;
Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 414.

individuals adopt Wahhabist or Salafist Islam. Most Moroccan Dutch nationals, however, follow the Malikite school of law.[165] This is because it gives a sense of recognition and security. They deem it better than 'foreign', 'radical' or 'Salafist' influences.[166] This demonstrates that the preference for Islam from Morocco is determined by the image of foreign forms of Islam. In practice this means that they adhere to the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism and place authority in religious scholars instead of the king.

Nevertheless, more push and pull factors are involved when it comes to the Moroccan Dutch community and the adherence to the official Moroccan Islam. In her dissertation, Kahmann reports a story of how Moroccan authorities tried to push Moroccan Dutch Muslims to adopt Moroccan fasting times. In this case the attempt was unsuccessful, because the Moroccan Dutch involved considered the unity of the wider Muslim community more important than to follow the Moroccan state.[167] In the same manner, the Moroccan state is not in the position to push Moroccan Dutch individuals to recognize the religious authority of the king as Commander of the Faithful or to always make use of standardized state sermons. Consequently, they are not compelled to do so. [168]

On other matters, the Moroccan Dutch are in need of the institutional framework that the official Moroccan Islam offers. The Moroccan Dutch religious community often lacks in religious traditions or knowledge and Moroccan Dutch mosque boards often have a hard time to find suitable imams. Although they prefer to find imams independently, sometimes the help of the Moroccan authorities is needed. Additionally, the Moroccan state is the only one who can facilitate repatriation for burials on religious grounds. [169] Also, Moroccan Dutch couples depend on Moroccan religious family law and the consulate to be able to marry.[170] The Moroccan Dutch community might not always want to get involved in state policies on Islam,

[165] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 414.
[166] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 152.
[167] Ibid, 147.
[168] Ibid, 153.
[169] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 412;
Bouras, "Het Land van Herkomst," 123-140.
[170] Kahmann, "Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse overheid," 124.

but in some cases they have to when it serves their interests.

Mosques

Both studied mosques – El Islam and Imam Malik – are loosely and vaguely associated with the Moroccan state through their affiliation with UMMON. In general, Moroccan mosques in the Netherlands operate independently from one another.[171] However, a group of Moroccan organizations founded UMMON – Union of Moroccan Muslim Organizations Netherlands in 1977 for the purpose of creating unity on the timing of the Ramadan.[172] UMMON's imams are generally recruited through family or regional connections, from itinerant imams or – when necessary - are sent by the Moroccan Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments.[173] Several Moroccan Dutch figures have accused UMMON of being a dependency of the Moroccan king.[174] The organization itself states that it has never represented the Moroccan state. However, there has always been a large amount of contact between the Moroccan embassy to the Netherlands and UMMON.[175] One way or another, affiliation to UMMON reveals little about El-Islam and Imam Malik's relationship with Morocco, because the organization is called loose to the extent that the organizations itself do not know how many mosques adhere to it.[176]

Both mosques are rooted in Dutch society through organizations, initiatives but also their architecture. The first example of this is that Imam Malik is part of the umbrella organization named *Raad van Marokkaanse Moskeeen Nederland*. RMMN had been active in promoting the idea that Moroccan Dutch mosque attendees should vote in the elections of March 2017. It had also created an online voting assistant in order to learn which political party represents the interests of Moroccan Muslims the most. When Minister Asscher of Social Affairs visited the Imam Malik in 2016, the RMMN

[171] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 401.
[172] Eric Roose, *The Architectural Representation of Islam: Muslim-Commissioned Mosque Design in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 184.
[173] Ibid, 185.
[174] Mohammed Rabbae, *Naast de Amicales nu de UMMON: De Mantelorganisaties van de Marokkaanse autoriteiten in Nederland* (Utrecht: Nederlands Centrum Buitenlanders, 1993).
[175] Eric Roose, *The Architectural Representation of Islam,* 185.
[176] Sunier, van der Linden and van de Bovenkamp, "The long arm of the state?" 401.

was also present to speak about the disadvantaged position of the Moroccan Dutch community. RMMN and Imam Malik's adherence to this umbrella organization demonstrate their involvement in Dutch social and political life.

Beside from Imam Malik's membership of the RMMN, both mosques have an active social role in the broader society. El Islam structurally cooperates with the municipality of The Hague and social organizations.[177] Throughout the year, Imam Malik organizes free tutoring classes for young high school students from any background. Additionally, in the past, the mosque's extensive facilities were used for neighborhood meetings.[178] In 2015, the mosque hosted a conference for the municipality of Leiden on issues of radicalization.

The architecture of both mosques also illustrates their symbolic relation with their surroundings. El Islam's style demonstrates a mixture of Morocco and the Netherlands: Built in 1997, it is a mix of Moroccan-associated forms and local materials, which fit the materials used in the surrounding buildings.[179] Like El-Islam, the mosque has both Dutch and Moroccan elements in its architecture. For the commissioners of Imam Malik it was important that the building would radiate a Moroccan atmosphere, while blending in with the surrounding buildings. In and around the mosque, all kinds of symbols that refer to Islam's earlier presence in Europe are incorporated – like the Andalusian eight-pointed star. The architecture of both mosques demonstrate that they aim to be a part of Dutch society and European Islam, while maintaining Moroccan traditions.

Both mosques identify as being Morocco-oriented because of the large proportion of Moroccan Dutch attendees.[180] Also both mosques follow the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and incorporate Sufism. The chair of the El Islam, Ali Belhaj, is one of the stricter adherents to Islam from Morocco: "As Moroccans we did not use to have a second or

[177] Welmoet Boender, *Imam in Nederland: opvattingen over zijn religieuze rol in de samenleving (*Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2007), 172.
[178] "Moderne moskee is meer dan gebedshuis, zeker tijdens Ramadan," Elsevier, accessed on May 3, 2017, http://www.elsevier.nl/nederland/article/2015/06/moderne-moskee-is-meer-dan-gebedshuis-zeker-tijdens-ramadan-1780858W/
[179] Boender, *Imam in Nederland,* 171.
[180] "Over ons."

third school. There was only Maliki school: That was Morocco." [181] Additionally the lecturer and former imam, Alkhammar Al-Baqqali, is predominantly educated in the Moroccan Qarawiyyīn tradition of Malikite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism.[182] In the case of Imam Malik, the choice of the name of the mosque is also a part of proclaiming their stance: the board thinks that being Moroccan goes hand in hand with following the *madhhab* traditionalism of Anas ibn Mālik or Imam Mālik, one of the founders of the four *madhhab*s.

All imams and lecturers of both mosques predominantly received their education in traditional religious institutes in Morocco. The Moroccan Khammar El-Baqqali had been an imam in El-Islam since its founding in 1997 and is one of the central figures in the mosque.[183] Since a few years, he has largely retired from being an imam, but still comes regularly to give lectures. He has been a prominent campaigner for a counter narrative against the influence of Salafism among the Moroccan Dutch community. He sees it as an absolute necessity to react to the emergence of the Salafist movement in the Netherlands. [184] Lecturers of the Imam Malik, Said Mokadmi and Mohamed Aarab have a role just as prominent in debates within the Muslim community on Salafism. Mohammed Aarab is an important stakeholder of the institute founded to promote *madhhab* traditionalism in the Netherlands, Sunni Instituut. [185] Like Al-Bakkali, Mokadmi was also taught at Qarawiyyīn in Fes. Although all associated lecturers and imam advocate a strong *madhhab* traditionalism and/or Sufi doctrine during their lectures, the imams Abdelhamid Belkasmi of Imam Malik and Mhamed Rahmani of El-Islam never pray for the Moroccan king specifically, as is the case in state monitored sermons.

[181] Eric Roose, *The Architectural Representation of Islam,* 198.
[182] Boender, *Imam in Nederland,* 180.
[183] "Over ons."
[184] Boender, *Imam in Nederland,* 179.
[185] "Mohamed Aarab," Sunni Instituut, accessed on May 7, 2017, http://sunni-instituut.nl/sunni-instituut.nl/mohamed-aarab/

4. Discourse Analysis on Imam Malik & El-Islam

In this chapter, I will analyze lectures and religious classes from both El-Islam in The Hague and from Imam Malik in Leiden. Both El-Islam and Imam Malik preach the Malikite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism during classes and lectures on subjects like *'aqīda, fiqh*, Sufism and Islam. I will discuss four categories based on these lectures and religious classes by Alkhammar Al-Bakkali from El-Islam, Said Mokadmi and Mohamed Aarab from Imam Malik: how Islam is defined; arguments for following the Malakite, Asharite and Sufi traditions; the relation between the Moroccan identity and Islam and the Commandership of the Faithful in relation to Islam.

Category 1: Definition of Islam

Lecturers of both mosques defined Islam and following the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism as part of the larger *madhhab* system. Although the choice for the Malikite school of law was made clear, lecturers of both mosques stressed the point of the legitimacy of following one of the other three schools of law. Al-Bakkali stated that "You will never reach the truth as only God is the Truth. As a Malikite, I believe our view on Islamic issues, but I also know that another school could be correct. That is what "*Allāhu a'lam*"[186] means." Mokadmi of Imam Malik said that "It does not matter which *madhhab* you follow, as long as you follow one."[187] This last point was underlined by the fact that Mokadmi often mentioned the Hanafite position on religious issues. "You follow Abū Ḥanīfa, right?" while pointing at a student, "Yes, the same [religious principle] goes for you."[188] This demonstrates that the concept of unity of belief is less important compared to the value of differences of opinion, as long as one stays within the four schools of law. In another instance, Mokadmi did express slight disapproval of one the schools of law. After a

[186] This is a proverb often mentioned after pronouncing a religious opinion. It is often translated as "God knows best".
[187] Said Mokadmi, Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik, Course "Aqidah en Fiqh", autumn 2015.
[188] Ibid.

question of a student, Mokadmi stated that of all four schools of law, the Hanbali is the odd one.[189] This may either refer to the occasional Hanbalite disapproval of Sufism and established principles of the Asharite and Maturidite schools of theology.[190] Or it may also refer to the Hanbalite connection to Salafism and –particularly – Wahhabism, which clearly denounces Sufism.[191] Again, it suggests that the belief in the general *madhhab* traditionalism of all four schools of law is set up against the disapproval of Salafism. This is very much underlined by Al-Bakkali's opinion on the matter: "Following a school of law is important. Not following one means that you are following Salafism. And Salafism means trouble. Everywhere where it is, Salafism brings trouble. […] Following a school of law goes against the influence of Saudi-Arabia and the influence of Salafism."[192]

Both mosques loosely defined what the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism stand for. As said before, it is made clear that lecturers from both mosques place it within a larger framework of *madhhab*s. Mokadmi made several statements such as "according to our *fiqh*, the *fiqh* of imam Mālik, there is only one time in which the sunset-prayer may be performed. […]Ḥanafī *fiqh* says the same."[193] This is similar for El-Islam. In both mosques, lecturers highlighted all juridical matters from a Malikite perspective, while sometimes comparing it to other schools of law. During one class, Mokadmi stated that the Malikite school of law has a different ordering of *fiqh* sources. He mentioned a story about Anas ibn Mālik who believed that the arms should not be folded during ritual prayer, because he placed more authority on the lived *sunna* of the people of the city of Medina than in orally transmitted traditions on the same matter.[194] Aarab of Imam Malik defined Sufism as "the science that concerns the acts of the heart and other matters like

[189] Course "Aqidah en Fiqh."
[190] H. Laoust, "Ḥanābila," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman et al., accessed online on May 1, 2017.
[191] Nabil Mouline, *The Clerics of Islam: Religious Authority and Political Power in Saudi Arabia* (New Haven & Londen: Yale University Press, 2014), 8.
[192] Alkhammar Al-Bakkali, Masjid El-Islam, Lecture "Kennis in de Islam," September 4, 2016.
[193] Course "Aqidah en Fiqh."
[194] Ibid.

sincerity."[195] Al-Bakkali defined it as half of the religion.[196] However, none of the lecturers defined the Asharite tradition of theology, apart from confirming it was a part of the larger system and that it rejects Salafism's anthropomorphism.[197]

Category 2: Malikite, Asharite and Sufi schools

Lecturers of both mosques gave arguments for why to follow a *madhhab,* without extensively addressing the choice for the specific Malikite school of law. On this matter, lecturers of El-Islam were generally more outspoken, although Imam Malik also mentioned similar arguments on following *madhhab*s several times.

> *You need to understand a* madhhab *before you can understand Quran and sunna. Without it, you will never understand sharia. It is comparable with biology and the study of cells: You cannot just look at the cells with the naked eye; you need a microscope in order to draw conclusions. The same goes for Islam. You need a* madhhab *in order to be able to approach sharia.*[198]

The quote demonstrates that the lecturer is of the opinion that Islam can only be approached through accepting the authority of a school of law. By comparing it to biology, he is claiming that followers of *madhhab* traditionalism have the tools to approach the truth, suggesting that those that do not use a school of law are, in effect, uninformed and unequipped.

Lecturers of both mosques mentioned another argument on the authority of schools of law. Their argument is that following a school of law is equal to following the infallibility of the consensus of religious scholars through history or the *umma*:

[195] Mohamed Aarab, Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik, Lecture "De Wetenschap van de Tasawwuf", August 27, 2016.
[196] Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna."
[197] Said Mokadmi, Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik, Lecture "Islam en sektes deel 1", Oktober 22, 2016.
[198] Lecture "Kennis in de Islam."

> ‘ulamā’’ *have been able to form* ijmā’ *[religious consensus] over the authority of the* maddhabs *for over a thousand years. As Muslims, it is our duty to follow the consensus of the* umma*. Since the messenger – peace be upon him – has transmitted to Abū Dawūd that* ‘Allah *will not cause my* umma *to agree on misguidance.’ The* umma *is infallible.*[199]

The lecturer of El-Islam reported a similar argument: “Most Muslims have always accepted the framework of these [four] imams.”[200] Mokadmi of Imam Malik uses a deductive argument in combination with a prophetic tradition. It demonstrates that both theology and a historical narrative are used to make evident that the true authority lies with the four schools of law.

The lecturer of Imam Malik, Said Mokadmi, also justifies the authority of the schools of law by stating that religious scholars are experts on religion and that ‘regular’ believers should therefore rely on them.

> *These days we have developed a so-called critical academic way of thinking. Now we think that we are all able to draw conclusions about the Quran and sunna. But we do not have the capability. And some say “yes, but I have a hadith that says the opposite.” Do you really think that these scholars do not know this hadith? […] We do not treat our [medical] doctors like that. We respect their expertise. Why can we not do the same with our scholars?*[201]

This means that, in terms of religious knowledge, scholars have an elevated position of expertise that should be recognized and followed. He is pointing out that some draw religious conclusions, without having studied for it. He equates producing Islamic knowledge with producing knowledge on any scientific domain, in which only the experts have the rights and means to form religious conclusions.

[199] Lecture “Islam en sektes deel 1.”
[200] Lecture “Kennis in de Islam.”
[201] Said Mokadmi, Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik, Lecture “Islam en sektes deel 2”, Oktober 30, 2016.

Lecturers from both mosques also gave arguments for following Sufism, as an essential part of Islam. During several lectures, the lecturers stated that it is impossible to be a true good Muslim without incorporating Sufism. The lecturer of Imam Malik, Mohammed Aarab, defined Sufism to be "the science that concerns the acts of the heart and other matters like sincerity."[202] Al-Bakkali, from El-Islam stated:

> *Sufism supports following the* fiqh*. Therefore Sufism is essential. The one who either neglects Sufism or the* fiqh*, loses half of the religion.*[203]

On another instance, a lecturer of El-Islam claimed that "if a person has no [Sufi] shaykh, Shayṭān will become his shaykh."[204] After that, he quoted the Quranic verse "Then We placed thee upon a clear path from the Command; so follow it, and follow not the caprices of those who know."[205] Historically, a majority of the Muslim scholars interpreted "the path" in this verse as one that leads to the truth on which God has placed the prophet Mohammed, as opposed to the path on which God has placed the Israelites.[206] In this instance, the speaker aimed to back up his claim about the importance of following the path of Sufi masters. He did so by mentioning this Quranic verse, in which 'path' or '*sharī*' ' may be interpreted as the Sufi path of the Master. Additionally, this verse highlights the authority of scholars, by disapproving of following those without knowledge.

The lecturers of El-Islam mentioned that they followed the Asharite tradition of theology without specifying arguments. Imam Malik, however, gave arguments for following the Asharite tradition of theology. It stressed the rejection of the idea of anthropomorphism of God several times, concerning matters of theology:

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[202] Mohamed Aarab, Islamitisch Centrum Imam Malik, Lecture "De Wetenschap van de Tasawwuf", August 27, 2016.
[203] Alkhammar Al-Bakkali, Masjid El-Islam, Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna," November 13, 2016.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Q 45:18
Translation from: Seyyed Hossein Nasr (editor), *The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2015), 1220.
[206] Ibid, 1220.

> *The Salafi scholar ibn 'Uthaymayn says that Allah the Exalted runs from location to location. […]* Astaghfirullah.*[207] May Allah the Exalted protect our* umma *from these* ḥashwiyya[*208*] *whose way of thinking is equal to switching off the good sense. The Ash'aris, like all Sunni's, have winnowed the wheat from the chaff for centuries on the basis of established principles.*[209]

This quote demonstrates that following the Asharite tradition of theology is (1) set off against believing in the theology of Salafism, (2) holds religious authority because Asharite scholars have been forming religious opinions for centuries, (3) part of Sunni Islam and (4) based on established principles. In the case of El-Islam, the arguments are less clear, since they are largely omitted. This omission suggests that there is certain self-evidence to following the Asharite tradition of theology. Nevertheless, Al-Bakkali mentioned, one time, that followers of the Hanafite school of law generally follow the Maturidite school of theology whilst followers of the Malikite school of law follow the Asharite tradition of theology. He added that there is not a lot of difference between these two schools.[210] This suggests that belief in the Asharite principles follows from adherence to the Malikite school of law and is therefore also based on matters of Moroccan identity. This would support the point of its self-evidence.

Lecturers of both mosques also argued that a Muslim should follow a school of law, because the alternative – Salafism – is the 'wrong' way of practicing. Following a school of law is outspokenly presented as the only Sunni Islam in both mosques.[211] This means that if a believer would not accept the religious authority of one of the four schools of law, the mosques do not consider the individual as a Sunni Muslim. It suggests that the mosques aim to claim the historical term Sunni or *Ahl al-sunna* in order to coin or define themselves as opposed to non-Sunni's. Through it, the

[207] An Arabic term in the tenth stem of GH-F-R which has the meaning here of "I seek the forgiveness of God". The term is also often used to express indignation for the sins of another Muslim individual.
[208] A pejorative historical term that is often used for a group of people that are accused of being literalist in their interpretation of Islam.
[209] Lecture "Islam en sektes deel 1."
[210] Lecture "Kennis in de Islam."
[211] Course "Aqidah en Fiqh."

discourses in the mosques specify their doctrine as belonging to the genealogy of Sunni tradition, which entails the idea that it is the only branch of Islam which truly follows the *sunna* of the prophet and that the other Islamic branches have introduced *bid'a* - or forbidden religious innovations. In many ways, the vocal expression of belonging to the true Sunni's relates to a battle against the influence of Salafism.[212] Mokadmi and Al-Bakkali have both used terms like Sunni Islam or *Ahl as-sunna* as opposed to '*ḥashwiyya'*, 'Kharijites' and 'pseudo-Salafists'. [213] It demonstrates how part of the school of law doctrine, in the case of these two mosques, is characterized by being a part of a counter narrative against Salafism.

The lecturers of both mosques gave other arguments for rejecting Salafism, too. Al-Bakkali stated that Salafists do not make use of '*ijāza*[214] – the concept that Islamic knowledge is transmitted through a chain of transmitters that go back to the first transmitter or author.[215] He continued that "they claim the *salaf*, but this is not true. We follow the *salaf*, because our chain goes back to them."[216] On another instance, Al-Bakkali framed Salafism as a viral disease and as a religion for the illiterate: "Salafism: That is a disease spreading through society, because of a lack of knowledge."[217] The framing of Salafism as a viral disease implies that he compares it to a foreign organism that invades domestic cells and destroys or damages them. Applying this image to reality, in Al-Bakkali's understanding, Salafism is a foreign, external phenomenon that damages or destroys the Islam he identifies with, all the while aggressively spreading. He added that countries that follow a school of law do not experience the

[212] The idea of claiming the banner of Sunni Islam seems te be part of a larger global movement to define as a group as opposed to the group of Salafism. It is especially demonstrated during a conference on the 25th of August, 2016, during which scholars defined the term of Ahl as-sunna against Salafists. See statement of the conference:
"Chechnya Conference Statement," Chechnya Conference, accessed on May 1, 2017, http://chechnyaconference.org/material/chechnya-conference-statement-english.pdf.
[213] Lecture "Islam en sektes deel 1";
Course "Aqidah en Fiqh";
Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna".
[214] Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna."
[215] G. Vajda et al., "Iḏjāza," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman et al., accessed online on May 2, 2017.
[216] Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna."
[217] Ibid.

same problems. He gave the example of Turkey.[218] During another talk Al-Bakkali stated that "we have always celebrated the messenger's birthday. […] Then, Salafis come and tell us that it is *shirk* [idolatry] and *bid'a*. We have always celebrated! They say that they have come to purify Islam. Instead, they mutilate the religion."[219] In both statements, Al-Bakkali defines Salafism as the evildoer and as deviating from his religious standards. The first statement, referring to problems in states because of Salafism, suggests that he connects the branch to terrorism and other political issues of the state.

The lecturer of Imam Malik was subtler on issues around schools of law versus Salafism. The lecturer would roll his eyes while declaring with a sigh "I can guess where this idea comes from," when a student would ask a critical question on the permissibility of the issue of visiting graves of saints. [220] On another instance he compared Salafists to "those extremists". [221] He also mentioned how Salafists aim for sharia in the Netherlands, whilst there is more Sharia already in the Netherlands compared to Saudi-Arabia. Lastly, he stated during a lecture that "Only followers from a school of law follow the truth. The rest of them are strayed."[222] By saying this, he specifically excludes those who do not follow a school of law, by which he seems to mean Salafists. Although he does not link Salafism as explicitly to terrorism as Al-Bakkali, he does frame it as the branch that stands for the idea that Sharia and the Netherlands are irreconcilable.

Category 3: Relation between Islam and national identity

Lecturers of both mosques also addressed briefly how following the Malikite school of law converged with the national identity. Apart from endorsing the larger system of *madhhab* traditionalism, both mosques identify with the Malikite school of law and the Asharite tradition of theology

[218] Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna."
[219] Ibid.
[220] Course "Aqidah en Fiqh."
Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna."
[221] Course "Aqidah en Fiqh."
[222] Lecture "Islam en sektes deel 1."

for particular reasons. First and foremost, both have stated that the Moroccan origin is the most important factor for choosing these particular schools of law. Al-Bakkali stated that "it is our culture and our history and our origin to follow the *madhhab* of Anas ibn Mālik and those who came after him."[223] In Imam Malik, the lecturer Said Mokadmi said "you can choose any *madhhab* you like, but the Malikite *madhhab* is what our [Moroccan] community follows. So we follow it, too."[224] Later, while still discussing the Malikite traditions, he added that "a believer has little to do with the politics of Morocco."[225] This implies that a "Moroccan" Muslim should not choose the Malikite school of law due to the state's opinion on Islam or even the Commandership of the Faithful. First and foremost, this shows that the choice for this particular school of law is determined on the basis of which national or ethnic community the mosque belongs to, based on traditions passed on by generations. It suggests that the choice of the school of law depends on matters of identity that are divorced from Morocco's polities and politics. Their Dutch identity and nationality also play an important role in this: By belonging to the Dutch nation – through nationality or identity - the Moroccan Dutch community does not form a part of a religious community in which religion and national boundaries coincide. As a result, they form new ideas about belonging to a larger Muslim community. The search for Moroccan traditions, while rejecting Moroccan state authority, demonstrates this remodeling of the idea of the larger Muslim community separated from 'old' national boundaries, while at the same time Dutch Moroccan nationals experience a need for 'recognizable' and 'safe' tradition that they do not find in the Netherlands.

Category 4: Commandership of the Faithful

In both mosques, the issue of the Commandership of the Faithful was not addressed at all. This suggests either that they do not recognize the Moroccan king's Commandership of the Faithful over Moroccan Muslims or that they do not think it relevant for the group they are speaking to. It may

[223] Lecture "Methode van de Ahlu s-sunna."
[224] Lecture "Islam en sektes deel 1."
[225] Ibid.

also be correlated with Mokadmi's statement on refraining from Moroccan state politics when it comes to Islam. Both Al-Bakkali and Mokadmi have discussed the importance of scholarly authority on religious issues a great deal, while omitting statements on the king's religious authority. This implies that they place more authority in religious scholars, than they do in the Moroccan king.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed at investigating the (dis)similarities in the discourses used by the Moroccan government and two Morocco-affiliated mosques in advocating *madhhab* traditionalism. In both discourses, I researched four categories: (1) how the Malakite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism are being defined; (2) the arguments used for the necessity of following the Malakite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism; (3) how the discourse articulated the relationship between the Moroccan national identity and these three Islamic traditions and (4) how the king's position as political and religious leader or Commander of the Faithful is being discussed.

Category 1: Definition of Islam

Moroccan State	**Mosques**
- Islam is peace, tolerance and modern. It is not extremist and violent. - Islam is a cultural force, specific for the Moroccan culture and nation and enforcing the unity of the Moroccan nation. - Islam is a religious identity and civilizational heritage	- MAS [226] is part of a larger *madhhab* system. - Malikite school of law – or any other - is a necessary tool to be able to come to valid juridical conclusions. - Sufism is the science that concerns the heart; Sufism is half the religion. - Asharite tradition of theology rejects anthropomorphism.

Table 1

In both discourses, Islam or the Malikite, Asharite, Sufi approach to it are defined differently. The Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments and the King have constantly stressed how Islam is a religion of peace and

[226] MAS stands for the combination of following Malikite school of law, the Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism.

tolerance and is not extremist. The mosques in the Netherlands have not defined Islam in the same way. In fact, they have not defined Islam at all, assuming that they already agree with their audience (mosque attendees) about what Islam is. On the other hand, the Moroccan state's context influences its discourse on Islam, because it is informed by the larger debate on Islam, security and the War on Terror. This suggest that the Moroccan state is reacting to this debate by producing a counter narrative through which it aims to produce a discursive truth about what Islam entails.

Another difference between the two discourses on definitions is that the Moroccan state approaches Islam as a Moroccan cultural force that is able to guide Moroccans into a state of political and cultural unity. On the other hand, the mosques only provide a theological definition and place their religious tradition in a broader religious methodology that is not specific for Morocco. They legitimize their belief in Islam from Morocco through this larger system of *madhhabs*, whilst calling upon a more universalistic identity instead of one that is defined by Moroccan state boundaries. Morocco does the exact opposite. It justifies the adherence to these Islamic traditions by calling upon national boundaries and national heritage. This is underlined by that they refrain completely from explaining their audience what they entail except as a cultural force or heritage.

Category 2: Malikite, Asharite and Sufi schools

Moroccan State	Mosques
- MAS is the antithesis and solution for extremism and political Islam. - MAS is the only flawless approach of the *sunna*. - Sufism is apolitical and therefore peaceful. A true believer should give up worldly rewards. - MAS is part of Morocco's immutable values.	- A *madhhab* is the only way to approach the Quran and sunna. It is the only right tool. - *Madhhabs* are infallible, because they have consensus throughout the history of the *umma*. - Scholars of *madhhabs* have expertise and expertise should be respected. - Sufism is essential in order to be sincere.

	- One should follow the Asharite school of law, because it is the antithesis of Salafism and because it is part of the *madhhab* tradition. - One should follow a *madhhab*, because the alternative – Salafism – is deviated, extremist and cause problems.

Table 2

When it comes to the arguments used for the justification of following the Malikite school of law, Asharite tradition of theology and Sufism, both discourses depend on a completely different approach. According to the Moroccan discourse, one should follow these three traditions because it is the antithesis and solution for Islamic extremism and political Islam. Sufism is apolitical and peaceful. Following these three traditions is what is expected of you as a Moroccan, because it is part of your identity and heritage. All of this suggests an authoritarian move to strengthen the ability of the king and his government to influence the ideas of the Moroccan citizens. He does not promote Islam in general, but only how Islam "should" be practiced along national boundaries according to him and his government. He puts Moroccan traditions and Sufism forward and emphasizes them, whilst opposing it to anyone who does not accept the Malikite, Asharite and Sufi version of Islam. The mosques in the Netherlands are not under the direct influence of Morocco's authoritarian institutionalization of all religious affairs and are largely part of a different national debate, in which the Dutch government largely refrains from engaging in debates about Islam.[227] However, as in Morocco, the discourse is similarly informed by debates that connect Islam with security issues.

[227] This principle of the secular model is slightly under pressure with the emergence of the debates on whether Salafism should be legally forbidden. (See: Ineke Roex, Sjef van Stiphout & Jean Tillie, *Salafisme in Nederland: Aard, omvang en dreiging*, Instituut voor Migratie- en Etnische Studies, Universiteit van Amsterdam & Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek (2010): 1-3, 233-258;
"Salafisme," Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid, accessed on July 17, 2016, https://www.nctv.nl/onderwerpen_a_z/salafisme/index.aspx;
"Kabinet wil salafisme niet verbieden," NOS, accessed on July 17, 2016, http://nos.nl/artikel/2089037-kabinet-wil-salafisme-niet-verbieden.html;
"Invloed ultraorthodoxe moslims in moskee groeit," NRC, accessed on July 17, 2016, http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/04/17/invloed-ultraorthodoxe-moslims-in-moskee-groeit-a1416983;
"Dreiginsbeleid Terrorisme Nederland 42.")

Although the Moroccan Dutch mosques do not have a government that tell them what 'Good' and 'Bad' Islam is, they are informed by the same idea that Salafism is connected with terrorism and extremism.

Category 3: Relation between Islam and national identity

Moroccan State	**Mosques**
- Morocco is unique because of its culture and religion. - Islam is divided along national lines. The Moroccan Islam is specific for Moroccans and it cannot be changed. - Islam is the unifying force of the Moroccan nation. - Morocco as a nation is divinely chosen. - Moroccan national Islam is able to fight non-Moroccan forms of Islam, which cause instability.	- One can follow any *madhhab,* but the Malikite school of law is what the Moroccan community should adhere to, because that is the tradition. - One should stay away from Moroccan politics and Moroccan state Islam.

Table 3

In both discourses, Islam and the Moroccan identity overlap. The mosques state that a Moroccan Dutch attendee may follow any school of law, but that it is advisable to follow the one that the Moroccan community follows. They associate it with recognition and security. At the same time, one of the lecturers has stated that one should stay away from Moroccan national politics when it comes to Islam. This suggests that the lecturers of the mosques in the Netherlands think along the lines of a global Islam that is not divided per se by Moroccan national lines. Their Dutch identity and nationality also play an important role in this, because they are no longer part of a religious community in which religion and national boundaries coincide. The rejection of the Morocco's state Islam exclusively for Moroccan nationals goes against this development. As a result, - combined with the the desire to follow recognizable and 'secure' traditions - mosques reject Moroccan state interference, while actively preaching Islam *from* Morocco.

Category 4: Commandership of the Faithful

Moroccan State	Mosques
- The Commander preserves national unity. - The Commander ensures stability. - The Commander serves as the highest Sufi master and religious authority of the Moroccan nation. - The Commander is granted authority because of his prophetic descent. - The Commander endorses Sufi orders, and Sufi's grant him loyalty.	- The Commandership of the Faithful is not addressed at all. - The lecturers have only spoken of the authority of religious scholars.

Table 4

When it comes to the subject of the king's Commandership of the Faithful, it is safe to say that the discourses show no similarities. The Moroccan king and Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowments constantly stress how it is a symbol of national unity, how it ensures political stability and how it holds the highest religious and political authority in the country. The mosques, on the other hand, have not mentioned the Commandership at all. The lecturers have only spoken about the value of the authority of religious scholars and how one should refrain from Morocco's politics. This suggests that in the case of the discourse in the Netherlands religious scholars have largely replaced the religious authority of the king.

Conclusive Remarks

As demonstrated by comparing the discourses of the Moroccan state and those of two mosques with Moroccan attendees in the Netherlands, both promote the same kind of *madhhab* traditionalism, but use it for different purposes. Both discourses entail that Islam and Moroccan origin or nationality overlap. The difference lies in that the state discourse aims to attain political and religious unity for the Moroccan nation through official Moroccan Islam, while accepting the king's authority. The mosques seek Islam from Morocco because they associate it with recognition and security, but reject official Moroccan Islam, because they do not trust the state's

good intentions. In both cases, the discourses are informed by debates that inextricably link Islam with security. In both cases, Salafism is perceived as the opposition and cause of extremism. However, both parties handle this idea differently. In the 'minds' of both discourses, this means that following the 'right' Islam brings forth political stability and maintained power in the Moroccan case and less 'problems' in the Moroccan Dutch case.

Both the Moroccan state and the two mosques are joined in the same struggle for the return of the authority of the religious scholars and *madhhabs*. Yet, they both have different points of departure. The aim of the Moroccan state was to establish political and religious unity for the Moroccan nation. It therefore selectively approaches *madhhab* traditionalism in order to define and justify an Islam that coincides with its national boundaries. The religious identity of the Moroccan citizen coincides with its cultural identity, as the Commandership of the Faithful unites political and religious authority. Consequently, the Moroccan discourse attributes authority to *madhhab* traditionalism, only because it is part of Morocco's culture and identity. On the other hand, the discourses in the two mosque in the Netherlands developed out of a different context. They support the wider system *madhhab* traditionalism on the basis of theological arguments instead of cultural heritage. They follow the Malikite traditions because of their Moroccan identity, but approve following any kind of *madhhab*. This illustrates that they do not identify with a Muslim community on the basis of national boundaries, but on the basis of a universalistic Muslim identity in which space is given to their own cultural religious heritage and those of others.

Although the Moroccan Dutch community is perceived as being part of a monolithic "Moroccannes" without much "Dutchness", the studied discourses suggest that the Moroccan Dutch experience of Islam is very much marked by the Dutch context and the different interests at stake. For the Moroccan discourse, the concept of unity of Islam is central, while the Moroccan Dutch recognize the value of diversity within *madhhab* traditionalism. Both the mosques and the Moroccan state are involved in the promotion of *madhhab* traditionalism and against the religious influence of a

phenomenon that can loosely be labeled as a cluster of Salafism, Wahhabism and Jihadism. Nevertheless, the discourses demonstrate that Islam in these two mosques is largely divorced from the Moroccan context and shaped by migration, debates on security, "Good" and "Bad" Islam, debates in Dutch society and the desire for an Islam that fits their needs and traditions. The fact that the Moroccan Dutch live outside of juridical influence of the Moroccan state puts them in the luxury position of being able to selectively choose the elements of diverse religious phenomenon in Morocco or official Moroccan Islam.

Comparing religious discourses in the mosques of Moroccan Dutch nationals to those of the state of the country of origin has given us the opportunity to see what the differences are. This is also because mosques are places where (parts of) religious identities are shaped. This thesis has approached the subject of the discourses in mosques not in terms of platforms of radicalization or claims of the public space, but as an important site that produces discourses through which we can identify how a community relates itself to the country of origin. This concept challenges dichotomical ideas of Europe versus Islam and demonstrates how the Moroccan Dutch community can identify with several places, communities and societies at the same time.

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