

# CIÊNCIAS SOCIALMENTE APLICÁVEIS:

INTEGRANDO SABERES E  
ABRINDO CAMINHOS

JORGE JOSÉ MARTINS RODRIGUES  
MARIA AMÉLIA MARQUES

(Organizadores)

VOL III



EDITORA  
ARTEMIS

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## APRESENTAÇÃO

O livro que ora se encontra nas vossas mãos, no seu terceiro volume, é por tradição um livro de temática interdisciplinar e transdisciplinar no campo das ciências sociais aplicadas. É interdisciplinar porque cruza várias disciplinas do saber. A sua transdisciplinaridade fica a dever-se aos múltiplos campos do conhecimento abrangidos, com os trabalhos apresentados a inserirem-se em temáticas emergentes nos vários campos científicos.

A metodologia seguida na organização deste volume, podendo ser discutível, privilegiou os conteúdos dos artigos, o que originou o chapéu Educação-Organização-Informação, decomposto nos eixos temáticos: Educação e formação profissional, Organizações, trabalho e responsabilidade social, Informação, transparência e decisão. Na construção da estrutura de cada um destes eixos procurou-se seguir uma lógica em que cada artigo possa contribuir para uma melhor compreensão do artigo seguinte, gerando-se um fluxo de conhecimento acumulado que se pretende fluido e em espiral crescente.

Assim, o eixo Educação e formação profissional abarca um conjunto de dez artigos que se preocupam com a redução de desigualdades. Para tal advogam o recurso a metodologias de ensino e aprendizagem com recurso a mediadores que orientem metodologicamente estes processos, no sentido de implementar e respeitar valores éticos, de cidadania e direitos humanos. Pode também recorrer-se à formação contínua em contexto de trabalho, com recurso a comunidades virtuais de aprendizagem e orientação para determinadas áreas funcionais, recorrendo a processos educativos de formação e inovação educativa, através de metodologias de colaboração e cooperação. Tais processos não dispensam uma reflexão crítica do formando no processo de avaliação e consolidação dos conteúdos objeto de aprendizagem, como forma de o mesmo contribuir para um maior conhecimento a favor da comunidade.

O eixo Organizações, trabalho e responsabilidade social agrega um conjunto de nove artigos que se preocupam com o bem-estar da sociedade. Vivemos numa sociedade de organizações, em que a célula mais pequena e influente é a família. Esta socorre-se das suas redes de relações significativas – redes de negócios – para conseguir obter os seus objetivos através do trabalho em cooperação. Esta capacidade intrínseca da família constitui um ativo intangível potenciador de vantagem competitiva, a qual poderá ser preservada e ampliada através de ações de responsabilidade socialmente aceites. Esta praxis parece estar a modificar paulatinamente algumas organizações económicas e movimentos sociais, procurando a conciliação entre o trabalho e a família,

independentemente do setor económico, sociedade civil ou do estágio de vida em que o indivíduo se encontre, contribuindo para um envelhecimento saudável ativo.

Por sua vez, o eixo Informação, transparência e decisão é constituído por quatro artigos que demonstram preocupações com a qualidade da informação, seja ela voluntária ou obrigatória. Aquela deve ser transparente e tempestiva, e contribuir para um relato que siga padrões de referência socialmente aceites. Estas características são necessárias devido à transversalidade e utilidade da informação para a tomada de decisão, quer a nível público quer a nível privado.

Com a disponibilização deste livro e seus artigos esperamos que os mesmos gerem inquietude intelectual e curiosidade científica, procurando a satisfação de novas necessidades e descobertas, motor de todas as fontes de inovação.

Jorge Rodrigues, ISCAL/IPL, Portugal

Maria Amélia Marques, ESCE/IPS, Portugal

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# CAPÍTULO 10

## RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND THE SHAPING OF MOROCCAN IDENTITY: ISLAMIC EDUCATION TEXTBOOKS AS A CASE STUDY

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**Somaya Zine-Dine**

Ibnou Toufail University  
Faculty of Letters  
Languages and Arts  
Kenitra- Morocco

**Moulay Sadik Maliki**

Hassan II University  
Faculty of Letters and Humanities  
Ain Chock  
Casablanca-Morocco

**ABSTRACT:** Islamic education curricula reforms have been at the core of many debates in Morocco lately. After the 9/11 events and Casablanca bombings in 2003, Islamic education became associated with the discourse of extremism and violence, thus becoming a top priority in the process of religious reforms. This study seeks to explore the way Islamic education textbooks shape Moroccan identity and how they reflect the state's religious policies. It also tries to explore the main differences between the old and new textbooks in terms of values and terminology, and how such reforms are perceived by teachers of Islamic education.

A mixed-methods approach, based on Summative Content Analysis, is used to compare old and new curricula. Interviews with Islamic education teachers are conducted, and questionnaires administered to third year, high school students. The results show that the Islamic terminology and values are compromised to focus on ethics, citizenship and human rights values. They also indicate that teachers are against such reforms, especially that of the year 2016. The new textbooks have succeeded to a certain extent in shaping students' religious identity, fostering moderation, tolerance, openness and co-existence. However, the findings also show that students' religious identity is much more stable and strengthened than their national identity.

**KEYWORDS:** Islamic education. Identity. Textbooks. Reforms. Values.

**LAS REFORMAS EDUCATIVAS RELIGIOSAS Y LA CONFIGURACIÓN DE LA IDENTIDAD MARROQUÍ: LOS LIBROS DE TEXTO DE EDUCACIÓN ISLÁMICA COMO ESTUDIO DE CASO**

**RESUMEN:** Las reformas de los planes de estudio de la educación islámica han estado en el centro de muchos debates en Marruecos últimamente. Tras los sucesos del 11 de septiembre y los atentados de Casablanca en 2003, la educación islámica se asoció con el discurso del extremismo y la violencia,

convirtiéndose así en una de las principales prioridades del proceso de reformas religiosas. Este estudio pretende explorar el modo en que los libros de texto de educación islámica forman la identidad marroquí y cómo reflejan las políticas religiosas del Estado. También trata de explorar las principales diferencias entre los antiguos y los nuevos libros de texto en cuanto a valores y terminología, y cómo los profesores de educación islámica perciben estas reformas. Se utiliza un enfoque de métodos mixtos, basado en el Análisis Sumativo de Contenido, para comparar los antiguos y los nuevos planes de estudio. Se realizan entrevistas con profesores de educación islámica y se administran cuestionarios a alumnos de tercer año de secundaria. Los resultados muestran que la terminología y los valores islámicos se ven comprometidos para centrarse en valores éticos, de ciudadanía y de derechos humanos. También indican que los profesores están en contra de estas reformas, especialmente la del año 2016. Los nuevos libros de texto han conseguido, en cierta medida, moldear la identidad religiosa de los alumnos, fomentando la moderación, la tolerancia, la apertura y la convivencia. Sin embargo, los resultados también muestran que la identidad religiosa de los alumnos es mucho más estable y desarrollada que su identidad nacional.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE:** Educación islámica. Identidad. Libros de texto. Valores. Reformas.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Morocco has been undergoing tremendous reforms in several fields in the past years. The religious realm has been at the core of this process to restrict the influence of other religious doctrines that the Moroccan state considers opposing, such as Wahhabism and Shia, etc. Notably, this issue of reforms reflects the concern of Morocco to preserve a “Moroccan version of Islam”, through elaborating “sophisticated tools” to encourage more moderate religious interpretations (Maghraoui, 2009; Aourid, 2017). Although these reforms reflect the position of Morocco as a “regional leader” in the fight against religious extremism (Feuer, 2016), they are thought to be more about pragmatic and politically strategic factors than about important questions as to the sacred text, the nature of religiosity and/or the relationship between religion and politics. They are adopted as “counter-terror” strategies to “bureaucratize” religion in response to the ‘war on terror’ that ‘originated’ in the United States, and which Morocco itself experienced in Casablanca bombings in 2003 (Maghraoui, 2009; Wainscott, 2017; Feuer, 2016). Thus, after Casablanca bombings, the state recognized that the main threat is the Salafi ideology that advocates violence, and the Moroccan Islamic movement or reform has become vital in the bid to limit Jihadi Salafism (Darif, 2017).

Conversely, before the 9/11 events, precisely during the 1980s and 1990s, the Wahhabi Salafism was encouraged and supported by late Hassan II, then king of Morocco, to counter and combat opposition embodied by the leftist or left-wing parties as well as by *Al Adl-wa-Ihsan* (Justice and Charity) Islamist movement. The expansion

of this ideology was encouraged and even supported because the monarchy deemed it the most “effective means of countering the potential effects that Ayatollah Khomeini’s 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran could have [had] in the country” (Alonso & Rey, 2007, p. 573). Since 9/11, religious education, in Morocco and the rest of the Arab world alike, has been at the centre of interest for the United States’ policy makers, associating Islamic religious schools or ‘*Madrasas*’ (Koranic schools) with terrorism, violence and intolerance (Faour, 2012; Thobani, 2007). The US urged Islamic states to reconsider their religious dynamics and their relation with the ‘Other’ in this age of globalization, new mass media and modern information and communication technologies. Morocco thereby adopted a unique religious policy to (re)-shape its cultural heritage and keep it away from the impacts and threats of extremism and terrorism; education was at the heart of this religious ‘reshuffling’ policy, especially when the king made religious (re)-organization a top priority, laying emphasis on Islamic values of tolerance, co-existence and acceptance of different cultures and religions within the framework of the Maliki rite or school. In addition to the international and regional factors that have called for such reforms in Morocco, other social causes have equally enhanced the urgent need for reforms and minimize the economic and social gaps thought to have contributed to violence, extremism and radicalization (Darif, 2017; Maghraoui, 2009).

Subsequent to the 2003 Casablanca bombings, King Mohammed IV issued the main guidelines that Islamic education curricula should incorporate as part of education reforms, fostering the tolerant and moderate Islamic values (Wainscott, 2017). The said reforms were considered as the state’s response to terrorist attacks and were initiated in 2004 and officially implemented in 2005. In 2016, new changes were implemented, although numerous aspects in this respect remain to be addressed. The present study, therefore, seeks to analyse the differences between the old and new textbooks in terms of values and terminology. It tries to explore Islamic education teachers’ perception of these reforms, their impact on Moroccan youth’s identity together with how they (the reforms) reflect the state religious policies.

## 2 METHODS

### 2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study makes use of Islamic education textbooks, namely those assigned to third years of middle school and high school, as a basis of its analysis. It uses the ‘intrinsic case study’ as the most suitable type of case study to be used because (i) the intent is to understand the case better, and (ii) because it represents other cases (Baxter

& Jack, 2008). It is a method that not only makes it possible to analyse certain issues in a holistic and meaningful way in their real life context, but also to further consolidate the analysis through other methods (Kohlbatcher, 2006). The 'Summative content analysis' is adopted to analyse the old and new Islamic education textbooks in terms of terminology and values, for it permits the search for word frequency and comparison and subsequently makes it possible to have more insight into the collected data. This study adopts an exploratory sequential design based on mixed-methods, and priority is given to the qualitative than the quantitative phase. In order to explore Islamic education teachers' perceptions of reforms, some units of the textbooks were first examined to have an idea about the main changes brought by the reforms; these changes were then taken as a ground to generate semi-structured interview questions; qualitative data (i.e., codes and themes) and quantitative instrument (i.e., a questionnaire) were developed to deal with the repercussions of the reforms on the religious identity of Moroccan youth.

## 2.2 QUALITATIVE PHASE

### 2.2.1 Participants

In the first phase of this study, the qualitative design, a purposive sampling technique was used to include snowballing methods to select middle and high school teachers of Islamic education in six schools in *Errachidia*, the capital city of the *Drâa-Tafilalet* region located in the south-east of Morocco. The selected participants were the teachers who showed notable differences in terms of seniority (years of experience) and the levels taught (middle or high school).

### 2.2.2 Data collection and analysis

Twelve face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted to keep a flexible agenda and reveal new anticipated aspects. All interviews took between 20 to 40 minutes; all the interviews, except two, audio-recorded. For ethical reasons, the purpose of the study was explained to the participants verbally. Participants were assured that their contributions would be anonymous; they did not have to unveil their names nor provide any other information likely to reveal their identity. They were told that they had the right to skip any question or withdraw from the interview process. All interviews were translated from Moroccan Arabic into English to make sure the translation is genuine. After the data was collected, we went through the data to generate codes and categories, using 'line by line' coding of each interview in order to develop themes, following Creswell (2012) method.



## 2.3 QUANTITATIVE PHASE

The quantitative part involved administering questionnaires to third year high school students, who were randomly selected from two high schools in the city of *Errachidia*; the selected students were from different streams or tracks, namely sciences and humanities. 120 potential subjects were identified; however, some invalid survey answers were not included. The final sample size was 100.

### 2.3.1 Data collection and analysis

The questionnaire contained two types of questions: 9 open-ended questions and 8 close-ended questions. Open-ended questions were chosen because, unlike close-ended ones that are limited to certain pre-stated alternative responses, they allow participants to express their opinions freely. The other questions were demographic, dichotomous (yes or no answers) or multiple-choice questions. The multiple-choice questions were designed based on Likert (1932) rating scale. Since there is a combination of close and open-ended questions, 43 variables were identified from different types of categorical variables: nominal, ordinal and interval (scale). For non-numerical data (open-ended answers), a quantizing process was used to convert such qualitative data into quantitative (Maxwell, 2010) using a statistical analysis, including descriptive statistics, data screening for the variables using (SPSS) software.

## 3 RESULTS

Results presented in this part are based on the data collected from summative content analysis of Islamic education textbooks of third years of middle and high schools, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. Given that exploratory sequential mixed-methods design was adopted, the qualitative results were presented first followed by the quantitative results.

### 3.1 RESULTS OF 'SUMMATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS'

#### 3.1.1 Terminology

The first section of the results deals with the analysis of Islamic education terminology and values in old and new textbooks, starting with those of third year of middle school.

### 3.1.1.1 Third year middle school textbooks

In terms of terminology, the new textbook encompasses terms related to social and economic development, (public interest, donation, charity, social cohesion, sustainable development); political discourse (the commandment of the believers, guardian of religion and people unity, allegiance (*Bay'a*), adherence to monarchy, supreme governance, territorial integrity); environment development (landscaped areas, planting, afforestation, ecological system); moral values (generosity, charity, moderation, justice, altruism, fraternity, sacrifice, peace, freedom of religion, equity, affection) , and Islamic discourse terminology (faith, creed, monotheism, servitude to God, religiosity, divinity, worship, etc.).

Concerning the old textbook of third year of high school, the terms fall into eight categories: Social and economic development (social cohesion, sustainable development, kinship ties, preventing mendicancy, orphan fostering, alms, usury, etc.), political discourse (allegiance (*Bay'a*), subjects, state building, state constitution), environment and health development (health care, psychological health, cleanliness, planting campaigns, ecological balance, natural resources); moral values (modesty, mercy, affection, fidelity, honesty, solidarity, clemency, forgiveness, generosity, kindness, wisdom, moderation, accepting difference and the Other); features of Moroccan Islam (peace, ease, tolerance, affection, respect, equality, co-existence, freedom of belief); Islamic discourse (Creed, faith, justice, Al-Fath (victory), prevalence of Islam) and negative acts (Immoderation, inflexibility, radicalization, extremism, intolerance, alienation, sins, legitimization, greed, violence, lies, dogmatism). It is clear from that, contrary to the old one, the new textbook lays more emphasis on values and virtues without bringing to light the opposites of these values and virtues. It also avoids issues that could sound controversial, such as usury.

### 3.1.1.2 Third year high school textbooks

Similarly, the terminology included in the new third year high school textbook can be divided into five categories, namely political discourse (governance, politics, state), moral values (mercy, solidarity, justice, respect, freedom), Moroccan Islam (religious renewal, balance, moderation, freedom of belief, flexibility, co-existence), Islamic discourse (*Da'wa* 'missionary activity', monotheism, faith, worship, judgment day) and Negative acts (murder, alienation, adultery, extremism, racism, corruption, atheism). The terms used in the old textbook can be categorized into four groups, namely moral values (tolerance, forgiveness, affection, respect, harmony, mercy, equality), Moroccan Islam (balance, moderation, fatwa contradiction, cultural diversity, freedom, accepting the Other), Islamic discourse (mediation, religious unity, alms, *Ghayb* (unseen), criminal legislation) and

negative acts (Ignorant religiosity, childish jurisprudence, doctrine imitators, blasphemy accusations, doctrinal intolerance, intellectual deviation, moral deviation, racism, atheism, violence, adultery, economic corruption).

### 3.1.2 Values

The values that the new third year middle school textbook lays emphasis on are co-existence, openness, freedom of religion, accepting difference, equality, freedom; they are even repeated at least twice as lessons in this textbook. The old textbook has balanced components comprising Islamic legal provisions, values and religious obligations, while emphasizing the protection of *Da'wa* (promoting religion or missionary activity) and establishing the (Islamic state). This balance is embodied in values, such as avoiding radicalism, prohibiting usury and economic monopolization.

However, both of them share the same values about faith, moderation and social values, as, for instance, protecting the environment, honouring parents and believing in God. Like the previous curriculum, the new high school textbook brings into focus values of faith in God, which reoccur in different lessons throughout the textbook, such as belief in the divine message, belief in the Quran, universality of Islam and submission to God. In contrast, the old curriculum concentrates more on issues such as family, marriage, economic transactions, issues that are totally absent in new curriculum. The old curricula of both levels make a clear distinction between what is lawful and unlawful from the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence, whereas the new textbooks confine themselves to what is commonly believed as right values and behaviours, such as honesty, peace, freedom, tolerance, etc.

## 3.2 RESULTS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

This section of the qualitative phase shows the findings of the semi-structured interviews conducted with middle and high school's Islamic education teachers, of which the objective was to find out about their perceptions and views on the reforms. During the data analysis, a number of themes came to the fore, namely bugged curriculum, prohibited or forbidden trinity, 'we are subjects ... we do as we are told' and the evil other, which we discuss below.

### 3.2.1 'Bugged Curriculum'

This is how interviewee no. 6 described the reformed textbooks of 2016. The majority of the teachers who have participated in the interviews were not satisfied with

Islamic education reforms, and they cited several problems with regard to the form and content. For them, the form was quite boring, since it incorporated 'problematic situations' that were 'abstract and far from reality'. For example, interviewee no.6 described the lesson structure as 'incoherent' with 'cracks', which forces teachers to make extra efforts to compensate for these gaps and help students understand their lessons. Some participants, however, showed positive interest in the new textbooks, especially the link they created between students and the value-based content, a property that the old curriculum lacked. Interviewee no.8 went even further to stress that the old curriculum incorporated a sort of 'indoctrination' with the sole focus on information. The emphasis on values in the new textbooks was perceived differently by teachers, especially when regarding the role of Islamic education in protecting students from the threats of globalization, atheism and extremist movements. For instance, interviewee no. 4 stated that the old curricula 'clearly did the job'; they were more effective in protecting students from the global culture; in other words, for him, the new curriculum has a lenient tone in presenting the Islamic material.

### 3.2.2 'The Prohibited Trinity'

The theme "Prohibited Trinity" stands for the three elements that people still avoid talking about, viz. religion, politics and sexuality. Religion and politics are important elements and will be discussed as part of the political dimension that cropped up during the analysis of the participants' perception of religious reforms within a larger political context. Enquired about the King's use of 'religious education' instead of 'Islamic education', interviewee no. 1 suggested that 'the king's speech in 2016 was rather ambiguous and was open to various interpretations'. When asked about adding a lesson entitled 'Commandment of the Believers', another interviewee provided a striking statement, stating that there was no need for such lessons and that it was hard to make students understand the real meaning of such concepts and that the 'commander of the believers' was not synonymous to the 'king'; he also claimed the existence of contradictions between the religious and the political, especially with regard to these labels, which, in turn, restrict students' questions and comments about these issues for fear of stepping into the minefield (criticizing the regime openly and explicitly). Some participants, moreover, thought that the removal of certain controversial lessons, i.e., those pertaining to jihad and inheritance, was motivated by a purely political agenda.

### 3.2.3 'We are subjects ... we do as we are told to'

"We are subjects and we have to do what we are asked to do" is the answer provided by interviewee no. 2 when asked if they had sent their complaints and/ or recommendations to the Ministry of Education, especially as to their concerns about the pitfalls of the new textbooks, such as the use of some "invasive terms". This very fact reveals the main challenges that Islamic education teachers face, especially the lack of communication between teachers and the competent authorities, embodied by the ministry of education. Besides, interviewee no. 5 described the textbook designing committees as mysterious and intriguing ones that nobody knows anything about. Therefore, in addition to the other challenges, teachers have to serve as coaches and problem solvers, especially with regard to the 'imposed/parachuted curriculum', of which teachers know a little, if any.

### 3.2.4 The Evil Other

The last theme presents the distinction between the West versus Islam, or '*Dar Assilm*' (the home of peace) as opposed to the home of war, or the home of Islam as opposed to the home of disbelief and apostasy, which was blindingly omnipresent in the data collected from the interviewees. This dichotomy puts Islam as a religion in opposition with the west, the global culture or 'the Other' in general. Asked about the claim that Islamic Education encourages extremism, one of the interviewees stated that both "the previous and new textbooks set for themselves the task to get rid of the illusion that Islam encourages violence and exclusion of the Other. I think that Islamic Education is immunity against extremism, those who try to vilify Islamic Education aim to intentionally tarnish religion". When asked about the Ministry's substitution of "Religious Education" for 'Islamic Education, interviewee no.8 stated that this was meant to allow for the inclusion of other religions and creeds, a fact which would confuse students, for if they are taught Islam, Christianity and Judaism, they would be overwhelmed because they are not qualified enough to use their cultural sieve and "weighting" (*Tarjih*). Thus, introducing other religions' teachings is still considered threatening to these teachers. The 'Islamic' VS the 'Universal' dichotomy is another crucial element mentioned by participants. For instance, interviewee no. 6 argued that "the elimination of '*Jihad*' (holy war) lessons was due to their controversial nature and incompatibility with universal culture that rejects violence. Similarly, interviewee no. 2 thought that the themes or lessons likely to foster cultural and religious clashes in the old curriculum were removed from new ones".

### 3.3 QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

This part presents the results of the quantitative data analysis of this mixed-methods approach. This phase comes to supplement the previous qualitative sections and explore the repercussions of the educational religious reforms in Islamic Education textbooks on the religious identity of Moroccan students. The demographic analysis of the participants shows that the females' participation was 64% and males' was 34%.

#### 3.3.1 Textbooks assessment

One of the questions in the questionnaire expected students to give their opinion about the Islamic Education textbooks, thus, giving them the opportunity to evaluate them. The findings show that 33% of the subjects thought that their Islamic education textbooks were average, 22% thought they were pretty good. The remaining 17% said that the textbooks were 'weak'. In order to explore students' critical thinking abilities and their willingness to be open and tolerant vis-à-vis the 'Other', they were asked to express their point of view about the Pope's visit to Morocco the year before. 45 % of the students thought that the visit was a positive thing, 43% were against it, while 12% were neutral. The students who described the event as a way to emphasize the values of openness and co-existence were 46%, while those of them who described it as offensive were only 17%. However, most of them were against the ritual that brought together a Muslim Imam's calling for prayer (*Ađan*) with Jewish woman singing a prayer in Hebrew and a Christian woman singing "Ave Maria" on stage.

#### 3.3.2 Values

This part attempts to explore the values that students thought were of great importance to them; those that Islamic education brings to light subsequent to the said reforms. In this connection, students were asked to rate these values from the most important to the least important. More than 66% considered freedom very important; 38% considered National unity not important at all. While 32% thought openness was of low importance, 37% thought that the value of co-existence was important. For 33% of the participants, 'sacrifice' was also of low importance.

## 4 DISCUSSION

The results from the mixed methods approach suggest that there are significant differences between the old and new Islamic Education textbooks, especially with

regard to the terminology used and the values emphasized. The terms included in the old textbooks target several disciplines of life, with traditional Islamic terminology being used to address different issues. Besides, such textbooks combine terminology from Islamic law, Islamic jurisprudence and religious obligations, while the new textbooks focus more on terms that lack Islamic tone, with emphasis being laid on values and virtues and controversial issues avoided. The new textbooks put more emphasis on values of co-existence, openness, tolerance, freedom of religion and state Morocco's religious terms of reference, i.e., the *Maliki* rite or school, *Ash'ari* doctrine and Sufism. The old textbooks, on the other hand, focus more on values of moderation, balance, accepting differences and unity, inter alia. Concerning the semi-structured interviews, the results show that teachers have reservations vis-à-vis the constant changes of textbooks. They brought to the fore the various challenges that they had faced since the implementation of the said reforms, especially regarding the contents that, instead of being confined to Islamic materials, have come to cover materials stressing the values of citizenship, openness and co-existence. They also voiced their concerns as to the unfair treatment of Islamic education by state authorities and students alike.

Their contributions, moreover, reveal that Islamic Education is now being used to serve a specific political agenda. The results of the questionnaire reflect the students' interest in the subjects of Islamic education and their complaints about the insufficient time allotted to such subjects. Although the textbooks have fulfilled the job of developing in students the disposition of openness and willingness to accept 'the Other' regardless of their religious creed and beliefs, students were still unsatisfied, as is clear from their assessment of the textbooks as just average. The results also show that students do not take everything for granted; they rather approach textbooks critically and point out to what is acceptable and what is not in these textbooks. Despite the textbooks' emphasis on national unity and citizenship, students still consider such values not that important.

## 4.1 INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

### 4.1.1 'Cherry picking'

Given the fact that Islamic education has been relegated to a cultural and civilizational subject, Islamic teachings have been geared toward the cultural identity materials that attempt to 'Islamize' knowledge (Karimizadeh & Abolghasemi, 2016); they intend to make it more compatible with democratic and human rights values. Likewise, it is argued that attempts to remove some terms and content with unmodern connotations and inject religious material via a different terminology will do nothing more than

“deepening the religious crisis” (Dakhouch, 2016, p. 25). To use Geerts’s (1968) words, it is as though old wine was put into new bottles just as old bottles contained new wine. The new approach that incorporates “universal values” in Islamic education curricula seeks to make change students view on Islam as simply as a “religion”, and engage them in an interdisciplinary material likely to blur the boundaries between what is religious and what is secular, which is probably the main goal of these reforms (Douglas & Shaikh, 2004). Therefore, the kind of ‘cherry picking’ does not seem to be the solution; instead, these religious reforms should aim at developing mature citizens with twenty first century skills, taking Islamic teachings as a starting ground.

#### 4.1.2 Islamic Education teachers as ‘Traditional intellectuals’

If at all anything can be deduced from the above interpretations of results, it is that the label ‘state bureaucrats’ (Wainscott, 2017) is not suitable to describe Islamic education teachers and how they function in the Moroccan religious apparatus. One may borrow Antonio Gramsci’s concept of ‘traditional intellectuals’ or scholars to refer to those teachers. Traditional intellectuals, for Gramsci, are the opposite of “organic intellectuals”; organic intellectuals are subjects directly integrated in society’s economic structure and try to homogenize lay people’s ideology; traditional intellectuals, on the other hand, remain on the sidelines of society’s economic structure, as a way to deny their belonging to any social class or submitting to any ideological discourse. Islamic education teachers are those traditional intellectuals who are aware of state hegemony and its attempts to ideologically shape their way of perceiving religion and subsequently turn them into “organic intellectuals”.

Aware of the government’s political agenda as they may, these Islamic Education teachers have no say and remain just passive receivers of others’ interpretations. They just implement what they are told and practice self-censorship to keep themselves from getting involved in any controversial debate. These teachers and intellectuals feel helpless to approach religious texts from a different perspective due to political, social and cultural constraints. In other words, religious texts are exploited and interpreted by political and social institution to suit their own purposes, agenda and interest; leading intellectuals to be passive receivers of such interpretations.

#### 4.1.3 New generation of students

Although the new Islamic education curriculum was implemented in 2016, the impacts of its changes have become visible in the way Moroccan youth perceive their



religious identity. It is true that the state has succeeded to a certain extent in making students more open, tolerant and willing to accept difference. However, embodying such values is conditioned by the political and social circumstances of the Moroccan society as well. Moroccan youth appreciate initiatives that would reflect the openness of Morocco and its cultural uniqueness. However, religion for them remains so sacred that it should in no way be manipulated. As an illustration of this, one of the students commenting on the Pope's visit to Morocco said that it was 'a failure, and it aimed to ridicule Islam'. His comment was not directed to the visit per se, but rather to the way the Muslim call for prayer was chanted together with Christian and Hebrew songs. For students, such initiatives are just a manipulation of religion that would encourage more offending acts towards Islam. Having said this, it is clear that students' religious identity is more important, stable and developed than their national or cultural identity; Islam, they say, is the first uniting factor and preserving it should be a top priority (Al- kalakhi, 2018; Housni et al, 2018).

#### 4.1.4 Islamic Education: a reflection of new state policy

The subject of Islamic education has been a field of constant debates, not to say struggles, between teachers and teaching inspectors, the ministry and the monarch. The religious reforms have put Islamic education in a vital position that reflects new policies and future tendencies. After 9/11 in the US and the 2003 bombings in Casablanca, the state tried to counter the Salafi movement and reduce its impact in Morocco in a bid to produce a "semi-enclosed" religion that can be easily controlled and manipulated (Darif, 2017), and this very fact is clearly reflected in the way new Islamic education textbooks were designed after 2003, focusing on Moroccan identity of moderate Sunni, Maliki school within the framework of the Commandment of the believers. However, the year of 2011 was a turning point especially with the rise of the February 20<sup>th</sup> movement that advocated an "open" religious policy reflecting the requirements of the 2011 constitution. The new strategy allowed political authorities to open up to those that were considered against the state's religious doctrine, either in Morocco or outside. There emerged a tendency to stress Morocco's religious and cultural diversity as opposed to the then prevailing "mono-religious" policy that prevailed in the previous years. It should be noted that involving Islamic education in this clash of political interests puts Moroccan religious identity in a tight spot. The subject should be totally independent of any kind of political interference that could manipulate Moroccan citizens and the way they perceive religion.

## 5 CONCLUSION

The study approach has allowed us to explore in depth the impact of the religious reforms in the field of education on three levels: Islamic education textbooks, teachers' perceptions and students' perceptions. The summative content analysis concluded that the Islamic education changed to tackle issues related to culture, civilization and ethics, thus, changing the definition of Islamic education to a subject that reflects democratic and human rights values. The interviews revealed several problems at the implementation level of the new curriculum. This study also came to the conclusion that the state strategy to shape the students' identity based on tolerance, openness and co-existence has succeeded to a certain extent. However, the results also showed that students are not passive receivers; rather they are aware of state hegemony that tries to shape their perception of religion and identity.

It follows from the above interpretations of the results that new approaches to design Islamic education textbooks are needed to allow a smooth development of a coherent and consistent Islamic identity, taking into consideration the needs of young generations, and the daily challenges they face so that practical solutions to their problems could be found. Also, there should be a two-way (rather than the one-way communication that currently prevails) communication between the authorities and Islamic education teachers and professionals in view of improving the quality of teaching methods and the curricula's content. Given that the case study is a descriptive one, conclusions derived from the content analysis did not tackle the way these textbooks are designed and the way the content is introduced in each educational level. Class observations would also uncover new issues about the way Islamic education is taught and the way students interact with the subject. The small sample of participants that took part in interviews may also have impacted the validity of this study; more interviewees could have provided additional insights. The Moroccan religious reforms are considered a model to be followed by neighboring countries. Exploring the way such model is applied in other contexts would also be an interesting area of future research. Exploring the reforms in other state-run institutions such as 'Traditional religious education' (*Ta'lim Attiq*), in terms of curriculum implementation would reveal other facets of the Moroccan religious policy.

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## SOBRE OS ORGANIZADORES

**Jorge José Martins Rodrigues** é economista. Licenciado, mestre e doutor em Gestão (ISCTE-IUL). Mestre e pós doutorado em Sociologia – ramo sociologia económica das organizações (FCSH NOVA). Professor coordenador no ISCAL – *Lisbon Accounting and Business School* / Instituto Politécnico de Lisboa, Portugal. Exerceu funções de direção em gestão (planeamento, marketing, comercial, finanças) no setor privado, público e cooperativo. É investigador integrado no Instituto Jurídico Portucalense. Ensina e publica nas áreas de empresa familiar e família empresária, estratégia e finanças empresariais, gestão global, governabilidade organizacional, marketing, planeamento e controlo de gestão, responsabilidade social e ética das organizações.

**Maria Amélia Marques**, Doutora em Sociologia Económica das Organizações (ISEG/ULisboa), Mestre em Sistemas sócio-organizacionais da atividade económica - Sociologia da Empresa (ISEG/ULisboa), Licenciada (FPCE/UCoimbra), Professora Coordenadora no Departamento de Comportamento Organizacional e Gestão de Recursos Humanos (DCOGRH) da Escola Superior de Ciências Empresariais, do Instituto Politécnico de Setúbal (ESCE/IPS), Portugal. Membro efetivo do CICE/IPS – Centro Interdisciplinar em Ciências Empresariais da ESCE/IPS. Membro e Chairman (desde 2019 da ISO-TC260 HRM Portugal. Tem várias publicações sobre a problemática da gestão de recursos humanos, a conciliação da vida pessoal, familiar e profissional, os novos modelos de organização do trabalho, as motivações e expectativas dos estudantes Erasmus e a configuração e dinâmica das empresas familiares. Pertence a vários grupos de trabalho nas suas áreas de interesses.

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