

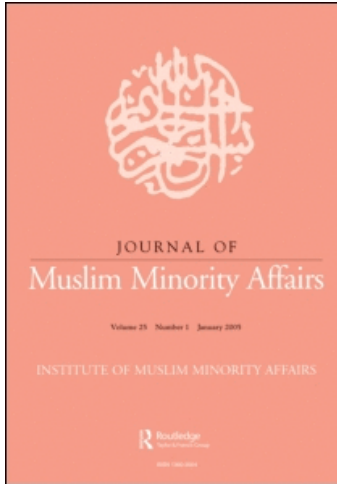
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Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713433220>

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To cite this Article Bartels, Edien and De Jong, Inge(2007) 'Civil Society on the Move in Amsterdam: Mosque Organizations in the Slotervaart District', Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 27: 3, 455 – 471

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/13602000701737277

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13602000701737277>

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Civil Society on the Move in Amsterdam: Mosque Organizations in the Slotervaart District

EDIEN BARTELS AND INGE DE JONG

Abstract

Mosques in the Netherlands, in addition to being places for religious gatherings and experience, are increasingly also becoming places where social activities are organized. The same development is observed in the rest of Europe. This phenomenon is examined in this article through a survey of four mosques and affiliated foundations in the civil society of the city district of Slotervaart in Amsterdam. The main questions addressed are: can these organizations be seen as voluntary associations that are a part of civil society? Are Muslims fulfilling their responsibility by voluntarily working for the benefit of the Muslim community through associations? After discussing the concept of civil society, and the relation between civil society and religion, the results of the research will be presented. It is a contested area in which these organizations find themselves, as is the dynamic character of civil society. Of central significance is the recognition of the responsibility that the board members and volunteers have in helping to solve the problems confronted by their community in Dutch society.

Introduction

Immigrant organizations, especially mosques and Muslim organizations, have been receiving considerable attention in the Netherlands, both as a part of public debate and in social science studies. This attention is, in part, due to events both inside and outside the country in which Muslims have been involved, such as the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a 26-year-old Dutchman of Moroccan origin; the attacks in New York, Madrid and London; as well as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Academics play an important role in this public debate because they have, to some degree, influenced the discourse on Islam and mosques in Europe by publishing studies, providing policy recommendations, participating in meetings of experts and commenting on political proposals.¹ The question that recurs each time in these discussions is whether immigrants with a Muslim background are willing and able to be a part of Western society. The discussions about mosques and Muslim organizations are primarily focused on their role and operation in Western societies. The impression sometimes given of mosques is that they are places where an anti-Western outlook is propagated, that they are a breeding ground for terrorists.² The construction of a “modern, contemporary building” would demonstrate that Muslims want to be a part of society. For this reason, research conducted in the social sciences has given considerable attention to making an inventory of immigrant organizations,³ identifying the factors that influence the establishment and continuity of immigrant organizations and ascertaining the effect immigrant organizations have on social integration and participation in society.⁴

Muslims in the Netherlands are a heterogeneous group with ethnic, religious and political differences.⁵ They have organized themselves in institutions such as mosques, Muslim foundations and socio-cultural foundations. There have also established 45 primary schools, two secondary schools and two universities,⁶ organizations for the performance of (male) circumcisions, organizations for Muslim funerals/burials,⁷ Muslim butchers, and radio and television stations. Mosque organizations are the most important component in the institutionalisation of Islam in the Netherlands. There are over 400 registered mosques in the country.⁸ Many of these mosques have set up mosque-affiliated foundations which target a particular group (men, women, young people) or that handle the organization of non-religious activities.

These mosque organizations and the affiliated foundations are the focus of this article. A starting point which is different from the one used in past research is the focus on civil society. The question is: can these organizations be seen as voluntary associations that are a part of civil society? Are Muslims fulfilling their social responsibility by voluntarily working for the benefit of the Muslim community through these associations? To answer these questions, qualitative research was conducted in the Amsterdam city district of Slotervaart between October 2005 and March 2006 that focused on four Muslim places of prayer and their affiliated foundations.⁹ A survey was conducted of what activities were being organized, what developments were underway, and what view the boards of the foundations and mosque councils held with respect to citizenship and the function of places of worship in Dutch society. The results of this study show that council and board members and volunteers in Amsterdam Slotervaart feel responsible for, and a part of, Dutch society and are doing their best to get the constituency of the mosques socially involved.

Before discussing these results further, we will explain how the concept of civil society can be understood. Although this concept is the subject of considerable discussion, there is agreement about the conditions with which civil society is associated in the Western world and what it is based on: the Enlightenment and modernism—which championed individualism and democratic institutions.¹⁰ This immediately raises questions because a debate is going on about Islam and the Enlightenment¹¹ and questions are posed about the incompatibility of Islam with democracy. Besides, in public opinion and by policy makers, immigrants from non-Western Muslim countries are characterized as group-oriented instead of being committed to individualism. But research into mosque organizations and affiliated institutions in Dutch society should not be analysed from the perspective of civil society and Islam in Muslim society.¹² Mosques and affiliated institutions in the Netherlands develop in a different way from mosques in the countries of origin. Especially the development and expansion of social activities, by mosques or by means of affiliated institutions, seems characteristic of Europe. Therefore the focus in this article is concerned with civil society and religion. Studies into the relationship between civil society and “Islamic” immigrant organizations have already been called for¹³ and are logical because “The language of civil society—although often sociologically underdeveloped—has been the predominant way in which claims to personhood and self-determination have been grounded in appeals to social integration.”¹⁴ So it is important to focus on the dynamics of civil society, especially in relation to religion. After discussing the concepts of civil society and citizenship in relation to each other, the results of the research will be presented by a description of the institutions, their activities, the developments in the organizations, and the discussion about Muslims concerning the societal and religious functions of mosques.

Civil Society

Calhoun characterizes civil society as: a civil sphere in which people can organize their daily lives without the intervention of the state.¹⁵ In addition to this description, there are more idealistic characterizations, such as: the sphere within which citizens take responsibility in voluntary associations in order to make a difference in society at large. This pertains to activities which are performed with and for others which are not directly aimed at achieving a material *quid pro quo* or focused on operation and management in the private arena.¹⁶ The activities therefore are voluntary. The sphere of civil society has become more important due to the receding involvement of government, prompting citizens, private organizations, private funds, churches and the business community to take responsibility for the common good.¹⁷ Positive qualities are almost always attributed to civil society. It is often used as an answer to crises in societies.¹⁸ It is therefore a normative concept. Dekker¹⁹ calls civil society something beautiful and worth striving for, but at the same time he thinks that civil society points to organizations and associations; it is therefore also an empirical concept.

Civil society is more or less independent of the worlds of the market and government and of the private sphere, yet not entirely since there are overlapping areas. One of these overlapping areas is religion. Discussions are also underway on whether religious organizations could be a part of the civil society²⁰ or is religion appropriate only to the private sphere. How the boundaries of civil society are marked out in relationship to the market, government and the private sphere depends on the history of the country and interests from the personal discipline.²¹

For other reasons, too, civil society has seldom been linked to religion.²² A simple form of the secularization thesis—namely that the importance of religion is declining in the modern world—is taken for granted by both academics and others.²³ From this perspective, religion is not considered to be fundamentally important (anymore) for modern societies, including the civil society.²⁴ According to the mainstream of sociological thought, civil society is constructed according to a purely secular logic. This perspective includes the view that religious organizations that devote themselves to promoting the common good are difficult to place within civil society. We can also see this in the discussion on immigrant organizations. They are increasingly placed within civil society, yet this seems to be difficult for religious immigrant organizations, especially “Islamic” organizations.

In practice, a large number of Muslims in the West, and particularly in the Netherlands, are religious. Moroccans and Turks in the Netherlands are for now not susceptible to secularization.²⁵ Besides, religion is often a central focus of an immigrant’s identity. Religious organizations function as a centre for social gatherings, parties, as a place where the redefinition of language and customs takes place, and where people can go for support in regard to practical matters such as finding work or a place to live, training courses and administrative matters. Religion in the immigrant country is also often a more significant point of reference for the identity of immigrants than it was in the countries of origin.²⁶ For volunteers working for mosques and Islamic organizations who devote themselves to setting up humanitarian activities, Islam serves as an important source of inspiration.²⁷ This involvement especially requires making a connection between religion and civil society. Van Harskamp²⁸ identifies five ways to establish this link. The third way he identifies comes the closest to the empirical experience of immigrants in Western societies: religion seems to be a source of social capital.²⁹ This is not to say that civil society in the Netherlands as a whole is characterized by religion as a source

of social capital, but this is the case for a part of the society that is civil society. Van Harskamp establishes the relationship between civil society and religion as a source of social capital via the study of Christian versions of religion and religious organizations in Western societies. In this article, following the lead of Herbert,³⁰ mosques and foundations affiliated with mosques are considered to be social organizations that can be a source of social capital and are therefore placed within civil society. Then the question is: is there a positive relation between mosques and affiliated organizations on one side and social capital or the development of the social capital of the Muslim mosque community (the board and their constituency) on the other side?

But if social capital is the key to making the connection between the religious organization and civil society, this concept needs to be explained. Van Harskamp³¹ defines social capital as “the ability to take action that is received or obtained with help of other people and for the benefit of other people.” It is in associations and organizations that people “make connections” with each other. These ties, or social capital, can be both “bonding” and “bridging.” Civil society can have a bonding function whereby the capital is created within one group, is directed inwardly and supports an exclusive identity, or it can have a bridging function in which the capital brings different groups into contact with each other.³² Both forms of social capital can be both desirable and undesirable socially. In a pluralistic society, the “bridging” form of social capital is the most important form.³³ A subcategory of “bridging” social capital is what Van Harskamp³⁴ calls “linking,” which is acting on behalf of or in collaboration with people or organizations which operate in another capacity, such as when a mosque collaborates with the government. In this study into mosques and affiliated foundations, this view of immigrant organizations plays a key role within civil society in the search for bridging and bonding functions. Both functions cannot be separated, but rather work together. However, in reality this combination can create conflicts too.

Citizenship

Just like the concept of civil society, citizenship is a concept that has become increasingly popular in the last 15 years among politicians and policy makers, social scientists and political philosophers. Because of the popularity of the concept, the definition given to it is rather broad and vague. It is used, on the one hand, as a concept in the social sciences to describe empirical reality and, on the other, as a normative concept to express a desired social reality. Penninx and Slijper³⁵ make a distinction between the two definitions of citizenship. “Citizenship as a status” pertains to the rights and obligations that the citizen has in relation to the state; the legal status of a person as a member of a political community. “Citizenship as a virtue” refers to a particular behaviour or disposition of a person, a citizen that behaves in a certain way and who possesses particular qualities;³⁶ it primarily pertains to the relationship between citizen and state. Citizenship as a status is an actual disposition, while citizenship as a virtue can vary with the views of the person concerned with respect to citizenship. Within the civil society citizenship best fits as a virtue because within civil society the focus is on citizens taking responsibility and devoting themselves as a single organized group to promoting the common good.

The vision of mosque councils and the boards of mosque-affiliated foundations with respect to their role in Dutch society is tied to their view of citizenship. Concerning immigrants, citizenship is linked to integration.³⁷ So the question in relation to citizenship is: what do the boards of the mosque-affiliated foundations understand integration to mean and how are they trying to give shape to this within their organizations? At the policy level

of local governments and city districts, citizenship as a virtue with respect to immigrant organizations can be approached in two ways. On the one hand, it can be approached from the perspective of what the role of immigrant organizations could be, that is to say, what resources and opportunities do these organizations have (the empirical question). On the other hand, it can be from the perspective of what the role of our own organizations should be and what the government or society thinks they should do and how they should develop (the normative question).³⁸ This research reveals what view the city district has of immigrant organizations and what role the mosque organizations see for themselves in Dutch society.

Mosques and Affiliated Organizations

Immigrants establish organizations for different reasons. Mosques are established to meet the need for religious expression. As a part of this effort, mosques play a role in the creation, expression and preservation of a collective religious identity. The establishment of organizations is influenced, among other things, by the immigration process, the structure of opportunities in the adopted society and the characteristics of the immigrant community.³⁹ It also refers to the developments in the country of origin and the image formed of the immigrant group in the media in the country in which they settle. Once these organizations have been established, they come under the influence of local, national and international developments.

In the Netherlands, there are 436 registered and active mosques and Islamic places of worship. More than half of them, 225, are managed by Turkish organizations, 139 by Moroccans and 47 by Surinamese and Pakistanis. The rest are managed by Somalis, Indonesians, etc.⁴⁰ The number of mosque-affiliated foundations is unknown. The affiliated foundations are often established from a practical viewpoint. Mosque councils can then entirely focus on the practical side of the mosque organization which includes membership records and mosque maintenance. Through the affiliated foundations, young people, men and women can organize activities independently of one another. And these foundations can often apply for subsidies from local governments as well as for funds, unlike mosques.

A number of exploratory studies have been conducted into the social activities of, and the volunteer work within, mosque organizations.⁴¹ They reveal that, increasingly, mosques in the Netherlands are, in addition to being places for religious gatherings and experience, also places where social activities are organized. These social activities consist of educational activities, socio-cultural activities, activities that promote participation in society, inter-religious activities and recreational activities.⁴² In the rest of Europe, the same development is observed; mosques are increasingly organizing social and cultural activities. Although the daily attendance at the mosque is not extremely high, with the exception of Friday prayers and religious feasts, the mosques form a central point in the public visibility of Islam and are the centres of community life for Muslims.⁴³ An exploratory study in Amsterdam into the social role of mosques shows that mosques in Amsterdam are active in the area of welfare and in increasing the self-reliance of the Muslim community. Activities that promote participation in society are also increasingly being launched.⁴⁴

Activities in the area of integration are often not the result of an initiative of the mosques but come from outside. The researchers say that this is due to an unfamiliarity with the political relationships in the Netherlands, the cautious attitude of the mosque councils and the view of mosque councils that activities aimed at strengthening their

own identity contribute to social participation and integration; bonding is seen as a condition for bridging. Thus mosques focus more on bonding and see bonding as an activity of integration.⁴⁵

Muslim Organizations in the Slotervaart District

Slotervaart is a city district in Amsterdam West with an approximate population of 44,000. In recent years, it has been given considerable attention in the press due to a number of events. In 1998, “clashes” broke out between Moroccan young people and the police.⁴⁶ Mohammed B., the assassin of filmmaker Theo van Gogh, grew up in this district. His father regularly attends one of the mosques included in this study, i.e. El Oumma Islamia. In 2005, the book *Onzichtbare ouders. De buurt van Mohammed B.* (Invisible Parents. The Neighbourhood of Mohammed B.), written by journalist Margalith Kleijwegt, was published. This book caused considerable consternation due to the picture it sketches of the district’s residents. For instance, migrant parents were blamed for a lack of involvement with the performance of their children at school.⁴⁷

In 2002, the number of residents in the district with a Muslim background was nearly 11,000.⁴⁸ Of these residents, 7.5% have a Turkish ethnic background. Approximately 13.9% are Moroccans. These percentages are higher than the average for Amsterdam as a whole.⁴⁹ Several of the residents with a Turkish or Moroccan ethnic background have organized themselves along religious lines within four Muslim places of worship and the affiliated foundations.

El Oumma Islamia Mosque and the Islamic Socio-Cultural Centre

El Oumma Islamia is a Moroccan mosque organization that, since 1992, has been located in the Postjesweg area. The mosque is affiliated with the umbrella organization UMMAO, the Union of Moroccan Mosques in Amsterdam and its metropolitan area. The mosque has 670 members who make financial contributions. The mosque council consists of four men from the first generation of immigrants. On Fridays approximately 600 men and 250 women attend prayers. On a regular weekday there are approximately 60 men and three women in attendance. Most of the people who attend the mosque have a Moroccan background. Surinamese, Turks, Pakistanis and people from different parts of Africa also attend but they are a minority.

The activities are managed by the mosque-affiliated foundation, the Islamic Socio-Cultural Centre (ISCC). This foundation was established in 2001. The current board of the ISCC consists of seven men from the first generation immigrant community. Primarily Moroccans take part in the activities. The sports activities are held in a community centre and at a public primary school. The foundation receives a subsidy from the city district of Slotervaart for the Dutch language lessons, homework assistance, sports for women, and sports and play for children. The volunteers who give lessons in sewing, sports, Arabic and Qur’an are people with a Moroccan background. The Dutch language lessons are given by volunteers with a Dutch background.

The Sounat Mosque and El Noer Foundation

The Sounat Mosque was established 25 years ago and serves the residents in the city district of Slotervaart with a Turkish ethnic background. For the past 15 years the mosque has been located in the Jan Evertsenstraat area. It has approximately 100 members. The

mosque is not affiliated with an umbrella organization. The El Noer foundation and El Mohammedia foundation are affiliated with the Sounat Mosque. These foundations were established in 1995. El Noer represents women and El Mohammedia⁵⁰ represents men.

The board of El Noer is made up of six women. In addition to the foundation's board, there are three volunteers that organize activities and maintain contact with the women in the district. The volunteers are from the "first and a half" generation (they were born in the land of origin and moved to the Netherlands at a young age) and from the second generation of immigrants. Volunteers for the board and for the organization of activities are recruited from within the Muslim community. Volunteers for the Dutch language lessons, homework assistance and language support are recruited via the Amsterdam volunteers centre. The activities are funded by donations received from the Muslim community, personal contributions and subsidies from the city district of Slotervaart. The activities that the women organize take place in a community centre, with the exception of the religious and Qur'an lessons on Fridays and during the weekends, which are held in the prayer area.

The Harmonieus Samenleven Foundation and the Quba Mosque

The Harmonieus Samenleven (Harmonious Coexistence) foundation is a Moroccan organization that was established in 1999 without affiliating with an official mosque. Harmonieus Samenleven makes use of a community centre for Friday prayers. The construction of a real mosque is planned for January 2008.⁵¹ The prayer area is at present informally designated as the Quba mosque. The mosque is now a member of the UMMAO.

One of the current activities of Harmonieus Samenleven is providing facilities for Friday prayers. People attending the Friday prayers comprise of Moroccans, Egyptians, Somalis and Turks. The prayer area can accommodate a maximum of 100 worshippers. Primarily Moroccans participate in the activities which the foundation organizes. The board of Harmonieus Samenleven comprises of seven persons with a Moroccan background, from both first and second generations. There are also eight volunteers active in organizing events with both a Moroccan and a Dutch character. The activities are funded through donations from the Muslim community, personal contributions and a subsidy from the city district of Slotervaart.

Islamic Centre of Amsterdam West Foundation and Ekmel Study Centre

The Islamic Centre of Amsterdam West Foundation (SICAW) is a Turkish mosque organization that is a part of the Stichting Islamitisch Centrum Nederland (SICN)⁵² (Islamic Centre of the Netherlands Foundation). In 1997, SICAW started using a former primary school as a mosque. Between 1997 and 2000, in addition to activities such as the teaching of Arabic, the Quran and religious lessons, homework assistance was also provided. But this was not helping young people enough. As a result, it was then decided in 2000 to establish the Ekmel Study Centre.

The objective of the Ekmel Study Centre is to support and improve the school results of young people in secondary education and senior secondary vocational education. They identify 'gaps' between the parents and child with respect to school. The parents usually do not know the Dutch school system well enough. Since they do not always know what homework their child has been given, they also do not know whether or not it is being done. However, Ekmel does not seek to replace the parents, but rather to involve them.

At present, 80 boys live inside Ekmel, which also has about 300 external pupils each year including some from group 8 (aged 11 and 12), who are preparing to take the Cito exam (the final test for primary education), and some from the secondary education examination classes, who are preparing for their exams. Girls are given homework assistance in the weekend at the women's section of SICAW, which operates independently from Ekmel. There are plans by the board of SICAW to start a study centre for girls as well, but a suitable location has not yet been found. Ekmel organizes 80% of its activities inside the mosque building, but religious activities are not included. SICAW organizes religious activities for young people, men and women. There is also a small shop, a barber and a restaurant located at the mosque.

Ekmel has three board members, a policy employee, seven ID employees (social project employees funded by the local government) and 15 Turkish male volunteers with a higher professional and university education, who provide homework assistance. When pupils have problems, they can go to an in-house counsellor. The study centre is funded through donations from the Muslim community, personal contributions from parents, and funds and subsidies from the city district of Slotervaart.

Organizational Activities

The activities that the foundations organize fall into a number of categories. Under the category of religious activities fall the religious instructions, Arabic and Quran lessons for children and adults. Educational activities include Dutch language lessons for adults, homework assistance for children in primary and secondary school, language support for primary schoolchildren, computer lessons for adults and museum visits. Social activities include information meetings and inter-religious meetings. Information meetings focus on developments in Dutch society, such as the new health insurance system that took effect in January 2006. Information meetings have been held at different organizations with the involvement of a local police officer. And recently the El Noer foundation organized information meetings focused on childrearing, to which an expert from the municipal health service was invited. Finally, there are sports activities: sports and play for children, football for children, and aerobics and swimming lessons for adults.

Developments within the Organizations

A description of the organizations studied and the activities they provide gives little understanding of the developments within the organizations, which is necessary for a comprehensive analysis from a civil society perspective. We see four important aspects in the developments of the mosques and their affiliated organizations: the role of women and the role of young people; the relation between the management board and their constituency; and the relation between the city district and the organizations. The first three aspects can be seen as internal developments and the last mentioned can be typified as a process in relation to the local opportunity structure in Amsterdam society.

The Role of Women

Muslim women may not formally be *imams* in the mosque, but they are almost always active within mosque organizations. In the congregations of immigrants in Houston, Texas that Ebaugh and Chafetz⁵³ have studied, it seems that women almost never

occupy a position of leadership. They are active giving lessons to children and young people, providing social services, and involved in missionary work.⁵⁴ In many (religious) immigrant organizations in the Netherlands, women do not occupy positions on boards.⁵⁵ In the mosque organizations studied in Slotervaart, Amsterdam, there are differences in the positions that women occupy. In the Moroccan places of worship and their affiliated foundations, women are not a part of the formal council structures. The same is true for the councils of Turkish places of worship. Yet the board of El Noer, the affiliated foundation of the Sounat mosque, consists entirely of women.

In both the Turkish mosque organizations, separate departments for women are active within the mosque. Women have the possibility and freedom to develop and run their own activities for women and children. The women also have access to a *hodja* (a female “*imam*,” who gives religious lessons and advice). In Moroccan organizations, other developments are underway. There are women active within the mosque and in the mosque-affiliated organizations, but the mosque councils consist entirely of men who coordinate these activities. There are no separate departments for women within the mosque.

Another remarkable point is the fact that women are very active within the three organizations studied, more active than men.⁵⁶ The activities that are organized predominantly have female participants. For instance, at the ISCC on the four mornings during which there are activities for women—Dutch language lessons, Arabic lessons and sewing lessons—approximately 60 women attend each time. The men do not attend Arabic lessons, but only Dutch language lessons on three evenings a week. There are approximately ten participants each time.

At two of the organizations, women took the initiative of organizing activities independently because they were dissatisfied with the way things were going. They complained about the all-male management of the activities provided. A Moroccan woman, who tried for years to organize more activities for women, was opposed by the mosque council. In her opinion, the mosque can do much more to promote the emancipation and integration of Muslim women. In the end, she set up her own women’s organization, Nisa for Nisa. This organization wants to help isolated women integrate and participate in society and, in the end, mobilize them. The foundation is completely independent and does not collaborate with the mosque. There are women who attend the mosque and participate in activities at Nisa for Nisa too. A similar conflict took place within the mosque that Ebaugh and Chafetz studied.⁵⁷ The women in this mosque saw no benefit to a women’s group sponsored by the mosque because, in their view, the men want them to be submissive and they are not allowed to take any initiative or make decisions. As a result, they established an independent organization that provides social services to Muslim women. Subjects are addressed that the men in the mosque simply do not want to discuss.⁵⁸ At the Turkish mosque Sounat in Slotervaart some three years ago, a “conflict” arose between the male department (Almohammedia) and female department (El Noer). Up until 2002, the men maintained all contacts with the city district and applied for a subsidy to fund the activities for the women. The subsidy application did not go well because, according to the women, the men did not take the required paperwork seriously. In the end, the women took matters into their own hands and took over the organization from the men. The women now organize the activities, keep their own records and maintain their own contact with the city district. The women at the Sounat mosque are now more active than the men, who currently are not participating in any socially oriented activities.

The Role of Young People

All mosque organizations in Slotervaart have concerns about their “youth”. These concerns pertain to school performance, as well as to criminality and radicalization. The ISCC, Harmonieus Samenleven and El Noer have developed activities focused on children and young people aged 12 to 16. These activities include homework assistance, language support and sports and play. The Ekmel Study Centre is different in this respect because all activities are geared towards young people and education. Ekmel is also a foundation that consists entirely of young people. The board of SICAW took the initiative of establishing Ekmel, but over time has transferred the organization in to the hands of young people in the second generation. The volunteers that provide homework assistance at Ekmel largely volunteer on their own initiative. Often these volunteers are young people who were once enrolled in a similar study centre.

The Moroccan foundations would like to reach out more to young people for activities and volunteer work, but are finding it difficult to do so. If young people are active, they are often given tasks such as translating the Friday sermon into Dutch and organizing activities for young people, but they are not given any management responsibilities. The obstacles to having young people move into management functions are, according to the boards of the mosques: a lack of time and money among young people, the delicate and responsible nature of leadership which is not appropriate for young people, and the lack of recruitment; and according to the young people, the obstacles are the “power-hungry” attitude of the established mosque managers,⁵⁹ differences in organization culture perspectives between older and young people, and the failure of the city district to set priorities.⁶⁰

The El Noer foundation also has no activities for young people under 25, with the exception of aerobics. It has submitted a subsidy proposal to the Slotervaart city district to provide English homework assistance to young people in secondary education. But the volunteers of the foundation have noticed that girls under 25 are involved in other kinds of things and have no desire to participate in the activities of the foundation.

Because of these developments around young people, Moroccan youth, between 16 and 25 in particular, virtually take no part in the mosque organizations. For the religious activities they depend on what is offered at the mosques in Slotervaart, where little thought is given to young people, or at mosques in other districts of the city where more attention is given to young people, such as the Badr and Ettaouhid mosque (a Salafi mosque) in the Amsterdam city districts of Bos and Lommer. For recreational activities, young people can turn to the Opportuna foundation in Slotervaart. Girls are increasingly finding their way to the Nisa foundation because this organization has discovered that little is being offered to girls and is trying to fill the gap.

Management Board and the Constituency

The boards of Ekmel and El Noer operate more independently from the constituency of their respective mosques than the management boards of ISCC and Harmonieus Samenleven.⁶¹ The boards of the Turkish mosque-affiliated self-help organizations have a stronger position of authority. This is less true of the Moroccan mosque organizations, where the boards have little support and some decisions cannot be implemented. Although the mosques are foundations, they often function as associations with respect to the appointment of new council members. Council members and volunteers say that everyone who pays a contribution to the mosque wants to have a voice in the mosque.

This can lead to conflicts. At the El Oumma Islamia mosque this led to the dismissal of an *imam* and the cancellation of planned activities for young people at the mosque.

In the relationship between the mosque council and the constituency, there is another point involved. Council members come to know about problems among the constituency which they think need to be tackled. They see problems, for instance, in the area of schooling, family life and criminality. But because these are taboo subjects, the problems are difficult to tackle—problems such as abuse, for instance. Mosque councils and volunteers will help when someone approaches them, but will seldom take the initiative of approaching someone in the constituency concerning a problem. Even the *imam* in his Friday sermon can only talk about such things in general terms, according to the ISCC chairman.

The councils of mosques and boards of mosque-affiliated foundations are linked with each other in all of the discussed organizations. This is because the mosque-affiliated foundations of three organizations were established by the mosque. There are family and friendship ties between the respective council members and board members. In the case of the El Noer foundation and the Ekmel study centre, the boards operate independently from the mosque councils. Activities are sometimes discussed and the mosque councils also give advice to the affiliated foundations. On the board of the Harmonieus Samenleven foundation sit four people who are engaged with the practical side of the prayer area, such as membership records and maintenance and cleaning of the prayer area. The other four people on the board focus on educational, social and sports activities. Soon a new board will be established which will focus on the construction of the Quba mosque. The current chairman of Harmonieus Samenleven also wants to serve on the board of the Quba mosque. The El Oumma Islamia mosque and ISCC are also linked with one another because the chairman of the ISCC is also the spokesperson for the mosque, simply because he is the only one on the two boards who speaks Dutch well enough. Officially the councils of the mosques and the boards of the affiliated foundations are separate from each other, but in practice there is overlap.

Support from the City District of Slotervaart

The city district of Slotervaart subsidizes the activities of the four mosque-affiliated foundations. Through a well-considered subsidization of the activities of self-help organizations and professional social work, it wants to provide a broad-ranging collection of socio-cultural, recreational and social participation activities. It does not subsidize organizations, but only supports activities.⁶² The foundations affiliated with mosques are treated in the same manner as other self-help organizations in the city district. These foundations are considered to be vitally important because they have substantial support in the Muslim community and can organize activities in a way that appeals to this community.

For the organization of the activities, the foundations depend on the subsidies to a large degree. The foundations primarily organize activities that the city district subsidizes, with the exception of religious activities. Only the Ekmel study centre does not depend on the subsidy it receives from the city district to fund its activities, because it also receives personal contributions from the parents of students and appeals to charities for funding.

This demonstrates what other authors call the importance of the political structure of opportunity for (immigrant) self-help organizations.⁶³ There is an interaction that takes place between the manner in which the political system responds to self-help organizations and the response of self-help organizations themselves. Immigrants in

the Netherlands are often addressed by the government in terms of nationality and ethnicity. Immigrants also often organize themselves on this basis.⁶⁴ The government likes to communicate with immigrant organizations because it gives it a contact through which it can reach the entire community.⁶⁵ In the city district of Slotervaart, the foundations affiliated with mosques function as a contact point for the city district. The city district, for its part, thinks that these organizations are able to activate their communities by organizing activities in a way, and at a location, which is familiar to them. To activate these organizations, the city district organizes meetings with the boards a few times a year to discuss local policy, problems concerning young people, women's issues, education, criminality, etc. This linking function creates a contact point and a network to solve conflicts and organize festivals, discussions and other neighbourhood activities.⁶⁶

The political structure of opportunity is less important to Muslims and their religious organizations, according to Rijkschroeff en Duyvedak.⁶⁷ The attitude of governments is less relevant to Islam. This is possibly because it is a relatively public religion.⁶⁸ This is certainly true for the mosques in the city district. They will continue to be a place of prayer and a location for religious education regardless of the attitude of the city district. But without a subsidy, the mosque-affiliated foundations will disappear in the long term due to the low socio-economic position of the community they appeal to, who cannot fund these activities themselves, and due to the lack of support from this community for some of the activities. How the organizations develop also depends on the availability of volunteers who want to commit their time and energy to the mosque-affiliated foundations.

The Functions of Mosques: Religious or Social?

According to the boards of the mosque-affiliated foundations, in addition to being places of prayer and religious gathering, mosques also have a social function. The religious and social functions are complementary. Problems which occur in the community have to be addressed. The foundation boards think that the mosques have an important role to play in such instances because they can reach a large group of people. People that do not always find their way to professional institutions do find their way to the mosque. The families of women sometimes want them to participate in activities only at the mosque because it is known to be a safe environment. For this reason, mosques in the Netherlands have both a religious and a social function. This is in contrast to the countries of origin, where the mosques primarily have a religious function. The board members of the mosque-affiliated foundations find nothing strange about combining these functions. They take it for granted. They comment that, even without these activities, the mosque still functions as a meeting place where people help each other and seek and provide advice on the problems that they face in Dutch society.

For immigrants, citizenship has been transformed, in practice, into integration. Integration proved to be an emotionally charged term during the interviews. Still the board members were able to point to a number of things all concerned with integration: having a knowledge of the Dutch language and of Dutch values and social standards, respecting Dutch laws and participating in society (through work, activities or volunteer work). Integration can be accomplished successfully through the mosque-affiliated organizations because integrating in society does not mean that you have to leave your faith, traditions and culture behind. Islam provides inspiration for being active for and in society. Examples of this which were mentioned include: being good to your neighbours (neighbourhood), work is valued higher than doing nothing and, as a Muslim, you are

obliged to give something in return for the 'ground' on which you live. Citizenship is therefore seen as being active in society through work or other activities. Volunteers within the organizations studied try to get their community socially involved through activities and exchange of information.

The social function of the mosques takes its shape in the social and community subjects touched on in the sermon during Friday prayers and in the mosque-affiliated foundations and their activities. At some mosques, such as the ISCC, there is a visible tension between the differing views of what the function of a mosque should be. A small section of the community thinks that the mosque should only be a place for prayer and not for social activities. Due to the complicated relationship between the mosque council, the mosque-affiliated foundation and the community, the council is sometimes thwarted from developing the social function of the mosque.⁶⁹ Activities of a non-religious nature, according to the council members, can be best organized by mosque-affiliated foundations and not by the mosque itself.

Conclusion

In this article, a picture is drawn of four mosques and the affiliated foundations in the civil society of the Amsterdam city district of Slotervaart. The mosques and their affiliated foundations have both a bridging function and a bonding function to fulfil. The bridging function of the mosques and foundations is expressed as part of the social and community subjects that are discussed in the sermon on Friday and the social and educational activities that are organized. But the bridging function also operates informally, since people in the mosques help each other and provide advice on problems which they confront in Dutch society. The organizations also have a strong bonding function. They are active at the district level and focus on their own religious community in the neighbourhood. But their orientation is primarily geared towards the Netherlands, less towards the countries of origin. Mosques and their affiliated foundations have both a religious and a social function, according to the mosques councils and foundation boards. These cannot be addressed independently. The boards and councils see it as their responsibility to tackle problems. The community's involvement in, and feeling of responsibility for, problems is, in part, dictated by Islam. But many problems are known indeed but not visible to the councils due to the taboo surrounding subjects such as abuse and negligence.

The organizations find themselves in an environment in which they must function and within which they try to shape their social responsibility. There are developments and changes afoot both internally and externally. Internally some organizations are confronted with a lack of volunteers; with a lack of professionalism; with the difficulty of reaching young people; with persons from the community, including women, who do not agree with their policies and who take over their own part of the organization or who even split off and start their own organization. External developments which the organizations are confronted with include the image and the expectations which the city district has of the organizations. Other developments include the changing political relationships within the city district of Slotervaart, as a result of which there is less money available for the activities of self-help organizations than there was a number of years ago.

In this contested area, in which the organizations find themselves, the dynamic character of civil society is evident. Like other volunteer organizations, these organizations are continuously changing. Within all of these developments and changes the organizations try to carry out their social function. This does not always go smoothly, there

are a lot of changes and even conflicts, but the board members and volunteers are convinced that mosques, in addition to their religious function, have a responsibility to help solve the problems confronted by their community in Dutch society. They try to build a bridge to Dutch society by appealing to the community from the perspective of their bonding function.

NOTES

1. Marcel Maussen, "Making Muslim presence meaningful: Studies on Islam and mosques in Western Europe," Amsterdam: ASSR en IMES URL, 2005, pp. 2–4, available online at <<http://www.fmg.uva.nl/assr/workingpapers/index.htm>>.
2. There is also discussion surrounding the construction of new mosques and the architectural style for these buildings. F. Lindo, *Heilige wijsheid in Amsterdam: Ayasofia, stadsdeel De Baarsjes en de strijd om het Riva-terrein* (Holy Wisdom in Amsterdam: Ayasofia, city district De Baarsjes and the battle for the Riva site), Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1999.
3. Anja Van Heelsum, "Explaining trends, developments and activities of Moroccan organizations in the Netherlands," *Paper for the Sociaal Wetenschappelijk studiedagen* (Paper for the Days of Social Science), 30–31 May 2002, Amsterdam, Amsterdam: IMES, 2002, available online at: <http://users.fmg.uva.nl/avanheelsum/Paper%20Moroccan%20Organizations.pdf> (accessed 30 June 2006); A. Van Heelsum, M. Fennema and J. Tillie, "Moslim in Nederland. Islamitische organisaties in Nederland" (Muslim in the Netherlands. Islamic organizations in the Netherlands), SCP werkdokument 106, Den Haag: SCP, 2004. K. Canatan, C.H. Oudijk and A. Ljamai, *De maatschappelijke rol van de Rotterdamse moskeeën* (The social role of the Rotterdam mosques), Rotterdam: Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (In opdracht van het College van Burgemeesters en Wethouders van de Gemeente Rotterdam (On behalf of the council of Rotterdam), 2003. K. Canatan, M. Popovic and R. Edinga, *Maatschappelijk actief in moskeeverband. Een verkennend onderzoek naar de maatschappelijke activiteiten van en het vrijwilligerswerk binnen moskeeorrganisaties en het gemeentelijk beleid ten aanzien van moskeeorrganisaties* (Social activities in mosque organizations. An exploratory research into the social activities of and the volunteer work in mosque organizations and the local policy concerning mosque organizations), Hertogenbosch/Utrecht: Ihsan, 2005.
4. Edien Bartels, "Dutch Islam: young people, learning and integration," *Current Sociology*, Vol. 48, No. 4, October 2000, pp. 59–73. R. Penninx and B. Slijper, *Voor elkaar? Integratie, vrijwilligerswerk en organisaties van migranten* (To Each Other? Integration, Volunteer Work and Organization of Migrants), Amsterdam: IMES, 1999. R. Rijkschroef and J. W. Duyvendak, "De omstrede betekenis van zelforganisaties" (The controversial meaning of self-organizations), *Sociologische Gids*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 2004, pp. 18–35.
5. J. Rath, R. Penninx, K. Groenendijk and A. Meijer, *Nederland en zijn Islam. Een ontzuilende samenleving reageert op het ontstaan van een geloofsgemeenschap* (The Netherlands and their Islam. A Society Removing Religious and Political Barriers (De-pillarization), Reacts on the Arising of a Community of Faith), Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1996.
6. Inspectorate of Education, available online at <<http://194.13.31.214/>>. In Dutch society, Muslims and non-Muslims speak about "Islamic" schools and "Islamic" organizations; "Islamic" funerals, butchers, etc. The adjective "Muslim" is less used.
7. Stichting Islamitische Begrafeniswezen (Foundation for Islamic Burials), available online at <<http://www.stichtingibw.nl>>.
8. D. Douwes, M. de Koning and W. Boender, eds., *Nederlandse moslims. Van migrant tot burger* (Dutch Muslims. From Migrant to Citizen), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press Salomé, 2005, p. 40.
9. The research was conducted within the framework of the project "Building up Social Cohesion in Amsterdam" of the VU University Amsterdam and the Slotervaart research project (Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, VU University, under supervision of Dr E. Bartels), into immigrant organizations and identity formation among Muslim young people. The research strategies were anthropological; participating observation; semi-structured and open interviews with volunteers, board members, participants in activities and officials from the city district Slotervaart. The fieldwork was carried out by Inge de Jong.
10. M. Kamali, "Civil society and Islam: a sociological perspective," *Archives. Européennes Sociologie*, Vol. XLII, No. 3, 2001, pp. 457–482, 457.

11. M. Herben, "Is het islamitisch Andaloes uit de twaalfde eeuw een school voorbeeld van een harmonische multiculturele samenleving?" (Is the Islamic Andalus from the twelfth century an example of a harmonic multicultural society?), *Trouw*, 11/02/2006. M. Leezenberg, "De twee verlichtingen van de islam" (The Two Enlightenments of Islam), *Trouw*, 18/02/2006.
12. See Kamali, "Civil Society," *op. cit.*, pp. 457–482. D. Herbert, *Religion and Civil Society. Rethinking Public Religion in the Contemporary World*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003. A. B. Sajoo, ed., *Civil Society in the Muslim World. Contemporary Perspectives*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2002.
13. N. Landman and T. Sunier, "Ze zijn gelukkig maar een beetje serieus. Secularisatie en islamitische organisatievorming in Nederland" (Fortunately, they is only a little religious secularisation and the formation of Islamic organizations), *Migrantenstudies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2005, pp. 13–29. The construction of civil society is even seen as a recommendation for prevention of radicalisation among young people in Amsterdam. See: Slootman and Tillie, *Processen van Radicalisering. Waarom sommige Amsterdamse Moslims Radicaal worden* (Processes of Radicalization. Why Some People of Amsterdam Become Radicals), Amsterdam: Instituut voor Migratie en Etnische Studies (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies), University of Amsterdam, 2006.
14. Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Civil Society: Democracy, Diversity and Self-Determination," *International Sociology*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1993, pp. 304–335. A. Van Harskamp, "Religie en civil society: vijf keer anders" (Religion and civil society: five times different), in *Civil Society tussen oud en nieuw* (Civil religion between old and new), P. Dekker, M. Hooghe and G. Buijs, eds., Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008.
15. See Calhoun, "Nationalism and Civil Society," *op. cit.*, pp. 304–335.
16. J. Bussemaker, "Tussen zelfopoffering en eigenbelang: de civil society in relatie tot de privé- en publieke sfeer" (Between self-sacrifice and self-interest: civil society in relation to the private and the public sphere), in *Civil Society. Verkenningen van een perspectief op vrijwilligerswerk* (Explorations of a Perspective into Volunteer Work), P. Dekker, ed., Rijswijk/Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 1994, pp. 38–52.
17. Th. N. M. Schuyt, *Filantropische Studies. Capita Selecta* (Philanthropical Studies. Capita Selecta), Utrecht: Uitgeverij de Graaff, 2002, p. 87.
18. A. Van Harskamp, *Van fundi's, spirituelen en moralisten. Over civil society en religie* (About Fundi, Spirituals and Moralists. About Civil Society and Religion), Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok, 2003.
19. P. Dekker, "De civil society als terrein en taak" (Civil society as scope and duty), *In de Marge*, Vol. 8, No.1, 2004, p. 15.
20. A. Van Harskamp, "Religie en civil society: vijf keer anders" (Religion and civil society: five times different), *op. cit.*
21. See Dekker, "De civil Society als terrein en taak" (Civil society as scope and duty), *op. cit.*, p. 17.
22. See Van Harskamp, *Van fundi's, spirituelen en moralisten* (About Fundi, Spirituals and Moralists), *op. cit.*, p. 68.
23. From the perspective of the modernization paradigm, religion and religiosity are part of an incomplete modernization process.
24. See Herbert, *Religion and Civil Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 17; J. W. Becker and J.S.W. de Wit, *Secularisatie in de jaren negentig* (Secularization in the Nineties), Rijswijk/Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2000.
26. H. R. Ebaugh and J. S. Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants. Continuity and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*, New York: Altamira Press, 2000, pp. 5, 8, 94. T. Martikainen, *Immigrant Religions in Local Society. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives in the City of Turku*, Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, Painsaloma Oy, Åbo, 2004, pp. 4, 6, 263. H. K. Euser, M. Goossen, S. de Vries and S. Wartena, *Migranten in Mokum: de betekenis van migrantenkerken voor de stad Amsterdam* (Migrants in Mokum: The Meaning of Migrant Churches for the City of Amsterdam), Amsterdam: VU University, 2006.
27. I. de Jong, "Moslims Actief in Vrijwillig Verband. Een onderzoek naar Civil Society en Islam in Nederland" (Muslims Active in Voluntary Engagement. A Research into Civil Society and Islam in the Netherlands), Doctoraalscriptie Sociaal Culturele Wetenschappen Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, (Unpublished Master Thesis Social Cultural Sciences, VU University, Amsterdam), 2005.
28. See Van Harskamp, "Religie en civil society: vijf keer anders" (Religion and civil society: five times different), *op. cit.*
29. The first way Van Harskamp identifies a *civil society* is as an a-religious reality and an a-religious concept. The second way: *civil society* can exist only when there exists a civil religion in a society.

- The third way: *civil society* can exist when religion seems to be a source of social capital. The fourth way: *civil society* needs religion for the foundation and the legitimacy of itself, and the fifth way: *civil society* can only exist by spirituality.
30. See Herbert, *Religion and Civil Society*, *op. cit.*; see Van Harskamp, “Van fundi’s, spirituelen en moralisten” (About Fundi, Spirituals and Moralists), *op. cit.*; see Van Harskamp, “Religie en civil society: vijf keer anders” (Religion and civil society: five times different), *op. cit.*
 31. See Van Harskamp, “Religie en civil society: vijf keer anders” (Religion and civil society: five times different), *op. cit.*
 32. M. van der Meulen, “Vroom in de Vinex. Kerk en civil society in de nieuwbouwwijk Leidsche Rijn” (Devout in the Vinex. Church and civil society in a new housing estate Leidsche Rijn), unpublished PhD research, VU University, Amsterdam, 2006, available online at <http://www.shaker.nl/catalogus/PDF/90-423-0287-9_pdf/90-423-0287-9_INH.pdf>.
 33. R. D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000, p. 22.
 34. See Van Harskamp, “Religie en civil society: vijf keer anders” (Religion and civil society: five times different), *op. cit.*
 35. See Penninx and Slijper, *Voor elkaar? Integratie, vrijwilligerswerk en organisaties van migranten* (To Each Other? Integration, Volunteer Work and Organization of Migrants), *op. cit.*, p. 14.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
 38. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 39. See Schrover and Vermeulen, “Immigrant Organizations,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 5, 2005, pp. 823–826; Van Heelsum, “Explaining trends,” *op. cit.*, p. 13.
 40. See Douwes *et al.*, *Nederlandse moslims* (Dutch Muslims), *op. cit.*, p. 40.
 41. See Canatan *et al.*, *De maatschappelijke rol van de Rotterdamse moskeeën* (The Social Role of the Rotterdam Mosques), *op. cit.*; Canatan *et al.*, *Maatschappelijk actief in moskeeverband* (Social Activities in Mosque Organizations), *op. cit.*; D. Driessen, M. van der Werf and A. Boulal, *Laat het van twee kanten komen. Eindrapportage van een verkenning (quick scan) van De maatschappelijke rol van moskeeën in Amsterdam* (Let Two Sides Work. End Report of an Exploration (Quick Scan) of the Amsterdam Mosques’ Social Role), Amsterdam: In opdracht van de gemeente Amsterdam, (On behalf of the Amsterdam City Council), Nieuwe Maan Communicatie en Adviesgroep, ICP Advies, 2004.
 42. See Canatan *et al.*, *Maatschappelijk actief in moskeeverband* (Social Activities in Mosque Organizations), *op. cit.*, p. 47.
 43. J. Cesari, “Mosque conflicts in European Cities: Introduction,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 2005, pp. 1015–1024.
 44. See Driessen *et al.*, *Laat het van twee kanten komen* (Let two sides work. End report of an exploration (quick scan) of the Amsterdam mosques’ social role), *op. cit.*, p. 25.
 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.
 46. Crisis Onderzoeks Team (Crisis Research Team), Rijks Universiteit Leiden, *Incident en ongeregelde Amsterdam West, 23 April 1998. Marokkaanse jongeren, politie en bestuur* (Incident and Disturbances Amsterdam West, 23 April 1998. Moroccan Boys, Police and the City Administration), Alphen aan den Rijn: Samsom, In opdracht van de gemeente Amsterdam (On behalf of the city council of Amsterdam), 1998.
 47. A documentary has also been made on the district of Slotervaart titled: “Onrust” (Unrest) by Ireen van Ditschuyzen, 2005; M. Kleijwegt, *Onzichtbare Ouders. De Buurt van Mohammed B.* (Invisible Parents. The Neighbourhood of Mohammed B.), Zutphen: Plataan, 2005.
 48. Bureau Parkstad (Organization of Public Housing), *Geloven in stedelijke vernieuwing. De behoefte aan religieuze voorzieningen in ParkStad* (Faith in Urban Renovation. The Need for Religious Services in Parkstad), Amsterdam: Bureau Parkstad, 2003.
 49. G. Engbersen, E. Snel and A. Weltevrede, *Sociale herovering in Amsterdam en Rotterdam* (Social Recapture in Amsterdam and Rotterdam), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005, pp. 43–62.
 50. El Mohammedia currently does not organize any activities and, for this reason and due to the difficulty in reaching the council members, is not included in this study.
 51. In 2003, the Bureau Parkstad conducted a study into the need for and feasibility of new religious facilities in Parkstad. The initiative launched by Harmonieus Samenleven for the construction of a mosque has been deemed viable due to the lack of an appropriate prayer area in two neighbourhoods of the city district; see Bureau Parkstad, *De behoefte aan religieuze voorzieningen* (Faith in Urban Renovation. The Need for Religious Services in Parkstad), *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

52. Stichting Islamitisch Centrum Nederland (SICN) is also sometimes called the movement of the Suleymanli's (Canatan *et al.*, *Maatschappelijk actief in moskeeveband* (Social Activities in Mosque Organizations), *op. cit.*, p. 20). This name is derived from the founder, Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan. The organizations affiliated with the SICN focus increasingly on the emancipation and participation of the constituency. They often organize successful homework assistance projects (such as internal study centres) and serve as a model (just as *Milli Görüs*) for successful participation resulting from the emancipation within their own circle; see Bureau Parkstad, *De behoefte aan religieuze voorzieningen* (Faith in Urban Renovation. The Need for Religious Services in Parkstad), *op. cit.*, p. 10.
53. See Ebaugh and Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrant*, *op. cit.*
54. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
55. See Schrover and Vermeulen, "Immigrant Organizations," *op. cit.*
56. This pertains to Harmonieus Samenleven, El Noer and ISCC. The Ekmel Study Centre is aimed only at young people.
57. See Ebaugh and Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrant*, *op. cit.*
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 93.
59. There are some young people who blame the mosque managers for refusing to share their power positions.
60. Martijn de Koning, "Institutionale grenzen. De hulpverlening van RCJ/Het Woonhuis en moskee Nour" (Institutional boundaries. The social assistance of RCJ/Woonhuis and mosque Nour), *Sociale Interventie*, Vol. 11, 2002, pp. 5–13.
61. The foundation Harmonieus Samenleven has a small group of supporters and is not sponsored by an official mosque.
62. Stadsdeel Slotervaart/Overtoomse Veld (City District), *Samen sterk in verenigd verband. Beleidsuitgangspunten ten aanzien van subsidiering van zelforganisaties 2004–2006* (Together Strong. Policy: Migrant Organizations and Subsidy, 2004–2006) Amsterdam: City District Slotervaart, 2003, p. 4.
63. See Rijkschroef and Duyvendak, "De omstreden betekenis van zelforganisaties" (The controversial meaning of self-organizations), *op. cit.*; Schrover and Vermeulen, "Immigrant Organizations," *op. cit.*
64. See Rijkschroeff and Duyvedak, "De omstreden betekenis van zelforganisaties" (The controversial meaning of self-organizations), *op. cit.*, p. 26.
65. See Schrover and Vermeulen, "Immigrant Organizations," *op. cit.*, p. 826.
66. After the murder of Van Gogh, a lot of the tension in the neighbourhood was expressed during a meeting with the mayor of the city, Cohen, and organized by the migrant organizations. More than 300 people attended the meeting.
67. See Rijkschroeff and Duyvedak, "De omstreden betekenis van zelforganisaties" (The controversial meaning of self-organizations), *op. cit.*
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28.
69. It is in the social function that bridging and bounding can cause conflicts. The linking function plays between the mosques, the city council and other migrant organizations. From that perspective we see another function: the board of the mosque and the board of the mosque-affiliated foundations have a broker role between Dutch society and their constituency. This role demands a cautious way of acting. See, Martijn de Koning, "Institutionale grenzen" (Institutional boundaries), *op. cit.*