

This report is an extensive study of the *salafist* community in The Netherlands and orthodox Islamic thought among Dutch Muslims. The study consisted of three ways of data collection: (1) fieldwork in the salafist community in The Netherlands (2) a network analysis of salafist organizations and (3) a survey among Dutch Muslims studying their degree of orthodox Islamic thought. The main results of this study can be summarized as follows:

- The core of salafist thought is aiming at a moral revival by interpreting the Koran and Sunna in a strict way. The religious sources have to be freed from all ‘innovations’ and every decision in daily life has to be legitimized by the religious sources. Salafi’s consider it an obligation to convert people to Islam. Salafism in The Netherlands is certainly not a homogeneous collection of thoughts. We distinguish three ways of thinking:
  - (a) Pure religious salafi’s: they aim at an ‘uncorrupted’ religious lifestyle; they are faithful to their political and religious leaders; they do not involve in politics.
  - (b) Political salafi’s: they are political active. Their aim is to actively improve the situation of Muslims in The Netherlands. Although they think democracy is inferior, they participate in the political system out of pragmatic reasons. Political salafi’s are the most visible salafist group in Dutch society.
  - (c) Jihad’s: they see it as a religious duty to fight for Islam by any means necessary. This can include the use of violence.

Salafist thought is very negative about people who think differently, they consider their own religious interpretation of the Koran and the Sunna as the only true one.

- In The Netherlands three types of salafist organizations can be identified. The first type of organizations is those who explicitly profile themselves as ‘salafist’. This includes some well-known salafist mosques. Then there are salafist organizations who are strongly influenced by salafist thought. They do not explicitly profile themselves as ‘salafist’ but are strongly linked to the network of the first type of organizations. Finally there are organizations that occasionally invite salafist preachers for a lecture or a course. Salafist organizations develop a wide range of activities to spread the word of Islam: lectures, teaching courses, conferences or homework classes. From our network analyses it appears that the managerial salafist elite is isolated from more moderate Islamic organizations. Salafist organizations try to build a *cordon sanitaire* among their members to maximize control over their followers. At the time of our study there were, at the formal elite level, activities to develop one organizational salafist network through interlocking directorates between salafist organizations. 13 per cent of the Islamic schools in The Netherlands is connected to a salafist organization. Given the size of the salafist community this is a strong overrepresentation.
- If we look at the daily religious practice of the members of the Dutch salafist community we can distinguish five types using five criteria: the degree of orthodox religious practices, societal participation, political integration, connection to salafist organizations and radical thought. The five types are: devout follower, devout pragmatic, critic, salafi pride, fanatic born again. The table below summarizes the five types and their scores on the five criteria:

|                 | Degree of orthodox religious practices | Societal participation | Political integration | Connection to salafist organizations | Radical thought |
|-----------------|--|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Devout follower | High                                   | Low                    | Low/medium            | High                                 | Low/medium      |

|                    |             |             |             |            |             |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Devout pragmatic   | Medium/High | Medium      | Low/medium  | High       | Low         |
| Critic             | Medium      | Medium/high | Medium/high | Low/medium | Low         |
| Salafi pride       | Low         | Low/medium  | Low/medium  | Low        | Medium/high |
| Fanatic born again | High        | Low         | Low         | Low/medium | High        |

An important conclusion here is that political radicalization processes take place *outside* salafist organizations.

- In our survey we studied the characteristics of (strong) orthodox Dutch Muslims, that is, Muslims whose religious attitude structure resembles salafist thought. From this study we can conclude that orthodox Dutch Muslims are relatively older, lower educated and more unemployed. 8 per cent of all Dutch Muslims are orthodox; for Moroccans Dutch Muslims this percentage is 15%; for Turkish Dutch Muslims 5%.
- Sensitivity to radicalism and extremism is higher among orthodox Dutch Muslims. Their tolerance towards a multi-religious society is lower, they think that Dutch women have too much freedom, they politically participate less in society, they identify less with The Netherlands and, most importantly, they think, more than other groups, that violence is a legitimate mean for religious goals.