

The Religious Curricula of Moroccan Fundamentalist Movements: “Justice and Spirituality” and “The Call to Quran and Sunnah”

Hicham Diouane^a  

^aFaculty of Letters and Human Sciences Dhar El Mehraz, University Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah, Morocco.

ABSTRACT

Moroccan fundamentalist movements employ distinct religious curricula as tools for indoctrinating their ideologies. While some subjects align with formal religious institutions, others are either adopted or omitted to adhere to the movements' beliefs and objectives. This article employs a qualitative methodology with a phenomenological and pedagogical approach to compare the religious curricula of two prominent religious agents : "Justice and Spirituality" and "The Call to Quran and Sunnah." The study seeks to unveil the main aspects of their religious Curricula and understand the internal dynamics of Moroccan fundamentalist movements. Findings reveal that "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" prioritizes Islamic creed learning, employing a teacher-centered approach, while "Justice and Spirituality" encompasses not only religious matters but also addresses social and political issues through a learner-centered approach. Moreover, as both movements rely on social media and internet to expand their educational program, some limitations affect the achievement of an ideal Islamic learning environment.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received: 07 March

2024

Revised: 19 May 2024

Accepted: 27 May 2024

KEYWORDS

Religious Curriculum;
Non-Formal Education;
Morocco; Salafism;
Political Issues.

INTRODUCTION

Religious education in Morocco manifests in various forms. Within formal schools, from primary to high school levels, Islamic education, as a school subject, encompasses diverse topics, including Quran memorization and lessons promoting moderation and coexistence [1]. In parallel, there exist other dedicated educational institutions exclusively focused on religious topics, known as Taalim Atiq or traditional education. Traditionally, in Morocco and the wider Muslim world, children exclusively received formal education through Quranic schooling until the rise of European influence. It is believed that informal Muslim education traditionally begins at home when children start speaking. Basic Quranic passages are taught during this early stage, and at the age of seven, children usually join Quranic schools for systematic Quranic study. Despite being a form of formal education, Taalim Atiq operates under the management of the Ministry of Religious Affairs rather than the Ministry of National Education [2]. Notably, the curriculum for formal religious studies in Morocco is firmly grounded in three essential axioms: the Ash'arite creed, the Maliki doctrine, and Junaid's Sufism. This well-defined religious identity is maintained as an official measure to prevent any counter-Islamic discourse, particularly in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 2003 [3]. On the other hand, Moroccan fundamentalist movements have developed distinct religious curricula to solidify the identification of new members with their doctrines and objectives, particularly in the face of the diverse sources of religious knowledge such as social media and TV channels. Each movement emphasizes unique characteristics that portray its religious identity and agency contradicting partially or entirely the official form of religiosity through a non-formal education [4].

Nonformal education presents a challenge in terms of its precise definition, as it is frequently used interchangeably with other educational modes [5]. In contrast to formal education, which occurs within state-recognized institutions and culminates in the attainment of certifications validating learners' skill mastery, non-formal education is often characterized by its perceived opposition to formal education. It is defined by enumerating the aspects that formal education possesses, which non-formal education lacks [6]. These aspects include the absence of predetermined

learning objectives, professional guidance, a fixed syllabus, external organizational structures for starting and concluding points, strict scheduling, and adequate facilities or equipment. However, despite such delineation, the literature often lacks concrete examples to illustrate the implementation of these characteristics in non-formal education programs [7].

In several contexts, and driven by distinct needs such as ethnic, cultural, or religious considerations, some communities develop their own curricula to instill their members with specific values and practices that formal schooling may overlook or present differently [8]. In certain cases, nation states impose restrictions on local groups' support for non-formal education programs, demanding that these programs align with and contribute to the state's objectives. Under such circumstances, formal schools and nonformal education initiatives often work together in a complementary manner [9]. Even in situations where the state does not completely control non-formal education, it may still play a significant role as a major sponsor to expand its influence beyond formal schooling. This collaborative effort may foster the development of shared societal lifestyles, widespread participation, and the promotion of political ideology and nationalism as essential values for the overall well-being of society. In other words, it is debatable whether non-formal education can stand as an alternative or complimentary mode for formal education but that depends on its objectives and the agenda it can serve [10].

Accordingly, Moroccan state endures the educational activities of some fundamentalist movements as far as it supports the political mainstream and represents no challenge to the pillars of the state notably the monarchy [11]. For instance, "The Call to Quran and Sunnah," founded by Mohamed Maghraoui (b. 1948) in the seventies, is a Salafi association devoted to Quranic teachings. During his time in Saudi Arabia, Maghraoui actively cultivated strong ties with prominent Salafi scholars and strategically fostered relationships within the Wahhabi establishment. These affiliations with Saudi religious circles played a pivotal role in fortifying the network of his Quranic learning centers. They served as instrumental platforms for disseminating the passive interpretation of Islam and effectively confronting the ideological challenges presented by revolutionary Shiism and political Islam [12]. Despite the authorities' closure of the association's headquarters in 2008 as a response to Maghraoui's legal opinion approving child marriage and his subsequent departure to Saudi Arabia, he managed to reopen the headquarters following his support for the constitution reform in 2011 and the Authenticity and Modernity Party during the parliamentary elections of 2016 [13].

In contrast, "Justice and Spirituality" asserts that most of its activities are restricted or banned by the authorities due to its political stances [14]. This movement, founded by Abdessalam Yassine (1928-2012), an educator and former disciple of a Sufi order, aimed to unite both spiritual and political dimensions in its pursuit of establishing the Islamic Caliphate, a project that he started by addressing the king of Morocco in an open letter. Yassine's rejection of monarchy and the incorporation of Sufi values into his discourse have drawn criticism from both participant Islamists and the Salafists including Maghraoui [15].

To conform to the visions of their respective founders, the two Islamic associations have tailored their religious curricula in accordance with the attitudes of their leaders when selecting the subjects to be taught and the references, rather than adopting a holistic perception of Islam [16]. This strategic approach ensures that new members wholeheartedly embrace the core tenets of the ideology and develop a profound sense of agency, particularly in the case of the Salafists, who are further subdivided into multiple currents. Moreover, as religious beliefs and practices are inevitably influenced by both popular culture and the state official version of Islam, religious curricula provided by the fundamentalist movements can serve as a mechanism of "purification", safeguarding adherents from any heretical or doctrinally deviant interpretations of Islam [17]. Additionally, the young adherents are exposed to indirect indoctrination of the movement values and practices through a hidden curriculum. The latter manifests across various aspects of schooling, encompassing the student-teacher interaction unit, the classroom structure, and the overall organizational framework of the educational establishment, which often mirrors the broader social value system [18].

Moreover, its influence extends to several processes operational within or facilitated by the educational institution, such as values acquisition, socialization, and the perpetuation of class structure [19].

Most studies concerning Moroccan fundamentalist movements have primarily overlooked the significance of religious curricula introduced during private meetings, instead directing their attention towards the formal literature often presented by the leaders of these movements. It is worth noting that while the syllabus may exist in the form of a textbook or other printed materials, accessibility to such resources is considerably restricted, necessitating increased efforts on the part of researchers to obtain these materials. Consequently, a major contribution of this study lies in its examination of internal documents, the learning settings and the internal dynamics among the members enabling a comparative analysis to deepen our comprehension of the subjects taught to young members and the pedagogical methods employed within fundamentalist movements in Morocco. By shedding light on these less explored aspects, this research aims to offer valuable insights into the educational underpinnings of these movements and their implications for the broader sociopolitical context.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The academic literature on Moroccan fundamentalist movements primarily emphasizes political ideologies, leadership, and public discourse, often overlooking the centrality of religious curricula in shaping ideological adherence. Existing studies frequently focus on the public statements or official texts produced by movement leaders, such as those by Abdessalam Yassine or Mohamed Maghraoui, rather than the pedagogical tools and educational settings used for internal indoctrination [20], [21].

Theoretical frameworks relevant to this study include the concept of hidden curriculum—the implicit transmission of norms, values, and beliefs within educational settings—and non-formal education, which lacks the structure of formal schooling but can be more ideologically driven. Movements such as “Justice and Spirituality” and “The Call to Quran and Sunnah” exemplify how non-formal education is strategically used to reinforce doctrinal alignment and behavioral conformity within their ranks [22].

A significant gap in the literature is the limited access to and analysis of internal educational materials, such as textbooks and meeting structures, which are essential for understanding how fundamentalist movements cultivate religious and political identities. This study contributes to bridging that gap by providing a comparative analysis based on first-hand data, including interviews, internal texts, and observational material from online platforms.

METHODOLOGY

This research employed a qualitative framework that integrated phenomenological and pedagogical approaches to gain profound insights into the curriculum of Moroccan fundamentalist movements. The interview phase was central, engaging approximately 26 members of the “Justice and Spirituality” movement. Qualitative data from interviews was complemented by an in-depth examination of three textbooks used by the movement. However, accessing disciples affiliated with “The Call to Quran and Sunnah” proved challenging, leading to an alternative approach. Insights from a prior study by Abdelhakim Aboullouz, utilizing participant observation within the “The Call to Quran and Sunnah” association, were leveraged. This alternative method offered unique perspectives into the curriculum and pedagogical techniques of the Salafi association. The methodology extends to online platforms, Facebook and YouTube, where both movements actively engage. A detailed examination of content on these platforms, including lectures and conferences, aims to understand the digital dissemination of religious and educational ideologies. This multifaceted approach seeks to unravel the complexities of curriculum implementation and educational discourse within both physical and digital spheres of these Moroccan fundamentalist movements.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Learning Environment

Most young interviewees consistently referred to a common setting when joining the "Justice and Spirituality" movement. Regular meetings took place at the home of one of the members, accommodating a group of 6 to 10 individuals forming Ousra, a small family-like unit. These gatherings occurred twice a week, during which each member took turns preparing and delivering lectures. Notably, the group or family comprised individuals from diverse backgrounds, including students, professionals, and individuals of varying ages and educational levels [23]. As expressed by a young member, *"Members with different educational levels, even PhDs, saw hope in us because we represented the future of the movements. They supported and encouraged us to express ourselves... They believed in us so much that they even asked us, as middle school students, to prepare lectures for people who were older and more educated than us."* The setting resembles a non-formal education context, fostering collaborative learning where learners actively participate in producing the lesson, with less emphasis on a traditional teacher-learner connection [24]. Consequently, the attenders engage in horizontal connections, promoting peer-to-peer interactions. While the meetings take place in a residential house, there is no indication of any teaching aids, such as whiteboards or other instructional materials, being utilized in the learning process [25]. The teaching and learning dynamic are largely facilitated by the learners' active contributions and shared responsibilities within this informal educational setting. One of the textbooks employed by the movement is entitled *Nafaht men Dar Arqam ibn Arqam*, emphasizing the covert aspect of the gatherings, mirroring the way early Muslims used to meet in the house of Arqam ibn Arqam to learn the fundamentals of Islam. This connotation suggests that the lessons introduced aim to reshape the religious understanding of the members, akin to a "tabula rasa" or blank slate approach [26].

On the other hand, "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" association has its own headquarters, like other Quranic schools known as Dar Quran, officially recognized by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs. However, in 2013, the Ministry intervened and closed the association's headquarters, citing that its managers had refused to comply with the supervision granted by the law to the Ministry over religious education, despite repeated warnings [3]. The Ministry argued that Quranic teachings should be imparted through fundamental methods within an official educational program governed by the law. Subsequently, Maghraoui managed to reopen the headquarters after reaching an agreement with the Authenticity and Modernity Party, wherein his followers would vote for the party [27]. Maghraoui's political pragmatism facilitated the operation of his association despite the Ministry's attempt to supervise its activities. This inclination towards independence from the formal religious education framework indicates "The Call to Quran and Sunnah's" disapproval of the curriculum proposed by the Ministry for teaching Quran, prompting them to adopt a different curriculum and learning environment [28].

Given the association's primary focus on Quranic education, a judicious examination of the teaching mission deems the teacher's role pivotal. Consequently, the instructional setting adopts a circular formation, accommodating 20 students per circle, each under the guidance of a teacher providing individualized attention. This categorization is meticulously based on age and the quantity of memorized verses, contrasting with the non-random assembly observed in other Quranic schools [29]. The Salafi ideology significantly shapes the learning environment, evident in its disapproval of the commonly employed collective recitation method in Morocco. The association further embraces a teacher-centered approach, fostering vertical connections where information flows unilaterally from instructor to student, utilizing conventional teaching aids such as the whiteboard [30]. The architectural design, characterized by spacious headquarters and grouped gatherings, ensures enhanced control over the learning process and facilitates the transmission of the hidden curriculum. Maghraoui strategically employs the Moroccan dialect and references popular proverbs to simplify lessons, concurrently seizing the opportunity to critique perceived heretical religious practices within Moroccan popular culture. Learners exhibit a positive response to Maghraoui's teaching methodology, in stark contrast to other instructors using more rigid juridical terms, resulting in significantly lower attendance [31].

Within the Salafist context, the hidden curriculum extends beyond religious knowledge, encompassing aspects like the expected physical appearance during interactions with teachers within the association.

The Subjects of the Curriculum

Designing a curriculum cannot occur in isolation, particularly in the context of entities that adhere to distinct ideologies [32]. Numerous considerations come into play, as the objectives of these curricula for Moroccan fundamentalist movements encompass more than the mere instruction of Islamic subjects; they extend to the transmission of these movements' interpretations of Islam and their perception of reality. Given their divergent priorities, each movement emphasizes specific facets of Islam, navigating through the extensive array of subjects that could be encompassed within an Islamic framework [33].

Manifestly, both "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" and "Justice and Spirituality" accord high priority to the memorization and study of the Quran, encompassing disciplines like Tajwid (rules of recitation) and exegesis. Unlike other subjects, and aligned with mainstream cultural values, the Quran is profoundly revered as the incontestable source of Islamic legislation. Consequently, it occupies a paramount position within the curricula of both formal and non-formal educational contexts. The textbook offered by "Justice and Spirituality," titled *Al Barnamaj Ataalimi* or the educational program, commences with a dedicated unit on the Quran, comprising two sections. The first section involves the exegesis of specific verses or concise chapters, such as the opening chapter of the Quran, *Al-Fatiha*, or other verses addressing spiritual, social, and even political themes [34]. For instance, in the exegesis of the chapter "*Al Balad*" (The Town), the lesson revolves around *Iqtiham al Aqaba* or "Assaulting the Obstacle," underscoring the significance of communal solidarity among believers to resist and overcome injustice and tyranny. In essence, the "Justice and Spirituality" movement seeks to rationalize its collective engagement based on its unique interpretation of the Quran. Building on the founder's emphasis on the concept of "Assaulting the Obstacle," any social or political reform within an Islamic context requires the collaboration and commitment of Muslims within an organized group. Given the diversity within the traditional literature of Quranic exegesis, the curriculum provided by "Justice and Spirituality" incorporates references that approach the Quran from both a Hanafi perspective, such as *Safwat Tafassir* by the Syrian Islamic scholar Muhammad Ali al-Sabuni (1930-2021), and an Islamist view by adopting Sayyed Qutb's exegesis *Fi Dhilal al-Quran* [27].

"The Call to Quran and Sunnah" includes Quranic exegesis alongside Tajwid, which is essential for mastering the Quran. During the review of memorized verses, the teachers of the association also evaluate the learners' comprehension within the framework of Salafi beliefs and interpretations. Specifically, they address potential misconceptions and practices related to the Islamic creed, striving to align them with Salafi principles [35]. Consequently, the association exclusively adopts Quranic exegesis references that primarily align with the Salafi discourse. Maghraoui provides a classification of common exegesis books, labeling some as Salafist while categorizing others, such as the Mutazilite and the Asharite, including the mentioned references of Qutb and al-Sabuni. He characterizes the former as deviant, originating from the Muslim Brotherhood school, and the latter as an opponent of Salafi doctrine, dedicating his life and literature to attack Salafism. Evidently, the indoctrination of ideology commences with the understanding of the Quran to maintain a coherent discourse on the Islamic creed, particularly regarding the Names and attributes of God [12]. This criterion serves as the primary basis for classifying other Islamic trends. In essence, despite the contributions of other scholars in Quranic interpretation outside the Salafi paradigm, Maghraoui endeavors to shield his followers from potential counter-discourses that may infiltrate through Quranic exegesis.

Islamic creed is included in the curriculum of the "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" association as an independent subject [36]. The primary stage targeting mainly children by encouraging them to memorize the short letter of Mohamed Abdelwahab the three fundamentals that's summarized the basics of the Islamic creed such as who is God and who is

the prophet and concluded by explaining the way of praying. Whereas the curriculum of “Justice and Spirituality” movement neglects any direct treatment of the Islamic creed as an independent subject since the movement avoid any alignment with a specific trend of theology [37].

Hadith or the prophet saying is another essential subject that both movements emphasize on since it is the second source of Islamic legislation. Generally, most Salafi trends are known by accenting on the prophet sayings especially the authentic ones since they represent the primary source of Sunnah. They follow the Hanbali doctrine which is more literalist than other doctrines prioritizing the prophet’s sayings over the opinion or Ijtihad [38]. The forty Hadiths by Nawawi is one of the main collections that the attenders of “The Call to Quran and Sunnah” should learn. Similarly, “Justice and Spirituality” movement dedicates a section for Hadith in its educational program focusing on both religious and political values including hadith that promote good manners and others that insist on the qualifications of the rulers [39]. As for the prophet’s biography “Sira” both movements shed light on the life of the prophet but each side emphasizes the aspects or the morals that serve its ideology. Yet, like the case of Quran exegesis the Salafi association disregard the references of Sira that contradict its doctrine such as Sirat Ibn Hisham and Fiqh Sira of Ramadan al-Bouti (1929-2013) which are employed in the educational program of “Justice and Spirituality” movement [40].

As the Salafi associations are mostly religious focusing only on the personal side of the Islamic call (da’wa) that is improving the manners of Muslims, it appears that their curriculum does not tackle political issues even from the religious perspective or what is known as (Siyassa al Shar’ia) which is a priority for the movements of political Islam. Hence, in the program of “Justice and Spirituality” and alongside the implicit integration of the movement discourse in Quran, Hadith and Sira, the textbooks set an entire section to the prophet method (Minhaj Nabawi) that represent the foundation theory of the movement activism both politically and religiously [41]. The lessons in that section tackle several issues including, on the one hand, the organizational structure of the movement and its political vision, family and women issues on the other. In other words, “Justice and Spirituality” and similarly to other movements of political Islam attempts to provide its followers with both political and intellectual awareness to maintain the coherence among its members exactly as the Salafi association tries to ensure that its followers abide by the understanding of Salaf to reality. The significant consideration of politics and reality in the curriculum of the movement is one of the major differences that distinguish the agenda from the movement of political Islam from the other religious associations as Bensalem Bahecham confirms: “They (observers) recognize mainly political activism at the expense of its scientific and educational aspects. Others look at the movement’s various religious and spiritual activities to conclude the dominance of the educational and the Sufi aspect in the movement program. As the movement did not appear on the scene of the jurisprudence as the Wahhabi and Salafist trends did, some believe that it neglected the side of the jurisprudence” [7].

Perhaps the subjects which are included without any ideological employment are the rules of recitation (Tajwid) and Arabic Grammar. The first is essential to read the Quran particularly for Salafists, who believe that its obligatory, and Arabic grammar is indispensable to understand both Quran and hadith. During the lectures of Arabic literature and history, the Salafi teachers and before they start the lessons reveal the religious background of the author and they notify the learners if his “creed” does not identify with the Salafi one. In addition, The Salafists perceive the Arabic grammar as a mere means not a primary subject because any higher emphasis on it as a distinct field will affect the learner focus on the essential Islamic disciplines.

Assessment Methods

Assessing the learners’ level of understanding and identification with the introduced content is essential. Yet, it is more prevailing for the fundamentalist movements since absorbing the religious knowledge is not the only concern but rather how the adherents employ it in his daily life to reflect the appropriate image of a member of an organized

movement in the case of “Justice and Spirituality” and a preacher (da’ia) in the case of the Salafi association [42]. Assessment, however, varies in the curriculum of the two movements because it seems less formal in the case of “Justice and Spirituality” and might include other criteria that rely on the observation of the behavior of the member beside the knowledge which he acquired in the educational sessions. To put it differently, we cannot talk about a graduation in the case of Justice and Spirituality movement but rather a preparation to integrate the young members of the movement or to improve his skills to help him escalate the organizational hierarchy [43].

As “Justice and Spirituality” movement combines several sections including political, scientific, women and children, the primary curriculum tries to cover most of these aspects to prepare and to select the appropriate member for each mission. Nevertheless, while the textbook *Al Barnamaj Ta’limi: Al marhala al Oula* (The Educational Program: the Primary stage) provides no reference to assessment (Taqwim) perhaps to avoid any pressure on the new members the second and the fourth versions include assessment since the members have already spent adequate time to take the lessons more seriously and to go through tests [10]. In addition, since the educational meetings of the movement take place in personal houses and they are less formal and not dedicated solely to educational purposes as the case of associations, formal assessment would be a problematic task especially with the lack of equipment. However, some types of assessment such as assignments are doable such as learning by heart some verses of Quran or a Hadith but they are not systematic and might be affected by the educator and the age and educational background of his group. For instance, some interviewees get inspiration from their leaders in the movement: *“There were meetings and educational lessons teaching how to pray, ablution and lessons of jurisprudence. There was a person, I guess with PhD, whose meeting was enticing because of the knowledge that God gave him.”* Another young member stated: *“His educational level is Middle school, but when you discuss with him, you find that he has sufficient knowledge. He used to ask us to prepare the lessons and to manage the meetings’ sessions that included Quran recitations.”* That is, despite the usage of a textbook in those meetings, the coordinators or the heads of the “families” are not necessary with the same educational level which affects the learning process and its outcomes. Of course, since the movement’s curriculum is designed mainly to make the members familiar with its discourse, “Justice and Spirituality” depends on its members with higher education especially in Islamic studies to spread its vision as Bensalam Bahicham claims: *“The movement has established a special body for this field, the Scientific Commission, that includes members most of them are doctors and university professors in the Moroccan faculties and in various disciplines such as the interpretation of Quran, jurisprudence, contemporary Islamic thoughts and other fields.”*

Accordingly, as “Justice and Spirituality” rejects any connection with an external agent, foreign states or individuals, it tries to rely on its institutions to spread its ideology including Imam Abdessalam Yassine foundation for research and studies. It is a global academic institution dedicated to advancing research related to the revivalist vision of Abdessalam Yassine. Its primary objectives include presenting Yassine’ project, preserving and translating his legacy, collaborating with universities and research centers, engaging with institutions in related research domains, and promoting international cooperation in thought, art, science, and education [44]. To achieve these goals, the foundation organizes academic events, publishes periodicals and multimedia content. The publications produced by the foundation combines articles by researchers from several Islamic countries yet most of this literature is produced by members of the movement. It is as the foundation provides an academic the platform to benefit from the contribution of its members who have been trained for years in the non-formal educational sessions.

“The Call to Quran and Sunnah” association competes with Quranic associations affiliated with the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, particularly in the realm of Quranic instruction for individuals aspiring to qualify as prayer leaders and preachers. The Salafist association relies on external institutions to train these preachers, who are expected to propagate Salafi ideology and potentially assume the role of Imams in mosques. Another category of students within the association may also pursue further education at the Islamic University of Medina [26]. Instead of conventional diplomas, candidates require recommendations from association leaders, acknowledged by Saudi religious

authorities. These recommendations attest to the student's adherence to Islamic principles, commitment to the Sunni creed, and willingness to pursue Islamic studies in Saudi Arabia. While Meghraoui employs personal criteria, including loyalty, in candidate selection, others administer a primary test for prospective students aiming to enroll in the Saudi university or its extension in Mauritania. However, successful candidates are not admitted directly but must undergo an additional test to assess their qualifications and eligibility for scholarships. In essence, Salafists actively endeavor to standardize and control the backgrounds of both students and teachers, seeking to prevent any infiltration of divergent religious ideologies [32].

Employment of Online Platforms

In the contemporary landscape, fundamentalist movements in Morocco, including "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" association and "Justice and Spirituality," have strategically embraced internet and social media platforms, such as YouTube and Facebook, to extend their religious and educational outreach beyond their immediate membership. This departure challenges prevailing stereotypes of fundamentalist movements as isolated entities detached from the influence of social media. The "Call to Quran and Sunnah" association actively disseminates lectures, series, and conferences on its official Facebook page and YouTube channel, housing over 7,000 videos. These sessions cover diverse topics, including Islamic creed, prophet sayings, Arabic lessons, and jurisprudence, primarily aligned with Salafist discourse [45]. For instance, a series of lectures is dedicated to explaining Tahawi and Wassiti creed which represent the key references of the Salafists and Wahabi understanding of the Islamic creed. Similarly, other lectures discuss Maghraoui's book *Mawsu'at Mawaqif al-Salaf*. However, the engagement with contemporary issues is limited, and discussions within video comments are sparse [27]. For instance, there is no explicit reference to the ongoing conflict in Gaza, and neither is there any discourse on Jihad as a collective obligation in Islam, known as "Fard 'Ayn."

"Justice and Spirituality" utilizes social media and online platforms, particularly during confinement periods, to share not only educational but also spiritual activities [34]. Notably, "Nassiha" council, a spiritual meeting that normally takes place in the houses of the members, transitioned from in-person to online sessions, focusing on Islamic morals. This shift to online platforms, as confirmed by Abedllah Chibani a member of the movement's council of guidance, necessitated by quarantine restrictions, demonstrated advantages in maintaining connections but underscored the importance of physical presence, especially in sensitive and spiritual contexts, echoing the concept of "Suhba" or companionship prominent in Abdesalam Yassin's literature [35]. Members acknowledged, in interviews, the siege faced during their early days of activism but emphasized the irreplaceable impact of physical interactions in recruiting and educating individuals: "I believe that during our activism, we faced a siege. Despite this, the "da'wa" (recruitment) continued to progress significantly, and we were able to attract many people. Presently, the focus is primarily on social media. While you can express and discuss opinions, it's challenging to follow up with someone solely through online videos or discussions [46]. The best work is on the ground, I mean, as you convince a pupil, you provide him with lectures, and you keep following him until he becomes an active member." While technology facilitates learning interactions, the significance of traditional aspects, such as "Mujalatat al 'Ulamaa" (sessions with scholars) and the immediate correction of mistakes in disciplines like Quranic recitation (Tajwid), highlights the indispensable role of physical presence in Islamic education [47].

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study provided a comprehensive comparative analysis of the religious curricula of Moroccan fundamentalist movements, namely "Justice and Spirituality" and "The Call to Quran and Sunnah." These movements employ distinct non-formal education approaches to indoctrinate their ideologies, shaping the learning environments and priorities of their adherents. While "Justice and Spirituality" adopts a collaborative and learner-centered setting, encompassing social and political issues, "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" adheres to a formal, teacher-centered

approach influenced by Salafi ideology. The study highlights the ideological variations in subjects such as Quranic memorization, exegesis, Islamic creed, Hadith, and Sira. Notably, "Justice and Spirituality" integrates political awareness into its curriculum, distinguishing it from Salafi associations. The neglect of political issues by Salafi groups emerges as a notable distinction. Furthermore, the inclusion of Tajwid and Arabic Grammar, recognized for their essential roles in Quranic understanding, transcends ideological differences. The two movements strategically utilize online platforms for religious and educational outreach. "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" actively shares lectures on Facebook and YouTube, challenging stereotypes of isolation. "Justice and Spirituality" embraces online activities during confinement for both education and spirituality, emphasizing virtual advantages. Interviews stress the ongoing importance of physical presence, citing the enduring impact of in-person interactions in recruiting and educating individuals. Traditional elements like the importance of the companionship of scholars and immediate correction in Tajwid underscore the indispensable role of physical presence in Islamic education. Evaluating assessment methods reveals variations, with "Justice and Spirituality" relying on informal assignments and behavioral observations, while "The Call to Quran and Sunnah" adopts a more structured approach for assessing candidates. However, the limited formality of assessments in "Justice and Spirituality" raises questions about standardization and effectiveness. Moving forward, potential limitations include the study's focus on two specific movements and the qualitative nature of the research. Future studies should explore a broader spectrum of fundamentalist movements, incorporating quantitative methodologies for a more comprehensive understanding. Additionally, investigating the long-term impact of these educational approaches on individuals and society would contribute to the evolving discourse on religious education and its broader implications.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses sincere gratitude to the members of the "Justice and Spirituality" movement who generously shared their time and insights during interviews. Special thanks are extended to the institutions and individuals who supported this research, including the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences at the University Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah. The author also appreciates the reviewers and editorial team of MIER for their valuable feedback and guidance.

Author Contribution

The author was responsible for the conception, design, and execution of the research, including data collection, analysis, and manuscript preparation. Additional contributions such as translation, proofreading, and formatting support were provided by collaborators, all of whom approved the final version of the manuscript.

Conflicts of Interest

All authors declare no conflict of interest.

REFERENCES

- [1] A. Osler and J. A. Skarra, "The rhetoric and reality of human rights education: policy frameworks and teacher perspectives," *Multicult. Educ. Rev.*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 191–210, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2021.1964265>.
- [2] B. Estupiñan and J. Kibble, "The Relationship Between Spirituality and Burnout in the Lives of Medical Students," *Med. Sci. Educ.*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 37–44, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40670-017-0490-5>.
- [3] H. K. Oxhandler, K. M. Moffatt, E. C. Polson, and D. K. Pooler, "The religious and spiritual beliefs and practices of MSW program leaders across the United States," *J. Relig. Spiritual. Soc. Work*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 324–344, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2020.1760179>.
- [4] B. R. Crisp and A. Dinham, "Are the Profession's Education Standards Promoting the Religious Literacy Required for

- Twenty-First Century Social Work Practice?," *Br. J. Soc. Work*, vol. 49, no. 6, pp. 1544–1562, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcz050>.
- [5] T. F. McGovern, T. McMahon, J. Nelson, R. Bundoc-Baronia, C. Giles, and V. Schmidt, "A Descriptive Study of a Spirituality Curriculum for General Psychiatry Residents," *Acad. Psychiatry*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 471–476, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40596-017-0687-3>.
- [6] P. U. Agbawodikeizu, S. Levy, P. C. Ekoh, N. E. Chukwu, and U. O. Okoye, "Religion and spirituality as a core module in social work education in Nigeria: perspectives of social work educators," *J. Relig. Spiritual. Soc. Work*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 333–350, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2022.2089316>.
- [7] H. C. Jones, A. Rowan, R. L. Stephens, and J. A. Brauch, "In Faith and Practice: How Christian Doctoral Programs Address Religious Diversity Needs," *Christ. High. Educ.*, vol. 20, no. 1–2, pp. 87–103, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15363759.2020.1851814>.
- [8] J. M. Williams-Reade, E. Lobo, and G. Gutierrez, "Integrating Spirituality into MFT Training: A Reflexive Curriculum and Qualitative Evaluation," *J. Marital Fam. Ther.*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 219–232, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jmft.12314>.
- [9] I. B. Åberg, "Diversity is the others: a critical investigation of 'diversity' in two recent education policy documents," *Intercult. Educ.*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 157–172, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2019.1702294>.
- [10] B. Roth and A. Grabovac, "Spirituality and Religion in Canadian Psychiatric Residency Training: Follow-up Survey of Canadian Psychiatry Residency Programs," *Acad. Psychiatry*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 263–268, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40596-023-01785-7>.
- [11] D. Lapsley and K. Kelley, "On the Catholic Identity of Students and Schools: Value Propositions for Catholic Education," *J. Cathol. Educ.*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 159–177, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.15365/joce.2501072022>.
- [12] J. Bolhari and M. Mohsenikabir, "Compiling and evaluating educational package of spiritual skills for university students," *Iran. J. Psychiatry Clin. Psychol.*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 210–221, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.32598/ijpcp.25.2.210>.
- [13] M. Best, C. Leget, A. Goodhead, and P. Paal, "An EAPC white paper on multi-disciplinary education for spiritual care in palliative care," *BMC Palliat. Care*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12904-019-0508-4>.
- [14] J. Goulah, "Climate Change and TESOL: Language, Literacies, and the Creation of Eco-Ethical Consciousness," *TESOL Q.*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 90–114, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.277>.
- [15] K.-A. Kang *et al.*, "A meaning-centered spiritual care training program for hospice palliative care teams in South Korea: development and preliminary evaluation," *BMC Palliat. Care*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12904-021-00718-1>.
- [16] T. Budirahayu and M. Saud, "Proposing an Integrated Multiculturalism Learning System: A Study from Indonesian Schools," *Asia-Pacific Educ. Res.*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 141–152, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-020-00521-1>.
- [17] M. W. Lumadi, "Fostering an equitable curriculum for all: A social cohesion lens," *Educ. as Chang.*, vol. 24, pp. 1–20, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.25159/1947-9417/5657>.
- [18] H. G. Atkinson, D. Fleenor, S. M. Lerner, E. Poliandro, and J. Truglio, "Teaching Third-Year Medical Students to Address Patients' Spiritual Needs in the Surgery/Anesthesiology Clerkship," *MedEdPORTAL J. Teach. Learn. Resour.*, vol. 14, p. 10784, 2018, https://doi.org/10.15766/mep_2374-8265.10784.
- [19] N. S. Ratau, N. C. Monyela, and N. R. Mofokeng, "Re-imagining Funerary Rites in the Context of Covid-19," *Pharos J. Theol.*, vol. 102, no. Special Issue 2, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.46222/pharosjot.102215>.
- [20] M. C. Brooks, "Southern Filipino school leaders and religious diversity: a typology," *Int. J. Educ. Manag.*, vol. 31, no. 5, pp. 646–660, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEM-08-2016-0164>.
- [21] S. K. Mama, N. Bhuiyan, M. J. Bopp, L. H. McNeill, E. J. Lengerich, and J. M. Smyth, "A faith-based minda-body intervention to improve psychosocial well-being among rural adults," *Transl. Behav. Med.*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 546–554, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/tbm/ibz136>.

- [22] J. Meyer, "Developing pastoral therapy as a professional qualification in south africa: Rationale and motivation," *HTS Teol. Stud. / Theol. Stud.*, vol. 76, no. 2, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v76i2.5659>.
- [23] C. Bellolio, "Disaggregating the Creationist Challenge to Liberal Neutrality," *J. Philos. Educ.*, vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 62–80, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9752.12359>.
- [24] M. Taverna, P. O. Berberat, H. Sattel, and E. Frick, "A survey on the integration of spiritual care in medical schools from the german-speaking faculties," *Adv. Med. Educ. Pract.*, vol. 10, pp. 1009–1019, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.2147/AMEP.S224679>.
- [25] S. Nuzhat, "Globalization of Education in UAE: The Local Legislative Education Policies for International Branch Campuses and Its Tensions Given the Political, Religious, and Cultural Differences," *J. Educ.*, vol. 201, no. 3, pp. 236–247, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022057420914917>.
- [26] D. J. Hurst, A. Heric, and K. M. Collier, "Religion/Spirituality Curriculum in US Osteopathic Medical Schools: A Survey," *South. Med. J.*, vol. 116, no. 1, pp. 51–56, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.14423/SMJ.0000000000001499>.
- [27] D. N. Musjtari, B. Riyanto, and R. Setyowati, "Reformulation of mediation in dispute settlement on islamic banking," *Humanit. Soc. Sci. Rev.*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 184–194, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2019.7424>.
- [28] K. M. Moffatt, H. K. Oxhandler, and S. Baldwin, "Graduate social work program leaders' perceived support and barriers to integrating spirituality in the curriculum," *J. Relig. Spiritual. Soc. Work*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 443–458, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2021.1919591>.
- [29] I. H. S. Osório *et al.*, "Effect of an educational intervention in 'spirituality and health' on knowledge, attitudes, and skills of students in health-related areas: A controlled randomized trial," *Med. Teach.*, vol. 39, no. 10, pp. 1057–1064, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142159X.2017.1337878>.
- [30] A. Polemikou and J. P. Da Silva, "Readdressing Spiritual Growth: What Can We Learn From Childhood Education?," *J. Humanist. Psychol.*, vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 334–351, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022167820938612>.
- [31] A. Halafoff, H. Shipley, P. D. Young, A. Singleton, M. L. Rasmussen, and G. Bouma, "Complex, critical and caring: Young people's diverse religious, spiritual and non-religious worldviews in Australia and Canada," *Religions*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11040166>.
- [32] E. Hill and R. Woolley, "Religious Education and Its Interaction with the Spiritual Dimension of Childhood: Teachers' Perceptions, Understanding and Aspirations," *Religions*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13040280>.
- [33] E. Pio and G. Merelo, "Do neutral hearts make the world go around? A eudaemonic turn in business curricula," *Manag. Learn.*, vol. 54, no. 3, pp. 305–317, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505076231166764>.
- [34] N. Ghamra-Oui, "Constructing the Informal Curriculum of Islamic Schools in Australia: Contribution of Contextual Factors and Stakeholder Experiences," *J. Muslim Minor. Aff.*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 291–307, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2023.2176068>.
- [35] A. Sen, "Articulations of Islamic nationalism in the educational reform discourse of 'new Turkey,'" *Discourse*, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 205–216, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2020.1817859>.
- [36] I. Yilmaz and O. Erturk, "Religious Necropolitical Propaganda in Educational Materials for Children," *Religions*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14010067>.
- [37] M. C. Brooks, K. D. Cutler, F. Sanjakdar, and D. D. Liou, "Teaching Jihad: Developing religious literacy through graphic novels," *Religions*, vol. 11, no. 11, pp. 1–16, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11110622>.
- [38] W. B. Firth, "Special Religious Education in a post-secular Australia," *Verbum Eccles.*, vol. 43, no. 1, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v43i1.2603>.
- [39] C. Robinson, "But First, Spirituality: Spirituality and Religious Education in Western Australian Catholic Early Learning Contexts," *Religions*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14020269>.
- [40] C. L. Kvarfordt, M. J. Sheridan, and O. Taylor, "Religion and spirituality in social work curriculum: A survey of Canadian

- educators,” *Br. J. Soc. Work*, vol. 48, no. 5, pp. 1469–1487, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcx069>.
- [41] A. Frida, E. Novieastari, and T. Nuraini, “Perception on spiritual care: Comparison of the nursing students of public university and religious-based university,” *Enferm. Clin.*, vol. 29, pp. 59–64, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enfcli.2019.04.009>.
- [42] A. Murray, N. S. Warren, K. Bosanko, and L. Williamson Dean, “Genetic counseling graduate training to address religion and spirituality in clinical practice: A qualitative exploration of programs in North America,” *J. Genet. Couns.*, vol. 29, no. 6, pp. 1245–1258, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1002/jgc4.1289>.
- [43] O. Mararenko and A. Smyrnov, “RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN NORWAY: EXPERIENCE AND PERSPECTIVES,” *Youth Voice J.*, vol. 2022, no. Special issue 3, pp. 37–44, 2022, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85145736822&partnerID=40&md5=541f0eac7075528068f8c219abd034e6>.
- [44] A. Liem, ““Doing My Profession is also Part of Worship’: How Clinical Psychologists Address Aspects of Spirituality and Religion in Indonesia,” *J. Relig. Health*, vol. 59, no. 3, pp. 1434–1457, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-019-00880-0>.
- [45] G. M. Piscitello and S. Martin, “Spirituality, Religion, and Medicine Education for Internal Medicine Residents,” *Am. J. Hosp. Palliat. Med.*, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 272–277, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049909119872752>.
- [46] M. Alhashmi, N. Bakali, and R. Baroud, “Tolerance in uae islamic education textbooks,” *Religions*, vol. 11, no. 8, pp. 1–13, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11080377>.
- [47] K. Clough, “Fabric Matters: Feminist Dialogue and Muslim Veiling,” *Ariel*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 81–109, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ari.2023.0014>.