
A newly published book on Muslims in Europe is written by Kari Vogt, a lecturer at Oslo University in Norway. The topic has attracted many researchers recently and the title of Vogt's book indicates the reason for this interest: *Come to Stay (Kommet for å bli)*. The Muslim presence in the Western world is no longer a temporary condition but Muslims have turned out to be a force one has to take into consideration when dealing with the modern Western world. The book is written in Norwegian and I will therefore examine it more thoroughly than is usual in a book review.

Vogt aims at investigating Islamic religious and political-religious groups and movements represented in Europe, the relations of these movements to their countries of origin and the movements' relations with each other. Norway is a country with about 55,000 Muslims. Pakistanis constitute by far the largest Muslim group and it is therefore natural for Vogt to take her starting point in the South Asian movements with their European headquarters in Great Britain. However, she extends her research to cover groups and movements linked with Turkey, the Middle East and North Africa and her field data are therefore collected in Scandinavia, Germany, France, as well as in Britain. She is also interested to find out which groups and movements are the most active, and more important and who support these groups and movements. Vogt has also taken the step from a macro-perspective to a micro-perspective. In the second half of the book she deals with religious practice and piety and their expressions in European Islam.

Vogt has interviewed Muslims from different countries and with different approaches to Islam. Although she gives her personal reflections and analyses in some of the interview material, she has also, to a great extent, allowed the interviewees "to talk for themselves". The book can therefore be said to be descriptive rather than analytic. However, Vogt's own outlook and perspectives are quite visible throughout the book. This becomes apparent when we look at the questions she asks in the interviews as well as in her commentaries. It is interesting to note that in her interview with Kalim Siddiqui, the founder of The Muslim Parliament, she uses the Norwegian form of polite address for you (De), thereby indicating a distance to the research object, whereas this courtesy could not possibly be conveyed through her interview with him as this form is not a common usage in the contemporary English language (she also has the same form in her interview with a Sufi shaykh in France, but due to the form of the French language, this courtesy is more in place here). In all other interviews she uses the common form du (you).
Vogt has not considered the question of her role as a female intellectual non-Muslim in interaction with Muslims living in Europe. It is important to be aware of how researchers influence their research results. Sometimes the interviewees would unconsciously give answers according to what he/she thinks is expected by them. On other times answers would be provocative or antagonistic, rather than reflecting the interviewees' real stand. The issue of which questions are posed are also problematic as the researcher would often ask questions which are built on predisposed ideas of a certain group or movement. Thus the answers will be accordingly. For instance, by interviewing a representative of the Muslim Brotherhood, one would probably ask questions dealing with their political agenda as this aspect is what is emphasised in the Western media. However, The Muslim Brotherhood has a comprehensive programme of spiritual training for an increase in their members' and sympathisers' pious life which rarely are taken into considerations in contemporary studies. The last thing to mention in this regard is that oral statements never have the same force or significance as written texts which usually are much more thoroughly considered with well-constructed arguments. Vogt's study would obviously have been improved had she discussed, even briefly, the methodological problems of the ethnographic research and the readers would also then would have been aware of the methodological limitations of this study.

The book consists of two parts. The Prophet's Europe which deals with movements and organisations, and The House of the Treaty, which deals with practice and piety. Vogt examines, firstly, the movements of South Asia origin. She describes a ritual of mawlid al-Nabī at the Barelwi mosque in Oslo with its emphasis on love towards the Prophet Muhammad as the Light of the World. She goes on to interview Muhammad S. Raza at The Muslim College in London as the representative of the Barelwi movement. She also gives the readers an account of differences between the various movements. such as the Deobandis, the Ahl-i Ḥadīth (the people of the hadīth) and the Jamā'at-i Tablīgh.

The next chapter deals with moderate Islamists. In this chapter she discusses the term fundamentalism versus Islamism. She prefers Islamism/Islamists and uses these terms to denote those groups or movements which emphasise the establishment of an Islamic state with the shari'ah as the law of the state. She further claims that these groups are neither literalist nor conservative in the sense that they want to replicate ideals of a remote past. Islamists, she claims, want to "renew in order to preserve", and they promote new interpretations and reinterpretation.

Vogt observes a change of direction, as the Islamic movements of the seventies and the eighties were oriented towards their countries of origin, whereas movements of the nineties tend to concentrate on Muslims' condition in Europe. This she sees as a natural consequence in that more and more
Muslims are born and raised in European countries and European countries have thus become their nations of origin. In this chapter she has recorded an interview with Mashouq ibn Ally, an academician who works at the University of Wales, Abdallah Ben Mansour, general secretary of UOIF (Institut Européen des Sciences Humaines) in France, and Kalim Siddiqui, the leader of The Muslim Parliament in Britain. As mentioned above, she does not always have comments on the interviews, but allows the interviewees "to talk for themselves". That which can be read out of these three interviews is that Islamic works are performed at many different levels in the Western society. Ibn Ally represents the Muslim academician with an Islamic direction who works, on one hand, for raising the standard of higher education not only for Muslims in Europe, but also for Muslim students from the Muslim world who come to Europe to pursue higher education. On the other hand, he promotes a new approach to Islamic studies in Western universities. Ben Mansour is more concerned about the common Muslim youth and he also raises question of how to find Islamic answers to new questions for Muslims in the Western world. Ben Mansour also lays the responsibility for the aggressiveness of the Muslim youth on their social milieu. He says: "They (the Muslim youth) are products of the French society and the French education system. Most of them do not even talk Arabic. Their parents worked themselves broken in health for the rebuilding of the French society after the war.... But, because the children have dark skin and their names are Mustafa and Ahmad — not Michel or Robert — the French society treats them as foreigners. Is it strange that the youths ask questions?" (p. 46). Kalim Siddiqui’s interview is marked with a political attitude, but this is just as much a result of the questions asked of him rather than the essential attitude of the interviewee. Vogt poses political questions such as The Muslim Parliament’s relations with Iran and Siddiqui’s idea of the West, which generate answers of a certain kind. Siddiqui shows his and his organisation’s concern with the Muslim youth who, he feels, were betrayed by the British authorities. His anti-British or anti-Western feelings seem more to be the result of what he regards as concrete religio-racial politics than based on an ideological position.

In the chapter on moderate Islamism, Vogt asks questions which are of great interest for many researchers of contemporary Islam: Who has the authority to speak on the behalf of the Muslim community? As there exist so many different directions and ideas among the Muslims, the authorities have difficulties about knowing who represents the Muslim community. Vogt shows that only the Muslims in Spain have managed to create a common organisation for communication with the authorities. There, representatives for the two big umbrella organisations have founded a common Islamic commission (Comisión Islámica de España) which the Spanish authorities have accepted as spokesmen for the Muslims.

The other question of importance for Vogt is how the Islamist groups and movements are financed. She observes that Saudi Arabia and Saudi
Isknec Studies 34:4 (1995) 469

Organisations are often mentioned in relation to organisation and financing of Islamic activities in Europe. According to her, this is not desirable as she says: "The organisation (Rābi‘at al-Ālam al-Islāmi) passes on, with other words, a puritanic and law-oriented Islam without specific kindness for Sufi inspired piety, which as a matter of fact also has big groups of followers in Europe" (p. 68). Her conclusion in this chapter is that there is a tendency for the strong national organisations to take control over the smaller mosques, which operate more on a grassroot level, and they also take control of relations towards the authorities. She further claims that in this matter the Islamist organisations are the most active and the most competitive.

Vogt has devoted one full chapter to what she denotes "Turkey in Germany". She observes that most of the Turkish Islamic activities still are directed towards Turkey in contrast to the activities of Muslims from South Asia and the Middle East. She also deals with the Shi‘ah Muslims living in Europe, and it is interesting to note that her questions to Ayatollah Mehdi Rohani in Paris are centred more on theological and spiritual matters than on politics, even though she asks him to comment on the Rushdie case. It is probable that this Ayatollah has confrontations with the Iranian regime, but unfortunately Vogt does not mention anything about this. It is rather important to get a thorough presentation of the interviewees so that the reader could understand the context of the interviews. It must be mentioned, however, that, apart from a few places, Vogt, as a whole, has been rather painstaking in this matter.

In the chapter on extremism, Vogt shows openly her antipathy for this particular form of Islam with being rather ironic in her description of Hizb al-Tahrir's activities. She sees Islamic extremism in Europe as a marginal phenomenon, but she argues that as extremism exists and extremist activities create headlines, it is important to be aware of such groups. She has interviewed Omar Bakri Muhammad, the amir of Hizb al-Tahrir in Great Britain and the interview is mostly about political questions.

The second part, The House of the Treaty, deals with practice and piety, particularly Sufism, Vogt also describes Muslim daily life in Europe. How do Muslims deal with the day-to-day problems? How can the Islamic Family Law prevent injustices in European society? Through Muslim media Muslims get answers as to how to deal with Islamic commandments in a European context. Shaykh Darsh has a question page in the weekly newspaper Q News. Vogt often refers to his answers in this newspaper and shows how he tries to find suitable answers for Muslims in a minority situation. In her interview with Fuad Nahdi, the editor of the newspaper, he exclaims: "In my view, the Muslims' interest of Shaykh Darsh reflects a tendency: Muslims in this country are conventional, but they want a reinterpretation of the tradition. They want to actualise the classical law and make it relevant for our time. And this is exactly what Shaykh Darsh does." (p. 124). Vogt also shows Darsh's capability of
reinterpretation. In an interview with him about the custody of children with divorcée, he claims that according to Islam the main principle is the benefit of the children. If the child's good lies in staying with the mother, she can remain with the mother even if the mother remarries.

Vogt also treats the role of the Muslim woman. She observes that many of the mosques in Europe are without a prayer place for women. She also points out that migrant women in Europe tend not to visit mosques less frequently than women in their home countries and she poses the question: Is it really so that the domains of men are reinforced in new and alien environments?

Another question that Vogt attaches importance to is the issue of Islamic leaders. How can Muslims in Europe get good leaders? Is the establishment of imam institutions enough or does the mosque as an institution have to change in order to meet the new situation of being a minority religion in the modern world? Ishiaq Ahmad, the spokesman of the Council of Mosques in Bradford, says: "There is a need for a totally new concept in order to create a mosque institution which has the right of the future. The mosque has not developed and we are in need of a radical new stream of thought. This is one of the greatest challenges the Muslim community in Europe faces today" (p. 141).

In a chapter on the European converts' role in the Muslim community and in society she asks Mashouq ibn Ally: Whether the converts are bridges in a process of developing a "European Islam"? Mashouq ibn Ally is sceptical and states: "Those (the converts) who should be an important resource adopt, unfortunately, more of the bad habits of the Muslims than they bring with them of the good aspects of the society from which they have come" (p. 204).

The last chapter deals with women in the Muslim community. She interviews Khalida Khan from An-Nisa Society in Great Britain. It is interesting to see Khan's commitment to Islam but at the same time she is quite straightforward in her criticism of the traditional understandings of Islam particularly in matters pertaining to women. In answer to the question of segregation between the sexes, she states: "A certain form of segregation is necessary. I take care of never being alone with a man. You see that I also wear a certain form of cover, too. This is for my own security. It is protection. But segregation which prevents cooperation between men and women is absurd. How many Muslim organisations have women in their administrations, women who have real influence? No one! It cannot continue like this" (p. 215). This statement illustrates Vogt's conclusion. She says: "Culture is never something static, it is development. Islam is part of the development, and for us this means both continuity and change" (p. 216).

In the end of the book, Vogt gives a record of the number of Muslims in European countries. This is useful for subsequent research even if it is
obvious that this record is not complete, as it is almost an impossible task to arrive at the exact numbers of Muslims in different European countries. One of the reasons is that few European countries register religious affiliations.

Vogt’s book is a profound description of Islam in Europe. She has not only a sociological approach to Islam in Europe but her approach is also religio-scientific, thereby trying to give a more extensive portrayal of what it means to be a committed Muslim in Europe. Her form of allowing Muslims themselves to talk is quite successful, although I think she should have discussed her methodology for a more profound understanding. Vogt is accurate and exact and only at certain places could I locate vogue points. One point to mention, however, is when she deals with female circumcision. She claims that the Shafi’i school regards female circumcision as obligatory. However, it is important to note that in Noah Keller’s translation of Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri’s *The Reliance of the Traveller: a Classical Manual of Islamic Law*, which embodies the rules and regulations of the Shafi’i school, Keller remarks that the circumcision of women should be a matter of what is commonly known as "sunnah circumcision", which is a removal of the prepuce of the clitoris only. This form of female circumcision is widespread in Malaysia where almost all Muslims belong to the Shafi’i school, Keller’s book is a part of Vogt’s reference literature.

The issue of Muslims in Europe is a very new research area, but it will probably be a great concern for researchers in all fields of society in the future. Vogt’s book is a resource for Scandinavian researchers on Islam as well as an important reading for Muslims themselves. By reading non-Muslims’ accounts of Muslim ideas and behaviour, Muslims can provide their ideas and perceptions which could stimulate in them constructive ideas of self-improvement.

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