

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/36569> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Zee, Machteld Eveline

**Title:** Choosing Sharia? Multiculturalism, Islamic Fundamentalism and British Sharia Councils

**Issue Date:** 2015-12-01

## Bibliography

- '1st Oic Observatory Report On Islamophobia May 2007 To May 2008', via  
<[http://www.oic-oci.org/uploads/file/Islamphobia/islamphobia\\_rep\\_may\\_07\\_08.pdf](http://www.oic-oci.org/uploads/file/Islamphobia/islamphobia_rep_may_07_08.pdf)>.
- '2008 Update: Saudi Arabia's Curriculum of Intolerance. With Excerpts of Saudi Ministry of Education Textbooks for Islamic Studies', Center for Religious Freedom of Hudson Institute with Gulf Institute 2008, via  
<[http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/656/saudi\\_textbooks\\_final.pdf](http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/656/saudi_textbooks_final.pdf)>.
- '40% of British Muslims want Sharia Law', ICM poll 20 February 2006 via  
<[ukpollingreport.co.uk/blog/archives/146](http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/blog/archives/146)>.
- '40% of young UK Muslims want sharia law', Poll by UK think tank Policy Exchange 31 January 2007 via <[www.wnd.com/2007/01/39942/](http://www.wnd.com/2007/01/39942/)>.
- 'A look at the writings of Saudi blogger Raif Badawi – sentenced to 1,000 lashes', *The Guardian* 14 January 2015, via  
<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/14/-sp-saudi-blogger-extracts-raif-badawi>>.
- 'Abused women battle Saudi injustice', *Financial Times* 14 October 2006 via  
<<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/d9ee5a5a-d7b0-11df-b478-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3Q1TFiDV9>>.
- 'Archbishop on Radio 4 World at One - UK law needs to find accommodation with religious law codes', 7 February 2008, via  
<<http://rowanwilliams.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/707/archbishop-on-radio-4-uk-law-needs-to-find-accommodation-with-religious-law-codes>>.
- 'Backlash over call for Sharia', *Birmingham Mail*, 8 February 2008.
- 'Bill limiting sharia law is motivated by 'concern for Muslim women'', *The Guardian*, 8 June 2011.
- 'Britain's Underage Muslim Marriage Epidemic', *Gatestone Institute* 15 October 2013, via <<http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4017/uk-muslim-underage-marriage>>.
- 'Cameron steps into Sharia law row', *news.bbc.co.uk*, 26 February 2008.

- 'Chairman of Birmingham Central Mosque should quit over 7/7 bombings row says MP', *Birmingham Mail* 5 July 2009 via  
<<http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/chairman-of-birmingham-central-mosque-should-241309>>.
- 'Controversial Muslim cleric banned from Britain', *The Guardian* 7 February 2008.
- 'Council of Islamic Ideology declares women's existence anti-Islamic', *Pakistan Today* 15 March 2014, via  
<<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/03/15/comment/coucil-of-islamic-ideology-declares-womens-existence-anti-islamic/>>.
- 'Equal and Free? Evidence in support of Baroness Cox's Arbitration and Mediation Services (Equality) Bill', researched and drafted by Charlotte Rachael Proudman 2012.
- 'Five Reasons To Ban the Burqa', *Frontpage Mag* 11 July 2011 via  
<<http://www.frontpagemag.com/2011/dgreenfield/five-reasons-to-ban-the-burqa/>>.
- 'General recommendation on article 16 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women', via  
<[http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/comments/CEDAW-C-52-WP-1\\_en.pdf](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/comments/CEDAW-C-52-WP-1_en.pdf)>.
- 'Growing Islamic fundamentalism seen pushing Malays to quit country', *Malay Mail Online* 30 October 2014, via  
<<http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/growing-islamic-fundamentalism-seen-pushing-malays-to-quit-country#sthash.TD5Jb1f0.dpuf>>.
- 'Happy clappy Rowan repents in Sharia storm', *Daily Mail*, 12 February 2008.
- 'I will fight Islamic authorities till the end, vows Kassim Ahmad', *The Malaysian Insider* 18 January 2015,  
<http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/malaysia/article/i-will-fight-islamic-authorities-till-the-end-vows-kassim-ahmad>.
- 'In full: Rowan Williams interview', *bbc.co.uk* 11 February 2008, via  
<[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/7239283.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7239283.stm)>.
- 'In the name of the law', *The Guardian* 14 June 2007 via  
<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jun/14/religion.news>>.

- 'Islamic sharia courts in Britain are now 'legally binding'', *Daily Mail Online* 15 September 2008, via <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1055764/Islamic-sharia-courts-Britain-legally-binding.html>>.
- 'Just How Moderate is Iqbal Sacranie?', *MCBWatch* 4 August 2005, <<http://mcbwatch.blogspot.co.uk/2005/08/just-how-moderate-is-iqbal-sacranie.html>>.
- 'Kweekschool van het kalifaat' (Breeding Ground for the Caliphate), *NRC Handelsblad* 28 March 2015.
- 'Leading Sunni Sheikh Yousef Al-Qaradhawi and Other Sheikhs Herald the Coming Conquest of Rome', MEMRI Special Dispatch Series No. 447, 6 December 2002, via <<http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&ID=SP44702>>
- 'Moderate Malaysia has so many fatwas there's a website to keep track of them', *Global Post* 5 January 2015 via <<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/asia-pacific/141222/moderate-malaysia-has-so-many-fatwas-there-s-website-keep->>.
- 'Multiculturalism 'a big failure: Spain's ex-prime minister Aznar', 27 October 2006, via <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1726950/posts>.
- 'Multiculturalism and Child Protection in Britain: Sharia Law and Other Failures' Published by One Law for All, June 2013, via <<http://www.onelawforall.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Multiculturalism-and-Child-Protection-in-Britain.pdf>>.
- 'Multiculturalism Has Failed, Says French President', *Daily Motion* 11 February 2011 <[http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xgzqs8\\_Multiculturalism-has-failed-says-french-president\\_news](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xgzqs8_Multiculturalism-has-failed-says-french-president_news)>.
- 'Muslim Gangs Enforce Sharia Law in London', January 25, 2013 *Gatestone Institute* <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/3555/sharia-law-london>.
- 'Muslim 'wives' discover that they have no marriage rights', *Family Law Week* 11 December 2014, via <<http://www.familylawweek.co.uk/site.aspx?i=ed137790>>.
- 'Nikah Halala – Sharia divorce law that demands the wife to sleep with another man', *The Muslim Issue* 2 November 2014, via <<https://themuslimissue.wordpress.com/2014/11/02/crazy-islam-nikah-halala-sharia-divorce-law-that-demands-the-wife-to-sleep-with-another-man/>>.

- 'Our survey shows British Muslims don't want sharia', *The Spectator*, 12 July, 2008.
- 'Pleidooi voor sharia-raad' (Plea for a Sharia council), *nos.nl*/11 June 2012 via <<http://nos.nl/artikel/382618-pleidooi-voor-shariaraad.html>>.
- 'Radicals who spread message of brutality, hate and intolerance', *The Times* 13 May 2013, via <<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/faith/article3763189.ece>>.
- 'Raif Badawi: Saudi blogger is spared public flogging for a second week', *The Independent* 23 January 2015 via <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-blogger-raif-badawi-is-spared-public-flogging-for-a-second-week-9997804.html>>.
- 'Rape in marriage is no crime says cleric', *Daily Express* 15 October 2010, via <<http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/205474/Rape-in-marriage-is-no-crime-says-cleric>>.
- 'Reaction in quotes: Sharia law row', *news.bbc.co.uk*, 8 February 2008.
- 'Recognizing the Un-Recognized: Inter-Country Cases and Muslim Marriages & Divorces in Britain', published by Women Living Under Muslim Laws in 2006.
- 'Rise of strict Islam exposes tensions in Malaysia', *bbb.co.uk* 26 August 2011 via <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-radio-and-tv-14649841>>.
- 'Rushdie in hiding after Ayatollah's death threat', *The Guardian* 18 February 1989, via <<http://www.theguardian.com/books/1989/feb/18/fiction.salmanrushdie>>.
- 'Saudi Arabia: Five beheaded and 'crucified' amid 'disturbing' rise in executions', *Amnesty.org* 21 May 2013, via <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/saudi-arabia-five-beheaded-and-crucified-amid-disturbing-rise-executions-2013-05-21>>.
- 'Saudi Arabia: Men 'Behaving Like Women' Face Flogging', *Human Rights Watch* 7 April 2005, via <<http://www.hrw.org/news/2005/04/06/saudi-arabia-men-behaving-women-face-flogging>>.
- 'Saudi human rights activist in prison for 'annoying others'', *The National* 20 July 2010 via <<http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/saudi-human-rights-activist-in-prison-for-annoying-others>>.
- 'Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques', Center for Religious Freedom, New York: Freedom House 2005.
- 'Schweigen, Fragen, unerwünschtes Lob. Ruud Koopmans über die Reaktionen auf seine Fundamentalismus-Studie', *WZB Mitteilungen* 2014, pp. 53-55.

- 'Sharia council: same pitch, same rules', Webmagazine Maastricht University 30 October 2012 via <http://webmagazine.maastrichtuniversity.nl/index.php/research/society/item/357-sharia-council-same-pitch-same-rules>.
- 'Sharia Law in Britain: A Threat to One Law for All and Equal Rights', Published by One Law for All, June 2010.
- 'Sharia law not welcome here, says PM Brown', *Birmingham Post*, 9 February 2008.
- 'Sharia law row: Archbishop is in shock as he faces demands to quit and criticism from Lord Carey', *London Evening Standard*, 7 February 2008.
- 'Sharia law UK: Mail on Sunday gets exclusive access to a British Muslim court', *Daily Mail Online* 4 July 2009 via <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1197478/Sharia-law-UK--How-Islam-dispensing-justice-side-British-courts.html#ixzz3ZMpBmrBz>.
- 'Sheikh Qaradawi's First Interview with Onislam.net', *Onislam.net* 18 October 2010, via <http://www.onislam.net/english/shariah/contemporary-issues/interviews-reviews-and-events/449388-sheikh-qaradawis-first-interview-with-onislamnet.html?Events=>>.
- 'The Beth Din: Jewish law in the UK', *The Centre for Social Cohesion* 2009.
- 'The British child brides: Muslim mosque leaders agree to marry girl of 12... so long as parents don't tell anyone' *Dailymail.co.uk* 9 September 2012, via <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2200555/The-British-child-brides-Muslim-mosque-leaders-agree-marry-girl-12--long-parents-dont-tell-anyone.html>.
- 'The Church should have the guts to sack the Archbishop...and pick a man who truly treasures British values', *Daily Mail*, 11 February 2008.
- 'The Global Terrorism Index 2014' report by The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) via [http://www.visionofhumanity.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Terrorism%20Index%20Report%202014\\_0.pdf](http://www.visionofhumanity.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Terrorism%20Index%20Report%202014_0.pdf).
- 'The Kingdom in the Closet', *The Atlantic*, 1 May 2007, via <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2007/05/the-kingdom-in-the-closet/305774/>.

- 'We want to offer sharia law to Britain', *The Telegraph* 20 January 2014, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1576066/We-want-to-offer-sharia-law-to-Britain.html>>.
- 'Why we should oppose Islamic Sharia courts in Britain', *Liberal Conspiracy* 16 August 2013 via <<http://liberalconspiracy.org/2013/08/16/why-we-should-oppose-islamic-sharia-courts-in-britain/>>.
- 'Williams 'shocked' at Sharia row', *news.bbc.co.uk* 8 February 2008.
- 'World Report 2012: Saudi Arabia', *Human Rights Watch* via <<http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2012/world-report-2012-saudi-arabia>>.
- Abiad, Nisrine, *Sharia, Muslim States And International Human Rights Treaty Obligations: A Comparative Study*, London: British Institute of International and Comparative Law 2008.
- Addison, Neil, 'Lady Cox's bill is not so controversial', *The Guardian* 23 June 2011.
- Addison, Neil, 'Sharia Tribunals in Britain – Mediators or Arbitrators?', in: MacEoin, Denis, and Green, David (eds.), *Sharia Law or 'One Law for All?*, London: Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society 2009.
- Ahdar, Rex and Aroney, Nicholas (eds.), *Shari'a in the West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010.
- Al-Azm, Sadi Jalal, 'The Importance of Being Earnest about Salman Rushdie', *Die Welt des Islams* 1991, quoted in: Mayer, Ann Elizabeth, 'Universal versus Islamic Human Rights: A Clash of Cultures or Clash with a Construct', *Michigan Journal of International Law* 1994, pp. 307-404.
- Ali, Kecia, *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2010.
- Ali, Shaheen Sardar, 'Authority and authenticity: Sharia councils, Muslim women's rights, and the English courts', *Child and Family Law Quarterly* 2013, pp. 113-137.
- An-Na'im, Abdullahi, *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 2008.
- Aufderheide, Patricia (ed.), *Beyond PC. Toward a Politics of Understanding*, Minnesota: Graywolf Press 1992.
- Bale, Jeffrey, 'Denying the Link between Islamist Ideology and Jihadist Terrorism: "Political Correctness" and the Undermining of Counterterrorism', *Perspectives*

- on *Terrorism* 2013, via  
 <<http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/290/html>>.
- Bangstad, Sindre, Leirvik, Oddbjorn and Bowen, John, ‘Anthropologists are talking’, About Islam, Muslims and Law in Contemporary Europe’, *Ethnos* 2013, pp. 1 – 20.
- Bano, Samia, ‘In Pursuit of Religious and Legal Diversity: A Response to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the ‘Sharia Debate’ in Britain’, *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 2008, pp. 283-309.
- Bano, Samia, ‘Muslim Family Justice and Human Rights: The Experience of British Muslim Women’, *Journal of Comparative Law* 2007, pp. 45-52.
- Baron, B., ‘Tolerable Intolerance?’ Silence on Attacks on Women by Fundamentalists’, *Contention* 1996, in: Moghissi, Haideh, *Feminism and Islamic Fundamentalism. The Limits of Postmodern Analysis*, London and New York: Zed Books 1999.
- Barry, Brian, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press 2001.
- Benn, Piers, ‘On Islamophobia-phobia’, *New Humanist* 2002 via  
 <<https://newhumanist.org.uk/524>>.
- Bennet, Dashiell, ‘Look Who's on Al Qaeda's Most-Wanted List’, *The Wire* 1 March, 2013 via <<http://www.thewire.com/global/2013/03/al-qaeda-most-wanted-list/62673/>>.
- Benson, Ophelia and Stangroom, Jeremy, *Does God Hate Women?*, London: Continuum 2009.
- Berger, Maurits (ed.), *Applying Shari'a in the West. Facts, Fears and the Future of Islamic Rules on Family Relations in the West*, Leiden: Leiden University Press 2013.
- Berger, Maurits, ‘Juist blokkeren van shariaraad is dom’ (Actually, blocking a Sharia council is stupid), *NRC Handelsblad* 15 June 2012.
- Berger, Maurits, ‘The Third Wave: Islamization of Europe, or Europeanization of Islam?’, *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 2013, pp. 115-136.
- Berlin, Isaiah, *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1975 (1969).
- Berlinski, Claire, ‘Moderate Muslim Watch: How the Term “Islamophobia” Got Shoved Down Your Throat’, *Ricochet* 24 November 2010 via



<<https://ricochet.com/archives/moderate-muslim-watch-how-the-term-islamophobia-got-shoved-down-your-throat/>>.

- Berman, Paul, *The Flight of the Intellectuals*, New York: Melville House 2010.
- Bielefeldt, Heiner, 'Muslim voices in the human rights debate', *Human Rights Quarterly* 1995, pp. 587-617.
- Bin Ladin, Carmen, *Inside the Kingdom: My Life in Saudi Arabia*, New York: Warner Books 2005.
- Blum, Lawrence, "Recognition and Multiculturalism in education", *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 2001, pp. 539-559.
- Blum, Lawrence, "Recognition, value, and equality: a critique of Charles Taylor's and Nancy Fraser's accounts of Multiculturalism", *Constellations* 1998, pp. 51-68.
- Bodin, Jean, *On Sovereignty. Four Chapters from the Six Books of the Commonwealth* (Edited and Translated by Julian H. Franklin), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992.
- Bowen, John, 'How Could English Courts Recognize Shariah?', *University of St. Thomas Law Journal* 2009-10, pp. 411-435.
- Bowen, John, 'Panorama's exposé of sharia councils didn't tell the full story', *The Guardian* 26 April 2013.
- Boyd, Marion, 'Religion-Based Alternative Dispute Resolution: A Challenge to Multiculturalism', pp. 465-473, in: Banting, Keith *et al.* (eds), *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 2007.
- Brague, Rémy, *The Law of God. The Philosophical History of an Idea*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2007.
- Brechin, Jessie, 'A study of the use of Sharia law in religious arbitration in the United Kingdom and the concerns that this raises for human rights', *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 2013, pp. 293-315.
- British Runnymede Trust, 'Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All', *Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia* (1997),  
<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf>.
- Brown, Alexandra, 'Constructions of Islam in the Context of Religious Arbitration: A Consideration of the "Shari'ah Debate" in Ontario, Canada', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 2010, pp. 343-356.

- Brown, Eric, 'After the Ramadan affair: New trends in Islamism in the West', *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* 2005, pp. 7-29.
- Browne, Anthony, *The Retreat of Reason. Political Correctness and the Corruption of the Public Debate in Modern Britain*, London: Civitas 2006.
- Broyde, Michael, 'New York's Regulation of Jewish Marriage. Covenant, Contract, or Statute?', pp. 138-163, in: Nichols, Joel (ed.), *Marriage and Divorce in a Multicultural Context: Multi-tiered Marriage and the Boundaries of Civil Law and Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011.
- Bruckner, Pascal, *The Tyranny of Guilt*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2010.
- Budziszewski, J., 'Natural Law, Democracy, and Shari'a', pp. 181-206 (183), in: Rex Ahdar and Nicholas Aroney (eds.), *Shari'a in the West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010.
- Buruma, Ian, *Murder in Amsterdam*, London: Penguin Books 2006.
- Buttner, Friedemann, 'The Fundamentalist Impulse and the Challenge of Modernity', pp. 57-79, in: Stauth, Georg (ed.), *Islam – Motor or Challenge of Modernity. Yearbook of the Sociology of Islam (1)*, Hamburg: Lit Verlag 2008.
- Caeiro, Alexandre and Gräf, Bettine, 'The European Council for Fatwa and Research and Yusuf al-Qaradawi', pp. 119-121 (120), in: Peter, Frank and Ortega, Rafael (eds.), *Islamic Movements of Europe*, London: I.B. Tauris 2014.
- Caldwell, Christopher, *Reflections on the revolution in Europe: can Europe be the same with different people in it?*, London: Allen Lane 2009.
- Campbell, Andrew, 'Taqiyya': How Islamic Extremists Deceive the West', *National Observer* 2005, pp. 11-23.
- Cares, Alison and Cusick, Gretchen, 'Risks and Opportunities of Faith and Culture: The Case of Abused Jewish Women', *Journal of Family Violence* 2012, pp. 427-435.
- Cartwright, Richard, 'Some Remarks on Essentialism', *The Journal of Philosophy* 1968, pp. 615-626.
- Chaudhry, Ayesha, *Domestic Violence and the Islamic Tradition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013.
- Chervel, Thierry, and Anja Seeliger, *Islam in Europa. Eine internationale Debatte*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag 2007.

- Chesler, Phyllis, 'Worldwide Trends in Honor Killings', *Middle East Quarterly* Spring 2010, pp. 3-11.
- Chesler, Phyllis, *An American Bride in Kabul: A Memoir*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013.
- Chesler, Phyllis, *The Death of Feminism*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2006.
- Cliteur, Paul and Rijpkema, Bastiaan, 'The Foundations of Militant Democracy', in Ellian, Afshin and Molier, Gelijn (eds.), *The State of Exception and Militant Democracy in a Time of Terror*, Dordrecht: Republic of Letters Publishing 2012, pp. 227-273.
- Cliteur, Paul, 'Female Critics of Islamism', *Feminist Theology* 2011, pp. 154-167.
- Cliteur, Paul, 'State and religion against the backdrop of religious radicalism', *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 2012, pp. 127-152.
- Cliteur, Paul, 'Van etnisch naar kosmopolitisch multiculturalisme' (From ethnic to cosmopolitan Multiculturalism), pp. 61- 76, in: Manen, N.F. van, *De multiculturele samenleving en het recht* (The Multicultural Society and the Law), Nijmegen: Ars Aequi Libri 2002.
- Cliteur, Paul, *Moderne Papoea's – Dilemma's van een Multiculturele Samenleving* (Modern Papuans – Dilemmas of a Multicultural Society), Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers 2002.
- Cliteur, Paul, *The Secular Outlook. In Defense of Moral and Political Secularism*, Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell 2010.
- Cohen, Joshua, Howard, Matthew and Nussbaum, Martha (eds.), *Is Multiculturalism Bad For Women?*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1999.
- Cohen, Nick, *What's Left? How the Left Has Lost Its Way*, London: Harper Perennial 2007.
- Cox, Caroline, 'A Parallel World. Confronting the abuse of many Muslim women in Britain today', *The Bow Group* 2015.
- Cumper, Peter, 'Multiculturalism, Human Rights and the Accommodation of Sharia Law', *Human Rights Law Review* 2014, pp. 31–57.
- Dabrowska, Karen, 'British Islamic Party spreads its wings', *New Straits Times* (Malaysia) 16 November 1989, via <<https://news.google.co.uk/newspapers?id=TbYTAAAIBAJ&sjid=K5ADAAAAIBAJ&pg=6294,61245&hl=en>>.

- Dankowitz, Aluma, 'Tariq Ramadan – Reformist or Islamist?', The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) Inquiry & Analysis Series Report No. 266, 17 February 2006.
- Desai, Meghnad, *Rethinking Islamism. The Ideology of the New Terror*, London: I.B. Tauris 2007.
- Doppelt, Gerald, "Illiberal Cultures and Group Rights: A Critique of Multiculturalism in Kymlicka, Taylor, and Nussbaum", *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues* 2001, pp. 661-692.
- Douglas, Gillian *et al*, *Social Cohesion and Civil Law: Marriage, Divorce and Religious Courts* 2011, via  
<<http://www.law.cf.ac.uk/clr/Social%20Cohesion%20and%20Civil%20Law%20Full%20Report.pdf>>.
- Duffet, Rebecca, 'Baroness Caroline Cox And The Sharia Bill', *Cross Rythms* June 30 2011, via  
<[http://www.crossrhythms.co.uk/articles/life/Baroness\\_Caroline\\_Cox\\_And\\_The\\_Sharia\\_Bill/43747/p1/](http://www.crossrhythms.co.uk/articles/life/Baroness_Caroline_Cox_And_The_Sharia_Bill/43747/p1/)>.
- Dunlap, Bridgette, 'Protecting the Space to Be Unveiled: Why France's Full Veil Ban Does Not Violate the European Convention on Human Rights', *Fordham International Law Journal* 2011, pp. 968-1026.
- Dyer, Emily, *Marginalising Egyptian Women. The Restriction of Women's Rights Under the Muslim Brotherhood*, London: The Henry Jackson Society 2013.
- El Fadl, Khaled Abou, *Speaking in God's Name. Islamic Law, Authority and Women*, Oxford: OneWorld 2010.
- Ellian, Afshin and Molier, Geliijn (eds.), *Freedom of Speech Under Attack*, The Hague: Eleven International Publishing 2015.
- Ellian, Afshin, 'Emancipation and Integration of Dutch Muslims in Light of a Process Polarization and the Threat of Political Islam', *Middle East Program Occasional Paper Series Summer* 2009, pp. 15-23.
- Ellian, Afshin, 'The Legal Order of Political Religion', pp. 187-232, in: Molier, Geliijn, Ellian, Afshin and Suurland, David (eds.), *Terrorism, Ideology, Law and Policy*, Dordrecht: Republic of Letters 2011.
- Eltahawy, Mona, 'Why Do They Hate Us?', *Foreign Policy* 23 April 2012.

- Engin, Serkan, 'Why We Must Ban Islam', *The Conservative Papers* 23 March 2015 via <<http://conservativepapers.com/news/2015/03/23/why-we-must-ban-islam/#.VRD-mfmsWT8>>.
- Erikson, Erik, 'The Problem of Ego Identity', *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 1956, pp. 56-121.
- Euben, Roxanne Leslie, and Muhammed Qasim Zaman (eds.), *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2009.
- Fairclough, Norman, "Political correctness': The politics of culture and language", *Discourse & Society* 2003, pp. 17-28.
- Fatah, Tarek. *Chasing A Mirage: The Tragic Illusion Of An Islamic State*, Mississauga, Ontario: Wiley & Sons Canada 2008.
- Fennema, Meindert, *Van Thomas Jefferson tot Pim Fortuyn. Balans van de Democratie* (From Thomas Jefferson to Pim Fortuyn. Democracy's Balance), Apeldoorn: Spinhuis Uitgevers 2012.
- Fish, Stanley, 'Boutique Multiculturalism, or why liberals are incapable of thinking about hate speech', *Critical Inquiry* 1997, pp. 378-395.
- Fourest, Caroline, *Brother Tariq: The Doublespeak of Tariq Ramadan*, New York: Encounter Books 2008.
- Fowers, Blaine, and Richardson, Frank, 'Why is Multiculturalism good?', *American Psychologist* 1996, pp. 609-621.
- Froese, Paul, *The Plot to Kill God: Findings from the Soviet Experiment on Secularization*, Los Angeles: University of California Press 2008.
- Gaede, Stan, *When Tolerance is No Virtue. Political Correctness, Multiculturalism & the Future of Truth & Justice*", Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press 1993.
- Gensler, Harry, *Ethics. A Contemporary Introduction*, London: Routledge 2011.
- Glazer, Nathan, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1998.
- Gold, Dore, *Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism*, Washington, DC: Regnery Publishers 2003.
- Grant, Helen, 'Sharia Law' Hansard 23 April 2013, Column 289WH.
- Guiora, Amos, *Freedom from Religion: Rights and National Security*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013.

- Guiora, Amos, *Tolerating Extremism. To what extent should intolerance be tolerated?*, dissertation Leiden University 2014, p. 74 (available via <<https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/21977>>).
- Hamilton, Carolyn, *Family, Law and Religion*, London: Sweet and Maxwell 1995.
- Hasan, Rummy, 'Critical remarks on cultural aspects of Asian ghettos in modern Britain', *Capital & Class* 2003, pp. 103-134.
- Hasan, Rummy, *Multiculturalism. Some Inconvenient Truths*, London: Politico's Publishing 2010.
- Hasan, Suhaib, 'Muslim family law in Britain. A paper submitted to the international family law conference on 14 May 2014 at the University of Islamabad', 20 May 2014, via <<http://sheikhsuhaibhasan.blogspot.co.uk/2014/05/muslim-family-law-in-britain.html>>.
- Hasan, Suhaib, 'My Memoirs: Early Days of My Life, Part 1', 27 January 2015 via <<http://sheikhsuhaibhasan.blogspot.co.uk/2015/01/my-memoirs-early-days-of-my-life-part-1.html>>.
- Helfand, Michael, 'Religious Arbitration and the New Multiculturalism: Negotiating Conflicting Legal Orders', *New York University Law Review* 2011, pp. 1231-1305.
- Herman, Arthur, *The Idea of Decline in Western History*, New York: The Free Press 1997.
- Herrenberg, Tom, 'Denouncing Divinity: Blasphemy, Human Rights, and the Struggle of Political Leaders to defend Freedom of Speech in the case of *Innocence of Muslims*', *Ancilla Iuris* 2015, pp. 1-19.
- Higham, John, "Multiculturalism and universalism: A history and critique", *American Quarterly* 1993, pp. 195-219.
- Hirsi Ali, Ayaan, *Heretic. Why Islam Needs a Reformation Now*, New York: Harper Collins 2015.
- Hirsi Ali, Ayaan, *Mijn Vrijheid* (Infidel), Amsterdam: Augustus 2006.
- Horowitz, David and Spencer, Robert, *Islamophobia. Thought Crime of the Totalitarian Future*, David Horowitz Freedom Center 2011.
- Hudelson, Patricia, 'Culture and quality: an anthropological perspective', *International Journal for Quality in Health Care* 2004, pp. 345-346.

- Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash Of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks 1996 (2003).
- Ibn Warraq, *Why I Am Not a Muslim*, Amherst: Prometheus 1995.
- Ibn Warraq, *Why the West is Best. A Muslim Apostate's Defense of Liberal Democracy*, New York: Encounter Books 2011.
- Ibrahim, Raymond (ed.), *The Al Qaeda Reader: The Essential Texts of Osama Bin Laden's Terrorist Organization*. Portland: Broadway Books 2007.
- Ibrahim, Raymond, 'How Taqiyya Alters Islam's Rules of War. Defeating Jihadist Terrorism', *Middle East Quarterly* 2010, pp. 3-13.
- Iverson, Duncan, 'Introduction: Multiculturalism as a Public Ideal', in: Iverson, Duncan (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Multiculturalism*, Surrey: Ashgate 2010.
- Jaan, Habiba, 'Equal and Free? 50 Muslim Women's Experiences of Marriage in Britain Today', Aurat Research Report 2014, via <https://www.secularism.org.uk/uploads/aurat-report-dec2014.pdf>
- Johnson, James, 'Why respect culture?', *American Journal of Political Science* 2000, pp. 405-418.
- Joppke, Christian, 'The retreat of Multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy', *The British Journal of Sociology* (2004): 237-257.
- Kaplan, David E., Monica Ekman, and Latif, Aamir, 'The Saudi Connection How Billions In Oil Money Spawned A Global Terror Network; Karachi', *US News & World Report* 2003.
- Karima Bennoune, *Your Fatwa Does Not Apply Here: Untold Stories from the Fight Against Muslim Fundamentalism*, New York: Norton & Company 2013.
- Keller, Nuh Ha Mim, *Reliance of the Traveller. A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*, 'Umdat al-Salik by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (d. 769-1368) in Arabic with Facing English Text, Commentary, and Appendices. Edited and translated by Nuh Ha Mim Keller, Beltsville: Amana 1991.
- Kepel, Gilles, *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2004.
- Keshavjee, Mohamed, *Islam, Sharia and Alternative Dispute Resolution: Mechanisms for Legal Redress in the Muslim Community*, London: I.B. Tauris 2013.

- Koopmans, Ruud and Veit, Susanne, 'Cooperation in Ethnically Diverse Neighborhoods: A Lost-Letter Experiment', *Political Psychology* 2014, pp. 379–400.
- Koopmans, Ruud, 'Religious Fundamentalism and Hostility against Out-groups. A Comparison of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 2015, pp. 33-57.
- Kramer, Martin, *Islam assembled: The advent of the Muslim congresses*, New York: Columbia University Press 1986, in: Gold, Dore, *Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism*.
- Kristol, Irving, 'The Tragedy of Multiculturalism;', in: Kristol, Irving, *Neo-conservatism. Selected Essays 1949-1995*, New York: The Free Press, pp. 50-53.
- Kuric, Lejla, 'Britain's sharia councils and secular alternatives', *Left Foot Forward* 2014, via <<https://leftfootforward.org/2014/04/britains-sharia-councils-and-secular-alternatives/>>
- Kymlicka, Will, 'Testing the liberal multiculturalist hypothesis: Normative theories and social science evidence', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2010, pp. 257-271.
- Kymlicka, Will, 'The rise and fall of Multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies', *International Social Science Journal* 2010, pp. 97–112.
- Kymlicka, Will, *Liberalism, Community and Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1989.
- Kymlicka, Will, *Multiculturalist Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995.
- Lacey, Robert, *Inside the Kingdom, Kings, Clerics, Modernists, Terrorists, and the Struggle for Saudi Arabia*, New York: Viking 2009.
- Laes, Willy, *Mensenrechten in de Verenigde Naties. Een verhaal over manipulatie, censuur en hypocrisie* (Human Rights in the United Nations. A story on manipulation, censorship and hypocrisy), Antwerpen: Garant 2011.
- Landes, Richard, 'From Useful Idiot to Useful Infidel. Meditations on the Folly of 21st-Century "Intellectuals"', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 2013, pp. 621-634.
- Laycock, Douglas, 'Equal Access and Moments of Silence: The Equal Status of Religious Speech by Private Speakers', *Northwestern University Law Review* 1986, pp. 1-67.



- Laycock, Douglas, 'Religious Liberty as Liberty', *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues* 1996, pp. 313-356.
- Lefort, Claude and Thompson, John, 'Totalitarianism without Stalin', pp. 52-88 (79), in: Lefort, Claude, *The Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism*, Cambridge: Polity, 1986.
- Leiter, Brian, "Why tolerate religion?", *Constitutional Commentary* 2008, pp. 1-27.
- Lepore, Christopher R., 'Asserting State Sovereignty over National Communities of Islam in the United States and Britain: Sharia Courts as a Tool of Muslim Accommodation and Integration', *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 2012, pp. 669-692.
- Lester, Shona, 'The State and the Operation of Sharia Councils in the United Kingdom. A Critical Response to Machteld Zee', *Journal of Religion and Society* 2015, pp. 1-9.
- Levy, Jacob, *The Multiculturalism of Fear*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000.
- Lia, Brynjar, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt*, Reading: Ithaca Press 1998.
- Lichter, Ida, *Muslim Women Reformers. Inspiring Voices Against Oppression*, Amherst: Prometheus Books 2009.
- London, Alex John, 'The independence of practical ethics', *Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics* 2001, pp. 87-105.
- MacEoin, Denis, and Green, David (eds.), *Sharia Law or 'One Law for All?'*, London: Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society 2009.
- Malik, Kenan, *Strange Fruit: Why Both Sides are Wrong in the Race Debate*, Oxford: Oneworld 2008 (2009).
- Malik, Maleiha, 'Muslim Legal Norms and the Integration of European Muslims', EUI Working Paper 2009/29, via <http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/11653/RSCAS?sequence=1>.
- Malik, Maleiha, *Minority Legal Orders in the UK. Minorities, Pluralism and the Law*, London: The British Academy 2012.
- Manea, Elham, 'Introducing Sharia in Western Legal Systems. When States Legally Sanction Discrimination', *Qantara.de* 19 March 2012, via <http://en.qantara.de/content/introducing-sharia-in-western-legal-systems-when-states-legally-sanction-discrimination>.

- Manji, Irshad, *The Trouble with Islam. A Muslim's Call for Reform in her Faith*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Maret, Rebecca, 'Mind the Gap: The Equality Bill and Sharia Arbitration in the United Kingdom', *Boston College International & Comparative Law Review* 2013, pp. 255-283.
- Marsh, Christopher, *Religion and State in Russia and China. Suppression, Survival, and Revival*, New York: Continuum 2011.
- Mayer, Ann Elizabeth, *Islam and Human Rights: Tradition and Politics*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press 2007.
- McGoldrick, Dominic, 'Accommodating Muslims in Europe: From Adopting Sharia Law to Religiously Based Opt Outs from Generally Applicable Laws', *Human Rights Law Review* 2009, pp. 603-645.
- McHale, T. R., 'A prospect of Saudi Arabia', *International Affairs* 1980, pp. 622-647.
- Menski, Werner, 'Immigration and multiculturalism in Britain: New Issues in Research and Policy', paper of a lecture delivered at Osaka University on 25 July 2002, pp. 1 – 20.
- Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty*, (1859) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003.
- Miller, Christian, 'Moral Relativism and Moral Psychology', pp. 346-367 (346-347), in: Hales, Steven (ed), *A Companion to Relativism*, Chicester.: Wiley-Blackwell 2011.
- Mirza, Munira *et al.*, *Living apart together: British Muslims and the paradox of multiculturalism*, London: Policy Exchange, 2007.
- Moghissi, Haideh, *Feminism and Islamic Fundamentalism. The Limits of Postmodern Analysis*, London and New York: Zed Books 1999.
- Moore, Kathleen, *The Unfamiliar Abode: Islamic Law in the United States and Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010, p. 119.
- Muhammad, Abdur-Rahman, 'Whether or not Ground Zero mosque is built, U.S. Muslims have access to the American Dream' *The Investigative Project on Terrorism*, 5 September 2010 via <http://www.investigativeproject.org/2164/whether-or-not-ground-zero-mosque-is-built-us>

- Murray, Douglas and Verwey, Johan Pieter, 'Victims of Intimidation. Freedom of Speech within Europe's Muslim Communities', The Centre for Social Cohesion 2008.
- Musa, Shirin, 'Shariaraad houdt vrouwen gevangen in hun huwelijk' (Sharia council keeps women trapped inside their marriage), *NRC Handelsblad* 12 July 2012.
- Nawaz, Maajid, *Radical*, London: WH Allen 2012.
- Nielsen, Kai, 'Ethical Relativism and the Facts of Cultural Relativity', in: *Social Research* 33 (4) 1966, pp. 531-551.
- Nomani, Asra, 'Meet the honor brigade, an organized campaign to silence debate on Islam', *Washington Post* 16 January 2015, via [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/meet-the-honor-brigade-an-organized-campaign-to-silence-critics-of-islam/2015/01/16/0b002e5a-9aaf-11e4-a7ee-526210d665b4\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/meet-the-honor-brigade-an-organized-campaign-to-silence-critics-of-islam/2015/01/16/0b002e5a-9aaf-11e4-a7ee-526210d665b4_story.html)
- Okin, Susan Moller, 'Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?', pp. 7-24, in: Cohen, Joshua, Howard, Matthew and Nussbaum, Martha, *Is Multiculturalism Bad For Women?*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1999.
- Othman, Norani, 'Muslim women and the challenge of Islamic fundamentalism/extremism: An overview of Southeast Asian Muslim women's struggle for human rights and gender equality', *Women's Studies International Forum* 2006, pp. 339-353 (342).
- Otto, Jan Michiel (ed.), *A Comparative Overview of the Legal Systems of Twelve Muslim Countries in Past and Present*, Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Otto, Jan Michiel, 'The compatibility of Shari'a with the rule of law. Fundamentalist conflict: between civilisations? Within civilisations? Or between scholars?', pp. 137-154, in: Groen, Adriaan in 't *et al.* (eds), *Knowledge in Ferment, Dilemmas in Science, Scholarship and Society*, Leiden: Leiden University Press 2007.
- Parekh, Bhikhu, 'A varied modern world', pp. 69-75, in: Cohen, Joshua, Howard, Matthew and Nussbaum, Martha, *Is Multiculturalism Bad For Women?*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1999.
- Parekh, Bhikhu, 'What is Multiculturalism?' Seminar Contribution (Multiculturalism: a symposium on democracy in culturally diverse societies, December 1999 via <http://www.india-seminar.com/1999/484/484%20parekh.htm>)

- Parekh, Bhikhu, *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles For An Interdependent World*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2008.
- Parekh, Bhikhu, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, London: Macmillan Press 2000.
- Pearl, David and Menski, Werner, *Muslim Family Law*, London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1998.
- Pearl, David S., *Islamic Family Law and Its Reception by the Courts in England*, Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School 2000.
- Phillips, Anne, *Multiculturalism Without Culture*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2007.
- Phillips, Melanie, *Londonistan. How Britain Created a terror State Within*, London: Gibson Square 2012.
- Phillips, Nicholas, 'Equality before the Law', Keynote speech at the East London Muslim Centre, 3 July 2008, transcript in: Ahdar, Rex and Aroney, Nicholas (eds.), *Shari'a in the West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010, pp. 309-318.
- Poidevin, Robin Le, *Agnosticism. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010.
- Polanz, Carsten, 'The Legal Theory for Muslim Minorities and the Islamic Dream of Conquering the West', *Islam and Christianity* 2/2012, pp. 18-28.
- Pospielovsky, Dimitry, *Soviet Anti-Religious Campaigns and Persecutions. Volume 2 of A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*, Houndmills: MacMillan 1988.
- Pospielovsky, Dimitry, *A History of Marxist-Leninist Atheism and Soviet Antireligious Policies. Volume 1 of A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*, Houndmills: MacMillan 1987.
- Proudman, Charlotte, 'A Practical and Legal Analysis of Islamic Marriage, Divorce and Dowry', *Family Law Week* 31 January 2012, via <  
<http://www.familylawweek.co.uk/site.aspx?i=ed95364>>
- Putnam, Robert, "E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century" (the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture), *Scandinavian Political Studies* 2007, pp. 137-174.
- Qaradawi, Yusuf al-, *Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Coming Phase*, 1992.

- Qutb, Sayyid, *Milestones*, (1964), Translated in Andrew G. Bostom, ed., *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims*, Amherst: Prometheus Books 2005.
- Rachels, James, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, New York: McGraw –Hill 2003.
- Raday, Frances, 'Culture, religion, and gender', *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 2003, pp. 663-715.
- Raday, Frances, 'Secular Constitutionalism Vindicated', *Cardozo Law Review* 2008, pp. 2770-2798.
- Ramadan, Tariq, 'Following shari'a in the West', pp. 245-255, in: Griffith-Jones, Robin (ed.), *Islam and English Law. Rights, Responsibilities and the Place of Shari'a*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013.
- Rehman, Javaid, 'Islam, "War on Terror" and the Future of Muslim Minorities in the United Kingdom: Dilemmas of Multiculturalism', *Human Rights Quarterly* 2007, pp. 831-878.
- Rehman, Javaid, 'The Sharia, Islamic Family Laws and International Human Rights Law: Examining the Theory and Practice of Polygamy and Talaq', *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 2007.
- Riccardi, Letizia, 'Women at Crossroads between UK Legislation and Sharia Law', *Journal of Law and Social Sciences* 2014, pp. 86-91.
- Riddell, Peter, 'Islamization and Partial Shari'a in Malaysia', pp. 135-160, in: Marshall, Paul (ed.), *Radical Islam's Rules: The Worldwide Spread Of Extreme Shari'a Law*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2005.
- Ridley, Yvonne, 'How I Came to Love the Veil', *The Washington Post*, 22 October 2006.
- Roex, Ineke, Stiphout, Sjef van and Tillie, Jean, *Salafisme in Nederland* (Salafism in The Netherlands), Universiteit van Amsterdam, Instituut voor Migratie-en Etnische Studies 2010.
- Rohe, Mathias, 'Alternative Dispute Resolution in Europe under the Auspices of Religious Norms', *Religare Working Paper* Number 6, 2011
- Rohe, Matthias, 'Reasons for the Application of Shari'a in the West', pp. 25-46, in: Berger, Maurits (ed.), *Applying Shari'a in the West. Facts, Fears and the Future of Islamic Rules on Family Relations in the West*, Leiden: Leiden University Press 2013.

- Rokeach, Milton, *The Nature of Human Values*, New York, NY: Free Press 1973.
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, *The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt*, London: Hutchinson 1962, p. 253, in: Laes, Willy, *Mensenrechten in de Verenigde Naties. Een verhaal over manipulatie, censuur en hypocrisie* (Human Rights in the United Nations. A story on manipulation, censorship and hypocrisy), Antwerpen: Garant 2011.
- Roy, Olivier, *The Failure of Political Islam*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1994.
- Saleh, Walid, 'Ibn Tayimiyah and the Rise of Radical Hermeneutics: An Analysis of "An Introduction to the Foundation of Quranic Exegesis"', pp. 123-162, in: *Ibn Taymiya and His Times*, ed. Shahab Ahmed and Yossef Rapport, Oxford University Press 2010.
- Sartori, Giovanni, *Pluralismo, multiculturalismo e estranei*, Milano: Rizzoli 2000, in: Joppke, Christian, 'The retreat of Multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy', *The British Journal of Sociology* (2004): 237-257.
- Saudi Arabia 2013 Human Rights Report; Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013 by the United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, via <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/220586.pdf>.
- Schacht, Joseph, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1982.
- Schirmacher, Christine, 'Sharia Judges, Parallel Legal System, Justices of the Peace – A Commentary to Joachim Wagner's "Outlaw Judges: The Threat Posed by Islamic Parallel Jurisprudence to the Rule of Law"', *Islam und Christlicher Glaube* 2012, pp. 35-40.
- Schwartz, Seth, 'The Evolution of Eriksonian and Neo-Eriksonian Identity Theory and Research: A Review and Integration', *Identity: an International Journal of Theory and Research* 2001, pp. 7-58.
- Schwartz, Stephen and al-Alawi, Irfan, 'Our Survey shows British Muslims don't want sharia', *The Spectator* 9 July 2008 via <http://www.spectator.co.uk/features/825601/our-survey-shows-british-muslims-dont-want-sharia/>

- Schwartz, Stephen, 'Shari'a in Saudi Arabia, Today and Tomorrow', pp. 19-40, in: Marshall, Paul (ed.), *Radical Islam's Rules: The Worldwide Spread Of Extreme Shari'a Law*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2005.
- Selim, Nahed, 'De sharia wordt in Nederland al volop toegepast' (Sharia is already fully functioning in the Netherlands), *NRC Handelsblad*, 8 Juli 2009.
- Sen, Amartya, *Identity and Violence. The Illusion of Destiny*, London: Allen Lane 2006.
- Shachar, Ayelet, 'Privatizing Diversity: A Cautionary Tale from Religious Arbitration in Family Law', *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 2008, pp. 572-607.
- Shachar, Ayelet, *Multicultural Jurisdictions: Cultural Differences and Women's Rights*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001, pp. 4-5.
- Shah-Kazemi, Sonia Nûrîn, *Untying the Knot. Muslim Women, Divorce and the Shariah*, The Nuffield Foundation/Signal Press: London 2001.
- Sifaoui, Mohamed, *Pourquoi l'islamisme séduit-il?*, Paris: Armand Colin 2010.
- Sniderman, Paul, and Hagendoorn, Aloysius, *When Ways of Life Collide: Multiculturalism and its Discontents in the Netherlands*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2007.
- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-56*, London: The Harvill Press 1986 (2003).
- Sparrow, Andrew, 'Cameron Attacks "State Multiculturalism"', *The Guardian* 26 February 2008, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2008/feb/26/conservatives.race>>
- Spinner-Halev, Jeff, and Eisenberg, Avigail (eds.), *Minorities within Minorities. Equality, Rights and Diversity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005.
- Stace, W.T., *The Concept of Morals*, New York: The MacMillan Company 1962.
- Straub, Detmar (et al.), 'Toward a theory-based measurement of culture', *Journal of Global Information Management* 2002, pp. 13-23.
- Strindberg, Anders and Wårn, Mats, *Islamism: Religion, Radicalization, and Resistance*, Cambridge: Polity 2011.
- Sultan, Wafa, *A God Who Hates. The Courageous Woman Who Inflamed the Muslim World Speaks Out Against the Evils of Islam*, New York: St. Martin's Press 2009.

- Suurland, David, 'Totalitarianism and Radical Islamic Ideologies', pp. 257-309, in: Labuschagne, Bart and Sonnenschmidt, Reinhard (eds.), *Religion, Politics and Law: Philosophical Reflections on the Sources of Normative Order in Society*, Leiden: Brill 2009.
- Suurland, David, *Secular Totalitarian And Islamist Legal-Political Philosophy*, dissertation Leiden University 2011, available via <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/19888>.
- Szczesniak, Boleslaw, *The Russian Revolution and Religion. A Collection of Documents Concerning the Suppression of Religion by the Communists, 1917-1925*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press 1959.
- Tamimi, Azzam, 'Islam and democracy from Tahtawi to Ghannouchi', *Theory, Culture & Society* 2007, pp. 39-58.
- Taylor, Charles, 'The Politics of Recognition', pp. 25-73 (39), in: Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalism. Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Edited and introduced by Amy Gutman, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1994.
- Taylor, Charles, *Sources of the Self. The Making of the Modern Identity*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1989.
- The Holy Qur'an*, translated by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Worldsworth Editions Limited 2000.
- Tibi, Bassam, 'The Politization of Islam into Islamism in the Context of Global Religious Fundamentalism', *Journal of Middle East and Africa* 2010, pp. 153-170.
- Tibi, Bassam, *Islamism and Islam*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2012.
- Tibi, Bassam, *The Shari'a State. Arab Spring and Democratization*, London: Routledge 2013.
- Tierney, P. J., *Theocracy: Can Democracy Survive Fundamentalism?* Bloomington: iUniverse 2012.
- Tsaoussi, Aspasia, and Zervogianni, Eleni, 'Multiculturalism and Family Law: The Case of Greek Muslims', pp. 209-239, in: Boele-Woelki, Katharina and Sverdrup, Tone (eds.), *European Challenges In Contemporary Family Law*, Antwerp: Intersentia 2011.



- Turner, Terence, 'Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What is Anthropology That Multiculturalists Should Be Mindful of It?', *Cultural Anthropology* 1993, p. 411-429.
- Tylor, Edward, *Primitive Culture*, London: John Murray, Albemarle Street 1871.
- Verhofstadt, Dirk, *Atheïsme als Basis voor de Moraal* (Atheism as Foundation for Morals), Antwerp: Houtekiet 2013.
- Verhofstadt, Dirk, *De Derde Feministische Golf* (The Third Feminist Wave), Antwerp: Houtekiet 2006.
- Vernon, Mark, *How To Be An Agnostic*, Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan 2011.
- Vertovec, Steven and Wessendorf, Susanne (eds.), *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*, London: Routledge 2010.
- Vidino, Lorenzo, 'Aims and Methods of Europe's Muslim Brotherhood', *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* November 2006, via <http://www.hudson.org/research/9776-aims-and-methods-of-europe-s-muslim-brotherhood>.
- Vidino, Lorenzo, 'Hisba in Europe? Assessing a murky phenomenon', *European Foundation for Democracy* 2013 via [http://www.europeandemocracy.org/images/stories/Media/Hisba/Hisba\\_in\\_Europe.pdf](http://www.europeandemocracy.org/images/stories/Media/Hisba/Hisba_in_Europe.pdf).
- Vidino, Lorenzo, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West*, New York: Columbia University Press 2010.
- Wagner, Joachim, *Richter Ohne Gesetz*, Berlin: Econ 2011.
- Waldron, Jeremy, 'Cultural identity and civic responsibility', pp. 155-174 (158), in: Kymlicka, Will and Norman, Wayne (eds.), *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000 (2003).
- Waldron, Jeremy, 'Mill and the value of moral distress', *Political Studies* 1987, pp. 410-423.
- Waldron, Jeremy, 'Minority cultures and the cosmopolitan alternative', *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 1991, pp. 751-793.
- Walzer, Michael, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, New York: Basic Books 1983.
- Weaver, Matthew, 'Angela Merkel: German Multiculturalism Has "Utterly Failed,"' *The Guardian* 17 October 2010,

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-german-Multiculturalism-failed>>

West, Patrick, *The Poverty of Multiculturalism*, London: Civitas 2005.

Westreich, Avishalom, 'The Right to Divorce in Jewish Law: Between Politics and Ideology', *International Journal of the Jurisprudence of the Family* 2010, pp. 177-196 (177).

Wiedl, Nina, 'Dawa and the Islamist Revival in the West', *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* 2009, via <<http://www.hudson.org/research/9789-dawa-and-the-islamist-revival-in-the-west#>>.

Wiegers, Gerard, 'Dr. Sayyid Mutawalli ad-Darsh's fatwas for Muslims in Great Britain: The voice of official Islam?', pp. 178-191, in: Maclean, Gerald, (ed.), *Britain and the Muslim World*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press 2011.

Wilkinson III, Harvie J., 'The Law of Civil Rights and the Dangers of Separatism in Multiculturalist America', *Stanford Law Review* 1995, pp. 993-1026.

William, Arsani, 'An Unjust Doctrine of Civil Arbitration: Sharia Courts in Canada and England', *Stanford Journal of International Relations* 2010, pp. 40-47.

Williams, Rowan, 'Civil and Religious Law in England: a Religious Perspective', transcript in: Ahdar, Rex and Aroney, Nicholas (eds.), *Shari'a in the West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010, pp. 293-303.

Wilson, Robin Fretwell, 'Privatizing Family Law in the Name of Religion', *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 2010, pp. 925-952.

Wilson, Robin Fretwell, 'The Overlooked Costs of Religious Deference', *Washington and Lee Law Review* 2007, pp. 1363-1383.

Wolfe, Caryn Litt, 'Faith-Based Arbitration: Friend or Foe - An Evaluation of Religious Arbitration Systems and Their Interaction with Secular Courts', *Fordham Law Review* 2006-07, pp. 427-469.

Yilmaz, Ihsan, 'Muslim Alternative Dispute Resolution and Neo-Ijtihad in England', *Turkish Journal of International Relations* 2003, pp. 117-139.

Yousef, Ahmed Bin, and Jobain, Ahmad Abul, *The Politics of Islamic Resurgence: Through Western Eyes: A Bibliographic Survey*, North Springfield: United Association for Studies and Research 1992.

Zee, Machteld, 'Femmes for Freedom: fighting against marital captivity', *Leiden Law Blog* 14 June 2012 via < <http://leidenlawblog.nl/articles/femmes-for-freedom-fighting-against-marital-captivity>>.

Zee, Machteld, 'Five Options for the Relationship between the State and Sharia Councils: Untangling the Debate on Sharia Councils and Women's Rights in the United Kingdom', *Journal of Religion & Society* 2015, pp. 1-18.

Zee, Machteld, 'The State and the Operation of Sharia Councils in the United Kingdom: A Response to Shona Lester', *Journal of Religion & Society* 2015, pp. 1-6.

Zimmerman, Jonathan, 'Brown-ing the American Textbook: History, Psychology, and the Origins of Modern Multiculturalism', *History of Education Quarterly* 2004, pp. 46-69.

Zornberg, Lisa, 'Beyond the Constitution: Is the New York Get Legislation Good Law?' *Pace Law Review* 1995, pp. 703-784.

## Video Material

'Dispatches - Undercover Mosque', Channel 4 Documentary, 5 February 2011, via <<https://vimeo.com/19598947>>.

'Divorce: Sharia Style', Channel 4 Documentary, 10 January 2011, via: <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OB34\\_zrB2to](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OB34_zrB2to)>

'Secrets of Britain's Sharia Councils', BBC Panorama, 22 April 2013, via <[http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b01rxftj/Panorama\\_Secrets\\_of\\_Britains\\_Sharia\\_Councils/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b01rxftj/Panorama_Secrets_of_Britains_Sharia_Councils/)>

'Senior UK Imam Suhaib Hasan reveals 'Jewish Conspiracy'', YouTube clip, published on 16 December 2013, via <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XGIjh47kP3w>>

'Shaikh Haitham Al Haddad 'The family' Talk at Masjid Umar R.A. Part 2', YouTube clip, published on 15 May 2012, via <<http://youtu.be/fST0Vmyim44?t=12m56s>>.

## Case law

### *European Court of Human Rights*

*Refah Partisi (the Welfare Party) and Others v. Turkey*, (App nos 41340/98, 41342/98, 41343/98 and 41344/98) ECtHR 2001.

*Gündüz v. Turkey* (Application no. 35071/97), ECtHR 4 December 2003.

*Lautsi v. Italy*, (Application no. 30814/06), ECtHR 3 November 2009.

*Lautsi and others v. Italy*, (Application no. 30814/06), ECtHR 18 March 2011.

*S.A.S. v. France*, (Application no. 43835/11), EctHR July 1 2014.

### *United Kingdom*

Edgar v Edgar [1980] 1 WLR 1410.

Al Midani and Another v Midani and Others [1999] 1 Lloyd's Rep 923.

Re J (A Child) [2005] UKHL 40.

M (Lebanon) v Home Secretary [2008] UKHL 64.

Uddin v Choudhury & Ors [2009] EWCA Civ 1205.

### *The Netherlands*

Rechtbank Rotterdam 8 December 2010, 364739/KG ZA 10-1018.

Rechtbank Den Haag 11 January 2013, 431258/KG ZA 12-1273.

Rechtbank Amsterdam 22 May 2014, c/13/563478/KG ZA 14-495 HJ/NRSB.

