A Critical Analysis of Tariq Ramadan's Concept of European Muslim

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Abstract

The presence of Muslims and their religious practices have provoked numerous debates in different parts of the world. These debates are at their peak in western societies. Increased terrorist action by a certain group of Muslim extremists seems to have made the situation alarming. The entire Muslim community has become a target. They are held responsible for all the problems existing in the west. Muslims in the west react to these allegations by isolating themselves from the rest of the society. This mutual wariness has fractured the multicultural atmosphere of Europe and entire west. Academicians and intellectuals across the globe are addressing this issue of mistrust within a society. Although Muslims are not new in Europe, their increased numbers in the last three-four decades have forced Europeans of various faiths to think that their western identity is at stake and that they are under attack. There are certain questions such as, "Is Islam a threat for the people of other faiths?", "Can Muslims become an integral part ofs Western societies?", "Is it possible for a Muslim to be a true Muslim and a European at the same time?", and "Is it possible for them to be Western as well as Islamic?" These questions are constantly raised by the European media. The list of questions is endless and all these issues need to be addressed. Numerous European Islamic scholars have tried to address these questions. Prolific Islamic scholar Tariq Ramadan is one of them. The present paper is an attempt to critically analyse his concept of European Muslim identity.

Key Words: EuroIslam, Integration, Identity, Multiculturalism

Introduction

Before going into the current debate it is necessary to have a brief look at the existence of Muslims in Europe with a historical perspective and their image

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as a whole. The presence of Muslims in Europe is not a new occurrence, and has its own history and is as old as Islam. As Western historians David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg observe-

Islam in the West is both an old and a new phenomenon. In Certain regions, particularly in southern and eastern Europe it has a very long history.¹

During the Umayyad period (660-750 C.E.) with the goal of expansion of Islamic state, Muslims moved towards Europe. They entered Europe through Spain for the first time in July 710 AD.² The governor to North Africa of Umayyad Caliph Al-Walid I, Musa ibn Nusair send his client Tarif to Spain. But, the most remarkable conquest was in 711 AD by Tariq bin Ziyad with the order of Musa ibn Nusair.³ It was a historical conquest for both Muslims and non Muslim Europeans. Signs of conquest of Spain by Muslims during the early part of the 8th century can be found even today. According to the Western historian Phillips K. Hitti, the peninsula Tarifa also known as 'jazirat' (isle of) Tarifa, the southernmost part of Iberian Peninsula and continental Europe named after its conqueror Tarif. In the same way the conquest of Tariq bin Ziyad is a well recorded event in the history of Arabs as well as that of Westerners.

Tariq landed near the mighty rock which has since immortalized his name, Jabal (mount of) Tariq (Gibraltar).⁴

Spain paved the way for the conquest of some parts of present day France. In 716 AD North African troops, led by Arabian officers entered France via Spain.⁵ Narbonne was conquered in 719 and was used as a protectorate by the Muslims. Muslim troops captured the areas beyond Lyon into Burgundy and in the West reached the outskirts of Toulouse. Charles Martel proved to be a hero for the upcoming generations of French by defeating the Arabs in 732 at Poitiers and drove them out of Lyon.⁶

In 732, Charles Martel defeated the Arabs at Poitiers.' This snippet of information, dutifully memorised by generations of French schoolchildren, does justice neither to the extent

nor to the duration of the Arab-Muslim occupation of the territory which is now known as France.⁷

These briefly mentioned events can be seen as one of the major reasons behind the negative image of Muslims in Europe. Before discussing the images of Muslims and Islam, one should be aware of all these historical facts and their perception by the young generations.

Even centuries after the Reconquista, Muslims are marked negatively in Spanish society. Traditional Festival of Moors and Christians (Moros y Cristianos), in which Spanish re-conquest is commemorated in almost 400 localities in all over the country, Muslims are coloured with depressing metaphors. This festival commemorates the confrontation that took place in 13th century between Moors and Christians. As historians have said:

The Festivals celebrate the Spanish *Reconquest* (Christian victory over Islam) of the peninsula after eight centuries of Muslim presence, by the re-enactment of local victories over invading Moorish armies. The celebration basically consists of a symbolic battle for the local territory, a dramatization of the struggle of Moorish and Christian military units, resulting in the victory of Christians. In the Festival, the Moors are defeated in combat and then converted to Christianity, or, in the case of some villages, [...], they are "symbolically" thrown into the sea.⁹

At present, Europe is witnessing an increase in Muslim population. According to Marc Helbling, head of the Emmy Noether research group, in most of the Western European countries, Islam has become the third largest religion. Muslims in large numbers have settled in the West and are demanding equal religious and political rights.

Demands for the construction of mosques, Islamic religious education and gender-separated sports lessons as well as provisions for the protection of cultural practices, such as forced marriages and female circumcision (which are also

heavily disputed within Islam) - pose new challenges to some actors and groups in the host societies.¹¹.

There is apprehension and fear among the westerners that Muslims want to Islamize Europe. They relate this fear to the history of attempts of 'Christianization' of Europe. They are afraid that similar practices could be adopted by Muslims and thus this continent will be 'Islamized'. Western scholar Jorgan S. Nielsen has given a very relevant point in his book *Towards A European Islam*. Around a hundred years back, in 1900 Western Churches were dreaming of the 'Christianization' of the world and after 100 years some Muslims are talking of the 'Islamization' of the world.¹²

This has posed many challenges for Muslims in the West. On one side, European Muslims are trying to maintain their identity and on the other hand, Europeans of other faiths or no faiths are complaining about the fear of loss of identity in their own society. Jorgen S. Nielsen has urged Europeans not to fear the increasing number of Muslims in their societies and has also invited them to review European history. According to him, Muslims are trying to fit into European societies. He encourages Europeans to understand the reality of the Muslim presence in their societies and suggests to them, to see it as an opportunity and not as a threat.

But if Europeans are to learn to deal with the challenges presented to our accustomed way of doing things in public, social and cultural life by the Muslim communities now settled among us (communities here because we needed them at a certain time for short-term economic considerations), we must necessarily review our own history. In this way we will discover that there is nothing absolutely right about the way we organize ourselves. Through this discovery there is hope that Europe may be able to struggle into a future with space also for self- discovery by Muslim communities of where they fit in as partners in a common plural society, and we, the 'old communities', see not a threat but an opportunity.¹³

Nielsen's vision is for a Europe with adequate space for Muslims. This space will be discovered by Muslims themselves. Such notions of space can be understood by re-reading and understanding the basic Islamic text i.e. 'Quran' and 'Sunna' as has been suggested by Tariq Ramadan in his books To Be a European Muslim: A Study of the Islamic Sources in the Light of the European Context and Western Muslims and the Future of Islam.

Before there can be any consideration of adaptability, evolution or modernisation of the law, it is imperative that we take the time to approach Islam's essential teachings, its spiritual entrenchment and its universal dimension. Likewise, it is appropriate to better situate the role, place and typology of the Islamic sciences. Such a study of itself would give access to the juridical notions and tools we need nowadays so as to think our presence in the West.¹⁵

The young Muslim in the West has uncertainties regarding his/her identity. He/she wants to know the answers to certain questions, which will also be our research questions for this study.

- How to practice Islam in Europe?
- Are culture and religion Synonyms?
- What about the identity of the country of their origin, which their parents have preserved for decades?
- Is it possible for Muslims to remain practicing Muslims and still be ideal European citizens?
- Is it necessary to restore 'ijtihad'?
- Can a minority sect within Islam set an example for the majority of Muslims in the restoration of 'ijtihad'?

Many Muslim reformers are trying to address these concerns of identity and religion in the West. In his two books *To Be a European Muslim:A Study of the Islamic Sources in the Light of the European Context* and *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam* Tariq Ramadan has said that the key to the present

predicament and its solution can be found in the basic texts. His strong message to the readers is to reread these texts.

The critics of Tariq Ramadan

The critics of Tariq Ramadan's conceptions declare him to be an Islamist fundamentalist. They do not consider him a reformer or a man of vision. According to them he gives different and contradictory interpretation of Islam. They claim that Ramadan himself, gives a statement at one place and at another occasion he contradicts his own proclamation. Almost all his critics including Caroline Fourest target him because of his family background. For them, he is the heir of his maternal grandfather Hassan al-Banna, the founder of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Critics like Hani Abid claims that the ideas and suggestions of Tariq Ramadan are inapplicable and inoperative in the present European context. European Muslims have no use for them.

Caroline Fourest is one of the biggest critics of Tariq Ramadan. For her, the main flaw is his ideology. She accused Ramadan of following the example of his grandfather Hassan al- Banna. Time and continent only separate them. For her, Banna was in Egypt, and a century later Ramadan is in the West. He is practicing the same philosophy of his grandfather. To support her argument, Fourest quotes from one of the interviews of Ramadan with Alain Gresh, editor-in-chief of Le Monde diplomatique. These interviews were published in collection titled L'Islam en questions (Questioning Islam). As per her analysis, Ramadan has taken Al- Banna as his role model. She declares Hassan al-Banna a controversial figure and quite extreme in his viewpoints. She declares Al- Banna the heir of Rashid Ridha, one of the fundamentalist disciples of Mohammad Abduh. Mohammad Abduh was an Egyptian religious scholar, jurist and liberal reformer of 19th century. Caroline Fourest has admired Abduh, but she is against his disciple, the twentieth century Islamic scholar Mohammad Rashid Rida. 16 She accuses Rida of undermining and diminishing Abduh's rational ideas of liberalism. Thus she tried to establish that because of his inflexible approach, Tariq Ramadan's grandfather Banna was the disciple of Rashid Rida and not Abduh. Al- Banna

as the grandfather has a fundamentalist influence on Ramadan. She insists that in the 21st century, Ramadan is trying to enforce these ideas in the West.

Fourest thinks Ramadan's concept of 'Da'wa' is dangerous for the West. According to her this Islamic scholar has seen the West as the land of "Collaborations". She has written a whole chapter on this topic in her book Brother Tariq: Double Speak of Tariq Ramadan:

The word "collaboration" is not without significance. For those who might have been tempted to think that this common resistance implied an exchange, Ramadan set the record straight: "Some people think that the opposite of conflict is marriage. No. The opposite of conflict, it's intelligent resistance and collaboration concerning what is just and honest; it's not a form of submission-we resist, and we collaborate on the intellectual level". In other words, you must separate the sheep from the goats. Ramadan knows that he needs the Westerners, and even certain atheists, to conduct his jihad against "Westernization" and atheistic materialism-but he has no intention of losing his sound in the process. It's clearly a question of a temporary alliance until the great day dawns. On that day, the Left, and the non-Muslim in general, will, in any case, be so few in number that they will be no match for the Islamists bent on establishing an ideal society based on the sharia.¹⁷

This shows that Caroline Fourest thinks that Tariq Ramadan is a threat to the Western culture and civilization. To her, Ramadan is busy promoting these Islamist ideas among young Muslims in the West. He is busy presenting the Muslim Brotherhood as a "Social Movement", which according to her is not the actual fact. She thinks that it is a radical group and therefore not acceptable in any society.

Fourest also condemned and accused Ramadan of embracing and applying the ideology of thirteenth-century fundamentalist Islamic scholar Ibn-Tamiyya. This critic also strongly condemned the ideology of this scholar.

She declared that the ideology of Ibn- Tamiyaa has shaped many terrorists. An example of such adaptations of radical ideology is the case of the killing of Trappist monks in Tibéhirine in 1996. Fourest claims the ideology of Ibn Tamiyya had influenced the GIA members who had assassinated these monks. Tariq Ramadan had criticised this attack. But Fourest is not satisfied with the condemnation made by Tariq Ramadan.

The statement just goes to show how quickly the condemnation of GIA is passed over. It serves as pretext for immediately lamenting the loss of the militants of the Islamic Salvation Front and GIA, whom Ramadan treats as "intellectuals", in order the better to denigrate those intellectuals "of whom the press does speak" and who have been killed because they resisted the Islamists.¹⁸

She accuses Ramadan of duplicity. It is not acceptable to this critic that Tariq Ramadan simultaneously was condemning the attack and also befriending Yahya Michot. Fourest accused Michot for justifying these killing on religious grounds on the basis of the *fatwa* of Ibn Tamiyya, issued in AD. 1417.

In her book *Brother Tariq: Double Speak of Tariq Ramadan*, Caroline Fourest declared Ramadan a fundamentalist. According to her there are two types of reformists. There are progressive as well as fundamentalist reformers. She puts 'salafists' in the category of fundamentalists. She finds the influence of 'salafist' ideology on Tariq Ramadan and thus reached this conclusion. According to her, 'salafists' interpret the basic text of Islam from their point of view.

For them, religion and politics are inseparable, practically indistinguishable, to the extent that they often attach more importance to campaigning on social issues, such as the Islamic headscarf, than to questions of ritual or theology. According to the Muslim Brotherhood- which is the principal school of Salafist reformisms-the call for "consultation" is not to be taken as acceptance of the

principles of secularism or democracy, but as a call for pluralism in terms of religious obedience.¹⁹

Another Critic of Tariq Ramadan is Hani Abid. This scholar like Caroline Fourest goes into the history of some great Islamic thinkers of 19th and 20th century such as Jamal-al-Deen al-Irani, also knownn as al-Afghani, Mohammad abduh, Rashid Rida, At-Tahtawi, Ahmad Lutfi, Sayid Ahmed Ameen, Qasim Ameen, Taha Hussain. He accused all of them of propagating social reforms within the Muslim communities to gain the support of the colonial powers. But these reforms were in name only. It did not improve the conditions of the Muslim community. According to Abid, Ramadan is also repeating the actions of these scholars. Hani Abid claims that Muslims already co-exist peacefully with non-Muslims in the West. In his article titled "Understanding the Concept of Integration- A critical analysis of Dr. Tariq Ramadan's views", ²⁰he claimed that Muslims are active citizens in the West and understand their roles and their responsibilities towards this society.

The truth is that the majority of Muslims are already active participants in society to arraying degrees. All Muslims work and interact with co-workers; the majority of Muslims have some kind of interaction with their neighbours; we all pay taxes; some are active participants in many charitable and non-profit organizations; some are active in their local mosques and Islamic Centers; some volunteer at hospitals and elderly homes; some are involved in extra-curricular activities at school or University; many already attend rallies; while others take part in politics.²¹

For Hani Abid, Muslims do not face any discrimination or social alienation in Europe. He found Muslims to be quite active in their respective fields. Abid finds nothing new in Tariq Ramadan's suggestions of values and laws that Muslims must encompass to live in Europe. According to him, European Muslims already possess it. He is not ready to accept any ethical preaching from the West. This critic argues that they already have centuries old set of rules and values and do not need to follow the social dictates of the western world.

About the European and Western identity of Muslims, Hani Abid accuses Ramadan of inventing an independent European Islamic distinctiveness. According to him, Ramadan's goal is to create an independent western Islam, anchored in Western cultures. He saw Tariq Ramadan's approach as dangerous to the traditional Muslim majority countries. Abid is against the term of 'Western Islam'. He is also against the restoration of 'ijtihad'. He enquires whether Ramadan has any idea of 'ijtihad' or if he is just trying to mislead Muslims by planting it in their minds. Abid following the ideology of century old 'ulama' declares 'ijtihad' as the practice of creating controversy among the 'umma'.

According to Hani Abid, whatever Tariq Ramadan has proposed is the assimilation of the West. The Quran stated that Muslims must be exemplary for the rest of the human race. They should evolve accordingly. For him, by assimilating European culture, Muslims can never achieve this status. He argues that whatever Ramadan is proposing is an indirect rejection of the basic text of Islam.

It is difficult to agree with most of the critical remarks made by both Caroline Fourest and Hani Abid. It seems to be unfounded and more of a personal attack on the scholar. It was unethical. A scholar should be judged for his scientific works and not for his ancestry. One can easily recognize that these are more of a personal attack than a critical reflection of his works. Caroline Fourest based one of her critical remarks on Ramadan's interview titled "l'Islam en question". Because of his connection to his grandfather, she accused him of fundamentalism. A detailed study of these interviews proves that Faurest's understanding of Ramadan's philosophy is inaccurate. The philosophy of a prominent scholar like Ramadan cannot be shaped by the influence of a single individual, even that of his maternal grandfather. In the latter part of the interview Ramadan has cleared the misconception. He doesn't consider all Al-Banna's thought as sacred. The relation of Ramadan with Hassan al Banna is that of birth, that he is the grandson of the latter. For Fourest, this relationship is the most negative aspect of Ramadan's personality. She declared Ramadan as the heir of Hassan al-Banna. Fourest accuses him of imposing the same ideology in the West; that Banna did in

Egypt a century back. Here it is impossible to agree with the conclusion drawn by this critic. Tariq Ramadan is a reformist and not a fundamentalist. His methodology can be questioned but not his approach to the problems of European Muslims.

Another serious allegation of Fourest against Ramadan is his friendship with Yahya Michot. The killing of the monks by GIA was a brutal terrorist act. Michot's justification was condemnable. But, Fourest's accusation of Tariq Ramadan on this context cannot be justified. She based her argument on the fact that Yahya Michot is a friend of Ramadan. Here, again the critical remarks seem to be biased. She blamed Ramadan for not strongly criticising these killings.

Fourest at the same time had also mentioned the fact that Ramadan had never justified or supported these killings. But this had not stopped her from condemning him. She interprets his advice of rereading of the texts by European Muslims, as a step towards radical Islamisation It is difficult to accept this critic's interpretation of Ramadan's work. The advice of Ramadan of rereading of the texts seems to be an extremely appropriate step in today's European context. A true Muslim equipped with renewed basic textual knowledge of the Quran and of the Sunna can be a better and sincere European citizen. He will learn the art of living in a multi religious and multi cultural European society.

Hani Abid has also committed the same error. He repeated Caroline Fourest's mistake. Ramadan has focused upon re-reading the text according to the time and situation prevalent in Europe. It is the necessity of time. Hani Abid categorically rejects Ramadan's proposal. He thinks that it will deviate Muslims from the true paths of Islam. It seems that this critic has not fully comprehended the true meanings expressed in the basic text. A well-known Hadith of Prophet Mohammad supports Ramadan's view. It expresses the importance of acquiring knowledge. The rereading of the texts is also gaining knowledge. Anas — a companion of Prophet Mohammad, reported the Prophet's saying:

Acquire knowledge and import it to the people.²²

The above 'hadith' proves the very important point that Muslims should apply their best efforts in acquiring knowledge. An idea propagated by Tariq Ramadan. Hani Abid's notion that Muslims have all the values and rules opposes this 'Hadith'. The rigidity of his views leaves no manoeuvring tactics for the Muslims. A true well read and enlightened Muslim by rereading the basic text will learn the method of adapting to the demands of time and place. In this context, it is Europe. There are many Western values, which are similar to Islamic teachings, such as, principle of equality and justice.

It seems Hani Abid interprets Islam through the anchored traditions of countries with Muslim majority populations. His concept of 'Islamic Countries' is not clear. His following statement is a proof that he sees Islam in the tradition of Muslim countries, which he calls "Islamic".

Ramadan's goal is to create an independent Western Islam, anchored not in the traditions of Islamic countries but in the cultural reality of the West.²³

This definition raises a pertinent question about Abid's understanding of Islamic countries. It is not clear, how he differentiates between "Islamic" and "non-Islamic" countries. Hani Abid is confused between the terms 'assimilation' and 'integration'. On the other hand Ramadan by referring to the Quran and the Sunna has clarified these expressions. The basic idea of this talented Islamic scholar is to advise European Muslims in the way to adopt their new abode.

Both the critics have absolutely misinterpreted the philosophy of Tariq Ramadan. He has never advised his readers to reject the true principles of Islam. They are the basic rules for every Muslim. His duty as a reformer should be to encourage his readers to broaden their horizon. According to Ramadan, if one finds nothing against Islamic teachings, then one should embrace them. This kind of adoption has allowed Muslims to reside in any country of the world. This does not oppose Islamic beliefs. But his recommendation is to adapt and implement these principles according to the needs of time and place. This Islamic intellectual has never deviated from the teachings of Quran and 'sunna'. Tariq Ramadan is a reformer, who has

grasped the nuances of changes but has not compromised on his religious beliefs. He has also urged European Muslims to follow the paradigm of Prophet Mohammad. This can be followed in the case of praying at public places. When the Prophet went to Makkah in 10 AH to perform Hajj, he was denied. He had thousands companions with him. But he did not show rigidity and accepted all the conditions of the enemies. He treated each and every one very calmly and did not insist on performing the Hajj. He returned back to Madina and that year none of the Muslims including the Prophet himself performed Hajj.

This view of coexistence is absolutely essential in today's cosmopolitan Europe. Issues, which are directly related to religion, need their solutions keeping in mind the religious rulings regarding those problems. Problems related to culture need to be addressed according to culture and should not be mixed with issues related to religion.

One essential part of integration into any society is children's education. Here it is difficult not to agree with Ramadan. For him, Muslim children must attend regular western schools to enhance their knowledge. Special classes can supplement their Islamic training in their leisure time. In fact, Tariq Ramadan suggests a complementary education plan for Muslim Children in Europe. This plan requires some extra efforts from the Muslim community. In this way they gain from both the world without compromising on their beliefs. Ramadan as an academician has correctly understood the true value of education. Reforms within European Muslims are essential. They should form a uniform identity of European or Western Muslims. This is also Tariq Ramadan's recommendation. But, developing this common identity is not an easy task. European Muslims should depart from some exercises which they are practicing in the name of culture and have nothing to do with Islam. There are even certain practices, which are against the spirit of Islam.

Ramadan on European Muslims

The two books To Be a European Muslim: A Study of the Islamic Sources in the Light of the European Context and Western Muslims and the Future of Islam by

renowned scholar and reformer Tariq Ramadan have dealt with the current situation in the West. His advice is to remain faithful to the teachings of Islam and at the same time integrating in to the Western society. Most of his suggestions are valuable. Ramadan has tried to focus upon the basic teaching of Islam and its universality. He attempted to realize the need of 'ijtihad' for the contemporary issues of European Muslims.

The training of the 'ulama' is another need of the hour. An untrained, ignorant 'alim' is a threat to any civilized society, including the west. Their religious biases create mistrust and intolerance amongst the community. Many a time untrained 'ulama' mislead the Muslim masses and they misinterpret the basic texts of Islam. Tariq Ramadan is completely right, when he writes in his books to invest in the training of 'ulama'. It is beneficial because they could then lead the Muslim masses in the right direction. It will also help in bridging the gap between European Muslims and non-Muslims. Also the trained 'ulama' will help in creating an environment of harmony and co-operation amongst peoples of different faiths.

One of the basic recommendations of Tariq Ramadan is restoration of 'ijtihad'. All his ideas represent the 'Sunni' point of view. Although the suggestions made by Tariq Ramadan in his two works, i.e. To Be a European Muslim: A Study of the Islamic Sources in the Light of the European Context and Western Muslims and the Future of Islam have many commonalities with 'Shiite' views. It requires some important considerations. First of all, it is not easy for a common 'Sunni' Muslim to leave the thousand-year-old jurisprudence. They need special counselling and guidance to accept it. This scholar has unfortunately completely ignored the 'Shiite' perspectives on Islam. The inclusion of their interpretation of the basic texts would have further strengthened his arguments on European Muslims. In this context, the fatwa of Mahmud Shaltut, head of Al Azhar University, on the 'Shiite' Muslims is vital. The attached document is an example of one such 'fatawa'.²⁴

Notes and References

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⁹ Ibid 88-89.

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¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Muslims in Europe into the Next Millennium." In *Towards A European Islam*, (London, Macmillan Press, 1999), 129.

¹³ Nielsen, "State, Religion and Pluralism." In *Towards A European Islam*, (London, Macmillan Press, 1999), 107.

¹⁴All the Islamic terms used in this dissertation are elaborated in the glossary part.

¹⁵ Tariq Ramadan, Introduction to "At The Heart of The Sources- Faith And Religious Practices." In *To Be a European Muslim: A Study of Islamic Sources in the European Context.* (Leicester, UK:: Islamic Foundation, 1999) 10.

¹⁶ Mohammad Rashid Rida was born in the Syrian-Egyptian Islamic thinker and was close associate and disciple of Mohammad Abduh. According to Oxford References Rashid Rida lived in Egypt from 1897 until his death and published the journal Al-

manar to articulate and disseminate reformist ideas and preserve the unity of the Muslim nation. For more details see

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²¹ Ibid.

²² Al-Tirmidhi, hadith 107.

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